

dated the 25th January, 1988, publishing the Metro Railway (Carriage of Baggage) Rules, 1988. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5517/88]

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

DR. FAGUNI RAM (Bihar): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Reports of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:—

(i) Thirtieth Report of the Committee on the Ministry of Welfare—Socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

(ii) Thirty-third Report of the Committee on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in their Twenty-third Report on the Ministry of Railways (Railway Board)—Reservations for, and employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Western Railway.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. GOVERNMENT BUSINESS FOR THE WEEK COMMENCING MONDAY, THE 7TH MARCH, 1988.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Sir, with your permission I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the week commencing Monday, the 7th March, 1988; will consist of:

1. Consideration of any item of Government Business carried over from today's Order Paper.

2. General Discussion on Railway Budget for 1988-89.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT ADDRESS Contd.

डा० फागूनी राम (बिहार) : मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदया, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बोलने का मौका दिया। मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर श्री कुलकर्णी जी द्वारा रखे गए धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में संविधान के लक्ष्यों की व्याख्या करते हुए एक ऐसे भारत की कल्पना की है जहाँ राष्ट्र की एकता और अखंडता को कोई भी शक्ति खंडित नहीं कर सके। जहाँ लोकतंत्र, धर्मनिरपेक्षता और समाजवाद के आदर्शों में लोगों की पूरी श्रद्धा हो, जहाँ प्राकृतिक संपदा निरंतर बढ़ती रहे और जहाँ के नागरिक नैतिक, आध्यात्मिक और धार्मिक मूल्यों की रक्षा के लिए तत्पर रहें और वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् की राष्ट्रीय भावना को बढ़ाने की रक्षा के लिए कृत-संकल्प रहें।

महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने देश के सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक और वैज्ञानिक प्रगति के पंडित आदरणीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और इंदिरा जी के सिद्धान्तों को मुखरित किया है। हमारे आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी इन्हीं आदर्शों और लक्ष्यों की पूर्ति के लिए प्रयत्नशील हैं लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से कुछ ऐसी शक्तियाँ हैं जो विज्ञान और आधुनिक प्रौद्योगिकी के प्रयोग पर आपत्ति करती हैं। ऐसे लोग यह समझते हैं कि साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी का प्रयोग करने से हमारे देश के लोगों की बेरोजगारी बढ़ेगी। मेरी राय में साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी का प्रयोग गरीबी दूर करने का अच्छा साधन है और साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी ही उसको सार्थक कर सकती है। इसी से देश का, समाज का आर्थिक विकास हो सकता है, समाज की प्रगति हो सकती है।

इसलिये हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने सबसे पहले इस महत्वपूर्ण समय में इस देश में नयी शिक्षा नीति का आह्वान किया और शिक्षा में तीव्रतर प्रगति लाने के लिये नयी शिक्षा नीति बनाई। शिक्षा को व्यवसाय से जोड़ने का प्रयास किया और तकनीकी और प्रौद्योगिकी को प्राथमिकता दी गयी। सच में शिक्षक महान हैं। विवेकी आदमी बहुगुण सम्पन्न होता है। शिक्षा एक ऐसी चीज है जिसके बारे में कहा गया है कि सभी खजानों में शिक्षा एक ऐसा खजाना है जिसको खर्च करने से बढ़ता है। ऐसा कोई दूसरा खजाना नहीं है। ऐसे खजानों का निर्माण करने वाले हमारे शिक्षक जिनके प्रति हम गौरवान्वित हैं, नतमस्तक हैं जो शिक्षण संस्थाओं के छात्रों को विद्यारूपी भंडार से पूरित करते हैं, जो कभी खाली नहीं होते हैं, उसको प्रचार करने, खर्च करने का आदर्श बताते हैं, उपदेश देते हैं।

कल हमारे एक मित्र बापू कालदास जी शिक्षा जगत में भ्रष्टाचार के बारे में बोल रहे थे। मुझे सुन कर हैरत हुई कि उनकी दृष्टि भ्रष्टाचार पर गई शिक्षकों के आदर्श पर नहीं गयी। शिक्षकों का हर एक गुण छात्र के लिये होता है, अपने शिष्यों के लिये होता है। हमने पढ़ा था कि जैसे चन्दन का प्रत्येक अंग, प्रत्येक गुण परोपकार के लिये होता है उसी तरह शिक्षक के बारे में कहा गया है कि शिक्षकों का चरित्र, उनका आचार-विचार, व्यवहार चन्दन की तरह परोपकार के लिये ही है। शिक्षकों का हर एक आचरण, उनका हर एक गुण छात्रों के परोपकार के लिये है। बहुत कम ऐसे लोग होते हैं जो अपने अधीनस्थ लोगों को अपने से आगे देखना चाहते हैं लेकिन शिक्षकों में ऐसी विशेषता है कि वह अपने छात्रों को अपने से आगे देखना चाहते हैं।

शिक्षकों का यह आदर्श सबके लिये चुनौती के रूप में है। नयी शिक्षा नीति में बहुत से महत्वपूर्ण काम करने के लिये रखे गये हैं। इसमें सभी लोगों को विशेष लाभ की आशा है। इसमें खासकर हरिजन, आदिवासी, ग्रामीण इलाकों में बसने वाले लोग, कम-जोर वर्ग के लोग, महिलाओं के लिये नई शिक्षा नीति में काफी स्थान दिया गया है। यह सही है कि आज के वैज्ञानिक युग में साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी का महत्व है। साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी को महत्व देने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि उसके द्वारा जो रिसर्च किया जा रहा है उसको डेवलपमेंट में लागू किया जाये। और जब लागू किया जायेगा तो निश्चित रूप से उसकी योग्यता में, उसकी गुणवत्ता में वृद्धि होगी। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने क्वालिटी एजुकेशन की बात कही है। एजुकेशन में क्वालिटी आनी चाहिये इसी क्रम में नवोदय विद्यालय की स्थापना हुई है। शुरू में जब नवोदय विद्यालय खोले गये थे तो बहुत बहस हुई। लेकिन जब खुल गये तो देखा जा रहा है कि सब जगह खोलने की बातें आ रही हैं। जहाँ संख्या पहले कम निर्धारित थी वहाँ आज उनकी संख्या बढ़ गयी है प्रायः 206 हो गयी है। 1986 में उनके प्रवेश के लिये जो प्रथम परीक्षा का मूल्यांकन किया गया तो उससे पता लगा कि 41 प्रतिशत छात्र ऐसे सेलेक्ट हुये हैं जो गरीबी रेखा के नीचे के स्तर के परिवार के हैं। 77 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे चुने गये हैं जो ग्रामीण लोगों के परिवार के हैं, हरिजन आदिवासी की माबादी के प्रतिशत के हिसाब से नवोदय विद्यालय वहाँ अधिक हैं। इससे यह पता लगता है कि नवोदय विद्यालय से हरिजन-आदिवासी छात्रों का अधिक कल्याण हो सकेगा। यह बड़ा परोपकारी कदम है। हम इसके लिये शिक्षा विभाग और प्रधानमंत्री के प्रति अपनी शुभ कामना और श्रद्धा अर्पित करते हैं।

प्राथमिक और माध्यमिक शिक्षा का महत्व अधिक है। हम चाहेंगे कि जो शिक्षक प्राथमिक और माध्यमिक विद्यालयों में पढ़ाते हैं उनका कर्तव्य है कि छात्रों में अभिरुचि जगायें। शिक्षकों को इसके लिये ट्रेनिंग दी जाय यह सही है कि नयी शिक्षा नीति में प्रगति के अनुकूल उनके स्तर से सिलेबस में पुनरावृत्ति की जाती है उनका

[डा० फागूनी राम]

पुनरीक्षण किया जाता है लेकिन निरीक्षक शायद उसके अनुकूल नहीं पाये जाते। इसी के लिये 5 लाख प्रतिवर्ष शिक्षकों को प्रशिक्षण देने का प्रावधान है। मैं चाहूंगा कि सिलेबस अप-टु-मार्क जो शिक्षकों के पढ़ाने लायक हो, ऐसा होना चाहिये इसके लिये प्रशिक्षण दिया जाये। यह जो सिलेबस ग्रेस्काइब है उसको पढ़ाने की क्षमता उनमें आ जाय। इंटरमीडिएट की शिक्षा जो विद्यालय की शिक्षा और डिग्री की शिक्षा में लिंक के रूप में होती है, बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। अभी हालत यह है कि इसमें पांच प्रकार से पढ़ाई होती है। एक तो वे कालेज हैं जो अन्यन्त डिग्री कालेज हैं, दूसरे उन विद्यालयों में इंटरमीडिएट शिक्षा की पढ़ाई होती है जो अनुशंसित डिग्री कालेज हैं। तीसरे वे डिग्री कालेज हैं जो सरकारी हैं। चौथे आग्रेडेड हाई स्कूल हैं जिनमें प्लस-2 को जोड़कर इंटरमीडिएट शिक्षा की पढ़ाई होती है और पांचवें वे इंटरमीडिएट कालेज हैं जो इसके लिए निर्धारित हैं। ये सब इसमें आ जाते हैं। इन पांच स्तरों पर बिहार में इंटरमीडिएट की शिक्षा होती है। इन कालेजों में विभिन्न स्तरों पर पढ़ाई होती है और छात्रों और शिक्षकों के चयन का स्तर और सिलेबस एक होते हुए भी पढ़ाई का स्तर भिन्न-भिन्न होता है। जैसा मैंने कहा, इंटरमीडिएट की शिक्षा का डिग्री कालेज की शिक्षा से बहुत महत्वपूर्ण संबंध है। इनमें पढ़ाई में समरूपता लाना बहुत आवश्यक है। शिक्षक और छात्र अपने उद्देश्य में तभी सफल हो सकते हैं जब स्तर एक हो ताकि डिग्री कालेज की पढ़ाई के लिए जब उनका सेलेक्शन हो तो उनको कोई कठिनाई न हो। इंटरमीडिएट की शिक्षा के बाद ही छात्र इंजिनियरिंग में जाते हैं, मेडिकल में जाते हैं और यहीं से उनका आधार बनता है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस ओर शोध ध्यान दिया जाए।

विश्वविद्यालय में शोध का कार्य भी होता है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि फी एच० डी० और डी० लिट० के लिए जो विषय रखे जायें, उनके लिए

ऐसे विषय चुने जायें जिनका संबंध उद्योगों से हो, जिनका संबंध खेती से हो अर्थात् उनको समाज में इकनॉमिक डेवलपमेंट में उपयोग किया जा सके। हिन्दुस्तान में कितने भी विश्वविख्यात साइंटिस्ट हुए हैं वे सब रिसर्च विश्वविद्यालयों से ही संबंधित थे, उनसे जुड़े हुए थे क्योंकि यहां पर उनको युवा वैज्ञानिक शोध के लिए मिल जाते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शोध के विषय को व्यवसाय से जोड़ा जाए ताकि रिसर्च से समाज को उन्नत किया जा सके।

अन्त में मैं बिहार के संबंध में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि पटना विश्वविद्यालय सबसे पुराना विश्वविद्यालय है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि इसको केन्द्रीय स्तर का दर्जा दिया जाना चाहिए। मगध राजधानी है और इंटरनेशनल महत्व का स्थान है। मगध विश्वविद्यालय को भी राष्ट्रीय स्तर का दर्जा दिया जाए। पाली या नालन्दा में एक प्रतिष्ठान है और बौद्ध धर्म का आधार स्थान है। उसको भी युनिवर्सिटी का दर्जा दिया जाए। प्राकृत भाषा जिससे हमारी सभी भाषाएं निकली हैं, उसका वैशाली में प्राकृत संस्थान है उसको भी विश्वविद्यालय का दर्जा दिया जाए। प्राकृत का हमारे देश की संस्कृति से बहुत संबंध है।

अब मैं शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के बारे में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारी जनगणना के अनुसार 15 प्रतिशत हरिजनों की आबादी है। सही रूप में कहा जाए तो 15.75 प्रतिशत आबादी हरिजनों की है। इनमें एग्रीकल्चर में जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं उनमें 48.22 प्रतिशत लोग हरिजन हैं। एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर के बारे में हम सरकार के प्रति बहुत आभारी हैं। सरकार ने एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर को सुविधाएं देने के लिए एक नेशनल लेबर कमीशन की स्थापना की है जिससे उनकी माली हालत में सुधार लाया जा सके। कुछ दिन पहले तक हमारे देश में यह स्थिति थी कि गांवों में,

खास तौर पर हरिजनों में, कोई पढ़ा-लिखा आदमी नहीं मिलता था। हमें चिट्ठी लिखाने के लिए और पढ़ाने के लिए दूसरी जगह जाना पड़ता था। आज हमारी सरकार की और प्राइम मिनिस्टर की नीतियों के कारण जो नई शिक्षा नीति है उनके कारण हम गर्व के साथ कह सकते हैं अब गांवों में भी कोई गांव ऐसा नहीं होगा जिसमें कोई पढ़ा लिखा हरिजन न हो। अब तो हालत यह है कि विश्वविद्यालय में भी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के कोई न कोई हरिजन प्रोफेसर मिल जाते हैं। यह हमारे लिए गौरव की बात है। नई शिक्षा नीति के कारण हरिजन परिवारों में भी नई चेतना का संचार हुआ है। मुझे विश्वास है कि इस नीति से हम लाभान्वित होंगे। आज हमारे देश में हरिजनों के कल्याण के लिए बहुत-सी योजनाएं चलाई जा रही हैं। राज्यों में अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जन जाति विकास निगम बनाये गये हैं जो हरिजनों को इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट के लिए और एग्रीकल्चर के लिए अनुदान देते हैं। हम जब रिपोर्ट देखते हैं तो उसको देखने से पता लगता है कि प्रति वर्ष उनको दी जाने वाली अनुदान राशि बढ़ती जा रहा है, चाहे वह स्टेट के द्वारा हो चाहे वह केन्द्र के द्वारा दी जाती हो। इसमें उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि होती जा रही है। यह इस बात को प्रमाणित करता है कि सरकार अपनी नीतियों में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के उत्थान एवं कल्याण के लिए सचेष्ट है और सरकार के प्रयासों एवं अपनी मेहनत से हम लोग अधिक से अधिक प्रगति करने में सक्षम हो सकेंगे, ऐसी हमें आशा है।

उपसभापति महोदया, गरीबी हटाओ हमारा नारा है। आदिवासी डेवलपमेंट निगम की स्थापना हो चुकी है। हमारा जो 20 स्त्री कार्यक्रम है उसमें चाहे आई० आर०डी०पी०को ले ले चाहे एन०आर०ई०पी०को ले लें चाहे आर०एल०ई०पी०को ले लें, इन सारे कार्यक्रमों के अंतर्गत हरिजन एवं आदिवासियों की प्रगति एवं उनके विकास की बातें हैं। इन सब योजनाओं के माध्यम से हम लोगों को एक नयी

रोशनी मिली है और भौतिक तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हम लोगों को प्रगति करने का मौका मिला है। आज हर क्षेत्र में हम देखते हैं कि रोजगार के मामले में, चाहे शिक्षण संस्थानों में चाहे बिजनेस हाउसेज में, चाहे अन्य सरकारी कार्यालयों में हरिजन एवं आदिवासी वहां पर काम कर रहे हैं और इनके फलस्वरूप उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में अन्तर आया है। जब मैं लड़का था तो दखता था कि अगर किसी आदमी को अपना घर होता था, किसी हरिजन एवं आदिवासी का अगर हम अपना घर देखते थे तो उसे बड़े आदर की दृष्टि से देखते थे, उसका बड़े गौरव के साथ देखा जाता था। लेकिन आज कांग्रेस की नीतियों के कारण चाहे प्रधानमंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हो, चाहे श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हो और चाहे परम आदर्शणीय राजीव गांधी हो उनकी नीतियों के कारण इन लोगों की स्थिति अच्छी हो गई है, उनमें अधिकांश के अपने घर हो गये हैं, यह उपलब्धि कोई साधारण बात नहीं है। जिनके पास घर नहीं है सरकार ने मकानों के निर्माण कर और उनको पर्वे देकर उनको घर प्रदान कर दिया है? इतना ही नहीं, जमीन के पर्वे देकर जो भूमिहीन कहलाते थे उनको उस जमीन का मालिक बना दिया है। वे अब भूमिहीन नहीं रहे हैं। आज कुछ न कुछ भूमि उनके पास है। इतना ही नहीं जो भूमि उनको दी गई है उसको जोतने के लिये, उसमें उत्पादन करने के लिये बीज भी दिये हैं, खाद भी दी है और अनुदान भी दिया है। सिंचाई के लिये पम्पिंग सेट दिये हैं, क्रेशर जो होते हैं वह भी सरकार उनको मुहैया करती है। उनके विकास के लिये सरकार हर संभव प्रयास कर रही है और उनकी हालत सुधारने के लिये सरकार सचेष्ट है। जब हम लघु उद्योगों के बारे में बात करते हैं तो पहले जो उद्योग ग्रामीण स्तर पर चलाये जाते थे वे बहुत पुराने तरीके से चलाये जाते थे। उनमें आधुनिक साइंस और टेक्नालाजी की कोई मदद नहीं ली जाती थी। लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि छोटे घरेलू उद्योग धंधों में जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं उनको सरकार द्वारा अनुदान दिया जा रहा है। इससे उनकी माली

[डा० फागूनी राम]

हालत में सुधार हो रहा है। उनको यह गौरव प्राप्त है कि हम अपना काम कर रहे हैं, हम पराधीन नहीं हैं, हम अपने छोटे मोटे काम में भी अपनी आजीविका सम्मान के साथ कमा रहे हैं (समय की घंटी)

उपसभापति : बहुत समय ले लिया आपने ।

डा० फागूनी राम : एग्रीकल्चर के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश की प्रगति का आधार है ।

उपसभापति : आपने काफी समय ले लिया है। आपने कहा कि बोलने दीजिये तो मैंने बोलने दिया लेकिन आपने बहुत समय ले लिया है। अब समाप्त कीजिये ।

डा० फागूनी राम : किसान आधुनिक साइंस और टेक्नालाजी का प्रयोग कृषि की पैदावार में कर रहे हैं। सरकार के प्रयासों, राष्ट्रीय बीज निगम की स्थापना और सिंचाई के साधनों के कारण किसानों को बड़ा लाभ हो रहा है। किसानों को सिंचाई बीज आधुनिक टेक्नालाजी का उपयोग करने के कारण उनके अधिक चपलता मिल रही है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आगे चलकर उनको और भी अधिक सहायता मुहैया होगी और वे कृषि के विकास में अपना योगदान कर सकेंगे ।

अंत में मैं माननीय प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी जी के प्रति हार्दिक आभार प्रकट करता हूँ। इस देश का सर्वांगीण विकास और ममूढ़ि, राष्ट्र की एकता और अखण्डता यही उनका संकल्प है। उपसभापति महोदया आपने बोलने का मौका दिया इसके लिये मैं आपका कृतज्ञ हूँ और माननीय कुलकर्णी जी द्वारा उपस्थित परम आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का मैं हार्दिक एवं पुरजोर समर्थन करता हूँ ।

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to speak on the

President's Address. My thanks are more so because this is my first speech as the leader of the AIADMK Group and I am thankful to the Chairman for having recognised me and my Group and allowed me to speak today.

The demise of MGR has been mentioned in the President's speech. I remember that our Prime Minister was to visit Madras on the 21st December and our Deputy Chairman was to visit Madras on the 23rd and our President was to visit Madras on the 24th. As a party worker and as one who had known how much MGR was affectionate to the Prime Minister and also to the President, we made it a point to go to Madras on the 20th. On the 21st I was informed that our previous Chief Minister, Dr. MGR, was at the airport to receive the Prime Minister and some of our friends who had been to the airport informed me that even on that very day when he was there in the evening to receive the Prime Minister on the 21st, he was not feeling well, and some of them, it appears had asked him also, if you are not feeling well, why did you come to receive the Prime Minister? Even at that time he informed them of his affection for the Prime Minister and told them that even though he may be a little indisposed, it is his duty to receive the Prime Minister when he is coming over to Madras. To such an extent he was affectionate and duty-bound.

On that day, Madam, there was the unveiling of the statue of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Madras. That was the statue which MGR very much wanted to be unveiled by the Prime Minister, and he was so happy that before his demise he saw to it that the Prime Minister came over to Madras and unveiled the statue. It was a great function and a great occasion for both, for him and the Tamil Nadu people to see and hear the Prime Minister when he unveiled his grand-father's statue which was placed at a very prominent place in

Madras. And we were able to notice even on the dais when the Prime Minister came that MGR was not feeling that well and the Prime Minister was asking him to sit down at one particular point. But even then he persisted and continued to be present throughout the function and saw to it that the function was very successful. It also so happened that on that day it was very heavily raining in Madras and we were wondering if at all the function would go off well. But we were happy when in the evening the Prime Minister arrived by plane, the rain stopped for nearly 2-3 hours, almost till the function was over, and immediately after the function was over it again started raining.

Regarding the unveiling of the statute we were very happy when on the 23rd we were all at the airport to receive our Vice-President when he came over to Madras and we were also told that Dr. MGR would also be present to receive him. It was even announced over the mike that the Chief Minister will come and garland the Vice-President when he comes over to Madras and when we were all anxiously waiting we were informed that the Chief Minister has not come. At that time itself we felt that something should be wrong because otherwise he would be the last person not to come to the airport and not to receive the Vice-President. Next day it so happened that our President was to come to Madras and MGR was looking forward to the visit of the President to Tamil Nadu. I was even informed that before his departure to the United States for his treatment he had informed the hon. President—I do not know how far it is true—that he should not make a trip to Tamil Nadu so long as he was away from there and that as soon as he returned back it should be the first occasion for the President to come to the State. I am also told that the President did not make a visit to his home-State even after assuming charge of his new office for nearly one or two months because he had

given a word to MGR that he will not come to Tamil Nadu so long as MGR was away from there. All the time MGR was very much looking forward to the visit of the President. I know personally how much he was anxious that the President should be elected and how he impressed upon all of us the necessity of voting for our President and seeing to it that he won the election, even though the election of the President was a simpler and easier affair at that time. All things were talked about but he was very careful about the election of the President. And it so happened that when all arrangements were made by both the Government and the AIADMK party to receive the President on the 24th morning to have a great occasion on that day, in the morning at 6 O'clock we were informed of the demise of our beloved Chief Minister on that particular day. And it so happened that instead of having a celebration, it became a mourning function for all of us for days together and it will be so for years together. As one who has moved with Dr. MGR I know—and everybody else knows—his attitude of humanism towards the people. He was the one who always had feelings for the people. There used to be a number of visitors to his house; many workers and others would visit his house in the morning at 9 or 9.30 and he would enquire from everybody if they had the breakfast. You can imagine the number of persons visiting the Chief Minister's house; there will be hundreds everyday and he would enquire of everybody and breakfast, or at least coffee, would be served to everybody. I may also here relate an incident. It so happened that the Governor used to give party when the Chief Justice was sworn in. On occasions like this, people used to be invited to Raj Bhavan and breakfast used to be served because the ceremony would be at about 8 O'clock and that is normally the breakfast time. So, on one occasion when we all assembled there, Dr. MGR who was also there, enquired of one person who was previously Chairman of Tamil Nadu Legislative Council, Dr. Cherian, about the breakfast.

[Shri G. Swaminathan]

Mrs. Cherian was also there and she was a member of the Council and later became President of probably Social Welfare Board. Dr. MGR enquired if she had her breakfast and she replied, "No, I do not take breakfast, I only take lunch." But he said, "no, you should not do that" and she must have the breakfast and somehow he prevailed upon that lady to take breakfast. Mr Gopal Krishna Gandhi who is now President's Private Secretary was then Secretary to the Governor and he was arranging the breakfast and making all other arrangements and was moving about. Dr. MGR asked him if he had his breakfast. He replied, "no, I do not have time because I have to make all these arrangements for the ceremony and see to the comforts of everybody else". He said, "no, you should not do all this without taking your breakfast first" and he told him to take the breakfast. He was such a person. He had suffered in his younger days. We were informed that in his younger days, for days he could not have food and he went without food. He was not able to pursue his studies because of poverty. He could get education only upto fifth standard and later on he could not continue. In his own autobiography and the biographies written by others, it is said that he was not able to pursue education; he used to starve. And since he had experienced all this in his younger days, he saw to it that everybody was properly fed. That was the prime motivation for him. That was one reason that he introduced nutritious meal scheme. When he was the Chief Minister, I was associated with him for a number of years with regard to this meals scheme and I know what anxiety he had for the 88 lakh school children in Tamil Nadu to get proper food. Some of us used to say that it was not possible to cook food for all these children in the kitchens attached to schools. I know there are many other States like Gujarat etc. who started this scheme but ultimately they could not continue it. But in Tamil Nadu, this scheme was introduced for 88 lakh school children and that scheme continues. The food is cooked in the kitchens attached to the schools and is served to the Children.

You can imagine how fondly Dr. MGR made all these schemes work. There are many other welfare measures he had taken which had the appreciation and approbation of the people in Tamil Nadu. This nutrition programme is one of the most important schemes he introduced. After seeing the example of Tamil Nadu, many other States have come forward to start a similar scheme, and I understand, the Planning Commission has come forward to subsidise the scheme to a large extent. Then, there was a scheme of supplying school uniforms to the children going to schools. He arranged for the uniforms to be supplied to all the school children. Then there was the scheme of supplying free text books to all the school children in Tamil Nadu. Then there was a scheme of medical check-up and free supply of medicines to all the 88 lakh school children in Tamil Nadu and under this scheme, vitamins, iodized salt, vitamin A etc. were supplied to the school children. All the children were examined and they were also screened in regard to even leprosy. He also gave dhotis and sarees to thousands of poor men and women in the villages. At one time, when the co-operative sector was loaded heavily with a lot of dhotis and sarees because they were not able to sell the same—crores worth of stocks got accumulated—he saw to it that they were distributed to the people, to the poor people. Then, another welfare measure was introduced in the last Budget. He found that a number of poor people were not able to afford chappals and because of this they were not able to walk in the hot Sun. Chappals were provided to these poor people, specially the old among them. The scheme of provision of electricity to poor households and Government subsidising the same was another scheme initiated by Dr MGR. I am very happy to find that in this Budget the Finance Minister is proposing to introduce such a scheme all over India. This way, millions of people will be benefited.

