[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

श्री पी॰ एन॰ सुकूल (उत्तर प्रदेश)

January. (Interruptions).

ful day of assassination of Gandhiji, Le. on the 30th वह उनका बाफिकेन खोगा या (व्यवधान

MR. DKFUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right. SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir. what has happened is that our leader did not make any record.

statement. What they did was witnessed by all the passengers. {Interrwptions).*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The last part of Mr. Gopalsamy's observations regarding Ministers will not be recorded. Yes, please take your seat. (Interruptions).

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM; Sir, you know that they are in the habit of exaggerating and creating

(Interruptions). imaginary stories. What I want to say is that two persons. .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no dispute on that point. Please sit down. Do not record anything on this matter. Yes, Shri Jha.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:*

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRE-SIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (विहार) : मेरा पाइंट आफ अडार है। रूल 187 के मातहत मैंने बीच ब्राफ प्रिविलेज की नोटिस दी है वित्त मंत्री श्री प्रणव मुखर्जी जी के खिलाफ कि इन्होंने बजट को ... (व्यब्धान) ...

थी उपसमापति : आपने नोटिस दी है। में देख रहा हूं कि क्या हो सकता है क्या नहीं हो सकता है । लिहाजा स्नाप बैठ जायें में परमिशन आपको नहीं देता है।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा: यही तो मैं चाहता था कि ... (व्यवधान)।

श्री शिव जन्त्र झाः श्रीमन् ... MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not Mr. Sukul and Mr. Jha.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL:*

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:*

श्री रामानन्द यादव : (विहार) : रिगाडिंग बजट मेरा पाइंट ग्राफ ग्राडर है। जब बजट पढ़ लिया गया, सब चीज हो गई ग्रीर बजट के पहले कोई बात ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : मैं भी एक्सप्लेन करता हं । मैंने नोटिस दी है ... (व्यह्यान) आल इंडिया रेडियो बाह-कास्ट कर रहा है . . . (ब्यख्यान) कांस्टी-ट्यूशन कहता है कि दोनों हाऊसेज में रखा जायेगा ... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री समापति : पहले ग्राप बैठिए । उनकी वात सुनिए क्या कह रहे हैं। पाइंट ग्राफ ग्राडंर उचका सुन लीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : बजट पढने के बाद उस पर कोई भी चीज हो सकती है तो वह हाउस में बहस हो सकती है। प्रिविलेज की बात या कोई चोज नहीं उठाई जा सकती है ? ग्रगर कोई सदस्य इस तरह की बात उठाते हैं तो उनकी स्रज्ञानता है। वह ठीक से प्रोसीडिंग्स को पढते नहीं हैं। प्रोसीजर ग्रौर रूल्स को नहीं पढते हैं ग्रीर ऐसे ही हर जगह कोई बात कह देते हैं किसी को कण्डेम्न करने के लिए-। यह उनकी आवत है । आपसे मैं आग्रह कहंगा कि उनकी जो बातें हैं वे कार्यवाही में से निकाल दी जायें भीर जब बहस हो रही है तो.. (व्यवधानः) ।

^{*}Not recorded.

MR. DEPUTE CHAIRMAN: We shall now take u .) Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI LAL K ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, tie President's Address is regarded as a very important debate in this Hi use. On many occasions this issue has been raised that at least one Cabiret Minister must be present and today the Treasury Ben-hes are vacant

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: (Madhya Pradeh): No, no. They are not vacant.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: It is a convention which has been accepted by the Government that at least one Cabinet, Minister must U present.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamilnadu): There nusfr be somebody on the muster roll duty,

MR. DEPUTV CHAIRMAN: I think some Minister must be present in the House.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Hardly five minutes are left now; Sir, you can adjourn the Hou

- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN- I have to announce tl at this debate is to be completed todaj. So, the House will sit a little late till we finish with all the speakers. Secondly, if a Member is called and 1 e is not present- in the House, I am strry, he will Hbt be called again, becaise there is a long list and we cannot go on repeating the names.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: When will the Prime Minister reply?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister wiH reply to the debate tomorrow at 5 P.M. Now, Shri Abdul Rehman Sheikii may start and then we shall adjourn 'or lunch.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: What about ihe presence i f a Cabinet Minister?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN;) I have asked him to bring the Minister. Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, please ask your Min-, isters to follow the conventions of the House; they should not- be careless and remain absent. I do agree that there must be somebody present. Now, Shri Abdul Rehman Sheikh. I

श्री धावदुल रहमान शेंख (उत्तर प्रदेश):
जनावेदाला राष्ट्रपति जी के अड्रेस का यह
तीसरा दिन है। बहुत से आनरेबुल
मेम्बरान ने इस पर अपने ख्यालात का
इजहार किया है। पूरा अड्रेस पढ़ने के
बाद अगर कोई सही बात और लाम की बात
है तो वह सिर्फ एक सेंटेंस है जो लास्ट
पराग्राफ में राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है —
Hon. Members, the Republic is passing
through a period of stress.

इतना तो अहमास उनको है लेकिन पहले जो उन्होंने दावे किये हैं कि पैदावार बढ़ी है, इन्तसादी तरक्की हुई है—अगर यह मुल्क पीरियड आफ स्ट्रेस से गुजर रहा है तो फिर आपके उन अचीवमेंट्स का क्या हुआ और यह मुल्क यहां क्यों पहुंचा इसकी कोई दलील नहीं है।

जहां तक इक्तसादी तरककी के दावें किये गये हैं उनके बारे में यह सब चोजें सेल्फ-कंट्राडिक्टरी हैं। एक तरफ कहा जाता है कि ग्रापने बहुत ज्यादा इरिगेशन कें, बहुत ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन हुई है ग्रीर दूसरी तरफ इम्पोर्ट जो है वह भी बढ़ रही है। ग्रगर प्रोडक्शन हुई तो इम्पोर्ट क्यों हुई है? यह तेल्फ कंट्राडिक्टरी चोजें जो हैं उनका कोई एक्सप्लेनेशन नहीं है।

इक्तसादो पालिसी कितनो कामयाव रही। है, उसका ग्रंदाजा भाषणों से नहीं बल्कि उसके रिजल्ड्स से ग्रीर ग्रजीवमेंटस से हम लगायेंगे कि टार्गेटस क्या ग्रजीव हुए हैं ? जिस मुल्क में पांच करोड़ एजुकेटेड सींग

श्चिं। ग्रब्दल रहमान शेखी ग्रनइम्पलायड हों जिस महक के सैंकडों लोग सर्दी से मर जाते हैं, गर्मी से ग्रीर ल लगने से मरं जाते हैं, बीमारी से ला-इलाज मर जाते हैं, फुटपाथ पर सोते हैं और दूसरी तरफ एणियाड जैसी अवाणियां हों, जिन पर हजारहा करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जाय, फाइव-स्टार होटल वर्ने इससे ग्रन्दाजा लगाया जा सकता है कि गवर्नमेंट किस डाइरेक्शन में जा रही है।

मुझे यकीन है कि यह ग्रहेस भी पुराने अईस की तरह सिवाए लोगों की घोखा देने का एक दस्तावेज है ग्रीर इसमें कुछ भी नहीं है। इक्तमादी तरक्की के जितने दावे किये गये हैं उनको अगर हम हकीकत की कसौटी पर देखें तो इक्तसादी तरक्की जो है वह रिवर्स है। धगर कुछ तरक्की हुई है तो उसका फायदा बडे-बडे सरमायदारों को पहुंचा है, कामन मैंन सफर कर रहा है और जिन लोगों के लिए बीमारी के लिए इलाज नहीं हैं, 50 फीसदी लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे बसते हैं, उनके लिए क्या किया गया है, इसका उसमें कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।

जहां तक ला एण्ड ग्राडर का ताल्लक है इस के बारे में इसमें थोड़ा सा जिक किया गया है, लेकिन ग्राज मुल्क की हालत क्या है ?

ग्रसम में हजारों लोगों का कल्लेग्राम हुआ, लेकिन कहा जाता है कि अब वहां हीक-ठाक है--जो लोग मर गये गोया उसकी जिम्मेदारी गवर्नमेंट पर महीं है। कोई भी कल्चर्ड ग्रीर सिविलाइण्ड गवर्न-मेंट जो है एक भी शख्स के मरने की जिम्मेदारी वह अपने ऊपर लेती है लेकिन हजारहा लोग कत्लेग्राम हो जाएं, खन की नदियां वह जाएं और यह कह करके हमें तसल्ली देने की कोशिश की जाए कि साहब ग्रव तो ग्रसम में ठीक-ठाक है जो कुछ हम्रा, उसको भूल जाइए। उसको वैसे भूला जा सकता है ? उसकी रेस्पांसिबिल्टी किस पर है ? आपने वहां महज सरकार बनाने के लिए चुनाव करवाया, ग्रापने महज वहां पर कुर्सी हासिल करने के लिए इस कद खन-खराबा कराया। उसकी जिम्मेदारी से आप नहीं बन सकते।

पंजाब ग्रौर हरियाणा में जो कुछ हो रहा. है, उसकी जिम्मेदारी से सरकार नहीं बच सकती, बहिक न सिर्फ सरकार ला एण्ड आर्डर को मैनटेन करने में फेल हुई है, बह्कि सारे मामले को उलझाने में श्रीर इस मामले को पैदा करने की कुलयत्न जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर है। पंजाब का मसला बहुत देरी का मसला है। मैं उसकी बैकग्राउण्ड में नहीं जाना चाहता लेकिन जब भी पंजाब का मसला हल होने में ग्राया, पार्टी इंट्रेस्ट की खातिर उसको पीछे धकेल दिया गया और जब भी कोई मौका ग्राया उस वक्त सियासी मसले के पेशेनजार उस मसले को हल करने की बजाए उसको उनझाया गया, और धाज यह कहा जाता है कि अपोजीशन पार्टियां--

دن ہے۔ بہت سے آنویبل سمبران نے اس پر ایے خیالت کا اظهار کوا ہے -دررا الدریس پوهائے کے بعد اگر کہیں کولی صحیح بات اور کم کی ہات ھے تو وہ صرف ایک سینگیلس ھے جو لاست پهراگراف مين راشگرپاي جی نے کہا ہے....

^{†[]} Transliteration in Arabic script.

Hon. Members, he republic is passing through a period of stress.

أثلا تو أحساس أن كو هم لهكن يهلم جو دعوم انہوں نے کئے ھیں کہ -يهداوار بوهي هـ - انتصادي ترتي هوئی هے - اگر یه ملک پیرین آف استریس سے گزر رہا ہے۔ تو پھر آپکے ان اجهوسيللس كا كربا طوا اور يه " ملک یہاں کیوں پہنچا - اس کی کوئی دالیل نہوں ہے - 🛴 🧢

یہماں تک انتصافی ترقی کے دعوے کئے گئے ہیں ان کے بارے میں يه سب جيزين سهاف كالأراةكالري ھیں – ایک طرف کیا ہمانا ہے۔ کتاب آپ نے بہمت زیادہ اررکیشن کی۔ ر بہت زیادہ پروقائشن ھوئی ھے اور دوسري طرف إمهورت جو هے وہ بھی بوہ رھی ہے ۔ اگر پروةلھیں ھوٹی تو إسهرونك كهون هولي - يه سهلف كداراً دَکاری چیزیں جو میں آبی کا کولی ایکسپلے نیشی نہیں ہے ۔ - - -

أقتصادى ياليسي كتلى كامهاب رهی هے اس کا اندازہ بھاشلوں سے نہیں بلکه اسکے رزنڈس سے اور اچھومیلڈس ب هم لگائينگے که تارکیٹس کیا اجیو هوڙم هين - انجس ملک مين پاڻيم: كرور المجركيات لوك أن امهالية هون -نہمی ملک کے سیناورں لوگ سردی سے میر جاتے میں کرمی اور لو لکانے سے مرجاتے ہیں۔ بیماری سے لاعلم مو جائے ھیں۔ قبقہ باتھ پر سوتے

هیار اور دوسری طرف پاشهان جهسی عیاشیاں هوں جی پر هزارها کروروں رویه خرج کها جائے - فائمو اسٹار موقل بلهين - اس سے اندازه لکایا جا سكتا هے كه گورندات كس دانويكھون میں جا رہی ہے۔

منجهے يقهن هے كه يه أيدريس بوی پرانے ایڈریس کی طرح سوائے لوگوں کو دھرکہ دینے کا ایک دستاویز ھے اور اس مھر کچھ بھی اچیاں ہے ۔ انتصادی ترتی کے جاتنے دموے کئے کئے ہیں ان کو اگر یہ حقیقات کی کسوڈی پر دیکھیں تو انتصادی ترقی حو هے ولا رپورس هے - اگر کچه لارقی هوئی هے دو اس کا فائدہ ہوے ہوے سرمایه دارس کو پهنچا هے - کامن مهن سفر کو رها هے اور جن لوگون کے لگے بیناہی کے لگے علام تہمن ہے م +ہ فیصد لوگ غریمی کی ریکھا سے تبجير نستي ههن إنكم ليُّم كيا كيا rio Hogy regions. کیا ہے۔

جهان تک لا ایند آردر کا تعلق هے اسکے بارے میں اس میں تورزا سا ذکر کھا گھا ہے لیکن آج ملک کے حالت کیا ہے - آسام سیق هزارون اوگون كا قتل عام هوا - ليكن کہا جاتا ہے کہ آب ومان **تھیک تھاک** ھے ۔ جو لوگ مر کائے گویا اس کی ذمہ داری گورنمانت پر نہیں هـ - كوثى يهى كلجوة أور سويةئزة کورٹیفٹ ہو ہے ایک بھی شخص کے

[شربي عبدالرحس شيتر] مرنے کی ڈمھ داری ولایا ہے ارپر لیتا<u>ہ</u> هے - لیکن هزارها لوگ قتل عام هو جاڻهن - ڪوڻ کي نديان پهه جاڙين ارر یہ کہ کو کے عموں تسلمی دیائے کی کوشش کی جائے کہ ماہب اب تو آسام مهر ثهیک تهاک هے جو كحجو هوا اس كو برول جايئي - اس کو کیسے بھولا ہوا سکتا ہے ۔

Motion of Thanks

ائس کی ریسهوانسهیلگی کس پر نے ۔ آپ نے وہاں پر معصص سرکار بفائے کیاگے پہلو کروایا آپ نے محصص وهاں ہر کرسی حاصل کرنے کھاگے اس قدر خون خوابها کووابها اس فی ذمه عاری سے آپ نہیں بھے سکتے۔

ينجاب ارر هريانه مين جو کچه ھو رھا ھے - اس کی ڈمٹ داری سے سرار نهین بچ سکتی - باکه نه صرف يءِ كِمَا سَرِكُو لَا لَيْدَنَ أَرْقُو كُو مَهَنَّتُهُنَ اِ کرتے میں فیل ہوئی ہے۔ بلکہ سارے معاملے کو الجهالے میں آر اس معامله کو پیدا کرنے کی کلهتا ۔ ذمه داري مركاو ير هے - ياهاب كا مسئله بيت ديريله سائله هـ - حقق اس کی بھک گراونڈ میں تھیں جاتا: چاها - لهكن جب بهي پلجاب كا مستُله حل هوئے میں آیا ہارٹی انتریست کی خاطر اس کو پیجافت تهكيل ديا كيا ارز جب بهي كوثي مرتدة آيا اس ولت سياسي مسألله کے پیعل نظر اس مسئلہ کر خل

کونے کے بحوالے الحیمایا گیا اور آے Lily يه کيا دارتيان....

श्रो उपसभापात : ग्रव ग्राप लंच के बाद भाषण जारी रिखएगा। सदन को कार्यवाही अब दो बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

> The House then adojurned for lunch at one minute past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at five minutes past two of the clock-

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. Rama. Krishnan) in the Chair]

> THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): We continue with the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Shri Abdul Rehman Sheikh.

थो श्रद्धल रहमान शेंख: जनाव वाइस चैयरमन साहब मैं इससे पहले जिक कर रहा था कि इकानामिकली हमारा महक किस दौर से गुजर रहा है । जहां सबसे ज्यादा कैज्यु-लटोज ल इलाज बीमारी के बिना लोग हों, गर्मी, सदी, में लोगों की मीतें हों ग्रीर दूसरी तरफ एशियाड जैसो शाहाना फज्ल खर्ची होती रहे ग्रौर मुल्क के अन्दर इतनी डिस्पेरिटीज ग्रा जाए कि एक तरफ मृट्ठी भर अभीर तबका एशो-ब्राराम की जिन्दर्गा जोये ब्रौर दूसरी तरफ अन्म आदमी अपनी जिन्दगी फाकाकशी से बिताने के लिए मजबर हों, इसके लिए गवर्नमेंट को कोई केंडिट नहीं दो जा सकती। लेकिन हस्बे दस्तूर रुलिंग पार्टी कै लोग, कांग्रेस ग्राई के हमारे दोस्त ग्रपो-जिशन को इसके लिए जिम्मेदार ठहराते हैं। मैं बड़े धदब से यह दश्याफत करना चाहता हूं कि 35-36 साल की श्राजादी के बाद दो ढ़ाई साल का बक्त निकालकर बाकी कांग्रेस आई ने ही देश में कुमत की है। श्राखिर 35 साल के बाद भी यह मुल्क इस हाला के अन्दर है तो इसके लिए कांग्रेस ई० के सिवा कोई दूसरा जिम्मेदार नहीं

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ठहराया जा सकता । तो में जिक कर रहा था कि ला एण्ड ग्राइंर का कि जिस मुल्क के अन्दर ला एण्ड आईर की यह हालत हो, हरएक साल हजारों लोग फिरकेदाराना कसाद से मारे जायें, हरिजन ग्रीर वोकर सैक्शन के गांव के गांव जला दिये जायें, जहां रेप और महर रोज मामुलो का काम बना जाए और जहां उकता और इस तस्ह की वाक्यात राजवानी में होते जायें तो ऐसी सरकार को यह हक नहीं हासिल है कि वह ग्रंपने को काबिल बताये कि वह ला एण्ड ग्राहर को कंट्रोल करती है। वह एफिशियट सरकार है, यह सर्टिफिक्ट उसे नहीं दिया जा सकता ।

जनाब, प्रासाम के अन्दर हजारों लो। करले शाम के बाद, पंजाब ग्रीर हरियाणा को हालत जो दिन तोन दिन से इस हाउस में बहस का मोज बनी रही, है उसके बारे में कौन जिस्मेदार है ? पंजाब को बैकप्राउंड में ज्यादा न जाते हुए म शाह कमीशन के फैसले का जिक करना चाहता हं कि संत फतेहसिंह की सैल्फ-इन्लैशन की धमकी बाद जब पंचाब धौर हरियाणा बनने का फैसला हवा तो बाह कमोबन बनाया गया। जस्टिश शाह हमारे देश के एक नामवर जस्टित हैं, न वह पंजाब के थे, न हरियाणा के, न हम लय के क्षेत्र थे। उन्होंने जो ग्रवाई दिया जिसके तहत खरड तहसील ग्रीर चंडागढ ह रेवाणा की दिया गया. उसकी किसने बदला ? जो कमीशन का अबाई या उनको इन-टोटो ऐक्सैप्ट किया जातौ वो अफगाट्स नहीं निकलते और मामला वहीं खत्म हो जाता। लेकिन जब प्रधान मंत्रो जो बोच में ग्राई, उनको बीच में मीडिएटर मकरर किया गया, अगर किसी मुल्क के लोडर किसी मसले को हल करने के लिए मीडिएटर बनते हैं तो हम उसको ऐप्रिशियेट करते हैं, लेकिन ग्रबोहर ग्रौर फाजिल्का हरियाणा

को स्रीर चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को देने का जब फैसला किया गया तो उसे इंप्लीमेंट क्यों नहीं किया गया ? उसको साल तक लटकाया गया । उससे जितना बैंड बलड कियेट हुआ, जिससे वह जहर फैला, उसके लिए कोन जिस्मेदार है ? पहले तो शाह कमीशन के अवार्ड को मानना चाहिए था, उसमें किसी किस्म की चेन्ज नहीं करनी चाहिए थी क्योंकि इससे नया बवंडर बाक्स खुला, लेकिन उसको बदलने के लिए प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने मीडिएटर किया, उसमें ऐडिशंस एंड धाल्ट्रेशंस की तो धबोहर और फाजिल्का हरियाणा को ग्रीर चंडीगढ पंजाब को दे देना चाहिए था, लेकिन उसको लटकाकर रखा गया । हमें कहना पड़ता है कि यह सियासी तीर पर फायदा उठाने के लिए किया गया और उसका नतीजा हमारे सामने हैं । पंजाब के ग्रंदर ऐजिटे-शन हए, तीनों पार्टियों की अपोजिशन पार्टीज गवर्नमेंट श्रोर श्रकाली दल के बीच वातचान शरू हुई, बहुत अच्छा माहोल था बात-चीत के समय, लेकिन उसको किसने टार्सीडो किया ? एक तरफ हम मेज पर बात-चीत कर रहे हैं, अकालियों की डिमांडस थीं रिलीजस की गृहवाणी का प्रसारण हो, यह वहां टेब्ल पर समझौते के अनुसार ऐग्रीमेंट होना चाहिए था न कि गुरुद्वारा बंगला साहब में जाकर ग्रापने हिमायती सिख दोस्तों को इकटठा करके। ऐसे अका-लियों को मौका दिया गया । अकालियों को साइडटेक करने के लिये, ग्राइसोलेट करने के लिये यह एक भट्टी कोशिश थी। एक जगह बातचीत हो रही है भीर मामला उस बातचीत में हल नहीं होता तो सड़क पर हल किया जाता है। धगर अकालियों की यह ड़िमांड थीं कि सेन्टल-स्टेट्स रिलेशन पर बहस होनी चाहिए स्टेट को ज्यादा अस्तियार मिलने च।हिया उसके लिया कोई कमीशन-बनाने की बात थी तो टेबल पर एग्रीमेंट-

श्री अब्दल रहमान शेक] **न्होना था ।** ऐसे समय पर अकालियों को श्रुपना एजिटेशन विदड़ा करना चाहिये था लेकिन यहतो हुआ नहीं बल्कि खन खराबा करने लगे । धकालियों को एक बहाना मिल गया था इसलिये वे बातचीत से हटकर एक ग्रांदोलन के राह पर चले गये । अगर किसी मामले में महज इसलिये देरी करनी है कि अकालियों को क्रीडिट नहीं देना है । श्रीर सारा केडिट इसलियेकि हमने अपोजीशन पार्टियों को ऋडिट नहीं देना है, और सारा केंडिट अपने बाप लेना है तो यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है। जो बात वहां हो रही है, जो फोरम हो रहा है उस फोरम को वहां **जि**पटना चाहिये न कि उसको सडक पर निपटाने के लिये छोड़ दिया जाए। में अकालियों के हर एक्शन को पसंद नहीं करता । कुछ गलतियां रुलिंग पार्टी की तरफ से हुई हैं। उस जिम्मेदारी से प्रधान मंत्री उसकी पार्टी और उसकी भुरकार बच नहीं सकती । हरियाणा में जो कुछ हमा, यह कहा गया कि यह रिएक्सन था। यकीनन िएक्सन था। लेकिन उसको सहारा मिला इस सरकार की तरफ से । हरियाणा के चीफ मिनि-**स्टर** थी भजन लाल ने जो स्टेटमेन्ट दी थी उसमें मामले को भड़काने की कोशिश की गई । नतीजा हमारे सामने हैं। यह प्राग दिल्ली तक पहुंच रही है क्स्टीटयशन वर्निग का मामला द्या गया। किसकी सारी पार्टियों ने निन्दा की लेकिन इस हालात को पैदा करने की जिम्मे-दारी चलिंग पार्टी पर है।

मैं फोरेन पालिसी की बात को लेता हूँ। यह फारेन पालिसी किसी मूलक की बुनियादी चीज है। फारेन पालिसी का ताल्लुक डिफेंस से है, इकोनोमी से है। फारेन पालिसी एक ऐसी चीज है कि आपके दुनियां में ज्यादा मिल देश हैं, आपकी मदद करने वाले देश हैं तो ब्राप

उस हिसाब से अपने डिफेंस के सर्जे में कमी कर सकते हैं और उस पैसे को, उस रुपये को गरीबी हटाने के काम में खर्च कर सकते हैं। ग्रीर अगर पालिसी ऐसी बनाई जाए कि ग्रापस में टकराव हो तो दश्मन तो क्या सगे भी हम से दूर भाग जायेंगे। कोई अमेरिका से एफ-16 ले रहा है तो उसका मुकाबला हम को मिराज खरीद कर करना पड़ेगा, हम को जगुम्रार खरीद कर करना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए हमें अलग से पैसा रखना पडेगा ग्रीर इसका बोझ किस पर पडेगा, क्या आपको पता है ? इसका बोझ मुलक पर पड़ेगा। इसलिए यह कहा जाता है कि जितनी नाकामयाब पालिसी फारेन की यहां पर है उतनी नाकामयाब फारेन पालिसी कहीं पर नहीं है। इस मुल्का के जनता पार्टी के दो-ढाई साल के राज में पड़ोसियों के साथ ताल्लकात अच्छे हो गए थे। अफगानिस्तान पाकिस-तान के साथ ताल्लुकात ग्रच्छे हो गए थे। बंगला देश के साथ ताल्लुकात अच्छे हो गए थे। श्रीलंका के साथ ताल्लुकात ग्रच्छे हो गए थे, बर्मा के साथ ताल्लकात अच्छे हो गए थे। नेपाल के साथ ताल्लकात सुधर गए थे। चीन से भी सुधारने की गरूग्रात हम ने की थी। लेकिन 1980 में गवर्नट बदलने के बाद जब द्यापकी बडी कामयाब गवर्नमेंट आई तो इन चार सालों के ग्रंबर नेपाल से हमारे ताल्लकात खराब हए, चीन से तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं, हमारी धीलंका से तनातनी है, बंगलादेश से झगड़ा है, पाकिस्तान से झगड़ा है यानी मुख्क को चारों तरफ से दुश्मनों के बीच लाकर खडा कर दिया । ग्रगर आप इसको कामयाब फारेन पालिसी कहते हैं तो मैं क्या कह सकता हूं मैं इससे इस्तफाक नहीं करता । हमारे कांग्रेस के दोस्त यह कह सकते हैं कि हमारी प्रधानमंत्री नान-एलायंड मुस्कों की चेयरपरसन हो

गर्च है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि न्या यह सारी दुनिया में इलेक्शन जीतने के बाद बनी है? यह तो एक रिवायतन है कि जो मुल्क होस्ट मुल्क होगा जो खर्चा वर्दाग्त करेगा, वह तीम साल के लिए होगा । फिडल कास्ट्रो क्यूबा के रह सकते हैं, सद्दाम हुसैन ईराक के रह सकते हैं, अगर अनवर सादात मिश्र के और जार्डन के शाह हुसैन रह सकते हैं तीन साल तक तो यह तो इतना बड़ा मुस्क है, होस्ट होने के वास्ते इनको चेयरपरसप को कुर्सी मिली। इसके बारे में सारी दलिया में बताया जाता है कि यह हमारी कामयाबी है। यह तो एक कुन्बेशन है। इस कुन्बेन्शन के मताबिक अगर हमारा सैकड़ों, करोड़ों रुपया **नान**-एलायंड कान्याईस पर खर्च हुआ और उसके बदले में चेयर परसन की क़ुर्सी मिल गई तो कोई कामयाव पालिसी महीं कहा जा सकता। यह तो खुद अपने मुंह मिया मिठठ बनने वाली बात है। ग्रगर यह चेपरपरसान का इलेक्सन दुनिया भर में होता, बतते वह बनतो तो मैं कोडिट देता लेकिन रिवायतन चेयरपरधन बन कर अपनी फारेन पालिसी की कामयाबी बताना यह दनिया की आंखों में धुल झोंकना है। देश के लोगों की ब्रांखों में घुल झांकना है। वेयरपरसन हमारी फारेन पालिसी की कामयाबी है, मैं इससे इत्तकाक नहीं करता।

मैंने जैसा जिक्र किया इससे भी छोटे देश चेयरपरसन रहे हैं, यह कोई बड़ी कामयाबी की बात नहीं है। आज हमारे ताल्ल्कात पड़ोसी महकों से बेहतर हो जाते, आज हमारे ताल्लुकात द्रिया के अन्दर ज्यादा मुल्कों से बेहतर हो जाते तो हमको कई सूरतों में इब्तसादी बोझ बर्दाश्त नहीं करना पडता और ब्राज हम ऐसी हानत में नहीं होते। आज नाम-एलाइण्ड की जो पालिसी है तकरीबन हर पार्टियां उसकी हिमायत करती हैं। इमारी पार्टी भी गैर-जानिबदार पालिसी की हिमायत क ती है। लेकिन क्या जनुमन

