

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:** Forty thousand or a lakh of people are affected. Now you are giving publicity about payment. Many of the people are not literate, as you all know. In order to reach all these people, to find them out, why don't you seek the co-operation of the Opposition and other parties and form an all-party committee to help them? *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL:** Sir, I want to make it clear that there is no question of not seeking the co-operation of the opposition parties. The Government of Madhya Pradesh has already constituted a relief committee consisting of all representatives and the relief committee is considering all these aspects, how to give relief, how much relief has to be given; all matters are being considered there. So far as the casualties are concerned, the State Government has tried its best to collect the information, and I made it very clear that if any information is available with anybody, they can pass on that information to the State Government and the Government will be too happy to receive that information and take a final decision after scrutinizing any information that is received.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ):** Sir, with your kind permission, just to put the record straight so far as the Government of India is concerned and the legal aspect of this case is concerned, we have not yet decided that we would go only in the American courts. My first preference would be to file cases in India, and cases are being filed in India and we are prepared to amend the law drastically for the benefit of the victims.

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO:** What about availability to consumers?

**SHRI S. W. DHABE:** Sir, ....

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI):** Please resume your seats Mr. Matto and Mr. Dhabe.

### MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

**SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab):** Sir, I move that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

“That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th January, 1985.”

Sir, I would like to take some time to express in detail.

वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे खुशी है इस बात की कि आज इस हाउस में हम वह एड्रेस जो प्रेसीडेंट आफ इंडिया ने हमारे मुश्तरिका इजलास में पढ़ा, उसके बारे में उसके लिए कुछ कहें। आज हमारे दरम्यान हमारी वह लीडर नहीं हैं जिन्होंने इस देश को बनाने के लिए लगातार 16-17 साल लगाये। यह कोई छोटी बात नहीं है। बहुत बड़ा हादसा हुआ है और यह हादसा के पीछे कोई मामूली हाथ नहीं मालूम होता। आप किसी को टूल के तौर पर इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं, किसी को लालच में फंसा कर उससे काम ले सकते हैं, लेकिन कौन है इसके पीछे हाथ? मैं उसके बारे में पुरानी हिस्ट्री को दोहराना चाहता हूँ। महात्मा गांधी का कत्ल कब हुआ? उन्होंने पंडित जवाहरलाल ने 1930 में कस्म खाई थी सारे देश को लेकर और इस तिरंगे झंडे के नीचे यह कहा था कि हम देश की आजादी को लेकर रहेंगे। 17 साल के बाद वह देश आजाद हुआ। आजाद देश में उसकी तरक्की के लिए उसको कायम करने के लिए जितनी पंडित जवाहरलाल ने देन दी है शायद ही दुनियां

में कोई ऐसा आदमी हो, जो उसकी तारीफ और तहसीन न कर सके। लेकिन इसको तोड़ने के लिए किसने कोशिश नहीं की? ब्रिटिशर्स ने अपने वक्त में हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने की कोशिश की। मुहम्मद-लिफ मजहब में आपस में लड़ाई कराने की एक को दूसरे के खिलाफ उठाने, उनको कुछ फायदा देने, आगे बढ़ाने, यहां कौन सी चीजें नहीं हुई। लेकिन वे इसमें फेल हुये। इसमें महात्मा गांधी की लीडरशिप में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू तिरंगा झंडा उठा कर आगे बढ़े और देश को आजाद करवा लिया। लेकिन इसकी आजादी के बाद सबसे पहला काम साजिश करने वालों ने यह किया कि देश आगे बढ़ा है इस लीडरशिप के अन्दर तो इसको क्यों नहीं खत्म किया जाये। तो ऐसे-सी-नेशन जो है वह महात्मा गांधी की हुई। लेकिन यहां बात खत्म नहीं होती इंदिरा जी की आपटर इंडीपेंडेंस इंदिरा जी की देन है हम। उसने इतने सालों में इतना बड़ा काम किया है देश की इबादत को कायम रखने के लिए, देश को दुनिया में अपने पांव पर खड़ा करने के लिए और तरक्की के रास्ते खोलने के लिए जो काम किया है, वह हम भूल नहीं सकते। किसी शख्सियत को बनने के लिए सालों-साल चाहिये, लेकिन आधे मिनट में उसको खतम किया जा सकता है। यही वह हमारी सबसे बड़ी लीडर के साथ हुआ। किसने उसको इस्तेमाल किया? मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि कुछ ऐसे देश हैं, जो हमारे देश की, हमारी तरक्की नहीं चाहते। वे देश के कुछ ऐसे काम करते हैं, जिससे उनको ऐसा रास्ता अख्तियार करने का मौका मिल जाए कि हमारे देश को डिस्टेबलाइज करने के लिए किस ढंग से, कौन से हथियार इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। इंटरनल और एक्सटर्नल दोनों चीजें हमारे सामने हैं।

आपने देखा कि हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ। कश्मीर को टियर-ओफ करने के लिए कौन सी कोशिश नहीं की गई। उसको अलहदा करने के लिए और उसका हिस्सा अपना हिस्सा बनाने के लिए हमारे पड़ोसी मुल्क ने कौन सी कोशिश नहीं की, इनफिल्ट्रेशन हुई, सारी चीजें

की। लेकिन उसमें कामयाब नहीं हो सके सब जानते हैं कि चाइना एग्रेसन 1962 में हुआ, उसका देश ने जम कर मुकाबला किया, जहां तक हो सकता था। उसके बाद पाकिस्तान ने 1965 में हमला किया, सब जानते हैं कि क्या हालत उनकी हुई, कितना मुंह-तोड़ जवाब देश ने दिया, हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने दिया और इसके बाद 1971 में हमारी मरहूम प्राइम मिनिस्टर के वक्त में उनको 14 दिन में जो शिकस्त खानी पड़ी वह सामने है . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

श्री बीरेंद्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश)  
1970 में, 1972 में नहीं . . . . .

श्री दरबारा सिंह : मैंने 1971 कहा। मेरी याददाश्त थोड़ी सही है . . . . .  
(व्यवधान) इट वाज 1971, माई डीयर।

जब यह सारा फेल हो गया। सारे रास्ते फेल हो गये। तो नोर्थ-ईस्टर्न स्टेट में क्या कुछ नहीं किया गया। इसके बाद पंजाब और जम्मू-कश्मीर में क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ आप जानते हैं कि कितनी इन्फिल्ट्रेशन वहां हुई, पाकिस्तान की दस हजार के करीब इन्फिल्ट्रेशन वहां कश्मीर में हुई थी। हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने के लिए कहां तक उन्होंने कोशिश नहीं की? जहां तक वह प्लानिंग कर सकते थे, उन्होंने की। इसके साथ जब वे एशिया रीजन में दाखिल हुए हैं, तो उन्होंने कुछ करना ही था। यह मैं चीफ मिनिस्टर के तौर पर आपसे अर्ज कर रहा हूं। मैंने हालात खुद देखे हैं। हमारे साथ गुजरे हैं हालात। इस बोर्डर पर क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ, कौन सी खुराफात उन्होंने नहीं की। हमारे पड़ोसी से अच्छे सम्बन्ध हों, हम चाहते हैं। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपने वयान में कहा कि हम पड़ोसियों और दूसरे मुल्कों के साथ अपनी कोआपरेशन चाहते हैं। देश को बचाने के लिए भी, मुल्क को बचाने के लिए भी, दूसरे देशों को बचाने के लिए भी, लोगों को बचाने के लिए भी हम सब कोशिश करते हैं। क्या कुछ नहीं करते।

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

आपने देखा, जैसे अफगानिस्तान में कुछ लोग अफगान जब ऐसे हालात में भकेले गये, उनका फायदा उठाने के लिए, उस बोर्डर पर उनको हथियार-बंद करने के लिए क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ ? उनको इस्तेमाल करने के लिए क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ ? हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में पंजाब के बोर्डर पर ऐसे काम करने के लिए उन्होंने कोशिश की, बेशक, लेकिन वह कामयाब नहीं हुये । लेकिन बड़ी तेजी से ऐसे काम करने की उन्होंने हिम्मत की है और ऐसे ही टूल के तौर पर इस्तेमाल करके हिन्दुस्तान में डिस्टेबलाइजेशन करने के लिए बात हुई कि उस हिम्मे के लोगों को तैयार किया जाए ताकि वह एनहिलेट हों सारे हिन्दुस्तान से और हमारी गोद में आयें । फिर हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ उनका इस्तेमाल कर सकें । यह चाल थी, जिस चाल को कामयाब करने के लिए हमारी अजीज शख्सियत को हमसे दूर किया गया । इसलिए महात्मा गांधी के बाद यह चीज आई है और आप कहते हैं कि हुआ है, चूंकि आर्मी का एक्शन हुआ है ।

4 P.M.

मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि उनके लिए यह पेनफुल डिसेजन था, बहुत सोच-समझ कर, इनएविटेबिल समझ कर किया गया था । वहां जो चीजें मिली हैं उनके बारे में कहूं तो आपको पता चलेगा कि कौन-कौन सी चीजें नहीं हुईं वहां, जो कि काबिले एतराज थीं । उनके ही एक सेक्शन ने, जिसका नाम बम्बर खालसा है, कहा यह तो होना था । जितनी खुराफात और जितनी गन्दगी वहां हुई वहां कुछ शायद कहीं नहीं हुई और यहां की एक्स-मेम्बर निलेप कोर ने भी कहा कि वह धोबीघाट बना हुआ था । यही नहीं, जिन पर आज हमला हुआ कृपालसिंह जी ने—प्राइम मिनिस्टर के कल पर बयान देकर वापस लेने वाले—अपने एक कार्यकर्ता को भेजा खबर लेने के लिए और फिर कहा आपका कल्चर और है, हमारा कल्चर और है । इससे ज्यादा शर्मनाक बात क्या हो सकती है ? इस मुल्क की हिफाजत को कायम रखने वाले इस खानदान के लिए कहते हैं कि खानदान का एक आदमी

और आ गया—उस खानदान के लिए जिसने मोतीलाल नेहरू से लगातार अब तक इस हिन्दुस्तान की हिफाजत को कायम रखने के लिए सब कुछ निछावर किया है ।

अब मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह क्यों हुआ । क्या यह बात गलत है कि ननकाना साहब में बाहर के जो एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट आये थे उन्होंने वहां मीटिंग की, नारे लगाये और पाकिस्तान के उस मिनिस्टर के गले में हार पहनाये जो वहां गया था और यह भी कहा कि हम आपके साथ हैं । ये सब हिन्दुस्तान से गये लोग हैं, पंजाब के लोग हैं । इतना ही नहीं, इससे ज्यादा मैं आपको उस तरफ ले जाना चाहता हूं कि पंजाब में गुरुद्वारे के अन्दर क्या कुछ हुआ । मुझे याद है लैट प्राइम मिनिस्टर के अलफाज थे कि हम इस व्हाइट पेपर को ब्लेकेन नहीं करना चाहते वह बताना कर । ठीक थी बात उनकी । जो खुराफात हुई हैं उस पाक जगह के अन्दर उसको कोई भी जीहोश आदमी कन्डेम करेगा । उसके सबूत हमारे पास मौजूद हैं । मैं यह कहता हूं जिस पाक जगह को हम सबसे बड़ा मानते हैं, जिस गुरुद्वारे का इतिहास है, जो आत्मा और परमात्मा का रिश्ता जोड़ने की जगह है, उसको नापाक करने के लिए जितने काम किये गये वे बयान से बाहर हैं । इसलिए हमारी कांग्रेस की कल्चर ने हमारी लैट प्राइम मिनिस्टर को उस बात के लिए मजबूर किया कि वह उसका जिक्र न करें, कि हमारे आपोजीशन के भाई कहते रहे कि जिक्र नहीं हुआ । मैंने जिक्र किया था जब व्हाइट पेपर पर बोला था । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि क्यों बाबा सन्ता सिंह और सरदार बूटा सिंह को एक्स-कम्युनिकेट किया गया । इसलिए किया गया कि वह रिलीजन और पोलिटिक्स को इकट्ठा चलाना चाहते हैं । हम कहते हैं कि रिलीजन का वास्ता पोलिटिक्स से नहीं होना चाहिये । पोलिटिकल पार्टी गुरुद्वारे के बाहर आकर काम करें । प्रजातंत्र में सब को इजाजत है पार्टी बना कर काम करें, लेकिन उसकी कोई आइडियोलोजी हो । आज कल आइडियोलोजी बहुत कम दिखाई देती है ।

कहीं अकाली पार्टी की कोई आइडियोलोजी दिखलाई पड़ती है। लेकिन रिलीजन के नाम से यह चीज हमारे सामने पेश की जा रही है और कहा जा रहा है कि हम पर ज्यादाती हो रही है। उन पर ज्यादाती नहीं हुई है। जब वहां बाजारों में लोग कत्ल किये जा रहे थे तो किसी गरुद्वारे से आवाज नहीं उठायी। हम से किसी ने नहीं कहा कि बुरा हुआ है और यह जलालत की बात है कि हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर का जब शव उठ रहा था तो वह बयान दे रहे थे कि हमें इसका कोई अफसोस नहीं है। यह शर्म की बात है। मैं समझता हूं कि हमारी सारी कम्युनिटी आज शर्म से डूब रही है कि उनके रिलीजस लीडर ऐसी बात करते हैं। उनका यह काम नहीं था। रिलीजस लीडर्स के लिये तो सब लोगों को एक समान होना चाहिये। गुरु ग्रंथ साहब में मौजूद है। लोग इस का प्रचार करते हैं, इस पर अमल करने को कहते हैं, लेकिन इस से उल्टा काम करने वाले जो यह चन्द लोग हैं जो सारी फिजां खराब कर दिये हैं। यह सारे ही अकाली नहीं हैं और सारे एक्सट्रीमिस्ट अकाली नहीं हैं। ऐसा काम करना खराब बात है। क्या यह कोई मजहब की बात है। मैं समझता हूं कि हर कातिल ला-मजहब है। कातिल का कोई मजहब नहीं होता सिवाय कत्ल करने के। इसलिये मैं उस मजहब को मानने से इंकार करता हूं जो कातिल की हिमायत करता हो। किसी मजहब में नहीं लिखा कि कातिल ठीक है। अगर बीस साल तक कोई आदमी संत महात्मा बना रहे और 21वें साल में वह कोई कत्ल कर देता है तो उस को कोई संत महात्मा नहीं कहेगा। उसको तो कातिल कहा जायेगा। इसलिये मुझे अफसोस है इस बात पर कि जो कुछ वहां हो रहा है।

अब खालिस्तान का झंडा कहाँ रहा। वह दर्शनीय ड्योढ़ी पर लगाया गया जो ड्योढ़ी हिन्दु, मुसलमान, सिख, ईसाई, पारसी, कोई भी हो, उसके लिये वह दर-वाजा 24सौ घंटे के लिये खुला रहता है और उसकी बुनियाद एक हमारे मुसलमान पीर ने डाली थी। उस में हर किसी को जाने