Madam, even though he initiated a number of welfare measures, he ensured that this never affected the economy of the State. He saw to it, at the same time, that the economy of the State also

in a proper manner. He emphasised the point to this Minister that they should always keep in mind prosperity of the people of Tamil Nadu. All the people who moved closely with him knew that he was an outstanding personality. His contribution to the country in general and to the State in particular has been recognised by the Government of India, by the hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and he was awarded Bharat Ratna posthumously. As far as I know, he was the only Chief Minister on whose demise a holiday was declared throughout the country. This has been recognised and appreciated by the people of Tamil Nadu. Whatever may happen in between, the people of Tamil Nadu will stand wholeheartedly by the Congress, during the next election. The people of Tamil Nadu will stand by Shri Rajiv Gandhi during the next elections. I hope, the elections will take place as early as possible; it has been announced that the elections will take place within three-four months. Enumeration and updating of the voters' lists going to be undertaken. We hope that this process will be completed around April and the elections will take place by May or June at the most. It is the desire of the people of Tamil Nadu that there should be early elections and we hope that the people of Tamil Nadu, who have a great admiration for Dr. MGR and also for my leader, Miss Jayalalitha, who is ably following in his footsteps, which has been appreciated by the people of Tamil Nadu, will give a proper verdict and that the Congress (I), with our support, will be able to muster a great strength in Tamil Nadu.

Madam, some of my colleagues have spoken earlier on the President's Rule in Tamil Nadu. They have criticised the Government of India and the hon. Prime Minister for bringing Tamil Nadu under President's Rule. They say that this was destruction of democracy in Tamil Nadu. I would, here, only wish to refer to the report which was sent by the Governor of Tamil Nadu to the President. It is very clear in this regard. He has enumerated six points in his report to the President. The first point was in regard to the proceedings in the Tamil Nadu Assembly on 28th

January, 1988. The House met at 10.00 A.M. and immediately thereafter, the hon. Speaker adjourned the House to meet again at 12 noon. The reason given by him was that he got a telephone call, that some five Congress (I) Members telephoned to him saying that they were resigning as Members of the Congress (I) Party. The hon. Speaker said that because he received a telephone call from the Congress (I) Members, he will await confirmation to know whether they have really resigned from the Congress (I) and, therefore, he was adjourning the House up to 12 noon. Madam, I have been a presiding officer for two terms, in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Council and I have also attended many meetings of presiding officers of legislative bodies in India.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): The hon. Member is dealing with the proceedings of the House in Tamil Nadu. As per the Rules of Procedure it has been strictly prohibited. I would like to quote the rule, as under:

"238. Rules to be observed while speaking: A member while speaking shall not—

(i) refer to any matter of fact which a judicial decision is pending;

(ii) make a personal charge against a member;

(iii) use offensive expressions about the conduct or proceedings of the Houses or any State Legislature."

Now he is dealing with the prerogative of the Speaker. Even now he is the Speaker and therefore, the hon. Member has no right to speak about the prerogative of the Speaker.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, please don't mention.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, the point is, once a judgement has been given, we have got every right to talk about the judgement. Now there is no House in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI M. VINCENT (Tamil Nadu): The Speaker is there.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: He is speaking about the proceedings of the House.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: When the President's rule is imposed and the Governor has written so much to the President, all these things are now open for discussion.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: The rule strictly prohibits this. I am not against what happened there but he cannot discuss the proceedings of the House. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swaminathan, I will request you to refrain from making such references as far as possible.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Speaker has the right to adjourn the House but he has to do it under the rules. He cannot *suo motu* take action.

SHRI M. VINCENT: You have no right to say that.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: He can do it within the rules framed by the House, within the ambit of the conventions. For this purpose I will quote from the Practice and Procedure in Parliament by Kaul and Shakhder, which says...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: It is the responsibility of the Speaker to take action and then it is for the House concerned to see whether the action is right or not. It is not for you and me to discuss the matter here.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I would bring to your notice as to what has been said by the authority, Kaul and Shakhder. On page 807 it is said: Normally the Speaker works within the powers given to him by the House and takes care to see that there is no

deviation from the established.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Swaminathan, we will have a discussion on the Proclamation regarding Tamil Nadu. At that time, if you want, you may do so but not at this stage.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Even then the same question will arise. The hon. Member will say the same thing that we cannot talk.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: The remedy is not available here. That is available only in that House.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not questioning imposition of the President's rule, but I have every right to say what is wrong, not according to me but according to the Governor of Tamil Nadu.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: If you speak that about the Speaker in Tamil Nadu, I will speak about Speakers in other States. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, this was allowed when my erstwhile colleague, Shri Vincent, spoke here. He spoke everything that happened in Tamil Nadu. In Lok Sabha also the same thing was allowed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You reserve your remarks for the discussion that is coming on Tamil Nadu.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, this has already been allowed in Lok Sabha. The Governor has clearly stated that it was improper on the part of the Speaker to have adjourned the House at 10.00 hrs. That is what the Governor says. I am not saying that.

SHRI M. VINCENT: He cannot say it here.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Speaker has no right to adjourn the House. (*Interruptions*). He says:

that somebody has phoned him and therefore, he has to verify. So, he adjourns the House up to 12.00 hrs.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Madam, you are opening the floodgate. Then I will speak about the Speakers of other States.

SHRI G. SAWMINATHAN: It was totally wrong on the part of the Speaker to adjourn the House. That was one of the considerations that weighted with the Governor in asking the President to have President's rule there.

Again at 12 o'clock, this wonderful Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Assembly says: "There are about six Ministers belonging to the other group" (i.e. my group of AI-ADMK) "and I am taking action against them". And he removed them as Members of the Assembly. On what ground? On the ground that these people had worked against...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swaminathan, you can raise this matter when you speak at the time of discussing the Presidential proclamation.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No Madam, it is an important matter for me. What he says is, it violates the Anti-Defection Act. But the hon. Speaker never asked the opinion of these people. According to rules of natural justice, the party has to be given a chance to explain. What has happened here? The erstwhile AI-ADMK Party gave a notice to most of us—five of us, including me—saying that we have violated the whip. They forget that the Whip was not there. But that is a different matter. Anyway, he issued a letter to the Chairman and asked him that under the Disqualification Act action should be taken against five of us here. But ultimately what your Secretary has done, what the Chairman has done is, that he has issued a notice asking me, among others, "what is your opinion about that matter?". And I have to inform the Chairman whether what I have done is right or wrong. So I should be given an opportunity, a chance to explain. Then after giving me a

chance, you have to take a decision. No judge takes a decision without giving an opportunity to the other party to state his opinion. But here is a Speaker who, without giving any chance to anybody, removes those people, disqualifies those people.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: For the information of the House, an opportunity was given to the Ministers.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, I would like to inform you that the action taken by the Speaker on that particular day was responsible for the President's rule. Nobody else is responsible for this. He himself is responsible for this. And what was done by the members belonging to Shri Aladi Aruna's group of AIADMK Party—the violence inside the House—has been responsible for all this. I fully agree with the imposition of President's rule in Tamil Nadu. The kind of vote that they got—they got about 98 persons voting for them—is violative of any rules of justice that have to be followed by any Speaker. I do not want to go further into it. I have got a long list of actions done by this Speaker, but, I do not want to narrate them, including the one of releasing people who had been jailed by the Madras High Court. One day he comes and says: "I am the authority, I am a democrat. Now I am releasing these two people who have been sentenced by the High Court". All this he has done. But that is a different matter altogether.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: With you blessing, of course.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I fully agree with the view that has been taken by Government of India and nobody can do anything else in Tamil Nadu in this kind of situation. I fully support the measures taken by the Government and give my full cooperation to the Government in this matter.

(Shri G. Swaminathan)

Finally, I want to talk about one thing more—the Cauvery water dispute. Much has been talked here. I belong to a particular district—Tanjavur—which has been severely affected by lack of Cauvery water which have been impounded by Karnataka against the 1924 Agreement. About 14 years have gone by. The Agreement has not been renewed and the Karnataka Government has constructed many dams in Karnataka without getting permission from Government of India. This year on about 3½ lakh acres of land, paddy could not be cultivated. There has been a great hardship and hundreds of crores worth of rice has been lost by the peasants and agricultural labourers of this district. When MGR was alive, the Government of Tamil Nadu had requested Government of India to have a tribunal to see that the Cauvery water dispute is settled. It is now an inter-State river water dispute and it is incumbent upon Government of India to see that a tribunal is appointed and a settlement made. Now I would plead with the Government, especially now because President's rule is there and the Governor is there, to take the initiative in this matter, talk with the Karnataka Government, have a tribunal and settle this matter as early as possible, so that this long-pending dispute of 14 years is settled to the benefit of Tamil Nadu.

Thank you, Madam, for having given me this pleasant opportunity to speak on the President's Address.

उपसभापति : डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय कृपया दस मिनट में खतम कर दीजिये ।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय, सब को आप बीस मिनट दे रही हैं । दस मिनट वाली सीमा मेरे बोलने के बाद लगाइये ।

उपसभापति : बहुत बड़ी विस्त है आपकी तरफ के बोलने वालों की ।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : माननीय उपसभापति जी, मंसूद के संयुक्त अधिवेशन

में भारत के महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण दिया है और जिसमें धन्यवाद ज्ञापन प्रस्ताव हमारे सदन के माननीय बुजुर्ग सदस्य श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी जी ने रखा है और जिसमें हमारे भोजी इशादिवेग जी ने समर्थन किया है, उसके समर्थन में मैं अपनी बात आपके और माननीय सदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूँ । हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने एक ऐसे भारत की संकल्पना की है जहाँ देश की भीतरी कमजोरियों या बाहरी खतरों से आंच न आने पाये । संविधान में निहित लोकतन्त्र धर्मनिरपेक्षता और समाजवाद के आदर्श पूर्णतः चरितार्थ हों । जहाँ सामाजिक याय न हो और प्रत्येक मानव को समान अवसर मिले । जहाँ विज्ञान और टेक्नोलोजी हमारी गरीबी और बीमारी को समाप्त करने में सहायक हों । जहाँ आर्थिक विकास से प्रगति का कोष रिक्त न हो जाये बल्कि प्रगति से समन्वय रखते हुए औद्योगिकीकरण एवं आधुनिकता के साथ-साथ हमारे नैतिक आदर्श एवं अध्यात्मिकता के विचारों कायम रहें । जहाँ सभी धर्म और संस्कृतियाँ आपसी प्रेम और सहयोग के माहौल में फलें-फूलें । इतना ही नहीं, विश्व के अन्य देशों के साथ आदर भाव, शांति और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सहयोग के प्रति महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण समर्पित भावना का द्योतक है और विश्व व्यवस्था में भी समानता स्वतन्त्रता और न्याय का हमने इस अभिभाषण में बहुत ही अच्छी तरह से विचारक ज्ञान पाया है । पिछले 40 वर्षों से भारत धर्मनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्र है और यहाँ सबको अपनी योग्यता के अनुरूप अपने ज्ञान के अनुरूप समान विकास के अवसर मिले हैं । इस रूप में हमने अपनी लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली को विकसित किया है । उपसभापति महोदय अभी जब मैं अपने माननीय विरोधी दल के सदस्यों का भाषण सुन रहा था तो किसी ने परिवारवाद की बात की कि इस राष्ट्र में पिछले 40 वर्षों से एक ही परिवार का शासन चला आ रहा है । हमने सुना कि तीन पुश्तों तक आदमी की रईसी चलती है । लेकिन पंडित मोती लाल नेहरू का ही वह परिवार है—पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू, जवाहर लाल नेहरू, इंदिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी, जिसने कहावतों को भी झुठला दिया है और चार-चार पीढ़ियों ने समाजसेवा, देश सेवा और राष्ट्र सेवा के प्रति समर्पण

की भावना से इस देश के निर्माण में जो कृष्ण किया है वह दुनिया के इतिहास में कोई परिवार नहीं कर सका है उस पर राष्ट्र को गर्व है। इस देश की जनता को गर्व है और इस देश के जो छोटे-छोटे असंख्य गरीब और अभावग्रस्त लोग हैं, गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले लोग हैं, उनको लेकर इस एक परिवार ने अपनी नीतियों के अनुरूप चलते हुये इस राष्ट्र को कहां-से-कहां पहुंचाया है। जिस तरह का राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है उसमें राजीव गांधी ने इस राष्ट्र को दुनिया का सबसे अधिक शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र बनाने की उन्होंने एक परिकल्पना की है। उस नौजवान ने यह परिकल्पना की है कि हम भारत को एक सर्वश्रेष्ठ राष्ट्र के रूप में स्थापित करेंगे। चाहे टेक्नोलोजी की दृष्टि से हो, चाहे उद्योग की दृष्टि से हो, चाहे कृषि की दृष्टि से हो, चाहे आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से ही, चाहे शिक्षा की दृष्टि से हो, चाहे शांति स्थापना के कर्तव्यों की दृष्टि से हो—भारत को सर्वश्रेष्ठ राष्ट्र के रूप में स्थापित करेंगे। उस माहौल में आज जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण हुआ है उसी के अनुरूप हमारा इस वर्ष का 1988-89 का बजट भी हमारी सरकार ने प्रस्तुत किया है। जलधारा की हमारी जो नयी योजना है उस से, गांवों में जो सिंचाई से अभावग्रस्त व्यक्ति हैं, जो पानी के मोहताज हैं, ऐसे लाखों लाख परिवारों को पानी मिलेगा। कुटीर उद्योगों के माध्यम से हम उन झोंपड़ियों में जहां सिकड़ी नहीं जल पाती थी उन झोंपड़ियों में हम प्रकाश की ज्योतिकिरण बिखरने जा रहे हैं। इतना ही नहीं, चाहे फर्टिलाइजर का दाम हो, चाहे और कृषि संबंधी यंत्र खरीदना हो, सब में छूट मिली है और जो कोआपरेटिव आंदोलन था, आज तक वह आंदोलन जिस रूप में चल रहा था उससे लोग संतुष्ट नहीं थे। लेकिन जो गरीब लोग हैं, जो आदिवासी हैं, जो हरिजन हैं, जो पिछड़े हुये हैं उनके लिये हमने निगम बना कर करोड़ों करोड़ रुपये के माध्यम से कुटीर उद्योगों के विकास के लिये, खाद के विकास के लिये और कुटीर संबंधी जो उत्पादन हैं उनके

विकास के लिये, लगाया है और यह अपने देश में एक अद्भुत कार्य है। आज तक के भारत के इतिहास में किसी बजट में इस तरह की स्वस्थ परिकल्पना नहीं की गयी है। राष्ट्रपति ने हर कदम पर इसका उदाहरण पेश किया है। उसमें हमारी कथनी, हमारी करनी और हमारी वाणी में कोई भेद नहीं है। हम जो कहते हैं वही करते हैं और उसी के अनुरूप आचरण करते हैं। इस बात को हमारी राजीव गांधी की सरकार ने दिखाया है और यह पहला कदम है। 12 वर्ष के बाद जब हमारा भारत दुनिया के सबसे मजबूत राष्ट्रों में एक होगा उसके लिये हमने पिछले तीन वर्ष में जो कदम उठाये हैं उन में यह सबसे प्रगतिशील कदम है और राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण महामापूर्ण, गरिमामय और शांति का प्रतीक है।

आज हमें भीतरी और बाहरी ताकतें कमजोर बनाना चाहती हैं। आज हमारे मित्रों ने कहा—हमारे लिट्टे के एक समर्थक मित्र ने कहा कि लंका में जो शांति सेना भेजी गयी है, उसकी बात कही और मैं उनका जो भाषण था उस के कुछ अंश पढ़ रहा था, वह पढ़ कर मुझे दुख हुआ। देश के लिये सारी चीजें कही जायें, हमारी आलोचना हो, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की आलोचना हो, वह सब हम सह लेंगे, लेकिन उन्होंने हमारे 70 हजार सैनिकों पर आरोप लगाया है कि उन्होंने श्रीलंका में जाकर बलात्कार किया। इससे ज्यादा शर्म की बात और कोई हो नहीं सकती। हमारे सैनिकों को किसी चीज की ममता नहीं है। वह राष्ट्र के प्रति समर्पित है और उन पर लूट और बलात्कार का आरोप लगाने वाले लोग किस भावना से काम कर रहे हैं इसको सोच कर हमें आश्चर्य होता है। हम शांति सेना हटा लें, लेकिन हमने श्री लंका के साथ शांति समझौता किया है और आज अखबारों में आया है कि वहां “अलनाडू” नाम का जो पत्र निकलता है उसके दफ्तर को बम विस्फोट से उड़ा दिया गया और उसमें लिट्टे के लोगों का हाथ है। और दूसरी ओर वहां के राष्ट्रपति महामहिम जयवर्धन कहते हैं कि जब तक देश में शांति बहाल

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

नहीं हो जाती तब तक भारतीय शांति सेना श्री लंका में बनी रहेगी और एक सार्वजनिक सभा में उन्होंने, राष्ट्रपति जी ने रविवार को कहा था कि भारतीय शांति सेना तब तक यहां बनी रहेगी जब तक उस का काम परा नहीं हो जाता। उन्होंने कहा कि भारतीय सैनिक शांति बहाल करने के लिये उनके निमन्त्रण पर श्री लंका आये थे। जब नई दिल्ली और कोलंबो के बीच हुये इस समझौते का उल्लंघन तमिल छापामारों द्वारा किया गया तो उन्हें सेना का, शक्ति का इस्तेमाल करना पड़ा। श्रीलंका की प्रांतीय परिषदों के चुनाव उनके आतंकवाद के कारण ही स्थगित करने पड़े हैं चाहे वह पूर्वी प्रांत हो, चाहे पश्चिमी प्रांत हो या, दक्षिणी प्रांत हो या उत्तरी प्रांत हो या मध्य प्रांत हो, सारे चुनाव उनको स्थगित करने पड़े हैं। हम शांति में विश्वास रखते हैं और इस तरह की बातें करने वाले जो हमारे सैनिक इस देश के गौरव और गरिमा के प्रतीक हैं, हमारे वह विरोधी दल के सदस्य आज यहां बैठे नहीं हैं, उनको याद होना चाहिये कि जब पाकिस्तान बंगला देश के युद्ध के समय दो टुकड़ों में बंटा था उस समय यहां के 84 हजार सैनिकों ने कर्नल नियाजी के नेतृत्व में हमारे भारतीय सैनिकों के समक्ष समर्पण किया था। उस समय हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा था कि इंदिरा जी दुर्गा का अवतार हैं और दुर्गा का अवतार कहने वाले लोग आज जब कहते हैं कि हमारी सरकार भ्रष्टाचार को बढ़ावा दे रही है तो हमें आश्चर्य होता है। आप जानते हैं कि विरोधी दलों के लोग विवेकानंद की इस पहनकर विवेकानन्द का नाटक कर रहे हैं, वे विवेकानन्द नहीं बन सकते। ये लोग जनतन्त्र के इतिहास में भ्रष्टाचारी शासन की एक मिसाल कायम कर रहे हैं। इतना भ्रष्टाचारी शासन किसी प्रांत में नहीं था जितना आज के लोग विवेकानंद का इस धारण करके एक प्रांत में चला रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हरियाणा में दो-दो पुत्रों को लेकर किस तरह से जनतन्त्र खतरे में है, किस तरह से जनता की गाड़ी कमाई का दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है, इसकी मिसाल नहीं मिलेगी। आज कर्नाटक में क्या हो रहा है? आंध्र प्रदेश में, तमिलनाडु में क्या हो रहा है हमारे मित्र जो अभी यहां नहीं बैठे हुये हैं, वे जानते हैं कि

किस तरह से स्वर्गीय प्रातःस्मरणीय रामचन्द्रन जी के निधन के बाद वहां फसाद हुये। क्या जनतन्त्र के लिये यह घटनायें शोभनीय है? जब हमने वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया और चुनाव के लिए माहौल बनाने की कोशिश की तो हम पर यह आरोप लगाया गया कि गवर्नर को इस तरह से हटा दिया जिस तरह से नहीं हटाना चाहिये था।

महोदया, हमारी सरकार ने गरीबों को शिक्षित करने के लिये उनकी गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये नवोदय स्कूलों की स्थापना की। 1987-88 में शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में 293 करोड़ रुपए की व्यवस्था की गई। पिछले बजट सत्र में ही राजीव गांधी की सरकार ने शिक्षा को अनिवार्य किया क्योंकि व्यक्ति तभी प्रगति कर सकता है जब कि जनमानस के अंधकार को दूर किया जा सके। उस अंधकार को दूर करने के लिये राजीव गांधी की सरकार ने 800 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान किया। उतना ही रुपया अगले बजट वर्ष के लिये भी रखा जा रहा है और 1990 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में की जा रही है। इन नवोदय विद्यालयों में जो गरीबी को रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले लोग हैं उनमें 40 परसेंट बच्चों को उनमें प्रवेश दिया जायेगा। हायर एजुकेशन के क्षेत्र में चाहे वह माध्यमिक शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हो, चाहे रोजगार परक शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हो, एक नई क्रांति हुई है और उस क्रांति के अधिष्ठाता और परिकल्पना के नियामक राजीव गांधी जी हैं।

माननीय उपसभापति जी, हमारे यहां समाजवाद की बात की जाती है। समाजवाद के संबंध में तुलसी दास ने कहा है—

“करिय राज पद लोक मत

नृप नय निगम विचार।”

उसी नीति पर हमारे नेता इस देश के लोगों को ले जा रहे हैं और जनता की नीतियों को लेकर और जो संविधान प्रदत्त सुविधायें जनता को मिलने वाली हैं, अधिकार और कर्तव्यों के माहौल में को सुरक्षित रख कर जो देश के नव-निर्माण में लगे हुये हैं, उनके विरुद्ध ये जन-विरोधी, जनघाती लोग देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करने वाली ताकतें हमारी सरकार के सारे आयोजनों को नष्ट करना चाहती हैं। हम पृथुना चाहते हैं

विरोधी दलों के लोग से कि महेंद्र सिंह टिकैत जैसे किसान नेता पैदा हो गये हैं जो कहते हैं कि बिजली और पानी का टैक्स नहीं देंगे, हम सरकार को नहीं मानेंगे, हम अपने मन से काम करेंगे, ऐसे लोगों के साथ, ऐसे राष्ट्रद्रोही आंदोलन चलाने वालों के साथ कैसा व्यवहार किया जाना चाहिये। जब हमारी सरकार किसानों को इतनी सुविधायें देती है, खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिये काम कर रही है, इतने बड़े सूखे और बाढ़ की विभीषिका आई, लेकिन एक भी व्यक्ति या भव्शी बिना खाने या बिना पानी के नहीं मरा, तब क्या यह इतिहास के पन्नों में स्वर्णक्षरों में नहीं लिखा जाएगा कि हमारी सरकार की यह सफलता है कि हम खाद्यान्न और उर्वरक के मामले में इतने सम्पन्न हैं कि हम इस तरह के कई सूखों का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं ?

जहां तक गरीबी मिटाने की बात है, पंचशील के सिद्धांतों पर जवाहर लाल नेहरू चले, गरीबी मिटाने का निर्णय इंदिरा गांधी ने किया और हमारे विरोधी दल जब तीन वर्ष तक सत्ता में आए जो उस समय सोने की बात कर रहे थे, वे आज कहते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति की सवारी नहीं निकलनी चाहिये। आज 1 p.m. कहते हैं कि भारत महोत्सव नहीं होना चाहिये। इस तरह की परिकल्पनायें की जाती हैं जो हास्यास्पद लगती हैं। जो परम्परायें हमने स्थापित की हैं, अपने जनतन्त्र के लिये उन पर प्रहार करना उचित नहीं है। विरोधी दलों का यह कर्तव्य नहीं है। ऐसा लगता है कि यह उनकी मानसिक चिन्तनहीनता का द्योतक है। आज गरीब को अमीर के बराबर लगाने के लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे राष्ट्रकवि ज्योत्सना निम्न दो ग

जो शक्ति देश को खंडित करना चाहेगी
हम उसे देश का पहला दुश्मन मानेंगे।

आगे उन्होंने कहा है :
जगमग नगरों से दूर दूर है
जहां ऊंचे खड़े महल
टूटे फटे कुछ कच्चे घर
खिलते खेतों में चलते हल
पुरई, पालो, खपरेलों में
रहिमा रमुआ की नावों में
है अपना हिन्दुस्तान कहां
वह बसा हमारे गांवों में

चाहे स्लम में रहने वाला हो, गांव में रहने वाला हो, उनके बारे में हमारे राष्ट्रकवि ने जो कुछ कहा है, उसे कार्यरूप में लाने के लिये हमारे नेता राजीव गांधी ने व्रत लिया है। उसका सम्पुट करके उसका सुवाच्य करने का काम हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में हुआ है। गरीबी मिटाने के लिये हमने बहुत पहले से काम शुरू कर दिया है। जो ग्रामीण सम्पत्ति थी, उसका निर्धारण किया था। 18 एकड़ से ऊपर पर सीलिंग लगाने के लिये एक्ट बना दिया। इससे अधिक जमीन किसी के पास नहीं रहेगी। आगे चलकर हमारी सरकार इस लाइन पर सोच रही है। बजट में भी गरीबों के लिये सुविधायें दी गयी हैं। इस देश में हमको सम्पत्ति पर एक सीमा निर्धारित करनी होगी। एक सीमा से अधिक सम्पत्ति चाहे टाटा हो, बिरला हो, डालमिया हो या सामान्य व्यक्ति हो, किसी को भी रखने का अधिकार नहीं होगा। तभी जाकर समाजवाद की परिकल्पना साकार होगी।

उपसभापति : बहुत-बहुत आपका धन्यवाद।

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

जो सारी भावनाओं को ईगित करते हैं, अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूँ। हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग सुनें।

वो तुम हो जिसने पर इक शाख को निचोड़ लिया।

ये हम हैं जिम्मे गुलिस्तां को पुरबहार किया।

आगे कहते हैं :

नगर नजर में लगी आग तेरे शोलों से

कदम-कदम पै बुझाने का काम हमने किया।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री राजीव गांधी की गतिशील सरकार ने विश्व में इस देश को महान राष्ट्र बनाने के काम की इस देश की कोटि-कोटि जनता के विश्वास और बल पर शपथ ली है। इसी के साथ राष्ट्रपति महोदय श्री वैकटारमन जी द्वारा संयुक्त सदन में दिये गये अभिभाषण का जिस पर कुलकर्णी जी ने धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं तहेदिल से समर्थन करता हूँ।

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to you for allowing me to speak on the President's Address but at the same time, I hope you would give me the opportunity to complete my points.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Within your time limit.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: For the last few days, I have been listening to the speeches made by the hon. Members of both sides. I also join the Motion of Thanks to the hon.

dishonesty in public life. The lofty ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism have lost their meanings and they are now some lifeless words of the dictionary to be quoted frequently to cover up the ugly faces and misdeeds. Never did the history of our country experience such a state of affairs before.