मान-एलाइण्ड पालिसी पर श्रमल हो रहा है ? जहां हम एक तरफ इस बात की हिमायत करते हैं कि दियागी गर्भिया में भ्रमरीकी भड़े हटाये जांयें, जहां हम एक तरफ इस बात की हिमायत करते हैं कि हिन्द महासागर को जोन साफ पीस बनायब-जाय लेकिन दूसरी तरह अफगानिस्तान के बारे में हमारी सरकार क्या कहती हैं जहां कि दो लाख रूसी फौज श्रफगानिस्तान को ब्राजादी का गला घोंट कर बैठे हुए हैं। जब तक इस मामले में बहस होती है तो इस का नाम लिये विना कभी गोलमोल ढंग से प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि हम छो. चाहते हैं कि कोई किसी की मदाखलत न करें, हम मदाखलत के खिलाफ हैं। लेकिन रूस का नाम लेने में क्या शर्म आती. है ? अमेरिक। हो या रूस, दोनों सुपर पावर ग्रगर कोई गलत काम करें तो उनकी निशानदेशी करनी चाहिए तभी हमको सारी दुनिया में सही नान-एलाइण्ड मानक जायेगा । कंपूचिया के बारे में हमाखे पालिसी क्या है ? वहां सवा लाख फीज मौजूद होते हुए हम हिंगसमरीन की सरकार को समर्थन देते हैं--हमें नहीं मालुम कि वहां कीन सरकार है कम्मनिस्ट सरकार है या वहां के लोगों की सरकार है --यह उन लोगों को फैसला करना है। वहां देश के एक हिस्से में सिहानुक समर्थन सरकार है वह वहां कण्टोल करती है। लेकिन वहां वह फार्मुला एडाप्ट महीं किया । हम अफगानिस्तान और कम्पूचिया यार्डस्टिक रखें ग्रौर वाकी देशों पर दूसरा यार्डस्टिक रखें तो यह ठीक नहीं है । हमें सही मायने में नाम-एलाइण्ड होना चाहिए, हमारी सही मायने में गैर जानिबदार पालिसी होनीः चाहिए। इसके लिए हम दो मुखतलिफ पैमाने नहीं ग्रपना सकते । फारेन पालिसी के साथ मैं इस बात का जिक्र करना चाहता. हं कि हमारे रूजिंग पार्टी के कुछ सदस्यों ने बार-बार यहां जिक्र किया है, अपोजीशन

[ग्रब्दुल रहमान शेक]

पर्सिटयों पर उन्होंने इल्जाम लगाया । मैं हैंरान हुं। जम्हरियत्त में एक उसूल है कि अपोजीशन पार्टीज का इसके सिवाय कोई काम नहीं है कि बह सरकार की गलतियों को बोले। उसका भ्राधार क्या हैं ट् क्रिटिसाइज एण्ड गवर्न दि गवर्नमेंट । गत्रतमेंट की गलतियों को दिखाना ग्रीर उसकी पही रास्ता बताना धौर उस पर अमल हरता सरकर का काम है ; अपोजीशन ्स्पीक एण्ड रूलिंग पर्धी ट्रगवनं। ऋापको सरकार चलाना है, हमको बोलना है आपकी गलतियों को । लेकिन हर बात पर भ्रपोजीशन कौ जिम्मेदार ठहराना ठीक नहीं । अपगर बुखा पड़े तो अपोजीशन जिम्मेदार है, अगर कहीं क्लड ग्राजाय तो उसके लिए ग्र**पोजीशन** ज़िम्मेदार है। सरकार को अपनी जिम्मे-दारियों से बचने के लिए यह आसान तरीका है लेकिन यह ठोक नहीं है। ग्रीर हम मिलकर बैठ कर बात करते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि यह कानक्लेब क्यों है और उन्हें बड़ो तकलोफ होती है। ऋगर हम ऋषास में बैठते हैं, सलाह मशर्वारा करते हैं तो उससे अ।प को खतरा पैदा हो जाता है। अधिको तो केवल यह देखना है कि कोई एंटो-चेंशतत काम तो नहीं कर रहें हैं। लेकिन जब हम किसो पार्टी के साथ बैठ कर बात करते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि ये रीजनल पार्टियां हैं जो कि खतरनाक हैं। रीजतल भीर कन्युनल पार्टियां ाब तक कांग्रेस (प्राई) का समर्थन करें तब तक तो प्रच्छो हैं लेकिन जब ब्रयोजीशन वाले उन पाटियों से बात करें तो वे खतरनाक हो जातो हैं और मुल्क पर खतरा आ जाता है। में पूछता चाहता हं कि स्रकाली दल के साथ पंजाब में सरकार बनाने के लिए पेश्तर कांग्रेस (ग्राई) से बातचीत नहीं की थी? वह दूसरो बात है कि वह सरकार नहीं बनो भैं पूछना चाहना हं कि डो० एम० कै० के हाथ मिलकर एलेक्शन समझौताकांग्रेस

(माई) का नहीं हुमा? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि केरल में मुस्लिम लीग के साथ मिल कर कांग्रेस ने सरकार नहीं बनाई ? मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि ग्राज फारुख ग्रब्दुला का नाम बार-बार लिया जाता है आज क्योंकि वह नेशनल कान्फ्रेन्स में है । लेकिन जब कांग्रेस ने 1974-75 में ब्रोकार्ड करके फरवरी, 1975 में शेख महस्मद अब्दूल्ला को साथ में लिया उस वक्त नेशनल कान्फ्रेन्स का नाम भी नहीं था। उस वक्त उसका नाम प्लेबिसेट फ्रांट, रायशुमारी महाज था जिसने कि पहले एक्सेशन को चैलेंज किया था। लेकिन उस वक्त वह कांग्रेस के साथ हो गये इसलिए उनको सरकार दे दो । यह एक नया तजुर्वा काश्मीर के अन्दर किया गया। वहां पर काोस की अक्सरियत थी, कांग्रेस की मजारिटो थी ग्रौर नेशनल कान्फ्रेन्स काएक भीएम एल ० ए० नहीं था, काश्मीर ग्रातेम्बली में, मैं उस असेम्बली का मेम्बर रहा हूं, नेशनल कान्फ्रेंप काएक भी मेम्बर नहीं था, वहांपर भोख श्रद्धता एम० एल० ए० नहीं थे मिर्जा अफजल बेग एम० एल० ए० एन एम । प्रमा एम । एन । ए । नहीं थे, डी > डो > ठाकुर एम > एल > ए० नहीं थे श्रीर उनको तात्र पत्रसारा कोरीय का सरकार ने श्राहाड के नाम पर लेकिन बाब प्रगर फारुव अब्दुल्ला के साथ प्राप्ता अलायेंस नहीं है, आज आपको दोस्तो उनके साब नहीं है तो किर वह जनायत खतरतात हो जाती है। अधिक कि अधिक शिव सैना का गठनोड़ हो तो बहुत प्रच्छा बात है और दूतरो पार्टी के ताथ अगरवता तब करे तो किरहापरस्त हो जाता है। श्रापने जो डो० एन० के० पार्टी के साथ ग्रकाली दल के ताथ, मस्तिन लाग के ताथ, राय-श्मारो महाज के साथ गठबोड़ किया तो श्राप फिर मो सेक्तर हैं लेकित जब वह पार्टियां अपोज्योगन के साथ बैठ कर किसो कतक्त्रेव में बात करें तो देश को बहुत खतरा हो जाता है। श्राप किर कहते हैं कि

रीजनल पार्टिया और सम्युनल पार्टियां देश की एकता के लिए खतरनाक हैं। कहा जाता है कि फारुखप्रब्बद्रल्ला का कायमोर लिबरेशनफन्ट से तालुक है। जब आपको यह मालूम था तो भ्रापने उस पार्टी को वहां पर सरकार क्यों सींपी थी । आप शेख साहब के बफात के बाद क्या के बर टेसर चोफ-मिनिस्टर फारुख अबदल्ला साहब को बनाया? आपने इसके बाद कोशिश को कि उसके साथ समझीता हो जाए लेकिन समझौता नहीं हुमा तो आप बदल गए। में पूछना चाहता हुं कि यह काश्मोर लिब्रेशन फंट के जो चैयरमैंन हैं जो कि लंदन में हैं जिनका नान अमानुल्ला खान है वह 1974 में काक्मोर आए और काक्मोर में उन्होंने लाल चौक में हिस्टोरिकल भाषण किया श्रीर उन्होंने काश्मोर के इण्डिया के साथ एक्सेजन को चैलेंज विधा और कहा कि हम इसको नहीं मानते हैं लेकिन मैं दरवाफुत करना चाहता हं कि उतको बीसा कितने दिया ? उस वक्त सेंटर में भो कांग्रेस सरकार थी 1974 में और काश्मोर में भी मेरे दोस्त मीर कासिम साइब कांग्रेन के ही चीक भिनिस्टर थे । जब अमान्त्वा खान जिसकी वर्चा याज इंटरनेशनल नेवल पर हो रही है जिसकी चर्चा म्हात्रे भर्डर केस में हो रही है, जिस ग्रमान्स्ला खान काश्मीर केलाल चौक में हिन्दुस्तान की पोलिटिकल और कांस्टी-टयशन सावरेंटो को चैलेंज किया और कहा कि काम्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का अंग नहीं तब कांग्रेस नवर्नमेंट को तक्तीफ नहीं होती ग्रीर अब फारवा ग्रम्बल्ला साहब यह कहते हैं कि कन्याक्रमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक एक मल्का है बौर हम मल्का की मेनस्ट्रीम में म्राना चाहते हैं तो घान यह ब्रा है, गददार हो गया है। इसलिए कि आपको वहां पावर चाहिए ग्रौर वह वह देते नहीं। यह डबल यार्ड स्थित नहीं चलेगी डबल स्टेंडर्ड नहीं चलेगा। रुजिंग पार्टी की ग्रयनी गलतियों के लिए उसलपरस्ती फरकादिली से आगे आकर अपनी गलतियों को मानना चाहिए। बहाद्री तो इसी में है कि अपनी

Motion of Thanks

गलतीयों को तस्वीम किया जाए ग्रीर दूसरों की गलतियां बताएं। ग्रपनी गलतियां पर पर्दी डालने के लिए इस तरीके से अपी- प्रेंगर, जीशद पार्टीज को मैं लाइन करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि हिल्म पार्टी की तरफ से कोई पेंथर नहीं हो रहा है। ग्राज ग्रपनी नाका- मियों पर पर्दी डालने के लिए जंग का ही वा दिया कि मुल्क बहुत खतरे में है, खतरे में होगा जब ग्राप कहते हैं तो हम मान लेते हैं क्योंकि ग्राप सरकार हैं, मैं पूछता हूं इसके लिए जिम्मेदार कीन है..?

†[شرى عبدالرهس شهع : جلاب وائس جيئرمون صاحب مين أس سے پہلے ذکر کر رہا تھا کہ اکانومیکای همارا ماک کس دور سے گزر رہا ہے جهاں سب سے زیادہ کیمولگیز لا علاج الهمان کے بدا لوگ ہوں - گرمی سردى ميں لوگوں كى موتين هوں اور دوسری طرف ایههای جیسی شاهانه فضول خرجي هوتي ره اور ملک کے اندر اتلی تسهیری آ جائے که ایک طرف ماهی بهر امهر طبقه عیش و آرام کی زندگی جیئے اور دوسوی طرف عام آدمی اینی زندگی فاقع کشم سے بتائے کے لئے معجدر هو اس کے لئے گورنمات کو کوٹی کریڈھ نهیں دی جا سکتی - لیکن حسب دستور رولنگ یارٹی کے لوگ کانگریس آئی کے همارے دوست اپوزیشن پارٹی اس کے لئے ذمہ دار ٹیواتے ہیں میں بچے ادب سے یہ دریافت کرنا تجاهدا هون که ۳۰-۳۱ سال کی آزادی

Transliteration in Arabic script.

[[غرى ميدالرجس فيم]] کے بعد دو تھائی جال کا وقیف تکال کر بائی کانگریس آئی لے ھی دیھن مين ڪومت کي ھے - آخر ٣٥٠ سال کے بعد بھی وہ ملک اس حالت نے اندر ہے دو اسکے لگے پانگریسی آئی کے ملاوة كولى الاوسرا الأمه هار تههن البرايا جا سکتا - اير مين ذکر کړ رها تها که لا اینات آران کی جس ملک کے زندر یہ حالت ہو ہر سال هزارون لوگ فرقه وارانه فسادات سے ماري جانهن - هريجين اور ويكبر میکشاس کے گاؤں کے گاؤں جلا دیگے جائيں جہاں ريپ اور سرقر روز معمل لا كام بن جاڻين اور جيان ڏکيتي اور اس مارم کے واقعات راجدھائی میں هوتے بھائیں تو ایسی سرکر کو یہ حق نہیں حامل ہے کہ وہ اپنے كو قابل بعائم كم ولا لا اينان أرقو كو کلٹرول کرتی ہے - وہ الیشیلس سرکار هے به سوالهایک أسے ليهن دينا æda da la la dia a laka la

جالاب آسام کے اندر ہزاروں لوگوں کے قعل مام کے ہمد پھجاب اور ہورہاتھ کی حالت جو ہو تھن دن سے اس هاؤس مهن ينعث لا مرفوع بي رهي هے - اسکے بارہے میں کریں ذمہ دار ہے پنجاب کے بھک گراؤنگ میں زيادة نه جال هوال مين هاه كمهش کے فیصلہ کا ذکر کرنا جامتا میں که سلمف فتم سلكة كي سهلف أمولههور

کی دھنکی کے بعد جب یقتهاپ اور هريات بايل كا المصلة هوا تو فأنا كمهش پایانیا کینا جسائس فاہ ھنارے فایش کے ۔ ایک نامور جوتست هیں نه وه پلجاب کے تھے تم ہریانہ کے – تم مبابول کے اتهم - آدون له جو ايوارة ديا جسكم تحمت كيرة تحصيل أرز جاتى كره هوریانه کو دیا گها – اسکو کس <u>ل</u>ے بدلا - جو كميشي لا إيوارة تها إسكو ان - دُو دُو ايكسهت كيا جاتا دو يه آف هائس نهين تتلقي ارز مجاملة روهين خاتم هو جاتا - اليكن حجب پردهان ملتری جی بیچ میں آئیں۔ انکو بیچ میں میڈیٹر مارر کیا گیا۔ اکر کسی ماک کے لیڈر کسی مسئلہ كو حال كرنے كيلئے ميڈيٹر بنتا ھے تو ھم اسکو ایریشیسی کرتے ھیں -لهكين ايوهر ارر قافلكا هريائه كو أور چلتنی گولا پلساپ کو دیلے کا جب فهضاء کیا گیا تو اسے امہلیمیلی كهون نههن كها كها الشكو دس سال فک لاکرا گیا ۔ اِس سے جعلا بھتے بلکے کریمت ہوا - ہوس سے بہ زهر يهية أسكي لكي كرين ذمه دار هـ -بیق تو ۱۹۵ کمهشی کے ایوارہ کو مالایا جاهایے توا اس میں کسی قسم کی چهلم نهیں کرلی جاهائے ابن کیرتاء اس سے تیا پلقارا باکس كها - لهكان أسكو بدلك كم الجم <u>ہوائم ملحائر نے میڈیمٹ کھا۔ استھی ۔</u> ایڈیشاس ایلق آلٹریشاس کیں تو الهوهر ارد فأضاع هوياته كو أور

چاټيکوه پلجاب کو ديديال چاهايه تها - لهکن اس کو لگه کو رکبا -هيهن کيٺا پوڻا ۾ که يه سياسي طرر پر قائدہ اِٹیائے کے لئے کیا گیا: ارر اس کا تعیدہ همارے ساملے ہے -پلجاب کے الدر ایجی ٹیفی ہوئے تيفون پارٿيون کے—اپوزيشي - گورلنقت اور ایالی دل کے بیٹے بات چھٹ شروع هولي - يهمف لنهيأ ماحول قها: بات جہت کے سے۔ لیکی اس کو کس نے تاریہوں کھا - ایک طرف هم میز پر باس جیت کر رہے میں ---الاليون كي قينانكس تهين ريليجس کی کروائی کا پیرساری هو – یه وهان الهبل پر سنجهوتے کے انوسار ایگریمانت هولنا جاهل تها انه که گاودولوه بلکله: ماهب مهن جا کر ایے سیاسی سکھ دوستاون کو اکٹھا کو کے۔ ایسے آگا بھون کو موقعه دیا گیا - آکالیون کو سائهگ الرمك كرنے كيلگے آلى سوليت كرنے کیلگے یہ ایک بیدی کوشش ٹپی – ِ ایک جانه بات چیت هر رهی فی اور معامله لس ياس چهت مين حل ِ نہیں ہوتا اور سوک پر حل کیا۔ نجاتا هے - اگر الانہیں کی یہ بھی قيمانك تبى كه سينقرل استيعس رلیفلس پر بحث مرتی جامای أساليمه كو زياده اختهار مللے جاهكهن-اس کیائے کوئی کمیشی بنائے کی بأت تهي تو تهبل پر ايتريندي هونا [تها ايس سه ير الايس كو اينا] ایچی تهفن ره قرا کرل جاهگے فیا

خ**ريمي يم تو هوا د** اورو الله الولے دائے ۔ اکالیوں کو ایک بھاتہ مل اليا ليا إس الي ولا يأت جهم س اهیس کو آندوان کی راه پر چاہ گاہ -اكر كسى مخامله مين معض أسائي خپری کرتے ہے۔ که الانیوں کو کریڈٹ تہیں دینا ہے اسائے که هم نے اليوريشي پارتيان کو کريڏه لهين فينا هي - اور سارا كريده اله أب فینا ہے تر یہ طریقہ قبیک لبین تھے ۔ تچو بناک رہاں ہو رہی 🙇 جو قورم هو رها هے اس قورم کو رهان تهالال جاهائے تد که اساو سرک پر فرفائے کیلئے جورو دیا جائے - میں اکالیوں کے هر ایکشی کو پسلد نیهن كراتا - كجه غلطيان رولنك ياولى کے طرف سے ہوٹی **میں اس** ذمه داری بیر پردهای ملتری آسکی عارثی اور اسکی سرکار بچ نهیس ڪڻي - هرپانه مين جو کنهو هوا يه كها گيا كه ري إيكشن قها -ويتيناً بن ايكش تها ليكن أسكو سہارہ ملا اس سرکار کی طرف ہے -هريانه کے چیف ملسائر شرق بهمون لعل لے آجو استعماد میلما عي تهي إسين معامله الركو بهوكاني عِي كرفِص كي كثي - تعيجه هباري ساملے ہے ۔ وہ آک دلی تک پہلیج وفي ۾ 🗝 💮

🗀 كانسالي الويشي برندگ يا ممامله اللُّو اللها - جسكي ساري هارالهون له ﴿ 239

[هري ميدالرحس هيد] نلدا کی ہے - لیکو ان حالت کو پیدا کرنے کی ذمہ داری رولنگے۔ پارلی پر ہے - میں فارن پولیسی کی بات لیکا هوں یہ فاری پولیسی کسی ملک کی بنیادی چیز ہے۔ فارن پانیسی کا تعلق تلینس سے مے الانومي بد ه - فارن باليسي ایک ایسی چیز هے که آپکے دنیا۔ میں زیادہ معر دیش میں آپکی۔ مدد کرنے والے۔ دیش میں تو آپ اس حساب ہے آیے تلیاس کے خرجہ میں کمی کر سکھے ہیں اور اِس پیشے کو اس روہیہ کو فریمی ھٹائے کے کامی مهن غرب کر سکتے هيں اور اگر پالیسی ایسی بنائی جائے که آپس مهن لکراؤ هو تو دشمن تو کیا۔ سکے بھائی ہم سے دور بھاک جائیدگے ہے کوئی امویکہ سے ایف - ۱۹ لے رہا ہے۔ تو اسکا مقابله همکو میران خرید کر کرنا پويکا - هماو جهکوار څريك كر كرنا يويها ، اس كه لله همكو الكت . سے پیشت رکھٹا دوریا - اسا بوجھ کس پر پریکا - کیا آپکو پاته 🙇 🗢 اسخ بوجه ملک پر ہویا - اس الحم یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ جُتالی تاکامیاب بالیسی فارن کی یہاں پر <u>ہے</u> النی نازمیاب ناری پالیسی کهیں پر نہیں ہے۔ اس ملک کی جلتا پارٹی کے دو تھائی سال کے راج میں ھنارے پروسیوں کے ساتھ تعلقات انھے ہو گئے۔ تھے - انفانستان پاکستان کے حالتھ

: علقات (جهے موکلے تھے - بفکله ديش كي ساته تعلقات اجهى هو كلي تهي م شری للکا کے ساتھ تملقات ایجیے هو کلے تھے - نہمال کے ساتھ تعلقات سدھر گئے تھے۔ چین سے بھی سدهارنے کی شروفات هم لے کی تھی۔ لیکی ۱۹۸۰ میں گرزلملٹ بدللے کے بعد جب آپکی ہوں کامیاب کورتماسی آئی دو ان جار سال کے اندر نیہال سے مماری تعلقات خراب عولے -چهن سے تو کوئی ۔۔وال هی نهيں احماری شرق لنک سے تفاتلی - تفاتلی هے - بنکله دیش سے جبکوہ ہے -بالستان بر جهاوه هر يعلى ملك کو جہارین طرف سے دغماری کے بھیے ⊀کر کہوا کر دیا ھے ۔ اگر آپ اسعو كأمياب فارن بالهسى كباته هين تو مين کيا کبه سکتا هي - مهن اس سے اتفاق نہیں کرنا - همارے لانکریس کے دوست یہ کہم سکٹے ہیں کہ هماري يرفهان منتري نأن الانت ملکوں کی جیر پرس ہو گئی ہیں مين په جانتا چاهتا هون که کیا په سارى دنيا مين الهكشي جيتنے كے بعد بلی ههن - یه تو ایک روایت ھے کہ جو ملک هوسف ملک هولا -جو خرجت برهاهت کرینا را تهن سال کهلگه هوگا - نیدل کاسالرو کیوبا کے رہ سکتے ہیں - صدام حسین عراق کے رُلا سکتے ہیں - اگر انور سمادات مصر کے اور جورتیں کے شاہ حسیر رلا سكتے هيں تين سال لک تو يه

Motion >i Thanks

تو اتنا ہوا ملک ہے۔ هوست هولے کے واسطے سے ان کو چھر برسن کی کرسی ملی - اسکے ہارے میں ساری دنیا۔ مهن بتایا جاتا هے که یه هماری^{نه} كامهابي هـ - يه تا ايك كلونشي ھے – اُس کاوٹھن کے مطابق اگر ھیارا ' سهلكورن - كروزون رويه نان الاثينة كانفرنس يرخري هوا اور امك بداية میں چھر پرس کی کرسی مل گئی دو کوئی کامهاب پالیسی نهین کها جا سكتا - يه توخود إلي ملهه ميان مثهو بللے والی بات ہے - اگر یہ چير پرس کا اليکشن دنيا بهر مين ھوتا اور اس سے وہ بلتھی تو مھی كريذك ديتا ليكن روايتأ جير يرسي بن کر اپلی فارن پالهدی کی کامیابی بغابا ہم دنیا کی آنکہوں میں فعول جوونکایا ہے دیش کے اواول کی آنکیوں مين دهول جهوتكذا هـ - چور برسي هماری فارس پائیسی کی کامیابی ہے موں اس سے اتناق نہوں کرتا ـ میں لے جیسا ذکر کیا اس سے بھی **چهوڻي ديش چيرمين مين -** يه کوئي ہوی کامیابی کی بات نہیں ہے۔ آب هنارے تعلقات پروسی ملکوں سے بہکر ھو جاتے ھمن - آج ھمارے تعلقاس دنها کے اندر زیافہ ملکوں سے بہتر م هو جائے هيں تو هم کو کئی سورتوں ۔ میں انتصادی بوجه بر*داشت* نهیں ^ن کوٹا پوٹا اور آج هم ايسي حالت . . میں نہیں ہوتے – آج نان الثلق کیء جو پائیسی هے تتربیاً هر پارٹیان 🐣

اس کی حیایت کرنے میں - حیاری پارٹی نہی فیر جانبدار پانیسی کی حمايت كرتي هے - ليكن كها جهاون نأن الانفة بالهسى ير منل هو رها ھے - جہاں ہم ایک طرف اس بات کی حبایت کرتے هیں دیاگو کارهیا میں امریکی اڈے مثانے جائیں -جهان هم ایک طراب اس بات کی حمایت کرتے هیں که هاد مها ساکر کو پیس آب زون بنایا جائے لیکن دوسری طرف افغانستان کے بارے میں ھناری سرکار کیا کہلاتی ہے جہاں أكم ايك لاكه روسي قووي افغانستان . کی آزادی کا گا گهونت کر بهای هوای ههي - حب جب اس معامله مين بحث هولي هے او روس کا نام لئے جلا کہیں کول مول تھاک سے پردھان املتری کیتی هیں که هم تو چاهتے۔ هیں که کوئی کسی کی مدلخلت ته کرے۔ هم مداخلت کے خالف هیں۔ لیکن روس کا نام لیاے میں کیا شرم ا آتی ہے - امریکه هو یا برس دونوں سپر یاور اگر کوای فاط کام کریس تو ان کی نشاندھی کرنی جاھٹے تبوی رهم کو حاری دنیا میں صحیم نان الثلة مانا جائے ؟ - كنهرچهة كے بارے میں مباری پالیسی کیا ہے۔ رہاں . سوا لاکه فرج صوجرت هوتے هوئے هم هلگ سمرین کی سرعر کو سموتهن نهیں دیتے هیں - هنیں نہیں معاوم که وهان گون سرکار هے کمیونست سرکار ھے بیا وہاں کے لوگوں کی سرکار ھے۔

[شرى مبدالرحس فهم] یم اس لوکوں کو ایصلہ کرنا <u>ہے</u> ۔ رہان میمی کے ایک عمد میں سیہانگ سمرتهک ساکار هے ولا رهان کلٹرول کوٹنی ہے – لیکن رھاں وہ قارمولہ ايدويت نهيل كيا - هم الغانستان ارور کمهوچیه ر ایک یارة اساک راهیر اور بالی میمون پر دوسرا ہارہ اسٹک رکنیں تو یہ ٹویک نویں ھے۔ عدیں صحیح معلی مہن نان اللَّذَةُ هَوْنًا جَاهِكُ - هَمَارِي مَحَهِمَ معلى مين فيرجالبدار بالنسئ ھوٹی چاھا*ئے - اس کیلگے* ھم دو ا منطلق پیدائے نہیں اپا سکتے ۔۔ فارن پالیسی کے ماتھ جیں اس باست لا ذكر كرنا لهاهنا هول كه هماريم رولنگ پارٹی کے کچھ سنسیوں نے يار بار يهان ذكر كيا هـ كه أيوزيشن پارٹیوں پر انہوں نے الزام لٹایا -مين حيران هون - جمهوريت مين ایک امول ه که ایوزیشن پارلیو کا امي سوال كولى كام نهين هـ كه ولا سولار کی فلطیوں کو بولے - آسکا آدهار کیا هے که 'قو کریایی مالو ايلة كررن دى كررلىلت، . . . أ غورتماس کی فلطیوں کو دکیالا اور اسكو صحيم رامعه بعانا أور أس ير ميل كرنا سركار لا كام هـ - أيوزيشن دو اسهیک اهات روللگ پارتی دو· غيربير - أنها كو سركار جالانا هـ - هنكو بولایا هم آیکی قلطیوں کو - لیکی

هر بات پر اپوزدهن کو دمه دار الهرانا الهلك تهين - اكر سوكها يوعد تَوَ اِيوَايِهِنِ دُمه دار هـ - اگر کهين فلد أجاله دو أسكه لله ايوايدن رقمه دار هے - سرکار کو ایلی نده دارور سا بجل کیلئے یه آسان طريته هے - ليکن يه الهيک نبيس ہے۔ اگر مم مل بیٹلیکر بات کرتے مه دو کیا جاتا به که به کاعلمو كهور هـ ارز انهين بول تكليف هوتي هے ۔ اکر هم آپس ميں بيٹونے ھھی ۔ ملے معورہ کرتے ھیں تو اس سے آپکو خطرہ ہیدا ہو داتا ہے -آیکو تو کیول یه دیکها هے که کولی ایالی نیشل کم دو نمیں کر رہے ههي - ليکني جب هم کسي پارٿي کے سلام بیٹھکر بات کرتے میں تو کیا۔ جاتا ہے کہ یہ ریجلل پارٹیاں میں چه که څطرناک هیں - ریجفل ارز كبهرنل بارتهان جبتك لانكويس ألى کا منبرقهی کرین تب تک او اجهی هيس ليكن جب إدوزيشن والم أن پارٹیوں سے بات کریں تو وہ شعرناک هو جاتی هیں اور ملک پر خطرہ إجازا هـ ، مين پرچيدا جاهدا من که ایالی مل کے ساتھ پتجاب مهن سركار بدائے كيلكے پيھلار كالكريس آلى يد بات جيت نهين کی تہی ۔ وہ دوسری بات ہے کہ وہ سركار لهين يلى- مين پوچها جاها هون عاتى - ايم - كي - كي ماته ملكر الهلفن سنجووقه كانكريس أكى

كا لهين هوا - مير يوجبانا جاها، ھوں که کیرل - ہیں۔ مسلم لی*گ کے* مأثه ملكو الكريس في سركو أمهن يقالي ممير يوجننا حاها هون که آی دارزی مداله ۲ با، بار بار لیا جاتا ہے ۔ آج کیونکہ وہ لیمال كالفواس مين هيار - الهاور جنب كانكريس في ١٩٧٥-٧٣ مهر الارة كركيم فرزري 1970 ميل لايم محمد مبدالله كو سائه مين ايا اسوامت الهذال لاندرنس کا ٹام ہوں نووں ٹھا ۔۔ اسوالت اسكا ناء بل بديمت قرامك رائے فعاری محاہ تیا ۔ حس نے بهلے اکسیهی و چیللم کیا تها الهكان أسوالت ولا كالالرياس كے ساتھ هو کئے اسائے انکو سرکار دیدی یہ ایک نیا تجربه کشیر کے اندر کیا۔ کیا ومار پر کانگریس کی اکثریمی لہی ۔ کانکریس کے میجوریای لہی ارز تهفائل کانفراس کا ایک بهی ايم ۽ ايل - له - تهيور لوا ڪعبيور الممهلي مين - مهن اس الممهلي لا منهر رها مون تهفال لاتدلس كا ايك بھی منبور تھیں تیا - رہاں پر شہم مبدالله اهم - ایل- اے - نبهن تھے -مرزا القل بدک اله - ايل - اله -نهون ته صلم نراو ايم - ايل - ايه -تهون تهر - اقي - الي - تباكر ايم -ایل - الله - نهیں دیے اور اس کو تباہے میشانیا کانگوہس سرکار کے آکارہ کے الم ير- نباس أو ار ناررق مبدالله کے ماتو آپ کا الکاس ٹوہن ہے ۔ آپ

