

और कालेज हैं छात्रों के कार्यालय हैं उनको बंद कर दिया गया है और परीक्षाएं भी स्थगित हो रही हैं। मेरा आपसे निवेदन है माननीय गृह मंत्री जी इस वक्त जो सदन में मौजूद हैं, मैं चाहूंगा कि आप गृह मंत्री जी को निर्देश दें कि उत्तर प्रदेश में पिछले पांच सप्ताह से जो साम्प्रदायिक झगड़े चल रहे हैं इसके साथ साथ जम्मू काश्मीर में चल रहे हैं जिसके फलस्वरूप दिल्ली में दंगे हुए तो आखिर क्या स्थिति है, क्यों उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार इस स्थिति से निपटने में असमर्थ हो रही है। आप इस सिलसिले में गृह मंत्री जी को निर्देश दें कि वे स्पष्टीकरण दें।

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We now continue with the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Mr. Indradeep Sinha.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, I rise to speak on the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri N. K. P. Salve. Unfortunately, he is not here. But I speak in criticism of this Motion and in support of the amendments moved by my friends of the democratic opposition.

Now, the main criticism which I have to make about the President's Address is that it presents a complacent and, therefore, a false picture of the state of the economy as well as the state of policy in the country. I will illustrate my statement with some examples.

About the economy, the President's Address says that the country has made wonderful progress during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The Address says that a growth rate of 5.2 per cent per annum in the gross domestic product has been achieved. Now, this statement is true, only when we take the year 1979-80 as the base. The year 1979-80 was a particularly bad year affected by drought,

which affected both agricultural and industrial production. If we shift the base to an earlier year or if we take the average of the Fifth Five-Year Plan as the base, then, we will find that it will be much lower than 5.2 per cent. In fact, it will be about 4 per cent; it will not be much higher than the trend rate of growth between 1951 and 1981, which was only 3.5 per cent. In fact, I would feel very happy if our country had really achieved a higher rate of growth. But unfortunately, we have not. And we gain nothing by presenting a rosy picture which it not supported by facts.

Similarly, the Address makes contradictory statements. On the one hand, it says that the economy is in fine shape. On the other, it says that people have to tighten their belt, make sacrifices and that we have to take some hard decisions. It is said, if we have to advance, people have to make sacrifices. If everything is in fine shape, then, such hard decisions would not have been necessary. The very fact that Government feels that hard decisions are necessary, the very fact that the Government justified the pre-Budget increase in the prices of a number of essential commodities in the name of financing the Plan and the anti-poverty programmes, the very fact that the Government justifies the so-called hard decisions shows that the claims about the economy being in fine shape are not correct. Both cannot be true that the economy is in fine shape, at the same time, there is a big crisis in regard to resources. I will come to this point later.

Now, the President's Address refers to only two points as the negative features of the economy. One is, there is a crisis of investible resources. Another point which he refers to is that we have got a high-cost economy and that we should work towards reducing the cost of production. But the crisis is much deeper. There are other indications of the crisis. Both these factors are, of course, true. There is a crisis of internal resources. But there is also a crisis of foreign exchange. I think, the crisis of foreign exchange is no less acute than the crisis of internal resources. Then there is crisis of growth.

[Shri Indradeep Siuha] unemployment, growing mass poverty, growing inequality. There is crisis of growing sickness in industries. There is crisis of instability in agricultural production and there is also crisis of the budget, of the finances of the Central Government. There have been studies made by a number of economists. I will refer only to a study made by the Reserve Bank of India which is supposed to be the custodian of the country's financial discipline. In August 1985 issue of the Reserve Bank of India bulletin, after a study of the finances of the Central Government, the conclusion reached is the following. "The trends in revenue expenditures during 1975-85 reveal that it grew at faster rate of 16.4 per cent than revenue receipts which grew by 13.3 per cent." Therefore, it continues, "a structural change has taken place in revenue account in recent years with surpluses declining till 1978-79 and deficits generally enlarging thereafter. These deficits have grown steadily since then from Rs. 694 crores in 1979-80 to Rs. 3369 crores in 1984-85. The structural change in revenue account has serious implications for Plan financing."

Sir, in the latest Budget presented to Parliament the deficit on revenue account has risen to Rs. 6874 crores. So, this is not a casual development, it is a development which has been taking place over the last few years when in spite of the repeated increases in taxes, in spite of the whole tax system being made more regressive with preponderance of indirect taxes—excise, customs and other indirect taxes in spite of all this, the income on revenue account is not sufficient to finance the growing expenditure of the Central Government and, therefore, the Central Government is taking loan for financing the day-to-day administration. This is a sign of bankruptcy, not a sign of good health of the finances of the Government. We are taking loan to finance the administration and what is the state of the loans? The total debt as on 1st March 1986 amounts to Rs. 88770 crores which comes to about 50 per cent of the gross national product. And next year, as on 1st March 1987 it will cross the Rs. 100000 crore mark and will probably cross even the

50 per cent average. Annual interest burden, already in this budget at Rs. 8750 crores, exceeds internal and external borrowing which is Rs. 8250 crores this year. That is, the entire borrowing that we are making in the internal market as well as from foreign sources is not enough to pay the interest on the previous accumulated loans. So, we are mortgaging the future generations for financing this extravagant, repressive administrative apparatus and even that loan financing is not adequate to meet the entire deficit. Therefore, Government have to resort to increasing amount of deficit financing. Now the quantum of deficit financing has grown and in this year's budget there is a provision of Rs. 3650 crores as deficit financing which may well be exceeded. And there is another element which is another form of deficit financing which is called market loan. During 1985-86 market loan was Rs. 5100 crores while in 1986-87 the market loan is proposed to be Rs. 5300 crores. These market loans which are subscribed to only by the banks also have an expansionary effect on the money supply, therefore total deficit financing amounts to more than 9000 crores which is more than 50 per cent of the tax revenue. So even on the question of Government's budget, on the question of Government's finances, the condition is pretty bad. The situation is not at all happy. And in spite of repeated enquiries, repeated studies being made by authoritative bodies, Government do not heed the warnings and change the course. Rather they go on pursuing the same policy of borrowing more and more money, resorting to more and more deficit financing. Now a situation has come when the State Sector has become the milch cow of the Central Government. The main source of finance is trade in petroleum products. The State has got a monopoly. Therefore the Central Government goes on extracting more and more money out of petroleum products, so much so that in the international market when the price of crude has now fallen to nearly 13 dollars per barrel from 30 dollars per barrel which prevailed only two years back, in our country, inside the country, the prices of petroleum products have been recently raised and the Government hopes to net Rs. 800-1000

crores more by increasing the prices of petroleum products. Similarly the prices of other public sector products also have been repeatedly raised. Coal prices have been raised recently. Prices of foodgrains sold by the public distribution system have been raised. Fertiliser prices have been raised. And very soon prices of other State sector products also will be raised. On the one hand the President's Address emphasises the need for reducing cost, correctly complains about high cost economy and on the other hand goes on raising prices and thus adding to the cost. Now what makes the economy high cost? Repeated imposition of various taxes and levies makes the economy high cost, apart from certain other factors. So on the one hand the President's Address bewails the high cost of the economy, on the other hand Government goes on adding to the cost so much so that even the Finance Minister's expectation of a fall in the prices, for example, of automobile products, has been belied. The Finance Minister has said in a press conference that the prices of motor cars and trucks are going to fall. But now it has appeared in the papers, that they are going to rise. The prices of all products are rising because Government itself is adding to the cost.

Now a lot of argument was advanced here by Mr. Salve and other friends from the other side that one of the major problems in the economy is that of growing subsidies, particularly subsidies on supply of foodgrains, subsidies on supply of fertilisers. I have no time- to go into the details of these subsidies but I can only mention a small fact why the subsidies on supply of foodgrains have increased. It is because of increased carrying cost, increased cost of maintaining nearly 29-30 million tonnes of foodgrains in their stocks. Why is it necessary to maintain such a high level of stocks? Because the Government is not able to run a proper public distribution system. Sir, you will be surprised to find that off take from the public distribution system has declined while stocks have increased. For example, in 1983-84 procurement was 15.9 million tonnes, off-take was 15.2 million tonnes. In 1984-85 procurement was 19.4 million

tonnes but the off-take was only 13.4 million tonnes. So, every year if internal procurement goes on adding" to the stocks, then the cost of maintaining that stock, the interest charges and other charges go on adding to the subsidy. So, it is the Government's own policy, its inability to run a proper public distribution system that is partly responsible for the growth in subsidies. According to a study made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, only the State of Kerala has 70 per cent of its supplies from the public distribution system located in the rural areas. In all the other States 70 to 80 per cent of the supplies in the public distribution system are located only in the urban and industrial sectors. Vast masses of people, 70 per cent of our people, live in the villages and half of them live below the poverty line. They need subsidised, cheap foodgrains, but, for them the public distribution system makes no arrangement. Rather it goes on accumulating stocks and therefore increasing the cost.

Now, Sir, I do not want to go into details. I would only draw the conclusion that the crisis is much deeper than the President's Address admits and probably the Government itself admits. What is the root cause of the crisis? The root cause of the crisis is the failure of the Government to carry out land reforms in the interests of the peasantry. The root cause of the crisis is the gradual shrinkage of the home market or the failure of the home market to absorb the industrial production that takes place as a result of planned development. I do not want to go into the figures cited in a study by the Reserve Bank - of India as revealed in its Bulletin of January 1984. It gives the figures of compound annual rates of growth between 1961 and 1981 of various segments of industry—the basic goods industries, the capital goods industries, the intermediate goods industries and the consumer goods industries—and the picture that we get is very interesting, in the 60's the basic goods and the capital goods, both, were increasing at a fast rate. In the 70's that rate declined. In the 80's there is a crisis. Why? Because the basic goods and the capital goods that are manufactured ultimately produce consumer

{Shri Indradeep Sinha] goods, and when these consumer goods are put in the market, the consumers do not have enough purchasing power to purchase them. That leads to the crisis of the market. That is why the production in all the major consumer goods industries is falling—production of textiles, production of jute products, production of sugar, etc. In all these industries there is a crisis. Nearly one lakh units are sick. Sickness is growing because the products which come out of these industries do not find customers in the market. Unfortunately, the Government does not see the root cause of the crisis.

Sir, you will be surprised to learn that in this President's Address or in the budget paper the term "land reforms" does not occur at all. *(Time-bell rings)* Sir, I will take five minutes more. Local distribution is not a problem for this Government. They are totally complacent about it. They do not see the need of democratization of the State administration, they do not see the need of extending facilities of cheap essential goods to the vast masses of the working people in urban and rural areas. Rather they are guided by some interested advice given by imperialist financial agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. What advice these agencies gave? They gave the advice that India should now look to the export market. There should be greater export orientation. India should go in for larger scale of export production for export-led growth. One of the conditions of the IMF loan sanctioned towards the end of 1981 was that India shall reverse the trend of policies pursued in the post-Independence period—policies which made the home market more attractive than the foreign market. Hence, the Government should take steps to see that foreign markets become more attractive than the home market, it said. How can foreign markets be made more attractive than the home market? By giving subsidies on exports and by imposing taxes and levies on internal consumption. And the Government have done that.

Now, what is the result? The result is a deeper crisis. Last year's liberalisation measures for imports, for example, had hit our own capital goods industries. And now even in the President's Address there is a small mention that we have to protect our capital goods industries. Thus, on the one hand the Government liberalised imports more than 200 items of machinery were put under OGL—on the other hand the President says the capital goods industries established in the country are suffering and we have to protect them. How can you protect them if you open the doors for import of foreign goods? For example, how can you protect the BHEL when the Government itself awards turnkey contracts of power stations to foreign multi-nationals? Therefore, what we need is not a small tinkering here and there, but a radical change of direction. The diagnosis of the crisis has to be properly made and a change in the direction of the State policies also has to be properly made.

I will point out some of the directions in which the change has to be made. I will not go into details. The IMF, for example, laid down that the Government of India should reverse its earlier policies of making the home market more attractive than the foreign market. Now, I will suggest that the reversal should be reversed. It has proved disastrous. It has accentuated the crisis. Therefore, the earlier situation should be restored. In a big country like India, only one per cent of its Gross Domestic Product is exported. For one per cent we cannot sacrifice the interest of 99 per cent? We have to look to the expansion of the home market; and design policies which will alleviate mass poverty in reality by making fundamental changes in the economic and social structure and expand the home market. Similarly, Indian industries have to be protected and Self reliance has to be fostered. The industries owned by the Multi-nationals in our country or their branches or those collaboration with the Indian monopolists have to be taken over by the State. The whole sale trade in foodgrains has to be taken over by the state. Administration in the villages, at the block level,

Panchayat and Panchayat Samiti level has to be democratised and the public distribution system has to be strengthened so that the rural poor get their essential commodities, particularly foodgrains, at cheap rates. That will relieve the burden on the Government stocks.

The President has very correctly appealed to all secular and democratic forces to join hands to protect values of national unity and integrity. Nationalism, secularism, democracy and socialism, the President says, should be defended. I fully agree that we should defend them. But is the Government prepared to defend them? My criticism is that the Government itself is deviating from the path of secularism. My friend Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya referred to the communal situation in Uttar Pradesh that has been created following a court judgement in the so-called 'Ram Janam Bhoomi' case. The Government was aware of it in 1949 itself.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Time is up, please conclude now. You have already exceeded the time limit.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: I am just concluding. It was Shri Gobind Ballabh Pant the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh who asked the police to lock the building and not allow either Hindus or Muslims to quarrel over it. That was quite well. Now a recent court decision has unlocked the building and that has led to the tension. Why don't the Government take a decision to declare the disputed shrine at Ayodhya a historical monument as has been done in the case of Safdarjung monument in Delhi and Taj Mahal in Agra—as a protected as historical monuments? Neither Muslims nor Hindus should be allowed to worship there. If we allow one community to worship and not the other then the source of communal tension will continue. The Government has not done it. But rather an ex-Minister of Uttar Pradesh belonging to the ruling party has formed an organisation and he is the Secretary of that organisation and is conducting the campaign for the so-called liberation of 'Ram Janam Bhoomi'.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Time is up. Please conclude now.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: Just another sentence. Similarly, the Government is also compromising with Muslim communalism as is evidenced from the latest piece of legislation that has been introduced in connection with the Shah Banu case. If the Government itself compromises with both Hindu communalism and Muslim communalism, then, secularism and democracy are certainly not going to be strengthened. Therefore, if the Government is serious about strengthening secularism and democracy, then, they have to change their policy on this question as well. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by my senior hon. friend, Mr. Salve to thank the President for his Address to the Joint Session.

Sir, I start my speech just by picking up the thread from my predecessor. He has tried to read much between the lines rather than the Presidential Address. He says that the GNP growth is not to the extent of 5 per cent if 1979-80 is taken as the base year. If we go back to 1950-51 the GNP growth was 4 per cent. He says, the reason of it was that 1979-1980 was the year of drought. But I want to remind my senior hon. Member, Shri Indradeep Sinha that even in 1984-1985 there was drought. So also in 1985-1986 there is drought. Every year in many parts of the country we suffer from drought. If 1979-1980 is the year of drought then 1984-1985 or 1985-1986 is no better than 1979-1980. He also agrees that considering 1950-1951 the GNP growth was 4 per cent. Even that 4 per cent is a rise in GNP. Does he deny this progress at least? Is it not a true picture of the economy of the country when there is an increase of 3 per cent in foodgrains, 6.3 per cent in industrial growth, containing inflation to a minimum of 3 per cent, an increase of 22 per cent in tax collections and antipoverty programmes exceeding the target? Our target was only 15 million people but we have reached the target of 16.6 million people which covers 6.4 million people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Sir, added to this, the President has rightly mentioned that out

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of 2.31 lakhs of problems villages for drinking water, the Government has been able to give the source of drinking water for 1.93 villages and promised to tackle the remaining problem villages.

Sir, the power generation is up by 8.2 per cent. The production of steel has gone up by 12.9 per cent. Similarly, the production of fertilisers has gone up by 10 per cent. With all these achievements on the record, if my hon. friend from the Opposition says that it is only a rosy picture and it is not the correct picture, I should only say that they have no mind to go through the Presidential Address except reading in between the lines they want to pick up the threads just to complain. Sir, my friend also said about the President saying that the economy is in fine shape and the President's call for sacrifice and some hard decision. Sir, while giving the correct picture of the economy of this country that it is in fine shape, the President has called for sacrifice for the future, for a better tomorrow. The Presidential Address itself speaks that for better tomorrow, we have to make certain sacrifices and some hard decisions have to be taken. So, my friend, tried to link in between and said there are contradicting statements in the President's Address. The President is right in giving the correct picture of the present economy. He is also right in asking for tightening the belts for a better tomorrow and the better future.

Sir, one of my hon'ble friends from the Opposition has said the first year has been an year of charmed lies. Sir, I am -Sorry to say with this progress in the first year of the Seventh Plan which I narrated just now, how the country is marching ahead, my distinguished friend from the Opposition has not been able to appreciate the progress and has said, the first year has been an year of charmed lies. It only shows that he has no mind to appreciate the truth except charging the Government. Sir, the President's Address in its second page recalls the promises given to the country in the year 1985-86, the commitment to the clean public life. Let us take the touchstone given by the President him-

self while addressing the Parliament last year. The touchstone was the commitment to a clean public life. Have we not progressed on those lines? The Anti-defection Bill which the late Government introduced but could not pass and which was withdrawn by them has been passed by this Government for the first time. Now, I am quoting a very recent instance where once an iota of doubt was raised, it is our Government which asked the Ministers to tender their resignation. Contrary to this, what is the state of affairs in my own State. The Government defended their action on the floor of the House and outside. Our Chief Minister said, there is no necessity for tendering the resignation. He defended it on the floor of the House and outside but subsequently, he resigned. That means, he was convinced that he had committed a blunder. He was convinced and so he resigned and performed a beautiful drama and came back to power after a week. Where is the contrast? Here, an iota of doubt is raised against our two Ministers and the hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, asked for their resignations and the very next day, resignations were handed over but here is the Government which defends his action and says that he has not committed any illegal act on the floor of the House and outside and finally he resigns and comes back again from the back door. What right the Opposition have got to criticise this Government regarding clean politics? Sir, this Government, according to the promise of the President has also made the legal contribution to the parties.

Coming to the Administrative Reforms, Administrative Tribunals have been set up. personnel management has been improved and the restructuring the Ministries and asking the Government Departments to prepare an action plan and make them accountable is going to produce the desired results. Accountability of the departments which was not in existence earlier and the bureaucrats used to manage the affairs according to their own fashion before its introduction has been introduced. Now, these departments have been asked to prepare an action plan and they are subjected to accountability now. This

accountability will go a long way in improving the administration. Coming to the judicial reforms which the President himself has given the touchstone, to reduce the pendency, Lokadalats are being introduced in Gujarat and they are working well. Administrative Tribunals will take away the large number of pendencies from the High Courts and Supreme Court and the Educational Policy, as promised by the President in his last speech has been debated in the House and outside. A number of seminars have been held and various cross-sections of people have been involved in evolving a new education policy. The new education policy which has been promised by the President and which will be placed before Parliament soon is going to be a 21st century programme for education.

Sir the President has also promised better days for women who constitute 50 per cent of the population—improving their literacy and controlling dowry deaths, etc. A separate Ministry has been created in the Government to take care of those programmes.

Waste land development, dry land development, cleansing of the Ganga, a new textile policy, all these are the promises! given by the President last year and how far the Government has been able to achieve them—the touchstones—the President has elaborated in his speech. The Economic Survey which has studied the economic situation of this country has said:

"Compared with other countries, both developed and developing, we can justifiably take pride in the quality of our economic management. Despite a difficult international environment and domestic droughts, we have accelerated our growth rate. We have achieved self-sufficiency in food and have kept inflation within manageable limits. The balance of payments situation which was thrown out of gear in 1979-80, was rapidly brought under control and the position of our foreign exchange reserves is strong. Unlike many other countries, we have been able to avoid the emergence of debt problem. A far-re-

aching process of fiscal reform has been initiated and revenues are buoyant. However, the task of development is never easy. The challenges that confront us will have to be met with fortitude hard work and dedication."

This is the Economic Survey report. It says that we are on a firm footing, we are on a better footing and our economy is strong.

The President has also set our goals for the next year: drinking water for all villages, eradication of illiteracy, vaccination and immunisation of children, production of oilseeds, manufacture of edible oils and improvement of communication. The picture is correct. The scenario is very good. What was the scenario when this Government took over? My friend, Mr. Salve, when he moved the motion, said about the outside scenario. I want to mention about the inside scenario. Day in and Day out, by way of Calling Attention of Special Mention or Zero Hour mentions, we were discussing Punjab and Assam, the killings in Punjab, of course, as my friends said, within a year the killings have started occurring now. But the time of this House and the other House is not wasted today. The scenario when this Government took over was every day in this House and in the other House, the problems of Punjab and Assam were discussed and the precious time of this House was wasted. To that extent also, there is improvement, even though it is not to the satisfaction of some of those friends who read in between the lines in the President's Address. (*Time-bell rings*) I have a few suggestions for the future, about agricultural policies. Sir, we are happy that we are self-sufficient in agricultural production. But one thing should be taken note of, and that is, 30 per cent of the area produces 70 per cent of the agricultural production. This 30 per cent area in this country has been benefited with irrigation facilities, agricultural research and other things. They are the major areas which are rising fertilisers. But the farmers living down south and elsewhere, agriculturists in the other 70 per cent of the area are denied the benefits of agricultural research and development.

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So we have to take an overall picture and see how far a farmer living down south or in the east or west gets the benefit of agricultural research and the fertiliser subsidy which we are giving. This is a very important thing. Today 30 per cent of the area of this country produces 70 per cent of the agricultural produce. All the agricultural benefits, facilities, fertilizers, are reaching<sup>1</sup> only the 30 per cent and the 70 per cent of the agriculturists have been denied those benefits.

Second, rightly the Government is taking about getting a consensus on water management in order to improve agricultural produce. Irrigation is a State subject. Some of the State Governments are not in a position to improve their agriculture. In the process of getting a national consensus on managing water resources I request the Central Government to consider about ground water development. Government of India spends thousands of crores of rupees on Central irrigation projects and water is being distributed to agriculturists and water cess is collected. In the case of individual villagers, individual agriculturists, they have to borrow loans, pay interest, big water and then they have to pay interest. So I request the Government that a ground water corporation can bring out water. Water is national property. The corporation can bring out the water and distribute it to the farmers so that it will go a long way in improving agricultural production in this country. And some of these projects have to be taken up by the Government of India as national projects as we have done in the case of the Indira Gandhi Memorial Channel. Some of the State Governments cannot manage some of their projects. Such projects should be taken over as Central irrigation projects and developed so that the entire country gets the benefit.

Then I come to electoral reforms. Government has promised one thing. Voting should be made compulsory. Identity cards should be given to the individuals with their photographs. And election expenses should be reduced to the minimum

so that there is brought about a new life and the ordinary man can contest elections; otherwise, it is going to be only a rich man's election, *(Time-bell rings)* All right, Sir. Thank you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to express my disappointment with the Address delivered by His Excellency the President of India. I do not want to waste even a single minute of my speech on other matters. The very existence of Tamils in Sri Lanka is in danger. Why am I so much disappointed with the Address of the honourable President of India? There is not a word about the plight of the 1,25,000 refugees who have flooded the Rameshwaram-Mandapam coast. There is not a word about the fate of the stateless citizens. There is not a word about the plight of the Indian fishermen who have been assaulted 96 times since May, 1983 till today. I am terribly shaken because of the aerial bombing which is going on even today, even to this minute, over civilian areas in Sri Lanka. The whole population will be liquidated, will be exterminated, within a month or two. In this Address it is mentioned: "We continue to demand comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa." I appreciate our role. I appreciate your launching a crusade to destroy the diabolical fabric of apartheid in South Africa. Our honourable Prime Minister has raised his voice in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meet and in the UN demanding sanctions against South Africa. But, at the same time, Sir, I am terribly pained to point out that Sri Lanka is purchasing armoured cars from South Africa according to the reports in "The Hindu" dated December, 18. Sri Lanka is purchasing armoured cars and arms and ammunitions from South Africa. I would like to put a simple question to this Government: Is Sri Lanka a member of the NAM or not? Is Sri Lanka a member of the CHOGM or not? Is Sri Lanka a member of the UN or not? Here again, Sir, when the Tamils' corpses are tossed in the streets of Jaffna, in Vavunniya, in Mattakkalappu, in Killinochi and in other parts of Sri Lanka and when the Tamil blood is flowing like anything in the Northern and



Eastern parts of Sri Lanka, when the Sri Lankan Government is pooh-poohing our Indian Government with an arrogant posture, and gesture over the last two weeks, our honourable Prime Minister comes to this Parliament, comes to the Lok Sabha on the 27th February this year and says that they have received a new set of proposals from Sri Lanka which are better than the previous ones. But, Sir, Mr. G.K. Reddy, the well-known columnist, says in "The Hindu" that the Prime Minister was preoccupied with his work and that is why he has mistaken a note prepared and presented by the Indian Government. I would like to know whether a new set of proposals has been received by the Prime Minister or not and, if so, what those proposals are. If what Mr. G.K. Reddy says is true, then, Sir, I am terribly disturbed because that shows that our approach is a callous approach, that our approach is a casual approach and that our approach is a cavalier approach.

Sir, here in this House, Mr. Maran, the leader of our group here, demanded that this issue should be raised at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva which is in session now. According to my information, so far instructions have not reached Mr. Dhillon and so far this issue has not been raised at all. Even the European Community has expressed its concern yesterday and the whole world is concerned about it. How many times we have expressed our agony and anguish, pathos and pain, suffering and sorrow, seeking succour and solace from this Government! How many times we have raised this issue. If the walls of this Parliament, if the walls of the Rajya Sabha, have got the capacity to speak, they will speak volumes of my agony and anguish which was expressed on the floor of this House. We have come and cried here several times and we have come and shed tears here. When our mothers and sisters were paraded naked and raped in the streets of Jaffna and in other places, we came here and cried and fell at the feet of the Central Government. When the churches there were destroyed and when the temples there were destroyed, we came here and cried and begged for your help. Sir, when the great Jaffna Library was burnt down and reduced to ashes in 1981, when

the houses of the Members of Parliament were destroyed, we came here and we pleaded for your help and support. *(Interruptions)*. Please do not disturb me. We are not speaking here for political ends. Even in 1984, when we were routed in the elections, we went to jails, 42,000 of us, and, so, it is not for political ends that we are speaking here on this issue.

Now, Sir, what is going on there? Aerial bombing is going on; sea-shelling is going on; and battleships have been stationed in the ocean. The fishermen are not permitted to go for fishing and the farmers are not permitted to go to their fields. These people are compelled to starve to death and they are starving to death. Total annihilation is going to take place there.

Therefore, Sir, I accuse that this Government and our honourable Prime Minister have failed to mobilise international opinion to protect the lives of Tamils in Sri Lanka; I accuse that this Government has deliberately avoided raising this issue and the tragedy of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the genocide of the Tamils in Sri Lanka in the NAM, in the CHOGM and in the UN, just to please the bloodthirsty and monstrous regime of Sri Lanka; and I accuse that this Government has deliberately encouraged Sri Lanka to stockpile arms and to purchase its arms from various quarters of the globe. They have encouraged Sri Lanka to buy arms even from South Africa, Israel, China, Pakistan, Malaysia and England. Sir, I could substantiate... *(Interruption)* Don't laugh. I could substantiate my charge by citing the Zaire Airways episode. The Zaire Airways carrying a full load of arms and ammunition, flying towards Colombo, landed at Trivandrum on February, 19th last year for want of fuel. It was reported to Delhi at that time, the same day. Mr. Lalit Athulathmudali, who has taken the vow to finish our people in Sri Lanka, was having dinner with the President and the Prime Minister. Result! The flight was permitted to leave Trivandrum. Orders were given to fly, carrying the arms and ammunition, towards Colombo. The question was raised on the floor of this House on

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the 14th February, 1985. When it was raised, the Prime Minister stated on the floor of this House in reply to my question that no aircraft landed in India with arms; he uttered two sentences, smiled and cut a joke, that only ammunition was found there, that there is a difference between arms and ammunition. Immediately I retorted, asking him whether the ammunition was not meant to wipe out the Tamils. What was the remark of our Prime Minister? He stated on the floor of this House—it is on record—that that was not marked so. This was the remark of our hon. Prime Minister. What a ridiculous statement! How much pained we were. Therefore, I accuse this Government: you have deliberately allowed the Sri Lanka Government to purchase arms to wipe out the Tamils, to kill our Tamils. How many times we have warned the Government: Don't be the Chamberlain of 80's. You have become the Chamberlain of 80's. When they say about talks, when they say about dialogue, they wanted to purchase time. They have got the time. Now it is the final battle for the Tamils there. It is the final battle. They have been surrounded on one side by the naval ships. Aerial bombing is going on. I would like to ask this Government whether in any part of the world today aerial bombing on civilian areas is going on. Does it take place in Lebanon? Does it take place in

Iran-Iraq? Does it take place in Palestine today? No. Does it take place in South Africa? Sir, I accuse this Government that this Government has not an iota of sympathy for the Tamils because in the Vellikada prison when 56 prisoners were butchered, slaughtered and killed, not even a single word of condemnation was uttered by even the then Prime Minister or the present Prime Minister. When 56 prisoners were killed, not even a single word of condemnation, not a single word of condolence. When the blacks were banged in South Africa, we had shed our tears here. I also participated in it. But when 56 detainees in the Vellikada prison were killed, you don't utter a single word on the floor of this House or on the floor of the Lok Sabha.