The economic condition of the people is beyond imagination today. The inflation has come up to such a point that the rupee has already lost its buying capacity and crores of people are living under starvation level in the country.

The Government is not aware that it is sitting on the volcano of hunger and anger of the people. It should take the lesson from history. Otherwise, it will have to pay very badly in no time. Should we remind the fate of the half a million privileged people of France at the hands of the twenty five million starvation people of the country during the time of the great French Revolution?

This Government does not care to eat back its own words and to betray people. In August, 1985, the historic Assam Accord was signed. But till today the Government has not come sincerely forward to implement fully even a single clause. It is still kept in the cupboard of the Government. Even this Government is insincere, so much so that IMDT Act, till today, has neither been repealed nor amended. This attitude of the Government is inviting fresh agitation in Assam. The All Assam Students' Union has started its agitational programme. Tomorrow lakhs of people will come out to the streets and they would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the people. The oil blockade programme is the first signal against the Central Government.

Railway Division at Rangia is denied, the proposed bridge over the Brahmaputra at Bogibill is also denied. Till today, it is not finalised whether the proposed oil refinery would be in the public sector and whether there would be a petrochemical complex with it. The Prime Minister, in a public meeting in Guwahati, in 1986, declared that a Central University would be set up in the Brahmaputra Valley of the State. But, at present, a Central Minister of State is declaring his promise to set up the university in a place of his own choice. Does the Government aspire to get people's support by this way?

The Centre is not willing at all to solve the border problems. The Bangladesh border has not been sealed till this date. Even at the moment, the people from Bangladesh are crossing the border unprevented. (Interruptions) Are we going to save the sovereignty of our country in this way? The inter-State disputes are also not settled. On Assam, at the instance of Government, the Nagaland set up its election with Meghalaya also.

Much has to be done by the Government's efforts to solve the people's problems. It is manifest unless the Government takes media's attention.

This Government of federalism. It fails to understand that the country can be led through the path of progress only with the full help and cooperation of the people; and people's cooperation can be had only by giving the maximum autonomy to the States for their own development. But this Government is trying to snatch the State power even by deploying the army at the time of elections, without the concurrence of the State Government.

Government speaks in a way and acts in another way. Much has been said about the protection of forests and prevention of pollution of water. But what about the open cast mining projects run with the help of some private companies by the Coal Authority of India in Margherita by which green hill after green hill is being destroyed and the water and the soil are polluted? The Government proclaims its National Water Policy with big words. But what about the Brahmaputra Board set up eight years ago to control the Brahmaputra and to produce big hydel power? On the other hand the Government's assistance to the flood-hit State of Assam is like a drop of water in the ocean of sands. Should we thank the Government for all these failures?

Foreign policy of the Government should also be made more straight and clear. Our relations with USSR are admirable but our involvement in Sri Lanka and our failure to build up cordial relations with China need review once more.

With these words I conclude that the functioning of the Government in the past few years is far behind the satisfaction of the country.

श्री घन श्याम सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपभाषाति महोदया, आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर अपने विचार रखने का मौका दिया है, इसके लिये मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ। महोदया, किसी भी देश के राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण सरकार के द्वारा की गई अतीत की उपलब्धियों और भविष्य में क्या करेंगे, इस पर आधारित होता है। आज हमको यह विश्लेषण करना है कि क्या वास्तव में पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के माध्यम से देश में कार्य किया है या नहीं किया है, आजादी के बाद भारत देश ने कोई तरकीब की है या नहीं की है। हमारे विरोधी भाइयों से अगर पूछा जाये तो उन्हें हर चीज में एक ही चीज दिखाई देती है कि भारत देश पीछे चला गया है, जैसा वह पहले था, उससे भी खराब हो गया है।

[श्री घनश्याम सिंह]

लगा हुआ है, उसका फर्क है। यदि वे अपना मन टटोलें, तो जिस रूप में इसे मैं सोचता हूँ कि देश ने तरक्की की है, उसी तरह उनका मन भी कहता है कि देश ने तरक्की की है। मैं भी यह कहता हूँ कि देश को और ज्यादा तरक्की करनी चाहिये और वह भी यही कहते हैं कि और ज्यादा तरक्की करनी चाहिये। इस प्रकार हम लोगों की मन की संच में कोई विशेष फर्क नहीं है। फर्क है हम लोगों को अपनी बात कहने की भाषा में। वे इस बात को नहीं कहना चाहते जिसे मैं आपके सामने कहना चाहता हूँ। क्या वास्तव में पिछले चालीस वर्षों में देश में कोई तरक्की नहीं हुई, क्या गांवों के स्तर में सुधार नहीं हुआ, क्या हमारे वैज्ञानिकों ने तरक्की नहीं की है, क्या हम लोगों ने ऐसी चीज का निर्माण नहीं किया है, जो भारत के गौरव को विश्व में ऊंचा उठा रहा है? इन बातों का जवाब हाँ में है। महोदय, अभी चार-पांच दिन पहले सरफेस मिसाइल का निर्माण करके भारतीय वैज्ञानिकों ने जो कार्य किया है, उसकी प्रशंसा हमारे विरोधियों ने भी की है। क्या यह सरकार की प्रशंसा नहीं है? सरकार की नीति के अनुरूप ही मिसाइल का निर्माण नहीं किया गया है? उस कार्य की प्रशंसा, वैज्ञानिकों की प्रशंसा सही मायनों में सरकार की नीतियों की प्रशंसा है।

महोदय, मैंने विरोधी पार्टियों के सदस्यों के भाषणों की भी ध्यान से सुना है। यदि उनके वक्तव्यों को उठाकर देखा जाय, तो सब कुछ निराशावादी चीज दिखाई देगी। एक हमारे विरोधी कह रहे थे कि देश में सभी उद्योग बीमार हो गये हैं, कहीं भी कोई काम नहीं हो रहा है, देश में बेरोजगारी बढ़ गई है। मैं उनसे एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि ठीक है कि उद्योग बंद हो गये हैं, उद्योग बीमार भी हुए हैं,

रहे हैं, उनकी संख्या में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। वे काम कर रहे हैं, उनको रोजगार के अवसर भी दिये गये हैं। उद्योगों के बीमार होने के कुछ कारण हो सकते हैं, जिनको दूर किया जा सकता है। इसलिये हमको बुराईयों को गिनने के साथ अच्छाईयों की तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिये, तभी हम अपना कर्तव्य पूरा कर पायेंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि आई०आर०डी०पी० में एक अधिकारी जिले में तैनात कर दिया गया है, वह सारा पैसा खाये जा रहा है। लेकिन मुझ जैसा आदमी यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। आज ग्रामीण अंचल में काम हो रहा है। ठीक है, कुछ उनमें ऐसे होंगे, कहीं कोई अधिकारी खा भी रहा होगा, बिल्कुल नहीं खा रहे हैं, इसको मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ, लेकिन जमीन पर भी काम हो रहा है, इसको भी हमको कहना चाहिये। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के माननीय सदस्य श्री बीरेन्द्र वर्मा जी यहाँ पर नहीं हैं। मैंने उनका पूरा का पूरा भाषण सुना और उनके भाषण को अगर देखूँ, तो उन्होंने कौन सा ऐसा काम नहीं था, जिसकी तरफ इशारा न किया हो। उन्होंने सभी बुराईयों को गिना दिया, चाहे ग्रामों और शहरों की आमदनी का अन्तर हो, चाहे कृषि में उन्नति हो, चाहे परिवार कल्याण में कोई काम न किये जायें के बारे में। वे तो यह भी कहते हैं, छोटे बच्चों की मृत्यु दर में वृद्धि हो गई है। महिलाओं के साथ ज्यादातियाँ हो रही हैं, पहले के मुकाबले में ज्यादा ज्यादातियाँ हो रही हैं। उनके लिये तो कोई भी काम नहीं किया जा रहा है। मादक द्रव्यों के सेवन की बात उन्होंने कही। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि शिक्षण संस्थाओं में शिक्षा नहीं दी जा रही है। अडल्ट्रेशन, साम्प्रदायिक दंगे, मंहगाहें आदि कोई भी चीज ऐसी नहीं छोड़ी, जिसके बारे में न कहा हो। परन्तु मैं यह कहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो मुद्दे उठाये थे, जिनके बारे में उन्होंने चर्चा की है, उन पर तक भी उन्होंने

बात गलत कही, उसके विपरीत यह ऐसा चाहते हैं, तो यह तो दृष्टिकोण की बात हो गई है। केवल चश्मा लगा कर देखने से काम नहीं चलेगा। मुझ जैसा आदमी दूसरे तरीके से देखता है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह बताया है कि हमारा मुख्य उद्देश्य गरीबी की स्थिति में तेजी से सुधार लाना और उसका उन्मूलन करना रहा है तथा ग्रामीण और शहरी दोनों क्षेत्रों में रोजगार के अवसरों का तेजी से और निरन्तर विस्तार करने की ओर ध्यान अर्पित किया है। क्या हमने ऐसा करने का प्रयास नहीं किया है? यदि इसका उत्तर अपने दोस्तों से पूछा जाये तो नहीं में उत्तर देंगे। परन्तु ग्रामीण अंचलों में रहन-सहन की स्थिति आज से 40 वर्ष पूर्व और आज क्या है, यह मुझे अच्छी तरह से मालूम है। मैं भी छोटा ही था 40 वर्ष पूर्व मेरी ज्यादा उम्र नहीं थी। मैंने अपनी आँखों से देखा है ग्रामीण अंचलों में जो मजदूर है जो छोटा किसान था उसको खाने का राटी नहीं मिलती थी, सब्जी के तो दर्शन भी नहीं होते थे। आज मैं कम से कम इतना कह सकता हूँ कि ग्रामीण अंचलों में अब उसकी दोनों वक्त की रोटी सब्जी के साथ खाने को उपलब्ध है, पहनने के लिये कपड़े भी हैं और घर भी काफी हद तक सुहैया हो गये हैं। क्या यह तरकीब नहीं है? हम लोगों को 1947 में जो आजाद भारत मिला था, आखिर यदि हम उस पैमाने में नहीं देखेंगे तो काम कैसे चलेगा? हम किस स्थिति में थे और किस स्थिति में पहुँच गये हैं। ये विरोधी दल के लोगों की कद्र करना चाहता हूँ, इसके बारे में लेकिन हम को और ऊँचा उठना चाहिये था जल्दी तेजी से चलना चाहिये था, यह हम मानते हैं, यह उनकी माँग रही है कि जल्दी होना चाहिये था, लेकिन कम से कम इतना तो कहाँ, जो हुआ है, उसमें और बढ़ावा होना चाहिये। लेकिन जो हुआ है उसको न कहना मेरे ख्याल में यह सरकार के साथ राष्ट्रपति जी के साथ उन्मूलन अन्याय है। यह उनको स्वीकार करना चाहिये। आज देश में खादी प्रामोदोग कार्यों के द्वारा

ग्रामीण अंचलों का विकास हम करना चाहते हैं। कृषि को प्राथमिकता दे कर ग्रामवासियों की स्थिति सुधारी है। आई० आर०डी०पी० तथा आर०एल०ई०जी०पी० कार्यक्रमों में रोजगार सृजन करने का प्रयास किया है, जिसके आशाजनक परिणाम निकले हैं। क्या अनुसूचित जातियों अनुसूचित जनजातियों के कल्याण के लिये कार्य नहीं किया गया है? आप जानते ही हैं कि आज से 40 वर्ष पूर्व अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लोगों का क्या स्थान था? मुझे अच्छी तरह से मालूम है, अनुसूचित जातियों के व्यक्ति से स्वर्ण का कोई बच्चा छू जाता था, तो उसका घर में धुसने नहीं दिया जाता था, पहले उसको पानी से छोटा जाता था ग्रामीण अंचलों में यह स्थिति थी। आज सामाजिक स्थिति बदल गई है और उनका समाज में बराबरी का दर्जा मिल गया है। इतना मैं मानता हूँ, आर्थिक विषमतायें आज भी व्याप्त हैं। देश में सामाजिक आजादी तो मिल गई है, लेकिन आर्थिक आजादी के लिये तेजी से काम हो रहा है इसको और तेजी से आगे बढ़ाना है, ताकि इन लोगों का पिछड़ापन दूर हो। राष्ट्रपति जी ने सही कहा है कि इन कार्यों के लिये हम लोगों ने प्राथमिकता दी है। हमारे बजटों में पिछले सालों में पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में और इस वर्ष का जो बजट हमारे सामने आया है, उसको देखकर हम कह सकते हैं कि जो राष्ट्रपति जी ने परिकल्पना की है, उसके आधार पर सरकार प्रयत्न चाहती है, सरकार काम कर रही है। सन्तति पंचवर्षीय योजना में 14 हजार करोड़ रुपये का परिव्यय हम लोगों ने इन कामों के लिये स्वीकार किया है। यह अपने आप में दिखता है कि सरकार इसकी ओर ध्यान दे रही है और ध्यान ही नहीं दे रही है, इसके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की तरफ भी ध्यान दे रही है। जो परिकल्पना की गई थी कि 30% लोगों को अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों को इसमें उठाया जायेगा, लेकिन रिजल्ट यह बताते हैं कि हम लोगों ने इसमें 41% लोगों को

[श्री धनश्याम सिंह]

ऊपर उठाया है, लेकिन इसका मतलब यह है कि जा उनके लिये हिस्सा नियत किया गया था, उसमें बढ़ोतरी की गई है और ज्यादा काम किया गया है। शिक्षा नीति दो वर्ष पहले इस सदन में रखी गई थी, जिस पर देश में बड़ी व्यापक चर्चा हुई। उसके सुखद परिणाम सामने आने की आशा लगती है।

नवोदय विद्यालयों की स्थापना और उसमें भी ग्रामीण प्रतिभाओं को 70 प्रतिशत प्रवेश दिया जाना इस बात का द्योतक है कि सरकार ग्रामीण अंचल के प्रतिभाशाली छात्रों का प्रारम्भ में ही चयन करके उन्हें उंचे स्तर की शिक्षा तक ले जाना चाहती है। शिक्षा का व्यवसाय से जोड़ने की एक योजना तैयार की गयी है, इसके भी अच्छे परिणाम निकलने की संभावना है। तकनीकी शिक्षा को बेहतर किया जा रहा है। क्या ये अच्छे कार्य नहीं हैं। क्या इनसे देश के लोगों की तरक्की नहीं होगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन कामों से हमारे देश की तरक्की होगी और देश ऊंचा उठेगा।

महिलाओं की आबादी हमारे देश की आबादी का 50 प्रतिशत है। आजादी के समय महिलाओं का स्तर क्या था और आज उनका स्तर क्या है। यदि इसको देखा जाये तो लगेगा कि वास्तव में सुधार हुआ है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी अपनी भाषण में कहा और सदन का ध्यान इस ओर आ गया है। उन्होंने कहा कि सब प्रकार के पूर्वाग्रह, भेदभाव, दुर्यवहार, वंचन तथा अत्याचार से नारी की विमुक्ति राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्य और राष्ट्रीय कार्य है। उन्होंने उस वेदना भरी बात की तरफ इशारा किया है। और सरकार ने अंगठित क्षेत्र में महिलाओं की समस्याओं पर गौर करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय आयोग का गठन कर अपनी नीति को भी सदन के सामने ला दिया है, इससे यह ज्ञात पड़ता है कि सरकार इसके ऊपर जागरूक है और कार्य कर रही है। दो हजार ईस्वी तक महिलाओं

की समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए एक योजना तैयार की गयी है जिससे महिलाओं के स्तर में सुधार होगा। महिलाओं की राष्ट्रीय समिति का भी गठन किया गया है। सती निरोधक अधिनियम 1987 में पारित किया गया था। यह एक ऐसा कलंक था हमारे ऊपर कि जिसके लिए हमने कानून तो बना दिया है लेकिन मैं अपने विरोधी भाइयों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि कानून तो हमने महिलाओं से के बारे में बहुत बना रखा है क्या हमने समाज निर्माण के लिए भी कोई काम किया है। समाज के निर्माण में सभी लोगों को मिल जुलकर काम करके एक वातावरण को पैदा करने के लिए काम करना पड़ेगा तभी इन कानूनों का लाभ महिलाओं को मिलेगा। इसलिए मैं उनसे अपील करना चाहता हूँ अपने सभी लोगों से, साथियों से कि वे ऐसा काम कर जिससे महिलाओं को समाज में स्थान मिलने के लिए वातावरण पैदा हो और लोग उसके लिए सहयोग दें।

अब मैं देश की सबसे बड़ी विषम परिस्थिति भयंकर सूखे की तरफ आपका ध्यान आकषिप्त करता हूँ... (समय की घंटी) मैडम और लोगों के साथ आप थोड़ा ज्यादा न्याय कर रही हैं मेरे साथ ज्यादाती हो रही है, मुझे थोड़ा समय और दे दीजिए।

उपसभापति : पहले ही मैं घंटी बजा रही थी। आप महिलाओं के लिए बोल रहे थे इसलिए रुक गयी।

श्री धनश्याम सिंह : मैं अंत में महिलाओं के लिए कुछ और बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं जल्दी खत्म कर दूंगा।

हमारा देश सूखे की भयंकर स्थिति से गुजर रहा है। पूर्व में महामारी, सूखे और अन्य देवी आपदाओं से लाखों लोग मृत्यु के मुंह में चले जाते थे परन्तु आज हम कह सकते हैं कि सूखे से एक भी मृत्यु भय के कारण नहीं हुई है। सरकार ने ग्रामीण अंचलों में रोजगार के अवसर प्रदान कर, पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था कर तथा खाद्य वितरण की योजना को

प्रभावी बनाकर अच्छी प्रकार से सूखे का मुकाबला किया है इसके अच्छे परिणाम निकले हैं और हम कह सकते हैं कि सूखे के असर से जो हानियां होनी चाहिए थी, सरकार की नीतियों के अनुसार कार्य होने की वजह से वैसा कुछ भी नहीं हुआ और लोगों ने राहत महसूस की है। मेरे विरोधी भाइयों का ग्रामीण अंचल में किये जा रहे कार्यों की तरफ ध्यान ही नहीं जाता है। मैं उनको बता देना चाहता हूं कि क्या गांव के सम्पर्क मार्गों का निर्माण नहीं हुआ है जो पहले नहीं थे। ग्रामों में क्या आज बिजली-करण नहीं हो रहा है, गांवों में बिजली नहीं पहुंची है। ग्रामों में नालियों और खंजों के लिए हम लोग जो काम करा रहे हैं क्या वह उनको दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है। शिक्षा के लिए जो व्यवस्था गांवों में की गयी है क्या वह हमारे दोस्तों को दिखाई नहीं पड़ती है। डाक व्यवस्था हम लोगों ने गांव गांव में पहुंचाई है क्या वह भी उनको दिखाई नहीं पड़ती है। बीस सूटी कार्यक्रम में जो किया जा रहा है वह ज्यादातर ग्रामीण अंचल में किया जा रहा है। भूमिहीनों को भूमि दो है, क्या यह उनको नहीं दिखती। जिनके पास भूखण्ड नहीं थे उनको मकानों के लिए भूखण्ड दिये जा रहे हैं क्या इसका भी उनको ज्ञान ही है। इंदिरा आवास योजना तथा अन्य आवास योजनाओं में आर्थिक सहायता दी जा रही है क्या यह भी उनको दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है। ग्रामीण रोजगार सृजन के लिए हमने जो एन. आर. ई. पी., आर. एल. ई. जी. पी. और आई. आर. डी. पी. आदि प्रोग्राम दिये हैं क्या ये भी उनको दिखाई नहीं पड़ते हैं। हरिजन, गिरिजन और आदिवासी कल्याण योजनाओं जो सरकार ने बनाकर भेजे हैं, जो कार्यान्वित की जा रही हैं जिनमें मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे विरोधी दल के सदस्य भी भागीदार हैं, जिले की मीटिंग में बैठते हैं, न बैठते हों तो मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूं वह तो अपने पार्ट प मखौल करेंगे तो क्या इनकी भी उनको जानकारी नहीं है। खादी ग्रामोद्योग योजनाएं तथा जितने छोटे छोटे उद्योग लगाये

जा रहे हैं, चाहे अम्बर चर्खे के हों या किसी के हों क्या इनकी भी उनको जानकारी नहीं है।

मैं फ्रीबोरिंग की स्कीम की बात कहना चाहता हूं कि गरीब लोगों के घर पर फ्री बोरिंग करके पानी मुहैया कराया है इस वक्त क्या उनको इसकी जानकारी नहीं है। यह वह काम है, जो ग्रामीण अंचल में सरकार की नीति के अनुसार किये जा रहे हैं। मैं अपने उन दोस्तों से कहना चाहता हूं कि वह इन कामों को भी देखें और कहें कि काम तो हो रहे हैं, लेकिन इनमें अमुक कमियां हैं। यदि वह उन कमियों की तरफ इशारा करें, तो सरकार अपनी नीतियों में परिवर्तन करके उन कमियों को दूर करने की चेष्टा कर सकती है। लेकिन जब वह कहते हैं कि काम ही नहीं हो रहे हैं, तो फिर क्या कहा जाए। जब वह चश्मा लगाकर देखते हैं, कोई बात स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं, तो मेरा जैसा आदमी उनको क्या बताये और क्या कहे।

बहरहाल, मैंने यह काम होते हुए देखे हैं और अच्छे तरीके से होते हुए देखे हैं, कहीं कमियां हो सकती हैं। ता हमारा फर्ज है कि हम उन कमियों की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करें, तो उन कमियों को दूर करने की वह चेष्टा करेगी।

सरकार ने कमजोर वर्ग के लिए राष्ट्रीय आवास बैंक की स्थापना की है। यह भी प्रशंसा की बात है।

अंत में मैं कृषि की बात कहकर अपनी बात समाप्त करना चाहूंगा। कृषि के क्षेत्र में राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा था कि हम कृषि को उच्च प्राथमिकता देना चाहते हैं और दे रहे हैं। दो दिन पहले अभी वित्त मंत्री जी ने बजट पेश किया। मैं अपने उन विरोधी साथियों से, जिनका धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का विरोध कर रहे हैं, उनसे कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी प्रस्ताव की बात तो आई ही नहीं है, अभी तो वोट देने का आपका समय आने वाला है। शासन की नीतियां बजट में स्पष्ट हो गई हैं। वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है, उसमें कृषिकों को जो सुविधायें दी हैं, क्या

[श्री धनश्याम सिंह]

आप उनको भी समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं कि जो राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा था, वही करने के लिए सरकार ने यह कदम उठाया है। इसे कृपया देखिये।

माननीय वीरेन्द्र वर्मा जी ने एक और बात भी कही थी कि गन्ने का भाव बढ़ा दीजिए। मैं उनसे एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। वह भी उत्तर प्रदेश के रहने वाले हैं और मैं भी पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला हूँ। आज पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश की समस्या गन्ने के भाव बढ़ने की नहीं है। हमारी सबसे बड़ी समस्या इस बात की है कि जो 27 रुपये गन्ने का भाव सरकार देती है, वह हम लोगों को मिल जाए। सरकारी चीनी मिलों पर तो 27 रुपये क्विंटल के भाव से गन्ना खरीदा जा रहा है, लेकिन जो कृषर्ज लगे हुये हैं—बड़े-बड़े किसानों के लगे हुए हैं, जहां पर खांडसारी और गुड़ बनाते हैं, वहां पर उस गरीब किसान का गन्ना सोलह से अठारह रुपये प्रति क्विंटल के भाव खरीद रहे हैं। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उन बड़े किसानों को रोका जाए। उन गरीब किसानों को भाव वह दिलवाए जाए, शासन कोई काम करें, जिससे 27 रुपये का भाव कम से कम किसानों को मिल जाए। वास्तविकता यही है। लेकिन वह कहते हैं कि भाव बढ़ाइयेगा। कभी भी उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश के उन किसानों से जो कृषर्ज लगा करके बैठे हैं और सबसे ज्यादा इन्हीं के क्षेत्र में, मेरठ और मुजफ्फरनगर में हैं, कभी उनसे यह नहीं कहा कि आप 27 रुपये का भाव दीजिए। वह सब किसान अठारह रुपये में गरीब किसान का गन्ना खरीद रहे हैं, उनका शोषण हो रहा है। तो मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो काम करने का है, उसको करें, स्वामखाह बात करने से कुछ फायदा नहीं होने वाला है।

कहीं आंदोलन की बात उन्होंने कही थी। अभी रत्नाकर पाण्डेय जी से आन्दोलन की बात काफी कह दी है। एक तरफ तो कहते हैं कि आंदोलन से, हसा से हमारा कोई वास्ता नहीं है,

लेकिन रजबपुर के लोगों ने जब पटरियां उखाड़ी और उन पर केस चलाये गये, तो कहते हैं कि उन पर बड़ा अत्याचार हो रहा है। पटरियां उखाड़ना तो अच्छा समझते हैं, बसों को फूकना अच्छा समझते हैं, यदि उन पर कार्यवाही होती है, तो कहते हैं कि वह निर्दोष हैं।

मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृपया अपना नजरिया बदल दें। इस देश के निर्माण में अपना सहयोग दें। इस तरीके से काम करवाने से और उनको बरखलाने से इस देश की तरक्की नहीं होने वाली है, इतना मुझे कहना है।

मैं अंत में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के पैरा 25 की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के बीसवें सूत्र में समवेदनशील प्रशासन की बात कही है और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह वह सूत्र है कि यदि इसको अमल में ला दिया जाए, तो आपके सब कार्यक्रम अपने आप अच्छे चलने लगेंगे। कभी है, तो हमारे प्रशासन में समवेदनशीलता की कमी है। हमारे अधिकारी जब कोई गरीब आदमी उनके सामने पहुंचता है, तो उनके दिल में तड़प नहीं होती है कि हमको उसकी मदद करनी चाहिए। कभी है, तो इस बात की है। लेकिन मैं सरकार की इस नीति का समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ कि चलिए उन्होंने कम से कम देर सही, उस समवेदनशीलता को समझा है और सोचा है और प्रशासनिक अधिकारियों को कार्यशालाओं में प्रशिक्षण द्वारा उन बातों को समझाने की चेष्टा कर रही है कि भारत देश में गरीब को उठाने के लिए सरकार की नीतियां हैं और आपको वह सब काम करना पड़ेगा, जिससे करीब उठे।

अंत में मैं और कुछ न कहते हुए, माननीय श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी ने जो महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Madam, it is already 1.30.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You start now and then you can continue.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to start by saying that it would have been better if our hon. Prime Minister had been present here to listen to at least the last leg of the discussion in this august House.

