

[Shri Dharam Chander Prashant]

of these protected animals from the hunters who do it because of their lust for money. I suggest that there should be musk farms in Uttarkashi, Nepal and Bhutan. In Jammu and Kashmir it is known as Peerpanchal Ranse. Some years back, there was a proposal for a Musk Deer Farm at Banihal. The proposal was shelved for reasons not known. Now as there is a separate Minister of Forest and Environment, I request that a Musk Deer Farm should be established at Banihal. The farm will raise the number of Musk Deers because they will be protected. Thank you.

### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the discussion on the Presidential Address is an occasion for an evaluation of the performance of the Government in the past and also a projection of their policies and programmes for the future. Looked at from this angle, it is natural that the Address should make certain claims, and that also in exaggerated terms, and the speeches that follow from the Treasury Benches would have the same time. But, we should see as to what is the real performance, what has been the real state of affairs during the past year and even earlier. It is a little difficult to criticise or to go into the details with a critical eye for the reason that the person who is heading the Government just now, the present regime, is not the person who conducted, who formulated the policies and gave shape to them in the form of programmes and actions. It is also a little embarrassing to say something regarding the performance of a person who is no more amongst us. All the same, it is our duty to look at the situations critically so that the interests of the millions of the people whom we hope to safeguard are safeguarded properly.

Sir, as far as the present Prime Minister is concerned he is referred to as Mr. Clean. Mr. Darbara Singh—I am surprised that the person who moved the Motion of Thanks is not here—also re-

ferred to him in this very term. I will not say anything about this phrase at this stage. But, certainly he is starting on a clean slate. He has an opportunity to make or make the future of this country, including his own. He may be referred to as a Mr. Clean-slate Prime Minister. It is very important that he has a break, he has an opportunity to have a break, with the past. But unfortunately his utterances, and even the Presidential Address has referred that the policies which were being pursued in the past are going to be taken up and followed in the future. If it is going to be the state of affairs, God help this country. We probably may end in a disaster because these are the policies which in my humble opinion have led to a situation which is deteriorating from year to year in various walks of life.

Sir, I must to add that I am not one of those who would like to criticise for the sake of criticism. But I would at the same time like to look at the problem from all angles and in an objective manner. Wherever achievements are really worthy of praise, I would certainly say so. But when there are achievements which are not achievements, I am not going to refer to them as achievements too. So, it is in this context that I am referring to this matter.

Sir, the present Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has an opportunity to change those policies, to put them on the right track so that we can move in the right direction and the ship of our country can reach the destination that she is required to. That is why this is very necessary.

Sir, India happens to be the Chairman of the Non-aligned movement at the present moment. In that position Sir, if the aspirations of the people inhabiting the non-aligned countries have to be fulfilled, if the injustice that is continuously being done by the developed countries—whether they belong to the Western bloc or the Eastern bloc, that is immaterial—has to be removed, I think, we have to move with a certain imagination and dynamism so that these wrongs are no more done.

Sir, the Prime Minister has a massive mandate. It is a vote of hope. But the massive mandate is in terms of seats and not in terms of votes. This must be properly realised. I would certainly like to congratulate the Party for whatever it achieved. Well, they have got it. We should not grudge. I am the last man to do so. But one must realise that when they achieved over 400 out of 508 seats, the number of votes that has been polled is nearly 50 per cent. There are other sections which are not less than 50 per cent, or are nearly 50 per cent, who have not voted and who have not contributed to the policies in the election manifesto of the Congress Party. It is a reality. Their aspirations and hopes should be kept in mind.

I know it is a distortion which take place in the present system of elections which needs to be set right, and I hope, we will be able to do it at the earliest. The best way of doing it is to have a proportional system as is followed in Germany or in France. There is also another aspect of electoral reform of financing elections to which I would like to make a reference a little later.

Sir, we are not—at least my party and myself are not in the habit of not giving cooperation whenever it is due. Whenever The Prime Minister asked for it, we were prepared to give cooperation on national issues as was being done when a problem of Punjab came up. When a problem of Assam came up, we sent our special representatives—the best men amongst us—to represent the Janata Party, and help in finding a solution to this particular problem. The country has to be ruled by solving certain problems by following a method or policy of national consensus, or what Shri Ashoka Mehta said right back in 1953, 'the areas of agreement'. This is something which is in the interest of the country, the teeming millions of this country. That policy has to be followed.

It was in this context that I felt hurt; it was very unfair of the Prime Minister to refer during the elections and even later on to the nationalism, unity and

integrity, indirectly imputing motives as far as the people in the Opposition are concerned. Sir, number of persons like me have fought the freedom battle. I still remember, in 1942, as a young boy I left my college, I left my parents telling them to threaten me as not born. We were prepared to fight the British and we risked our whole life. We learnt lessons of nationalism at the feet of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan. We do not require to be thought now what nationalism is, what unity or integrity of the country is, by the persons who were not even born at that time. That is why I am referring to it. That is not the way of asking for cooperation. You want the Opposition to help in solving problems, then such baseless, untruthful, unethical and nonsensical attitude is not going to help the country. Let this be realised particularly by the party in power and the present regime. In spite of this, we are not going to lose our moorings; we are going to cooperate where we are required to cooperate.

Let us take the problem of Punjab. I was very sorry to hear the speech of Mr. Darbara Singh who devoted most of the time only for one problem as if there is nothing else happening in this country. He gave his own picture; I can understand his psychology because he has been hurt. He had to lose his Chief Ministership during this particular upheaval. Whatever that may be, let us realise that the issue is not just as to how we are going to deal with the Punjab problem. The important issues how we are going to deal with the Sikh community. Are we going to penalise and be unfair to the whole community because some of them adopted the path of violence, the path of extremism or the path of anti-nationalism for formation of Khalistan? That is the main issue. But the way in which the Government has been pursuing its policies, it is trying to alienate the whole Sikh community which has stood by this country during the struggle for national freedom and later on, whether it is in the field of agriculture or industry. Sir, they have gone and spread all over the country and

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helped in the development of all the States. We do not find a Sikh begging on the streets. He is a person who is very proud and enterprising who would like to earn his livelihood through his labour. Why I am referring to this is because we have seen the way in which they had been treated in the streets of Delhi after the unfortunate assassination of the Prime Minister. This is something which is a matter of shame, and I am afraid, if Mr. Darbara Singh had walked in the streets of Delhi, in those days he would not have been spared. Perhaps, he would have been burnt alive! But he has been spared because he did not move through the streets of Delhi! This is the situation. This is because the policies of the Government have created such a reaction among the Hindus. The strategy has been worked out in a very subtle manner so that the feelings could be aroused and it becomes helpful to them. I am very sorry to say that the then leaders of the Government purposely and deliberately worked out a strategy for the recent Parliamentary elections, wherein, the Hindu vote could be effectively harrassed by raising the bogey of unity and security in the name of the Punjab problem. This is something which is unfair. This is suicidal. Sir, much has been said about the Anandpur Sahib resolution. I would like to know—I have the White Paper published by the Government—I would like to be told which part of it is anti-national or which speaks of the formation of Khalistan? Of course, there are passages in it with which we may not be in agreement. My Party opposed it. Actually, my Party representative, Prof. Dandavate, persuaded the Akali Dal not to press for it at the all-Party meetings convened by the Government. There is a way of tackling the issue. This is a matter of Centre-State relations in a federal set-up. This is something about which we should discuss. Everybody has a right to say. Now, I do not want to take the time of the House by reading from his document. (Interruptions) Please read it. Do not talk to me.

Sir, the appeal has been made in the document in the name of the country and

countrymen. I would suggest that every Member of this House should read this document. They should read it carefully, objectively, dispassionately and not be led by something which has been said by somebody who is supposed to be superior. Unless we see this issue in proper manner, I believe, by following such policies, the Government is only endangering the unity and the security of the country. Ultimately, they will be answerable. They may gain some advantage in the form of votes in an election, but in the long run, they will destroy the unity and the security of the country. This is the achievement. If any achievement is there, during the last regime, this is the achievement, the creation of the Punjab problem.

The second achievement of this type has been the Assam problem, which did not exist earlier. All of us know how this problem has been created. Elections were foisted upon an unwilling people. Thousands of people were killed. This is how the persons who are staying in a border State are sought to be treated.

Now, Sir, let me come to another aspect, about economy. I am one of those who would admit that a lot of progress has been made in this country, of which we should be proud. Whether it is in the industrial field or in any other sphere, progress has been made. But the question is whether we have made enough progress. Could we have made better progress? The important aspect is whether the fruits of this economic progress have reached the bottom, the people who are staying in slums, people who are staying in the villages. Over 50 per cent of the population have been suffering under many types of wants, particularly, those who are living below the poverty line. This is the achievement. I wish Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, my friend and my old colleague, was here. I am one of those who are trying to follow the policies laid down by Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. I wish Mr. Kalp Nath Rai was here. Let me ask him, what has happened to the poverty of the people? I know, there is a certain class which is coming up at the present moment. This is not even one per cent of the population which has all the luxuries of life. They have TV, fridge and what not. This one per cent

of the population lives in the cities as well as in villages. But what about those persons who are living below the poverty line? Even according to the Planning Commission's revised estimates, with which I do not agree, 42 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line. This figure is much more. This means, they do not have even two square meals a day. This is the achievement. Sir, many children are becoming victims of malnutrition, that means, becoming blind having mental retardation and a number of defects which will last them throughout their career, later on during the period of life that they lead. The slums are another achievement of this regime. They exist in a rich city like Bombay where 45 lakhs of people are without a roof, they are living in a place called 'slums'.

I know the claims that have been made. It is said that the wholesale price index rise has been arrested, industrial production has gone up, annual growth is higher, even higher than America and what not! All these claims have been made. The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance is there. I would like to ask him very humbly, what is the state of the CPI? I am not asking about the Communist Party of India, I am referring to the consumer price index, the consumer average cost. What is happening to that, what is the state of affairs? We find that even in the last one year, leave aside December, even up to November it was 595 which will be 600 in December, a rise of 41 points in one year, we 7 per cent (*Interruptions*). I would like to be as brief as possible. So, this is what affects the common man, ordinary man. My friend Kalp Nath Rai was talking so much about what happened during the Janata regime. I would have told him that in the Janata regime the price rise was not even one or two per cent while now it is 3.5 points per month. This is what is happening at present.

Then I may refer to another aspect because a lot has been said about infra-structural industries. I would like to give only one instance. What is the position of power? The Sixth Five Year Plan targets for power installation have been

reduced from 19,666 MW to 14,500 MW during the Mid-term appraisal and this also we are not going to achieve. We will be lucky if we can achieve 13,500, MW. How are the plants being run? The capacity utilisation is hardly 48 per cent. It has been declining from year to year and in some plants it is even 30 per cent. The last year is also not an exception in this particular respect of performance. I am referring to this because making tall claims easy. But in fact, these are the claims which exist only on air and not in reality.

Now I would like to refer to modernisation. I welcome the approach of the present Prime Minister as far as modernisation is concerned. I am one of those who have stood for it all along and I would like that unless we accept modernisation in its right spirit, we are going to fumble and we are going to be lost much. It is just like a current or flood coming in. Either we tame it properly and take advantage or we are likely to be washed away. It is no use trying to oppose it. But at the same time, we have to be cautious. We have a number of unemployed people. We have a lot of home and cottage industries and we have to take care so that we do not adopt everything in one night, so that we create such a social upheaval which we control. That is why we accept new technologies but with innovations and evolutions and inventions so that we are able to have proper technology for our development. Small scale industries have also to be protected. I may give only one example. Recently the Government has decided or is going to decide for giving a licence to one multinational, Jahn Crane company, to prepare mechanical seals. Already a number of companies are preparing the seals of world quality and they are exporting them in the world market but still this decision is being taken. One may call it 'modernity', but it is not modernity. I believe it is going against it.

Sir, some people think of percolation theory. Let us build up from the top as the industrialised world is thinking, and the things will percolate to the bottom and go to the millions of the people. This is an illusion and the earlier we got rid of it the better it is.

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Such a policy also should not lead us away from our path of self-reliance which has helped us all along when the countries in the other world were suffering from a number of things. Sir, summing up I would like to refer to another aspect of the matter—whether the regime has followed what we call the democratic norms, the principles of federal structure. Unfortunately the only policy that was followed was to destabilise and dismiss the governments in the States—whether it was Congress Party's own government in Sikkim, whether it was in Jammu and Kashmir or whether it was down South in Andhra Pradesh. The way in which it was done is a matter of shame and still to say that the regime has made a lot of advance is something which only persons who are not...

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

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL: This is what I wanted to refer to in this context.

Coming to my last point, that is regarding the elections to which I made a reference the beginning, I would like to mention what the elections have shown. Particularly I would like to refer to the type of publicity which was resorted to by the party in power. Various estimates have been made as to how much money was spent. These vary from Rs. 100 to 250 crores having been spent for conducting this election. Where does this money come from? That is the question which has to be answered.

Sir, if we look at the foreign trade, 60 per cent of it is in smuggling. According to the Times of India editorial published only two days back it is 100 per cent, meaning Rs. 25 thousand crores. There is a nexus between the politicians, the Congress Party, and these blackmarketeers and smugglers. Somebody will challenge it immediately. I would like to point out, particularly the smile that I am seeing on the face of the Parliamentary Affairs Minister, and say that only recently just before the elections—Mr. Hajji Mastan was released. I am telling you that he was arrested by the Police Commissioner of Bombay for certain charges and he was released at the instance of Delhi when

the State Government was unwilling to do so. This is what happened only a few months before the elections.

I would therefore like to say that there are number of issues which need to be put into proper perspective so that we are able to understand. I would therefore, in conclusion, like to appeal to the Government, particularly to the young Prime Minister from whom I have hopes, let us have a break with the past and follow a new path which will bring and prosperity and advance of this country. I have done, Sir.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given and I consider it my privilege to support this Motion moved by Shri Darbara Singh yesterday. The President's Address is a correct appraisal of the situation in this country. Also there is a mention in it of the commendable steps which the Government has taken for achieving the objectives and goals of the new Government.

It has been rightly said that the last year—the year 1984—has been one of trials and tribulations for our nation. This nation has witnessed unprecedented violence and faced a conspiracy aimed at dismembering India. Fortunately, the nation has withstood the test. A grave challenge was posed to our very existence as an independent nation. And we have also seen the activities of the communal forces, the regional forces and the separatist forces. We all know who are present here, which were the forces in this country, which were the political parties backing these elements, who were working against the national interest. I will come to that later. But last year Mrs. Gandhi's assassination was one such tragic event, a national tragedy a grave blow to this nation which made the enemies of the nation think that the conspiracy has succeeded.

There were many who thought this nation would break, this nation would fall apart, but the prophecies of doom have been proved wrong and the nation has re-asserted itself. I am glad that there is a mention of that in the President's Address. The resurgence of Indian nationalism.

Sir, the world's largest democracy has faced the people. It has come out successfully. There were many who doubted our commitment, but the Indian policy has proved them wrong and one of the most intricate, mammoth, experiments has been successfully carried out. Now when the din and dust of this commitment in action of a live and vibrant democracy is over, today the time is for introspection, introspection by all, particularly by our friends in the Opposition.

I had mentioned what were the circumstances in this nation immediately preceding the assassination of our leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who symbolised the unity and integrity of India. I will take this opportunity to say that her name shall continue to inspire the future generations, and a grateful nation shall for ever remember the contribution she made for this country. But after her assassination, which was the result of the activities of sessionists and terrorists aided and abetted by these forces, those global powers, upset by the growing influence and stature of India, the powers which never wanted and even today do not want India to be self-reliant nation, a powerful nation, they have been all support to these element of these forces. The nation has witnessed these activities. After the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, these elements had predicated turmoil. Here I may refer to a study made by the State Department of the United States eight weeks before the assassination: "What will be the effect on India if Mrs. Gandhi dies, if she is assassinated?" Very significant. But India has proved once again that the people of India highly value their hard-earned freedom and unity and they are capable of taking the decision to defend it, to preserve it. But this was the turgid background, these were the challenging circumstances in which we were and in which our present Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had to head the Government. These were the circumstances in which the responsibility was entrusted to him. And his commendable courage and fortitude, poise and restraint have been praised by one and all not only in India but even by these who have been critical of our achievements and of our policies. He demonstrated it that he has

the ability to meet these threats and to lead the nation in these circumstances. He restored order in the nation which was outraged. And the people responded to his call. Why? I heard my friend from the Opposition referring to it. I wanted to come to it later. About the riots, the people responded to his appeal. In spite of grave personal tragedy, a national tragedy, in spite of grave risk to his personal security, even before the last rights of Mrs. Gandhi were performed, he took a grave personal risk, pain and care to move around the riot-affected areas to ensure that order was restored and the order was restored. That, nobody can deny. And why the people responded to his call is because he had immense faith in the wisdom and the strength of India and Indian people. I will quote from his first broadcast, immediately after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, what he had said, what he told the nation then. He had said, 'Indira Gandhi is no more. But her soul lives, India lives, India is immortal the spirit of India is immortal.

That is what has been proved by the people today. It is said when insinuations are made, sad to hear the distortion of facts. My friend in the Opposition, may I appeal to him. Do not try to make political capital out of a nation tragedy. It is not fair, it does not serve the interest of the nation. It might serve short-term interests of one or the other political party; but certainly it will be detrimental to the nation.

Sir, it was in this background that we had the elections in this country, and the mandate is before all of us to see, the mandate given by the people. It is clear and unambiguous; it is a mandate for the unity and integrity of India; it is a mandate for political stability; it is a mandate for dynamism and reform; it is a mandate for resurgence of India. It is also a tribute to our departed leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who served this nation, who lived and died for India. And above all, the nation has reposed its total faith and trust in Shri Rajiv Gandhi. When I talk of dynamism and change, the Prime Minister has spoken about it. Today is the time of innovation and change. We have to ensure that there are proper reforms to rejuvenate the

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polity, whether they are the electoral reforms or the administrative reforms. We have to ensure that change is at such a pace that we meet the requirements of the present age of science and technology so that we march into the 21st century with our head light. And that is what the Prime Minister has stressed. He has stressed the Congress (I)'s commitment for change, but change within the framework of continuity, change within the framework of time-tested policies of democracy, socialism and secularism. We should not forget the background, the circumstances, the situation in which we adopted these policies. It was not overnight that these policies evolved. It was after a long struggle we had won the freedom when the people of this 1 P.M. country were fighting against the biggest empire, to break shackles of slavery under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The people of India fought for the freedom and the Indian people, Congress realised the problems of the poor people and stood the hopes and aspirations of the Congress identified itself with the problems of the Indian people. Congress understood those who are living in the remote and backward areas of this country Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru committed himself to an independent India and the concept of democratic socialism. It was not an easy task. There were many people in 1950 when the Constitution the Free India was adopted, who used to laugh at Panditji. Who used to ridicule Panditji as to how a nation with only 2 per cent literate people can have a successful democracy. But we adopted the concept of democracy. I gave for the first time a feeling to the people of India that they are only not free, but the right to vote has made them feel as equal citizens also. Thus, the principle of equality was established. Following these policies the nation has made significant achievements those achievements are there for anybody to see, whether it is in the field of industry or agriculture, science or space technology, electronics or nuclear science. I would not like to go into the details.

The President's Address mentions about the achievements made by us in the field of power generation, food production and industrial production. I would not like to give the details of these achievements, but I would only say one thing. It is sad to hear and find that our friends in the Opposition trying to play-down these achievements. When an attempt is made to create an atmosphere of cynicism and my friends on the other side contributing to that atmosphere of cynicism, and they continue with these attempts, by which they are trying to show, particularly to the post-independence generation, that this nation has achieved nothing. Is it not an insult the farmers and workers of this country? Is it not an insult to the scientists, doctors and technocrats? Whom is it going to help? They are trying to break the will power of the nation. If the will-power and confidence of the people particularly the younger generation is shattered, no society, no nation can progress.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): We are skipping the lunch hour. The House will continue because there are a number of speakers who want to participate.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, when I talk of achievements, I am not the one to say, that we do not have any problems. We do have problems. We do have the problem of unemployment. We do have the problem of backwardness. Nobody denies that. The task before us is immense. I am not trying to minimise its magnitude. It is not an easy task. In a nutshell it is the transformation of one-seventh of humanity. But we have the will. We have the political will today. Today we are geared for action. That is what is required. Our commitment is not in doubt. Our commitment is clear—to ensure social and economic justice to the people of India, to ensure that India becomes a strong and self-reliant nation. I congratulate the Government, and particularly the Prime Minister who, from the very first day, has shown that there is no time for empty euphoria. He has tried his best, made sincere efforts to give concrete content to all the promises he made. I will refer to a few which are essential, not all.

The problem of Punjab has been referred to. The Prime Minister had made a

promise during the course of the election campaign, and the first action of the new Government was to set up a panel on Punjab, to ensure an early solution. Not only that, in the President's Address, there is a clear mention about electoral reforms, for which there has been a demand. Much talk has been there about it. It has been promised that we are going to have electoral reforms. Not only that, administrative reforms and judicial reforms have been promised to ensure that the judiciary is made accessible to the poor people of this country. Sir, the Government has taken steps to bring a legislation against defections. Yesterday when I was listening to some of my friends on the other side, they were saying, "Where is the urgency? Why such a great hurry?" Why not? They have been talking about it. People have been asking for it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please conclude within two minutes.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: People have been asking for it. And when the Government has responded to this need to ensure that the polity is reformed, then there is a subtle opposition.

I will now come to education reform. Yesterday there was a mention of that. It is, in my opinion, a gift by our young Prime Minister to the young people of India in this International Youth Year. It has met a long-standing demand of the young people, of the intellectuals and the teachers. I had once said it in this House and I repeat it that we are sure that when the Government talks of a national education policy, this nation will have a national integrated education system with uniform educational syllabi. We will go in for the vocationalisation of education, to ensure that our education system meets the requirements of our industry, of our technology. But yesterday, I found some criticism even of that and why there should be a national policy. I would like to remind them—I have little time—that it was a long-standing demand, that it is in the interest of the nation and it is long overdue. There should not be a debate as to which language the new policy should be in. We are talking of a system. We are not talking of a language.

I would like to remind you that Education today is in the Concurrent List and it is the desire of the nation that concurrence is invoked in letter and spirit.

Sir, now I will be failing in my duty if I do not speak about our friends in the Opposition. I am the last person to devalue or play down the role of the Opposition in a democracy.

I spoke of introspection. It was in this context. The Opposition requires today serious introspection. They have an important role to play in the nation, in our democracy. They have to do soul-searching. But what role have they been playing? A role of confrontation, a role of opposition for the sake of opposition. They have joined hands in the name of Opposition unity, with parochial, of communal force. They have indirectly supported those elements, whether in Punjab or in Jammu and Kashmir. I don't dub them anti-national—my friends in the Opposition—but the acts were anti-national, sharing the same platform with Akalis and National Conference, with those in the south who talk of Telugu Desam. Mr. Patel is not here; he should have been here because he raised a few important points about Centre-State relations. As I said earlier too, this is a very dangerous controversy and it should not have been raked up to support Akalis, to placate Akalis, it was a policy of appeasement towards these forces. It is the misfortune of India that those Opposition parties which claim to be national parties are merely regional in influence and they have no option but to join hands with regional forces, with parochial forces, with communal forces in the name of Opposition unity and in that process you give strength knowingly or unknowingly to those very elements who wanted to undermine the unity of India. I demand on this occasion, this nation has seen, this nation has suffered at the hands of those elements of regionalism and communalism, violence has no place in this country. Let us at least agree on this. When political parties are formed, let them be formed with socioeconomic programmes, with a national outlook. Let political parties not be formed with region, religion and caste as the basis. Even though the Constitution has permitted that, let that permission be withdrawn in national interest.



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Before I conclude I want to say one word about the Opposition. Their entire approach, reaction to the election verdict, has been unrealistic and unfortunate—I won't use the word unbecoming. They have gone in for post mortem. They talk of democracy. You have to bow before the verdict of the people, the wisdom of the Indian people. It is the alter before which all the elements have no recourts but to bow in obeisance. They talk of percentage; they talk of money in the election. They question the perception of the people. They question the verdict itself and then they talk of democracy. This is most unfortunate. With all humility I suggest to my friends in the opposition, it is not a reappraisal of electoral strategies which is required to restore the lost credibility. It is not post-mortem which is required. What is required is an overhaul, a reform in the outlook of the Opposition parties. If they come with a positive approach, if they give up the policy of confrontation, if they adopt a national outlook, then only can they restore their credibility. In the end I ask: Today when the nation is poised for a leap, when it has successfully faced the challenges, when the nation has re-asserted itself force fully, will the Opposition continue to be an obstacle in the evolution of this nation, in the consolidation of the nation-hood, only for the sake of political expediency? Whom will it help? Will you continue to follow the path of confrontation? Will it be in the interest of the nation? Our Prime Minister has called for consensus. He has taken the initiative. This proves his deep faith in democracy. I hope for once the opposition in this country will rise to the need and replace confrontation by consensus.

To conclude, I will say one thing to friends in the opposition. In the revolution of every nation, there is an interim period, certain hiatus between the gaining of the freedom and consolidation of the freedom into a mature nationhood, capable of meeting all threats to its unity and integrity. Will the opposition co-operate in that process? I do hope that today we all will collectively pledge to work for India to ensure that we march into 21st century as a strong and vibrant nation. We have the leadership and we have the political will. Our Prime Minister has the ability and this nation has the

determination, and I am confident that India will continue to march towards its destination and goal of self-reliance. This can be the only fitting tribute to our leaders of the freedom movement, like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and, of course, to Shrimati Indira Gandhi who, I will lived and died for this country. I hope from now on we will have a changed atmosphere, a changed attitude and a changed outlook. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we consented to sit without a lunch break hoping that the Treasury Benches will have some representative from the Cabinet. This is not to be little the Parliamentary Affairs Minister whose duty enjoins her to be always present. If the Treasury Benches are empty without representation, whom are we to address? I am not referring to the presence of the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs. The Cabinet has to be represented.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): That is the tradition.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): We have rosters on duty. Since we were not supposed to sit at lunch between 1 and 2 there is nobody on duty. I have sent word in the meantime saying that we are sitting without lunch break, I am talking notes, if you do not mind, till somebody comes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): She has sent word. Please go ahead.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I understand duties and rosters. I understand there is an expressed desire on the part of the present Government to tone up administration. If it has made a beginning with itself, it will carry greater reassurance.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Or, promote her temporarily to Cabinet rank.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please send for somebody.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I have already sent for it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sent for it?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Sent for him or her.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now you may please continue.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The Presidents Address under normal circumstances is an occasion when the Government utilises the opportunity to give an over-view of what has happened and what it intends doing in the coming year. Yet I cannot read the present Address which the President was kind enough to deliver to both the Houses as an ordinary Address. It was an extraordinary Address inasmuch as it marked the end of an era and the beginning of another. The Address is in a sense a harbinger of change. Yet, hearing the speech of the mover of the Motion of Thanks, to which I listened with great intent wanting to profit by it, I could not, but help being struck that the whole tone and content of that speech—the idiom of it—was of yesterday containing invocatory references steeped in the stale sycophancy of past years. But the choice, of course, is yours. We do not share these choice and that depending on how you look at its may be our good or our ill fortune. But, for the sake of our countrymen, I need to inform the Treasury Benches: Please do not repeat the mistakes of the past years. Otherwise in that you would be doing a great disservice to the very cause which you with such patent insincerity espouse. The captain of your team, the leader of your Government, the Prime Minister, needs all the sage counsels that he can obtain and absorb. Sycophancy and honesty of purpose are not the best of bad companions. Many centuries ago, a great Indian sage Tulsidas in a great work "Ram Charit Mamas"—in the "Sundar Kaand"—has said:

सचिव वेद गुरु तीन जो प्रिय बोलहि भय आस ।  
राज, धर्म, तन तानि कर होंहि वेगहि नास ॥

Here only, when I was reading the President's Speech. I was struck by the fact that the Government faces a dilemma. It is torn between opting for change or for continuity. The whole

tenor and content of the speech that the President delivered and indeed, of the Members from the Treasury Benches reflect this dilemma and because the Treasury Benches and the Government are unable to make a choice I would like to caution them: They will end up by being neither. The identity of the Government, as has quite rightly been observed, where it reflects continuity and an avowed acceptance of political inheritance from the previous regime, is disturbing. For them you are announcing then you would proceed with all that was wrong to that era which ended in 1984. Should you do that, it would be a folly for you would negate the thrust of the electoral verdict in your favour. The elections of 1984, which your party undoubtedly won are a decisive verdict against the past. It is an assertion of an overwhelming closure for change. In that, you usurped our place you became the prime campaigners for change, you became the Opposition to that which had passed. And here I have to advance a word of caution. Charles Dickens, amongst many other works wrote "Great Expectations" and he also authored "Hard Times". Please understand that great expectations are invariably accompanied by hard times. The problems of our country are manifold expectations of our people are high, the tolerance level of their patience is low. The time, therefore that you think should be available is not actually available. Inasmuch as the Presidents Address enables us to identify the emerging outlines of the political identity of this Government, the message is not full of any reassurance either. Here, I to am record with a dilemma we too are faced with dilemmas. There is a mandate and there has to be time to fulfil the responsibility which that mandate carries. I would, therefore refrain from offering much comment except to say that as your political opposition and as one cherishing the dream, alongwith other Indian, all other Indians, of a resurgent united and democratic India, there is a need for world of caution. The contours of your identity that have emerged do not convey a positive impression. We in the opposition give you the benefit of inexperience combined with reasonable good intent. But even that does not give you the right to

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let Delhi burn as it did soon after the assassination of the late Prime Minister. We also understand your position. You got carried away with electoral rhetoric. But that did not give you the right, as now echoed by others, to call your political adversaries opponents of the ruling party as traitors or anti-national. Patriotism is not your sole prerogative and we are certainly not open to accepting the interpretation of patriotism only as understood or as defined by you.

Sir, the President's Address started as they normally do, with an overview of the past year. The year 1984 that has passed has been a cataclysmic and a traumatic year for the country and all speakers that have participated from this or from the Treasury Benches have referred to it as such. May I bring it to your notice that the image are the reality of the year 1984 will be recognised by the fact that in that one single year more Indians died—whether it was Punjab or Bhiwandi or Bhopal or Delhi—than were killed in the face of enemy action in the four wars that India has fought in 1948, in 1962, in 1965 and in 1971. Please reflect very deeply on this. When you talk about continuity, when you talk about carrying forward the message of the past, please reflect very deeply as to what were those policies of your Government which resulted in the creation of terrorism, which resulted in the creation of a climate of violence, whether it was the assassination of Mhatre in London or the assassination of the Prime Minister here in India in her own home by her own security men. Following upon her assassination, Delhi and large parts of North India were subjected to a kind of anarchy, lawlessness and violence that independent India has not witnessed. Yet till this day no one responsible or irresponsible, holding a ministerial office or not holding a ministerial office, has come forward from the ruling party to demand that what occurred in the whole of North India following upon the late Prime Ministers assassination deserves a full-scale scrutiny or examination and that those that are identified as guilty must immediately be punished. Unless that is

done, the first step would have been taken wrong. Unless that is not done, booklets of who are the guilty which many have read and which have gone to the extent of naming detailing and cataloguing incidents of the involvement of the ruling party members in the anarchy and lawlessness which prevailed in large part of Delhi and North India will continue to be written. If collective action is not taken against them, all your protestations about cleanliness about change, about the rule of law will not carry weight.

References have been made to Punjab and to Assam. References have been made that an initiative has been taken about Punjab because a Cabinet Committee has been formed and that in the context of Assam invitations have been sent. I do not have the time to go into details of what has gone wrong in Assam or what has gone wrong in Punjab. I would, attempt to put across in one sentence for each of these States Punjab and Assam that it is a very difficult task. Punjab stands today where it stood and Assam stands today where it stood precisely because of the policies followed by the Government of the day for the last five years. For the first time in independent India's history, two States of the Union were deprived of their right along with the rest of the country, to be able to exercise their franchise. The ills of Bhindranwale are now being sung by everybody. It is a well-known fact that what Bhindranwale represented and what all he came to represent before his killing was the creation of the Government of the day and of the ruling party. If Assam had not been imposed with an untenable and totally unacceptable elections that it faced in 1983.... (*Interruption*).

श्रीमति कृष्णा कौल (उत्तर प्रदेश)  
ये जिस किताब के बारे में कह रहे हैं टेबल  
आफ दि हाउस में रखें, उसके बारे में  
बतायें... (*व्यवधान*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: In Assam today, Sir, every section of society, every tiny hamlet in that beautiful valley of the Brahmaputra stands totally divided against one another. The Government of the day and the ruling party cannot be absolved of their responsibility for that.

We witnessed, Sir, in the sheer horror of the late Prime Minister's assassination, a grave security failure in her own home by her own securitymen. For the last four days, the whole of the country has been a witness to yet another grave security failure a failure of intelligence in the Prime Minister's own home again, in the Prime Minister's own Secretariat. These are the matters for you to reflect on. They do convey a message to the rest of the country that the rot is so deep the rot is at the root itself. It does not do well for you to say that a change has already come about Change does not come about merely by articulating wishes for it. Naturally, Sir in the President's Address there is a mention of economic matters. The opportunity to discuss the economy of the country, where we have reached and where we are headed, will more adequately be provided when we come to discuss the Budget. As one reads the present Address, as one heard it, an impression was created that everything, every aspect of economy, every facet of it was a story of great success. I wish I could share that sense. I cannot do so. And I will come to it in detail when the right opportunity comes.