Sir, now what is going on. Our people are going to get killed. We will write epitaph or elegy. They are not going to surrender. Sir, they have been surrounded by the forces. Helicopters and war planes are bombarding their areas. They are shedding their blood and tears. (*Time bell rings*) They are crying for succour and help. Sir, it is war there for survival of Tamils who were described by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Glimpses of World History*:

"The mighty Chola Empire had battle-ships which were able to carry the war elephants towards the South-East Asian countries, who wherever they went, won victory."

Now, Sir, because this country is not meant for us, because the armed forces are not meant for us, that is why we are dying there. This is the feeling of the Tamil youths there, Sir. What will happen? They are in the final battle.

I will take two minutes.

They will perish They will die. But they will not surrender. When Vietcongs were fighting. They have got assistance from the Koreans, from the Chinese and from the Russians. But the people, your own kith and kin, your own Tamilians—they are Indians, you say—your own kith and kin, are dying there, they don't get assistance. They do not get help from any quarters. Anyhow they will die and perish, but they will not surrender. In the year 420 BC, Persians led by Leonidas invaded Sparta, marched towards Sparta, 300 Spartans laid down their lives and kept the Army away for six months. It is the valour of history. "We are few. They are many. But we will make a THERMAPLAYE." This is the version of great poet. This is taking place there. I plead and I beg this Government to help our boys because they were branded as boys. Help them. This is the time to help them, to supply arms and to send our forces. Break diplomatic relations. If you don't do all these things, they are going to be wiped out. They are going to be liquidated. They are going to be completely annihilated. In that case, they will lose faith and the next generation will lose faith in the system of India. Our

fishermen were killed and assaulted 96 times in our own territorial waters. No country worth its name will tolerate such an attack. Therefore, while condemning the Government, I request the Government at the same time because I have no other way and I beg you to help our people. Stop aerial bombardment, It is a tiny country. It is a very small country. Aerial bombardment is going on even today. You have got ways and means to stop that. You have got the power. You have got the Army. You have got Armed Forces. You have got everything. But you don't have the mind, you don't have the heart, you don't have the sympathy for them. Sir, some of my friends on the other side are very much agitated over my remarks. It is not for this thing or for any political reasons that we have expressed our views. Our people are going to die. If you don't stop these things, one day we will have to pass a resolution of condolence for the total annihilation of Tamilians there.

**कुमारी सरोज खाण्डे (महाराष्ट्र) :** मान्यवर, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर समर्थन के लिए मैं खड़ी हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में पिछले वर्ष की उपलब्धियों का बड़े भाविक ढंग से उल्लेख किया है, जिसे किया है। 17 जनवरी, 1985 में उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में सरकार को जिन मुख्य नीतियों और कार्यक्रमों के बारे में कहा था सरकार ने उन नीतियों पर काफी पैमाने पर अमल किया है, उन्हें लागू किया है। यह लागू करना अपने आप में एक बहुत बड़ी बात है, बहुत बड़ा काम है। हमारी सरकार वचनबद्ध है कि जनता को स्वच्छ और कुशल शासन मिले। इसकी ओर प्रयास किया है यदि शासन स्वच्छ, कुशल और ईमानदार हो तो दूसरे विषय कितने भी कठिन हों या जटिल हों उनका समाधान काफी सीमा तक अपने आप हो जाता है।

श्रीमन्, मैं कुछ विषयों को सदन के सामने रखना चाहूंगी। जुलाई 1985 में सरकार ने पंजाब की जटिल समस्या का विश्वासपूर्ण और सफलतापूर्वक हल

निकाला था। सरकार राष्ट्रवाद, धर्मनिरपेक्षवाद, प्रजातंत्र और समाजवाद के लिए कटिबद्ध है, वचनबद्ध है। देश की उन्नति और अखंडता की जो नींव है और इन सिद्धांतों को तोड़ने में जो शक्तियाँ लगी हुई हैं उनके साथ कभी भी हमारा सम्प्रोमाइज करने का प्रश्न नहीं उठता है। कहा जाता था कि पंजाब समस्या को कांग्रेस ने जन्म दिया और उसका पोषण भी कांग्रेस ने ही किया। परन्तु मेरी समझ में अभी तक यह नहीं आ रहा है कि हाल ही के विधान सभा के चुनाव में गैर-कांग्रेसियों को प्रचण्ड बहुमत मिला और उन्होंने अपनी सरकार बनाई। जब से उन्होंने शासन की बागडोर संभाली है विघटनकारी और उग्रवादी शक्तियों के उपद्रव में कोई कमी नहीं आई है। यहां तक कि... (व्यवधान)

**श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) :** ज्यादा हुई है।

**कुमारी सरोज खाण्डे :** यहां तक कि उग्रवादी शक्तियों ने स्वर्ण मंदिर पर अवैध कब्जा कर लिया है और सत्तारूढ़ दल का आनन्दपुर साहिब में सरबत खालसा आयोजन करने के लिए उन्होंने बाध्य किया। यह किसी भी सरकार, चाहे केन्द्रीय हो, या राज्य की, कमजोरी का चोटक नहीं माना जा सकेगा। जब भी उग्रवादी शक्तियाँ सिर उठाती हैं उनका दमन करने में समय लगता है।

श्रीमन् पंजाब और असम की समस्याओं को सुलझा कर हमारी सरकार ने देशवासियों को एक विश्वास दिलाया है।

श्रीमन्, भारत एक बहुत बड़ा देश है जिसमें अनेक सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक और भाषायी समस्याएँ हैं। यदि देश के एक कोने में किसी कारण से घटना होती है तो समाजविरोधी तत्व उसका पूरा-पूरा लाभ उठाने की कोशिश करता है। मिसाल के तौर पर अयोध्या में रामजन्मभूमि मंदिर को लेकर कुछ समाज-विरोधी और सम्प्रदायिक तत्वों ने देश के

[कुमारो सरोज खाण्डे]

छ भागों में तनाव पैदा किया। ऐसे बड़े देश में छोटी-मोटी बातें होते रहना स्वाभाविक है।

देश निरन्तर प्रगति की ओर अग्रसर है। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पहले तक मुझे याद है कि हम लोग अनाज बाहर विदेशों से मंगवाते थे और उद्योग का नाम-मात्र वहीं पर भी नहीं था। इन चालीस वर्षों में देश ने हर पहलू पर प्रगति की है। इस प्रगति को कुछ बाहरी देश विशेषकर कुछ पाश्चात्य देश बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। उनको देश की एकता और अखण्डता काफी अखरती है क्योंकि इसी से प्रगति सम्भव हो सकती है। अब हमारा देश एक जायन्ट देश साबित हो रहा है, क्योंकि हालांकि 35 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे है। यह देश के उग्रवादी तत्वों को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं ताकि देश में कुछ न कुछ घटना होती रहे जिससे सरकार का ध्यान प्रगति की ओर से हट कर उन घटनाओं की ओर लगा रहे।

श्रीमन्, साईंस और टेक्नालोजी में हमारा देश विश्व में काफी बढ़-चढ़ कर है। अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति रीगन की आपरेशन टीम में भारत के डा० विमल चन्द्र घोष को भी सम्मिलित किया गया था। उन्होंने दिल्ली के मौलाना आजाद मेडिकल कालेज में शिक्षा ग्रहण की थी। इसका हमारे देश को गर्व है। हमें अपने डाक्टरों, वैज्ञानिकों और इंजीनियरों को वापिस स्वदेश बुलाना चाहिए। हमें अपने वैज्ञानिकों को उनकी पोजीशन के अनुसार सुविधाएं देनी चाहिए, परन्तु इस ओर हमारी सरकार का ध्यान नहीं है। एक प्रेस विज्ञप्ति के अनुसार केनेडा में बसे एक डाक्टर मुझे ठीक से याद नहीं है, नारंग हैं, या सारंग हैं जो वहां किसी शाखा के मुख्य हैं और जो भारत के पुरस्कार विजेता डा० हरगोविन्द खुराना के साथ रिसर्च में लगे हुए हैं, वह भारत आए, परन्तु उनको केवल कुल साईंसटिस्ट फूल की ही जाँव तक लगाया गया जिसका बतन केवल छह सौ रुपये था। अब आप कल्पना कर सकते हैं जब हम अपने

विद्वानों को परदेस से अपने देश में बुलाना चाहते हैं, इस छोटी सी पोजीशन को देखने के बाद, वह हमारे देश में रुकेंगे या नहीं, यह हमको देखना है।

श्रीमन्, सरकार ने निश्चय किया है कि निर्धनता को दूर करने के लिए साईंस और टेक्नालोजी पर पूरे रूप से प्रयोग बनाया जाएगा, 1986 में इस पर पूरा बल दिया जाएगा, सारे गांवों में पानी की व्यवस्था, निरक्षरता को दूर करने के लिए बच्चों को टीके, तिलहन, खाने के तेल और संचार सुविधा में साईंस और टेक्नालोजी का अधिक प्रयोग किया जाएगा।

देश में लगभग साढ़े पांच लाख गांव हैं। इन गांवों को गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठाना है। इन गांवों में भी दूसरे गांवों की अपेक्षा अधिकतर पिछड़े हुये लोग हैं और उनमें भी अनुसूचित जन जाति और समाज के कमजोर वर्गों की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये। इस कार्य को योजना आयोग कर सकता है और कम्प्यूटर की सहायता से इसकी ओर ध्यान दिया जा सकता है। योजना आयोग के पास हर गांव के आंकड़े होने चाहिये। ये आंकड़े योजना आयोग तथा राज्य सरकारों की सहायता से इकट्ठे किये जा सकते हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अभी-अभी अपनी जापान यात्रा में भारतीयों को संबोधित करते हुये कहा था कि हमारे पास विश्वसनीय आंकड़े नहीं हैं। आंकड़ों को इकट्ठा करने की जिम्मेदारी योजना आयोग पर है। वह अपने अधीन ऐसी निश्चित योजना बनाए कि केन्द्रीय मंत्रालयों और राज्य सरकारों से विश्वसनीय आंकड़े प्राप्त करे। इसी कार्य को पूरा करने के लिए सुशिक्षित और अनुभवी वरिष्ठ अधिकारी को प्रत्येक मंत्रालय में नियुक्त करे और उनको उत्तरदायी ठहराये। जब आंकड़े उपलब्ध होंगे तो हर कार्यक्रम सफल होगा। पांच लाख गांव इन आंकड़ों के आधार पर विकसित हो सकते हैं और जो सुविधायें हम गांवों के गरीब वर्ग को देना चाहते हैं वे ठीक प्रकार से जनता तक पहुंचाई जा सकती हैं। ऐसी ही कार्य शहरों की गन्दी बस्तियों के लिए करना होगा। साईंस एंड टेक्नालोजी और कम्प्यू-

टर की सहायता से यह काम बहुत सरल हो जाएगा। श्रीमन् महिला उद्धार के लिए केन्द्र में हमने एक स्वतन्त्र विभाग खोला है। महिला विकास के लिए एक राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम भी बनाया जा रहा है। श्रीमन् किसी भी राष्ट्र के उत्थान और उसकी प्रगति के लिए महिलाओं और बच्चों की तरफ अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये। विकसित देशों में इस पर काफी बल दिया जाता है। मैं केवल एक पहलू को सदन के सामने रखना चाहूंगी। गांवों में और कस्बों में और थोड़ी आबादी वाले शहरों में हरिजन महिलाएं मल सिर पर उठाकर ले जाती हैं। 40 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी ऐसा सभ्य और सांस्कृतिक देश में उसका समाज यह सब कुछ बर्दाश्त करे, तो यह कितना अशोभनीय लगता है। हमारी सरकार को इस व्यवस्था की तरफ ध्यान देकर इसको दूर करने के लिए मूलभूत कदम उठाने चाहिये। गांवों में सुलभ शौचालय की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। एक टाइम बाउन्ड प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत हर गांव में यह सुविधा प्रदान करनी चाहिये। इस कार्य के लिए जितनी भी सवसिडी चाहिये उसका उतना प्रावधान करना अत्यन्त जरूरी है। एक लक्ष्य निर्धारित करके इस मल व्यवस्था को दूर करना महिलाओं के लिए यह एक अद्वितीय कार्य होगा। फिर यह महिला शक्ति दूसरे कार्यों में लगाई जा सकती है। मुझे इस बात का खेद है कि जो आगामी वर्ष का पांच सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम दिया गया है उसमें महिलाओं के बारे में अलग से जिक्र नहीं है जिसका जिक्र होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

श्रीमन्, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, हमारे सदन में सदन के उपनेता श्री साल्वे जी ने जो राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा है मैं उस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का स्वागत करती हूँ और समर्थन करती हूँ। धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] in the Chair.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairman, I am obliged for this opportunity to associate myself with the Resolution moved by Shri N. K. P. Salve. Before lunch, I had been very attentively listening to the speech made by Shri Indradeep Sinha and I had certain expectations that at least he will be able to see some good points in the Presidential Address but was disappointed. He has not been able to make even a single alternative suggestion for creating resources for Plan implementation which is, no doubt, an ambitious Plan. May I challenge if in a developing economy, deficit financing is not a known phenomenon. In a mixed economy, resource mobilisation by way of laxation is a necessary evil; otherwise we cannot progress, particularly when we find that in 1985-86, Central Plan outlay was stepped up by 15 per cent over 1984-85, especially for the anti-poverty programme, human resource development creation of infrastructure etc. here has been considerable increase in the outlays of the States' plans also. Over and above this, the Government will have spent in 1985-86, Rs. 1650 crores on food subsidy and Rs. 2050 crores on fertiliser subsidy.

Then, in paragraph 24 of the President's Address, it has been mentioned that adequate savings have to be mobilised to pursue a non-inflationary path of development. When this is the picture, I think, there should have been some appreciation of the efforts being made by the Government. Of course, there is one difficulty which we are realising. This has been referred to in the President's Address also. This is, expectations from the public sector have been belied. The Address says 'New jobs cannot be created if existing enterprises incur losses year after year. Operational inefficiency increases the cost of production and is inevitably reflected in increased prices which are a burden on the people'. But we have taken a precaution that modernisation does not affect employ-

[Shri Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh] ment avenues. Now, we have to pay remunerative prices to the farmers. We have also to provide cereals to the weaker sections of the society at the rates lower than that provided to others in the cheaper grain shops. As I said earlier, no alternative suggestion has been made by the Opposition in regard to mobilisation of resources. I would say, this is a negative attitude adopted by the Opposition, which they should reconsider.

Now Madam, tax collection has gone up. There has been hue and cry from the Opposition that we should take steps to nab tax evaders, smugglers, customs duty evaders etc. The collection of direct taxes is up by about 23 per cent. Indirect tax collection has increased by 22 per cent. Total tax collections have increased by 22 per cent which is the highest in the last decade. We will be having three more Plans before we enter the 21st Century. We are now in the process of implementing the Seventh Plan. We will be implementing two more Plans before we go into the next Century. This is our ambition. Madam Vice-Chairman, there is nothing wrong in being ambitious if we want to take the country into the 21st Century by completing only three Five-Year Plans when compared with the other developed countries. I think, this should have been appreciated and encouraged by the Members of the Opposition.

Now, Madam, the President has also spoken of a comprehensive agriculture policy to promote an optimal cropping pattern, a more effective strategy in regard to family planning and a sharpening of the anti-poverty programmes. I do not think any of these three objectives, which have been mentioned in the President's Address, can be found fault with as being anti-popular. But it is unfortunate that the Opposition has not appreciated these things. The President has also said, in paragraph 45, that technology missions will be mounted in regard to drinking water for all villages, eradication of illiteracy, immunisation, oilseeds production, improved communications. He has also said 'new initiatives will be taken for promotion of

exports and tourism with a view to maintaining a viable balance of payments position. As the President has said 'A modern industrial society cannot rise on the basis of continuing low levels of productivity and high costs of production. Therefore, paragraph 52 of the Presidential Address has very well mentioned that objective. So, there are (a) concrete proposals for changing electoral and other laws, (b) administrative reforms calculated to improve efficiency and (c) enforcing of accountability. This is how the Presidential Address refers to improving the situation of services and doing away with the evils of the electoral system. So, there is a positive assertion of this in the President's itself. There is acknowledgement that the communalism continues to pose a serious threat to national unity. It is being reinforced by religious fundamentalism and fanaticism. So, nobody can say that the Government is not aware of those factual conditions which have gripped our Indian society, we have not been away from this.

\* The reconstituted National Integration

Council will have to act decisively and systematically to strengthen secularism. This is a positive step mentioned in the Presidential Address. Last year promises have been fulfilled in a substantial measure, such as, anti-defection law, enunciation of a new education policy, new textile policy, establishment of a Central Ganga Authority, creation of a wasteland development board.

There is a solemn declaration to fight terrorism inside the country and also to support international efforts to combat international terrorism. So, we have<sup>v</sup> also recognised the right of the people under colonial occupation to use all means to attain their just objective.

I was listening to the speech by a Member of the DMK side. Love for persons of Indian origin is not the DMK party's monopoly. They are not the only Indians who have paid for the happenings in Sri Lanka. We are equally paying for that but the difference is only in methods. After all, when we are bound far peace in the international arena, we cannot attack Sri Lanka. We cannot declare that we

shall instigate insurgency. We are making all possible negotiations for a peaceful solution, but the Address does refer to such problems. Particularly, the Sri Lankan problems have also been referred to separately in the Address. Somebody was saying that Pakistan nuclear armament is not referred to in the Address. It is very well referred to. Paragraph 38 makes a mention of this. So, efforts have been made towards resolving tension in major areas by advocacy of peace and nuclear disarmament. So, that is the policy. How can we deviate from that policy in case of Sri Lanka or any other country? No doubt, they are the people who come from Tamil Nadu but in any case they are the Indian people and we have also the same feelings for them. They took part in launching South Asian Association of Regional Co-operation launched in Dhaka in December, 1985. In Commonwealth meeting in the Bahama in October in adoption of the Commonwealth accord on South Africa by demanding mandatory action against the racist regime in South Africa. We remain concerned about the ethnic situation in Sri Lanka. We are concerned about Pakistan's continued pursuit of a nuclear weapon capability. We welcome the resumption of high level dialogue between USSR and USA. It is imperative to take urgent steps to bring about a freeze in the nuclear arms race and a comprehensive nuclear weapon test ban treaty. Likewise we want peace in Iran and Iraq. Every where we want that there should not be conflicts of this nature. Government deplors the fact that Palestinian people continue to be denied their inalienable rights, including right to an\* independent homeland.

So, Presidential Address has also very comprehensively taken note of the obtaining situation on the economic front, the raising of the poorer people from below the poverty line to above that level, the anti-poverty programmes, 'garibi hatao' and of course for that we have thought about resource mobilization, we have thought about expanding our exports. In the international arena we have well considered how to establish peace, solidarity and amity, how international problems should not be solv-

ed by resorting to arms, by conflicts, by wars, by destruction, how people should live in peace and harmony. We have thought about ushering in an India which is marching forward with prosperity and progress of its poorer people in prime object. But since we want to enter the 21st century like all the developed countries like America and USSR, we want to go at a higher speed. Therefore there is a desire to have a quantum jump.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [Dr. (SHRI-MATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I would request the hon. Member to conclude now.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: Very well, I am just concluding, Madam. So we desire to have a quantum jump. The Seventh Plan, and the Eighth and Ninth Plans—these fifteen years—will be crucial for India and we will be able to fulfil our objective and reach the stage where we want to reach only by sacrifice and hardwork. With these words, I conclude and support the Motion of Thanks for Presidential Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRI-MATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Shri Kishor Mehta.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SITARAM KESARI): Madam, please call two speakers from this side. Before adjourning for lunch, it was decided that two will be from this side and one from that side.

उपसभापति [डा० (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी] : ऐसा ही हो रहा है

SHRI KISHOR MEHTA (Gujarat): Madam, I rise to place before this august House certain facts for earnest consideration. These facts relate to promises given on the floor of this House as well as that of Lok Sabha. It does not stop there. Even President passes an order and the Governor of Gujarat has declared in his inaugural speech to the Assembly that these promises and pronouncements are not being kept; on the contrary they are being revoked. Here is a case where one Presidential Order is repealed by another before it is implemented. It was on 31st August, 1976, that on the floor of this august House

[Shri Kishor Mehta] Mr. Om Mehta, the then Minister of State for Home Affairs declared—and I quote:

"I will now start with the point raised by Mr. Mahida, who was the last speaker. He said that when President's rule is there, why should we have a Development Board for Kutch? Sir, this is a demand which has been persistently made not only in this House but in the other House also.

Shri M. Mehta, who is a Member of Parliament from the Lok Sabha, has been raising it persistently in that House and in our Consultative Committee meetings. He has been raising it and he is very anxious about it because he says that Kutch is the most backward area of Gujarat—where there are no rains, nothing grows there and most of the Kutchis have to migrate from Kutch in search of livelihood."

Shri Om Mehta further said;

"The Government had seen the pros and cons, consulted all concerned, whether it is Planning Commission or others and have taken a decision that for Kutch, there will be a Kutch Development Board and this has been done when President's rule has been there. So, there will be a Development Board for the Kutch district, so that it can see to its development and have the people's participation also."

Madam, you can see that this is a categorical promise to the people of Kutch. Still further, on 1st September 1976 Shri Brahmananda Reddy, the then Home Minister, declared on the floor of the Lok Sabha:—

"Sir, another point of great importance was made and that has also been agitating the minds of the people of Kutch. Kutch was formerly a part of State and later on after reorganisation when it came under Gujarat the people of Kutch had been claiming particularly my friend Dr. Mahipatray Mehta, that a separate development board has to be established for Kutch. Sir, in this respect I must also thank the Prime Minister for having

taken keen interest in this matter. She has been to the Kutch area. I have, also been there recently. Previously the erstwhile Government of Bombay and the Government of Gujarat were taking a stand which was not very helpful. However, the present administration has taken a helpful attitude and has recommended to the Government that a development board under Article 371 (2) be established so that the development in that backward area can be accelerated.

This is a very good thing so far as the million or so people of the Kutch area are concerned. I hope several steps will be taken after the Development Board is constituted, sufficient funds will be earmarked and development schemes taken up in right earnest to alleviate the sufferings of these people who have been suffering for a long time."

Madam, I again repeat, this is a categorical promise given on the floor of both the Houses of Parliament that the Development Board under Article 371(2) of the Constitution is being given to the district of Kutch. But unfortunately this promise—a constitutional obligation—remains unfulfilled up to this moment. It does not rest here.

Madam, our late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi arrived in Bombay to receive felicitations for her promise of granting this Development Board under Article 371(2) of the Constitution being fulfilled in the Vishwa Kutch Conference organized by the people of Kutch from all over the country and abroad on 12th December 1976. The then Governor of Bombay expired on the previous night and the conference was postponed after passing of a condolence resolution and reading of the message from Shrimati Gandhi. In this message she said:

"The formation of this Development Board will help to devise further schemes."

Madam, the then acting President, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan, passed the order granting the Development Board under Article 371(2) of



the Constitution of India for the region of Kutch on 28th February 1977. The order reads:—

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (2) of article 371 of the Constitution, I, Basappa Danappa Jatti, Vice-President, acting as President of India, hereby make, with respect to the State of Gujarat, the following order, namely:—

1. *Short title and Commencement:* (1) This order may be called the State of Gujarat (Special Responsibility of Governor for Kutch) order, 1977.

(2) It shall come into force at once. 2. *Special responsibility of Governor:* (1) The Governor of Gujarat shall have special responsibility for the establishment of a development board for Kutch and for the other matters referred to in clause (2) of article 371 of the Constitution in respect of that area.

(2) The Governor shall, in the discharge of his special responsibility under this order, act in his discretion."

The Governor of Gujarat, while inaugurating the Assembly session of 1977 declared in his speech of having received this order. The President in his order has said "It shall come into force at once." The then Congress Government headed by Shri Madhavsingh Solanki totally ignored this order of the President till Lt remained in power, that is, 10-4-1977. The Congress Party was defeated in April 1977 and the Janata Party came to power at the Centre and the State, both. The Janata Party also defied this order. At last this order was repealed after about a year on 17-2-1978 by the then President, Shri Neelam Sanjiva Reddy.

After that also before the Congress Government came in power, Shrimati Indira Gandhi repeated her promise several times in election public meetings in Kutch and Madhavsingh Solanki also promised apologetically in the Press to grant this Development Board, if they won the Assembly elections of 1981. The Congress won the elections and came in power at the Centre and State, both. At this time, Shrimati Gandhi and Shri Madhavsingh Solanki both betrayed the people of Kutch and refused categorically to fulfil this

promise of granting this development board.

From the above two points it clearly arises that (1) promises given on the floor of the House are not being fulfilled by the Congress Government; (2) Even the President's order is being flouted by the State Government, whether it is the Congress Government or the Janata Government and no action is taken by the Centre. On the contrary, the next President repeals the order of his predecessor.

The present Chief Minister of Gujarat, Shri Amarsinh Chaudhary visited famine-stricken Kutch very recently. Addressing a Press Conference at Bhuj, he said that he did not know anything of such development board to be granted to Kutch. What an apathy. While in Maharashtra, the ruling Congress Government with the cooperation of all the opposition has passed a resolution unanimously in the Assembly to grant such development board under Article 371(2) of the Constitution to its various backward units of Vidarbha and Marathwada. I congratulate Maharashtra and its people for such a step of cooperation for its development of backward areas.

Here a question arises for me: if Kutch is also one of the most backward units of the three units of Gujarat i.e. Kutch, Saurashtra and the rest of Gujarat; and if this is an attitude of the Government of Gujarat towards its backward border area of Kutch, then why should Kutch remain a part of Gujarat? Madam, let me tell you, if this is an attitude of Gujarat towards Kutch, why should Kutch not be a separate State as it was in the beginning? I have no time, otherwise I would have narrated the injustice meted out to Kutch from all directions and from Gujarat, whether it is Narmada, thermal power or in manufacturing aluminium from its bauxite etc. All parties in power in Gujarat have always opposed even the creation of an agency for its development i.e. this kind of development board. Why should then Kutch remain in Gujarat? I will ask the Prime Minister through you madam, who creates regionalism? I would request you, madam, this august House and the Prime Minister to fulfil the pro-

[Shri Kishor Mehta] mises given on the floor of the House by the Congress Party.