I am aware of his preoccupations with many, important responsibilities, still it would have been better if he had come, as the Hon. Prime Minister is supposed to reply to our discussion today in the evening.

Is it sufficient, Madam, to begin with? I can continue in the afternoon.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It seems you are hungry.

SHRI M. A. BABY: No, not at all.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the House stands adjourned for lunch and will meet again at 2.30 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-one minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. Hanumanthappa) in the Chair.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Sir, I had begun my speech by mentioning that it would have been better if our hon. Prime Minister had been present here so that he could give a reply to the points raised by us, after at least listening to the last leg of the discussions here. Now the Prime Minister would be coming here after giving a reply in the other House and I do not know whether he would be in a position to take into account the discussions that are going on here.

Sir, I rise to oppose this motion precisely because this Government has been showing its efficiency only in indulging in gross corruption. This Government has been displaying its efficiency only in destroying democratic values in our country. I rise to oppose this motion because this Government has been showing efficiency only in increasing poverty in our country, only in making our country a place where there is the highest number of unemployed wandering on the streets and in the villages. This Government has, indeed, been successful in making this country with the highest number of illiterates in the world. I do not want to go into details because all these things are well-known. But in the President's Address, there is not a single mention about how this Government is going to restructure its own policies so that these challenges can be met. There is no mention in the Address about any significant policy changes. The very same old policies are being continued, which resulted in these various problems; unemployment, poverty, misery, hunger, disease, illiteracy and so on. It is due to this reason that we strongly register our disagreement with the contents of the President's Address. We have gone through the speech many times but we have failed to see any mention about corruption in the whole text of the speech. There is no mention about meeting one of the gravest challenges which our country is facing today. I do not know whether the word 'corruption' has become unparliamentary. Sometime back, for a brief period, the word 'President' was unparliamentary. Now I do not know whether the ruling party has decided that even the word 'corruption' should not be mentioned.

Sir, today, the situation in the country is alarming. Corruption has been nationalised. Corruption has been nationalised by the ruling party at the Centre. We have been demanding nationalisation of many industries. But you have nationalised corruption and you have failed to check it. What is more; you yourself are indulging in corruption. Never before in the history of the country has the top-most leadership of the country been accused of indulging in corrupt practices.

[Shri M. A. Baby]

We may think of purifying the Ganga. But if the Gangotri itself is polluted, how will it be possible? If you have to fight corruption, I do not think, with the present Prime Minister at the helm of affairs with the Congress (I) at the helm of affairs, any meaningful fight, can be put up against corruption. That is why we raised the demand that this Government should resign. Corruption, as has been noted by many, as has been mentioned by some of my estimated colleagues earlier, has become a way of life. I need not have to elaborate on this. Corruption has many dimensions. Certain areas were considered to be free of corrupt practices; for example, the defence services. Today, very solid evidence has been brought in to drive home the point that even in the defence services, corruption, rampant corruption, has been continuing. This is a very alarming, distressing and dangerous situation. This is what precisely affects the morale of the people of our country; in particular, the armed forces. This is one side.

What is happening on the other side? Corruption in each and every dealing is well-established. In addition to this, corruption is being practised in politics as well. Democratic values are not being followed. We have enacted the anti-defection legislation. But the ruling party at the Centre is violating it. What happened in Meghalaya? In the February 2 elections, the ruling party at the Centre got only 22 seats out of the 59 results declared. The Hill People's Union got 19 seats. Nobody secured a majority. The Congress (I) secured only 32 per cent of votes. At a meeting held on the 6th, the regional parties announced that they are forming an alliance and they staked their claim for forming the Government. The Governor did not pay any heed to this genuine, democratic, demand of the regional parties who constituted a majority in the Maghalaya Assembly. Instead of that, the leader of the Congress (I) was invited to form the Government who could command only one more support from a defector from the Hill Peo-

ple's Union. He was allowed to form the Government without verifying the support of Congress (I). Then the Chief Minister had ample time to lure away people, so entice away people. Since these things are known to the people, I would not like to go into details, but out of the 19 members of the Hill People's Union less than one-thirds defected. They are liable to be disqualified as per the Anti-defection Act. Are you invoking the provision of the Act? The leaders have given it in writing to the Speaker. This was done at the time of the election of the Speaker and also at the time of the 'No Confidence Motion'. These members were given whip on both the occasions. Less than one-third members of the Hill People's Union violated that whip but they are not disqualified. Instead they have been made ministers. This is how the ruling party is upholding the democratic values. I do not want to say what happened in Tripura, but I want to reiterate one point, the most dangerous practice of involving army in political activities with ulterior motives of the ruling party at the Centre. This is the most dangerous thing. My friends on the other side also should take note of these things. Why? If you start involving army in political activities, army will demand its share in politics later on. We are experiencing this in our sub-continent. Many countries surrounding India have had this gruesome experience of involving military in politics. Our democratic foundation could withstar this pressure all along and each one of us can congratulate oneself and others for preserving the democratic foundation all along, but that is being threatened today. If army was to be deployed in Tripura, why was this army not deployed three-four weeks earlier, why only three days before the election? If the Central Government could wait till that day, heavens would not have fallen had they waited for another three-four days till the elections were over. So, the political dividend that the ruling party at the Centre gets out of deploying army at the fag end of elections is itself violation of conventions and practices in a democracy. It has been mentioned here that the

whole administrative machinery should not be touched once the election process starts. This is one thing. Secondly; combining operations were started in many place by paramilitary forces. Ordinary people were threatened that if they are going to stand with the red flag, their lives would not be protected from the attacks of TNV. This is how they were threatened. Along with other Members of Parliament I had also the same personal experience of...

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): May I inform you, it is the Chief Minister of Tripura who invited the army? I was there.

SHRI M.A. BABY: This is absolutely wrong. The Chief Minister never invited and I would like to touch this point also. Thank you for mentioning this aspect. Apart from everything, the proposal of the Sarkaria Commission has been violated. If army is to be deployed, State Government should be consulted. That was not being pursued in this particular instance.

Coming to appointment of Governors, the office of the Governors is being belittled by the ruling party at the Centre, as appointment of some ordinary people as ordinary officer is being done. I remember having read some literature of the Constituent Assembly on this point. When this point was being mooted out, apprehensions were mentioned whether the office of the Governor would be reduced to that of an agent of the Centre. At that time the leaders of our country, the leaders who drafted the Constitution, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, promised to the Constituent Assembly that they were thinking of finding out eminent personalities free from political controversy, to be appointed as Governors. An assurance to that effect was given in the Constituent Assembly. But what is being practised today? I do not want to go into details. Recently, new Governors have been appointed. Even the minimum courtesy of informing the Chief Ministers in time was not observed. Only a few hours before the formal order of appointment was signed, they were just telephonically informed. There was no consultation. These are

certain aspects which should disturb everybody, which should disturb those who cherish democratic values to be sustained in our country. It is the ruling party at the Centre which is just giving scant respect to whatever little remains of democratic values in our society today. In the Presidential Address, there is mention about defending democracy, freedom and all that. Where is democracy defended? The question of safe guarding the integrity of our country is being mentioned. What are you doing at the Centre? What is the ruling party at the Centre doing in our country? You are having an alliance with TUIS in Tripura, which is an overground organisation of TNV, an anti-national terrorist organisation. With all manipulation, you could manage to get a little more than 47 per cent of votes, whereas the Left Front got 3 per cent more than what the alliance got. Do you know what resolution was passed by TUIS on 27th February? On 27th February, TUIS, an alliance partner of Congress (I) in Tripura, adopted a resolution demanding discussions with the TNV to sort out the problems. Now things are coming out. On the one hand, you speak about defending the national unity and integrity of our country, on the other hand you enter into an alliance with a party like TUIS which is an overground organisation of anti-national terrorists' organisation, TNV, which operates from a foreign soil. If you are doing this in Tripura, one can very well see how the whole situation in Punjab has been vitiated. In this House, we have had many discussions. Who brought Bhindranwale into the picture? Who had justified Bhindranwale as just a religious leader? We would like to ask that, because people belonging to all political parties are being killed—seven, nine, ten like that. Numbers do not have any meaning in reflecting the sorrow and grief that is being experienced in the State of Punjab. Who created this situation? Just to dislodge the Akali Dal from the political scene of Punjab, the Congress (I) at the Centre wanted to defeat the Akali Dal, they wanted to prop up an alternative force in Punjab, so that with that division, the Congress (I) could come to acquire the

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leadership in Punjab. I would like to strike a note of caution: the same type of dirty game is being practised by the Congress (I) in Tamil Nadu also. With all sincerity and earnestness, I would like to request the Central Government, kindly do not convert Tamil Nadu into another Punjab. So the way in which the Congress (I) at Centre has been behaving all these years force me to say that with the Congress (I) at the helms of affairs, democracy cannot be defended in our country, national integrity cannot be defended in our country, the rights of the people cannot be defended in our country. In my home State of Kerala, you have been sustaining alliance with all types of rabid caste, communal forces. Can anyone from the other side, those who are speaking about national unity and communal harmony, secularism being preserved and all that, dispute this? You have been sustaining an alliance of casteist and communal forces in Kerala today. Against whom? Against the most progressive democratic left element. You started this dangerous game, not today, but you started it in the year 1958-59. When for the first time in the experience of our country in the year 1957 a communist government was voted to office in Kerala, all the reactionary forces within the country and outside ganged up against that Government. Congress (I) established an alliance with all casteist, communal forces and started the so-called liberation struggle. It is interesting to note that some of the leaders of the so-called liberation struggle later on admitted that even American dollars were accepted in that so-called liberation struggle against the communist Government of Kerala. The dangerous game that started practising in Kerala, implemented in Kerala in the year 1959, you are trying to extend to other areas of our country today as your hold is being corroded in different parts of our country.

Later on you dismissed the NTR Government which enjoyed majority. In Tamil Nadu also you played that game, dismissing one party and later on allying with them to get power. In

Jammu and Kashmir you dismissed the elected Government of Mr. Farooq Abdullah and divided that party, propped up another faction and put another person in the Chief Minister's seat. Later on, you struck a deal with Mr. Farooq Abdullah, and as a junior partner to Mr. Farooq Abdullah now you have come back to power. What is the simple logic of all this? Even in a small portion of our country you cannot tolerate any other political force coming into office. You do not hold panchayat elections of the municipal elections.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): May I intervend for a minute? As far as the coalition agreement with the National Conference is concerned, it is only when the basic principles were agreed upon by both the parties, of national integration and unity of the country, when that party agreed—Members of that party are available, and you can ask, them then only we agreed, not without that

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): It was only on the basis of identity of thoughts that the Congress Party and the National Conference have joined hands.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Identity of cause in the national interest.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): You have achieved your purpose.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): You are perfectly right. But was that so when you entered into an agreement with Mr. G. M. Shah also?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Leave that alone.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Earlier you did not have policy of unity and integrity? You answer to the House, whether you had a policy of unity and integrity earlier or you have it only after entering into the alliance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Both of you are speaking.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: Let him explain to the House. (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Please try to understand. You should not mix expediency with basic principles.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Subsequently you can make use of your chance. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I again say. Try to understand the difference between expediency and basic principles.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You forget that Mh. Farooq's father most of the time spent his life in jail under independent India. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Our basic principles will not change.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Where had the basic principles gone at that time?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What happened to the basic principles of Mr. Sheikh Abdullah? You have compromised your position.

SHRI M. A. BABY: The simple point is that lust for power, lust for remaining in power, whether it is at the Centre or in a local panchayat or a co-operative society, has gone into the head of Congress (I) in such a manner that no other political force is being tolerated. It gets elected to a panchayat or to a municipality or to a small State. This is the fact which we have been experiencing all along in our country. This itself proves that it in Congress (I) ruling at the Centre which is murdering the democratic values in our country, and this august House should take note of this fact.

Now, Sir, I would like to mention something about unemployment. Already many erudite colleagues of mine have mentioned about this aspect. Recently on 28th of February, a report of the Asian Regional Team on Employment Promotion, an organ of the International Labour Organisation came out. It says that in the year 2000 A.D. there would be more than 15 crore unemployed in our country. This is the study of the organ of the ILO. So, when the President speaks on behalf of the Government about the new employment generation programmes and all that, we have before us the result of a study of a very efficient team, who not only went into the details of the unemployment situation in our country, but in many other Asian countries also. It is very interesting to note that this Study has mentioned what China could achieve in this regard from 1974 to 1984. During the last ten years 460 lakh (46 million) jobs could be created in the People's Republic of China. This means generation of employment to this extent is not something impossible. But here what has happened in our country? Even according to this study the quantum of unemployment in our country is going to increase. I do not want to go into the ramifications of this, how this is going to increase the crime rate in our country, how this chronic unemployment is going to drive innocent girls into anti-social activities. I am not going into the poignant effects and ramifications of all this, but this proves that this Government has been failing and this Government is going to fail if the same policies are going to be pursued in future. In this connection I would like to mention that many State Governments are coming forward with imaginative programmes, such as food for work and so on. I would like to know what is going to be the response of the Central Government in this regard. If foodgrains can be procured properly and if according to the percentage of population in each State, the foodgrains can be given as loan to be kept as a capital for employment generation programmes like village roads, small bridges and things like that the construction work can be started and this will give new employment opportunities. At the same time efforts to

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eradicate illiteracy should be taken up on a war footing, because we will be reaching the 21st century with the highest number of illiterates in our country. This is a national shame and this is going to be a national shame also. If you want to do away with that, we will have to have imaginative programmes. We have people with degrees not having any employment. On the other hand you have crores and crores of illiterate people in our country. Why can't we have an imaginative programme to bring in this human resource of educated people who can teach the illiterates at least to read and write? This itself can be a good job. The question is that there should be an imaginative approach towards this problem and there should be sufficient efforts to earmark the material resources for such programmes. But what unfortunately the Government engages in is not to take up meaningful, imaginative and constructive programmes. The Government, as I mentioned already, is only efficient in engaging in corruption. The Government is efficient only in concealing corruption and in protecting the corrupt people, those who are too friendly with those who are controlling the helm of affairs, those who are having a free hand in taking away the valuable resources from our country and depositing them in foreign banks and will not disclose the details of such things. This is the type of

Government which shows its efficiency only in engaging in corrupt activities only in destroying democracy—only in increasing poverty. This Government does not have any ear to hear the pangs of the people of our country. That is why we raised a demand that this Government has no right to continue in power. This Government has lost its mandate and the only correct thing for this Government would be to tender its resignation and go in for fresh elections. With this demand I conclude.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I strongly support Mr. Kulkarni's Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I congratulate the Government headed by

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi for its achievement at home and for its foreign policy which have received support of all progressive sections of the people in our country. I will not cover the familiar ground. I would not repeat what my able colleagues in my party have said. I will concentrate on two points about our foreign policy.

I welcome the efforts made by our Prime Minister to solve the Afghan problem and the initiative taken by him in approaching the Pakistan's President and supporting Mr. Gorbachev's efforts and his announcement that the Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan. Our Prime Minister telephoned the Pakistan President to come here for discussions. But he declined to come here. He comes for cricket matches. He will not come for such an important issue. Instead he suggested that our emissary should be sent and a date was fixed for the visit of our Foreign Secretary to Pakistan on 1st March but later on we heard from them that they have no time and their Foreign Secretary, Mr. Noorani had to go to Geneva. But they could have come here tomorrow and readjusted the visit. It only shows that Pakistan is not interested in any settlement of the Afghan problem. They do not want India to plan the role in it, though Pakistan's masters—the United States—and the Soviet Union are appreciative of our role. They want us to play a role in this region—whether Pakistan likes it or not. We are a major power in this region at least. I venture to say that Pakistan has a vested interest, in my opinion, and they want that the Afghan dialogue should continue because this is a question of bread and butter for them. So long as this problem of Afghanistan continues they will continue to get money and armaments. The money will go to their pockets. They are getting \$ 4.02 billion aid from America in the form of armaments and most-sophisticated weapons and they are going to use these weapons against India. They have turned Pakistan into a huge base for America. It suits America and it fits into their global strategy. They want to help Pakistan and that is why despite violation of their own laws and knowing as they

do very well that Pakistan through clandestine means has acquired the power, ability and capability to make a bomb, they are giving all kinds of aid. Sir, as a private citizen of India, as a private Member sitting on this Bench I feel that a time has now come for India to review its options on the question of bomb. The time has come again and as I have expressed many a time we should make a bomb because in this world nobody respects the weak. We may talk of principles but we have to give a proper reply Pakistan is preparing all the way. Look at Siachin and other places. I have no time to dwell on these things. But Pakistan is trying to influence other countries with whom we have cordial relations.

Sir, with your permission, I will read a news item dated 28th February from Dhaka and this news item is by DPA, a German agency and not by any Indian agency. I quote:—

"Bangladesh, the world's second largest Muslim nation, will declare Islam the country's state religion in the first major step to Islamisation, religious affairs ministry source said.

On Friday, the President, Gen. H. M. Ershad, announced at an Islamic congregation that he had received enthusiastic response to his proposal to make Islam the state religion."

Sir, this has been published in all the newspapers. We have nothing but goodwill for the people of Bangladesh. We do not want to interfere in their internal affairs. This is not our intention at all. In fact, the people of Bangladesh have played a big role when it was part of India in the freedom struggle of India and when in 1971 they rose against Pakistan, we considered it an extension of our own freedom struggle in the sense that they were fighting for secularism and President Mujibur Rehman laid the foundation of a secular State, a modern State and we appreciated it and we are all for it. If this news item is true I will only say this is very unfortunate.

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Elections are going to take place tomorrow. Probably, they have an eye on elections and since the Opposition is very active, they are trying to get votes on this basis. We hope the people of Bangladesh will assert themselves and will see to it that the modernisation in which we are interested take place. I have already said that we are not interested in their internal affairs. They can have any kind of Constitution. They can have any kind of thing they want. But we are affected to the extent that a friendly country, a neighbouring country, if it becomes theocratic, the formation of theocratic State does not help world peace. To that extent, we are interested. And second point is, what is going to happen to their minorities who are 15 per cent? That affects us. I will not go into the details for obvious reasons which the House will understand. But I will only express the hope that this does not happen and President Ershad's plan to declare Bangladesh a theocratic State is defeated. I have not an eye on election. I am not talking about elections. But I hope the people of Bangladesh will realise this because they have a different culture. They have a culture which is more akin to ours than to Pakistan's.

Now, I will refer to Sri Lanka. The IPKF is playing a heroic role and it is very clear that the LTTE has spread a false news. The LTTE said that the IPKF is prepared for unilateral ceasefire or that we are going to stop our operation. If they are interested in unconditional negotiations, then they should immediately announce that they will not use arms and that accept the Agreement. Then as our Prime Minister has already said, the doors for negotiations are always open through democratic process. I will not take much time of the House. Before taking my seat, I refer to my own community of journalists, to my own profession to which I still belong. I am still a working journalist. I welcome wholeheartedly the announcement made about the pension scheme. The Government has promised that it will take appropriate steps to introduce the pension scheme and I congratulate particularly the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the Labour Minister and I hope, a

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Committee of Actuaries will immediately be appointed and that Committee will go into this problem and within a month, it will submit its report. A Bill will be introduced within this Session and I hope all sections of this House will support this measure because it is a social security measure. I will also voice the concern of the journalist community. They will support this measure because it is a social security measure. I will also voice the concern of the journalists of India about the delay in the submission of the report of the Wage Board which was formed after a lot of agitation. The work has not been completed yet. I demand that it should be completed within two months and there should be no more delay and there should be no more extensions. But it must finish the work within two months. The point I am trying to make is this. In anticipation of the Wage Board award, the employers are trying to bifurcate their establishments. They are trying to employ people on contract basis and are resorting to other malpractices in order to deprive us of our due benefits that are coming to us from the Wage Board. These things must be discouraged and the Government must take immediate steps to see that such things do not happen. The trend, I am afraid, is not good. I hope the proprietors will see reason. The Working Conditions Act must be amended so that the working conditions of journalists are improved. They are being put to all kinds of difficulties at the moment. These difficulties must be removed. Part-time correspondents have also got their own problems. There are excesses on journalists all over the country about which we read in newspapers everyday. These must be checked. Another thing, and the last thing, I would like to point out is that other workers are paid gratuity after five years of service, but journalists are paid gratuity only after ten years of service. I want the Government, particularly the hon. Labour Minister, to take note of this and make the necessary amendments in the Working Journalists Act.

Sir, once again I support the Motion of Thanks and I thank you for giving me so much time.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset; I thank the President for paying tributes to our beloved leader late Dr. M. G.R., in his Address: This is the first Address of Thiru R. Venkataraman as the President, to Parliament. The President's Address to Parliament every year is a Constitutional obligation. It is a traditional way of briefing Parliament not only about the achievements of the Government in the past but also about its proposals, schemes and other policies and programmes for the future. If one goes through the entire Address of the President, one comes to the conclusion that the Government is only making customary exercises in the spheres of economy and social measures and plans. It is not serious about the radical changes and progressive measures to be adopted. Bringing the country to the 21st century has almost become an empty slogan like 'garibi hatao'. Of course, various exercises have been done. Noval methods have been adopted like meeting the District Magistrates and Collectors by the Prime Minister. They are not for the interests of the States or for better administration, but for the interests of the party in power. Sir, it is the prerogative of the Prime Minister—I am not going to say anything. But the Cabinet has been shuffled as many as 22 times, not with the intention of removing any impediment or gearing up the administration, but to solve the internal problems of the party in power. So far we thought that the Central Cabinet was functioning to solve the problems of the country. But now we come to know that it is always preferring to solve party problems rather than national problems. But I may remind you that the problem of Congress is not the problem of the country. There are so

many basic problems remaining unsolved. The problem of the Congress is not the problem of the country. There are so many basic problems of the country which are yet unsettled. So, the wheel of progress has been struck because of the policy of the present Government. I am not going into the details of economic and other matters. I wish to dwell upon them during the Budget Discussion. Now I would like to speak only about the problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka and the policy of appointing Governors to the States. On behalf of The Mother in Sri Lanka two most respectable elderly women, viz. Annamma David and Nasima Vadivelu, have declared a fast unto death on February 19 in support of the demand for an immediate ceasefire by IPKF and resumption of negotiations with LTTE to bring back peace and put an end to the present impasse. The declaration of a ceasefire is quite imperative. Our late beloved Dr. MGR repeatedly requested our Prime Minister to declare a ceasefire. When he was undergoing treatment in New York he again met our Prime Minister in Washington and discussed the problem with him and appealed to him to declare a ceasefire. Unfortunately on that particular occasion our Prime Minister refused to declare a ceasefire. Then MGR left the room in five minutes because it was a great disappointment to him, he did not expect such an answer from our honourable Prime Minister. Then, to the best of my knowledge and information, the Prime Minister persuaded our Chief Minister to accompany him in the same aircraft to India to which our Chief Minister said 'No'. After his arrival here MGR prepared a strong statement condemning the atrocities and attitude of the IPKF in Sri Lanka but the statement was not released because of the intervention of one of the Ministers who now belongs to the opposite camp in our party. We are against the military presence, the presence of IPKF, in Sri Lanka. It has defeated the very purpose of the Accord. What

for was IPKF sent there? IPKF was sent there from here to restore peace and normalcy. Now what is the role of IPKF? More than 2000 Tamils have been killed. Thousands of villages have been devastated and destroyed. Hundreds of ladies have been raped. Who are responsible for these atrocities? This is the unfortunate situation our Tamil people have been put in. This is the role of IPKF there. It is considered to be a friendly force. But that friendly force has become a foe force. Now what is the impression of the Tamils in Sri Lanka? The Peace Keeping Force is more dangerous than the Sri Lankan Force. That is why we should withdraw our force from there immediately. But what is the argument from the other side? "No, we are for the implementation of the Accord, we are for the implementation of the other terms of the Accord." I would like to ask the Government: What about your Assam Accord? What happened to your Assam Accord? What happened to your Punjab Accord? Are you very particular about your Punjab Accord? You have totally forgotten the Punjab Accord. But at the same time you are killing hundred of our Tamils because we are second grade citizen in Sri Lanka. For implementation of the Sri Lankan Accord you are killing our Tamils. At the same time, are you taking any steps in Punjab? What is going on now in Punjab? Every day more than ten people, innocent people, are being killed by the Khalistani group. Since this January, nearly five hundred people have been killed. What steps have you taken? Are you really serious about the Punjab accord? Have you not made a commitment before this Parliament that you would implement the Punjab accord immediately? But why are you so serious about the Sri Lankan accord which is rejected by both the sides? Neither the Sinhalese people nor the Tamils support this accord. Under these circumstances, what is to be done? What is the need of the hour? To compel our LTTE people to accept the accord?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Your LTTEE?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Yes, our LTTEE. I am proud of them. Mr. Narayanasamy, I will have to remind you and I will have to remind this House of one thing. In these twenty centuries the Tamil world has produced so many scholars, so many philosophers, so many writers; so many speakers, but it has not produced an outstanding military commander like Mr. Prabhakaran. He is the only commander who has created history. Now he is facing an army of one lakh. Have you heard of any such person in the world? I am proud of that and I belong to that stock... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: They are only eliminating your own Tamil population.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You are annihilating... (Interruptions)... You are annihilating them. Sir, the point is that the purpose for which the IPKF was sent there has not been served. What for was the IPKF sent there? Is the presence of the IPKF liked by the Sinhalese? No. Is it liked by the Tamils after all these operations? No. Then where is the need for our country's forces to be there? We are losing our own army people. I sympathise with them. Have they ever sacrificed to this extent on the Pakistan border? Have they ever shed blood and lost their lives to this extent on the Chinese border? Then why do you allow them to sacrifice their lives, to lose their lives, in a friendly country against our own brethren? That is why I once again appeal to the honourable Prime Minister in this House to withdraw the IPKF and to negotiate with the LTTEE. Without the co-operation of the LTTEE, nothing will materialise in Sri Lanka. They are the people and they are the Tamils as far as the Sri Lankan

Tamils are concerned. You can create any puppet, you can create any dummy. But that will not solve the problem... (Interruptions). Mr. Narayanasamy, don't misguide your party and your Government.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Without Mr. Pirabhakaran, the LTTEE will not survive.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: No, no. Mr. Pirabhakaran is the commander and without Mr. Pirabhakaran the LTTEE will not survive. There are hundreds of Pirabhakarans and they are not cowards like you and me.