But there are three aspects which I do wish to highlight. One is the resource gap. The second is the question of public debt. And, the third is the question of agriculture. Currently, Sir, the Sixth Plan has ended with the country having a resource gap to finance the Seventh Plan of roughly about Rs. 40,000 crores. We have to raise resources to a tune of Rs. 40,000 crores. With our time-tested methods of direct and indirect taxes we have come to a situation wherein under the present method, we cannot raise those Rs. 40,000 crores. Please, let the Government, let the Prime Minister in his reply to the Debate come forward and say how he intends to fulfil that gap. The public debt today, Sir, stands at around Rs. 53,000 crores. I had an occasion during the past year's debate and on a slightly facetious mention to hon. Shri Pranab Mukherjee who was then holding the portfolio of Finance that there are only two kinds of Finance Ministers, those that leave in time and those that are found out and are asked

to leave. He did not follow my advice. I had advised him then to please leave in time. He did not follow my advice so it delights my heart to see him here now at leisure unburdened with files. But the fact still remains that the point that I made then about public debt, about the country today financing all its efforts through borrowings, whether internal or external, is a matter which requires the most serious thought and is directly connected with the whole question of resource gap. Our public debt today stands, to my knowledge, at around Rs. 53,000 crores. Let the Prime Minister come forward and say how does he wish to cope with that aspect.

There is a question about agriculture. The President's Address said, and painted a picture, that agriculture has shown consistent progress. The fact remains that even after taking into account all the statistics and taking into account the cyclic growth and stagnation of agricultural figures, our agricultural growth has not shown a growth of more than 2.2 per cent, that in our agricultural sector, pulses and oilseeds continue to be the two most troublesome, the two most difficult areas.

I am gladdened that the President's Address for the first time in five years, did not talk about a deteriorating security environment of the country. Up to the elections and right in the election campaign the Prime Minister continued to talk about threats to the country. The President's Address is silent about threats to the country. I am relieved by that. I am relieved that threat to the country have vanished overnight from December to January. I am relieved by the fact that the country no longer faces a deteriorating security environment. Therefore there are tasks connected with defence which must be undertaken now, taking into account the fact that when one espouses economy in defence, one is not talking of a weak defence. There is an excess laying in defence expenditure and the Prime Minister must address himself to that task if the resource gap, if the public debt and if the demands of defence expenditure are to be undertaken with economy. The five-year defence plan

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which has synchronised with the Seventh Plan, is likely to cost Rs. 35 to Rs. 40,000 crores. Where is that money to come from unless economy in defence is exercised and we would appreciate the Prime Minister coming forward to say something about it.

A word about foreign policy. On the fifth anniversary of the occupation of Afghanistan, for the first time Presidential Address to the nation is totally silent about Afghanistan; there is not a reference to it. This is the reality and the image of the foreign policy of the present Government. Are we, therefore, to assume that Afghanistan as a problem of the sub-continent of which and to which all the previous Presidential Addresses have been referring, no longer now exists. This is a grave shortcoming in the Presidential Address and we would request for a clarification on this matter.

There is a repetition and reiteration, and just reiteration, of the question and of our continued commitment to world peace and non-alignment. A word of action, however. Non-alignment is not, as it is tending to reflect itself, in the practice of our diplomacy today, not a question of equi-distance. When Prime Ministerial four programme are announced, it is said that he is going to visit France and the United States. A hue and cry is raised as to why the dates are not announced of his visit to the Soviet Union. It is not necessary to reduce the conduct of Indian diplomacy to such levels.

I have, in my conclusion, one major grievance and I beg your indulgence for time. Some speakers referred to poverty. In the ten tasks that have been outlined in the Presidential Address, there is a question of administrative reforms. I welcome that. But I would like to inform you that administrative reforms in a country like India, governing India

more adequately, is not merely a technocratic managerial problem. Please don't reduce it to that. If it were merely a question of punctuality, if it were merely a question of technocratically introducing such managerial pluses, that our country will suddenly wake up and start improving, that is not going to solve the problem. I welcome the initiative taken on education. I welcome the initiative taken on electoral reforms and about anti-defection Bill. We have indeed for long been asking for it ourselves. The plea given by the Government and the Treasury that an anti-defection Bill is to be brought now because State Assembly elections are due, is also welcome enough. But I would like to go a step further and request the Prime Minister to come forward and say in his reply that along with the anti-defections Bill, they will also make the code of conduct which has already been announced by the Election Commission not merely recommendatory, but we will make it mandatory, we will provide legal teeth to it, so that in the coming State Assembly elections, the whole is started on a right footing.

My one big objection—I am concluding—to the whole speech is the grave neglect of the question of poverty, except for the reiteration of what was done under the twenty-point programme and what will continue to be done. These are some patently bureaucratic phrases. Problem villages for drinking water, so many villages have been 'covered' and so many are required to be 'covered' in the coming year. I fail to understand the word 'covered'. I do not understand how the problem of drinking water is solved by saying that so many villages have been covered. The main question is whether the drinking water supply is enough and adequate in the villages. The problem of drinking water supply is just one aspect of the poverty eradication programme.

Members from the Treasury Bench have said—Sir I am concluding—that the Opposition should cooperate.

[The Vice Chairman (Shri Syed Rahmat Ali) in the Chair.]

I would like to tell them that our co-operation is forthcoming. It comes with conviction. Our co-operation is not subject to your charity. Our co-operation does not come merely because we have lost at the polls. Our co-operation comes when we are convinced that the ruling party is doing the right thing. I offer my co-operation. I offer my co-operation on steps which the Government may take on improving the law and order situation in the country by convincing us that steps which they intend to take are the right steps. I offer my co-operation to the Government on the initiatives which they intend to take on Punjab and Assam problems, by convincing us that the steps which they intend to take are the right steps which will solve these problems. I will offer my co-operation to the Government provided they came forward with programmes for those 380 million Indians about whom there is no reference in the President's Address, those 380 million people who continue to live under the poverty line. I will offer my co-operation provided even now the Prime Minister, in his speech, in reply to this debate, comes forward and says 'This is what I intend to do; we have left out the poorest of the poor Indians and the President's Address is silent about it; we ask you, in the Opposition to co-operate with us in regard to these 380 million Indians'. We will co-operate.

Sir, I started by saying that I was faced with a dilemma. The ruling party has won and my congratulations are offered to them. My good wishes to them. May you succeed because if you succeed, perhaps, even by default, some of the problems which the Government faces, may be solved. Your failure, the consequences of your failure, do not leave me untouched. It does not leave any Indian untouched because the responsibility of governing a country like India is all embracing. Sir, as I said, when I was faced with a dilemma, a friend advised me that I should go back to Gandhi, I will give a quote in conclusion. Gandhiji at

one stage said 'I will give talisman, whenever you are in doubt...' (*Interruption*). I am talking about Gandhi. (*Interruption*). Sir, I take strong objection to this attitude. You cannot appropriate patriotism to yourself. You cannot appropriate nationalism to yourself. This is the attitude. This is the attitude on the basis of which they ask us to co-operate. Co-operation is not charity that you ask from us. Gandhiji said 'I will give you a talisman; Whenever you are in doubt or when the self has become too much for you; apply the following test: Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest Indian, whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step which you contemplate is going to be of any use to him; will he gain anything by it; will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starved millions? Then, you will find your doubt and yourself melting away.' I did apply this test. I found, when I applied this talisman to the President's Address, that my dilemma was resolved to an extent. In that light I wish the new Government well. I wish the Treasury Bench well, so that with humility, with compassion and with vision they may serve the poorest of the poor. They are the ones who need to arrive first in the 20th century, so that our march to the 21st century about which such invocatory referencess are made, could be facilitated. 21st century will come willy-nilly in 15 years' time from now. The question is not whether the 21st century will come, the question is how we are going to enter the 21st century. The question is, will we leave the poorest of the poor still where they are, or will they be a part of a united, resurgent, dynamic India and its march to the 21st century.

श्री मीर्जा इशदिबेग (गुजरात) : मान्यवर, दरबारा सिंह जी द्वारा रखे गये आभार प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज यह प्रथम अवसर है जब राष्ट्र इंदिरा गांधी द्वारा निमित्त विकास की गथा उनकी अनुपस्थिति में गा रहा है। 31 अक्टूबर को संसार की सर्वाधिक प्रिय नेता इंदिरा गांधी जी

[श्री श्री ईशानदेव]

की विश्वास घाती हत्या राष्ट्र विरोधी, विघटनकारी एवं साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों की कार्यवाहियों का परिणाम था और इस वजह से एक युग का काल ने स्वाह किया। लेकिन मान्यवर, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि

मौत उसकी है जिसका जमाना करे अफसोस,

वरना यों तो सभी आते हैं दुनिया में मरने के लिये।

इंदिरा जी मर कर आज अमर हो गई हैं। इंदिरा जी के निधन के बाद देश की सबसे बड़ी चुनी हुई संसदीय पार्टी ने अपने नेता का सर्वानुमति से चयन किया। मैं कुछ बातें अपने विपक्ष के मित्रों की सुन रहा था। मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि देश की सबसे बड़ी चुनी हुई पार्टी ने संसदीय तौर-तरीकों को समझने हुए सर्वानुमति से जब अपने नेता का चयन किया तो उस पर प्रजातंत्र की बात करने वाले, लोकतंत्र की बात करने वाले इन लोगों ने आपत्ति की। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ क्या आपको देश और प्रजातंत्र पर विश्वास है? जब देश की चुनी हुई सबसे बड़ी पार्टी ने अपना नेता सर्वानुमति से चुना है इसके बावजूद भी आपको इसमें आपत्ति हो रही है। इसमें आपको क्यों आपत्ति हो रही है? नये प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने कांग्रेस की महान नीतियों एवं परम्पराओं के अनुसार देश में प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली से नयी सरकार बनाने का निर्णय लिया और देश की जनता ने देश की एकता देश की अखण्डता और विकास को सामने रखकर उन्हें इतना समर्थन दिया जितना कि विश्व में किसी भी नेता को प्राप्त नहीं हुआ और उन्होंने राजीव गांधी को प्रधानमंत्री चुना। मैं आज सदन में इस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि राजीव गांधी के हाथ में जब देश की शासन व्यवस्था आई और जिस दिन देश की जनता को उन्होंने संबोधित किया तो जो शब्द उन्होंने उस समय कहे थे उन्हीं शब्दों को मैं दोहराना चाहता हूँ। राजीव गांधी ने उस दिन देश को संबोधित करते हुए ये शब्द कहे

थे कि मैं इतिहास पढ़ना नहीं इतिहास लिखना चाहता हूँ और देश की जनता ने इसके लिये उन्हें अपना पूरा समर्थन दिया और जो वह लिखना चाहते थे उसको इतिहास का पहला सोपान बनाया। इससे पहले देश में किसी भी नेता को कभी भी इतना जन समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। राजीव गांधी को देश की जनता ने ऐतिहासिक समर्थन दिया। यह समर्थन लेकर राजीव गांधी ने कहा था उसका पहला सोपान उन्होंने पहले दिन से लिख दिया। मान्यवर, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस सरकार की नीतियों के कारण देश ने आर्थिक प्रगति की है। चाहे बातों से, शब्दों से इसे कितना ही झुठलाया जाये लेकिन इस देश के आंकड़े गवाही देते हैं कि इस देश की सरकार ने कांग्रेस की नीतियों पर चलकर इस देश की कितनी आर्थिक प्रगति की है। हमारे बाजू के राष्ट्र इथियोपिया में हजारों लोग भूख से मर रहे थे। जब हम लोगों ने उनकी यह हालत देखी तो अन्न की सहायता हम लोगों ने उनको दी। न सिर्फ हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में कोई भूखों न मरे लेकिन हम यह भी देखते हैं कि हमारे आस-पास कोई राष्ट्र ऐसा तो नहीं है जहां कि लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ और दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि आंकड़े गवाही देते हैं कि हमने लक्ष्य से अधिक 9.5 मिलियन टन अन्न का उत्पादन किया, औद्योगिक उत्पादन में 24 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि कोयले में 32.9% की वृद्धि बिजली के उत्पादन में 32.6% बढ़ावा तथा विश्व की आर्थिक नीति पर जो असर-कारक है उस पेट्रोलियम उत्पादन में हमने 121% की वृद्धि की है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह एक सही दिशा के आयोजन एवं नेतृत्व का परिणाम है अधिक उत्पादन तथा मुद्रा फैलाव पर नियंत्रण एवं कीमतों पर स्थिरता कुशल व्यवस्था का परिणाम है। विदेशी मुद्रा का भण्डार 6250 करोड़ रुपये हो गया है इससे हम आर्थिक विकास दर की क्षमता को बढ़ा सकेंगे तथा सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने में यह अत्यंत लाभप्रद सिद्ध होगा। बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम से ग्रामाण विकास कार्यक्रमों से अधिक सिद्धियां प्राप्त

हुई हैं। गरीब के झोंपड़े तक सरकारी साधन पहुंच पाएं, सिंचाई व्यवस्था को अधिक तेज बनाया गया है नर्मदा योजना से देश में विकास का एक नया सौपान खुलेगा। पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू द्वारा निर्धारित विदेश नीति पर चल कर इन्दिरा गांधी ने तथा अब प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी द्वारा देश को विश्व फलक पर नेतृत्व प्रदान हुआ है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी विदेश नीति जो हमने चलाई क्या उसके कारण इस बात को साकार नहीं किया है कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक-एक नागरिक का मस्तक उन्नत हो सके क्यों ऐसी बातें इस देश में नहीं बनी हैं, क्या इन बातों को हम भूल जाना चाहते हैं? जब विश्व शान्ति की बात हो रही थी तब विश्व की जो महासत्ता है एक तरफ विश्व शान्ति के लिए अमरीका को बुलाया जाता था विश्व शान्ति के लिए जब रूस को बुलाया जाता था तो तीसरे विश्व के नेता की हैसियत से हमारी उस वक्त की प्रधानमंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी को बुलाया जाता था। क्या इस देश के नागरिक का मस्तक ऊंचा करने का हमारी विदेशी नीति का गौरव नहीं है? लेकिन किसी बात को ले कर जब नेगेटिव एप्रोच को ले कर के कुछ के कुछ लोग चलते हैं तो मैं फिर यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस एप्रोच को हम को बदलना है राष्ट्र के निर्माण के लिए राष्ट्र के विकास के लिए राष्ट्र की प्रगति के लिए। मैं फिर एक बार आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि विश्व के किसी भी नेता को इतना बड़ा जन समर्थन नहीं मिला जितना हमारे प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी को मिला। उनके द्वारा जन-जन की आकांक्षाओं को परिपूर्ण करने तथा नूतन भारत की रचना के लिये दी गई आशाओं का हम स्वागत करते हैं और समर्थन करते हैं। देश के प्रजातन्त्र को कमजोर करने वाली दल-बदल प्रक्रिया को कानून द्वारा रोका जा सकेगा, देश को शिक्षा नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन ला कर देश को युवा पोढो को तथा राष्ट्र को नयी दिशा प्राप्त होगी। प्रशासनिक सुधार की घोषणा से देश विकास तथा प्रगति की दिशा में उन्नत बनेगा। जो हमारे देश में गरीबी है तथा दूसरी समस्याएं हैं उन सब प्रश्नों का इससे निपटारा किया जा सकेगा।

मैं प्रधानमंत्री जी का धन्यवाद करता हूं देश के करोड़ों युवकों ने देश के विकास के लिए इस युवा वर्ष में अपने युवा नेता को प्रधान मंत्री का पद भेंट किया तथा युवकों के कल्याण के लिए आपने दृढ़ निश्चय घोषित किया है। मान्यवर, हम आश्वस्त हैं कि राजीव गांधी जी जो युवा पीढ़ी का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं हमें दृढ़ विश्वास है कि देश के करोड़ों युवाओं के जो प्रश्न हैं उनके निपटारे के लिए राजीव गांधी एक नयी दिशा राष्ट्र के युवकों को दिखायेंगे। इससे युवकों में एक नयी चेतना और स्रोत भी ला सकेंगे। देश में आधुनिक टेक्नालाजी का विकास एवं विज्ञान की सहायता से अधिक शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र के निर्माण का आपका निर्णय समय की अनिवार्य आवश्यकता है। मैं अपने विपक्षी मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रीय एकता तथा विकास के लिए दिशा में प्रगतिशील एवं रचनात्मक साकारात्मक भूमिका का निर्माण करें। जब-जब इस देश में कहीं विकास की बात बनी है, जब-जब इस देश में एक नये उद्यम की बात हुई है, मैं दुख से कहना चाहता हूं कि तब-तब विपक्षी मित्रों ने उसका साथ देने के बजाय उसका विरोध किया है। इस देश को उन्नत बनाने वाली जो भी बात की गयी, गुट निरपेक्ष देशों की कांफ्रेंस करो तो विरोध, कोई प्रगतिशील नीति लाई जाये तो विरोध। मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या कभी भी इस देश की जो जन सम्पत्ति बैंकों में पड़ी थी वहां से एक गांव में रहने वाला मजदूर, एक शिक्षा चलाने वाला, रेहड़ी ढोने वाला, साग सब्जी की दुकान चलाने वाला आर्थिक सहायता ले सकता था? वही इंदिरा गांधी थीं वही कांग्रेस की नीतियां थीं जिसकी वजह से उस जमाने में इन्हीं सदनों में इन बिलों को लाया गया। लेकिन क्या उस वक्त इन प्रगतिशील नीतियों को विरोधी पक्षों ने समर्थन दिया था। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ये कौन से समाजवाद की बात कर रहे हैं। समाजवाद इस देश में कौन सी नीति से आने वाला है? समाजवाद कहाँ से आने वाला है। अंधेरे को कोसने से कभी हम उजाला नहीं ला सकेंगे। अगर अंधेरे को दूर करना है तो कहीं उठना होगा, कहीं चलना होगा कहीं जागना होगा। मैं कहता हूं



[श्री मीर्जा इशान बेग]

कहीं शमा जलानी होगी, कंदिल जलानी होगी कहीं मशाल ले करके चलना होगा । शास्त्रों में कहा है ।

“उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्नि बोधत”

हमें जागना है, हमें उठना है और उठ करके हमें देखना है कि इस राष्ट्र के निर्माण में हम अपना योगदान कहां दे सकते हैं । विपक्ष के मित्रों से मेरा अनुरोध है, मेरी यह विनती है कि राष्ट्र जब एक फलक पर आगे जाने को अपने कदम रख चुका है तब आप और हम मिल करके एक ऐसी नीति का निर्माण करें कि जिस पर चल करके इस राष्ट्र को उन्नत राष्ट्र बना सकें एक गौरवशाली राष्ट्र बना सकें और यह इस राष्ट्र के विकास के लिये ही नहीं बनाये क्योंकि इस देश ने हमेशा विश्व को ज्योति दिखाई है, इस देश में हमेशा एक परम्परा रही है कि विश्व को जब भी जरूरत पड़ी तो हमने मार्गदर्शन दिया, नेतृत्व दिया और इस नेतृत्व का जो अधिगम है इसको लेकर अब हम आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं क्योंकि देश की करोड़ों जनता ने अपने विश्वास का मत इस देश की सरकार को दिया है ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आइये हम निश्चय करें और देश के जो मसले हैं प्रश्न हैं इनको समझ करके जहां हो सकता है वहां हम एक कांस्ट्रक्टिव एप्रोच रखें और उस कांस्ट्रक्टिव रीति से बात करके उस अधिगम को बदलें । जब देश की जनता ने यह चाहा है, उन नीतियों को चाहा है और जो उन नीतियों को मानने वाले लोग हैं उनको शासन में बैठाया है तब मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कहां तक हमें इन बातों को लेकर चलना है ।

आज विश्व कितना आगे बढ़ चुका है । एशियाड की बात अगर आज भी कही जाये तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या एशियाड देश की प्रगतिशीलता की बात नहीं थी । क्या देश को प्रगति की दिशा में ले जाने वाली बात नहीं थी । जब विश्व आगे कदम ताल कर रहा है तो क्या हमारा और हमारी सरकार का कर्तव्य नहीं था कि इसके साथ में कदम-ताल करें । लोग चांद पर पहुंच रहे हैं और आज भी हमारे गांवों में कहीं रेल की सुविधा नहीं है तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हमें इन्सेट नहीं बनाना है । इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि नयी-नयी जो आधुनिक टेक्ना-लाजी है उस टेक्नालाजी को पीठ पीछे डालना है ? एशियाड का विरोध क्या आज भी सदन में

इन लोगों की तरफ से नहीं हुआ ? लेकिन कहा तक विरोध करेंगे ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कौन से युग में हम रहना चाहते हैं । विश्व जो आगे कदम ताल कर रहा है क्या उसके साथ इस देश में रहकर कदम ताल नहीं करना चाहते हैं । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अपने मानस को टटोलकर देखें कि कहां तक ऐसे विरोध को हम चलाते रहेंगे । एशियाड की बात पर आज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इससे हजारों लोगों को, युवकों को कितना फायदा पहुंचा है । हालांकि मैं जानता हूँ, मैं मानता हूँ कि आज जितना होना चाहिये शायद उतना नहीं हो पाया है हम उन लक्ष्यों को सिद्ध नहीं कर पाये हैं लेकिन इसका अन्य मतलब नहीं है । एक जमाने में लोग जब जंगल में रहते थे तो कुछ चीज बांधकर शरीर को छिपा लेते थे । कपड़ा पहनना है तो एक छोटा सा धागे का सूत का टुकड़ा पहन कर चल सकते हैं । लेकिन क्यों ? आज जब टेक्ना-लाजी इतनी आगे बढ़ी है विश्व इतना आगे कदम ले चुका है, कम्प्यूटेशन का युग आ चुका है तब हम ऐसी बात करें कि क्योंकि हमारा देश गरीब है इस वजह से हमें नयी टेक्ना-लाजी को नहीं अपनाना है । मान्यवर, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें राष्ट्र का निर्माण करना है, हमें इस राष्ट्र को ऐसा राष्ट्र बनाना है जो विश्व में अपना मस्तक ऊपर करके चल सके । इस बात को हम क्यों झुठलाना चाहते हैं । क्या इस बात को राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपन भाषण में नहीं कहा है ।

हमने लोगों से मदद भी मांगी है । आई० एम० एफ० लोन मांगा है लेकिन जहां हमने अपन पांव को मजबूत रखा है वहां उस लोन से आने वाली किस्तों को हमने नहीं अपनाया है । क्या इन बातों को लेकर हमें आग नहीं बढ़ना है ? राष्ट्र में जो करोड़ों युवा हैं, जो आने वाली पीढ़ी है वह अपना मस्तक ऊंचा करके चल सकें क्या राष्ट्र में हमें उनके सामने ऐसा चित्र प्रदर्शित नहीं करना है । यही मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और इसी वास्ते मैं उस शायर की बात को फिर से याद करना चाहता हूँ :

“मौजों का तकाजा है, मौजो पर चलो,  
ए, अहल साहिल को पुकारने वालों,  
कब तक चलते रहोगे किनार-किनारे ।”

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मान्यवर, मैं अपने वक्तव्य को खत्म करता हूँ ।

2.00 P.M.,

श्री बोरेंद्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष साहब, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को मैंने ध्यान से पढ़ा है। सरकारी पक्ष के माननीय सदस्यों ने जो विचार व्यक्त किये, अभी भी जो माननीय सदस्य विचार व्यक्त कर रहे थे और कल भी, उनको भी सुना। आज सरकार, प्रशासन और देश की जनता के सम्मुख अनेकों चैलेंज हैं। मेरी राय में सरकार ने न तो उन चुनौतियों पर अपना कोई मत व्यक्त किया और न ही राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में अपने कोई विचार रखे हैं।

पिछले पांच साल में निरन्तर, मान्यवर, महंगाई बढ़ती गई है। अभी भी कल जितना सदन ने दो महंगाई भत्तों की घोषणा की। इस वर्ष के दो महीने अभी बाकी हैं। एकाध या दो महंगाई भत्ते और मिलते हैं। महंगाई भत्ता दे देना, यह महंगाई को रोकने या उसको कम करने का कोई हल नहीं है। निर्धन व्यक्ति जिसका यह देश है, मध्यम वर्ग के व्यक्ति, बहुत मामूली आमदनी के व्यक्ति जो हैं, उनकी कम्बर इस महंगाई ने तोड़ दी है। महंगाई को खत्म करने की तरफ न तो सरकारी पक्ष के एक भी व्यक्ति ने कुछ कहा और न ही राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कुछ कहा।

काला धन जो है, उससे समानांतर इकानमी, अर्थ-व्यवस्था चालू है इस देश में और वह बढ़ती ही जाती है। सरकार की ओर से काले धन पर काबू पाने में, उसे रोकने में, क्या सक्रिय कदम वह उठाना चाहती है, इसकी कोई चर्चा नहीं की गई है। काला धन भी बढ़ता जाता है। महंगाई भी उसी हिसाब से बढ़ती जाती है, मद्रास्फीति भी उसी हिसाब से बढ़ती जाती है किन्हीं महानों में, कुछ जरा सी घट गई, अधिकांश महंगाईयां बढ़ती जाती हैं और उससे अर्थव्यवस्था पर प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पड़ता है।

सबसे पहले मेरा प्रश्न है कि यह सरकार नाकामयाब रही है महंगाई को रोकने में।

दूसरी बात, मान्यवर, जो सरकार ने एक वर्ष पूर्व आंकड़े दिये थे कि इस देश में 53 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं—जहां तक मेरा ध्यान है

सन् 1951 ई० में जब प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना इस देश में लागू की गई थी, उस समय सरकार ने 30 प्रतिशत गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जनसंख्या बताई थी। छह पंचवर्षीय योजनायें पूर्ण होने को हैं, खरबों रुपया उन पर व्यय हो चुका है, लेकिन गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे, निर्धनता में रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या बढ़ती चली जाती है। नारा था "गरीबी हटाने का" और यहां गरीबी बढ़ती जाती है। यह सरकार के सामने चैलेंज है।

मान्यवर, आजादी के बाद देश में पढ़े-लिखों की संख्या बहुत बढ़ी और शिक्षा का भी बड़ा प्रचार हुआ, प्रसार हुआ। लेकिन जितना शिक्षा का प्रसार हुआ उतनी ही इस देश में पढ़े-लिखे लोगों की बेरोजगारी में भी इजाफा हुआ। रोजगार लोगों को मिल रहा है, लेकिन जितना रोजगार मिलता है, उससे अधिक आदमी पढ़ते हैं और उससे अधिक बेरोजगार आदमी होता जाता है गांव में खास तौर से बी० ए०, एम० ए० पास लडके चपरासी तक के स्थान की भी नौकरी प्राप्त करने में असमर्थ है। यह चैलेंज है इस सरकार के सामने कि पढ़े-लिखे लोगों को रोजगार दें। इंजीनियर, डाक्टर, टैक्नीशंस, वह आज बेकार हैं और बेरोजगार हैं। बी० ए०, एम० ए०, इण्टरमीडिएट और हाई स्कूल पास की तो न जाने कितनी बड़ी तादाद है इस देश में। चौथी बात, मान्यवर, एडल्ट्रेशन की तरफ राष्ट्रपति जी ने न देश की जनता का, न इस सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित किया। खाने-पीने का कोई पदार्थ, फसल की कोई दवाई, आदमी और जानवर की दवाइयां, कोई वस्तु ऐसी नहीं मिल सकती कि जिसमें मिलावट न हो। मिलावट करने वाला निडर है। बेवौफ है। निडरता के साथ वह हर वस्तु में मिलावट कर रहा है और सरकार की निगाह में यह कोई समस्या नहीं है, यह कोई प्रोब्लम नहीं है। संसार में जितने भी देश आजाद हैं, उन देशों में मिलावट करना एक बहुत बुरा गुनाह है। लेकिन इस देश में मिलावट कोई बड़ा खतरा नहीं माना जाता, कोई बड़ा दोष नहीं समझा जाता, इसीलिये उसकी तरफ सरकार का कोई ध्यान भी नहीं है।

[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

मान्यवर, पिछले कई सालों से लगातार देश में अराजकता जिसे बदअमनी कहते हैं, लालसैनस कहते हैं वह भी बढ़ती जाती है। प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी की हत्या का होना और जिस तरीके से उनकी हत्या उनके मकान पर हुई इससे बड़ी चुनौती देश के शासन और सरकार के लिये और कोई हो नहीं सकती। लालसैनस जिस तरह इस देश में बढ़ी है और सरकार जिस तरह से उसको काबू करने में असफल रही है, यह मान्यवर, अलग एक चुनौती है। आपकी ट्रेज, रेलों में, बसों में, रास्तों में, किसान अगर ट्र्यूबल पर सोता है, वहां उनके कत्त किये जाते हैं, उनको लूटा जाता है। अपहरण आज कितनी बड़ी समस्या बन चुकी है। माननीय चेयरमैन साहब, आपने शायद सुना हो, अब से तीन महीने पेश्तर उत्तर प्रदेश के राज्यपाल महामहिम श्री सी० पी० एन० सिंह महोदय के दोहते को जिसकी आयु 15 साल थी, उसके घर से उठाया, 15 लाख रुपये की मांग की गई कि इसे आप दे दीजियेगा और लड़का आपका महफुज है और लड़के को आप वापस मंगा लीजियेगा। यह मैंने एक बड़े व्यक्ति की, जो कि प्रदेश का सबसे बड़ा व्यक्ति है उसकी मिसाल आपके सामने दी है, जिसके अन्तर्गत वह प्रदेश शासन बल रहा है। हमारे नेता सदन श्री विश्व नाथ प्रताप सिंह के सगे बड़े भाई इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट के जज रहे। उनका किस तरह सायंकाल के टाइम पर इलाहाबाद और बांदा की सड़क पर कत्ल हुआ, उनका और उनके लड़के का। ये सब चुनौतियां हैं। किस तेजी के साथ इस देश में अराजकता बढ़ी है, बदअमनी बढ़ी है और लालसैनस बढ़ी है और सरकार इसे रोकने में नकामयाब रही है। मान्यवर, मुझे बहुत ही दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि यह जो लोक सभा के चुनाव हुये, चैलेंज के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि लोक सभा के इन चुनावों में 500 के करीब ऐसे गुण्डा तत्वों को जिनके रासुका में चालान थे, जो गिरफ्तार थे, जो जेल में थे, उन आदमियों को छोड़वाया गया। जिस जिले का मैं रहने वाला हूं एक सज्जन वहां के भी हैं। 23 कत्ल के मुकदमों उस पर चल रहे हैं। सी० बी० आई० ने उसको गिरफ्तार किया है, उसकी जांच भी

की है और वह जेल में भी था। लेकिन चुनाव के ऐन मौके पर उनको जमानत पर छोड़वाया गया और वह आदमी मुजफ्फरपुर जिले में दफा 144 लागू थी चुनाव के टाइम में, शायद सब जगह लागू होगी, 144 धारा के लागू होते हुये भी वह गुंडा तत्व जो रासुका में गिरफ्तार थे, जेल में थे, उन लोगों को छोड़वा करके हथियार दिये गये, उनको नाजायज हथियार दिये गये और वे चुनाव के टाइम पर दो-दो गाड़ियों में मय हथियार के घूमते रहे, पुलिस भी देखती रही। जब ऐसा एलीमेंट छोड़ा जायेगा तब कौन जान और माल की सुरक्षा करेगा कहां अराजकता में कमी आ जायेगी, कहां ला-लैसनस में कमी लाई जा सकती है? यह एक चुनौती है मान्यवर और हमारे जिले में यह भी एक दुःख का विषय है। सरकार से यह अपेक्षा की जाती है कि उसका निष्पक्ष व्यवहार होना चाहिये कि उसका निष्पक्ष व्यवहार होगा, न्याय का व्यवहार होगा सरकार का। लेकिन एक पार्टी के लोगों का 107/116 में चालान, एक ही पार्टी के लोगों के हथियार जमा कराना, हथियार भी जमा कराकर थाने में रखना, थाने में रखकर गुंडा तत्वों को सप्लाई करना, यह एक चैलेंज है इस सरकार के लिये, एक स्वच्छ प्रशासन देने का इरादा है, जिनका, जिनकी यह घोषणा है। तो वह स्वच्छ प्रशासन कब दे सकते हैं, जब निष्पक्षता के साथ उनका व्यवहार हो।