श्री रामचन्द्र भारद्वाज (बिहार) : महोदया, किसी कवि ने कहा है—

“सब मंदिर से लौट चले, अब मैं जाता हूँ ।  
सब ने गाई टेक, अन्तरा में गाता हूँ ॥”

इन चार दिनों से हमने टेक सुनी है, लेकिन अन्तरा की कुछ बातें मुझे भी करनी हैं । मैं आपको आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ कि आपने इसका अवसर मुझे प्रदान किया ।

राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण दरअसल एक निर्मल दर्पण होता है जिसमें राष्ट्र की एक वर्ष की प्रगति यात्रा का विवरण होता है । हमने उसको ध्यानपूर्वक सुना और पढ़ा । यों अनेक हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग हैं या दल हैं जिन्होंने इसका वायकाट किया, उसमें भाग नहीं लिया ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : हम डिबेट में तो भाग ले रहे हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री रामचन्द्र भारद्वाज : मालवीय जी, चुप होकर सुनिये, मैंने आपको धैर्यपूर्वक सुना है । विरोधी दल वालों ने उसमें भाग नहीं लिया । शायद यह सोच और समझ कर कि इनके जाने से अनेक कुसियाँ खाली रह जाएंगी अथवा इनकी छाया से सूरज का उजाला ढक जाएगा ।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण से एक साफ चित्र उभरा है, साफ तस्वीर सामने आई है । हम देख रहे हैं कि पिछले एक वर्ष में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में कितनी कुछ किया गया है और कितनी कुछ यात्रा हमने तय की है । महोदया, दरअसल प्रगति

3.03 P. M.

और विकास की नींव या यों कहिये प्रगति एवं विकास का मार्ग पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने प्रशस्त किया था, इंदिरा गांधी जी हुनेमें उस पर चढ़ना सिखाया और आज हमारे प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में यह उनकी इच्छा है कि हम उस पर दौड़ते हुए चलें और विश्व प्रतियोगिता में अग्रवर्ग आयें । इसी दृष्टि को लेकर हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी इस काम को आगे बढ़ा रहे हैं । यदि एक वर्ष के कार्यकालों का आप आकलन करें तो आपको यह पता

चलेगा कि इसमें किस हद तक हमें सफलता मिली है । महोदया, स्टील के उत्पादन में मूनाफा आने लगा है, खाद का इंतजाम हो गया है, खाद्य-पदार्थ पुरे हैं, रेल द्वारा माल को रिफाईंड हुआ है, प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष दोनों करों की वसूली में रिफाईंड रहा, उत्पादकता में प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में वृद्धि हुई । यह तो टेक की बात हुई । यदि इसमें अंतरा की बात की जाय तो वह यह है कि प्रगति और विकास एक निरंतर प्रक्रिया का नाम है । उसके मार्ग में मील का पत्थर जरूर होता है । उसका अंत नहीं होता । विकास का मार्ग ऐसा होता है जिस पर आजीवन, अनन्तकाल तक आदमी को चलना होता है । तो विकास की दिशा में जब हम चल रहे हैं तो हम कितनी तेजी से चल रहे हैं यह जानने और समझने की बात है । यह नहीं कहा जा सकता है कि विकास में हम सब कुछ पा चुके हैं । क्योंकि इससे आगे भविष्य में जहाँ कहीं खड़े हो जायेंगे वहाँ हमारे विकास की गाड़ी रुक जायेगी और हम फलतः वह नहीं पा सकेंगे जो हम पाना चाहते हैं । इसलिये मैंने निवेदन किया कि विकास एक निरंतर प्रक्रिया है और उस प्रक्रिया के हम अंग हैं ।

महोदया, हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने यह वायदा किया था कि हम एक निर्मल और स्वच्छ शासन देंगे । उन्होंने यह भी वायदा दिया था कि वह एक स्वस्थ जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को आगे बढ़ायेंगे । जहाँ तक स्वच्छ और निर्मल वातावरण का सवाल है, राष्ट्रीय जीवन में मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक अभूतपूर्व घटना है । यह एक ऐतिहासिक घटना है जो वे एन्टी-डिफेक्शन बिल लेकर आये और उसने कानून का रूप धारण किया । उन्होंने लोकतंत्र को मजबूत करने की बात कही थी और उन्होंने एक बहुत बड़ा खतरा उठाकर असम और पंजाब में चुनाव कराये और संसार के सामने यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि लोकतंत्र में हमारी आस्था कितनी अडिग है । हम केवल सत्तावादी नहीं हैं, हम लोकतंत्रवादी भी हैं । यह हमारी एक महान उपलब्धि है । इन उपलब्धियों को अगर आप छोटे

दायरे में आंकने की कोशिश करेंगे तो यह देश के प्रति न्याय नहीं होगा। महोदया, विभागों का उन्होंने बंटवारा किया है और काम को तेजी से बढ़ाने के लिये हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने नये-नये विभागों को जोड़ा और तोड़ा है। अक्सर हम सदन में बात करते थे कि इस विभाग से, उस विभाग से बात करनी होगी तभी एक प्रापर कोऑर्डिनेशन हो सकेगा, तभी एक तालमेल की बात होगी तभी काम आगे बढ़ेगा। उन्होंने स्वयं इस पर विचार किया और ट्रांसपोर्ट मिनिस्ट्री को एक किया। उन्होंने ह्यूमन रिसोर्स विभाग बनाया। आज तक हम शिक्षा की बात करते रहे, कला और संस्कृति की बात करते रहे, खेल-कूद की बात करते रहे। तीनों एक दूसरे से जुड़ी हुई चीजें हैं और तीनों का उद्देश्य मानव जीवन को सही दिशा में निर्मित कर उसे विश्व नागरिक बनाना है। इस दृष्टि से, इसको देखकर खेल तथा संस्कृति के मामले में हमें विश्व में आदान-प्रदान के स्तर पर आना है। इसलिये इन तीनों विभागों को हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने जोड़कर एक महत्वपूर्ण काम किया है। जो हम खान को, पानी, को तथा अन्य चीजों को रिसोर्स समझते थे, वे हमारे रिसोर्स सीमित थे आज वह मान बैठे हैं कि मानव इस पृथ्वी का भाग नहीं है वह सब से बड़ा रिसोर्स है। इसलिए ह्यूमन रिसोर्स की जब बात आती है, मानव संसाधन की जब बात आती है तो उसको जो दिशा देने की उन्होंने कोशिश की है कला और संस्कृति से मढ़ कर, खेल-कूद और मनोरंजन से मढ़ कर, जीवन की तमाम आवश्यकताओं से मढ़ कर यह दिशा अत्यंत ही उल्लेखनीय है। इसलिए मैं मानता हूँ कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हमारे ऊपर बड़ी जवाबदेहियाँ हैं। आज विश्व-विद्यालयों में अन्तरेस्ट है। शिक्षक हड़ताल पर जाते हैं। छात्र क्लासरूम में बैठे होते हैं, शिक्षक गेट पर आभरण अनशन पर होते हैं। एक अजीब घुटन की स्थिति है—शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में। आज जब हम इसको मानव संसाधन मानने लगे हैं शिक्षा का मन्दिर एक वैसा मन्दिर होता है, शिक्षा का मन्दिर एक वैसा कारखाना होता है जिसमें देश का चरित्र

ढलता है और उस चरित्र को ढालने में अगर कोई कोर कसर रखने की कोशिश की गई तो मैं नहीं समझता कि जिस प्रगति और जिस विकास की यात्रा को हम तय करना चाहते हैं, हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी करना चाहते हैं उसको हम पूरा कर पाएंगे। शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में मैं दो शब्द निवेदित करना चाहूँगा, आपकी आज्ञा से। इस क्षेत्र में बहुत कुछ कड़ाई की जरूरत है। कड़ाई की जरूरत इस भावने में है जहाँ पाठ्यक्रम की एकस्पता का सवाल है जहाँ पढ़ने-पढ़ाने के स्तर की एकस्पता का सवाल है, जहाँ छात्रों के रहन-सहन की एकस्पता का सवाल है वह तो अपनी जगह पर है उनके अलावा भी कुछ सवाल हैं। उसके अलावा सवाल यह है कि जब शिक्षा हमारी कनक्रिट लिस्ट में है जब चांसलर हमारे अप्वाइंट किये हुए होते हैं तो वाइस चांसलर को हम स्टेट की मर्जी पर छोड़ कर उनकी नियुक्ति को स्टेट की मर्जी पर छोड़ कर प्रदूषित वातावरण पैदा करते हैं। इससे वहाँ पर छोटी राजनीति होने लगती है और मैं कैम्पस में अन्तरेस्ट शुरू हो जाता है कभी आवश्यकता पड़ने पर मैं इस पर विस्तार से कहूँगा मगर अभी मैं इतना निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि शिक्षा को अनिवार्य सेवा अवश्य घोषित कर दिया जाए। इसेशियल सर्विसेज में शिक्षा को आना चाहिये क्योंकि अगर हमारा राष्ट्र शिक्षित नहीं होगा, हमारे बच्चे अगर अनुशासित नहीं होंगे तो हमारा भविष्य कभी भी प्रभावपूर्ण नहीं होगा और कभी भी हम अपनी उज्ज्वलता पर नहीं पहुँचेंगे जहाँ की कल्पना हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ले कर बैठे हुए हैं। (समय की घंटी)

दूसरी बात जो अन्तिम बात है क्योंकि घंटी बज चुकी है, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि साम्प्रदायिकता सदा बना को तोड़ती है और राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी अपने अभिभाषण में इस ओर इशारा किया है कि साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों का कस कर मुकाबला करने की जरूरत है, दबा कर रखने की जरूरत है। आज इस देश में जो कुछ हो रहा है, देश के एक कोने से ले कर दूसरे कोने तक हम देख रहे हैं और सुन रहे हैं, उससे हमें यह लगता है कि

साम्प्रदायिकता जो निरंकुशता को और बढ़ी जा रही है, स्वच्छता के नाम पर, उस स्वच्छता पर अंकुश लगाने की जरूरत है। मैं इस सरकार से और अपने आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी से यह आशा करता हूँ कि इस साम्प्रदायिक जहर को सदा के लिए समाप्त करने के लिए वे कठोर से कठोर कदम उठावेंगे। आपने मुझे समय दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका बड़ा आभारी हूँ।

SHRI M.S. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. The mover of the motion, my senior colleague, Mr. N.K.P. Salve has spoken at length about the present policy of the Government. He has also spoken of the achievements made under the dynamic leadership of our beloved Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. I would not, therefore, like to repeat them. In the President's speech, a reference is made to the drinking water scarcity. Though huge amounts were spent year after year, very little progress has been made in this respect. It is, therefore, necessary that this problem should be tackled in a more effective way than just giving more funds to the respective State Governments. Our agricultural front has made enormous progress. But much more is possible. The main hurdle on the agricultural front is lack of adequate water. For providing lift irrigation, enormous funds have been spent by the Government and by the farmers themselves. But this could not be fully exploited due to paucity of electricity. When electric power is not available, the farmers have to depend on diesel generation of power. But the cost of diesel generation of power made lift irrigation highly uneconomical. That situation is made still worse by the recent hike in the prices of petroleum products. The average Indian is not able to understand the justification of the increase in the prices of petroleum products particularly when there is a fall in the international oil prices.

The continued fighting on the part of the Government against black money is appreciated by one and all. All sections of the people are quite willing to extend their fullest support to the Government

efforts in this cleaning operation. But still the menace of black money and corruption in public life continues to pose a big problem. What has already been done is not even a fraction of what requires to be done. It is essential that the present trend should not only continue but it should be made more effective. I have a feeling that in several quarters of the Government, particularly with the State Governments, there is a complete lack of a sense of priority. When there are so many burning problems on hand, less important issues are given priority by several State Governments.

The Government has put greater emphasis on, and allotted more money for anti-poverty programmes. Money alone cannot make these programmes successful. What is required is sincerity and hard work on the part of the institutions and individuals who are entrusted with this job. Our past experience clearly shows that sincerity and hard work are conspicuous more by their absence with regard to number of agencies involved in this great task. I, therefore, suggest that there should be a monitoring agency headed by a judicial officer and consisting of equal number of representatives of officials and non-officials, particularly the elected representatives of the people at all the State and district levels.

Apart from the anti-poverty programmes the people will be more benefited if prohibition is strictly enforced and the lotteries eliminated throughout the country.

It is heartening to note that the steps already taken by the Finance Minister to enforce a sense of financial discipline in all the Ministries are proving effective. I congratulate the Finance Minister for his success in this regard. But still there are lots of wasteful expenditure in several departments of the Government, nationalised banks and public sector undertakings. When the prices of petroleum products were increased, one of the reasons given was that it was intended to restrain the use of petrol, diesel, etc. A lot of petrol and diesel is used by the Government departments and the institutions in the public sector. In several cases, the number of vehicles and the manner in

which they are used is shockingly too much. If attempts could be made to reduce the wasteful use of these vehicles even by 10 per cent, that itself will be a good example for others to follow.

I was expecting some reference in the President's Address for speedy implementation of the linking of Ganga and Cauvery project, which has been only in the talking stage for several years. If this project is implemented, it will change the face of the whole country, and the country will come to the forefront in food production among all the countries of the world. Particularly for a State like Tamil Nadu, which is starved of water and power, the implementation of this scheme is very essential.

The much-talked-about Sethusamudram project is still kept in suspense. This project was envisaged to strengthen the capacity of the sea ports in the south. A large number of steamers coming from the west do not touch our eastern ports like Madras and Visakhapatnam and they call at Colombo only. If the Sethusamudram project is completed, our eastern ports will benefit to a large extent. Apart from this, the project is also vital from the defence point of view because of the present tension in the Indian Ocean. I appeal to the honourable Prime Minister to reconsider the need for clearing the Sethusamudram Project.

The atrocities perpetrated by the Sri Lankan Government against the Sri Lankan citizens of Indian origin are on the increase. Everyday innocent, unarmed, people are butchered and their women-folk are being raped. It is unfortunate that the Sri Lankan Government has reacted in an uncivilised and hasty manner towards the views expressed by our Minister of External Affairs in the recent discussion on the subject in Parliament. This outburst is a clear indication of the lack of bona fides on the part of Sri Lanka in finding a peaceful solution of the problem with the good offices of the India Government. Sometimes they talk about a political solution while at other times they talk about a military solution, but throughout by their action they have proved that they were not interested in any solution, neither po-

litical nor military but their main aim is only to see the dissolution of the Tamil-speaking population in Sri Lanka as a whole. This issue is hanging fire for the past several years and the patience of the people in India, particularly in Tamil Nadu, is fast running out. It is now clear that the Sri Lankan Government has only been gaining time to crush the ethnic minority by pretending to have negotiations. By the recent note given by the Sri Lankan Government they have shown their true colours. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government of India should reconsider their attitude towards this problem and come out with concrete measures to find an early solution.

The new textile policy envisages availability of cheaper cloth to the common man and a higher rate of modernisation in all sectors of the textile industry. Still there is apprehension in many quarters that the new textile policy will only harm the handloom weavers. I appeal to the Government to make a study of the impact so far of the implementation of the new textile policy and effect necessary changes.

With these words I thank you for giving me this opportunity and I support the Motion.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Vice-Chairman, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to voice the feelings of the ulcerated hearts of the people of Jammu and Kashmir on the grave omission, a convenient omission in the President's Address about Jammu and Kashmir. Ever since the defector minority Government was foisted on the unwilling people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on 2nd July 1984 we have been voicing our feeling and expressing our view that the defector Government will be more concerned with the distribution of the fishes and loaves rather than doing justice to the people's cause, and since then we have seen all sorts of corruption, nepotism, favouritism, mismanagement and malpractices in every walk of life. Talk of corruption—there are such instances of corruption that every patriot of this country has to bow his head in shame for having such a government in this biggest democracy in the world. As

[Shri Gulam Mohi-ud-din Shawl] late as 16th February at a Cabinet meeting held at Jammu under the chairmanship of Shri G.M. Shah, the Chief Minister, the Chief Minister asked his own Agriculture Minister, "You have grabbed Rs. 6 lakhs", and the Agriculture Minister countered "You have grabbed Rs. 28 lakhs", and they both had a scuffle in that meeting but for the timely intervention of the Director General of Police, Mr. M. M. Khajuria and the Chief Secretary of the State, Mr. Thakkar. This is the sorry state of affairs in the State. There are many instances where people who were heavily in debt and did not have even a mat to sit on at their homes are masters of millions living a five star hotel styles in their posh bungalows. It is these people who are now rolling in wealth and minting money, all at the cost of the poor taxpayer in the State. But nothing is done for the people of the betterment of the State.

Then, Madam, I come to the other aspects. Even the tourists from the other parts of the country are not spared by this Government in harassment and other crimes. Last year, we had seen the reports about one Shrimati Kailash Devi who went to the Vaishno Devi shrine along with her husband. My friends know where this temple is in the State. When she returned, she fell ill unfortunately. She was admitted into the government hospital, Jammu where she was raped throughout the night till morning and she told the harrowing details of this atrocity to the police in the morning. She died soon after ! There was a total *bandh* in Jammu and there were demonstrations in other cities in Jammu and Kashmir and in the neighbouring States against the State Government. But the Government did nothing to punish the culprits. Then again, in Kashmir, in the Dal Lake area, last year one virgin was raped by some persons and she died later on! It is such a sorry state of affairs there that no culprit was brought to book and nobody was arrested. Then we also see the nepotism, the corruption and the maladministration that are so rampant with no parallel elsewhere.

Now I come to the present situation. We are extremely sorry over what has

been happening there. It is a place where communal harmony and amity between the Hindus and the Muslims ruled for centuries and it is a place where *rishis* and *munis* lived. It is a land where, at the time of the raid by the tribesmen, we were roaming about in the valley and elsewhere shouting,

“शेरे काश्मीर का क्या इशार्द,  
हिन्दू-मुस्लिम सिख इतिहाद ।”

and it is a land where when the refugees had come from Muzaffarabad and other places where the raids had taken place and from where they were driven out of their homes, when they had reached this place, called Anantnag, 21 tongawallahs from my town, which is very much in the news these days—it is Anantnag—took them to Jammu City. But, on their return, all the tongawallahs were massacred near Nagrota. But, even then, we held aloft the banner of communal harmony. We did not allow the people to misbehave and we did not allow the miscreants and the goondas and the anti-social elements to come out into the streets and harass the poor and the innocent people belonging to minority community. This was the case not only earlier, but also when Sheikh Abdullah was the head of the administration. When he was the head of the administration and when the war was going on with Pakistan—this is all history and I do not say anything which is not there on record and so many people have seen this—there were certain aberrations committed near Srinagar on the western side at Barzula by the Indian army and certain Muslims were killed by them, were shot dead by them. But Sheikh Abdullah and his party, the National Conference, went round the city and other places saying that if there was anything done by the army which was wrong, the people were to be saved and nothing wrong should be done to them. Again, in 1980, when there was some trouble in Srinagar in Lal Chowk with the Indian army, this Chief Minister, this stalwart, the tallest leader of that State, came out at 2 o'clock in the morning, I should say—at night—and was telling the people, "Don't take law into your hands". He saved the situation. This is

how he was pacifying them and he was telling them that nothing wrong should be done to the minority people and if anybody did anything wrong, he would deal with him firmly. This was the situation then as against the present Babri masjid incident and other things. Again in 1978, when Sheikh Abdullah was the Chief Minister there was an agitation by the Muslims of Mottan. That is a place near-about Anantnag where a particular area which was encircled by Maharaja Hari Singh during the agitation of 1931 there was a demand that there is a mosque in that encircled area. But Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chief Minister, said at that time: "I will not allow you to open the encircled area to be used as a mosque. He appointed a Commission and that Commissions' verdict went against the Muslims who stood against that decision. There was a big agitation and three Muslims was killed by the Police and curfew was imposed there to curb the agitation. Sheikh Abdullah said: Nothing doing; as far as law and communal harmony are concerned, they are to be maintained at any cost, and that communal harmony cannot be allowed to be disturbed. Madam, I belong to that place. I went to Kashmir and bowed my head in shame. I went there on 22nd February to see for myself what is going on there. Anantnag and other towns were under curfew. People were harassed. They were not allowed to get even the necessities of life from anywhere, because there were para-military forces there who did not know who is who; they were misled. There was total lack of civil administration. It was quite indifferent to the atrocities committed on the people. Villages were burnt by miscreants. But to crown it all, none of them was hauled up. Nobody was arrested. Instead, on political grounds hundreds of innocent people are victimised and they have been arrested and harassed.

Madam, one thing is obvious. Ever since the 2nd of July, 1984, they dubbed our leader, Farooq Abdullah, as anti-India, communal or sessionist or whatever it is; they have used enough of adjectives for him, a platheora of adjectives, but none would stick to him. He is the leader who has always worked for communal

harmony and place. But ever since that lime "what crime have we committed?" Ask the Muslims of Kashmir. We believe in democracy. We believe in Secularism. We believe in. . . (*Interruptions*) We acceded to India. We rejected the two-nation theory. (*Interruptions*)

My point is that when we acceded to India, it was on secular lines. Our dedication is to the secular form. Although every society has a good number and a bad number of bad people. It has a good share of miscreants and anti-social elements who exploit and misuse an opportunity we in Kashmir have a little number of bad people. But right from 1947, 1953, 1975 up to the 2nd of July 1984, we have not allowed anybody to misuse the power or create any trouble what is called communal trouble either in Jammu or Srinagar. They raised their ugly heads but we crushed them and there. Now what is going on: .As I said, I went there. < *Time Bell rings* > I do not say that the Kashmir pandits are negligible minority because (hey are highly cultured and educated, and of course vocal, but helpless persons as far their number goes. (*Time Bell rings*) with no police force to protect them, they are all the more helpless. I told them, whether it was Mr. Ashwani Kumar or others who wanted to visit Kashmir now, what to do there. I told them that for God's sake and for the sake of justice, don't ask anything from any leader. Approach the victims and the victimised people of the State and the minorities. They will let you know who the culprits are. They will tell you whether those culprits have been brought to book or whether they are still at large and scot free. Madam, these are the wounds inflicted on the communal harmony of Jammu and Kashmir. We don't know such a thing happening ever since we can remember. I do not know any such thing in my living memory. We have not read it in history. But this time a wily Chief Minister, just to retain himself in power, just to blackmail the Centre, just *td* divert the attention of the people and the Centre itself from his misdeeds, creates these troubles. He is in alliance with the anti-national and anti-social elements in Jammu as well as in Kashmir.

[Shri Gulam Mohi-ud-din Shawl]

Madam, you see that the Governor's report was received by the Central government two months before indicating that trouble is brewing there. Unfortunately, for the people of the State, they did not take any action at the right moment. The trouble is there. *(Time Bell rings)* We have extended our cooperation long since. Tell us and we are ready to lay down our lives and to sacrifice our lives for the protection, the honour and safety of our brethren, the members of the minorities. But let the centre take some positive action. What we desire and we have been craving for the last 18 months is to ask you just now what is the consideration for withdrawing that support to the defectors Government. You have got laurels and bouquets while you passed the anti-defection Act here in Parliament. But see the spirit of it. How much violence was done to this spirit of the anti-defection Act. A minority Government with 13 defectors of the Assembly was installed. Out of 13, 2 members are nominated. The Chief Minister, the Deputy Chief Minister, the Revenue Minister and some others are Members of the Upper House. The Chief Minister has never fought even a Panchayat or a Civic election or a Town Area election. He has never stood for election. He got nomination or got elected to the Upper House you know how. Madam, the question is that there should be only the good of the people at heart.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRI-MATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I request the hon. Members to conclude now.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Please rise above these party considerations. *(Interruptions)* I am addressing the Chair I know that from ruling party side there are a number of people, predominant number of Members, who agree with me. The only trouble is that they cannot voice their feelings. I have every respect and regard for them. But we, the members of National Conference under DR. Farooq Abdullah, on our part are ready to cooperate to restore democracy. Tell us in what respect we should do that. But we shall not allow

this nonsense to go on in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. But I would repeat. Kindly realise what has been your mistake or what you have done in the name of democracy to the people of Kashmir. The whole world is watching. Unfortunately, the hon. President has omitted it in his address. *(Interruptions)* Madam, they say peace is restored in Kashmir. But it is peace of the grave. Our hearts are sad and we crave for justice. The sooner you withdraw your support, to this minority government, the better it will be for your Party and for the State of Jammu and Kashmir and also for the country, for the nation and for the humanity at large. Thank you.

श्री रामचन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव सार्वभौम ने रखा है उस के समर्थन में मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

यह सच्चाई है कि जब हम लोग देश की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे तो हमें तो उम्मीद नहीं थी कि हमारे सामने देश आजाद हो जायेगा। खाली हम को ही नहीं, जो उन दिनों अंग्रेज-परस्त लोग थे, जो अंग्रेजों की हुकूमत कर रहे थे आजादी के वक्त, वे भी कहा करते थे कि इस तिरंगे झंडे से या अहिंसा से आजादी नहीं ली जा सकती। तब कांग्रेस के सिपाही और हम लोग एक गाना गाते थे—

“ऐ मादरे हिन्द गमगीन न हो  
दिन अच्छे आने वाले हैं,  
आजादी का पैगाम हमी,  
अब जल्द सुनाने वाले हैं।”

और यह भी कि—“नहीं रहेगी यह विदेशी सरकार नहीं रहेगी।” यह भी एक गाना गाते थे। यह गाने गा-गा कर और जेल और फाँसी पर झूल कर हम ने आजादी के सपने को तो साकार कर दिया और हम तो अपने को सौभाग्यशाली समझते हैं कि हमारे सामने आजादी आ गयी। यह सच है कि हम ने आजादी देख ली और



भाग भी ली, राजसत्ता में रह कर भी, लेकिन वह लोग बधाई के पात्र है, कि जो देश की आजादी के लिये बलिदान हो गये, लेकिन इस आजादी को देख नहीं सके। आज जो देश के हालात हैं इन दिनों, मैं तो कहूँ कि हमारे देश में बहुत कृतघ्नता है, और अहसानफरामोशी है। काश, इतना बलिदान किसी और देश ने किया होता तो उन बलिदानों की कहानियाँ हजारों साल तक गायी जाती। हमारे यहाँ कांग्रेस शताब्दी समारोह मनाया गया इस साल। उस की आलोचनायें बड़े व्यंग्यात्मक ढंग से हुई। मुझे मालूम है कि आजादी के लिये काम करने वाले, आजादी के लिये शहीद होने वाले, बलिदान होने वाले परिवार और उन के लोग आज कांग्रेस पार्टी में नहीं हैं और दूसरी पार्टियों में चले गये हैं। अगर वे लोग कुछ आलोचना करते, कुछ कहते तो बात सनस में आती, मगर मैंने श्री जयबन्त सिंह जी को सुना। मैं जयबन्त सिंह जी को अच्छा सदस्य मानता हूँ। वे अच्छे सवाल उठाते हैं, अच्छी जानकारी रखते हैं, लेकिन शताब्दी समारोह को लेकर जिस तरह से छोटे दर्जे की आलोचना उन्होंने की उसके लिए मैं यही कह सकता हूँ कि जयबन्त सिंह जी और उनकी पार्टी आजादी के वक्त में कहाँ थे यह उनको ही सोचना चाहिये। या दूसरे शब्दों में किसानों की भाषा में कहूँ कि हमारे गांव में कहते हैं कि गर्मवती की पीड़ा को जाने क्या बांझ? बेचारी को क्या पीड़ा होती है उसको बांझ नहीं जान सकते। देश की आजादी के लिए जिन्होंने बलिदान किया है, उनकी कीमत को जो देश के लिए बलिदान नहीं हुये नहीं जान सकते, उनकी कीमत को वे नहीं जान सकते। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहूँगा कि देश सबका है, सबको उस पर गर्व होना चाहिये। जो आज के आंतरिक और बाह्य हालात हैं, जो देश के सामने ज्वलंत समस्याएँ हैं—आंतरिक और बाह्य—हमें उन पर विचार करना चाहिये। मुझे याद है बचपन में हम जयबन्त और मोरजाफर की कहानियाँ सुना करते थे जिनकी वजह से देश को कितनी दुःखद गुलामी भोगनी पड़ी और कितने ही दिनों तक गुलाम

रहना पड़ा। काश्मीर के शाह साहब कुछ कह रहे थे, या यू० पी० के या दिल्ली के हालात हैं या साम्प्रदायिक तनाव या भाषा को लेकर या पार्टियों के आपस के मतभेदों को लेकर जो रोज सवाल उठाये जाते हैं मैं तो इतना ही कह सकता हूँ कि आज मोरजाफर और जयबन्तों की तादाद कहीं बढ़ तो नहीं रही है। कुछ जयबन्तों, मोरजाफरों की वजह से देश हजारों साल गुलाम रहा, आज हमारे देश में फिर ऐसे लोगों की तादाद तो नहीं बढ़ रही है। विदेशी हुकूमत से कांग्रेस ने आजादी ली और खाली अंग्रेजों से ही ली हो ऐसा नहीं रहा, यहाँ पुर्तगाली भी थे, कुछ क्षेत्र में फ्रांसीसी भी थे और राजे महाराजाओं की चौबे और पांचवे दर्जे की हुकूमत थी। इन सारी हुकूमतों को हटा कर कांग्रेस ने देश को आजाद करा दिया। बहुत बलिदान दिए। उनकी कहानी कहने में मैं सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहता, सारा सदन जानता है, देश जानता है। मैं तो आज एक ही अपील कर सकता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव की बात कही गई है। यह हमारे समाज, हमारे विपक्षी दलों, हमारी सरकार, हमारे धार्मिक और राजनीतिक सभी लोगों का कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि देश में बढ़ती हुई इस बीमारी का मिलकर हल करें और आज जो तनाव पैदा हो गए हैं, चाहे वे धार्मिक क्षेत्र में हों, चाहे भाषा के क्षेत्र में हों, चाहे भ्रष्टाचार प्रान्तों के कारण हुये हों, खत्म हों।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैंने कल एक सवाल उठाया था जब पंजाब और हरियाणा के विवादों के बारे में प्रश्न उठा था, मुझे चेयरमैन साहब ने उस सवाल को उठाने की इजाजत नहीं दी थी जिसमें मैंने कहा था कि भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्तों का बंटवारा उचित नहीं है। जब भाषावार प्रान्तों के बंटवारे के बारे में जब पंजाब में कमीशन बैठाया गया तो भी मैंने खड़े होकर सवाल करना चाहा था जिन दिनों फजल अली कमीशन बैठा था कि भाषा और धर्म के आधार पर प्रान्तों का गठन करना देश के हित में नहीं है, मैंने तब भी कहा था कि प्रशासनिक दृष्टि से और आर्थिक दृष्टि से प्रान्तों का पुनर्गठन किया जाना चाहिये।