की इजाजत है। किसी के लिये कोई रोक नहीं है। लेकिन वहां खालिस्तान का झंडा लगाया गया खालिस्तान जिन्दाबाद के नारे लगाये गये। वह कहते हैं कि चन्द शरारतियों ने यह काम किया है। दो घंटे तक वह वहां रहा। मारा खालिस्तान स्टूडेंट फेडरेशन का और सिख स्टूडेंट फेडरेशन का रेजोल्यूशन पास हुआ और फिर तीन सौ आदमी वहां गिरफ्तार हुये। वह सारे अमृतसर के रहने वाले नहीं थे। वे लोग दिल्ली के, यू० पी० के, बाहर से आये हुये लोग थे। यह सब वहां होता रहा। हम क्या समझें कि यह सब कौन कर रहा था। इसके बारे में ही मैं कुछ अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। यह पहली बार नहीं है। महात्मा गांधी का कत्ल होने के बाद बहुत से ऐसे लीडर हुये हैं कि जिन का कत्ल किया गया करीब के मुल्कों में। लियाकत अली खान, बंदरनायके और बंगला देश के श्री मुजीब-रहमान का कत्ल किया गया और उसके बाद हमारी सब से बड़ी लीडर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का कत्ल किया गया। इसके पीछे साजिश नहीं है तो और क्या है। हमारे देश के डिस्टेबलाइजेशन के लिये कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं यह मैं कहना चाहता हूं। जीन क्वर्क पैट्रिक जो यू०एस०ए० के हैं उन्होंने दिसम्बर में "बालकनाइजेशन आफ इंडिया" नाम की एक पुस्तक लिखी है कि हिन्दुस्तान को कैसे तोड़ा जा सकता है और उस में उसने लिखा है कि :

This is a report which has been published and still remains uncontradicted. This document specifically mention: "The Gandhi regime pursues an anti-American policy on a number of issues." It pointedly mentions that "India's weakness lies in many unresolved domestic and international problems" and that "there is a noticeable growth of separatist movement which would destroy its influence in the Third World and elsewhere." It does not leave it here. In unmistakable terms it says that 'even if India does not succumb to balkanisation, the non--Communist opposition to Indira Gandhi might consolidate

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its ranks and create an increasing possibility of emergence of an alternative Government".

अनमिस्टैबल टर्म्स में बालक-नाइजेशन तो हो नहीं पाया और वह रुका है तो इसलिये कि आज देश में एक कांशियसनैस आई है और वह यह कि हमें हिन्दुस्तान को कामय रखना है। इसके डैन्जर्स का और बाहर के डैन्जर्स का मुकाबला करना है। मैं आपसे सही तौर पर अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, अपोजिशन वाले भी इसका जरूर समर्थन करेंगे कि लोगों ने जो वोट दिया है, वह सोच समझकर दिया है ताकि हमारे देश को तोड़ने की जो ताकतें हैं, बाहर से और अन्दर से लगी हुई ताकतें हैं, उनको रोका जा सके। एक एक आदमी जो देहात में रहता है, कस्बे में रहता है, पढा लिखा नहीं है, वह कुछ नहीं जानता, मजदूरी करता है, खेती करता है, उसका खाना भी पूरी तरह से नहीं मिलता है, लेकिन उसकी सोच यही है कि मेरा देश बचेगा तो मैं कहूँगा मुझे खाना मिलेगा, अन्न मिलेगा, शान्ति मिलेगी, दुनिया में जो वार है उसको खत्म किया जा सकेगा।

एक प्रोफेसर राबर्ट हार्ड ग्रैव हैं, नाम भी खूब है। उसने वह भी कहा कि इंदिरा गाँधी का कत्ल पहले होगा, तो क्या होगा, इसके बाद होगा तो क्या होगा। यह भी बहुत नापतोल कर कहा गया है। 214 सफे की एक किताब है उसमें यह लिखा गया है। डिस्टेबिलाइजेशन के खतरों के बारे में इसमें जो लिखा गया है वह अखबारों में छपा है।

SHRI VISHVAJIT PRITHVIJIT SINGH (Maharashtra): It is a secret report extracts of which have been published in various newspapers.

श्री दरबारा सिंह : यह मैं इसलिय कहता हूँ कि जो फोसेज हैं ये पीछे से कर रही है। इंपीरियलिस्ट फोसेज हैं। अब ये अटैक करके किसी मुल्क को डिस्टेबिलाइज नहीं करना चाहती,

वह डिस्टेबिलाइजेशन का नया तरीका अखतियार कर रही है और वह यह है कि पैसा भेजो, टैडर्स भेजो, ट्रेडर्स भेजो, आदमी भेजो, आदमियों को तोड़ो, थोड़ा खतरा पैदा करो ताकि वह हिन्दुस्तान तो तोड़ सके। इसकी मिसाल मैं देना चाहता हूँ, और वह यह है कि इस साल जो सी० आई० ए० का जो डाइरेक्टर था, आज से चार पांच साल पहले उससे पूछा गया था कि आप दूसरे मुल्कों में क्यों दखल देते हो तो इसने कहा कि इसलिए दखल देते हैं कि जो हमारा साथ नहीं देते हैं वह हमारे दुश्मन हैं और उसको तोड़ना है और तोड़ने का यह तरीका है कि आदमी भेजो, पैसा भेजो, उस देश पर पैसे से कब्जा करो, एक दूसरे को लड़ाओ और मुल्क को तोड़ो।

श्री विश्वजित पृथ्वीजित सिंह : किसिजर साहब जब यहां आये थे तो उन्होंने यह कहा . . .

श्री दरबारा सिंह :  
Let me have my say.

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह एक ऐसी धारा है जिसको हम इग्नोर नहीं कर सकते। ये इंपीरियलिस्ट फोसेज चाहती हैं कि हम किसी तरह टूटे। इतना बड़ा चड़ना था। आज उसने कम्युनिज्म से इंकार कर दिया। उसने कहा कि सौ साल का जो ढाँचा है वह हमारे सिर पर कहां तक लदा रहेगा, उन्होंने उसे फैंक दिया। मैं कहता हूँ कि अमरीका कई तरीकों से दाखिल हो रहा है क्योंकि वह चाहता है कि कैपिटलिस्ट, इंपीरियलिस्ट के जो टेन्टेकिल्स हैं वे इतनी दूर तक चले जाये जिससे दूसरे देशों को कब्जे में लाया जा सके। वहां भी यह शुरू हुआ है। लेकिन हमारे इंद गिर्द जो हुआ है मैं उसका जिक्र कर रहा हूँ।

अभी स्टेटमेंट में राव साहब ने कहा कि पाक ने समझौता किया है कि हमारी जो बाहरी ताकत है वह कैसे मजबूत करनी है ज्वाइंटली और

उसके लिये मिसाइल्स दिये जायेंगे जो कि बहुत खतरनाक तरीके के होंगे। इसके साथ ही साथ में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ। डियेगा गांधिया में कौन सी ताकत वह नहीं बना रहे हैं? पाकिस्तान की पाइल-अप आर्मी जो वहाँ कहीं चली गई है, जो बार्डर क्रॉस कर गई है, उनको ट्रेनिंग दे रही है। यह एक बड़ी खतरनाक बात चल रही है जिसको हमारे इस मुल्क ने समझा है। अफसोस है कि हमारा बड़े-बड़े जो इंटेलेक्चुअल लीडर्स हैं उन्होंने इसको नहीं समझा है। अरबाम के अंदर जो एक गांव बैठा है, रेडियो सुने बगैर ही अपने दिमाग में यह समझ लिया है कि हिन्दुस्तान सबसे पहले है बाकी चीजे बाद में आती है। अगर यह बात ठीक है तो मैं राजीव जी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ, वह चले गये, अच्छा ही हुआ, मैं ठीक से कह सकूंगा, वह यह है कि एक तरफ हमारी सबसे बड़ी आजम लीडर का शव पड़ा है और दूसरी तरफ अफसोस करने वाले आ रहे हैं। उनके चेहरे के अंदर जखम है जो जखम भरा हुआ है शायद कोई उसको अहसास न करे लेकिन ज्यों ज्यों वक्त गुजरेगा, त्यो-त्यो लोग अहसास करने लगेंगे कि हमारे साथ क्या वाक्यात हुए है। बहुत देर बाद ऐसा लीडर पैदा हुआ है कि आज उसकी मदर की मृत्यु पर लोग अफसोस करने आ रहे हैं और वह सब लोगों के आसू पोछने के लिये दिल्ली के बाजारों, गली-कूचों में घूम रहा है और कह रहा है कि शांति रही, आप लड़ो मत। आप यह जो काम कर रहे हैं खराब कर रहे हैं, इसको मत करो। लोगों के आसू पोछ रहा है और अपने आसू पी रहा है। यह बात बड़ी मुश्किल है। किसी जिम्मे दिल वाले के लिये समझ-सोचवाले के लिये, किसी जी-होश वाले आदमी ही यह कर सकते हैं। मुझे कम ही हिस्ट्री में ऐसे आदमी मिले हैं कि इतने वाक्यात होने के बाद भी अपना तवाजन कायम रख सके दिमाग पर। उन्होंने यह तवाजन कायम रखा। कई मुल्कों के लोग यहाँ आये और हर एक से वह मिले। उन सबने अपने मुल्क में जाकर

यह कहा कि जो होश काबिले तारीफ और अपनी पालिसी को चलाने वाला एक नौजवान आगे आया है इस 21वीं सदी में। इसका मतलब यह है कि उन्होंने यह पा लिया है कि यह उस पालिसी और प्रोग्राम को जो देश में चल रहा है, उसको चलाने वाला है। क्या नहीं इन्दिरा गांधी के वक्त में किया। हमारा एग्रीकल्चर बढ़ा है और इतना बढ़ा है कि हमने इसमें लाखों टन अनाज और पैदा किया है और जहाँ कहीं जरूरत होती है या दुनिया भर में जहाँ रिलीफ देने की बात आई, हमने रिलीफ दिया। क्या नहीं किया उन्होंने। इकोनोमी को ठीक करने की कोशिश की, मुल्क को ठीक करने की कोशिश की। 104 मुल्कों की जड़ उसकी चैयर परसन बनाया तब से यह हसद खुराफात शुरू हुई। तीसरी ताकत अगर दुनिया में खड़ी की तो इन्दिरा गांधी ने खड़ी की। जो लोग मर रहे थे उनको खड़ा किया। ताकत वालों से मुकाबला करने के लिये उन्होंने समझ बूझ से काम लिया। यह छोटी बात नहीं है। यह हसद या उनकी खुराफाते आगे आयी है। जितनी उन्होंने मेहनत की उस मेहनत को खत्म करने वाले यह इम्पेरिलिस्ट फासॅज सारा जोर लगा रहे हैं। इससे देश की डेमोक्रेसी नीचे चली गई है। लेकिन महात्मा गांधी और जवाहर लाल जो पंचायती राज दिया है, जो सिस्टम डेमोक्रेसी का दिया है उसकी जड़े इतनी मजबूत और गहरी है कि उसको कोई उठाकर फेंक नहीं सकता। डेमोक्रेटिक सेट अप कायम करने, अपने देश की इज्जत बचाने के लिये अपना सम्मान कायम करने के लिये उन्होंने लीडरशिप अच्छे लोगों को दी है। राजीव गांधी जो एक नौजवान है, सारे लोगों को साथ लेकर आगे बढ़ा है। अभी पीछे उन्होंने सारे अपोजिशन लीडरों को अलग-अलग बुला कर उनके हालात सुने। उनसे डिसकशन की। उन्होंने क्या कहा, हमें मालूम नहीं। लेकिन उनसे जो बात की उससे ऐसा लगता है कि उन्होंने यह कहा कि हमें आपका कोऑपरेशन चाहिये जब

[ श्री हरबारा सिंह ]

कि हमारे पास 400 से ज्यादा मेम्बर है। हमारे चार सौ मेम्बर आए हैं, लेकिन यह सिर्फ मेम्बरों का ही सवाल नहीं है। हमें देश को आगे ले जाना है, जितने मेम्बर ज्यादा हैं, उतनी ही हमारी जिम्मेवारी भी ज्यादा हो जाती है। हमें अहसास के साथ आगे काम करना है। एन्टी डिफेक्शन बिल का हर्न सवाल ले लीजिये। हमारे दोस्त यहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं। मैं भी उस कमेटी का चेयरमैन रहा हूँ। इसमें किसी को लगाने की बात नहीं है, कोई नहीं चाहता था। लेकिन अब अड़ंगेबाजी लगाई जा रही है। ये सब बातें देने की हैं। सारे करप्शन को दूर करने के लिए कोशिश की गई है। जो करप्ट एलिमेंट है उनको इधर-उधर खिसकाने की कोशिश की गई है। आज ही आपने सुना कि कितनी गिरफ्तारियाँ की गई हैं। मैं सुबह बहस सुनता रहा हूँ। मुझे यह सुनकर हैरानी हुई कि हमारे दोस्त पूछते हैं कि इस मामले में कौन-कौन लोग थे। आपको तो तारीफ़ करनी चाहिए थी कि उन्होंने डिप करके उन लोगों को सजा देने की कोशिश की है। हमारे मुल्क की जो सारी प्लानिंग थी उसको उन्होंने दूसरे मुल्कों को भेजने की कोशिश की। इसमें कौन-कौन मुल्क थे? चाहे फ्रांस का मुल्क हो जिसके आदमों को डिपोर्ट किया गया है, वह आदमों किस की बिना पर, किसके कहने पर यह काबू कर रहा था, आया इसमें फ्रांस की गवर्नमेन्ट इन्वोल्व है या सो० आई० ए० है, हमें इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना है। हमें तो यह पता है कि ये लोग इस बात के लिए काम कर रहे थे। किस को मार्फत काम कर रहे थे, इसका पता चल जाएगा। आप इस बात पर गौर करें कि उनको तेज़ी के साथ पकड़ा गया। ये जो बदमाश हैं, गुण्डे हैं या

जो गद्दार हैं, इनको पकड़ा गया है। आप पूछते हैं कि कौन-कौन लोग थे? इन सारे लोगों को अन्दर धकेल करके मुल्क को यह बताया गया कि हम करप्ट लोगों को हटाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। ये लोग सारी इन्फार्मेशन डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्रो से, होम मिनिस्ट्रो से और प्रेजिडेंट के दफ्तर से भेज रहे थे। यहाँ तक कि ये लोग प्रेजिडेंट के घर तक भी पहुंच गये थे। इन लोगों को इतनी सजा होनी चाहिए कि सब को सबक मिले। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि हमारे यहाँ तो डेमोक्रेसी है यहाँ ऐसा कुछ नहीं हो सकता है, लेकिन अगर कोई बाहर का मुल्क होता तो इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं करता। वे मुल्क तो गोली मारने के लिए भी तैयार हो जाते हैं। लेकिन इन लोगों को लम्बी सजाएं मिलना चाहिए ताकि ये लोग सारी उम्र जेल में रहें। आज ऐसे लोगों को सजा देने का ज़रूरत है।