मान्यवर, माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी की सरकार की ओर से, जो राष्ट्रपति जी ने भाषण दिया है, चुनाव में सुधार करने का एलान हुआ है। तो चुनाव में बहुत सी खामियां हैं। इसको कांग्रेस पार्टी भी मानती है और इधर के आदमियों ने भी उनकी चर्चाएं उठाई हैं। विपक्ष के लोगों की तरफ से कुछ सुझाव चीफ इलेक्शन कमिश्नर को दिये गये हैं। माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यहां चर्चा की है सुधार करने की। मैं अपेक्षा करता हूं, उम्मीद रखता हूं कि इसमें कारगर सुधार लाने की कोशिश की जायेगी, जिससे कि चुनाव निष्पक्ष हों, कम खर्च पर हों। यह अमीर आदमियों का देश नहीं है, जो कि काले धन से चुनाव लड़ सकें। यह गरीब आदमियों का देश है। गरीब इतना बड़ा खर्चा बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता, जो कि चुनावों में

होने लगे हैं। यह किस प्रकार हो सके, क्या सरकार इसकी कोई व्यवस्था कर सकती है? जैसा कि वेस्ट जर्मनी और जापान में होता है और कौन सी सुविधायें इस प्रकार की लाई जा सकती हैं, लागू की जा सकती हैं, जिससे कि चुनाव के इतने बड़े खर्चों को रोका जा सके।

मान्यवर, इस सारे अभिभाषण को पढ़ने पर मुझे कहीं भी यह नजर नहीं आया कि सांप्रदायिक झगड़ों की रोकथाम के लिये सरकार क्या कदम उठाने जा रही है। यह दुर्भाग्य है इस देश का कि महात्मा गांधी जो राष्ट्रपिता हैं, जिनकी बदौलत इस देश ने अपनी स्वतन्त्रता हासिल की है, उनकी कुर्बानी देने के पश्चात् भी इस देश में हिंदू और मुसलमानों के झगड़े रोके नहीं जा सके। हिंदू-मुसलमान झगड़े आज भी होते रहते हैं। अगर मान्यवर, आप उठा कर देखें पिछले दो साल, तीन साल, चार साल या पांच साल के आंकड़े या उससे पहले के भी आंकड़े, तो देखेंगे कि हिंदू-मुसलमान फसादात बढ़े हैं। आजादी का समय ज्यों-ज्यों बढ़ता चला जाता है, आजादी के इस बढ़ते हुये समय में हिंदू-मुसलमान फसादात भी बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। यह इस सरकार के लिये, आपकी सरकार के लिए चुनौती है कि आज भी हिंदू-मुसलमान झगड़े हो रहे हैं आजादी के 38 वर्ष बाद भी और इस आजादी के 38 वर्ष बाद न सिर्फ यही बल्कि दुख की बात यह है कि अब हिंदू और सिक्ख के झगड़े भी शुरू होने लगे हैं। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण कत्ल हुआ और इसके अगले दिन दिल्ली, कानपुर, लखनऊ, मेरठ, सहारनपुर और दूसरे बड़े-बड़े शहरों में कितनी लूट हुई, तबाही हुई, बरबादी हुई और कितने कत्ल हुए। शायद जीवन में कभी इंसान ने नहीं देखा हो कि इंसान को आग लगा दी और उसे सड़क के किनारे उठाकर फेंक दिया हो। मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से अपील करता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की पहली नवम्बर और उसके बाद जो घटनायें और दुर्घटनायें हुई, उनकी न्यायिक जांच सरकार कराए कि यह घटनायें क्यों हुई? अनेकानेक आयोग बैठें। जांच करें कि पहली नवंबर और उसके बाद यह दुखद घटनायें क्यों हुई? जिन्होंने किया है, उनको जहनुम में भेजा जाय इंदिरा

गांधी जी का कत्ल। हमारे जैसे आदमी को सबसे ज्यादा दुख है क्योंकि वह प्रधान मंत्री का कत्ल था, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का कत्ल नहीं था। वह देश की सुरक्षाव्यवस्था के लिये एक चुनौती थी। लेकिन उसके बाद जो हुआ, वह सरकार के लिये एक चुनौती है। इसलिए मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि उसको न्यायिक जांच होनी चाहिये उन हालात की, कि किन हालात में यह घटनायें हुई हैं, क्यों हुई कौन मुलजिम हैं। इसके साथ ही हिंदू-मुसलमान फसादात को बहुत ही कड़ाई के साथ रोका जाए। यह मैं आपसे और आपके माध्यम से सरकार से अपेक्षा करता हूँ। मान्यवर, माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में न्यायिक प्रणाली में सुधार करने की भी चर्चा की है। आंकड़े उठा कर देखें तो पता चलेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के सुप्रीम कोर्ट में और प्रदेशों के विभिन्न हाई कोर्ट्स में लाखों से भी ज्यादा केसेज आज पेंडिंग हैं, विचाराधीन हैं। दस-दस साल से ऊपर के केसेज इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट में और 5—7 वर्ष के केसेज दूसरे हाई कोर्ट्स में पेंडिंग हैं। तारीखें लगती हैं, लोगों का समय बर्बाद होता है। कहां न्याय सस्ता हुआ, कहां न्याय सुलभ हुआ? मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की व्यवस्थायें की जायेंगी कि इस देश की गरीब जनता को न्याय शीघ्रता के साथ मिले और सस्ता हो। मान्यवर, जम्मू और काश्मीर, हिमाचल प्रदेश, पंजाब और हरियाणा, दिल्ली, राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश—इन सात प्रदेशों की जितनी जनसंख्या है उतनी अकेले उत्तर प्रदेश की जनसंख्या है। इन सात प्रदेशों में दस के करीब हाई कोर्ट हैं और उत्तर प्रदेश की आवदी 12 करोड़ है, वहां के लिये सवा हाई कोर्ट है। न जाने कितने सालों पुरानी मांग है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के पश्चिमी जिलों में इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट की एक बेंच बनाई जाए। हम नहीं चाहते कि इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट को हटाया जाए, पश्चिम में लाया जाए, लेकिन इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट की बेंच पश्चिम में कहीं स्थापित की जाए। उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार दो-तीन दफा सिफारिश कर चुकी है। पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार ने 1977 के चुनाव से पहले स्वीकृति प्रदान कर दी थी। फिर एक कमीशन बैठा। तीन साल से ज्यादा हो गये उस कमीशन को बने, उसकी

[श्री वारेन्द्र वर्मा]

रिपोर्ट ही नहीं आई। मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से अपेक्षा करता हूँ कि इस देश की गरीब जनता को न्याय सुलभ हो और सस्ता मिले।

सारा अभिभाषण मैंने पढ़ा है। इसमें कहीं भी जिक्र नहीं है बी० पी० मंडल रिपोर्ट का। बी० पी० मंडल आयोग भारत सरकार ने बनाया। तीन साल हुये बी० पी० मंडल आयोग की रिपोर्ट आ चुकी है। उससे पेश्तर 1953 में स्व० जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने काका कालेलकर की अध्यक्षता में पिछड़े वर्ग के लिये आयोग गठित किया था। उसने अपनी रिपोर्ट दी थी। वह रिपोर्ट रद्दी की टोकरी में पड़ी है और बी० पी० मंडल आयोग की रिपोर्ट भी रद्दी की टोकरी में पड़ी है। गरीब, पिछड़े वर्ग की सहानुभूति हासिल करने के लिये आयोग बना लेकिन उस आयोग की रिपोर्ट का अमली जामा पहनाने में सरकार नाकामयाब रही, उसे कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं है। इसमें कोई कदम उन्होंने नहीं उठाया। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि सरकार बी० पी० मंडल आयोग की सन्तुष्टियों पर विचार करेगी जिससे कि पिछले वर्ग का इन्सान ऊपर उठ सके।

मान्यवर, मैं मानता हूँ कि स्वच्छ प्रशासन की हत्या हो चुकी है। प्रशासन में तेजी लाने की कोशिश होगी यह कहा गया है। तेजी लाने की कोशिश तभी की जा रही है जब प्रशासन में ढीलापन आ चुका है। आवश्यकता है देश में स्वच्छ और कुशल प्रशासन प्रदान करने की जिससे इस तरफ और उस तरफ बैठने वालों के लिए ही नहीं, देश की सम्पूर्ण जनता के लिए वह सुविधाजनक हो। इसकी तरफ ध्यान दिये जाने की आवश्यकता है।

माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी की सरकार ने कहा है कि स्वस्थ सार्वजनिक जीवन की ओर भी ध्यान दिये जाने की आवश्यकता है। आज आवश्यकता है कि इन्सान का स्वच्छ सार्वजनिक जीवन होना चाहिए। क्यों? इस कारण कि सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्वच्छता यह नहीं गयी थी। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि

इस तरफ उनका ध्यान जायेगा और उसमें स्वच्छता लाने का पूरा प्रयास किया जायेगा।

शिक्षा प्रणाली की ओर राष्ट्रपति जी ने ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है, उसमें सुधार लाने के लिये कहा गया है। मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह बता देना चाहता हूँ इस सदन को और माननीय सदस्यों को कि इस देश की और विशेष कर उत्तर प्रदेश की प्राथमिक शिक्षा-प्राइमरी एजुकेशन प्रायः नष्ट हो चुकी है। स्कूलों में कोई पढ़ाता नहीं। स्कूलों के भवन नहीं हैं। अगर भवन हैं तो वहाँ कोई पढ़ाने वाला नहीं है। कोई साज-सज्जा नहीं है और जब कोई नहीं पढ़ाता तो मजबूरी में लोगों ने वहाँ माटेसरी शिक्षा पद्धति के स्कूल स्थापित किये हैं और गरीबों के बच्चे मजबूर होकर उन स्कूलों में जाते हैं। और अमीर अपने बच्चों को माटेसरी स्कूलों में पढ़ाते हैं। ये हमारी नींव हैं जिन पर कल के बनने वाले हिन्दुस्तान की आशाएँ निर्भर करती हैं। आज उन बच्चों का जीवन बर्बाद हो रहा है। प्राथमिक शिक्षा पर हमें विशेष ध्यान देना होगा। माध्यमिक शिक्षा भी आज पूणतया ठप्प है। उसमें कोई अनुशासन बाकी नहीं रह गया है। छुट्टी ही छुट्टी होती रहती है। उन स्कूलों में जितनी सरकारी छुट्टियाँ होती हैं उतनी ही छुट्टियाँ होनी चाहिए। लेकिन आज सारी माध्यमिक शिक्षा संस्थाएँ छुट्टियों के कारण ज्यादातर बन्द ही रहती हैं। और न वहाँ कोई पढ़ाता है और न कोई पढ़ता है। वहाँ आज कोई डिसिप्लिन नहीं है। मुझे उम्मीद है कि इस तरफ विशेष ध्यान दिया जायेगा। और जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने शिक्षा प्रणाली में परिवर्तन लाने के लिये कहा है उसकी तरफ अति शीघ्र ध्यान देकर उसमें परिवर्तन करने की कोशिश की जायेगी।

कितने दुःख का विषय है कि आज 38 साल हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद हुये हो गये और इस देश की एक राष्ट्र भाषा भी है, लेकिन हमारे देश के नेता, हमारे देश का नेतृत्व इन 38 सालों में अपनी भाषा बोलने में गौरव का अनुभव नहीं करता। जापान के प्रधान मंत्री यहाँ के दोनों सदनों को सम्बोधित करते हैं, फ्रांस के राष्ट्रपति यहाँ आय, उन्होंने सम्बोधित किया, रूस के लोग आते हैं, संसार के सभी देशों के व्यक्ति आते हैं

और अपने अपने देश की भाषा बोलते हैं, लेकिन हमारे देश के नेता गर्व महसूस करते हैं उस भाषा में बोलने में जिसके कारण हमारा देश ग्लाम रहा। संसार में कोई भी देश, हिन्दुस्तान के अलावा ऐसा नहीं है कि जिसकी अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा न हो, जिसकी राष्ट्र भाषा का विकास न हुआ हो। केवल हिन्दुस्तान ऐसा है जहाँ अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा में बोलने में लोग गर्व महसूस नहीं करते। अपने देश के अन्दर भी गर्व महसूस नहीं करते, बल्कि गर्व महसूस करते हैं एक विदेशी भाषा को बोलने में। मैं अपेक्षा करूँगा मान्यवर, आपके माध्यम से प्रशासकों से, नेताओं से कि वे उस भाषा में बोलें कि जिस से अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा का गौरव से और उनका भी गौरव बढ़े। यहाँ पर अनुवाद की व्यवस्था है। जो आदमी बोल सकता है हिन्दी में उसको अंग्रेजी में समझा जायगा और जो अंग्रेजी में बोलता है उस को हिन्दी में समझ लेंगे। कोई दिक्कत नहीं होगी। हमारे राष्ट्रीय नेताओं को राष्ट्र भाषा को गौरव प्रदान करने के लिये राष्ट्र भाषा में ही बोलना चाहिये।

मान्यवर, इसके अतिरिक्त स्पोर्ट्स ऐसा तामस की बात आती है। मैं अपने जीवन में मदा ही स्पोर्ट्समैन रहा हूँ। जब से कालेज में पढ़ता था तो कोई टीम ऐसी नहीं रही कि जिसका मैं कैप्टन न रहा हूँ या फ़र्स्ट टीम में न रहा हूँ। जब यहाँ एशियाड हुये तो मुझे वड़ी खु ई थी, लेकिन बेहतर यह था कि जितन खर्च एशियाड पर हुआ उसके मुकाबले में उतना ही पैसा इस देश के युवकों/खिलाड़ियों और यहाँ के एथलीट्स को तैयार करने में, उनको प्रशिक्षण देने में लगाया जाता और उसके बाद हम एशियाडस कराते और दूसरी व्यवस्थायें करते। वह ज्यादा अच्छा होता।

मान्यवर, दलबदल का विधेयक आने, को है। हम उसका स्वागत करते हैं। वह आना चाहिये। जितनी जल्दी हो लाना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारे लीगल एक्सपर्ट्स का ज़ाह मशविरा लें। हम सुप्रीम कोर्ट और हाई कोर्ट के दरवाजे ही न देखते रहें जो बहुत अच्छा नहीं होगा। एक बात मैं किसानों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण मेरे सामने है। इसमें

किसान के सम्बन्ध में कोई चर्चा नहीं है। हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ा बहुत ठीक बात है। लेकिन किसानों की समस्यायें क्या उत्पादन बढ़ाना ही है? किसानों की अनेक समस्यायें हैं। सारे अभिभाषण में किसानों की समस्याओं की तरफ ध्यान आकर्षित नहीं किया गया है, कुछ भी नहीं कहा गया है मान्यवर, आज किसान दुखी है। किसान की कीमतें आज अलाभकर हैं। कहा जाता है कि उसे लाभकर होना चाहिये, लाभकर कीमतें दी जाती हैं, लेकिन मैं आप के माध्यम से इस पक्ष से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि एक-एक वर्ष में जितनी मंहगाई बढ़ी है, अगर उस मंहगाई के अनुसार आपने किसानों की पैदावारों की, जिन्सों की कीमतें बढ़ा दी तो मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं। न जाने कितने दिनों में पैरिटी की, पैरिटी आफ प्राइसेज की बात कही जाती रही है, अग्रिकल्चरल क्मोडिटीज और इंडस्ट्रियल क्मोडिटीज की प्राइसेज में पैरिटी रखी जाए समानता रखी जाये, दोनों प्रकार की चीजों को जो किसान पैदा करता है और जिनकी उसको आवश्यकता होती है, उनमें समानता हो। लेकिन किसान की जो आवश्यकता की चीजें हैं उनकी कीमतें बढ़ती जाती हैं और किसान जो पैदा करना है उनकी कीमतें बांधकर रखी जाती हैं।

मान्यवर, अफसोस है कि आज से दो माह पहले जब गुड़ और खांडसारी का किसानों ने उत्पादन किया तो भारत सरकार ने खांडसारी और गुड़ का बंदान जो अफीका और दूसरे देशों को जाता था, बन्द कर दिया, उस पर पाबन्दी लगा दी। मैं तत्कालीन खाद्य और रसद मंत्री श्री भागवत झा आजाद से मिला, तो उन्होंने कहा कि कहीं भाव न बढ़ जायें, इसलिये पाबन्दी लगाई गई है। क्या यह कार्य किसान के हित में था? मान्यवर, यह किसानों के हित में नहीं था। आज करोड़ों रुपया किसानों का गन्ने का बकाया है मिल मालिकों के ऊपर। पिछले कुछ वर्ष एक दानुन बना था कि अगर 14 दिन तक गन्ने की कीमत मिल मालिक अदा न करें तो उसे किसान को 15 फीसदी का सूद देना पड़ेगा। मान्यवर, 14 दिन नहीं, अगर 14 महीने भी हो जाते हैं उस बदकिस्मत किसान को एक फीसदी का भी सूद नहीं मिला। मुझे नहीं

[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

मानूँ कि किस अधिकार से श्री नारायण दत्त तिवारी जी ने, वे मेरे मित्र भी हैं, जो उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री हैं, गत वर्ष का 10 करोड़ रुपया किसानों का जो मिल मालिकों का बकाया था, एक कलम से खत्म कर दिया। किसने उनको यह अधिकार दिया? आज तक पिछले 17 वर्षों में एक फीसदी सूद भी गन्ने की बकाया कीमत पर यह सरकार किसानों को नहीं दिला सकी।

मान्यवर, चुनावों के दौरान बिजली आती थी और आज बिजली गायब है। कल इसी तरफ से एक माननीय सदस्य ने इस बात की चर्चा की थी। किसान ने गेहूँ बोया, गेहूँ के लिये सिंचाई की आवश्यकता है, लेकिन बिजली गायब। इसलिये मान्यवर, मैं यह उम्मीद करता हूँ कि उनको बिजली जल्द से जल्द दिलवाई जायेगी।

आखिरी बात, मान्यवर, जो सबसे बड़ी मेरी दिलचस्पी का विषय है, वह है भ्रष्टाचार। कई बार मैंने राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण पढ़ा। एक भी इस अभिभाषण में इस बात की चर्चा नहीं की गयी है कि भ्रष्टाचार को किस प्रकार रोकेगें और खत्म करेंगे। भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है। मैं, मान्यवर, स्वीकार करता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी जमाने में भी भ्रष्टाचार था और आज भी भ्रष्टाचार है। भ्रष्टाचार उस जमाने में जितना था उतना ही रहता तो मुझे आपत्ति नहीं थी, लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता ही चला जाता है। फर्क इतना हो गया कि अंग्रेजी जमाने में भ्रष्टाचार नीचे से चलता था, आज भ्रष्टाचार ऊपर से चलने लगा। जो लोग भ्रष्टाचार रोकते थे जब वे ही भ्रष्टाचार चलायेंगे तो रोकेंगे कौन? इस लिये भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता ही चला जाता है और हमारे विकास में जितना रुपया लगता है उसका 50 प्रतिशत विकास के कार्यों में न लग कर भ्रष्ट अधिकारियों की जेबों में और उनके पेट में जाता है। इससे हमारा प्रशासन भी ढीला हो चुका है और मान्यवर, मेरा भी 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की तरह से यह 20वां प्वाइंट है जिसकी मैं चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सेयद रहमत अली)  
बीसवां और आखिर

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: जी, हाँ। आखिर। और वह यह है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लिये आरक्षण भारत के संविधान में दिया गया। एक-एक कंस्टीट्यूएँसी 15-15-20-20 साल से आरक्षित है। 22 फीसदी अगर वहाँ पर शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लोग हैं तो 78 फीसदी जनरल है तो इस तरह से जो फंडामेंटल राइट है जनरल पोपुलेशन का, उसका ह्रास हो रहा है। मान्यवर, आपके माध्यम से मेरा सुझाव यह है कि क्या यह उचित नहीं होगा, मुनासिब नहीं होगा कि सरकार सोचे इस बात पर कि अगर हम शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स की कंस्टीट्यूएँसीज को रोटेशन में कर दे, कभी यह कंस्टीट्यूएँसी और कभी वह कंस्टीट्यूएँसी तो इसस रोटेशन से रिप्रजेन्टेशन, प्रतिनिधित्व हमारे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के भाइयों को मिलता रहेगा और मौलिक आधार जनरल पापुलेशन का भी समाप्त नहीं होगा। मान्यवर, माननीय सदस्य जो इस साइड पर बैठे हैं जिन्होंने अपनी सरकार की उपलब्धियों की तरफ ध्यान आकर्षित किया है वह स्वाभाविक भी है, करना भी चाहिये था लेकिन जिस बातों की तरफ मैंने उनका ध्यान आकर्षित किया है इस पर अगर वह भी अपने विचारों में, अपने भाषणों में प्रकाश डाल सकें और सरदार दरबारा सिंह जी भी डाल सकें तो मैं बहुत कृतज्ञता महसूस करूँगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं बैठता हूँ।

कुमारो सरोज खापड़ (महाराष्ट्र): उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इस सदन में राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव जो माननीय दरबारा सिंह जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ी हुई हूँ। मान्यवर, कल से यह अभिभाषण का प्रस्ताव जो इस सदन में आया है, काफी मेरे मित्रों ने इसमें भाग लिया और अपने विचारों को व्यक्त किया। मान्यवर, इन सारी चीजों की गहराई में न जाते हुये मैं इस अभिभाषण को पढ़ने के बाद जिस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँची हूँ उनको मैं सदन के सामने रखने की कोशिश करूँगी।

31 अक्तूबर, 1984 के दिन हमने इक देश के बहुमूल्य रत्न को और इस देश

महान् नेता को खो दिया है। हमारी प्रिय नेता प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के निधन से सिर्फ हमारे देश ने ही कुछ खोया, ऐसी बात नहीं, बल्कि ऐसा महसूस हो रहा था कि सारे विश्व ने, सारी दुनिया ने कुछ खोया है। इसका आभास इंदिरा जी के अन्तिम संस्कार में जो 102—104 प्रतिनिधि यहां आये थे, भाग लिया था उस वक्त और उसके बाद से आज तक हमें हर कोने से ऐसा महसूस हो रहा है। आपको याद होगा कि 1977 से 1980 तक हमने अपनी नेता को फूलों की तरह रखा। हमने कभी सपने में भी यह कल्पना नहीं की थी कि प्रधान मंत्री के रक्षक ही प्रधान मंत्री के भक्षक बन सकेंगे। अत्यन्त दुःखद घटना है कि उस दरमियान हमारी नेता ने कई बार जन-मभाओं में, कई बार विरोधी पार्टियों के नेताओं से और कई बार अपनी पार्टी के नेताओं से, कार्यकर्ताओं से कहा था कि देश को खतरा है। देश को बहुत सम्भल करके चलना है। इन चीजों का हमारी नेता ने कई बार उच्चारण किया था। लेकिन उन चीजों को हम लोग समझ नहीं सके थे। उन्होंने आंतरिक खतरों के बारे में तो उच्चारण किया ही था, लेकिन देश के बाहर के खतरों के बारे में भी उन्होंने कई बार जिक्र किया था। हमने उस जिक्र पर कभी गौर से ध्यान नहीं दिया। हमारे विरोधी भाई हमेशा यह कहते रहे कि यह तो राजकीय फार्स है। हमारी महान् नेता ने अपनी जान को भी इन खतरों के बारे में कहते-कहते खो दिया। हमारी नेता कभी यह बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पाई कि अपने देश के टुकड़े हों या अपने देश का टुकड़ों में बंटवारा हो। देश के टुकड़ों की कल्पना इंदिरा जी कभी नहीं कर सकती थीं और अगर कल्पना करती भी तो वह इस कल्पना को बर्दाश्त करने लायक नहीं थीं। पंजाब के नाम पर जिन लोगों ने देश में आंदोलन चलाया था वह लोग क्या सही मायनों में हिन्दुस्तान के रखवाले हैं? क्या सही मायनों में देश के प्रति ईमानदारी के साथ वफादार हैं? मैं उन लोगों से यह बात पूछना चाहती हूँ। जिन लोगों ने हिन्दुस्तान का बंटवारा चाहा, गोल्डन टैपल में आर्मी आपरेशन को इशू बनाकर आंदोलन किया उन लोगों ने देश का भला नहीं किया। मैं उन लोगों से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि किस

हालत में इन्दिरा जी ने देश को टुकड़ों में विभाजित होने से रोका, किन परिस्थितियों में उनको आर्मी आपरेशन का निर्णय लेना पड़ा, क्यों उन्होंने ऐसा निर्णय लिया, यह तो हम सभी लोग जानते हैं। मैं उन बातों की गहराइयों में जाना नहीं चाहती हूँ। लेकिन देश की एकता और अखंडता का जहां तक सवाल है, वहां तक कोई भी आदमी, कोई भी मजहब, कोई भी समाज यह नहीं कह सकता कि धर्म की आड़ लेकर देश के लिये खतरा पैदा किया जाये या देश के टुकड़े कर दिये जायें हमारा देश अत्यन्त ही हमें प्रिय है। हमने अपने देश की आजादी की प्राप्ति के लिये बलिदान दिया है। बहिनों ने अपने भाइयों की और मांमों ने अपने बेटों की कुरबानियां दी है। इतना ही नहीं, देश की आजादी के लिये हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई आदि सभी धर्मों के वीर-बहादुरों ने अपनी कुर्बानी देकर आज महात्मा गांधी, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, मौलाना आजाद और सरदार भगत सिंह के भारत का निर्माण किया है और ऐसे महान् देश की जिम्मेवारी सौंपने का काम पंडित जी के बाद लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी के ऊपर आया और जब अचानक शास्त्री जी का निधन हो गया तो इस देश का भार उठाने की जिम्मेवारी श्रीमती इंदिरा जी के ऊपर आई। हमारे सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य श्री गुरुपाद स्वामी जी ने परसों श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी को श्रद्धांजलि देते वक्त कहा था कि उस जमाने में भी हम लोगों को ऐसा लगा बल्कि उनका विश्वास था कि देश की सुरक्षा और देश की अखंडता को अधुण्य रखने के लिये महात्मा गांधी, पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू और श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के बाद सिर्फ एक बलवान नेतृत्व की आवश्यकता है और वह नेतृत्व सिर्फ नेहरू, इंदिरा गांधी इस देश को दे सकती हैं। श्रीमन्, हमारे नेता ने देश के शोषित, पीड़ित और समाज के दरिद्र किसानों की जो देखभाल की है, जो उनके लिये कार्यक्रम उन्होंने बनाये हैं, उन कार्यक्रमों को देखने के बाद ऐसा लगता है कि वाकई हमारी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी शोषित, दलित, पीड़ित और गरीब किसानों की मसीहा थी और वे सही मायनों में उनकी मसीहा थीं। हर क्षेत्र में चाहे संसद हो, चाहे विधान भायें हों, चाहे शैक्षणिक क्षेत्र हों और



[कुमारी सरोज खापड़]

चाहे सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र हों, इन तमाम लोगों को ध्यान में रखकर उन्होंने उनको उनकी काबलियत के अनुसार हर क्षेत्र में उनकी प्रतिनिधित्व देने की कोशिश की। उनका व्यक्तित्व बहुत बड़ा और अनोखा था। जाने वाले कभी नहीं आते हैं श्रीमन्, लेकिन जाने वालों की याद अवश्य आती है। अपनी अन्तिम सांस तक देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिये मर मिटने वाली हमारी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हम सब को एक मन्त्र देकर गई हैं और वह मन्त्र है कि देश की एकता और अखंडता को ही अपना परम कर्तव्य समझकर हमें देश की रक्षा करनी चाहिये।

श्रीमन् मैं कुछ बातों की तरफ सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगी। हमारा नारा था कि इंदिरा जी की अन्तिम इच्छा बूंद-बूंद से देश की रक्षा। इंदिरा जी की हत्या के बाद देश के सामने एक चुनौती आई। उनकी हत्या से सारे देश में तहलका मचा, सारे देश में हाहाकार हुआ देश की राजधानी में उनकी हत्या को लेकर अजीब सी आग फैल गई। एक तरफ मां का शोक और दूसरी तरफ देश के प्रति अपना कर्तव्य। ऐसी अवस्था में हमारी शहीद नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नौजवान बहादुर बेटे श्री राजीव गांधी के सामने निर्मित हुई। शहीद होने के बाद, अपनी कर्वाणी के बाद भी मां ने शक्ति के रूप में आकर बेटे को साहस दिलाया, ढांडस बंधाया, हिम्मत दी और हमने देखा, हमने ही नहीं सारी दुनिया ने देखा कि किस तरह से राजीव गांधी जी ने अपने कंधों पर देश का भार उठाते हुये जनता से शांति का आवाहन किया। गम्भीर व्यक्ति के हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी को देखते हुये ऐसा लगता है कि सही मायनों में वे एक नया हिन्दुस्तान बनाना चाहते हैं, सही मायनों में वे देश की एकता और अखंडता की रक्षा के लिये नौजवानों में वातावरण बना रहे हैं, इंदिरा जी के अधूरे कार्यों को पूरा करना चाहते हैं, कांग्रेस के कार्यों को वे पूरा करना चाहते हैं। कांग्रेस ने ही देश के हित में ऐसे कार्यक्रम लागू किये हैं जिससे हिन्दुस्तान की प्रगति हो सकती है। जो नीतियां कांग्रेस ने बनाई हैं उन नीतियों

पर, उन कार्यक्रमों पर वे अन्तिम रूप से अमल करना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री का पद सम्भालते ही अपने कार्य की शुरुआत कामयाबी से की है। महोदय, इंदिरा जी ने अपना सारा जीवन देश को अर्पित किया था। उनके खून का एक-एक बूंद देश की रक्षा और अखंडता के लिये अन्तिम समय तक काम आया। अब श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में कांग्रेस ने शासन की वागडोर सम्भाली है। लोक सभा के चुनाव से सिद्ध हो गया है कि देशवासियों ने युवा नेता राजीव गांधी को अपना पूरा सहयोग देकर उनको अपना नेता घोषित किया है। यह सहयोग कन्याकुमारी से लेकर उत्तर भारत और केरल से लेकर पश्चिमी बंगाल तक सभी ने युवा नेता के लिये दिया है और युवा नेता को अपना नेता घोषित किया है। इससे यह साबित होता है कि देश का मस्तिष्क एक दिशा में काम कर रहा है। श्रीमन्, थोड़ी देर पहले उधर बैठे हुये माननीय सदस्यों को मैंने सुना, बड़ी गहराई से बड़े ध्यान में सोचा उनकी बातों से लगता है कि खिसियानी बिल्ली खम्भा मोचे। खैर, उधर बैठे हुये सदस्यों का जो विचार था वह उन्होंने सदन के सामने रखा है मुझे उन पर टिप्पणी करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है फिर भी जो विचार उनका था उससे मुझे जो लगा वह मैंने कहा। मैं आशा करती हूँ कि उधर बैठे हुये साथी उस चीज का दूरान न मानें। महोदय, संसद के समक्ष राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में युवा नेता ने अपनी सरकार के कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की है। मैं पंजाब और असम की समस्याओं की गहराई में नहीं जाना चाहूंगी क्योंकि उसके बारे में मेरे कई मित्रों ने उसका जिक्र यहां पर किया है। सरकार एक स्वच्छ सार्वजनिक जीवन के लिये वचनबद्ध है और चुनाव सुधारों पर राजनीतिक दलों के साथ व्यापक रूप से विचार-विमर्श करने के लिये राजी भी है तैयार भी है और, इतना ही नहीं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि समय-समय पर वे अपने विचार हमारे सामने रखें हमें भेजें हम उनका स्वागत करेंगे। सरकार को पता है कि लोक सभा में आज विपक्षी दल का कहीं नामोनिशान नहीं है फिर भी विपक्षी दल के लोग हमें जो सुझाव देंगे जो हमारे साथ चलने के लिये तैयार हैं जो उनके सुझाव हैं उन पर

अमल करने के लिये हम राजी रहेंगे। श्रीमन्, राजीव जी के व्यक्तित्व से देश की सारी जनता प्रभावित हुई है और प्रभावित करने वाला उनका व्यक्तित्व भी है इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। परन्तु इसमें विशेषकर जो महिलायें हैं जो युवक हैं वे सारे जो प्रभावित हुये हैं उनमें अधिकतर महिलायें और युवक हैं। मैंने बड़े ध्यान से राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण पढ़ा और उसमें देखा कि महिलाओं के सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा सांस्कृतिक विकास को प्राथमिकता उन्होंने दी है। सरकार ने महिलाओं के लिये अलग से एक विभाग निकाला है जिसको कहा गया है सोशल वेलफेयर एंड वूम वेलफेयर विभाग और महिलाओं के कार्यों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये, सफल बनाने के लिये हमारे हाउस की जो समस्या थी जो इसी चुनाव में लोक सभा के लिये चुनी गई श्रीमती मरुतम् चन्द्रशेखर उनके नेतृत्व में उन्होंने महिलाओं के लिये अलग से एक विभाग खोल कर महिलाओं के उत्थान की जिम्मेदारी उनको दी है। महिलाओं से सम्बन्धित बहुत ही समस्याएँ हैं विशेषकर निरक्षरता, बेरोजगारी, स्वास्थ्य, दहेज आदि यह समस्याएँ महिलाओं के सामने सदियों से खड़ी हैं। श्रीमन्, डा० फुलरेणु गुहा की अध्यक्षता में महिलाओं सम्बन्धी समस्याओं के अध्ययन के लिये एक समिति बनी थी और उस समिति ने महत्वपूर्ण सिफारिशें की थीं। मैं आशा करती हूँ कि यह मंत्रालय उस समिति की सिफारिशों का गहराई से अध्ययन करेगा और उनको इम्प्लीमेंट करने की कोशिश करेगा। महिलाएँ कमजोर वर्ग में आती हैं। अनुसूचित जाति और जन जाति के लिये सुरक्षित स्थान निर्धारित किये गये हैं। मण्डल आयोग ने पिछड़ी हुई जातियों के लिये विधिवत अध्ययन करने के लिये अपनी सिफारिशें बना कर शासन को दी थीं। मैं चाहती हूँ कि मण्डल आयोग की तरह महिलाओं का भी एक आयोग बनाया जाये और उसकी स्थापना की जाये और महिलाओं से सम्बन्धित हर पहलू का पूरी तरह से अध्ययन कर के सरकार उस पर अलग तरीके से विचार करे। श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में गंगा को दूषित होने से बचाने के लिए एक केन्द्रीय गंगा प्राधिकरण स्थापित किया जायेगा, ऐसा ऐलान किया गया