[श्री रामचन्द्र विक्रम]

महोदया, आप भी जानती हैं कि भाषा के किसी प्रान्त की सीमा में या धर्म की सीमा में नहीं बांधा जा सकता। आप भी जानती हैं। आपने भी राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी को यू० एन० ओ० की भाषा बनाने के लिए प्रयत्न किया, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में हिन्दी आए, आपने भी इसके लिए प्रयास किया लेकिन जब पंजाब और हरियाणा के बीच में हिन्दी के गांवों के बंटवारे पर भी विवाद हो रहा है, तो इससे ज्यादा लज्जाजनक बात नहीं हो सकती। भाषा को चन्द लोगों, चन्द गांवों, चन्द प्रान्तों में बांधकर नहीं रखा जा सकता। चाहे कोई भी भाषा हो, उसका गौरव और मान होना चाहिये। लेकिन आज हम भाषा, जाति, धर्म और राजनीति; दलों को लेकर लड़ रहे हैं अगर हमें देश को इकट्ठा रखना है तो इस सबको समाप्त करना पड़ेगा।

मैं अधिक कहना नहीं चाहता। आर्य समाज के भजनीक हमारे गायकर करते थे—

“भूल हम सबकी है, न जाने कब कब की है, न जाने किस किसकी है जिसके भयंकर परिणाम होंगे। दोषी कौन है, न कहा जाता है न सुना जाता है। हम सब दोषी हैं, कौन किसका कह रहा है, यह सोचना पड़ेगा।”

आज हमारी जो हालत है, हम सबको गलती का जवाब गलती से नहीं दे सकते। गलती का जवाब गलती से देने से गलती बढ़ जाती है और उसको रोकने की कोई सीमा नहीं होती। आज हमारे देश में जो जनतंत्र है वह पक्ष और विपक्ष से चलता है। विपक्ष बहुत जरूरी है जनतंत्र में। इसी यह है कि सरकार के जो अच्छे काम हैं उनका दिल खोल कर वह समर्थन दे और जो विपक्ष के अच्छे सुझाव हैं सरकार को उनको दिल खोलकर मानना चाहिये। इसमें विवाद नहीं होना चाहिये। नहीं तो इससे डेमोक्रेसी को बड़ा गंभीर खतरा हो रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, जनतंत्र अखबारों से और समाचारपत्रों से चलता है। वे जनतंत्र को बढ़ाने में बहुत सहयोग दे सकते हैं। उसमें समर्थन करते समय सच्चाई हो। जनतंत्र जनता से भी चलता है। जनता भी देश की जागरूक होनी चाहिये। जनतंत्र नमाइंदों से चलता है चाहे वे एसम्बलियों के हों, चाहे लोकसभा या राज्य सभा के हों। जनतंत्र को ट्रेनिंग के लिए यूथ पार्लियामेंट बहुत सफल हो सकती है। स्कूलों में, कालेजों में जो कुछ प्रान्ती में इसको ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है उससे उनमें विचार-संग्रह की शक्ति आती है, उनकी ज्ञान वृद्धि होती है। उनकी राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं का ज्ञान होता है। दूसरों के विचारों को समझने और अपने विचारों को दूसरों को समझाने की कला आती है। यह काम सारे देश में चलाया जाए तो डेमोक्रेसी सफल हो सकती है।

महोदया, जनतंत्र के साथ-साथ जो हमारे देश के हालात हैं उन पर मैं कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। काश्मीर के बारे में शाह साहब ने अभी कहा। 1947 से काश्मीर का हाल हम जानते हैं। दुर्भाग्य है कि 1947 में आधा काश्मीर पाकिस्तान में चला गया। उस दिन से आज तक के हालात मैं जानता हूँ। मैं उसके आधार पर नहीं बहसना चाहता लेकिन सले और व्होर्नोई का मूल झगड़ा हमेशा हमारे सदन में आता रहता है। राजनीतिक लोगों को भी हम जानते हैं। कुर्सी से हटने के बाद क्या होता है और कुर्सी पर जाने के बाद क्या होता है यह भी जानते हैं। बात यह होनी चाहिये—चाहे पार्टी के अन्दर रहें चाहे पार्टी के बाहर—देश के हित का सवाल ही उठाये देश एक है। हमें हमेशा एक देश का खयाल होना चाहिये। राष्ट्रपति महोदय का जो सम्भाषण है जिसका समर्थन मैं कर रहा हूँ इसको समाप्त करने से पूर्व किसानों के बारे में एक दो बात कहना चाहता हूँ।

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : कहे बगैर नहीं रहा जा सकता।

**श्री रामचन्द्र विकल :** यह सच है कि किसान देश की आर्थिक रीढ़ हैं। किसान के बिना इस देश का आर्थिक विकास नहीं हो सकता। श्रम का बोल भी किसानों पर पड़ता है। डायरेक्ट-इन-डायरेक्ट टैक्सेज भी किसानों पर पड़ते हैं। हमें ऐसी नीतियाँ बनानी चाहियें सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर जिससे किसानों को डायरेक्ट-इन-डायरेक्ट टैक्सेज से बचाया जा सके ताकि देश की खुशहली में उत्पाद-पूर्वक काम कर सकें। हमारी सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना जो विचाराधीन चल रही है उसमें किसानों की विशेष भूमिका हो। किसानों के ऊपर जो खाद के ऊपर अभी टैक्स लगाये गये हैं यह समझ में आने वाली बात है कि खाद खेत में नहीं लगेगी तो किसान अपनी पैदावार को कैसे बढ़ा सकता है। ऐसी चीजों पर टैक्स लगाना मैं समझता हूँ किसानों के लिये उचित नहीं है। किसानों की फसल के बीमों का सबाल बहुत दिनों से चल रहा है इसको एक व्यापक रूप से सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में बहुत तेजी से जल चाहिये मैं समझता हूँ कि किसानों पर जो दैवी आपदा आती है उससे इनको कुछ लाभ मिल सकता है। मई-राष्ट्र की चर्चा उल्लेख-कार्पण प्रस्ताव के रूप में भी हुई। मई-राष्ट्र में जो नागपुर या अमरावती हैं जिसको चर्चा धावे सह भा उठा रहे थे, मैंने भी कुछ दिन पहले किसानों के बारे में बात उठाई थी, किसानों पर दैवी आपदा हमेशा आती है चाहे औला के रूप में आए, वर्षा के रूप में अये, सूखा के रूप में अये या मण्डो की बीमारी के रूप में, चाहे हवा तेज चले उस रूप में हो इन सारी दैवी आपदा से किसान को नुकसान होता है। लिहाज किसान की फसल और मण्डो आदि का बीम अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में किसानों के लिए उपयोगी योजनाएँ बनायें। क्षिपई के लिए उत्तम साधन, उत्तम खाद, उत्तम बीज मुहैया करे। मैं समझता हूँ अगर ऐसा होगा तो अकेला किसान इस देश का आर्थिक विकास कर सकता है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के सम्भाषण का जो सल्लेख ने धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव रखा उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

**श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) :** मैडम वाइस चैबरमैन, मन्तीय राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर श्री सल्लेख जो ने जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने उन राष्ट्रविरोधी ताकतों की ओर इशारा किया है जो धर्म, जाति और भाषा के नाम पर भाई से भाई को जुदा करने का प्रयास कर रही है तथा जिन्होंने हमेशा बार-बार उभर कर विनाश को अंजाम दिया है। ये पृथक्तावादी ताकतें साम्प्रदायिकता के बीज बो कर उन्हें इंसानियत के लहू से सींचती हैं। मानवता में नफरत के बीज पैदा करती हैं। हमें इन साम्प्रदायिक ताकतों का खात्मा कर भारत की एकता एवं अखंडता के लिए एक जन अभियान चलाना है।

पिछले वर्ष राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जिन नीतियों और कार्यक्रमों का उल्लेख किया था हमें यह कहते हुए बड़ा गर्व महसूस हो रहा है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में उन सारी चुनौतियों को एक ठोस उपलब्धियों के रूप में परिणित किया गया है, नई कपड़ा नीति, गंगा प्राधिकरण बंजर भूमि विकास, न्यायिक और प्रशासनिक सुधार, महिलाओं एवं आदिवासियों के जीवन स्तर में सुधार नई शिक्षा नीति, आदि ऐसी चीजें हैं जिनके बारे में दावे प्रस्तुत करते हुए मैं यह गर्वपूर्वक कह सकता हूँ कि हमने निर्धारित लक्ष्यों में आशातित सफलता प्राप्त की है। जनसामान्य के जीवन-स्तर को ऊँचा उठाने की दृष्टि से भी स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जो 20 सूचो कार्यक्रम दिया था उस पर भी आशातित क्रियान्वयन हुआ है। पवित्र गीता का उद्धोष वाक्य है :

**कर्मण्ये वाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचित :**

राष्ट्र की सेवा जन कल्याण से आबद्ध व्यक्तित्व, जब इस सूच के मार्गदर्शन में गतिशील होता है तब उसके लिए जय-पराजय, मान-उपमान के स्वान पर राष्ट्रीय प्रगति सर्वोपरि होती है।

प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के कार्यकाल का लेखा-जोखा जब इन विन्दुओं पर आया जाता है तो हमें स्वीकार करना होगा कि देश में एक नए राजनैतिक एवं

[श्री सुरेश पचौरी]

सामाजिक दौर की शुरुआत हुई है। आज से लगभग एक वर्ष पूर्व राजनीति में जिन मान्यताओं एवं मूल्यों की अवमानना की बात कही जाती थी उनको मद्देनजर रखते हुए जो “दल-बदल कानून” लाया गया है वह भी अपने आप में काफी महत्वपूर्ण है। ठीक इसी प्रकार राजनीति में स्वच्छता और निर्मलता लाने की दृष्टि से जो लोकपाल विधेयक लाया गया है वह भी काफी सहरानीय है। आसाम और पंजाब की समस्याओं के निराकरण हेतु किये गये समझौतों में प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो निर्णय लिया है वह भी साबित करता है कि पृथक्तावाद और घातकवाद पर लोकतंत्र की विजय हुई है।

ठीक इसी प्रकार से शिक्षा नीति के बारे में समय-समय पर विभिन्न शिक्षाविदों द्वारा, विभिन्न राजनीतिज्ञों द्वारा कई प्रकार की बातें कही गई हैं। लेकिन कथनी और करनी में अन्तर न रखते हुए शिक्षा प्रणाली में आमूल परिवर्तन का दस्तावेज पेश किया गया। इस सम्बन्ध में जो घोषणा की गई है उसकी जितनी सराहना की जाय वह काफी कम है। निर्गुट देशों के, अध्येक्ष के रूप में भी प्रधान मंत्री जी द्वारा किये प्रयासों ने यह साबित कर दिया है कि भारत ने दुनिया की पीड़ित मानवता के दुःख-दर्द में सदैव हाथ बंटाना है और आगे भी हाथ बंटाना रहेगा। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दक्षिण अफ्रीका की रंगभेद की नीति के विरुद्ध सख्ती से आवाज एवं श्रीलंका की समस्या के प्रति सहानुभूतिपूर्ण रुख अपनाकर “वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्” की हमारी परम्परा को गौरान्वित किया है। न्याय प्रक्रिया में बुनियादी परिवर्तन की बात भी सरकार ने स्वीकार की है। लोक अदालतों जैसी प्रक्रिया का प्रयोग अभी तक कुछ राज्यों में ही चल रहा था। लेकिन अब इसकी उपयोगिता को मद्देनजर रखते हुए सभी जगहों पर इसको चलाने की योजना की शुरुआत हुई है। वह एक शुभ चिह्न है जिससे शीघ्र एवं सुलभ तथा सस्ता न्याय आसानी से सभी की मिल पाएगा। साथ ही लोक अदालत की प्रक्रिया से प्रकरणों के हल करने में दोनों पक्षों में सलाह-मशविरा के बाद, समझौते के बाद, जो निर्णय लिया जाएगा वह अपने आप में एक सराहनीय

कदम है। इस निर्णय से दोनों पक्षों में सौहार्दपूर्ण सम्बन्ध बनेंगे। इससे रजिण और पूर्वाग्रहों से भी मुक्ति मिलेगी। न्याय प्रक्रिया में आमूल परिवर्तन को ध्यान में रखते हुए मेरी गुजारिश इस मौके पर यह है कि पुरानी पंचायती न्याय प्रणाली को भी ध्यान में रखने का प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए जिससे कि गरीबों को गांवों में बिना खर्च के शीघ्र एवं उचित न्याय मिल सके। अदालतों के बोझ को कम करने की दिशा में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में जो संकेत दिया गया है वह भी सराहनीय है। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में जो बोझ है उसको भी कम किया जाना जरूरी है। दीवानी और फौजदारी मामलों के निर्णय के लिए मेरा ऐसा सुझाव है कि अलग से एक “कोर्ट आफ अपील” बनाया जाय ताकि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय संवैधानिक मामलों में अपनी व्याख्या द्वारा उपयुक्त दिशा निर्देश दे सके। इस दिशा में की गई पहल हमारे संविधान निर्माताओं की भावनाओं के अनुरूप होगी। केन्द्रीय शासन ने अपने कर्मचारियों के न्यायिक मामलों के निपटारे के लिए ट्रिब्यूनल की स्थापना का निर्णय लिया है। यह एक स्वागत योग्य कदम है। लेकिन इस प्रकार के ट्रिब्यूनल राज्य सरकारों के कर्मचारियों के लिए भी स्थापित किये जाने चाहिए, ऐसा मेरा सुझाव है ताकि राज्य सरकार के कर्मचारियों को भी सस्ता, सुलभ और शीघ्र न्याय मिल सके।

पिछले तीन चार वर्षों में हमारे खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन तेरह करोड़ टन के आस पास रहा है। कभी यह 12.9 करोड़ टन था और कभी यह 13.1 करोड़ या 13.2 करोड़ टन रहा। सन् 1984-85 में इसमें 15 प्रतिशत वृद्धि की गई है। हम इक्कीसवीं शदी में जाने की बात कर रहे हैं। कुल अनुमान के अनुसार हमें इक्कीसवीं शदी में 22.5 करोड़ टन खाद्यान्न की आवश्यकता होगी। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है, जहाँ की 80 प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में निवास करती है। लेकिन मुझे यह कहते हुए बड़ा दुःख हो रहा है कि एक या दो प्रतिशत शिक्षा संस्थायें ही किसानों की ओर उन्मुख हैं। हम शिक्षा के द्वारा बेहतर ढंग से किसानों को शिक्षित नहीं कर पा रहे हैं और इससे हम अपनी क्षमता का उचित उपयोग नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। अतः यह जरूरी है, जहाँ

हम अपनी शिक्षा नीति को इस तरह से प्रस्तुत करने जा रहे हैं कि वह रोजगारोन्मुख हो, वहाँ हम इस बात का भी ध्यान रखें कि हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली किसानोन्मुख भी हो। हमें ऐसी अनेक संस्थायें खोलनी होंगी जो किसानों की कृषि के नए तरीके, खाद एवं उर्वरक का सही इस्तेमाल बता सकें। इसके साथ ही मैं मौसम की समस्याओं पर भी गंभीरता के साथ विचार करना होगा। पिछले तीन वर्षों से मानसून एवं प्राकृतिक विपदाओं ने हमारे उत्पादन पर गंभीर असर डाला है। कभी मानसून जल्दी आने से और कभी बाढ़ आने से तो कभी ओला बूझट होने से हमारे उत्पादन पर गंभीर असर पड़ा है। अतः मौसम को ध्यान में रखकर इसके बचाव के लिए हमें दीर्घकालीन योजना पर भी विचार करना चाहिए। यह बहुत जरूरी है।

अन्त में मैडम वाइस चैयरमैन, मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि देश के संसदीय इतिहास में यह पहला मौका है जब कि प्रतिपक्ष ने माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का बहिष्कार किया। निराश-हताश और दिश हीन प्रतिपक्ष ने एक ऐसे समय में जब कि देश में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव एवं शांति की सख्त आवश्यकता थी उस समय भारत-बन्द का आह्वान किया। आज वहाँ हम राष्ट्रीय जीवन में नई आशा नई स्फूर्ति एवं नए उत्साह के लिए इत-संकल्प हैं वहाँ विपक्षी दलों द्वारा किया गया भारत-बन्द का आह्वान किस प्रकार की अभिव्यक्ति प्रदर्शित करता है, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है। जन-हित के नाम पर देश का सौदा करने वाले ये लोग अपने निहित स्वार्थों को जनता का सवाल बनाने जा रहे हैं। बन्द कमरों की चर्चा और विपक्ष के कोरे नारों की चालों को इस देश की महान् जनता ने अच्छी तरह से पहचान लिया है। आज सारे विपक्ष के लोग अपना चेहरा नई रंगीन नकाब में ढालकर फिर आगे आना चाहते हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की जनता ने, इस देश तरफ़ाई ने, इन देश की नई पाँढ़ी ने उनको पूरी तरह से समझ लिया है, पहचान लिया है और उनकी स्वार्थी दिग्भ्रमित चालों से इस देश की भोली-भाली जनता बहुकाल में नहीं आने वाली है। उनकी

इन चालों का पर्दाफाश जनता करेगी जिसने समय-समय पर उनके घृणित षड्यंत्रों को बेनकाब किया है।

इन शब्दों के साथ हमारे माननीय सात्वें जी ने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan); Madam Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of speaking today. I support the Motion of Thanks moved by Mr. Salve. I would like to make a few comments regarding the pre-budget price rise. Prices of a large number of commodities like coal, fertilizers, foodstuffs, petrol and petroleum products, etc. and fare of DTC have been increased. Madam, no one likes rise in prices, but sometimes a rise in price becomes inevitable. I would like to mention, however, that in respect of a few items like coal or steel or oil or railway freight or power, that these are some of those items which have their effect on almost every item of industrial production. So, in case any price rise takes place in these four or five items, then that has a cascading effect. Therefore, I would very respectfully submit that as far as possible price rise in these items should be avoided and price-rise should be kept as moderate as possible. Madam, 4 P.M. having said that as rise in food and fertiliser prices is concerned, this was done merely to reduce the colossal subsidy which was being given in respect of these items.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair-

In fact, had these prices not been raised, probably that would have eaten too much into our resources. I was one of those who in one of my speeches last year had, in fact made a mention that as far as these two items were concerned, something should be done, otherwise the amount of subsidy would become, so colossal that the amount left for other resources will be very little. This was a very unpopular step which was taken by the Finance Minister, but I think, under the circumstance it was unavoidable.

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla]

Sir, J. however, do not find any justification as far as increase in prices of petrol and petroleum products is concerned, more so when the world prices of these items are very much declining. Government's viewpoint has been that the Government wanted to reduce the consumption of these items, as a lot of money is being spent for the import of oil is concerned. I would immediately agree that as far as that is concerned, we should certainly try to discourage imports and we should try to reduce the consumption of these items. But for that, in my opinion, effort should be made in the right direction. We should try to see which are the industries, or which are the items, which are the departments, which are the Ministries which are really responsible for such a large, consumption of oil. My first thought immediately goes towards railways. At one time the railways were moved completely on coal. But today large and larger replacement of coal has been made by oil. In case they have to reduce the consumption of oil, I would suggest that the first thing that we should do is that in respect of at least some of the railways, like the passenger trains or low speed goods train, we should try to switch over from diesel oil to coal.

Then, Sir, another thing which could be very helpful as far as reducing the consumption of oil is concerned is to improve the efficiency of our power stations. When the power break-downs take place, sometimes 80 per cent or sometimes even 100 per cent restriction is imposed as far as consumption of power by the industry is concerned. Under these circumstances what can the industry do? You will find that almost in every factory, barring in one or two States where there are no power failures—probably Andhra Pradesh and Meghalaya—almost in every other State all the industries have installed diesel sets. Whenever they find that there is power failure, they immediately resort to these diesel sets. Side by side owing to lack of power our farmers cannot make use of motors as far as tubewells are concerned; so they too use of diesel sets. This again leads to large consumption of oil.

Then, Sir, in many areas like Calcutta where the power supply stops for 8 to 10 to 12 hours at a stretch, the householders have been forced to install generating sets in their houses out of sheer compulsion. So I would say that if the power situation improves, this will very much reduce our dependence on oil.

Having said that, as far as DTC charges are concerned, there appears to be no reason why DTC fares should have been increased so steeply. I had a talk with many of my M.P. friends, of both Houses of Parliament, and they have said that the rise that has taken place in DTC fares is out of all proportion. I hope the Government will kindly give some consideration to that.

Having said that, I would also plead with my friends in the Opposition that this sort of bandh is no reply so far as showing their protest is concerned. The West Bengal bandh had taken place on 11th February and the Bharat bandh on the 26th of February. In my opinion, there are so many other methods which are open to the Opposition to show their protest. But I would urge them that they should try to realize that by observing the Bharat bandh the loss of production which has been suffered by the country is in the vicinity of Rs. 300 crores and so I would say that this is noway for expression of their opposition to such price rise is concerned.

Sir, a few words regarding the raids which have taken place on a very big scale in the last few months—raids on the residences or offices of the business houses. I know the feelines expressed by some of the honourable Members who supported these raids. But perhaps they have not fully realized the significance of these raids. I hope they will kindly give me a patient hearing when I tell them what is the feeling of the business community on this matter and how the raids are taking place. There is no doubt that these raids have caused a lot of resentment and a lot of nervousness in the minds of the businessmen. No one would support or defend a blackmarketeer, one who indulges in the evasion of taxes or a foreign exchange racketeer. But the question which I will

pose is: How far is it justifiable to raid any premises or any residence of a man on mere suspicion? From what one reads in the papers, it appears that quotas have been fixed for all important towns, that the officers are required to raise a certain amount after making the raid. This is part of their duty: these are the instructions to the officers. According to newspapers—this news has been published—each area has been given a quota, that so much quota has to be raised after raids have taken place. This is causing a lot of havoc and a lot of harassment to the people. And what happens after that? After that arrests take place, and after arrest the businessmen are treated just like ordinary criminals. To me it appears that the dignity and prestige of businessmen was never at such a lowebb as it today. I would say that it is a matter of concern, not only as far as the business community is concerned but, I would say that since businessmen are also part of the Indian society, it should be a matter of concern for all the other sections of the House. I would also like to mention that when such large-scale raids take place, credibility of the Indian businessmen is being destroyed in the foreign countries. Just ten days back I was in Washington meeting people from International finance corporations in connection with a big project they want to start and after having been directed and encouraged by our own Government, the Government of India, to go to Washington and meet people. After some talk they took me aside and said, "Mr. Birla, we hear that businessmen in your country are all crooks". Now these are the sort of questions with which we are faced. How can I blame them when prestigious houses like Voltas which belongs to the top firm of India, Tatas—Voltas is part of them—Brooke Bonds, Batas, Modis, have been raided. They were harassed and arrests took place?

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra):  
Kirkloskars.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA;  
Kirkloskars, certainly. The feelings of the businessmen are actually outraged. And what are the offences? When the matter

goes to a court of law, it is discovered that there are, mostly, technical offences; which took place. It happens, Sir, that usually there are different interpretations given to the laws. I may interpret the law as a businessman interprets the law, in one way. The government servants may interpret it in another way. Take the case of Orkays. A lot of fanfare was made when the House of Orkays was raided. Then, Sir, a penalty of Rs. 10 crores was imposed by the Director of Anti-evasion of Excise. Sir, Orkays went to the court, and the court has set aside the penalty of Rs. 10 crores. It said, "Let the man be charged, let show-cause be there, let the answer come, let the matter be thoroughly proved. After that action should be taken". I would plead that as far as the raids are concerned, this should be the last resort of the Government, not the first step as is happening now.

The last point I would like to make is regarding foreign affairs. I was really very sorry that the Prime Minister's visit, according to the papers, to Pakistan has been postponed and postponed probably indefinitely. I sincerely hope that the two countries will come together and will live as friends. But, Sir, in case someone has to be blamed for this state of affairs, actually it is none else than Pakistan and its President Zia. They say, Sir, one thing, then the action that they take is entirely different. How can that inspire confidence?" I sincerely hope that Pakistan will realise the harm that is being done to the relationship between the two countries by this sort of politics. And I hope that good sense will dawn so that lasting friendship takes place between the two countries.

Sir, one more point regarding this matter, and that is regarding Sri Lanka. The situation has very much deteriorated, and I agree with some of the earlier speakers who have mentioned that the blame lies fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Government of Sri Lanka. (*Time bell rings*)

I will finish in half a minute. This is the last point.

I would only say that violence has to be eschewed by both the sides. I hope that as a result of India's efforts this will be

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla]

achieved because it is only when violence subsides that meaningful talks take place. I am sure that as a result of India's efforts lasting peace will also be established between Tamil minorities and the Government of Sri Lanka.

With these few words, Sir, I thank you once again, and I would like to mention that I support the motion.