हमारा देश आगे बढ़ा है। इस आगे बढ़ते हुए देश में यह कहते हैं कि एक नाट एण्ड क्लॉक गवर्नमेन्ट देने के लिए हम कोशिश करेंगे। एक बात मैं आपके नोटिस में यह भी लाना चाहता हूँ कि हमें एक रिच हेस्टिज मिला है। हमारा बड़ा मुल्क है, इसको अपनी हेस्टिज है, इसके रिपोर्टिंग हैं, इसको कल्चर है, इसका अपना काम है, इसको बहुत बैकग्राउण्ड है, यह मुल्क दूसरे मुल्कों से बहुत मुतलिफ़ है और इसकी मुश्किलात भी मुतलिफ़ हैं। इनको हल करने के लिए हमारे आइम मिनिस्टर ने जो टोन अप किया है उसको आगे बढ़ाने के लिए हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं। आपके सामने जो बातें मैंने पेश की हैं उनको मैं जल्दा खत्म कर रहा हूँ ताकि अपने वक्त में सारी बातें खत्म कर दूँ। मैंने आपके सामने जो खयालात दिये हैं उसमें

मैंने अपोजीशन को कुछ नहीं कहा और कुछ बात कहने की भी नहीं है। मुझे सिर्फ एक बात कहनी है और वह यह है कि आप लोग हलफ उठाये कि हम देश की हिफाजत के लिए लड़ेंगे। आप लोगों ने ऐसा कभी नहीं कहा। आप ने इलेक्शन के चार्टर बनाये होंगे, आपने कुछ कहा होगा और लिखा भी होगा। लेकिन उस पर एक्शन क्या किया है? मैं उसका बयान नहीं करना चाहता हूँ नलखी पैदा नहीं करना चाहता हूँ। आप लोग हलफ उठाये कि अगर देश पर हमला होगा तो हम सरकार की मदद करने के लिए तैयार होंगे उसका नया कोआपरेशन एकाटेन्ड करेंगे। केवल नेगेटिव प्रोग्राम से, गाली-गलोज से या बाहर जाकर देश के खिलाफ कहते ने कुछ होने वाला नहीं। अग्री देश को बनाने के लिए, 21वीं सदी में जो नौव-जवान आगे आया है, उसको मदद करा। जो मेच्योर लोग हैं, एक्स्पेरिअन्स लोग हैं वे उनको एडवाइस दें नवजवान को ट्रेनिंग दें, जो नई नस्ल आई है जो गलत चीजों को कंट्रोल करना चाहता है उसको हम मदद करें और अगे बढ़ सकें। यह बढ़ने के लिये ही ये सारे हालात हैं जो पैदा किये जा रहे हैं, जिससे कि हम आगे बढ़ सकें। यह एक एड्रेस है, इस खुतबे में प्रेजिडेंट आफ इंडिया ने अपना एक नक्शा जो दिया है हमें वह इन्लाइट करता है कि इन हालातों पर काबू करके कैसे हम कोशितली अगे बढ़ सकते हैं, इन बातों को आपके सामने हाउस के सामने पेश किया है।

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am extremely happy and thankful for giving me this opportunity to second this Motion so ably moved

by the distinguished Member of this House, Shri Darbara Singh Ji. I am also happy at the moment that we are meeting at a time when the new Government under Shri Rajiv Gandhi is able to unearth the spy ring that was operating in this country to the detriment of our country's interests. I congratulate the Prime Minister for the speedy action he was able to take in this direction.

Sir, we are meeting under a sad spell because we lost our beloved leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The atmosphere that was prevailing in this country prior to her death was ably illustrated by Shri Darbara Singh Ji. I do not want to elaborate on this point. One factor has to be remembered. When there is an atmosphere of violence created in a country, wherever it is, it will result in unfortunate incidents. We can see from the history of this country itself. One of the political parties at the time of independence met in Calcutta and passed a resolution of violence which is known as the "Calcutta thesis". Consequently it resulted in the Telangana struggle and killings of a large number of people. Again, Sir, we noticed similar occasions when the atmosphere was vitiated by hatred. by the elements of hatred and the violence erupted to the surface. So, this time the opposition parties, though with a good motive perhaps, had their conclaves with the Akali Dal to destabilise or defeat the Congress or to destroy Shrimati Indira Gandhi; whatever it is, some of the extremists who pretended that they were also a part of the Akalis thought that the atmosphere is ripe for them to do any kind of mischief they want. So the country has witnessed a series of unfortunate incidents in several parts of the country.



[Shri M. M. Jacob]

Sir, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had to face so many challenges—the challenge from the presence of naval operations in the India Ocean, super power presence in the Indian Ocean, the presence of so many armaments in the neighbouring country, the separatist tendencies that erupted in various States and so many difficult situations. You have seen that at that time the conditions prevailed in this country for unfortunate incidents. But Shrimati Indira Gandhi stood like a fortress amidst the burning situation in the country and protected us. She protected 700 million people of our country and she had to lose her life. She had to sacrifice her valuable life in the process of protecting our lives and our security.

Sir we have come out after the elections and in the elections the people of India have voted the Congress Party with a massive majority.

The Presidential Address has mentioned about our victory and the new Government's assuming charge. Sir, in this election, one can notice easily if one makes an analysis of the voting pattern that the new generation of the people voted in favour of the Congress because they wanted security, safety, integrity and unity for this country. So, with the vote of the new generation, with the vote of the minorities, with the vote of the majority, with the vote of the Harijans and women, this Government came to power with a massive majority. Sir, I mentioned this because I want to draw your kind attention to the 'Organiser' dated January 6, 1985 in which the election results are analysed in a slightly different manner. The headline they have given is, 'a massive Hindu mandate'. And they said, "This speaks of sentimental patriotic nature of the people of India, especially the Hindu mass, for it was the

conscious Hindu votes consciously and deliberately solicited by the Congress(I) as a Hindu party." Sir, I read out this portion because this election showed that irrespective of the caste, the creed, the community, all people voted for a Party which offered security, which offered protection to the people of India. The security and integrity of the country was in question. So, here was a Party which could have a leader like Rajiv Gandhi who could inspire the confidence of the people and which could get votes. Sir, all the Members of the minority community, whether it is in UP or Maharashtra or Bihar or Kerala, were all elected with a thumping majority by the majority community and the minority community. There was no question of any community or caste playing a dominant role. Even in my own State of Kerala the minority community people are voted with maximum number of votes in spite of the fact that there may be a majority community there. And the majority community people are voted to power in a place where the minority is in a majority. So, I find that this allegation is unfortunate at this time because this is with a sinister motive to divide the people of this country again on communal lines and to foment communal hatred and communalism in our beloved Motherland. I refer to this because it is a very important point.

Secondly, Sir, now this Presidential Address has mentioned about the electoral reforms. I do not want to elaborate on the electoral reforms. But I do welcome the Anti-defection Bill that is on the anvil. And I do not want to elaborate on this. This is the need of the hour and that will certainly save democracy in the country and will see that the country runs with stable governments not only at the Centre but in the States as well.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu) in the Chair]

Sir, the third point that I want to bring to your kind notice is the massive arms build-up in the neighbouring countries. Sir, when a country arms itself beyond its capacity, naturally anxiety is there among the people in the neighbouring country. This is a fact. Sir, the 'National Herald' of October 14, 1984 has published a news item about the survey report of the Institute of Strategy of Studies, London. The survey report has come out with a revealing fact that Pakistan, our neighbour, has defence equipment three times that of India. They say that the military spending in Pakistan is the fourth in the world. According to them, when we spend 17.6 per cent of our expenditure for defence, Pakistan is spending 47.6 per cent for their defence. The per capita defence expenditure in India is 8 dollars whereas in Pakistan it is 21 dollars. The Gross National Product spent on defence in India is 3.3 per cent whereas in Pakistan it is 7.1 per cent. Sir, I read out these figures because when some of the imperialist powers, some of the masters who wanted to rule all over the world have been dumping arms and ammunitions across India in the neighbouring countries, India has every right to defend herself to protect her safety, integrity and sovereignty. So, India is naturally worried about this kind of activity, India is concerned about these activities. So, this is a matter which this new Government will have to view with a great urgency.

Sir, another point which I thought of is the tendency of desabilisation of this country. For various factors, regional parties had come up in our country.

Some regional parties have born. Some have died. Some are in the process of taking life. Some are in the process of losing life. I am not going into the merits of the regional parties. What happens is this. There is a peculiar situation in the country. There are regional parties with

national outlook and there are national parties with regional outlook. This is a very peculiar situation. Even in the last elections, we have found that some national parties took refuge behind the regional parties. They call themselves national, but they are regional. They have only regional interests. In a democracy like India, where you have to contend with several languages, several religious groups, several ethnic groups, several dialects, several cultural differences, we have to see that national ideal come to the forefront. Only a national party can do this successfully. But I am not opposed to the regional parties. But they have to see that they also play the national tune because without the nation, there can be no regional parties. When I say this, I have my anxiety about certain things. This happened in the pre-partition days. Soon after the declaration by the then Muslim League for a separate Muslim State, when Jinnah advocated the cause of the Muslim League for a separate Muslim State, there was a party in India, in 1942, which passed a resolution that there should be a right of secession for a State in India. It said that any State in India could join or go out of the Indian Union. They have not corrected their statement so far. One of their leaders came out with this statement and the resolution was passed. It was criticised by my Party, the Congress Party. We had to fight with that political party at that time and say 'You are doing an anti-national thing at this moment of time when the country is fighting for its Independence; you are putting the clock back. But Sir, it was an unfortunate thing. Because of the existence of such elements and thinking in this country, even if you see a regional party invariably as an innocent party, I think it is a dangerous move because behind the regional parties, the sinister motives for balkanisation of this country lay.

I have seen the reports of Mr. John Strachey a British historian who

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said that after the exit of the British from India, India will divide into pieces. I have seen the reports of many historians who said that after the exist of the British from India, India will no longer stand as one unit, that India will not survive. India has survived all these 37 years, in spite of the prophecies of all these historians. This is because we had a structure, we had a political philosophy, we had an ideology and a political party which took the country forward.

When Jawaharlal Nehru announced the first elections in this country in 1952, when he made the announcement for the first Lok Sabha elections, many people were anxious as to what is going to happen to India. But when the election results came, when they saw people contesting under the label of different parties, people coming out victorious and Nehru forming the Government in India, in London, the Manchester Guardian, the famous newspaper wrote the editorial that India is the cradle of democracy that Asia. Today, India stands as the citadel of democracy in Asia, not only in Asia, but in the whole world. Here, we do not distinguish between people and people. We do not distinguish between the rich and the poor. We give protection to the poor and bring them forward. There is no country in the world including the U.S.A., where the poorest of the poor have the facility of reservation to come to the forefront. Can you show any country in the world where the poor, the Harijans, the downtrodden, have the facility of reservation in jobs, in employment, in other areas, in getting houses, house-sites and so on? This is the only country which has done that. This is a country where a new culture is existing, synthesis of different cultures, where we see human beings as human beings. Mr. Darbara Singh may come from Punjab and I may come from Kerala. ~~But~~ we are one in defending this

country. Right from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari, this country is one and united. There is no difference.

Sir, I do not want to take the time of the House. But I would like to mention just a word about the economic position. Permit me to read from this document. This is about the economic situation in India before Independence. Sir, in his Address, the President has correctly mentioned about the country's achievements in the fields of industry, agriculture, balance of trade etc. All these have been correctly mentioned. I am not quoting the figures.

But from where did we start? I am reading one sentence from this old publication 'India on the eve of independence'. I quote:

"The situation complicated by a rate of agricultural production that was amongst the lowest in the world led one to almost permanent scarcity of food-stuff during the years 1800 to 1900. More than 32 million Indians died of starvation. There were as many as 30 famines in 90 years from 1857, the last being the one in Bengal in 1943 which took a toll of 3 million lives."

This is the India inherited by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, this is the India inherited by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, but today look at our food production and the agricultural production. We have not only topped, but we are fifth in the world in the food production. Compared to the industrialised countries we have reached fifth place in our food production. Our farmers, our agricultural labourers work hand in hand to produce 154 million tonnes of foodgrains. This is not a joke. We have reached very high in all fields; in science and technology we are number three in the world, in defence we are number four in the world. We have achieved tremendous success in industrial production. Everybody predicted that we are going to dogs. Now we showed a remarkable progress of 7 per cent increase in the industrial production. It is not a

small thing. I say this because all countries, who are enemy to us, thought that they could destroy India gradually by spreading dissension in this country. What happened? I am very sorry to say at this stage that some of our intellectuals, writers and even some of the newspapers failed to see the contributions made by our intellectuals, our scientists, our technocrats, our young engineers, our young lawyers, our young doctors, in building up this country. The enemies of our country wanted that there should be a feeling of frustration in this country. When we say that nothing is progressing, a sense of frustration will naturally creep in. Frustration is the thing that is wanted in a country where unemployed youth are there. They thought that by spreading a message of frustration they can destroy India. Thanks to the intelligence of Indira Gandhi, our Prime Minister, the 20-point programme was chalked out. Removal of poverty programme was chalked out, rural development programme was envisaged and, Sir, millions of people were provided houses, millions of people were provided jobs and millions of young people had confidence in the Government programmes. Because of those programmes and activities the enemies of this country could not spread the message of hatred and frustration in this country.

Coming to the point of oil exploration, I do not want to go into details. Compare why we achieved 121 per cent increase in the oil production in this country. How did we achieve this? During the First Plan period when Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said that we wanted to develop basic industries in this country, the Americans advised us to go in for agriculture. Nehruji said, no, agriculture and industry should go side by side. Nehruji was bold enough then the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black, came and said, you concentrate on agriculture and not on industry, Nehruji said, industry is key to our independence, we want basic industry to develop, we want the coal, the iron, the electricity and the oil. Today have a look, at the development of all these basic industries. Let us take iron and steel. The figures reveal that today we are able to be

self-sufficient in all these fields because of the vision of our great leader like Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the architect of this great country India, Sir. So, I am thankful to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at this moment for laying the foundation so strong, but we are happy that we got Indira Gandhi to take the country forward in the struggle against all these forces. She was able to reach us up to this stage.