Sir, the point here is that the withdrawal of the IPKF is quite essential in the present context. That is number one. To honour our ladies who have declared a fast unto death, to save the precious lives of these women, kindly declare a ceasefire and negotiate with our militant group, the LTTEE. They are not a party to the accord. Again and again I say that. But they have agreed... (Interruptions).....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: They have agreed... (Interruptions).....

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: I am appealing to you, Mr. Narayanasamy: Don't misguide Parliament and misguide the nation.

Sir, they have agreed to co-operate. To agree to co-operate is different from giving consent and you must know that. If you ask me to explain, I will explain. In 1937, you agreed. The Congress Party was opposing the Act of 1935. Then it participated in the election and won the election and then formed the Government and then left the Government. It does not mean that the Congress Party had accepted the Act of 1935. These are

the skilful ways, skilful political strategies, adopted by the Congress. What was adopted during the days of the freedom struggle is being followed by my Tamil brethren now. What is wrong in that? So, they are prepared to co-operate. You please get their co-operation. Without their co-operation no proposal is going to be successful. That is more imperative for this Government and I have to remind them of this.

Then, Sir, regarding the policy of appointing Governors to States this is a judicial office that we accept. But it is not a political office also. It is the office of an executive head. We must be very careful in selecting persons as Governors. During the discussion in the Constituent Assembly, firstly, it was preferred to have an elected Governor. Then, we opposed the 1935 Act only because of the discretionary power of the Government. I am not able to remember the name of the Governor-General at that time. The Congress Party, even though they won the election in the beginning, refused to take the power. They wanted to get an assurance, at least the deletion of the article in the 1935 Act which authorised the Government to take the power of the State by sending a Governor or Governor-General, respectively.

Gandiji met the Governor-General. But the Governor-General said: No, we will act according to the Act, I am not the authority, the House of Commons has the authority to say anything about the 1935 Act. Why I am reminding you about this, Sir is because in the 1935 Act you are opposing the discretionary power of the Governor. Now, you go through the powers of a Governor. He is now entrusted with more powers than a colonial Governor. So the Governor is now purely a colonial institution to control the State. We must be free from this number one.

Then, Sir, during the discussion in the Constituent Assembly the question of elected Governors was taken up. Then the Centre wanted to control the States as imperialist people. So they dropped that proposal. Then they thought of a panel from which a State could elect one. That was also dropped. After that, a consensus was reached that Governor should be appointed with the consent and in consultation with the State concerned. After 1967, to the best of my reading and knowledge, non-Congress State Governments are not consulted in the matter of appointing Governors. More than that, at least during the period of Nehruji, non-political, more judicial people more people who served in non-controversial areas, were preferred for this office. What is happening now? Pure Pradesh Congress leaders have become the Governors. What does it mean? It is an indirect way of usurping the power where you are defeated, where you have no mandate. There you are by way of appointing one Congressman usurping the power. My point is that at the Centre where we have the Executive Head, the President, we have accepted the principle of election. The same principle should be extended at the State level also. To get rid of this problem, to solve the problem amicably to the satisfaction of all political parties, Governors in States must be elected by both Houses there. Then alone the autonomy of the State will be properly protected. Then alone the interests of the State will be properly safeguarded. Otherwise the colonial way of controlling the States will be prevalent for ever. If you persist in your present policy, then I remind you, Sir, that the non-Congress States will be forced to launch a direct action against you. Again I remind you that if you are very serious in this policy, in the name of national integration, in the name of national unity, whatever the pretext, whatever the scapegoat you adopt, if you follow this policy, India will be disintegrated because of your policy, your programme

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arfunachalam]

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam]
I conclude my speech.

श्री नत्था सिंह (राजस्था) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए टाइम दिया, इसके लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर हमारे बुजुर्ग कुलकर्णी जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, उस प्रस्ताव का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं इस सदन के अंदर केवल दो-तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मेरे विपक्ष के साथी ने जा बातें कहीं हैं, उन लंबी चौड़ी बातों को सुनकर मुझे बड़ी ठेस पहुँचती है। सन् 1977 में हिंदुस्तान की जनता ने बड़े बहुमत के साथ तमाम खिचड़ी पका कर के जनता पार्टी के नाम पर इन्हें प्रबल बहुमत दिया। लेकिन यह लोग संभाल नहीं पाए। इन्हें पाँच साल के लिए इस देश की जनता ने चुनकर भेजा लेकिन ये 28 महीने में ही पट्टा डालकर वापिस आ गए। महीदय, यह इनकी असलियत है। हमारे विपक्ष के साथी ये भूल गए कि कांग्रेस ने इस देश के लिए क्या-क्या किया है? जब 1971 में पाकिस्तान ने इस देश पर हमला किया तो 14 दिन के अंदर देश की प्रधान मंत्री स्वर्गीय इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में हिन्दुस्तान के जवानों ने, हिन्दुस्तान की फौजों ने पाकिस्तान के एक बड़े लड़ाकू अफसरों से एक ही टाइम में हथियार धरवा दिए। ऐसा संसार में पहले कभी भी किसी भी देश में नहीं हुआ है। साथ ही प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में उस टाइम में बांगला देश की लड़ाई में जो जीत हासिल की गयी उस कारण इस कांग्रेस का इतिहास सुनहरे अक्षरों में लिखा जायेगा। इस बात को हमारे लायक दोस्त भूल गये और अब कहते हैं कि इस्तीफा दे दो अरे भाई हिंदुस्तान की जनता ने कांग्रेस को पाँच वर्ष के लिये चुनकर भेजा है और प्रबल बहुमत से चुनकर भेजा है तो आप संविधान की हत्या क्यों करते हो? वह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

मगर यह कहते हैं, इस्तीफा दे दो। अरे भाई डेढ़-पौने दो साल और रह गये हैं उसके बाद तुम्हारे जो प्रबन्ध हैं उनको फिर देख लेना अच्छी तरह से। आप थोड़ी तसल्ली रखिये। ये अपना मुँह जरा शीशे में तो देखें कि सन् 1984 में जो लोकसभा के चुनाव हुये उसमें हमारी स्टेड क्या है? लोकसभा मेंबर कितने हैं? कौसी हमारी पोजीसन है? लेकिन बड़े तीसमारखां भाषण देते हैं। यह बात मैंने मेरे विपक्ष के भाइयों के लिये बही है। अब मैं दो-तीन बातें और कहूँगा।

इस बार इस देश में भयंकर सूखा पड़ा है। उसमें मेरा प्रांत राजस्थान और मध्यप्रदेश सबसे ज्यादा सूखे का चपेट में हैं। हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री और भारत सरकार ने यद्ध स्तर पर सूखे का मकाबला किया है और भारत सरकार कर रही है। यह सही है, लेकिन अभी चार-सवा चार महीना राजस्थान के लिये और मध्यप्रदेश के लिये पशुओं के चारे की परेशानी रहेगी। अतः भारत सरकार को चारे की व्यवस्था पर गौर करना पड़ेगा। इसलिये मैं सुझाव दूँगा कि हमारे राजस्थान और मध्यप्रदेश का जो हिस्सा सूखे की चपेट में है वहाँ चारे के लिये युद्ध स्तर पर व्यवस्था की जाय।

दूसरा मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इस देश में एक भी आदमी भूख से नहीं मरा है, यह सही है, लेकिन राजस्थान में चारे के अभाव में पशु दिन प्रति दिन मर रहे हैं। उन के लिये सरकार को कुछ करना चाहिये।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में जनसंख्या के संबंध में चर्चा की गयी है। आप के माध्यम से मैं सरकार को सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि जनसंख्या को रोका जा सकता है और उस के लिये यह किया जाय कि जितने नये अक्वाइंट-मेंट्स दिये जायें उन में यह शर्त लगा दी जाय कि दो से ज्यादा बच्चे अगर वह कर्मचारी पैदा करेगा तो उस पर

कानूनी कार्यवाही की जायेगी। हम जन प्रतिनिधि हैं। जो पंचायत समिति, जिला परिषद के या विधान सभा या नगर पालिका या उस के चैयरमैन के चुनाव हों या लोक सभा या राज्य सभा के चुनाव हों तो उन में एलेक्शन में टिकट उस आदमी को ही दिया जाय कि जिस ने दो से अधिक बच्चे न पैदा किये हों। ऐसे ही आदमियों को चुनावों में टिकट दिया जाना चाहिए। हम लोगों में ही ऐसे लोग हैं कि जिन के बारह आठ और पांच-पांच बच्चे हैं और हम ही यहां बैठ कर फेमिलो प्लानिंग की बात करते हैं। तो ऐसा प्रतिबंध लगा दिया जाना चाहिए कि छोटे से बड़ा कोई भी चुनाव हो, ऐसे उम्मीदवारों को ही टिकट दिया जायेगा कि जिन के दो से अधिक बच्चे नहीं होंगे। अगर मेरे भी दो से ज्यादा बच्चे हो तो मुझे भी टिकट न दिया जाय यह मेरा सुझाव है।

एक सुझाव मेरा यह है कि एक आदमी के लिये ही एक ही काम होना चाहिए। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि एक-एक आदमी के पास बीस, तीस, चालीस प्रकार के परमिट होते हैं। यह जो परमिटबाजी होती है यह नहीं होनी चाहिए। एक आदमी को एक ही काम के लिये परमिट दिया जाना चाहिए। आज दिल्ली में राजस्थान के 12 लाख आदमी मजदूरी करते हैं और आप लोग कहते हैं कि देहात के लोग शहरों की तरफ क्यों भाग कर आ रहे हैं। वह शहरों की तरफ इस लिये आ रहे हैं कि उन गरीबों के लिये वहां किसी प्रकार की व्यवस्था नहीं है। इसलिये वे शहर की तरफ आ रहे हैं।

मैं एक निवेदन और कहूंगा कि जो भूमिहीन किसान हैं वह मजदूरी करने के लिये शहर में आता है। दिल्ली आता है, कलकत्ता आता है, बंबई और दूसरे बड़े शहरों में जाता है। लेकिन यहां एक तरफ तो बड़े आदमियों के बड़े-बड़े फार्म हैं। उन के बेटे बड़े-बड़े पदों पर हैं, और उन का ही गांवों में 500 बीघे का फार्म है। तो जिस का लड़का जज है, वकील है उस के लिये पैसे की

क्या कमी। उस के पास डेढ़ हजार बीघे का फार्म क्यों है। सरकार को कानून बना कर ऐसे फार्मों को छीन लेना चाहिए और जिन के पास जमीन नहीं है उन को दे देना चाहिए। जो बड़े डाक्टर हैं, इंजीनियर हैं वह 500 बीघे का फार्म बना लेते हैं, उन को ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए। यह मेरा दूसरा सुझाव है।

अनुसूचित जाति और जन जाति के लिये राष्ट्रीय आयोग बना है। उस से हम लोगों को बहुत फायदा होगा और मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये जो कुछ कांग्रेस ने किया है पिछले 40 साल में वह कोई और कर नहीं सकता है। मैं बहुत ही छटी कौम का आदमी हूँ, जाटव जाति का हूँ और राजस्थान का रहने वाला हूँ। 40 साल मेरा जीवन पोलिटिक्स का हो गया है। आजादी से पहले हम लोगों की क्या दशा थी। लेकिन बापू जी और देश के संविधान बनाने वाले डा० भीमराव अंबेदकर, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, इंदिरा गांधी और अब राजीव गांधी जी की मेहरबानी से भरे जैसे आदमी, छोटे आदमी को राज्य सभा का सदस्य बनाया गया। यह कांग्रेस ने किया। मेरे भाई जो केवल नारे लगाते हैं, इनसे पूछिए कि इन्होंने किसी को, किसी हरिजन को टिकट दिया राज्य सभा का?

महोदय, आपका अधिक समय न लेते हुए, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव कुलकर्णी जी ने रखा है उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री धर्मचंद प्रसांत (जम्म और काश्मीर) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण हमने सुना भी और पढ़ा भी है। देश की प्रगति का उन्होंने बड़ा सुन्दर चित्रण किया है। उनका भाषण बड़ा आशावादी है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि पिछले चालीस वर्षों से हमारे देश ने बहुत प्रगति की है। देश में विद्युत का उत्पादन हुआ, अनाज का उत्पादन हुआ, कृषि का और नहरों का जाल बिछाया गया, बड़ी-बड़ी बिल्डिंगें खड़ी की गईं, हर दिशा में बड़ी प्रगति हुई है।

[श्री धर्म चन्द प्रसाद]

परन्तु हमने उसी तेजी से छलांग जिस ओर लगाने की कोशिश की वह है जन-संख्या को बढ़ाने की, पापुलेशन ऐक्स-प्लोजन की। इसमें भी हमारा कोई सामना नहीं कर सका। मंहगाई बड़ी तेजी से बढ़ी इसके अतिरिक्त आतंकवाद, टैरोरिज्म जिसे कहते हैं, वह भी बढ़ा। अवैध व्यापार भी बढ़ा, ला-लेसनेस भी बढ़ती गई। तो इन चीजों पर कंट्रोल करना चाहिए था, वह भी बड़ी तेजी से बढ़ी, यदि हमने तरक्की करनी है तो इन चीजों को खत्म करो। देश ने जहां अपनी अर्थ-व्यवस्था में सुधार किया है, वहां मंहगाई भी बढ़ रही है। उस पर हमे कंट्रोल करना है। इसमें जो मध्यम-वर्गीय लोग हैं उनका कच्चा नकल रहा था, लेकिन आज इस बजट से उसमें कुछ राहत मिली है। इसके अतिरिक्त मैंने यह भी देखा है, जहां जहां भी मैं गया हूं, मैंने देखा है कि एकता में कमी आई है। कहते हैं यहां अनेकता में एकता है, यूनिटी इन डाइवर्सिटी। लेकिन इसमें मुझे अधिक कमी दिखाई दी, हमारी एकता कम हो रही है। 1947 तक हमने एक जुट होकर विदेशी सरकार का मुकाबला किया। गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में हमने स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की। आज वह भावात्मक एकता या वह भावना हमारे अन्दर नहीं है। लोग आज धन कमाने के पीछे अधिक भाग रहे हैं। आज हमारे यहां प्रान्तीयता बढ़ रही है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि लिगविस्टिक प्राविसिज हुए, लेकिन इससे देश को लाभ नहीं हुआ। इसने प्रान्तीयता को अधिक बढ़ाया और सारे देश की एकता की जो प्रक्रिया है, उसकी जो भावना है, वह घटाई।

श्रीगन्, संस्कृत में एक श्लोक है—

“स्वदेशे निर्मये श्रेयः परदेशे जीवनम् भयावहः”

परायें देश में जीना भी दुभर हो जाता है। कठिन हो जाता है और अपने देश में मरना भी अच्छा रहता है और ऊपर दिए यह भी कहा है : जननी

जन्म भूमिश्चः स्वर्गादपि गरियसी
मातृभूमि जो जन्म भूमि है उससे ब
कर कोई नहीं है। परन्तु हम इन चीजों
को भूल रहे हैं। अपने देश की एकता
के लिए हम उतना काम नहीं कर रहे
हैं जितना अपने लिए धन कमाने के लि
कर रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने इन बातों
पर जिक्र नहीं किया है कि हम अपनी
भाषा के लिए क्या कर रहे हैं।
गांधी जी ने हिन्दी
के लिए, हिन्दी हिन्दुस्तानी के लिए सारी
आयु भर संघर्ष किया। जवाहर लाल
नेहरू जी ने कहा था कि सारे देश की
एक भाषा, एक लिपि हो। रत्नाकर
पांडेय जी ने उस तरफ से कहा था कि
हिन्दी ही यहां की राष्ट्र भाषा हो
सकती है। मैं उनसे पूर्णतः सहमत हूं।
30 करोड़ से ऊपर हिन्दी जानने वाले
लोग हैं। यही भाषा है जो सारे हिन्दु-
स्तान को एक बना सकती है, एक मूल
में बांध सकती है परन्तु हम जातिवाद,
भाषावाद में बंटे हुए हैं। मैंने संस्कृत
के लिए बहुत कुछ कहा भी है और अब
भी कहूंगा कि संस्कृत इस देश की बैटर-
आफ है। यही हमारी संस्कृति की उपा-
र्जन है और संस्कृत इस देश के साथ
जुड़ी हुई है। संस्कृत इस देश से चली
गयी तो देश का भला नहीं होगा। यहां
जितनी भाषाएं हैं मैं सब का नाम नहीं
लूंगा, हमारे तमिलनाडु के भाई हम से
नाराज हो गये थे लेकिन फिर भी कहूंगा
संस्कृत हमारी संस्कृति के साथ जुड़ी हुई
है। लेकिन यहां जो त्रिभाषा फार्मूला
है उसने संस्कृत की जड़े कुरेद दी है,
उसके रूट्स काट दिये हैं। कम से कम
हम को संस्कृत को बचाना है तो इस
त्रिभाषा फार्मूले को हटाना होगा। अगर
ऐसा नहीं होगा तो संस्कृत यहां से खत्म
हो जायेगी। इतना विशाल संस्कृत का
साहित्य हमारे यहां है। चार वेद हैं,
शास्त्र हैं, उपनिषद् हैं, ब्राह्मण ग्रंथ हैं,
नाटक हैं। यदि संस्कृत निकल गयी
तो हमारे देश का भला नहीं होगा।
मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि संस्कृत को बढ़ावा
देने के लिये त्रिभाषा फार्मूले को हटाना
होगा।

अब मैं डिफेंस के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक सुरक्षा का मामला है हमारी सेना सतर्क है। हमें उस पर पूरा भरोसा है। परन्तु पाकिस्तान जो हमारा पड़ोसी देश है उससे हमें चौकसा रहना चाहिए। जिया-उल-हक ने बार बार कहा है कि भारत हमारा दोस्त है। इससे मैत्री बढ़ा रहे हैं पर हमें इन बातों पर नहीं जाना है। अन्दर ही अन्दर वह तैयारी कर रहा है। किसी न किसी वक्त पाकिस्तान पूर्व की तरफ हमारे ऊपर हमला कर देगा। इसलिए हमारे देश को हमारी सुरक्षा को तयार रहना चाहिए। आज नहीं तो कल, कल नहीं तो परसों यह पाकिस्तान भारत पर हमला करेगा, आक्रमण करेगा।

एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि हम लोकतंत्र की वही प्रशंसा करते हैं। हम लोकतंत्र की 41वीं सीढ़ी पर चढ़ रहे हैं परन्तु एक बात भूलनी नहीं चाहिए कि लोकतंत्र के लिए कई सीढ़ियाँ होती हैं पंचायत है डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड्स हैं टाउन एरियाज कमेटिज हैं म्युनिसिपल्टीज हैं। यदि इन को हटा दिया जय जैसा कि कई राज्यों में है, मेरे अपने राज्य में भी पंचायत नाम का एकट नहीं है। टाउन एरिया एकट है लेकिन टाउन एरिया नहीं है। म्युनिसिपल्टीज है लेकिन उनका काम नहीं हो रहा है। सत्ताहूढ़ पार्टी देखती है कि जब माहौल अच्छा होगा वातावरण अच्छा होगा उनकी सीटें मिल सकेंगी तो वे चुनाव कराएंगी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि एक निश्चित समय पर इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव क्यों नहीं कराये जाते हैं? आप जानते हैं कि ये संस्थाएँ पार्लियामेंट तक पहुँचने की सीढ़ियाँ हैं। आप इनको छोड़कर सीधे पार्लियामेंट या असेम्बली में आ जाते हैं। एक बार पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने अपने भाषण में कहा था कि अगर हमारा पंचायत राज संगठन मजबूत होगा तो हमारी जो ऊपर की सीढ़ियाँ हैं उनकी हमें जरूरत नहीं है। पंचायती राज सही मायनों में हमारे देश में लोकतंत्र स्थापित कर सकता है। यह काम तभी होगा

जब हम पंचायती राज को मजबूत करेंगे। इसलिए हमें पंचायती राज को मजबूत करने के लिए कदम उठाने चाहिए और हर स्थान में पंचायती राज स्थापित किया जाना चाहिए। इतना ही कहकर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे चन्द शब्द कहने का अवसर प्रदान किया।

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU
(Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir this year the President's Address, given to the Parliament gives a well conceived, well-prepared picture of the nation. I rise to support the Motion of Thanks which has been brought before the House by Shri Kulkarni. At the outset he has pointed out that this year has faced a severe drought. Then he points out to the danger of internal and external forces that remind us of the secessionist tendencies, the terrorism that is prevalent in a very serious form in the North-West and North-East frontiers of the country. This really requires attention of not only the Government but of all the people, of all the political parties existing in different parts of the country. In his speech he has tried to remind us of the promises made in our Constitution. It is our sacred duty to see that those promises are fulfilled. He has said that the ideals of secularism and socialism are enshrined in our Constitution. These values have to be upheld and above all integration of the nation is also to be upheld.

Sir, it is time that we do not discuss matters out of emotion. When we speak emotionally, we forget these high goals, we forget reality and rationalism. Sometimes, it is necessary to see that healthy criticism is there. It is required in a democracy to rectify mistakes of a Government, it is a welcome feature, but when we speak emotionally we forget these fundamental facts and obviously we commit mistakes. Here we should remember that we are speaking in the highest supreme body of the nation, where the future of the nation is to be built. When we are discussing all these things in this House about the goals of the nation, about the development of the national life, whole world is watching us. So, this factor has always to be kept in mind.

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

Now coming to the second point about the external dangers, we know of the terrorists in the border States. Sometimes they are assisted by certain outside powers who are not happy with our development. Sometimes, they are provided with the latest weaponry with ulterior motives. These things have been discussed in the House and they need not be repeated here. But we cannot be blind to ourselves. We have to look to these aspects. Many of the hon. members have made a mention of these things and we must be prepared for everything. We should not go unprepared. Sometimes they are supplied with sophisticated weapons. Super powers are helping them. So, we must be careful and watchful. Another thing is about the secessionist tendencies supported under the cover of religious fundamentalism, abetted by foreign agencies. This must be curbed. That is the greatest danger in our country today. Sometimes chauvinism, regional and linguistic fervour, create very dangerous tendencies and if we do not think of all these things, these may come out as hydra-headed creatures infutures and create many a splitting situation in the national picture, for which we will be blamed in future, whoever is in power. It is the responsibility of all citizens, all political parties to look into these factors which have been rightly pointed out in the President's Address.

This year, we have passed through the greatest drought of the century. Because India had achieved something in the Green Revolution, we could come out of it. Out of 35 climatic zones, 23 zones suffered from scanty rainfall and drought. And some parts of the country faced floods also. There was loss of crops and damage to crops. Production was much less. Because we had a buffer stock of 23 million tonnes, which was sound planning, and the Green Revolution had achieved something the country could face this difficult situation.

At the same time many hon. Members have brought out in this House that the kisans are unhappy. They are vibrating with new ideas, new expressions of rising expectations. What are their problems?

Shri A. G. Kulkarni has rightly pointed these out. Anybody who goes to the villages comes to know that the balance of trade or balance of economic situation is not in their favour. The prices are rising and they are not getting justice. That is their feeling. Still worse is the plight of small and marginal farmers. The Government is spending a lot on subsidies for food sufficiency by way of subsidised fertilisers and other things. But their share is much less. The dryland farmer and the small and marginal farmer have to do distress sales almost, because in our country there is no proper marketing organisation to help them. Unfortunately we had thought that the cooperatives would develop, but they have not developed and the marketing agencies have not developed. So they are the worst sufferers in this situation of rising prices, in this economy which is developing. The other sectors enjoy a favourable position; they can command the economy to get benefit out of it. The farmers are very much discontented for which we have to take proper precautions. That is what I want to submit through you to the Government.