**श्री इशदिबेग मोर्जा (गुजरात) :** मान्यवर उपसभापति जी, साल्वे जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर आभार प्रस्ताव पर मैं अपना समर्थन व्यक्त करता हूँ।

मान्यवर, सातवीं योजना का अभिगम्य है घोष, इन्वेलिटी, सोशल जस्टिस, सेल्फ-रेलायन्स, इम्प्रूव्ड एफिशेंसी तथा हाईर प्रोडक्टिविटी और इसी की आधार शिला पर प्रधान मंत्री, श्री राजीव गांधी, समक्ष आर्थिक नीति पर राष्ट्र को इक्कावीं सदी की और कुशलतापूर्वक आगे ले जा रहे हैं। अन्य किसी भी विकासशील राष्ट्रों की अपेक्षा भारत आज अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होकर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय फलक पर गौरवपूर्ण सम्माननीय स्थिति में उभर कर मस्तक है जिसका श्रेय श्री राजीव गांधी की सही आर्थिक एवं राष्ट्रीय नीतियों पर निर्भर है।

पिछले वर्ष के राष्ट्रीय कारोबार और सिद्धियाँ इसे सम्पूर्ण प्रमाण देती हैं। यह अलग बात है कि विपक्ष अपनी आँखें मूंद कर सत्य के समक्ष आँखें बन्द करके अगर वह अंधेरों में दिशाविहीन भटकना चाहता है, तो वह उनको मुबारक हो, वह फिरे, लेकिन सत्य कुछ और है, वह अलग है... (व्यवधान)

**श्री गुलाम रसूल भट्ट (जम्मू और काश्मीर) :** अपोजीशन के बगैर डेमोक्रेसी कायम नहीं हो सकती।

**श्री इशदिबेग मोर्जा :** भट्ट साहब मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि —

नशा पिला के गिराना तो सब को आता है, भट्ट साहब

नशा पिलाना तो सब को आता है, भरे मजा तो जब है, जब गिरते को बाम ले सकी।

तो यहाँ देश को गिराने वाली बात कौन कर रहा है, और देश को उठाने वाली बात कौन कर रहा है, जो मैं आंकड़े दे रहा हूँ, नारा उनको देख कर आप गौर करें।

मान्यवर, बिजली उत्पादन में छठी योजना में 13,992 मेगावाट की वृद्धि 1983-84 की अपेक्षा 11.9 अधिक है। सातवीं योजना में 60 प्रतिशत का इजाफा निर्धारण एवं 8.4 प्रतिशत वार्षिक वृद्धि दर से 12.1 प्रतिशत वृद्धि दर प्राप्त करना, क्या यह प्रगति नहीं है? मान्यवर, 1984-85 का कच्चे तेल के उत्पादन का लक्ष्य तीन करोड़ मीट्रिक टन था जिसमें से 2.198 करोड़ मीट्रिक टन पहले 9 महीनों में उत्पादन 4.3 प्रतिशत अधिक है और लक्ष्य की कमी जो हुई है वह आसाम के कम उत्पादन से है और जिम्मेदार कौन है, आन्दोलन किसने चलाया, प्रोडक्शन को किसने कम किया, इसको पूरा देश जानता है। इसके बावजूद 1984-85 में आत्म-निर्भरता के क्षेत्र में 70 प्रतिशत तक पहुँचना क्या यह अघोगति है? मान्यवर, 42 प्रतिशत गैस जला देने के बावजूद 5.19 घनमीटर गैस उत्पादन पिछले वर्ष से 12.8 प्रतिशत अधिक हुआ तथा एलपीजी के नए 16 लाख गैस कनेक्शन दिए गए। इस वर्ष, 1985 के बजट के बाद रिजर्व बैंक के इक्विटी शेयरों के सूचकांक में 42.3 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि क्या औद्योगिक उत्पादन की दिशा में उत्साहजनक वातावरण का प्रतीक नहीं है? मान्यवर, लघु उद्योग की यूनिट 11.58 लाख से बढ़ करके 12.75 लाख तक पहुँची और रोजगार प्राप्त व्यक्ति 14 लाख से बढ़ करके 90 लाख हुए जिन्होंने निर्यात में 2,350 करोड़ रुपए का योगदान देकर औद्योगिक उत्पादन का 50 प्रतिशत शेयर जुटाया। औद्योगिक लाइसेंसिंग पालिसी के कारण दो हजार करोड़ रुपए का इन्वेस्टमेंट और 700 प्रोजेक्टों का लगाना और 218 नए प्रोजेक्टों की स्वीकृति था 6 हजार करोड़ रुपये की लागत से 13 एन०आर०ई०पी० कम्पनियों एवं अन्य 440 यूनिटों की स्वीकृति क्या औद्योगिक उत्पादन की दर 7 से 8 प्रतिशत तक ले जाने की दिशा में एक



सही एवं स्पष्ट कदम नहीं है? मान्यवर, भारत का कुल निर्यात 1984-85 से 20 प्रतिशत अधिक हुआ तथा विदेश व्यापार का घाटा 5971 करोड़ से घट करके 5187 करोड़ हुआ। मान्यवर, आई० आर० डी० पी० के कार्यक्रमों में छठी योजना के अन्तर्गत 1 करोड़ 64 लाख 20 हजार परिवारों की सहायता लक्ष्य से 14 लाख 20 हजार परिवार अधिक है। मान्यवर, इसके बावजूद विपक्ष इसकी स्वीकृति नहीं दे रहा है। एन० आर० डी० पी० के अन्तर्गत 20 करोड़ 33 लाख श्रम दिवस अधिक रोजगार के अवसर उपलब्ध कराए। हिन्दुस्तान एरोनोटिक्स ने 1984-85 में 536 करोड़ रुपए का अधिकतम उत्पादन किया और निर्यात में 434.44 करोड़ का योगदान दिया। मान्यवर, अनिवासी भारतीयों द्वारा पिछले वर्ष 634 करोड़ रुपया जमा करवाया गया था जबकि 1985-86 में 1172 करोड़ रुपया जमा हुआ जो कि राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में भारत को अधिक सुरक्षित एवं शक्तिशाली समझ करके दिया गया। मान्यवर, 1984-85 में बजट में 3985 करोड़ का जो घाटा हुआ क्योंकि उर्वरकों के लिए 1832 करोड़ की विशेष सहायता तथा चीनी, तेल वगैरह की उपलब्ध कराने सम्बन्धी 1100 करोड़ की आर्थिक सहायता दी गई। परिणामस्वरूप उर्वरकों के उपयोग में 6.4 प्रतिशत किसानों ने वृद्धि की, फलस्वरूप खाद्यान्नों का 1500 लाख मीट्रिक टन उत्पादन तथा दालों से भिन्न अन्य क्षेत्रों में आत्म-निर्भरता तथा गेहूं और चवल के भंडार जो आज छलक रहे हैं वे सही दिशा की नीतियों के परिणाम हैं। इसी तरह कोल, पावर, ट्रांसपोर्ट, कम्युनिकेशन तथा खेती क्षेत्र तथा औद्योगिक श्रोथ के जो इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर हैं इन्होंने विशेष प्रगति की है।

मान्यवर, कांग्रेस के माध्यम से श्री राजीव गांधी ने इस देश का नेतृत्व जिस दिन संभाला उस दिन राष्ट्र को उन्होंने वचन दिया था कि पब्लिक सेक्टर को एक नया विज़न देंगे, वेस्ट लैंड बोर्ड तथा सेन्ट्रल गंगा अथॉरिटी की स्थापना करेंगे, कानूनों में सरलता तथा शिक्षा नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन करेंगे। मान्यवर, मैं याद दिलाता

चाहता हूँ कि इस दिशा में एक वर्ष की अवधि में संपूर्णता के करीब कदम उठा करके स्ट्रॉंग पोलिटीकल विल की तरफ एक कमिटमेंट को साबित किया। यह सब करने के बावजूद भी विपक्ष का गिला है, मट्टू साहब, कि तुम वफादार नहीं। अरे मट्टू साहब, हम वफादार नहीं अरे, तुम भी तो दिलदार नहीं। इन संदर्भों के बावजूद मट्टू साहब आप तो यह कहेंगे कि अपना ही राग अगर आप अलापना चाहते हैं तो मैं शास्त्रों की भी याद दिला दूँ। शास्त्रों में कहा है कि उठिए, जागिए और मोक्ष को प्राप्त कीजिए “उतिष्ठते जागृते प्राप्य वरामि बोधते”। यहां उठने की बात हो रही है और वहां सोने की बात हो रही है। मान्यवर, कुरान यह कहता है कि इंकारियों की बात आए, तो कुरान ने तीन शब्दों का उपयोग किया है, जिसमें यह कहा है—“सुमुम बुकमुम उम्यून” अर्थात् यह बहरे हैं, अंधे हैं और गुंघे हैं। अब आप खुद ही तय कीजिए कि आप क्या हैं? इतनी चीजें कहने के बावजूद अगर आप इसकी स्वीकृति नहीं करते हैं, तो मैं मान्यवर, कहना चाहंगा कि कहीं कमजोरी भी आती है, कहीं गिरावट भी आती है—

गिरते हैं शहसवार ही मैदाने जंग में,

वोह तिफल क्या गिरेगा, जो घुटनों के बल चले।

मट्टू साहब, अगर कभी शहसवार भी बने हैं तो गिरावट भी आती है। अब अगर आपने घुटनों के बल ही चलना है, तो हम क्या कर सकते हैं। आज विपक्ष बात करता है राष्ट्रीय एकता की और अखण्डता की, मैं विपक्षी नेताओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जिस दिन राष्ट्रीय एकता की और अखण्डता की बात चली थी, पंजाब का मसला जब इस देश के सामने आया था, तो कितना खुलकर आपने बात की थी, कितना खुलकर आप सामने आए थे? मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ आसाम में आपने क्या किया? हमारे बी०जे०पी० के लीडर यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं, मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ, आप कांग्रेस की आलोचना करते हैं, आपकी बी०जे०पी० की यूनिट पंजाब में यह कह रही है कि हमारा फाजिल्का और अबोहर हमें दीजिए और

[श्री इशविदेग मोजी]

उन्हीं की एक यूनिट वहां हरियाणा में जाकर कहती है कि अबोहर और फाजिल्का हमें दीजिए। राष्ट्रीय एकता की बात आप करते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पहले अपनी पार्टी में एकता लाइए।

तेलंग देशम की पार्टी यहां इतना बड़ा हंगामा मचा कर बैठी हुई है, मान्यवर, मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि महानाडू का जो पैसा था, आप भ्रष्टाचार की जो बात कर रहे हैं, वह पैसा कहां से आया? लोकतंत्र की आज आप बहुत बात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ आपके मुख्यमंत्री हेगड़े क्या कर रहे हैं? कौनसे लोकतंत्र के रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं, आप लोकतंत्र की बात जाकर उनसे पूछ लीजिए। जहां तक राष्ट्रीय एकता की बात आयी है, जब-जब समय आया है, कांग्रेस पार्टी ने उन बातों को करके दिखाया है। जनता पक्ष के संसदीय-दल के नेता हेगड़े, कोर्ट में उन पर जो फिक्सन पास किया गया, तो उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया और दूसरे दिन जनता पक्ष के नेता की हैसियत से उन्हें फिर से मुख्यमंत्री बना दिया गया और उनका संसदीय दल कहता है कि हम साफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन देना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ दल जाकर फिर से मुख्यमंत्री स्थापित करता है। ये दुधारू नीतियां कौन चला रहे हैं? लोगों को उल्लू बनाने की बात कौन कर रहे हैं?

मान्यवर, पिछले कोई भी आंकड़े उठाकर देख लीजिए, पिछले एक वर्ष में राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में इस देश को कहां ले गए हैं, आर्थिक सक्षमता को कहां तक ले गए हैं, देश आगे बढ़ा है। मान्यवर, मैं बी०जे०पी० के नेताओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ आज वांसी कड़ी में फिर उवाल आया है, वर्षों के बाद आज उनको फिर माइनोरिटी का ख्याल आया है, माइनोरिटी आफ लेडीज का ख्याल आया है, पन्ने उलटाकर देख लीजिए सदन के, जब इस सदन में अवकाफ बिल आया था, विपक्ष का एक भी सदस्य उस पर चर्चा करने के लिए यहां पर उपस्थित नहीं था और आज आप बात कर रहे हैं माइनोरिटी के लोगों की। अरे, इसके लिए आपको चिन्ता करने की जरूरत नहीं है। राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में यह किया है, पन्द्रह सूची कार्यक्रम

के आधार पर जो कमिटमेंट दिखाया है कि आने वाले दिनों में हमारा देश, जो सेकुलर की भावना पर बना है, जो लोकतंत्र की नींव पर बना है, जिसको महात्मा गांधी से लेकर इंदिरा गांधी तक ने अपने खून से सींचा है, आज भी भारत के लोकतंत्र की रक्षा के लिए और संविधान में जो बातें बताई गई हैं, उसके तौर पर कांग्रेस पार्टी का, राजीव गांधी जी की एक सक्षम मिटमेंट है और उसकी चिन्ता करने की आपको कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है।

मान्यवर, फिर भी इस पर गिला हो रहा है, तो मुझे एक शेर याद आ रहा है :-

“मिट्टी में मिलकर कस्तूरी की खुशबू न गयी,

और सोहबते गुल में रहा, खार फिर भी खू न गयी।”

अब वह सोहबते गुल हो या न हो, लेकिन खार की जो असलियत है, वह कभी जाने वाली नहीं है।

मान्यवर, मैं आखिर में कुछ बात गुजरात के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। किसानों के बारे में अधिकतर सरकार ने किया है, लेकिन मैं मांग करूंगा, जैसा कि हमारे विकल जी ने कहा है, इसकी और योजनाओं को आगे बढ़ाएं और उनके उत्पादन के जो खर्चे हैं, उसको देखते हुए उनके लिए भाव-नीति निर्धारण में कुछ परिवर्तन लाएं।

मान्यवर, राष्ट्र की महान नर्मदा योजना को त्वरित गति से निबटाने की मैं मांग कर रहा हूँ। अन्तर्देशीय जलमार्ग सम्बन्धी भगवती समिति तथा राष्ट्रीय यातायात समिति के निष्कर्षों को सिद्धान्ततः सरकार ने स्वीकार कर लिया है, परन्तु सातवीं योजना में इसे शामिल नहीं किया गया है। इस सम्बन्ध में साधन जुटाने की मैं मांग कर रहा हूँ जिससे कोयला इत्यादि का परिवहन शीघ्रता से विभिन्न स्थलों को हो सके। अन्य यातायात भी इनसे अधिक बढ़ सकता है। छोटे बन्दरों ने माल के परिवहन में अधिक योगदान दिया है। गुजरात की पीपरा, हजीरा, कडी, बेरावल तथा मांडवी के विकास की 65 करोड़ की मांग को स्वीकृत करें।

२० प्रतिशत के आधार पर मिलने वाली कूड़  
आयल की रायल्टी में बढ़ोतरी नहीं हुई।  
गुजरात की मांगों को सतुष्ट करने का मैं  
नांग करता हूँ। मान्यवर, आपने मुझे समय  
दिया इसके लिए मैं बहुत-बहुत आभारी हूँ।  
ब्रन्यवाद।

SHRI AKSHAY PANDA (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I stand here to support the Motion moved by Shri N. K. P. Salve on Presidential Address and I also express my gratefulness to the Chair for allowing me an opportunity to speak on the subject.

From both sides of the House, much has been spoken especially from our side, many things have been spoken. I do not know how far the Opposition has properly replied and have understood the position and I do not know what was the cause for making themselves absent in the Joint Session when there was a Presidential Address and when once they have made themselves absent during the Presidential Address, it would have been better for them not to participate here also. They called a Bharat Bandh on that day in various parts of the country. They thought that if they do not do that, people will forget the Opposition, those who ruled this country for three long years from 1977 to 1980 after Congress debacle in 1977, during these years, the Opposition remained in power. Sir, Congress Party brought independence to this country and we used to bow our heads before Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Netaji who sacrificed their life for the independence and for the well being of this country. This process of independence of the country continued for a long time and after making a lot of sacrifices, after facing lot of trials and tribulations, we have achieved independence and we had to traverse a long

path before we reached the present stage. Now, our country is recognised as the tenth power in the world. Recently, the United States Foreign Affairs Secretary has recognised India as the tenth power in the whole world. Recently, our Vice-President went to Moscow where tributes have been given to four world leaders and Smt Indira Gandhi was one amongst them. Her sacrifice of life for the unity, integrity, development and secularism of this country had been unique. She had been recognised as a great leader not only of this country but also of the whole world after Mahatma Gandhi. What happened between 1977 to 1980? These people, who are shouting here got the opportunity to rule this country. People voted for them. But they could not remain in power for five years. They had been voted for five years, but they could not remain. Why? First, there was quarrel over the "kursi", the chair—who would be the Prime Minister? Secondly, they auctioned the gold of the Reserve Bank of India. This was a new thing. As a student of economics, I would not understand as to what was the background behind this. They sold the gold of the Reserve Bank of India. And who purchased it? And in the name of "food for work" programme, they cleared all the foodgrains from the godowns of this country and the country landed itself in such a position that its development went back by 10 years. After the Fifth Five Year Plan, there was no Plan for three years and the country went back by ten years. They could not frame the Sixth Plan and the Five Year Plan was closed down. But the people gave a proper reply to them and they had to quit the Government. New elections took place in 1980, Indiraji again came back to power and the Sixth Five Year Plan was prepared. And the development that took place in the Sixth Five Year Plan has been given in terms of a comparative statement by my friend here is an eye-opener. Starting from food, education, health, industry, railways, airways, oil, in every field there has been remarkable progress in this country. The 31st of October, 1984, was the saddest day for this country because on that day, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was killed. Why was she killed? She was killed because she stood for the unity of.

[Shri Akshay Panda] this country. She was killed because she was for the poor people. After her, our dynamic Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, took up this nation's leadership, inspiring great hope in the people. The day the body of Indiraji was lying in Teen Murti Bhavan, communal riots broke out. And where were the Opposition leaders? Not a single Opposition leader was seen in the streets. They were hiding inside their bungalows. But Rajivji, a dynamic young man, went through the streets of Delhi and appealed to people to bring peace and harmony and to end communal rioting. And the same night he asked all the Chief Ministers to go back to their States and see that communal rioting did not take place. And in this period of one year and four months of his leadership, the progress which has been made by this country is definitely remarkable. And if Rajiv Gandhi had not taken the leadership, I have grave doubts if the country would not have been divided, if the country's unity would not have been threatened.

Sir, in this Address, the President has given a definite programme for the coming year for making this country a stronger and more homogeneous nation. The steps taken by the Prime Minister for preserving unity, in respect of Punjab and Assam, are remarkable. And the Congress believes in democracy. In 1977 the press and the Opposition were saying that Indiraji had imposed the emergency and she was not going to have elections. But she went in for elections. She faced the elections and we went to the opposition. But in Chikmagalur when she was elected, these Opposition people did not allow her to sit in the Lok Sabha. She had to go to jail. And Rajiv Gandhi, son of the great lady Indira Gandhi, who also believes in democracy, conducted negotiations on Punjab. He made negotiations with Assam. But both States went against the Congress. It is nothing new to democracy. We have accepted the verdict. You see Lok Sabha today. There is no part of India which is not represented in Lok Sabha. Elections are going to take place again for Rajya Sabha this month. Therefore, Congress

believes in democracy, Congress believes in secularism, Congress believes in the unity of the people of India. The people of India have given their *aashirvad* to the Congress to rule the country. Our Prime Minister promised a clean public life, a clean Government. And you can see for yourself what has happened in 1A years. Birlaji was saying that raids were taking place only on the business community. No; raids are taking place not only on the business community, raids are taking place on political personalities, on the houses of big officials, of income-tax officials, and so on. Therefore, Birlaji should not feel that way. I know how the common man is feeling. Rajivji believe in doing what he says. I can tell you, the Lok Adalat and the Lok Pal Bills were introduced in the Congress time. The other day some Opposition friends were levelling allegations against two Chief Ministers, Shri Bhajan Lal and Shri J. B. Patnaik. Has any corruption charge been proved? The Bhajan Lal issue was referred to a High Court Judge and he gave his judgment. And Shri J. B. Patnaik in the last Assembly gave a challenge and said the Lok Pal Bill was passed in Orissa and if anything was proved before it against him by the Opposition, even if a single charge will be proved, he would quit the Government. But nothing has been proved up till now. On the contrary, what about NTR and Hegde? There are income-tax dues of lakhs of rupees from NTR. Only the other day it was declared in Lok Sabha. About Hegde even our Congress people were thinking that he was a demi-god, he is a very clean man. But the High Court passed strictures against him in the hotting case and he had to quit. We thought he was a gentleman. But within 24 hours he came back as Chief Minister again saying the people wanted him. People wanted him, why? Because, they knew without Hegde their party would collapse and Hegde could manage properly and bring money and distribute the money among their members. But such things have not happened in Congress. Even if a doubt arises against any Congress Minister, he resigns, whether at the Centre or in the States. You must be seeing it yourself and that is how the Congress believes in

its principles. *{Time-bell rings}* I have many things to say but since time is not there I shall confine myself to only a couple of important points. Price rise has been the hue and cry of the Opposition now. Which prices have risen in the Budget? It is the prices of the car, the TV and the refrigerator. Opposition leaders gave a paper statement that the Budget will not help the poor people. Can you tell me which poor people are purchasing cars, which poor people are purchasing colour TVs and which poor people are going in for refrigerators? Therefore, I congratulate the Minister because in this Budget he has not touched the poor people. They ask why there has been a rise in the prices of petroleum products. Enough has been told by all the people concerned and by the economists of India. But I will tell only one thing, and it is regarding the execution part at the lower level. The Government is taking many steps to help the poor through various development programmes and projects and different kinds of subsidies are being given to the poor. My only request is that the Government should keep an eye at the lower level where the people connected with these various projects and programmes are working. The Government should see to it that these people work properly and the execution of the Plan projects is done properly by these people. The Government should keep an eye on the officials at the lower level to see that they function properly to implement the aims and objectives of the Government.

With these words, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Hukmdeo Narayan Yadav.

**श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव (विहार) :** उपसभापति महोदय, सदन में जिस प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा हम कर रहे हैं, माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण दिया उसके लिए सदन में धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव है। मेरा निवेदन यह होगा कि राष्ट्रपति जी का अगर अनायास यह होता और वह स्वयं अपने मन से, अपने दिल से भाषण देते तो मैं जरूर उनको धन्यवाद देता। लेकिन यह राष्ट्रपति जी के मुँह से सरकार की बातें

कहलवाई गई हैं। उससे राष्ट्रपति जी को न कुछ लेना है और न कुछ देना है। यह केवल एक संबैधानिक औपचारिक निर्वाह है। जो आपने लिखकर दिया वही आपने पढ़वा दिया। सदन के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में वह पढ़वा दिया। क्योंकि आप नहीं पढ़ सकते थे इसलिए संविधान में प्रावधान है कि राष्ट्रपति संयुक्त अधिवेशन को सम्बोधित करेंगे। इससे संविधान की औपचारिकता का निर्वाह उन्होंने किया और हम भी उस औपचारिकता का निर्वाह मात्र कर रहे हैं।

बहुमत आपका है। हम न भी चाहेंगे, प्रस्ताव को आप पारित कर ही देंगे। लेकिन मेरा निवेदन यह है कि सदन में सत्तारूढ़ पक्ष जब बिल्कुल एकांगी होकर सोचने लगेगा तो उससे विपक्ष का जितना नुकसान नहीं होगा उससे ज्यादा आप अपना नुकसान कर लेंगे। सरकार की आंखें नहीं होती। सरकार कान से सुनती है और कान से ही देखती है। सरकार की आंखें बंद होती हैं और सरकार की आंखें हम और आप हैं जो यहां बैठे हुए हैं। प्रशासन चलाने वाले अधिकारी केवल अपने कामज और अपनी बात से सरकार को चलाते हैं हम और आप जो आंख से देखते हैं, सत्य को देखते हैं और समझते हैं उसी को सदन में रखते हैं, और उसी से सरकार को अवगत कराते हैं आगाह कराते हैं। “पंडित कहे किताब से कवि कहे आंख से”। पंडित तो अपने किताब देख कर कहता है लेकिन कवि आंखों से देखता है और बोलता है। मैं जो आंखों से देखता हूँ, सत्य को देखता हूँ वही आपके सामने रखता हूँ।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि आज देश के सामने जो खतरा है—चाहे राष्ट्रीय एकता का हो, चाहे राष्ट्रीय अखंडता का हो,—जिम्मेदारी आपकी है, करना आपको है। मेरा काम है केवल अपनी भावना को कहने का। आप करें तो करें नहीं करें तो न करें। चलाना आपको है। प्रशंसा आपकी होगी। नीतियां आपकी होंगी। लेकिन मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि भारत में राष्ट्रीय एकता और साम्प्रदायिक सदभावना के लिए आजादी के दिनों में महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में सभी वर्ग और समुदाय के बीच में क

[श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव]

राष्ट्रीय सहमति बनी थी। वह कहीं कागज पर नहीं लिखी गई थी। निरन्तर काम करते-करते लोगों के मन में एक आम सहमति बन गई थी और उसी आधार पर राष्ट्र का संचालन होता था। अब समय आ गया है कि जब देश में कट्टरता ने साम्प्रदायिक कट्टरता ने जन्म लिया है। अगर सभी को देश में रहना है हिन्दुओं को देश में रहना है, मुसलमानों को देश में रहना है, सिखों को देश में रहना है, ईसाई को देश में रहना है और पारसी को भी देश में रहना है, जब विभिन्न समुदाय और विभिन्न धर्म के मतावलम्बी भारत में रहेंगे तो फिर हमको एक बार फिर इकट्ठे हो कर राष्ट्रीय सहमति के आधार पर राष्ट्र को चलाना पड़ेगा। क्या हम इस धार्मिक कट्टरता के उन्माद को पैदा करके राष्ट्रीय एकता और अखंडता को बचा सकते हैं? हमें उदारता की भावना पैदा करके, हम अपने मन को लचीला बना कर कहीं न कहीं एक राष्ट्रीय सहमति पैदा करें इसी से हम राष्ट्र को बलवान और तेजस्वी बना सकते हैं। यह करना आपकी जिम्मेदारी है। आप अगर बाबरी मंदिर का सवाल उठाते हैं, इसका समर्थन करते हैं तो उससे समस्या का हल नहीं हो सकता है। अगर आप बाबरी मंदिर का सवाल उठाएंगे, कट्टर हिन्दुवाद को उठाएंगे तो दूसरी तरफ कट्टर मुस्लिमवाद भी उठेगा। कट्टरता से कट्टरता ही पैदा हो सकती है। एक समस्या के समाधान के लिए आप दूसरी समस्या खड़ी कर देते हैं एक समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए दूसरी समस्या खड़ी पर देते और अन्त में समस्या उलझते उलझते और भी उलझ जाती है। कोई भी राष्ट्र धर्म या सम्प्रदाय के नाम से नहीं टूटता है। देश तब टूटता है जब देश को चलाने वाला इंसान का दिल टूट जाता है। जब उसके मन में यह भावना भर जाती है कि उसके साथ न्याय नहीं हो रहा है। जब आदमी को यह हालत हो जाती है कि वह न्याय नहीं प्राप्त कर पाता है तो फिर देश टूटने लगता है। इसलिए आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि इंसान को टूटने से बचाया जाये। अगर इंसान का दिल टूट जाएगा तो फिर कुछ भी बचा नहीं रहेगा।

दूसरी चीज जिससे मैं उठाना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आप हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए नारा तो बहुत देते हैं जिसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। लेकिन उनके साथ न्याय नहीं होता है। आज हालत यह है कि जब हरिजन और आदिवासी ऊपर उठते हैं, सामाजिक न्याय प्राप्त करने के लिए आगे आते हैं तो दूसरे ऊंचे उठे हुए लोग आगे नहीं आने देते हैं। इन हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को ऊपर उठाने के लिए और उनकी रक्षा करने के लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं? बाज बिहार में क्या हो रहा है? नक्सलवाद के नाम पर आदिवासियों को मारा जाता है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन बातों की तरफ ध्यान दें।

अन्त में मैं एक और बात कह कर अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ। आप किसानों को खाद देते हैं, पम्पिंग सेट्स देते हैं और ऋण भी देते हैं और अनुदान भी देते हैं। जो पम्पिंग सेट 45 सौ रुपयों में बिकता था उसको आपने उनको 55 सौ रुपयों में और 56 सौ रुपयों में दिया। जो चीज 18 रु० में मिल सकती है वह आपने उनको 26 रु० में दी। इसी प्रकार से दूसरी चीजों में भी किया गया है। एक-एक बोरी किसानों को पांच-पांच और छः-छः हजार में दी गई है। जब मैंने इस संबंध में सरकार को जांच करने के लिए कहा तो हमें बताया गया कि सैन्ट्रल बैंक के छः अधिकारियों पर मुकदमा चलाया जाएगा। सरकार ने कहा कि हमने इन अधिकारियों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही शुरू कर दी है, लेकिन अभी तक उनके खिलाफ कोई मुकदमा दायर नहीं किया गया है। इस मामले की जांच सी० बी० आई० ने की है। इसमें एक हजार का मामला नहीं है बल्कि कई हजार का मामला है, करोड़ों का मामला है। इस देश में जो अंग्रेजी अखबार हैं उन्होंने इस बात को नहीं छपा है। वे दूसरी बातें छापते हैं। वे पूँजीपतियों की बातें छापते हैं। मैं आपसे यह प्रार्थना करता चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में सरकार की तरफ से बातें कही गई हैं, शासन की तरफ से अपनी बातें कही गई हैं विरोधी पक्ष ने भी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर अपने संशोधन, अपने सुझाव दिये हैं।

ऐसी स्थिति में आप एक दो बातें बिरोधी पक्ष की भी मान लें तो इससे कोई अनर्थ नहीं होने वाला है। आप अगर हमारी अच्छी बातों को मान लेंगे तो इससे कोई बुरा होने वाला नहीं है। जब तक आप बिरोधी पक्ष को साथ लेकर नहीं चलेगें तब तक राष्ट्र की एकता और देश की अखंडता की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप इस देश का शासन चलाने में पूर्ण रूप से अक्षम हैं, असमर्थ हैं। इसलिए मैं कभी भी इस धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन नहीं कर सकता हूँ।

SHRI SHANKARRAO NARAYAN RAO DESHMUKH (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir I would like to support the motion moved by Mr. Salve. I would not like to refer to all sorts of matters concerning all walks of life. Most of them have been dealt with. But I would like to draw the attention of this august House to a very important matter in the Address. At page 10, paragraph 47, it is stated:

"A comprehensive agriculture policy will be formulated to promote an optimal cropping pattern,, to improve water and soil management, to increase productivity of all crops, to enhance the incomes of small and marginal farmers and to enlarge our hard-won self-sufficiency in foodgrains through higher production of oilseeds and pulses. A time-bound action plan will be drawn up to take the green revolution to the eastern region."