Sir, some of the Members on the opposition side were critical of the IMF loan that we received. In the last session they said a lot against this, but, Sir, what happened? Did we surrender our independence, our freedom to any other country because we received or accepted the IMF loan? Can you show one instance where this country bowed down before anybody for accepting this loan? On the contrary even though we had got a loan of 5 billion dollars SDR we said, "it is only temporary for setting right our difficulties". It was for overcoming the temporary difficulties and when we had overcome that, we did not draw the balance amount from that loan. Should we not congratulate the Government for this? I would request the Opposition Members who spoke in that Session against the drawing of IMF loan to come to this Session and congratulate the Government for accepting this loan and rejecting it when it was not found necessary. So compliment must be paid to this Government for the bold decision to accept aid at a time when it was needed and reject the loan when it was not necessary.

Sir, a silent revolution is taking place in this country. Now the Seventh Five Year Plan is on the anvil. For the Seventh Plan, Indira Gandhi has given a good slogan: food work and productivity. In this I see one good point. Especially I mention this that for the first time there is a corrective effort seen in the Planning process in this country. There is a new thinking in the planning mechanism in this country. The Planning Commission has been elevated again to a respectable status for giving speedy decisions. So the planning process that was destroyed during the time of Janata rule with the Roll-

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ing Plan has been taken back and put on the wheels. I want to mention one or two points in the Planning process. Let us go back to the decentralisation of planning and strengthen the district development planning set-up, and also ensure public participation and public cooperation because after all the people of this country, irrespective of political parties and religious differences have to build this country because they have to live in this country. I think the Planning Commission will give well thought out systematic thinking about enlisting the cooperation of the people in the formulation and implementation of the planning programme.

One point I noticed in the President's Address about education. I was very very happy when I found the announcement of a National Education Policy. The policy is yet to be announced. Sir, I want to make one request through you to the Government. When they think of the National Education Policy. I have a booklet here with me. In 1961 there was a Chief Ministers' Conference presided over by our beloved Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, which considered the question of national integration. A report presented by the Bhavnagar Session was accepted. That report was by a National Integration Committee headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi which was appointed in the Bhavnagar Session of the Congress. That report was accepted by the Conference which met in 1961. One recommendation in that National Integration Committee report is very relevant at this time because a national outlook in the field of education and other spheres is very necessary. It says:

"Education should therefore be re-oriented and made more broad-based. It should aim at equipping the student with an intimate knowledge of the different aspects of this country, including events which led to freedom, encouraging studies and activities which lead to a greater understanding between communities and States, thus fostering the feeling of national unity, creating a feeling that the country and its

resources belong to the citizen who thereby acquires certain rights and privileges along with corresponding duties and responsibilities".

Sir, this must form the basis of the National Education Policy. Only a new generation brought up in the spirit of national integration can achieve it. Without that you cannot achieve national integration, however much you try to achieve it.

Sir, before closing I would like to point out two things. One is about our relations with the neighbouring countries. The President has correctly mentioned in his Address that we should have friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries. Sir, it is time that we give more serious thought to this aspect. For example, the neighbouring country, China, has shown inclination for improving relations with India. We must take this opportunity. We have also shown our desire to have better relations with China. By establishing better relations with a great country like China, by starting again the link in trade, commerce and cultural relations with China, we will be able to stabilise not only South-East Asia and Asia but we will be able to stabilise the whole world and save the world from a possible nuclear holocaust because, when the Asian countries are united when the Asian countries are one nobody will dare come out with nuclear weapons because now the strength lies in Asia. Though at one time it was in Europe after the Industrial Revolution, now the strength lies in Asia. With India taking the lead as a non-aligned country with our beloved Prime Minister, Rajivji, taking the lead as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and inviting the Asian nations, our neighbours, to remain together to foster peace, security and stability in the world, this will be an era when we will have a stable and secure world and world peace.

Sir, I am very much pained about what is happening in our neighbourhood, in Sri Lanka. Ethnic violence has erupted in Sri Lanka. It is something about which all Indians are concerned it is not a handful of Tamils who are affected. Who is pre-

ent in Sri Lanka to train the anti-terrorist operations? The Israeli Mossad is there in Sri Lanka. Though the Sri Lanka Government comes out with statements that there are no Israelis present there, there is evidence that Mossad is there, the training organisation of Israeli who are competent enough to train guerrilla and anti-guerrilla operations both activities are present there in Sri Lanka. The presence of Mossad of Israel in Sri Lanka is a threat to the security of India. India is not safe when the Israeli Mossad is somewhere around the Indian shores. The Kerala coast and the Tamil Nadu coast the coastal areas are so near to Sri Lanka and if things are going to take a bad turn as they just now have in Sri Lanka, it affects the security and safety of India. We are also concerned about the lives of the people of Sri Lanka. Whether it is Sinhala or Tamil people, they are human beings and so, in the interests of human lives, what is happening in Sri Lanka is something that no civilized nation can afford. So, Sir, I would request the Prime Minister through you that as he was doing before, he must continue to take more interest in the affairs of the ethnic rivalry in Sri Lanka and the problems in Sri Lanka so that peace may prevail across our shores.

Sir, I am very happy that I got this opportunity. Now, with a strong and stable Government here with Rajivji at the helm of affairs, with a good majority to the ruling party and a very well-behaved Opposition who are not creating situations at the moment, I hope we will be able to perform well in this House and play our role creditably so that the things promised in this Address of our respected President and the things planned by our Government for our economic, social and other material development of this country will take on a faster rate.

Sir, I second the Motion, Thank you very much.

*The questions were proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now we have amendments.

Amendments Nos. 1 to 16 by Shri Ashwani Kumar, Shri Pyarelal Khandelwal, Shri Lal K. Advani, Shri Jagdambi Prasad Yadav, Shri Kailash Pati Mishra and Shri Shankar Singh Vaghela. Nobody is there. Amendments not moved.

Now amendment Nos. 17 to 153. Shri Dipen Ghosh.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

17. That at end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the threat being posed to the peace and security of the world by the U.S.A. due to its policy of heavy militarisation.”

18. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing pressure from the multinationals for a free run of the underdevelopd countries so that neo-colonialism gets back what old colonisation lost.

19. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the genuine help rendered by the Socialist countries.”

20. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. Naval base in Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean which is a constant threat to the security of the littoral States.”

21. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the rapidly deteriorating international situation and the danger of war due to imperialists pursuing of their policy of arms build-up, stationing new and powerful nuclear missiles in Europe, policing of gulf area and the Indian Ocean with the expansion of existing bases like the nuclearised Diego Garcia and setting up of new bases.”

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

22. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the arming of Pakistan with the lethal weapons by the United States of America and the resultant threat to the security of the country."

23. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the continuing U.S. and Pakistan hostility towards and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

24. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. war cries and resultant danger to world peace and security."

25. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to nationalise all the foreign assets in our country."

26. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to nationalise all the foreign assets in our country."

27. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing impoverisation of the rural masses."

28. That at the *end* of the Motion, following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need-based wage policy in India."

29. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the land reforms in the

interest of the peasants and agricultural labourers as without such radical land reforms the economy cannot be saved from its present stagnant position."

30. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to curb the monopolist and multinational activities in the country."

31. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the Government is giving further concessions to the monopolists and multinationals."

32. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to curb the deteriorating economic situation in the country due to increase in the rate of inflation and the prices of essential commodities day by day."

33. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the all-round attack on the living standards of the people, wages of the workers, employees, etc. through increased taxation."

34. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the abolition of contract labour system in the country."

35. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to ensure equal pay and facilities for working women."

36. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure

to reach the goals minimum of per capita income and availability of many essential commodities to the majority of the population in the country."

37. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to stand up to the expectations aroused in the early years of the Planning."

38. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the conspicuous consumption by the affluents on the one hand and the miserable living of the vast majority of the common people on the other."

39. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the mounting unemployment in the country."

40. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing trend in under employment in the country."

41. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the inability of the Government to amend the Constitution to make Right to work as a fundamental right."

42. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing atrocities on women in the country."

43. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing atrocities on the Harijans, minorities and other weaker sections of the population in States like Gujarat, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra."

44. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the oppression of tribals by non-tribals in the tribal belts."

45. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing menace of dowry and dowry-deaths in the country."

46. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to condemn the incidents of increasing rape by policemen and other law enforcing persons."

47. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the systematic killings of Harijans by the rich upper castes in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar."

48. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the inability of the Government to remove the lacunae in the enactments relating to rape, dowry death, atrocities on Harijans and other weaker sections of the population and in labour laws."

49. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the stench of corruption which pervades the administration and the wheels of industry which stop moving due to inefficient management bureaucratic attitudes and corruption."

50. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the curtailment of powers of the State Governments powers by the Central Government."

51. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the discriminatory attitude



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of the Centre in regard to the allocation of funds to the States having non-Congress(I) Governments."

52. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to condemn surveillance of innocent citizens by the CBI/IB through tapping of telephones, censoring of their letters etc."

53. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to condemn the discriminatory attitude of the Government towards the people of West Bengal and Tripura so far as the Central Services are concerned."

54. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the blatant misuse of the official medias like All India Radio and Doordarshan on the eve of the General Elections in December, 1984 in favour of the ruling party."

55. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing indebtedness of the country."

56. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the fruit of the development are beyond the reach of a large number of population."

57. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to evolve a policy to eradicate mass illiteracy in our country."

58. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the undemocratic manage-

ment of the educational institutions of the country and he steps the Government propose to take to do away with the same."

59. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the democratisation of the University enactments."

60. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the national policy of education and the need to fight all obscurantist, communal and undemocratic ideas in the field of education."

61. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for inclusion of Nepali, Maithili, Manipuri and Dogri languages in Eighth Schedule of the Constitution."

62. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the meagre health and educational facilities available in the rural areas."

63. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Central Government's deliberate discrimination with regard to West Bengal and Tripura in the matter of release of foodgrains and other essential articles with a motive to create discontentment among the people of these States and to make the Governments of these States unpopular so as to utilise opportune moment to attack these Governments violating all propriety and democratic norms."

64. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government in checking the recurrence of flood havoc in the country."

65. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for adequate financial help to the States which are affected by drought, flood and other natural calamities.”

66. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing security problem in rail travel.”

67. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing rail accident and derailment.”

68. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the countryside are still outside the purview of the public distribution system.”

69. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the prevailing bonded labour system in the country.”

70. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the child labour system prevailing in the country.”

71. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to give land/property rights to refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan now settled in various parts of the country.”

72. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to locate one of the two proposed units of the Bharat Electronics Ltd., in West Bengal.”

73. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to evolve a policy of National Minimum Wage.”

74. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government in taking effective steps to minimise accidents in coal mines.”

75. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to consult all Central Trade Unions and Standing Labour Committees before bringing any labour legislation for enactment.”

76. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government in formulating uniform policy for giving loan to the people of rural areas by Nationalised Bank.”

77. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to reduce the interest rates on loans given to marginal farmers and share croppers.”

78. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to keep down the prices of steel and cement.”

79. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to protect the handloom weavers of the country.”

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80. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the equitable distribution of river water for irrigation purposes between various States."

81. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the threat to the integrity of the country from increasing communal and caste feelings, and the steps taken to tackle these."

82. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to implement land Ceiling laws."

83. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to end the vast disparity between the prices of agricultural commodities and industrial products."

84. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to enact a Central Legislation for agricultural workers."

85. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide house sites and necessary financial assistance to construct houses to the landless poor."

86. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not indicate a clear and firm policy regarding nationalisation of industries."

87. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does mention about the widespread pollution

of drinking water sources endangering public health."

88. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the declaration of Sundarban as a backward area."

89. That at the end of the Motion, following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the tendency continuing since long to argue that candidates belonging to SC|ST and other backward classes are not having minimum efficiency or competence to fill the quota as prescribed in different Government departments and undertakings excepting a few in the lower grade services."

90. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to issue a directive by the Labour Ministry to Government departments and undertakings to fill up the backlog of recruitment of SC|ST in Govt. departments and to make special drive for the same."

91. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the punitive steps for deliberate violation of reservation order for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

92. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to grant regional autonomy for the Nepali speaking people in three hill sub-divisions of the district of Darjeeling within the State of West Bengal."

93. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need of providing more Central Assistance for the development of Hill areas in the district of Darjeeling."

94. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to develop tourism in the district of Darjeeling which is one of the most beautiful tourist areas in the world."

95. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to undertake concrete measures to revamp and rejuvenate the tea industry in the tea district of Darjeeling."

96. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to take over the closed and sick tea plantations in all the tea growing States."

97. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide excise rebate to the small tea producers in West Bengal."

98. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need of providing minimum wage to the agricultural labourers throughout the country."

99. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to provide pension for Agricultural labourers, widows and disabled persons."

100. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need of exempting the poor and marginal farmers, bargadars and agricultural workers from payment of agricultural and other Government dues and interest on cooperative loans throughout the country."

101. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to check falling moral standards in public life."

102. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to put curbs on consumption by the rich."

103. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to devote adequate attention to conditions of the rural poor and the hardships of small farmers and agricultural labourers."

104. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the programme for provision of drinking water, rural health and education for all at a faster rate."

105. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to reach the goals of *per capita* availability of many essential articles, set in the early years of planning."

106. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the large number of Bills passed by the West Bengal Assembly that are still pending with the Central Government for assent of the President."

107. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to curb the activities of notorious bottleggers in the capital of the country."

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

108. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the mining accidents in the country resulting in death of several hundred mine workers."

109. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to acquire surplus land in the country and distribute the same amongst the landless labourers."

110. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing number of rail accidents in the country."

111. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the minimum wages for working people."

112. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to carry out the Directive Principles as embodied in Articles 38, 39 and 40 to 50 in Part IV of the Constitution."

113. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to guarantee the trade unions, their right of collective bargaining and other trade union rights without any discrimination."

114. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to set up a Committee consisting of sitting judges of High Courts to rectify the existing erroneous consumer price index in respect of the working classes."

115. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the mismanagement and mal-administration of industrial units taken over by the Government."

116. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the unprecedented use of money power during the Lok Sabha General Elections in 1984 by the ruling party, rigging the votes, capturing the booths in various places in the country thus lowering the very norms of bourgeois democracy."

117. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. imperialism which is trying to destabilise India through its nefarious activities of aiding and encouraging secessionist forces within the country."

118. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the U.S. imperialism which is trying to encircle India by establishing military base around our country and by supplying sophisticated arms to the regimes hostile to democracy and peoples identity."

119. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to nationalise foreign capital in the country in order to build a strong self-reliant economy."

120. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the root causes which harm the unity and integrity of country and failure to define the ways to root them out."

121. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to immediately implement compulsory and universal school education in the country.”

122. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the unequivocal condemnation of multinational companies which produce harmful materials and their utter neglect of all safety laws as happened in the case of gas leakage tragedy in Bhopal gas tragedy.”

123. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the sinister role played by the multinationals in the third world by passing on their discarded technologies maintaining double standards of safety in their greed for profits.”

124. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the abandonment of the Government of India's present policy of wooing the multinationals, sacrificing all norms of industrial safety and environment at their feet.”

125. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to take immediate review of the safety systems in all the potentially hazardous plants in the country after the happenings of Bhopal tragedy.”

126. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's deep concern on the reported visit of a number of chemical war experts from USA, West Germany, U.K. etc. to Bhopal in view of the spiralling of the chemical arms race by these imperialists countries providing them an opportunity to evaluate the potential of MIC in such warfare.”

127. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to hold proceedings of the Enquiry Commission on Bhopal tragedy in public and to make the report to public without delay.”

128. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to take long term investigation measures on Bhopal tragedy with a view to alleviating the obnoxious effects.”

129. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to release money to the different States for the year 1984-85 as recommended by the Eighth Finance Commission.”

130. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of a Petrochemical complex at Haldia in West Bengal for which the people of West Bengal are demanding since long.”

131. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up a ship-repairing yard in West Bengal.”

132. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of a ship-building complex in Haldia, West Bengal.”

133. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of a electronic unit in West Bengal.”

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

134. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the expansion and modernisation of the Durgapur Steel Plant, Alloy Steel Plant, Durgapur and IISCO, Burnpur and Kulti works.

135. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the delay on the part of the Central Government to clear the West Bengal Government's proposal to set up new Power Units in the State.”

136. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of a IDPL's unit in West Bengal.”

137. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the reopening of the closed industrial units in West Bengal by nationalising the same units.”

138. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's failure to give the unemployment allowance to the unemployed persons until they get jobs.”

139. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention whether the post of Governor be abolished and alternative institutional arrangements made for maintaining channels of communication between the Union and the States, the Governor must or cease to be a nominee of the Union Council of Ministers, must be appointed by the President, on the advice of the Inter-State Council from a panel of three names suggested by the State Legislatures.”

140. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the subject education which should be reverted into the State List.”

141. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for special grants for universities which the States cannot meet, and therefore the need for a body such as UGC, constituting of in such a way as evoke the confidence of the State Government.”

142. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about (a) the deletion of the Concurrent List and the transfer of each of the items covered by it to the State List; (b) deletion of Article 248 and introduction of an explicit provision so that the residuary powers of legislation vest with the States and not with the Union; (c) abolition of or amendments to Articles 249, 252 and 254, so that no State could be deprived of any legislative powers which belong to it without its prior concurrence; (d) deletion of Articles 200 and 201 in their present form, and making it obligatory on the part of the Governor to give assent to all Bills passed by the State legislatures on items belonging to the State List.”

143. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about amending the Articles 247 to 254 in such manner so that the Union Government's powers to legislate on items belong to the State List, do not exceed beyond a period of six months.”

144. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

“but regret that the Address does not mention that the State Governments would be allowed parallel jurisdiction over Radio and Television in view of their increasing misuse by the Centre.”

145. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the planning should be decentralised right up to the village level and such decentralisation should begin with the devolution of more responsibilities and resources to the State Governments who in turn should agree to allocate funds and functions to district and village bodies, the districts should be the primary unit for Plan formulation, then the State, and then the nation as a whole."

146. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the objectives as adumbrated in the Industries (Development Regulation) Act, 1951, should be re-defined so that except for a number of industries crucial for defence, or where massive investments are called for beyond the capability of a State Government, the responsibility for overall planning and licensing of industries should be transferred to the States."

147. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of a nuclear plant in West Bengal."

148. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the introduction of a super-fast train between New Delhi and Howrah."

149. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the extension of suburban facilities up to Asansol, West Bengal."

150. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the introduction of EMU coaches between Asansol and Burdwan."

151. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the construction of a new railway line between Raniganj and Bankura via Mejia."

152. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the electrification of Bandel-Katwa line and the construction of a double line between Bandel and Katwa."

153. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the setting up of a HMT unit in West Bengal."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU) : Amendment Nos. 154 to 171. Dr. Bapu Kaldate. Shri P. Babul Reddy. Dr. Shanti G. Patel.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL (Maharashtra) : Sir, I move :

154. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the electrification of tripartite talks for a permanent solution of the problem of foreign nationals in Assam."

155. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken for the revision of electoral rolls in Assam for the next election."

156. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of dismissing the present illegal Assam Ministry and dissolution of the Assam Assembly for the congenial atmosphere in the State of Assam."

157. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to find a satisfactory solution on the issue of foreign nationals in Assam before ordering elections there."



[Shri Shanti G. Patel]

158. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the inflationary pressures on the economy which have persisted in spite of record kharif harvest for the year 1983-84.

159. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps which Government propose to take to unearth black money."

160. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to give remunerative prices for agricultural products and establish price parity between agricultural and industrial products."

161. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to bring down the rising prices of essential commodities affecting the common man."

162. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to arrest violence and injustice to persons belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward communities and minorities."

163. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to curb by legislative and administrative measures incidents of rape and assault on women."

164. That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to curb incidents of communal disturbances and disharmony."

165. That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to arrest the deteriorating situation in industrial sector and to ensure minimum and fair wages to the working class."

160. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken for strengthening the federal structure and devolving resources and power from the Centre to the State and Panchayat levels by clear Constitutional measures."

167. That at the end the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to ensure distribution of essential commodities to all weaker sections of society at fair prices."

168. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to initiate steps for electoral reforms"

169. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the new Industrial Policy favouring big houses and monopoly interests."

170. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the misuse of Government machinery during elections."

171. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the misuse of mass media like Radio and T.V. to subserve the interests of the ruling party."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now amendment Nos. 172 to 187. Shri Hukmdeo Narayan Yadav. Not there. Not moved.

Amendment Nos. 188 to 200. Shri Biswa Goswami. Not there. Not moved.

Amendment Nos. 201 to 220. Shri Chaturanan Mishra, Shri M. Kalyanasundaram. Absent. Not moved.

Amendment Nos. 221 to 273. Shri Indradeep Sinha, Shri Chaturanan Mishra, Shri Suraj Prasad. Absent. Not moved.

Amendment Nos. 274 to 280. Shri M. Kalyanasundaram. Absent. Not moved.

Amendment Nos. 281 to 288. Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta. Absent. Not moved.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, Mr. Sushil Chand Mohunta had to leave. He has left a letter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): He has not taken prior permission. The amendment Nos. 281 to 288 are not moved because he has not taken prior permission which he could have taken.

Amendment Nos. 289 to 291. Shri S. W. Dhabe.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): I move:

289. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the need for speedy implementation of Land Reform Legislations and distribution of land to the landless labourers under a time-bound programme.”

290. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about full employment objective and extension of employment guarantee scheme similar to Maharashtra to other parts of the country.”

291. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

“but regret that the Address does not mention about national policy on physical education and recreation which is essential for the coming industrial age in the Twenty-first century.”

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Amendment Nos. 292 and 293. Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy is not there. Not moved.

*The questions were proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now it is open for discussion. Shri Dipen Ghosh.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): Yes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ... in the new year, with the new Government settled, led by the new young Prime Minister ...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Yes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ... we were in search of what could be new in the Address of the President of India to Parliament.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Yes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Are you going to give this effect music?

SHRI S. W. DHABE: He is not a Minister also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): The only one special mention will be taken up tomorrow, not today because Mr. Ghosh has started already.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to draw your attention. Will Mr. Kalpnath Rai be allowed to continue to give effect music behind my speech? A commentator?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please continue.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, with the new Government headed by a new young Prime Minister saddled on. I was in search of what would be new in the Address. I do not say that there is nothing new. There is a new feature and that is in the passage on the proposed anti-defection Bill which would deal with later. But what is most important is what is written in paragraph 11 of the Address where continuity of the basic policies has been promised. Therefore, Sir, this Address makes no attempt for a thorough examination of the problems of India nor does

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

it indicate any direction in which these problems are sought to be solved.

Sir, the Government's, and for that matter the ruling party's lackadaisical attitude is manifest not only in dealing with the economic problems of our country but also tackling the issues relating to unity, integrity and security of the country.

Sir, look at paragraph 4, wherein it has been mentioned, I quote :

"On October 31, 1984, our beloved leader and Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated in an act of perfidy."

Sir, is it simply an act of perfidy? Was there no conspiracy? Was there no foreign hand behind it? While Darbaraji moving this Motion of Thanks mentioned about many conspiracies. He took certain names of the foreign powers. The representatives of certain foreign powers. But there is no mention about that here. Was it because that Darbaraji wanted and it did not figure here because of that old rift between the person who has presented this Address and Shri Darbara Singh when he was Chief Minister of Punjab. Here I must say that there is an imperialist conspiracy behind this. Today morning also I pointed out about the United States State Department Supported Study "What would be after the demise of Mrs. Gandhi?" Is it an accidental slip that the imperialist forces escaped condemnation in this Address?

Sir, look at paragraph 26. Here it has been mentioned, I quote again:

"The militarisation of the Indian Ocean is continuing. This brings tensions and the possibility of conflict close to our shores. Government are committed to the objective of demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean so that the tensions are removed from this region and the littoral States, which are mostly developing countries, can devote their resources, attention and energy to the all-important tasks of development."

Sir, which country is militarising the Indian Ocean? Which country is creating

tension in the littoral States? Who prevented the Government from mentioning the name of that country? Even after paying the greatest price in the assassination of the Prime Minister, they have not pondered over it. It is not a simple question of merely giving a lecture here. They should name the imperialist forces. The Government should mobilise the public opinion against these forces. Did you do it? Did the Congress party at the Centre do it? No.

My hon. friend, Mr Jacob has just now mentioned about the right to secession. But does Mr. Jacob know that in today's world, there is only one country, in whose Constitution, the right to secession has been incorporated and that country is the strongest country in the world, that is, the U.S.S.R. However, we do not suggest it in today's context of India. The same half-hearted approach to a reference made regarding Bhopal gas leakage tragedy. What we witnessed in Bhopal is not merely an accident, but is a part of *modus operandi* of the Western multi-national corporations in the Third World. It is not simply pesticides. It is politics. Pesticides for homicide are part of politics and economics of the Western multi-national corporations in the Third World. Should we allow such multi-national corporations to enter into our country? Where is the mention about it in this Address. Don't you know the *modus operandi* of the multi-national corporations? Don't you see how after the imperialist forces were to leave the country giving freedom to Asian and African countries have against penetrated into the Third World through the operations of the multi-national corporations. So, where is that mention here?

The Government have said that they are for the integrity and security of the country. Yes. So, we are also for integrity and security of the country. But who is endangering the integrity and security of the country? Which forces? The imperialist forces led by the U.S. Now, the multi-national corporations are their fronts only.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar):  
What about China; and what about USA?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I am not speaking in the Chinese Parliament. I am

speaking in the Indian Parliament as an Indian. And I am opposed to the establishment of multinational corporations in India.

Sir, now I would like to deal with certain aspects relating to national policies. It is a welcome development that the new Government has given top priority to the finding of solutions to the most pressing problems of Punjab and Assam. Along with all the countrymen we are also eagerly waiting and looking forward as to how the new Government will pursue this exercise, having drawn the correct lessons from their past experience. But in the meantime, I would like to caution the present Government about the proposal of merger of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh mooted by Shri Bhajan Lal, Chief Minister of Haryana and supported by Shri Darbara Singh, who tabled this motion. This proposal will only open the Pandora's box and will complicate the issues rather than help in finding out solutions. This is opposed to the fundamental principles of reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis, for which the people of our country, including those of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, made their immense sacrifices. Sir, in fact, for the solution of the Punjab problem, sufficient ground has been covered in early tripartite talks and the basis of an agreement is already provided by the 2nd June, 1984 statement made by the late Prime Minister. And what is required now is not to take up the issues but to find out real solutions. I hope the new Government will take up earnestly this issue.

Now, Sir, I turn to the very ticklish question about the electoral victory which has been mentioned here. And Mr. Jacob also has pointed it out. In the President's Address, in paragraph 10, it has been mentioned:

"The elections of 1984 have demonstrated the maturity and strength of India's democratic system."

Yes, but at the same time, has it not also demonstrated the weakness inherent in the electoral laws of our country? On an all-India basis, the Congress(I) has secured more than 80 per cent of the total seats

while obtaining only around 50 per cent of the total votes cast. In Uttar Pradesh, the Congress (I) has secured about 53 per cent of the votes and obtained 96 per cent of the seats. But the Opposition parties which got 47 per cent of the votes had to remain content with only 4 per cent of the seats. Does it not indicate... (*Interruptions*) You just listen. Does it not indicate the distortion that had taken place in the electoral laws of our country? So it underlies the necessity of a thorough overhauling of the present electoral laws of our country. And here I would like to take this opportunity to suggest that proportional representation with the list system be introduced in our country.

And in that case, every party or group that contests the election will get seats in proportion to its support in the electorate and this will also eliminate the tendency of defection and forming of new parties and dividing of old parties. This will also help materialise the concept of developing the party system in our country which the new Prime Minister has sought. In the President's Address it has been claimed that the economy has made a significant progress. What is that progress? Let us examine. Here is the World Development Report 1984. It is a report published by the World Bank. It gives the basic indicators for 126 countries divided into six categories. One of the six categories consists of low income economies, which in other words, denotes the poorest countries. The total number of countries belonging to this category is 34. Thirtyfour are the poorest countries among the 126 countries of the world. Will Mr. Jacob like to know which position India occupies. India occupies the eleventh position from the bottom. (*Interruption*) From the bottom India occupies the eleventh position among the 34 poorest countries in the world. In other words, there are only ten countries poorer than India. According to that World Bank Development Report, Mr. Jacob may kindly take note, the per capita national product, that is, Gross National Product—GNP—of this category, that is, the poorest countries, is US \$ 280 and India's is much lower at US\$ 260. The average annual growth rate in per capita for the group of the poorest countries is 3 per cent while for India it is only 1.3

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

per cent. This position will not be alleviated if the old basic policies are continued as promised in paragraph 11 of the President's Address nor can this position be alleviated, for Mr. Jacob and Darbaraji to note, by only eulogising the late Prime Minister and the new Prime Minister or by platitudinously exalting the 1984 election results. Thank you.