آپ کی درمتی اور کے علاو تیوں ہے الوايهوا وفاجمامت خطوناك هوجالي ھے - کالکریس کے ساتھ شہو سیایا کا کلو جور هو تو يهمت اچېي بات هـ أور دوسري يارائو كهسائه اكر ولا يات كرے اور قراقة هرست هو جاتي هے -آپ لہ تھے - ایم - کے - پارٹی کے ساته - الألى دل ك ساته - مسلم لهگ کے ساتھ - رائے شماری کے ساتھ گاله جرو کیا اور آپ پیر یعی سیکولر ههن - الهكان حب وا هاراتهان إيتي آپوزیشن کے ساتھ بیٹھکر کسی کلکاھو مهن باسه کرین دو دیمی کو بیمت خطرة دو جاتا هے - آپ يور كيتے هیں که ریصال پارٹیاں اور کمیونل ہارتھاں دیش کی ایکٹا کیلئے خطرناک هیں - کیا جاتا ہے که فاروق مبداللہ کا کشمیر لبریشن فرامع سے تعلق ه - جب آپ کو په معلوم توا .تو آپ پھ اس ہارٹی کو کھوں سرکار سوائی توی ، آپ لے غریم ماجب کی رفات کے بعد کیوں کیار ٹیار جهاب ملسائر فارزق عهدالله ساحب کو بٹایا ۔ آپ نے اسلے بعد کوفش كى كه انك ساته معجوده هو جالي لهکی سمهورته لهین هوا دو آپ بدل كليه - مهن يوجها جاها هون كه ية كغمير ليريفن فرلت كے جو چيائرمين هين جو که للنس مين ھیں جورکا نام امان الله خارم ہے۔ یه ۱۹۷۳ مهرو کشمهر آلے اور کشبهر مَهِن الْهِونِ لِمُ لَحَلُ لِجُوكُ مِهِنِ Motion of Thanks

[شرق عبدالرحس شهدم] هستوریکل بهاشن کیا اور انهوں نے کشیر کے اندیا کے ساتھ ایکسیھی کو چیالم کیا اور کہا کہ هم اس کو تهيو سانع هيو لهكو مين دوياقت کریا چاهتا هوں که اس کو ویوا کس نے دیا ۔ اس وقت سیلگر میں بھی كانگويس سركار تهى ۱۹۷۳ ميس اور کشمیر میں بنی میرے فوست میر قاسم صاحب کاعریس کے هی چيف ملسار تي جب امال الله خال جسکی چرچہ آے انار لیفنل لیبل پر هو رهی هے - جسکی چرچه مهالرے مرةر كيس مين هو رهى هـ -جسوقت يه امان الله خاص لم كشمهر کے لعل چوک میں هادومعان کے پولیایکل اور کانسای تیواس موبریاتی کو چیلام کیا اور کہا که کھمیر هدوستان کا انگ نهیں تب کانگویس گورنمامی کو تکلیف نہیں ہوئی اور جب فاروق عدد الله صاحب يه کہتے میں که کلها کماری سے لیکر گھمیر تک ایک ملک ہے اور هم ملک کی میں استورم میں آنا چاہتے ھیں تو آب وة برا هو كيا هـ - اسلام كم أيكو وهاں پاور چاہئے اور وہ دیتے نہیں -يه دبل يارد استك نهين چيكى -قبل استيلقرة نهين چلها - روللك پارتی کو ایلی غلطهوں کیلئے اصول پرستی اور فراخدای سے آئے آ ایلی قلطيون كو مانكا واهدُ - بهاهري تو اسی میں ہے کہ ایلی فلطیوں کو تسایم کها جائے اور دوسروں کی فلطيال بتائيل أيلي فاطهول ير يرده دَالِلْ كَيَالِكُ اسطريقه سے انوزيشور يارتين کو ماانی کرلے کی کوشش کرینگے دو میں یہ کہونکا کہ رولنگ پارٹی کے یاس کوئی ہاور نہیں رہا ہے۔ آپ

اپای الامیوں یو دردہ داللے کیائے جاگ کا حوا دکوا دیا که ملک بهت خطرة مين في - خطرة مون هوگا جب آپ کهتی هدی تو هم مان ليتے هيں - گيواكم آپ مركار هيو -میں پوچوہا ہوں که اسکے لئے فمه دار کون هے -]

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप हैं।

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : आप लोग हैं जिनके पास साकार है । जब सरकार हमारे पास होगी तो जिम्दमीरी श्रोन करेंगे लेकिन आप को गलतियों को मानना चाहिये । कहीं कोई कांग्रेस के जनरल सेकेंटरो उठते हैं वह कहते हैं कि नवस्बर में पाकिस्तान हमला करने वाला है। मैं पछना चाहता हूं कि क्या डिफेंस मिलिस्ट्रा के सारे सिकेट जो हैं वह कांग्रेस के सेकेटरीज को दिये जाते हैं या कांग्रेस के सेकेटरी कोई पामिस्ट हो गए, जादगर हो गये. तांतिक हो गये जो यह प्रिडिक्शन करते हैं कि पाकिस्तान नवम्बर में हमला करने बाला है। वह कौन बेंबक्फ है जो तीन महोने पहले लीक ग्राउट करेगा कि वह हमला करेगा। इस तरह से सिवाय इसके अपनी इकोनोमिकल फेलबर, अपनी, फारेन पालिसी को फैलअर्च और मुस्क में ला एंड बार्डर की फेलबर पर बौर मुल्क के धन्दर सत्यानाश करने के लिए 35 साल की जो धीलग पार्टी है वह अपने ऊपर जिस्मेदारी लेने के बजाय औरों पर जिम्मेदारी डालना चाहते हैं। मुल्क के गरीब अबाम को चप कराने के लिए बैहनी हमले का खतरा दिखा कर फिर एक बार अपनी पावर को मजबत करना चाहते

हैं। इस एड्रेस के प्रत्यर जो पहली लाइन मैंने पढ़ों है उसके सिवाय इस सारे एड्रेस को फजूल तजिबेयोकात, हाऊस का वक्त जाया करना ग्रीर जनाबे राष्ट्रपति जैसे खहदा जालीला की जनान से गवर्नमेंट इस तरह की बातें कहलवा कर इस घोहदे को मजाक का मौजू न बनाए और न इस हाउस की मजाक का मौजू बनाए । गवर्नमेन्ट को अपने एड्रेस के वक्त पपनो पुरानी कारकर्दगो के साथ आना चाहिए और कहां उसको गलियां रहीं यह बताना चाहिए ग्रीर नथे प्लान के साथ धाना चाहिए तब हम इसको ईमानदारी कहेंगे तब हम कहेंगे कि यह मुहक को चलाने के काविल हैं। अगर आप इस में लोगों को घोखा देना चाहते हैं ग्रीर ग्राप गलत किस्म का हीवा खड़ा कर के मुहक के आवाम को गुमशह करना चाहते हैं तो इस किस्म के एड्रेस को रवायत को तोड़ देता चाहिए। मैं इस तरह के ऐंड्रेस को काबिले तारोक नहीं बल्कि काबिले मस्तरफ समझता हं ग्रोर इस तरह ने मैं इसकी मुखालफ्त धन्यवाद । करता हूं।

Motion o Thanks

الشری هدد ارجسی شیخ : آپ لوگ هیں جلکے باس سرکار همارے باس سرکار همارے باس هوگی تو هم ناسه داری قبول کویا کے - لیکن آپکو کوئی کانگریس کے جارل سیکریگری اثبتہ هیں وہ کہتے هیں که نومبر که نومبر میں بانستان حمله کرنے والا ہے - میں وجهما جاهتا هوں که کیا جو هیں وہ کانگریس کے سارے سکریت جو هیں وہ کانگریس کے سارے سکریت کو دیئے جاتے هیں یا کنگریس کے حکوی پریکھی سیکریٹری کوئی پامست هوگئے - جادوگر هوگئے - جادوگر هوگئے - جو یه پریکھی

Translation in Arabic script,

کرتے ھیو. که پاکستان نومور میں حمله كرن والا هـ - ولا كون ايولوف ھے جو تین مرینه پہلے لیک آوت -کریکا که وه حمله کریکا - اسطرے سے سوائے ا۔ کے ایلی الانوسیکل فیلیرر -اپنی فارن پالیسی کی قیلیورس ارر ملك ميو لا أيات أرقر كم فيليورس یر ملک کے الدر متعم ناس کرے کیلئے ہو سال کی جو رولنگ پارتی ھے وہ اپنے اوپر ذمت دای لیلے کے بعدائے اوروں پر ذمہ داری قالیا چاھتے دیر ماک کے فریب دوام کو چب کرانے کیلئے بیرون حسم کا خطرة دكها كر يهر ايك بار ال كو یاور فل کرنا چاهتے هیں - میر اس ایدریس کے اندر جو پہلی لائن میں نے بوھی ہے اسکے سیا اس سارے ايدريس كو فضول - تهيم وقات -هاؤس کا وقت زایه کانا اور جداب راشاریتی جیسے عودہ حاماء کو زبان سے کورتمامے اس طابع کی بانیس کهاوا کو اس مهده کو مقان کا موضیع نه بدائے اور نه اس هائس کو داتی كا موقوع بدائم - كورنمات كو الله ایدریس کے واحد ایلی ہوانے کا, ردگے کے ساتھ آیا جاھئے اور کہاں اس کے فلطيار رهيو يه عانا جاهي - اور نئے بان ساتھ آنا چھا۔ تب ھم اس کو ایمانداری کههو گه - تب هم کہیں کے کہ یہ سک کو جلانے کے قابل هيي - اگر آپ اس مين لواون کو دهوکه دینا چاهتے دیں اور آپ

[هدى فيدالرهس فيم] فلط السم کا حوا کہڑا کو کے ملک کے عوام کو کمرالا کرنا چاھتے ھیں تو اس قسم کے ایڈریس کی روایت کو دور دیلا جاعلے - میں اس طوح کے ایدریس کو قابل تمایف نهیی باعد قابل مستود سمجيتا هون اور اس طرح سے میں اس کی مطالقت كوتا هون - دهلهه واد - إ

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह (विहार) : उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का मैं समर्थन करती हुं।

हमसे पहले जो माननीय सदस्य बोले उन्हें हमारी नीतियों में हमारी उपलब्धियां दिखाई नहीं पड़ीं ... (ब्यवधान) । प्रसल में जब हम खराबी ही देखना चाहते हैं और खास करके उस चश्मे से जिसमें कभी प्रकाश माता ही नहीं तो अंधकार ही दिखाई देगा उसमें प्रकाश आ ही नहीं सकता है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी नीतियां सफल रही हैं, इसके प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण थोडे से मैं देना चाहती हुं। अन्न. के उत्पादन में पिछले वर्ष से भी इस वर्ष हमारी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है, यह क्या हमारी सफलता नहीं है ?

भी ग्रब्दुल रहमान शेख: इम्पोर्ट क्यों किया ..

†[هری عبدالرحسن شهیخ : امپورت کیوں کها -]

श्रीमती प्रतिभ सिंह : इम्पोर्ट क्यों किया? इम्पोर्ट ग्रापके रूस भौर ग्रमेरिका भी करते हैं, जिस समय जरूरत होती है वो करना होता है और हम एक्सपोर्ट भी करते हैं दोनों ही करते हैं अन्न भी और श्यर भी तथा और कई चीजे करते हैं। तो खर... (ब्यवधान) मैंने किसी को टोका नहीं है, इसलिए मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारे विरोधी दलों के सदस्य भी इतनी मेहरवानी करेंगे ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please don't disturb th© hon. lady Member. Hear her in silence.

श्रीमती प्रतिमा सिंह : सबके जवाब मैं दे सकती हं लेकिन वे धीरज के साथ सुनने की मेहरवानी करें। तो उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, अन्न के उत्पादन में हमारी बढोत्तरी हुई है। 1420 लाख मीट्किटन का इस वर्षं हमने रिकार्ड स्थापित किया है ये हमारी जो पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं हई, हमारी जो हरित कांति हुई, इन सबके ही फनस्वरूप ये उपलब्धियां हमारी हुई हैं। किन्तु अगर विरोधी दल को यह दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है तो इसमें हम क्या कर सकते हैं। चक्ना अगर नहीं बदल सकते हैं तो हमारी लाचारी है। सिवाई का क्षमता में बढ़ोत्तरीं हुई है। 23.4 लाख हेक्टर 82-83 में था, 23.7 लाख हेक्टर 83-84 में है। फसलों की किस्म का विस्तार हम्रा है, तिलहनों ग्रीर दलहनों को पैदावार बढ़ाई -जा रही है, पहले तिलहन जो हमें ज्यादा बाहर से लाना पडता था उसमें ग्रव बहुत कमी बाई है। सुखी भूमि पर नई टेक्ना-लाजी द्वारा हमने 4246 लाख जल विभाजकों का पता लगाया है जिसने हमारे जिन प्रदेशों में जल की कमी थी वहां भी हम फसल की पदावार को बढ़ा सकते हैं।

विज्ञान और टेक्नालाजी की उपलब्धियों से देशवासी परिचित हैं, उनको विस्तार से कहकर मैं सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहती हं। सही बात यह है कि विज्ञान भौर

^{† []} Translation in Arabic script.

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टेक्नालाजी की जो हमारी उपलब्धि हुई है, वह जगहों को जा कर देखने से पता चलती है। जो हमारी आर्डिनेंन्स की फैक्ट्रीज हैं या जो कुछ भी हमारे देश के लोग बिना कोलेबोरेशन के बना रहे हैं उसको जा कर मुझे देखने का मौका मिला है। जहां विजयन्त टैंक हम बना रहे हैं वहां और एक नया एम० बी० टी॰ टैंक बनाने जा रहे हैं उसको देख कर हमारा सिर अंचा होता है। उसी तरह ग्रमी कलकता में ग्रंडर-ग्राउंड रेलवे वन रही है, जब तक वहां जा कर मैंने देखा नहीं था मेरा ख्याल था ग्रौर मुझे भी लगता था कि यह सब ऊपर की सड़क खोदी गई हैं लेकिन हकीकत -में हमारे इंजीनियर्स इतनी ऊंचाई तक पहुंचे हैं। वहां जा कर मैंने देखा तो मुझे यही लगा कि जो न्यूयार्क, लन्दन या फ्रांस या कही भी जो ग्रंडरग्राउंड रेलवेज हैं उनसे हमारी उपलब्धि कम नहीं है और यह सारा हमारे टेक्नीशियन्स ने, इंजीनियर्स ने बनाया है। यह 35-37 साल में जो भी है यह क्या हमारी उपलब्धि नहीं है ।

Motion t Thanks

भ्रौद्योगिक विवास दर 83-84 में 4-5 प्रतिशत होने की ग्राशा है। राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन की विकास दर लगभग 6 से 7 प्रतिशत होने की ग्राशा है जब कि 82-83 में यह 1.8 प्रतिशत थी। 1983-84 में तेल को छोड़ कर निर्यात में 82-83 की तुलना में 9, 9 प्रतिशत की बृद्धि हुई ग्रीर ग्रायातों का मूल्य तेल निर्यात छोड़ कर 2.5 प्रतिशत गिरा यह सारी उपलब्धियां क्या यह नहीं बताती हैं कि हमारी जो पंचवर्षीय योजना यो-बीच के तीम साल के दौरान को छोड़ कर---यह उनकी सफलता का द्योतक है।

हमारे जो टेक्सबहल्ज हैं, हमारे जो इंजोनियरिंग ट्रन्स है, जो हम बाहर भेज रहे हैं, उनकी जो क्वालिटी है, वह जब भो

भ्राप बाहर जाएं, भ्रापका सिर ऊंचा हो जाता है जब आप हर जगह उनकी प्रंशंसा सुनते हैं। यह क्या हमारी उपलब्धि नहीं है ?

जिस देश में 35 साल पहले एक सुई नहीं बनती थी, जहां सड़के नहीं थीं, स्कल शिक्षा के लिए नहीं थे। किसी प्रकार की प्रमति महीं थी, ग्राज 37 साल के ग्रन्दर हम डेबेलपिगं कण्ट्रीज में एक विशेष स्थान पा गये हैं। यह हमारी उपलब्धि है और इसका हमें गर्व है। कितना भी दूसरे लोग कहें कि हमारी कोई उपलब्धि नहीं है-- तो आज गांव की जो जनता है, वह इसको मानने के लिए बिलकुल तैयार नहीं हैं - मैं भी गांव में जाती हं अभी दस पंद्रह दिन पहले गांव में हो कर ग्राई हूं। वहां हमारे जो 20-सुत्री कार्यंकम हैं उनकी जो सफलता हुई है, वह सफलता देख कर वहां के लोगों में नई जान ब्राई है। हरिजनों के घर बनाये गये हैं और भी बहुत सारे कार्यक्रम लिए गए हैं। पेय जल के लिए जो कुछ भी राशि उपलब्धि हुई है, वह सारी वहां पर काम किये गये हैं।

तो इसलिए ग्राज जो जनता है, उसको खाली भाषणों से ग्राप गुमराह नहीं कर सकते हैं। ग्राप यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि कुछ भी नहीं हुमा है, किन्तु एक तरफ जहां यह सारे काम हो रहे हैं, इसको देख कर हमारे बाहर के लोगों में, हमारे देश के विरोधी दल जो हैं, उनके अन्दर जलन है और उसके लिए जिस पंजाब--मुझे याद है कि 1947 में जब बंटवारा हुन्ना था, तब पंजाब की क्या हालत थी--ग्राज पंजाब की ग्रीसतन म्रामदन इस देश में सब से ज्यादा हो गई है ।

उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, हर चीज को रेल की लाईन पर चलाना कठिन है, लेकिन गाडी को रेल से उतार देना तो मिनटों का का काम है।

श्रामती प्रतिमा सिंही

Motion of Thanks

इमसे पहले एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि अकालियों का जो कुछ भी हो रहा है, उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर है। में उनसे पूछना चाहती हुं कि क्या यह बात नहीं है कि अकालियों ने शुरू से कोशिश की कि इस देश में जो सीमांत प्रदेश हैं, उसमें खतरे की गुंजाइश रखी जाए। कल भी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि वहां भाषा की बात शुरू हुई --यह 1970 से बहुत पहले की बात है। उसके बाद कोई और, किर और, ऐसे एक न एक उनकी मांग चलती ही रही --धर्म के नाम पर, कभी कोई-कोई गांव के नाम पर, किसी स्थान के नाम पर, कोई न कोई फरियाद लेकर, कोई न कोई झमेला लेकर वह खडी करते ही रहना, उनका काम है।

सब से बरी बात जो उन्होंने अभी दो दिन पहले की है, बनिंग ग्राफ दी कंस्टो-टयशन--जो उन्होंने संविधान को जलाया है, यह क्या राष्ट्र के प्रति अपमान की बात नहीं है ? कंस्टीट्यूशन को बदलने के बहुत से तरीके हैं। यह तो अधिने जो पीपूल्य का जो सावरेनटी का राइट है, उसको खत्म किचाहै, उसको चेलेंज कियाहै।

इस तरह के अनादर का जो काम है, इसको यह राष्ट्र कभी भी नहीं भूलेगा श्रीर न क्षमा करेगा। प्रकाश सिंह बादल जो पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री रह चुके हैं, वह आकर बंगता साहब है संभने कंस्टोट अपशन की ज नायें, यह कोई बात हुई ? उनके जैसा जिम्मे-वार ब्रादमी, जो सेंटल के बनेट में जो लोग रह चुके हैं बरनाला वगैरह, वह चण्डोगढ में संविधान को जलायें।

श्री शान्ति स्थागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उन्होंने कंस्टीट्युशन की शपब भी ली

थोमतो प्रतिना सिंह : यह इतने जिम्मेदार लोग हैं--ऐसा किसलिए कि

उन्हें कुर्सी मिले। किस लिए कि यह राष्ट् जो प्रगति के पथ पर चल रहा है, उसमें रुकावट ग्राए, उसके कदम धीमे हो जाएं। . . . (श्यवधान)

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महिलक जी, आपकी बााका जवाब में दंगी, अभी पांच मिनट रुक जाइयेगा। मिडरवाला और लोंगोंबाल के विचारों में कोई सांम्यता नहीं है, लेकिन जहां पर डेस्ट्रि-विटव फोर्सेज को युनाइट होने की जरूरत होती है, तो वहां सब एक साथ मिल जाते हैं।

वरना लोंगोबाल के विचार ग्रलग हैं, मिडरवाला के विचार ग्रलग हैं, उनके लोग ग्रलग हैं, उनके लोग हैं लेकिन जब स्वार्थ की बात ग्राती है तब सब इकट्टे हो जाते हैं।

माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है कि कानक्तेव से रुलिंग पार्टी चिढती है। बिलकुल नहीं चिद्वती है क्योंकि एलिंग पार्टी काम करतो है। इनकी विरोधी दल का हाल यह है कि जंगल में आग लगी तो सांप भो ये, शेर भी थे, गीवड़ भी थे, सब एक साथ एक पेड के नीचे बैठ गए, जब आग खत्म हुई तो शेर और गीदड़ की लडाई हुई, सांप ग्रीर नेवले की लड़ाई हुई, सब एक-दूसरे को खा गये। आप के कानक्लेव की वही दशा होगी। हमारी माननीय नेता इन्दिरा गांधी की जो क्षमता है उसको देखकर ग्रापके ग्रन्दर भय है कि ग्राप कभी भी इस देश के शासन में वापस नहीं आ सकेंगे, इस लिए ग्राप सब कानक्लेव बना रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े गहरों में घुमते-फिरते हैं डेस्ट्रक्टिव विचारधारा को रख कर कि किसी तरह इंस देश की नीति को बिगाडा जाय, किसी तरह इस देश की उपलब्धियों को कम किया जाय, किसी तरह यह देश कमजोर हो और पाकिस्तान और अमरीका

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देश के ऊपर खतरा पैदा कर सकें। क्यों ग्रमरीका पाकिस्तान को इतने हिथार दे रहा है ? क्यों इतनी मिसाइल दें रहा है ?

श्रापने कहा कि जनता पार्टी का जब शासन था तो श्रापने इन सब से समझौता किया था। व्या समझौता किया था। उस समय भी हम हाउस में थे, कोई समझौता श्रापका नहीं था। श्रापकी कमजोरियां थीं श्रापकी जी हजूरी थी। श्रापके श्रन्दर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की तरह वह ताकत नहीं थीं जो बंगला देश की लड़ाई के समय प्रेशर टेक्टिक्स के सामने नहीं झुकी, निकसन ने दवाना चाहा तो हमारी प्रधान मंत्री नहीं दबीं श्रीर हमने देखा कि हमारा देश कितना मजबूत है, उनका सातवां बेड़ा भी हमें नहीं डरा संजा।

यह जो नारा ग्रराजकता, हिंसा का वातावरण फैला है यह कुछ ग्रमेरिकी ग्रुप का पैदा किया हुन्ना है जो सेशेनिस्ट्स को जकसा रहे हैं।

श्री अंब्दुल रहमान शेख: भिडरवाला कांग्रेस की पुँदाबार नहीं है ?

+ [شرى مبدالرحس شيخ : بهددراوالا

كانگريس كى پدداوار نهيس د -]

श्रीमती प्रतिमा सिंह : जी नहीं, बिलकुल नहीं।

श्री ब्रब्दुल रहमान शेख: फिर आप को इल्म नहीं है।

†[شرى عبدالرحس شيخ ، پهرا ب

كو علم نهيون بي -]

श्रीमती प्रतिमा सिंह: ग्रन्दर ही ग्रन्दर वह ग्राप लोगों से राय लेते थे। (व्यवधान) इसलिए मैं ग्राप लोगों से विनम्र निवेदन करूंगी कि हिन्दू ग्रीर सिखों के बीच जो हिंसा का वातावरण पैदा किया जा रहा है उसको न पैदा करें क्योंकि इन्हीं सारी बातों के परिणामस्वरूप विभाजन हुन्ना इस देश का, इसलिए फिर से उस तरह के बीजापन न करें इस देश में।

जो लोग यह सोचते हूँ—वह चाहे किसी दल के हों चाहे कानक्लेव के हों—कि वह इस देश को मडंर और वायलेंस से दबा पार्थेंगे, वह इसकी प्रगति को रोक पार्थेंगे तो वह गलती में हैं। वह न इस देश की प्रगति को रोक पार्थेंगे न दबा पार्थेंगे।

आखिर कांस्टीट्यूणन के आर्टिकिल 25 में है क्या ? कीन सी ऐसी बात है जिसके कारण इतनी हिंसा हुई और संविधान का इस तरह से अपमान किया गया । वह मैं पढ़ती हूं:

"खण्ड (2) के उपखण्ड (ख) में हिन्दुओं के प्रति निर्देश में सिक्ख, जैन या बौद्ध धर्म के मानने वाले व्यक्तियों का भी निर्देश अन्तर्गत
 है तथा हिन्दू धर्म संस्थाओं के प्रति निर्देश का अर्थ भी तदनुकूल ही किया जायेगा।"

इतनी ही बात तो कही गई है। इस
में कौन सो ब्राई की बात कही गया
है। गुरु नानक ने क्या कहा, उनके गुरुप्रय साहब में क्या लिखा है। गुरु गोविन्द सिंह ने ग्रन्थ साहब में क्या कहा है। उनकी दुर्गा-स्तुति आप लोगों ने पढ़ी है। उन की हाथ से लिखा भेनुस्किट मैंने देखी है। एक सरदार जी लखनऊ में लाएँ थे, मैंने खुद देखी है वह दुर्गा स्तुति। इस कांस्टोट्यूशन की जलाने के

^{†[]} Transli eration in Arabic script. 1764—9.

