[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

ध्यान में रखते हुए मैं पुनः केन्द्र सरकार के इनर्जी मिनिस्टर से यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इन किसानों की कुर्बानी को ध्यान में रखते हुए किसानों की बिजली की उपलब्धता में वृद्धि कराये, ट्रिप्स रुकवाये और जो अत्यधिक भाव बढ़ हैं, उनको घटवाने की भी कोशिश करें।

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS —Contd.

डा० बापू कालदाते (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण हुआ उसके प्रति आभार प्रदर्शन के प्रस्ताव के संबंध में मैं जिन चीजों की तरफ अभी तक विशेष रूप से ध्यान नहीं दिया गया था, जिन चीजों के ऊपर ज्यादा बल देकर सदस्यों ने नहीं कहा ऐसी कुछ बातों के बारे में इस सदन के सामने अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूं। मैंने यह सारा भाषण सुना भी और पढ़ा भी, तब मुझे लगा कि जहां तक अति-शोषित लोगों का सवाल है, वहां तक यह अति-निराशाजनक भाषण है। यह भाषण जैसे पुराने जमाने में उच्च-वर्णीय और उच्च-वर्गीय लोग भोजन के समय जरा बड़ी शान से बैठते थें, तब आम तौर पर एक मन्त्र कहते थे :

> "ओउम सः ना भवत, सः नौ भुनक्तु सः वीर्यम करवावहै तेजस्वि नावधीतमस्तु। मा विद्विवावहै । ऊं शान्तिः ! शान्ति !! शान्ति !!!

ऐसा यह भाषण है, ओउम सः ना भवतु, इनका भोजन ठीक चल रहा है, खाऊ पें लड्डू खाऊ जलेबी खाऊ, भोजन मस्त चल रहा है। सब लोगों के लिये कहना है कि ओउम सः ना भवतु, वास्तव में खा रहा हूं, आप मुझे देखते रहिए। ओउम सः नौ भुनक्तु, मैं तो खा ही रहा हूं, सः वीर्यम करवावहै, आप चिन्ता मत कीजिये और सबके लिये शांति-शांति-शांति। पन्ना नंबर 4, पन्ना नंबर 5 पढ़िये, तो मैंने जो कहा है, उसका आपको पता लग जायेगा कि हम गरीब के लिये यह करेंगे, वह करेंगे, इलिट्रेसी के लिये यह करेंगे, एन०आर०डी०पी० करेंगे, वह करेंगे, लेकिन वास्तव में करेंगे क्या ? क्योंकि जहां तक गरीबों के सही सवाल हैं, विशेषकर आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के, जो माइनारिटीज के सवाल हैं, इनके बारे में यह भाषण बिल्कुल निराशाजनक है, यह बात मैं स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूं। इसके लिये मैं कुछ मिशाल आपके सामने पेश करना चाहता हूं, क्योंकि मैं इस बहस में ज्यादा इसलिये नहीं जा रहा हूं कि देश में कम्युनेलिज्म का खतरा कितना बढ़ गया है, मैं एक बात जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि यह बात सः ना भवतु, वाले मंत्रों से नहीं बचेगी, क्योंकि हम लोग जितना समझते हैं और हम और आप सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता होने के नाते समाज को जितना समझते हैं, यह कम्युनेलिज्म का जहर भले ही आप कितना कहते रहें हर इन्सान के दिल में पैदा हो चुका है। यह आपके मंत्रोच्चारण से नहीं रुकेगा। मैं अभी अकालस्त इलाके से आया हूं। मैं तो अकाल के कारण घूम रहा था। मैं एक गांव में दोपहर चार बजे पहुंचा और देखा कि सारे गांव पर भगवे झण्डे लहरा रहे हैं। महाराष्ट्र में भगवा दोनों-तीनों का है। भगवा शिवाजी का भी झंडा है, भगवा भगवत सम्प्रदाय का भी झंडा है, भगवा हिन्दू धर्म का भी झंडा है। सबके झंडे भगवे हैं। आजकल महाराष्ट्र में बहुत भगवे हैं। शिव सेना का झंडा ज्यादा भगवा है। ये सब भगवे वाले हैं। लेकिन वहां हमने देखा कि क्या आ रहा है ? क्यों लोग इक्कठे हैं ? सारा गांव इक्कठा है। अकाल की मीटिंग में जितने लोग नहीं आते, उतने उसके लिये आये हैं। कौन हैं वे लोग ? क्या चल रहा है ? वहां हमने सुना और देखा कि राम अयोध्या रथ यात्रा वहां चल रही है। एक तरफ से राम अयोध्या रथ की यात्रा धर्म का जागरण नहीं करती है, यह राम अयोध्या रथ की यात्रा धीरे-धीरे हिन्दू मानस में मुसलमानों के खिलाफ जहर पैदा करने का प्रयास करती

है। एक तरफ से राम अयोध्या रथ यात्रा चले हरेक गांव में और दूसरी तरफ बाबरी मस्जिद चले, हर कोने में आप क्या समझते हैं कि जिस ऐहिकता के सिद्धांत पर राष्ट्र को हम खड़ा करना चाहते है, It is a challenge. Go on talking about secularism. A time will come when the real secularists in the country will be wiped out. I am very serious about this. I was born with Gandhian ideology and I had worked undre Acharya Narendha Deva, Jayaprakash Narayan and Rammanohar Lohia and I have stood strongly for secularism in this country.

मैं इस देश में किसी धर्म की सत्ता नहीं चाहता हूं, न मैं किसी मजहब की सत्ता चाहता हूं, मैं इस देश में गरीबों की सत्ता चाहता हूं। गरीब का धर्म रोटी होता है, लेकिन उनकी रोटी में जहर पैदा करने का प्रयास चारों ओर से इस देश में जो चल रहा है, इसका कोई उपाय आपके पास नहीं है, भले ही आप कितनी ताली बजाकर बरनाला जी की पीठ ठोकते रहिये। इस ताली बजाने से, आपकी मारेल सपोर्ट से कुछ काम होने वाला नहीं है। इसके लिये मैं आपसे यह पहली दरखास्त करूं कि इस अभिभाषण में इसके बारे में जो कुछ कहा है, वह मुझे शैलो लगता है, इसकी गहराई में जाने का कोई प्रयास मुझे नहीं लगा है। ऊपर-ऊपर की बातों को लेकर कहा है कि बरनाला साहब के बारे में है--मैं नहीं मानूंगा, उसको। मैं बरनाला साहब को, अकाली दल को सैकुलर नहीं मानता हूं, बात साफ रहनी चाहिये हमारे मन में, । यह एक धार्मिक दल है। इन्होंने इतना ही कहा है। अच्छा किया, मैं मानता हूं कि कम से कम एक दफा उन्होंने कहा--जो उनका पंथ है, वह अगर उनकी सत्ता के बारे में कहेगा तो मैं तख्त की सत्ता को नहीं मानूंगा। उनकी सत्ता के बारे में, लेकिन इन्होंने यह ही कहा कि मैं नहीं मानूंगा। मैं इस राय का हूं कि क्या इस देश के हम सब लोग सही मायनों में निष्ठा के साथ इस ऐहिकता को, स्थापित करना चाहते हैं, जो धर्म की कक्षा है, यह धर्म अपनी कक्षाओं को छोड़कर रास्ते पर आ चुका है, धर्म को अपनी कक्षाओं में फिर से जाने का सवाल है। उसको मन्दिर, गुरुद्वारे, मस्जिद और चर्चों में वापस भेजने के लिये कोई एक विशेष प्रयास की आवश्यकता हम लोग मानते हैं, यह अभिभाषण में नहीं है और इसके लिये मैं मानता हूं कि यह शैलो-एनालायसिस है। जो इस देश में आने वाला संकट है, इस देश की ऐहिकता पर आये इस संकट का हम मुकाबला नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसकी चेतावनी मैं आपको दे देना चाहता हूं।

महोदय, हमारी जितनी भी शक्ति हो, हम निष्ठा के साथ अपनी वह शक्तियां देश के लिये लगायेंगे, लगाते आये हैं, लगाते रहेंगे। लेकिन क्योंकि कोई एक व्यक्ति विशेष की शक्ति का यह प्रश्न नहीं है। मैं मानता हूं कि इस देश की जितनी बुनियादी निष्ठायें हैं, उसका जिस ढंग से आह्वान दिया जा रहा है, वह आह्वान सारे देश के लिये, कम से कम जिन शक्तियों का इस पर विश्वास है, ऐहिकता के ऊपर, धर्म निरपेक्षता के ऊपर और गरीबों के धर्म पर इसके लिये मेहनत करने वाले जो लोग हैं, उन सब को इस समय इक्कठा करने का प्रयास करने की जरूरत है। मैं इस सदन के सभी सदस्यों से यह कहूंगा कि जो इस पर विश्वास रखते हैं, वे इसमें प्रयास करें। यह बवंडर जो चल रहा है, इसके नीचे जो सही गरीबों के प्रश्न हैं, छिप गये हैं। एक तरफ यह प्रयास विफल करने में इस देश में धन और धर्मान्धों की एक साजिश चल रही है, धनी लोग शोषण के हथियार के रूप में धर्म का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं और धर्मान्ध उनकी प्रतिष्ठा के लिए धन का सहारा ले रहे है। यह धन और धर्म की साजिश इस देश में एकता, इस देश में समता के भी खिलाफ हैं और इस देश को इक्कठा रखने के भी खिलाफ है। बड़े पापी लोग बड़े धर्मात्मा बन कर मन्दिर बनाते हैं, जिनके नाम लेना उचित नहीं हैं, शायद इसी सदन के कुछ सदस्य हो सकते हैं या उनके संबंधित हो सकते हैं... (**व्यवधान**)...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : शाहबुद्दीन के बारे में आपकी क्या राय है ? वह जो कर रहे हैं, उसके बारे में आपकी राय क्या है ?

डा० बापू कालदाते : मैं आपका जवाब देने के लिये खड़ा नहीं हूं । मैंने कहा है, आप नहीं थे, इसके लिये मैं जिम्मेदार नहीं हूं । लेकिन मैं किसी का जवाब देने के लिये बाध्य नहीं हूं । आप कहिए, जो आपको कहना है, मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। मुझे जो कहना है, मैं कह रहा हूं । मैं आपको जवाब नहीं दे रहा हूं, मैं किसी का जवाब नहीं देता ।

मैं सिर्फ इसलिये कह रहा हूं कि इस साजिश को हम लोग को तोड़ना चाहिये । अगर यह साजिश चलेगी, तो एक तरफ धनवान अपनी समृद्धि बढ़ाते रहेंगे और दूसरी तरफ यह सब चलता रहेगा, उसको देखते रहिये और बीच-बीच में किसी की पीठ थपथपाइये, किसी को गालियां दीजिये, इससे काम होने वाला नहीं है । इस देश में यह मामला बहुत गम्भीर बनता जा रहा है, क्योंकि हम जैसे लोगों को यह लग रहा है कि इस देश में गरीबी की लड़ाई ज्यादा से ज्यादा कठिन होती जाती है । आपको आश्चर्य होगा, मैं एक साल से देख रहा हूं, पंजाब की बात और इसकी छाया में सही गरीबों का सवाल वैसे के वैसे पड़े हुए हैं । कितने लोग मरे पंजाब में ? मैं यह नहीं मानता हूं कि कितना सिख मरा या हिन्दू मरा, मैं तो मानता हूं, कि सारा इन्सान मरा, भले ही वह सिख हो या हिन्दू हो, वह इन्सान मरा । लेकिन कितने मरे ? मेरे ख्याल से सम्मानीय कल्पनाथ राय जी का ही सवाल था, जिसके जवाब में सरकार ने कहा है कि एक साल में 900 के करीब मारे गये । मैं आपसे पूछता हूं कि बिहार में गये एक साल में कितने हरिजन जलाये गये ? पंजाब से ज्यादा जलाये गये, लेकिन कोई चिल्लाया नहीं, क्योंकि हिन्दू धर्म वाले लोग इसको कहेंगे नहीं तो हिन्दू धर्म पर बात आयेगी । तो धर्म वाले तो कहेंगे ही नहीं । पंजाब के मसलों में हम फंसे हैं, सिखों के खिलाफ हिन्दू बात करेंगे । सिख लोग कहेंगे नहीं । गरीब व हरिजन मरते रहेंगे । जो सही रूप में आज गरीब है, उसका सारा आन्दोलन क्षतिग्रस्त हो गया है । न हरिजनों का आन्दोलन उभर रहा है, न आदिवासियों का आन्दोलन उभर रहा है ।

महोदय, उड़ीसा के कोरापुट जिले के गंदमर्दन में हरिजनों का और आदिवासियों का मसला चला है । वहां के आदिवासियों को निकालकर वहां के पर्यावरण को खत्म करके वहां पर हिन्दुस्तान एल्यूमीनियम की फैक्टरी लगाने का प्रयास चल रहा है । आदिवासियों को निकालना आसान है, उनको आप हटा सकते हैं । लेकिन हम कहना चाहते हैं कि पर्यावरण को एक तरफ से प्रदूषित करना और दूसरी तरफ से आदिवासियों को निकालने की परिकल्पना गलत है, ऐसा प्रकल्प क्यों हो ? दूसरी जगह बालासोर में नेशानल टेस्ट रेन्ज बनाने की बात चल रही है । दुनियां में कोई मुल्क ऐसा नहीं जैसे कि यू० एस० ए० या फ्रांस या रशिया में भी नेशनल टेस्ट रेन्ज की हुई है । वहां कम से कम आबादी वाली जगह पर ही टेस्ट रेन्ज हुई है । आज लाखों लोगों को उड़ीसा में हटा रहे हैं क्योंकि वे फिंशरमैन हैं, एक या दो एकड़ वाले किसान हैं, उनको हटाकर आप वहां पर टेस्ट रेन्ज बनाना चाहते हैं, आपको कोई रोकने वाला नहीं है लेकिन वहां पर राष्ट्रपति जी बराबर यह मंत्र जप रहे हैं और कह रहे हैं "सह नौ भुनक्तु । सह वीर्यम् करवाठा है" सरकार गरीबों को हटाने का कार्यक्रम करते रहेंगे, और राष्ट्रपति जी मंत्रोच्चारण करते रहेंगे, यह मैं मानता हूं ।

श्रीमन्, मैं सुप्रीम कोर्ट के फैसले की तरफ जरूर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं और दरख्वास्त करना चाहता हूं कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट का फैसला जो आदिवासियों के हित में है, सरकार उसकी ओर ध्यान दे। सरकार द्वारा आदिवासियों को फारेस्ट लेंड से जो

हटाया गया है, उसके लिए सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने फैसला किया है कि आदिवासियों को जिन जगहों से हटाया जा रहा है, उसका सर्वे किया जाए और जहां पर आदिवासियों को जमीन दी जा सकती है उसके लिए सरकार कमीशन नियुक्त करे। मिर्जापुर उत्तर प्रदेश में 7 लाख से ज्यादा एकड़ जमीन सरकार ने आदिवासियों को हटाकर उनसे लेने का प्रयास किया है। आप महाराष्ट्र और मध्य प्रदेश की हालत को देखें वहां दोनों राज्यों की सीमा पर बांध है। वहां के आदिवासियों को हटा दिया और उनको स्थापित करने के लिए कोई प्रयास सरकार नहीं कर रही है। इसके लिए हमारा कहना तो यह है कि जो दबे हुए लोग हैं उनकी आवाज को गुमराह करने का प्रयास ये कम्यूनलिस्ट, रिलीजनिस्ट जान-बूझकर कर रहे हैं क्योंकि अगर गरीब खड़ा होगा तो समता की मांग करेगा और गरीब खड़ा होगा तो शोषण मुक्ति की मांग करेगा। इसलिए गरीबों में श्रम के नाम पर फूट डालते रहे ताकि उनकी लूट करना आसान होगा।

श्रीमन्, इसके साथ ही मैं एक और क्लास का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं। इसमें हमारे किसान आते हैं। महाराष्ट्र में जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है कपास के दाम को लेकर, यह कपास के दाम का आन्दोलन नहीं है। जहां तक मैं इस आन्दोलन को देखता हूं वह बुनियादी तौर पर एक लक्ष्य का आन्दोलन है कि क्या इस देश में जो मेहनतकश लोग हैं उनकी क्रय शक्ति को बढ़ाने के लिए सरकार कुछ करना चाहती है या नहीं? यह दाम का आन्दोलन नहीं है, यह क्रय शक्ति के निर्धारण का आन्दोलन है। मैं इसको बुनियादी तौर पर ठीक मानता हूं। क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि गये साल में महाराष्ट्र के किसान को 612 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल मिलते थे। हमारे कोआपरेटिव मिनिस्टर ने मुझे लिखा है कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने उनको डांट कर लिखा है कि अगर महाराष्ट्र गवर्नमेंट सी. सीं. आई. के रेट्स से ज्यादा रेट देगी तो हम आपकी मदद नहीं करेंगे। इसका मतलब हम जो 612 रुपये देते थे इसकी बजाय इस साल किसानों को 540 रुपये महाराष्ट्र सरकार दे रही है। 72 रुपये क्विंटल का घाटा। क्यों? क्या कारण है? क्या 72 रुपये कम करने से उसकी क्रय शक्ति बढ़ जायेगी या उसकी क्रय शक्ति घट जायेगी? आखिर गरीबी की व्याख्या है क्या?

What is poverty and what is richness? It is the capacity to purchase: Those who have more capacity to purchase are known as rich people, those who have less capacity to purchase are known as poor people. From where the capacity to purchase comes to the farmer? It is from the yield through which he gets the purchasing power. You want to demolish that farmer; you want to demolish the purchasing power of that man who is working in the field.

12 महीने मेहनत करेगा, काली मिट्टी में काम करके काला जैसा हो जायेगा और जब मेहनत के दाम मांगेगा तो आप उसी को यहां से डाटेंगे कि नहीं मिलेगा, 540 रुपये ही मिलेंगे 612 रुपये नहीं मिलेंगे। क्यों? क्योंकि आपकी नीति खराब हो रही है। जिसको हमारे महाराष्ट्र के किसान राजीव वस्त्र कहते हैं यह है राजीव वस्त्र की नीति। राजीव वस्त्र को मैं सिम्बोलिक मानता हूं; प्रतीकात्मक मानता हूं जिसका जिक्र आपके राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने पेज नं० 7 परिच्छेद 17 में किया है। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी यह कहते हैं :

"In the sphere of industry"—it is a fantastic statement—"the dynamic thrust for efficiency and modernisation has begun to show results." Sir, it will show the results in industry and it will have the impact on unemployment."

कार्यक्षमता और आधुनिकता के नाम पर अविवेकपूर्ण व्यवहार और जिस यंत्र नीति को आप ला रहे हैं उससे जो होने वाला है हम उसको खुद महसूस कर रहे हैं। अब इलेक्ट्रोनिक्स का युग आ रहा है, कम्प्यूटर आ रहे हैं। हम देहात में गये थे। हमने लोगों से पूछा कि इतने कम्प्यूटर कलासेज शहरों में देख रहे हैं इससे आप क्या समझते हैं? पहले तो उन्हें डिग्रियों तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते 30 साल तक लग गये

[डा० बापू कालदाते]

और अब जब डिग्रियों तक पहुंचे तो अब उनकी डिग्रियों की इज्जत ही खत्म हो गयी। Jobs are delinked from the degrees in practice सरकार की नीति की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। अब उनकी डिग्रियां कचरे के डिब्बे में डाल दी जा रही हैं। Here, degree is already delinked from the jobs आप सिद्धांत रूप से कहिये या न कहिये उससे कोई मतलब नहीं होता। एक तरफ डिग्री खत्म हो गयी और कम्प्यूटर आ गया। कौन पढ़ेगा कम्प्यूटर? मुझे बताइये कौन आदिवासी, कौन दलित, कौन गरीब किसान इसको पढ़ेगा? औरंगाबाद, बम्बई, कानपुर में जाकर इनके बच्चे पढ़ेंगे? कम्प्यूटर कौन पढ़ेगा? कम्प्यूटर पढ़ेगा

The elite of this country will get the first opportunity to get himself introduced to the so-called modernisation. He will control the whole economic policies of this Government. Where does this farmer stand in your perception of this? I do not understand at all. You are trying to create a middle-class elite society in the name of the poor.

यह "सः नौ भुनक्तु" वाला मामला हमारे यंत्र के लिए चलेगा? आपकी सारी नीयत यह है कि इस देश में मध्यम वर्ग और उच्च श्रेणी के लोगों के लिए सरकार बने। जो हमारे गरीब लोग हैं, बिखरे हुए हरिजन हैं, किसान हैं, जो हमारे मेहनती किसान हैं ये सारे लोग सड़ते रहें, दुनिया में ऊंची चलती हुई उड़ान देखते रहें। यह समाज इस ढंग से नहीं चलेगा और न हम चलने देंगे। जिस समाज की बनियाद स्वतंत्रा की आजादी में गांधी जी ने डाली उसी बनियाद पर चलने वाले हम एक छोटे से कार्यकर्त्ता हैं। उन्होंने हम को यह कहा था कि आजादी की लड़ाई न सिर्फ आजादी के लिए चल रही है, आजादी की लड़ाई आजादी के साथ समता के लिए भी चलेगी। ब्रिटिशर्ष हमारे देश का शोषण करते रहे वे हमारी आजादी का ही सिर्फ शोषण नहीं कर रहे थे बल्कि हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था का भी शोषण कर रहे थे। आजादी का मतलब होता है शोषण मुक्त रहना। अगर हम आजाद रहेंगे तो शोषण मुक्त भी रहेंगे। अगर हमारी ऐसी प्रेरणा चलती है तो हम गरीब लोगों को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी के के इस अभिभाषण में आप जनता के लिए कोई विश्वास नहीं है, कोई समर्थन नहीं है, कोई प्रेरणा नहीं है और कोई उत्साह नहीं है। आप इसको देख लीजिए, आप भी खुद इसको मानेंगे इसमें कोई उत्साह नहीं है।

1-00 P.M.

श्रीमन्, मैं और दो पाइन्ट्स जरूर कहना चाहता हूं। मैं इस सरकार की एडहोकिज्म का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं। हमारे भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। हमारे यहां एक प्लानिंग कमीशन है और उसके दूसरे संगठन भी हैं जो प्लानिंग के विषय में रिसर्च भी करते रहते हैं और उसके बाद नियोजन की योजना तैयार करते हैं। पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के लिए एलोकेशन करते हैं। ऐसी सारी व्यवस्थायें लोकतंत्र में चलती हैं। लेकिन मेरी समझ में यह चीज नहीं आती है कि जब प्रधान मंत्री हरियाणा में जाते हैं तो चार सौ करोड़ की घोषणा करते हैं केरल में जाते हैं तो 285 करोड़ रुपयों की घोषणा करते हैं बंगाल में दो समय जाकर 11 सौ करोड़ रुपयों की घोषणा की गई है।

I do not understand this at all. Why not wind up the whole of Planning Commission and give full powers to the Prime Minister to distribute like our Nizam, or, as Mr. Hegde said, like Mohammed Bin Tughlaq.