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जो अभिभाषण प्रस्तुत किया गया है, उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति का भाषण सरकार का नीति-वक्तव्य होता है। हमारी सरकार की क्या नीति है वह नीति वक्तव्य राष्ट्रपति का होता है। मैं विरोधी दल के नेता श्री दीपेन घोष से कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस सरकार का नीति वक्तव्य आजादी की लड़ाई के पहले आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानियों ने तय किया था। आजादी की लड़ाई के पहले, आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले हमारे नेताओं ने तय किया था कि हमारे देश की नीति क्या होगी।

और आजादी के बाद जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने उन्ही नीतियों के आधार पर हिन्दुस्तान में डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म की नीति पर चलना प्रारम्भ किया और उसी नीति को श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जवाहरलाल जी के बाद देश में आगे चलाया। हमारे देश के नये प्रधान मंत्री जी ने हमारी भूतपूर्व नीतियों पर चलने का दृढ़ निश्चय दोहराया है। उन्होंने उन्हीं नीतियों को, लोकतंत्र, समाजवाद, धर्मनिरपेक्षता, राष्ट्रीयता और देश से गरीबी हटाने की नीतियों को दोहराया है। श्री दीपेन घोष से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम कभी भी उनकी पार्टियों की नीति पर नहीं चलेंगे। ये लोग एक तरफ तो साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों के खिलाफ हिन्दुस्तान को एक होने की बात कहते

हैं और दूसरी ओर हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने वाली ताकतों के साथ गठजोड़ करते हैं। क्या श्री दीपेन घोष जो को याद नहीं है कि सन् 1947 से पहले जब हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी जा रही थी तो साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध नारा लगाने वाले कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अंग्रेजों के साथ थी? क्या उनकी इस बात की जानकारी नहीं है कि उनकी पार्टी ने पाकिस्तान बनने का समर्थन किया था? आज अब हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग गला फाड़कर कहते हैं कि दुनिया में साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ हिन्दुस्तान को अपनी आवाज उठानी चाहिए तो क्या यह बात भी सही नहीं है कि जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी दुनिया में साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ आवाज उठा रही थी तो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने काश्मीर में और विजयवाड़ा में कंकलेक्स किये? राष्ट्रघाती और जनघाती ताकतों के साथ ये लोग मिल गये। ये लोग एक तरफ तो साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ बात करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ देश को तोड़ने वाली ताकतों के साथ गठजोड़ करते हैं। क्या यही आपकी राजनीति रह गई है यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की कभी नहीं समझा। ये लोग मानसिक रूप से दिवालिये रहे हैं। सन् 1947 से पहले ये लोग आजादी की लड़ाई के दुश्मन थे; ये अंग्रेजों के साथ थे। आजादी की लड़ाई के साथ हिन्दुस्तान की रचना करने के लिए हम लोगों ने जो कदम उठाये, इन्होंने उनका विरोध किया। मैं श्री दीपेन घोष से कहना चाहता हूँ

हूँ कि सबसे ज्यादा आज दुनिया में साम्राज्यवाद का खतरा उपस्थित है और साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ सबसे बड़ी ताकत श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी नान-एलायन्ड कन्ट्रीज की नेता के रूप में थी। उस इन्दिरा गांधी के हाथों को कमजोर करने का काम सबसे ज्यादा कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने किया। इन्होंने काश्मीर में कनक्लेव किया, विजयवाड़ा में कनक्लेव किया और कलकत्ता में कनक्लेव किया। जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती, ताकतों के साथ मिलकर देश को कमजोर बनाने की कोशिश की। दूसरी तरफ ये लोग साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों के खिलाफ लड़ने की बात करते हैं। ये दोनों बातें शोभा नहीं देती हैं। कांग्रेस पार्टी के नूतनत्व में जब हम लोग हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे तो आजादी की लड़ाई के नेताओं ने यह फैसला किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतंत्र होगा। आजादी की लड़ाई के नेताओं ने फैसला किया था और करांची कांग्रेस ने यह प्रस्ताव पास किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म के रास्ते पर आगे चलेगा। सन् 1936 में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष की हैसियत से कहा था—

I am a socialist and the problems of India cannot be solved without socialism. The problems of poverty and unemployment cannot be solved without socialism and I want to convert the Congress into a socialist organisation.

यह बाद सन् 1936 में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष की हैसियत से कही थी। सन् 1947 के बाद जब देश आजाद हुआ तो इस देश की क्या हैसियत थी? यह देश चिथड़ों में लिपटा हुआ था। सारा हिन्दुस्तान भूखा और नंगा था। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ

कि क्या आज भी हिन्दुस्तान चिथड़ों में लिपटा हुआ है? क्या आज भी हिन्दुस्तान नंगा है? क्या हिन्दुस्तान भूखा है? क्या आज भी हिन्दुस्तान कंगाल है? सन् 1947 में चिथड़ों में लिपटा हुआ हिन्दुस्तान, भूखा हिन्दुस्तान, नंगा हिन्दुस्तान, सन् 1984 में दुनिया की एक एटोमिक पावर बन गया है; स्पेस पावर बन गया है, एग्रीकल्चर की दृष्टि से मजबूत देश हो गया है। क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज से पहले इतना औद्योगिक दृष्टि से शक्तिशाली देश था? क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज से पहले कृषि की दृष्टि से इतना मजबूत था? क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज से पहले तकनीकी दृष्टि से इतना मजबूत था? क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज ने पहले एटोमिक पावर की दृष्टि से इतना मजबूत देश था? क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज से पहले स्पेस पावर की दृष्टि से इतना मजबूत था? क्या हिन्दुस्तान फटिलाइजर्स की दृष्टि से, टेक्नोलोजी की दृष्टि से इतना मजबूत पहले कभी था? क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज से पहले शांति स्थापित करने वाले देशों में इतना मजबूत था? मैं ये बात विरोधी दल के नेताओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ। यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि देश को महान नेता, दुनिया को महान नेता, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का निर्धन हो गया। उस वक्त ऐसा लगा मानें चारों ओर अंधेरा छा गया है। राष्ट्र को कोटि-कोटि जनता को आंखों में आसू आ गये, आंखों से आंसुओं को जनधारा बहने लग गई। उसके निधन से सारा राष्ट्र अनाथ हो गया, सारे राष्ट्र ने अनाथ होने का परिचय दिया। अगर आपकी आंखें हैं तो आप देख सकते हैं। इन्दिरा गांधी ने कहा था—

"I want to make India a developed strong, powerful and a socialist India: Either dynamic your country or get yourself dynamited."

इन्दिरा जी जब 1980 में सत्ता में आई तो इन्दिरा जी से सवाल पूछा गया कि जनता पार्टी के लोगों ने अपने खिलाफ इतनी कार्य-वाहियां की, उनके खिलाफ भी आप क्या जांच बिठाएंगी। इन्दिरा जी ने कहा था कि मैं देशवासियों से कहना चाहती हूँ कि

(श्री कल्पनाथ राय)

हिन्दुस्तान के शत्रु वे नहीं हैं, या वे मेरे शत्रु नहीं हैं जिन्होंने मुझे जेल में डाला या मेरे साथियों का जेल में डाला या कांग्रेस जनों को जेल में डाला या हमारे ऊपर कमीशन बिठाये। बल्कि समस्त भारतवर्ष और सभी हिन्दुस्तानियों का सबसे बड़ा शत्रु गरीबी है। आइये हम सब मिल जुल कर शत्रु से लड़ें जो हजारों वर्षों में हिन्दुस्तान की छाती पर बैठा हुआ है। यह था दृष्टिकोण दुनिया के नेता और इस देश की नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का। लेकिन आप जब सत्ता में आये तो तीन वर्ष के कार्यकाल में आपने क्या किया। मुझे आप बतलाइये कि जनता पार्टी की हुकमत ने अपने तीन वर्ष के कार्यकाल में क्या किया? छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना का मसौदा 1980 में बना था। हमारे आदरणीय नेता श्री प्रणव मुखर्जी भी यहां मौजूद हैं। आयल प्रोडक्शन 1980 में 10 मिलियन टन था आज वह 30 मिलियन टन है आयल प्रोडक्शन 23 प्रतिशत बढ़कर हुआ। इससे बड़ी उपलब्धि कौन सी हो सकती है? दुनिया के किसी भी विकासशील देश में क्या इतनी बड़ी उपलब्धि हुई है? उपसभापति महोदय, 30 हजार मेगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन 1977 में था जब कि जनता सरकार आई थी। तीन वर्ष के कार्यकाल में 1 हजार मेगावाट भी बिजली का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा। जब कि छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के पांच वर्षों के कार्यकाल में बिजली का उत्पादन 30 हजार मेगावाट से बढ़कर आज 45 हजार मेगावाट हुआ है। क्या यह हमारी उपलब्धि नहीं है? हमारे मित्र श्री दीपेन घोष पूछते हैं कि दुनिया में हमारी पर कैपिटल इनकम क्या है? वे यह क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि हमारा हिन्दुस्तान जब आजाद हुआ तो उस वक्त उसकी आबादी 35 करोड़ थी। आज इस देश की आबादी 70 करोड़ है। अमेरिका जिसका क्षेत्रफल हिन्दुस्तान से चार गुना ज्यादा है उसकी आबादी 22 करोड़ है। रूस जिसका क्षेत्रफल हिन्दुस्तान से सात गुना है। उसकी आबादी 24 करोड़ है और हिन्दुस्तान जिसका क्षेत्रफल अमेरिका से एक चौथाई है उसकी आबादी 35 करोड़ से बढ़ कर 70 करोड़ हो गयी है। जब देश की नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने परिवार नियोजन, पापुलेशन पालिसी युद्ध-स्तर पर चलाई, तो जनता पार्टी की 1977 की विजय, आप याद

रखिये कि उस पापुलेशन पालिसी को युद्ध स्तर पर लागू कराने के कारण ही इंदिरा गांधी चुनाव हारी थी। यह मत समझिये कि आपके-कारनामों के कारण वे हारी। आपने नस बंदी और नजरबंदी की झूठी कहानियां गांव-गांव और गली-गली फैलाकर इंदिरा गांधी को सत्ता से हटाया। इस लिये क्या आप अभी भी राष्ट्रीय नीति पर चलने के लिये तैयार हैं या हमेशा ही टकराव की राजनीति चलाना चाहते हैं, कन्फ्रंटेशन की पालिसी को बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं। आप अभी भी इसी नीति पर चलना चाहते हैं आपने देखा कि पंजाब में थोड़ी सी सरकार के खिलाफ उपद्रवादी, राष्ट्रद्रोही और देश घाती ताकतें उभर रही हैं। आप उनके कान से कान मिलाकर बातें करने लगे। जब आपने देखा कि आसाम में इंदिरा जी के खिलाफ कुछ लोग विद्रोह करना चाहते हैं तो आप उनके कान में कान मिलाकर चलने लगे। आप विरोधी दल के तमाम नेता ऐसे बन गये हैं कि अगर 10 लाख ब्लैक मार्केटियर्स वोट क्लब में मिलें तो आप उनकी मोटिंग एड्रेस करने को वहां पहुंच जायेंगे। क्योंकि वे राजीव गांधी और इंदिरा गांधी के खिलाफ इफ्ठहा हुये हैं। उनको भीड़ मिलनी चाहिये, कही आग लगी हुई है दिखाई देनी चाहिये ताकि वहां पर पहुंच जाएं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि प्रणव मुखर्जी जी के जमाने में हजारों की संख्या में जितने ब्लैक मार्केटियर्स, स्मगलर्स, होर्डर्स, एंटी नेशनल तत्वों को गिरफ्तार किया गया 1976 में मुझे खुशी है कि प्रणव मुखर्जी जो पश्चिम बंगाल के नेता हैं यहां पर मौजूद हैं लेकिन उन हजारों लाखों राष्ट्रद्रोहियों को 1980 में छोड़ने और उनको नई आजादी का खिताब देने का आपने फरमान जारी किया था। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं आपकी क्या नीतियां हैं क्या सिद्धांत है? इंदिरा गांधी का गाना एक ही था, इंदिरा जी ने जिस मूलक में एक सुई नहीं बनती थी उस मूलक को एटोमिक नेशन बनाया, इंदिरा गांधी ने इस मूलक की 22 हजार मील ऊपर स्पेस में इज्जत की और इस मूलक को ऊंचा किया। इंदिरा गांधी का अस्सेमीनेशन इसलिये हुआ क्योंकि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को एटोमिक देश बनाया लेकिन साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों को यह बर्दास्त नहीं हुआ। इसलिये उनका अस्सेसीनेशन हुआ। उनका अस्सेसीनेशन इसलिये हुआ क्योंकि

वह तीसरी दुनिया की आवाज थी। इसलिये उनका अस्सेसीनेशन हुआ क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान को उन्होंने स्पेस पावर बनाया। हिन्दुस्तान के लोग इस बात को मानें या न मानें परन्तु इंदिरा जी ने एक ही गुनाह किया था कि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को एक डिम्नीफाइड नेशन के रूप में पेश किया था। याद रखिये जब एटम का विस्फोट हुआ था उस जमाने में आपको याद होगा जिन साम्राज्यवादियों की बात आप करते हैं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता जंग के साम्राज्यवादी देश बाँखला गये थे और हिन्दुस्तान को डिस्टेबलाइज करने की कोशिश की थी। तब इंदिरा गांधी ने इसी पार्लियामेंट में कहा था—

“If India will not join the technological revolution, India cannot attain freedom.”