Again there must be a dream in the country so that the poor people who produce, for whom Shastriji gave the slogan of 'Jai Kisan', must have a dream also. Rightly it has been told that we are giving a lot of money for irrigation projects. But there must be an integrated irrigation scheme. The ongoing projects must be completed quickly, but it is a long-cherished desire of the people of India that from Ganges to Godavari, to Mahananda, Narmada and Cauvery there must be an integrated irrigation scheme. Let a start be made in this. No land should go unirrigated in this country. Let it take a decade. But irrigation does create a hope of new pastures for everybody. We are spending huge amounts on rural employment which is no doubt necessary but without hopes and aspirations without a dream without people's participation these achievements will not touch the hearts of the people. That is the crisis of the day today. Let us be very fair because it is a question of nation-building it is not a question of who has done it and who has not done it.

Coming to other points, the President has touched upon many points. Unemployment problem is a very important problem. Many Members have spoken about it. It is true education is very necessary. Basically this Government has tried to do something through 'Operation Blackboard' to develop primary education, to give a new programme and to start navodaya Schools. But there must be proper monitoring. Without proper monitoring, these ideas will not be implemented. So, it is high time

4.00 P.M. that we must have a proper curriculum. We appreciate what the Government has accepted so that science and technology must go to the villages. The new generation of students must be able to know about it so that science and technology can go in a big way in their part of life. But, at the same time, Sir only science and technology cannot develop everything. There must be a spirit of mission, there must be a spirit of work, there must be dignity of work. That urge for creative work, that urge for constructive work must be inculcated more in the national spirit without which probably we will be producing some greater forces which will not be properly guided. So, that is what is more important. That must be looked into.

Then, we are happy that science and technology has been given proper direction. Rightly the Prime Minister has told the other day in the House that Prithvi the missile which has been experimented showed us that our scientists and technologists could produce something which we should be proud of. The whole House thanked them for that. Such a thing has been produced and we are the fourth nation in the whole world which has produced such a missile which we have experimented successfully.

India has marched ahead in these 40 years of our independence, and we shall march ahead. But at the same time we have to think of this. We have to take proper precaution. There should be proper urge and people's participation at all levels so that they must have the joy of participation. They must have a new urge, a new spirit of nationalism. That

is what is necessary, and for that, it is necessary that we must revitalise all the grass-root level organisations which are sometimes not properly cared for. It is not only the responsibility of the Centre but all the State Governments also to see that these democratic organisations at the bottom level function well so that more people can participate in it.

Coming to other points, Sir, the President has rightly said about the other things, that we have got sea-bed mining and other things which are very new not only to our country but to the world. The President has spoken about many of the new achievements, many of the new goals, social objectives, National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, housing schemes and many other things. It is heartening that we have taken it very seriously in the rural areas.

I was thinking of one thing which we have been neglecting year by year. That is the regional imbalance which is the main cry in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Many of the States like my State of Orissa, Bihar and some part of Uttar Pradesh and other places have abundant natural resources but they are not utilised. Why? We have the Planning Commission. It is the duty of the Planning Commission to see how the natural resources can be utilised and how these poor areas can be developed. If a black hole is there under the sun, it creates problems for the whole of the nation. So, we have to see how the regional imbalance can be solved, how that can be developed. Otherwise, the whole nation will suffer.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH
(Bihar): यह आपकी सरकार से नहीं होगी।

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU:
Let me speak. I am speaking at a different level.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF MINES IN THE
MINISTRY OF STEEL AND MINES
(SHRI RAMANAND YADAV): It cannot be understood by him.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU: It is not only the natural resources which make a State rich or make an area rich. It is how you utilise it. The whole question is this. So, that must be seen from the economic survey. These areas are growing backward year by year. They are not growing. It is necessary that the Planning Commission must look into it.

There is an important thing also. The Planning Minister has told the other day that extra money has been put into these areas for development. Has that money been really spent or not? Without proper evaluation, monitoring, probably, we will never see development. The backwardness will remain which will again create economic dissatisfaction that will create another problem, political problem. It will become costly for the nation again to create a sense of nationalism and to maintain balance there. So, it is very important that these aspects must be looked into.

Anyway, the President has rightly pointed out achievement, has pointed out our dangers and the problems before us, and it is necessary that we have to give more importance to the agricultural problems.

At the same time, we know, the small and marginal farmers cannot earn their subsistence from agriculture. So, at the same time he has told that the cottage industry and other subsidiary industries must be given importance which Mahatma Gandhi thought of. Unfortunately those things have not been given much importance. Now it is necessary to understand that merely allotting money will not do. In States it must be looked into that the subsidiary and other industries and handicrafts are developed so that they give income to the poor families, which is one important thing not to be ignored. Our planning must develop from the village level itself. Towards that end it is a must to have household survey of the agriculturists. Then only can we see the light of the day. Planning has to be so devised that it helps find out the panacea at the right level so that we can give justice to the poor and achieve the target which we thought the planning will do

in our country. That is really envisaged in our Constitution and we must fulfil it.

With these words I support the Motion of Thanks to be sent to the hon. President for the remarkable speech which he has delivered to Parliament.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I rise to support the Motion placed before this House by Appa Saheb Kulkarni thanking the President for his speech.

From the President's speech the point that has struck me the most is in paragraph 3:

"Our vision of India is of a land whose unity and integrity are invulnerable to external threats or internal weaknesses;

—where the ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism enshrined in our Constitution, are fully realised;

—where all religions and cultures flourish in an atmosphere of mutual respect and cooperation."

I believe this is the foundation of our Republic. If at any point of time we deviate from these two important principles, we will not then be doing service to our country. I find that the present Government is trying its best to uphold the traditions of democracy and secularism in India to the best of its capacity.

The President has also said that 'in the last 40 years we have progressed along this path, illumined by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. We shall adhere to it, come what may, with the determination and courage instilled in us by Indira Gandhi'. In my opinion this is the time for all of us whether belonging to that side or this side, irrespective of party affiliations to rededicate ourselves to these basic fundamentals of our Constitution. If we do that, we will be a united India. Not only will we command respect in the comity of nations, but the foundations will be such that nobody on earth will be able to do any harm to us.

I have one thing to say that our country is a continent and in this continent we have faced this year one of the severest droughts in 100 years. It is the prudent policy of having accumulated buffer-stocks that in spite of setbacks that we have experienced, there has not been any starvation death. This is a tribute to the ingenuity of our policy of having created the buffer-stocks.

To my mind there are one or two grey areas. One of the grey areas is our population explosion which my friend, Shri Prashant, has also referred to. We may be doing what we are doing. For instance 20 million accepters of contraceptives and other things we have produced but we have not evolved a national consensus on this issue. I spoke about the matter in different fora when the Prime Minister was also there. I told him that a national consensus on family welfare programme must be evolved. I also told him that you have been calling meeting of the Opposition parties quite often on different issues but, to my mind, the most important issue for which an all-party meeting should be convened is to evolve a National Policy on Population. In spite of our all-round economic development it all gets nullified by the population explosion. We have not done much in this direction. I had the privilege of going to China and I saw how they are progressing in this regard. It is true that there have been many occasions when undue advantage has been taken by one party or the other in the implementation of this programme. That is why I want a national consensus so that the programme for family planning is implemented as a National Policy and a National Programme.

Sir, I go to the next area and that is with regard to agriculture. The Agriculture Minister has stated in a conference the other day that in spite of drought he has fixed a target of 175 million tonnes of foodgrains for the current year. That is a good idea. But the important thing to which the President has referred is the need of increase in the production of oilseeds and to this I add pulses. I want the Government to give special attention to the production of these things because

edible oil and pulses are the common man's need in India and we are having shortage of pulses and edible oils and we are importing these in a very large quantity. So the thrust of our programme, as we have done in the case of Green Revolution is that we should concentrate on the production of pulses and edible oils and then assure our own people that within a period of two years we will attain self-sufficiency in edible oils and pulses. To my mind, this needs special attention.

The next point is with regard to public sector. There is no doubt that the public sector occupies a commanding height and it has occupied commanding heights in our mixed economy. But the problem of accountability of public sector has not been done to the desired extent. I submit, Sir, that for this purpose the Programme Implementation Ministry is helping the public sector undertakings with regard to any difficulties that they face. In that Ministry on or before 5th of every month, they get a report from the particular undertaking with regard to the difficulties that they face in manufacturing or marketing or finance or any other thing and the Programme Implementation Ministry sees to it that these difficulties are removed. But a new thinking has come to the Heads of these public sector undertakings, that is, by sending the report on 5th of every month, they pass on the buck to the Programme Implementation Ministry and they forget about what they have written. This attitude has to be changed. The executives of these public sector undertakings should be told that the Planning Commission or the Programme Implementation Ministry is there only to help you and it is for you to set things right and see that any difficulties faced by them are removed and their undertakings shows results. I think for that purpose their promotion or renewal of their contract or enhancement of their grade should be linked with the jobs done by the heads of these public sector undertakings. The Programme Implementation Ministry can only help but it is for the public sector undertakings as such to see to it that they get the help from the Programme Implementation Ministry and the various Ministries but essentially the responsibility is theirs. I

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

suggest that their pay hike or gradation should be linked with the progress they make in that particular public sector undertaking. Sir, it is gratifying to note that our exports have shown a healthy growth of 24.7 per cent in the first nine months of the current year but the increase in imports has been kept at 13.5 per cent. With regard to exports, a comparative figure is understandable that as compared to last year, if exports are higher by a certain percentage, that is an improvement. But with regard to imports, cutting of imports and Progress in import substitution, a relative growth figure of 13.5 per cent as compared to 16 per cent last year has no meaning. We have to see to it. We have to see to it that imports are minimised and our balance-of-payments position remains good. For that purpose, a relative figure of imports has got to be taken into consideration. I shall be glad if the President comes next year with the report that there was zero growth in imports compared to last year. That is the point to be taken into consideration. Sir, the President has also mentioned about it in his address that "we are unflinching in our determination to root out communalism, fundamentalism and other fissiparous tendencies". He goes on to say that "Committees of the National Integration Council have been active in devising measures for the promotion of communal harmony. The Centre and the States must make sustained efforts to implement the Fifteen Point Programme for the welfare of the minorities. This is a goal that we have set for ourselves". Shrimati Indira Gandhi had introduced the Fifteen Point Programme for the weaker sections and the minorities of this country. I suggest, Sir, that the job of monitoring the progress with regard to the implementation of the Fifteen Point Programme should also be entrusted to the Programme Implementation Ministry and they should see to it that the weaker sections and the minorities are getting the desired benefits

out of the Fifteen Point Programme. This is my submission and I want that this should be done by the Programme Implementation Ministry.

With regard to the Centre-State relations, Justice Sarkaria has submitted his report. Of course, this will be discussed and the Government has also stated that this will be discussed in this House. The Government have also stated that the views of the Parliament, the States and members of public will also be taken into consideration. But my submission, in this connection, would be that where the Sarkaria Commission has made specific recommendations with regard to the improvement of Centre-State relations within the present provisions these should be implemented forthwith because on that account, there should be no controversy. There may be controversies with regard to other recommendations of the commission where they have said something for or against but where within the ambit of the present Constitutional provisions, they have made certain specific suggestions, these should be implemented without any further delay because to my mind, if views of the Parliament, the States and the public are to be taken into consideration, it might take some time. But those recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission which concern the interpretation of the existing clauses must be implemented forthwith.

Finally, I congratulate the Government that we have reached a point that we are among the four Nations who have developed surface-to-surface missiles. I take this opportunity, on my own behalf and on behalf of my party Jammu and Kashmir National Conference to congratulate the Government for their achievement.

Sir, we have done the historic Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. Whatever my hon. friends opposite have said is all right. But we must see to it that this Accord. Agreement, is implemented in both letter and spirit.

Finally, Sir, a mention was made about our relations with the Congress. I have also stated to Mr. Baby that our relations with the Congress, our accord with the Congress, is also historic. The President has mentioned about the elections in Jammu and Kashmir. Our Accord with the Congress has been done on the basis of identity of principles. Kashmir, under the Indian Independence Act, should have been a part of Pakistan. But we have, for secularism, for democracy, acceded to the great Republic of India of our own free will and these are the basic fundamentals. What is expediency? I want to tell you that the expediency is this, The Muslim League and the CPI-M are poles apart so far as basic principles are concerned. But they are together in Kerala. It is expediency. But we are not for expediency. We are working together for the basic, fundamental, principles.

वे रूठते हैं, बेशक उसलों की मुखालफत नहीं होती है, जो रूठे हुए मिल जाते हैं फिर। मगर बुनियादी चीज जो है, वह सेकुलरिज्म, सोशलिज्म है, जिसके लिए हमने हिंदुस्तान के साथ इतहाद की है, वह कायम रहेगा और सदैव कायम रहेगा।

† [شری غلام رسول ملتو: وہ دوتہے]

ہیں - بھشک اصولوں کی مخالفت
نہیں ہوئی ہے - جو دوتہے ہیں وہ
مل جاتے ہیں پھر - مگر بنیادی
چیز جو ہے وہ سیکولرزم - سوشلزم ہے
جس لئے ہم نے ہندوستان کے ساتھ
اتحاد کیا ہے، وہ قائم ہے اور ہمیشہ
قائم رہے گا -

With these words, again I thank Mr. Kulkarni for having moved this Motion, and I support it.

† [Transliteration in Arabic script.]

कुमारी सईदा खातून (मध्य प्रदेश) :

आदरणीय उपमाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे भारत देश की प्रगति की चालीसवीं सीढ़ी पर कदम रखने वाले प्रगतिशील, भारत की तरक्की वाले राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के समर्थन में बोलने का जो मौका दिया इसके लिए मैं आपकी शुक्रगुजार हूँ। इस भारत की तरक्की बताने में मैं अपने आपको गौरवान्वित महसूस कर रही हूँ। यह भारत उन शहीदों का भारत है, जिन्होंने इस भारत के लिए अपने दिल की गहराइयों से ये शब्द कहे थे —

वतन हमारा शाह और आबाद रहे
हम रहे न रहे वतन हमारा आजाद रहे।

वतन की खाक मुझे एड़िया रगड़ने दे,
मुझे यकीन है पानी यहीं से निकलेगा।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में सबसे पहले खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खान को श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित की है। हमें अपने देश के उस महान पुरुष से वंचित होना पड़ा, इसका दुख हमारे देश की सभी जनता को है क्योंकि ये हमारे देश के महान नेता महात्मा गांधी के निकटतम सहयोगी थे, अहिंसा और धर्म निरपेक्षता की भावना के प्रतीक थे। उनका जीवन अद्भूत धैर्य और बलिदान की वीरगाथा है। साथ ही अपने उन नेताओं को भी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित की है, श्री चौधरी चरण सिंह, श्री एम.जी. रामचन्द्रन को, जिन्होंने अपनी दूरदर्शिता से राष्ट्रीय एकता को मजबूत किया। इसमें हमारे विरोधी दलों को यह जानकर खुशी होनी चाहिए कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति लहोदय ने विरोधी दलों की बातों को, कार्यों को भी मराहा है, जिसमें जहाँ राष्ट्र की एकता और अखण्डता की बात आई है क्योंकि हमारी पार्टी और हमारे नेता उन सभी कार्यों को मराहते हैं, जिसमें देश की भलाई छिपी होती है। उन्होंने कहा है कि हमारी संकल्पना एक ऐसे भारत की है जहाँ देश की भीतरी कम-जोरियों और बाहरी खतरों में उसकी एकता और अखण्डता को आंच न आने पाये। जहाँ सामाजिक न्याय हो प्रत्येक मानव प्राणी को समानता का अधिकार

[कुनारी सईदा खतून]

मिले । संविधान में निहित लोकतंत्र, धर्म निरपेक्षता और समाजवाद का आदर्श-पूर्णतः चरितार्थ हो ।

महोदय, धर्म की बात जब आई है तो बेकल "उत्साही" जी ने वहां एक बड़ा अच्छा शेर कहा है —

हर नजर का जुगनू दिल का तारा
हो सकता नहीं,

धर्म जब नफरत बने तो प्यारा
हो सकता नहीं ।

चाहे जितनी तान लो आगन में
जिद की चादरें,

पूर्ण-भासी में कभी अंधेरा हो
सकता नहीं ।

जहां विज्ञान और टैक्नोलॉजी गरीबी और बीमारी को समाप्त करने में सहायक हों क्योंकि गरीबी के प्रति संघर्ष का पहला सूत्र हमारी परम आदरणीय स्वर्गीय इंदिरा जी की देन था । उन्होंने इस देश की जनता को खास तौर से उस जनता की भलाई की बात सोची थी जो सही मायने में गरीब, दलित, शोषित और दबी हुई आवाज थी । भारत की जनता पर यह हमारी महान नेता का एहसान है । उन्होंने देश के उन विकासियों का भी ख्याल किया जो हम पर, अपने भाग्य पर बोझ बन जाते हैं, लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने उस बोझ को अपने कंधों पर ढोकर उन्हें भी देश की आम जनता की दौड़ में, देश की प्रगति में हिस्सा लेने के लिये उन्हें शरीक किया है । या यह हमारी पार्टी की सहानुभूति नहीं है ? विज्ञान और टैक्नोलॉजी भारत को हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी की देन थी । यह कहा जाता है कि गांधी का भारत, आजाद भारत, नेहरू का भारत आधुनिकीकरण का भारत, इंदिरा

जी का भारत, पूर्ण विकास का भारत और आदरणीय राजीव जी का भारत एकता और अखण्डता का भारत । हमारे नेताओं को मालूम था कि गरीबी की इस दलदल में रईसी का टापू बरकरार रह ही नहीं सकता । अगर देश को खुशहाल बनाना है, देश को खुशहाल देखना है तो हमें इस गरीबी की दलदल को पाटना होगा । हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि हमने अपने महत्वपूर्ण बुनियादी उसूलों में रहते हुये विकास के लिए कार्यवाही की है । सर्वप्रथम हमने हमारे देश की स्वतन्त्रता और हमारी जनता की स्वतंत्रता -- इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये, स्वतंत्रता, अखंडता एवं राष्ट्रीयता के लिये अनेक चुनौतियों का सामना करने की दृष्टि से शक्तिशाली संस्था का निर्माण किया । बाहर में और भीतर हमारी लोकतांत्रिक राजनीतिक प्रणाली को नष्ट करने, दुर्बल बनाने और क्षीय पटुवाने के जो प्रयास किये गये थे, हमारे जागरूक जनता ने सदैव नाकाम कि है क्योंकि हमारी जागरूक जनता जान है । इस पर मुझे एक शेर याद आ रहा है

"हमसफर साथ-साथ चलते हैं,
बेवफा रास्ते बदलते हैं ।"

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन भीषण सूखे और बाढ़ की स्थिति का हमारी पार्टी ने, इस सरकार ने कितनी मुस्तैदी से सामना किया है, यह बात हमारे विरोधी भाइयों से छिपी नहीं है । इस पर बेकल उत्साही जी ने बड़ी अच्छी बात कही है—

"जमीनें सूखे में सूखी, तो बाढ़ में डूबीं
वो तुम नहीं थे मुसीबत में सिर्फ हम ही थे ।"

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, त्रिपुरा और मेघालय में कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार का बनना इस बात का द्योतक कि जहां वर्षों

से लोग त्रस्त और परेशान हाल में थे उन्होंने कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार बनाकर अन्त में राहत पाई है। शिक्षा की राष्ट्रीय नीति आगामी पीढ़ियों के लिये हमारी धरोहर है और भविष्य के लिये हमारा मापदंड है। सबके लिये क्वालिटी शिक्षा राष्ट्र की कुजी है। प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में शिक्षण का स्तर सुधारने के लिये "आपरेशन ब्लैक बोर्ड" शुरू किया गया। लड़कियों के लिये माध्यमिक स्तर की शिक्षा निशुल्क दी जाने की योजना कार्यान्वित की जा रही है और इस पर सभी राज्यों में अमल किया जा रहा है। लड़कियों और महिलाओं के लिये प्रौढ़ शिक्षा पर अमल अधिक किया जाना इस बात का द्योतक है कि जो हमारी परम आदरणीय स्वर्गीय महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी का कहना था कि लड़कियों को शिक्षित कर हम न केवल एक उसी को शिक्षित करते हैं बल्कि एक लड़की को शिक्षित करने से एक घर, एक पूरा परिवार शिक्षित होता है। सब प्रकार के पूर्वाग्रह, भेदभाव, दुर्व्यवहार, वचन और अत्याचार से नारी की विमुक्ति को राष्ट्रीय कार्य समझनेवाली और कोई पार्टी इस देश में नहीं है। महिलाओं की सुरक्षा और हित केवल इसी पार्टी में है, अतः कांग्रेस पार्टी में है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रीय सेवा योजना, भारत स्काउट और गाइड्स और नेशनल कैडेट कोर ने हमारे लाखों लड़के और लड़कियों में बौद्धिक और शारीरिक अनुशासन तथा उत्साह की भावना जगाई है।

खेल प्राधिकरण ने हमारे युवकों को अथलेटिक कौशल का प्रदर्शन करने का अवसर प्रदान करके एक प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया है। क्योंकि हमारी सरकार को मालूम है कि हेल्दी माइन्ड लिक्स इन ए हेल्दी बाडी।

अंत में मैं यहीं कहूंगा और हमारे विरोधियों को भी इस बात से सहमत होना पड़ेगा कि इन 40 सालों में देश की जितनी अधिक तरक्की हुई है वह इस बात का द्योतक है कि कांग्रेस शासन ने

बड़ी मुस्तैदी से इस देश के शासन को चलाया है और ईशाअल्ला चलायगी।

मेरा विरोधी भाइयों को एक मजेशन है, एक मुझाव है कि इस देश के अच्छे नागरिक होने के नाते इस देश की तरक्की के लिए इस देश की एकता और अखंडता की कायम रखने के लिये वे इस बात पर अमल करें जो कि एक बहुत बड़ी चीज है कि :

जब एक कड़ीसे बावस्ता एक और कड़ी जुड़ जाती है,

तो रस्मे मुहब्बत से बंध कर जंजीर बड़ी हो जाती है।

मिल जुल के करें तामीरे वतन ऐ दोस्त कि हम तो इसा है,

पत्थर भी अगर जुड़ जायें तो दीवार खड़ी हो जाती है।

श्री सागर रायका (गुजरात) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय इस सदन के हमारे सीनियर साथी श्री कुलकर्णी जी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव लाये हैं मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। कांग्रेस की इस सरकार ने पिछले एक लम्बे समय से इस देश में समाजवाद के माध्यम से इस देश के विकास की एक प्रक्रिया शुरू की है। जो कुछ भी हुआ है इस देश में वह कांग्रेस के समाजवाद के सिद्धांतों के आधार पर हुआ है। आज इस देश में इतने बड़े सुखे में जब हजारों की संख्या में पशुओं को और मानवों को रोटी देने का बड़ा काम था सुखे के कारण जलपान की इतनी कमी है ऐसे समय में कांग्रेस की सरकार ने समाजवाद के माध्यम से लोगों के साथ रहने और उनकी मदद करने का एक बड़ा निश्चय किया है। विरोधी पक्ष के लोग इतनी विपत्ति में भी जब कांग्रेस का जो काम चल रहा है उस का समर्थन नहीं कर सकते हैं तो यह एक बड़े दुख की बात है। मैंने इस देश के कई राज्यों में जा कर गैर कांग्रेसी शासन को देखा है। वहाँ जो कुछ देखा है मैं उस में यहाँ पर जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ लेकिन इस सरकार के हमारे आदरणीय नेता श्री राजीव गांधी का पाम इस देश को आगे ले जाने का एक सपना है।

[श्री सागर रायका]

उनके पास देश के विकास के लिये एक कार्यक्रम है। पूरे देश के लोगों की कैसे मदद की जाय इस का एक प्लान है और गरीबी के खिलाफ संघर्ष करने का उन्होंने वायदा किया है। उसको पूरा करने में पूरे देश के लोग आज उन को सहारा दे रहे हैं। ऐसे समय में कुछ लोग इस रास्ते को बदलने की मांग कर रहे हैं। वे उन को सहारा तो नहीं दे सके, लेकिन उन का समर्थन भी नहीं कर सकते हैं, यह एक दुख की बात है। आज राजीव गांधीजी ने कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रम के जरिये इस देश के रीबों की मदद करने के लिये गरीबी के खिलाफ एक संघर्ष शुरू कर दिया है। हम देखते हैं कि 1969 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी ने इस देश के बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था। उस के बाद इस देश का सामान्य नागरिक बैंकों में जा कर लोन के लिए बात कर सकता था। इस से पहले जब बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं हुआ था तो बैंक गिने-चुने लोगों के हाथ में थे। कांग्रेस ने अपने समाजवाद के कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने के लिए राजाओं के प्रिवी पर्स को नाबूत करने का कार्यक्रम किया था। इस सरकार ने और कांग्रेस की पूर्व सरकारों ने जब-जब जरूरत पड़ी, तब-तब संघर्ष किया और उसको चलाने का कार्यक्रम किया। आज गांधी के गरीबों की मदद में कांग्रेस ने समाजवाद के सिद्धांत के अनुसार किसानों को आगे ला सके, इसलिए कार्यक्रम लागू किया किसानों को कैसे उन्नत किया जा सके, इस देश में गरीब कैसे उठ सकें, गांधी के गरीबों का उत्थान कैसे हो इसके लिए कार्यक्रम बनाए। गांधी के उत्थान का मंत्र हमका गांधी जी ने दिया था। आजादी के बाद महात्मा जी ने बताया था कि इस देश में कोई भी तरक्की करनी है तो उसके लिए दो काम बहुत जल्दी करने होंगे। इस देश के गांधी को उन्नत करने का काम करना है और इस देश के गरीबों को उन्नत करने का काम जल्दी करना है। इस देश के गांधी को उन्नत बनाने का काम कांग्रेस सरकार ने किया है। आज हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं विश्व में भी हम पिछी के दबाव में नहीं हैं। हम उन