है। यह बात सही है कि गंगा कोई साधारण नदी नहीं है। इसके साथ हमारे अतीत की स्मृतियाँ, हमारे गीत, हमारे काव्य और सत्य की खोज, जुड़े हुए हैं। श्रीमन्, जैसे यह सच है कि हम लोग गंगा का स्थान नदियों में सर्वोत्तम है ऐसा मानते हैं वैसे ही जो देश की अन्य नदियाँ हैं उनका स्थान हमारे लिए अतीत का प्रतीक है। मैं चाहूँगी कि गंगा प्राधिकरण के साथ-साथ अन्य नदियों के लिए भी एक समिति स्थापित की जाये इससे सारे देश के लोगों को बहुत संतोष होगा और बहुत खुशी होगी।

श्रीमन्, लोक सभा के चुनावों के दरम्यान हमारे ध्यान में कई बातें आई हैं। उन सभी बातों का जिक्र सदन में करना मैं उचित नहीं समझूँगी लेकिन कुछ बातों का उल्लेख मैं सदन में करना अति आवश्यक समझती हूँ। लोक सभा की हर कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी के बारे में समाचार पत्रों में अधिक और सामाजिक विकास कार्यों पर जो टिप्पणियाँ दी गयी हैं सरकार ने उनको पूरी तरह से ध्यान में रखा है और उनका अध्ययन कराया है लेकिन जो कार्य राज्य सरकारों के अधीन आते हैं उन कार्यों को पूरा करने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार राज्य सरकारों को आदेश दे और राज्य सरकारों को जो आदेश दे वह आदेश पूरी जानकारी हासिल करने के बाद देना उचित होगा। श्रीमन्, जो कार्य राज्य सरकार के अधीन आते हैं उनको पूरा करने के लिए मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से जो कहलवाना चाहूँगी उसके दो-तीन उदाहरण मैं सदन को देना चाहती हूँ। उदाहरण के तौर पर हमारे विदर्भ में कुछ निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में कपास उत्पादकों की बड़ी गम्भीर समस्याएँ हैं। और ये गम्भीर समस्याएँ चुनाव के दौरान में हमारे सामने आईं ऐसी बात नहीं है। उसके पहले भी हमारे ध्यान में ये बातें थीं लेकिन चुनाव के दौरान में हमने उनकी गम्भीरता को खब समझा अच्छी तरह से समझा। दूसरी समस्याएँ जो हमारे सामने आती रही, विदर्भ की दृष्टि से और विदर्भ विकास बोर्ड और मराठ-

[कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें]

वाड़ा विकास बोर्ड की मांग लोगों ने काफी जोरों से उठायी तो इन मामलों की ओर केन्द्रीय सरकार अधिक ध्यान दे ताकि वहाँ की जनता को हमने जो आश्वासन दिये हैं उन आश्वासनों की पूर्ति का अहसास वहाँ की जनता को हो सके कि हमने ये कदम उठाये हैं।

श्रीमन् इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी को जिनको लोक सभा के चुनाव में जनता ने मैसिव मैनडेट दिया है, स्वागत करती हूँ और साथ ही साथ भगवान से प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि हमारे बजुर्गों ने जो नीतियां चलायी हैं, इस देश को जो कार्यक्रम दिये हैं उनको इम्प्लीमेंट करने की शक्ति उनको दें, बाकी एक नये भारत का निर्माण करने की उनको खूब ताकत दें और उनको हम सब लोगों के साथ रहकर एक प्रेरणा मिले। हमारी सहायता उनको सर्वदा मिलती रहेगी। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूँ।

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar) :

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I begin by thanking the Rashtrapati for paying such glowing tributes to the memory of our late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi. We have collectively paid tributes to her in this House and tributes have paid from other forums as well. But today, Sir, I want to draw your attention to a very serious problem which is endangering our national security and integrity. That problem is the continuing conspiracy of imperialism, particularly US imperialism, against the unity and integrity of our country, against the security of our country and its persistent efforts to destabilise the political situation in our country, to create conditions of chaos and confusion and if possible to dismember this country. When Madam Indira Gandhi was assassinated by certain members of her own security guard initially the incident was sought to be dismissed as the insane act of person misguided by a kind of religious bigotry and fanaticism. In the Rashtrapati's

Address also, I should say a very inappropriate word has been used. This act has been characterised by him only as an act of "perfidy". But Sir, I would like to state here that it was more than an act of perfidy. It is time our country wakes up to the reality. There is little doubt that the assassination of Madam Indira Gandhi was engineered by imperialist agencies like the CIA because it is impossible to believe that the assassins could penetrate such a highly guarded security organ of the State as the Prime Minister's Security Guards. Without going into details, I may remind you that the assassins by changing their original time and places of duty got themselves placed in a position from where they could carry out their dastardly mission. Who did it? Who allowed it? Not the Inspector or the sepoy himself, but their officers. So even from the incident of assassination the role of certain officers came under suspicion. What has happened in subsequent weeks has further confirmed the suspicion. Now our country is greatly alarmed at the exposure of the spy ring in very high places. I will congratulate the Prime Minister for the action that he has already taken and I will hope that he will not relent till the last of the culprits has been captured and the whole spying busted and its sources rooted out. But may I ask, how it is that these foreign espionage agents penetrated such highly sensitive organs of the State as the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the Rashtrapati's Secretariat, the Ministry of Defence and Defence Production, the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce?

3 P.M.

It could not have been done by the persons who have been so far arrested. After all, the persons who have so far been arrested are either clerks, orderlies, messengers or officers of the rank of Under Secretary and Deputy Secretary. I do not think—no intelligent person will believe—that these people could have been capable of organising such a wide, ramified espionage network and conspiracy. Bigger people must have been behind it. Why doesn't the Government catch the bigger people? If the Government thinks open discussion in the House is not desirable, I may agree with that, but then

I would suggest, let us have a secret session of the two Houses and have a full-dress discussion on it.

How is it that CIA agents penetrated the office of the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister after 1980-81? We have on record an ex-CIA operative's statement that the CIA had an agent in the Indian Cabinet for a number of years. Only last year the Larkins brothers were caught. Retired Major-General Larkins and Retired Air Vice-Marshal Larkins, with a serving Lieutenant Colonel and some businessmen were caught, but even that espionage conspiracy was confined only to one Ministry—the Defence Ministry—may be to a particular section of the Ministry. But this one is a very wide thing and such widespread and efficient was their network that minutes of the Cabinet meeting were in the hands of the spies by the evening of the day on which the Cabinet meeting was held. This is something which should alarm the entire nation. This is something which should alert the Government itself, and all possible measures should be adopted to root out the sources of such espionage and conspiracy. Even a very respectable bourgeois journal not at all critical of the Government—the *"Times of India"*—has editorially stated that some of our big business houses which entered into collaboration agreements with foreign multinational companies are providing bases for the operation of these espionage agents linked with the CIA. It is not accidental that the chief Indian who has been so far discovered as the key link between the foreign agent and the head of the Indian espionage is an executive of an Indian firm—Manekals—who have collaboration agreements with multinationals. Our party has been always warning the Government against giving such facilities to foreign multinationals, especially after the role of the ITT—International Telegraphs and Telephones—in the murder of the democratically elected President of Chile, Salvadore Allende. It became very clear that at that time some of the American multinationals were working in close collaboration with the CIA. I was surprised; now the ITT is advertising on a large scale in the Indian

press. What for? Probably the Government are giving them some licence to enter into some collaboration with some Indian firms. So, all these foreign collaboration agreements have to be examined. The executives of these foreign collaboration firms who used to have free access to our Secretariat have to be thoroughly screened; and in future the minimum that should be done is, that no businessman should be allowed to enter any of our Secretariat offices—Home Ministry, Finance Ministry or Prime Minister's Secretariat. I do not want to go into details of this thing. I only want to voice the concern of my party.

After the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our party came out with the statement, that this assassination is only a high point in the imperialist conspiracy against our country and that this conspiracy is bound to continue and more such things may take place. And within just 10 weeks this evidence has come before us of a widespread espionage network spread in the highest and some of the most sensitive organs of the State. I do not know what has happened actually. But there are press reports, it appears that some of the vital defence secrets have been lost. Even codes for sending diplomatic or security messages have been deciphered. Even blue books have been lost. Well, I hope the Government is already doing the necessary things to replace the deciphered codes and draw up a new plan and all that. But what I want to emphasise is this, that we have to draw proper lessons from this and the one lesson that I would like to suggest is proper vigilance. My hon. friends, Mr. Gafoor, Mr. Sultan Singh and Mr K.R. Narayanan are sitting here and would agree with my suggestion. These are the minimum things required for eliminating these espionage efforts.

Mr. Feidel Castro, the President of Cuba himself once stated that the C. I. A. made 108 attempts on his life; and every time it was frustrated. It was frustrated because the Government was alert and people of that country were vigilant. So, I join all my hon. friends on the other side in paying tribute to Madam, Indira Gandhi. May I in all humility also demand in the interest of

[Shri Indradeep Sinha]

the country, please exercise greater vigilance inside the administration? Please keep away from all sorts of shady elements, particularly elements connected with the multi-nationals. Let us be assured that this is the last espionage scandal of this kind and that in future such foreign espionage network will not be allowed to operate in the highest organs of the State in our country. From this point of view I am rather disappointed with the Rashtrapati's Address. The Address was made on the 17th. The first arrest was made on the 18th; and according to press reports Government intelligence agencies were looking for those people for the last 9 or 10 months. So, why should Rashtrapati paint such a complacent picture when the danger is so real. So, I hope in future greater vigilance will be exercised. Not only popular vigilance but also official alertness. We can all cooperate in this task. We are all for the amity and security and the defence of the country.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सैयद रहमत अली) :  
सिंह साहब, आप का टाइम हो गया है।

श्री इन्द्रदीप सिंह : हुजूर, अभी एक प्वाइन्ट मैंने रखा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सैयद रहमत अली) :  
बहुत मुश्किल है। आपका अलाटेड टाइम हो गया। लिस्ट बड़ी लम्बी है।

एक मानवीय सदस्य : अभी हम लोग भी हैं।

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: Now Sir, about the other problems, I only want to raise a political point. A question has been raised: what does the opposition want? Cooperation or confrontation? We are not for confrontation. Even when Madam Indira Gandhi was alive, our party had several times made the offer that since on the question of foreign policy, of peace, non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and non-aligned countries, there is no difference between us on the question of unity and integrity of the country, there is no difference. On the question of the principle of secularism, there is no difference. So at least on these issues, let there be a national consensus. If some parties do not want to

join, well we cannot answer for them. So far as the Communist Party of India is concerned, we had stated previously, and I am reiterating it even today, that on these issues, we are fully prepared to cooperate with the Government, to have a national consensus among all the democratic and patriotic parties in the country. And let these issues be not made the basis of intra party controversies or of partisan politics. But coming to some of the domestic problems, problems concerning the people's livelihood, problems of the country's economic progress, problems of the functioning of parliamentary democracy in our country, we have our differences. And these differences cannot be resolved merely by denying them. These differences are real because they exist in life. And I am sorry I cannot agree with the observations made in the President's Address that the country's economic situation is very very rosy. Agricultural production has increased. Very good. But only last year, the council of economic advisers headed by Prof. Sukhomoy Chakraborty was reporting that in the vast rice belt of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Assam and Bihar, production is particularly low. And now we hear the talk of a second Green Revolution. Where has these second Green Revolution taken place? We should not try to mislead the people by painting a complacent picture.

During the Sixth Plan, it is claimed, the growth rate of the GDP has been more than the target, that is, 5.2 per cent. Well that is so only in comparison with 1979-80 which was one of the worst drought years of the century. On a long-term view, the growth rate is not above the trend rate, that is 3.5 per cent. Even taking the first four years of the Sixth Five Year Plan, it is not more than 4 per cent. Similarly, the Seventh Plan is not going to be fulfilled. Even the reduced allocation of the Plan, Rs. 110,000 crores, is not going to be spent. There are indications that there is going to be a shortfall of approximately Rs. 10,000 crores in this final year of the Plan and there is going to be a shortfall in important sectors like, coal, steel, electricity, cement, fertilizers and railways etc., I have no time to go into the details. The price situation is a little easy, but how? The

prices of industrial products have not fallen. The prices of minerals and fuel have not fallen. Only the prices of some of the agricultural products have fallen. So by depressing the prices of some of the agricultural products, the wholesale price index has come down a little. But even during the election campaign, the price of sugar went up by about a rupee per kilogram in the open market at the retail level.

The foreign exchange situation is particularly critical. Now, our trade deficit which was only less than Rs. 2500 crores in 1979-80, has risen to between Rs. 5500 and Rs. 5800 crores during the last four years and in the current year it may be anywhere between Rs. 5500 and Rs. 6000 crores. Coming to the foreign exchange position we are told exports have increased by 50 per cent. Yes, exports have increased by 50 per cent in terms of Indian Rupees but have not increased at all or increased very little in terms of U. S. Dollars. That is because the Dollar value of the Rupee has shrunk by about 50 per cent. So, in terms of Rupees it appears that exports have increased. Moreover, exports have somewhat increased because we are exporting some of our Bombay High crude which we ourselves cannot refine. In the case of foreign exchange our reserves are reported to be more than Rs. 5000 crores. But this is not the real picture because in this period we have drawn at least 3900 million SDRS, that is, more than Rs. 4000 crores, by way of the IMF loan. If we put that aside, then the reserves are not more than Rs. 2500 crores not enough even for two months foreign trade. Moreover, during 1985-86 the repayment of IMF loan begins. The net debt repayment liability last year was about Rs. 1000 crores or Rs. 950-odd crores. This Year it may go up to Rs. 2000 crores. Year after year the repayment liability is likely to go up. And U. S. President Reagan say and the World Bank and IMF officials say, India has now "graduated" as a loan seeker and, therefore, should take loans from the commercial market. That means, for paying the low interest loans taken earlier we have to contract new high interest loans.

That will slowly put our country's neck in a death trap.

Then coming to the Seventh Plan the position is very difficult. The resources gap estimated by the panel of economists was about Rs. 40,000 crores out of the targeted figure of Rs. 180,000 crores. Now Dr. Manmohan Singh says it is not 40, it is only 33,00 crores think this is only a marginal improvement or, may be, an improvement on paper. So, the economic situation is quite disquieting. And I don't agree with the complacent picture that has been painted in the Address. There is talk of poverty alleviation but there is not even a mention of land reforms. After 37 years of independence is it a matter of any credit for any Government that only half a per cent of the total cultivated land has been distributed and bulk of the land which should be legally surplus remains in the hands of the landlords? Even the small pockets of land that were allotted to the poor, to the Harijans, to the tribals, have been snatched away by marauding gangs and during the last five years the number of atrocities against Harijans, tribals and other weaker sections have been increasing.

Lastly, there is a mention of democracy. People have given a democratic verdict in favour of the Congress-I. We all bow our heads to it. We accept the people's verdict. Very good. But how is our democracy functioning? I have no doubt that Congress-I would have secured a majority in this election without resorting to any undemocratic practices. But unfortunately that was not done. I am too far away from you, Mr. Vice-President, to show to you—here we have evidence of booth capturing. This is Navbharat Times of 28th December showing ballot papers being stamped by one person—just one person. I will not name the constituency. Here is another picture of a minor boy aged about 12 or 14 years casting ballot papers in the box, and somebody is also stamping them...

श्री सुन्तान सिंह (हरियाणा) :  
वागपत का दिखा रहे हो क्या ?

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** Chau-dhary Saheb, this is in Bihar, Aurangabad. (Time bell rings). वागपत नहीं, यह बिहार का है।

Finally, here are ballot papers legally issued to voters and cast in favour of candidates and removed at the time of counting in Bihar and recovered from Polic Personnel.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL** (Uttar Pradesh): What has happened in Bengal and Karnataka?

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** Here is a duplicate ballot paper.....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सेयदरहमत अली):** मेरी गुजारिश भी जरा सुन लीजिए। मेरे पास 25 मेम्बर्स का नाम है, इसलिए मदखलत न हो और हम अपना फर्ज वक्त पर निभायें। जरा घड़ी की तरफ भी देखें..... (व्यवधान)

**श्री सत्यपाल मलिक (उत्तर प्रदेश):** श्रीमन् मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ कि जो कागजात अभी सदन के पटल पर पेश किये गये, नियम यह है कि उनको पेश करने के लिए आपसे इजाजत ली जाती है आपको दिखाये जाते हैं।  
..... (व्यवधान)

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** This is a duplicate ballot paper with numbers and everything on it and the counterfoil is also there. It is not torn.... (Interruption). I will pass it on to the Vice-Chairman so that he can look into it.

**SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA:** (Himachal Pradesh): Has this been brought to the notice of the concerned authorities?

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** Yes, madam, it has been reported to the authorities.

**SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA:** Then how is he in possession of these? It is illegal, if it is so. (Time bell ring).

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** I will finish in two minutes. In Patna Parliamentary constituency ballot boxes of thirty-one polling stations have not been counted. Because Ballot papers were

found stacked like currency notes. They were not inserted one by one by genuine voters. The boxes were opened and stamped ballot papers were stacked and put inside the box like washed cloths or currency notes. This has happened in a large scale. Even the directive of the Election Commission not to count such ballot papers was violated in all such—constituencies.

Now, I want to conclude with one observation. Such methods of rigging elections are not in the interests of the ruling party itself because it is a question of co-relation of forces. Where some other parties are in a majority they will do that. Where the ruling party is in majority, they will also do it. If rigging is done in this manner, what will happen to our Parliamentary democracy? These people want to defend our democracy, they want to preserve it and they want to save it. We have to stand firm and denounce these riggings and we should also demand basic amendments in the electoral law so that a system of proportional representation is introduced and minorities are not ruthlessly suppressed because of the vagaries of the electoral system.

**श्री रामचन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश):** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव सरकार दरबारा सिंह जी ने पेश किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कल से मैंने विरोधी दलों के अनेक लोगों के विचारों को बड़े ध्यानपूर्वक सुना है। अभी-अभी सिन्हा साहब जी बोल रहे थे, चुनाव वाली चर्चा की बात, तो मैं इसे मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ। मैं इन बातों को दूसरे तथ्य रूप में रख रहा हूँ क्योंकि मैं भी प्रैक्टिकल रूप से भक्तभोगी हूँ। क्योंकि उन्होंने षडयंत्र के खिलाफ सरकारी कर्मचारी और जनता को, नेताओं को जागृत करने की जो बात कही वह अपनी जगह सही है और जब तक यह नहीं होगा, राष्ट्रीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय षडयंत्र कैसे ही क्यों न हो, उनके प्रति हमारे देश की जनता भी सजग और सावधान न हो, सरकारी अधिकारी, कर्मचारी भी सजग और सावधान न हो,

राजनेता भी विभिन्न पार्टियों के सजग और सावधान न हों तब तक यह षड्यंत्र बढ़ता ही रहे कम नहीं होगा। जो कम करने का उपाय सिन्हा साहब ने बताया मैं उसके लिए उनका आभार मानता हूँ, वह अपनी जगह सही हैं। भाई वीरेन्द्र वर्मा जी मेरे अच्छे मित्र हैं। वह किसान के दिली हिमायती रहे हैं जीवन भर। किसानों के लिए जो उन्होंने मुझावत रखा है मैं उनसे अक्षरशः सहमत हूँ। राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी के बारे में जो उन्होंने अपना विचार रखा है, देश का गौरव बढ़ाने के लिये, मैं उनकी इस बात से भी अक्षरशः सहमत हूँ। लेकिन जो चुनाव की घटनायें उन्होंने पेश की उनसे मैं करीब-करीब सहमत नहीं हूँ। जो उन्होंने महंगाई और भ्रष्टाचार और जो दूसरे आंकड़े पेश किये हैं उनमें मैं इतनी देर भर तक मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ जितनी देर तक वह हमारे साथ से बाहर रहे हैं। जब तक हमारे साथ थे तब तक उनके वह भी भोगी हैं जिनका मैं हूँ। जब से वह हम से जुदा हो गये तब से महंगाई बढ़ी हो, भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ा हो, उनका हम दोष मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ।

वर्मा जी ने चुनाव के बारे में अपने एक जिले की दुखद घटना रखी। मैं उनको यह नहीं कहता कि वह गलत बयानी कर सकते हैं। मुजफ्फरनगर जिले की एक घटना है तो कुछ आतंकवादी लोगों ने भयभीत किया होगा, यह उनकी बात सही हो सकती है। मगर देश की समस्त जनता ने ऐसा फैसला लिया हो, इसमें मेरी भिन्न राय है। मैं इसमें क्षमा चाहूंगा। वर्मा जी तथ्यों को भी जानने की कोशिश करें। सौभाग्य से मुझे इस देश के कश्मीर में, गुजरात में, मध्य प्रदेश में, राजस्थान में, हरियाणा, य० पी० आदि सभी राज्यों में थोड़ा-थोड़ा जाने का मौका मिला। मैं सच्चाई से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की जनता बहुत महान है। जब-जब इस देश पर कोई संकट आया—आन्तरिक या बाहरी, इस देश की जनता एक जुट हो गई है। चाहे महात्मा गांधी का दुःखद अन्त हुआ हो गोली से, चाहे चीन

का हमला हुआ हो, चाहे पाकिस्तान के विभिन्न हमले हुये हों, चाहे इन्दिरा गांधी की निर्मम हत्या हुई हो, इस देश की जनता हमेशा एक जुट हो गई है संकट के सामने। इन्दिरा जी के दुखद अन्त से भी इस देश पर काले बादल छा गये। वह एक महान संकट था। इस देश की जनता, नेताओं से आगे चली गई है यह मैं निष्पक्ष कहने को तैयार हूँ। हमें भी मुशालता नहीं है कि उन्हें भी मुशालता नहीं होना चाहिये। देश की जनता ने यह फैसला किया कि देश अधिकांश में है इसलिए इस वक्त और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। वर्मा जी और वर्मा जी के नेता, विभिन्न पार्टियों के विरोधी दलों के नेता मिलने और बिछड़ने को तय नहीं कर पाये सारे समय। हमें बिछड़ना है या मिलना है यह तय नहीं कर पाये तो इस देश की जनता का क्या कसूर है। अब तो डेमोक्रेसी में, जनतंत्र में इतने विरोधी दल नहीं होने चाहिये। विचार-धारा के आधार पर विरोधी दल हो मैं उनका स्वागत करने को तैयार हूँ लेकिन आज पार्टियां किसी के नाराज होने पर बन गई, किसी के दूसरे कारणों के कारण से बन गई। ऐसी-ऐसी पार्टियां थी जिनका कोई देशव्यापी स्वरूप ही नहीं है। हमारे गांव के दो-तीन बच्चे मिल कर टर्नमिंट में खेला करते हैं, जैसे कबड्डी है, वालीबाल है। दो-तीन गांव के बच्चे मिल जाते हैं और आल इंडिया टर्नमिंट रख लेते हैं। ऐसी ही पार्टियां इन लोगों की हैं। न इनका कोई राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप है और न ही राज्य स्वरूप। मैंने अभी देखा राजीव गांधी जी का चुनाव क्षेत्र जो है उसमें हिनोना एक कस्बा है। वहां पर एक छप्पर में एक होटल खुला हुआ है। दो-चार इक्के-तांगे वाले ही वहां पर चाय पीते होंगे लेकिन नाम रखा हुआ है उसमें होटल वाले ने इन्टरनेशनल होटल। ऐसा ही इनकी पार्टी का स्वरूप है। न इसका राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप और न अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्वरूप, न इनका कोई प्रदेशीय स्वरूप है और न कोई क्षेत्रीय स्वरूप, कोई नाराज हो गया तो पार्टी बना ली और लीडर बन गया। मैं इनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये आपोजिशन के लोग डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर मजाक न करें। इस देश की जनता



[श्री राम चन्द्र विकल]

ने जो अपूर्व समर्थन राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व को दिया है उसके दो ही कारण हैं जो मैंने घूम-घूम कर जनता के बीच में पाया है। मैं इधर-उधर की बातें कहने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। एक ही बात कही थी कि इन्दिरा जी के दुखद अन्त के बाद देश में अंधेरा है। अब एक ही रास्ता है कि राजीव गांधी के हाथ मजबूत करें। राजीव गांधी देश की एकता का प्रतीक है। उनको राष्ट्रीय एकता का प्रतीक मानकर वोट दिया गया है। हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई सभी धर्मों के भाई-बहनों ने इस बात को समझा। मैंने देखा कि गरीब मां-बहनों ने रोते-रोते वोट डाला है। मैं उनकी भावनाओं को यहां पर कहां तक बयान करूं, मेरा सारा समय उसी में चला जाएगा। उन भावनाओं को प्रतीक मानकर हमको बहुमत मिला है। धर्मा जी ने जो आंकड़े दिये हैं उनकी वजह से ऐसा नहीं हुआ है। मैं गलत उदाहरण बार-बार पेश करने का हामी नहीं हूँ। गलत उदाहरण देश की जनता को अच्छी शिक्षा नहीं देते हैं, भावी पीढ़ी को अच्छी शिक्षा नहीं देते हैं। यह डेमोक्रेसी के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। सन 1980 में जब तक वर्मा जी हमारे साथ थे तो उनको यह पता होगा कि खेड़ों में मुझे बन्द कर दिया गया था, मुझे कंडीडेट को बन्द कर दिया गया था। वर्मा जी ने कहा कि चुनाव गोलियों से और अन्य हथकंडों से जीता गया... (व्यवधान) मुजफ्फरनगर के बारे में आपने यह बात कही है।

श्री वॉरेन वर्मा : मैंने ऐसा नहीं कहा...  
(व्यवधान)।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : मुजफ्फरनगर के चुनाव के बारे में आपने कहा है। आप अपनी स्पीच निकाल कर देख लीजिये... (व्यवधान)। अब आप मुझे कहने दें। आपकी अच्छी बातों का मैंने समर्थन किया अब आप खराब बात भी सुनियें, मेरी सच्ची बात को सुनियें। मैं आपको अपनी आप बीती सुनाता हूँ। सन 1980 में जब

चौधरी चरण सिंह जी प्राइम मिनिस्टर थे, तो खेड़ों के जैन कालेज में मुझे बन्द कर दिया गया था। मैं उस वक्त कंडीडेट था। मेरे साथियों को जब बाहर की हालत मालूम हुई कि अब मेरी यह दशा होने वाली है तो उन्होंने दरवाजा तोड़कर बाहर निकाला। बागपत में पोलिंग बूथस को कैपचर करके चुनाव जीते गये हैं। यह कैसे हो सकता है कि सीरियल नम्बर 1 से लेकर 500 तक एक साथ वोट डाल दिये जायें। सीरियल नं० 1 से 500 तक एक साथ वोट नहीं पड़ सकते हैं, वोटर कभी भी एक साथ नहीं आते हैं। इस बारे में आप हाई कोर्ट की रिपोर्ट पढ़ लीजिये, पोलिंग अधिकारियों की रिपोर्ट पढ़ लीजिये। जब पहले ही दिन डिव्ब भर दिये जायें तो इसको आप कैसी डेमोक्रेसी कहेंगे? क्या वर्मा जी इसको आज भी कंडम करते हैं? जब हमारे साथ वे तो कंडम करते थे। मुजफ्फरनगर में आतंकवादियों ने उनके साथ जो दुर्व्यवहार किया वह अच्छा नहीं किया। उनको इस बात को कंडम करना चाहिए कि अगर बूथस को कैपचर किया जाता है तो यह गलत है। इस संबंध में मैं इतनी ही बात कहना चाहता था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बाहरी शक्तियां इस देश के बढ़ते हुए गौरव को सहन नहीं कर सकती हैं, इस देश के वैभव को सहन नहीं कर सकती हैं। इन्दिरा जी का व्यक्तित्व जब सारी दुनिया में छा गया, वे 104 देशों की सभाध्यक्ष बन गईं तो अमेरिका, रूस, चीन के सामने कभी झुकी नहीं। उन्होंने हमेशा सच्चाई का समर्थन किया। उन्होंने हमेशा देश के स्वाभिमान को बनाये रखा। मुझे उस दिन की याद है जब वे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनीं थीं तो हमारे देश में अन्न का संकट छाया हुआ था। वे अमेरिका में गईं। अमेरिका के लोग अन्न के बदले में उनसे कुछ लिखवाना चाहते थे। लेकिन अमेरिका के अन्दर इन्दिरा जी ने अमेरिका के लोगों से कहा कि अन्न के बदले में मैं देश के स्वाभिमान को नहीं खरीद सकती हूँ। अपने देश के किसान, मजदूर, और गरीब लोगों से कहूंगी कि वे तब भी आधा पेट की अन्न खाकर जी

ले, लेकिन देश के स्वाभिमान को नहीं बेचा जाएगा। जब सिक्किम का सवाल आया तो तब भी उन्होंने यही रख अपनाया। सिक्किम के भारत में मिलाने को चीन और पाकिस्तान ने शलत कहा। इंदिरा जी ने कहा कि चीन तिब्बत को तलवार के बल पर गुलाम बनाये हुए है, उसको यह कहने का कोई हक नहीं है। यह बात उन्होंने देहरादून की एक मीटिंग में कही थी। उसी तरह स पाकिस्तान को भी कहा कि वह हुंजा को गुलाम बनाये हुए है, वहा पर डेमोक्रेसी नहीं है। उसको कोई हक नहीं है कि वह सिक्किम के बारे में कुछ कहे। राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सवालों पर इंदिरा जी ने इस देश की 70 करोड़ जनता के स्वाभिमान को हमेशा बढ़ाया। बाहरी ताकतें इन बातों को पसन्द नहीं करती थी। उसी पड़यंत्र का शिकार इंदिरा जी हो गईं। हम सभी लोग आज दुःखी हैं, विरोधी लोग भी दुःखी हैं, देश की जनता दुःखी है, इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी युवा वर्ग में वर्मा जी कुछ शिकायत कर रहे थे। वे हमारे युवा प्रधान मंत्री से क्या तत्वको करते हैं? उनको मालूम होना चाहिए कि इंदिरा गांधी की लाश तीन मूर्ति भवन में पड़ी हुई थी, मैं हिन्दू-सिख झगड़ों पर वाद में आऊंगा, हमारे युवा प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी मां की लाश को छोड़कर हिन्दू-सिखों के बीच एकता स्थापित करने के लिए दिल्ली की गलियों में रात के 1 बजे और 2 बजे तक घूम रहे थे। इससे बड़ी और क्या कर्त्तव्य-परायणता हो सकती है? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मैं तो कमजोर दिल का आदमी हूं, मैं तो ऐसी स्थिति में घर से बाहर भी नहीं निकल सकता। चाहे मेरे ताकत हो या न हो, लेकिन मां, पिता या भाई की मृत्यु पर मुझ में देश भक्ति होती है भी बाहर नहीं निकला जा सकता। राजीव गांधी ने साहस और हिम्मत के एक संकल्प का परिचय दे रखा है। देश की दुखद घड़ी के वक्त, देश के संकट के वक्त राजीव गांधी को कांटों का ताज मिला है वह संकल्प के तौर पर चल रहा है। वह दोहरा रहा है उस संकल्प को कि मैं 21वीं सदी में भारत को ले जाऊंगा लेकिन तरक्की के साथ। उन्होंने