Sir, all this concerns the farmers. In India, practically 70 per cent of the population is living in villages and most of the farmers are cultivating their farms in villages. But in 16 States and 1 Union Territories, lakhs of farmers are facing very bad conditions. The farmers whose lands are under the Urban Ceiling Act, face a very bad situation. Under the Urban Ceiling Act, a town is chosen and an agglomeration area is demarcated around the town. There are about 34 to 40 villages. All these villages are rural villages. But in the agglomeration area or the lands falling within the agglomeration area are shown as

for the purpose of residential zones, industrial zones, factory zones or for any purpose other than agriculture. This situation arises. The farmer who holds the land is entitled to only 2000 square metres, which means one bigha. If he has got a major son, he is also entitled to another 2000 metres. This is another bigha. No minor children and daughters are given any share. It would be a wonder to the Government that he cannot do any agriculture. He has to close down his vocation of life which he has been doing for generations. He loses his rights of inheritance and he loses all his rights. The law does not stop at that. The law goes a step further. The law says: all right, now these lands are vested in the Government. You can only take according to the fixed price. And the fixed price is not according to the market price. It is much below the market rate. Not only that. The law says you will get 25 per cent cash and 75 per cent at the expiry of 20 years. God knows whether the farmer would be alive or his children would be alive or his grandson would be alive. Can a farmer take the 25 per cent and go to a shopkeeper telling him to take 25 per cent today and that he would give him the remaining 75 per cent after 20 years? He cannot run even a butcher's shop or any other small shop. This is his fate. These farmers are facing these problems. Therefore, this point has been missed or went unnoticed by the hon. President or by the hon. Prime Minister and the Government. Therefore, I most humbly wish to bring this very serious problem to the notice of the Government. It has affected lakhs of farmers right from the South to the North, from the East to the West. 16 States and 2 Union Territories are facing this problem. For what? For urbanising the area. And at whose cost? At our cost. It is charity at somebody else's cost. How is it possible and to whom are you giving the land. The bogus societies and their builders are thriving upon it. They go on building after building and the farmers are just concerned. I know some of the cases in Maharashtra. A farmer had five acres of land. He was given 2000 sq. mtrs. for himself and his major son was given another 2000 sq. mtrs. It amounted to one

[Shri Shankarrao Narayanrao Deshmukh]

acre. His minor children did not get anything. And he was told, "All right, your four acres are vested in the Government. We will tell you when you get the price." In the meantime, the land was given to some societies, and God knows what these societies are. Where is the verification that these societies are honest? It is the bad state that the farmers are passing through. Therefore, I humbly submit that a serious thought should be given to this problem. Otherwise, the raising of the crops and the foodgrains and the socialistic pattern may not be a reality. This all goes against the ideas or the principles that we enunciate. I would again draw your attention to a very serious matter. This is Section 42 of the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act. It is a very peculiar Section. It says: "The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything in consistent therewith in any other law for the time being in force or any custom, usage or agreement or decree or order of a court, tribunal or other authority." This means, this Act over-rides all other Acts—the Act of Succession, the Act of Inheritance, the provision of market pricing under the Land Acquisition Act. Not only that. Under Article 31A of the Constitution, proviso (2) says that if a farmer cultivates his land personally and if those lands are taken by the Government, then he shall have to be paid market price. And this Article 31A(2) is included under the Fundamental Rights. And this Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act says that it can override the Constitution also. This is very surprising. Therefore, I submit that an injustice, most cruel and most unjust should not remain on the statute book of the country. There is only one thing left out. Either you repeal the Act or if you want to protect the interests of the farmers, then you pay them the market price and then only you take the land. Those people will go and start a butcher's shop or some other vocation. But you cannot do this thing in this way. By one way you say in your Address that, all right, we have done so much for the farmers, and by another way you take away all his livelihood. all his inheritance, and all his vocational life. There-

fore, my humble suggestion is that a serious thought should be given to this. And anything, any Act which overrides the Constitution, which overrides the Fundamental Rights should not remain on the statute book. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion expressing our gratitude to the hon. President for his Address delivered to the two Houses of Parliament on the 20th February.

Sir, we can today look back to the past one year with a sense of genuine satisfaction that during this short span of time, the country has marched ahead proudly in every sphere of nation's life under the pragmatic and dynamic leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi whom the country was fortunate to have for guiding its destiny at a very difficult time in its history. When the present Government took-over, the country was bedevilled by two seemingly insurmountable problems of Punjab and Assam. The Punjab problem had defied every solution. The problem had, in fact, become multi-dimensional. But not allowing his

thinking to be prejudiced or his 5 P.M. vision to be clouded by deep

personal tragedy in the loss of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the young Prime Minister rose to the occasion and demonstrated his excellent qualities of statesmanship and strong political will and sagacity in arriving at a settlement with the late Sant Longowal in a determined bid to extinguish the fire engulfing the strategic border State of Punjab and threatening the other parts of the country as well. Through the remarkably peaceful elections that followed, the people of Punjab expressed their ardent desire for peace and normalcy in the State. The installation of a new State Government gave rise to a feeling of hope and expectation that the hardworking Punjabis would henceforth be allowed a congenial atmosphere to work for the State's prosperity and the nation's unity but unfortunately the forces of disintegration aided and abetted by hostile foreign powers are at work again and there is a spurt in the incidents of violence. This is a cause of grave concern for every right-thinking citizen. We fervently



hope that the State Government rises to the occasion and acts courageously to isolate the elements which are bent upon ransacking the State and tear apart the fine fabric of nation's unity and integrity.

Sir, the end of violence and the return of democratic processes was the moving spirit in which the Punjab Accord was signed but we are hurt and dismayed to see that the present Akali Government has so far not realised their responsibility towards the people and daily innocent people have to sacrifice their lives at the hands of the extremists and the terrorists.

The scourge of communalism which has on umpteen occasions taken a heavy toll in the form of life and property and bruised badly the Indian nationalism has to be fought with all our might. But for that a concerned effort by all the political parties and opinion-makers is imperative. And, for this, I would urge earnestly the opposition parties to give up the path of confrontation, to give up the organisation of bandhs and work unitedly for building up of a strong India. To the Government, I urge to raise a national security force to protect the life and property and to act as an impartial peace-keeping force.

Sir, it was again by his sincerity that Shri Rajiv Gandhi was able to convince and win the agitationists in Assam as well and gave the countrymen an Independence Day Gift of peace and reconciliation\* in the form of the Assam Accord.

One of the very early tasks to which the Government addressed itself was to cleanse the public life and in this direction the Anti-Defection Bill was introduced and passed and ever since then there has been a consistent fight against corruption in every form.

Sir, the publication of a Status Paper titled Challenge of Education—A Policy Perspective and the call for an open debate on the education policy resulted in a meaningful national debate on the subject and strengthened the concept of participatory democracy. It was again with this idea of involving the public in policy formulation that the document containing the long-term fiscal policy was issued and sug-

gestions invited on the Central Budget for the year 1986-87.

Referring briefly to the education, it was indeed very heartening to learn from the present Budget that a big boost has been sought to be given to education with an allocation for the next year being 59 per cent above that of the past year.

We have always believed that religion cannot be a unifying force. If that were so, we would not have seen Bangladesh separating from Pakistan or the incessant war between Iraq and Iran. On the contrary, culture has always played that role and it is heartening to note that the Government has set up seven zonal cultural centres in the country and I am sure these centres would help, as the President has said, to promote a sense of cultural cohesion and that these centres would project the rich diversity of regional cultural traditions and their underlying unity.

Sir, the world economy today is facing a deep crisis and the developing nations have sunk deeper in the quagmire of debts. In this environment we have maintained a steady pace of progress and the nation is really on the move. We have an ambitious Seventh Five-Year Plan and have set for ourselves high targets of poverty alleviation, more schools, more potable water for villages, more power, more and better roads and in fact an all-round perceptible progress. These measures, I am sure, would ultimately help us in building for ourselves a strong, self-reliant and a modern economy.

We find that the foreign policy which the country has followed during the last 38 years is, in fact, the reflection of the various resolutions which the Congress adopted at its various historic sessions during the decades preceding the Independence and our commitment to promotion of non-alignment, peace, nuclear disarmament, friendship and co-operation between nations and the establishment of a just world order are again reiterated by the present Government. The Six-nation summit which was presided over by our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, resulted in bringing out and proclaiming to the world

[Shri Pawan Kurnar Bansal] the Delhi Declaration of 1985 which called upon the nuclear nations to freeze nuclear arms race and go in for a comprehensive nuclear weapons test ban treaty. Our active participation in SAARC was a sincere effort by us to allay the fears of our neighbours that India means well and wishes well to all our neighbours and to all freedom-loving countries of the world.

The Prime Minister with his innovative approach to modernisation of agriculture and industry and effective monitoring of the plans and administrative performance is sure to lead the country on a path which would find all of us overcoming boldly a variety of hurdles and march firmly and securely for strengthening our secular and democratic institutions and attain our goal of social justice.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the Presidential Address, the most important thing which is missing is about regional imbalance. It has been stated in para 24 that fulfilment of the Plan requires total commitment and determination to mobilise adequate resources for investment. Further, it has been stated that they are taking up the National Rural Employment Programme and other anti-poverty programmes. But Sir, even if these anti-poverty programmes are implemented, unless there is a policy on balanced development of all regions, poverty cannot be eradicated altogether. Balanced development of all regions does not merely mean one State or the other. It is a failure of our planning process that market forces have succeeded in bringing about islands of prosperity like Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras. Take, for example, the biggest State in India, U.P., where eastern U.P. is backward. The same is the case in regard to Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and other States. Many parts are not developed. On the other hand, they are economically backward. The other day, *Shri Kalp Nath Rai* moved Resolution in this House in regard to eastern U.P. He pointed out that the standard of living of the people in these areas is poor and he demanded that the backwardness of this region should be removed.

The Vidarbha area from where I come, is backward. Though Maharashtra is called a very progressive State, the concentration of industries is only around Bombay. Seventy per cent of the industries in Maharashtra is located in Bombay city and nearby areas; 49 per cent in Bombay, 10 per cent in Pune, 11 per cent in the district of Thane. So far as the nine districts of Vidarbha are concerned, it is less than 8 per cent. In the land of Mahatma, Wardha district, it is very less, 0.42 per cent. The same is the story in the case of Yavatmal, from where the ex-Chief Minister of Maharashtra Late Vasantrao Naik hailed 0.74 per cent. Akola 0.78 per cent. In Marathwada, it is 0.31 per cent and in Osmanabad, it is 0.21 per cent. Under the planning process of the Central Government, they consider State as a unit. The State level planning process in my State up to 1974 has resulted in a lot of inequalities and, therefore, district-level planning through DPDCs was thought of. Even here, it was found that many irrigation schemes could not be taken up and many schemes were left out. The result is, neither State-level planning nor district-level planning has been a success. When the Maharashtra State was formed, article 371(2) was enacted and it was proposed that there should be statutory development boards for the Vidarbha as well as Marathwada areas. These Boards have to be constituted by the Central Government. The Maharashtra Legislature passed a Resolution as far back as 26th July, 1984. It was a unanimous Resolution that development boards should be constituted to eradicate economic backwardness. The Resolution was sent to the Central Government for implementation under article 371(2). When the matter came up before this House, on 3rd May, 1984, the then Home Minister, Shri P. C. Sethi, informed the House in reply to my question and to the questions of Shrimati Saroj Khaparde and Dr. Najma Heptulla, that these boards will be constituted immediately and that they were only awaiting the opinion of the Maharashtra Government. It was specifically stated and an assurance was given in this House that the Centre is in sympathy with the demand and that these boards will be constituted. Maharashtra

Government sent the recommendation in August, 1984. Since then, the Central Government is sitting tight on this. The Home Minister said in this House on the 27th of last month that this is still under consideration. They make a statement here and there that they are consulting the Governor or the Maharashtra Government, but actually it is all sidetracking the whole issue. The responsibility squarely lies on the Central Government to constitute these Boards. Constitution of development boards has become a very emotional issue in Vidarbha and Marathwada. Any further delay in constituting the boards will only destroy the peace in those areas. Confrontation is inevitable. I, therefore, warn the Government, not to allow the patience of the people be lost. It is not a demand in particular, it is a demand for development of the masses. As you know, Sir, it was easy to fight for the freedom of the country but the battle for development is very difficult. When the people are yearning for development, why should the Government come in their way? I, therefore, appeal to the Home Minister and the Prime Minister that they should not play with the sentiments of the Vidarbha and Marathwada people in setting up the development boards.

Then, I have heard some of the speeches here on the question of national integration. This is a very important question. We want a secular country. Some of the Members who spoke earlier showered praise on the hon. Prime Minister for Punjab and Assam Accords. But to my mind no steps have been taken for real national integration. Paragraph 8 of the Presidential Address says: "The reconstituted National Integration Council will have to act decisively and systematically to strengthen secularism." What is the danger to us? Internal danger is greater than the external danger to our country. It is admitted there without mentioning Kashmir. It says: "Communalism continues to pose a serious threat to national unity. It is being reinforced by religious fundamentalism and fanaticism." Communalism whether it is in the majority or in the minority is a danger to our country.

Communal threat is the same at all places, whether it is Bombay or in any other place, but the whole difficulty is that the Government is not taking effective steps to contain fundamentalism, fanaticism or communalism. Sir, communal riots took place in Kashmir. Communal riots were not limited to Jammu, they were there in Anantnag also, but no steps were taken to protect the lives of the people. While Dr. Farooq Abdullah, popular leader of the opposition there, went from place to place to meet those who were affected, who lost their kith and kin, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir was just sitting in his bungalow in Srinagar, he did not move out of his house. No steps were taken. In Kashmir, Chief Minister Shah is merely known as 'Curfew Shah'. He only wants to rule Kashmir by curfew. The statement of Mr. M.M. Khajoria, Director General of Police has appeared in the Kashmir Times of 24th February, 1986. I quote:

"The director general of police Mr. M. M. Khajoria, said here today that the hand of Jamaat Islami was evident behind the recent communal disturbances in Anantnag district...

Replying to a question, Mr. Khajoria said that though violence had taken place in several Anantnag villages it was not at large scale. However, the attacks on minority community were organised and that alone was sufficient indication of the involvement of Jamaat. The Jamaat Islami, he said, was the only well-knit in Anantnag District with regular cadre and in a position to organise such violence."

(*Time bell rings*). I am finishing. Therefore, when the Government knows that these are the communal forces working there. When Government knows that extremists are having camps in Kashmir, when we read in the newspapers that 'Pakistan Zindabad' slogans are raised in Kashmir by some sections of people, what is the Government's answer? The answer is that a democratic government which was working there has been dismissed by planned manipulation and a defector Government has been brought which has no

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

courage to meet the communal situation. I therefore demand that it is high time that the present government is dismissed and the popular government is restored in Kashmir.

Sir, there are two other points which I want to make. One is about the education policy. In paras 14 and 15 of the President's Address, it has been stated that Government has issued "The Challenge of Education" policy document and it is further stated that steps are being taken to evolve a new education policy which will be very important from the national perspective. It will involve all the people and cover all departments of educational concept. In this document on education policy, I am surprised that there is neither a mention of physical education nor sports. Without physical education and sports, it is not possible to have a national policy on education. If Government wants national integration and communal peace, the sports can play a big role. By mass participation in sports, community life is developed and brotherhood is fostered. Even today there is no physical education census. We do not know how many schools have got playgrounds. One report 20 years back said that 36 per cent of schools had no playgrounds. Even census about how much equipment is required, how much money is required, how many Sports or physical Education Officers are there and how many are required is not available. Therefore, my suggestion to the Government is that if it wants to plan really for physical education and sport, it must plan systematically and scientifically by making a census and then allocating funds.

Lastly, the point which I want to make is about the news agencies staff. It is very unfortunate that on 7th January, 1986, the Information and Broadcasting Minister issued an order stopping subscription to the Hindustan Samachar and Samachar Bharati—the only two Hindi language news agencies. This has rendered 270 persons jobless. Some of them are very eminent journalists, their whole life having been spent in this field. What is the Government's reply to this? They are only

encouraging PTI to open a new Hindi language agency. A language agency does not merely mean Hindi agency. There are Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Malayalam language—so many languages for which language agency is necessary. Instead of doing their own work and responsibility, I am surprised to find that our Information and Broadcasting Ministry has stopped the subscription to these two language news agencies. And the Government itself is incurring loss to the tune of Rs. 50 lakhs by way of rental for teleprinters etc. I, therefore, suggest to the Government to take up this matter seriously, call a meeting of the representatives of Information and Broadcasting Ministry, Communication Ministry, Labour Ministry and solve the problem of these 270 journalists. At least it can be treated as sick industry and they can give them alternative jobs or absorb them in Government of India, All India Radio or Information and Broadcasting Department. Let it not be said that these agencies which were started by very eminent persons and were developed by their labour and sacrifice are being forsaken by the Minister without providing any help to them. Thank you.

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SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA (Delhi): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by Mr. N.K.P. Salve to thank the President for his Address to both the Houses of Parliament. Sir, my honourable colleagues from this side of the House have already spoken a great deal about the achievements of our Government and our party. The honourable President was pleased to give a bird's-eye view of our present state of economy, our present state of development in science and technology, our aspirations and what we intend to do in the future. Therefore, Sir, I shall not dwell much upon these aspects. I would only like to raise two or three different points to which my honourable colleagues on the other side referred.

One of the points raised by Mr. Dhabe was about news agencies. Sir, we agree that the media is an extremely important part of our democracy, but I was surprised that Mr. Dhabe did not refer to the

freedom of press enjoyed in our country. I would like to point that India is one of the few countries in the world which has complete freedom of press. Our system is extremely effective in bringing to our people all the information of an open society. Sir, in this matter we can be justly proud of our achievements but, therefore, it also becomes necessary that we should adopt measures for the rapid growth of both the newspapers and the electronic media. This is very important for development and therefore I should like to point out that some of the factors that are being faced by the newspapers, particularly in terms of the high prices of newsprint, could be reviewed and re-considered. I think it should be possible for the Government to improve the productivity of our paper mills and try to make the newsprint available to the newspapers at cheaper rates.

Sir, while talking about the media, the importance of the electronic media, particularly TV and radio, must be borne in mind. When we talk of the 21st century and the future of this country in the coming 15 years, it is certainly important that the electronic media is also going to play an extremely important role in the development process to shape India from a developing country into a fully developed country. It is our intention, as declared by our worthy Prime Minister as well as our President, to be in the forefront, in the front line, of the development of science and technology. We want to have a modern society, we want to have a better life for our people, and in order to achieve this it is important that we should build a scientific temper in our country which means that we have to bring science to the common man to make science and research related to solving the problems of the common man and not of industry alone. Industrial science is progressing very well.

As you know, we have had great achievements in space. Today we have our satellites going round the world and we have communications through them. There is going to be a communications explosion in the whole world and we shall also be a part of it. The question is that whether

software to make it possible for our people to see and understand the process of development, to have a better life, to have better health, to have better information and also entertainment is extremely necessary. I would like that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting prepare a comprehensive media policy and further this process. Sir, the other thing that I would like to refer to is the efforts made by our Prime Minister in getting the neighbouring countries to be more closely connected with us, to live with us as friends and almost as a family. As you know, Sir, the SAARC has brought this possibility closer to us than before. This initiative has brought the possibility that we can develop very close and friendly relations with our neighbours. This is an area which again, Sir, would be extremely important, and I would suggest to the Government, through you, Sir, that more cultural and scientific and other methods should be found to have much closer relationship with these countries so that the whole region can grow towards a more developed society.

Sir, the third thing that I would like to point out for your consideration is that our efforts should be, whatever we do, to do it in an excellent manner. Sufficient emphasis is not laid today on pride of being Indian. This was a matter referred to by the Prime Minister in his speech recently. I think we must be proud. We must try to do things in such a way that we come to the same standard or a better standard in whatever we do in the world, whether it is a small thing or a big thing, in an excellent manner, so that we can be justly proud of our great heritage and our great future. Sir, I would like that a comprehensive plan is made for developing a sense of pride in our people, especially in our young people who need a lot of guidance in this process to look forward, to have an open, wider vision of our society, of our country, the cultural heritage as well as the future which is awaiting us.

Sir, this brings me to the point of suggesting that the younger people need very special attention in our country. The President has referred to the youth affair-

[Shri Vishwa Bandhu Gupta] Sir, in this I would like to request that greater emphasis should be laid on aviation and aero-sports and things which are in space. In the future this will prepare our coming generations to be more prepared for the society in which they are going to live. Sir, the coming society is going to be a society ruled by computers, a society of space, of space stations, of the spin-offs from the space. I think it is very important that our colleges, our schools are prepared to impart education under the new education policy in such a way that our young people, boys and girls are ready for the future in a better way.

Sir, as I said in the beginning, I have no intention of inflicting a long speech on the House. But I should like to say that the hon. President had given such a wide picture, within a periphery in such a manner that he talked about our achievements. The party under the leadership of our Prime Minister has taken very bold steps, Sir, in the last one year, to give a new direction, a dynamic direction, to our society and our country. And I am sure that we can move with great faith and hope for the future of our country.

Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sagar Rayaka. It is a maiden speech.

श्री सागर रायका (गुजरात) :  
आदरणीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर हम रेसिनिधर कुलिंग श्री एन० के० पी० सल्वे द्वारा जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्रीमान्, भारत में 70 प्रतिशत से भी अधिक लोग आज देह तों में रहते हैं। गांवों में रहने वाले इन लोगों के लिये ग्रामीण विकास के कार्यक्रम बहुत ही अच्छी तरह केन्द्रीय सरकार चल रहा है। ग्रामीण विकास के अलावा दूसरे विकास के ऊपर भी हम जोर देकर रखें तो जो देश के हजारों लाखों लोग हैं, जिनको आज दी के बदलने की चाहत नहीं मिल सका, उनको अभी अच्छा मौका मिल रहा है।

इनको अभी अच्छा मौका मिल रहा है। देह तों में रहने वाले लोगों को जिस चीज की जरूरत है, खूब मेहनत करके हम सब को जितने रखने के लिये जो प्रयास करते हैं उनके लिये जो जरूरी चीजें होती हैं वह देने के लिये सरकार काटिबद्ध है। ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रम के लिये 1 करोड़ 50 लाख फैमिली को बैनिफिट देने की बात थी, टारगेट था, इसकी जगह पर सरकार ने एक करोड़ 66 लाख लोगों को बैनिफिट दिया है। बहुत लोग बहुत कुछ कहते हैं। अगर ग्रामीण विकास सरकार का लक्ष्य रहा है। ग्रामीण विकास सरकार के मददेनजर रहे हैं। ग्रामीण विकास के बारे में सरकार ने जिस जगह से लोगों को ऊपर उठाने के लिये, किसानों को मदद देने के लिये सरकार ने अपनी नीति में जो समावेश किया है वह बहुत ही अच्छा है।

जो बंधन मजदूर हैं उन बंधन मजदूरों के लिये उनके अवां के लिये अच्छा प्रस्तावित है। तत्कालीन पंचवर्षीय योजना में 100 करोड़ रुपये बंधन मजदूरों के लिये, शेड्युल्ड कास्ट और शेड्युल्ड ट्राइब्स के आवास के लिये सरकार ने रखे हैं। एजुकेटेड अनएम्प्लायमेंट के निवारण के लिये सरकार ने एम्प्लायमेंट की एक स्कीम भी रखी है। जिससे अब लोग अपनी पढ़ाई पूरी करके इधर-उधर न भटकें और अपना अच्छा तरह से गुजार कर सकें। इच्छा से व्यवसाय कर सकें इसके लिये, एजुकेटेड अनएम्प्लायमेंट को एम्प्लायमेंट देने के लिये सरकार ने अच्छा काम बनाई है। बहुत सारे इस देश के नाज़वान हैं उनके लिये एक अच्छा रास्ता खोल है। स्वर्गीय श्री मती इंदिरा गांधी ने 1984 में यह स्कीम शुरू की थी। इस स्कीम के हिसाब से आज हम उनको बहुत अच्छा तरह से फायदा दे रहे हैं।

कर चोरी करने वाले लोगों को बहुत अच्छा तरह से इस सरकार ने शिक्षा दी है। उनसे कर वसूल किया है। हमने आज भारत का मुस्तक विश्व की राजनीति में ऊंचा किया है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने गुट निरपेक्ष देशों के

नेता बन कर पूरे भारत का मुस्तक विश्व के राजकारण में खूब ऊंचा किया है। मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

उन्होंने चुनाव के समय में भी कहा था कि हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी का लक्ष्य है इस देश से कर्प्शन को हटाना। कर्प्शन हटाने के लिये जहाँ-जहाँ उन्हें कर्प्शन नज़र आई वहाँ अच्छे ठोस कदम लेकर बड़े-बड़े अधिकारियों को भी सबक सिखाने की शुरुआत की। यह झण्टाचार देश से तभी हट सकता है जब सब लोग इसमें शामिल होकर अपना-अपना सहयोग दें।

हमारे गुजरात में कपड़े की मिल तीन साल से बन्द थी। तकरीबन 20 से 30 हजार कामदार बेकार हो गये थे। मैं अपने इस हाऊस के लीडर आदरणीय विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह जी को अभिनन्दन दूंगा कि उन्होंने 70 करोड़ रुपये इस अहमदाबाद की बन्द मिलों के लिये 6 महीने पहले दिये और आज अहमदाबाद के 25 हजार कामदार अपनी रोजी ले सकते हैं। सरकार ने गत साल फूड एंड डेवलपमेंट के बारे में जो कुछ भी किया है वह कभी गत सरकार ने या जो 77 में सरकार थी उसने नहीं किया है और इस के बारे में कभी कोई सोच भी नहीं सकता था। सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में आपने इनके बारे में अच्छी योजना बनाई है। जब 1969 में बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात आई उस समय यही लोग थे जो भारत को समाजवाद की लाइन से हटाना चाहते थे और 1969 में विशेषाधिकार भंग और बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके इस देश को समाजवाद की लाइन पर खड़ा किया। इसके लिये स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का मैं आभार मानता हूँ। आज जब इस देश में आन्तरिक अशांति हो गई है तो आसाम और पंजाब जैसे बड़े-बड़े सवाल हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने अपनी समझदारी से सुलझा दिये हैं, उनका निराकरण कर दिया है। पंजाब और आसाम के प्रश्नों से इस देश की एकता और अखण्डता को और देश की शांति को जोखिम पैदा हो गया था उसके लिए विरोधी पक्ष के लोग, विरोधी

पाटियां भी चिन्तित थी। लेकिन उस टाइम उनको जो रोल अदा करना चाहिए वह रोल अदा करने में बहुत कमी रहीं। इस देश की एकता और अखण्डता को निभाने के लिए स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इन्दिरा-गांधी ने उस टाइम कहा था कि मैं रहूँ या न रहूँ मेरा जीना या मेरी मृत्यु महत्व की बात नहीं है, मगर इस देश में एकता इस देश की अखण्डता और इस देश में शांति कायम रहे। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह बहुत जरूरी है। यह बात स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने हमें बताई थी। आज देश में वह कामवादी ताकतें फिर से सिर उठा रही हैं। उन सब को कंट्रोल करने के लिए हम सब इकट्ठा मिलकर काम कर रहे हैं। आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो बातें बताई हैं, वे इस देश के विकास के लिए, इस देश की प्रगति के लिए और इस देश की शांति के लिए बताई हुई बातें हैं। उन सब का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और यह सब कह कर अपने भाषण का समापन करता हूँ।

श्री हाशिम रजा अख्दी इलाहाबादी  
(उत्तर प्रदेश) :

लगा रहा हूँ मजमनों को, फिर अम्बार, खबर करो मेरे गुलशन के खोशाबीनों को।

जनाब डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ, शुक्रगुजार हूँ कि आपने मुझे सत्र के एड्रेस पर बोलने का मौका दिया मैं आपके सामने यहाँ सत्र के एड्रेस पर श्री साल्वे जी ने जो तहरीक की है उसकी तार्किक करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैंने और आपने और पूरे सदन ने सत्र के एड्रेस की, प्रेजीडेंट के खुतबे को गौर से पढ़ा होगा। पूरे खुतबे में, इस 16 सफे के खुतबे में बार-बार एक बात जो दोहराई गई है, वहाँ यह दोहराई गई है कि मुल्क को कौमी एकता को, राष्ट्रीय एकता को इतिहास, प्रेम और अकवत को हमें बनाये, रखना है। हर मसले में प्रेजीडेंट ने वहाँ

[श्री हाशिम रजा आबदी इलाहाबादी]

बात कही है कि हम लोगों को, पूरी काम को, एक होकर रहना है। हमें कौम भी यही है कि जब तक राष्ट्रीय एकता को, कामी यकजहत को इस मुल्क में नहीं पैदा किया जाएगा, मुल्क का आगे बढ़ावा नहीं हो सकता है और उस वक्त तक मुल्क तरक्की नहीं कर सकता है। गालिबन हमारे फाजिल सदर ने, हमारे लाक प्रेजिडेंट ने कुछ खुशबू सूँघ ली है कि कुछ जगड़ा करने वाले लोग, कुछ लड़ाकू लोग, कुछ सरपतद लोग मुल्क में फितना और जगड़/लड़ाई चाहते हैं। मैं आपको एक छोटी सी मिसाल दूँगा। मिसाल है मुस्लिम पर्सनल ला की। यह हमारे प्राइम-मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि जिस तरकीब से हिन्दू कोड बिल है, फारस ला है, इंग्लिश ला है, उसी तरीके से मुस्लिम कोड बिल भी है। लेकिन नहीं, जब जब यह चीज लोकसभा की एक मंजिल से कुछ आगे बढ़ चुकी है तो वे लोग जिनको मुसलमानों के किसी मामले में कामी दिलचस्पी नहीं रहती, वे लोग दिलचस्पी ले रहे हैं और इसको सलेक्ट कमिटी में भिजवाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ताकि हमारी कांग्रेस हमारी सरकार और राजीव गाँधी की उम्मीदों और उन की शक्तियत में आँच आवे। मैं उनको यकीन दिलाता हूँ उनकी शक्तियत में इन छोटी-छोटी बातों से कामी नहीं हो सकती बात वहीं होगी निर्णय वहीं लिया जायेगा, फैसला वहीं होगा जो राजीव जी चाहेंगे। अक्सर लियत उनके साथ है मुसलमान उनके साथ है। वह चाहे लोकसभा के हो, वे चाहे राज्यसभा के हो, वे चाहे दोनों सभाओं के सदन के अंदर के हों और चाहे बाहर के हों। इंदिरा जी ने हमेशा अक्कलियतों का साथ दिया और राजीव जी ने इन अक्कलियतों का साथ देने में पूरी दुनिया में दलील कायम कर दी। मां की मर्यत पड़ी हुई थी और वे मारने वाली काम की, जो अक्कलियत में थे उनकी रखवाली मुहल्ले-मुहल्ले जाकर कर रहे थे इसकी उन्होंने दुनिया में एक दलील कायम की है। ये मां बेटे और उनके नाना पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ये सब इंसानों के दोस्त थे, अक्कलियतों के दोस्त थे, हिन्दुओं के दोस्त थे पारसियों के