विकासित देशों के नेता हैं और आदरणीय राजीव जी के नेतृत्व में हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं, सारी दुनिया में उन्नतशील देश का नेतृत्व दे रहे हैं। इस जमाने में जब कि विदेशी ताकतें लोगों को गुप्त-राह करने वाली ताकतें इस देश को तोड़ने का काम कर रही हैं, तो ऐसे समय में हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग किसी न किसी प्रकार के आंदोलन में फंसे हैं, किसी चुनाव के नाम पर या अलग-अलग नामों से वे आंदोलन चला रहे हैं।

महोदय, मैं इस सदन को यह जानकारी देना चाहता हूँ कि गुजरात में 1981 में कुछ आंदोलन चला, पक्ष विपक्ष के लोग उसमें शामिल हुए थे, अणुवृत्त आंदोलन में। इस देश के गरीब लोगों को जो अधिकार हमारे संविधान में दिए हैं, उनका खंडन करने के लिए जब इस देश की ताकतें आगे आती हैं, तो विपक्ष के लोग उनको बढ़ावा देते हैं। उन लोगों के अधिकारों की सुरक्षा के लिए आगे नहीं आते हैं। तब कांग्रेस पार्टी ही आगे आती है। जब-जब हमारे देश में वातावरण विगड़ा है, तब-तब विपक्ष के लोग उसमें मदद करते हैं। महोदय, 1981 में जो आंदोलन हुआ था उसमें सौ से ज्यादा लोग मरे। 1988 में जब आंदोलन हुआ था सारे विपक्ष के लोग वहां के लोगों के अधिकारों को नाबूद करने के लिए आगे आये कांग्रेस सरकार ही उनके अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिए खड़ी रही। जहां-जहां भी आज कांग्रेस का शासन नहीं है, वहां लोग कांग्रेस के शासन को याद करते हैं।

[उप सभापति महोदय, पीठासीन हुई]

महोदय, आपको याद होगा कि 1977 में जब विपक्षी लोग सत्ता में आए थे तो इनके पास कोई आइडियालाजी नहीं थी, आप स्वतः देख रहे थे। जब इनको सत्ता मिली तो ये शासन भी नहीं चला पाए। तब हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब लोगों ने इस देश की जनता ने कांग्रेस को याद किया और कांग्रेस लाओ, देश बचाओ का नारा लगाया गया और 1980 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने फिर देश की शासन सत्ता संभाली और इनका

सफाया किया। इस देश में जब विकास करने की बात है तो गांवों के गरीबों को आगे लाने की बात है, तो इस नए बजट में भी हमने देखा है कि क्या क्या सुविधाएं गरीबों को दी गई हैं। मैं इस समय बजट पर नहीं बोल रहा हूं, लेकिन लोगों को उठाने की बात है, समाजवाद की जब बात आती है, समाजवाद को हासिल करने की बात आती है तो कांग्रेस सरकार उसके लिए कमर कसकर काम करती है। लेकिन हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोग उसके खिलाफ अलग-अलग आंदोलन चलाते हैं। पंजाब की समस्या देखिए। कौन ताकते हैं जो उनको बल दे रही हैं? कौन ताकते हैं जो इनका उकसा रही हैं? ऐसी ताकतों को नाबूद करने के लिए इस देश के विपक्ष के लोगों को इकट्ठा करना चाहिए और सरकार की मदद करनी चाहिए, लेकिन ये लोग अपनी अपनी बातें करते हैं और सरकार के विरुद्ध वोफोर्स या फेयरफैक्स का नाम लेकर, कर्प्शन की बात लेकर चलते हैं। मैं आप लोगों से कहता हूं कि आप लोग वोफोर्स कमेटी में क्यों नहीं शामिल हुए? और कनेटी में शामिल न होने के बाद आप को कुछ कहने का अधिकार नहीं है। इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव आदरणीय कुलकर्णी जी ने रखा है उसका समर्थन करते हुये अपना वक्तव्य पूरा करता हूं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मैं आपके प्रति बहुत आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव कुलकर्णी जी ने रखा है उसका समर्थन करने की मेरी बड़ी इच्छा थी, सचमुच मैं चाहता था कि इस धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करूं लेकिन जिस ढंग से भाषण तैयार करा कर श्री राजीव गांधी की सरकार ने पेश किया है उसको देखने से लगता है कि जो आइना तैयार किया गया है वह आइना टूटा हुआ है। उसमें चेहरे कुरूप दिखते हैं।

[उपसभापति महोदय पीठासीन हुईं]

महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जो सबसे दुखद बात है वह यह है कि जम्हूरियत और संविधान का गला घोटा जा रहा है और इसमें इसके बारे में कोई जिज्ञा नहीं है। जहां तक संविधान की बात है हमारा संविधान संघीय संविधान है। राज्यों के मिले जुले कार्यों को देखने के लिये केन्द्र बना हुआ है लेकिन संघीय संविधान के ढांचे को जिस तरह से तोड़ा मरोड़ा जा रहा है भारत सरकार के द्वारा, भारत के प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी द्वारा वह आज तक कभी नहीं हुआ। भारत का संविधान संघीय है इसलिये मुख्य मंत्रियों का चुनाव होना चाहिये लेकिन यहां मुख्य मंत्रियों की नियुक्ति हो रही है प्रधान मंत्री के द्वारा। जब चाहे भारत के प्रधान मंत्री...

श्री सभापति : अब आप भाष्य करिये।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : अभी तो शुरू किया है।

श्री सभापति : आपने अपनी पार्टी के टाइम से ज्यादा टाइम ले लिया है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मेरी बात उन को चुभती है। मैं तो सीधी बात कहता हूं। आप तो बहुत पुराने फ्रीडम फाइटर हैं। क्या आपने इसी के लिये लड़ाई लड़ी थी कि भारत के संविधान को जिस तरह से और जैसे चाहे तोड़-मरोड़ दिया जाय। हर एक राज्य का अपना मुख्य मंत्री होता है। लेकिन सरकार पार्टी को अपना नेता चुनने का हक होता चाहिये और हक है लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि मुख्य मंत्रियों का जब चाहे तब यहां से दिल्ली से फर्मान चला जाता है और बदल दिया जाता है।

श्री सभापति : अब आप खत्म कीजिए। आप की बात खत्म हो गयी।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : 4-5 मिनट और बोलने का मौका दीजिए ।

श्री सभापति : आप बोल चुके हैं । आपका टाइम बहुत देर से खत्म हो चुका है ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : अभी तो शुरू किया है । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी आ गये हैं मैं उनको अपनी बात सुनाना चाहता हूँ । मेरा सौभाग्य है ।

श्री सभापति : आपका समय खत्म हो चुका है ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : प्रधान मंत्री को पांच बजे बोलने के लिए नोटिफाईड किया गया है इसलिए मुझे बोलने दीजिए ।

श्री सभापति : इसके माने यह नहीं है कि आप पांच बजे तक बोलते रहेंगे । सब के साथ न्याय करना है ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : यह मेरा सौभाग्य है कि आज पहले-पहल मुझका अपने युवा प्रधान मंत्री के सामने बोलने का मौका मिला है । महोदय, मैं चाहता हूँ कि इनकी पीठ थपथपाऊँ । ये युवा प्रधान मंत्री है इनके सामने मुझे बोलने का मौका मिला रहा है..... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री सभापति : उनको आपका आशीर्वाद चाहिए । आपने अशीर्वाद दे दिया है, अब आप बैठ जाइये । उनको आपका हादिक आशीर्वाद चाहिए ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : श्रीमान्, जिन तरह से भारत के संविधान को प्रधान मंत्री के द्वारा तोड़ा जा रहा है, रद्द किया जा रहा है, इतिहास में इसकी मिसाल नहीं मिलेगी । मुख्य मंत्रियों को जिस तरह से..... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री सभापति : अब आप अपनी बात खत्म कीजिये । आपने अपना आशीर्वाद दे दिया है अब और क्या चाहिए ?

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : श्रीमान् हम सदन के सदस्य हैं । एक विरोधी दल का सदस्य होने की हैसियत से हमें अपनी आवाज बुलन्द करने का पूरा हक है ।

श्री सभापति : अब आप बैठ जाइये ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : महोदय, आपके प्रश्न से पहले ही मैं शुरू किया है एक दो मिनट पहले ही शुरू किया है ।

श्री सभापति : आपकी पार्टी का समय खत्म हो गया है । हर पार्टी का टाइम होता है ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : श्रीमान्, मैं क्षेत्रीय विपमता की बात करना चाहता हूँ । इस अभिभाषण में कहा गया है कि क्षेत्रीय विपमता को खत्म किया जाएगा । मैं बिहार का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ । बिहार के अन्दर 45 प्रतिशत मिनरल्स मिलते हैं, लेकिन बिहार की पर-केपिटल इनकम कितनी है ? भारत में वह सबसे कम है । बिहार एक पिछड़ा इलाका है । 45 प्रतिशत मिनरल्स रिसोर्सिज होने पर भी वह अन्य राज्यों से पिछड़ा हुआ है ।

श्री सभापति : अब आप अपना आश्वासन पढ़ण कीजिये । इसके आगे मैं आपको बिलकुल इजाजत नहीं दे रहा हूँ ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : श्रीमान्, ठीक है, अगर आप चाहते हैं तो मैं बैठ जाता हूँ ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I call upon the Prime Minister to speak.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at first I would like to thank all the Members those have participated in this debate. Many interesting comments have come from the Members, some useful suggestions also. But the general tenor of the debate has been high and has been worthy of the highest parliamentary traditions.

श्री सभापति : जब आपकी तारीफ हो तो तब भी आप तालियाँ नहीं बजाने हैं ।

श्री राजीव गांधी : अब कैसे करें सच्चाई तो खुद जानते हैं ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS AND WOMEN AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): Mr. Vajpayee is blushing.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, 1987 has been a year of persistent challenge, and of determined response by the Government. It has been a year of achievement in the face of great difficulties. Some difficulties were caused by disruptive forces within the country, some difficulties by disruptive forces inspired from abroad and some difficulties were caused by the weather.

When in 1966-67 Indiraji launched the green revolution, she too was faced with similar difficulties, weather difficulties. It was her far-sightedness that has given our economy the strength and resilience with which it has met the present crisis, with which we have been able to meet the present crisis entirely through our efforts and our endeavour. We have not carried the begging bowl to anyone. We have not compromised on our freedom of action. At that time Indiraji's strategy was opposed by many experts and technicians. It was opposed by certain myopic elements in the opposite benches. Indiraji prevailed because of her faith in the efforts of our kisans, because of her confidence in the ability of our scientists, because of her trust in the performance of our extension workers. She assured farmers of the required inputs at reasonable prices, despite the burden of subsidising on our economy. She gave the farmers remunerative prices as the cardinal principle of the new strategy. She nationalised the banks to give credit at the doorstep of the farmer. She initiated a system of countrywide procurement to stabilise the prices that the farmers would get. Indiraji ensured that her strategy looked to the interests of all sections of our rural community, not just the farmer

but also the small and marginal cultivator, landless labourer and even the rural artisan.

We doubled our output in two decades because of her integrated vision of rural India, her sympathy and understanding for each segment of our rural society, because of her assiduous attention to inputs, to costs and to subsidies. Today, after four years of bad monsoon, two years of poor rains followed by two years of severe drought, we can hold our heads high and look to the future with confidence because Indiraji laid the foundations which were sure, sound and secure. Our drive to maximise the rabi output is meeting with encouraging success. We hope to limit the shortfall to 10 per cent of last year's output, perhaps even as low as 7 per cent; but the problem is not entirely over. Dry months are still ahead and we must not be complacent. This is the time to be watchful and vigilant.

During this past year, we have done much to mitigate the distress of drought. Relief programme have been handled efficiently by and large by all the States. The ceiling of assistance has been put at the high level of Rs. 1400 crore with almost half of it earmarked for Gujarat and Rajasthan as they were the most severely hit. Surcharges on taxes have been used so that the burden does not fall on the poor and only the rich have borne this burden.

Using foodgrain buffer-stocks we have launched programmes to generate employment, to build assets, to cushion against future droughts. Through worthwhile relief schemes we have ensured that expenditure on relief became expenditure on development. We have rushed fodder from areas of surplus to areas of scarcity. Special schemes for drinking water have been implemented and we have taken up special programmes for boosting the demand for the output of the village artisans and the hand-

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

loom weavers. This is specially important because these are sections who normally get left out and they face very severe consequences of the side-effects of a drought. The genesis of the Green Revolution was the scientific breakthrough which brought in new hybrid seeds. It was also a complete package of inputs to the irrigated land leading to self-sufficiency in foodgrains. We must now ensure that there is no levelling off of our foodgrains production. The scientific community must be galvanised into providing answers to the next phase of the Green Revolution, of taking it to new areas, expanding it to new crops and making it resilient to the vagaries of the weather. Already, the special rice production programme is spreading throughout Eastern U.P. and is changing Eastern U.P. into the new granary of India. Dryland farming has been boosted by the technology mission on oilseeds and by the national project for pulses. The primary cause for our not surpassing the 1983-84 record foodgrains crop has been the weather and it would, therefore, be reasonable to hope for a better monsoon this year.

Our objective must remain to regain the momentum of the Sixth Plan in the Seventh Plan. We will give a new thrust and a new impetus to agriculture. We have given careful attention to agriculture already. I have held review meetings at various levels and I have given specific directions to the Planning Commission to revamp the plan for agriculture. I have instructed them to reorder the priorities to give agriculture the highest importance. I have asked them to furnish a detailed district-wise crop plan for the coming season and I am told that this is almost ready and we will be looking at it soon. The district-wise crop plan will look not only at the type of crops that are planted but also the inputs that are required for the crops, the timing, when the inputs will come, what the inputs

are and this is the first time that we will have gone into such details. The Planning Commission themselves were a little worried as to whether they would be able to compile such details so quickly. We have to wait and see.

In the remaining two years of the Seventh Plan, we must regain this lost momentum. We must hit 175 million tonnes at the end of the Seventh Plan. It is only to this end that the Budget allocations for agriculture, farm and rural-related sectors were substantially increased and a positive direction given in the Budget to help this section of our community. The Finance Minister has announced major fiscal and financial incentives. We are committed to the farmer as the backbone of our economy. We are committed to promoting producti agriculture. We are committed promoting investment in agricultur We must galvanise the rural community by placing the results of the best technology in the hands of the poorest farmer, by providing subsidies where required, to ensure inputs at reasonable costs. A question has been raised about subsidies and how they are given. I, myself, have raised some questions, whether the manner in which we pay these subsidies are the most effective way of utilising this money for the benefit of the farmer or for the benefit of agricultural output. We will look into this and if some readjustment is required we will definitely do that.

We have to see that attractive prices are given to the farmers. Most of all, we have to look not just at the farmer but at the rural community as a whole because it is only when we look at the whole community that we will really be able to give support to the farmer. This cannot be done by pitting the farmer against everybody else. It cannot be done by raising a false dichotomy between agriculture and industry, it cannot be done by opportunist alliances with vested interests who only nurture their own interest, who raise unreasonable demands and who hold the

country and the farmer to ransom. We shall never surrender to such pressures from vested interests.

While facing up to the difficulties in the agricultural sector, we have pushed ahead satisfactorily in other areas. Infrastructure has done very well. Almost entirely in the public sector it has returned a performance which would fill the heart of every Indian with pride. Despite drought-curtailed hydel generation, overall power generation has gone up by 7.6 per cent, thanks to thermal generation going up by 16 per cent. The PLF which averaged only 44 per cent in 1979-80 went up to 50 per cent in 1983-84 and has gone up to 55 per cent in 1987-88. Coal production has gone up by 10.2 per cent over last year. Railway freight has increased by 5.4 per cent over last year. Overall industrial performance has been satisfactory. Despite the drought we are likely to have an industrial growth of over 8 per cent, making the average industrial growth for 4 years in succession over 8 per cent. This proves that our industrial policies have clearly succeeded.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : पब्लिक सेक्टर में घाटा क्यों लग रहा है ?

श्री राजीव गांधी : मैं तो समझा था भभापति जी ने पूरा मौका दे दिया था खत्म करने के लिये, लेकिन ये अभी तक बोलने जा रहे हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : कहाँ। आपने बोलने ही नहीं दिया (अवधान)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We will continue to give full support to the productive forces in our industry, we will continue to encourage the modernisation in our industry, we will continue to increase competition in our industry. Although the progress has been good, there is no room for complacency because sometimes the effects of a drought year start coming in a little later. We will keep a very careful watch over develop-

ments and try to maintain the high momentum that we have gathered during these past years. Till just a few years ago drought meant disaster. The drought in 1979-80 meant that the GNP fell, it was minus 4.7 per cent. This year there is no fall in GNP, perhaps even a modest increase. On all such previous occasions we have seen only retrogression, no question of progress. This year, in spite of the drought we have moved up. For the first time in the history of our planning we have achieved 86 per cent of Central sector outlay target in real terms in the first four years of the Seventh Plan. Never before have we seen such dynamism in investment. Project management has considerably improved and many major public sector enterprises will be coming on stream soon. This is practical socialism, socialism which has doubled investment in the public sector over one single Plan period socialism which has pushed up public sector performance, productivity and profitability. Our commitment is to a strong public sector and to greater autonomy for the public sector. We will be spelling out our plans in a White Paper to be presented shortly to Parliament.

With many Members we share the concern at the increasing prices. We regard the control of inflation as one of our topmost priorities and we have taken steps to hold back the pressures of inflation. In 1979-80, the last time the country went through a drought, and a drought nowhere near as severe as the drought that we have gone through during these past two years, you will recall, Sir, that the Government was formed by the benches opposite who had allowed the prices to go up by 21.4 per cent.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इस समय से भी ज्यादा था, यह तो गलत बात बोल रहे हैं। हमारे जमाने में प्राइस लार्न होल्ड-अप हुआ था। यही तो क्रेडिट था जनता पार्टी को—आपके जमाने में कभी प्राइस लार्न होल्ड-अप नहीं हुआ है।

श्री राजीव गांधी : उस इनफ्लेशन में इनकी कीमत भी बढ़ गई थी।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : आपकी इस समय स्वीडन तक कीमत बढ़ गई है।

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra) : It is beyond his capacity to understand this.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: In a much more trying situation, we have held down the price rise to under 10 per cent. In the previous two years, inflation has averaged near 4.5 per cent per annum. We have done this by keeping the lid on the budget deficit, by deploying monetary and fiscal policies in tandem to contain prices, by ensuring essential supplies including certain imports of edible oils to meet the shortages. We will continue to closely monitor the price index and we will do all we can to hold down inflation.

I am particularly concerned at the increasing Government expenditure, and especially unproductive expenditure. This must be controlled. We have taken certain steps. We have been successful to a degree, but it is nowhere near what we would have liked it to be. Much more needs to be done. At the same-time, we must also concentrate on Government productivity—like I said in the infrastructure sector, in the public sector, productivity has improved tremendously, but a lot more still needs to be done.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the over-riding priority is the elimination of poverty. And the key to poverty elimination must start with quality education for the poorest and for all sections of our society. We can only remove poverty if there is healthy economic growth and if our anti-poverty programmes are run efficiently. Sir, no previous government has earmarked as large a sum as we have for anti-poverty programmes. No previous government has introduced as many improvements as we have in the administration of these programmes.

Sir, one Member complained about the leakage of development funds and development funds not reaching the targeted groups. We too are looking at this aspect and seeing how we can make

our programmes more effective, to prevent leakages and also to make the administration of these programmes more effective so that a higher percentage of these programmes is used for the direct benefit of the target groups. We have tightened monitoring of programmes very substantially through many methods including concurrent evaluation. We have made adjustments, and we have fine-tuned the programmes to make them more effective. I would like to say at this point that while all leakages are bad, leakages which are earmarked for particular cadres are even worse.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Congress cadres?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The poverty ratio during the Sixth Plan fell dramatically. We are aiming for similar dramatic reductions in the poverty ratio in the Seventh Plan. We shall make a determined bid to end this scourge by the end of the century.

Government have addressed themselves to these challenges with seriousness and success. Regrettably, the same cannot be said of the Opposition. While this country was confronted by the severest drought of the century, when the country was facing threat to its integrity and security, the Opposition was busy chasing chimeras in the vain hope that pursuit of scandal would make up for their paucity in policy. The result was a waste of the precious time of Parliament.

Some Members have complained about the time that was given for discussion on the Budget last year especially on the Demands of various Ministries. Let me remind that...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That happens in the Lok Sabha. Your reference to it in the Lok Sabha was correct, but not here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): You can skip those paragraphs. They relate to the Lok Sabha.

PANDHI: Perhaps the hon. Member was not sitting right through the debate.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are reading the same page perhaps.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: That less demands were discussed last year than were discussed in the previous year is the point.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We are not discussing demands here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You can skip those paragraphs. They do not relate to this House.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Ministries are discussed.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Prime Minister, you have enlightened us. When you delivered the speech in the Lok Sabha, it was very relevant, but not here. This is Rajya Sabha.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will come to your point also. Some demands are discussed here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Cut out those lines.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, last year, the Opposition obviously found other things of more serious importance than the serious business that was put in front of the House.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): This is relevant here, Sir.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): It is a reflection on Parliament. I am sorry.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: On the Opposition Members, not on Parliament.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: Opposition is a part of Parliament.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR): Chairman is a part of Parliament, not the Opposition.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Some so-called progressive Members have been

expressing the reactionary view about technology. Obsolete technology gives low levels of productivity. It gives low wages. It gives low growth or perhaps no growth.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Like obsolete Prime Ministers.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Those that have been replaced. Without growth where will millions get additional jobs? These jobs are needed by millions of young men and women in our country. Nothing can be more anti-worker than condemning the worker to outmoded units which invariably go sick, threaten his job and then deny opportunity to millions on the Employment Registers. If the number of sick units has gone up eight-fold, as has been said in one of the Houses, the basic reason is...

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: In which House?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: You remember.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: You recollect.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: You remember.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The difficulty is that ghost writers are not two. Only one ghost writer is there. You are reading the same speech which you had given there. You have not gone through the debate which has taken place.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Mr. Ghosh, I would like to remind you that I am speaking on the same President's Address.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : लेकिन यहां का जवाब आपको देना है। इस ह.ऊ.म में जो हमने कहा है, उसका जवाब देना है। वहां का जवाब यहां नहीं देना है।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Lok Sabha Members made different points and Rajya Sabha eMembers made different points. Never before it has happened, Sir.?

MR. CHAIRMAN: The President's speech is same, I read the same speech.

SHRI M. A. BABY: The speech same, but the debate was different.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Sir, why can't he lay it on the Table of the House, as the Budget is laid here? That is enough.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): He should reply to the debate in the Rajya Sabha, He is not doing that.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is ridiculous. The speech for the Lok Sabha is being read here.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: What do you mean by ridiculous?

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: It is an address by the Prime Minister, it is not a reply by the Prime Minister.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Perhaps the hon. Member would like to define 'ridiculous' for me.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: When the speech required by the Lok Sabha is read in the Rajya Sabha, that is ridiculous.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly keep order so that the business may go on.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: The reply should be in order.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The basic reason for sickness of industry is outmoded technology bad management and unthinking trade unions. Increase in manual labour as the only answer to increasing employment is a non-answer. It is not a solution. Such a policy will bleed the economy white. It will ensure galloping sickness and it will only increase unemployment. To end the curse of unemployment what is needed first is proper education and fast growth in the economy. We would like to see the workers educated so that they cannot be exploited, whereas there are some parties who would like to keep the workers

uneducated so that their unions can exploit them.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : शुरुआत तो आपने की है ।

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: For proper employment we need fast economic growth. We need a constant upgradation of technology and skills on the job. Sir, as technology advances the same worker will find that the drudgery in his job is reduced, his productivity increases and his wages get enhanced. Meanwhile increase employment opportunities will develop for those that are waiting in the queue. Our policy has given two years of excellent labour relations. These two years have raised a new consciousness of the imperatives for higher productivity, lower cost and better quality in management as well as in labour. We have given greater participation to labour in management.

Sir, the Congress is not only the party of the farmer but it is also the party of the working class. It represents the employed. It represents the unemployed. It also represents the unorganised.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : कांग्रेस पार्टी और कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट—व्हाट डू यू मीन ?