यह जो पड़यंत्र हुआ उसका पर्दा फास किया है। इसमें प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी ने पहल की है। यह तो विरोधी दलों का काम था कि वह इस तरह के सुराख व बीमारी को दूढ़े। लेकिन पता नहीं इसमें वह किस तरह गफलत हो गये। विरोधी दलों का ऐसा काम है लेकिन वे इसमें भी फेल हो गये। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री हमारे युवा नेता ने पहल की है कि अष्टाचार और जो इस तरह का पड़यंत्र है उसका पर्दाफास करने की उन्होंने पहल की और बजाय उनको बढ़ाई देने के कह रहे हैं कि यह क्या हो गया वह क्या हो गया। अच्छे काम के लिए बढ़ाई दें तभी डेमोक्रेसी चलेगी। विरोधी दलों के सही सुझावों को सरकार माने और सरकार के सही कामों का विरोधी दल समर्थन करें तभी डेमोक्रेसी चल सकती है। अच्छे काम में भी खराबी और खराब काम में भी खराबी, यह कोई डेमोक्रेसी का तरीका नहीं है, यह मैं विरोधी दल के नेता से विनम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। विरोधी दलों के बारे में, मैं उनसे शिकायत नहीं कर रहा हूं, लेकिन वे नवदरीपाद के बयानों को पढ़ें कि वे क्या कह रहे हैं और विरोधी दलों के बारे में उनकी प्रतिक्रिया क्या है। मैं आज बढ़ाई दिये बगैर नहीं रह सकता मोरारजी देसाई को, जिन्होंने देश भक्ति के लिये अपना कदम उठाया। उनका बयान जनता के घर-घर में गया हुआ है कि इन्दिरा जी और गोली के बीच में काश में होता तो गोली के बीच में चला जाता और इन्दिरा जी को बचा लेता। मोरारजी देसाई के इस बयान ने देश की जनता के मानस को, हृदय को छू रखा है। अभी परसों उनका एक और बयान आया है। उन्होंने कहा है, विरोधी दलों के नेता यह न कहें कि किस की बात कर रहा हूं। मोरारजी देसाई प्रधान मंत्री रह चुके हैं और वे आजादी के पहले के वक्त के व्यक्ति हैं जिन्होंने बड़ी जिम्मेदारियां सम्भाली हैं। मोरारजी देसाई का बयान है कि राजीव जी काम कर रहा हैं उसके लिये उन्हें सहयोग देना चाहिए। परसों का अखबार आप पढ़ लें। वह भी विरोधी दल के नेता हैं। अगर विरोधी दल के लोगों को हमारी बात समझ नहीं आती तो व कम से कम मोरारजी देसाई की

[श्री राम चन्द्र विकल]

बात को समझ लें, उनकी बात सुनें कि उन्होंने क्या कहा है।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे सौभाग्य से इंटक की नई दिल्ली रेलवे स्टेशन की शाखा में जाने का मौका मिला। उस यूनियन के लोग आये कि हम आपको वहाँ ले जाना चाहते हैं। मैं किसी भी यूनियन में डर कर जाया करता हूँ क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि वे क्या-क्या करते हैं। मुकुल जी हमारे पुराने साथी हैं। जब ये यूनियन की तरफ से भूख हड़ताल करवाया करते थे तो मैं उनको तड़वाता था, कम्युनिस्ट हड़ताल को भी तड़वाया है। इंटक के मजदूर कार्यकर्ता मुझे नई दिल्ली स्टेशन पर ले गये करीब एक हफ्ते पहले। मुझे डर था कि पता नहीं क्या-क्या अपनी मांगें रखने वाले हैं। लेकिन मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ कि उन्होंने अपनी कोई मांग न रखते हुए एक प्रस्ताव पास किया कि राजीव गांधी को जिन चुनौतियों का सामना करने के लिये, देश को ठीक करने के लिये मौका दिया है, हम उसके लिये राजीव गांधी का समर्थन करते हैं। यह रेलवे यूनियन का प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है। इसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई दूंगा। आप मानें या न मानें लेकिन उनसे आपको सबक लेना चाहिए। आज हमें इस देश की जनता में इस भावना को भरना होगा कि अगर देश को इकट्ठा रखना है, देश को समृद्धिशाली बनाना है, इंदिरा जी के दुःखद अंत के बाद देश को बिखराव से बचाना है तो जैसा सिन्हा साहब कर रहे थे कि जनता को जागृत करना होगा, कार्यकर्ताओं को जागृत करना होगा, कर्मचारियों को जागृत करना होगा।

पंजाब का सवाल यहां उठा रहे हैं। मैं हिन्दू और सिखों को दो नहीं मानता हूँ। हमारी रिश्तेदारी सिखों में आज भी है। धर्म बदलने से हमारी तमाम चीजें नहीं बदल जाती हैं। बचपन में हम यह गा कर मारे लगाते थे कि :

गुरु तेगबहादुर त्यागी, गुरु गोविन्द और बीर बैरागी।

तेरे बालक बेदागी, दीवारों के बीच चिनाये।

उस समय यह होता था कि हर परिवार का ... (समय को घंटी) उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैंने अभी शुरू किया है, आप घंटी न बजाइये। इससे मुझे खतरा लगने लगता है। मुझे माफ करें मझे थोड़ी देर और बोलने दें। ... (व्यवधान) ... मेरे जो मन में बात आती हैं उसको कहने से मैं नहीं सकता। हर परिवार में एक शिष्य गुरु को भेंट होता था देश की रक्षा और धर्म की रक्षा के लिये और उस शिष्य का नाम बिगड़ कर सिख हो गया है। यह किस तरह से बाहरी षड्यंत्र का शिकार हुआ, यह एक बहुत लम्बी कहानी है। इन्दिरा जी का मर्डर भी सिख भाइयों से करा कर षड्यंत्रकारी सफल हो गये और इससे हिन्दू सिख की भावना ज्यादा भड़क गई। यों तो लाला जगत नारायण की मृत्यु के बाद से यह फ्रेक्शन शुरू हो गया था और पंजाब में हिन्दू सिख जिस तरह से घृणा कर बैठे और इन्दिरा जी की मौत के बाद जिस तरह से घृणा हो गई यह दुःखद है इसको जल्दी से जल्दी प्रेम में बदला जाए। मैं यह आज नहीं कह रहा हूँ। सुलतान सिंह जी मौजूद थे करनाल में हमारी एक किताब कांफ्रेंस हुई थी। लाला जगत नारायण की हत्या के बाद यह अगड़ा बढ़ा मैं छोटे-छोटे प्रान्तों का हामी रहा हूँ। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के बंटवारे का हामी रहा हूँ वर्मा जी भी थे और वर्मा जी जानते हैं। लेकिन प्रशासनिक आर्थिक दृष्टि से भाषायी और धर्म के आधार पर मैं प्रान्तों के बंटवारे का विरोधी रहा हूँ और आज भी विरोधी हूँ। मैंने तो करनाल में कहा था जो अब चौधरी भजन लाल जी कह रहे हैं। एक ही हल है पंजाब, हरियाणा तथा हिमाचल को एक कर दिया जाए। चण्डीगढ़ बीच में पड़ता है और यह राजधानी बनी रह जाए तो अच्छा रहेगा। अब मैं राजनीतिक मामले के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं अपनी पार्टी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। दिल्ली में अकेले गुरुमुख निहाल सिंह मੈम्बर थे जिनको मेरी पार्टी ने स्पीकर बनाया और बाद में जब चौधरी ब्रह्म प्रकाश हटे तो अकेले सिख मੈम्बर को चीफ मिनिस्टर बना दिया दिल्ली में

मेरी पार्टी सेकुलर है। मेरी पार्टी में माइनार्टीज के लिए ज्यादा आदर है और दिल्ली के मेयर भी सिख हैं साथी जी, बम्बई में भी मेयर सिख हैं। मैं यह भी गिना सकता हूँ कि कितने सिख गवर्नर बनाए हैं। हमारे स्पीकर हुसम सिंह भी सिख थे। मैं इस प्रकार के अनेक उदाहरण दे सकता हूँ। सिख और हिन्दू का कोई फर्क नहीं है और न हमने कभी सोचा लेकिन प्रशासनिक और आर्थिक दृष्टि से जरूरी है कि अब राज्यों का थोड़ा सा पुनरावलोकन हो उनके गठन पर हम फिर विचार करें। इन्होंने कुछ मण्डल आयोग की बात भी उठाई थी। मैं बहुत तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ बर्मा जी भी जानते हैं दक्षिण भारत में हर राज्य में जो रिजर्वेशन है वह कांग्रेस पार्टी की दी हुई है। अभी-अभी मध्य प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने घोषणा कर दी है। गुजरात के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने की है। हरियाणा के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कमीशन बैठा कर उसकी रूप रेखा बना ली है। मण्डल आयोग पर मैं नहीं जाऊंगा हम तो अपने आप ही कर रहे हैं बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिए, बर्मा जी आप इसमें हमारी थोड़ी मदद कर दें जहां कहीं नहीं हुआ है वहां हम लड़ रहे हैं। राजस्थान में नहीं हुआ है वहां हम लड़ रहे हैं। पिछड़ी जातियों की फ्रिक् जितनी बर्मा जी को है हमें भी उतनी है। पिछड़ी जातियों का समर्थन इस बार किसी और नेता को नहीं गया है, जो इस मुगलता में थे उनका मुगलता दूर हो गया है। अब तो पिछड़ी जातियों का समर्थन राजीव गांधी को मिला है। आप चाहे स्लोगन कुछ भी दे लो। मण्डल आयोग का आप कितने दिन ढोल बजाते रहे आपने ही बनाया और आपने ही ढाले रखा। हम तो बिना मण्डल आयोग के बैकवर्ड क्लासेज की मदद कर रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री बोरेंद्र वर्मा : रिपोर्ट तो अब आई है (व्यवधान)

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : रिपोर्ट तो तभी गई थी। (व्यवधान) बूढ़े और जवान परिभाषा बहुत तेजी से चल रही है। बूढ़े और जवान दोनों का मुगलता

दूर कर दें। जवान मेरी परिभाषा के अनुसार वह है जिसमें उत्साह है, उमंग है। जिस मनुष्य में उत्साह और उमंग है वह बूढ़ा नहीं है। यह मेरी बूढ़े और जवान की परिभाषा है इससे दोनों का मुगलता दूर हो जाना चाहिए। बूढ़े और जवान दोनों मिल जुल कर काम करें इस देश के लिए।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री संतोष कुमार साह पीठासीन हुए।

दल-बदल विधेयक की तो अपोजीशन की मांग थी। बहुत पुरानी मांग थी। अब उसको हम कर रहे हैं तथा हर तरफ से इसका स्वागत होना चाहिये। अब थोड़ा सा चूँ चरा कर के बहाना ढूँढ रहे हैं कुछ लोग, वह बहाना चलने वाला नहीं है। यह तो राजीव गांधी ने कर दिया है अब तो यह पास होगा। मुझे मालूम है वह घटना मेरी पार्टी ने उदाहरण पेश किया। हाफिज इब्राहीम जब कांग्रेस पार्टी में आए तो वे चुनाव लड़ कर आए। दूसरा उदाहरण बहुगुणा जी ने पेश किया। हमारी पार्टी के सिम्बल पर चुनाव लड़ कर आए और जब छोड़ना पड़ा तो फिर जनता के सामने गये। यह जो दल बदल लेने है वह नेताओं के साथ विश्वासघात, पार्टियों के साथ विश्वासघात, प्रोग्रामों के साथ विश्वासघात, जनता के साथ विश्वासघात करते हैं। ऐसे विश्वासघाती साधनों पर रोक लगाने के लिए जितनी जल्दी विधेयक पास कर दें मैं उसका स्वागत करूंगा और हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोगों को भी इसका समर्थन करना चाहिए।

मैं एक दो बातें किसानों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ मैं तो किसान को अन्नदाता, वस्त्रदाता, फलदाता, मलाई-दाता, मक्खनदाता, गुड़दाता, शक्करदाता, ममालेदाता सब कुछ कहता हूँ। प्राण शास्त्रियों की बात मानें तो मैं उसको प्राण दाता भी कहता हूँ किसान प्राणदाता भी है। मैं सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों के लिए सिंचाई की व्यवस्था अधिक से अधिक होनी चाहिये और सस्ती होनी चाहिये। बीज और खाद सस्ती और अच्छे होने चाहिये। मिट्टी का परीक्षण वैज्ञानिक ढंग से किसान थोड़ा सा सीख लगा है लेकिन अभी मिट्टी का परीक्षण

गांव-गांव तक नहीं गया है। जिला हैडक्वार्टरज पर नमूने की चीजें हैं लेकिन गांवों तक इसको पहुंचाया जाए। मिट्टी का परीक्षण भी हो जिससे समझा जाये कि इस मिट्टी में कौन सी खाद डालनी है, कौन सा बीज डालना है, कितनी सिंचाई से काम चल जायेगा। ये सारे वैज्ञानिक तरीके किसान के खेत और खलिहान तक पहुंचाये जायें। फसलों का और मवेशियों का बीमा, किसानों की बहुत दिनों से यह एक आवाज गूंज रही है, इस पर अमल नहीं किया जा रहा है न राज्य सरकारों की ओर से न केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से। केन्द्र सरकार को तेजी से फसल और मवेशियों के बीमे पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। समय पर सस्ते ऋण हो। ऋणों की कठिनाई है। वित्त मंत्री जी है नहीं चले गये हैं। तो किसानों को ऋणों की कठिनाइयों नहीं होनी चाहिए। मवेशियों का ऋण देंगे तो रोहतक बैंक वाले कमीशन लेने चले जायेंगे। मवेशी के दाम हैं तीन हजार रुपये लेकिन बिकवाते हैं पांच हजार रुपये में तो यह जो कमीशन बाजी चल रही है यह बंद होनी चाहिए। ये ऋण सस्ते और सुलभ होने चाहिए।

**उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री मनमोहन कुमार राहू) :**  
खत्म कीजिए, टाइम हो गया।

**श्री कल्याणराय राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
बोलने दीजिए।

**श्री रानचन्द्र विकल :** एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं जैसे कि सिन्हा साहब ने भी कहा कि हमारे कुछ कर्तव्य हैं। मैं टैगोर का एक उदाहरण देकर समाप्त कर दंगा जब अस्तावल हो चला तो सूर्य ने चन्द्रमा से कहा तुम आओ और मेरी जगह रोशनी करो। चन्द्रमा ने कहा महाराज मेरी ताकत इतनी नहीं है। चन्द्रमा ने मना कर दिया। एक छोटा सा चिराग, दिया आ गया उससे भी कहा तुम रोशनी करो। उस विराग ने यह कहा महाराज मेरी जितनी शक्ति है, जब तक तेल और बत्ती मेरे अंदर रहेगी। मैं जलता रहूंगा। चाहे मेरा प्रकाश थोड़ा जगह में हो लेकिन मैं जलता रहूंगा। तो हम हर एक देश के नागरिक, चाहे वे विधायक हो, जनता

रकारी अफसर हों, नेता हो, अपनी अपनी जगह पर जितना विकास कर सकते हैं करें, हम दियें की तरह जलते रहें तभी देश इकट्ठा रह सकता है, समझ हो सकता है, खुशहाल हो सकता है।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूं।

**PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise today to speak with mixed feelings. While we welcome some of the aspects in the President's Address, we, at the same time feel, regret; that certain very important aspects have not at all been mentioned in the President's Address.

In the first instance, we are happy that the Government have recognised the need for an Anti-Defection Bill. They want a healthy political system. We welcome this because we have ourselves made it an important aspect of our election manifesto. It is also very ironical that the very abettors in the defection drama of in Andhra Pradesh, in Jammu and Kashmir, in Haryana and in Himachal Pradesh, are today very eager and over-enthusiastic in bringing forward the Anti-Defection Bill. Perhaps, it is pinching them now. Perhaps, the party in power own realises that they could be the victims of this defection game. Therefore, they are very eager. Be that as it may; whatever may be the reason for which the ruling party wants to get this Bill passed. We, the Members belonging to the Telugu Desam, who had been the victims of the machinations of this very ruling party itself because it is a question your aiding...

**AN HON. MEMBER:** By your own Party members.

**PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA:** by supporting, by giving illegal support, to the defectors who indulged in this toppling game. Now, there is no need for anybody to say anything about it. It is the People of the Andhra Pradesh, who spoke as one man, with one voice, who compelled the then Union Government and

the ruling party to make amendments and to see that justice was done to the Telugu Desam Party. I do not stand today at anybody's mercy. I represent a ruling party which has got the mandate of the people of our chosen area as massively as possible and much as the Congress Party could blast itself off. Therefore, I am not standing today at anybody's mercy, but on my own right as a representative of a party which has won the affection of the people and which has demonstrated this not once, but thrice in a period of twenty months. Therefore, Gentlemen, I do not want your Sympathies, I want your consideration. As I was mentioning, whatever may be the reasons for which you want the anti-defection Bill, we have whole-hearted support for it. We want the anti-defection Bill to come into existence as soon as possible so that the sordid drama which took place in these States will not happen again, even at the cost of the Congress Party. Therefore, I welcome the effort being made by the youthful Prime Minister and the ruling party for bringing forward the anti-defection Bill. But while passing or rushing through the anti-defection Bill, it must be made very clear as to how each one of the clauses will have an impact over the course of history. I caution the ruling party in particular to see that all precautions in framing and in passing the anti-defection Bill be taken so that there is no unhealthy trend of defecting or toppling the government in the years to come, so that it makes the public life really clean as it ought to be and as is being claimed to be by the ruling party for the first time.

Secondly, Sir, the Presidential Address also talks of clean public life. In fact, I would like to take this opportunity to stress that this was our sacred goal in our own manifesto and I quote:

"To bring about without any further delay in order to have clean public life the much needed electoral reforms."

I do not want to go into the details regarding rigging, booth capturing and so forth because they read us nowhere. It is a fact that there had been booth capturing. It is a fact that there had been poll rigging. It is a fact that there had been immense use of money power. It is

a fact that official machinery has been used for election purposes. There is enough evidence for it, let us not go into details as to who did it or who was responsible for this. But it is an established fact that all these things that have been mentioned did happen in the recent elections and in the elections held in the past. Therefore, today there is a need to think in terms of electoral reforms in such a way that there will be real clean public life in this country. I will quote an agency with regard to the amount in terms of rupees that has been spent in the elections. In 1952 it was approximately 104 millions, in 1957 it was about 59 millions, in 1962 it was about 73 millions, in 1967 it was 109 millions, in 1971 it was 144 millions, in 1977 it was 298 millions and by the time it came to 1980 it was 559 millions. In the recent elections the estimate is anywhere near a billion. If that is the case, if that is the expenditure involved in conducting elections, I think there is need for a heart search on the part of authorities, on the part of democracy-loving people of this country. There is a need to think in terms of an election procedure, an election process which will not involve waste of public funds to this huge extent.

In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions on behalf of the Telugu Desam Party for the consideration of the ruling party which always says that the opposition should be constructive, opposition should come forth with suggestion, opposition should be cooperative, opposition should not indulge in confrontation and so on and so forth. Here are the suggestions. I throw a challenge. Will you consider these suggestions and see that they are implemented to give clean public life which is an avowed goal of the ruling party and also of all the opposition parties in this country?

Firstly, are you prepared to consider the creation of an effective independent multi-member Election Commission? After all, the system as it is obtaining with a single member Election Commission which is under the pressure, is not able sometimes to deliver goods.

[Prof. C. Lakshmanna]

Therefore, are you prepared to consider a suggestion being offered by us to have an effective, independent, multi-member Election Commission? I think that will be one step further in creating conditions where the elections can become clean, elections can become purposive and useful. This is for your consideration.

Secondly, can we make a law eliminating the use of authority and official machinery by the ruling party. When I am saying "ruling party", I am not necessarily throwing the entire onus on the ruling party here alone. You are not the only ruling party in this country. There are other parties also in power elsewhere. Therefore when I say that official machinery should not be used by the ruling party in the elections, it is meant for any party which is in power. Are you prepared to make such a law? I can say that in course of time when the wrong shoe will pinch you, you will come back and say: "we will have a rule like this", as you are doing for the Anti-Defection Bill today. Therefore instead of waiting for that time, are you prepared to have such a law passed?

Thirdly, we have been talking about poll rigging, about booth capturing. Are you prepared to make them cognizable offences? Whosoever does it, whosoever may be the individual, whosoever may be the party, whosoever may be the group which indulges in booth capturing, in poll rigging, if they are made cognizable offences, at least it will be a deterrent. So are you prepared to do it? Why don't you come forward with a legislation to do that?

And finally, in view of the mounting expenditure in elections, there is no alternative unless you want to make the election a prerogative of the rich and privileged and very influential people in the society. If the common man, if the middle-class man, if

the ordinary citizen has to become an effective participant and partner in the democratic process in this country, it is possible only when the election expenditure is reduced. Therefore will you come forward with a suggestion, or agree to the suggestion that a substantial part of the expenditure should be borne by the Government? If you are serious that there should be a participative style of democracy in this country, then there should be no difficulty in agreeing to this suggestion.

So, Sir, I am throwing these suggestions for their consideration.

Then there has been a reference in the Presidential Address about Women. It has been in the same fashion, in the same eulogising, idealising terminology of "Grahini, Grahlakshmi" and so on and so forth. Beyond that we have not gone one step further. I am making suggestions. Are you prepared to go ahead with them?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please conclude within two minutes.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Sir, it will be impossible for me. I have not even started. There had been people who talked for...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): The time allotted is 11 minutes. You have covered that. You try to conclude now.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: If it is only just fulfilling an obligation that each party should speak, then of course I will sit and I do not have anything further to say.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please try to conclude within four-five minutes.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I shall try to conclude as soon as possible.

So, I was suggesting that these are the programmes which have already been implemented, programmes which have got the tacit approval, direct approval of the people of Andhra Pradesh. Even the High Court of Andhra Pradesh has approved them. Therefore will you consider these measures as an all-India phenomenon and get through legislation, either centrally or through the States where you are ruling?

One, 30 per cent reservation in jobs for women to encourage women in responsible positions;

Two, equal share in property for women;

Three, whenever household pattas etc. are given, they should be registered only in the name of women and not men;

Four, widow pension;

Five, educational opportunities for women, for instance by establishing polytechnics, universities and vocational colleges for women.

4.00 P.M.

Are you prepared to take these suggestions in terms of development of women instead of talking in terms of...

SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER (Orissa): It is impossible. Andhra Pradesh has become...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: The people of Andhra Pradesh are wise and intelligent as the people of whole India are, and they have exercised their option with a massive mandate, a mandate even larger than that of the Congress... (Interruptions)... I do not want to listen as you are not prepared to listen to the criticism of your party or your leader. (Interruptions). After five years Congress also will not exist if it is only a question of politics. I am prepared to

enter into it.... (Interruptions). please stop it.

Now coming to the new educational policy, Sir, education today has been receiving very meagre allocation. I offer a suggestion. Will the Government be prepared to set aside five per cent of the gross national product for education? If that is done, compulsory primary and secondary education for girls and boys, vocational education and improvement in the educational structure can be easily brought about. Unless that is done there is no point in talking about educational reforms, a new educational policy and so forth. Therefore, a new educational policy will become meaningful only when we are prepared to increase the allocation for education in the immediate future. Otherwise let us not talk about it. Either we have to recognise low priority or high priority. If high priority has to be recognised, it has to be recognised with adequate backing of funds. Otherwise there is no point in talking about a new educational policy.

Sir, we are very often ornamental in our approaches. There is a Central Advisory Board of Education. This is supposed to consist of top administrators, executives, educationists, etc., and it has not met for a year and half now. Letters written by this Member to the Education Minister fell on deaf ears. Not a single meeting was convened. How can you think of evolving a national education policy when you are not prepared to discuss with people who matter in this? Therefore, if we are interested in really bringing about that needed change, I think that has to be done on the basis of deliberation, discussion and thorough examination of the issues, involving those who have knowledge and which is the composition, in a way, of the Central Advisory Broad of Education.

Sir, talking about industrial growth, there was occasion earlier, in this very House, when I asked about the



[Prof. C. Lakshmanna]

sick industries, about industrial growth, etc., etc. Also one of my colleagues asked whether it was a fact that India has slumped from 10th position as industrial nation to a lower position. But the then Minister of State for Industry only evaded the question; he did not answer properly. I think that gives a clue as to what is the soundness of the industrial policy of this country. Further, Sir, even in this regard I would like to offer a suggestion on behalf of the Telugu Desam party. We are convinced that unless industries are located at the village level, at the taluka level—which we call, at a smaller level, the mandal level—there is no solution for problem of unemployment, for the purpose of removing regional imbalances in the country. Therefore, I ask the Union Government and the party in power whether they are prepared to formulate an industrial policy which will, while giving importance to the large industry in the public sector, will also go ahead with the establishment of medium and small-scale and cottage industries at the mandal or firka and village levels. If that is not done I am not sure that the industrial policy will become meaningful in the years to come.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please try to conclude.

SHRI PRAVATHANENI UPENDRA: He is a professor. He cannot complete before forty-five minutes.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Sir, the position of unemployment among the educated and the uneducated continues to be the same. If any, the position to be the same. If any, the position has become worse. And if this is coupled with the increasing number in absolute numbers, all those who are below the poverty line the graveness of the picture of this country of the

destitute and poor in penury will come forward. Therefore, will the Government take this into consideration. Will the Government be able to do something to till these people, who are unemployed, who are educated unemployed, who are below the poverty line, to come up and become active participants in the National Reconstruction Programme. If that is to happen, there has to be a new employment policy by the new Central Government, in the immediate future, so that the youth in whose name, we are all trying to talk all the while will have some confidence in their career. These are some of the points which have been mentioned, but unfortunately, there are points which the Presidential Address completely omits. The first one is that several State Governments have been trying to impress upon the Union Government the need for a change in the Centre-State relations. They have been trying to impress upon the fact unless there are strong States, you cannot think of a strong Centre. Therefore, I would like to ask the Union Government to spell out as to what steps will they take in order to create strong States and at the same time paving the way for a strong Centre. Because only on the strength of strong States can there be a strong Centre. Perhaps, the Union Government may say we have appointed the Sarkaria Commission and therefore we can wait for the findings. But will the Union Government come forward and draw a time-schedule for implementing those programmes that may be suggested by the Sarkaria Commission should also expedite its report so that the heart-burning which is there on the part of certain States would not be there in future. Because that is substantive, especially in the question of financial relations for 70 per cent of the resources raised in public domain are reserved for Union Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now, please conclude.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Yes, I will conclude. Only 30 per cent is allocated for all the States. This has been earlier raised in this House and, therefore, I request that there has to be a deeply considered policy of reversing the process and amending the injustice that have been perpetuated on the States so far.

Then, Sir, in this connection, I have got a few suggestions to make. Let them consider. One is the proceeds of the corporation tax and surcharge on income-tax should be included in the divisive pool. Then the scheme of administrative duties of excise shall be abolished. 50 per cent of the yield earned in every increase in the administered prices shall be given to the States. The royalty payable to the States for their natural resources shall be made on *ad-valorem* basis in consultation with the States. These are some of the suggestions which I offer to the Union Government in order to bring about better financial relations between States and the Union.

Sir, there have been several projects which need to be undertaken in this country. I would only illustrate the example of Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh has been one of the States which has been producing foodgrains more than what it needs. It has been producing foodgrains in surplus. At the same time, there is river Krishna. There is river Godavari. There are other rivers in Andhra Pradesh whose irrigation potential could be used, if certain irrigation projects and power projects like Ichampalli, Polavaram, Vamsadhara and so on and so forth are taken up. But unfortunately these projects have huge outlays and with the meagre financial resources at the disposal of the State, it will be a great strain on the State to undertake these river projects. Therefore, will the Union Government consider the possibility of taking up such projects as national projects? What I am suggesting is not new. Even earlier there had

been instances when river valley projects have been taken up national projects. I am having in mind Bhakhra Nangal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): You can make these points at some other time. Please conclude now.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Therefore, I am suggesting to the Union Government that they should take up immediately a national projects policy and then try to help the States in completing such projects which will contribute to the development of the country as a whole, not necessarily to the development of the States where they are located.

Finally, Sir, about the law and order situation the security problem, there was a lot of discussion. What precise policies will be laid down by the Union Government at the party in power to meet such contingent situations as the assassination of our beloved Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the subsequent events that took place in Delhi and elsewhere, and the recent espionage scandal? Therefore, it is high time that the Union Government spelt out the various measures by which the law and order situation and the security situation in the country can be safeguarded. There are several other things on which I can talk, but because of the time constraint, I conclude. Thank you for the opportunity given to me.

SHRI JAGANNATH SITARAM AKARTE (Maharashtra): Hon. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. Indeed it is a pleasure to find that the Address of the President promises a clean and efficient administration. The point is, is it humanly possible for any Government in the world to offer a clean and efficient administration without eliminating the evil of drink? So long as Government servants drink, Secretaries drink, all others drink, it is impossible to eliminate corruption be-

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cause drink and corruption are close companions. It is impossible that a drunkard can be honest. This is the opinion of the Father of the Nation. I will read it out. Gandhiji said;

"It is very important for everybody concerned, for the Government, the public, the administration Ministers, Prime Minister, everybody."

The Father of the Nation says:

"Drinks and drugs degrade those who are addicted to them and those who traffic in them."

Gandhiji says that a Government traffics in drinks when it collects revenue on them and conducts administration on the strength of that revenue.

"The drunkard forgets . . . ."  
This is very important. Here is the most sacred man who is saying this, which cannot be challenged.

"The drunkard forgets the distinction between a wife, mother and sister and indulges in crimes, of which, in his sober moments, he will be ashamed."

This is how drink degrades a man. And with liquor spreading like wild fire in the country, the Government promises to give us a clean and efficient administration!

The Government appointed a committee presided over by Justice Tek Chand. He has given his opinion about this. In fact, the opinion of the Father of the Nation would be enough. But the Planning Commission appointed a committee to investigate into the operation of the excise policy and that committee, presided over by Justice Tek Chand, says :

"By nomenclature, ours is a welfare State. But 62 per cent of needy children are in the class of want and destitution because of their drinking parents. In 75 per cent of the cases, alcohol has been found to be responsible for cracks in the domestic life."

In other cases alcohol is not only a purse snatcher but also a home breaker. This is the opinion of the president of that committee. About other countries also Justice Tek Chand says : "In other countries where statistics are reliably maintained there is found to be a direct relation between drinking and crime. At a survey taken of 4882 families in an American town 72 per cent of the offenders were under the influence of alcohol and they committed major crimes. In the city of San Francisco alone 7 out of 10 crimes involved the use of alcohol and half of their annual arrests are for drunkenness. The picture of most parts of our country is not very different. In certain areas notorious for major crimes it is even a little worse. Alcohol figures in the commission of murders, robberies, grievous assaults and violent crimes against the honour of women besides brutality towards children." This is the opinion of Justice Tek Chand Committee. Under the circumstances what is the policy of our Government? I will quote the words of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri Yogenra Makwana, last year on the floor of the House. There was an incident about which he said: "This incident took place because of the non-availability of liquor. The crime took place because liquor was not available: its price and also due to lack of education; also because some watch drinks come from neighbouring States and because of the use of denatured spirit", etc. etc. "These were the things which were to be looked into. The Government had taken certain measures in this respect"—This is the policy of the Government—"So far as the price was concerned, the Government had

tagged the price lowest in comparison with the price prevalent in the neighbouring State. In Delhi so far as the availability of liquor was concerned, there were seven liquor vending shops in Delhi and two more were proposed to be opened in the near future so that liquor might be available everywhere." This is the policy of the Government. And we claim to be the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi. This is what Gandhiji says to Makwana. Gandhiji sent a letter to which he has not replied. "Congressmen have learnt to count no cost before gaining freedom. Our freedom will be the freedom of slaves if we continue to be victims of drinking and drug traffic. Is any cost too much to establish complete prohibition in all the provisions. This is the reply given by the Father of the Nation to this Government. I will not take much time of the House. But it is very important. What does the Tek Chand Commission say? If the Government is not prepared, it would be betrayal to the poorest classes. Because 48 per cent of our people are below poverty line. If they drink, they will be robbing their children of their education, clothes, food and everything. Let us remember one thing about drinking. Drinking does not affect the rich people equally. It affects the rich classes only so far as their comforts are concerned. It affects the middle class so far as conveniences are concerned. It affects the poorest classes so much that it acts as position. It robs them of their purchasing power, it robs them of their food, clothes and education and medical treatment for their children. So long as poor man drinks, it is impossible for him to maintain his family. You get hold of a rickshaw wallah and give him Rs. 10/- He spends Rs. 5/- on drink. Now a poor man who spends 50 per cent of his earnings on drink, cannot maintain his family or give food, clothes and medicines to his children. Impossible. In the absence of prohibition all talk of improving the lot of the poor people is sheer perversity. It

will be like the tearing the back of a poor man at the bottom, and putting money into it. If you allow him to drink, no amount of financial help can improve his lot. On the one hand, you are puncturing the tube and on the other you are pumping air into it. Can you inflate the tube when you are simultaneously puncturing it? Impossible. So, all this talk of improving the lot of poor people is nonsense and insincere so long as he is allowed to drink this poison.

**SHRI SURESH KALMADI** (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we meet today after the ruling party has received a massive mandate. I do not know if they will be receptive to what we have to say from the opposition benches when they are still high up in the clouds. They conducted the poll and it was definitely a massive mandate due to the sad assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. That issue was uppermost in the minds of the voters. And they voted for you. It happened in the United States. After the assassination of Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Johnsons came to power with a massive mandate. In our country, it was also due to money power. It was money power the extent of which we have never witnessed before. It was massive. It was also due to the massive misuse of the media. That also helped in the process. Still, the electorate has given a verdict. And we from the opposition respect it. But we will continue to function as an alert opposition. We shall certainly and definitely give the Government a chance. They want to provide a clean Government. Yes, when they show such virtues, we will support them. It shall not be opposition for opposition's sake.