इंदिरा जी ने कहा था एक बार हिन्दुस्तान ने यूरोप की औद्योगिक क्रांति में भाग नहीं लिया तो यूरोप के कारखाने बनाने वालों ने वैनगाडी के पहिये में निपटे हिन्दुस्तानियों को गुलाम बना लिया। अगर हिन्दुस्तान तकनीकी क्रांति में भाग नहीं लेगा तो हिन्दुस्तान अपनी आजादी को नहीं बचा सकता है, इस लिये हमने एटम को तोड़ा है मगर हमने तोड़ा है तो लड़ाई के लिये नहीं, हमने तोड़ा है दवाइयों के लिये। हमने लड़ाई के लिये नहीं तोड़ा हमने घर-घर में बिजली पहुंचाने के लिये तोड़ा है। हमने एटम को तोड़ा है लड़ाई के लिये नहीं बल्कि भारत को शक्तिशाली, विकसित, समाजवादी देश बनाने के लिये और दुनिया में भारत का मस्तक ऊंचा करने के लिये। इसलिये हमने तोड़ा है। यह हमारी एटोमिक पालिसी है, यही हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी है, इसलिये हमने हिन्दुस्तान को ऊंचा करने की कोशिश की। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे पछना चाहता हूँ कि विरोधी दल के लोग किम नीति पर देश को चलाना चाहते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान एक डवलपिंग नेशन है। इंदिरा जी ने नान-अलाइड कॉफ्रेंस के नेता के रूप में विकासशील देशों की आवाज को उठाया विकसित और डवलपिंग इकोनोमी के बीच में जो डिस्पैरिटी है उसको पाटा जाए, दुनिया से गरीबी को हटाया जाए। ऐदुनिया वालो, या तो हथियारों को मिटाना होगा नहीं तो दुनिया को यह एटोमिक हथियार मिटा देंगे।

यही तो इंदिरा गांधी ने कहा था। यही तो इंदिरा गांधी का दोष था। यही तो उनकी गलती थी मगर याद रखना विरोधी दल के लोगों इंदिरा गांधी जैसा नेता हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में, आने वाले इतिहास में दो चार सौ वर्ष पैदा नहीं होगा। आप चाहे जितनी आलोचना करो चाहे जो भी कर लो। दुनिया के इतिहास में पुरुषों का तो बलिदान हुआ है, जेसस क्राइस्ट का क्रूसीफिकेशन किया गया, महात्मा गांधी को गोली मारी गई, मगर जब से पृथ्वी पैदा हुई है शायद किसी महिला का बलिदान एक ऐसी महिला का जो विश्व के पैमाने की महिला हो विश्व के इतिहास में यह पहली घटना है जेसस क्राइस्ट और गांधी की कतार में यह पहली महिला बलिदान के रूप में प्रस्तुत हुई। इतने बड़े विश्व के नेता के शादशों पर चलने की अगर हिन्दुस्तान के लोग आज भी प्रतिज्ञा नहीं लेते हैं तो मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि फिर क्या भविष्य होगा? हम अतीत को सामने रख कर भविष्य के सुहावने दिन का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं ताकि आने वाले भारत की भावी संतानें सुखी हों। इन्दिरा गांधी के दिल में आजादी की तड़पन थी। उनकी आंखों में देश बनाने का मुहावना सपना था। वे भारत की गरीबी को 100 वर्ष भी दूर नहीं कर सकती थीं मगर हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों-करोड़ गरीब जानते थे कि इंदिरा जी के दिल में एक तड़पन है हमारी गरीबी को मिटाने की, उनके दिल और आंखों में सपना है हिन्दुस्तान को शक्तिशाली बनाने का। यही कारण है कि चुनाव में कन्या कुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक जनता जाति भेद-भाव को छोड़कर पूरे राष्ट्र की एकता की रक्षा के लिये राजीव गांधी के पीछे खड़ी हो गई। उसका कारण यह है। उसका कारण यह नहीं है, आप जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती नीतियां चलाते हैं। मैं इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ विरोधी दलों के नेताओं से और साथियों से कि वे टकराव की राजनीति को छोड़ें वे नेशनल रिकंसिलिएशन की पालिसी को बढ़ावा दें। हो सकता है कि कल आप सत्ता में आ जायें लेकिन अगर आप टकराव की राजनीति को लाते रहेंगे तो कभी भी आप नहीं आ सकते।

दीपेन घोष साहब ने कहा कि नयी सरकार का डाइरेक्शन क्या है? आपको



## [ श्री कल्पनाथ राय ]

मौजूद रहना चाहिये। मैं बताता हूँ नयी सरकार का डाइरेक्शन है सोशलिज्म की स्थापना, 20 पाइंट प्रोग्राम को इम्प्लीमेंट करना नयी एजुकेशन पालिसी को बनाना, नयी टेक्सटाइल पालिसी को बनाना, हिंदुस्तान को एक सेल्फ रिलायंट देश बनाना। नयी सरकार का डाइरेक्शन है सातवी पंचवर्षीय योजना का एप्रोच पेपर जिसे इंदिरा गांधी जी ने तैयार करवाया था और जो है फूड, वर्क एण्ड प्रोडक्टिविटी—यही दिशा है। राजीव गांधी जी जो देश के नेता हैं जो इंदिरा गांधी के उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में भारत के प्रधान मंत्री हैं उन्होंने कहा है कि हम अपने पूर्वजों की चलाई हुई नीतियों पर चलेंगे। हम नान एलाइमेंट की पालिसी को परस्यू करेंगे। अपने संविधान में जो उद्देश्य हैं डेमोक्रेटिक, सोशलिस्टिक और सेक्युलर राज्य बनाने का, हम उस नीति पर चलेंगे।

यहां माइनारिटीज की बात की जाती है। मैं यहां पर आपके सामने कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह इंदिरा गांधी, जवाहर लाल नेहरू और महात्मा गांधी जी की ही फिलासफी है, उन्हीं की पोलिटिकल फिलासफी है। उन्होंने आजादी के पहले तय किया था कि वतन सबके लिये है। हिंदू, मुस्लिम, सिख, पारसी, ईसाई सबका देश है। अणफाकुल्ला इस मुल्क की आजादी के लिये ही फांसी पर चढ़े। इसी तरह राम प्रसाद बिस्मिल, चन्द्रशेखर आजाद, खुदी राम बोस भी इस मुल्क के लिये फांसी पर चढ़े। यह सबका मुल्क है। यह सरदार भगत सिंह का देश है और यदि सबका मुल्क है तो जब यह मुल्क आजाद होगा तो यह सभी धर्मों का, जातियों का मुल्क होगा। लेकिन अंग्रेजों के बहकावे में आकर हिन्दुस्तान की मुस्लिम लीग ने, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने हिन्दुस्तान के बंटवारे का समर्थन किया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बंटवारे के बावजूद भी जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने, इंदिरा गांधी ने उन्हीं नीतियों को चलाया जो आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान हमारे नेताओं ने तय की थी। आप दुनिया में कोई ऐसा देश बता सकते हैं जहां माइनारिटीज की इतनी इज्जत हो। क्या माइनारिटीज की कोई इज्जत पाकिस्तान में है? क्या माइनारिटीज की कोई इज्जत बंगला देश में है, अमेरिका में है, अपने को सभ्य कहलाने वाले और चार सौ वर्षों की सभ्यता पर गौरव गाथा गाने

वाले अमेरिका में कालों की क्या इज्जत है? इंग्लैंड में आइरिशों की क्या इज्जत है? रूस के अन्दर करोड़ों मुसलमान रहते हैं। कम्युनिस्ट व्यवस्था है लेकिन इस व्यवस्था में क्या कोई मुसलमान कभी प्रेसीडियम का मेम्बर बना, कभी वाइस प्रेजिडेंट या प्रेजिडेंट बना। चीन में माइनारिटी की क्या इज्जत है वहां करोड़ों मुसलमान हैं लेकिन उस कम्युनिस्ट व्यवस्था में किसी मुसलमान को कोई पोलिटिकल रिस्पेक्टिविलिटी मिली। क्या रूस में मिली जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सर्वहारा का नारा देता है क्या वहां किसी भी माइनारिटी को रिस्पेक्टिविलिटी मिली। यहाँ हिंदुस्तान है जहां जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने, गांधी ने, इंदिरा गांधी ने माइनारिटीज को इज्जत दी। इंदिरा गांधी जी ने तो जितनी इज्जत माइनारिटीज को दी उतनी दुनिया के इतिहास में किसी भी नेता ने किसी भी माइनारिटी को नहीं दी। यहां इंदिरा गांधी जी 16 वर्ष तक भारत की प्रधान मंत्री रहने और डा० जाकिर हुसैन, फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद भारत के राष्ट्रपति बने। पहली बार इंदिरा गांधी जी ने माइनारिटी के व्यक्ति को हिंदुस्तान का चीफ जस्टिस बनाया। इंदिरा गांधी जी ने मानेकश को कमंडर इन चीफ बनाया। इंदिरा गांधी जी ने 6-6 प्रदेशों में ऐसे व्यक्तियों को मुख्य मंत्री बनाया। इंदिरा गांधी जी ने फिर अब माइनारिटी के व्यक्ति ज्ञानी जैल सिंह जी को भारत का राष्ट्रपति बनाया। इंदिरा जी ने सिक्ख, मुस्लिम, ईसाई, पारसियों को पोलिटिकल, इकनामिकल, सोशल लाइफ में हाइएस्ट प्रोपोर्टिटी देने की कोशिश की, रिस्पेक्टिविलिटी देने की। कोशिश की—जो हिम्मत नेहरू जी ने भी नहीं की थी। अपने 17 वर्ष के कार्यकाल में माइनारिटीज को इज्जत दे सकने की बात जवाहर लाल नेहरू की कांग्रेस ने नहीं की उसमें प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें इतनी ताकत में थीं कि जवाहर लाल नेहरू की नहीं चलने पाती थी। जो इज्जत जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी नहीं दे सके वह इज्जत हमने माइनारिटीज को दी दोपेन घोष जी। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप ज्योति बसू और नम्बूदरीपाद जी से कहिये कि वे ही नीतियों का समर्थन करें जो इंदिरा गांधी, जवाहर लाल नेहरू या आजादी की लड़ाई के पहले के नेताओं ने, हमारे

पूर्वजों ने चलाई थी और वे राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य, नेशनल रिकंसोलिडेशन के माध्यम से भारत की गरीबी हटाने के काम में हमारे राजीव गांधी जी की सहायता करें। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM** (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very glad that I am given an opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address today. Sir, I was carefully listening to the speech of Mr. Kalpnath Rai. And I am given an opportunity to listen to his speech for the first time on the floor of the House. All the time so far he was managing the others as to when to speak and where to speak. Now, he started speaking before us. And also, Sir, this is for the first time in the last seven years that I am speaking on the President's Address without seeing the face of our former Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Sir, I was listening to the speech of my friend from the Communist benches wherein he pointed out about the poverty-line and how far our country has failed to reach the goal. And they have mentioned it in their own style.

Sir, as far as my position is concerned, if my memory does not fail, the population of this country in the year 1947 was 35 crores whereas the population of this country now is only 75 crores. Not only have we increased the population from 35 crores to 75 crores but we are also producing every year nearly 1.5 crores of people which is equivalent to Australia. That means, we are expected to protect and preserve 1.5 crores of population every year. No democratic country in the world can come forward to challenge our country in that respect. Our India alone can preserve the entire 75 crores of people. Of all democratic countries in the world, only India under the leadership of our former Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was in a position to tackle this problem and not any other country.

Secondly, Sir, in the Presidential Address, they have very clearly mentioned about the tragedy in Bhopal and the results of the elections held recently. On these points, I agree with the hon. Members belonging to the ruling party. I was

also a part and parcel of the Congress party just before the elections. Even now, even though I sit in the Opposition, I know fully well that you will not accept me as a member of the Opposition party, and my ruling party members also will not accept me as a member of the ruling party. I am in between. Sir, neither I belong to the Opposition nor I belong to the ruling party.

Sir, here I want to say a few things about the President's Address...

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY** (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Mohanarangam, you are in the Trisanku Swarga.

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM**: Sir, my friend points out that I am in Trisanku Swarga, and he was in the same position for more than six years when he was with the Congress party. Out of his personal experience, my friend Mr. Gopalsamy is pointing out all these things.

Sir, what I want to point out here is that they have got a majority. They have got 400 Members on the floor of the Lok Sabha. Here also they have got the majority. I do not know the reason for introducing the Anti-defection Bill. The hon. President has also mentioned about the Anti-defection Bill. It seems that they are going to introduce this Bill shortly on the floor of the Parliament. I do not know anything about what exactly is the stage at which the matter stands at present. I do not know the urgency of moving that particular Bill in the Parliament after the elections and that too within a week. They say that it is for the safety of the country. They say that it is for the safety of the nation. They say that it is for the safety of their party. They say that it is for the safety of all the parties. Sir, I was very carefully going through the provisions of the Anti-defection Bill, the main features of which were published just two days back in almost every leading newspaper of our country. There it has been pointed out that if the leader of a party sends a person who is a Member of Parliament or a Member of the Legislative Assembly out of the party, automatically the membership of that person from the Parliament or the Assembly ceases.

But what will happen when there is an unscrupulous leader? Of course, we have

[Shri R. Mohanaragam]

very good leaders now. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is there. So many persons are there. But suppose, Mr. Kaip Nath Rai becomes the Prime Minister of this country. What will happen? According to his will and pleasure, he can send anybody out of his party. If a partyman happens to be a Member of the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha, automatically, his membership will cease. I have seen the other provisions also of this Anti-Defection Bill. It is also said here that when an independent Member who has been elected to the Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha or as an MLA or MLC, by the voters of his constituency, when he has come out with fine colours on his own merits, joins a political party, his membership will automatically cease. Where is democracy? I do not know what for this Anti-Defection Bill has been brought forward. If at all they have confidence in their own Members, if at all they have confidence in the members of the Congress Party, I do not see any reason for bringing in this Bill just within a week. I would have understood if it had been brought forward, say, after six months or one year. When there is any split, when there is any threat of any dissident activity cropping up, there can a good reason for bringing forward such a Bill. Now, not even a week has passed. I do not know the exact reason for bringing forward this Bill now. If this Bill is passed, a time will come when all the political leaders in this country, irrespective of the political affiliations they have irrespective of the political parties to which they belong, will automatically become dictators. We cannot always have good leaders like Mrs. Gandhi. We cannot always have good leaders like Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. We cannot always have good leaders throughout this century. As I said, I do not see any urgency for bringing in this Bill at this moment.

Sir, mention has already been made about the Sri Lanka issue. My friend, who has seconded the Motion, has clearly mentioned about this. Sir, I am a person who is residing nearer to Sri Lanka area, namely, Tamil Nadu. I know what exactly are the things going on in Sri Lanka, what

are the ethnic conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka. Just two weeks back, we have captured a boat with seven crew. In this region, not only the Americans, but the Chinese also have come up to stabilise their position. If a foothold is given in this region to the Americans and the Chinese, with their present intentions and their present motives, a time will come when this region will become a centre of activity by the Americans as well as the Chinese. That is why, I would strongly plead that we should take necessary action when we see such conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka. Sir, so many discussions since have taken place on Sri Lanka. Six month ago, myself and others were very vigorously discussing about this. Sir, the Indian ladies, particularly, the Tamil ladies who are residing in the northern part of Sri Lanka, have erased their *tilak* on their forehead just to show that they do not belong to the Tamil community but to the Sinhalese community. They erased their *tilak* from their forehead just to show that they have changed themselves from Tamil to Sinhalese. This is because Sinhalese women do not have *tilak* on their forehead. But in India, especially married ladies will never erase the *tilak* from their forehead. But the Indian ladies in Sri Lanka started erasing the *tilak* from their forehead to show that they belonged to the Sinhala community. Such conditions are prevailing there.

Sir, the President, in his Address, has said that there will be a new educational policy. I do not know what exactly is meant when they say there will be a new educational policy. They want to introduce a common educational policy throughout this country. We have our educational policy in Tamil Nadu. Likewise, Delhi has got its own educational system. In some States, like Andhra Pradesh, they have the three language formula. Whereas, in Tamil Nadu, we have the two language formula. Sir, I come from the southern part of the country. As far as the educational policy is concerned, I do not believe in the Congress Party or the Janata Party, who have ruled this country, or in the Communist Party or in any other party. As far as

the question of language and educational policy are concerned, they are all one.