यही हमारे देश में यह चल रहा है। मैं इस संबंध में मिसालें देना चाहता हूं।

Sir, the Prime Minister went to Karnataka last year and declared a grant of Rs. 50 crores. I am quoting from a telex sent to Shri M. Shankaranarayanan, Finance Commissioner, Bangalore by Smt. Terresa, Special Commissioner Government of Kar-

nataka in New Delhi. It reads: "I have been informed by the OSD Finance Ministry that the amount of Rs. 50 crores announced as drought relief by the Hon. Prime Minister during his recent visit to Karnataka, includes Rs. 30.05 crores already sanctioned by the Government of India on 25-3-1986, as well as Rs. 7.50 crores sanctioned for purchase of rigs on 9-4-1986. The State Government is being requested to furnish the details of the remaining Rs. 12.45 crores. A separate telex in this behalf is being sent to you."

वहां पर 50 करोड़ रुपयों की घोषणा की गई। उसके बाद टेलेक्स आता है। यह बात साफ है कि जो एलोकेशन आपने की, उसी में से आप यह दे रहे हैं। उसके लिए इस तरह की घोषणा करने की क्या जरूरत है। यह एक खतरानाक बात है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जो "इमेज प्रोजेक्शन" की बात आप कर रहे हैं उसी का यह एक हिस्सा है। यह इमेज प्रोजेक्शन इंस्टिट्यूशन के लिए खतरानाक है।

There is an established institution of Planning Commission. There is an established institution of National Development Council. Why demoralise them? Why go and encroach upon their rights and try to build that Prime Minister is giving something? Is it fair for democracy? Is it necessary for democracy? Is it good for democracy? Are we not eroding the basic tenets and institutions that we ourselves have evolved in this country to carry on the democratic process?

इसलिए मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूं कि इस ढंग का इमेज बिल्डिंग ठीक नहीं है। चार राज्यों में जाकर सहायता की घोषणा की है वहां क्या होने वाला है यह आप भी जानते है और मैं भी जानता हूं चार राज्यों में कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। यह इमेज बिल्डिंग में मदद नहीं करता ...(व्यवधान)...ठीक है, मैं कहां कह रहा हूं, मैं भी देख रहा हूं 24 मार्च तक। इसमें कोई शक नहीं, मैं देख रहा हूं...(व्यवधान)...24 तक दे ख रहा हूं, चिन्ता मत कीजिए।

I totally disagree with this behaviour of the Prime Minister; I must tell you frankly I am annoyed. This is something which we do not understand. (व्यवधान) ठीक है आप मानें लेकिन मैं नहीं मानता हूं। This will erode the institutions. No individual has a right in this country to erode democratically-established institutions, whosoever he may be.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): May I draw the hon. Member's attention? No institution has been eroded by what the Prime Minister has done. He has done in response to the urgency of the situation--what the hon. Member was saying about floods--and for promoting the development process, and the institutions and procedures have been fully respected.

DR. BAPU KALDATE: Therefore, Sir, I am concluding.

जो राष्ट्रपति महोदय का भाषण है इसमें खास क्या है? इसमें आम तबके के लोगों की आवाज बिल्कुल नहीं आ रही है और न सुनाई देती है। इसलिए मैं, ऐसे भाषण के बारे में जो हमारी निराशा है, गहन निराशा है, उसको प्रकट करते हुए मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Respected Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion expressing gratitude to the President for his address to the joint session of both Houses of Parliament. It is not because I belong to the ruling party, although it is my privilege to belong to a party which has dominated the political scene in this country for more than a century. It is my privilege to belong to a political party which was in the vanguard of India's freedom movement, which gave India, through its struggle, its independence, which gave to the Indian people the concepts and values of secularism, social justice and equality, which gave to the country its Constitution and its democratic institutions, which has changed the agricultural and the industrial map of India. I rise to support this Motion out of political and intellectual convictions.

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

Sir, the year that has gone by, has been marked by darkness and light, by serious threats and recoveries, by tragedies and hopes, by agony and ecstasy. The question which confronts this hon. House is, what is the most magnificent achievement of this Government? I am reminded of what Mr. Bhutto once said. Mr. Bhutto intellectually was a remarkable man. Even when he was confined to the death-cell, counting his last days, his genius did not desert him. With one stroke of genius, when he was scribbling his memoirs, he wrote about India: "For all its noise and chaos, what has kept India together in one piece, is her democracy." The most outstanding achievement of this Government in the last one year has been its democratic response to hideously undemocratic situations. The choice which confronted this Government in the last one year was a difficult choice. Shall it go ahead for total confrontation and naked force in dealing with violence and divisive forces in different parts of the country, Mizoram, the hilly areas of West Bengal and Punjab? Or, shall it opt for a spirit of conciliation, strengthen the forces of democracy, fortify the democratic institutions and ensure the maximum participation of the maximum people in India's fight against these evils? Indian Govt., in the last one year, made the the second choice. And the latest events which have taken place in Punjab bear the most eloquent vindication of the policy of the Government.

Sir, last summer, I wrote an article which was published in the 'Hindustan Times' and I said in that article 'But whosoever thought that the Accord would instantly eliminate terrorism from Punjab misjudged its character, its extra-territorial routes, its motivation. The Accord merely set the democratic machinery in motion to deal with terrorism. In the ultimate analysis, it is the democratic machinery which must be tried and tested first because that alone will ensure the maximum participation of the people to exterminate an evil which afflicts the body politic. The Accord was inspired by this solitary political dictum.

Sir, events have proved the truth and rationale behind the Accord which was entered into by this Government. It goes to the credit of the leadership of this Government that it refused to be stampeded into an hasty action under the most provocative and insidious events which took place in Punjab. In fact, Sir, the most monstrous force which has afflicted humanity down the ages is the force of religion coupled with politics. It was this monstrous force which devastated Europe in the 17th Century. It was this monstrous force which rained death and destruction on a tiny little country, Ireland. It was this monstrous force which has played havoc with Lebanon and Iran. It was this monstrous force which brought about the fragmentation of this ancient land, India. This, I respectfully submit, is the challenge before this country today. India cannot survive another partition. India has survived one partition, but at what a terrible cost? We did not realise that Pakistan which was born of imperialism, will be fed, nourished and nurtured by imperialism and will be used by imperialism as a running sore in the stomach of India. If there is another partition, that will be the end of India. Let us not make that mistake which our ancestors made when they never looked beyond the frontiers of their kingdom and did not realise that what happened on this side of the Khyber Pass will finish them one day.

The most momentous statement, therefore, in the President's Address is to this effect and I will draw the attention of the hon. House to it.

> "As we went ahead on our path of planned development, we began to assume that social and economic progress would automatically weaken the communal outlook. Experience has, however, shown that the communal and fundamentalist forces, aided and abetted by external elements, are challenging our basic values of nationalism, secularism, democracy and socialism."

It is for the first time in the history of post-independence India that the President's Address has shown boldness and courage to call into question the political perceptions of the founding-fathers of the Constitution. It was the founding-fathers of the Constitution who evolved this political con-

cept that with the development of India on the social and economic lines, the evils of communalism and fundamentalism would automatically wither away. It was like the Marxist theory that with the development of communism the State shall wither away. This, in fact, has not happened. And it is this basic political perception of the founding fathers of the nation which, for the first time, has been challenged and the President in his Address has called upon the nation, this hon. House and both the Houses of Parliament, to subject to critical examination the efficacy and the adequacy of this political perception.

Sir, the Address also called for a national debate. That fills me with a sense of awe and exhileration. It places upon the shoulders of this hon. House and the Parliament an awesome but exciting responsibility of finding ways and means of dealing with the evils that have afflicted the body politic of India. The founding fathers of a Constitution were great and mighty men. Most of us were not old enough to participate in India's freedom struggle. They carried around themselves the halo of their struggle for India's freedom. We have none. They spent their lifetime in pursuit of intellectual attainment, we have no such pretentions. But mother India is beckoning us today. I can see in the face of mother India some sadness but also a reflection of hope. They had tryst with India's destiny. We, in this Parliament today, have tryst with the survival of India as a unified nation. In spite of our smallness, let us rise to the full stature of India's desting so that one day nature might stand up and say that there were men in this Parliament who, in spite of their other failings, did not fail India. Let us today, from this hon. House, initiate the debate which has been called upon by the President's Address before both the Houses of Parliament. In this regard I would share some of the ideas that I have with this hon. House.

The first is, to my mind, the very concept of minorities and majorities is alien to the concept of secularism. There is hardly any constitution of any democratic secular country in the world which speaks the language of minorities and majorities. Our founding fathers of the Constitution did not realise, I say with respect, that they introduced this concept of religious minorities and majorities into one of the most dangerous fields, the field of education. It had been the experience of India that the denominational, communal educational institutions had been the breeding grounds of communalism in this country, but our founding fathers of the Constitution introduced this concept and gave constitutional protection and recognition to such institutions, instead of eradicating them. Maybe, it may be too late to remove this constitutional protection from the existing institutions, but we can do something about the future.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of this hon. House to the provision relating to disqualification of members. If a member holds an office of profit, he becomes disqualified to keep his seat in the legislature because the Constitution adumbrates that his pecuniary interest may not be in conflict with his duties as a legislator or a parliamentarian. The Constitution also says that an undischarged insolvent can also be disqualified. His crime is that he has lost economic status. And now we have anti-defection provisions. They are based upon this rationale that if a member leaves a particular party and joins another party it amounts to betrayal of the electorate which has elected him. But, Sir, every member of any legislature in this country or Parliament is also required to take an oath that he shall uphold the Constitution of India, and he shall uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India. If he commits a violent abrogation of his solemn constitutional oath, if he hits out at the basic concept of secularism in this country, if he imperils the integrity and sovereignty of the country, there is no sanction against him behind the breach of oath. This is preposterous. The time has come that we should consider very seriously whether there should not be a penal sanction against the breach of constitutional oath in the same manner in which we have provided that there shall be the loss of seat if there is the betrayal of the electorate by a member through defection. Which is the greater crime—the crime against the electorate when he defects to another political party, or the crime against the nation as a whole when he betrays the

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

values of the Constitution and endangers and questions the integrity and sovereignty of India?

Thirdly, section 123(3) of the Representation of People Act provides that a member shall become disqualified if he seeks to gather electoral support by appeal to religion, caste or community. But what about a political party which functions from religious places, which operates through religious idioms, which seeks to gather its political support by appeal to the religious sentiments of a particular community? We condone that in the name of democracy. Is it not preposterous? This anomalous situation was brought to the notice of this nation more than 20 years ago by the Supreme Court in Kultar Singh's case to which I would like to draw the attention of this hon. House. The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court said in 1965:

> "It is well known that there are several parties in this country which subscribe to different political and economic ideologies, but the membership of them is either confined to or predominantly held by members of particular communities or religions. So long as law does not prohibit the formation of such parties and in fact recognises them for the purpose of election and parliamentary life, it would be necessary to remember that an appeal by candidates of such parties for votes may if successful, lead to their election and in an indirect way may conceivably be influenced by considerations of religion, race, caste; community or language".

Time has come, Sir, for us to consider what legislative and constitutional changes are necessary to remove this preposterous situation in the electoral process of the country so that such political communal parties are debarred from participating in the electoral process of the country.

And lastly, Sir, our Founding Fathers of the Constitution opted for a Cabinet system of Government based on majority in Parliament. They were nurtured in British traditions. They had been educated in British traditions. They almost took it for granted that what was good for Britain would be good for India. It is time for us to consider, from our experience in the last 40 years, whether the present system of government has retarded or accelerated the forces of nationalism and secularism in this country. In this regard, let us not forget that if people belonging to different rligions and different nationaliies were assimilated into one unified nation in the United States, the contribution which was made by the system of government adopted by the United States under its Constitution was not insignificant. Sir, now I will deal with the defence and foreign policy of the country. There was a sharp deterioration in the security environment of India in the last one year. The visit of Mr. Gorbachev was not only highly successful and vindication of the abiding and deep friendship between India and the Soviet Union. It was of the same significance and of the same piece as the conclusion of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty in 1971.

There was a massing of troops by Pakistan in the month of January. This posed a danger to the security of India, but the alertness with which this Government detected the movement of the troops of Pakistan from the Jhelum-Chenab sector to the Chenab-Ravi sector and the speed with which the Government deployed the troops of India along the frontiers is an eloquent testimony not only to the defence preparedness of the Government but its total and complete vigilance and competence. Sir, in this regard we have followed a policy towards Pakistan, one of pursuit of friendship but coupled with vigilance and total defence preparedness. Let us not forget that unless and until democracy strikes deep roots in Pakistan, unless the commonness of language, culture and history triumphs over the legacy of tragedy of Partition, India will never be able to ensure peace with Pakistan--until and unless the military rulers of Pakistan realize that India has the will and the means to destroy its military machine altogether if it chooses to get entangled with us. We cannot forget our lesson of 1962, that the foreign policy of the nation must be backed with the power of our guns, with the invincibility of our Air Force and

Navy, with the mettle of our soldiers, our sailors and our fliers.

The last, Sir, about the economic policy. I shall not go into the details because the bell has rung. But I would only pose a few questions. Which is the developing country in this world which has faced so many challenges to its external security? Which is the developing country in this world which has faced such stupendous threats to its internal integrity? Which is the developing country in this world which has relied solely on its own economic resources to build up its defence and all other resources necessary to deal with evil? And which is the developing country in this world which has engaged itself on such a massive scale in the social and economic welfare activities of the State for such a vast multitude of people in different fields—education, health family planning, antipoverty programmes and so on and so forth? If despite this tremendous strain on the limited resources of India this Government, in the last one year, has been able to ensure to the nation five per cent national growth and seven to eight per cent industrial growth and has been able to maintain its steady agricultural progress in spite of so many droughts, it is no mean achievement.

Sir, to close, India expects the present leadership to play the role of an Abraham Lincoln. India expects the Members of this honourable Parliament to rise to the occasion above the partisan considerations and the requirements of the parties to which they belong and answer the call of the nation. Wordsworth, recalling the French Revolution, wrote:

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven:"

If today we rise to the full stature of India's destiny and take the ship of India into the placid water of peace, communal harmony and one unified nation, in the years to come we shall be able to remember with pride that we belonged to a Parliament which did not fail India, we belonged to a Parliament which kept its tryat with the survival if India as a strong, stable, secular and unified nation state.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The House now stands adjourned to meet at 2-30.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at thirtytwo minutes past two of the clock. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA) in the Chair.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे खेद है कि मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के लिए उन्हें धन्यवाद देने का जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है उस के साथ अपने को सम्बद्ध नहीं कर सकूंगा। मैं राष्ट्रपति जी को अलग से धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा। उन्होंने, इंडियन पोस्टल बिल के संबंध में, जो उनके हस्ताक्षर के लिए गया है, जो रवैया अपनाया है, हम उस की सराहना करते हैं और हम आशा करते हैं कि सरकार राष्ट्रपति जी की आपत्तियों को ध्यान में रख कर उस विधेयक में उचित संशोधन करेगी। जब उस विधेयक पर इस सदन में चर्चा हो रही थी, सारा प्रतिपक्ष एक था लेकिन हमारी बात किसी ने सुनी नहीं। संचार मंत्री श्री अर्जुन सिंह ने तो उस विधेयक की चर्चा के दौरान मुंह खोलने की भी जरूरत नहीं समझी। सारा भार सन्तोष मोहन देव के ऊपर डाल कर सन्तोष कर लिया।

प्रधान मंत्री बार-बार यह बात कहते हैं कि हम प्रतिपक्ष को साथ लेकर चलना चाहते हैं। क्या वह केवल उन्हीं मामलों में साथ लेकर चलना चाहते हैं जिन में मुसीबत पर फंस जाते हैं या और मामलों में भी उन्हें प्रतिपक्ष की सलाह और सहयोग की आवश्यकता है? पोस्टल बिल के सवाल पर सारे विरोधी दल एक राय के थे। हमने संशोधन प्रस्तुत किये मगर उन्हें ठुकरा दिया गया। मैं चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो आपत्तियां की हैं उन्हें, इस समय राष्ट्रपति और प्रधान मंत्री के बीच में जो शीत युद्ध चल रहा

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

है उसका एक मुद्दा नहीं बनाया जायेगा। पोस्टल बिल का गुण और दोष के आधार पर मूल्यांकन होना चाहिए। मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय को उनके रवैये के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूं।

जहां तक अभिभाषण का प्रश्न है यह भाषण जरूरत से ज्यादा लम्बा है, उबाऊ है, रसहीन है, गंधहीन है, प्रेरणाहीन है। मैं तुलना कर रहा था राष्ट्रपति के पुराने भाषण से जो उन्होंने 17 जनवरी, 1985 को दिया था। वह आम चुनाव के बाद का भाषण था, था तो वह भी—राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण ही। लेकिन भाषण छोटा था, प्राणवान था, आत्म-विश्वास से परिपूर्ण था। वह आठ पेज का भाषण था। वतमान भाषण 19 पेज का है। जैसे जैसे कारगुजारियां कम होती जा रही है, पन्ने बढ़ते जा रहे, हैं परिच्छेदों में वृद्धि होती जा रही है।

आप दोनों भाषणों को पढ़ें तो पता लग जायेगा कि देश की परिस्थिति में कितना भारी परिवर्तन हो गया है। आज मैं कांग्रेस के एक सदस्य का भाषण सुन रहा था। दो साल पहले प्रधान मंत्री ने सत्ता संभाली तो इस देश की जनता के मन में आशाओं के छोटे-छोटे दीपक जले थे। चुनाव का परिणाम कुछ भी रहा हो, हमें पराजय देखनी पड़ी, लेकिन भारत की जनता ने जिस संगठित शक्ति के साथ लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से चुनौती का उत्तर दिया, उसका सामना किया, उस पर हमने और सारी दुनिया ने बधाई दी। लेकिन आज सारी दुनिया पूछ रही है दो साल के भीतर क्या हो गया है? हम किधर जा रहे हैं? वे आशाओं के दीपक बुझते क्यों जा रहे हैं। हर वर्ग में और हर क्षेत्र में असंतोष क्यों व्याप्त हो रहा है? क्या प्रधान मंत्री और उनके सहयोगियों ने कभी इस बात पर सोचा?

पंजाब में कल 14 लोग मारे गये हैं। उनमें तीन आतंकवादी भी हैं। ग्यारह निर्दोष लोग मारे गये हैं। इन निर्दोष लोगों को मारने का सिलसिला कब तक चलेगा? सर्वदलीय अभियान ठीक है। मगर सर्वदलीय अभियान की बात राष्ट्रपति ने पिछले साल भी अपने अभिभाषण में कही थी। मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूं—"यह जरूरी है कि सभी धर्मनिरपेक्ष और लोकतंत्री ताकतें हमारे संविधान में शामिल राष्ट्रीयता, धर्म-निरपेक्षता, लोकतंत्र और समाजवाद के उन मूल्यों पर जो भारत की एकता का आधार है, रक्षा के लिये मिलकर एक जन अभियान चलायें।" पूरा साल बीत गया, वह जन अभियान नहीं चला। जिस तरह की बैठक अभी चंडीगढ़ में आयोजित की गई है, क्या वह पहले नहीं की जा सकती थी। विरोधी-दल कांग्रेस पार्टी के साथ मिलकर पंजाब के गांव-गांव में जाने के लिये तैयार था। लेकिन कांग्रेस का दिमाग साफ नहीं था। पंजाब की कांग्रेस एक भाषा बोल रही थी, केन्द्र में बैठा हुआ नेतृत्व दूसरी भाषा बोल रहा था।

मैं एक महत्वपूर्ण सवाल खड़ा करना चाहता हूं। पंजाब की राजनैतिक परिस्थिति बिगड़नी शुरू हुई शिरोमणि गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक कमेटी के चुनाव में श्री तोहड़ा की विजय के साथ। श्री तोहड़ा की विजय में केन्द्र के कुछ नेताओं की क्या भूमिका थी? क्या आप सचमुच में बरनाला का समर्थन करना चाहते हैं? एक व्यक्ति तिहाड़ जेल में बन्द था। वह चुनाव के एक दिन पहले छोड़ दिया गया। उसे पंजाब ले जाया गया वोट डालने के लिये। दूसरा मतदाता कनाडा से आया था... (व्यवधान)

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब) : श्रीमन, मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं। उसको कोर्ट ने छोड़ा था।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या सरकार ने उसको जमानत पर छोड़ने के लिये कहा था?

श्री हरवन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल : मुझे यही कहना है कि उसको कोर्ट ने छोड़ा।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक व्यक्ति जो कनाडा

में जाकर बस गया है, अभी तक प्रबंधक कमेटी का मेम्बर बना हुआ है । वह वोट डालने के लिये दिल्ली आया । वह विदेशी हो गया है । उसे पंजाब जाने के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार की अनुमति की आवश्यकता थी । वह अनुमति कैसे दी गई. तीसरा मेम्बर बारामूला में फंसा हुआ था, बर्फ में धंसा हुआ था । उसके लिये निकलना मुश्किल हो रहा था । प्रधान मंत्री सचिवालय से टेलीफोन गया । उस व्यक्ति को बारामूला से तोहड़ा के पक्ष में वोट डालने के लिये लाया गया । तोहड़ा विजयी हो गये तो उन्हें गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया । यह तरीका पंजाब की परिस्थिति के साथ निपटने का नहीं है...(व्यवधान) मैं जो कुछ कह रहा हूं, गंभीरता के साथ कह रहा हूं ।

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल : श्रीमन्, जब सीक्रेट बेलट है तो सरकार के ऊपर इस तरह के इल्जाम लगाना गलत है। सरकार ने वोट डलवाये, इसके लिये इनके पास प्रूफ क्या है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हंसपाल जी, आप इसमें क्यों फंसते हैं ?