एक माननीय सदस्य : सभापति महोदय, इनके लिये तो स्पेशल स्कूल खोल लिये ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : आप कांग्रेस सरकार की बात कीजिये, कांग्रेस पार्टी की नहीं ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is a common courtesy. Everybody wants to hear and you also hear. If you disturb the whole thing gets. (*Interruptions*). अब आप जरा माफ कीजिये ।

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir the Congress does not promote, as some parties do, the interests of a small minority of the working class to the detriment of the vast majority of the working class.. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, we intend to strengthen the district planning process. After my meeting with the District Magistrates I have.. (Interruptions), Sir, I am glad that he is amusing himself. All right I will answer your question first. Sir, I have invited the Chief Ministers to attend the meeting. All except one have attended the meeting and accompanied me to the workshop. Those who have accompanied me and sat through with the Magistrates have found the encounters rewarding and very useful.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Revolting?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Rewarding. There was only one Chief Minister who declined to attend.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Very wisely.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: First he declined to attend and then he complained of a conspiracy behind his back.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: All non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers have opposed your scheme.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The hon. Member need not protect his Chief Minister on every ground at least when he knows that he is wrong. He should not embarrass himself. Sir, let me be very clear that there was only one conspiracy that we are hatching with the D.M.s and that is to have more responsive administration. (Interruption).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: But you should be more responsive before you teach that. You are not at all responsive to the Opposition or to the Opposition delegation. How can you teach responsiveness to them when you refuse to meet a delegation? (Interruptions). No, no, he refused to meet a delegation and he is teaching responsiveness to the District Magistrates.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE (KUMARI SAROJ KHAPARDE): An Opposition Member of Lok Sabha has already resigned because of corruption today. (Interruption).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You are not accessible even to your own party-men, your own Ministers and you

are preaching responsiveness... (Interruptions).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, we have asked the Planning Commission to look at the 8th Plan starting with the district plan. We would also like a certain amount of flexibility to be built into the district development process so that there is space for local adjustment of various programmes. We will be looking at both these aspects in the coming year. Sir, during the last year, we have had to impose President's Rule in Punjab. Representative democracy was given every opportunity but the elected leadership failed to rise to the occasion and there is still insufficient evidence on the part of any faction of the party elected to power for readiness to face up to terrorism with determination and without ambiguity. Only with such readiness can the normal political process be re-established. The menace of terrorism cannot be left unchecked. Firm police action is essential and indispensable for the unity and integrity of our country. For several months after President's Rule, security forces were gaining on the terrorists. In recent weeks the terrorists have had some grisly successes but if we are firm in our resolve, then ultimately it is we who will prevail. Sir, the elections in Tripura have generated some heat over the declaration of Tripura as a disturbed area. (Interruption). Let me just say that the question of whether Tripura was a disturbed area or not has been answered by the verdict of the people of Tripura. (Interruption).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Your party has secured 24 seats. Our party has secured 26 seats. Which number is greater, 26 or 24? The Left Front has secured 50.4 per cent of the popular vote.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the hon. Member has very good numbers. I am sure, he is a mathematics professor in his spare time. But I would like to remind him that his Government is not in power. (Interruption).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Because you murdered democracy there. Because you vitiated the atmosphere there. You have

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brought down that Government. (*Interruption*).

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): You are the professor of horse-trading. (*Interruption*).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the fact is that the people of Tripura have rejected the CPM. (*Interruption*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We challenge, hold the elections again.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: And I would further like to say, the fact is that the CPM is not accepting the verdict of the people. (*Interruption*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You are in alliance with the TUJS. Your party is in alliance with the TUJS.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Have some respect for the people of Tripura. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: The hon. Prime Minister is raising his voice. Let us take it easy. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You have alliance with disruptive forces there. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: When I raise points that I want to raise, they object. When I answer points they have raised, they object even more vehemently. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You have to answer. You answer. (*Interruptions*). For the first time in the history of India, elections were held by deployment of army. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: This was the most peaceful election that Tripura had ever had. Let me also say.. (*Interruptions*) Let me also say that not the CPM, not the Congress, nobody in Tripura complained about the army presence till the counting started. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: No, you are not speaking the truth. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Chairman, he is misleading the House. He cannot mislead the House. (*Interruptions*) On 29th January itself, the Chief Minister of Tripura had objected to it. He cannot mislead the House. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I am on a point of order. The Prime Minister is not correct. On the 30th January, itself, all the non-Congress Chief Ministers jointly protested against this. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He cannot mislead the House by speaking untruth. On 29th January itself, the Chief Minister of Tripura had protested against the deployment of army all over the State. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, kindly hear. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me rephrase the answer. (*Interruptions*)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : श्रीमन् यह तो प्वाइंट आफ प्रिविलेज है। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि गणना से पहले किसी ने आब्जेक्ट नहीं किया। यह बात रेकार्ड में है। ये हाउस को मिसलीड कर रहे हैं... (अवधान)

श्री सभापति : आप बैठ जाइये। आप बार-बार खड़े हो जाते हैं। आप की बात ऐसे रेकार्ड में नहीं जाएगी।

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will rephrase the answer. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You tell the truth.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You cover the untruth. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH:*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nobody can interrupt like you do. You are doing it which is just not permissible. If you go on interrupting like this, how can the proceedings go on? (*Interruptions*).

*Not recorded.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH:*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Without my permission you are speaking. How can the House proceed? Please, sit down (*Interruptions*). Let us hear him. (*Interruptions*Q.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I remember reading a report after the polling had taken place. I am sorry. When I spoke earlier, I meant, after the polling, not before polling. Yes, There were objections in both the Houses after the polling took place. I remember there was a report which said both an office-bearer of the ruling party and an office-bearer of the Congress party had separately given statements in Tripura which said that the army had not interfered with the voting in any way and they were totally away from the booth everywhere. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He is misleading the House. (*Interruptions*). Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a question of privilege. This is a question of privilege. The Prime Minister cannot mislead the House by stating an untruth. The fact is on 29th January the whole of the State of Tripura was brought under the Disturbed Areas Act after the Prime Minister had come back to Delhi from Tripura tour. On 29th January the army was asked to take over the administration. On 29th January itself the Chief Minister of Tripura had objected to it. And the next day the other non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers had jointly issued a statement condemning the bringing of the whole State under the Disturbed Areas Act and the deploying of army on the eve of the election.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What he has said is after the elections, all the sides said that the elections were fair. That is all. This appeared in the newspapers.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The honourable Member has not contradicted what I have said. In fact he supports what I also said. In fact, he supports what I have said. In fact, that is what I have also said. I thank the honourable Member for supporting me. I would also

like to remind the honourable Member that if I remember correctly, the Chief Minister of Tripura thanked the people of Tripura for the peaceful voting. If the Chief Minister of Tripura had thought at that time that the army had interfered, he would have said so when he was thanking the people. Why did he not say so at that time?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He had said...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: No, Sir. The fact is that the question of army and disturbed areas relating to elections only started coming up after the counting started. That is the fact. The fact is that the CPM is still not willing to accept the fact that they have been rejected by the people of Tripura.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Let there be a new election and pull out the army.. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Everything is in the press. Why argue about it?

SHRI M. A. BABY: What happened in Majlispur constituency? (*Interruption*) Will the Prime Minister explain what happened in Majlispur constituency. (*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: When Baby speaks you must not disturb him. Have some regard for the baby!

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me remind the Members that the previous Government in Tripura, through a dangerous combination of incompetence and naivete, had allowed insurgency to overtake that State. Let that not be forgotten.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What happened in Punjab?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We have dismissed the Government in Punjab. (*Interruptions*). I understand the Members; they are asking us to declare President's rule in any State where the law and order gets out of hand. Is this what the honourable Members are saying?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Everywhere you are defeated.

*Not recorded.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Particularly after the election in West Bengal, after what happened in Punjab.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will convey the feelings of the honourable Member to the Home Minister and I will tell him to think seriously about applying the Disturbed Areas Act in those areas which are disturbed..

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Is it your property?..(Interruptions) Is article 356 of the Constitution your property?.....(Interruptions) Is it the Home Ministry's property?..(Interruptions) What is he saying, Sir?..(Interruptions) ..

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Sir, it is an objectionable statement. That much I can say..(Interruptions) ..

MR. CHAIRMAN: He said that is was a suggestion for action..(Interruptions) ..

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is most objectionable..(Interruptions) .. It is most objectionable..(Interruptions) ..

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is not a responsible statement.. (Interruptions) ..

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is not his property or his party's property ..(Interruptions) ..It must be expunged..(Interruptions) Article 356 of the Constitution is not the property of the Congress (I) Party..(Interruptions) .. Article 356 of the Constitution is not the property of the Prime Minister..(Interruption)

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: He has no right to say that..(Interruptions)

यह प्रधान मंत्री का बचकाना भाषण है।

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश): प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बात से ये घबरा गये हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री राजीव गांधी : जो कुछ वे कह रहे हैं, वही मैं कह रहा हूँ... (व्यवधान)।

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: There is the Constitution and there is a

Constitutional provision. He cannot say that the Home Ministry would decide it. The Prime Minister should not speak like this..(Interruptions) ..

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I do not think that the Members have understood what I have said..(Interruptions) ..It is not lost on their minds..(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: There is a provision under article 356 of the Constitution and he cannot say like this..(Interruptions) .. It is objectionable..(Interruptions) ..

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : यह प्रधान मंत्री की बहुत ही बचकाना बात है... (व्यवधान)।

श्री सभापति : श्री राम अवधेश सिंह जी, आप लगातार डिस्टर्ब कर रहे हैं, हाउस को चलने नहीं दे रहे हैं। आपने यह एक आदत बना रखी है। ऐसा लगता है आपकी सीट पर स्प्रिंग लगे हुये हैं। यह तो रैपार्टी चलती रहती है, इन्होंने कुछ कहा, उन्होंने कुछ कहा, दिस इज ए सजेशन फार एक्शन। उस पर आप नाराजगी प्रकट करें, यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसको प्रोफेसर भी समझते हैं। यह तो सब ह्यूमर की चीज है। आप ह्यूमर भी नहीं समझते हैं। ह्यूमर को उसी लाइट में लेना चाहिये।

श्री पर्वतनेनि उपेन्द्र : मजाक की भी एक लिमिट होती है।

श्री सभापति : यह तो ह्यूमर की चीज है। इसको इसी रूप में लीजिये।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: If that is the humour of the Prime Minister, then it is a misfortune for all of us.. (Interruptions) ..It that is the level of intelligence of the Prime Minister then it is a misfortune. He has come down to so low a level .. (Interruptions)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : श्रीमान्, मेरा कहना है... (व्यवधान)।

श्री सभापति : अब आप बैठ जाइये ।
हाउस में अगर ह्यूमर नहीं रहेगा तो हाउस
की जिन्दगी कैसे चलेगी ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I have not given any suggestion on my part. What I was saying was that the suggestion has come on the floor of the House which I would pass on to the Home Minister... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: We will take the honour, Sir. But it is not for violating the provisions of the Constitution... (Interruptions)...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, with the due respect, I would like to request the honourable Member if he knows of any area that is disturbed where there are such law and order problems, to bring it to the notice of the Home Minister ... (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Delhi, the Union territory of Delhi.... (Interruptions)... What about Delhi?... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Delhi... (Interruptions)...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: There is one area which is certainly disturbed... (Interruptions)... There is no doubt about that... (Interruptions)...

श्री. राम अवधेश सिंह पंजाब की
सेव्य रिटो बेल्ट का क्या हुआ ?

SHRI VISHVJIT PRITHVJIT SINGH (Maharashtra): Sir, there is one area which seems to be permanently disturbed and it is the Opposition benches of this House ... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, that jurisdiction falls entirely within your sphere; and it has nothing to do with the Home Minister. (Interruptions).

In April-May last year there was an outbreak of communal violence in Meerut and elsewhere around Meerut. It is shock-

ing and painful. Effective action was taken to stamp out violence—unfortunately not before many innocent lives were lost. The allegations of atrocities have been looked into. The District administration has been shaken up. Rehabilitation measures have been undertaken. The fanatics have been contained and the fundamentalists restrained. We have realised that since then communal violence has not flared up again in Meerut or spread further. But, by and large the country has remained free of any other major incident of communal violence. Our greatest asset in fighting communalism is that our people are overwhelmingly not communal. We have a long tradition of tolerance and brotherhood. (Interruptions) Our composite culture is a reality. We have five thousand years' experience of unity in diversity. Communalism is the work of a few misguided elements, who sometimes succeed in inciting communal passions by exploiting specific social tensions and disorders. To marginalise communalists we need a determined political action, we need vigilance in the local community and the local leadership. We need an administration that is impartial, is seen to be impartial, an administration that is firm and determined, and determined in dealing with violence.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): What about November 1984? (Interruptions).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me say very clearly that we have taken action against those that were named. We have started the proceedings. We have taken more action in rehabilitating the people who were affected by these riots than has ever been done in the history of this country or has ever been done since.... (Interruptions). Let me say that we will not feel shy of punishing anybody. (Interruptions) Let me finish, Sir. And let me also say that the 'kangaroo courts' that were set up did more harm and damage to this nation than anything else. Even the reports of those 'kangaroo courts' have not been read properly by the hon. Members who raised this question. I would request them to go and read these reports and then come back and tell me.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: The facts are there. They have mentioned who were guilty.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: You can re-read.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Who said these were 'kangaroo courts'?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I call it 'kangaroo court'.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I am sorry. It is wrong. It is because you want to hide something. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Nothing damages the system of judiciary than these 'kangaroo courts'. (*Interruptions*) We should not put up with them. (*Interruptions*)

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: You can have a majority. But the truth cannot be hidden.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is unfortunate that educated people subscribe to such methods. It is sad. (*Interruptions*) Sir, above all to contain communalism; we need the fostering and preserving of the values and standards of our society and our civilization, those values and standards which are embedded in our culture and in our traditions. Sir, our traditions of tolerance and assimilation are threatened from two angles today. The one that I have mentioned is communalism together with fundamentalism, regionalism and all the other 'isms' that sprout up. It is also threatened by materialism which is growing in our society. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: They are asking when you have become spiritual.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I have always maintained that the Communists are totally materialistic and have no other value. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Prime Minister; you materialism means kickbacks.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: What other values do you have except materialism?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Your materialism means kickbacks.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Some day we will discuss that also. Sir; those that live on borrowed ideology; those that live on out-dated ideology that is alien to our nation; those that strive to cast our nation in a foreign mould, they have no right to talk of ideologies . . .

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Borrowed technology is wonderful!

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Even for technology, if our hon. friends would look at their mentors who are now talking of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika', they might open their eyes, they might understand, they might see.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: With your intelligence...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: You don't need intelligence. I don't have intelligence. All you need is eyes and ears. (*Interruptions*). I talk of systems that have been developed in India, I talk of values that go back to thousands of years.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You talk of borrowing money from the World Bank, you talk of borrowing money from the IMF, you talk of borrowing from foreign banks, from Swiss banks. You talk of borrowing technology from America. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, like I was saying, the Communists are totally materialistic. I am talking of ideals and values and standards and he is talking of money (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Our Naval vessels were permitted to take foreigners to Lakshadweep. What was the doctrine behind it? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, a lot has been said about my going to Lakshadweep. Let me say that if any law of this land has been violated in any way, I am willing to pay for that. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: How the foreigners were permitted? How the family members of a man whose name figures in the biggest scandal were taken to Lakshadweep? (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are not having a debate on Lakshadweep. Let us not bring extraneous things. Otherwise there will be no end.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: How they were taken to Lakshadweep? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I have not been able to understand what has been said but I would like to put it on record that if any law of this land was violated by me or by any friends of mine or by any relatives of mine when I was in Lakshadweep, I am willing to pay the price. Let me also say clearly that the holiday was my holiday and it was paid for by me and there was no Government expense. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, I do not object to the Prime Minister going for a holiday. I do not object to that. . . (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I am afraid of your blood pressure. Think of your blood pressure. Kindly sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I do not object to my Prime Minister going for a holiday. But I say when there is a probe against a man, how his family members are taken along on the holiday trip?.. (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Sir, the rules of the House do not permit having a running commentary.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The additional reason is that he may have blood pressure.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Sir under the rules of the House, running commentary is not permitted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am worried about him also. My interest is in his health also. And now I tell you, two of you, that you are in the habit of continuously interrupting the proceedings..

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Sir, running commentaries cannot also be recorded and cannot form a part of the record.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Normally if anything comes like this and you know there is a rule that if a Member whoever is speaking, if he does not yield, you have to stop.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He has yielded.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: No, Sir, I have not yielded on any occasion.

Sir, to inculcate the right values, one must look first at the educational system. Sir, we have during these last years brought about substantial changes in the educational system. Our attempt has been to bring the best education closest and most available to the poorest people, the poorest children in the country, to bring the best education for the most talented girls and boys from every segment of our poor and deprived society. It is unfortunate that our States have not cooperated in this endeavour and that there are still some States in which good education is not available for the poor children in that State.

Sir, there are some States that believe that they have a vested interest in the continuation of poverty because when you do not educate the children of the poor, it means that you want poverty to continue. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, there is even one State that believes that the core curricula should be built around foreign or alien ideologies. Sir, while that State continues to ensure poor education, for the poor, happily the rest of the country forges ahead. Sir, Operation. 6.00 P.M. Blackboard is an exercise to assist the State Governments in

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

equipping primary schools. In an area which is entirely a State subject, we have had to step in because the States have not bothered to improve the quality of education in schools. We must remember that the Centre can only provide assistance, supplementary assistance, and the main task must lie with the State Government. During these years, over 200 Navodaya Vidyalayas have been opened; more are in the offing and will be opened soon. The single largest segment of children in the Navodaya Vidyalayas comes from the poorest sections of society, and the overwhelming group is from rural areas. So the target group is the poor rural child and the Navodaya Vidyalaya has reached out to it. Our nation will now, for the first time, be reaching to these reservoirs of excellence and intelligence which were being bypassed because of our bad education system. Unfortunately some States will still have their poor children left behind.

Women constitute half our community. We have taken a number of measures to strengthen women, to strengthen them in gaining their rights. We have passed a number of Bills. We have made girls' education free upto High School level throughout the country and now we are setting up a National Committee on Women which will bring together distinguished women from different disciplines to advise on the formulation and implementation of programmes for women.

Our country is growing younger. The average age has now come down to under 40, and one of the biggest problems for our youth is employment. As I said earlier, we have undertaken a number of programmes to improve employment opportunities. We have also started a number of programmes for the youth to make them find employment more easily. In the education policy, in various institutions, we are trying to inculcate a sense of enterprise and initiative in our youth so that they can come out and create jobs for themselves where opportunity is there. We are making our youth proud of India and of its heritage. We have greatly expanded the programmes

for youth in every sphere and we have no doubt that with this new thrust in youth areas, the youth of India will come forward to meet the challenges that lie ahead for our country.

For the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we have paid special attention in this Budget as you must have noted. We have increased allocation for their programmes. We have during the last year strengthened the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commissioner. We have revamped the Commission to give it more teeth in closely monitoring deployment of funds earmarked for them. The minorities are integral part of our nation, of our many-faceted, diverse, society. They are a part of our composite heritage and of our valued tradition. India cannot remain India if we lose any part of the totality of our culture. Some minorities have, on an average, done exceptionally well; sometimes much better than other stronger communities. Others, for various reasons, suffer from specific handicaps and need special attention. The key to the resolution of the problems of the minorities lies in the conscientious implementation of Indiraji's 15-point programme. We have greatly strengthened the monitoring apparatus during these years. We will do all we can to ensure that the minorities play a role in national life commensurate with the contribution that they have made and the contribution that they can make.

Sir, hon. Members are aware of General Secretary Gorbachev's initiative to withdraw the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. We welcome his initiative. So do all those who seek a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem. We are hopeful that the talks that are taking place in Geneva will be successful and that an agreement or accord signed before the 15th March so that the withdrawal process can start two months later as stated.

India has been working since 1980 to help resolve this problem. Indiraji had discussions with the Afghan Prime Minister. There were many discussions at the Foreign Ministers' level and at other levels. We played a key role in the formulation, in

the non-aligned formulation, which referred to the stoppage of intervention and interference in Afghanistan which is one of the key aspects of the solution if it comes about in the coming weeks. I had repeated talks with General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan beginning in May-June 1985 and continued till recently. I also had a long talk with President Najib. In recognition of the constructive role that India has played, both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have taken us into confidence. The key Afghan personalities have appreciated our role. Some have questioned the need for India to play a role in the solution of the Afghanistan problem. We cannot remain indifferent. We have a vital stake in what is happening there. Afghanistan is in our neighbourhood. It is an integral part of our region. It is an area where developments have brought the major powers into confrontation, close to us, right at our doorsteps. Now, we have an opportunity of strengthening the forces of non-alignment. That is why I invited President Zia to Delhi for a working visit. President Zia has not been able to come because of pre-occupation with political activity at home. At his suggestion of my naming an emissary, I have named our Foreign Secretary as my special emissary to go to Pakistan. For stability in the region, India and Pakistan need to work together on this issue. I wanted to talk to President Zia on this. In evolving a solution, we can work together for the benefit of each and for the good of all. I hope, there will be opportunities soon for wide-ranging consultations.

In Sri Lanka, there has been a significant forward movement, specially in recent days, in the implementation of the Agreement.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The agreement is dead and gone.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The Agreement secured justice for the Tamils. It secured unity and integrity for Sri Lanka. It secured our security interests and it ensured non-alignment in the region.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Will the Prime Minister yield for a minute?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will yield on one condition that he won't disturb me unless I yield. I must have that condition.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I agree.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am assuming that that commitment does not end with this debate.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, today two Tamil mothers are fasting unto death and any moment they may die.

AN HON. MEMBER: They have given up.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: No, not yet. I would like to know whether this Government would order a ceasefire and initiate negotiations because on 13th January Mr. Prabhakaran, the chief of the LTTE, has written a letter to our hon. Prime Minister, appealing to order a ceasefire and expressing his desire to come for the talks. Therefore, may I know from the Prime Minister whether the Government will order a ceasefire? Everyday there are killings on both sides. Our own Indian soldiers are getting killed and the Liberation Tigers, the liberation movement youths, are also getting killed. Brothers are fighting brothers and blood is flowing in the streets of Sri Lanka. Therefore will the Government order a ceasefire to end the *being committed by the IPKF in Sri Lanka?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Before I answer the first part of what the hon. Member has said, I would like to take strong objection to the word * used in connection with the IPKF. I think the whole House will stand with me in having that word deleted from the record.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I stand by it. You may not agree with me.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL (Punjab): You must withdraw the word.*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will not modify it. I do not agree with you.

*Not recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The use of the word *here is wrong and it will not go on record.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: All right, I modify it, killings of the innocent Tamils, Liberation Tigers of Eelam and of the IPKF. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: That word will not go on record.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am on a point of order. My point of order is this. I do not think that the IPKF is committing* I don't think, but I am on the question of light of a Member. If somebody uses a wrong word, can that be an argument for expunction?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: The word is derogatory and defamatory.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will explain. The word used gets a meaning from the context in which it is used. So, it will not be on record because it will be a slur on the whole nation. The whole House, I know, will be with me.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is massacre being committed on the Liberation Tigers.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will not object to the second formulation of the hon. Member and let me assure him that the IPKF is not killing any innocent Tamil.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are justifying the killing of the Liberation Tigers. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I agree with the hon. Member that the Liberation Tigers are killing innocent Tamils.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They are killing the traitors and betrayers.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The IPKF has had to come into protect Tamils from being killed by other Tamils. That is the fact. It was only when LTTE started killing Tamils from other groups that they did not approve of or like for personal rea-

*Not recorded.

sons that the IPKF had to come in. Let that not be forgotten. (Interruptions) I would request the hon. Member, Sir, the IPKF has been given a highly delicate task; they have been given very severe constraints under which they are to operate.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Barbarous.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: In spite of that the IPKF is functioning with tremendous discipline and dedication, IPKF has to be commended for what they are doing.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is because of your wrong policies that we are suffering. You sent them there.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: As mercenaries of Jayewardene.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We would prefer IPKF in Sri Lanka to forces of nations that are inimical to us. The hon. Member may prefer the opposite.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: We never said that.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: That was the alternative. If you would like to think who were in Sri Lanka before IPKF went in there, you will know it and if they are your friends, they are not our friends.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: The Israilis are still there. Mr. Jayewardene has said that they will not go.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The Sri Lankan Ministers have said that they will not go. The Pakistanis are still there. You are pressing a military solution.

ठाकर जगतपाल सिंह : सभापति महोदय
हर सेंटेंस पर खड़े हो जाते हैं । इस तरह
हाउस चलेगा ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is a very delicate situation. Let us not argue.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I would not like to yield. It is essential that the democratic process be allowed in Sri Lanka. The elections have been announced.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In the graveyard.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We have been assured by the President the elections will take place by the middle of this year. The elections in the North and the East will lead to a single Provincial Council and this will make the merger a reality.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: At gun-point you are going to hold the elections.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the elections will decide who the Tamils in Sri Lanka want to support. The democratic process will give them the opportunity to choose their own representatives, to choose those who will administer their affairs and it will give an opportunity to test every group or party amongst the Tamils. This will be done through the ballot box and not through bullets.

अब खत्म करने दो जाए। बहुत टाईम
है गया है।

An encouraging indication of return of normalcy is the flow of refugees going back to Sri Lanka.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They are compelled to go back by your Government.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, on compulsion has been used by our Government.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They have submitted a memorandum to you. They are not willing to go there. You are compelling them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You gave a word and he agreed to yield. Now you should keep your word at least.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, he is violating his own commitment.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Just like his friend, Mr Parbhakaran.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, we are in a danger of getting too engrossed in the miniature of development. Yes, statistic

and indices are important. But more important is the vision of India. India has always mattered in the world. We have led in the word of ideas. Our major contribution has been the enduring values and standards to the soul and spirit of humankind. Our national task is to take India back to its rightful place, to the front ranks of human civilisation. Development is an essential tool in this endeavour. But the real challenge is response to what lies beyond mere development and mere growth. To that great task the nation is summoned in this 40th year of our freedom.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to express my support to the Motion of Thanks to the President for his inspiring Address and urge the House to do likewise.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the amendments which have been moved to vote.

Amendment Nos. 38 to 81 by Mr. Baby.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I press my amendments, Mr. Chairman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the amendments to vote.

Amendment Nos. 38 to 81 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 82 to 172 and 178 by Shri N. E. Balaram. Are you withdrawing the amendments?

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: No, no, I am not withdrawing my amendments. I press them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put his amendments to vote.

Amendment Nos. 82 to 172 and 178 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 173 by Shri Chitta Basu. Are you withdrawing it?

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): No, Sir. I press it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put his amendment to vote.

Amendment No. 173 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 179 to 194 by Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I don't withdraw, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put his amendments to vote.

Amendment Nos. 179 to 194 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 195 to 201 by Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhr. Pradesh): I stand by my amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put his amendments to vote.

Amendment Nos. 195 to 201 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Motion to vote.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Sir, before doing that, I would like to say that the mover of the Motion may have already withdrawn the Motion. He has not rep-
to the debate. He has not indicated.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are an old Member.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You should enquire whether he has withdrawn it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are an older Member of the House than myself.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am just drawing your attention. He might have withdrawn it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is all right. I shall now put the Motion to vote. The question is:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

"That the Member of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 22nd February, 1988."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before the House is adjourned, I offer my greetings to all Members on the occasion of Holi.

The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday, the 7th of March, 1988.

The House then adjourned at twenty-six minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday the 7th March, 1988.