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

Motion of Thanks

पहले क्या ग्राप अपने घर को ग्राग लगा सकते हैं ? आप गुरु गोविन्द सिंह के नाम पर, गुरु नानक के नाम पर, गरु तेग वहादुर के नाम पर यह सब कुछ कर रहे हो जिन्होंने इस धर्म की उत्पत्ति तब की जब उन्होंने देखा कि इस देश में खतरा है तो हिन्दुश्रों को बचाने के लिए उन्होंने कहा कि हम देश को नहीं काटेंगे, हम कुपाण रखेंगे। हम एक संतुलित जीवन व्यतीत करेंगे ग्रीर इस तरह से उस धर्म की उत्पत्ति हुई ग्रीर इसीलिए उसेमें देवी देवतात्रों की सुन्दर से सुन्दर स्तक्तियां है। उस में चंडीपाठ है और आज यह हो गया कि यह दो शब्द एक साथ लिख दियों गये हैं एक झार्टिकल में इस लिये हम संविधान को ही जला डालेंगे। क्या कहेंगे लोग? दूसरे देशों के लोग क्या कहेंगे? क्या ग्राप ने कभी इस बात को सोचा है। क्या अकालियों ने कभी सोचा है कि हमारे विहार के एक सुदूर गांव में नेपाल की तराई में एक सिख वर्फ बनाता है और वहां वह 20 साल से रह रहा है जहां कि चारों तरफ सिख रहते हैं। जब यह भावना वहां पहुंचेगी कि ऐसे-ऐसे हिंद मारे जा रहे हैं तो उस सिख भाई की रक्षा क्या वहां जा कर ग्रकाली भाई करेंगे? इस तरह की बातें क्यों हो रहीं हैं सारे देश में। हमें सिख भाइयों पर गर्व था। अब कभी देश पर मसीबत आयी, जब कभी धर्म पर मुसीवत ग्रायी हमारी रक्षा सिख भाइयों ने की है और आज उन्हीं सिख भाइयों का हिंदुओं से अलगाव किया जा रहा है। भ्राज चन्द भ्रकाली धार्मिक स्थानों में बैठ कर अपने पास हथियार जमा कर के धपना अलग झंडा उठाते हैं, अपना अलंग संविधान बनाते हैं और अपनी अलग अलगाव की नीति चलाते हैं। वह आपस में द्वेष और द्रोह की नीति फैलाते हैं। क्या इन थोड़े से मुद्री भर लोगों के लिए

सब कुछ किया जायेगा? ग्राप देखें कि श्रकालियों ने क्या किया है। मुझे तो कल बहुत खशी हुई कि जब यहां विरोधी दल के चन्द्र माइयों ने भी कहा कि यह गलत बात हुई है। ग्रापको भी यही कहना चाहिए था। भाषा को लेकर और दूसरी बातों को ले कर यह लोग कोई न कोई झमेला देश में फैलाते रहे हैं। जब पाकि-स्तान में एफ-16 था रहे हैं और अमरीका से दूसरे मिसाइल था रहे हैं उस समय हमको तो मिल कर रहना चाहिए। मैं 1953 से 57 या 58 तक पंजाब में रही हं। पार्टिशम के बाद बहुत से हिंदू ग्रीर सिख पाकिस्तान से भाग कर आये थे और उन दोनों ने बहुत बहुत तकलीफों सही थीं। दोनों के घर जलाये गये थे, दोनों की मां बहिनों की बेइज्जती हुई थी। क्या आज वहा परिस्थिति हम फिर पैदा करना चाहते हैं इसलिये कि उन कुछ लोगों को कुर्सी मिल सके । फिर हम "किस्सा कुर्सी का" वाली बात पैदा करना चाहते हैं। पूजा के स्थलों का इस्तेमाल अपराधियों द्वारा चाहे वह गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब के मानने वाले हो या दुर्गा शप्तशती का पाठ करने वाले हों, नहीं किया जाना चाहिए । पूजा स्थलों में हम जा कर अपना दुख बजाते हैं, ग्रपनी बीमारी बताते हैं, जिन के पास भ्रन्न नहीं है उन भूखों को हम वहां जा कर खाना खिलाते हैं। पूजा के स्थल इसलिये नहीं होते कि वहां जा कर हथियार रखे जायें ग्रौर वहा से हिंसा का प्रचार किया जायें ग्रीर लोगों पर गोलियां चलायी जाये। एक साधारण ब्रादमी वहां पूजा करने जाता है ग्रीर वह बापस ग्रपनी बोबी बच्चों के पास नहीं पहुंच पाता। ग्राज यह स्थिति हम ने पैदा कर दी है। ऐसी कल्पना उन लोग को है। क्या है? ग्राज समी को राष्ट्र के हित की बात सोचनी चाहिए। बंगला देश की लढ़ाई के समय बाजपेयी 261

जी ने यहां एक भाषण दिया था ग्रीर वह दिन मुझे याद है। आज भी देश पर वैसे ही संकट काल का समय है। जो हमारा ग्रामे बढ़ा हजा प्रदेश था ग्राज वहां खतरे की घंटी बजी है। मैं तो आडवाणी जी से ग्रौर ग्रपने विरोधी दल के दूसरे नेताओं से निवेदन करूंगीं कि पार्टी लाइन से ऊपर उठो क्योंकि ग्रगर कुछ होता है तो ग्रीरतों को ही सब से ज्यादा सहना पडता है। उनके पति मरते हैं या उनका बेटा मरता है तो हमको ही सहना पडता है और लड़ाई होने पर तो हम को अब से ज्यादा सहना पड़ता है । हमारी बेइज्अती होती है तो वह भी हम को हो सहती पड़ती है। हिंसा सब मिलकर रोकें। लाग पर कूसी के लिए खेल ठी नहीं है।

देश की एवाता और अखण्डता को विगाडने के लिए कान्वलैव की रचना क्यों की गई है ? जम्म काश्मीर में आपने क्या किया है, पंजाब और हरियाणा में जाकर क्या कर रहे हैं? सैंटर स्टेट रिलेशंस को विगाइने के लिए क्या हो रहा है ? इसलिए न कि ग्राज जो डेक्लिंग कंट्रीज हैं उनमें भारत का एक विशिष्ट स्थान हो गया है और धीरे-धीरे हम इस संसार में अपना एक पूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त करने की चेच्टा में हैं।

महोदय, नई दिल्ली में गुट निरपेक्ष देशों का वां सम्मेलन क्या महत्वपूर्ण नहीं हुआ ? प्रधान मंत्री का रोल गांति भौर निरस्त्रीकरण तथा आर्थिक सहयोग को बढावा देने की दिशा में क्या महत्व-पुर्ण नहीं रहा? ग्रागर कलेजे पर हाथ रखकर कहे तो अपाजिशन के लोग भी बाहर यही कहेगे कि सवमुच में ऐसा नेता किसी देश में नहीं है । न्यूयार्क में संयक्त राष्ट्र महासभा के अवसर पर अनौपचारिक रूप से शिखर स्तर पर विचार-विमर्श किया गया, वहां पर हिन्दुस्तान का जो रोल रहा क्या वह आप सब से छिना हुआ है ? नवम्बर में राष्ट्रमंडल देशों के शासना-ध्यक्षों की जो मीटिंग हुई ग्रीर मेजबानी की भारत ने, जिसमें ग्रधीगिक विकासणील देशों के साथ हर पहलू पर प्रधान मंत्री ने बातचीत की ग्रीर समस्याग्रों के समाधान पर सोच-विचार किया, क्या वह कम महत्व की बात है ? ग्रमरीका ग्रीर फांस में भारत उत्सव की बातें हो रही हैं ? एशियाड करके हमने जो गौरव प्राप्त किया खेलकृद को प्रोत्साहन देकर, ये सारी चीजें क्या कम महत्व की हैं ? लेकिन इनमें रकावट ग्रीर रोड़ा डालना ही चिरोधी दल का जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार हो गया है। (समय की घंटी)

आखीर में, में एक बात और कह देना चाहती हूं कि 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की सफलता के लिए नीचे से बीउ डीठ ग्रीठ लेवल से टाप लैवल तक इंसेंटिव दिये ायें, इसके लिए में सरकार से विनम्प्रता पूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहती हूं । कल जैसे बजट में कहा गया कि जो भी प्रदेश अपनी आर्थित स्थिति को संतुलन में डालकर उसे ज्यादा सुद्द बनाने की चेष्टा करेंगे तो उन्हें विशेष सुविधायें दी जाएंगी। ऐसे ही हमारे जो आफिसर चाहे वह बी० डी० ग्री० हो या क्लैक्टर, जो भी अपने-अपने क्षेत्र में और जिले में ग्रीर गांव में 20 सूती कार्यक्रम को ग्रधिक सफल बनाते हैं तो उनको कुछ इंसेंटिब दिया जाए या उनको प्रमोशन दिया जायेगा, इस ारह की कोई न कोई म् विधा या फायदा उनको पहुंचाया आए।

इन्हीं गव्दों के साथ में इस बाषण ग्रीर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Before I call Mr. M. Kaiyanasundaram to speak, I have to tell the hon. Members that I have got a Ust of 29 names before me who want to speak. Even if each Member takes 10 minutes, it will take 4-5 hours. In the interest of concluding the debate today, as announced by the Deputy Chairman, I would request you to be as brief as possible so that ali of you can have a chance to speak.

Motion oi Thank.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you thought it necessary to issue this warning just when I rise to speak. On behalf of my party, I want to make some comments on the President's Address. Although it is read out by the President ceremoniously, it is a document explaining the policy of the Government presided over by the Prime Minister. My party's attitude to the policies of the Government is that we will fight for whatever is wrong and lend support to whatever is correct. So, there are two aspects in this Address. One deals with the international situation and the other With the national situation. In the- national situation also, the economic policies are different from the policies to deal with the des-tablising forces inside the country. To criticise about the economic. policies, we wiH get ample time at the time of the debate on the Budget. The struggle and the criticism of my Party on the economic policies of the Government is because they preach one thing and they practise a different thing. In their speeches they say about socialism but actually the economic policies are directed to strengthen the monopoly capital, not only monopoly capital but even the multinationals. Even the Acts like FERA and MRTP are put-in the cold storage with the result the economic situation is deteriorating in spite of the fact that there is growth in sicence and technology, there is also growth in agricultural production. I do not want to dispute the facts about the so-called recovery of the economy and the growth in the agricultural production. But I want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister to what reaction it create among the man in the street, worker in a factory, and an employee in the office. Do they believe this propaganda when they listen to the radio or the television or read the paper about the marvellous or impressive recovery of economy? He wonders why the prices should go up like this, and Why should be agitate for more dearness allowance. That is the reaction of an office employee. A housewise who goes to a grocer is feeling that with all this propaganda why is the price of the edible oil shooting up. The prices are shooting up. So, all' your claims of marvellous recovery do not make any sense to the commonman in the street. So, I leave it at that.

Sir, about the forces of destablisa-tion, the President's Address fails to note the link between the forces of destabilisation inside our country and the same forces which create a threat to our external security. The Government cannot bifurcate these two. Whether it is Hindu communalism or Muslim communication or Sikh communalism, whether it is a Kashmir Liberation Front or a Khalistan, the source of all this trouble is one, and that is imperialism. There should be no vacillation or hesitation in identifying our real enemies. So, noting from that, I have some serious criticism in the analysis of the international situation, and even about the security of- our country, though I agree with the state-, ment that the international situation is becoming very serious. The Geneva talks have failed. And there is a very serious situation verging towards a nuclear war. But, why the Address should fail to note as to who is responsible for this .failure. It is as if the Soviet Union and America are responsible for the failure of the talks. That is the impression one will gain by going through the Address. That may not be the real policy of the Government. But why do you want to hide? Are you so weak as to tell the truth to the world? No. We are strong enough. And there are forces even inside the country who wish that our foreign pclicy should fail. But they will be disappointed. Ou foreign policy is on very sound lines on a very strong foundation. India is strong enough to project that foreig 1 policy vecause the whole world wiiich stands for peace and progress an J friendship of all the people is with us. So, it is not that easy to make tie foreign policy fail. We have seen how the policy of genuine non-alignr \ent and equidistance between the twi super powers failed within two and a half years. Again that voice need not be raised in this country and at 1 "ast in this House. It is the voice of imperialism, that is what I want to warn those who are speaking in that vein.

Now, coming to the seriousness of the situation, it cannot be exaggerated. The Soviet Union takes a very firm and flexible position to preserve peace. But for its strength and might, the whole world woi Id have been at the feet of America by this time. So, it is the policy of >eace and its might that has saved the humanity from this danger. But the danger is not yet over. The American imperialism has become more frustrated and they are threatening the whole globe from Central America to the Pacific in the east. We should see the threat to our country in this global threat which is posed to us by the imperialists. What is happening in Central America and what is happening in the West Asia and what is happening in the Indian Ocean and what is happening in the Pacific should warn us sufficiently. In the Pacific, Japan, South Korea and the U.S. are making a combination. In the West Asia, Israel and the U.S. imperialism are combining or colluding against the Arab countries and the freedom movement struggles in the African countries. In Central America they are destablithing the progressive Governments of those countries. Com-ing nearer to us, 1 need not say what the Prime Minister herself has said and expressed concern over the way In which our neighbour Pakistan is being

armed by the U.S. imperialists, including the supply of nuclear weapons. Who can blame our policy? Does India pose any threat to its neighbours? I ask everybody to give me an honest answer to this question. Is the Government of India, led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, posing a threat to Bangladesh, Pakistan or Sri Lanka' Can anybody say honestly, yes. No. One the contrary every effort is being made to normalise relations with Pakistan and Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, even with China. That work must continue, whatever may be the difficulties. The effort to normalise relations with our neighbours must continue. But, at the same time, we cannot be indifferent, we cannot ignore the imperialists who want to prevent it and sabotage it. Why don't those who plead for a proper foreign policy see these imperialists who are trying to destabilise the South Asian region as a whole? That is why they are becoming so close to Pakistan, not to the people of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan are different. I do not say that the people of Pakistan are supporting the military dictatorial activities. They are different. At the same time, let us examine the other new danger that is coming up in the south. Already the denger of Diego Garcia and the naval bases in the Indian Ocean is well known. In the Non-Aligned Conference which took place in March last, this danger was noted and the U.N. Assembly has also passed a Eesolution to hold a conference on preserving the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. What happened to this Resolution? It should have been hold in Colombo. So, both Colombo and Washington are colluding to postpone the conference as far as possible, if not sabotage it altogether. Till three years they had only 13 bases in the Indian Ocean. Now they have got 30 bases in the Indian Ocean, in all corners of the Indian

on President's Address,

Added to this., Sri Lanka is now 3 P.M. being sought to be made a base for the impen iKsts in every sense of the word, economic and military. The so-called ethnic riots that took place last year in July gave an

[Shri M. Kaiyanasundaram]

Motion of Thanks

opportunity to Jayewarcene Government to invite the imperialists directly to their soil. As a matter of tact, the so-called ethnic riot is not really ethnic riot between Sinhalese and Tamil population there; it is a riot engineered by Jayewardene Government. I have always made this point in the Huuse several times in the past when we discussed Sri Lanka issue. Mr. Jayewardene himself deliberately engineered those riots to hide the real truth to Sinhalese masses. He wanted to invite imperialists to come and stay in that island immediately after the so-called ethnic riots. While he- responded to the good offices of our Government, it was a tactical move. Nd settlement is in sight now even though six months have passed. Ts it not a tactical way? He is only utilising the time gained, for inviting delegation after delegation from America to negotiate arms deal, and to negotiate deals for giving bases in the island. Trincomalee is already going to be used as a base for imperialist forces in Diego Garcia. That is my understanding. After that, their Defence Secretary, Wen Berger visited Sri Lanka for a short duration. Next to that, a personal envoy of Mr. Reagan visited that country. Another delegation led by the Chairman of the Committee which deals with arms supply also visited. Thus, within a span of 4 months, three delegations visited Columbo. What for? Columbo is such a small country; its defence expenditure was 1.1 billion Sri Lankan rupees two years ago; for the y<war 1984, their defence budget is 2.3 billion. Added to that, recommendations have sone to U.S. Congress to liberally assist financially for the defence of Sri Lanka. Who threatens the defence of Sri Lanka? Does this Government'threaten the independence and security of Sri Lanka? No. Where is the threat? Similarly for Pakistan, who threatens its independence and security? Their own foreign jolicy will ruin their independence. This is what the Government of those countries must realise. But

the Governments there Kill not realise it; the people wiH realise and revolt as is happening in Bangladesh and also in Pakistan. The people of those countries will give a reply even to those who feel that our foreign policy is responsible for the difficulties in this region. This is what is happening in Sri Lanka and the Indian Ocean. Americans are trying to convert the Indian Ocean into their lake for naval exercises, for deploying rapid deployment forces, for keeping nuclear arms and weapons. This is more serious a danger to our country, and all of us who believe in the independence of our country, who believe in the progress of our people, should speak unitedly against this danger. That is of paramount importance. They cannot bargain on this issue. Threat to our country is not an issue on which any compromise or bargaining can take piace. While we emphasise upon this danger, this danger is secretly and stealthilypenetrating into our country by policital forces and communal forces. No political force is also free from this because the CIA activities are growing and mounting under so many camouflages. The latest camouflage is the Peace Corps of the U S.A. They have shifted their base to Colombo now. Colombo has become the, Centre for these forces. From there and from other neighbouring countries, these forces are trying to induce, incite and help them financially materially and politically. Not satisfied with this, the West Germans have also installed a powerful transmitter in Colombo, for broadcast to the Asian countries. Negotiations are also going on with the Voice of America for the installation of very powerful transmitter in Colombo, for the purpose of ideological propaganda and subversion throughout A9ia. Such are happening

around our country. Should we not be vigilant? I ask the rulingparty. I ask the Prime Minister Do you feel confident that when your party is like this, you can implement these national policies and defend country?

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Examine your 0 vn party before you accuse the 'Opposition parties (Interruption) There r_e many peoole who are clinging to ou, not believing in your policies. Th*y wiH shift anywhere provided loaves < f office or some benefit is given to thm. What is happening inside your o\ n party, in several States? I am r ot against your party blindly. My policy is not to blindly oppose the Congress (I) but to oppose what should be >pposed. Your party is like this. StiH, I feel, you are going to celebrate the c ntenary of the Indian National Congress. Even though many chips might have broken away and left the Indian tfationl Congress, your party is still recognised as the original Indian National Congress, which was built by Gandhiji and Nehru. If these people come back to life, what will they think when they see what is happening in several States, in your party?

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu). They wil not come.

SHRI M. K ALYANASUNDARAM: Tor a political party, elections are not just instruments to get majority in Parliament, by hook or by crook, they are meanr for implementing certain national the Constitution. policies. In you proclaim about secularism. democracy Socialism. In the name of democracy. Ia the name of hypocrisy is prevailing. socialism, capitalism is there and the rich are becoming r;eher, while the poor are being hit below their belt.

The Budget which has been presented vesterday is a clever Budget. I listened to the speech which was made by my friend, Vfr. Mukherjee yesterday. I should certainly congratulate him for the humour and wit which he brought into the dull Budget speech. Generally, the Budget speech wiH be boring. It will tie very difficult to hear. But veste rday, everybody enjoyed it. I also (njoyed it. Not" that I agreed with your formulations.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: That is the reason fo - the successful Budget,

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: You have avoided a very serious embarrassment to the ruling party when, going to the elections. This will help you get funds for the elections and also gather more votes. But this wiH not solve any of your problems, will not add to your prestige. And you may still believe that you are implementing national policies. That is why, I said, it is hypocrisy. Democracy does not mean rule by majority alone. Certain policies have to be enunciated and implemented. How to fight poverty? How to fight unemployment? For a citizen, right to vote is not as much important as the right to live. You do not protect the right to live, but you give the right to vote.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): You have given a new definition to democracy.

M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Certainly, the right to vote should be there. But the right to live is more fundamental than the right to vdte. Even this right is exercised, purchased, by so many methods, by black money, by whipping up communal passions and so on. When you do so, even this right is distorted. This is what is happening. This is more dangerous than the threat from the Indian Ocean and from Pakistan. We should rise above these petty politics and stand together. What are the steps taken by the ruling pary, as the major party? Should we not take steps to mobilise the people and get their support? Instead ot this, you are actually attacking the Opposition in season and out of season. For all the failures of the ruling party the opposition is responsible. I do not say that all of us are united. We have different views. It depends on the class approach. What is the class um which we are going to base ourselves. the working people and tha peasantry and the middle-class, and the policymakers must bear this in mind, how long are the people going to wait? It is this which gives the powder for the communal forces and separatist forceg to turn the masses against the pcUrr itself even against the accepted »ational policy, and demands like Khalistan

and other separatist demands are coming up in the country. To unite the masses you must have a progressive economic policy. I was surprised when the Prime Minister said, my foreign policy is very progressive they say while attacking they say that but our internal policy is retrograde. Well. Madam. if you do not change the internal policy in a progressive direction, your foreign policy wiH also be in danger. That is the lesson we should learn from what happened in Chile and in other countries where progressive governments were thrown out by the Imperialists. Do not think that there is no link between the two policies. What Lenin taught must properly understood. I need not learn from Congressmen what Lenin taught to us. I my own method of learning have Leninism (Interuptions). They will not listen to us also, I do not want anybody to learn from us. (Interruptions). Let us proper dialogue, discuss with us, understand what we say before criticising, before attacking us try to understand what we say. Do not expect us blindly follow what all you do in the interest of the peace, in the interest of the country and in the interest of close friendship with the Soviet Union. course close friendship with the Soviet Union is very vital not only for the Communist party, but they are building up close relationship, with you, even with Congress Party. The General Secretary of the Congress Party, when he went there, was given such a high See how sincere they are in reception. building up the friendship between the two peoples and the two countries. Por our

country also the elose friendship and help

is necessary. But for that where will you

be able to even project your budget as you

payment come down so effectively but for

the help given by them, by supplying oil to

ONGC?, So, friendship with the Soviet

Union is very vital Jor our economic

growth and also for our defence.

read yesterday?

defence they

Could your balance of

For the

have helped us immensely. But I do not say that we should always depend only on them. We should have to depend on our own forces, on our won scientists who are capable of giving us the strength necessary to defend our country. The Soviet Union Is also helping us to strengthen our defence. I thank the Soviet Union from the floor of this House for all the help they are rendering, and whatever may be the views of the ruling party or the opposition parties, the Soviet Union must go on rendering us the same assistance. 1 am sure they wiH go on pursuing this policy of close friendship with India.

Now before 1 conclude, I want to pay a word of tribute to our armed forces from this House. At this moment ot crisis our armed forces should not be influenced by what is happening either in Kashmir or in Pakistan or in Punjab. They must rise above communal and regional feelings. The whole nation is behind our armed forces and trust them to defend our country whenever there is danger. There are black sheep also inside the armed forces who give information to the enemy, as we saw sometime ago. About that also our Government must be vigilant. armed forces must be strengthened both politically and also in their living. The Budget has made certain proposals increasing defence expenditure. Nobody In this House will grudge that. But you use it properly to strengthen the defence of the country so that we can march forward. I can assure you, whatever may be the failures of the ruling party, whatever may be the manoeuvres of imperiaHsts inside the country, we have withstood all those things in tha ninety years of freedom struggle and we will be able to stand against it and we will march ahead in the comity of world nations with our head aright, thanks to the friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union and the nonaligned policy which we are pursuing.

Thank you.

कुमारी सरोज जापडें (महाराष्ट्) : श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर बोलने और उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ी हुई हं। संसद् का जो बजट ग्रधिवेशन हो रहा है यह देश की ग्रत्यन्त गम्भीर परिस्थितियों में हो रहा है। संसद के इतिहास में पहली बार ही ऐसी विषम प्रान्तरिक परिस्थितियों में...

SHRk KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): I hope Mr. Salve is taking detailed notes ol the speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): He is keenly following

MISS. SAROJ KHAPARDE: I think you should take detailed notes of my speech. In lact I im happy that you are taking detailed ndtes ol my

संसद के इतिहास में ऐसी विषम परिस्थितियों में यह पहला अधिवेशन हो रहा है। मेरे पूर्व वक्ताओं काफी कुछ पंजाब ग्रीर हरियाणा के बारे में कह दिया है। उन्हीं वातों को दोहराने में में सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहती हूं।

श्रीमन, ग्राज ग्रकाली दल ग्रीर भारतीय जनता पार्टी भ्रलग-अलग खेमों में बैठ कर देश को गमराह करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ग्रकाली दल संविधान की धारा 25 को संसद भवन के सामने जलाने के लिए उत्सक रहा और उसी समय भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने इसको रोकने के लिए दिल्ली शहर में बन्द का आवाहन दिया था । अकाली दल और भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने राष्ट्रपति जी की प्रार्थना को भी ठ्करा दिया। मेरी समझ में नहीं ब्राता कि इन दलों ने 1977 से लेकर 1980 तक किस प्रकार मिल कर ग्रपनी सरकार बनाई ग्रीर किस प्रकार से उस सरकार में बने रहे। अभी तक समझ में नहीं ग्रा रहा है कि उस समय ग्रकाली दल की मांगों का क्या हुन्ना था। उन पर विचार हुन्ना । था या नहीं यह तो जनता पार्टी ही जाने । 🚦

श्रीमन, देश आर्थिक विकास की छोर बढ रहा है । श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को सरकार और जनता ने बड़ी लगन के साथ लिया है और उसको इम्ब्ली-मेंट किया जा रहा है । सरकार के भ्रासपास ग्राप ग्रगर देखें तो ग्रायिक कार्यक्रम के सिवाय कुछ श्रीर नजर नहीं श्राता है। अभी हाल में प्रधान मंत्री ने इस कार्यक्रम के सम्बन्ध में दो महत्वपूर्ण नीति के विवरण दिये हैं। गरीब जनता जो राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार कार्यक्रम में लगी हुई है उसकी गेहुं 1 रुपया 50 पैसे किलो ग्रीर च।वल 1 रुपया 85 पैसे प्रति किलो दिया जायेगा। सरकारी खर्चें को कम करने के लिए प्रधान मंत्री ने सभी मंत्रालयों और विभागों को आदेश दिये हैं। जब ऐसे ग्राधिक कार्यक्रम सफल होंगे तो विरोधी दल जनता का रुख दूसरे राजनीतिक विषयों की स्रोर खींचने की कोशिश करता है जो केवल देश में भ्रब्यवस्था, भ्रराजकता भ्रौर श्रसामाजिक तत्वों को बढ़ावा देने में मदद करता है। इस समय देश की एकता ग्रत्यन्त भयानक खतरे में पड़ी हुई है श्रीर राष्ट्रीय एकता इतनी भ्रनिवार्य है कि जितनी देश की सीमात्रों को सुरक्षित रखना । इतिहास साक्षी है कि जब लोग ग्रापस में लड़ते हैं तो विदेशी श्राक्रमण कर के श्रापसी फुट का लाभ उठा कर शासन करते हैं। हमें हमारे इतिहास से कुछ प्रेरणा लेनी चाहिए। इन देशद्रोही ताकतों का हमें जम कर मुका-बलाकरना चाहिए। इसके लिए केन्द्र का मजबूत होना ऋत्यन्त ग्रावश्यक है। मैं ग्रकाली भाइयों से कुछ पूछना चाहंगी कि क्या इसी दिन के लिए गुरु म्रर्जुन देव ग्रीर ैगुरु तेग बहादुर ग्रौर गुरु गोविन्द सिंह ग्रौर गुरु गोविन्द सिंह के दो मासूम बच्चों ने ग्रपना बलिदान किया था ? ग्रीर इतना ही नहीं, ग्राज पंजाब में जो ग्राग लगी

[कमारी सरोज खापड़ी]

है वह सारे विभागों में तो फैली ही है लेकिन हरियाणा में भी, वहां के शहरों तक वह ग्राग फैल चकी है। इन राज्यों के लोग ग्रंपने को विदेशी समझने लगे हैं। विपक्षीय वार्ता के लिए जब एक परिस्थिति बन चुकी थी तो उस समय हिन्दू सुरक्षा समिति द्वारा श्रायोजित बन्द की क्या आवश्यकता थी । इन दंगों में केवल निर्दोष व्यक्ति ही मारे जाते हैं चाहे वे हिन्दू हों या सिख । समाज विरोधी तत्व इन दंगों में कई बार आर पडते हैं। देश की जनता गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठने का प्रयास कर रही है। पिछले कछ वर्षों में ग्रामीण विकास में ग्रद्भुत प्रगति है। रही है परन्त विश्व के कुछ देश भारत की प्रगति को वर्दाश्त नहीं कर पाते और हमारे बारे में झुठा प्रचार करते हैं जैसे कि मैं सदन का ध्यान आकत्यत करना चाहंगी कि "डेली" नाम का एक पत्न जो बम्बई से प्रकाशित होता है उसके फरवरी 24, 1984 के ग्रंक में जो कुछ छपा है उस ग्रोर में सदन का ध्यान ग्राकवित करना चाहंगी । हमारे देश के बारे में विदेश में किस तरीके का श्रप-प्रचार होता है उसे आप देखें। इसमें कहा गया है

"Bombay skyscrappers in the background, filthy, dingy lanes, stray dogs, cats and old women searching for food. The only good building in India shown in the film was the Parliament House where MPs land in auto-rikshaws and Mrs. Gandhi in a car."