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल : मैं तो टैक्निकल बात कह रहा हूं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं टेक्निकल बात नहीं कह रहा हूं ।

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल : गलत बात मत कहिये, ठीक बात कहिये ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उस चुनाव में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कुछ नेताओं की भूमिका की जांच मांग रहा हूं । अगर मैं गलत साबित हूंगा तो मुझे खुशी होगी । लेकिन पंजाब में आप राजनीति मत करिये । एक बार राजनीति ने पंजाब को बिगाड़ा है । माफ कीजिये, धर्म ने पंजाब को इतना नहीं बिगाड़ा है जितना सत्ता के प्यासे राजनैतिज्ञों ने बिगाड़ा । एस० जी०पी सी० के चुनाव के बाद गुरुद्वारों पर कब्जा कर लिया गया ।...(व्यवधान)...में अपनी बात कर रहा हूं तो भी आपकी बात कर रहा हूं । हम सब गुनहगार हैं, दोषारोपण का समय नहीं है अगर हर एक जरा अपने गिरेवान में मुंह डालकर देखे । आज बरनाला की तारीफ की जा रही है । राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में किसी प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री का नाम लेकर उसकी कभी तारीफ नहीं की जाती । यह एक असाधारण स्थिति है । बरनाला का असली इम्तिहान होना अभी बाकी है । उन्होंने थोड़ी सी दृढ़ता दिखाई हम भी उसके प्रशंसक हैं । हंसपाल जी बैठे हुये हैं । बरनाला जनता के समर्थन पर चुने गये हैं और हमने भी उनका साथ दिया है, मगर बरनाला सरकार अपने को पंथक सरकार कहती है । वे पंथक कमेटी से लड़ाई करना चाहते हैं और उसका ही रूप धारण किये हुये हैं । उनकी नीतियों और व्यवहार में भेदभाव है । इस सारे भेदभाव को बनाये रखते हुए सारे पंजाब की जनता को आतंकवाद से लड़ने के लिये कैसे संगठित किया जायेगा इस पर गहराई से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है । हमने मांग की थी और सचमुच मांग की थी और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इस सदन में 249 के अन्तर्गत प्रस्ताव पास कर दिया लेकिन यह प्रस्ताव अलमारी में पड़ा हुआ है, उस पर अमल नही हुआ। केवल भारतीय जनता पार्टी फौज की मदद ली जाये इसकी मांग नहीं कर रही है हम चाहते है कि पंजाब पुलिस, पैरा मिलिटरी फौर्स आतंकवाद को दबा सकें और निर्दोष व्यक्तियों की हत्याओं को रोक सकें। अगर ऐसा होता है तो हमें खुशी होगी। लेकिन अगर

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

इसके लिये सीमावर्ती जिलों में सेना की आवश्यकता पड़े तो सेना को बुलाने में संकोच क्यों होना चाहिए ? मेरे पास कम्युनिस्ट नेता सत्यपाल डांगे का लेख है मेरे पास समय नहीं है जो कि उसको पूरा उद्धृत करूं लेकिन उसका कुछ अंश यहां पर पढना चाहता हूं :

"All this, however, should not, rule out the use of the army by civil authorities when there is compelling need for the same and only to the extent absolutely necessary-maybe, flag marches, maybe patrolling-maybe something else."

श्री डांगे ने आगे यह भी कहा है कि ब्लू-स्टार के समय सेना को पंजाब में बुलाया गया और उस पर अपने अधिकारियों का दुरुपयोग करने का आरोप लगाया जा रहा है। ये सारे आरोप सही नहीं हैं। उनका कहना है कि सेना ने जो काम किया उसका भी सही मूल्यांकन होना चाहिए।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि पंजाब में आतंकवाद का उन्मूलन करने के जन-अभियान के अलावा सरकार के पास कौन सा और ठोस कदम है ? प्रधानमंत्री कह रहे हैं कि वे संविधान में संशोधन करेंगे। उन्होंने पहले भी संविधान में संशोधन करने के बाद जो 249 के अंतर्गत था उस पर अमल नहीं किया और अब क्या फिर संविधान में संशोधन होगा ? सर्वप्रथम सरकार को पंजाब के निर्दोष लोगों की हत्या रोकनी चाहिए अन्यथा जन-अभियान को जितनी सफलता मिलनी चाहिए उतनी सफलता नहीं मिलेगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हुक्मनामे जारी किये जा रहे हैं, उन पर आपत्ति होनी स्वाभाविक है। हम धर्म स्थानों से राजनीति का नियंत्रण नहीं होने दे सकते। यहां मैं जब धर्म की बात कहता हूं तो मेरे मन में "रिलीजन" है। धर्म का एक व्यापक अर्थ है इस समय मैं इसकी व्याख्या नहीं करना चाहता। सठे साहब यहां बिराजमान हैं। महाराष्ट्र के लोग शब्द की खाल खींचने में माहिर हैं। वे बाल की खाल निकालते हैं और खाल से बाल निकालते हैं। यह प्रश्न केवल पंजाब तक सीमित नहीं है। अभी मुस्लिम मशावरात का एक ब्यान मेरी नजरों के सामने आया है। 9 फरवरी को यह ब्यान नयी दिल्ली से प्रकाशित किया गया है। इसमें कहा गया है कि कुछ राज्यों में चुनाव होने वाले हैं और इन राज्यों में मुसलमान इस तरह से वोट करें कि जिससे मुस्लिम आइडेंटिटी, मुस्लिम डिगनिटी, मुस्लिम सिक्योरिटी इनका विचार किया जाये।

"The statement issued by Mushavrat's General Secretary. Ahmad Ali Khasim, says that in three States facing polls—Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and Kerala, Muslims form a large share of the population. It is 64 per cent in J&K, 22 and 21 in West Bengal and Kerala, respectively. The Mushavrat has called on all Muslims to vote for candidates keeping in mind their policies and....."

पालिसीज में उन्होंने कोई आर्थिक विषयों की बात नहीं की है। आखिरी पैरा मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूं :

"The Mushavrat appeals to the Muslim community that in their constituency they should select one candidate carefully and vote him unitedly and solidly so that the candidate of their choice is not only elected but knows that he has been elected only due to Muslim support.

इस मुशावरात में कौन सी संस्थाएं शामिल हैं ? किन तथाकथित सेक्युलर दलों के कौन नेता शामिल हैं ? बोहरों के एक नेता हैं, बहुत आदरणीय नेता हैं, मैं उनकी शान के खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं, मगर बोहरा समाज में जो प्रगति और फट्टरपन है इसमें एक संघर्ष चल रहा है और स्थिति यहां तक बिगड़ जाती है कि अगर उनके गुरु की बात कोई न माने, सैय्यदना साहब की बात कोई न माने तो उसे कब्रिस्तान में दफन होने का अधिकार भी नहीं मिलता। एक मौका आ गया है, हिम्मत के साथ फैसला करिए।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में एक उल्लेख आया है। मैं नहीं जानता क्यों उल्लेख किया गया है। मगर सचमच उल्लेख किया गया है। गांधी जी की हत्या के बाद जो परिस्थिति पैदा हुई थी उसकी तरफ इशारा है। लेकिन आगे कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। अप्रैल, 1948 में हमारी संविधान सभा ने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया था जिसमें सरकार से कहा गया था कि वह भारत के राजनीतिक जीवन से फिरकापरस्ती को खत्म करने के लिए कदम उठाये। इससे सिर्फ दो महीने पहले राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की हत्या हुई थी, उस समय हमारे संविधान निर्माताओं के दिमाग में दर्दनाक हत्याओं की याद अभी ताजा थी।

संविधान सभा के प्रस्ताव का उल्लेख कर दिया। बात अधर में छोड़ दी। क्या ऐसे राजनीतिक दलों को चुनाव लड़ने के अधिकार से वंचित नहीं किया जा सकता जिनके द्वार हर भारतीय के लिए खले नहीं होंगे। यह काम तो चुनाव कमीशन कर सकता है। जो एक सम्प्रदाय तक सीमित है वह धर्म का काम करे, सांस्कृतिक काम करे। लेकिन जिन्होंने केरल में मुस्लिम लीग के साथ गठबंधन किया है, मरी हुई मुस्लिम लीग को जिंदा कर दिया है, जो हैदराबाद में लोकसभा की सीट जीतने के लिए मजलिसे इतिहादुल मुसलमीन का समर्थन ले रहे हैं, उसके व्यक्ति को हदराबाद का मेयर बना रहे हैं वे जब साम्प्रदायिकता से लड़ने की बात करते हैं तो खोखलापन नजर आता है कथनी और करनी में कोई तो समानता होनी चाहिए। एक तरह की साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा देकर आप दूसरे तरह की साम्प्रदायिकता से नहीं लड़ सकते।

इस समय हिंदू समाज में जो प्रवृतियां पैदा हो रही हैं वह मेरे मन में चिंता जगा रही हैं। हिंदुओं ने अगर अपनी उदारता छोड़ दी, हिंदू अगर संकीर्ण हो गया, संकुचित हो गया तो इस देश का भविष्य अंधकार में मिल जायेगा। मगर हिंदू के मन में आज एक प्रतिक्रिया पैदा हो रही है क्योंकि राजनीतिक दलों को वोटों की चिंता है। पंजाब का मामला भी वोटों ने बिगाड़ा।

पंजाब में साम्प्रदायिकता को कुछ सीमा तक दोष दे सकते हैं। लेकिन गोरखालैंड में क्या हो रहा है। श्री सुबास घीसिंग तो हिंदू हैं वहां हिंदू, सिख, मुसलमान का सवाल नहीं है। केन्द्र सरकार ने परिस्थिति को इस तरह से मिस हैंडल किया है कि श्री सुबास घीसिंग बिना बनाये हुए, सब गोरखाओं के, नेपालियों के नेता बन गये हैं। उन्हें एकमात्र प्रवक्ता बना दिया गया है। मैं अभी सिलीगुड़ी गया था। वहां आल्टरनेट डेज़ पर बंद हो रहा है, मजदूर भूखों मर रहे हैं, कार्य-व्यवहार अस्त-व्यस्त है। थाने पर हमला हुआ, सिपाही मार दिये गये घीसिंग को दिल्ली बुलाया जाता है, उनसे बातचीत की जाती है। किस बात पर बातचीत की गई थी? क्या बातचीत के पहले यह शर्त नहीं लगाई जा सकती थी कि वह हिंसा का परित्याग करें? क्या पश्चिम बंगाल की मार्क्सिस्ट सरकार के लिए सरदर्द पैदा करना, इतना ही काफी है? यह तरीका नहीं है देश की एकता और अखण्डता को बचाने का।

एक बार इस तरीके के कारण देश गहरी मुसीबत में फंसा था। हम समझते थे कि प्रधान मंत्री आयेंगे, नये रास्ते पर चलेंगे—श्री फिरोज गांधी के रास्ते पर चलेंगे। थोड़ा चले भी। प्रधान मंत्री की स्वाभाविक प्रतिक्रियाएं ठीक होती हैं। आज सवेरे ही मझे उनसे मिलने का मौका मिला था। एक विषय पर मैंने चर्चा की, मैंने देखा कि उनका जो स्पांटेनियस रीएक्शन था, वह ठीक था। मैं नहीं जानता कि उस मामले में क्या होगा? उसका मैं उल्लेख यहां नहीं कर रहा हूं। कौन उन्हें सलाह देता है? किस तरह से वह काम करने लगे हैं? एक-एक करके अपने वायदे भूलते जा रहे हैं।

राष्ट्रपति के पुराने भाषण में जो 17 मार्च, 1985 का भाषण है, राष्ट्रपति जी ने घोषणा की थी —

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

"The Government are committed to a clean public life. They intend to engage in wide-ranging discussions on electoral reforms with political parties and welcome their co-operation."

दो साल बीत गये, कोई चर्चा शुरू नहीं हुई है। इलेक्शन कमीशन ने विरोधी दलों को और सत्तारूढ़ दल को, किसी बैठक के लिए नहीं बुलाया है। क्या वर्तमान चुनाव प्रणाली में सत्तारूढ़ दल का निहित स्वार्थ है? धन-शक्ति बढ़ रही है, गुंडा शक्ति बढ़ रही है।

अभी हरियाणा में एक उप-चुनाव हुआ था। मुख्य मंत्री जहां से लड़ रहे हैं, वहां का तो उप-चुनाव हो गया, बाकी की सीटें खाली पड़ी हैं। सब सीटों पर उप-चुनाव क्यों नहीं करवाये गये? मुख्य मंत्री का कोई विरोध नहीं था, विरोधी दल चुनाव का बहिष्कार कर रहे थे। 92 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा पोलिंग हुआ है, बोट गिरे है। किसने वोट डाले है 92 प्रतिशत, क्या इसकी जांच नहीं होनी चाहिए? मैं यह मामला उठाऊंगा, तो कई मेम्बर खड़े हो जायेंगें और कहेंगे कि आप इलेक्शन पेटीशन दाखिल करिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह मामूली बात नही है, इसको थोड़ी गहराई में जाना पड़ेगा। अब क्लीन पालिटिक्स की बात नहीं हो रही है। वही पुराना ढर्रा फिर से आ रहा है।

7 मार्च, 1985 को प्रधान मंत्री ने हैदराबाद में भाषण दिया था कि रिजर्वेशन का सवाल बहुत उलझा सवाल है, नाजुक सवाल है। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि यह सवाल — "It is getting out of hand" नौकरियों में और शिक्षा संस्थाओं में रिजर्वेशन का मामला प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि चुनाव के बाद मैं इस पर विरोधी दलों की सलाह लूंगा और एक कानसेंसस निकालूगा। आपको याद है कि मध्य प्रदेश में और गुजरात में अचानक रिजर्वेशन का प्रतिशत बढ़ा दिया गया था। दंगे हुए। गुजरात में उन दंगों को सत्ता पक्ष ने साम्प्रदायिक रूप दिया। सोलंकी को जाना पड़ा। अगर दो साल बीत गये, रिजर्वेशन का वह सेंसटिव इशु अभी भी पड़ा हुआ है। प्रधान मंत्री को समय नहीं है या किसी ने उनको सलाह नहीं दी है कि इस विषय पर विरोधी दलों से मिल कर कोई कासेंसस निकालिये, कोई आम राय निकालिये अभी केरल में करूणाकरन की सरकार ने चुनाव के पहले 15 परसेंट रिजर्वेशन का क्वांटम बढ़ा दिया गरीबी के आधार पर जब मुसलिम लीग ने धमकी दी, उसे वापिस ले लिया। नायर सर्विस सोसाइटी ने कहा कि अगर आप इसको वापिस लेंगे तो हम आपका साथ नहीं देंगे। मुख्य मंत्री कहने लगे कि अभी आ जाओ, चुनाव के बाद देखा जाएगा। क्या रिजर्वेशन भी बोट हथियाने का औजार है, या पिछड़े लोगों को आगे बढ़ाने का साधन है? क्या हर चीज को बोट से जोड़ा जाएगा, इसका नतीजा क्या होगा? और फिर हम एकता की बात करेंगे, फिर हम अखंडता की दुहाई दें। एकता और अखंडता को बचाने का यह तरीका नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, चीन के बारे में मुझे चिंता है पाकिस्तान के बारे में कई माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने विचार प्रकट किये है। मैं समझता हूं कि अभी पिछले कुछ दिनों में जो तनाव की स्थिति पैदा हो गई थी, उस स्थिति को टाला जा सकता था। मैं उन दिनों अहमदाबाद में था। पत्रकारों ने मुझसे पूछा कि क्या भारत और पाकिस्तान में लड़ाई होगी? मैंने कहा कि दोनों देशों के नेता बुद्धिमान है, वे लडने की गलती नहीं करेंगे लेकिन बाद में लगा कि शायद मेरा मूल्याकन सही नहीं है। लड़ाई होते-होते टल गई। प्रधान मंत्री को जब पाकिस्तान के प्रधानमंत्री श्री जुनेजो बंगलौर में मिले थे तो क्या उस समय सारी स्थिति को साफ नहीं किया जा सकता था? हम राजस्थान में एक्सरसाइज कर रहे हैं इसके बारे में पाकिस्तान को पता था। दोनों देशों में यह प्रबन्ध भी है कि हम एक दूसरे को जानकारी दें। फिर गलतफहमी कहां पैदा हो गई? क्या दिल्ली से संपर्क करने से गलतफहमी दूर नहीं हो सकती थी? जुनेजो के बंगलौर आने से पहले हमारे सचिव पाकिस्तान की यात्रा कर चुके थे, यह मामला दोनों देशों के

बीच में उठाया जा सकता था। अब मैं कई दिनों से सुन रहा हूं कि पाकिस्तान पर यह आरोप नहीं लगाया जा रहा है कि वह पंजाब के आतंकवादियों की मदद दे रहा है या हथियार दे रहा है। क्या यह मामला बात-चीत से हल हो गया है? हो गया है तो मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता होगी। लेकिन फिर भी चलते-चलते राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में एक वाक्य कह दिया गया है, पंजाब के संबंध में जो इस प्रकार है: ये अराष्ट्रवादी तत्व विदेशी सूत्रों के इशारे व नियन्त्रण में काम कर रहे है। ये विदेशी सूत्र कौन हैं? इनके नाम लीजिए, इनका थोड़ा परिचय दीजिए अगर पाकिस्तान नहीं है, क्योंकि पाकिस्तान से अब हमारे संबंध सुधरे हैं इस सवाल पर खुली चर्चा हो रही है, तो कौन है? अमरीका है अगर अमरीका है तो क्या बरीयता के आधार पर यह मामला अमरीका से उठाया गया? कनाडा के विदेश मंत्री हमारे देश में थे उनके साथ इस सवाल पर क्या संतोषजनक वार्ता नहीं हुई है? कब तक हम दूसरों पर दोषारोपण करते रहेगें अगर धर की स्थिति बिगड़ेगी तो पड़ोसी जरुर उसका लाभ उठाने की कोशिश करेंगे। लेकिन हम घर की स्थिति को बिगड़ने क्यों देते है? क्या घर की स्थिति को ठीक रखना हमारी जिम्मेदारी नहीं है? सीमा पर पिछला तनाव हुआ और तनाव में गोली तो कोई नहीं चली मगर रक्षा मंत्री शहीद हो गए। **(व्यवधान)**

एक माननीय सदस्य: वित्त मंत्री।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : रक्षा मंत्री जी का कद छोटा कर दिया गया है। मेरा मतलब है अरुण सिंह जी से। **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह आपके बोलने का तरीका है, इससे हमारे उपर कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : । नहीं, नही, कोई फर्क नही है। हम चाहते भी नहीं है। हम आपमें कोई फर्क डालना भी नहीं चाहते है :- -**(व्यवधान)** उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर आप घंटी बजायेंगे तो फर्क पड़ जायेगा। जब तनाव था तब रक्षा मंत्री नहीं बदले गए। जब सिच्युएशन डिफ्यूज हो गई तो श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह को रक्षा मंत्रालय सौंप दिया गया यह कैसी स्थिति है कि जब तनाव होता है तो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री दूसरा रक्षा मंत्री ढुंढते है। शांति के काल में तो रक्षा मंत्रालय प्रधान मंत्री के पास रहना चाहिए □.□.□.□

श्री एन०के०पी० साल्वे (महाराष्ट्र): तफसील से बताइये कि यहां जिस वक्त तनाव चरमसीमा पर पहुंचा था तो उस वक्त कौन रक्षा मंत्री थे और अब जब तनाव कम हुआ तो कौन रक्षा मंत्री थ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप यह देखेंगे कि श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह को रक्षा मंत्री बनाने की घोषणा उस समय की गई जब तनाव अपने उतार पर था। मैं एक सवाल और उठाना चाहता हूं। क्या शांतिकाल में प्रधान मंत्री रक्षा-मंत्री रहेंगे, अगर तनाव का काल आता है तो दूसरे को रक्षा मंत्री बनायेंगे (व्यवधान) क्या इससे प्रधानमंत्री की छवि उजागर होती है? **(व्यवधान)**

श्री एन०के०पी० साल्वे : एक बात तो पक्की हो गई कि छोटा इनको नहीं किया है जब तकलीफ में आये तब इनको लेकर आये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बजट पेश होने वाला था, बजट की तैयारी हो रही थी, अरुण सिंह जी अच्छा काम कर रहे थे, प्रधान मंत्री के पास रक्षा मंत्रालय था तो बदलने की जरूरत क्या थी अब उन्होंने कहा कि डायरनैसिसिटी थी, आज वे आप सदन में नहीं है, मैं प्रधानमंत्री से पूछता हूं कि डायर नेसैसिटी क्या थी? क्या प्रधान मंत्री देश की रक्षा का भार नहीं संभाल सकते?

3.00 p.m

क्या बजट के सत्र के असवर पर वित्तमंत्री बदलना जरूरी है? क्यों बदला गया, यह अभी रहस्य है, हम इस रहस्य की खोज में लगे है, जब हमारे हाथ में कुछ लग जायेगा तो हम सदन के सामने रखेंगे मगर एक बात साफ है कि यह निर्णय जितना ऊपर से निर्दोष दिखाई देता है, उतना है नहीं।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

अब मैं चीन के बारे में एक बात कहकर खत्म कर दूंगा दो साल पहले जब भाषण हुआ था हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी का, तो उन्होंने 17 जनवरी, 1985 को कहा था :

"Our relations with China have shown improvement. We shall persevere in seeking a solution to the boundary question."

अब दो साल में हालत बदल गयी । इस बार राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो कुछ कहा है, उसको भी मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूं :—

"My Government continues to strive for a just and peaceful settlement of the border question with China. The question remains crucial to full normalisation of our relations."