दोस्त थे जैसी कामी हैं उनके दोस्त थे हालाँकि इन तमाम कामों के साथ कामी नस्ल और खून का रिश्ता नहीं था, मगर वे इंसान थे और इंसान बनकर हिन्दुस्तान में आये थे और वे इंसान बनकर जिये और इंसान बनकर मर गये। तो मैं आपसे यह कह रहा था कि हमारे फाजिल सदर ने, राष्ट्रपति ने जो एड्रेस दिया है उसमें 16 पन्ने में तकरीबन 7 पन्ने कामी एकता, कामी यकजहतो के हैं और वे यह कहते हैं हम में कहीं कामी यकजहतो पैदा हो सकती है क्योंकि यह कामी यकजहतो हमारा सफर है, इस पर चलकर हम तरक्की करेंगे, हमारा मुल्क तरक्की करेगा, आप तरक्की करेंगे और हमारे विरधी दल के भाई-बहनें बाक-आउट कर लिया था, आज आ गये पता नहीं कैसे, जब बाक-आउट कर लिया था तो क्यों आये लेकिन उनका शुक्रिया अदा आ गये। तो बहरहाल यह जो एड्रेस है, यह सब तरक्कियाँ हैं यह सब के लिये है, किसी कांग्रेस और नान-कांग्रेस पार्टी के लिये नहीं है क्योंकि प्रेसिडेंट जो है वह किसी पार्टी का नहीं होता। बल्कि मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि हमारे प्यारे जवाफिर, जवां होसला, जवानसल राजीव गाँधी भी जब किसी पार्टी के नहीं हैं, उन्हें भी अपना लो और देखे कि इस आनाइत से, इस मुहब्वत से तुम्हारा मुल्क कहीं और किसनी तरक्की करता है। दोस्तों और भाइयों सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने सन 1939 में यह कहा था, क्या कहा था, उन्होंने कहा था कि तुम हमें इतहाद दो, तुम दाहिने हाथ से इतहाद दो हम बाएँ हाथ से तुम्हें आजादी देंगे। मतलब यह कि यह इतहाद का नारा उस जमाने का है यह कोई नया नारा नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में इतहाद का नारा हमेशा से आपके हित के लिए आपकी बेहतरी के लिए आपकी बहबूदी के लिए कायम है। उसके बाद मैं यह अज कहूँगा कि एक लीडर साहब थे। उन्होंने गुस्से में आकर कर यह कहा कि श्रीलंका के लिए इस खुतबे में कोई बात नहीं है यह नहीं है वो नहीं है मैं यह कहता हूँ कि जब मुख्तसर तौर से यह लिख दिया दाखली अमन और आलमी अमन तो क्या आलम में दुनिया में श्रीलंका नहीं है? जब लिखा है हमारे प्रेजिडेंट ने दाखली अमन और आलमी अमन



तो दुनिया में आलम में क्या श्रीलंका नहीं है? तो यह सोचने की कमजोरी है। यह सोचने का फेर है। मैं यह कहूंगा कि इस खुतबे को बार बार रखा जाए। जितने हमारे विरोधी भाई हैं एक जमाने में मावति के मामले को रोज ठाठते थे क्योंकि संजय गांधी ने मावति बना कर के नहीं दी थी प्लान उनका था वो मर गये। तो मट्टू साहब आप परेशान न हों इसके बाद तो संजय गांधी ने जिस प्लान को बनाया था वो मर गये तो रोज विरोधी दल से मावति कहिये कहीं यह मरेडल कहीं वा स्कैडल (व्यवधान) अब जब मावति सड़कों पर घूम रही है आपको दिल्ली के गांव गांव में घूम रही है तो मावति का कोई तस्करा नहीं है। अब मावति को भूल गई अपोजीशन (व्यवधान) वह कुछ भी हो वह हम गरीबों के लिए नहीं है तो यह राजीव गांधी की देन है, इंदिरा जी की देन है उसके बाद पहुंचते पहुंचते श्री नारायण दत्त तिवारी की देन है क्योंकि हमारे सन्न मिनिस्टर है, हमारे इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर है। मतलब यह है कि जब कोई कमजोरी आप नहीं पाते हैं तो इतना बाबेला मचाते हैं उद्यम मचाते हैं कि असल बात को लोग भूल जाते हैं और जब हकीकत सामने आती है तो उसके बाद (समय की घंटी) बज रही है क्या करें मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि यह शेर मैंने लिखा था—

के तेरे नाम पर इज्जतदा कर रहा हूँ  
के तेरे नाम पर इन्तहा कर रहा हूँ

† [शुभ्रی ہاشم رضا صاحبی الہ آبادی]

(اُتر پڑیہیں):

لگا رہا ہوں مضامینوں کے پھر انبار  
خبرہ کورو میرے گلشن کے خوشہ چمنوں کو  
جناب ذہنی چھرمین صاحب -  
میں آپکا آبادی ہوں - شکرگزار ہوں -  
کہ آپ نے مجھے صدر کے ایڈریس پر بولنے

† [ ] Transliteration in Arabic script.

کا موقع دیا - میں آپکے سامنے یہاں  
صدر کے ایڈریس پر شری ساوے جی  
نے جو تعریف کی ہے - اسکی تائید  
کرنے کھٹے کھڑا ہوا ہوں - میں نے آپ  
اور پورے سدن نے صدر کے ایڈریس  
کو - پریذیڈنٹ کے خطبہ کو غور سے  
پڑھا ہوگا - پورے خطبہ میں اس 14  
صفحہ کے خطبہ میں بار بار ایک  
بات جو دھواڑی گئی ہے - وہ یہ دھواڑی  
گئی ہے کہ ملک کی قومی ایکٹا کو -  
راشٹریہ ایکٹا کو - اتھان پریم کو میں  
بنائے رکھتا ہے - اس مسئلہ میں  
پریذیڈنٹ نے یہی بات کہی ہے کہ  
ہم لوگوں کو - پوری قوم کو ایک  
ہو کر رکھتا ہے - حقیقت بھی یہی ہے -  
کہ جب تک راشٹریہ ایکٹا کو - قومی  
یکتہ ہی کو اس ملک میں نہیں پیدا  
کھا جائیگا - ملک کا آگے بڑھاؤ نہیں ہو  
سکتا ہے - اور اسوقت تک ملک ترقی  
نہیں کر سکتا ہے - غالباً ہمارے فاضل  
صدر نے - ہمارے لائق پریذیڈنٹ نے  
کچھ خوشبو سونگے لی ہے کہ کچھ  
چھکڑا کرنے والے لوگ - کچھ لڑاکو  
لوگ - کچھ شریسند لوگ ملک میں  
فعلہ اور چھکڑا - لڑائی چاہتے ہیں -

میں آپکو ایک چھوٹی سی مثال  
دیتا - مثال ہے - "مسلم پرسنل لا"  
کی یہ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر نے کہا ہے  
کہ جس طریقہ سے "ہندو کوڈ بل"  
ہے - "پارسی لا" ہے - "عیسائیت لا"  
ہے - اسی طریقہ سے "مسلم کوڈ بل"

[شری ہاشم رضا مابدی (لہ آبادی)]  
 رہی ہے۔ لیکن نہیں۔ اب جب یہ چھڑ  
 ”لوگ سہا“ کی ایک منزل سے کچھ  
 آگے بڑھ چکی ہے تو وہ لوگ جن کو  
 مسلمانوں کے کسی معاملہ میں کبھی  
 دلچسپی نہیں دہی۔ وہ لوگ دلچسپی  
 لے رہے ہیں اور اسکو سلیمت کھیلی  
 میں بھجوانے کی کوشش کر رہے  
 ہیں۔ تاکہ ہماری کانگریس۔ ہماری  
 سرکار اور راجپوت گاندھی کی اسدوں  
 اور شخصیت پر آنچ آوے۔ میں ان  
 کو یقین داتا ہوں۔ بات وہی ہوگی۔  
 نرنے وہی لیا جائے گا۔ ٹھسلے وہی  
 ہوگا جو راجپوت گاندھی چاہیں گے۔  
 اقلیت انکے ساتھ ہے۔ مسلمان اس کے  
 ساتھ ہیں۔ وہ چاہے لوگ سہا کے  
 ہوں۔ چاہے راجپوت سہا کے ہوں۔ وہ  
 چاہے دونوں سہاؤں کے اندر کے ہوں اور  
 چاہے باہر کے ہوں۔ اندرا جی نے ہمیشہ  
 اقلیتوں کا ساتھ دیا۔ اور راجپوت جی نے  
 ان اقلیتوں کا ساتھ دینے کی پوری دنیا  
 میں مثال قائم کر دی۔

میں کی مہمت پڑی ہوئی ہے  
 اور وہ مارنے والی قوم کی۔ جو اقلیت  
 میں ہوں انکی دکھوالی مصلے مصلے  
 چاکر کر رہے تھے۔ اسکی انہوں نے  
 دنیا میں ایک دلیل قائم کر دی۔  
 یہ میں بیٹھے اور انکے نانا  
 پلڈت جواہر لال نہرو یہ سب انسانوں  
 کے دوست تھے۔ اقلیتوں کے دوست  
 تھے۔ ہندوؤں کے دوست تھے۔ ہارسوں

کے دوست تھے۔ جو جو قومیں ہوں  
 انکے دوست تھے۔ حالانکہ ان تمام  
 قوموں کے ساتھ قومی۔ فسل اور خون  
 کا رشتہ نہیں تھا۔ مگر وہ انسان  
 تھے اور انسان بن کر ہندوستان میں  
 آئے تھے اور انسان بن کر چکے۔ اور  
 انسان بن کر سر گئے۔ تو میں آپ  
 سے یہ کہہ رہا تھا کہ ہمارے فاضل  
 صدر لے۔ رائٹریٹی نے۔ جو اینڈریس  
 دیا ہے اس میں سولہ پلوں میں  
 سے تقریباً ساٹھ پلے قومی ایکٹا۔ قومی  
 یکجہتی کے ہیں۔ اور وہ یہ کہتے  
 ہیں ہم میں یہاں قومی یکجہتی  
 پیدا ہو سکتی ہے۔ کیونکہ یہ قومی  
 یکجہتی ہمارا سفر ہے۔ اس پر چل  
 کر ہم ترقی کریں گے۔ ہمارا ملک  
 ترقی کرے گا۔ آپ ترقی کریں گے۔ اور  
 ہمارے ورودھی دل کے بھائی چلپوں نے  
 واک آؤٹ کر لیا تھا۔ آج آگئے پتہ  
 نہیں کہسے۔ جب واک آؤٹ کر لیا  
 تھا تو کہوں آئے لیکن ان کا شکریہ  
 کہ آگئے۔ تو بہر حال یہ جو اینڈریس  
 ہے سب ترقیاں ہوں۔ یہ سب کھلنے  
 ہیں۔ کسی کانگریس۔ اور نان کانگریس  
 پارٹی کیلئے نہیں کیونکہ پریڈیڈنٹ  
 کسی پارٹی کا نہیں ہوتا۔ بلکہ میں  
 تو یہ کہونگا کہ ہمارے پہارے جواں فکر۔  
 جواں حوصلہ۔ جواں نسل۔  
 راجپوت گاندھی بھی اب کسی پارٹی  
 کے نہیں ہیں۔ انہوں بھی ایٹالو  
 اور دیکھو کہ اس ایڈاٹھت سے۔ اس  
 مہمت سے تمہارا ملک کہاں اور

گتلی ترقی کرتا ہے - دوستوں اور  
 بھائیوں سبھاش چندر بھوش نے  
 سنہ ۱۹۳۹ ع میں یہ کہا تھا کہ - کیا  
 کہا تھا - انہوں نے کہا تھا کہ تم  
 ہمیں اقتصاد دو - تم داہلے ہاتھ سے  
 اقتصاد دو - ہم بائیں ہاتھ سے تمہیں  
 آزادی دیں گے - مطلب یہ کہ یہ  
 اقتصاد کا نعرہ اس زمانے کا ہے - یہ  
 کوئی نیا نعرہ نہیں ہے - ہندوستان  
 میں اقتصاد کا نعرہ ہمیشہ سے آپ کے  
 ہت کے لئے - آپکی بہتری کے لئے آپکی  
 بہبودی کے لئے قائم ہے - اس کے بعد  
 یہ عرض کرونگا کہ ایک لیڈر صاحب  
 تھے انہوں نے قصہ میں آکر یہ کہا  
 کہ شری لٹکا کے لئے اس خطہ میں  
 کوئی بات نہیں ہے - یہ نہیں ہے -  
 وہ نہیں ہے - میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ  
 جب مختصر طور سے یہ لکھدیا کہ  
 داخلی امن اور عالمی امن - تو کہا  
 عالم میں دنیا میں شری لٹکا نہیں  
 ہے - جب لکھا ہے ہمارے پریذیڈنٹ  
 نے داخلی امن اور عالمی امن - تو  
 کیا دنیا میں عالم میں کیا شری لٹکا  
 نہیں ہے - تو یہ سوچنے کی کمزوری  
 ہے - سوچنے کا پھیر ہے - میں یہ  
 کہونگا کہ اس خطہ کو بار بار پڑھا جائے -

جتنے ہمارے ورودی بھائی ہوں  
 ایک زمانہ ماروتی کے مسئلہ کو روز  
 اٹھاتے تھے کیونکہ سبھاش گاندھی نے  
 ماروتی بنا کر کے نہیں دی تھی  
 پلان ان کا تھا وہ مرگئے - تو مگر صاحب

آپ پریشان نہ ہوں بعد تو  
 سبھاش گاندھی نے جس پلان کو بنایا  
 تھا وہ مرگئے تو روز ورودی دل سے  
 ماروتی کہئے - کہیں یہ اسکینڈل  
 کہیں وہ اسکینڈل -... (مداخلت)...  
 اب جب کہ ماروتی سوکوں ہو گھوم  
 رہی ہے آپکی دلی کے گاؤں گاؤں میں  
 گھوم رہی ہے - تو ماروتی کا کوئی  
 تذکرہ نہیں ہے - اب ماروتی کو بھول  
 گئی اپوزیشن -... (مداخلت)...  
 وہ کچھ بھی ہو وہ ہم غریبوں کے لئے  
 نہیں ہے تو یہ راجیو گاندھی کی دہی  
 ہے - اندرا جی کی دہی ہے - اس کے بعد  
 پھلپھل پھلپھل شری نرائن دت تواری  
 جی کی دہی ہے - کیونکہ وہ ہمارے  
 صنعت منسٹر ہیں ہمارے انڈسٹریز  
 منسٹر ہیں - مطلب یہ ہے کہ جب  
 آپ کہیں کوئی کمزوری پانے ہیں تو اتنا  
 واروٹ مچاتے ہیں - اودھم مچاتے ہیں  
 کہ اصل بات تو لوگ بھول جاتے ہیں  
 جب حقیقت سامنے آتی ہے تو  
 اس کے بعد... (وقت کی گھنٹی)...  
 گھنٹی بج رہی ہے کیا کریں - میں  
 عرض کرونگا کہ یہ شعر میں نے لکھا  
 تھا -

تھرے نام سے ابتدا کر رہا ہوں

تھرے نام سے انتہا کر رہا ہوں -

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sukomal Sen. The time allotted to your party is two minutes.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Sir, I will speak on one point only. The President's Address has disappointed me at least in one aspect. I do not want to

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

lough the other aspects. But I will talk of one aspect and that is the unemployment situation in the country. The unemployment situation in the country is taking acute dimensions. I feel disappointed that the President's Address is silent on this problem which is dividing our country into two blocks. What is happening today in Gujarat on the question of job reservations is indicative of what is going to happen in the rest of the country if we cannot solve the problem of unemployment with a short span of time. Now the total number of unemployed youths who have registered their names in the employment exchanges stands today at 2,62,69,000 as per the reply to an Unstarred Question given in Rajya Sabha on 26-2-1986. So, this unemployment of more 2,62,69,000 is a veritable danger to our country's unity, so to say. What is happening on the question of job reservation, whether in Gujarat or in Madhya Pradesh or elsewhere? Unless we solve this problem immediately, it may inflame the country. Today we find it in Gujarat, in Madhya Pradesh: tomorrow it may spread to other parts of the country. Do you think the problem can be solved only through job reservation? No. I do not think it can be solved through job reservation. It can only be solved through rapid industrialisation. The President's Address is silent on that point. Unless and until there is rapid industrialisation in the country, unless and until many industries come up rapidly, to absorb these unemployed people, the problem cannot be tackled.

Then there is another demand of the working class, of the trade unions. So long as these unemployed boys remain unemployed they should be given an unemployment allowance. On that demand also the President's Speech is silent. I would, therefore request the Government to pay more attention to this problem of unemployment so that it can be tackled on a war footing. Immediate measures should be taken to see that the problem is solved in a phased manner. In the Seventh Plan document this problem has been touched but here is no indication in the Seventh

Plan document that by the end of the Seventh Plan this unemployment problem will be reduced, or, if reduced, what its dimensions will be.

Sir, I have many points to make but I do not want to dilate on them. I would only once again request the Government to pay more attention to this particular problem as otherwise the country is going to face a big danger from the army of unemployed youth.

SHRI V. NARAYANSAMY (Pondicherry).: Mr. Deputy Chairman, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on the motion moved by the honourable Shri N. K. P. Salve on the President's Address. The President's Address can be divided into three parts: The first part relates to the policies and programmes of this Government in the previous year, 1985-86. The second part relates to the achievements made by this Government. And the third part refers to the policies this Government is going to implement in the ensuing period. Greater emphasis has been laid on the agricultural sector. We have seen that with the untiring efforts made by our honourable former Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, bringing in scientific cultivation, we have achieved self-sufficiency in agriculture. In the last year our target was 125 million tonnes of foodgrains, and this year we are expecting 150 million tonnes. I would like to refer to the President's Address on the reclamation of lands which are lying fallow and waste and which are arable in the rural areas. When we go round Madhya Pradesh, U.P., Tamil Nadu and other southern States, observed by our friend the honourable Shri Hanumanthappa, that only 30 per cent of the land which is being utilised for agriculture, is feeding 70 per cent of the population. Now a Waste Land Development Board has been formed. According to the assurance given by this Government last year, this Board has to reclaim arable lands which are not being used for cultivation so that production will increase and the target of our country which expects 150 million tonnes this year, can go up to more than 175 million tonnes.

I would also like to refer to the new Education Policy being discussed now. We had also occasion during 6 P.M. the last session to discuss the new education policy. In this connection, I would like to say that lakhs and lakhs of persons who have finished their graduate and post-graduate courses are not in a position to get jobs. Though we are having the policy of bringing in the unemployed graduates under the self-Employment Scheme, the Government is not in a position to employ all the people. We believe that the educational policy which the Government has been following so far is the root cause of the unemployment problem which our youths are facing today. Therefore, the Government thought it fit to bring in the new educational policy for the purpose of giving more employment opportunities to all those persons who have been undergoing training in the technical and scientific fields. Therefore, this policy has to be agreed by all the Members of this House and also the public. The public also were given an opportunity to give their opinion.

Now, Sir, I would like to come to the new textile policy which was announced by the Government. It focusses its attention mainly on the handloom sector. Lakhs of people who have not been given protection all these years have been given protection under this policy. Provident fund schemes have been introduced for them. In the field of textiles, modernisation of the machinery is the most important thing. Modernisation of the machinery has not taken long and the industry is not in a position to use the old machinery and this is the root cause for the loss in production and attention must be paid to this. Therefore, it is a welcome measure which has been brought forward by the Government.

Coming to the 20-Point Programme, which has been announced and which has been implemented by the Government, I would like to offer a suggestion particularly with regard to the NREP, IRDP and RLEGP. In all these programmes, which have been giving benefit to the rural masses, you will see one thing. You will find

that they are overlapping. In the States, the State Governments are finding it very difficult to implement these programmes because of this overlapping. Therefore, this has become a very difficult task and the Government has to give the necessary guidelines for the purpose of proper implementation of these programmes.

Coming to national integration, our President has put more emphasis on national integration. Now, Sir, we see in our country communalism, casteism, regionalism, religious forces, separatist forces, etc. are trying to disintegrate the nation. We had the Punjab elections and we had settlements with regard to Punjab and Assam. We had the elections in Assam also. But we have lost the valuable lives of our great leaders in the process of maintaining national integration and the integrity of this country. We lost the valuable life of Mahatma Gandhi and we have lost the valuable life of our great leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who tried to keep the country united and secular. In spite of this, we find that in certain States like Uttar Pradesh, there is a communal issue and in Jammu and Kashmir there is a communal problem and we also find that communalism is trying to take its own shape thereby disintegrating the nation. Therefore, untiring efforts are to be made by all the political parties for the purpose of keeping this country united and for the development of this country.

(Coming to our foreign policy, I would say that our honourable Prime Minister visited many important countries like the USSR, USA, UK, France, etc. He has also taken the lead in announcing the visit to South Africa and he has been praised and appreciated for his foreign policy by these countries. In this connection, I would like to refer to the U.K. which was in two minds on this question, whether to support the sanctions against South Africa or not. But this country has been persuaded by our Prime Minister and now the UK has also joined the main stream. This is one of the achievements which our country has made through our honourable Prime Minister so far as our foreign policy is concerned. In this connection, I would like to mention that the

[Shri V. Narayansamy]

Sri Lankan issue is a burning problem. My honourable friend, Shri Gopalsamy, spoke today in the morning on the issue of the Sri Lankan Tamils and he was accusing this Government. I would like to remind the honourable Member of one thing though he is not here in this House just now. This morning he said that he belongs to the DMK Party. This party is a regional party in Tamil Nadu. In the middle of 1975, the Tamil Nadu Government led by the AIDMK leader Mr. Ramachandran, and the Pondicherry State, ruled by Congress (I), called at the political parties to suggest to the Centrai Government, to inform the Ceniral Government, about the policy they are going to adopt in the Sri Lanka problem, towards the hardship to the people of Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, because more than 2 lakhs people had been given protection in the two States. But I am pained to say, Sir, that the DMK party which my learned friend Mr. Gopalsamy is representing in this House did not participate, they did not give their views, "they did not give their suggestions. Such a party is flow giving the impression that they are the saviours of the Sri Lankan Tamils. The DMK party is now staging a drama before the public and also inside this House. They have done nothing for them. They are simply exploiting the situation. This is not a national issue; it is an international issue. When there was a large-scale massacre and killing in Sri Lanka, our hon. Prime Minister, even without bothering about our relationship with Sri Lanka, went to the extent of telling the Jayawardene Government, that these atrocities and killings very much pained India and our country will not tolerate them. Therefore, our foreign policy has been much appreciated. I would like to submit, Sir, regarding the Tamil people who are living in Rameswaram, who had gone for fishing, they have been killed by the Sri Lankan troops and navy. I would, therefore, request the Government to take steps for the purpose of protecting the lives of people who are living in Rameshwaram. I would also like to urge upon the Government to

take immediate steps to solve this problem

and for the purpose of settling the dispute between Sri Lanka and the Tamil group.

Sir, I would now like to say only a few words about the public sector. Sir, we find that it was running at a loss. There are several factors for it. In the President's Address, at page 11, it is stated that the cost of production should be reduced, skills should be maintained and new technologies be adopted for the purpose of more production and reducing the cost of production.

Therefore, Sir, the President's Address veiy much focusses on the policies of the Government, implementing the programmes of the Government, and therefore, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, and thank you very much for having given me this opportunity.

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) :  
आदरणीय उपसभापति जी राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव आया है मैं उसके समर्थन के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ इससे पहले कि मैं आपसे कुछ कहूँ मैं थोड़ी सी पुरानी यादें दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जिस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी जा रही थी गांव-गांव शहर का रहने वाला किसान और मजदूर फांसी के तख्ते चूम रहा था उस वक्त ऐसे ही कुछ विरोधी दल थे जो हम से हसा करते थे और कहते थे कि कांग्रेस का यह तिरंगा झंडा यह गांधी-नेहरू क्या ब्रिटिश सरकार को हटायेंगे? मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि विपक्ष के लोगों को साथियों को कि उस वक्त भी हमने कहा था कि जो हम कह रहे हैं वह सही है और आप इसे मानिए। लेकिन आपने नहीं माना। आज आपको पछताना पड़ रहा है कि उस लड़ाई में हमने हिस्सा नहीं लिया? वरना आज हमारी भी पूजा होती। किसी मुल्क में तीन लड़ाइयां होती हैं। आजादी की लड़ाई होती है उस मुल्क की गरीबी मिटाने के लिए। जो भी मुल्क दूसरी क्रांतियों को कराते हैं उसमें जो अगुआ होते हैं उनकी आने वाली पीढ़ियां पूजा करती है। मैं आपसे विनती करना चाहता हूँ कि इस लड़ाई में भी आप हमारे साथ आयें और अगुवा बनें

वरना आने वाली पीढ़ियों के सामने आप-को भी पछताना होगा।

मैं दो-तीन बातें रखना चाहता हूँ। हमने इस देश के अन्दर जो वादे किए थे उन वायदों को हमने पूरा किया और कैसे किया और विरोधी दल जो भी बात कहते हैं जो भी वायदे करते हैं उसका जल्दा वे करते हैं उसकी कुछ मिसालें रखना चाहता हूँ हमने आजादी के समय कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान जब आजाद होगा तब हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, ईसाई सभी भाई-भाई बन कर रहेंगे। आजादी के बाद देश में असामाजवाद आएगा आजादी के बाद इस देश में हमारी नान-एलाइनमेंट पालिसी होगी इस देश के अन्दर हम साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी से अपनी पैदावार को बढ़ाएंगे। मेरे साथी ने अभी कुछ अकड़े रखे, अब मैं उन आकड़ों में नहीं पड़ना चाहता। लेकिन मैं आपको आखों से दिखाना चाहता हूँ और फिर भी आपकी आखें न देख सकें तो मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ? आप देख लीजिए आज से 40 साल पहले हिन्दुस्तान के गांव में जब 16 सेर का गेहूँ मिलता था तब गांव का कोई बड़ा आदमी ही गेहूँ खाया करता था जब शक्कर का नाम नहीं जानते थे गुड़ तक खाने को नहीं मिलता था वह दिन आपको याद हैं। जब यहां कपड़ा नहीं था, पानी नहीं था, अस्पताल नहीं थे, बिजली नहीं थी, स्कूल नहीं थे, सड़कें नहीं थी, और आज सड़कें बन रही हैं, बिजली है, टेलिफोन है, टेलिविजन है, दोस्त हंगने की बात नहीं है और आप कहते हैं कि..

(व्यवधान) जरा सुन लीजिए हिन्दुस्तान की जनता सुन रही है। मैं गलत कहता हूँ तो मुझे गलत साबित करे और अगर आप कहते हैं तो आप की भी करे...

(व्यवधान)...