तो इस प्रकार की जो वातें गमराह करने वाली विदेशों के टी वी में दिखाई जाती है इससे हमें क्या दिखलाई पड़ता है । इस से हमें यह दिखलाई पडता है कि हिन्दस्तान का नक्शा विदेशी टेलीविजन में किस

तरह से गंदे तरीके से दिखाने की कोशिश की जाती है और हमारे देश को किस तरीके से गंदा कर के लोगों के मनों में गलत बातें फैलाने की, डालने की कोशिश की जाती है। इस झढ़े प्रचार से विदेशों में हम क्या देखते हैं कि एक तरफ तो विदेशों में यह झठा प्रचार होता है ग्रीर देश के लोग एक दूसरे के खुन के प्यासे हो रहे हैं। ऐसी हालत में देश की एकता कब तक सुरक्षित रह सकती है। इसकी इज्जत ग्रीर ग्राबरू का उत्तरदायित्व हम ग्रीर ग्राप सब पर है और इस बात को अकाली दल, भारतीय जनता पार्टी, हिन्दू सुरक्षा समिति और दसरे राजनीतिक दल सब अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। श्रीमन्, विदेशों में भारत की गक्ति का सभी को ग्राभास है ग्रीर वे शक्तियां इस देश को शक्तिशाली ग्रीर सम्पन्न महीं देख सकती हैं। भारत विरोधी नीति को प्रोत्साहित किया जाता है। अब तो हमारे राजनयिकों पर भी आक्रमण होने लगा है ; बर्रामधम में हमारे राज नियक रवीन्द्र मैता की जो दर्वनाक हत्या कर दी गई है काश्मीर लिबरेशन फांट द्वारा, तो यह संगठन इंग्लैण्ड ग्रीर दूसरे कुछ देशों में काम कर रहा है भारत के खिलाफ । इंग्लैण्ड की पुलिस ग्रपनी व्यवस्था के लिए प्रसिद्ध है परन्तु वहां पर मैता के हत्यारे का पुलिस ग्रभी तक पता नहीं लगा सकी है और वह किसी निष्कवं पर नहीं पहुंच सकी है । इससे साबित होता है कि इंग्लैंड के कुछ लोग भारत विरोधी तत्वों के साथ मिले हुए हैं, उनके साथ गठजोड़ किए हैं। कुछ देशों में खालिस्तान के नाम पर भारत विरोधी प्रचार किया जा रहा है। विरोधी शक्तियों ग्रीर भारत विरोधी तत्वों और देश में घोर गरीबी श्रीर उग्रवादी श्रातंक, इन सब शक्तियों का हमें मिल कर मुकाबला करना चाहिए। यदि देश कमजोर होगा तो देश की एकता निश्चित ही खतरे में पड जाएगी। देश किसी भी विदेशी शक्ति का सामना करने के

लिए ग्रसमर्थं सिट हो सकता है। ऐसी स्थिति में टोहड़ा, लॉगोवाल, बादल और तलवंडी क्या सिक्छ भाइयों ग्रीर भारत की सुरक्षा कर सकेंगे! मुझे इसमें संदेह नहीं है कि वे भी बच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि बागडोर उनके हाथ से निकल चुकी है और ऐसे तत्वों के हाथ में जा चुकी है जिनकों संभालने में वे भी असमर्थ हैं। मैं इस श्रवसर पर मास्टर तारा सिह ग्रीर संत फतेह सिह को प्रणाम करती हूं कि सरकार में मतभेद होते हुए भी उनके सशक्त लोक श्रिय नेतृत्व में पंजाब में कभी ऐसा वातावरण नहीं फैला। ग्रकाली नेतृत्व को इन नेताओं से प्ररणा लेनी चाहिए ग्रीर इस ग्रातंक को ग्री घ्रता से समाप्त करना चाहिए।

श्रीमन, में सदन का कुछ ग्रीर बातों की तरफ ध्यान बाङ्गध्ट करना चाहंगी। हमारे देश में कई ऐसे लोग हैं जो सिर्फ भारत को तोड़ने के लिए काम करते हैं जोडने का काम महीं करते हैं। जोडने में बहुत कम लोग लगे हुए हैं। पिछले डेढ़ वर्षों में भारत ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में बड़ी ख्याति प्राप्त की है। 1982 में एशियाई खेलों का ग्रायोजन, 1983 में गृट निरपेक्ष सम्मेलन और 1984 में राष्ट्रमंडलीय देशों का सम्मेलन नई दिल्ली में हम्रा । विदेशी प्रतिनिधियों ने स्वयं देखा है कि भारत कितनी क्षमता है और शक्ति है कि इन महान सम्मेलनों को वह सम्पन्न कर सकता है। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी गटनिरपेक्ष देशों की चैयर-परसन घोषित की गई। यह सम्मान इंदिरा गांधी को नहीं बल्कि सारे देश की जनता को प्राप्त हम्रा है । यह कोई कम उपलब्धि नहीं है जिससे ग्राप इंकार नहीं कर सकते।

श्रीमन्, ब्राबिक क्षेत्र में मूलभूत परिवर्तन हो गए हैं। बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिए जो लक्ष्य हैं उनके कार्यक्रम हमारी सरकार ने घोषित किए हैं।

15 ग्रगस्त 1983 को प्रधान मंत्री ने बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिए एक कार्यक्रम दिया है। इन सब उपलब्धियों के कारण अगर सही पूछें तो विरोधी दल घबराया हम्रा है ग्रीर वे ऐसे समय पर कान्वलैव का गठन कर रहे हैं जिससे कि देश में तताब, ग्रशान्ति ग्रौर ग्रराजकता पैदा की जा सके। विरोधी शक्तियां ग्रीर समाज विरोधी तत्व उससे फायदा उठा रहे हैं। 27 फरवरी को बंगला साहब गरुद्वारे के पास संविधान को जलाया गया तो ऐसे अवसर पर विदेशी समाचार पत्नों के संवादवाला किस प्रकार उस प्रदर्शन को देखने के लिए ट्ट पड़े विदेशों में उसका किस प्रकार प्रदर्शन किया गया इसको आप अच्छो तरह से जान और समझ सकते हैं । इससे देश की एकता और विश्वास को किस प्रकार प्राधात पहुंचेगा और हमारा मनोबल किस प्रकार से कमजोर होगा इसको हमें और आपको याद रखना चाहिए और उसके लिए सम्चितं कदम उठाने चाहिए। प्रगति में इस प्रकार का बाबाएं जो होती रहती हैं उनसे ग्रलग रहना चाहिए। प्रजातंत्र का मल सिद्धांत सर्वदा कायम रखने के लिए हर राजनीतिक दल को सत्तारूढ कांग्रेस और उसको सरकार और प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत करने चाहिए, उनको ग्रट्ट विश्वास देना चाहिए। यह प्रजातन्त्र के लिए हितकर ही नहीं होगा बल्कि ग्रनिवार्य भी होगा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ में राष्ट्रपति जी के ग्रमिभाषण पर रखें गए धन्य-बाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हं।

श्री मोर्जा ईर्गावर्बेग एपुवर्बेग (गुजरात): मान्यवर, उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर श्री भारद्वाज जी द्वारा ग्राधार प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि चल सके ऐसी Motion oi Thanks

सरकार के लिए जनता ने जो ग्राकांक्षाएं रखी थीं उसको इस सरकार ने ग्रपने कार्यं द्वारा सिद्ध किया, स्वावलम्बन, ग्रात्मनिर्भरता ग्रौर विकास की दिशा में अनेक अवरोधों एवं कठिनाइयों के बावजद स्पष्टरूप से ग्रागे कंदम किया है। शासन की समय अवधि में उसकी चरितार्थं करने का भरसक प्रयास किया है जिसका प्रतिबिम्ब राष्ट्रपति जी ने दिया है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने ग्रंपने भाषण में जो बातें कहीं हैं इससे विलकुल सावित हो जाता है कि इस सरकार ने विकास की दिशा में क्या-क्या कदम लिये हैं। मैं विपक्षी दलों के मिलों से यह कहना चाहंगा कि क्या कृषि उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में 9 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि, सिचाई में 23.4 लाख हेक्टेयर की जो बढ़ोतरी हुई है, कोल ग्रीर विजली का उत्पादन, खनिज तेल जो 82-83 में 21.6 लाख टन से अब 260 लाख टन जाने को पहुंचा है, ग्रीद्योगिक विकास के क्षेत्र में विकास दर की माना में 4.5 परसेंट होने को जा रही है, इसी दिशा में सरकार ने अलग-अलग विषयों को लेकर, विभिन्न राज्यों को लेकर नो इंडस्ट्री डिस्ट्रिक्ट भौर उसकी प्रगति के लिए, उसके विकास के लिए जो कदम सरकार ने लिये हैं क्या यह प्रगति का द्योतक नहीं है। राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन विकास की दर में 6 से 7 परसेंट की जो बढ़ोतरी हुई क्या यह गर्व दिलाने की बात नहीं है । अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष के साथ एक्सटेंडड फंड एंड फेसेलीटी के अधीन और अधिक धन न लगाने का निर्णय हमारी ग्रात्मनिर्भरता की दिशा में क्या अभिनन्दनीय कदम नहीं है ? इसके लिए में सरकार को अभिनन्दन देना चाहंगा।

32 लाख शेड्युल्ड कास्ट्स ग्रीर शेड्युल्ड ट्राइब्स के परिवारों तथा ग्रन्य

60 लाख परिवारों को 2253 करोड़ रुपये को लागत से ग्रामीण विकास कार्य-कमों के अन्तर्गत जो सहायता दी और 600 करोड की रोजगार गारण्टी स्कीम तथा शिक्षित बेरोजगार ढाई लाख यवकों की सहायता, यवकों के भविष्य को उज्जंबल बनायेगी।

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में याद दिलाना वाहंगा कि हमारी पार्टी के महामंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी का नाम लिया जाता है मैं कहना चाहुंगा कि हमारी पहली राजनीतिक पार्टी ऐसी है जिसने ग्रपनी पार्टी से जोड़े हुए लाखों नवयुवकों को बीस सुत्री कार्यंकम के अन्तर्गत, ग्रामीण विकास के जो कार्य-कम दिये हैं उन कार्यक्रमों को कियान्वित करने के लिए लगाया है। बार एक रचनात्मक ढ्रंग से राजनीतिक वल ने काम किया है।

मद्रास परमाणु विजली केन्द्र से 200 मेगावाट विजली का उत्पादन देश के विकास में एक नया इजाफा है । नई स्वास्थ्य नीति के अन्तर्गत असाध्य रोगों के सामने प्रतिकार के लिए एक ग्राभ-नन्दनीय कदम है। हाल ही में विटामिन की दवाइयों के दाम गिराये गये और इसके साथ साथ टी०बी० दवाइयों के . दाम भी, टी० बी० उन्मलन के लिये गिराये गये हैं । इसके लिए मैं अभिनंदन करना चाहता हं।

ब्राज देश में, विदेश में लन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में भी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के कार्यंक्रमों की वजह से हिन्दुस्तान का मस्तिष्क ऊंचा हुआ है। देश की गरिमा जो बढ़ी है वह भी इन्ही की की वजह से बढ़ी है। मैं अपने विपन्नी दलों के मिलों से कहना चाहता हूं कि क्या हम इस बात को पीछे छोड़ देगे कि हाल ही में जनसंख्या पुरस्कार यु०एन०ग्रो० ने

जो भारत को दिया है वह तभी हो सका है जीव प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में इस बरकार ने इस देश को कार्यक्रम दिये हैं। बारद्वाज जी जीव बात कर रहे थे तब यह कह रहे थे कि विपक्षी दलों ने इस पर वाक-म्राउट किया था । मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हं कि यह एक इतिहास है। इस सदन की कार्यवाही के पन्ने जल्ट कर देखिये कि क्या आप सबने मिल कर समाजवाद को लाने के लिए कुछ किया ? ग्रापने समाजवाद लाने के लिए कुछ नहीं किया। मैं पूछना चाहता हं यह तो श्रापकी एक परंपरा रही है। यह तो ग्रापका इतिहास रहा है। जब विदेश में किसी ने समाजवाद की बात कही है. उसके कार्यक्रमों को ग्रागे ले जाने की बात कही है, ग्राप उठाकर देख लीजिए कि लाखों परिवारों को करोड़ों रुपये की लांगत से जो सहायता दी जाती है वह कौन से कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत दी जाती है।

बैंकों से ऋण दिया जाता है ग्रीर उसी के ब्राधार पर योजनाएं चलाई जाती हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि जरा पन्नों को उलटकर ग्राप देखें कि जिस दिन प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने, यह तदन इस बात का गवाह है, बगल का सदन गवाह है कि जिस दिन बैंकों के नेशनलाइजेशन का यहां परिवल लाया गया था. क्या उस वक्त ग्रापने वाक-ग्राजट नहीं किया था? क्या ग्रापको समाजवाद में विश्वास था, क्या आप 'यहां बैठे थे, क्या ग्रापने उस बिल को को समर्थन दिशा था ? नहीं । नोति संबंधी गलत वानें चलाई जा रही हैं भीर इस देश को खडित करने की बात की जा हो है और विदेशी ताकतों के साथ मिलकर इस देण में जो रचनात्मक कार्य ग्रागे बढते जा रहे हैं, उनको मिटानि का काम किया जा रहा है, साजिशें की जा रही हैं। पंजाब का मामला ग्रीर ग्रसम

का मामला ले लोजिए। किन शक्तियों के साथ मिलकर काम करने जा रहे हैं? श्रीर अलग-अलग देशम की बात कहते हैं तो क्या आपको भारत देशम की बात करना गवारा नहीं है ? क्या हम यह नहीं चाहते हैं कि इस देश में एक ऐसी सरकार बने, इस देश में ऐसी सरकार चल सके जो इस देश को ग्रच्छा शासन दे सके। दो साल के लिये एक शासन आया था। इस समय के आंकड़े देखे हैं, इन देश को कहां ले गये? इन्होंने क्या किया। इन्होंने धर्म के नाम पर इस देश की बांटने की कोशिश की। लेकिन धर्म के नाम पर जो देश बने हैं उन देशों को हालत क्या है ? पाकिस्तान का क्या हाल हो रहा है, बंगलादेश का क्या हाल हो रहा है? क्या हो रहा है इन देशों में ? इन देशों का निर्माण धर्म के आधार पर हुआ तो आप देख रहे हैं कि वहां क्या हो रहा है। धर्म में कहा है कि:

नीतिरेव धर्मः धर्मेण्व नीति। धर्म में यह भी कहा गया है कि: उज्जानं ते पुरुष नावायनम्।

हमने ऊर्वं गति से देश को ग्रागे उठाने के लिए प्रयास किया है। लेकिन क्या ग्रापके ऐसे कार्यक्रम से हम ग्रागे बढ़ पाते हैं, क्या इन बातों से देश ग्रागे बढ सकता है ? साजिशें की जा रही हैं धर्म के नाम पर और धर्म के नाम पर लोगों की भावनाओं के साथ खेला जा रहा है। में विपक्षी दलों की कम से कम इस वात में सराहना करना चाहता हं कि देश की एकता के लिए उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि इसके लिए हम सब साथ मिल कर काम करें। श्रीमन्, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हं, जो धर्म की बात करते हैं क्या वह देश की एकता को बनाये रख सकते हैं। अगर कोई कर्मकांडी पुरुष मौजद है तो मैं उससे पूछना चाहता हूं 283

[श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेद एयुवबग]

कि क्या गंगाजल, जिसको पवित्र करने वाली बात किसी ने कही है कि गंगा जल की एक बंद भी अगर दूसरे पानी में मिल जाए, मिला दिया जाए तो क्या गंगातल शद्ध रूप में रह सकता है ? श्रीमन्, अगर ऐसा होता तो हर एक इंसान काशी ग्रौर बनारस में जा कर एक बाल्टी पानी लेकर ग्रपने घर के कुयें में डाल देता ग्रीर वहां सव गंगा जल हो जाता। लोगों की भावनाओं के साथ खेला जा रहा है, धर्म का नाम लेकर खेला जा रहा है, गंगाजल को बेचकर उसका पैसा लिया जा रहा है और ऐसा कहा जाता है, ऐसी बात चलाई जाती है कि धर्म को भ्रष्ट किया जा रहा है। धर्म को भ्रष्ट करने की बात ग्राप कर रहे हैं। इस देश में साजिशों चल रही हैं और इस देश को तोड़ने की बात चल रही है। श्रीमन, में ग्रापके माध्यम से कह कहना चाहता हूं कि ग्रगर इस देश को ग्राग बढाना है तो इस तरह की बात छोड़नी होगी। लाखों लोगों ने आजादी के लिए जब अपना बलिदान किया था. जो हमारे नन्हे मासूम लोगों ने देश पर अपनी जान कुर्वान कर दी थी क्या उसकी कोई कीमत नहीं है ? क्या आप और हम सब मिल कर इस देश की गरिमा को ऊंचा नहीं उठा सकते ? पंजाब में जो कुछ हो रहा है, जो लह वह रहा है, उसको मिटाने के लिए कम से कम एक कार्यक्रम लेकर हम ग्रौर ग्राप मिल कर ग्रपने मन में पक्ष-विपक्ष की बात छुपा कर ग्रौर ग्रपने मस्तिष्क को साफ रख कर ग्रापस में बैठ कर उसका समाधान नहीं कर सकते ? मैं इस सदन के सामने बड़ी दर्दपूर्ण श्रावाज में यह कहना चाहता हं कि वहां पर लाखों-करोड़ों की संख्या में ऐसे लोग हैं जो टेंशन में हैं, टेंशन में ग्रपनी जिंदगी वसर कर रहे हैं। मैं विपक्षी दल के मिलों से कहना चाहता हूं कि इस इश्यू पर, इस मासले पर हम राजनैतिक बातों को साथ न लायें ग्रीर जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है कि इस मसले पर सरकार

का साथ देकर इसका समाधान निकाल सकें। हम और आप सबको मिल कर देश को ग्रागे बढाना है । देश बड़ी कठिनाइयों में से गुजर रहा है। इस देश की आजादी के लिए हजारों लोगों ने ग्रपना लह बहाया है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने अन्तर्राष्टीय जगत में अपने देश का मस्तक ऊंचा किया है । मैं तमाम बातों को श्रापको याद दिलाना चाहता हं (समय की घण्टी) । हमने ग्रखवारों में देखा है कि अमेरिका में आपके नुमाइन्दे वहां के राष्ट्रपति की बीबी के पैर पर चप्पल पहना रहे थे इंदिरा गांधी ने ग्रपने देश का मस्तक ऊंचा किया है, इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में ग्राई० एम० एफ० की बात उठी ग्रीर इसके द्वारा उन्होंने लाखों गरीब परिवारों को ऊपर उठाया । वहां पर, बाहर के देशों में इंदिरा गांधीं ने सर्वैव अपने देश का मस्तक ऊंचा उठा कर रखा है। उन्होंने इतना फण्ड ला करके इस देश में विकास योजनाएं चलाई हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हं कि ग्राज विश्व में सब से ग्रधिक, यह देश ग्राज ग्रधिक शक्तिशाली ग्रीर मजबूत देश है। ग्राज ग्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में जब निरस्त्रीकरण की बात चलती है, विश्वणान्ति की बात चलती है तब ग्रमरीका ग्रीर रूस के साथ हिन्द्स्तान के प्रधान मंत्री को भी बुलाया जाता है, हिन्दुस्ताम के प्रधान मंत्री का उस पर विश्वास लिया जाता है. क्या यह हमारे लिए, श्रापके लिए, गौरव की बात नहीं है ? हमारे लिए यह गर्वकी बात है कि आज देश का नेतृत्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा जी करती हैं। उनके हाथ में इस देश का भविष्य उज्जवल है ग्रीर बहुत ग्रच्छा है। यह देश के करोड़ों मानवों के लिए ग्रच्छी बात है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हं कि कान खोल कर आप सुनिए, अपने दिमागों को खोल कर देखिए, देश में क्या होता जा रहा है ? अभी माल्कोम जी ने

जो कि बड़े आधिक-बिद हैं कहा है कि जो बातें चल रही हैं विकास जिस गति से हो रहा है, यह बहुत ग्रन्छो वात है । उन्हीं की तरह ग्राप लोग भी खले दिमाग से बात करिये । ग्राप ग्रपने दिमाण से राजनीति निकाल कर विकास को सामने रखें जो ग्रांकड़ें बोलते हैं वह देखिए कि देश ने ग्राज क्या ग्राथिक प्रगति की है ? कई खरावियां हैं। कुछ सुत्रों को आप बना लीजिए और कहिए कि इस सुत्र के लिए हम ग्रागे बढ़ना चाहते हैं ग्रीर इस देश को समर्थन तथा विकास देना चाहते हैं। मैं ग्राखिर में इतनी बात कह कर समाप्त करना चाहता हं कि ग्राइये कुछ समय के लिए हम मतभेदों को भूल जाएं ग्रौर देश के विकास के लिए, एकता के लिए कार्यं करें । जिस दिन जनमत होगा देश की जनता कहेगी कि किन को शासन में लामा है और किन को नहीं लामा है। ग्राज तक देश की करोड़ों जनता ने कहा कि कांग्रेस को शासन बाहिए, इन्दिरा जी को प्रधान मंत्री का पद देना चाहिए। इस वजह से यह शासन चल रहा है। जब समय ग्राएगा तब जनता फिर यह बात कह देगी । आखीर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हं: काक: कृण्ण: पिक: कृष्ण: को भेद पिककाकयो, पिक: काकाद न भिद्येत न बदेत मध्रं यदि ।

ग्ररे भाई कौचा भी काला है ग्रौर कोयल भी काली है नेकिन भेद कैसे समझ में ग्राए? (व्यवधान) कीन कीग्रा है कीन कोराम है (व्यवधान) जब इलीनशन ग्राएगा तब मालम होगा। इसी बात पर मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त करता हं।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): jMr. Vice-Chairmai the President while expressing concen 1 over • the growing divisive and separatist tendencies, emphasised maintaining India's unity and integrity. My party_i the CPI(M) is second to none to ft£ht for the unity and int grity of our country.' But the Presiden of India, I find, in his Speech, has n >t dwelt on the issue which is most c ucial in preserving that unity and soidarity of the countryi

and that issue is the Centre-State rela tions and redistribution of both admin istrative and financial powers between the Centre and the States. As you are aware, as many as five Chief Min isters and 18 political parties of our country have made concrete proposals on this particular issue. But the Presi dent of India, though he is supposed to be the President of India, not the president of a particular party, I re gret has overlooked this issue in mak ing his Speech. Sir, the question ol Centre-State relations has acquired greater importance in the context ot the growing alienation between the Centre and the constituent Stales ol our country. This alienation, arising from the assaults and attacks on the powers of the States, is growing in the context of the divisive forces raising their heads, their ugly heads, in various places and, Sir, this situation is encouraging the imperialist and other reactionary forces to support the separatist and the divisive forces in various places in our country. Naturally, in the Interest of Indian unity, it is urgently necessary to stop this process of alienation between the Centre and the constituent states of our country by redistributing both administrative and financial powers. Sir, my colleague on the other side, Mr. Bhardwaj, while moving the Motion of Thanks, had stated that India is a nation, is a State Sir, you kindly go through the proceedings. This is what he has said. He has said that India is a nation and Is a State and by saving this, the learned Member from the other side, has betrayed his ignorance not only about what India is but ateo about what the Constitution of India says. You see what Article 1 of the Constitution of India says. Article 1 of the Constitution of India says that "India, that is, Bharat, shall be a Union of States," and not a State. It is only a Union of States. At the same time, he boasted—and the other Members of the ruling Party participating in the debate also boasted-of the role of their party and their leaders of the Indian National Congress in the freedom struggle. But they did not know even what their own party had stated. Sir, I would like to quote the "Quit India"

[Shri Dipen Ghosh] Resolution which was passed by the Indian National Congress in its session held in Bombay on the 7th and 8th of August, 1942. I quote:

"The provisional Government will evolve a scheme ior a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a Constitution for the of India, acceptable to all Government sections of the people, and, according to the Congress view, it should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units and with the residuary powers vesting in these units." Again quote from the election manifesto of the Indian National Congress of 1945. It says like this: "The Congress has envisaged a free democratic State with the fundamental rights and liberties of its citizens in the Constitution. This Constitution, in its view, should be a federal one, with autonomy for its constituent units and legislative organs" elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. Sir, from these resolutions, it is seen that even the persons, who are standing one after another to support the President's Address and the Government of India led by Mrs. Gandhi, are not aware of what their own party, had committed to the people of this country prior to the independence of our country.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): They are the neo-Congress people.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, we are •surely for stronger States. But on no account do we want a weak Centre. About the concept of strong States, even our Prime Minister says, and also -the other leaders are saying, that our asking for the redistribution of the powers or the redefinition of Centre-'State relations is meant to weaken the 'Centre. I want to make it very clear, while demanding more powers for the States, that we do not want' to weaken the Centre, and the concept (A strong States is not necessarily in contradiction to that of a strong Centre. Once their respective spheres of authority clearly marked out, a

strong and unfleld India can only be one in which the democratic aspirations and the distinctiveness of the people of the different States are respected, and not treated with disdain.

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Sir, our Prime Minister seems to be very fond of Rabindra Nath Tagore. So I quote from Rabindra Nath Tagore, what he says about this. Tagore says—and the English version of what he is saying will be like this:

"If all the blood from your body gushes into your head, it is not the sign of good health. When all the blood is gushing in your head, your face may look very glossy, but il does not necessarily reflect youi health; it may reflect a very serious disease."

So, naturally, Sir while we demand more powers for the States or autonomy of States, we demand it on the lines of what the national leaders had committed to Ihe people of our eountry prior to winning freedom. We demand it in conformity with the thought of the people like Rabindra Nath Tagore and what the people like Rabindra Nath Tagore had stated. But about what Mr. Bhardwaj and others say now-that India is one nation, one States-it is our allegation that in the name of a strong Centre, the ruling party, the Congress (I), has made it into one State by appropriating all powers from the States and abrogating and eroding the powers of the constituent States. The fact is that the notorious 42nd amendment to the Constitution reduce the States to The position of subordinates depending on the Centre showed that an attack on the powers of the States was inevitable requirement of the authoritarian rule. The question of Centre-States relations, therefore, Sir, not only relates to the question of defending the Indian unity but also it relates to the question ' of defending democracy as against authoritarian rule.

Therefore, Sir, while taking part in the debate on the Presidential address. I through your, want to bring to the notice of this House that

in the interes of preserving the unity and solidarit; of our country the States-Centre relationship has to be re-defined and both administrative and financial powe ts have to be re-distributed. And whi e taking part in the debate on the budget my colleagues will speak how thi States' financial powers are being usurped by the Centre. I want also cert lin Articles of the Indian Constitution tt be modified so as to ensure re-dis' ribution and devolution of powers.

But due to priority of time here 1 want to emph isise only one particular question, that is, the question relating to the insttution of Governors. Sir, you know about the appointment of Governors, th:; calibre and the stature <of the Governors, to what a depth it has been reduced. The record proves beyond a shadow of doubt that in most eases the Governors have used their office to serve the interests of the ruling par y at the Centre. Here, in this connect on I want to draw the attention of this House to the speech, to a part of the speech, rendered by Pt'. Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly, when he took part in the debate about that article in the Constitution-whether a Governor would be an elected one or nominated.

He made his speech on 31st May, 1949. Sir, I quote:

would it not be better to have a more letached figure, obviously a figure tl at is acceptable to the province, otherwise he could not function ther>? He must be acceptable to the province, he must be acceptable to the Government of the province am' yet he must not be known to be a part of the party machine of that province. He may be sometimes, possibly, a man from that province itself. We do not rule it out. But oi the whole it probably would be dedrable to have people from outsiie—eminent people, sometimes people who have not taken too great a part politics.

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Politicians would probably like a more active domain for their activities, but there may be an eminent educationist or persons eminent in other walks of life, who would naturally, while cooperating fully with the Government and carrying out the policy of the Government, at any rate helping in every way so that that policy might be carried out, he would nevertheless represent before the public someone slightly above the party and, thereby, in fact, help that Government more than if he was considered as part of the party machine."

Sir, in this context, let u_s judge the role of the Governors played by them during the last one year or the Governors appointed by the President. For example, take the case of my own State, West Bengal. The Governor was appointed suddenly. No consultation was made with the Chief Minister of West "Bengal. Simply, he was informed over the telephone when he was at Srinagar, . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI N. K. P. SALVE): On a point of order, Sir. It is not only a question of grievous impropriety, but there are certain constitutional precedents involved which lay down a mandate that so far as conduct of the Governor is concerned. .

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: He is not referring to the conduct of the Governor. He is referring to the manner in which the Governor is appointed.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; In this very House, Shri Bhupesh Gupta moved a resolution on the role of the Governor which has been discussed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R-RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Salve has raised a point of order. Let me hear him.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE; My respectful submission is that the discussion of

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what the Governor has said and the manner in which he is appointed is included in the question of "Conduct of Governor". It is not as if we are discussing at what time he gets up in the morning or what he likes to eat. This is irrelevant. His functioning is something which cannot be discussed in this House. My reasons are twofold. I was not very attentive and if I have misunderstood, I may be forgiven. What I heard him to say was about the manner in which he was appointed. He cast some aspersions about the impartiality of the Governor and especially in the context of what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said about the role of the Governor and what his domain should be. While discussing the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, the Members are allowed to bring in anything under the sun. If he brings forth Centre-State relationship, he is welcome to do it. It would add to the dignity of the House if the Governor's conduct is not brought in during the speech.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: He has not discussed the role of the Governor. He has discussed the mode of appointment of the Governor. It is not the conduct of the Governor.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE): I would like to say that we should have no objection if the Governor a_s a_n institution, is discus-4 P.M. sed. But what the hon. Member said is, "Governor of my State." If I heard him correctly, he has said, "The Governor of my State". If he has not said it, I will accept it. But you cannot discuss the conduct of • a particular Governor. You can discuss the conduct of the Governor as an institution.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir. hon. Minister. Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee said that the institution could be discussed. But, Sir, when we discuss the Institution of Governorship. We can bring to light the role of the Governor and also the role played by the Governors in different States in different periods. That had been discussed in the past also. So, the Member has got every right to discuss it.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNTJARAxM: Sir, Mr. Salve has raised a very im portant question, supported by Leader of the House. I thought that the leader of the House would at least come to help the discussion

AN HON. MEMBER: Help the Opposition.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: ...not to help the Opposition. He is the Leader of the House. Sir, the Governor is appointed by the President. We are discussing the Address by the President. Suppose there is some grievance at some stage about the manner in which a Governor has been appointed, don't we have the right to state about it since we happen to be the Council of States? Mr. Ghosh has not referred to Governor A. P. Sharma or his behaviour or his conduct at all. He was only referring to the advice given by the Prime Minister to the President. His criticism will apply only to the Prime Minister and not to the President.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सवाल सिर्फ इतना है कि गवर्नर की नियक्ति किस तरीके से होती है। जो संदर्भ यहां पर दिया गया है हमारे दीपेन भाई ने वह संदर्भ यह है कि गवर्नर कैसा होना चाहिए। यही उन्होंने कहा है । उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि गवर्नर कौन है। तो कैसा गवर्नर हो इस पर बात हो रही है।

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI THE RAMAKRISHNAN): I have heard all of you. Please let me now say. Having heard Mr. Salve's point of order, I think there is a point in what he is making. You are at liberty to discuss on the conduct of the Governors in general as it can come under the President's Address. But if you are reflecting upon the conduct of a person in

high authority, unless the discussion is based on a su -stantive motion drawn in proper term r, it cannot be allowed under Rule 238 of the Rules of Procedure, Mr. Ghosh, up to a certain point, you are discussing about the Governors. Bu when you came to the particular cond ;ct of the West Bengal Governor in a particular matter, the Leader of the I ouse took it up....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I did not discuss the conduc of a particular Governor. I did ref.^r to the manner in which the Gov< mor of my State was appointed. Anc I did not like to discuss the conduit of the Governor.

THE VICE-C LAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): NOW, taking into account the bread Rule, you please proceed with your speech. (Interruptions) He has 'larifled that he is not referring to the conduct of a particular Governor.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I was referring in the coniext of what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehi u said as to what the Governor ought to be and how the Governor ought to be appointed. I quote again the particular line from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech. "He must be acceptable to the Province; he must be acceptable to the Government of the Province." I want to mention this nar-ticular thing because in my State the Governor was not appointed by the President of Ind a in consultation with the State Government, not even with the Chief Minis er. He was simply informed of the : act that such and such person has beei appointed as the Governor of W st Bengal, over telephone when he v as away from Calcutta to Srinagar. So, I want to mention this thing. The institution of the Governors has ben reduced to a party post, to look aft T the party interests. I can cite an example....