This is a very short session lasting hardly a week. We last met on the 27th August. And after we will meet, after the State Assembly elections are over, round about the 10th March. In the absence of winter session, for about six months there has been no

[Shri Jagannath Sitaram Akaste] session. Why not this session continue for at least three weeks—I do not know. Probably, the ruling party is in a hurry to have the Assembly elections as quickly as possible. Before the wave subsides, the people might state deciding on issues.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Are you afraid?

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: No; we are not. There are such urgent issues to be discussed in the House as the Bhopal tragedy and so on. The Bhopal tragedy was here to be discussed. But we could only discuss it in the form of a statement and clarifications. There were a few railway accidents. There was the issue of rigging in the recent parliamentary poll. Definitely, Sir, I would like to mention, with the Assembly elections coming, the massive use of helicopters by the ruling party and the total denial of helicopters and such other aids to the Opposition which is a definite handicap to us.

Sir, in my State, we asked for a helicopter and we searched for a helicopter and we could not get it. Finally, we got one helicopter. But that was not allowed to take off because it had been given a certificate for grounding and as such, at the last minute, we were denied the use of it. This is the sort of malpractice which is resorted to by the ruling party and I sincerely hope that in the coming Assembly elections, such tactics will not be adopted by the 'clean' Government.

Sir, I would like to start with Defence. The Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. Vaidya—we are happy to note that the Defence Minister is here at the moment—has said in one of his speeches that the army should not be called in for duties other than the duty of looking after the borders. Sir, you kindly see the record. In 1982-83, the army was called in on 747 occasions—850 times for internal security, 137 times for relief operations and 39 times for the maintenance of essential

services. This was in 1982-83. With regard to 1984, of course, you are aware. It was an all-time record. I hope it would not be used in future because definitely it has got an impact on the morale of the troops and it has an impact on the morale of the police also who are supposed to do all those duties. Therefore, Sir, I hope that in future the military will not be called in for minor law and order problems.

Sir, I am also concerned about the service conditions of the armed forces personnel. During the last five years, above and beyond their duty they have had to do all sorts of duties including the duty at the ASIAD. But nobody ever thought of their service conditions. Their salaries have gone up only slightly. I think just a year or so ago they announced certain amounts which amounted to Rs. 32 crores for the armed forces numbering about one million which is absolutely negligible. The Pay Commission is there. But I do not think that this Pay Commission will do justice to the armed forces personnel. I demand that there should be a special Pay Commission for the armed forces personnel and then definitely justice will be done. Otherwise, Sir, what will happen is this: You are aware that on the one side we are getting more and more sophisticated equipment, we are getting Mirage aircraft, we are getting the Canberras etc., we are getting sophisticated tanks and we are getting sophisticated ships and, on the other side, the input is going down and the quality of the people is not good enough and, therefore, there is a need to bring to the cream of youth into the armed forces. You are aware that in Pakistan, today, the cream of the youth is entering the armed forces though it might be for various reasons. Their morale is very high and their salary is double the salary of the armed forces personnel in this country and, so, definitely, Sir, they should be given better service conditions in the arm-

ed forces. Also, adequate attention is not being paid to the ex-Servicemen. Every hour six people are retiring. 150 people are retiring every day and 55,000 people from the armed forces are retiring every year in the age group of 28—33. And, Sir, if the people are not properly utilised, I can warn you that they will be the cause of a lot of law and order problem. We have seen this thing in Punjab. This could spread all over the country. So, it is the warning that I would like to give. These ex-Servicemen should be utilised and they must be given job opportunities and this is a must. Also, Sir, we have been talking about it for some time and definitely after the recent espionage case. I would like to draw the attention of the Defence Minister to the fact that all armed personnel, may be even a Major General, have to go and meet the Joint Secretary who is a civilian. That is not all. The Chief of the Armed Forces and various forces and highranking officers can report only to the Secretary in charge of Defence or the Defence Minister himself, but not to lower ranks. If at all they have to go through the lower ranks such as Joint Secretary, then the post of a Joint Secretary should be given to the service personnel after they have retired. This is one thing which must be implemented in case secrecy has to be maintained at all levels.

Now, various defence lobbies in the countries are selling various defence equipments. Many ex-servicemen, many Generals, or Air Marshals go for negotiating MiG-29 or Mirage or Jaguars or various equipments practically to every country including Italy. It is very important that steps should be taken that such people do not have access to sensitive posts and areas.

I would also like to say a few words about our area of technology where we have been spending and

wasting a lot of money on non-productive areas. Probably, in some places the latest technology is all right. I have in mind the latest plant in Madras. But our previous experience, whether in Tarapur where the plant is ridden with many problems, or at Talchar or at Kota where there has been some difficulties or at Tuticorin where there is mismanagement, has not been good there is urgent need to review this policy.

Also, there is the Bombay High gas pipeline which is going from Bombay to the North. Eight fertiliser factories are coming up in the North. Eight thousand crores of rupees are being spent on this project. Sir, this is injustice to the South. Maharashtra has not got even one fertiliser factory. The entire South has not got a single fertiliser factory. This is indeed injustice to the South. Although tenders have been called for this 8000 crore project, tenders were to be opened at 5.00 P.M. in June in the ONGC office and a telephone call came and the tenders had to be postponed. So, Sir, there was a lot of corruption going on in the Petroleum Ministry earlier. I hope that there is a change for the better now. (*Time bell rings*) Since you have rung the bell, I have got two or three more points to make.

About industry, I would like to say that even after 35 years of industrial development, we are still going in for import of technology in a big manner. We would welcome it where technology is required in certain areas. But I think that we are going in at a very high speed. What is required is labour intensive industries. Unfortunately, we are not paying enough attention to labour-intensive industries. We are going in for technology. For computerisation where it is required, definitely we would welcome it.

But we must appreciate that there is unemployment problem in the coun-

[Shri Suresh Kalmadi] try. At the same time, capital intensive industries must also be encouraged. This being the international year of the youth, I am afraid there is no mention in the President's Address about the unemployment problem. Unemployment is rising at a very fast pace. Over 5 crores of people are unemployed and the percentage increase of unemployment is increasing every year.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU):** Please conclude because there is no time.

**SHRI SURESH KALMADI:** In the field of education also, it is a good thing that the Government has announced that they are going to have a change in the education pattern. I think that does not mean going in for public schools which are for the classes and not for the masses. There should be more public schools for the masses and if such a policy is undertaken, it would be welcome.

My other point is about Sports. I am happy that the new Minister of Sports is here. I have had talks with him many times when he was not a Minister and his thinking was right. I hope he has the same right approach even now. He would give him our fullest cooperation in this field. There is need for longterm perspective planning for sports. There is a need to encourage playgrounds and not stadia. And if we can move in this direction and we give a change to our youth, if we give a chance to our youngsters below the age of 14 years and bring them up, I am sure there is a lot of scope for improvement.

Sir, there is an announcement in the President's Address about the Board for the Ganga. That is a good thing. But there are also other holy rivers in the South—the Godavari, the Krishna, etc. And we hope that the Boards will be set up for those rivers also. And I also hope that they will not forget that they have one lakh villages which do not have

water. I hope that also will be given priority by the present Government.

I thank you, Sir, for having given me this much time.

**SHRIMATI KRISHNA KAUL:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with your permission I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Darbara Singh and seconded by Shri Jacob.

Sir, the President has been pleased to state that the unprecedented mandate received by the ruling party under the leadership of our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi shows the overwhelming concern of our people for the unity and integrity of our nation and their desire for a strong and stable Government at the Centre, transcending all barriers of caste, community and religion.

**(The Vice-Chairman (Shri . . Ashwani Kumar) in the Chair.**

Sir, the smooth and orderly election of Shri Rajiv Gandhi as the leader of the Congress (I) Party even at the darkest hour of our history as the nation stood stunned when our beloved Indiraji was assassinated, demonstrated the strength and maturity of our democratic system. The Address throws light on the stupendous achievement of our beloved leader Indira Gandhi who lived and died a martyr's death, upholding the banner of national unity, integrity and security, her total commitment to the ideals of secularism and democracy, and reiterates his Government's resolve to carry forward her policies and programmes with vigour, speed and commitment.

Sir, Indiraji knew and understood her country—the eternal India—where the primeval and the ultimate co-exist. She knew and understood her people who are bound together by solid bonds of unity within the rich mosaic of their apparent diversities. People of India had faith in her, trusted her and loved her. Her many-splen-

doured personality combined in itself the richness, the profundity, the age-old wisdom of the East as also the intense sensitivity and humane feelings on the one hand and the modern scientific thought, pragmatic planning and step by step approach to the problems confronting the development programmes of our country in all areas of its life and activity on the other. She was a synthesis of science and spirituality, ethics and aesthetics, in intuitive interpretative wisdom of the orient and the empirical, experimental and deductive knowledge and methodology of the west. Extensiveness of her knowledge in all areas of human thought was colossal and the depth of her understanding was amazing. The new 20-point programme which is a blue print of the nation's all-round developmental aspirations is its live proof. It reflects her deep concern for better tomorrows for each and every citizen of the country with special emphasis on those who are in greater need of it—the poor, the needy, the backward, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, women and children. About children, Indira Gandhi had said that a nation is judged by what it does for its children and that children are a supremely important asset of a nation. It has been laid down in our national policy on education that Government of India will review the progress made in the field of education and recommended guidelines for future developments.

In keeping with it, the President has said in his Address that comprehensive reforms will be introduced in the educational system and a new national policy on education will be formulated. Our worthy Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, in his broadcast to the nation on January 5, 1985, while speaking on his new national policy on education said: Education must produce national cohesion and work ethics. At a time when fissiparous tendencies have raised their ugly head in our national life, the responsibility and importance of education as an instrument for promoting social concen-

sion and national integration needs no emphasis. We are happy that steps are being initiated through language texts and history books in our schools and colleges in ensuring that our future generations are imbued with a sense of national unity and patriotism.

Our schools and colleges should also acquaint the younger generations with India's ancient heritage and culture. It is the sentiment of pride in our own cultural heritage, in the heroes and the great men our country has produced that inspires the upcoming generations towards worthy actions and rightful achievements.

The need for teaching about India's freedom struggle to our students is another salient feature of the new educational policy. Freedom movement has been a glorious chapter in our national life. It is the knowledge of the saga of the sacrifices made by our freedom-fighters, irrespective of community, caste or region that makes freedom precious. It inspires heroic and patriotic feelings and inculcates ideals of secularism and democracy and the holy passion for safeguarding its unity, integrity and security in the young minds. I am happy, and I welcome, that under the new educational policy, appropriate reading materials are being incorporated in text-books to promote wider awareness among the students, of our freedom struggle, highlighting particularly those movements in which people of India participated irrespective of regional, communal linguistic considerations and cultural diversities.

Care is also being taken of inculcating work ethics, through education. I would like to submit that while going into detailed planning, the ideas such as work is worship, work is its own reward, that there is no substitute for hard work, work is all important, have to be brought home to the children right from the primary stage of education through stories such as that of the Spider and the King, Fly and the Inkpot, and the like. They should



be made to understand that there is no shortcut to success, work and work alone pays in life, that we have to work efficiently, we have to work hard to catch up with the developed countries and enter the 21st century a step ahead of them or at least in step with them.

Imparting discipline is another important imperative of any educational endeavour. Discipline is the core of all systematic functioning. Discipline in thought, discipline in action, discipline in work is all important but unfortunately it is sadly lacking in our life. There is indiscipline in schools, colleges, universities, in offices and in day-to-day working of people. We do not even like to stand in a queue in a disciplined way. And it is through education that we can inculcate a sense of discipline in ourselves which ultimately leads to economy of effort, efficiency and systematic progress.

At present, there is a great dissatisfaction and righteous anger amongst the middle class and the poor class people of the country because they cannot afford the same facilities of education to their children and wards which the richer parents can do. For instance, they cannot afford to send their children to public schools or other standard institutions with the result that in the race for securing good jobs, their children are at a disadvantage. It is heartening to note, that the Government have decided to increase the number of Central Schools substantially which will function as centres of excellence in every district of our country. But side by side it will be necessary to raise the standard of education in the compulsory primary schools which I understand is under active attention of the Government.

The INSAT M-B has the potential of enriching the learning process and production centres are being set up in so many districts.

Bringing computer literacy to all school students is underway and arrangements have already been made for pilot projects in 280 schools in the country.

Computer literacy programme and computer-assisted training would transform the teaching not only of science subjects but of all subjects. The radio and the television are going to play a vital role in the school education. In this connection, I would like to say that there is need for spreading the network of TV relay centres, and provision of television sets, more so in remote villages to bring the people living there closer to the mainstream of the national life.

The delinking of degrees from jobs is under the active consideration of the Government. It would be a most welcome move. It is the function of the universities to bring out the talent and excellence in its products. An unmanageably large number of students causes tremendous strain on the universities resulting only in quantitative output at the cost of quality. In addition, it leads to rampant corruption, indiscipline, insolence and carelessness in all areas of academic activity. A degree in the present context has almost ceased to be a yardstick of academic knowledge or achievement. Examinations in general have lost their sanctity, with reports of rampant mass copying. Approach and even threat to examiners has almost become a routine affair. Trade unionism has permeated at all levels—among the students, the teachers and the non-teaching staff. Management committees of the colleges instead of serving the cause of education, have become profit-making agencies. Disputes between the management, the principal and teachers are the order of the day, leading to unhealthy impact on the students' psychology. Groupism and politicking among the students, the teachers and the non-teaching staff have vitiated the entire academic atmosphere. Strikes, agitations and violent demonstrations ruin the normal academic

session in most of the universities. Delinking of degrees from jobs will reduce the pressure on admission to the universities and in course of time restore to them their prestige and dignity as centres of academic excellence.

In the present system of education, emphasis is given to regular courses and regular attendance. This stands in the way of acquiring higher education of those who are either working to earn their living, or are otherwise constrained from attending regular classes. Besides it leads to recourse to undesirable means for making up the requisite attendance. Introduction of correspondence courses on a large scale, with facilities for appearing at examinations during leave breaks may be considered in order to open the avenues for higher education to the desirous.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Madam, please conclude now. If you do not do so now, I will have to call the next speaker.

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KAUL: Sir, please give me five minutes more.

Another point which I would like to make is that there are very limited opportunities for learning while earning in our educational system today. Industries and public sector undertakings may be motivated to provide opportunities to them.

Sir, there should be the right man for the right job. Education is a preparation for life and its aim today has come to mean the power to acquire money. But education in its wider and truer sense also implies the art of living. The earning aim has led to excessive pressure on medical and engineering disciplines and of late on commerce education too. This has resulted in a glut in certain areas and starvation in others on the one hand and psychological stress

on the other. For instance, there is an urgent need for craftsmen in industry and so on. As I said, there should be the right man for the right job for better and fuller utilisation of his potential and for improving his efficiency in the area of his work.

Now, Sir, I would like to say something on linking education to production. Our Prime Minister has laid strong emphasis in the new educational policy on education and its organic links with productive forces of society towards reorganisation of vocational education so as to align it with the requirements of industry agriculture, communication and other productive sectors. Along with technological education, efforts are afoot to create conditions and provide facilities for development of technologies and to improve the quality of life in our villages.

In this connection, I would also like to say something on rural education. India is an agricultural country and a majority of our people live in the villages and agriculture is their main occupation. Present day education has to be moulded to suit the needs, the requirements and also the aspirations of the educated in the rural environment like augmentation and introduction of new courses in villages.

I may also mention that except in the armed forces which have a system of regular examinations for every promotion no other Government department has any systematic method of evaluating the level of competence and efficiency of its employees, officers or other ranks once they enter service.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Now please close it. Yes, Shri Madan Bhatia. (Interruptions). No, no, I have called another person.

श्रीमती कृष्णा कौल : थोड़ा-सा बचा है। सहब आप तो गजब कर रहे हैं, हमें बोल लेने तो दाजिय (ब्यवधान) सबको आधा-आधा घंटा मिला है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अश्वनी कुमार) : किसी को नहीं दिया। आप कृपया बैठ जाइए।

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KAUL:

About women education, the universities are teeming with women students and the percentage of women graduates is steadily increasing. Girl colleges are being opened in larger numbers and yet the kind of education actually needed for women is very limited in higher educational system, more so in the villages and backward areas. Women form almost . . . . . (Time bell rings). All right. Let me say this.

It is the hand that rocks the cradle that rules the world. It is the history which opens its eyes in their laps and the future of the nation is carved by their hands. The education and training of women, their status in society and the importance and dignity of their role can never be over emphasized. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, deserves all praise and I take this opportunity to congratulate him for forming a separate Ministry for Social Welfare and Womens Welfare, thereby bringing the need of their all round improvement into clearer focus.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): Now please take your seat. Yes, Sir Madan Bhatia.

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KAUL: Just one minute. I would like to emphasize that the syllabus is very heavy. The boy has to get up in the morning at 6.00 O'clock. Formerly we used to have only five subjects. Three subjects were compulsory and two optional. The present day students have to work on eight to nine subjects. The children are over-burdened. He has to get up in the morning at 6.00 O'clock. Stand in the queue of the bus. By 2 p.m. he comes back with the work load of about 2½ hours for

the evening. The little boy has no time. They have no trade unions or organisations to plead their case. Therefore, through this forum I appeal to the . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR): There are very many problems. Everybody has to speak. Now please take your seat. Yes, Mr. Madan Bhatia.

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KAUL: With these words I support the motion.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The Address opens up with magnificent poignant tribute to the memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. No Indian could deserve more. 31st of October dawned upon India like any other day. Men and women of this country woke up to prepare themselves for the daily jobs. But little did they wonder that day was to going to bring to a close one of the most exciting, the most turbulent, the most creative periods in the history of India. On that very morning a frail little lady also woke up and prepared herself for the day she was keen to look at her best because she had an appointment with the television team. But little did she wonder that she had to look at her best because she had a rendezvous with her creator that day. She stepped out of the house and walked briskly. When she reached an old rickety wooden gate, there was a volley of fire. Mrs. Indira Gandhi fell. Her blood and flesh lay splattered on the ground, but with her flesh and blood she scrolled a message to her countrymen that it is not life that matters but courage that you bring into it. Courage for what and for whom. Courage in the service of the nation.

One's own countrymen. If there is one Indian who gave me my pride as an Indian, it is Mrs. Indira Gandhi when she showed contemptuous defiance to the Seventh Fleet of the mightiest power of the world when it sailed slowly and ominously towards

the sea shores of India and she won the Bangladesh war.

Mrs. Gandhi was called upon to play many roles in her life in the service of her countrymen. The ultimate role which she was called upon to play was that of Abraham Lincoln and she went the way he did.

The President's Address also gives a history of the social and economic progress of India under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The history of social and economic progress of India was summed up by one gesture of an old unknown Indian. An old decrepit Indian trudged his way from the tribal area of Rajasthan to attend the funeral of Mrs. Gandhi. He had tucked up under his arm one time meal wrapped up in an old piece of cloth. He caught a train for Delhi. He was hungry but he would not eat. He aroused the curiosity of his fellow passengers who asked him: "why are you going to Delhi and why don't you eat?" And this is the reply which he gave: "My ancestors lived on dacoity. I lived on dacoity and spent many years in jail. But Indira Gandhi brought to us education for our children, she brought employment of our children, she gave us the means to have two square meals a day, she gave us freedom from exploitation. I shall not break my fast till I have attended her last funeral rites. When the rites are over, I shall have a dip in the Jamuna and then I shall back my fast". There can be no greater repudiation of the dismal picture which has been given by the hon. Member belonging to the BJP of India's condition than this homage paid by an unknown old Indian to the memory of Mrs. Gandhi. And, Sir, I also cannot make a better comment on the social and economic progress of India than by adopting this tribute of an old Indian who came to Delhi to attend the last funeral rites of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, except to say that this Address also contains illumination of the magnificent achievements made by the economic, fiscal, agricultural and indus-

trial policies of the previous Government.

Sir, in one of the paragraphs this Address says that "our judicial system has an important role in upholding the Constitution and in protecting the Fundamental Rights of the people. Some aspects need attention." They do need attention. There is a disturbing development in the domain of law. Having invented the doctrine of public interest litigation, the courts are beginning to arrogate to themselves the role of a super executive. This is a very disturbing threat to the very foundation of the constitutional structure of the country. The whole Constitution is based on the concept of separation of powers—of the judiciary, the legislature and the executive. If the executive goes wrong it can be checked by the Legislature and the Judiciary. If the Legislature goes wrong,

5.00 P.M.

it can be checked by the Judiciary. But I respectfully submit, Sir, that if the Judiciary seeks to lose its self-restraint, then chaos is likely to ensue. This is the aspect in the judicial system which, I have no doubt, would invite the attention of the Government.

Sir, this Address also speaks of resurgent nationalism. The assassination of Mrs. Gandhi aroused the fierce nationalism latent in the Indian people. Twice before in history there was the tidal wave of fierce nationalism which had swept across this country. When India was invaded by China, it was fierce nationalism which gripped the Indian people. It came to the surface again when the Seventh Fleet proceeded towards India and India won the Bangladesh war. It swept again across India when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. The question is, why is it so? Because, in the minds of the people, India had because identified with Indira Gandhi. Indira Gandhi had become the symbol of India's

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oneness and India's fight for unity and integrity. It is this image of Indira Gandhi which had gone into the system of the Indian people. It was this image which lived beneath the skins of the Indian people. It is this resurgent nationalism which led the people to give this massive mandate to the Congress Party in general and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in particular. The Indian people picked up the gauntlet which was thrown to them by the forces of destruction, disintegration and destabilisation, and it is with this revolutionary spirit of nationalism that they voted and gave a massive mandate to the Congress and to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I respectfully submit, Sir, that if we disregard this revolutionary character of the mandate, we shall miss history. If the India of the people's dream—one India—has to go forward, the old ideas, the old concepts, the old set-ups, need to be rethought and demolished and they need to be replaced by new ideas, new concepts and new set-ups. The Indian people have chosen Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to give them a lead, to destroy once for all challenges to the unity and integrity of the country.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has said that he will be watching the performance of his Ministers. Sir, I am reminded of what Napoleon Bonaparte spoke to his armies in Egypt. He said: "Soldiers, six hundred centuries of Egyptian history ongraved in these immortal stones of the Pyramids are looking upon you to see your performance in the battlefield" History is watching Rajiv Gandhi. Millions of people in the world are watching Rajiv Gandhi. The whole panorama of parliamentary democracy which has been passing through the portals of Parliament is watching Rajiv Gandhi. If he provides a resolute leadership to the Indian people at this critical juncture, history will salute him. And God forbid that history should ever bypass him. Thank you.

SHRI B. KRISHNA MOHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while associating myself with the views expressed by the hon. Members in support of the Motion moved by Shri Darbara Singhji, I confine myself to some aspects.

For the first time we are meeting here in the absense of Shrimati Indira Gandhiji who had championed the cause of the millions and millions of this vast country, who had shaped the destinies of the millions and millions of this country as the Prime Minister of this country for more than 16 years. She has given her every drop of her blood for preserving the unity and integrity of this country and for the betterment of the common man and for bringing the poor people above the poverty line by implementing several socio-economic policies.

Sir, there were days and months when she spent sleepless nights for finding a solution to the problems of Punjab and Assam and others. I personally feel, Sir, had the Opposition parties behaved with some objectivity and moderation and co-operated with her, the Punjab problem and other problems would have been solved, and the national tragedy, the tragedy of the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi would not have taken place.

Sir, during her regime the country has registered tremendous and spectacular progress in the fields of science and technology, in the field of agriculture, in the field of industry, in the field of power and so on. With due respects to the president of the BJP. Mr. Vajpayeeji who has given the most unpalatable slogan, "Indira Gandhi hatao, desh bachao", had he uttered "Congress hatao desh bachao", it would have had some meaning. But the immortal spirit of Mrs. Gandhi had infused determination and confidence in millions and millions of the masses of this country, and they have given the new slogan. They have given the slogan "Opposition hatao, desh

bachao", and that has resulted in the unprecedented victory to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress Party. And the people hope that the integrity and unity of the country can be well preserved by the young and dynamic Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhiji. Shri Rajiv Gandhi alone can take the country to the 21st century as a full-fledged developed country instead of a developing country.

The President's Address clearly ventilates the mood and determination of the present Government to tackle the various problems confronting the country, and also the priority has been given in this.

And there is a point about education. The educational system should be revamped and educational reform is the need of the hour. The educational system has to be restructured and refashioned in such a way which suits the needs of the society. Alarming drop-outs are there at the elementary and secondary stages. And I appeal, Sir, whatever the jugglery of figures you may have,  $10+2+3$  or  $8+4+3$ , whatever figures you may have, vocationalisation of courses should be there. And there is a proposal, Sir, to delink degrees with the jobs. That will help in the mad rush of students to the degree courses.

Sir, as far as the development of science and technology in the various Universities is concerned, a lot has to be done. When we compared with some of the developed countries, Sir, for instance, in the USA there are about 30 people for every thousand as far as science and technological manpower is concerned. In Japan it is about 90. Unfortunately, we have only three for 1,000 and special emphasis should be given for the improvement of science and technology, Sir. There is also a reference made in the Presidential Address about the judiciary. As far as judiciary is concerned, a high level committee should be constituted to probe into the functioning of the judiciary; and also for providing legal aid to the poor. In spite

of the increase in the number of Judges in the Supreme Court from 13 to 17 and in the High Courts from 325 to 424, there are a number of cases pending in the courts. I think about 1,24,000 cases are pending in the Supreme Court. And lakhs and lakhs of cases are pending in the High Courts and something has to be done to dispose of these cases. There is a proverb that "justice delayed is justice denied." I appeal to the Government to appoint a Committee to see that the successful functioning of the judiciary is assured. The successful functioning of democracy depends upon the successful functioning of the judiciary. I hope the Government will take necessary steps for revamping the judiciary system in this country, at least by bringing certain amendments to simplify the procedures with regard to civil procedure code and criminal procedure code.

So far as the electoral reforms are concerned, it is wholeheartedly accepted and appreciated even by the Opposition parties. Prof. Lakshmananna commented about electoral reforms, public life and defection in this country. He also referred to defections in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Who is responsible for defections in the Telugu Desam party? It is not the Congress-I party. But it is the style of functioning of the Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, which contributed to the defections in the Telugu Desam party. We have nothing to do with the defections in his party. Immediately after 1983 elections in Andhra Pradesh, that is, in January, several Harijan houses were burnt and a judicial enquiry was constituted. The findings of the judicial enquiry made no secret that the Telugu Desam party M.L.A. and his workers were held mainly responsible for burning of Harijans in the Pedirikoppam village.

In the recent elections also in Chittoor and other areas, Harijans were not allowed to cast their votes. They feared that Harijans would vote for the Congress-I. Some Hari-

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jans houses were also burnt. For the first time in the history of elections in Andhra Pradesh, two murders took place, one in Srikakulam and another in Rajampet where the elections were countermanded. No enquiries were conducted, to find out whether it was a suicide or murder. I feel the electoral reforms will go a long way in improving the political image of the country.

Prof. Lakshmanna also commented about the education of women. I must say here that it is the Congress Government in Andhra Pradesh that has introduced the revolutionary change in the educational system. It initiated the scheme of providing free education to women upto intermediate stage. So, what Prof. Lakshmanna has said is not correct. I would also like to say something about public sector undertakings. These public sector undertakings are running into huge losses. For example, the National Textile Corporation is running on a huge loss. In 1983, it has incurred a loss of Rs. 90 crores. Again in 1984, it has incurred a loss of Rs. 75 crores. I am told that 8 sick mills have contributed to the 40 per cent of the losses. I suggest that either these mills should be closed or should be tagged to the nearly existing mills which are economically viable. As regards the I.D.P.L. it is also running into huge losses. While the multi-nationals and private medical companies are making huge profits, I do not know why I.D.P.L. is running into huge losses. I suggest that a committee should be constituted to go into the functioning of the public sector undertaking.

Finally, to conclude my observations, Mr. Shresh Kalmadi has made an observation that a Central Ganga Authority has been constituted for purifying the waters of the Ganga. I also agree with him that separate authorities should be constituted in the case of Krishna and Godavari rivers also which flow this side of the Vindhyas.

I would appeal to the Opposition parties to give constructive suggestions to strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhiji to develop this country in every sphere of activity and take this country into the 21st century as a full-fledged developed country.

**SHRI L. GANESAN (Tamil Nadu):**  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on his spectacular victory and on his party's victory. And I should congratulate Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, our Prime Minister on his succession to the highest office of the land, that is, the office of Prime Minister. He is now crowned and enthroned. As some friends tried, I am not inclined and I do not want to try to find out the causes for the spectacular victory of the Congress. Why? It does not mean that there are no causes for the victory. But if we try to analyse the causes, there may be some good causes as well as some bad causes.

But I appeal to my Congress friends not to be overoptimistic and overenthusiastic about their victory. Sir, I would just try to remind them of certain historical facts. In the year 1971, many of the veteran leaders from the Congress itself say, Kamaraj in Tamil Nadu, Nijalingappa in Karnataka, Morarji Desai in Gujarat, Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal, Sanjiva Reddy in Andhra Pradesh, S.K. Patil in Maharashtra and so many other veteran leaders were aligned against Mrs. Indira Gandhi, were arrayed against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. But Mrs. Indira Gandhi won a spectacular victory in the 1971 elections. But what happened in a short period of six years? When the country went to poll in the year 1977, she was decisively defeated. Therefore, the fortunes in elections are violently fluctuating. Therefore, I appeal to our friends not to be over-jubilant, not to be overoptimistic about the results in a particular election. Today's victory may pave the way for tomorrow's defeat. Also I appeal to

our ruling party friends not to misread and misinterpret the victory because even the President in his Address has stated that the vote for the Congress (I) is a vote for national unity and integrity. Suppose we argue in a different way. Fifty-one per cent of the people have voted for the Opposition parties, or roughly 50 per cent of the people have voted for the Opposition parties. Do you mean to say that 50 per cent of the people are for the disunity and disintegration of this country? That is a totally fallacious argument. It is erroneous logic. Therefore, you have won no doubt about it I do not find lame excuses for it. No doubt the Congress has won a spectacular victory. But please for heaven's sake, don't misinterpret it.

Certain programmes have been announced by the President and he has mentioned that some of the future tasks of this Government will be: electoral reforms, introduction of an anti-defection Bill, reform of the administrative system, announcement of a new textile policy, formation of a new education policy, introduction of measures for speedier justice and easier access to judicial remedies to the underprivileged. As goals, these are all laudable. As programmes or schemes, these are all appreciable. But how are you going to implement them? Are you going to be devoted and dedicated to the task? Or, are you going to be guided by narrow party interests? Are you going to be moved by national interests? That is the question.

I am not so very particular about the announcement of these schemes because we have seen so many pledges given and not fulfilled so many promises made and left unfulfilled, so many assurances given but never carried out. What about our late lamented Prime Minister's *Garibi Hatao* programme? It is a Hindi word. If my pronunciation is not correct, please forgive me. What about the assurance of abolishing poverty?

Have you abolished poverty? No, Sir. Have they not given a pledge to remove unemployment? Have they removed unemployment? Have they not given an assurance to check rise in prices? Have they checked it? Have they not promised to reduce economic inequalities? Have they reduced them? Have they not promised to check corruption? Have they checked it? Have they not promised to provide the minimum necessities of life, food shelter and clothing, for all? Have they done it? No many promises, so many times, right from the inception of this Government—I mean, after independence. In the First Five Year Plan so many targets were fixed but none was achieved. No basic problem that had been confronting the country just before independence has been solved. All major problems that faced the country at the time of independence even today continue to stare in our face. Can you tell us if one single major problem has been solved? No I appeal to you, therefore, try to solve at least some of them at the earliest possible.

I appreciate Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's outspokenness. So many times he has said that he will be giving a clean administration. The country has been ruled for the past 37 years, with a break of 2½ years, by the Congress. All of a sudden Mr. Rajiv Gandhi springs up and says, I will give you a clean administration. That means he indirectly accepts that the administration has been unclean for the past so many years, for the past 37 years after independence. And during this period it has been the Congress—of course, but for a break of 2½ years—which has been running the administration.

There are two factors to which I would like to draw special attention because they are of vital importance from the point of view of Tamil Nadu. The State of affairs in Tamil Nadu



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is most ridiculous now. That is a State without a Government. Yes, no Government. There may be a caretaker Government. And this Government has announced so many schemes and so many programmes even though it is only a caretaker Government. As far as MGR is concerned, with all my heart, soul and mind—I cannot pray to God since I am not a believer—I wish that MGR recovers as early as possible. But at the same time the country or the State shall not be made to suffer on account of a single individual. I shall read out to you editorial comment of the *Hindustan Times* of today.

“MGR's health is the main problem confronting the party. His own partymen have doubts about his ability to assume the reins of office. Even if he returns in early February it is doubtful whether he will be sworn in as Chief Minister. Even if he is sworn in, it remains to be seen how effective he will be as Chief Minister. The caretaker Ministry has been in office for too long and its constitutional validity after assembly elections can be questioned. It will be bad for the State if the present state of uncertainty is not ended soon. The Governor should act decisively at this juncture. A full-fledged Ministry should be sworn in under duly elected leader of the AIADMK legislature party and assembly should be convened. The ill health of MGR should not be allowed to obstruct the democratic and constitutional processes. It is also time for the Centre to think of the next step in Tamil Nadu.”