अगर दो साल पहले संबंध सुधर गए थे तो संबंध बिगड़ क्यों गए ? सीमा पर तो बातचीत चल रही है, सात चक्र हो चुके है, 1979 में चीन के साथ समझौता हुआ था कि जब तक सीमा का प्रश्न बातचीत से हल किया जाएगा, तब तक सीमा पर यथास्थिति बनाये रखी जायेगी, शांति बनाये रखी जायेगी। चीन ने उस समझौते को क्यों तोड़ा अरुणाचल में चीन ने पहली बार कब प्रवेश किया ? उसके बारे में तत्काल संसद को, देश को विश्वास में क्यों नहीं लिया गया ? कुल मिलाकर चीन ने अरूणाचल में कितनी घुसपैठ की है ? इससे भी बड़ा सवाल यह है कि चीन के रवैये में यह परिवर्तन क्यों हुआ ? अंतर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति बदल रही है । उस परिस्थति पर, बदली हुई परिस्थिति पर हमें नजर रखना चाहिए । पाकिस्तान के प्रति सजग रहे, सतर्क रहें, मगर भयभीत होने की आवश्यकता नहीं है । पाकिस्तान के मित्र हैं तो भारत भी मित्र विहीन नहीं है । भारत को आत्म विश्वास के साथ अपनी विदेश नीति का संचालन करना चाहिये ।

मैं दो दिन मद्रास में था । तमिलनाडु के लोग दुखी हैं कि श्रीलंका की समस्या की ओर नई दिल्ली को जितना ध्यान देना चाहिये, नई दिल्ली ध्यान नहीं दे पा रही है । प्रधानमंत्री कहते हैं कभी, जयवर्धने ने हमको फाक्स कर लिया, हमको धोखा दे दिया, कभी-जो मिलिटेण्ट्स है वह हमारी बात नहीं सुनते । जाफना में लोग फंसे हुये हैं, उनके पास खाने के लिये अनाज नहीं है, बीमारी में दवा नहीं है । वे हमारे रक्त का रक्त हैं, हमारे मांस का मांस हैं । हम श्रीलंका में सैनिक हस्तक्षेप करें, इसका सवाल पैदा नहीं होता, मगर कुछ मानवता के भी तकाजे हैं । क्या जाफना में फंसे हुये लोगों की हम किसी तरह से मदद नहीं कर सकते ? केन्द्र सरकार इस सवाल पर विचार करे, उसे पूरे प्रतिपक्ष का समर्थन मिलेगा । लेकिन श्रीलंका के बारे में कोई निश्चित नीति नहीं है । जरूरत से ज्यादा सलाहकार हैं, सलाहकार भी बदले जाते हैं । मद्रास में मुझसे जो मिलने आये थे, कहने लगे—हमारी समझ में नहीं आता, दिल्ली में जाकर किस से बात करें क्योंकि पहले सलाहकार थे श्री जी० पार्थासार्थी, आजकल वह नहीं हैं, पहले भण्डारी जी थे, वह जा रहे थे कोलम्बो, लेकिन रास्ते में मद्रास में रोक लिया गया और बाद में वे कांग्रेस के दफ्तर में पाये गये । अब वह कांग्रेस पार्टी के सलाहकार हो गये हैं । कभी नटवर सिंह जी नक्शे में हैं, कभी चिदम्बरम् जी फैसले करते हैं । नाजुक मामले हैं, प्रधानमंत्री को सही और तर्कसंगत सलाह की जरूरत है, वह सलाह नहीं मिल रही है और इसलिये समस्याएं उलझती जा रही हैं । दो साल पहले जो तस्वीर थी, वह तस्वीर बदल गयी है, यह तस्वीर दुख देने वाली तस्वीर है । लेकिन यह आपकी करनी का परिणाम है । एक-एक करके लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं का अवमूल्यन मत होने दीजिये । आज एक प्रश्न पूछा गया सभापति जी, इलाहाबाद में कितनी जगह खाली हैं जजों की ? जवाब है कि 11 जगह खाली हैं । कब से खाली हैं । 1984 से । क्या जज बनाने लायक एडवोकेट नहीं हैं वहां ? या वहां के चीफ जस्टिस और मुख्य मंत्री में एक राय नहीं हो रही है ? लाखों मुकदमे पड़े हैं, किन्तु जजों की नियुक्ति नहीं कर सकते नियुक्ति

में भी भेदभाव करेंगे । आल इंडिया रेडियो का, टेलिविजन का दुरुपयोग करेंगे । इलेक्शन कमीशन एक खिलौना बना दिया गया है । क्या चीन के इलेक्शन कमिश्नर को बर्खास्त नहीं किया जाना चाहिये ? हरियाणा में चुनाव क्यों नहीं हो रहे हैं ? बंगाल की सरकार पहल चुनाव कराना चाहती थी, उनसे कहा गया कि हम इकट्ठा चुनाव करायेंगे, रुको । अब तीन राज्यों में चुनाव हो रहे हैं, हरियाणा में चुनाव नहीं होंगे । कमीशन कहता है हरियाणा में कानून व व्यवस्था की स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है । मैं नहीं समझता मुख्य मंत्री बंसीलाल इस बात को मानेंगे । स्थिति सामान्य है । इलेक्टोरल रोल नहीं बने तो इसके लिये इलेक्शन कमीशन जिम्मेदार है । मगर चुनाव नहीं रोका जाना चाहिये । पुराने चीफ इलेक्शन कमिश्नर को आपने गवर्नर बना दिया, उनकी सेवाओं के लिये उन्हें पुरस्कृत कर दिया तो एक एक करके लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं का दुरुपयोग करके आप लोकतंत्र को मजबूत नहीं कर सकते । अब समय आ गया है कि सत्तारूढ़ पक्ष पुनरावलोकन करे अपनी नीतियों का, आत्मालोचन करे अपने व्यवहार पर । विरोधी दलों को साथ लेने की बात किसी के गले के नीचे नहीं उतरेगी । चुनाव में भारी विजय के बाद आपने कहा था कि विरोधी दल कहां है, हमने विरोधी दलों का सफाया कर दिया है । 10+2+3—हमने मान लिया । आपको 400 से ज्यादा सीटें लोक सभा में मिल गई । अब देश की समस्याओं को हल करके दिखाइये । मगर देश की समस्यायें एक पार्टी के भरोसे हल नहीं होंगी । एक व्यक्ति कितना भी लोकप्रिय हो जाय, उलझी हुई समस्याओं में से रास्ता नहीं निकाल सकता । इसके लिये पोलिटिकल कान्सेंसस चाहिये । श्री राजीव गांधी जब आये थे तो हमें इसकी आशा बंधी थी लेकिन शायद उन्होंने सोचा कि इसमें पार्टी का हितसाधन नहीं होगा, पुरानी लकीर पर वापस चलो । इसके खतरनाक परिणाम होंगे । मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं ।

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI VASANT SATHE): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I have been listening to the speech of our learned friend, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Everyone knows that Shri Vajpayee is a master of words. As it is Said in Sanskrit

सरस्वती उनकी जिह्वा पर विराजमान है ।

So, very often I feel that in the flow of his language with some very high sincere sentiments, he cannot resist the temptation of running down for the sake of politics as it were which he himself says that we must not indulge in. But if you go through his speech carefully, you will find the entire effort has been not to elevate the national debate and bring to light actually the serious factors that today threaten the very integrity and unity of our country. If this is the concern of everyone, and I believe it is because I do not accept that there is even a single Member in this House who does not have the good of the nation or the country and its people at heart and, therefore, I felt a little bit pained because knowing Vajpayeeji, I know his capacity, and he can rise to a very great height. But, somehow I feel that this is also one of the maladies of present times that we all have, as it were, fallen for the immediate benefit of what we are trying to do, immediate gains, scoring debating points, without realising that this is really not taking the nation, not taking our people in the direction that we want. And I entirely agree with him when he says that this is going in the right direction cannot be the job only of the ruling party, whatever be its strength and majority. There is to be a consensus and at least one credit could be given. Suddenly, Sir, you find a wave as it were, when the present young Prime Minister came to power in 1984. There was a wave, praising him sky-high. Everyone vied with each other, to say: What a man! And now suddenly you find the same people, and surprisingly those very people, who criticised Mrs. Gandhi for all that she did, suddenly seeing merit in Mrs. Gandhi's actions and then compare and say, look, this is the departure. Let us consider one simple aspect. What did you expect him to do when he came? Give stability. The outstanding problems that had plagued the very unity of this country like Punjab, Assam, you expected that this young man knowing fully well that he did not have the experience

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

behind him, you expected that he would be able to tackle. You are criticising advisors, you are criticising everybody. Will it not be to his credit that he with courage tackled the problem of Punjab and tackled in what spirit? Success and failure can be judged with a hindsight but when he tackled it, what was the spirit behind? The spirit of democracy. Let us within the framework of democracy talk to the people concerned, call them, have a dialogue with them. Let the will of the people prevail. Let problems be resolved by ballot and not by bullet. And the way to solve the problem of Punjab, which has taken such a bitter turn particularly after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi and aftermath in Delhi and other places, it needed tremendous courage and sagacity in the leader of the country to say, I will talk to Longowal, I will talk with Barnala, please come and tell us what we should do.

Vajpayeeji was criticising the attitude of the Congress after the Akali Dal and Barnalaji came to power. That shows what reservations the Congress Party itself had in Punjab. We are influenced by local considerations in our regions. That is a fact of life. But then it is for the leader who has to look to the national interest. And how did he rise to the occasion? He said: It does not matter even if my party suffers in the process but let democracy win; let unity be preserved; let the will of the people prevail. And amazingly, the Opposition leaders at that time with one voice, as it were, were demanding restoration of democracy and when that was done and Mr. Barnala and his Akali Dal came to power, soon our people and friends like Vajpayeeji started finding fault with the democratically-elected Government there, just because it did not suit them. Let us consider it seriously. Do you think this is a problem which can easily be resolved by sending army or by having President's Rule, as indeed was being asked for and demanded by the BJP? Sir, once you reverse the process of democracy, you know how difficult it is again, and here is a man in Punjab who is showing courage in the face of religious bigotry, obscurantism and fundamentalism of the worst kind. Should we stand by him or should we still find fault with him and say he should not have been named in the President's Address? I really do not know. From what height you fall to this level, to say whether his name should have been there or not? You yourself say that this is an extraordinary situation and, therefore, an extraordinary behaviour shown by a Chief Minister to defend the integrity of the country, to defend secularism of this country and to defend all the great values by which we stand! Even a mention of his name is being objected to. I feel sorry.

Then take the question of Assam or Mizoram for that matter. Could you sincerely say that Shri Rajiv Gandhi acted against the interest of this country in coming to an agreement with Laldenga, bringing him into the mainstream within the framework of our Constitution, within democracy? And there also, see the peaceful transformation that has been brought about.

So, point by point, whether it is Assam, whether it is Mizoram, whether it is Punjab, the action was intended to restore democracy and through democracy, preserve the unity of this country. All right; some problems may not get solved according to our wish completely. Punjab accord has not been implemented fully. But then, after all, there are many parties to the accord. It is not only the Central Government. Haryana is as much involved and, therefore, unless both agree, you cannot force it on them. It makes it very funny. We have a tendency to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. I remember the story of Panch Tantra, the story of the father, the son and the donkey. You must be knowing it. Everybody here, perhaps, knows it. What will happen if we were to adopt, if the Opposition were to adopt, an attitude; whatever it is you must criticise just because it is the ruling party. I have read some of the speeches made here. Shri Uupendra of the Telugu Desam, when he spoke, saw nothing good, economic, political foreign, everything failure; total failure.

SHRI B. SATYANARYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): If you do something good...

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It is also a question of being able to see something good.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: If you do something good, we will appreciate it.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Should we ask you before what you will consider as good, do it and then get a certificate from you?

Sir, as I said, particularly on the integrity front; these were the steps taken and appreciated all round.

We talk about foreign policy. Vajpayeeji mentioned about China. I have not forgotten the time when he was the Foreign Minister and he must not have forgotten that incident when he was in Beijing, talking with the Chinese ...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Not in Beijing: I was in China.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Somewhere in China.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: The Chinese were attacking Vietnam.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: He created a *faux paus*. ....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: China attacked Vietnam. China did not attack India. Don't forget, Mr. Vasantrao Sathe.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You expected China to attack India at that time?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: They have attacked. They are under occupation of your territory. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, the fact remains ...

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Sir, I would like to remined the hon. Minister that during the Chinese aggression in 1962, the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented Assam and the entire North-East to China. Then, he said 'We are sorry for the people of Assam; we will try to recover it'.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, this is a total distortion. Can you prove that? This is a baseless untruth. This is the least I can say about it. To make such an allegation against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru! Sir, the fact remains that as far as our foreign relations are concerned, we are cautious and we are safeguarding the national interest.

In regard to Pakistan, you want to treat it lightly. You say that it was not a serious situation and that it could have been handled. What would you have said if something had gone wrong? The forces like a pincer were on both sides of Amritsar . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Amritsar?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: International politics is a tricky game. Yes. If they had come in, they would have cut off that whole portion. It would have been a move of just two days. If such a thing had happened, the Vajpayeeji and the whole House would have said what a total failure the policy of the Government has been. Then, we would have been faced with a situation of virtual Khalistan there. You cannot take chances. Therefore, if the Prime Minister made a fast move, moved his troops and then initiated talks also, it is that way alone that the talks could succeed. As far as Sri Lanka is concerned, you know, how delicate the problem is. Our entire sympathy is with the people who are being oppressed. But Sir, here again, the same situation. Can Vajpayeeji honestly say what he would have done? Sent the Army? How can you say that we are not taking care? The realities are well-known.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Why did you send the Army to Bangladesh? You answer my question.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I did not put the question to you. I put the question to him. (*Interruptions*) *Sir*, I cannot have a slinging match with Mr. Gopalsamy.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: You can have it with me.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: With you, Yes. After all, you have to be on the same wavelength. As far as Bangladesh is concerned, the story is well known. We had more than a crore people here and it was their right, it was their fight. So, only when we were attacked from Pakistan—don't forget the actual movement of the army and here is the General sitting who was responsible for the action—referring to Shri Arora, our armies moved in Bangladesh. Therefore, do not confuse the isue.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I remember the speech of Madam Gandhi. I will quote her speech.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: At least, you must know the history. So in international politics you cannot afford to be hasty, you cannot afford to do things which may do greater harm than good.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): We need not be hasty, we understand it, but for how long are you going to be patient? Tamils are being suppressed and massacred for the last three years. You are only showing lip sympathy and concern. What is your constructive alternative?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: This question could be put to the people of Tamil Nadu. What actual constructive help and assistance is being given and what is being done, all these things are not to be spelt out and told to the newspapers or broadcast on radio. Those who have the sympathy, those who know...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This is the concern of India as a whole and not of Tamil Nadu people alone because you serve the people of Tamil Nadu.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: For those who are asking what the Government of India is doing, my reply is that nobody can do more than what the Government of India is doing under the circumstances and this is all that I can say. Ours is not lip sympathy.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: As far as African countries are concerned, you are leading a movement for them, you are mobilising world forces for economic sanctions, etc. but against Sri Lanka you are not taking any constructive steps, that is our case.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your Government is continuously being hoodwinked by Jayewardene.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Unfortunately, our hon. friends do not know that it is this Government and its representatives who have been constantly talking not only with the Government of Sri Lanka but also with the militants and trying to resolve the matter. This matter is not something which can be forced on either side. This is a ticklish matter, this must be appreciated and realised. This is what our Government is doing. We have not let go a single moment. Practically, every month some one or the other is trying to meet, negotiate and find the way out. Therefore, it cannot be said that this Government has only lip sympathy to the problem of Sri Lanka.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your escalating policy has helped Sri Lanka and Jayewardene.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Ultimately, in international politics, as I said, you have to be careful about your national interest. Today it has been declared that Pakistan has made a bomb, it has a bomb. Their own man, the Director Dr. Khan, has declared and this is what has appeared in the news. Under such circumstances, how can you say all is well cricket diplomacy is going on and, therefore, we do not have to be worried, we do not have to be concerned? This Government's attitude and our young Prime Minister's attitude is that we must be cautious, we cannot take chances as far as defence of India is concerned. And all the same our attitude is for having good relations, for having peaceful relations. On our side you cannot point out a single act which could be called 'provocative' to any of our neighbours, or to any one in the

world. That has not been the tradition of India and that has not been the tradition that is followed by this Government. Cautious, yes, we are and will continue to be because we cannot afford to take chances as far as defence and integrity of the country are concerned.

Let us not wax eloquent about growth of communal virus. The biggest responsibility of not allowing communalism to grow, a apprehension to grow in the minds of smaller groups or minorities is always on the majority and I also agree with Shri Vajpayee and I do not want to consider the word "Dharma" in its narrow definition. *Dhariyeti Eti Dharma*: The way of life that forges the whole society, the whole people—that way of life, that code of life is Dharma; that is our philosophy. And if that is our philosophy, then we must harken and call back that heritage which had the capacity to absorb all the streams that came. When you lost that capacity, when you became stagnant, it is then that you lost your Sanatana calibre. The world "Sanatana" is eternal, ever flowing—that character, that freshness of our heritage, of our culture, of our way of life. It is not in vain that it is written at the entrance of our Parliament:

अयं निज: परो वेति
गणना लघुचेतसाम् ।
उदारचरितानां तु
वसुधेव कुटुम्बकम् ।।

This has been the philosophy which Vajpayeeji knows very well. We have to restore that, and with a sense which the President has pleaded—to give a call to this country. So much of our energy today is lost in what? In denigrating each other.

जिसे हिन्दी में कहते हैं टोपी उछालना, एक दूसरे की पगड़ी, टोपी इसे उछालने में लगे हैं And what is called the crab culture,

यह देश को सबसे बड़ा बीमारी, वाजपेयी जी, यदि कोई है तो क्रब कल्चर—केकड़ का कल्चर है ।

मैं बताता हूं आपको कि वह क्या है । एक कहावत है, किसी टोकरे में केकड़े यदि रख दिये जायें, तो उस पर ढक्कन नहीं डालते, ढक्कन डालने की जरूरत भी नहीं होती । क्यों नहीं होती जरूरत ? क्योंकि मालूम है कि जब एक केकड़ा ऊपर जाने की कोशिश करेगा, तो दूसरा उसको पकड़ कर खीचेंगा । तो इसलिये कोई ऊपर जा ही नहीं सकता ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं तो समझता था कि आप शाकाहारी हैं ।

श्री वसंत साठे : शाकाहारी तो नहीं हूं, लेकिन केकड़े से कोई खास प्यार नहीं है । तो वाजपेयी जी यह केकड़ा कल्चर जो है, यह देश को खाये जा रही है । क्रेब कल्चर बस सारी शक्ति, सारी इनर्जी इस सदन में, उस सदन में, सेंट्रल हाल में, देश की किस चीज पर जाया जा रही है । मुझे इतना दुख होता है, मुझे सबसे ज्यादा अफसोस किस बात का होता है, मैं इसी बात को बता कर अपनी बात खत्म करना चाहूंगा । हर क्षेत्र में ऊपर आने के लिये सर्वांगीण विकास जब तक देश का न हो, तब तक आप नहीं आ सकते ।

परसों यहां साहब टेबल टेनिस हुआ, चाईना स्वीप्ड—यही चाईना बेडमिंटन में स्वीप कर ले जाता है, जिमनास्टिक्स में स्वीप कर ले जाता है, सिओल में सब से ज्यादा गोल्ड मेडल ले जाता है और नम्बर दो पर कौन आता है ? साऊथ कोरिया, दोनों एशियाटिक देश हैं, उतनी दिल को तसल्ली की बात है, चलो, लेकिन छोटा सा मुल्क 80 गोल्ड मेडल ले जाता है, साऊथ कोरिया । अरे भाई क्यों ? कोई यह कहे कि उनका सिस्टम आफ पालिटी अलग है, इसलिये हो रहा है, ऐसी बात नहीं है । दोनों बिल्कुल विरोधी सिस्टम से है, फिर भी क्यों हो रहा है ? एक राष्ट्र की जिद, जब सारे नेशन को यह जिद नहीं आती कि हमें इस नाते से कुछ हासिल करना है, दुनिया में बराबर आना है, तो किसी भी क्षेत्र में हम आगे नहीं आ सकते । क्योंकि आज दुर्भाग्य इसी बात का है कि हमारा पास्ट टाइम, कोई सब से बड़ी उपलब्धि इस देश में यदि कोई है तो

[श्री वसंत साठे]

एक-दूसरे की टांग खींचने की है। कौन कल्चर, एनर्जी सारी बर्बाद। यह मानवीय ऊर्जा इस तरह जाएगी तो दूसरी ऊर्जा कहां से लायेंगे? इसलिए मेरी आपसे और सदन के सदस्यों से नम्र प्रार्थना है कि भाई, एक होकर देश के मसले बांट लीजिए, हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। (व्यवधान) सब बैठे हैं, इधर और उधर तो हैं ही बेचारे, आप हमारे इस देश के दिग्गज हैं, वाजपेयी जी से मैं खास कर कहना चाहता हूं और आडवाणी जी से भी कि आपने जो इशारा किया था फंडामेंटलिजम के ग्रोथ का उसको भी यदि दबाना है तो उद्धार चरितानामतु (?) वह आपको ही बड़ा दिल करना पड़ेगा। उसके बगैर बात नहीं बनेगी। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस अभिभाषण का स्वागत और समर्थन करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के संबंध में जो प्रस्ताव आया है उसमें जो मेरे दल का संशोधन है उसके पक्ष में भी मैं बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। मेरे लिहाज से अभिभाषण के अन्दर सरकार ने दक्षिण अफ्रीका की आजादी के लिए, विश्वशांति के लिए और निर्गुट राष्ट्रों के आन्दोलन के बढ़ावे के लिए जो काम किए हैं उसकी चर्चा जो की गई है वह अच्छी बात है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूं। लेकिन पूरे तौर पर राष्ट्रपति का यह अभिभाषण किसी रजिस्ट्री आफिस के डीड राइटर का ड्राफ्ट लगता है। इसमें जो देश के सामने बहुत ही संकट की समस्या उत्पन्न हो गई है जिसकी चर्चा अभी साठे साहब ने की उसका विश्लेषण नहीं है, कोई समाधान नहीं निकाला है और न ही कोई नीति प्रतिपादित की गई है जिससे यह समझा जाए कि इस दिशा में हम इस देश को ले जाना चाहते हैं। यह चर्चा है कि धर्म निरपेक्षता के सवाल पर हम नेशनल डिबेट करेंगे। इस सवाल पर जिस राष्ट्र का राष्ट्रपिता मारा गया हो, जिसके प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या हुई हो, जिसके अंतर्गत राज्यों में लगातार दंगा होता हो, वह कहे कि हम डिबेट शुरू करेंगे तब यह बात तय होगी, यह अत्यन्त ही लज्जाजनक लगता है। इसीलिए मैंने आपसे कहा कि यह किसी डीड राइटर का काम है। वाजपेयी जी ने आपका सही ध्यान आकर्षित किया कि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि देश में सैकुलरिज्म रहे तो मुस्लिम लीग से हाथ मिला कर कैसे हो सकता है, साठे साहब, आप मुस्लिम लीग से कीजिए और दूसरे को कहिए कि आप कम्युनल हैं तो आप भी तो वही काम करते हैं। और वाजपेयी जी से शिकायत है कि मुस्लिम लीग के बारे में तो बहुत बोलते हैं लेकिन राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के बारे में नहीं बोलते कि वह हिन्दु राष्ट्र की बात करता है। यह बात हमारी समझ में नहीं आई। साठे साहब इसकी चर्चा छोड़ दें तो यह और भी ज्यादा दर्दनाक बात है। अगर लोग बाबरी मस्जिद का सवाल उठाने वाले सांप्रदायिक हैं तो राम जन्मभूमि का सवाल उठाने वाले और विश्व हिन्दु परिषद् भी सांप्रदायिक हैं। तो वाजपेयी जी उनके बारे में क्यों नहीं बोलते हैं? साठे जी आपकी पार्टी दोनों कमेटी में हैं, बाबरी मस्जिद युद्ध में भी उसमें भी आपके दल के लोग हैं और राम जन्म भूमि में भी आपके दल के लोग हैं। तो आप ये करवा क्या रहे हैं? रंगनाथ मिश्र आयोग की रपट आई है उसमें स्पष्ट हो गया कि आप लोगों ने इन दंगों में हिस्सा नहीं लिया, चोटी के नेताओं ने हिस्सा नहीं लिया, लेकिन नीचे के कांग्रेसियों ने सिख विरोधी दंगों में हिस्सा लिया। यह तो लिखा हुआ है। यह आपकी पार्टी की कौन सी धर्मनिरपेक्षता है? हमने भी एक बार पाप किया था कि मुस्लिम लीग के साथ हाथ मिलाया, जनसंघ के साथ हाथ मिलाया था, लेकिन तुरन्त ही कम्युनिस्ट दलों ने अपना हाथ खींच लिया और अपनी गलती स्वीकार की। हम में और आप में फर्क यही है कि हमने इतिहास में कभी गलती की थी और आप लगातार गलतियां करते चले जा रहे हैं। उसी तरह से जनता पार्टी के हमारे मित्र हैं, जो शहाबुद्दीन जी को लेकर सेकुलरिज्म सिखाएंगे तो कौन-कौन आदमी सेकुलरिज्म सीखेंगे। हमको लग रहा है, पंडित जी की उजला बैंगन वाली कहानी हम एक बार कह