AN HON MEMBER: Many.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ... how Member of thi: House tried to become a Governo ■ of a State, how he was sent to a State at the time <f

Panchayat elections as an observer of the Central ruling party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): What has that got to do

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH-. From the panchavat election observer to the Governor. what a rise! And, I have seen this with my own eyes. Then a Governor who was until the date he became the Governor a Member of this House, after becoming the Governor of a State I had seen him lobbying here in the inner lobby of the Rajya Sabha with the Secretary of the Congress (I) Legislature Party. Is it the role of the institution of Governors? Where it has been reduced to?

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS (Karnataka): Cannot a Governor come here? ruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He can surely come here, but not for lobbying.

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: What d» you mean by lobbying? Can he not come here? (Interruptions) He might have come here to meet a friend.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I do not want to say that no one should come here. Everybody has a right to come here who has got a pass and ether things. But what I say...

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: Sir, when a person is not here, he should not be discussed. Then why this referenc" (Interruptions) These are all false allegations, Mr. Vice-Chairman,

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What I war:' to say is that even after becoming < • Governor if he is seen lobbying here with a party man, "you can understand to what a position the post of Governor has been reduced.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMAKRISHNAN): Now please conclude Mr. Ghosh, you have already taken more than 25 minutes.. Please conclude.

SHRIJ^LATI MONIKA DAS: If a Governor has come here, he should

[Smt. Monifca Das] not meet any party person. That Is what you mean to say. He might have come here to meet his friend. It may not be a party matter. He says, it is only for party purposes.

SHRI J. K. JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): Sir,...

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Jain wants to make a point of order, please sit down.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH; Sir, ...

SHRI J. K. JAIN: Please ask him to sit down and then only I wiH speak.

श्रीमन, मेरा प्वाइंट ग्राफ ग्राडर यह है कि सदन में कुछ परम्पराएं रही हैं और उन परम्पराओं को तोडने का से गलत परं-पराएं पड सकती हैं। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि राज्यपाल का पद इतना ऊंचा है कि संविधान की रक्षा करने के लिए उनकी नियुक्ति होती है और किसी भी नियक्ति के बारे में राज्यपाल अपनी राय दे सकते हैं। सभी को यह मालुम है कि वेस्ट वंगाल के वाइस चांसलर के श्रपाइंटमेंट को लेकर (व्यवधान)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, he is raising a fresh issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Jain, I do not want vou to start another controversy. (Interruptions)

SHRI J. K. JAIN: They have no business to criticise the Governor, (Inter-ruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIBMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN); Mr. Jain, please hear me first.

SHRI J. K- JAIN: You will have to control the Members on the ofner side. You please control them. (Time Bell rings).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please respect the Chair and sit down.

श्री जे व के जैन : जनता राज में इन्होंने 8 गवनरों को डिसमिस किया है। . . . (व्यवधान)

THE .VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHBI BAMAKBISHNAN): I would request the hon. Members not to get away from the high quality of debate that we have been having on this important matter. Already Mr. Salve has raised a point of order and Mr. Ghosh has clarified the position and he has proceeded. Now, Mr. Jain, I have heard your point of order which was up to a point the same as raised by Mr. Salve. But after that you started injecting a con-trovercy by referring to the cdnduct of the Vice-Chancellor and the elections and all that which we need not go into at this stage. Please proceed, Mr. Ghosh.

SHRI J. K. JAIN; In that case you will have to control the hon. Member and see that he does not make every now and then a reference to ths Governors.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am happy

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Ghosh, your time is up; please conclude.

SHBI DIPEN GHOSH: I am happy that Mr. Jain, my colleague, is trying to teach me how to give a controlled speech; I am happy.

THE VICE-CHAIBMAN (SHBI R. BAMAKBISHNAN); There is no harm in learning from anybody.

SHBI DIPEN GHOSH: I want to learn from the devil even.

SHRI 'J. K. JAIN: We also know how to control the activities of CPM.

VICE-CHAIBMAN (SHBI B. BAMAKBISHNAN): Please conclude. Mr.

SHBI DIPEN GHOSH: I wanted to say that in the President's Address, he expressed his concern over the growing separatist tendencies

try and he emphasised on the preservation of unity and solidarity ol our country. I state i very clearly that KW party, CPM, sta ids second/to none to strengthen and preserve unity and solidarity of our country, and fight for it. But the mail issue, which is a very crucial issue an< a neeessary issue in preserving the 1 nity and solidarity of our country is tie issue that relates to Centre-States 1 elations. Five Chief Ministers and a . many as 18 political parties have m. de concrete proposals in that regard; but I regret that the President, in his Address, did not mention a single ward about it, but an alienation is growing between the Centre and the constituent States and this growing alienation in the background of assaults by 'he divisive forces is very dangerous. Naturally, in the interest of preserving the unity of our country, I think Centre-State relations have to be redemed and both administrative and flnarcial powers have to be redistributed in terms of what the five Chief Mini; ters and 18 political parties have der landed. Thank you.

SHRI В. IBJCAHIM (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the motion moved by my friend Shri Bhardwaj. Tie most disturbing phenomenon in recent times is the rise in politically motivated communalism. Sir, in the pait, communalism was motivated largely by the religious fanaticism: but now the motives are ulterior, or intended solely to dislodge the Congress-I Govi rnment by hook or by. crook. The srategy adopted by the Opposition parti is is unholy marriages and unprincipled combination, sometimes open but more often cover. This challenge has t<, be. met by the party not by resorting to unscrupulous tactics or untenable postures, but by reaffirming to our ideals of secularism, socialism and d.anoeracy; in more unambiguous terms. A massive programme of educating Ihe people of the dangers of comm malism is therefore imperative and urgent; otherwise the shortsighted t; ctics of Opposition would lead to lational disunity and

disintegration, which in turn would spell national disaster encompassing both majority and minority communities.

Coming to economic situation, our Government from its inception has giver, the highest importance to econo mic problems of the country, because we realise that most of our political and social problems stem from our economic backwardness Moreover Congress Party has been founded on humanistic philosophy inspired genuine sympathy for the millions who are afflicated of poverty and disease. In contrast to fascist and communal par ties who are exploiting the sentiments of the masses in the name of religion and culture, regardless of human want and suffering This is the reason why party has embraced the strategy of economic growth with social justice our Five-Year in Plans. However, is hut natural that we might commit mistakes in the conception execution of economic plans. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that our system of priorities-I em phasise the words system of prioritiea is formulated on a rational basis, very carefully. The success of our plans wiH depend entirely on our Ability judge which objectives are more important of urgent than the others. Given our humanistic nhilosophy and our socialistic goals, there is no doubt that we should accord the, highest, .possible priority to the goal of 'Garibi Hatao', the slogan which inspired millions of our people and galvanised the Government machinery into meaning-, ful action. We must not only reiterate thi? goal, but review our planning process constantly so-that the poorest and the down-trodden individuals in. thto country become the focus of attention; I submit here a few concrete measuMS which should occupy a high position te our scales of priorities

Firstly, in regard to the production and distribution of, foodgrains,' ■ it shouM be given the too-most priority so that the heartrending spectacle o* hunger is wiped out. for ever and the

[Shri B. Ibrahim]

national loss involved in the degradation ot human material is avoided. A well-fed healthy people is the greatest national asset. After all. human beings are not only the end, but also the means of all economic development. It is, therefore, the utmost duty of a democratic and socialistic government to prrv.'de adequate naturition to the •'le.

Secondly another equally important thi'S in regard to human welfare and ei* iency is health. The removal of malnutrition as suggested earlier would be the biggest single step in promoting the health of the peoole, especially among children and expectant mothers. I am afraid, though the importance of nutrition is realised, not enough is being done in several States in this field. Secondly, other preventive measures should be given due priority. Here again, we have all accepted in theory that in medical care, preventive methods should be given higher importance than curative measures. But in practice, we continue to allocate as much as 80 per cent of our resources to curative aspects only. Let us face it. Unless malnutrition is abol-'shod. unless safe drinking water and sanitary amemties are provided, uniess housing for the poor improves and unless basic health education is imparted no amount of hospitals and drugs is going to help. It is, therefore imperative 'hat we should initiate determined action to expand and strengthen preventive measures for promoting public health.

Another problem .which is vexing cur economic planners is th<» question of technology. A controversy has been going on as to whether we should go In for labour intensive or capital intensive industries in our country I feel that this controversy Is off the mark tacausc ihe question Ig one of te:hnolog" ind productiv"p and net of capital r_{r} ltbour. As & developing na-ti.vi, %e wnnot afford to ignore this tre -an* r-t afford tf> lag behind In teoUnolr*", and ignore the vital im-

portance of productivity. Our basic problem is not so much as unemployment, but scarcity of goods and services necessary for raising the quality of the life of the common people.

Sir. adverting to the international situation, I am glad to say that our policies have been quite sound and successful. Nevertheless, we should continue our efforts with redoubled vigour for promoting the cause of international peace undaunted by setbacks. Our Prime Minister has been playing a crucial role in international affairs, with brilliant insight and bund-less patience and tact. This fact has been recognised by the international community as indicated by the recent invitation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to our respected leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi to participate in a summit meeting of the world's two super powers. India as well as the non-aligned movement is proud ot this role of our Prime Minister and extends to her the most earnest support and best wishes for this year which might usher in an era of international peace or at least the disappearance of the spectacle of a nuclear holocaust. The hopes and prayers of the billions of people of the world are with hor today and this is the real basis of her strength energy and optimism at a time when ominous war-clouds are threatening both the present and the future generations with disaster.

Before I conclude I would like to refer to the political situation in Karnataka beause my learned friend. Shri Era Sezhiyan, while speaking on this Motion, has referred to it. (Inrer-i-uptions) It has become a habit, nobody can help.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN); Dr. Mallick please.

SHRIB. IBRAHIM: I hail from that State and it is my bounden duty t" reply to that allegation. Sir. he went

on accusing the Congress Party to the effect that we a -e trying to topple the Janata Govermr; nt in Karnataka, but, Sir, it is quite >therwise.

Mot ioi oj Thanks

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh) But you failed.

SHR1 B. IBR/HIM: I am saying so because the Coi gress(I) is not trying to topple the Go ernment. If at all that Government fall; it wiH fall on its own

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa); It me.ms Mr. Hegde is trying to topple hi: own Government.

SHRI Ii. IBRAHIM: Let me comp lete. I say so because wherever the hon. Chief Minister goes and addresses a public meeting, he starts accusing Mrs. Gandhi for everything, forgetting for a moment tl at he is ruling the Karnataka State. For example, for the rising price of c >conut, sugar, rice or any othe; essent al commodity if any body, especially ho press people, puts in the question, he says that Mrs. Gandhi is responsible for that. For ever thing he s>ays Mrs. Gandhi is responsible. It that is so, what for is be there? He Is ruling the State, he has got his own responsibility, he has to control the distribution of tlie essential commodities in his sate. Central Government's responsib lity is also there. I do not deny that, but at the same time as the head of tie State he is equally responsible to set that whatever essential commodities are supplied by the Central Govenment are equally distributed among he people. So, Sir. if at all the Govenment in Karnataka falls, it will -fall of its own.

Before conducing I would like to add a sentence t iat India has come of age. We can no 1 >nger crave the indulgence of politica infancy. We have to shoulder the r» sponsibilities of adult nationhood. By ncreased productivity, sustained enterp ise and determined Idealism we mus establish our position in the world. promote friendship

among nations and guarantee freedom from want when the nation is passing through critical times, the need for national discipline is supreme. Our future depends on prodigious labour and dedication to democratic welfare. If we cannot help ourselves, no one else will—free India must be economically free.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM • Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very glad to have an opportunity to speak on the motion of thanks on the President's Address, especially at 4.00 O clock. I was just hesitant to speak today, having Mr. Mallick on this side and the lady Member from Karnataka on that side. (Interruptions) The lady Member has vacated the seat but Mr. Mallick is here anyhow, since I have got up to speak on the President's Address, it is my duty to spedk generally about our country and specially about my State. I would like to make certain points which, I hope, will definitely be helpful for my State, namely Tamil Nadu. I was trying to go through the President's Address very carefully because at that time when I was in the Central Hall I could not understand the President's Address for the simple reason that I was not in a position to understand, luckily or unluckily, the language in which he delivered the Address. Therefore after going through the speech in English, I came to the conclusion that I should take up one or two important aspects on the floor of thig House when I am called to speak on President's Address. I have gone through the President's Address very carefully. Nowhere in the President's Address have I seen that he has mentioned anything about the flood and drought conditions in the country. There are some States in this country which are affected by drought, there are some states which are affected by floods. Unfortunately, Sir, my State-which is also your State-was affected by floods as well as drought, when the Chief Minister o'f Tamil Nadu sent a letter to the Centnil Government see-kin? for the allotment of Rs. 200 crores for giving relief or taking up relief measures or to compensate the public

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for the losses they have suffered, we are given only Rs. 68 crores. For floods also, we had raised a demand of Rs. 128 crores. So far they have given us only Rs. 15 crores, I am not going to talk about statistics -at present. But what in fact I want to stress is that after calculating our losses we carne to the conclusion that Rs. loo crores were required for the benefit of the people of that particular State. I do not know why they have reduced 90 per cent of the total amount and come to the conclusion that only Rs. 10 or 15 crores should be given.

Sir, yesterday the Finance Minister, while delivering the Budget speech, intimated his coneern about some States which because of unwanted expenditure or what you may call expenditure which is not undertaken for the development purposes go to the Reserve Bank for overdraft. But as far as my State is concerned, we have spent only for relief work we have spent only for flood relief work, we have spent only for the benefit of our people, whereby a sizable portion of income of my State has gone only for just affording this special relief which was necessitated by natural calamities like floods and drought. It is not because of some unexpected or unreasonable expenditure but because of expenditure that we have to incur due to natural calamities-namely, floods and drought. That is the reason why we have gone to the Reserve Bank or some financial institutions.

Our Finance Minister has stated yesterday that he is going to give more than Rs. 500 crores as grants to the States. If that be the case—ol course the Finance Minister is not here, but through you. Sir, I would like to ask him fnaT out of this Rs. 500 crores, a sizable portion may be given to my State.

Secondly, I do not say it is a failure, but I think the President has forgotten to refer to Centre-State relations. Government has appointed Mr. Justice

Sarkaria to head the Commission. That Sarkaria Commission is to go through the entire gamut of Centre-State conditions prevailing in this country. Of ccurse there was a big debate here with regard to the appointment of Governors or the mode of their appointment or the functions of Governors. But what I would like to stress is that when Chief Ministers of different States met during the Chief Ministers Conference, all the Chief Ministers of non-Congress (I) Governments got together for getting more powers for the States. So is it not the duty of the President to intimate something about the Sarkaria Commission? He has completely forgotten to mention about that Commission which was appointed only to go through the entire field with regard to Centre-State relations.

With regard to the Puniab problem, I do not want to poke my nose and I do not want to peep through the window. But something has to be mentioned about Puniab here. I am not going to talk about Sant Longowal. But what I want to mention is that a Member of the other House—though it is not proper on my part to refer to it-raised a very sentimental issue. He stated, because the Government of India has not imposed Hindi a3 the sole national language and only official language in this country. There is no unity, and- big fight in Punjab as well is in other States. In fact, Sir, when it was intimated,, the reply was given by the Prime Minister. I do not want to mention anything about- the Prime Minister. But, at the same time, the Prime Minister said that this is a sentimental issue; if Tamil Nadu wants to. improve the Tamil language, let them improve it, let them upgrade Tamil, but let them not say, "Hindi down down." Can anybody say that during the past 35 years, especially after Independence, or show anything from the history of Tamil Nadu or from the utterances of the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu during the past 35 years, that they ever said, "Hindi down down." Never has anybody said so. have said

'Imposition of Hiru i down down.' Never did they say " Hindi down down" Let them develop th 2ir Hindi language in their own State; we are not going to bother, we are) ot going to stand on their way.- What we have said was that imposition of H ndi should not be there; improvement of a language should not and can lot be at the expense of another 1; nguage. That is what we said. I do rot know why the Prime Minister of t.iis country yesterday pointed out, "Lit them say up up Tamil" but let them not say "Hindi down down." Why should we say "Up up Tamil?" I have a beautiful language called Tamil which is already up. We have get a very hoary and rich history; we have our history. Our forefathers spoke tn our language; our poets gave us their sermons and scriptures in our language. Our language is one of the best and we have g->t a beautiful civilization, an excellent civilization which historians from foreign countries appreciated. Then, why should be worry and unnecesarily say "Up up Tamil" and worry about o ir language which is eligible to rule ovr the world if not our country and which should be introduced in the United Nations Organisation as one of the languages? That is not the case. We a e not asking that our language shoulc be imposed over the whole of this eountry, but we are spying that all the languages should be equals and a pirticular language, because of its birth, >ecause of its place and because of its majority should not control other languages. This is, in "fact, what I want to stress on the floor of Parliament.

Sir, some of the Chief Ministers have joined together in the name of non-Congress Chief Ministers or something like that. But I think it is better if all the Chief Ministers of the country join together and discuss the Centre-State relations. There is no use of four or five Chief Ministers joining together and discussing and then stating "We want that such and such things should be adopted, we want that such and such things should be taken into account." From the v/hole of India we have to invite all t te Chief Ministers,

from States ruled by Indian National Congress also. Sir, I pointed out all these things because about Centre-State relations the President has not said anything in his Address

Sir, on the economic front I want to say certain things. First I want to say with regard to coal supply. We have already written to the Government of India that we want to import coal because if we import coal from foreign countries it would be cheaper because, due to heavy transport charges that would have to. be incurred if we get it from within the country, it would *"e cheaper for us to import coal from foreign countries. Even though we have asked them about it, we have not been properly intimated by the Government that we can use coal from other countries. Therefore, Sir, I want to stress through you that we are all concerned that the Tamil Nadu Government should be allowed to import coal from foreign countries also. Our Tuticorin plant has got stocks for three days only and I thought it is better if I just intimate the concerned Minister through you.

Sir we have also intimated the Gov-ernment already that we want one lakh tonnes of rice because Tamil Nadu is completely starved because of the recent floods and drought. That is why we have asked the hon. Food Minister here for rice for Tamil jiadu and I-hope the Government will come for-' ward and give us the rice as we required.

Sir, about industries, they have taken statistics-the Industry Minister is not herefrom 87 districts listed in the backward list. They prepared the list district-wise. But if they prepare the list taluk-wise, there will be thousands and thousands of taluks in this country and there are so many taluks in my State where you cannot find even a single industry. If you take it district-wise, you can find some districts without industries and some with industries. But, as far as Uttar Pradesh is concerned, there are so many districts which are smaller than some of our taluks. That is how U.P. is shown

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as having many districts which are backward. But this issue has got to be considered talukwise and not district-wise. Sir, I have spoken several times about the implementation of the Master Plan with regard to Mahabali-puram, Kanyakumari and Ramesh-waram. If you turn the pages of Indian history one by one, you will see that the historians, particularly in the 15th and 16th centuries, used to writ* about the northern part, completely forgetting our southern part. You do not find anything about Paflava_s and Pandyas, but about the northern part you can find volumes and volumes. You have completely forgotten that part of the country, thinking that the people of that part belonging to a different country. Even now tourists from foreign countries come here and enjoy their time. When they go back to their countries, they say that they have seen India as consisting of Bombay and Kashmir. They never point about Mahabalipuram. Let them come to the beautiful coasts of the southern part of the country where they can enjoy their time, where they can see waves of the three seas touching one another. Let them come to Mahabalipuram. Let them come to the beautiful "parts of, the country. If you want to earn foreign exchange, you have to develop tuorism in the southern part. I have spoken about it several times. I hope this time the Minister concerned wiH definitely look after the implementation of this scheme.

Sir, so far, I have talked about the Centre-State financial relations. Now I want to speak about the political relations. It is my misfortune that some of my friends are not here. I do not have any animosity towards the Prime Minister. I do not have any hatred towards anybody. But then from 1947 till this day we have seen Prime Ministers only from the northern part of this country. You talk about unity of the nation. You talk about so many things. I do not say that Mrs. Indira Gandhi should not be the Prime Minister of this country. But, after her, a South

Indian should be the Prime Minister of this country. Then alone have we the right to talk about unity of the nation. Then alone have we the right to talk about the length and breadth of this country. Then alone have wo the right to speak about the lofty Himalayas and sacred Kanyakumari. You are not in a position to do that. Let me imagine an impossibility converted into a possibility. You "have the Prime Minister. You have the President. He also is from this part of the country. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Mohanarangam, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is elected from Medak, which is in the South.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I am a student of political history. Mr. Ghosh should understand that on all these things I am not blind, I know that Mrs. Gandhi got elected from the southern part. But if because of that you say that she belongs to that part of the country^ I really wonder. Let her be the Prime Minister for so many years in future. I am not going to disagree on that. But even the Vice-President is from the northern part. Nobody is there from the South, I worship Shri Kalp Nath Rai who can beat me in anything, but not in size, I ask him one thing. Even the Vice-President of this country is from the North, At least the Vice-President should be from the South. Sir, I would like to beseech the authorities concerned, even our officers, if necessary, or the politicians concerned, to help the South Indians by at least having the Vice-President of the country from South India.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You need not worry. Sivaji Ganesan will seek. ...

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I do not attach importance to the political controversy ot this kind. I want a person who has some knowledge, who has education. Let a learned person from. South India be the Vice-President. And he wiH also be the Chair-

man of the Rajya Sabha. I want •* learned person fro n. South India to be elected the Vice-Pi jsident of this country.

With this, I coi elude my speech.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, here is no Cabinet Minister now. Kindly inform. If was rained earlier als

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Acually the Leader of tbe House and Mr. Salve were sitting here. Perhaps they are on their way.

SHR1 V. GOPALSAMY: It is their duty. The Cabinet Minister should attend.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN; Mr. Gopalsamy has drawn the att 'ntion of the Parliamentary Affairs IV inister. He will Ve sending now.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there; re only four on that side.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: That is good for you. You can tall whatever you like. Shri M. C. Bhandare, Shri Syed Sibtey Razi, Dr. Mrs.) Najma Heptulla, Shri Ghan Shyam Singh, Shri Ramanand Yadav, Shri Chandan K. Bagchi, Shri Dhuleshwar Meena not present.

श्रोमती रत्न शुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाष्यक्ष महोदय, मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने खड़ी हुई हुं। उसमें खाद्यानों, तिलहनों श्रीर दालों का उत्पादन बढाने की चर्चा की गई है। मैंने श्रपनी पद याला के अवसर पर दलहतों के वे खेत भी देखें हैं जिनमें ग्रतिवृध्टि के कारण चना ग्रौर मसूर के पौधे इतने सट गए हैं कि हवा और धुप के अभाव में 80 प्रतिशत फसल खराब हो गई है। हुमारे कृषि वैज्ञानिकों को ऐसी उन्नतिकिस्तों की खोज या ऐसी श्रोषधियों की खोज करनी चाहिए जिस से अति वृष्टि से भी दलहनी फसलों का नकसान बचाया जा सके। इसी प्रकार कीट व्याधि से भी दलहनी और तिलहनी फसलों की भारी क्षति होती है। मध्य प्रदेश में पौध संरक्षण भौषधियां केवल बैंक परिमट पर 50 प्रति-शत छूट पर छोटे किसानों को दी जाती हैं जब कि दलहन उत्पादक किसानों का बहत बड़ा समुदाय वैं कों का सदस्य नहीं है। यदि सभी किसानों को नकदी पर भी छुट दी जाए साथ ही 50 प्रतिशत छूट की सीमा 100 प्रति-शत कर दी जाये ती उतने ही क्षेत्रफल में दलहन और तिलंहन का काफी उत्पादन बढ जाएगा ।

सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली के द्वारा दूर दराज के ग्रामों में उपभोक्ताग्रों को सामग्री सस्ती दर पर उपलब्ध की जा रही है। सस्ती दर पर कपड़े और जनता साडियां भी दी जा रहीं हैं। कहीं-कहीं उपभोक्ताग्रों ने मुझे सड़े गले गेहं, चावल के नमुने भी दिखाए। यदि भारतीय खाद्य निगम गल्ले के रख-रखाव की स्रोर ज्यादा ध्यान दे सके तो इस शिकायत को दूर किया जा सकता है।

20 सुत्री कार्यंक्रम के अंतर्गत ग्रामों में अनेक प्रकार की योजनायें चलाई जा रही हैं। सिचाई का क्षेत्र बढ़ाने के लिए बांध बनाए जा रहे हैं। उद्वहन सिचाई के लिए नलक्ष खोदे गये हैं। नदियों के किनारे विद्युत लाइन देकर किसानों को पंप द्वारा सिंचाई के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिए।

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में ग्रावास होनों को ग्रावास प्लाट देकर उन के मकान बनाने हेतु अनुदान दिया जा रहा है। भूमिहीनों को सीमाबन्दी

[श्रीमती रतन कुमारी]

में प्राप्त भूमि वितरित की जा रही है। भूमि के पट्टे देने के बाद हितग्राही को उस भूमि पर कब्जा दिलाने के कार्यक्रम में गित लाना ग्रावश्यक है। कहीं-कहीं मुझे यह शिकायत भी मिली है कि शहराती लोगों ने शहर से लगे ग्रावास प्लाटों ग्रीर भूमि का ग्रपने का ग्रपने नाम पर ग्रावंटन करा लिया है। गलत ग्रावंटन की जांच करा कर ऐसे लोगों को बेदखल कर सही हितग्राहियों को भूमि दी जानी चाहिए।

एकीकृत ग्रामीण विकास कार्यंक्रम के ग्रन्तगंत ग्रनेक परिवार लाभान्वित हुए हैं। ग्रनेक स्थानों पर बैंकों का पूरा सहयोग न मिल पाने से कार्यंक्रम में वांछित गति नहीं ग्रापाई है। विकास खण्डों में क्षेत्रं वार यह ग्रांकड़े होना चाहिए कि किस मौसम में कितने मजदूर वेकार रहते हैं। उस ग्रवसर पर शासन की ग्रोर से उन्हें काम दिया जाना चाहिए। शिक्षित वेरोजगारों को स्वतः के रोजगार खोलने हेतु ऋण देने का महत्वाकां की कार्यंक्रम चलाया गया है। यदि बैंकों का पूरा सहयोग मिल सके तो इस कार्यंक्रम की सफलता से भटकते हुए युवावगं में स्वावलंबन की उत्साहवर्षंक लहर दौड़ जायगी।

पिछले वर्षं रेलगाडियों की संख्या ग्रीर गति के बढ़ने से ग्रावागमन में स्विधा बढ़ी है परन्तु कर्मचारियों की लापरवाही से मध्य रेलवे के जवलपुर में रेल का डिब्बा जल गया। कछ याती मर गये और भी गाड़ियों की टकराहट में कई व्यक्तियों चोटें आधी हैं। रेल प्रशासन को ऐसी दुर्घंटनाओं की तत्काल जांच कर दोषी को दण्डित करना चाहिए व्यक्तियों और ऐसे प्रयत्न करने चाहिए कि इन दुर्घंटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति न हो ।

स्वास्थ्य विभाग की ग्रोर से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में भी ग्रस्पताल खोले जा रहें हैं । प्राथमिक चिकित्सा के लिए प्रति दो हजार की आवादी पर एक के हिसाब से ग्रामीण स्वास्थ्य रक्षक रखा जा रहा है परन्तु डाक्टरों में सेवा भाव के बजाय धन कमाने की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ रही है। वे शहरों में मिलने वाली अतिरिक्त फीस के लोभ में ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में नहीं जाना चाहते। डाक्टरों को वारी-बारी से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में रहने का समय निश्चित कर दिया जाना चाहिए ताकि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लोगों को उनका लाभ मिल सके। सरकार द्वारा ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के श्रीषधालयों में दवाइयां ग्रीर ग्रावश्यक ग्रीजार भी उपलब्ध कराना चाहिए ।

रेडियो ग्रौर टेलीविजन की सहायता से ग्रनीपचारिक शिक्षा के जबरदस्त कार्यक्रम की योजना बनाई गई है। देश की 80 प्रतिशत द्याबादी ग्रामों में रहती है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में ग्राम पंचायत म्ह्यालयों के साथ-साथ एक हजार आवादी वाले हर ग्राम में टेलीविजन उपलब्ध कराया जाना चाहिए । भारत के केन्द्र स्तर पर स्थित 10 लाख की ग्राबादी वाले जवलपुर शहर में ग्रभी तक टेली-विजन की सुविधा नहीं मिल पाई है। मझे बताया गया है कि माननीय सुचना प्रसारण मंत्री इसका शीझ प्रबंध कर रहें हैं। यदि यह सच है तो वे धन्यवाद के पात हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में शिक्षा का स्तर गिर रहा है । इसके लिए बहुत कुछ करना है । पढ़ाने के लिए विद्यार्थियों की संख्या के स्राधार पर शिक्षक उपलब्ध किए जाएं। शालाभवनों का सुधार किया जाये ग्रीर शिक्षक ठीक पर जाकर ठीक पढ़ाई करते है, निगरानी रखी जानी चाहिए ।

महिलाओं और बच्चों के लिए ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पोषण बाहार भेजा जा रहा है। हरिजन, ग्रादिशासी ग्रीर पिछड़े वर्ग की विचयों को स्कूलों में कपड़े भी वितरित किए जा रहें हैं । बाल-बाड़ियों के द्वारा 5 वर्ष की ग्राय के बच्चों को शिक्षा तथा अनुशासन की प्राथमिक तैयारी में लगाया जा रहा है। मेरा सझाव है कि अपहरण, दोज और बलात्कार की शिकार परित्यक्त महिलाओं को प्रशिक्षण देकर इन वाल-वाडियों में नियुक्त किया जावे ताकि वेसमान पूर्वंक अपना जीवन वसर कर सकें। योग्य महिलायें यदि स्वरोजगार स्यापित करना चाहती हैं तो उन्हें सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता सहायता दी जाँवे। शिक्षा एवं समाज कल्याण मंत्रालय भी इस ब्रोट विशेष ध्यान देगा रोसी मैं आशा करती हं।

कृषि विमान की ग्रोर से भी किसानों के लिए बहुत से महत्वाकांशीं कार्यंक्रम चलाये जा रहें हैं, परन्तु कृषि विभाग क अधिकारियों की लापरवाही के कारण कई स्थानों पर घटिया खाद, कीटनाणक दवावें ग्रीर ग्रंकरित न होने वाले विकलांग बीज किसानों में वितरित कर दिए गए। मध्य प्रदेश के भारत कृषक समाज द्वारा जांच कराये जाने पर गलती पकड़ी गई। भारत कुषक समाज. द्वारा संबंधित कंपनियों पर मध्य प्रदेश हाईकोर्ट में मुकदमें भी दायर कर दिए गए हैं। जासन को इस मामले ग्रागे ग्राना चाहिए ग्रौर धोखेबाज फर्मों के लाइसेंस निरस्त कर कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए ।

ग्राज देवने में ग्राता है कि लोक सेवक अपने अधिकारों और वेतन भत्ते के प्रति तो जागरूक हैं परन्त के प्रति उदासीन हैं । यदि उसमें कर्तव्य के प्रति भी निष्ठा आ। जाये तो आप महा- महिम राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा भाषण में बताये गये महत्वाकांकी कार्यक्रम निश्चय ही देश को खुंगहाल बनाने में सफल होंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति कै भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थंन करती हुं।

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, here we are debating on the President's Address. We all come here to discuss the President's Address, , what he has said and what he has failed to say. It is a very important matter. I also spoke just now on the floor of the House. If I wanted to hand over what I have spoken here, I could have got it typed out neatly and I could have handed it over to Mr. Agarwal, who would have included it in the proceedings.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): As in the American Senate.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: But we are here to discuss, and the Ministers should be here to listen to what we are saying. Then only the discussion wiH be colourful.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Kalp Nai Rai is

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I know Mr. Kalp Nath Rai is here. But totally We are 20 to 25 Members here and on the Treasury Benches, . only half a dozen persons are there. {Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; Sir, I want to know whether the Cabinet Ministers are coming by bullock-cart or by "padayatra". You sent word about 10 to 15 minutes back. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Let me hear him. Mr. Parliamentary Affairs Minister,

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

Two

रीस्टर में कौन हैं मिनिस्टर, श्राप इस बारे में बताइये।

Motion of Thanks

three times

honourable Members have raised this question

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री करुपनाथ राय) : जो भी इन्होंने स्पीच दी है मैंने उसको नोट कर लिया है। इस समय प्रधान मंत्री जी वहां ग्राईस कर रही हैं, उस सदन में जवाब दे रही हैं । जो मिनिस्टर यहां डयटी पर हैं. मैंने उनते कह दिया है। वह आ रहे हैं प्रधान मंत्रों जी की स्पोच हो रही है। ग्राप थोडा समझने को कोशिश करें

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री भारः रामकृष्णन)

मिस्टर कल्पनाथ राय ने कहा है : Hon, Members, the Minister of Parliamentai Affairs has given an explanation. No doubt with due respect to the hon'ble Prime Minister in the other House are there, but still the Cabinet Minister should have come here. Anyway, he will attend to it now. It is not exactly correct. The reason is not a valid one....