I wish to dwell on another important point. The Government of India is not dealing with the Sri Lankan problem very seriously. That problem has been there even since the tiny island became independent in

1948. What is the real problem—The Sinhalese fanatics are not treating the Tamils, they are not willing to, they are not prepared to, accept Tamils as equal citizens. Ever since 1948 they are trying to drive them out or to exterminate them. In 1948 the Citizenship Act made 10 lakhs of Plantation workers Stateless. Next year another Act—Indian Pakistani Residents Act—was passed which rendered 10 lakh-people voteless, and so on and so forth. They want that either the Tamils should be there as slave to the Sinhalese or they should be driven out or they should be exterminated. This is the position. So long so many attempts have been made not only by the people of Tamil Nadu but by Tamils elsewhere also, to draw attention of the Government of India to take effective steps to protect the Tamils in Sri Lanka. So far nothing has been done. Now they are bold enough even to cross into the littoral territory of India and shoot down our own fisherman. Today the vital and most vexatious issue in Sri Lanka is about colonisation. There was an agreement between the Tamil leaders and the then Government there with regard to colonisation scheme. According to that agreement, people from outside that region should not be imported and made to settle there. The agreement was that only Tamils either from that area or outside should be settled there. But now they are trying to settle Sinhalese people in that area where Tamils are in majority with a view to make them minority even in their homeland. I appeal to the Government of India that effective steps should be taken to protect Tamils and the only way is to recognise a separate and independent Eelam. I appeal to the Government to do that.

PROF. B. RAMACHANDRA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support and convey of grateful thanks to the President for his progressive and thought-provok-

ing and perhaps forward looking Address. On this occasion I cannot but pay my tribute as a scientist to the great contributions that have been made by Mrs. Gandhi who had, even without any formal training in science, has a very clear vision of science and technology and the role it can play in taking the country forward and march towards modernity and advancement. It is pertinent to remember that it was only last year the highest academy in the country, the Indian National Science Academy, conferred on her the honour of Fellow of the Academy—an honour which had been conferred only on Pandit Nehru. She had inaugurated our golden jubilee celebrations. Now the entire scientific community in the country is completely bereaved by the October 31st event. It has deprived us of our leadership at a very critical juncture. I cannot but mention that during the period of 1977 to 1979 we had the Janata rule when the entire scientific contributions made and the whole scientific were sought to be destroyed by the Janata Government. They decided to break the Council of Scientific Research into three fragments and denigrated science to a third grade place and tried to lessen the role of science and technology. In the context of this, scientists all over the country pay their humble homage to the great leader who fostered science in our country and brought in many new activities of which we are all aware of.

I would now like to mention about one important event. In 1956 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the country the Science Policy Resolution. In 1983 on the last day of the State elections that had taken place, Mrs. Gandhi released the Technology Policy Resolution before the General Assembly of the Indian Science Congress which was a unique event. It is because it was released before a scientific audience. I had the pleasure of presiding over the session and I had the distinct honour of being associated

with this Science And Technology Policy Resolution.

Sir, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our young and dynamic leader by nature has the talents and also the aptitude for science and technology and I have no doubt that he will take the country forward to the 21st century, taking all the advantages of modern advances in science and technology. And Sir, I can even predict, since science and technology are inter-related, he will come forward with an integrated science and technology policy in the years to come.

Let me touch upon some of the various other aspects. One important thing that has been mentioned in the President's Address is the recent elections, the unprecedented victory of our party. Of course, I agree with one of our respected Opposition speakers that the glory of this event should not make us sanguine or overconfident because success and failure are parts of the political history of any country. However, I would like to mention that the Opposition parties should see in this verdict the writing on the wall, the will of the people and what they have voted for. This election is a mandate in the ruling party for the unity and integrity of the country for a strong and stable Government, for a clean and efficient administration and there is no doubt about it. But the lesson to the Opposition parties is this that they should not join with forces trying to denigrate the country and to dissect the country. But they should provide a continuous and a constructive Opposition, and they should play a constructive role as the leading Opposition. It is a verdict against the multiplicity of fragmented parties which keep on changing their colours, their names and everything from year to year. It is also a failure on the part of the national Opposition to provide a strong and stable Opposition. That is what the people want and I would like to tell them that we also need a strong and stable Opposition. A single united Opposition is the only one which can correct things.

[Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao]

The third point that I would like to mention is about the achievements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Under her leadership, the country has gone forward in many spheres and I do not like to recount everyone of them. Many of our colleagues here have mentioned them. But one important thing that I would like to mention is the launching of the satellite, INSAT 1-B, which has given a very broad spectrum of television coverage to the nation and almost eighty per cent of the nation has been given the coverage.

Now, Sir, let me come back to respond to what my friend from the Telugu Desam Party, Prof. Lakshmananna, has mentioned. I cannot but refer here to the new trend of elections in Andhra Pradesh. There were two murders which have taken place. This has never happened in the history of our election. Even after the elections, one Mr. S. Yadagiri, one of our political leaders, has been murdered in broad daylight by a police officer on investigation. We can see that. The other point that I would like to mention is that one election in a particular area has been countermanded and that is in Srikakulam and I visited that place for three days. One of the Independent candidates comes from a downtrodden community, the fishermen community, and the entire village is afraid of telling the name of the culprit who joined hands with certain dacoits and committed this murder of the Independent candidate. The investigation was completed. The murder took place 46 days ago. The son of the candidate is on hunger strike, he is on fast unto death before the police station. On the 21st and 22nd of last month, the leader of his party had toured this place. But not a single Telugu Desam Party man visited or even consoled this person. Let me tell you that if an impartial observer is sent there, those people will call who the man is, who the culprit is. Let the Telugu Desam Party

people, who say they would provide a clean and able administration to look after the downtrodden people who say so many things examine themselves and search their hearts.

I would like to point out yet another thing. The Telugu Desam Party wants to provide amenities to the weaker sections and many benefits to the poor people. Take rice. Cong. (I) announced that they will sell rice at 1.9 rupees per kilogram. Sir, Telugu Desam Party takes the programme of the Central Government and call it their programme and this way they try to deceive the public. They take our programmes such as NREP and other programmes and call it their programmes. Why deceive the people? I would like everybody to impartially examine what kind of deception they are practising. They want to provide the national opposition. Is this the ethics of a Party which wants to provide the national opposition?

I do not want to exceed the time-limit. I want to mention the last point. The future programme that has been given in the President's Address is laudable. As an educationist I have only one criticism of this future programme. It is written in golden letters in our Constitution that it is our constitutional obligation to provide 8 years compulsory schooling to every citizen of this country. No mention have been made about it although it is one of our main objectives. Education is the foundation of our development and it does not find a place here.

Thank you, very much,

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, the Presidential Address has dealt with many aspects and has presented a more or less rosy picture that we are all along a strong administration correct in international and national policies and that we are advancing very fast. But the hard truths have all along been evaded. So, I would like to mention about only some points here.

Take the question of price rise and taxation especially of the essential commodities and of taxation. Ninety per cent of our people are growing under heavy price rise and taxation, but there is no hint of any solution in the President's Address.

The Presidential Address says that public distribution system has played a key role in maintaining the price stability. Not at all. I would like to say that it is not at all true. During the last 5 years, the Central Government only through its administrative orders has increased the price of rice on 4 occasions, price of wheat on 3 occasions, price of levy sugar on 4 occasions, price of cement on 20 occasions, price of kerosene on 5 occasions, price of petrol on 4 occasions, price of diesel on 4 occasions and price of coal on 5 occasions. Everybody knows about the increase in railway fares. You have never accepted our demand about the distribution of 14 essential commodities throughout India at the same controlled price. Is this your price stability?

Sir, my next point is about employment. We have repeatedly asked that you include the right to work in the Constitution. In all the capitalist countries such as U.K., U.S.A., France and even Japan, they have the right to work or the minimum unemployment allowance.

We are talking much about the developmental work regarding youth and women. But the crux of the problem is unemployment. Unless there is generation of employment, the problem of women or youth can never be solved. The unemployment figures are rising every year. In 1971, 70 lakh unemployed persons were registered. In one decade, i. e., in 1984 (upto June) there are 2,28,69,000 persons registered. It is needless to mention that the actual figures are much higher. Where is the scope for employment generation? There is no hint of land reform programme in

the Presidential Address. At least 500 big and 2,60,000 small and medium industries have been closed all over India. What is your policy about the nationalisation of jute industry? Where is the scope and proposal for employment generation? Sir, you know that you have even denied West Bengal the electronic and petro-chemical industries also. And you are talking about the improvement of youth and women. Sir, we have passed many laws regarding women. We have passed anti-dowry laws and laws prohibiting atrocities on women and all those things. That is good. But, as you know, Sir, the crux of the problem is the economic independence of women. Unless the women are economically independent, there cannot be any equality between men and women. The prestige, status and honour of women cannot be maintained unless they are independent economically and they can stand on their own feet.

Sir, my next point is about education and culture, the main object of development of people's education and culture. Our Constitutional promise was that within ten years we will have free elementary compulsory education. And it still remains a paper promise. And you say about girls' education, boys' education and all sorts of tall talks are there. Sir, unity in diversity is our motto. And education should be a State subject so that all sections of people may develop their own language and culture and mould the system of education according to their needs. But the Union Government is trying to concentrate power most mechanically ignoring the basic human factor of the citizens.

[(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI) in the Chair.)

Sir, by the name of developing the national culture, what is the ruling party doing? They are using the media most shamelessly and illegally for the narrow interest of their party politics. Sir, I quote a few lines from the 'Statesman' dated 31-12-1984:

[Smt. Kanak Mukherjee]

"The previous evening, with less than ten hours to go for balloting, Doordarshan viewers were regaled with an evocative Hindi interview that ended on what sounded suspiciously like a not of calculated prophacy: the Late Prime Minister told the interviewer that she had taken the country as far as she could and that it was for her successor to continue the journey."

Is it not illegal, Sir, to show this on Doordarshan just ten hours before the balloting? Even when the voting was going on the 24th December, 1984 on the very same day in the morning, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's speech in Andhra Pradesh was being broadcast on the Calcutta radio station. Is it not partial, is it not partisan, is it not partisan.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: Sir, I am on a point of order. All these points should be referred to the Election Commission. But it was never referred because it was all valid.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: We have referred it. But I have every right to raise it in this House. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: If it was conveyed by the media, it was not through his fault or through his begging. We never pleaded with anybody.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: The media is not an autonomous body. . .

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: He was well within his right to deliver a speech. And if the media carries it, it was the freedom of the media. . . . (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Sir, I am just quoting the 'Statesman'. And this is the House where I have a

right to say all these things.

Sir, my last point is about the preservation and strengthening of national unity and integrity. But, Sir, in the President's Address, there is no clear directive regarding this. The key to this question is the re-alignment of Centre-State relations, decentralisation of power and money. If the States, districts, blocks get the power and money to plan and implement the necessary development, the regional imbalances can be removed. You have kept the States and the regions backward. You have not spent money on them. You have not allowed them to develop. The regional imbalances are at the very root of encouraging the divisive forces. The backward regions cannot develop. So, more power and finances to the States are essential to keep the real federal structure of our Constitution. This is the only weapon to strengthen the Centre also. Sir, I am surprised to see that this factor of national unity and fight against the divisive forces have not been given proper stresses in the Presidential Address here. Moreover, the Congress (I) party most conveniently aligned and connived with all the divisive forces in the States; they did it even in the last election. They aligned with Tripura T.U.J.S. and RSS and other divisive forces and took advantage of the situation. . . (Interruptions). I beg your protection, Sir, The Government has even denied the funds allotted to the States by the Eighth Finance Commission. This is not only improper and unjust; it is also illegal, because it is for the first time that while the Finance Commission recommended Rs. 15,000 crores to be given to the States, the West Bengal Government has been denied an amount of Rs. 325 crores. Our Chief Minister pointed out to the hon. Prime Minister also only last week that if the West Bengal Government could get this sum of Rs. 325 crores, then it would be able to wipe out all the backlog and the overdrafts and we could have made some advancement on the 32-point programme in

West Bengal. . . (*Interruptions*). I seek your protection, Sir. What is this?

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS (Karnataka): Why have the industries closed down in West Bengal. What have you done with that money. We could still get 10 seats. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: I have got the figures of industries that are closed down all over India. The number is 2,600,000. . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: Sir, she is blaming the Central Government from the beginning; I don't think she is speaking on the President's Address.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Will you look after your own party members, Sir? I am sorry. Anyway, Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is my last point.

The President's Address has tried to give us only a superficial picture of the situation, without going deep into the most burning problems of the country.

Before sitting, I would like to record my objection to such continuous disruption and interruption from the ruling party members.

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: These are the facts. You said West Bengal is not getting anything. I said they are getting. . . (*Interruptions*). We got 16 seats from there. You are only blaming the Centre.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: The Centre has deprived all other States also.

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam). Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address to the joint session of Parliament on the 17th of this month.

Sir, we are grateful to President for the various important and urgent

matters mentioned in his Address. As time at my disposal is short, I shall confine myself only to a point or two. We are thankful to the Prime Minister for giving top priority to the solution of various problems of Assam and Punjab. Assam and Punjab are border and sensitive States and their problems cannot be left unsolved any longer. The announcement by the Prime Minister has been welcomed by all sections of people of Assam. Assam has suffered long enough. Trade, industry, business and education have suffered a good deal for nearly five years. Assam has the twin problems of foreigners and voters' list. Sir, the elections to the Assam Assembly were held in February, 1983 on the basis of the summarily prepared voters' list of 1979. This was challenged in the Supreme Court inter alia on the grounds that (1) there was no voters' list prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Representation of the People Act and that (2) the voters' list contained a large number of names of foreign nationals. The Supreme Court while dismissing the case have laid down certain guidelines on the basis of which the Election Commission was required to get the voters' list prepared and on the basis of which elections to the Lok Sabha from Assam could be held. Sir, as hon. Members are aware, practically, there was no election to the Lok Sabha from Assam in 1980. In 1984 also, elections to the Lok Sabha from Assam could not be held. Now, the preparation of the voters' list is in progress. And we hope, this will be completed before long. It is also gratifying to note that the leaders of the Assam movement are fully co-operating in the preparation of the voters' list. What remains is the solution of the Foreign Nationals Issue. On this issue, there have been serious troubles and disturbances in Assam, for a pretty long time. There has been a good deal of distrust, mistrust and tension between different communities, linguistic, religious and ethnic. Assam is anxiously and with hope looking forward to

[Shri Baharul Islam]

the solution of the vexed foreigners' issue. The sooner this issue is solved, the better it will be for all sections of the people of Assam. It is hoped that this problem will be solved with justice to all sections of the people concerned. No problem is ever solved finally unless it is solved correctly and with justice to all the parties concerned. It should be remembered that the movement in Assam was not secessionist in nature. A solution is being sought within the four corners of the Constitution of India. What was controversial was the line adopted by the movement leaders. Now, they have adopted, it appears, a line of conciliation and are hopefully coming forward to negotiate for a settlement of this vexed issue.

Then, Sir, I would like to speak a few words about the judicial reforms which have been proposed. Judicial reforms in the country is long overdue. Government proposes to mete out speedier justice to the litigants and speedy and least-expensive justice to the under-privileged sections of the society. This has been incorporated in the President's Address and this is most welcome. In an earlier session last year, a Private Member's Resolution was moved by Shri H. R. Bhardwaj, who is now the Minister of State for Law and Justice, for the appointment of a Judicial Reforms Commission. I spoke on that Resolution and I supported it. Under the present judicial system, specially in the higher judiciary, consisting of the High Courts and the Supreme Court, the doors are practically closed to the poor and the ignorant sections of the people. The benefits are derived only by the privileged and resourceful sections. But now, thanks to the new trends in the Supreme Court, with the induction of the doctrine of public interest litigation, any public-spirited person can approach the Supreme Court and plead the cause of the ignorant and incapable persons, without following the complicated, time-consuming and expensive proce-

dures. This was how justice was meted out to the prisoners who had been blinded in the Bihar jails and to the ignorant workers of the Asiad village. One of my hon. friends here, Mr. Madan Bhatia, took objection to the introduction of the doctrine of public interest litigation. But I would like to tell him, I would like to point out to him, what would otherwise have happened to these prisoners who had been blinded in Bihar. They could not go to the Supreme Court or any other court. They were poor; so-called criminals. Their cause was taken up by some public-spirited persons. They took it to the Supreme Court and relief was given to them. Similar was the case of the workers in the Asiad. Under the Minimum Wages Act, daily wage-earners are to be paid a minimum wage. But these workers were paid much below the minimum, by the contractors. When their case was taken up in the Supreme Court, it was looked into and necessary directions were given by the Supreme Court. The judicial system has to be completely overhauled so that justice may be speedy, least expensive and simple.

Now I want to give you an idea of the magnitude of arrears in the highest court of the country, namely the Supreme Court, so that the hon. Members and the public in general may understand the necessity of judicial reforms. By the end of November 1984 the number of cases before the Supreme Court was:

Regular hearing matters 47306, admission and miscellaneous matters 1,1,933, total pending 1,49,239. Of them, one year old are 41,962, two year old 26,158 and over three year old 19,720. When I say "over three year old, this expression is a vague one because there are cases pending in the Supreme Court for as many as 17 years. The number of old cases pending in the Supreme Court is:

17 years old 4, 16 years old 12, 15 years old 97, 14 years old 486, 13 years

old 715, 12 years old 654, 11 years old 578, 10 years old 540, 9 years old 625, 8 years old 1510, 7 years old 1714, 6 years old 1951, five years old 2845, four years old 3790. In addition to this following is the number of the cases known as CAV judgements, the cases in which arguments have been concluded and the judgments have been reserved. These CAV judgements pending before the Supreme Court are 1961. (*Interruptions*). I do not know how long these judgments are pending for delivery, but I can give you an idea of the pendency of a few cases.

In one of the cases, known as Bombay pavement dwellers case, I am told, the judgment is pending for nearly 2 years. In the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Reservation of seats case, the judgment, I am told, is pending for nearly two years. The case relating to the customs duty on brass scraps, where Rs. 40 to 50 crores are involved, is pending for nearly 1½ years. In West Bengal election case the judgment is pending for nearly 2 years. These are all constitutional matters. Coming to the non-constitutional matters, the judgment in respect of the Applicability of the Employees Provident Fund Act to the home workers in bidi factory is pending for about 2½ years. Some bank cases in which about 200 crores of rupees are involved, the judgment is pending for 1½ years. The position in the High Courts is no better, if not worse.

Now, Sir, I will speak only a word or two on the unity and integrity of the country and I will conclude. What is most essential today for the existence of the country itself is its unity and integrity. For this purpose a strong Centre bringing with it also strong States is necessary. In the recent Lok Sabha elections people of the country have given a massive mandate to Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the ruling party favouring a strong Centre and rejecting any coalition Government at the Centre. In spite of great difficulties the country is going from strength to strength econo-

mically, industrially and in scientific knowhow under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and after him Indira Gandhi. The latter fought so relentlessly for the unity and integrity of the country that ultimately she had to sacrifice her life at the hands of assassins. There are some countries that cannot tolerate our progress. They are encouraging divisive forces in the name of religious and region particularly in the sensitive border areas in the North East and North West. These dark forces, internal and external, cloud be

identified and exposed by the people as well as by the Government; else 6.00 p.m the country's future will be in jeopardy. It will go a long way in this regard if economic and industrial imbalances between different regions and areas are removed.

Thank you.

**SHRI F. M. KHAN** (Karnataka):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Darbara Singh on the President's Address to Parliament. I do not want to go into details of the achievements of the Government, as these have already been highlighted. But I would only touch upon points which do not find a mention in this Address presented to Parliament.

The freedom of this country which we have got today is because of Mahatma Gandhi. But unfortunately not a word has been mentioned in the Address about it. There is no mention of his ideology of non-violence. It was through non-violence methods that we got freedom and that is of basic essence. I have always been advocating that we must draw attention of the society to the need for adopting non-violent methods in this country. If today people go on hunger strike the police take them away by force after four or five days, calling it a suicidal act. I would urge upon the Government that if they do not want agitation in the streets, the Gandhian method should be allowed to be followed in this country through which the people can vent out their grievance.



[Shri F. M. Khan]

I am also glad that the Government has given top priority to solving the problems of Punjab and Assam. But I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the burning problem of the remunerative prices for the farmers. Already agitation calls have been given by different organisations in different States. Because the farmers are unorganised the agitation is not taking a shape. But once the farmers' agitation takes a turn, it will be very disastrous for the country. So, I feel the Government should give top priority to the problem of giving fair prices to the farmers.

I would also urge that a National Integration Day be announced when all political parties will also participate on one platform to plead for national integration, because there are still caste and communal fights going on after so many years of Independence. There should be a serious programme in this country where every one could come on one platform on a particular day throughout the country.

I am also glad that the Government wants to change the educational system and to enforce accountability of officers as well as Ministers. I hope the Government will sincerely implement it without any hesitation or hindrance. I had also brought during the regime of late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, a project for connecting Ganga to Cauvery. Unfortunately it is still in the cold storage. I hope the Government will review it so that if they want integration, they can get it through water also.

In the last session of Parliament more than 50 per cent of the Members of Parliament submitted a memorandum to the late Prime Minister asking for a brief session to be conducted in the South. Unfortunately that suggestion has not been heeded. So I would urge upon the Government to have a short session of Parliament in Karnataka.

Much importance has not been given to family planning. I have always been suggesting in so many forms that some concrete programmes should be taken up.

I suggest that one month should be declared as childless in the nation and I am sure every community will cooperate in this and it will be a big success and if they can channelise the targets which the Government has fixed to a particular month, it will go a long way in having a no-child month.

A lot of discussion has been going on about the closure of public sector units. I think the Government should not close down the public sector units but find out what are the difficulties. I have also some experience of trade union activities. A HMT unit which was under loss for the last twenty years, when I had taken over as the President the production increased and 20 per cent bonus was declared. So, I would urge upon the Government that the relations between the trade unions and the management should be improved instead of closing down the units and blaming the workers. Presently, whenever an award is declared for any undertaking the Chairman of that undertaking comes to receive the award from the President. Instead, I would suggest that the seniormost worker of the factory concerned should be represented and not the Chairman of the undertaking.

The 20-point programme has been implemented, but not very strictly in the rural parts where proper communication facilities are not there. So I would urge that this 20-point programme should be accelerated in such areas and new TV centres should be opened in places where people do not have access to know what is happening in the rest of the country.

I would also urge upon the Government to introduce a pension-cum-savings scheme—similar to the one which has been introduced in some of the factories at Bangalore in the private sector and the public sector also well as for the citizens of this country. With a minimum contribution of Rs. 20 if the full term is completed, a worker would be getting nearly Rs. 900 a month as pension while his contribution would be intact. I would urge that such scheme should apply to all sections of the

society and I am sure every body will welcome this scheme. On this scheme I would be giving a small note to the honourable Leader of the House.

Last but not the least, it was very unfortunate that we lost our late Prime Minister because of the unsettled problems of Punjab. I would earnestly appeal to the present Government that they should give top priority to this. There is a committee formed already, but there are other members of the party who have been venting their feeling in the press. I do not think this is advisable and I would request the Government to advice the members of the ruling party not to make statements apart from the committee which has been formed so that the integrity of the country can be maintained. Thank you.

**SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR** (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I deem it a great privilege to comment the President's Address which deals, in brief, with the most significant aspect of our national life at this historic juncture. Sir, we are all aware of the supreme sacrifices made in the service of the people by our late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and, by that, she has joined the immortal band of the martyrs of the world. Her dedicated life and great services for the country and the unity and integrity of India will inspire future generations.

Sir, our deep faith, the people's faith, in democracy and unity and integrity of India, has been fully demonstrated in the recent elections held and the massive mandate given to the Congress (I) under the able guidance of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. A new era has started under his inspiring leadership, and the President's speech deals with the basic policies. It deals also with the economic developments during the Sixth Plan and also it deals with the future tasks of the new Government in the field of social, economic, political, scientific and other programmes, not only to meet the challenges of today but also to prepare well for the 21st century.

Sir, I would like, at this stage, to mention, I have gone through the notices of amendments very carefully, the notices of amendments given by eminent leaders from the other side. I have carefully heard the speeches of the eminent speakers from

the other side. Particularly, I would like to mention Shri Dipen Ghosh, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Patel, Shri Jaswant Singh and others. Sir, I was surprised that Mr. Ghosh, an eminent person of his stature, has mentioned that there was no direction in the President's speech. He has also mentioned that there was no economic policy indicated in this speech. Dr. Patel has said that since the new Prime Minister started with a new, clean slate, he could have a new policy. And our friend, Shri Jaswant Singh finds that the ruling party is in a dilemma whether to follow the old policies or to evolve new policies. The confusion at such a high level is rather intriguing. Whether it is deliberate or otherwise, they have not carefully gone through and appreciated the President's Address. Sir, the basic policies of our nation remain. They have been dealt from paragraph 1 to paragraph 12 of the President's Address. The basic policy of democracy, the basic policy of the unity and integrity of the nation, the basic policy of socialism and secularism, the basic policy of non-alignment, the basic policy of opposition to colonialism and racial discrimination and also our basic policy in regard to planned economy, of full economy that is, development of agriculture, industry and all the rest of it, are continuing, and also the basic policy of removal of poverty in the country. These are the basic policies. I find that these matters have been dealt with in the paper. And how our friends say that we should deviate from these basic policies, is surprising. What is necessary is our attitude or approach or policy frame, our new look upon the policies and formulating such programmes and their faithful implementation with a sense of dedication and urgency which can really give a new life to the country.

Sir, in this connection, if we want to really see the new direction of the policies, we should certainly see the policies started not only today but the policies started on the day when Shri Rajiv Gandhi took upon himself as the Prime Minister of India. When the body of his mother was lying in home, at that night, he was moving in Mongolpuri, Khichripur and other resettlement colonies asking people

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

to be calm, asking people not to indulge in violence asking the authorities to be firm and to ensure that the violence was stopped. That was the new direction was given in the national broadcast. The new direction was given when he immediately invited all the Opposition leaders to talk and sought their co-operation. The new policy was given when immediately after the mourning he declared the general elections and got the mandate of the people. The new policies are indicated in the election manifesto of the party. Sir, And immediately after the mandate there was no complacency. The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi in his national broadcast on the 12th January, 1984 called for national reconciliation and national reconstruction. We have to see the new direction with our eyes open. The new directions are aimed to have a new public life and clean public life.

Then there is a reference in the President's Address about anti-defection Bill. This Bill is likely to come up during this session itself. This Bill has been appreciated by everybody including the Opposition parties. This Bill is very essential to preserve the political image of the country.

As regards the educational policy, there is a new direction which could be seen. There is also a new direction about reforming administrative system and judiciary. This also can be seen. These are the new directions towards which the new Government is likely to go ahead. The other issues like Waste Land Development Board, Forest and Wild Life and Central Ganga Authority are noteworthy features of the new Government. The Government have accorded high priority for social, economic and cultural development of women and youth. The application of science and technology in all walks of life is a new direction towards which we shall go. The most important thing which the Government have committed is about the preservation of our cultural heritage of the nation.

I would like to mention about the economic policy. My hon. friend, Dr. Shanti Patel has mentioned about some of the achievements of the Janata Government; and possibly according to him performance during the Sixth Five Year Plan is not upto the mark. I think there is a misgiving in his saying. I will give only a few figures to remove his misgivings. During the Sixth Five Year Plan, under the leadership of our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, we have achieved new heights. It is most unfortunate that if my friends on the opposite side forget these achievements. There has been an overall growth expected and reach the target of 5.2 per cent. In regard to the foodgrains it was 109 million tonnes in 1979-80 and it is reaching the Sixth Plan target of 153 million tonnes in 1984-85. This is the difference between 1979-80 and 1984-85. In regard to the industrial output it was 1.4 per cent in 1979-80 and it has gone upto 9 per cent in 1983-84. In the case of crude oil it was 11.7 million tonnes in 1979-80 and it has gone upto 30 million tonnes in 1984-85. The production of coal has gone from 103 million tonnes in 1979-80 to 150 million tonnes in 1984-85. The generation of electricity, has gone from 112 billion units in 1979-80 to 164 billion units in 1984-85. Similarly the total additional capacity added during the Sixth Plan will be about 14,000 megawatts units which alone is 50 per cent of the total megawatts units built till 1979-80. Similarly, progress has been made in the 20-point programme. I would not like to go into the details. But I would only like to mention about the future task. The main task before the nation, so far as the new Government is concerned, which I have mentioned is approach to the Seventh Five Year Plan. This is contained in the President's Address. It should be gone through carefully from paragraph 12 to paragraph 21. In this most significant part of the Seventh Five Year Plan is increase in production of food, creation of employment and improvement of productivity.

Hon. member, Mr. Verma has mentioned about land reforms which is contained in paragraph 28 (page 4) of the Approach Paper to the Seventh Plan. The total outlay of the Seventh Plan has been kept at Rs. 3,20,000 crores against aggregate investment of Rs. 2,37,000 crores from the 1st to 6th Plans with public investment of Rs. 150 crores and public sector outlay of Rs. 1,800 crores with assumption of 26 per cent saving is laudable objective. This is 35 per cent higher than the combined outlay from First to Sixth Plan. There is a resource gap of Rs. 33,000 crores which is 18 per cent of the total public sector outlay and expected to be covered. In this task, we have got great targets ahead. The first one is overall growth to achieve more than 5 per cent. We have to achieve agricultural production at the rate of 4 per cent instead of 2.5 per cent at present. And the target is 5 per cent for foodgrains. So far as industrial output is concerned, our desire is to increase it by 7 per cent. We are also going to have a minimum rural employment of 450 million. . . . (Time-bell rings) Only very few figures. Now we want to have 100 per cent safe drinking water supply by the end of the Seventh Plan to all the problem villages and the urban population. We also want to give elementary education to all the children in the age group of 6 to 14 by the year 1990. Then we want to reduce the percentage of people below the poverty line to less than 10 per cent by the year 1994-95. We also want to provide health facilities to the entire population by the end of the century. Also we want to reduce the growth rate in population, which is 2.2 per cent today, to 1.8 per cent during the Seventh Plan. And by the end of the century the net reproduction rate must come down to 1 per cent. Everybody says today that our development has been affected by the population growth, because the population has grown since independence from 36 crores to 70

crores and it is likely to reach 90 crores by the end of the century. And at the present rate of growth, it will reach 130 crores by 2020. (Time-bell rings) Therefore, this must be checked. Only one suggestion I would like to make and that is, that this vast task requires a lot of preparation, preparation not only at the Planning Commission level. The Planning Commission has been reorganised and put under the able guidance of an eminent expert, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and other experts. We have also to see that the people are also involved in the plan process. The public and the concerned agencies from all walks of life have to be involved. In the rural development programmes, the beneficiaries the village committees, the panchayats, the bloc level committees, the legislators and Members of Parliament and local viable voluntary agencies must be involved and they must be equally answerable. Similarly we want that these things should be done within a time frame. Mostly we have failed because in many cases, the time and cost had increased. Therefore, I would briefly mention that we must avoid delays and cost increases. There must also be change in our approach.

• THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Please conclude.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: My concluding requests is that in the President's Address, in the last paragraph, paragraph 47, there is a call given to the nation. It is important. We must not forget it. The call is :

"Our duty as representatives of the people is to canalise the tremendous upsurge among the masses into cooperative and disciplined endeavour to accelerate development and to prepare country for the 21st century."

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

May I appeal to all the Members of the House, from all sections of the community, that let us accept this task, this call gracefully and involve ourselves and fulfil our commitment to the entire nation, for which the future generations will be thankful.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is indeed poignant that the President had to deliver this Address after the tragic and shocking assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who as undoubtedly one of the greatest leaders India had produced, the world had produced. Glowing tributes have already been paid to her memory by the entire nation and as a humble citizen of India. I join in paying my respectful homage to her. As the time is extremely limited, and the President's Address covers a number of subjects, I propose to confine myself only to two points. In paragraph 36 of this Address, the new Government has projected that it wants to have a clean public life. And as, examples of a clean public life—I take it for the time-being—two instances have been stated, namely, that consultations with political parties would begin on electoral reforms and that an anti-defection bill would be moved and perhaps passed in the present Session of Parliament. So far as the first issue is concerned, this was a promise made by Mr. Shiv Shanker, a promise also made by Mr. Jagannath Kaushal, and it does not appear to me that any further progress has been made, because it was mentioned in this House over and over again that after the Government had made up its mind with regard to electoral reforms, consultations with political parties would begin. The President's Address does not say whether the Government at the moment is at least willing to accept, if not all, at least some of the successive recommendations of different Chief Election Commissioners.