चुके हैं, दोहराना नहीं चाहते, वही बेंगन सब कोई खा रहे हैं । पंडिताइन जी को कथा कहते हुए पंडित जी ने कहा था, जैसा सभी को कथा में कहते हैं कि उजला बेंगन नहीं खाना चाहिए। तो पंडिताइन जी घर गयीं, कुछ था नहीं, घर में उजला बेंगन ही था, जो उसने बनाया नहीं । पंडित जी आये तो उसको सिर्फ दाल-भात दिया । पंडित जी ने कहा कि सिर्फ दाल-भात क्यों है ? तो जवाब दिया घर में सिर्फ उजला बेंगन था, कैसे बनाती, आपने ही तो कहा था कि उजला बेंगन खाना पाप है। पंडित जी बोले—यह मैंने दूसरों के लिए कहा था, अपने लिये नहीं कहा था आप लोग भी यही काम कर रहे हैं । आप राष्ट्र को धोखा दे रहे हैं । अभी आपने एक जलसा किया दुनिया भर के लोगों को बताया और कहा—न्यू बिगनिंग । तो "न्यू बिगनिंग" क्या है जब साम्प्रदायिक दंगा करवाते हैं साम्प्रदायिक दलों से गठ-बंधन करते हैं । इसे हम लोग जानना चाहते हैं । फिर इस बात को क्यों नहीं बताते कि आप 40 साल से राज्य किए हैं फिर क्यों यह सवाल खड़े हुए हैं ? क्यों आज राष्ट्र इन खतरनाक विघटनकारी समस्याओं में उलझा है ? आपने चर्चा जरूर की और राष्ट्रपति जी नें चार पैराग्राफ में इसकी चर्चा की है । यह अच्छी बात है, सबसे नेक बात है । यह भी एक बहुत अच्छी बात है कि हम सभी दल के लोग चंडीगढ़ में जाकर अभियान शुरू किए हैं । यह बात सदन में भी कई बार उठी थी आप इस तरह से शुरू कीजिए चलो देर आयद, दुरुस्त आयद, कोई बात नहीं है । लेकिन यह भी सोचना है कि आगे किस रास्ते पर चलेंगे, किन रास्तों पर चल कर काम करेंगे, इसको आप नहीं सोच रहे हैं । इसलिए मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करूंगा, जो गंभीर समस्या है राष्ट्र के सामने है उसकी तरफ आप कोई विवेचना गंभीर रूप से नहीं कर सके । उल्टे साम्प्रदायिक संगठनों के साथ जाते हैं । एक बात और याद दिलाना चाहता हूं, क्या कारण है कि गुजरात में दंगा हुआ है, मध्यप्रदेश में दंगा हुआ है और बिहार और उत्तरप्रदेश में भी दंगे हुए हैं, लेकिन बंगाल में कोई दंगा नहीं हुआ ? आप हमको बता दीजिए, जिसको आप सौ-सौं गाली देते हैं वामपंथी सरकार को, वह इसे थामे हुए है या नहीं । आपको वोट का डर है, हमको वोट का डर नहीं है, हम मुकाबला करते हैं और इसलिए हम रोके हुए हैं । हम आपको दावे के साथ कह सकते हैं जहां-जहां वामपंथी सरकार रहेगी, जहां-जहां कम्युनिस्ट लोग राज करेंगे, कोई दंगाई नहीं पनपेंगे । यह बात हम आपको विश्वास के साथ कहना चाहते हैं ।

आप अपनी नीति का रिव्यू कीजिए । यदि आप चाहते हैं कि सभी सहयोग दें । आपने कहा कि आप लोग छिद्रान्वेषण करते हैं । लेकिन पहले आप अपनी तरफ देखिए तो, क्यों नहीं देखते कि सूप चली चलनी को छिद्र दिखाने । कोई इसके लिए आपको दोषारोपण नहीं करता है कि आपने पंजाब में एकार्ड क्यों किया, आपने आसाम में एकार्ड क्यों किया ? यह तो जरुरी था । आपने अच्छा कर लिया । लेकिन यह समझना कि जिनसे आपने एकार्ड किया धर्म-निरपेक्ष हैं । यह हम आपको बता दें । लेकिन हम अभी बरनाला जी की आलोचना नहीं करने के लिए जा रहे हैं, कि वह हृदय से नहीं हैं सेकुलर । अभी वह बहुत बड़ा उपयोगी काम कर रहे हैं, इसलिए यह वक्त नहीं है कि अभी यह कहा जाय कि आपका बाप क्या था, आपका पितामह क्या था और कैसा था ? अभी देश को बचाने के लिए बहुत बड़ा काम हो रहा है, इसलिए इनको सहयोग देना चाहिए । हमारी यही शिकायत वाजपेयी जी और दूसरे आलोचक मित्रों से है । उपसभापति महोदय, एक बनिए ने बहुत अच्छा मकान बनाया और जलसा किया, लेकिन वह अपने पुरोहित को बुलाना भूल गए । सब को बुलाया, खिलाया-पिलाया। बाद में पता चला कि पुरोहित को नहीं बुलाया तो पुरोहित को बुलाया गया और कहा कि हमसे गलती हो गयी है, आप हमारा मकान देखिए । सारा मकान देखकर पुरोहित ने कहा कि तुम्हारा मकान तो बहुत अच्छा है, लेकिन मुर्दा निकालने का रास्ता

[श्री चतरानन मिश्र]

इसमें ठीक नहीं है । यदि कोई मर जाय तो मुर्दा किधर से निकलेगा ? अब बरनाला जी ने अभी मकान बनाया है तो लोग कह रहे हैं मुर्दा वाला रास्ता कोई बता दीजिए । तो यह क्या बात है ? आपसे हमारी यह शिकायत है कि आपकी जो नीति है उससे आपके प्रशासन कम्युनल हो गए हैं । पुलिस ही दंगा करने लगती है । हिन्दू पुलिस है तो मुसलमानों पर जुल्म ढाह देती है : आपको यह नहीं मालूम है, यह दुर्भाग्य है । पंजाब में ज्यादा सिख पुलिस है और वह सिख आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ काम नहीं करती । पूछिए बरनाला जी से अकेले में अगर पब्लिकली नहीं पूछना तो । यह प्रशासन में ऐसा घुस गया है, उसको आप जल्दी रोकिये ।

कुछ जरूरी सवालात हैं, उनकी तरफ राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में चर्चा नहीं की है । जैसे बड़े पैमाने पर इंडस्ट्रियल सिकनेस है । आप चर्चा करते हैं कि हमने इतना परसेंट उद्योग बढ़ाया है, इतने परसेंट नए कल-कारखाने खोले हैं । मैं आपको बताना चाहूंगा कि लेटर आफ इण्टेण्ड को भी जोड़ दिया जाय तो आपने आर्थिक रिव्यू में कहा है कि 3655 लेटर आफ इण्टेंड सहित होटल उद्योग खोलेंगे और क्लोजर कितना हुआ है तो 1,19,606 और जितने आप कारखाने खोलते हैं, उससे दुगुने, तिगुने हर साल बंद करते हैं । तो यह कौनसा हिसाब आप हम लोगों को दे रहे हैं । शेयर मार्केट में आये 5000 करोड़ के नए धन की आप चर्चा करते हैं, लेकिन बंद कारखानों में सरकारी धन का 4,271 करोड़ रुपया डूब गया आप उसकी चर्चा क्यों नहीं करते हैं ? आप एक तरफा क्यों देखते हैं ? दूसरी चीजों को क्यों नहीं देखते हैं कि देश में क्या हो रहा है ?

उपसभापति महोदय, देश में इतने बड़े पैमाने पर बेरोजगारी रहेगी आजादी के 40 वर्षों के बाद भी, तो यह नौजवान कहां जाएंगे, क्या करेंगे ? माना कि वह ब्राह्मण के घर में जन्म लेता है, उच्च जाति में जन्म लिया है, उसके कारण क्या उसको जीविका अधिकार नहीं है ? हम मानते हैं इस बात को कि रिजर्वेशन होना चाहिए और इसमें दो रायें नहीं हो सकती । हम पक्ष में हैं, हम खिलाफ नहीं हैं, हम मानते हैं कि ऊंची जाति के लोग हजारों वर्षों से पिछड़ी जाति के वर्गों और हरिजनों को दबा कर रखे रहे इसलिए उचित अवसर देने के लिए रिजर्वेशन जरूरी है । लेकिन रिजर्वेशन इतना तो न हो कि हंगामा खड़ा हो जाय । इसलिए हम आपसे अनुरोध करेंगे कि आप अपनी नीतियों के बारे में कोई कार्यक्रम दीजिए राष्ट्र को ताकि समान लोगों के लिए नौकरी का इंतजाम हो सके । ऐसी कौन सी आपके पास योजना है जिससे तमाम लोगों के लिए नौकरी का इंतजाम हो सके और लोग आपकी ओर आकर्षित हों ? जब आपने द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के वक्त में नया प्रोग्राम दिया था तो सारा राष्ट्र आपके साथ हो गया था । आपने 1971 में भी यही देखा । जब जब देश पर हमला हुआ है, सारे देश के लोगों ने आपका साथ दिया है । अभी आपका क्या प्रोग्राम है ? टाटा को बढ़ाओ, बिड़ला को बढ़ाओ । बीस करोड़ वालों को सौ करोड़ वाला बनाओ । टैक्स में ऐसी छूट दी कि शेयर मार्केट का उठान हो । तो कौन आप के साथ आएगा ? इसीलिए देश को आज नए प्रोग्राम की जरूरत है जिसके बिना हम देश को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं और इसी का आपके पास अभाव है ।

एक दूसरा प्वायंट आपकी मूल्य नीति का है । आप साल भर इंकार करते रहे कि मूल्य वृद्धि हो रही है । हुआ यह कि रुई का दाम घट गया और कपड़े का दाम बढ़ गया । जूट का दाम घटा और कोकोनट का दाम घट गया, लेकिन आपकी जो ऐडमिनिस्टर्ड प्राइस है उसका दाम बराबर बढ़ता ही गया । इस मूल्य नीति से आप चाहते हैं कि तमाम लोगों को अपने साथ रख सकें तो यह होने वाली बात नहीं है ।

इसलिए देश के अन्दर आपकी नीति के कारण हंगामा खड़ा हो गया है ।

मैं दो बातों की चर्चा और करना चाहता हूं विदेश नीति को मैंने कहा है कि ठीक है और मैंने मूलतः उसका समर्थन किया । लेकिन यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है कि डिप्लोमेसी में पाकिस्तान के लोग कैसे आपको पीछे कर लेते हैं । वे यहां आ करके क्रिकेट मैच भी खेलते हैं और उधर ऐटम बम भी बना लेते हैं । डिप्लोमेसी में आप मार खा रहे हैं । अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर आप की बातों को लोग नहीं समझ रहे हैं । उन्होंने आपके सामने नो-ऐग्रेशन पैक्ट रख दिया, आप ने उसका उचित जवाब नहीं दिया कि उसमें क्या चाल है । विदेश सचिव को डिसमिस करना होता है तो पाकिस्तान के कारसपोंडेंट को कहते हैं । किसी मंत्री को हटाना हो तो अमरीका को कहिएगा । आप चाहें कि लोग आपका साथ दें तो इस हास्यास्पद नीति का कोई समर्थन नहीं कर सकता ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आज गवर्नमेंट की क्रेडिबिलिटी बड़ी तेजी से गिरती जा रही है । प्रधान मंत्री नौजवान हैं, अच्छी बात है, लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि गवर्नमेंट पर लोग विश्वास खोते जा रहे हैं और इस सवाल पर गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए ।

श्रीमन, मैं अंत में अपने राज्य बिहार के बारे में चर्चा करना चाहता हूं । बिहार को आपकी पार्टी ने हिन्दुस्तान के नक्शे से काट दिया है । मंत्रिमंडल में एक भी सदस्य हमारा नहीं है । केबिनट में बिहार के एक भी नहीं है ।

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद : हमारे सामने ही बिहार के मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं ।... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : बिहार को आपने केबिनेट मिनिस्टर कहां दिया है ? वही हम कर रहे हैं । बिहार कभी ऐसा नहीं था । आपने बिहार को मिटा दिया है भारत के नक्शे में ।

राजनीतिज्ञों और ब्यूरोक्रेट्स में एक फर्क है । राजनीतिज्ञ कभी भी रिटायर नहीं होते और ब्यूरोक्रेट्स रिटायर करके पालिटिक्स में आते हैं । यही दोनों में फर्क है । बिहार के जो एम०पी० लोग आपके दल के हैं ये सब सम्भवतः नाबालिग हैं । एक रिटायर ब्यूरोक्रेट को आप ले आये वह भी नाबालिग हो गया । उनको भी नहीं समझा गया । कातिल यद्यपि वह आर्थिक कमीशन के अध्यक्ष रह सकते हैं तो यह आपकी बिहार के साथ घनघोर उपेक्षा है । **(व्यवधान)** इस कारण बिहार की भारी उपेक्षा हो रही है । एक मिसाल यह है कि एक रोहतास इंडस्ट्री वर्षों से बंद है और 15 हजार मजदूर बेरोजगार हो गये । बंद तो और भी इंडस्ट्रीज हुए हैं लेकिन यह बड़ा उद्योग समूह है । यह डालमियां नगर में है । बिहार सरकार ने रिपोर्ट भेजी कि हम इस को चलायेंगे लेकिन आपने मानोपलीज हाउसेज को चलाने को कहा । आपकी सरकार की मानोपलीज से पटती है । मानोपलीज को आप समझते हैं कि ये स्वर्ग लाने वाले लोग हैं। आप बिहार में स्वर्ग लाये हैं डालमियां नगर में जहां सभी मजदूर भूख से तड़प रहें हैं प्रोपोजल आयी कि बिहार सरकार चलाने के लिये तैयार है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने आदेश भी दे दिया कि इसके मुताबिक इस पर विचार होना चाहिए लेकिन केन्द्रीय केबीनेट उस पर विचार नहीं करती, रिजैक्ट कर देती है । बिहार सरकार से कहती है कि जहां-जहां पुराने मालिक कर्जा लिए हुए हैं पहले उनका कर्जा दे दीजिए फिर आप मिल चलाइये । इसलिए मैं आप से कह रहा था कि हमारे राज्य की घनघोर उपेक्षा हो रही है । हर चीज की वहां उपेक्षा हो रही है । हमारे साठे साहब यहां पर मौजूद हैं । वह ऊर्जा मंत्री हैं । मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूं कि बिहार का ऊर्जा मद में सबसे कम एलोकेशन है । बिहार में सबसे लोएस्ट प्लांट लोड फेक्टर है और बिजली की चोरी हाइएस्ट है ।

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

यह आप का राज चल रहा है । बिहार में आपकी पार्टी राज चला रही है ।

ऊर्जा मंत्रालय में विद्युत विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्रीमती सुशीला रोहतगी) नहीं ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : सबसे लॉएस्ट पी एल एफ है और हाइएस्ट लॉस लाइन का है । अगर आपको शक है तो कहिए कि सबसे हाइएस्ट है । आप तो इन्चार्ज हैं । इसके बाद इन्वेस्टमेंट भी इस्टर्न रीजन में सबसे लॉएस्ट है । अगर हंगामा खड़ा हो जाये तो आप कहेंगे रीजनलिज्म कर रहे हैं । हम रीजनलिज्म क्यों करेंगे । हम कितने दिनों तक ऐसे रहेंगे । अगर वह नहीं उठते तो यही आश्चर्य है । आप उनके साथ अन्याय कर रहे हैं ।

मैं आदि वासी समस्या की चर्चा करना चाहता हूं । आदिवासी लोग उठ रहे हैं । आप ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं । राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उसकी चर्चा तक नहीं । हमारे कंस्टीट्यूशन में दो ही प्रावधान हैं । या तो स्टेट होगा, यूनियन टैरेटरी होगी या फिर सेन्टर का रहेगा । हर जगह यूनियन टैरीटरी तो हो नहीं सकती जहां ट्राइब्स हैं । हम कैसे उनको एसीमिलेट करें, हम कैसे अपने नेशनल मेन स्ट्रीम में लायें ? आप इसका कोई संवैधानिक प्रावधान नहीं करते । कोई इस समस्या पर विचार नहीं करता । हम लोगों ने रीजनल एटोनोमी की बात की । आप दूसरा ही कुछ रखिये । उनकी समस्या का निदान तो कीजिए । जो पिछड़ी हुई भाषाएं हैं आप उस पर भी चर्चा नहीं करते । नेपाली का क्या होगा ? दूसरी पिछड़ी भाषाओं का क्या होगा ? आप कब विचार करियेगा ? जब सब हथियार लेकर खड़े हो जायेंगे तब आप कहेंगे कि कुछ होना चाहिए ।

इसी तरह से जो पिछड़ी हुई नेशनलटीज हैं उनकी समस्याएं हैं । उन समस्याओं का एक साथ समाधान कीजिए तभी हम न्यू बिगनिंग करेंगे, नये अध्याय की ओर जायेंगे । इन सबका राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में समाधान नहीं है इसी लिए मैंने कहा कि यह किसी राजनीतिज्ञ का, देश की परिस्थितियों पर गम्भीरता से सोचने वाले का ड्राफ्ट नहीं है यह तो किसी रजिस्ट्री आफिस के रीडर का ड्राफ्ट है । इन शब्दों के साथ, अपने अमेंडमेंट के साथ, राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद देता हूं ।

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE (Aassam): Respected Vice-Chairman, I take the floor to lend support to the Motion of thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi. Most matured politicians, most seasoned politician and most honourable politician, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has expressed his wonder as to why in the Presidential Address there has been a mention of the name of Punjab State Chief Minister, Shri Surjit Singh Barnala. I am trying to answer this.

Respected Vice-Chairman, we all know that in Punjab a fight is going on between the forces of friends of democracy and the foes of democracy and under the able leadership of the Chief Minister Surjit Singh Barnala, the people of Punjab has shown exemplary and praiseworthy courage to fight the forces of fundamentalism, to fight the divisive forces, to fight the forces that are out to destroy the unity and integrity of India. On this score, I would like to thank also the Members of all the Opposition parties who have lent support to Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala and I also want to thank the people of Punjab, who have been fighting very bravely the battle against the forces of terrorism—that at least, for more, the Opposition parties have been able to rise above the party considerations, above all parochial consideration and they have shown exemplary wisdom to lend support to Surjit Singh Barnala. I think, they have been able to disapprove the truth of the famous saying of Anatole France's. I quote: "it is human nature to think wisely and act foolishly." They have adhered to the famous saying of late revered Prime

Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I quote:—

"Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral."

All the democratic forces of India have shown courage to fight the forces which are at work in Punjab to destabilize our country. Many hon. Members even today and even in their speeches have said that why army action is not being taken, why forces are not being sent, why all such stringent measures are not being taken, but here also, we must remember the saying of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I quote:

"The consequence of acting in passion are always bad for an individual but they are infinitely worse for a nation."

If we remember the famous saying of Mahatma Gandhi:

"an eye of an eye will end up making the whole world blind." We can not take any hasty action.

[THE VICE-CHANRMAN (DR. BAPU KALDATE) in the chair.]

Now, we must all put our heads together to find out a solution acceptable to the people of Punjab, acceptable to the people of the India as a whole and we must all fight together against the forces of terrorism, against the forces of fundamentalism and we should remember the famous saying of Subhas Chandra Bose and I quote:—

"The synthesis between religion and national aspirations is what is needed for India."

Now, I think, at the moment, we are passing through bad days; we are passing through the days of winter of despair but I hope, we will soon come across the days of happiness of spring. Let me quote the famous English Poet Shellay:

"If winter comes can spring be far behind."

Now, hon. Member, Mr. P. Upendra, who is not here, while participating in this debate has referred to one thing that Prime Minister, during his pre-election tour to Mizoram declared some bonanza and today, some other Members were also referring to it that he was making declarations giving Rs. 50 crores, 200 crores, and 400 crores to many States. I will confine my discussion only to Mizoram. Now, with regard to Mizoram, I specifically remember, respected Upendra Ji said that people of Mizoram were not be fooled by the pre-election declarations of our hon. Prime Minister.

4.00 P.M. And they have got the Congress defeated. Now, once again, just to use the observation of a Member of Parliament from the other House, I would say that respected Upendraji is suffering from an optical illusion. He has not gone into the details of the election. It is for the first time that Congress-I has got 35 per cent voting in Mizoram. You should remember last time when the Congress formed a Government in Mizoram, taped records of Laldenga's lectures were played and with that they came into power. This time we fought against Laldenga himself. What is the net gain? Democracy has won in Mizoram. It is the same Laldenga who questioned the integrity of the nation, who questioned the sovereignty of India, has gone on record saying, "If once again I take arms, I would take arms to defend the honour of my motherland." This is the net result of the Mizoram Accord. Democracy has survived there. Democracy has won. Congress Party might have lost; it is immaterial. But democracy has won. India has thrived and that is very, very important for us. Upendraji is not present here. He said that people could not be befooled. I know Indian people are mature. They have shown us the correct way. Whenever there is danger to democracy, whenever there is threat to our democracy, whenever there is any confusion, whenever there is chaos, the mature people of India, the mature millions of India, have shown us the correct way. Jawaharlal Nehru said: "I have looked into the eyes of the millions

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of my countrymen and women. I have seen a shining light in the eyes of the millions. I have felt the enthusiasm of the millions. I have felt the fire at work in those millions." It is these people who keep us on the right track. If we go astray, they use their mature wisdom and keep us on the right track.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, on page 3, in para 9, it has been said, "Government are committed to safeguarding the rights and interests of the minorities." This is a very important thing. In Assam a new Government has come to power. They have come throught the electoral process and I welcome this new Government. I think when they were launchig their agitation, they had one kind of an idea. Now Mr. Profulla Mohanta is heading the Government. He is my Chief Minister also, as I am an Assamese. Mahatma Gandhi correctly said, "The spirit of democracy requires a change of heart." When Shri Profulla Mohanta was spearheading his movement, he might have had one idea, he might have represented the majority section of the people. But now he is the Chief Minister and he is the Chief Minister both of the majority and the minority as well. Cardinal Newman made a very significant comment about Aristotle. He had this to say, "To think correctly is to think like Aristotle." What did Aristotle say about justice? This is what Aristotle said, "Justice consists in tolerance of the majority towards the minority." This is the crux of justice. I believe in the Assam Accord. I want full implementation of the Assam Accord because it was done by our Prime Minister—as also by our party president, Shri Rajiv Gandhi—and I do not want that even a single true citizen of India should be harassed. Some people are being harassed.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: No, there is not a single harassment of any minority. Can you point out specifically if there is any harassment of the minorities? No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. BAPU KALDATE): Madam, you can make your point when you get your turn. Please don't interrupt.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE: For the information of the honourable lady Member I am referring to my father who was a police officer in Assam Police in '20s. Please listen. In 1920s my father was a police offier in Assam and we have been living in Assam since 1898. My own brother, let me tell you, my own brother has been served with a 'quit' notice. My own brother. I am citing a specfic example. My own brother has been served with a 'quit' notice I am also saying that there should not be a single foreign national in Assam, and all the foreigners' names should be deleted from the voters' list. I am one with the AASU and I am one with AGP beause I also believe in the Aassm accord and I am also saying that there should not be a single foreign national in Assam But not a single true citizen of India should be harassed. This is what I most respectfully beg to submit before this honourable House. But this is what is happening. My Chief Minister may not be knowing all these things and some ultra-enthusiasts might be harassing the people. I am not blaming him. I have said that I have full respect for and have full confidence in the Chief Minister and I think he will protect the interests of the minorities, the linguistic minorities and religious majority.