आगे गया हूँ आप भी आगे जाइएगा। मैं भी आपको वहीं दिखा रहा हूँ आदरणीय उपसभापति महोदय मैं कह रहा था कि मैं गांव में गया और मैंने वहां एक व्यक्ति से पूछा कि कहो मेरे दोस्त कुछ देश आगे बढ़ा है या नहीं। वह बोला कि तुम्हें मालूम नहीं कि हमारे गांव में क्या था, कच्चे मकान थे, स्कूल नहीं थे, अस्पताल

नहीं थे, सड़कें नहीं थीं, और आज यह सब दिखाई दे रहा है आपकी आखें नहीं हैं क्या? वहीं मैं विरोधियों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि तुम्हारी क्या आखें नहीं हैं। जाओ देखो, अहिंसावादी इलाकों में जाकर देखो, ट्राईबल एरियाज में जाकर देखो, बैकवर्ड इलाके में जाकर देखो, जहां 40 मील दूर तक कोई अस्पताल नहीं थे, मरीजों को कंधों पर लाद कर ले जाया करते थे और कई मरीज रास्ते में ही मर जाया करते थे, हमारे नेताओं ने पंडित जवाहर लाल जी ने इस देश की पक्की बुनियाद रखी उसने नहीं सोचा था कि मेरा विरोध हो रहा है और मैं उस विरोध से डर जाऊँ। उसी तरह हम भी अपनी मंजिल को आप के विरोध से नहीं छोड़ना चाहते और उस मंजिल को पाएंगे और वह मंजिल है इस देश से गरीबी मिटाना। उसे हम मिटा कर रहेंगे चाहे जितना हमारा विरोध हो ता रहे।

मान्यवर, मैं आपको एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे दोस्त गरीबी कैसे मिटा रहे हैं नारों से, भारत बन्द करने से, प्रो-डक्शन घटाने से स्ट्राइक कराने से, गाली देने से, इससे गरीबी नहीं मिटती है मिटानी है हमने देश की पैदावार बढ़ाकर के, देश की पैदावर बढ़ती है उसमें समय लगता है। कोई अलादीन का चिराग तो हमारे पास नहीं था। हमें इस मुल्क में विरासत में क्या मिला था। एक टूटा-फुटा मुल्क हमें मिला था। उस मुल्क में सूई तक नहीं बनती थी और आज वह मुल्क उन मुल्कों के बराबर जा रहा है। आज क्या नहीं बन रहा है हमारे देश में? जब ब्रिटेन में इण्डस्ट्रियल रिवोलूशन हुआ, अपने मुल्क को बनाने में 40 साल लगे, रशियन रिवोलूशन हुआ, हजारों-लाखों लोग मसेकर हुए, अपने मुल्क को बनाने में 40 साल लगे। वह युग था मोटर का, वह युग था सूई का और जब हम पैदा हुए तो एटम का युग था और हमें सूई बनाना नहीं आती थी। आज जो हमने तरक्की की है, तो क्या यह आपने की है या हमने की है? हिन्दुस्तान की जनता जानती है और आपको मौका दिया था। आप प्रजातंत्र की बात कहते हैं, हमारी वह महान नेता जिसने दुनिया के सामने हिन्दुस्तान

[डाक्टर जगतपाल सिंह]

को उपर उठाया और दुनिया ने इसे देखा फिर पड़्यल हुआ इस देश में और हमारी नेता को गोला का निशाना बनाया गया। क्यों निशाना बनाया गया? हमारे विरोधी दल के सदस्य सोचें इस बात को कि क्यों ऐसा हुआ? इसमें आप का दोष नहीं था, हमारा दोष नहीं था। यह विचारधारा का दोष था। विचारधारा इस देश में निर्गैटिव और डिस्ट्रिक्टिव पैदा की गयी, जिसके कारण एक सफरत का आतंक बन गया और एक फिजा पंजाब में पैदा की गया फिर गाली से हमारी महान नेता को मरवाया गया। इसलिये मरवाया गया कि यह देश टूट जाएगा, लेकिन धन्य है हिन्दुस्तान की जनता, जो उसने हमारी इस महान नेता के जाने के बाद हमारे नये प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में देश को आगे बढ़ाया, जैसा मेरे साथियों ने कहा है दुनिया में ऐसा कोई नेता, जिसको मां मरो पड़ी हो और दिल्ली की सड़कों पर मरने वालों को बचाने आ रहा हो। धन्य है हमारी पार्टी; यह तिरंगा और आज मैं विनती करना चाहता हूँ अध्यक्ष के माध्यम से, मेरे साथियों हिस्ट्री इज भरसीलेस, हिस्ट्री से अधिक न्यायकारी कोई नहीं होता। पिछले इतिहास ने लिखा है कि कांग्रेस के तिरंगे खंडे के नीचे स्व० जवाहरलाल नेहरू और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी देश को आगे ले गई। आने वाला इतिहास लिखेगा कि राजीव गांधी का नेतृत्व इस देश को आगे ले गया। आओ, कच्चे से कच्चा मिला कर इस देश को बनाओ, तुम्हारा भी इतिहास स्वर्ण अक्षरों में लिखा जाएगा। मेरी आप से यही विनती है।

मैं बन्द और मंहगाई के बारे में दो मिनट लूंगा। इन टमने आफ परचेजिंग कैपेसिटी 16 सैर का गेहूँ था, लेकिन कितने लोग गेहूँ खाते थे, कितने लोग कपड़ा पहनते थे, जब चार आने गुज का कपड़ा था। आज महगाई है, लेकिन हर आदमी गेहूँ खा रहा है, कपड़ा पहने हुये है, टेलीविजन चल रहे है, ट्रैक्टर चल रहे है, घर-घर में बिजली है। आपको यह नहीं दिखाई देता। दुख हुआ है कि हिन्दुस्तान में आप लोग यह नहीं देख पाते जबकि दुनिया के लोग आते हैं और कहते हैं बाहर रे हिन्दुस्तान। आज मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ अपने इजीनियरों

को, डाक्टरों को, अफसरों को, साइंटिस्टों को बिनाही मेहनत करके इस मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाया। आज सर्विसेज पर जोर है स्ट्राइक करो, देश को तोड़ो। रीजनल पार्टी किसने बनाई? एकता और अखंडता का विचार नहीं किया। यही कारण है कि आप बार-बार हारते हैं। ढाई साल के लिये आप आये थे, कहीं की ईंट कहीं का रोड़ा भानमती ने कुत्ता जोड़ा। सब भाग खड़े हुये मैदान छोड़ कर। एक प्लेटफार्म पर खड़े होने वाले लोग साथ सफर नहीं कर सकते, सिर्फ प्लेटफार्म पर खड़े रह सकते हैं, गाड़ी चलने के बाद मजिल अलग हो जाएगी। और वही आप का हुआ। कोई नीति नहीं थी, केवल सत्ता के लिये साथ थे।

मैं आखिरी बात कह कर खत्म कर दंगा। धन्य है राजीव गांधी। मुझे वह दिन याद आता है जब पार्लियामेंट में पंजाब के चुनावों की बात हम कर रहे थे। लोगों ने कहा कि खूनखराबी हो जाएगी, चुनाव मत कराओ। क्या हुआ पंजाब में, क्या हुआ सामान में, चुनाव कराए गए और हमने प्रजातन्त्र को कायम किया। हम सत्ता के लिये नहीं थे, हम चाहते थे कि प्रजातन्त्र कायम रहे और इसीलिए चुनाव कराए थे।

अन्त में एक जेर, एक शब्द कहे देता हूँ। भुन लो दोस्तो। हमारा इतिहास स्वर्ण अक्षरों में लिखा जाएगा, तुम्हारा उस तरह से लिखा जाएगा जैसा आजादी के.....

श्री पट्टाभाषा राधाकृष्ण (मांध्र प्रदेश): आजादी आप की पार्टी नहीं लाई, वह इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस थी।

श्री कर्णनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश): यही इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस है।

श्री पट्टाभाषा राधाकृष्ण: यह तो कांग्रेस (आई) है, यह तो '78' में पैदा हुई।

डाक्टर जगतपाल सिंह: मैं कह रहा था कि जबानी जब बहकती है तब विध्वंस करती है, जबानी जब अनुशासित होती है तब निर्माण करती है। आपने पंजाब में जबानी को बहकने दिया इसलिये विध्वंस हो रहा



है, आसाम में अनुशासित रही तो वहाँ चुनाव के बाद नई सरकार चला रही है। एक शेर है—

यह सिर बह सिर नहीं जो हर दर पर झुक जाये  
यह दर बह दर नहीं जिस पर हर सिर न  
झुक जाये

मैं क्षमा चाहता हूँ कि अगर मैंने कोई कटु शब्द कहा हो। मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया।

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD (Bihar);  
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise here in support of the Motion of thanks on the President's Address.

Sir, some serious development during the recent years in India are extremely disturbing and distressing. Stability is a dire necessity for unity and stability of a nation is pre-conditioned by stability and smooth functioning of its Government. The stability and strength of our Government in India is determined by the number

of seats that the party in power has got in both Houses of a Parliament. As we all know, the members of the lower House are directly elected by the people of India while the Members of the Upper House, that is this House, are elected indirectly by the Members of Legislative Assemblies of the States.

Sir, the recent trend shows that a single party has got its members elected sufficiently in large numbers by the people of India to the Lower House. But the election to the State Assemblies, which in turn elects the Members of the Upper House, have shown different results, that is the elections to the Assemblies of different States have brought different parties to power in different States, with the result that today almost in half of the Assemblies of States the party that is ruling the Centre has got no majority. In these States, different regional and other parties have got majority in different States. If the same trend continues and more and more States fall out of the hands of the ruling party in the Centre, which ever may be the ruling party in course of time, it will result in a serious crisis because then the party in power in the Centre will have majority in the Lower House, while it will

fail to have the required majority in the Other House. Sir, sometime I shudder to think as to how will a Central Government function if this Government is of a party which is newly formed and which has been suddenly voted to power in a parliamentary election and if this new party happens to have not a single member in the Rajya Sabha till the next biennial Rajya Sabha election is away by an year or two.

Sir, as we all know, no Government can function without having majority support in both the Houses. To run the Government, several legislative measures have to be taken, requiring passing of such measures by both the Houses. Passing of a Bill in one House but failure of its passage in the other House will make the Government stand still. Such a situation will bring a constitutional crisis which will tilt the Government making it unstable and an unstable Government brings instability to the nation which in turn brings disunity and disintegration. I can see such a serious situation rising not in a very distant future, if the present trend continues. Precautionary measures must be taken right now to avert an impending disaster before it is too late.

In the consideration and pondering by the Members and the Government I humbly put forward the following suggestions:

We are all Members of this august House and to protect the honour and dignity of this House is our solemn duty. But we are all basically duty-bound to serve the nation and to preserve the unity of the country. The two Houses of Parliament have its utility only if they serve the people of our nation. Maintaining the unity of the nation is the first and foremost duty of every Indian including the two Houses of Parliament and their Members. If any hindrance is caused to the maintenance of the unity and integrity of the country by constitution or even existence of any House, the question is whether it is at all desirable to keep any such House in existence. The imminent constitution of the Upper House and thought of probability confronts us with this horrible question.

[Shri Mahendra Prasad]

But probably there may not be the need to take any such harsh measure and in view of the glorious history and brilliant past record of service and contribution to the nation of this august House we can amend and cure the ailment even or only with the introduction of new mode of constitution of this House and qualifications of its Members, and as such my suggestions are, as follows. Number two: Members of the Upper House or at least 50 per cent or so of the members of the Upper House should be elected by the members of the Lower House. Number three: Adoption of any such measures or method or mode in redetermining the qualification of the membership of Upper House in such a way so that it ensures majority in the Upper House to the party in power in the Centre. Number four: The Upper House should be converted into a body where it will have only the advisory role, although such a step will not be a proper change. Number five: Any other measure so as to see that the Upper House does not unduly come in the way of smooth functioning of the Central Government which has been voted to power directly by the people through its majority in the Lower House.

Sir, in view of the electoral results of different State Assemblies, more especially in view of the problems reflected, in Punjab and elsewhere, it is absolutely clear to me that amalgamation of the federal system and unitary system in India has outlived its utility and we must do something to cure this crippling element by doing away with it in my view, federal system of America as enshrined in our Constitution and go in for only the unitary form of Government, as is also enshrined in our Constitution.

Sir, our Constitution-makers in their collective wisdom opted for amalgamation of the best of the American and English systems. But, I am afraid, in the process, as our experience shows and as is the worst fear lurking, we have landed in the worst of the two. We must do away with the impurities of the two and go in for the purity of the one. We must discard federal part of the governance and retain only

and purely the unitary form of government to bring cohesion and unity in the country.

Under the system of unitary form of government, as envisaged by me, State Assemblies and Council\* and the constitution of the States on linguistic and the present big territorial basis, will cease to exist and in place of the present States, some two hundred or more or less number of administrative territorial units like the present districts or commissioners will be created. These newly created territorial units will not carry the nomenclature of State but will be known by different name. These two hundred or more territorial units—number to be determined—will act as something like municipalities or district panchayats or something like that to be determined after thorough discussions and deliberations. The territory of these units will be determined not according to language and region but according to administrative and economic requirements to suit all-round development of the units. Under such system there will be no State Governments because the States will cease to exist; there will be only one Government and that Government will be the Government in the Centre. The two Houses of Parliament will exist. The basis or system of election to the Lower House will be as it is today. The basis of the elections to the Upper House will be determined after thorough discussions, deliberations and debates. Sir, let us break the States if we want to break disunity and disintegration of India. Sir, this is my personal view and I hope I have raised no controversy.

The Government rightly accepts and envisages danger to national unity when it says in the 8th para of the Presidential Address that communalism continues to pose a serious threat to national unity. This acceptance augurs well in the sense that the Government recognises the danger and is alive to fight and find a solution.

Essentially, the tenets of every religion are the same. No religion preaches violence. Wars and battles might have been fought and won and lost between the kings and emperors of the communities

during the last over a thousand years, but it was fought not on communal lines; it was the result of the inordinate ambition of a king incidentally belonging to a particular community to dominate and subjugate over another king belonging incidentally to other community. Such wars in India were not fought on communal basis. Man Singh was the Chief Commander of Emperor. Akbar and seven Muslim warriors manned important positions in the army of Rajput and other kings. Communal violence was introduced in India as a conspiracy.

India should not lose sight of the stark reality as to how in the second quarter of the century, during the struggle for Independence, when the British empire in India started crashing, the seed of dissension and mistrust was mischievously and calculatedly, and as a part of British policy of divide and rule, was sown by British imperialist conspiracy, between Hindus and Muslims and how a very well chalked out condition was created where the hearts of brothers were deeply divided communal lines and brothers were made to slaughter and shed the blood of brothers in communal violence finally compulsively resulting in carving out the limb of Pakistan out of the great body of India. The story of communal violence did not end with the creation of Pakistan. It continued and was pursued with greater vengeance and more intensity both as a part of British revenge and teaching of lesson to the mainland of undivided India, and their leaders who successfully fought British imperialism and also as a part of a very carefully thought out political strategy by Pakistan to drive religious minorities out of Pakistan so as to mar and exterminate for ever any chance in future of any unity among religious communities and also to stop any undoing, even in the distant future, of the division of the country. People of religious minorities in both wings of Pakistan were consciously and consistently slaughtered in communal violence inspired, encouraged and eulogised by top leaders and political strategists of Pakistan on the lines of path shown by their foreign incubators, foreign the minorities in Pakistan to leave their home and

hearth with the intention to mar any chance of unity among religious communities ....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mahendra Prasad, your time is up. Please be short and try *io* conclude.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: ...and the two countries and to prove the truth of the untrue basis on which the country was divided as also to draw a permanent deep rupture among the hearts of the two communities. Agent saboteurs were also sent to India—and those already present in India were provoked—to indulge in communal violence in India with the identical intention and motive. Their machinations were so well planned and accurate that even the towering, pious and secular to the core of heart personality like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not able, to cure and permanently stop the eruption of communal violence in India. The amount of blood that has been shed in communal violence in this continent during the last fifty years might not have been shed anywhere and at any time in the history of humanity.

The days that we have been passing for sometimes now have been the days most difficult in the history of independent India. The unity, integrity and even Independence of India had never been threatened before as it has been for sometime now and today. India must awake and arise to the occasion and to the reality. India must not lose sight of what she has done all these years after Independence—the pursuance of a value and the pursuance of an independent foreign, home and economic policy and enjoying the world prestige of the victory in war over Pakistan, a partner of a mighty military alliance, thus angering and incurring the wrath and revenge of a nasty neighbour and a group of powerful countries.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: India should always remember that this group of might powerful, countries will never allow

[Shri Mahendra Prasad] India to live in peace and progress for reasons of revenge and punishment is disobedience. The day India becomes obdurate of this reality and loses her guard because of this oblivion, India will lose its freedom, unity and integrity; India will split into pieces. The day India starts to trust in disregard of its history after Independence, the sovereignty and integrity of India will be doomed to darkness.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mahendra Prasad, Your time is up. Please conclude now.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: The recent troubles in India can be traced to two important developments in post-Independent India. Firstly, ever since Independent Pakistan was carved out of India, as a result of British reactionary conspiracy, they, by the very nature of their creation on the world map in 1947 became a member of almost all the American and Western military alliances like CEATO, CENTO etc. while India refused to mortgage its Independence and to become the father of non-alignment and non-aligned movement under the charismatic world leadership of Pandit Nehru. All attempts by the Western countries to enlist and entice India to the chain of Western alignment failed to yield any result. This assertion of independence by India angered the Western allies, specially its leader the U.S.A., as they claimed special treatment and affinity from India under the garb of India belonging to the same democratic creed and ideology as that of the U.S.A. and their allies. The Western power decided to teach India a lesson. (*Time Bell rings*).

I am concluding. Sir, my point is and I conclude by saying that communalism and communal violence in India, including the present eruption with terrible ferocity, is, in the past as far back as during the second half of the century as in the post-independent India as also in the present, the result of foreign conspiracy. It was introduced in India by Britishers as a tactic to divide and rule Indians and later on in post-independent India it was used as

a subversive and disuniting force by our enemies, particularly the foreign enemies, to fulfil a particular design. It was also the result of refusal by India to join as an ally of military alignments as also it is being inspired to punish us for our role in the case of Bangladesh.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a good conclusion.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: Last time, Communalism and communal violence in India, specially the recent one, is a design and device by our foreign enemies to disintegrate India.

श्री आनंद प्रकाश गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
माननीय उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ जो आपने मुझे महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण से संबंधित प्रस्ताव के प्रस्ताव पर अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करने का अवसर दिया है। मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

मान्यवर, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में गठित सरकार की राजनैतिक एवं आर्थिक उपलब्धियों एवं उनकी भावी नीतियों का सहज दर्पण है। हमारा देश अपने में अनेक विविधताओं को संजोये एकता और अखंडता का मूर्तरूप है जहाँ विभिन्न संस्कृतियाँ और धर्म सम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव के वातावरण में फलवत् होती है। देश के नागरिकों ने चाहे जिस भाषा के बोलने वाले हों, चाहे जिस धर्म के मानने वाले हों, जिस क्षेत्र में हों, संकट की घड़ी में सर्वोच्च राष्ट्र हित को ध्यान में रख कर, देश की एकता और अखण्डता को सर्वप्रथम ध्यान दिया है। देश की एकता और अखण्डता के लिये स्वर्गीय इंदिरा गांधी जी का अविद्वान चिरस्मरणीय स्मृति है। माननीय राजीव गांधी जी के कुशल नेतृत्व में हमारे देश में राजनैतिक, आर्थिक और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों में पिछले साल में उल्लेखनीय उपलब्धियाँ हुई हैं।

यदि हम देश की विगत राजनैतिक स्थिति पर दृष्टि डालें तो पायेंगे कि जब राजीव गांधी जी ने देश की बागडोर

संभाली तो उन्हें समस्याओं में जकड़ा हुआ भारत मिला जो आतंकवाद, साम्प्रदायिकता, भाषा और क्षेत्रीयता की आग में झुलसा रहा था तथा देश की एकता और अखंडता टूटने की कगार पर खड़ी थी। पंजाब में प्रतिक्रियावादी तत्त्वों ने आतंक का सहारा लेकर देश की एकता और अखंडता को नष्ट करने पर तुली थी। देश की अखण्डता को अक्षुण्ण रखने के लिये स्व० इंदिरा गांधी जो को अपने प्राणों की आहुति देनी पड़ी। धर्मनिरपेक्षता एवं लोक तन्त्र की गहरी नींव पर आधारित प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी के कुशल नेतृत्व में सरकार ने पंजाब की समस्या को मुलझाने के लिये एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाया। परिणामों को चिन्तित किये बिना राष्ट्रपति को सर्वोच्च मन्तर लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों की रक्षा के लिये प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पंजाब में चुनाव की घोषणा की। यह एक ऐतिहासिक निर्णय था। आतंकवाद पर लोकतन्त्र की विजय हुई। आसम समस्या को मुलझाने में भी सर्वोच्च राष्ट्रपति ने देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिये समझौता किया गया और लोकतन्त्र को जीवित रखा गया। गुजरात में भी विषटनकारी शक्तियों ने आरक्षण को लेकर, देश को बर्ग संघर्ष की आग में झोंक देने में कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ा रखी थी। उसे भी प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी के कुशल नेतृत्व ने शांति एवं सहृदयपूर्ण वातावरण में परिवर्तित कर दिया। उस समय जहाँ एक ओर देश की एकता और अखंडता को भंगकर खतरा पैदा हो गया था वहीं दूसरी ओर राजनैतिक अस्थिरता का वातावरण भी बड़ी तेजी से फैल रहा था। बड़े बड़े राजनैतिक, आज एक राजनैतिक दल में तो कल दूसरे राजनैतिक दल में चले जाने में जरा भी संकोच नहीं करने थे। आचार्य राम और गद्यारम की स्थिति के कारण जनता का विषवास लोकतंत्र से उछल चला जा रहा था। प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी की सरकार ने राजनैतिक स्थिरता को देश में कायम करने के लिए दल-बदल विधेयक पास करके एक ऐतिहासिक कदम उठाया। यह देश हित में एक बहुत बड़ा ऐतिहासिक कदम था। यदि हम देश की आर्थिक स्थिति पर दृष्टि डालें तो देखेंगे कि सात-बी पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भ से देश में एक नई आर्थिक क्रान्ति का उदय हुआ है।

भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्री स्व० श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने देश से गरीबी दूर करने का नारा दिया था और 20-मूर्ती कार्यक्रम लागू किया था जो देश के आर्थिक विकास का सोपान था और गरीबी दूर करने का मूल मंत्र। देश की बागडोर संभालने ही प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने एक भव्य खण्डाल और अहम निर्भर भारत को कल्पना को साकार करने के लिए निर्धनता दूर करने के कार्यक्रम तेजी से लागू किये और राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार कार्यक्रम तथा भूमिहीन रोजगार गारंटी कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में पिछली योजना के लक्ष्य से 10 लाख अतिरिक्त परिवारों को लाभ पहुंचाने का लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया गया। यह भी हमारा सरकार का एक सरहनीय कदम रहा है।

इसके अतिरिक्त वर्तमान पंचवर्षीय योजना में अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति और बधुध मजदूरों के आवास की सुविधा के लिए पांच सौ करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था की गई है जिसमें 100 करोड़ रुपये प्रतिवर्ष बंध का लक्ष्य रखा गया है देश के कमजोर वर्ग के लोगों के लिये एक बहुत बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाया गया है। उनको अपने पैरों पर खड़ा करने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत प्रावधान किया है। पहली बार पंचवर्षीय योजना की अवधि तक को एक दीर्घकालिक आर्थिक नीति की घोषणा देश की आर्थिक प्रगति की दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम है, जिसके लिये प्रधानमंत्री जी के साथ ही सुयोग्य वित्त मंत्री जी भी हार्दिक बधाई के पात्र हैं। जहाँ देश के विकास के लिए आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों को पूर्ण निष्ठा से लागू किये जाने के लिए सरकार प्रतिबद्ध है वहीं आर्थिक जीवन को साफ सुथरा रखने के लिए भी महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं, जिसमें भ्रष्टाचार उन्मूलन के प्रति सरकार की प्रतिबद्धता और काले धन के विरुद्ध सघन अभियान चलाकर भारे गये छापे सरकार के उल्लेखनीय कदम हैं सरकार के सुयोग्य वित्त मंत्री जी के द्वारा उठाए कदमों के कारण पिछले सालों की अपेक्षा इस साल में 23 प्रतिशत कर की वसूली अधिक हुई है। जिसके लिए माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को उनकी सफलता के लिए मैं हार्दिक बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

[श्री आनंद प्रकाश गौतम]

जब हम आर्थिक जगत में साफ सुथरी छवि की बात करते हैं तो हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्वच्छता वाला व्यक्तित्व ही काले धन और भ्रष्टाचार के विरुद्ध कदम उठा सकता है। मैं गौरव के साथ इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी और उनके नेतृत्व में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी का सार्वजनिक जीवन में साफ सुथरा चरित्र निष्कलंक है और अनुकरणीय है जिनके कुशल नेतृत्व में सरकार सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्वच्छता के लिए बचन-बद्ध है। प्रशासनिक सुधार के लिये भी कदम उठाए गए हैं और कार्यकुशलता को सर्वोच्च प्राथिकता दी जा रही है। इसके अतिरिक्त विभिन्न कार्यक्रमों के मूल्यांकन और उन पर निगाह रखने के लिए सरकार ने एक नए मंत्रालय का गठन किया है जो कि एक अमूल्यपूर्व नया कदम है देश की प्रगति के रास्ते पर तेजी से आगे ले जाने के लिये।

मान्यवर, वैसे तो न्याय की प्राकृतिक व्यवस्था सारस्वत है। किन्तु जहाँ आर्थिक विकास के माध्यम से आम आदमी को आत्मनिर्भर बनाने का सरकार का नैतिक दायित्व है वहीं शीघ्र एवं सुलभ न्याय की व्यवस्था भी सरकार का कर्तव्य बनता है। हमारी सरकार ने न्याय को सरल एवं सुलभ बनाने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए हैं। वादों को शीघ्र निपटाए जाने के लिए, लोक अदालत की स्थापना जैसे महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाकर न्यायिक प्रक्रिया में सुधार किया गया है।

प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में हमारी सरकार को देश की भौतिक प्रगति के साथ ही आध्यात्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों की रक्षा करने का भी ध्यान है। सरकार ने देश में सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं एवं मूल्यों के विकास के लिए सात सांस्कृतिक केन्द्रों की स्थापना का निर्णय लिया है। देश की एकता और अखण्डता के साथ ही देश के सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों की रक्षा के लिए राष्ट्रीयता और नैतिकता का विकास आवश्यक है जो देश में शिक्षा के स्वरूप और उसके विकास पर निर्भर है। हमारे देश में जनता की अकांक्षाओं एवं आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप नई

शिक्षा नीति अगले शिक्षा सत्र से लागू करने का निर्णय लिया गया है जिसमें नैतिक शिक्षा एवं व्यावसायिक शिक्षा को भी स्थान दिया गया है। देश के हित में सरकार की यह एक बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि है जिसका उद्देश्य सौहार्दपूर्ण वातावरण में समाज का शारीरिक, बौद्धिक, सांस्कृतिक और नैतिक विकास करना होगा। एक शक्तिशाली भारत की कल्पना तभी साकार होगी जब पुरुषों एवं महिलाओं को विकास के समान अवसर उपलब्ध हों। दूषित सामाजिक व्यवस्था के कारण हमारे देश में महिलाओं का शोषण होता रहा है। घरों की चार दीवारों में सीमित विकास के अवसरों से वंचित रहीं हैं। हमारी सरकार ने महिलाओं एवं युवकों के लिए उनके हितों की रक्षा के लिए नया राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम बनाया है। युवकों की बेकारी की समस्या के लिए रोजगार के अवसर उपलब्ध कराने तथा युवा शक्ति के विकास के अनेक कार्यक्रमों के साथ राष्ट्रीय अखंडता और राष्ट्र निर्माण में युवा-शक्ति का उपयोग करने के लिए उनके अनेक कार्यक्रम बनाए गये हैं। उपसभापति, महोदय, प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी जहाँ एक ओर राष्ट्र को आत्मनिर्भर बना कर विकास के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ रहे हैं वहाँ उन्होंने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में भारत का नाम भी ऊँचा उठाया है। सोवियत संघ, मिश्र, फ्रांस, अल्जीरिया, अमेरिका आदि 13 देशों की यात्रा प्रधानमंत्री जी ने की जिसमें उन्हें अमूल्यपूर्व स्वागत एवं सम्मान मिला जिससे विश्व के पटल पर भारत का नाम ऊँचा हुआ है। और उन देशों से हमारे मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्धों में और मजबूती आई है। यह देश के लिए गौरव की बात है। इसके लिए मैं प्रधानमंत्री जी को हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ।

अन्त में मान्यवर, मैं कुछ सुझाव भी रखना चाहता हूँ। देश में बढ़ती हुई साम्प्रदायिकता और क्षेत्रीयता से देश की एकता एवं अखण्डता को खतरा है। अतएव साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना एवं राष्ट्र की एकता के ये विशेष प्रयास किये जाने चाहिये। और उसके लिये कुछ और अधिक कोशिश की जानी चाहिये।

सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक विषमताओं को समाप्त करने के लिए अब तक जो कदम

उठाये गये हैं उन में और गति लाने की आवश्यकता है ।

असुविक्त जातियों एवं जनजातियों के लिए जो भी योजनाएं और कार्यक्रम बनाए गये हैं उनका पूरा-पूरा लाभ सुनिश्चित करने के लिए प्रभावी कदम उठाये जाने चाहिये । सरकारी नौकरियों में उनकी भर्ती एवं पदोन्नति में आरक्षण का पूरा लाभ सुनिश्चित किया जाना चाहिये ।

भारत एक कृषि प्रधान देश है । कृषकों को बड़ी हुई लागत के अनुपात में उनके उत्पादन का मूल्य दिलाया जाये । साथ ही कृषि मजदूरों को भी नियमानुसार मजदूरी सुनिश्चित की जानी चाहिये । इस के साथ ही महिला श्रमिकों को भी पुरुषों

के समान मजदूरी सुनिश्चित की जानी चाहिये ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में कुतर्जता के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

MR- DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; The House is adjourned till 11 A.M. on Wednesday, the 5 th March.

The House then adjourned at forty-nine minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 5 th March, 1986.