With regard to the anti-defection bill I do not know what it contains. Some provisions have been published in newspapers and on the face of those provisions it appears that certain satisfying measures are being thought of. A number of times I have pointed out in this House that Dicy, one of the greatest authorities on Constitutional Law, had drawn long, long, ago a distinction between political sovereignty and legal sovereignty. It is true that legal sovereignty is vested in Parliament but political sovereignty is vested in the people. And when defection takes place, it affects the political sovereignty of the people. Defection has been frequent in this country, in the recent past, and the time has come when stringent measures against defections have become urgently necessary. But you would remember, Sir, about two years ago there was a debate, a three-hour long debate, on corruption. Towards the very end of that debate against stiff resistance by the then Deputy Chairman I could muscle my way into the debate and I made two suggestions, namely, that to check corruption in public life, particularly in high places, a Lok Pal bill had become an urgent and immediate requirement and my second suggestion was that there should be a committee of parliamentarians to move throughout the length and breadth of this country to create a moral atmosphere, to propagate the spirit of discipline punctuality, dedication to duty, sense of patriotism, etc. Unfortunately, the then honourable Home Minister in replying to the debate did not refer to the Lok Pal bill at all. And with respect to the suggestion for a Committee of Parliamentarians, his reaction was that this Committee would not consist of angels.

The cavalier fashion in which corruption was treated or has been treated for the last so many years has now led to most startling discoveries about which we read in newspapers every day. I do hope that this new

Government which has come under a young leader would take some effective steps in checking corruption, more especially in high places because unless corruption in high places is controlled, corruption down below can never be controlled.

I wanted to speak also on the new education policy. But time does not permit me to do so. I go straight to paragraph 43 of the Address where reference has been made to the International Youth Year. I am glad that the Youth Minister is present in the House at the moment. I offer my congratulations to the Government of India for beginning the International Youth Year in India on the birthday of Vivekananda. I also congratulate the Government of India for declaring that Vivekananda's birthday, namely, the 12th of January, would be celebrated as the National Youth Day every year in future. But it is unfortunate that when I heard very carefully the programmes of the All India Radio and the Delhi Doordarshan on the 12th January, the justification for beginning the International Youth Year on Vivekananda's birthday was not sufficiently or adequately brought out.

Vivekananda was one of the rare intellectuals a nation produces in its history. He was born in the 19th century and spent most of his life in that century. But he belonged to the 20th, the 21st and the 22nd centuries. At the age of 29 he conquered the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. At the age of 39 he died. He came into direct contact with mass poverty by travelling mostly on foot from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and this direct experience and objective realisation led him to declare that mass poverty, superstition and ignorance could not be eliminated (a) without a mass awakening, (b) total war on caste, creed, religion and colour, (c) faith in spirituality based not on mythology or rituals, but on pursuit of Truth with a scientific out-look or attitude, and (d) Importation of science and

technology from the West for the growth of industry and agriculture. He preached the doctrine of man-making and character-building education so that the perfection that is already there in man is made manifest. He dreamt of strong, united and free India to show to mankind what man can achieve. I express the hope, in conclusion, that in the International Youth Year in India and every year on the International Youth Day, the ideals he tried to inculcate upon the Youth would be fruitfully pursued because not only he, but also the leaders who followed him in this country, had lived and died for those ideals.

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

I wish this International Youth Year every success. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am really very grateful to you for giving me even this belated opportunity to give vent to my views on this importance document, known as the President's Address.

Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by Mr. Darbara Singh and very ably supported by my friend, Shri Jacob.

Sir, the Presidential Address is, no doubt, a policy statement of the Government and it is also supposed to cover the achievements made in the preceeding year as also the problems faced in the preceeding year and the years to come, and to give an idea of certain important works that are proposed to be taken up in the near future or in the coming year. That way, I must say, it is an ideal document and it gives a very lucid picture of our achievements, of our problems, and also of the intensions of the new Government to bring about the much-needed change in the society and in the administration. As regards the achievements, I am not going to

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lift the many figures from the Address itself and quote them and waste the time of the House at this stage. But from those figures it is evident that in the field of agriculture, in the field of industry and in almost all fields, we have had a lot of increase in production and so, almost we have become self-reliant in so many areas. However, Sir, as regards the problems faced by our country, particularly during the last year, I think the worst problem in 1984 was the one created by the terrorists and the anti-social elements in Punjab which necessitated the clamping of the army rule in that State and which also culminated in the most heinous and dastardly assassination of the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Sir, persons like Mrs. Indira Gandhi are not born everyday. A real patriot, she was the personification of nationalism, of courage and love for the weak and the downtrodden. She laid down her life in safeguarding the security and integrity of the country and, Sir, it was by sheer dint of her profound faith in peaceful co-existence and in the dignity of man that she could become the leader of more than a hundred countries in the world. Neither a Soviet nor an American leader has commanded this great international following so far. A born socialist, it was she who got the word "socialist" inserted in the Preamble to our Constitution and I well remember that even at that time many of our Opposition friends opposed the idea of this insertion of the word "socialist" in the Preamble to our Constitution. Sir, she was great and no power on earth could bend her or make her compromise with her convictions. Her assassination has shaken the whole nation from within and made it realise the great importance of the security and integrity of the country. That is why, in the last parliamentary elections held recently, the people of India could rise to the

occasion in such a big way and rally behind our young leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and send the Congress Party back to power with such a massive mandate. Sir, this is also almost a total rejection of all the national parties sitting in the opposition. That is why, I want that our opposition friends who have been criticising even the Presidential Address must try to study the minds of our people, must try to realise what our people want and should not only go on criticising the Government right and left unnecessarily. This majority which I was talking about, this massive mandate that has been given to the new Government of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was not given even to Mr. Nehru or even to Mrs. Gandhi. This shows how much abounding is the faith of the Indian people in the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who wants to keep the country together and secure, who is determined to root out corruption and to make public life clean and who is bent up to bring about a radical change even in the educational system. I entirely agree with the President when he says that "the unambiguous verdict of the people is also for continuity of the basic policies which should give strength to our country with dynamic responses to changing situations." During the last 37 years we have been following the same policies. These policies were laid down by the great son of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. These very policies were continued with a aware fervour by Mrs. Gandhi and now our new Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has also said that he would continue the same policies.

After all, what is our policy? At home we want to have a united a strong India with a socialist pattern of society. We want to achieve this through planned development. In the international sphere we are entirely for peaceful co-existence and non-alignment. As I was saying, the guidelines of these policies were laid down by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If we

want to understand these policies, we must again go back to what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said. I quote from his speech made by Pandit Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 22nd August, 1963

"We want real freedom. Real freedom is not merely political freedom it is economic freedom in two senses. One is that you do not have to rely on other countries. You are friends with them, you cooperate with them you take their help, but you are not dependent on them to carry on either for defence or any thing else. And the second sense of freedom is economic freedom for the vast masses of our country—their having higher standards of living and putting an end, in stages if you like to gross differences in wealth and opportunities."

This is what has been done and what was tried to be done by the Government of Mrs. Gandhi. If we go by the figures quoted by the President in his Address regarding the achievement in the last year and even during the Sixth Plan period, I think we are going along the right lines. Our policy is very right and we have developed on the basis of these very policies. Many of our opposition friends have been very critical of our planned development. Persons like Mr. Charan Singh condemned our planning. And even Shri Morarji Desai switched over to rolling plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please conclude within a few minutes.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: And we must know what Panditji said in the same speech. He said, and I quote:

"Planning has, of course, been done in other countries, but not through democratic processes. Other countries which are democratic have not accepted planning. But the combination of these two concepts is rather unique."

So, Sir, we are supposed to be the first democratic country who have accepted planned development.

Sir, I know that the time is up and I will very hurriedly make a few observations regarding the new changes that our Government wants in certain spheres of activities. As regards the question of reforms, it is indeed a very welcome thing that our Prime Minister is thinking of delinking degrees from jobs. This is what he said on the 5th January. About the electoral reforms he has also said when he spoke on the 12th November. Sir, it is a very good thing that the degrees are being delinked from jobs. But it is also necessary that whatever we have by way of primary schools, by way of secondary schools, by way of colleges and universities, they must also be looked after well since we know that even half of our primary schools do not have pucca buildings today. They do not have the equipment. Many of our secondary schools are most ill-equipped. And how can children be taught properly under these conditions? So, I think, the duty of our Government is to ensure that all these schools which already exist, run in proper order. And it will be very good if mid-day meals are provided to the students throughout the country. Today, in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and somewhere else, these mid-day meals are being provided. And if we want to attract our children to these schools, this mid-day meal scheme must be adopted.

Sir, as regards the anti-defection legislation that is proposed to be brought forth in this very session for our consideration, I must say that it is a very important but also a very delicate matter because it involves the citizens' right to join a group or a body or a party. So, it must be very carefully drafted. And, of course, political opportunism, political corruption must be stopped. And if it has to be stopped, then such a legislation will be a very welcome thing. The Janata Government wanted to pass such a legislation but it could not do



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so. I think, one of the reasons was that it contained largely of such elements as had already defected from one party to another. Even today most of the leaders sitting in the Opposition, the non-Communist parties at least are all defectors. I am talking of the leaders—whether you take Mr. Bahuguna or Mr. George Fernandes or Mr. Biju Patnaik or even Mr. Charan Singh. And Mr. Charan Singh has been the father of defections in our country. Perhaps, in 1967, there were only stray cases of individual defections. But collective defections came in a big way only after Mr. Charan Singh defected in Uttar Pradesh in 1967 to become the Chief Minister of that State along with his 14 or 15 members. So, as I was saying, this legislation is a very welcome measure. But it has also to be seen as to what will be the role or what we expect of those who are Independents.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Sukul, please conclude.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: I am just concluding, Sir. Suppose man leaves a party and becomes an Independent and does not join another party. Should it be called defection? Suppose you expel a man before the election and that expelled man goes and joins another party, will it amount to defection? Or should it amount to defection. Once you have expelled him, why do you want that he should not contest? (Time bell rings) So, Sir, it is a delicate area. This is what I want to say on this.

Sir, the time is up. Finally with these words, I support the Motion of thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, will restrict my comments to just one single sentence in the Presidential Address and this is regarding the post-assassination violence that took place in many cities in northern India. The sentence I wish

comment upon is para 7. It reads: stern and effective action was taken to control the situation within the shortest possible time". I will not make a lengthy speech. The little that I have to say, I will speak from my personal experience and I hope I will carry every Member of the house with me. I was at the receiving end of this violence which I don't think any other Member was because of my appearance; Sardar Darbara Singh does not live in Delhi; I can tell you what happened.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab) . I know better than you about what happened.

SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH (Punjab): I was at the receiving end of it. That is why I was saying and hoping that even he would at least have the patience to listen to what I have to say before interrupting me. Sir, the assassination took place in the morning of 31st: the Prime Minister's death was announced in the afternoon and the violence began immediately afterwards starting from All-India Institute of Medical Sciences and then spread. The pattern was almost the same. The victims were invariably Sikhs. It was assumed that they shared some of the guilt of what these two assassins had done. In my own case, I live in a middle-class area near Khan Market. First, violence took place at night. Some cars standing outside the house were burnt. It continued the whole of next day. In the morning, a Gurdwara next door to me was burnt. Then, one taxi was burnt and destroyed. Shops were looted along side; they picked up Sikh shops. I wish to emphasise that right through these days, from the 31st afternoon to 1st and 2nd, the police was always present, always witnessing what was going on and nothing was done. Personally rang up the police station many times; I was promised that they would come to our assistance; they did not come, and ultimately even a person like me who was not expected to stand to this kind of violence, had to leave my house, because I thought if my house was to be burnt, at least I

would save my own life and I sought shelter in a foreign embassy. Now, two days of violence, un-checked violence...

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL:** Which embassy was it?

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH:** It was a friend in the Swedish Embassy; do not insinuate that I was any kind of foreign agent; nobody came to my protection. Therefore, I was justified in taking the step I took. Can this be described as 'stern and effective action and in the shortest possible time'? Let me give you the figures. In these two days, 6000 innocent Sikhs were massacred. At least 900 women were widowed 50,000 Sikhs were rendered homeless and were removed to refugee camps; thousands of crores worth of property of the Sikhs was destroyed. Would you describe action taken as "stern and effective and in the shortest possible time?" All I wish to mention is, this tragedy has passed; we are all ashamed of what happened. This time the victims were Sikhs and for understandable reasons because the assassins were Sikhs, because killings had been going on in Punjab committed by Sikh terrorists. But mark my words. People who came were lumpen elements from jhuggi-jhonpris, from villages whose lands had been acquired for expansion of Delhi. Now the tiger has tasted blood. This time, it was us. Next time, it will be all of you. If it happens again, there will be no Sikh. This time, it will be the preperited persons who will be the victims. I hope, what happened last time is not a precedent. If it is a precedent and you have to justify it as stern and effective action, taken in the shortest possible time, then, there is very little hope for the country. Now...

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA:** Sir, I am on a point of order. I would like to put the record straight. Action was taken within the shortest possible time. Everything was projected within two three hours. I was in London. They were all praised for the action taken. Even the BBC. Your statement was heard over there. You were not trying to put the case straight even to them. You were trying to

twist the matters and you were trying to give a different picture, while they were trying to give a ...

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH:** Has this lady even faced mob coming? I do not know whether she has been the victim.....

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA:** I would like to put the record straight that thousands of Sikh families were protected by the other communities.

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH:** I do not know what this kind of interruption mean. She was not even here. *(Interruptions)* I am speaking with the person experience, as a man who has suffered.

*(Interruptions)*

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU):** Mrs. Malhotra, you have made your point.

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH:** I hoped very much that I would be carrying the House with me. But unfortunately, I find I am not likely to do so.

Let me just refer to two reports which have come out. One is the report titled 'Who are the guilty?'. This has been prepared by Dr. Rajni Kothmari, an academician. The other report, which will be in your hands in a few days, is the report by a committee presided over by the retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice S. M. Sikri. Other members of this committee are some of the senior-most men, now retired, of the civil service, like, Badruddin Tyabji, Rajeshwar Dayal, Govind Narain. Not one of them is a Sikh. They have made a most damaging indictment in this 'who are the guilty. I am not going to name them because it is not done. Among the persons named are a senior Minister of the Government, several Members of

[Shri Khushwant Singh]

Parliament, Members of the Metropolitan Council, and Members of the Delhi Municipal Corporation. I will not labour this subject. But I would ask the Government, Don't you think that these people who have been named owe it to themselves to clear their names? Does not the Government think that they have a sense of responsibility, that this kind of insinuation should not go unchallenged? I plead with you. If you have any sense of history, if fifty years from now, somebody is going to write the history of this country, of this episode and this tragedy, following the most tragic assassination of our Prime Minister, what historical documents will they have? This and the Sikri report are the only source material will historians look into? I emphasise this point entirely for this reason because I would like to say with all the power at my command that the Government should appoint a high-powered judicial commission to go into this subject and make a report. Because unless the guilty are identified and punished, mark my words, there will be no settlement of the Punjab problem and there will be no peace in this country. Thank you.

7.00 P.M.

**डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आपका मैं हृदय से आभारी हूँ जो आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के प्रति सम्मानित सदस्य श्री दरबारा सिंह जी ने जो कृतज्ञता का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है तथा जिसका सम्मानित सदस्य श्री जैकब साहब ने अनुमोदन किया है, उस पर मुझको अपने विचारों को प्रकट करने का अवसर दे दिया है।

श्रीमन्, मैं उसका समर्थन करने को खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मान्यवर, मैं अपने पूर्ववक्ता के द्वारा उठाये गये प्रश्नों और लगाये गये आरोपों और आपत्तियों का उत्तर नहीं देना चाहता क्योंकि उनके सभी प्रश्नों और उनके सभी आरोपों और उनकी सभी आपत्तियों का उत्तर भारत की महान जनता ने दे दिया है। उसके पश्चात् कोई सत्तर देने की आवश्यकता नहीं रह गई है।

श्रीमन्, भारत के इतिहास में 1947 का वर्ष सबसे महत्वपूर्ण वर्ष था जिसमें जगत बापू महात्मा गांधी और चाचा जवाहर लाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में भारत को स्वाधीनता प्राप्त हुई। उसके पश्चात् सन् 1948 का वर्ष दूसरा सबसे महत्वपूर्ण वर्ष रहा है। भारत की महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, जिन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री के रूप में लगभग दो दशक तक राष्ट्र की अखंडता, एकता, प्रभुसत्ता, लोकतन्त्र, समाजवाद, धर्मनिरपेक्षता, गुट-निरपेक्षता तथा आत्मनिर्भरता के लिये तन मन धन से सेवा की और करती रहीं, जो जीवन पर्यन्त अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित जनजातियों तथा अल्पसंख्यकों एवं निर्धन वर्ग के लोगों के लिये संघर्ष करती रही हैं; जो भारत के निर्धन लोगों की चिन्ता करत हुये सोती थीं, स्मरण करके जागती थी, उन्होंने भारत का इतिहास नहीं, भारत का भूगोल बनाया है। उनके कार्यकाल में भारत के मान और सम्मान में ऐतिहासिक रूप से वृद्धि हुई है। वह भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता की आशा और विश्वास की केन्द्र रही है। वह मानव एकता तथा विश्व शांति की देवी थी। 31 अक्टूबर, 1984 को अपने अंग रक्षकों के द्वारा उनकी निर्मम हत्या की गई। स्वाधीन भारत के इतिहास में यह सबसे दुःखद, सबसे लज्जाजनक और सबसे दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना थी। भारत के लिये इससे बड़ा अभिशाप और कौन हो सकता है? उनके व्यक्तित्व में मानवीयता के सभी गुणों का समावेश था और न केवल समावेश था बल्कि सभी गुण अपने विकसित रूप में विद्यमान थे। जो वह कहा करती थीं वह "मुझे स्मरण है कि जो मेरा विरोध करते हैं या मेरा सहयोग करते हैं सब मेरे बेटे हैं।"

उनके निधन पर आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता की भावना को ही व्यक्त किया था कि "वह मेरी ही मां नहीं सारे राष्ट्र की मां थीं।" श्रीमती गांधी ने एकता और शांति के लिये जो बलिदान दिया है उससे उन्हें इतिहास में सम्पूर्ण भारत की मां बनने का गौरव प्राप्त हुआ था। वे एक महान राष्ट्रभक्त थीं। भुवनेश्वर में 30 अक्टूबर, 1984 को दिया गया उनके भाषण का स्वर आज भी कानों में गूँजता है। उन्होंने कहा था—

"जब तक मुझमें सांस है, मैं सेवा करती रहूंगी और जब भी मेरी जान जाएगी,

मेरे खून का एक-एक कतरा भारत को मज-बूती देगा और अखंड भारत को जीवित रखेगा।” ।

मैं यह उद्धरण समाप्त करता हूँ। भारत के इतिहास में ये दो दशक इंदिरा युग के नाम से स्मरण किए जाते रहेंगे। साथ ही यह इंदिरा युग भारत के इतिहास में स्वर्णाक्षरों में लिखा जाएगा। जिस प्रकार से विश्व में महात्मा गांधी का नाम सम्मान से लिया जाता है उसी प्रकार श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का नाम अभिमान से लिया जाएगा। वह बोसवी शताब्दी की भारत की ही नहीं, विश्व की सबसे महान नेता थी। 31 अक्टूबर 1984 को भारत ही ने नहीं विश्व ने अपना सब से महान नेता “शांति की देवी” को खो दिया।

श्रीमन्, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या के विरोध में राष्ट्र में प्रतिक्रिया का होना स्वाभाविक था। उम्मी समय एक अत्यन्त गम्भीर और दृढ़ स्वर सुनायी पड़ा। देश के किसी भी कोने में हिंसा का उठना इंदिरा जी की आत्मा को दुख पहुंचाना है। यह स्वर था उनके पुत्र आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी का। उन्होंने जिस संयम, साहस और दृढ़ता के साथ परिस्थिति का सामना किया उसकी प्रशंसा शब्दों की सामर्थ्य के बाहर है। भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता के यह स्वीकार किया कि श्री गांधी ने उन के परनामा श्री मांती लाल नेहरू, नाना पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू तथा मां श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के समस्त गुण विद्यमान हैं। उनका चरित्र सदेह के परे है। उनके व्यक्तित्व में समस्त गुणों, आदर्शों तथा मूल्यों का समावेश है। वह एक महान मानव हैं। उन्होंने समय से लोक सभा का निर्वाचन करा कर ईमानदारी तथा दृढ़ता का परिचय दिया है। उनके नेतृत्व में लोक सभा के निर्वाचन में उनके दल को जितने क्षेत्र में विजय प्राप्त हुई है वह भारत के लोकतन्त्र के इतिहास में सबसे बड़ी विजय है। भारत की महान जनता ने उनके व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व पर अपनी पूर्ण आस्था तथा विश्वास व्यक्त किया है। माननीय सदन को मैं स्मरण दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि 28 दिसम्बर, 1885 को कांग्रेस की स्थापना की गयी थी। 28 दिसम्बर, 1985 को कांग्रेस

की शताब्दी पूर्ण हो रही है। 28 दिसम्बर, 1984 से 28 दिसम्बर, 1985 तक कांग्रेस-शताब्दी वर्ष मनाया जा रहा है। 28 दिसम्बर 1984 को लोक सभा के निर्वाचन परिणामों के द्वारा भारत की महान जनता ने पनः कांग्रेस के प्रति अपने एक सौ वर्ष के पूर्व विश्वास पर अपनी मोहर लगा दी। भारत की जनता ने श्री राजीव गांधी को कांग्रेस की दूसरी शताब्दी में राष्ट्र की सेवा करने का स्नेह और आशीर्वाद प्रदान किया है। इस प्रकार से सन् 1984 भारत के लिये अभिशाप तथा वरदान का वर्ष रहा है। श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि सरकार अपने स्वच्छ सार्वजनिक जीवन के लिये वचनबद्ध है। यह स्वच्छता की परिकल्पना भारत के प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के उज्ज्वल चरित्र की परिचायक है। भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता का यह विश्वास है कि श्री गांधी के नेतृत्व में सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्वच्छता लाने का हर सम्भव प्रयास किया जाएगा। उन के नेतृत्व में भारत की अखंडता, एकता, प्रभुसत्ता तथा लोकतन्त्र की रक्षा होगी। भारत समाजवाद, धर्म निरपेक्षता तथा गुटनिरपेक्षता की नीति पर चलेगा। भारत एक स्वाभिमानी, विकासशील तथा शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र बनेगा। साथ ही यह भी विश्वास है कि पं० नेहरू के अधूरे कार्यों को श्रीमती गांधी ने पूर्ण किया था। उसी प्रकार श्रीमती गांधी के स्वप्नों को श्री राजीव गांधी साकार करेंगे। श्री गांधी ने विरोधी दलों के सम्मानित नेताओं से भी विचार विमर्श का शुभारम्भ किया है। यह उन की महानता का परिचायक है। मैं भी समस्त सम्मानित नेताओं से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वे जन भावनाओं का आदर करते हुये श्री गांधी को सहयोग प्रदान करें। मेरा विश्वास है कि जिस प्रकार श्रीमती गांधी के कार्यकाल में भारत का सम्मान संपूर्ण विश्व में बढ़ा है उसी प्रकार श्री राजीव गांधी ने के नेतृत्व में भारत का नाम चांद सितारों तक उज्ज्वल होगा। सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र उनकी दीर्घायु की कामना करता है।

अन्त में मैं एक ग़ौर पढ़ कर अपनी बात को समाप्त करूंगा।

[डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह]

कल यही ख्वाब हकीकत में बदल जायेंगे, आज जो ख्वाब महज ख्वाब नजर आते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं कृतशता के प्रस्ताव का हृदय से समर्थन करते हुये आप को पुनः धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to thank the President for paragraph 36 in which he has said and I quote:

"Government are committed to a clean public life". I also rise to thank the President for paragraph 47—and I quote:

"Our duty as representatives of the people is to canalise the tremendous upsurge among the masses into cooperative and discipline endeavour to accelerate development and to prepare the country for the 21st century".

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must congratulate Shri Rajiv Gandhi that immediately after getting this massive mandate he has said that in consonance with the objective of a healthy political system Government intend to bring forward in this session of Parliament an Anti-defection Bill. True to his word he has brought the Bill. He has had consultations with the opposition parties and the Bill is likely to come before this House during this very week. I must congratulate him again for this thing because it is a courageous step on his part that he has brought in this Bill so soon after taking over. I have only to say that when this is done by him, recall that we in Jammu and Kashmir had also enacted an Anti-defection law. I was associated in those days with it. In the same manner, with the same zeal and zest that Rajiv Gandhi has shown, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah had also shown zest and zeal in it and he told his Law Minister at that time that he must come out with an Anti-defection Bill and that Bill was passed in a matter of just three days. Alas! we are victims of the same defection.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the history of the world, not only in the history of India, 14 defectors from our party have

formed a Government in Jammu and Kashmir. It is an irony that all the 14 members who have defected are all Ministers. None of them is a Deputy Minister or a Minister of State but all the members of the Government are Ministers. So, this is a record in the world. And out of those 14, five people are illiterate. This is the situation that we have faced... (Interruptions).

Sir, in this connection I have to refer to the *'Indian Express'* of 30th December, 1984. I quote:—

"Mr. Gandhi ruled out dismissal of the Hogde Government in the wake of the Congress (I) sweep. Asked about the dismissal of the State Governments in 1977 and 1980, the first by the Janata Government and the second by his mother, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said it was wrong to have dismissed them in 1977 and 1980. We will not do it.

He, however, pointed out that Mr Hegde, as a senior leader of the Janata Party, also had a role in dismissing the Congress (I) in 1977. It was up to him ponder over the question now".

This is a very moral statement. I only want to replace some words: He, however, pointed out that Mr. Gandhi, as a senior leader of the Congress Party, also had a role in dismissing the National Conference Government in 1984 it was up to him to ponder over the question now".

Sir, the same has been stated in the *Hindustan Times*; the same has been stated in the *Hindu* of Madras. They have said that Mr. Hegde was an important member of the Janata Party which first took the decision to dismiss; it was up to him to ponder over the question. Now, Sir, after the Anti-defection Bill has been brought in I would request him kindly to ponder over it and see whether the support that the Congress (I) is giving to these 14 members is moral or not. If it is not moral, then he should undo the wrong.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in this connection I want to tell you one thing. I have not despaired, I have not been disappointed.

From the day the Prime Minister has taken over, not a single word has come out from his mouth that he is supporting this defector Government. This ray of hope is kindling in my heart. And I think if this message goes to him, when he replies to the debate tomorrow, he will announce that the support to these fourteen immoral defectors, is done away with so that democracy is restored in the Jammu and Kashmir State. (Time bell rings).

There are one or two points that I would like....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): No.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: ... to mention. Two small points in the President's Address, I have only to state, one or two points that affect us. The first is that the total outlay in the public sector in the entire country as on 31st of March, 1983 was Rs. 31,968.69 crores. Out of that Jammu and Kashmir has got only Rs. 23.91 crores. I request Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Now that he has come to revamp the whole administration, he should see that out of Rs. 32,000 crores the State of Jammu and Kashmir should not get only Rs. 23 crores.

Similarly, I have to state, about the Salal Hydel Project the figures were given in Parliament yesterday. The original estimate was Rs. 55 crores; the revised estimate was Rs. 222 crores; and now it is Rs. 490 crores. I request that any projects taken up in Jammu and Kashmir may be completed in time.

Sir, I have to mention many things. But you are not allowing me. I will only and this speech of mine with a couplet from Ahmed Faraz because I still have a ray of hope that Shri Rajiv Gandhi will come up to the occasion and do justice to us. I only want him to do justice to us. Ahmed Faraz said:

ये दहन जलम की सूत है मेरे चेहरे पर

My mouth is like a wound on my face.

या इसे भर दे या इसे गोयाई दे।

Either fill up this one or allow it to speak.

With these words, I conclude my speech. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Prof. Asima Chatterjee. She is the last speaker.

PROF. (MRS.) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

The President had said, and I quote:

"For India, 1984 was a year of trial and tribulation."

This is indeed true. The assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi was a national disaster. Shrimati Indira Gandhi dedicated her life to building a prosperous India. She worked relentlessly for the unity and integrity of our nation and also for communal harmony. She cautioned us repeatedly against the divisive, disruptive, anti-national and anti-Indian forces trying to destabilise our country. It is an irony of fate that she became the victim of these forces. The supreme sacrifice made by her will foster peace and goodwill and unite the country's rational and progressive forces in building the India of her dreams. The best homage that we can pay to her memory is to follow her ideology and follow the path illuminated through the radiance of her personality and illuminated through her vast knowledge and wisdom.

Coming to the Bhopal gas tragedy, it is the worst industrial disaster, no doubt. The mischief has already been done by the killer gas, which is now to be identified, and it is neces-

[Prof. Mrs. Asima Chatterjee]

sary to find the events and circumstances which led to this tragedy. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Government of India and the State Government took action immediately after the tragedy by providing medical aid, relief and compensation to the ailing population.

The President in his Address has covered many important aspects on all-round development of the country.

Coming to foodgrains, Sir, the year 1984 has made a record production of 152 million tonnes, and foodgrains have been exported also.

So far as the economy of the country is concerned, it cannot be denied that the economy has made significant progress. But this has been marred to a great extent because of the population explosion. That is why under the 20-Point Programme much emphasis has been stressed on family welfare programme which is functioning extremely well.

The year 1984 has also witnessed the progress for the promotion of social welfare. Vigorous efforts have been made for the alleviation of poverty, eradication of illiteracy and for the welfare of the under-privileged section. The National Rural Employment Programme and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme had proved very successful.

Sir, coming to the development of science and technology, it must be admitted that there had been a remarkable progress in these fields. It is due to endeavour of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. On the base created by Homi Bhabha with the understanding of Jawaharlal Nehru and thereafter the unstinting support provided by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, India had developed a comprehensive range of capabilities in the field of nuclear science and technology. But Shrimati Gandhi had always raised voice against the misuse of nuclear energy and advocated nuclear disarmament and ban

on nuclear weapons. She said, "Our science, particularly, our nuclear science is dedicated to development to achieving freedom from want and providing the essentials of our honourable life for our masses. I repeat that we have no intention of embarking on any nuclear-weapons programme. "We want to make the deserts bloom and not make the world a desert."

Space science and technology area she nurtured so carefully. She was convinced of the great potential of space capability. said I quote:

"Work in these advanced fields is of immense practical benefit—even necessity for us. This is not vain glory. Our space effort is important for education and communication and deeper knowledge of the monsoon, which rules our economic calendar. The ground can be better mapped from the sky for programmes of mineralogical investigation."

All the major scientific activities in the country received Shrimati Indira Gandhi's unswerving support and encouragement.

She gave the top priority to eradication of poverty, illiteracy, self-reliance in technology and self-sufficiency in food production. Her pivotal role in encouraging teaching and research in natural sciences, engineering and electronics, investigations in health and application of family welfare principles, expansion of oil and mineral production, implementation of atomic energy programmes, exploration of the icy continent of Antarctica, research on oceanography, utilisation of non-conventional energy resources, protection of environment and conservation of nature, with the maintenance of ecobalance, initiation and intensification of space research programmes and launching of indigenously designed satellites for remote sensing and applications relating to education, telecommunication, radio

and television has been principally responsible for the preeminence of India in the developing world.

In Technology Policy Statement, she had indicated I quote,

"Indian Science and Technology must unlock the creative potential of our people and help in building the India of our dreams."

Under her guidance as Prime Minister a National Health Policy aiming at "Health for All" by the year 2000 A.D., through the primary health care approach had been adopted by Government. The constant message that came through from her was to ensure the effective use of science to bring about a better quality of life for the Indian people as a whole. She particularly emphasised the importance of scientific approaches in rural development and for overcoming regional imbalances. We must follow her policy in the development of science and technology.

Sir, there is no mention in the President's Address on traditional medicine. We are all aware that the World Health Organisation is repeatedly advocating the revival of traditional medicine in developing and also developed countries and the utilisation of medicinal plants for the production of herbal medicine. Most of the steroid drugs and other modern medicine are the chemical transformations of herbal products. I, therefore, suggest that under "National Health Policy", the programme on traditional medicine should be incorporated. Soon comprehensive reforms in our educational system will be introduced. A new National Education Policy will be formulated. This is welcome. In this connection, I would suggest the implementation of the recommendations on educational policy by the Radhakrishnan Commission and the Kothari Commission. The education policy should be modified so as to reorient the syllabi and the course content so that our children can have opportunity to learn about the cultural heritage

of India and may develop the power of creativity. The policy laid down by Mahatma Gandhi should also be taken into consideration. He believed that if the children could be educated through work, they would develop the power of creativity when they grow up. Sir, I would suggest that emphasis should be given on vocational training which is so necessary for self-employment.

An important development in Ministries has been observed. A new Ministry on Social and Women's Welfare has been set up. I am confident that this step would certainly accelerate the progress on social and women's welfare programmes.

Lastly, Sir, in the International Youth Year 1985, the youth will be involved in national programmes. This is extremely desirable. Our youth are flexible and can adjust and accommodate with the changing world. I am confident that their dynamism will be fruitfully utilised in nation-building.

In conclusion, may I appeal to all the parties to work with integrity and dedication in building a united, strong and prosperous India, upholding the glorious heritage of our country. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address is concluded. The Prime Minister will reply to the debate tomorrow.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: At what time?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Most likely it will be after the Question Hour, but that will be decided by the Chairman. The House is adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-eight minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 23rd January, 1985.