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश): ग्राधा घंटे के लिये कल्पनाथ राय कां ही केबिनेट मिनिस्टर मान लेते है।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Nearly ten Members whose names have been given by the ruling party's High Command, have boycotted this House and have absented themselves. Even the mover and the seconder are not to be seen here.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMAKRISHNAN): Hon. Members, T share the concern of the Hon. House. I have been present since morning and this question has been raised three, or four times. It is with a sense of I propriety and duty that I will have to tell the Parliamentary Affairs Minister that this House should not be ignored and at least one Cabinet Minister should foe present here at all times. This may be taken as a ruling from the Chair.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Even if the Prime Minister makes a statement or intervention in the debate in the other House, that does not mean that,-----

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): All right, I have given a ruling and I hope it will be respected.

Now, I call Dr. Sankata Prasad. Absent. Next, Shri Asad Madni, Absent. Then Shri Shanti Tyagi. Not here. Then, Shri Ram Pujan Patel, also not here. Now, that exhausts the entire list of the ruling party. All of them are absent: Now the entire floor is open for the Opposition. You have silenced the Treasury Benches. Now Shri Jaswant Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajas- I than): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a tilled and listless debate. The Chair has just observed and we appreciate, and would like to underline the Chair's concern. We appreciate that the Prime Minister is replying to the debate in the other House. But that is a separate debate that is taking place, that is in progress in the other House. The attendance in this House the absence of any member from the Cabinet to protect the government and to record what the Members of this House have 4 to say, to my mind, is reflective of the tiredness and the listlessness not merely of the debate but of the entire Presidential Address.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE (Maharashtra); Even the proposer and the seconder are absent.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It was with a great deal of attention that one heard the Address, with a great deal of care that I have read the Speech. It is significant that it is 1984 to which this particular Address refers as the

year is Orwellic 1 in more ways than one. A study of his particular Address exemplifies double-think, it exemplifies everything tl at Orwell spoke of in the Context of 1984. As the ruling party members v.-ere not present when called, I do hope that you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, woulc be a bit more indulgent about tie Opposition and the time allocated to them. The question of double-think tnd double-talk is exemplified by this particular Address. I would like to start by talking of the economic statisti :s in paragraph 7 of this particular A -dress. It is mentioned that the growth rate of GNP this year is expected to be 6 to 7 per cent as compared wi h only 1.8 per cent in 1982-83. In the first four years of the Sixth Plan, the average rate of growth in GNP vill be 5.4 per cent. The question will be best answered by me if you perm:t me to counter this particular statistii s 'and the basis of arrival at these statistics, I would say that in this whol i maze of doubletalk and double-think and the statistical obfuscation of i hat the actual state of the nation is, he point of GNP best explains all. Let me attempt to answer it by saying that the high growth rate for the first four years of the Plan is largely illusory because the base year that has been chosen, that is, 1979-80, was abnormally depressed. The growth rate in that base year was minus i.2 per cent. In a predominantly 1 gricultural economy that we are, dependent on the monsoon, the agricultural economy itself is influenced by a three-year weather cycle. The appropriate way of working out the rates of growth over long periods would thi refore be a comparison of the average level in a three-year period. On that basis, it is my submission, Sir, that the compound rate of growth ir the first four years of the Sixth Plan works out to 3.55 per cent against the long term trend of 3.61 per cent. In "fact, that would prove that, as against the assertion made here, as igainst the assertion . which says that there is growth and there is acceleration in growth, it is not so. Now, the e is yet another factor which has b* en brought out and

Matioi of Thanks

pointed out by Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah. If you were to combine this particular aspect with the growth in population, you wiH see that there is a larger growth in population than what was assumed. The 1981 census has since been released. It reveals that there is a large, growth in population than was earlier assumed in the Sixth Plan and, after making adjustments for the data, for the officially reported undercount-of our population, as on 1st March 1981, it has been estimated that our population stands at 697 millions.

MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Sfr since I have been quoted by Mr. Jaswant Singh, I would like to clarify. I said that if you take the five years from 1979-80 of minus 5 per cent up to this year, you will get the average of three per cent whereas population growth was 2.2 per cent, giving us a very little margin of 0.8 per cent to live on.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Very good. Yes, Mr. Jaswant Singh you please proceed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I absolutely defer to my eminent colleague. I am not an economist. But it is by participation of Members like Dr Malcolm Adiseshiah that I am enlightened and I do learn and I did learn. But the point that has been made by both of us still remains the same and the point is that in the statistical obfuscation by making 1979-80 as the base year, when it was absolutely depressed, when it was absolutely a depressed year, if you take into account the claim, the assertion being made here that the growth rate has accelerated, you will find that it has not accelerated, that the growth rate actually shows a decline. Also, if you take into account the factor of population growth, which has exceeded the Sixth Five Year Plan estimates, then the margin between the growth rate and the population growh rate is so narrow that all our calculations, all our assertions, all our claims of well-being of the people and the progress of the country are nullified.

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Then, Sir, Tne next thing is an admission in the speech itself about inflation. There is an admission here that currently the inflation in the country has been at the rate of 10.4 per cent. I would like to link this factor of inflation with the question of consumption.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): NOW, a Cabinet Minister has come.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Sir, your ruling has been implemented.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Yes, Mr. Jaswant Singh, you proceed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I was on the point of inflation and I was attempting to relate inflation to con-sumpion. I would be if there is anything which does very happy not make economic sense and if I make any mis-. take in my statistics, I would really welcome and intervention by Dr. Malcolm Now currently, there is an Adiseshiah admission 5 P. M. in the speech itself that inflation is at 10.4 per* cent. I would like to relate this inflation to consumption expenditure. In 1982-83, the average per capita per month consumption expenditure was Rs. 126. Taking a very favourable build-up on that consumption expenditure of 1982-83 as the base, in 1983-84 the consumption expenditure would be around Rs. 150. Having established this, I would like to relate it to the distribution pattern of our consumption expenditure. Now, I can do no better than once again read out some figures about distribution pattern of this consumption expenditure.

The distribution pattern of private consumption expenditure used by the Planning Commission relates to 1977-78 — 32nd round of the National Sample Survey, and that is the latest available. The top 10 per cent of the people claim 25.6 per cent of the consumption in

rural areas and 27.5 per cent in urban areas. At the same time, the bottom 10 per cent of the people have to be content with just 3.7 per eent of consumable supplies in rural areas and 3.4 per cent in urban areas. Now, this is the position today. This cannot be dis- p puted. You cannot confuse it with any kind of statistics. And this is despite the fact that there are some very strange computations currently taking place showing several people to have crossed the poverty line, which is my next point, because, after all, this whole exercise in claiming that the economy is on the move, that the country is en , the move, is meant to convey to us as to how many of the poorest of the poor are being benefited by this process. In this process, an exercise is being conducted by the present Government with the poverty line that so many millions have crossed that mythical line in the last two years. I do not want to go, into the question of the method of determination to establish poverty line, whether it is to be on of the calorific the daily consumption value, food, etc. I would, however, like to once again refute the assertions made in the Presidential Address by some figures.

In the matter of estimating the number of persons above and below the poverty line we should be very careful, is not merely a statistical exercise. We have to bring a great deal of compassion in determining as to what is the poverty line and what is not the poverty line. The figures of the Government of India themselves say that during the period 1972-74. 51.5 per cent of India's population was officially estimated to be living below thepoverty line; more than half the population of the country was officially adimitted to be living below the poverty line. In 1977-78 the ratio was assessed to be slightly lower, at 48.1 per cent. In about five years the ratio had declined by about 3 per cent. In 1979-80 the original estimate was 48.4 per cent in the Sixth Plan document. That is Governments own document. However, the Mid-Term Appraisal of the Sixth Five Year Plan, besides revising

1979-80 figures upwards to 51.5 per cent claimed tha in the first two years of the Plan the >o\erty ratio had been brought down to 41.5 per cent, or by 10 per cent. Tl is is the claim. That has been reitera.ed in various forums and on of this House as indeed in the othfr the floo House. It is reflective to me, Sir, is I started by saying, • of the Orwellian tendency of the Government to dou ole-think and double-talk. If poverty could be reduced by 10 percentage in two years, as is claimed, it would represent to me, as indeed it should epresent to the whole of the House ano the country a major and drastic modification of a 30-year trend. At this if similar claims continue to be made, we would certainly be abolishing poverty in the near future. That however is not reflecting itself n any kind of trends existing within the country. One more example of our government's Orwellian double thin; double talk is about the I.M.F loan. A claim is made that on account of prudent management of >conomy, we are not drawing the last 11 billion tranche of the I.M.F, loan. Simultaneously somewhat fallacious and, to my mind, some unnecessary, addition is made that it is the government's hope that this money wiH now be available for tha other developing- countries. With-out getting into that extraneous aspect, let us examine the facts as they stund. In the last 3 years, the balance of payment situation has witnessed a deficit of 5800 crores, declining to 5500 crores and thou-fh the official figures ior the current year are not available, it is going to be in the region of 5000 crores. Now, v/here has been the dramatic improvement in the balance of payment situation to warrant a claim that it is on account of efficient management of >ur economy /and of our external debt situation that we are not drawing on Ihe last tranche of the I.M.F, loan? I submit, Sir, that the decision is political, the decision is not governed by sound economic considerations and if there are economic consideration tha:; have governed it, it is the fact that beginning from 1985, the debt servicin ratio that the nation

will have to contend with is going to be so uncomfortable that no amount of statistical obfuscation will then tome to our rescue voluntarily not taking the last tranche of 1.1 billion, all that we have done is to slightly modify the load that this country will have to bear starting from next year onwards. speech that is made at the beginning of the year by the President represents not just an articulation by the Government and the Cabinet of the state of the nation, but is also intended to convey to the nation as to what the country has achieved in the last year and where we are heading in the coming year. I submit that as far as the aspect of the IMF loan is concerned, it would have been more correct it would have been even more honest and it would definitely have carried much greater conviction amonfist our people that it is' on account of an enhancing of the debt servicing ratio that we visualise, that we anticipate in I985 that we are now voluntarily not taking it. As against this, to make the kind of claim that has been made in the speech, examplifies the Orwellian 1984 double think and double talk. I would submit that one additional factor which has governed our decision about not taking the last tranche of the IMF loan is that' the IMF was strongly suggesting as a factor of the management of the economy and that they would have insisted upon a cut-down on subsidies and various other aspects. would then hve been interference by the IMF even in our budget-making exercises. It does not iredound to the Government's disadvantage if the Government had said that it is on account of the IMF's about conditionally that we are now voluntarily not taking the last tranche. The country would have understood and w* i would ' have understood. As against that, to put across to us the wholly dubious and wholly unconvincing arguments as to why the last tranche of the IMF loan is not being taken is, to m_v mind, an example of how the Government is attempting to play politics with (Tiwe Belt rings) I understand the economy. Bell Sir

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I shall not dwell any longer on the economic aspects of the presidential Address. I wiH devote a little time, by your indulgence, to the consideration of the national and, time permitting, to a consideration of our security environment, NOW the internal situation in the country. If one were to chart out 1983 and what the nation has seen in 1983. the pegs around which the political map of India would be drawn will be Assam—the holocaust and carnage in Assam; it would include Punjab and the dithering that we are witnessing in Punjab today; it would include the political chicanery that the ruling party demonstrates in States like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. It would include in it, Sir, the kind of blatant cynicism and playing with the people's sentiments purely on account of the faith to whi?h they subscribe, that Jammu and Kashmir represents. all this saddens me. I would, therefore, like to say something about the internal situation. This would certainly also include a breaking away of the very molecular strength of this nation. The cellular strength nation, a nation which is as vivid, diverse, as beautiful as the diversity of its people, is attempted to be put together into the personality of an individual. We have for*—long lived with the manifestation of the ruling party which has deliberately obliterated the difference between nation It no longer understands what the and State. difference is between State and Gov-And it is no longer able to ernment. distinguish between government and party. It is up to them what they do within their If they wish to equate their party with the personality of a particular individual, it is their look-out. It is not my look-out. But it certainly becomes my look-out when they begin to assume to equate the nation to an individual. The history of this nation is ridden with examples where attempts have been m:>de to equate this nation with an individual. That is the fundamental flaw in this

thinking. It is because Government's of this fundamental flaw that they look at every issue that confronts us through haze of electoral advantage. And when you look at every issue that con fronts the country through the haze of electoral advantage, you will al ways be ad hoc, you will aever s'ek solutions which are for the nation, you will never move beyond tomorrow, if not today. I submit that I have, on several occasions, spoken at length about Assam. This present is not an occasion to go in detail about that to correct one state except There doubletalk. is an assumption made here about the functioning of the tribunals in Assam. There is - a very eminent Member from Assam who is present in this House. This is a factual error. The tribunals in Assam were supposed to start functioning in October, 1983. They could iot stnrt. They were supposed to have started earlier. Earlier the assumption that the tribunals Would be functioning in much larger numbers. Now, there is a claim made that six tribunals have started functioning. There is no appellate tribunal vet. It is my appellate tribunal yet. It is knowledge as indeed it is in knowledge of many that 'a number of Justices who had been called to func tion with these tribunals sat idle in Gauhati circuit house without a job. I would like to caution the Government about Assam because Assam has al ready suffered. I would like to caution the Government about Punjab. I would like to caution the Government about and Kashmir. Rumours Jammu Sir, that in certain Army formations, leave has been cancelled. Please handle very carefully this whole structure of the nation. If you are intending to take any action in Punjab, do not get misled merely by your own pre-occupation with the device alone. If tomorrow you are soing to declare internal emergency in Punjab, do not get misled that in the declaration of the emergency itself you have found a solution. If the two Houses of Parliament have requested you to act firmly, to act decisively, it is not a request that has been made ito the Government to act arbitrarily-

Be very careful because you are playing with the fabric of the nation, you are today enjoined with the responsibility of not nerely your governance and preserving yourselves in power, but you are dso enjoined with the responsibility tl-at the future generations of India v ill continue to be able to call themselves Indians. Otherwise, it will be a wry empty satisfaction that you wiH h ive. You may have a party. But the party, whether they are of the ruling party or of the opposition, and in t sis I am 'including my party, will have a very empty satisfaction if the nation is not there and if the political parties continue to operate in a vacuum. (Time Bell rings). I do not have tht time, Sir. You have been most indulgent to me. I will take only one more ninute to talk about the security environment

Sir. very repeatedly statements have been made both by the Prime Minister and certain ot ter members of the ruling party, w -o are supposed to be privy to what i: happening in the ruling party, which cannot be taken lightly. It is nobody's case that if the nation is endangered and if the security environment is bad, that the nation should not be prepared. That is nobody's case. I i ,'ould, however, like to once again cairion the Government that if you cry v/olf too often, and that too by as responsible a person as the Prime Minister, about the threats to the security of ihe country, then the very purpose of warning the nation, of getting the nation to stand up and rise ' and take note oi the dangers that face us, that purpose will be lost because you would have devalued the means. The present' Government is known for having devalued all systems. There are still some means left to us as a*na-tion and political functionaries, it is my appeal to you, do not now devalue the means also. (Time Bell rings).

Now, one final suggestion to the Government. Please do not malign the military and I - i-ould take the specific example of the espionage case. Following upon the espionage case, responsible statemt nts were made from the Treasury Be nches that in order to

prevent an_v future espionage_t the Government was going to debar service officers from using service libraries. This is the most irresponsible kind of action that you can take because by one stroke of the brush you are painting as black a whole generation of ex-servicemen who have given their lives, who have given their everything, for the country. Now you say and you take upon yourself the responsibility of saying that they are all debarred from access to service libraries. Examine this very carefully. (Time Beil rings).

Sir, the concluding sentence in the Presidential Address is about recapturing of the national ideals. National ideals are very closely linked with values. I search for values in the Government because they are enjoined with the responsibility of governing this land. I search for values. I look for these ideals. I am unable to nnd them. I appeal through you, Sir, that if we are to make a beginning, that if we are to turn the Orwellian year 1984 into a non-Orwellian year, please attempt to revive those values, which you yourself talk of. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): There are four more speakers. Shri V. Gopalsamy first. Then, Shri Dhabe, Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma and #Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto. That will conclude the debate, and tomorrow at 5 o'clock the Prime Minister will reply. Yes, Shri Gopalsamy.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I am so grateful to you for this opportunity. Sir, I was listening with rapt attention to the splendid speech of Mr. Jaswant Singh. Sir, I recall the book written by Salig Harrison, who prophetically titled the Book: India, The Dangerous Decades. Of course, we are passing through those dangerous decades. Sir, the North-West area is in turmoil, as well as the North-East. The Indus valley is in flames. History will repeat itself at times miserably. In the Sixteenth century, many battles were fought and in the same soil now again flames of agi-

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[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

tations, uncontrollable and unmanage-able, are threatening the whole country. But our leaders should not come to any hasty conclusion: like my learned friend stated that some of the members are compelled to give sermons and preach sermons that India should be one nation, of one language; one culture. Such things are stated by responsible members, but they should not forget the past. Our leaders with foresight and forethought and perspective outlook brought many kingdoms and many nationalities under one umbrella, under one political entity, that is, India. But we should not forget, this is a composite State of different cultures, different languages, different religions, different ethnic groups. If you forget and if you move in the wrong direction, then balkanisation of the country against our wish, against my wish, will happen. Sir, a country has been defined in THIRUKURAL, that is the unparallel "contribution to the human race by the glorious civilisation of Tamil Nadu", and Rev. Father Dr. G. U. Pope has translated couplets oj Thiruvalluvar, and I quote one couplet which is so relevant now. What is a country? If has been defined by Thiruvalluvar:

URU PASIYUM OVAPINUYUM SERUPAGHAIYUM

SERA THIYALVATHU NADU

That means—Pope translates—a country is that which continues to be free from excessive starvation, irremediable epide:nics, and destructive foes. Now, I put the question whether we are free from destructive foes. Now we have ourselves created these -foes inside the country; I charge the Government; I charge the regime which is in power. Now. Sir, our hon. Prime Minister in her address on the floor of the other'House just ten minutes back stated that we are for better, relations with Pakistan. I now put a simple question. What about the statement of a personality that war will come in the month of December? Who is that personality. He is the General Secretary of the -OViress Party; he is not an ordinary

man; he is Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. When the General Secretary of the Congress Party says that war will come in the month of December, is it to be taken lightly? Sir, if the Prime Minister or anybody wants to make any statement, let them come and make a

on the floor of the House. Let the Parliament be taken into confidence. They should not go to the public and to the streets and declare wars. Sir, at this juncture, it will be my duty to quote what Zia-ul-Haq some weeks back stated in Pakistan, that India is preparing for war in orcler to postpone elections, in order to avoid elections,

and so, "we are afraid of India"

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): 'India' or 'Indira'?.... {Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Malliek, I havs already told you; you don't disturb me. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is better to deport Mr. Malliek to a cricket test match because his running commentary will be useful there. (Interruption) D₀ not disturb me. I am speaking very seriously.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Malliek, you are always in the habit of giving a running commentary. When Members are making important speeches, ir trend pf thought will go away by some of your desperate comments. Please refrain from this.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; The border State of Punjab is in flames. My simple question is, my question to the* Government which is trying to malign the Opposition is this. Some of the Members from that side have criticised the Opposition that we are making political capital out of it. I put a question directy to the Government of India. What have you been doing all these years from 1969 about the issue of Chandigarh? You gave an assurance to Punjab because Punjab, the State of Punjab, suffered a lot during the partition days. They

faced an exoc us from Pakistan. Therefore, their demand is a justifiable demand ia regard to Chandigarh. You ga 'e an assurance. Why have you not implemented this assurance? You created Bhindranwale. You have not implemented what you have assured t tern. Sir, I am not against 'Harvana. You should form a new capital for Haryana. It is estimated that this wiH cost Rs. IOO crores. Earlier, you hid calculated that it would be Rs. IO crores. No.w, 3ue to cost escalation, Rs. one hundred crores will be needed. What is wrong ir it? You have spent thousands of crores of rupees on NAM, CHOGM and the Asian Games. Ii you form a new capital, that will generate employment in Harvana. That wiH also give a push to the economy. But you are not finding a solution to t"ie problem. You may delcare Emergency. You may declare anything. Bu' these things will not pay you any dividends. What Mr. Jaswant Singh h£s said should be taken very seriousy. If you rub on the wrong side, what will hapnen? The younger elements could be easily instigated. Sir, the Punjab issue is very serious. And you have failed, the Government has failed. You ale shifting the blame on the Opposition. The Opposition has always been co-operative. Even nov, they are prepared to give any sort if co-operation. You can form peace committees. Let them have peace marches inside Punjab. Everybody is prepared for this.

Then comes Jammu and Kashmir. You are playing with fire. This Government is playing with fire. Do not take Mr. Faro)q Abdullah as a single individual. He is a symbol of our Opposition unity. I can say, he is a symbol of secularism. His father was a symbol ftf secularism. If you want to destabilise Jammu and Kashmir, if yc-u want to play mischief with Farooq Abdullah, then, you can be rest assured that there wi'l be reverberations of this throughoi t Ihe length and breadth of this country the echo will be heard from Kashm r to Cape Comorin.

Sir. I was there in Jammu and Kashmir in 1980-81; not for sight-seeing but to feel the under-current there, I had heard from so many sections. People love them like anything, Sheikh Abdullah and his son. Hindus, particularly. I asked for their opinion. They said, 'Sheikh Abdullah, though a Muslim, is our leader.' Now, what do you want to do? You want to link Farooq Abdullah with some Khan or some Qureshi. But you should not forges that until. 1975, Mr. Sheikh Abdullah and his party were for plebiscite. You should hot forget that. You are now saying what had happened before 1975. If you dislodge Farooq Abdullah, if you dismiss the National Conference Government, I say, the seeds of separation will be sown in the Kashmir valley. You will lose Kashmir. I am not a pessimist. But it is my duty at this juncture to warn this Government.

Again about Sri Lanka, there ig a reference in this President's Address, News appeared that Sri Lanka is going to solve the. problem of Stateless persons. This is not a concession from Sri Lanka, they are bound to solve the problem. Sir, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was received here. Our Government is soft towards him. Even now the Prime Minister in the other House said that we are for better relations with Sri Lanka. But you are being hoodwinked. They are sending emissaries to the United Kingdom, to the United States of Amedica, to China. What for? He is preparing ground for confrontation with our country, I say with full authority that he is preparing ground for any confrontation with tMs country. Mr. Jayewardene is buying time, he. is engaged in buying time, That is why Mr. Premadasa has stated the other day in Parliament that Tamil Youths will be wiped out. Yesterday I saw a news item also that a new army Captain has been entrusted with the job of wiping out Tamil youths in the name of wiping out extremists in Jafna. This is going to happen within three months. They are going to face ano-. ther catastrophe, they are going to face another holocaust, another

[Shri V. Gopalsamy] blood-shed. If our women, our sisters are raped and our brothers are killed in the streets. I do not know whether our Government of India is again going to say that it is an internal problem of Sri Lanka. If India is going to say like this, we will come to the conclusion that we are also a race in this country, we are also second-rate citizens in this country. Sir, when some ladies were subjected to virginity test in London, what hue and cry we made over here, how they revolted ana reacted in some parts of the country, all of us know that, lam not going to repeat what I have said when a discussion took place in connection with the problem of Sri Lanka, but I warn this Government that J. R. Javewardene is planning, preparing designs diabolically to annihilate Tamil population there. He is 'sending emissaries to China₁ to the United States and also he is planning to have their base in Trincomalee. That is the greatest threat to the entire Asian region. It is a very serious problem.

I again come to India. Apart from these problems. I want to Question whether ours is a democratic country. Is it a democratic country? No. Are democratic values respected by the Government of India? No. Do the people have fundamental rights? No. What is happening in Assam? Sir, our police force Ls working as an agent of this Government, in dictatorial regimes, the army and the police are given vw'da powers. If you find the army or the police force misbehaving in any country, it must be in a dictatorial regime, nowhere else. Here is the news report which I read in the Sunday Observer of 11th February. A professor's wife was paraded naked in the street, and the Vice-Chancellor has reported this matter to the Supreme Court. I quote:

"Mrs. Gandhi had addressed a Congress(I) rally at 'Judges field' in Gauhati during her Nov 11 visit During the evening blackout called by the AASU Mrs. Promi Bhatta" Bora was alone at home with her

two children. Her husband Dr. N. N. Bora was in Jorhat attending an official conference. Eight policemen came to Mrs. Bora's house in the Khanpara university campus and when she refused to open the door broke it down and searched the house.

They said they were looking for students suspected to be hiding there. A little later Mrs. Bora was dragged out of her house, she says in ner letter by the hair ____ "

Mind you by the hair.

".'...by three officers. Her children were kicked when they tried to intervene"....

"But worse Was to come, Mrs. Bora was taken to Dispur police station where her hands were tied to the window grill and she was kicked and beaten repeatedly until she began to bleed. This took place in the presence of nine students and two professors, one of whom was the dean of the Agricultural University. They had all been arrested earlier from the campus.