Now, Sir, on page 4 of the Presidential Address, in para 10, it has been mentioned that one of the main policy thrusts is:

> "A new orientation to or agricultural policy and taking the green revolution to the eastern region."

In this context, I want to submit one thing most respectfully to those speaking in terms of taking the green revolution to the eastern States, especially Assam. I will confine my remarks to the State of Assam only. In Assam, Sir, there is a permanent problem. Every year there

are floods in the Brahmaputra river and also in the Barak river. I think the Central Government should release funds in a liberal way to help the flood control measures in order to fight effectively the menace of floods in the Brahmaputra river. Once again, to fight effectively the menace of floods i nthe Barak river, a project known as the Tipai Mukh Project was taken up and the project report has also been submitted. But there is an attempt to sabotage the whole project because it has been shown as a very ambitious power project. The whole project could be reshaped and made into a flood control project with emphasis on irrigation. If this is not done, every year different town in the Barak valley will be inundated and this will cause damage to the extent of crores of rupees.

So far as improved communication in the North-Eastern Region is concerned, you know that the North-Eastern Region consists of so many States like Assam, Tripura, Manipur Mizoram, etc. So far as the condition of the National Highways in the State of Assam is concerned, they are really in a very very bad shape and they require immediate repairs. A road bridge has to be constructed at Katakhal and there should be a diversion from Katigarh up to Silchar via Rani Ferry and there should be another diversion at Chirukandi up to the Link Road near Silchar. These are all concerning the National Highways. There should also be a railway bridge on the National Highway No. 44 near Karimganj Railway Station. (*Time-bell rings*). I am coming to the end of my speech very soon.

Respected Vice-Chairman, Sir, the people of the Barak Valley districts of Cachar and Karimganj have been demanding for a long time for the establishment of a University there and they have been peacefully demonstrating and the students, the guardians and others have been demanding for the establishment of a Central University. The Prime Minister has made two or three tours to our part of the country very recently and we have represented our case and many delegations from our part of the country have also come to Delhi and have also submitted a memorandum to the honourable Prime Minister. I think the students of this part of the country have already become very restive and they are saying that unless and until they go the Mizoram way, unless and until they go the Punjab way, they will not get anything. Therefore, I would like to point out that here also we should remember the famous saying of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:

> "Revolution will ensue if evolution in the right direction is not speeded up."

Now, denial of this demand or to put it off indefinitely will keep the students agitated and will keep the guardians, the teachers and the masses and people of this valley in a state of turmoil. And we should remember that a pent up desire has very many outlets, whereas the constructive approach has only one.

Before I conclude, I want to say that there are disturbing trends all over the country. There are forces of communalism at work and forces of terrorism at work in Tripura, in Assam, in Mizoam, in Manipr, in Kashmir and in various other parts of the country. So we must put our heads together, we must combine together, and fight against these forces, and we should remember the famous saying of Jawaharlal Nehru:

> "The paths to peace are difficult, but pursue them we must. They alone will enable survival and fulfilment. The journey calls for patience and tolerance and belief in our objectives. They demand more than all an equation of means and ends. They call for the endeavour of us all."

With these words, I support the motion.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is a most painful paradox that members of the treasury benches have moved a Resolution, a betraying Resolution, to express their thanks for the Address delivered by the hon. President of India. It was a lip service by the members of the treasury benches. May I

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ask a qestion:. Can they touch their conscience, touch their hearts and say whether the highest institution of this country, the institution of the President of India, has been shown the due respect, due courtesy, by the hon. Prime Minister of this country, by some of the members of his Cabinet, by some of the Members of Parliament belonging to that party? Definitely no.

Sir, it will be very relevant on my part to quote 'India Today' of February 28th. I quote:

> "For the first time in India's constitutional history, contact between the head of government and the head of state has been kept to the minimum and the President has not been consulted even on vital matters....For almost two years now, no Union Minister has officially called on the President of India, not even when summoned."

Sir, I quote again:

> "Not only was the hon. President of India forced to turn down invitations for official visits abroad, Rajiv also refused to call on him to brief him on his own foreign visits—a major breach of protocol. Moreover, important government documents were withheld from presidential scrutiny and he was not even given enough advance information about Rajiv's frequent cabinet reshuffles. On at least three occasions, the President was given just four hours notice for the swearing in ceremoney.. .He has made just four foreign visits—only one since Rajiv took over—in his four years and seven months. Over 40 foreign invitations to him are still awaiting clearance from the Government."

Sir, even when the President of India wanted to get some of the reports, that Government did not respond. This is the courtesy that has been shown to the President of India! This is the respect shown to the President of India! Now you say: Yes, we have to thank the President. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, never before did it happen like this. Whenever the Prime Minister goes abroad, when he comes back he has to brief the President. Has this been done? This is my question. I expect the Prime Miinster who, I understand, may intervene tomorrow, to clarify this. This question is being asked throughout the country. It is agitating many minds. Sir, Shri Bhattacharjee referred to Subhash Chandra Bose. I am very happy that our friend from the Congress (I) party referred to the great Subhash Chandra Bose. I am pained to see how the daughter of Subhash Chandra Bose, Anita Bose and her husband, were treated when they visited this country. On January 31, when the hon. President gave a reception to the couple, Anita Bose and her husband, Doordarshan was informed to cover the function. A number of Union Ministers and Congress (I) M. Ps. were invited to attend the function. Many declined the invitation. Not only that. The story does not end there. Sir, on the Republic Day, when the daughter of Subhash Chandra Bose was witnessing the parade, the hon. Prime Miinster of India did put a question to Anita Bose, the daughter of Subhash Chandra Bose. Are you the grand daughter of Subhash Bose? Touch your hearts and tell me whether it is a question to be put of the daughter of Subhash Chandra Bose. Is it not humiliating and insulting to the daughter of that great man, who has shown tremendous courage and made marvellous sacrifices? This is what Anita Bose told a correspondent of 'The Week.' It is published in their edition of 15—22 February. I quote:

> "It is not me but the image of my father that they seem to be scared of. It is extremely petty of them to treat me this way. But what hurt me most was the way the Prime Minister behaved. He asked her at the Republic Day function whether she wasn't the grand-dabouther of Netaji, Anita believes that he asked the question deliberately to snub her. Way back in 1961 she had stayed in Teen Murti Bhavan

and it was Rajiv who had seen her off at the airport.

"The Doordarshan blackout was evident even at the seminar in Calcutta. The whole thing was about Netaji but virtually nothing that Giani Zail Singh said about my father was reported in the television coverage."

Is the television media the family property of the Prime Minister or the Congress (I) party? Is it the property of the ruling party? There was total black-out of Anita Bose. Mr. Advani raised the question in the morning regarding media coverage. This is how the daughter of Netaji had been treated here. The sacrifice of Subhash Chandra Bose is not inferior to the sacrifice of Allahabad family. I respect Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I have respect for Pandit Motilal Nehru. I have got respect for Indira Gandhi. But the sacrifiice of Allahabad family has been rewarded. It has been more than rewarded. All these years they have been given the reward of ruling this country. When the daughter of Subhash Chandra Bose visited this country, is it the way to treat her, the daughter of Subhash Chandra Bose? (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is a famous speech of Subhash Chandra Bose. When the sons and daughters of this land rose under the command of Subhash Chandra Bose to shed this blood to lay down their lives, this is what he said. I quote from his speech of September 22, 1944. He thundered :

"The Goddess of Liberty demands rebels, men rebels and women rebels, who will be prepared to join Suicide Squads—for whom death is a certainty —rebels who will be ready to drown the enemy in the streams of blood that shall flow from their own body. You give me your blood, I shall get you freedom. This is the demand of liberty. "Shouts arose from the audience, "we are ready, we shall give our blood: take it now." Netaji continued, "Listen to me, I do not want your emotional approval. I want rebels to step forward and sign this Suicide Squad Oath—this document which is an appointment with death on the altar of the Goddess of Liberty." "We are ready to sign", came back that answer from every corner of the Hall. But Netaji said, "But you cannot sign an appointment with death in ordinary ink. You shall have to write with your own blood. Step up, those who dare, I am here to witness your blood-seal for liberty for our Motherland."

Even at that point of time, though he had differences of opinion with the Father of the Nation, with the Mahatma, he said from there, "Oh, Father of our Nation, Mahatma, in this holy war of India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes." This is Subhash Chandra Bose. And his daughter has been treated like this. Sir, I know most of my hon. friends from the Treasury Benches will fully agree with me on this point, on how she has been treated.

Sir, about the foreign visits, I said that the President of India was not allowed to visit foreign countries more than four times but our own hon. Prime Minister most of the days is out of India. And I quote "*India Today*" *of September 30*, 1986. "The Prime Minister and his staff have spent an equivalent of one day every week abroad, remaining out of the country for a total of 77 days out of 559 days. I want to know: Is it a fact or not?

श्री शान्ति त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है कि माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी कितनी बार बाहर गए या आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी कितनी बार बाहर गए इसका विवरण यहां कैसे आ गया ? उसकी क्या सार्थकता है और किसने रोका है राष्ट्रपति जी को या किसने इजाजत दी है प्रधानमंत्री जी को, यह यहां इसका क्या मतलब है . . . (**व्यवधान**) . .

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am telling the facts. How many days is he out of the country? The Prime Minister has spent an equivalent of

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one day every week abroad, remaining out of the country for a total of 77 days out of 559 days. "The cost of these frenetic forays—now hang on to your seat-belts—is Rs. 20 crores so far." Sir, our hon. Prime Minister has visited almost all the countries of the world. Of course, he is our P.M. Yes, of course, our P.M., our Picnic Minister. Our Prime Minister has become the picnic minister touring all the countries of the world

Sir, what happened to our hon. Prime Minister on 21st January? What happened on 21st January? Sir, in the SAARC Conference, is it not a fact that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was given to understand that our Prime Minister will pay a visit to Pakistan? Whether such an impression was created or not? When the Prime Minister of Pakistan returned to Pakistan he said that the 'Prime Minister may visit'. When the question was put to Mr. A.P. Venkateswaran, an excellent officer, our former Foreign Secretary, when that question was put to him, was it wrong on his part to say that 'the Prime Minister may visit Pakistan'? When this question was raised in the Press Conference—Sir, I am very sad about it—our hon. Prime Minister should not have lost his temper or his balance— what I could I say?—and said, "You will be speaking to a new Foreign Secretary soon". That day Mr. Venkateswaran resigned his post. The whole world was watching. And when I say something about Pakistan, you cannot jump at me and say, 'Oh, you are not a patriot'. Patriotism is not the monopoly of you people. When the Pakistan army invaded, when we were ruling the State, we contributed Rs. 6 crores, more than the UP Government. Sir, is it not a fact that Zia-ul-Haq used this situation and in the Islamic Conference tried to persuade or influence Mubarak of Egypt to have a talk with the Prime Minister of India to bring normalcy? Who has played the cards so well? This is the question before us. Who has played the cards carefully well? And then he has come here as a messiah for cricket peace. Yes, Zia-ul-Haq has come here. So, he has been allowed. But you have moved five lakhs of troops to the border at a cost of Rs. 50 crores and I am not here to believe the opinion which has been created throughout India. You may object that in order to remove Hon. Mr. V.P. Singh from the Finance portfolio the episode was undertaken by the Government. This is the talk, this is the opinion throughout the country. The other day he refuted it. Then Mr. Zia-ul-Haq came here and he hugged our Prime Minister and he went to Jaipur and he spoke many things about peace through cricket.

Sir, I am very sorry that Mr. Vasant Sathe has left. He intervened in the debate. I expected that he will sit through because when Mr. Vajpayee raised the issue of Sri Lanka, Mr. Sathe replied. When I sought some clarifications, he got agitated and then I told him that when my turn comes, I expect you will sit here and I expected that Mr. Vasant Sathe is ready for a Dharmayudh. But I never expected that he will show his cowardice and go away like this, because I was not allowed to ask my clarification then.

Sir, in this President's Address as far as Sri Lanka is concerned on page 14 it is stated and I quote:

> "The massive military operations undertaken by the Sri Lanka security forces and the economic blockade of Jaffna area have created further complications."

Sir, do you justify the word 'complications'? You are telling it has created complications. Yes. In your dictionary does complications' mean, genocide? In your dictionary does complications' mean holocaust? In your dictionary does complications' mean massacre? That is going on there. Even at this moment, straffing from the air on the hospitals, churches, and temples is going on. They are not spared.

Sir, recently Mahashivratri was observed in India by the Hindus particularly

those who are Shaivites. Jaffna is inhabited mostly by Hindus who are Shaivites. Of course, there is Muslim population and Christian population also. On the Hindu, dated February 28, it became a day of mourning. Mahashivratri is a day of great significance to the Shaivite Tamils of Sri Lanka. But it turned into a day of mourning for the people of Kankesanturai, Maviddapuram and Tellippalia in Northern Jaffna. According to reports, several buildings including a Murugan temple were damaged. The historic Maviddapuram Kandasamy temple, i.e., which you here call Lord Subramanya, and in Tamil Nadu Lord Murugan, was heavily damaged.

Sir, the places of worship have been destroyed all these years. The great Jaffna Library was burnt. Our women were paraded naked in the streets and were burnt alive. Even our kids are burnt alive. Today, because of the economic blockade, the whole Tamil Community, the whole Tamil race, has been subjected to starvation. Militants—you call them militants—are dying. But, Sir, I do not understand the rationale behind the advocacy of sanctions for South Africa. Of course, I share your agony as far as South African Blacks are concerned; I do not object to it. But here, the whole community, born with us in Tamil Nadu, bound up with us by tradition, by custom, by language, by religion and everything, is dying. And Mr. Vasant Sathe raised here a big question: How can we send our army, Mr. Vasant Sathe says. I asked: why did you send army to Bangladesh? And he said: 'you don't know history'. Yes, I have to learn history from Mr. Vasant Sathe. But, Sir, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, before we undertook operations in Bangladesh, categorically and in clear-cut terms stated in both Houses of Parliament, in the Lok Sabha and in the Rajya Sabha: I quote her "what is happening in East Pakistan is not an internal matter; it is a matter of human rights; it is a matter of violation of human rights, it is a matter of concern throughout the world." And that was shared by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. I had quoted, on previous occasions, the speech of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta on the Bangladesh issue. So, today, it is not an internal matter. What is happening there is not an internal matter. I recall the speech of Mrs. Gandhi on 16th August 1983 on the floor of this House. She said: "What is happening in Sri Lanka is nothing but genocide." And that genocide is still continuing. Your ears have become deaf; your eyes have become blind, as far as Tamils are concerned. And what is our Foreign Minister doing? How do we tackle this problem? How do we approach this problem? Mr. Natwar Singh, Minister of State, who has been dealing with Sri Lanka in the Ministry of External Affairs, is leaving on March 1, on a week-long trip to Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore. I do not know whether the programme has been cancelled, but it has appeared in the press The next day after he returns on March 7, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Tiwari, will be proceeding to Guyana to attend the Foreign Ministers level meeting of the non-aligned community on the Central American situation. Our hon. Prime Minister will be engaged in the election campaign in some of the States. By that time, half of the population there may be totally liquidated. All the troops, the three wings of their forces, have encircled Jaffna. They are getting weapons, arms, from Israel, from Pakistan, from South Africa from whosoever is inimical to this country. Now, what is wrong if I make this demand? I am paying taxes to the country. From those taxes, you are meeting the expenses of our armed forces. The question is, why should I pay tax money when our own kith and kin are butchered, are killed and massacred there? What is wrong in demanding our Government, our Defence Minister, our Prime Minister, to send armed forces to protect our people? This is nothing wrong...

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI (Tamil Nadu): That is the game of...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You please keep quite. I am not speaking for political ends. It is because my blood is boiling. I am not speaking politics. If

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we have to speak politics, let us do it outside, not here. I am not for political ends; I am speaking because my blood is boiling... (*Interruptions*). History will judge you; our posterity will never forgive you. Our hon. Prime Minister said proposals were good at SAARC. You know what Sri Lankan press is doing. I was terribly pained when I read some news reports of Sri Lankan press, criticising our Prime Minister. Therefore, before the total annihilation and liquidation of the Tamils there, you should intervene. You have to give an ultimatum. You have to give an ultimatum that they should stop this oppression. You sent a proposal. You sent a message. That message has been thrown into the dustbin. The whole of Jaffna looks like a funeral house today. Your message has been totally rejected and you have been insulted. Every time, you been taken for a ride.

Therefore, Sir, before I conclude, I would like to say this. Because we are with you, because we are a part and parcel of India, because Tamil Nadu is a part of India, we have come over here, we have come here, 2,000 kms. away from our place, to beg you to take some action. If there had been no ocean, our people would have anchored. They would not have tolerated such an onslaught on our people. Therefore, unless you do concrete action, posterity will never forgive this Government. Thank you.

श्रीमती मनोरमा पाण्डेय (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण हमारी मौजूदा सरकार की नीतियों और उसकी सफलताओं का दस्तावेज है । हमारे देश ने पिछले दो वर्षों में जो उपलब्धियां हासिल की हैं, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में उनके इनिसिएटिव और ब्रोड डिसीजन्स की इस दस्तावेज में झलक मिलती है । आज तमाम विश्व हमारी उपलब्धियों की सराहना करता है । हमें अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था में सुधार करने और उसको काबिल बनाने में जो सफलता मिली है उससे इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता है । देश की एकता और अखण्डता को जो शक्तियां कमजोर करने में लगी हुई थी उनका मुकाबला करने में हमारी सरकार ने बड़ी मुस्तैदी से काम किया है । उसके चलते पंजाब और मिजोरम में लोकतंत्री सरकारों की स्थापना हुई है । और हमने जनता के विश्वास को मजबूत किया। यह साबित करता हूं कि हमने बन्दूक की नोक से नहीं बल्कि लोकतंत्री सिद्धांतों से जो हमारे संविधान का अंग है, उनके द्वारा हम काम करना चाहते हैं । भारत की एकता और अखण्डता को बाहरी और भीतरी जो शक्तियां नुकसान पहुंचाना चाहती थीं, जो साम्प्रदायिक कटुता फैलाकर हिंसा का वातावरण बनाना चाहती थी उनको विफल करने में हमारी सरकार कटिबद्ध है । हमें खुशी है कि सभी एक जुट होकर इनका मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार हैं । इस सरकार की लोकतंत्री व्यवस्था के चलते मिजोरम में चुनाव कराकर एक सरकार बनी । इस व्यवस्था के चलते अरुणाचल प्रदेश को राज्य का दर्जा दिया गया है । हमारी सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के तीसरे वर्ष में हमारी आर्थिक सफलताओं के व्यापक संकेत मिलता है । भारत की 75 प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में रहती है । हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था का सबसे बड़ा आधार कृषि है । मानसून के विगत तीन वर्षों में न होने के कारण देश को सुखा और बाढ़ का सामना करना पड़ा है । इन कठिनाइयों के बावजूद 1986-87 में अनाज का उत्पादन 1985-86 के स्तर से 15 करोड़ 5 लाख के स्तर से अधिक होने की संभावना है । हमारे अन्न के भंडार 1 जनवरी, 1987 को 2 करोड़ 36 लाख के थे । जिससे साफ जाहिर है कि अनाज उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में हमने जो सफलता प्राप्त की है और जो सेल्फ-सफिएन्सी हमें मिली है, उसकी सर्वत्र सराहना की गई है । विश्व में सबसे अधिक भारत में सिंचाई की संभावना है और लगभग 40 मिलियन हेक्टेयर हमारे यहां अन्डरग्राउन्ड वाटर की क्षमता है हमारे देश में हमारे 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम में इसे काफी प्रमुख स्थान दिया गया है । अब तक गेहूं और चावल की मद में किसानों को अनुदान मिलता रहा है अब हमारे जो कृषि

कार्यक्रम बनाया है उसके अन्तर्गत दालों और तिलहनों की मद में भी काफी सुधार आया है । जिसके जरिये 1986–87 वर्ष में दालों की फसलों का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए 50 करोड़ रुपये की लागत से एक राष्ट्रीय दाल विकास परियोजना की स्थापना की जा रही है । यह हमारी कृषि संबंधी नीति में एक ठोस कदम है । हम काफी बड़ी मात्रा में दाल और तिलहनों का बाहर से आयात करते थे । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सिर्फ कृषि में ही नहीं हमारे जो अन्य इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर्स हैं, उन सैक्टरों में भी हमें काफी तरक्की मिली है । जैसे पावर में 9 प्रतिशत कोयला में 6 प्रतिशत स्टील में 7.7 प्रतिशत रेल भाड़े में 8 प्रतिशत और उर्वरकों में 16.5 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि काफी सन्तोषजनक है । इसके साथ-साथ वर्ष 1986–87 में गरीबों को ऊपर उठाने के कार्यक्रमों पर विशेष जोर दिया गया है जिनमें आई० आर० डी० पी० और रोजगार कार्यक्रम सबसे महत्व-पूर्ण है । इन कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत गरीब लोग, महिलायें, अनुसूचित जाति और अनु-सूचित जन-जातियों के लोगों को अधिक से अधिक कैसे ऊपर उठाया जाये इस पर जोर दिया गया है । इतना ही नहीं, हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने महिलाओं की तरफ भी विशेष ध्यान दिया है । उन्होंने महिलाओं के स्तर को सुधारने के लिये काफी प्रगतिशील कानून बनाये हैं । आर्थिक, सामाजिक रूप से देश में गरीब लोगों को, पिछड़े लोगों को किस तरह से भारत में सबल बनायें, उन्हें ऊपर उठाये, हमारी सरकार इस काम में मुस्तैदी से लगी हुई है । चाहे वह देश की समस्या हो या हमारी विदेश नीति हो हमारी सरकार श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में आगे बढ़ रही है । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं, हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री चतुर्वेदी जी ने महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है उस का समर्थन करती हूं।