I have seen on so many occasions, whenever we have discussed the educational policy, irrespective of political affiliations all people belonging to the Hindi-speaking areas have joined together to attack us. Not in the sense that they attack us physically but in the sense that they have always opposed us. I do not believe anybody here, whether he, belongs to the Congress Party or to any other party. Once they belong to a Hindi region, they will never support our educational policy. We have got our two-language educational policy. We have our own educational system. There was a time and still I feel that our Madras University produces first-class and wonderful graduates than any other graduates of the whole of this country. Likewise, we have still preserved our educational system, and standard but I do not know, what has happened to our authorities? I do not know in which manner they want to have a new educational policy, in what language they are going to introduce the new educational policy. Will it be in English? If I say that English is to be introduced for the entire educational policy of the country, you people will not agree because you will come forward and say that English is a foreign language and that is why you do not want to introduce English for the entire educational policy of this country. I too agree. It may be a foreign language even though you say that the Anglo-Indian community is an Indian community. But we have our own educational policy. We have our Tamil language, the hoary language. We actually do not know when it was born and for how long we have that language. With that fine language we have taught civilization to the whole world. We have taught so many sophisticated things to the entire world. And when we are having such an educational system, I do not know why a new educational policy. I do not know what exactly the provisions of the new educational policy are going to be introduced on the floor of the Parliament.

Sir, the President has mentioned about the provision of free education for girls

up to the end of higher secondary stage. I entirely agree with that, I welcome it. I may also like to tell you that in my State we have already introduced free education for all the girls who are studying up to a graduation level. This was introduced by us four years back. What you are going to do now has been already done by us. We have already introduced mid-day meals scheme, nutrition meals scheme. For these schemes we are spending more than Rs. 200 crores every year. Through you I ask our Minister concerned to give us at least 50 per cent of the total expenditure because we have already implemented what they, in fact, want to implement now in other parts of the country.

I do not know what has happened to our friends here who have been thrilled with the setting up of a Central Ganga Authority. They want to purify the Ganga.

The President's Address says:

"My Government are establishing a Central Ganga Authority to stop the pollution of the Ganga. The Ganga is no ordinary river. With it are bound long memories of our past, our song and poetry and our search for Truth."

Not only that, it is further said :

"A cleaner Ganga is thus a matter of the deepest satisfaction to our people."

If we clean our Ganga that will definitely satisfy our people. If you do not clean the Kaveri, that will not give sympathy to our people. You have to concentrate only on the Ganga, you cannot concentrate on the Krishna or the Kaveri. You cannot concentrate on the Palar river. Already I have mentioned on the floor of the House on so many occasions that all the rivers should be nationalised. Even in the year 1950 there was a scheme for the Ganga-Kaveri link. (*Interruptions*). In understand what you are going to speak.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh):  
A few dips in the Ganga are very necessary for you.

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM :** I know a lady by the name Ganga. I am very much interested in that.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL :** Then you take her to the Ganga.

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM :** Okay, Sir. So, Sir, they said that Rs. 1500 crores are sanctioned for the Ganga-Kaveri link. Afterwards they said that the sanction has gone up to Rs. 3000 crores. Now instead of spending this amount, if you spend just Rs. 500 crores for the entire Ganga-Kaveri link, not only the pollution problem but the entire irrigation problem of the country would be solved.

Again, a mention has been made about high importance to be given for the preservation of the cultural heritage. There is a department in our country called the Archaeological Department. Whenever we say that we have to modify certain things which are ancient they come forward and say: "you should not touch it." In my area (viz) Kanya Kumari, you find that it is an area where you see the three seas kissing each other. You can see the waves of the three seas in different colours. You can see the different colours of the sands also. We wanted to spend Rs. 35 crores on a master scheme there. We sent the proposal to the Government of India. It was accepted long ago—nearly ten or fifteen years before. When we came forward to implement it through our State's Department they said: "you should not touch this, you should not touch that." Every thing they have spoiled. For the past ten years we have not been able to implement the master scheme for Rameshwaram, the master scheme for Mahabalipuram and the master scheme for Ooty. I do not know the stage at which the matter stands for all the three schemes.

Sir, a very important thing has been mentioned in the President's Address. He has mentioned that the textile industry is in a poor state of health and the problem needs immediate attention. Next to agriculture textile industry gives employment opportunities to lakhs and lakhs of people, especially in Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. There was a

time during Congress party's rule, especially in my State, when almost all the officers used to be khadi dressed. There was an order that even IAS officers and other officers should use khadi dress. I do not know how many officers are nowadays using Khadi dress. Likewise we had given orders for the use of handloom dress.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY :** Now more khadi is sold after the election results in our State.

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM :** Of course, sometimes some party will come to power. This time our Congress Party has secured 62 Assembly seats in Tamil Nadu and my friend is right in one way. I do not know wherefrom they got all these khadi dresses, but when results were announced, the next day I found thousands of people wearing khadi dresses, just wandering in the streets. But that is quite a different story.

There should be an order, that we should not purchase polyester dress, we should not purchase foreign cloth but only handloom dress and khadi dress should be used by the citizens of this country. Only then we can implement this scheme.

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh) :** What shirt is this?

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir) :** It is 100 per cent polyester

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM :** When I say most of the people are using only polyester, I including myself.

**MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra) :** Mr. Mohanarangam, are you wearing handloom?

**SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM :** That is what I am telling, Madam. Knowing fully well that you will definitely raise this question, I have said that I am wearing polyester. This is handloom polyester. You should understand that. I have been in politics for the past 30 years—from my nineteenth year. So I know what questions will come when I speak on

khadi. Really we are not in a position to give employment opportunities to the people who are involved in the handloom industry. The powerloom and jet-loom have already come. These jet-looms and powerlooms have spoiled the entire handloom and khadi industry. So the Government should take proper steps to give encouragement to the textile industry.

Finally I would like to add one more thing. I just now mentioned about the President's Address that I cannot entirely blame the ruling party. The ruling party is somewhat responsible for bringing about unity and integrity of the country. They have come to power not because their party is very strong but because the people of this country thought that this is the only party which can give a very stable government. That is the reason why they came to power. So I request through you, Sir, the authorities to see that the aspirations of our citizens are fulfilled in a proper way. Their ambitions should be fulfilled, for which I request the Ministers concerned to take proper steps. There should be some joint responsibility for implementing this document which is an important document as the President's Address outlines what the Government is going to implement.

With these words, I once again support this Motion of Thanks for the President's Address. Thank you.

**SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER** (Orissa): Sir, thank you for inviting me, I stand in support of the Address made by the President of India. I would like to throw light on three aspects—(1) Agriculture and agricultural philosophy in India, (2) Industry and the purpose of industry in India, and (3) The problem of law and order as distinguished from violence designed by political motivation.

Sir, the Government headed by Mrs. Gandhi since 1980 till October 31, 1984—which was obviously the best Government this country has seen ever since 1947—has made history in the matter of production of foodgrains in India. In 1980 when the total production of foodgrains was 109 million tonnes, in 1984, by the time when Indiraji was passing away, the total pro-

duction of foodgrains in this country rose to 152 million tonnes, that is, adding almost half of the total production of 1980. This larger production, this high production of foodgrains in this country is the result of a Green Revolution spearheaded by the Congress Party as well as the visionary that was Mrs. Gandhi who wanted to redeem the poor people of this country from the poverty and destitution in which they have been living for so many years. At the same time, the simple fact that the previous Government headed by Mrs. Gandhi could make a Green Revolution as well as make history in the matter of production of cereals, has also shown one thing, that it is something dialectical in the sense that she could put a stop to the food politics of the western imperialist forces.

Twenty years before when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India, had been trying to lay down the infrastructure for building up an agricultural edifice for this country, when he was facing the problems of drought and famine and also facing the problems of shortage of finances in this country, when the people at that time—20 years ago—were in a bad shape and were not able to eat anything for the moment, when the people at that time—during Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's time—were about to die, then the Government led by the architect of modern India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had no option but to go to the western world with a bowl requesting for food. At that time when the people of this country were suffering and starving for food, then the western world which was producing wheat and rice in larger quantities, when they were having sufficient stocks, they, with the motive of making exorbitant profit, told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, "Okay, we are ready to give you wheat, whatever amount you want, but the thing is that you have to purchase on our own terms." Now the same western world is trying the politics of food in Africa, in the Latin American countries and also in the Asian countries. Indira Gandhi told the western world, Indira Gandhi told the entire world, that the politics of food was not going to operate on the soil of India. "India will produce, by sheer dint of ability and exertion of the people of India, sufficient quantity of

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food materials for the living of the people of India." And Indira Gandhi had shown the way. That was how Indira Gandhi, by the end of 1984, showed to the entire world that India was standing on her own legs in the matter of food production.

6 P.M.

There is another aspect in the matter of food production, which we have to consider. The Congress Party had made the Avadi Resolution. The Congress Party had made the Karachi Resolution. All these Resolutions were in the perspectives and statements of Mahatma Gandhi of India, the greatest revolutionary the world has seen, that land must go to the tiller. The Congress Party and the present Government led by Shri Rajiv Gandhi who has opened a new era for this country, have to restructure the entire land-owning system in the country. At the moment for further production, substantial production, of agricultural materials and foodgrains in the country, it is not only enough that we give the infrastructure by giving more water and manure and other facilities but it is also equally necessary that we have to put an end to the system which is trying to sustain and which is crumbling, and that system is the feudal system or the absentee-landlord system in the country. Eighty per cent of the arable land in the country is still in the hands of 20 per cent of the people in this country, and still again a majority of that arable land is still in the hands of two per cent of the people in this country. So long as the landlords, the feudal lords in this country are having control over the land in this country, the food production will be always in difficulty despite the fact that we have made the infrastructure. In order to rebuild a new society, in order to take this country into the dream world of Indira, in order to take India into the dream world of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, it is necessary that the present generation and also for the present Government and our beloved leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi to restructure the entire land-holding system, to restructure the entire land-owning system in the country. The tiller of the land has to get

the land, and the tiller of the land should be the owner of the land. The tiller of the land should be the possessor of the land. As Mahatma Gandhi said, the land in this country is the land of Gopal, and Mahatma Gandhi said that Gopal means God. God has no distinction between 'A' and 'B'. So, the entire land in this country, whether it is arable or not arable, is the property of Gopal. That means it is the property of God. That means the property of the society of India. That means it is the property of 70 crores of people who are working, who are living on the soil of India. Indira Gandhi, under her leadership, by putting an end to the western world's politics of food, has redeemed this country from the destitution and the indignation this country has been living in.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Panicker, how long will you like to speak?

SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER: If you permit me, I will go for another ten minutes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): This is his maiden speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu): You please continue, Mr. Panicker.

SHRI K. VASUDVA PANICKER: So, it is necessary in the larger interest of the people, as also in the interest of the society that we have to completely restructure the present land-owning system that will ultimately give opportunity to the downtrodden millions of the country to go to the field and work. Now, at the moment, the landlord is asking him to go or not to go to the field at his terms. This is not permissible any longer.

And the second point I would like to discuss is regarding the industrial policy. The industrial policy in the Indian context or we as a country which is trying to become a socialist country, should be not one activated for the purpose of making profit but it should be a policy which

should be one for production of wealth, the wealth which will percolate down to the grass-roots people, to the villages in this country. For that purpose, it is because of that alone, because of that perception and vision alone that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru years back, ever since he took over as the Prime Minister of this country, brought what is called the public sector industrial system, under which we can go forward and under which we could establish that we are among the ten industrially developed countries of the world. On the one hand, we have to increase the public sector industries in this country to bring more core and basic industries so that there can never be any threat from any other source or any sector. At the same time, there should be another dialectical aspect regarding this industry which should not be overlooked, whether it be in the public sector private sector or any other sector. What is the meaning of establishing an industry? The moment you establish an industry in a country, it equally gives an opportunity for the diffusion of a new consciousness—a new consciousness that is being created in the mind and heart of the working class of this country. India is a land of the working classes, whether they are in the agricultural field or in the industrial field. When thousands of industries can come up in India, that means in multiplication, it is giving an opportunity for hundred and thousands of poor people who are unemployed at this moment in this country. So long as the Government are not in a position to unearth the black money and the dead capital in the hands of the monied people, it cannot solve the unemployment problem completely. The Government should also give an opportunity for the private sector management to progress. The people who are having the dead capital, gold and other ornaments should come forward and invest their money in the industrial sector. I know that even if the Government encourages the monopoly houses in this country, because of the fact that public sector and the Government are powerful institutions the monopoly houses will not be in a position to dictate terms. After 25 years these monopoly houses in India, are not going to survive, whether it is Tatas or Birlas. When the

people who are working in the public sector and private sector gain the necessary consciousness or necessary awareness of their rights these monopoly houses will disappear automatically. Then, I think, that these working class will nationalise the private sector industries and the monopoly houses in this country. So, for that purpose when we formulate the industrial policy we should give equal opportunity and outlet for the debt money and capital to come to the surface which will be channelised ultimately to the private sector industry, and which in turn say after 15 or 20 years will be nationalised and taken over by the people of this country.

The third point which I wanted to discuss here is law and order as distinguished from terrorism motivated by political designs. We know about the problems that arose in Assam and Punjab. These problems are not of law and order. These problems were created by the conspiracy of a vested interest which is floating around the entire world. Those forces are trying to destabilise our country; and trying to cut this country into too many pieces. They are trying to open their own market on the soil of India. What is the crime that Mrs Indira Gandhi has done? If at all the crime is, that Mrs Indira Gandhi had stood as Himalayan mountains against the onslaught of the capitalist and imperialist forces. These forces wanted to destabilise our country. These forces wanted to divide our country into many pieces to open their market on this soil. This conspiracy has not been hatched in the year 1984. This conspiracy had been hatched in 1947 when those people who were the overlords of the people of India, who were sitting over the shoulders of the people of India, did not want to vacate this country but who, because of the call of Mahatma Gandhi, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for freedom struggle, had to leave this country. They said, "Okey, we are going because you are asking us to go away, but we will see that one day your country is dismembered and destroyed into pieces. That conspiracy hatched in 1947, whose nucleus has been carried over for decades, has been tried to be implemented in 1984.



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But to the luck and fortune of the people of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who has opened a new era of development and progress, who has given the promise of taking this country from the 20th century into the 21st century, has disarmed those people and has told those people that the 70 crores of people of India are standing united, despite the fact that the entire monopoly interests of the world are trying to destroy this country. Under the new leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, this country will be going ahead. Also under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi this country will show to the entire world that this country is not gradually proceeding to the 21st century but that this country, that is called Bharat, that is called India, is very rapidly making its stride towards the 21st century. And under Shri Rajiv Gandhi, this country will grab its place among the most developed and advanced countries of the world. For that purpose, the people of this country have given a

massive mandate to Shri Rajiv Gandhi which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi had not seen. That massive mandate is a totalitarian mandate for Shri Rajiv Gandhi, not for anything else but for taking this country forward to make it an industrially glorious India, an agriculturally glorious India, to make India a glorious nation which was the dream of Mahatma Gandhi, which was the dream of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and for which Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been assassinated. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Congratulations on your maiden speech. The House is adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirteen minutes past six of the clock, till eleven of the clock, on Tuesday, the 22nd January, 1985.