श्री धर्मचन्द प्रशान्त (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आज सदन में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर माननीय सदस्य-गण अपने विचार प्रकट कर रहे हैं । राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभि-भाषण में बहुत से महत्वपूर्ण विषयों की चर्चा की है और उन पर पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों की ओर से विचार प्रकट किये जा रहे हैं । महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने सबसे महत्व जिसको दिया है वह है भारत की डैमोक्रेसी, सैकुलरिज्म और सोशलिज्म, लोकतंत्र, धर्मनिरपेक्षता और समाजवाद । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक भारत की डैमोक्रेसी, प्रजातंत्र का सवाल है इसके विषय में कुछ शब्द मैं आपसे कहूंगा । डैमोक्रेसी के बारे में जैसे कि बड़े बड़े लोगों ने इस पर विचार प्रकट किये हैं, उद्धरण दिये हैं इसके मैरिट भी हैं और डीमैरिट भी हैं । देश को आजाद हुए और देश में लोकतंत्र की स्थापना हुए चालीस वर्ष हो गये हैं, इनमें इसमें अभी बहुत सी खामियां हैं बहुत से फाल्टस हैं जिनको दूर करके हमें इस आजादी को पूर्ण करना होगा नहीं तो यह प्रणाली कितने वर्ष आगे चलेगी इसका हमको कोई अंदजा नहीं है । आज जो देश में हो रहा है इन्सरजंसी पैदा हो रही है, आज पंजाब में रोज दिन दहाड़े निहत्थे गरीब और इन्नोसेन्ट लोगों की हत्यायें की जा रही हैं और यह केवल पंजाब में ही नहीं है, ईस्टर्न हिल्स, त्रिपुरा में, मिजोरम में वहां भी इस तरह की इन्सरजेंसी है और वहां भी आये दिन दिन-दहाड़े लोगों को मारा जाता है । वे अपने आपको भारतीय नहीं कहते हैं । इसलिये हमें उनमें देशप्रेम की भावना विकसित करनी होगी और ऐसे लोगों को कमजोर करना होगा ताकि वे भारत के विरूद्ध यहां की डेमोक्रेसी के विरूद्ध कुछ न कर सकें । हमारे शास्त्रों में लिखा है कि जो डेमोक्रेसी है, लोकतंत्र है, जो वहां का राज्य है, वहां का शासन है उसमें लोगों को पूर्ण आजादी देनी चाहिए । इसको दृढ़ बनाना है । यह धर्म है सबका । मनु ने कहा है : "धर्मेव हतोहन्ति, धर्मो रक्षिते रक्षतः" यह धर्म है हमारा देश के प्रति, उसको हम मार डालते हैं उसकी हम रक्षा नहीं करते हैं तो वह हमारी नहीं करेगा । हमारा काम है धर्म की रक्षा करना, यदि धर्म को मार डालते हैं तो मरा हुआ धर्म हमको मार डालेगा । ये लोग किसी प्रकार से देश की सहायता नहीं कर रहे हैं । जिस देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए महात्मा गांधी की छत्रछाया में लोगों ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी जिसे सरदार पटेल, पंडित नेहरू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, डा० अम्बेडकर जैसे महान व्यक्तियों ने संगठित किया उसको दृढ़ बनाया बनाना चाहा हम उसको सुदृढ़ न बनाने की

(श्री धर्मचन्द प्रशान्त)

बजाये कमजोर कर रहे हैं । इस समय भी लोकतंत्र प्रणाली में चुनाव महत्वपूर्ण चीज है । औरों का जिक्र नहीं करूंगा । अपने राज्य का जिक्र करूंगा । वहां भी बूथ कैप्चरिंग और बहुत कुछ होता है जिससे लोगों का विश्वास चला गया है । 1975 में एक एकार्ड हुआ शेख अब्दुल्ला और हमारी भारत सरकार के बीच में, शेख अब्दुल्ला पावर में आ गये उनकी मृत्यु हुई 1982 में और उसके बाद उनके पुत्र को शासन मिला लोगों ने जो कांस्टीटुशनल तरीके से वैधानिक तरीके से चुना था लेकिन 1984 में डा० अब्दुल्ला को हटाकर एक और गवर्नमेंट आई जो कार्यवाही अनकांस्टीटयूशनल थी । एक ऐसी गवर्नमेंट आई जिसने भ्रष्टाचार फैलाया । फिर डा० फारूक के साथ एकार्ड हुआ । यह साबित हो गया कि जो पग लिया गया था 1984 में वह गलत था । इस प्रकार लोगों का विश्वास इन डेमोक्रेसी के प्रति दृढ़ बनाना चाहिए । बाकी रही बात सेक्युलरिज्म की, हमने सोचा था, जैसे महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि आजादी के बाद यहां राम-राज्य होगा । रामराज्य का महात्मा गांधी का स्वप्न साकार नहीं हो सका सेक्युलरिज्म का हम दावा तो करते हैं परन्तु साम्प्रदायिक दंगे होते हैं । अभी गुजरात में हुआ कभी कहीं हुआ, कभी कहीं । यह दंगे की भावना क्यों होती है । आज भी साम्प्रदायिकता मौजूद है । यह नहीं रहनी चाहिए थी । ऐसी भावना पैदा हो ताकि सब भाई भाई की तरह रहें जितनी जातियां हैं । यूनिटी इन डाइवर्सिटी । लेकिन डाइवर्सिटी है यूनिटी अभी पूरी नहीं हुई है ।

जहां तक समाजवाद है । दावा तो हम भी बहुत करते हैं समाजवाद होना चाहिए परन्तु इस युग में अमीर लोग जो हैं उनकी तिजोरियां भरी जा रही हैं और गरीब तथा मिडिल क्लास जो है एक समय ऐसा आयेगा जब मिडिल क्लास ही नहीं रहेगा या तो गरीब हो जायेंगे या अमीर हो जायेंगे । जो कुछ हो रहा है उसमें मिडिल क्लास, मध्यम श्रेणी को बहुत धक्का पहुंच रहा है । कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं और इतनी बढ़ी हैं कि उसको रोकने वाला कोई नहीं है । लोग चाहते हैं कीमतें कम हों ।

दूसरा मेरा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय पाइंट है और राष्ट्रपति ने जिक्र भी किया है कि पाकिस्तान और भारत की फौजें 24 जनवरी से लेकर यहां किनारों पर बार्डर पर आ गयी इससे लोगों को टेंशन हो गया । मैं जम्मू के सिलसिले में कह रहा हूं कि जम्मू में क्या हुआ । 24 को हमारी फौजें बार्डर पर आनी शुरू हुई उधर पाकिस्तान से फौजें आ गयी थी । जम्मू के लोग तीन बार, 47, में, 65 में और 71 में इस बार्डर से भागे हैं । छम्ब बार्डर पर अटैक किया और सब जगह पाकिस्तान ने अटैक किया 47 में भागे, 65 में वे लोग छम्ब से भागे 71में भागे छम्ब के लोग फिर वापस नहीं जा सके छम्ब पाकिस्तान को दे दिया तश्तरी में डालकर कैसे हुआ कहा नहीं जा सकता । छम्ब हिंदुस्तान का हिस्सा था 71 में पाकिस्तान को दे दिया गया और उन्होंने उसका नाम ही बदल डाला, छम्ब का कुछ और रखा है तो ये लोग इतने खोफ में आये कि 24–25 को भागना शुरू हो गया । सबसे सेंसिटिव हिस्सा जम्मू का है परगवाल, यह दरिया चिनाब के बीच में है इधर भी किनारे उधर भी किनारे । हम इसको चिकन कहते हैं उसके बाद पाकिस्तान का हिस्सा आजाता है । पाकिस्तान इसको डेगर कहता है । डेगर इसलिए कि हिंदुस्तान के छुरा घोंपा हुआ है और हम उसको चिकन कहते हैं, मुर्गे के गले की तरह उसकी शकल है । तो वहां से लोग भागने शुरू हुए । रास्ता कोई नहीं था आने के लिए और वह चिनाब को पार नहीं कर सकते थे । इतनी हफड़ा-दफड़ी बढ़ी कि उनका लाखों रुपये का नुकसान हुआ । इसके लिए हम ब्लेम करते हैं पाकिस्तान को और पाकिस्तान हमें ब्लेम करता है । यह जो हुआ है, हम कहते हैं कि उनका दोष है और वह कहते हैं कि उनका दोष है, लेकिन दोष किसका है । क्योंकि अभी जिया-उल-हक ने हिंदुस्तान में आकर कहा––इट इज कम्युनिकेशन गैप––यह कम्युनिकेशन गैप क्या है, यह में अभी तक पता नहीं लगा । या यह समझिए कि मिसअण्डरस्टेंडिंग थी दोनों मुल्कों की और दोनों मुल्कों की जो फोर्सेज थीं, वह आ गई आफेंसिव लाईन पर । तो लोगों ने भागना शुरु किया ।

लोगों ने जो अपना और सामान था, वह सब निकाल दिया लेकिन जो पेजेंट्स थे, उनका जो गल्ला था, वह वहीं पड़ा रहा बार्डर पर। (घंटी) उसको वहां से हटाने के लिए स्टाकिस्ट्स चले गये और उन्होंने सस्ते दाम पर धान जिसकी बोरी की कीमत दो सौ रुपया है, उसे 40–50 रुपये में खरीद कर ले आए । उसका रिजल्ट क्या होता है कि वहां धान की कीमत पेडी की कीमत से ज्यादा बढ़ गई है, इसलिए कि लोगों ने स्टाक कर लिया है ।

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि इस किस्म की जब मिसअण्डरस्टेंडिग हो जाए, तो लोगों पर असर पड़ता है उनकी इकानमी भी टूट जाती है, लेकिन जो लोगों के सिरों पर बीतती है है, उसका अंदाजा लगाना मुश्किल है, क्योंकि वह तीन लड़ाइयां देख चुके हैं, तीन बार भाग चुके हैं । अब चौथी बार जब भागना था, तो उनको कहने लगे कि भाई आप न भागो । उन्होंने कहाकि गारंटी दो––तीन लड़ाईयों में हमारा कुछ नहीं बचा, अगर आज नहीं भागे और लड़ाई होगी तो हमारा क्या होगा ? अब गारंटी कौन देता है । मेरे कहने का मतलब है कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को ऐसे वक्त पर अगर उनकी कोई मिसअण्डरस्टेंडिग है दोनों मुल्कों में, तो या तो पहले इसे हल करते ताकि यह वक्त आता ही नहीं । लेकिन आ ही गया, तो लोगों की सुरक्षा के लिए पूरा इंतजाम करना था कि लोग क्यों भागें हैं, ताकि उनका इतना ज्यादा नुकसान न हो ।

मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं ।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for having given me this opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks moved by the honourable Member, Shri Bhuvanesh Chaturvedi, and seconded by the honourable Member, Shri Hanumanthappa, for the Address given by the President to both the Houses of Parliament on the 23rd February 1987.

Sir, the honourable president, has rightly observed that emphasis should be on the unity and integrity of India. He referred to the Punjab situation and said that "The people of Punjab have always been in the forefront to defend the unity and integrity of India. They played a historic role in the freedom struggle which has left the imperishable imprint of secularism and democracy on their mind and spirit." But, of late we have seen that in Punjab the situation has been worsening because the forces of separatism and communalism have started showing their force. Therefore, our Prime Minister rightly felt that a political solution was the right solution. In 1985 there was an agreement signed between our Prime Minister and Sant Longowal to put an end to the problem of Punjab. But we found that there were 11 terms of agreement out of which the Central Government has fulfilled nine terms. The opposition parties who are raising a hue and cry that the Central Government is not implementing the Accord have not come forward to say that these nine terms have been settled. There the only issue is that the massacre is going on in Punjab. Sir, I would like to say that the Punjab problem is a problem of the State. The law-and-order problem is to be tackled by the State Government. The Central Government is lending all its support to them. But in spite of this, the Barnala Government was not in a position to come to the rescue of the people earlier because it was in the grip of the communalists and separatist forces who are threatening the unity and integrity of India.

Now recent developments have taken place in Punjab. Shri Darshan Singh who is claiming to be the Akal Takht Chief has excommunicated him. Now Mr. Barnala has realised that national interest is foremost, not the regional interest. He came forward to say that he wanted that the unity of India should be preserved. I am very grateful to the hon. Members, especially to the Opposition leaders, who came forward and attended the meeting yesterday in Chandigarh for the purpose of solving the issue there. The communal passion should be wiped out from the minds of the people of Punjab.

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Sir, I am pained to note that there are two issues which are still pending. One is relating to the Ravi-Beas waters, and the other is related to handing-over of Chandigarh to Punjab and lands to be given by the Punjab Government to the Haryana Government. These are lingering. It is not the Central Government which is stopping the agreement. The Central Government is prepared to implement the agreement with full spirit and force. But the Barnala Government was in a dilemma. It was in the grip of separatist forces, and he was trying for a political solution for it. But he could not succeed because the forces are trying to raise their head and they wanted to topple him from power. But the Central Government, in a democratic way, accepting the verdict of the people, has chosen to give a free hand to Mr. Barnala, and, therefore, Mr. Barnala is surviving today. But I find that one of the leading Opposition Members here asked, 'Why President's rule should not be there?' Sir, this is killing democracy. The elected Government should remain there until the people there throws it out.

I tell you, the Ravi-Beas waters issue is a simple issue. It has been complicated by the Barnala Government. The Balakrishna Eradi Commission was appointed. Earlier also commissions were there in 1951, 1976 and 1981. According to these agreements, according to the 1976 agreement the excess water should go to Haryana, and according to the 1981 agreement the excess water should be given to Punjab. Now the Punjab Government is in a favourable position, and they will have more water. In spite of that, they are not agreeing because they want to politicalise the issue, they want to blame the Central Government for the unstabilised situation prevailing there.

Sir, I would like to thank the President for having mentioned about Chief Minister, Barnala, because he has taken an exemplary courage, and with full force he is trying to put down the communalistic and separatist forces in Punjab so that there will be peace and normal situation prevailing in that State. Basically Punjab is an agricultural State. In spite of the separatist forces, the State is giving the higest yield. If the State is peaceful, we will getting more produce in that State, which will be distributed to the entire country.

Sir, regarding the transfer of land by the Punjab Government to the Haryana Government, there is no reason behind Barnala telling that they will give 45, 000 acres of land now and 25,000 acres of land later. According to clauses 7(2) and 7(4) of the agreement, it should be simultaneous. When Chandigarh is given to punjab, simultaneously they have to hand over the possession of 75,000 acres of land to the Haryana Government in lieu of Chandigarh. They are delaying because they want to have sleep-over time and thereby blame the Central Government. In spite of it, the Central Government is politically tackling the situation, silently watching the development and helping the Barnala Government to survive in the State.

I am grateful to the Opposition leaders because they have come forward with the policy of settling the issue there and they have all gone there and there is consensus among the Opposition leaders on Punjab situation.

Sir, Members are raising hue and cry about the Accords, the Punjab Accord, the Assam Accord, the Mizoram Accord. In Mizoram the position was very precarious for the past 20 years. The insurgency was there. Innocent
5.00 P.M. people have been killed. Adivasis have been killed. Even our Government was there in power. We patiently allowed. Laldenga to be Chief Minister according to the terms of the Accord. The reason is that it is a sensitive North-Eastern border wherein apart from the internal forces, the external forces are trying to create problems. Therefore, in all the three Accords—whether it is the Punjab Accord, or the Assam Accord or the Mizoram Accord—our party has lost power. We did not bother about it, but we want peace and stability in the country. That is the foremost thing. With the prevailing situation and when there is trouble on the North Eastern border and when Pakistan is threatening us in one way, we

are not in a position to consolidate the position there and feel that even if we lose power, we let the people realise that the Congress Party is for national integration.

The main allegation levelled by the hon. Member of the Opposition today in the morning was that the economic situation in India has been deteriorating and that the plan target has not been achived and the benefits are not going to the people viz. to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Adivasis. I would like to draw the attention of the House to paragraph nos. 29, 30, 31 and 32 of the President's Address. From this it is very clear to show that the emphasis was on the implementation of the new 20 point programme. Schemes like IRDP, NREP and RLEGP and the like which are for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and also for the Adivasis and persons who are below the poverty line have been implemented in all the States with the supervision of the Central Government, the Central Government is mointoring the progress in the States. The poverty line has been reduced and the number of persons who are below the poverty live now has been reduced to 30 per cent, which was 51 per cent earlier. The Plan target has been achieved. According to the Budget presented by our hon. Prime Minister as the Finance Minister Rs. 32,222 crores have been allocated for the third year for these schemes. This is equivalent to 63 per cent of the plan target. The National growth is 5 per cent. The industrial growth is 8 to 9 per cent. In the electronics industry we have achived the target of 40 per cent growth. Growth in coal industry is 6.6 per cent. In power production it is 9.5 per cent and in fertilizer it is 16.5 per cent.

The public sector undertakings which were runing at a loss have now started earning profits. As per the figures submitted by the hon. Minister for Industries their profit was Rs. 1,099 crores. Of course, I agree that the Government has to pay more attention to the Question of price rise in order to ensure that the developments which are taking place are not eaten away by the traders who are exploiting the consumers.

Foreign policy of our country is basically aimed at peace and cooperation with the neighbouring countries. Our Prime Minister visited several countries. This has been criticised by the hon. Member who is not sitting in the House now. What is wrong in our Prime Minister visiting foreign countries? The Prime Minister of a country has to visit several countries for creating a good image in the world. India is a developing country and our foreign relations have to be strengthened. The hon. Member has raised objection to the Prime Minister remaining outside the country for so many days. If the Prime Minister is out of the country for some days in what way our developmental activities have gone down? Let him show a single instance. He is simply making allegation that the Prime Minister has gone out and remained out for several days. I ask what is wrong in that? To improve foreign relations the Prime Minister and also the Foreign Minister have to visit foreign countries to exchange views about both the countries.

Now, I would like to speak on the developments in Pakistan. Our relations with Pakistan are friendly, but Pakistan has been training terrorists. We have evidence to prove that Pakistan is instigating foreign Sikhs who are coming to India and is telling them that in India Sikhs are being harassed. They are spreading rumours among the Sikh community. But they do not know that we are tackling the situation politically.

Sir, when there was tension on Indo-Pak borders, or Prime Minister has taken a right steps to invite the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan to defuse the situation. I would like to ask my friends on to the other side: Is it not a great achievement by our Prime Minister? In spite of Pakistan's training to terrorists, we are trying to improve our relations with that country.

The CPSU General Secretary, Mr. Gorbachev visit to India finds a place in the Presidential Address. It is was a historic moment because we signed three im-

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portant agreements during his visit. These are on trade, defence and cultural relations. We were assured by Mr. Gorbachev that the U.S.S.R will not tolerate anything against the interests of India. He has pledged his country's support and that shows our relations are very cordial.

I quite agree that the situation in Sri Lanka is deteriorating. On our part our Government had sent so far 11 delegations to that country to solve the ethnic issue. Our Prime Minister had also talks with Mr. Jayawardene, President of Sri Lanka when be came for SAARC sumit held in Bangalore would like to point out that Mr. Jayawardene is telling one thing and doing another thing. When the Sri Lankan. Government received a set of proposals they have told us that they will go by it. But instead of going by it, they are killing the Tamil population in that country. Our Government has taken a stand that unless killing are stopped, we will not mediate between the Sri Lankan Government and agitating Tamils. When the situation is deteriorating in that country, our Government has taken a right step. This situation can be solved only at the political level. The Sri Lankan Government should know that the ethnic issue cannot be solved by using military force. I do not agree with the suggestion that we should send our military there. If we send our forces, definitely the situation will aggravate and strained relations will develop. Therefore, I feel a political solution is the best solution for solving this ethnic crisis.

The President in his Address while concluding has said that the thrust of Government policy is to improve the welfare of economically and socially weaker sections of the community. He has also said that the primary focus of policies and programmes initiated during the last two years has been to assist the landless agricultural labour, the small and marginal farmers. Therefore, the President's Address is full of Government's policies. It includes foreign affairs, economic development, education, cultural heritage and so on and so forth.

Before I conclude, I would like to say about two things. One is about encouraging of communal and religious parties in the country. Sir, I would like to say that Central Government should come forward and ban the religious and communal parties so that national integration is not jeopardised. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But you have alliance with Muslim League.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I will come to that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. BAPU KALDATE): No, no, don't go so far.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, my friend is already having alliance with the regional parties. When we think of national interest, we should leave regional interest also. Secondly, I would urge the Government to consider that the National Water Policy which should be brought forward so that the dispute, which is existing between various States relating to sharing of water will not be there.

I would be failing in my duty if I conclude without referring to the demand of my State. I would like to say that the year 1986 has been a glorious year because Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh got statehood. If I complete without demanding one thing for my State, I would be doing injustice. Sir, you are well aware of the fact that our State Pondicherry has a popualtion of four lakh people. It has a rich heritage and educationally and culturally, it is a good State. We have been demanding statehood for Pondicherry for the last several years but I find that the Central Govt. has given only B-Class Status to the State of Pondicherry in the last year. Therefore, I request the Central Government to consider the demand of statehood for Pondicherry because we are in the Southern border of the country which is also a problem for this area. Thank you.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the

President's Address is supposed to be a true appraisal of the economic and political situation of the country and it should reflect the policy decisions of the Government for the coming year. The address sounds like a Government news bulletin carefully covering all the burning problems facing the country at the moment, as if all the people of the country live peacefully and there is no problem. I feel, one of the most burning problems in the country is the Chinese intrusion. Chinese are silently intruding into the Eastern borders, in the Arunachal Pradesh and there is no mention of it in the President's Address. The Chinese Government even objected to the conferring of statehood to Arunachal Pradesh. I hope, there should not be repetition of the condition of 1962.

Secondly, there is an infiltration problem in the country from the bordering states. People are coming there as a result of which an imbalance is created in the bordering states but there is no mention of it. There is no mention of Assam accord in the President's Address. No doubt, Assam Accord is signed but mere signing will not do unless it is properly implemented. It will be simply a piece of paper which deserves to be thrown in the basket. One hon. Member referred to voters list. He said that corrections in the voters list were carried out during the regime of Chief Minister, Mohunta but I would like to tell him that corrections in the voters list were carried out in the regime of Hiteshwar Saikia. There is no implementation of Assam accord and it creates a sort of doubt, disgust in the minds of the people of Assma. This will create a sort of anger and frustration if it is not properly implemented. People have faith that Assam accord is a commitment from no less a person than the Prime Minister that it is being implemented. But it is not implemented. Another agitation might be there and in the way creating a new problem. I think, this should have been mentioned in the Address. I want to say that Prime Minister declared substantial grants to some States on the eve of elections but there is drought and flood in the entire north eastern region. And especially in Assam there is a serious flood situation. But the Prime Minister refused to go there. The people of Assam are suffering hell from two big rivers, the Barak and the Brahmaputra, to which the honourable Member there referred. There is a big problem and it needs Rs. 6000 to Rs. 7000 crores to solve it. But those big plans are there only on paper.

Then there is the Anti-Dowry Act in force. In spite of this Act bride burning is a regular feature. In the Capital itself we read in the newspapers almost daily reports of bride burning. There is also the Suppression of Immoral Traffic law. In spite of that law, immoral trafficking in women is going on unchecked. Democracy in the country is betrayed. We have seen on more than one occasion how democracy is subverted. We have seen the Postal Bill; we have seen how the privacy of the citizen of India is threatened to be molested. So, I hope this Bill will be sent back to Parliament for amendment.

Even after six Five Year Plans more and more people of the country are getting poorer and poorer day by day while the rich are becoming richer and richer day by day. While a handful of people continue to become rich, the majority of the people are living below the poverty line. Yet there is no mention in the President's Address of giving incentives or remunerative prices to the agricultural produce. Because of this more and more people will go below the poverty line.

In the end, therefore, I hope the Government will realise its lapses on the economic and political fronts and take remedial steps and rise to the expectations of the people of the country.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks for the President's Address. Today Punjab is uppermost in the minds of the people not only of Punjab but the whole of the country. In the President's Address the paragraph that attracted me most was:

[Shri Kapil Verma]

"In flagrant violation of the sacred tenets and traditions of the great religion founded by Guru Nanak, small section has turned religious functionaries and holy shrines into instruments of terror and subversion. Today this is the central issue in Punjab. Government will not allow the enemies of India's Unity and integrity to abuse and misuse religion for their nefarious ends of creating communal disharmony and of unleaship violence and hatred in Punjab All patriotic, secular, democratic and progressive forces have to unite to build the strength of the people to overcome the reactionary, fascist and antinational elements who are misguiding and confushing the masses in the name of religion. The challenge faces us all. No one can remain on the sidelines."

I am very sure our people, irrespective of the parties to which they belong will accept this challenge and fight and they will come out in ample measure to sustain the hope of our President that the challenges will be met by all the progressive and secular forces in the country. Our Prime Minister has very rightly entered into a pact with Sant Longowal and all that we can see is it is bearing fruit in the sense that today we see a break through a new opening, in Punjab, a new beginning has been made; we see a qualitative change in the situation. The Akal Takht is a venerable body in matters of religion and everybody respect it. But, as Mr. Barnala has said and as our national leaders have said, politics has to be separated from religion. The strange hukumnama issued to Mr. Barnala to merge his party with a party which is headed by a well-known extremist leader who is in Jail shows the real intentions behind it, that is to say, to destabilize Punjab where a duly elected Government under the Constitution of India is sought to be thrown out by certain religious priests who are employees of the SGPC. I do not want to say anything which might cause disrespect to them. We are a secular people and we have respect for all the religions. But what I mean to say is that if you have a look at the history of the other countries, whether it is Ireland or whether it is Britain or whether it is France or whether it is some other country, you will see that whenever religion has tried to interfere in politics, bad things have happened and we have also seen in our country that when Mr. Jinnah mixed politics with religion, there was partition of the country. The Sikhs have played a very valiant role in the freedom struggle of our country and, as the President has pointed out, we are certain that the vast majority of the Sikhs disapprove of the tactics of the terrorists and of the extremists and we see every day that the terrorists and extremists, though incidents are taking place, are being isloated and we are certain that if the people and if all the political parties approach the large Sikh masses in the right manner, the terrorists will be more and more isolated and I am very happy that the process has begun now. The big gathering at Longowal village recently and yestarday's meeting, the all-party meeting at Chandigarh, have shown that the extremists are getting is olated and that the real Sikh masses, a majority of them, are with Mr. Barnala. I feel that his process must continue and it is the sacred duty of all the political parties despite their difference, all the secular forces in the country, all the patriotic elements in the country to come forward and to go to Punjab and educate the masses and ensure that they remain in the mainstream of national life.

We have seen how Gen. Zia has tried to play politics. His cricket diplomacy is not going to fool anybody and his trip to the Ajmer Sharif and his various other stunts and things like that will not fool anybody. You know, he marched his troops on our border and any intelligent reader will find from the newspapers that the entire idea was a pincer on Amritsar and the whole idea was to get Amritsar and declare Khalistan since their stooges would have declared Khalistan. This was the idea behind it. The statesmanship of the Prime Minister first in sending the troops immediately to the borders to deter them and then opening a dialogue with them has solved the problem to a great extent.

Today, it is learnt that there has been agreement amongst the officials and they have signed an agreement with regard to certain borders on which there were troops and they have come to an agreement to the effect that there would be a phased withdrawal and that our "Operation Brasstacks" exercises won't be disturbed. What I mean to say is that when Gen. Zia was going from here, he said at Jaipur. "I am glad that a war has been averted." That goes to mean and that goes to show that there was a possibility of war in his mind. This morning I raised the question of atom bomb produced by Pakistan. They were hiding it so far. But all the intelligence services of the world, particularly even the CIA had mentioned in their despatches that they were preparing the atom bomb. Their Dr. Q. A. Khan is very candid in his interview with the 'Observer'; he does not hide it. He said: yes, yes, we are doing it; we may borrow or steal we will get the components. And everybody in this House knows that they have stolen the blueprints, they have smuggled the materials from here and there and they have built a bomb. I do not want to go more into it. Our policy is of nuclear disarmament. We did not sign the NPT because we consider it unequal. But we want to have friendly relations with Pakistan. We do not want to go nuclear because then our attention will be diverted from our economic progress; crores of rupees will go into it, hundreds of thousands of crores of rupees will go into it, and our economy will be disturbed. We do not want to do it. But it is an irony of fate that while we do not want to do it, Pakistan is forcing us to do it. It is for the Government to decide what to do next. But I am very sure our Government will take into account the strong sentiments of our people. Our forces on the borders cannot remain unguarded. Today our armaments, our armies, have, because of the atom bomb, become obsolete-I would say, irrelevant. Any Defence expert will tell you that when they have the atom bomb in their hand, when they have nuclear arsenal, then the conventional armaments will become useless. So I am very sure that our learned Prime Minister and our Defence Minister will be reviewing the structure, the organisation of the Defence Forces, to reorganize them so that we may be able to face the threat from across the border from Pakistan and the new venture they have undertaken of an atom bomb. I do not want to go more into it. I do not want to say more on it, because this Government has said time and again that if Pakistan manufactures atom bomb we will review the position. I think they will be reviewing it, and while reviewing it they will take into consideration the strong sentiments of the members not only in this House but in the country as such.

Sir, I find that all the people in this country have been saying that America is playing a double game. They are telling us that they have not taken any decision on NPT, etc. But we all know that these negotiations are going on. In fact, today Pakistan needs America as much as America needs Pakistan. The American President has proved—I do not want to use unparliamentary language, but he is not known for his attachment to truth. You have seen what he has been doing in Iran. He has been denying this so long and accepted this at the last moment. You have been seeing how he has been helping both Iran and Iraq. My feeling is, and in fact my charge is, that as the Americans helped Israel, as the Americans helped South Africa, they will also help Pakisan in getting nuclear. They are supplying all kinds of materials. This Islamic bomb is not merely a Pakistani bomb. Various other countries are involved. Pakistan has become the very base of their new security system in Britain and America, particularly America which is building up in this part of the world an umbrella known as Central Command. After they had to go away from Iran after the Iranian revolution and after what had happened in Afghanistan, they had to have a new security system. They had to have bases for rapid deployment of forces in Pakistan. I have raised these questions in the House from time to time. I need not go into them. In the name of Afghanistan, they are giving all kinds of arms to Pakistan. They had even naval exercises. I want to know whether they propose to ship their vessels to the mountains in Afghanistan. Why are they having naval exercises? The whole

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thing is that Pakistan has become a strategic and important part of the American defence system in this part of the world. We have to recognise this reality. They will go on speaking lies to us. They say, "No, no we have not taken any decision on AWACS. We have not done this. We have not done that. We are restraining this and that.." These are all untruths. In fact, they are arming Pakistan to the hilt. What is happening today is that America is tolerating Pakistan. CIA has reported everything to President Reagan. He knows everything. Still he has given a certificate to the Congress saying that Pakistan does not have a nuclear bomb. It is very strange that he should behave in such a cavalier manner. Can you imagine the President of such a big and powerful country speaking lies? He has done it and we are so sorry to hear it. He has again moved a waiver to the Congress that for six years Pakistan should be given the waiver to enable it to have 4.2 billion dollar aid. (*Time bell rings*)

Sir, not only America, but China has also threatened us on our borders. They have entered Arunachal Pradesh. There have been incursions into it. We are deeply resentful about it. We are deeply concerned about it. The whole nation and the entire House, irrespective of party affiliations, every one is concerned about it. We stand by our resolution passed years ago saying that we will protect our borders and there shall be no compromise on our territorial integrity. We will recover our territory. But we are a very mature nation. We have learnt from history. The Indians are known for their patience. We hope that there will be an agreement about the border between India and China by negotiations. Our officials have made a number of attempts and we are hoping that by and by we will make some progress. We expect that China will take lessons from history. We do not intend to go to war with China or with any other country. We hope that the problem will be solved through patience and negotiations. Sir, as I was recountring, after what Pakistan has taken rom America and after giving bases of America, Pakistan has absolutely no business to remain in the Non-Aligned Movement. As I have pleaded in this House again and again, Pakistan must be expelled from the Non-Aligned Movement. And I hope our Government will take immediate steps to call a meeting of the NAM and throw it out.

Sir, before closing, I will refer to the community to which I belong, to the difficulties and grievances of brother working Journalists. And I will say that we are living in a welfare State, we have social security measures. Here is one community of working journalists which fights everyone but never fights for itself. The Wage Board has been appointed after a very long time, and the wages and the interim relief given is paltry. In fact, it was very paltry. We are grateful to the Prime Minister that he doubled it. But the Wage Board is not functioning properly. The Chairman of the Wage Board is siding with the proprietors. As every body knows, he has recently issued a supplementary questionnaire, a questionnare which is loaded with questions in favour of industrialists, in favour of propritors. All this has shown ominous signs because under the Working Journalists act, the working journalists wage board interim report can be changed by the Governmet but the final report can be changed only marginally. This problem is worrying us all because quite recently we had a big loss, a very well-known working journalists, our representative on the Wage Board, Mr. Meenakshi Sundarm died. And there are decreasing sings whether the Wage Board will be able to deliver the goods. So, it is for the Government to consider what to do in the matter, to give justice to the working journalists.

Sir, before I close, I would refer to another small thing, that is pension for working journalists. Pension is very important. A journalist enjoys all kinds of favours, favours in the sense that various categories of people look upon a journalist with very great reverence till he continues write in a Newspaper. As soon as he gets out of it, he is thrown into a waste-paper baskets. There is not even a

soul to support him. The gratuity paid to him and the other benefits that he gets are too paltry to sustain him. Sir, I have suggested a number of times in this House that the Government should introduce a Bill for providing pension to the working journalists. I hope the Labour Minister will come forward with a Bill as soon as possible after consulting the various interests of journalists.

Sir, before I close, I thank the President for his good Address. And I support this motion. I am sure that under the leadership of our young Prime Minister the whole country will gird up its loins and will tighten its belts to fight both *the internal and external enemies who are* threatening our security and integrity today. Thank you Sir.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while speking on the Address by the President to the Members of Parliament, I have to tell the House about the experiences that I have had in Punjab yesterday when an all party delegation went to Chandigarh. Sir, the response was tremendous. The solidarity shown by the Members of the Opposition and the Congress Party together has been welcomed tremendously by the people of Punjab. Sir, the Barnala Government has got a tremendous boost as a result of the visit of the all-party delegation. I hope this process started on the initiatve of the Prime Minister will continue. It is indeed praiseworthy. As some friends stated just now, it should have been started a little earlier. But it is better to be late than never. It has come and it should now continue so that the last vestige of terrorism is rooted out of Punjab.

Sir, while we were there I got the impression that while such things as we have done give real courage to Mr. Barnala, but from the audience, and ironically from the audience, we found a very large number of Hindu youth shouting that the Punjab Accord must be implemented.

When I say this, I am reminded of the day when this Accord was signed by the Prime Minister. We in Kashmir at that time were groaning under the tyrannical rule of G.M. Shah and as the Persian says:

दुश्मनी दोस्त दश्मन . . .

That means friend of the enemy is an enemy and we should for the sake of opposition have opposed at that time the Accord entered into by Shri Rajiv Gandhi with Mr. Longowal. But in the interests of the nation our leader Farooq Abdullah specifically telephoned us that we must vehemently support the Accord and see to it that peace is restored in that part of the country. We have vested interests in peace in Punjab. All the roads to Kashmir and from Kashmir pass through Punjab. Not only that, Sir, Our entire tourist traffic to Kashmir passes through Punjab. Our goods pass through Punjab and even our eggs and vegetable from other parts of the country pass through Punjab. During the last three years we have suffered a lot and it is really, I must say, sagacious on the part of the Prime Minister to have mooted the idea of this Accord and it is time now for him to show equal sagacity and determination to implement the Accord.

I know, Sir, that in a situation like this certain difficulties do arise and these difficulties are there. But as I know, the atmosphere is Delhi about a month ago was such that I was convinced in my mind that it will be a matter of days before the Presedents's rule will have to be imposed in Punjab, and also that Army may have to be moved to Punjab. The pressure from the vested interests was tremendous and when I say this, I also say that the pressure on the Prime Minister from his own party was also tremendous. But I must congratulate him that he withstood that pressure and that has borne real fruit. The path that he has shown to us is the only path that is needed for the betterment of Punjab. I say this with all the emphasis at my command that President's rule will never have solved the problem of Punjab nor will the sending of Army to Punjab solve the problem. My friends from the BJP are not here. They have been championing the cause

[Shri Ghulam Rasood Matto]

of sending troops to Punjab and imposing President's rule. They have forgotten that in between there was President's rule and things had deteriorated. You had also, in your speech, said that we should see to it that this Accord is implemented in letter and spirit. As I said, difficulties can arise and they do arise. The other day there was a discussion in this House on the same Punjab issue. There was an altercation between Mr. Dipen Ghosh and the Home Minister with regard to interpretation of clause 7(2) and 7(4). I am afraid, the main point was lost sight of at that time. While Mr. Dipen Ghosh said that the word quantum was not there, Mr. Buta Singh said that it was there. I have studied this very thoroughly. Under Clause 7(2) of Punjab accord, it is very specifically mentioned, and I quote: "It had always been maintained by Smt. Indira Gandhi that when Chandigarh is to go to Punjab, some Hindi-speaking territories in Punjab will go to Haryana and a commission will be constituted to determine the specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which should go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh." What is important is, I quote again : "The principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity with a village as a unit will be the basis of such determination. The Commission will be required to give its findings by 31st December, 1985 and these will be binding on both sides. The work of the Commission will be limited to this aspect and will be distinct from the general boundary claims which the other Commission referred to in para 7.4 will handle."

Matters pertaining to clause 7.2 were referred to the Mathew Commission; the Mathew Commission could not arrive at a conclusion and consigned it to Venkataramiah Commission; Vankataramiah Commission could not arrive at the decision and it consigned it to the Desai Commission. Now, this may be the natural corollary of certain inherent defects in the Commissions' terms of reference. But one thing is clear that the basic question of 'the principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity with village as a unit will be the basis of such determination should not be lost sight of. So, in my humble opinion—and when I say this, my friends from the Opposition will say that we are an ally of Congress. Yes, we are ally of Congress, and if I as an ally of Congress make certain suggestions, they should take it that a friend is making these suggestions—the basic fact that has to be taken into consideration is that if any or all of the three Commissions, the Desai Commission, the Mathew Commission or the Venkataramiah Commission, had transgressed the terms of reference, then something has to be done to rectify it. When the Mathew Commission could not reach a conclusion beyond 15,000 acres, the Venkataramiah Commission then took it to 45,000 acres, and suddenly it was put at 70,000 acres by the Desai Commission. I say with all humility that if the Commission has exceeded its terms of reference and the brief given by the Government, the decision can be reconsidered with the consent of all the parties concerned.

So far as I have been able to go into the matter, we had a talk with Mr. Barnala also here and I personally feel that Mr. Barnala may be agreeable to giving 45,000 acres in lieu of Chandigarh. I think the best solution would be that 45,000 acres should be given to Haryana and Chandigarh should be immediately transferred to Punjab. At the same time, I would say that the 70,000 acres, which have been earmarked by the Desai Commission should not be lost sight of.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY : This was by the Venkataramiah Commission and not by the Desai Commission.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO : You are right. The point is, the difference between 70,000 acres and 45,000 acres is 25,000 acres. Now, clause 7.4 of the Punjab Accord is there. It says :

"There are other claims and counter-claims for readjustment of the existing

Punjab-Haryana boundary. The Government will appoint another Commission to consider these matters and give its findings. Such findings will be binding on the concerned States. The terms of reference will be based on village as a unit, linguistic affinity and contiguity."

My personal suggestion would be, in order to defuse the situation and in order that either the Opposition or the Congress Party may not make it an election issue in Haryana, straightaway, this 45,000 acres should be given to Haryana and Chandigarh should be transferred to Punjab. The remaining 25,000 acres and the matters referred to in clause 7.4 should be adjudicated upon by the new Commission to be appointed under 7.4. But this can only be done with the consent of the Punjab and Haryana Governments. They should be told that the findings of this Commission, within the parameters of the terms of reference, will be final. By this, we will be strengthening the hands of Mr. Barnala. If we strengthen the hands of Mr. Barnala at the present moment, I think, things will be all the more better in Punjab and we will be able to solve the problem to a very great extent. The 70,000 acres is being insisted upon by Haryana. Since the terms of reference have not been adhered to by the earlier Commissions, the new Commission to be appointed under clause 7.4 should be asked to adjudicate upon the remaining 25,000 acres and the other matters referred to in clause 7.4 This is my humble suggestion and I would reuqest the hon. Prime Minister to see that, as soon as possible, this is done.

The second irritant, to my mind, which we gathered from the talks with Mr. Barnala and during our visit, is about the Jodhpur detenus. My personal impression is that these detenus are not terrorists. They happened to be in the Golden Temple at the time when the Blue Star operation was conducted. Some of them may be sympathisers. But definitely, they are not terrorists. This has become a sore point with the people of Punjab. My submission to the hon. Prime Minister in this regard is, in the first instance, the word 'Jodhpur' is very much abhorant to the people of Punjab. Let us first transfer these detenus to anywhere in Punjab. Then, scrutiny can be done in the Punjab jails so that they can be released. These detenus should be shifted to some Punjab jails and then they should be screened. This will go a long way....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You clarify your stand, whether they should be released or they should be transferred.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I want that they should be released. They should definitely be released. This is a major irritant and my Party feels that they should be released. The very fact that during the last two years, the Government have not been able to prove anything, have not been able to institute any case against them in a court of law where they can defend themselves, goes to prove that they are innocent. If the Government finds it difficult to release them in view of the impending elections in Haryna or due to any other political consideration, let them be transferred. Let them be transferred from Jodhpur to Ambala.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. BAPU KALDATE): To Jullundur.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Let them be transferred to Chandigarh or Srinagar or Jammu jail, but you should do away with the word 'Jodhpur'. If these two steps are taken within the next week or ten days, I think the feelings of the Punjab people will be assuaged and the Government of Barnala will be considerably strengthened. (*Time-bell rings*). I have only talked about Punjab.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: If somebody enters Punjab, it is not easy for him to come out.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. BAPU KALDATE): Like somebody enters Sri Lanka also.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: There are two small issues.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Why do you call them 'small issues'?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO : The main thrust was on Punjab and the feelings expressed about Jodhpur Jail inmates after visiting that city. Shri Satyanarayan Reddy was with me.

Sir, there are many other points which I would like to discuss but due to lack of time I would only take two points.

The President has mentioned about more effective strategy for family planning. I am sorry to say that there has been no effective family planning strategy. According to me, as a student of economics, all our efforts will go in vain if we do not tackle the family planning issue effectively. I suggest to the Government and this is a request from a friend to the hon. Prime Minister, that all-party consensus should be arrived at. I fear that just like 1977 family planning drive, some parties may not make an issue of the family planning programme. So, we should arrive at a consensus as to how effectively we are going to deal with the family planning programme. For that the hon. Prime Minister should convene a meeting of all the parties, give them facts and figures, tell them about the present rate of growth. The present rate of growth is 2.1 though the target is 1.8 which I do not think we will be able to achieve. Even then by the time we enter the 21st century, I do not know how we will be able to provide employment, food, clothing etc. to all our people. So, in order to arrive at a consensus on all-party meeting should be convened. This is a national issue. Every opposition party should take it as a national issue. In the meeting all parties should be told as to what is happening, how effectively family planning programme can be implemented. A consensus should be arrived at.

The final point is about oilseeds. To my mind, while we have achieved our targets in foodgrains we are short in oilseeds. I remember Shri H. K. L. Bhagat, while speaking the other day, said that there was some fall in the prices of edible oils, but I have something contrary to say. My wife purchased a tin of 15 kgs. of groundnut of refined oil for Rs. 295 in December, 1986, and only the other day she purchased it for Rs. 340. How is it that he says that in February the prices have gone down? They have not gone down.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the other day Shri L. K. Jha here in this House pointed out that there were certain areas where we could make headway, by sowing sunflower seeds in areas where there was scarcity of water, where the land was dry, we should plant sunflower seeds. Some such strategy has to be evolved so that in oilseeds we become self-sufficient. The President's speech is deficient in giving us details about family planning and oilseeds production plan. There are a lot of economic subjects to which I have to make a reference, but I will make a reference to these when I speak on the budget proposals and on other occasions. In the mean time I would request the hon. Minister who is sitting here that at least the few suggestions that I have made should be conveyed to the person concerned who is going to reply tomorrow to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Thank you.

श्री शान्ति त्यागी : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० बापू कालदाते): सदन की कार्यवाही कल 11 बजे तक के लिये स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at one minute past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 3rd March, 1987.

MGIPMRND—Job III—2001 RS—20-6-87—400.