Still bleeding and now semi-conscious Mrs. Bora was taken to an empty bus where her gold ornaments were removed by policemen. She was taken to several police stations and finally to the Jhalu-kbari police thana where she was stripped naked and pushed into a filthy cell. She spent the rest of the night without clothing, water or first aid. The following morning her clothes were returned and she was tied with a rope and takef! back to Dispur Police station",

Ar_e we living in a civilised country? Let us imagine for a minute that lady as if she is my mother as if she is my wife as if she is my daughter. So the police forces in the country are behav-

Another thin,;, when Mrs. Monika Das was speaking she stated that some of the foreign journalists were picturising IndU with. coloured, glasses and giving a dark picture. [MR. DEPVTY CHAIRMAN on the Chair

Sir this is the Blitz. This is a weekly which once praised the Nehru family. Here il the Independence Day Special Number here. It shows a photograph of people competing with dogs in eating left over meals. This is India. You oannot give a rosy puc-ture by talking about NAM, Asian Games, CHOGM and all that by spending crores of rupees over Ashqka Hotel ox for catering facilities. Here i 1 this country under the very nose of the Central Government people have given blood. They .have not donated blood; but they have sold blood, they have sold blood to earn their bread. This has happened in this countri. Sir, this is what is going on. Here I can show persons competing with dogs in eating leftover meals on 24-11-83. This is what this photograph depicts. This was taken in Villivakkam in Madras. I am not criticising an - political party. But throughout Inc .a, from the Himalayas to Cape Comoiin, starvation is there, epidemics are there. I repeat my ques-

URUPASIYUM OVAPINUYUM SERUPAGAIYUM SERA THIYALUA-THU NADU—

Whether we fulfill the definition? No" According to that we are not free from foes, epidemics, from starvation. So this is nol a countrj' as" "defined by Thiruvalluvar. They have no opportunity. Tp millions and millions of youth, millions and millions of unemployed youth we have not given the opportunity, We have not solved this

problem among those unemployed youth. Due to starvation their ability (their capabilities will not come to light. Sir, I remember the famous poem by Thomas Gray. One day Thomas Gray, the great poet, was going through a graveyard. Ke saw one tomb and shed tears. He said: "In this tomb a person with the ability of Julius Caesar would have been buried because he did not get any opportunity and so his capability was not brought to light". He passed to the other tomb. He shed tears and said: "In this tomb a poet like Milton would have been buried because he did not get the opportunity" and so his poetic bright-nees went unnoticed. Again he shed tears over another tomb: "In this a politician like Oliver Cromwell would have been buried". And the_n he stated:

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene

on President Address

The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen

And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

So Thomas Gray says opportunity should be given." You have to give the opportunity for millions and millions of people, millions and millions of youngsters in this country Napolean once said: Ability is of little account without a chance. You may have ability, you may have capability, but unless you get the chance, unless you get the opportunity, You will not be able to show your ability. Perhaps this is my last speech. I may not come back. But the opportunity was given to me by the party. So I was able, to a certain extent to echo my feelings,...

I was able to echo the sentiments of my motherland, I was able to echo the sentiments of my people, who are living there in the valley of the Cauvery. So it is my bounden duty to thank my party which sent me here and also my leader, Mr. Karunanidhi and also our General Secretary, Mr. Arnba"

[Shri V. Gopalsamy] zhagan and lakhs and lakhs of cadres ol my political party. With every sincerity and frankness I have put certain arguments before this Government for their perusal and consideration.

Motion of Thanks

With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir we are discussing the Presidential Address is whether the Government has succeeded in important spheres of administration —law and order, relief to the poor people communal harmony and economic development. Before I go into this question, I would like to say that the Presidential Address is totally missing on the most important controversy on which the country-thinks that the Government should have given their line of action or what they intend to do in this matter.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the most important issue which has arisen in the last two years is Centre-State relations. Government has taken one step, of appointing the Sarkaria Cornmisision and it will take considerable time for final report; but, in the meanwhile what wiH happen? Recently a conclave was held in Calcutta where five Chief Ministers of important States like Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir and Tripura met and made certain suggestions. Therefore, Centre-State relations, specially, bas got importance in view of the constitutional **•** background when the Constitution says it Is a mere Union of States arid Central authority is only created out of evolution and so it is very essential that in fiscal and other matters where States have to administer, and when we are complaining every time that States are having overdrafts, is it not necessary for the Government or for the Presidential Address to indicate what could be done? Therefore, I suggeiit that on Centre-State relations at least the Government should

come out with what is their thinking on this and it may direct the Sarkaria Commission to give an interim report so that some conventions can be built and the atmosphere, which is surcharged on the issue of Centre-State relations, is defused. Otherwise, confrontation on the question of Centre-State relations will be a further disaster, in addition to what has happened in Punjab and Haryana or other places. If Centre-State relations are in confrontation, the whole constitutional fabric will come to an end and there will be disturbances.

In this connection, my friend from Bengal has said about the role of the institution of Governor. Under article 155 of the Constitution, the Governor is appointed by the President, obviously on the recommendation of the Central Government under article 74. Therefore, when the Governor is appointed to a particular State, is he an agent of the Central Government to spy or monitor and inform about the activities of the State Government or, is he in liaison with them to maintain harmonious relations between the State and the Centre and help them to solve the questions which arise between the Centre and the State? Unfortunately, as my friend has rightly pointed out in his speech quoting Pandit Nehru from the Constituent Assembly proceedingswhich I was going to quote-it is essential that the Governor to be appointed should be acceptable to the Provincial Government. But today the tendency is increasing that there is no consultation even, when we have got one power party in the Centre, the ruling power, and different parties in power in different States, is it not essential in the circumstances? I should like to know from the Prime Minister when she replies whether any consultation was made with the Bengal Government and others before appointing the Governors in those States. If that is not so, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had said, "we wiH further be on the brink of The Centre-State disaster. relations contemplate tha't the State Governments will not be ruled always by the same party as at the

Centre. Therefor-, Mr. Deputy Chairman, my submissk n is that on this very vital aspect it bi >oks no delay. We should net have done what we have done in Punjab tnd Haryana. If we had not delayed a decision which was taken over 10 years back and the Prime Minister's award was implemented giving Chandigarh to Punjab and those two areas -o Haryana, this problem would not have arisen. Reference has been m ide in para 19 about the Punjab situation, that the Punjab situation is going from bad to worse, and peace should be restored. There was a debate on it and it was stated by the ruling party Members that strict action must be taken, law must be enforced. Merely by enforcing the law and order machinery, the police machinery, this cannot be solved. It will problem aggravate the situation. It will not lead t> i a solution which you desire. And thr Opposition parties have made it cle r that they are ready to give all coopt ration in this matter. It is difficult for the people to understand Central Go ('ernment policy. my State, I am facing the same problem. When in Maharashtra and in Karnataka and at the Centre there was Government of the same party. the problem of Belgaum and the border areas was not solved. When the Punjab Government and the Haryana Government belong to the same party which is the ruling party at the Centre, why is it not possible to solve this issue? You got mandate from the people for five j ears. You formed the Government. Why could you not call them and solve t when the same party is ruling at the three places? I think it is a total fail ire of the Central Government that they could not solve this question. cannot blame the Opposition for non-The Chief Ministers were cooperation. certainly appointed at the instance of the Centre. They were appointed leaders of the Congress Party and the Congress Chief Ministers. Unfortunately, the position had come to such a pass hat they had to dismiss their own Government and have President's Rule in Punjab.

Therefore, Sir, apart from article 25 of the Constitu ion and its implications

which I do not want to go into because there is no time, my suggestion and appeal to the Prime Minister is that when the two Chief Ministers are of the same party, solution must be found not in a political sense but about the implementation of the award. If a change is to be made, why should the Government put the condition that Punjab and Haryana must agree and all opposition parties must agree? Then the award will not be implemented. When a reference for an award was made to the Prime Minister, it was agreed by the parties that they would abide by the award. Therefore, now it is too late to say that consensus of everybody should be taken. Nowhere, in my State or in Karnataka or in Punjab or in Haryana, consensus is going to be there on all problems and agreements. Therefore, people are getting an impression that this is being done only for the party interest. Delay is being made because they want to have some political advantage out of the situation. If that is so, I think, Sir, they are playing with fire when it is a border State. In such a border State they should be very careful. Punjab, Haryana and Jammu and Kashmir are very vital parts of our country with which our security interests are involved. What is the use of condemning the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir day and night, every time, that he is not loyal, that he is in league with others, that he is in league with Pakistani people? He has been duly elected Chief Minister, a respected person and citizen of this country. Is it necessary that every time you should try to hit the person who is the Chief Minister and chief of a border State? All over the conclave and everywhere else his speeches have created confidence, and he has shown that he is like any other citizen. He is a loyal citizen of India. I think, Sir, in this whole process party interest and the Government interest should not be Unfortunately mingled with. Kashmir the political party interests and the Central Government interests are mingled with, and, therefore, these contradictions are coming The party in the Kashmir valley is up. en-

[Shri Shridhar Wasudeo Dhabe] coiiraged to make any statements which will provoke and will not be in the interest of our country.

Motion of Thanks

Sir, two other points, I have to say, and we have got ample time at our disposal. We are not allowed to speak. Only one person has

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; There are many more speakers.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: It is most unfortunate that the rule is not followed. Two members or three members from some other parties speak but we are ngt given even a rotation chance. We are recognised. You should see that our interest is protected.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Now conclude. I think you have said most oi the points

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: I have got two more points, and I will finish. I know it is 6 o'clock, and you are also tired.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is the whole difficulty.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: We sit late. What can we do? You have announced that we should sit till the debate is over. Two other points, I want to mention.

About administration of justice there is no reference in this Address. The Supreme Court has got more than 1 lakh cases pending. I do not agree with the view expressed by other Members in this House that transfer of Judges wiH improve the administration oi justice. I find that transfer of Judges will make them subservient to the Law Minister and others. They may go to him and executive and try to cancel transfer orders.

The real problem before the people . isdecentralisation of judiciary. Under article 130 ot the Constitution of India

it has been provided that the Supreme Court should have more Benches sitting in different parts of the country. On decision of civil appeals and criminal appeals the law has already been settled. Huge arrears are there. In the Consultative Committee meeting this question came up. It appeared in the Press that decentralisation of the judiciary at the highest level is very essential to have cheap justice to the people. Thus article 130, should be implemented, and Benches should be established at different places. As regards the Benches, Sir, I am coming from Nagpur. I have got the experience of the Bench of the High Court, and it works very well. There is nothing wrong in the Supreme Court sitting at different places and deciding civil and criminal appeals. I do not think it will impair the administration of justice. I find it will facilitate expenditious disposal of cases.

In this Address it has been stated in para 11 about vigorous implementation of the 20-Point Programme that emphasis on anti-poverty measures is transforming the condition of the rural poor. Sir, the whole statement is hypocritical. I will say on this point that the statement made here is not correct. Only in the morning we have been given a statement in reply to question No. 62 about the performance of the different States about "the 20-Point Economic Programme. You wiH find, Sir, in Madhya Pradesh the surplus land allotment is 26 per cent and in Kerala it is 24.3 per cent. About bonded labour, in Karnataka it is 20-2 per cent, and in Kerala it is 17.1 per cent. Then, one of the most important programmes in the 20-Point economic programme—I raised it in the morning also is construction of houses for the rural poor and allotment of house sites. The achievement in this programme in Haryana i_s 13.9 pe_r cent Punjab, 4.9 per cent; Karnataka, 44.7 per cent. Tamil Nadu has certainly excelled in performance; the achiever ment in regard to allotment of Figure sites is 380 per cent. I find from those figures that Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, which are run by the Opposition

Parties, have go- a much better performance in the natter of implementation of the 20-Point economic programme. Commenting on this, a report in a national newspaper says—I quote:

Motion of Thanks

"The latest Planning Commission study on the i^rime Minister's so-called revised 20-point programme to ameliorate he condition of the poorest of the poor makes it clear that its implementation has been extremely slack. In effect, it is being virtually ignored despite the pressure on the authorrties to give it priority."

This is the report in the national newspaper in January.

"The all-India performance report is for November, 1983 and has not been given publicity for obvious reasons since if shows that the targets set for al except two of the 20 points have fallen woefully short, some by more han 80 per cent."

The only programme which they have completed is the tree plantation programme; there the achievement is IOO per cent.

"The most glaringly shoddy performance is in the case of bonded labour, where he target set for the release of 26.8 million between April and November 1983, has been achieved to th:; extent of only 26.9 per cent or 11.75 million bonded labourers.

"But the poorest implementation is on the point for providing houses for the economically weak sections. Set a target of building a nominal 400,500 houses in April-November 1983, all over the country, the actual achievement hhS been only 55,000 or

a meagre 13.6 per cent.

A similar story is told of the assistance given for construction of houses for the poor. Against the target of 556,000 houses to be assisted in the period, only 1 il,000 or 29 per cent were actually helped, even though

637,000 of the targeted 874,000 house sites (or 71.7 per cent) were provided."

Therefore, Sir, to say that the 20-point economic programme has been very successful is not correct.

As regards the other matter to which a reference has been made in the President's Address, about the steps being taken to contain inflation, I find that not much has been done even on that front. In this connection, I would like to point out that the Economic Survey at pages 33 and 34 says:

"The increase in the wholesale price index during 1982-83, though modest, was the result of the increase in the prices of certain seasonal items such as cereals, fruits, vegetables, eggs, fish, meat, oilseeds and tea. In addition, there were increases in a number of administered, price such as coal, electricity, cement, iron and steel and ferro alloys, with the increase in prices ranging from 9.4 per cent to 19.2 per cent."

Therefore, in the last year and this year, the prices have increased by 25 per cent. Here we find that the prices which are administered by the Government have increased by 9.4 per cent to 19.2 per cent. Therefore, to say that inflation has been contained is not correct. On the other hand, inflation has increased. The increase in the consumer price index will show that.

In April 1980, it was 375. In 6

1980 it was 390, in 1981 441 in 1982 475, in April 1983 509 and in December 1983 539. Now four instalments of DA to the Central Government employees have fallen due and have not been paid. All this clearly shows that the prices are increasing and there is no attempt to contain the prices. Therefore, when the prices are going up, the Government's stand, the Governirent's claim, that production has gone up, is completely wrong and is bogus, because if production

[Shri Shridhar Wasudeo Dhabe] has gone up of the essential commodities, then prices would go down, they will not go up. To say, therefore, that production is very good, is not

Lastly, the whole idea of planning and administration of the Government is to give relief to' the poor people and to raise their standard of living. Unfortunate[^] the standard of living of our people, though we claim and are proud that it is going up, thai the poorest people are getting relief, has, in fact, not shown any improvement. A report has been published by the Government known as the "Pocket Book df Labour Statistics 1983" at page 113 it gives the range of minimum wages of the lowest daily paid unskilled worker in 1982. What do you fine? The State from which I come, Maha-rashtra, pays Rs. 1.37 as the lowest-wage, in Madhya Pradesh it is Rs. I.25 per day, in Kerala Rs. 1.50, in UP RS. 3.00. With today's prices the real value of the rupee is only 12 paise. Accordingly, the daily wages of the poorest man in the country works out thus to 10 paise io the real sense. Therefore, we cannot be satisfied—it is not a question of one party or other-that we have made progress. The question is of increasing the standard of living of the people. In that respect we are a total failure. Therefore, it is necessary that we change the whole planning process and see that the poorest of the poor get relief. But in that respect there is no direction given by the President in this Address and therefore, this Address is disappointing.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak on the President's Address. Although I will be speaking to an almost empty House, all the same it is my duty because I have been sent by a party to Parliament to make our observations. I have read the Speech of the President and two things have impressed me terribly. I quote >--

One: "At the recent meeting of the National Integration Council there was a heartening consensus, cutting across differences a political outlook and ideology, that the fabric of national unity must be sterengthened and the sense of national unity and progress."

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Second: "Honble Members, the Republic is passing through a period of stress. Important national tasks require steadfast devotion on the part of its public servants and peoples representatives. We must give more to the nation than we take from it. A rededication to national ideals is needed so that all of us may give of our best to the cause ot national unity and progress."

These two observations made by the President in his Speech have impressed me the mosti There is a reason for that, Sir. I stand here before you, Sir, as a humble follower of the late Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. From the year 1938, when we converted our party into the National Conference, my house was attacked eight times and arson was committed in my house three times. It was not committed by any Hindu or Sikh, but it was committed by the Muslim Leaguers. With this eirptrience, it is but natural for me to impressed Dy these two observations made by the President and that is why I am mentioning this. We the people of Kashmir have cast our lot with India simply because of the ideals that our great leaders cherished. Having aid that, I" would now come to the observations made by the President In his Speech.

The President has stated that our production of foodgrains this year is likely to be 142 million tonnes, as compared to the actual production of 128 million tonnes last year. I have seen the Mid-Term Review and I find that as far back as 1978-79, our planners had fixed the Sixth Plan target at 154 million tonnes. Now, if we are achieving 142 million tonnes, compared to last year, it may be all right.

But, compared to the targeted figure in the formulations of the Sixth Plan, it is far below that. Similar is the case in respect of electricity generation about which the President has made a mention. Our Plan target for 1980-85 was 191 billion kw. hours and the best that we are likely to achieve this year is 170 billion kw hours. With regard to coal production also, our Sixth Plan, as far back as 1979, projected a production figure of 165 million tonnes and we have achieved only 154 million tonnes. So, obviously you will appreciate that though the achievements are laudable, they fall far short of our original estimates which we had made six or seven years back. We had stipulated in the year 1979 an average export rate of 7 per cent whereas we are only achieving a four per cent growth rate. So, what we have to do is that we have to work very hard so that we not only surpass the Sixth Plan targets, but prepare ourselves to achieve the Seventh Plan targets also, and this factor must be taken into consideration.

Motion c> Thanks

In this connection, Sir, I would like to point out that we had estimated an industrial growth rate of eight to nine per cent and we are boasting that we will achieve a growth rate of 4.5 per cent this year. As I have said, we have to work hard and only when we work hard, we would be able to achieve our targets and bring our country to the level of the other countries which are developing.

Sir, in the matter of cleatric power generation, I would like to point out that Jamma and Kashmir has a potential of 13000 million ky of hydroelectric power alone. I would like a urge upon the Maister that while formulating the Seventh Plan targets this should be taken but account so that the resources are fully tapped. Sir, a few days back I was reading in the Library a Pakistan paper that they are trying to tap the Jhelum river somewhere beyond Uri to generate power to the extent of 600 to 800 kw. I have been saying this to the Planning Com-

mission also and though your medium, Sir, I want to convey to the Government that they should take -up the Uri project in hand in the Seventh Plan and they should take the time by the forelock so that Pakistan does not tap the river Jhelum earlier and take advantage of the situation. Now, Sir, you have said something, tha* we have already taken our time and it is the fagend of the debate. But I have to make two observation. Unfortunately, the hon. Member, Dr. Rafiq Zakaria, is not present in th? House, and,

AN HON. MEMBER: They have run away.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO:

The other day, when the Prime Minister was also sitting here, Dr. Zakaria ^aid that Dr. Foroog Abdullah had some link with JKLF, He then stated that he had a photograph of 1974 in which one of the leaders of the JKLF was seen with Dr. Farooq Abdullah. In the same 'India Today' magazine, Dr. Abdullah has given a clarification as to how that photograph came into being. I would like Mr. Kalp Nath Rai to listen to me. I have a sensational disclosure to make. Only yesterday I came across a magazine called 'Society', which is in the Library, and another vernacular paper ti Duniya'. In this I found a sensational thing. At the end oi December last, that is, about two months back, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, General Secretary of Congress (I) had gone to Bombay. Dr. Rafiq Zakaria had arranged for him a meeting on the Birth Day of Prophet Mohammad. Now, people were collected and there was a public meeting. In this photograph I find a person garlanding Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, At this meeting which was organised by Dr. Rafiq Zakania, a person was garlanding Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. And in this magazine, it is given that this particular person who is garlanding our great leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, is Karim Lala, a notorious dacoit, smuggler and abdu?-ter of Bombay. (Interruptions) Sir, can this photograph that has been pub-

[Shri Gulam Rasool Matto] lished in the magazine 'Society' make an allegation that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had something to do with Karim Lala? (Interruptions) May be, Karim Lala has something to do with the organizers of that meeting. (Interruptions).

क्यो कल्पनाथ रायः जो माननीय बात कह रहें है वह बिल्कुल गलत है। कोई इस तरह की बात नहीं

भो गुलाम रसुल मट्यू - मैं सोसाइटी मैगजान को बायक सामने पेश कर सकता हं ।

श्री उपसभापति : यह तो कह दिया, प्रव

श्रो गुलाम रसूल मटट्र : गेरे कहन का सिर्फ एक ही मतलब है...

I have only one thing to say that the exhibition oi a photograph does not prove that you are with that particular person. This should be dispelled from one's mind, and this should be understood very clearly.

Sir, today I have seen a very sensational news, which appears in 'Kashmir Times', a Jammu newspaper. I have seen it in the Library today. This 'Kashmir Times' is supposed to be very close to the ruling party. In this it is written that the Government of India is contemplating having partial emergency in Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana and Punjab. I do not understand the logic behind this, whether this news is correct or incorrect. But I must tell you one thing. The situation in Kashmir is very normal. I do not mind if Dr. Farooq Abdullah's Government is toppled, because I can say with the background that I have, having been' a small follower of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, that if Dr. Farooq is toppled he will becomf: be one Joot taller; if he is arrested he will reach a stage, a height, which

nobody can imagine. But I will request through you, Sir, to the Government that they should use caution. They should use complete wisdom in dealing with Jammu and Kashmir. Nothing should be done which might encourage the secessionist elements ever there or try, in any way, to give a feeling in the people of Kashmir who have fought democratically in the last elections that India is not. to be depended upon because they are trying to topple a democratically-elected government.

The second point of Dr. Rafiq Za-knria made yesterday was that Dr., Farooq Abdullah is hobnobbing with Maulana Farooq. I do not want to go into the details of how this very Maulana Farooq was so close to the congress (I). I have with me a report which may also be sensational. In the first instance, the Congress (I) has been drying to get Maulana Farooq. Mr. Morarji Desai in the Janata Party went to his house and he joined hands with the Janata Government. At that time, he was not a secessionist. On 5th of May, 1983, at 10.3o A. M. and again at 7.30 P.M. the same day, an erstwhile Pakistani. Mr. Shaft Oureshi, one time Union Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, went to Maulana Farooq with a begging bowl that he should convass support for the Congress (I) and that they will be able to pay any amount for that help. On 12th of May, 1983, at 7.3o P.M., Mr. K.C. Pant also met Maulana Farooq. As early as 25th of May, 1982, Mr.. Rajiv Gandhi went to his house, and asked support for the Cdngress. I will only say this thing, as I have told just now, that it was the ' party of Maulana Farooq which attacked my house 3 times and once in 1977 also. Dr. Farooq Abdullah has tried to bring him into the mainstream of national life. I have lots of newspapers with me showing that during the last tour of 9outh India to Bangalore, Madras and other places, Maubna Faroog has seen the Indian situation and he is very much in the mainstrem of the Indian life.

थी (मौलाना) ग्रहाराच्ल हक (राजच्यान): कांश्मीर में राय नुमारी का रैला करते व्यत हैं और यू एन हो मैं राय श्रमारी की बात करते हैं, ईस संबंध में ग्रापको क्या कहना हैं ?

Motion of Thanks

† شرق (مولانا) اسوار الحق: کھمیر میں رائے ساری کا ریا کرتے ہوئے گهومتے هيس أاور يه - ايس - او - ميس رُائِ شماری کی بات کرتے میں - اس سمیدده سیی آیکا کیا کیلا هے -

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I have state- categorically and I said it on the floor of tie House and I say it again that the pe< pie. of Kashmir have cast their lot with India. Any movement that is against the declared accession of Kasi-mir to India will be fought by us with our blood. This shoud be understiod for all time to come

श्री नौलाना ग्रसरायल हरः फिर फाइक को छोड दीजिए الشرق (مولافاً) أسرار التحق: چبر د روق کو چبو وديمينے -

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I have stated tha Maulana Farooq was not left untapped by the Congress during the last ye »r. I! Dr. Faroog has got him for winni ig peace in Kashmir without paying a? y price fcr it, what is the harm in if With these observations, I have nohing else to say except that I will really commend the two paragraphs of the President's Address which I have just mentioned. ' I thank hirn for the two paragraphs which I have quoted just new.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam); Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Consitution has directed the President to address both the Houses and to state the cause of his Summons. And in doing so, he has- mentioned many things. But I would refer to only one point. He has referred to the very

t [] Transliter; tion in Arabic script.

great stress that is there in the country, and he draws the attention of the Members to this. Sir, while mentioning that this stress has been operating in the country, the President has tried to give a picture of the state -of the Nation which is far removed from realities. For want of time, I do not want to discuss many issues except giving two concrete instances, about the realities of the Indian situation today.

Sir, the first one was published in the 'Indian Express' of 26lh Feb. 1984 under the heading, "Wife's plea to CM to trace husband." Sir, it is from Kota of Rajasthan. It says:

"After four years of search in vain. Ram Karan Koli's wife has appealed to the R'ajastan Chief Minister to help her to find her husband.

With tears in her eves, Mrs. Javitri Bai of Ratikhurd village in Shahbad tehsil of Kota district told newsmen here on Saturday, that in 1980 the police came to their village and took Ram Karan for interrogating him regarding the movements of some dacoit gangs in the area. "He has not come back since and . must have been killed by the police," she alleged.

Javitri Bai said that during 1979-80 many people of the area were taken away by the police. Some were kept in police stations for many days. Her husband% was one of them, But he has not returned after the fateful visit to the police station. Mother of three children, Javitri Bai had approached the Superintendent of Police many times, hut to no avail.

The miseries of Javitri Bai did not end with her husband disappearing. Now an inflential person has taken over her four bighas of land forcibly. She and her three children had been rendered homeless, she added."

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

Motion of Thanks

This is one part of the picture. And Second part of the picture is to be seen in Assam, Sir, on 11th November, 1983, the Prime Minister happened to visit'Gauhati, and she was staying in the Guest House. And just within one kilometre of her stay, the police committed such heinous atrocities that it cannot be described by words at my command. The affected lady petitioned to the President, to the Prime Minister and to the Home Minister. I had also represented to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister but none has replied so far. Since this is a more realistic picture of the country's situation today, I would like to refer to a few paragraphs of the letter that the lady has written. She is Mrs. Promi Bhatta Borah, wife of a senior Professor of the Assam Agricultural University of Gauhati. She has written to the President, and I quote:

"At about 6.20 p.m. on 11-11-1983, there was a black-out at' the call of the All Assam Students' Union and All Assam Ganasangram Parishad. The residential quarters in the University Campus at Khanapara were without any electric lights and darkness prevailed everywhere. We have two children, one son aged 13 years and one daughter aged 11 years, studying in Class 8 and Class 7 respectively. In the absence of my husband. I was sftTlhg with my said two children inside the house waiting for the time when the lights would be on. At that time,, to our utter surprise, about 8 police personnel, entered our official residential compound and started to call my husband by his name and asked us to switch on the lights. On the war cries of the police personnel, the two children became very much panicky. The police personnel cried out at the top of their voice to open the door of our residence. I told them that my husband was not present at the residence and was away at Jorhat. The police personnel did not give any heed to my appeal and in-

sisted that the door of the residence must be opened.

Waiting for a while, they themselves opened the door by force and entered into our residence and began to search all the six rooms including the bed room • without allowing us to accompany them. They claimed that my husband had arrived at the headquarters in the morning of that day from Jorhat and that there must be some boys in our house. The police personnel saying thus demanded me for producing my husband and other boys. I emphatically denied that my husband had arrived at the head quarters on that day and was present in the house. I further denied thatthere was any boy except my son in the house.

To my niter surprise, one police officer, namely, Shri Moqbul Hussain, Officer-in-Charge of Dispur Police Station (Dispur ls the capital ot Assam near to Khanapara Campus) started abusing me at the top of his voice by using' all filthy language and ther caught hold of my hair and dragged me out of my house. I was simultaneously, severely beaten by the said officer and ^ter some time by catching hold of my both hands, I was dragged to a jeep standing near the gate of our official residence. I was brutally manhandled and was taken. inside the jeep, I was asked to sit on the footboard of the jeep closely surrounded by three police personnel, who were all intoxicated and behaving with me like brutes. They outraged my modesty.

"I was thereafter taken out of my residential compound, keeping my minor son and daughter without any adult member in the residence. WneD my daughter ran towards me requesting the police officer U take her also with me, Shri Ahmed kicked my daughter and the son also, who was standing nearby causing them hurt. I was taken te Dispur Police Station alone surrounded by three police personnel in a jeep, as aforesaid. There was no lady police while I was taken to the police sta#on 1 was

brutally behaved by the police officials and it is dit icult to explain in words the behavi iur meted out to me by the police personnel.

At the police station, my both hands were tied with a rope against the window grills. I found in the police station about eight or nine students of the Agricultural I'niversity, who were also arrested earl er along v/ith three to four staff members of the University and detained in the police station. They were lookin; at me with great distress but could not help me, I was not allowed td sit and was kept standing all along.

The subsequent events are more horrible, Shri Sarat Phukan, a Deputy Superintendent f Police, suddenly entered the poiict station and rushed t(.wards me and s arted beating on my back by catching old of my hair without any ground c • reason, I could not stand the assault raused in my person by the said officer and 1 fell down on the ground. The said officer, then agair caught hold of my hair and gave two kicks, one at my abdomen and the other on my buttock. I again fell down. I started bleeding by my private pa t. I became exhausted and wanted t > drink some water. Water was deniei to me. I was then dragged out from the said police station and asked to board in a bus standing nearby. Theie was no lady police in the bus. It wa a dark night I became unconscious n the vehicle due to profuse unnatural bleeding. I did not know what had happened for some time.

After being tahen from one police station to anothei. I was finally taken to Jalukbari police station about 15 KM away from the Dispur police station and 'JO KM away from my residence. I was there alone in the vehicle with the police personnel. On arrival at Jalukb iri police station;, I

hands tied up. At the police station, my wearing garments were stripped ofi and I was made a figure of a nomadic woman. The police officers and constables present in the police station passed all sorts of abusive remarks on me and it is difficult to describe all those abusive remarks hurled at by the police officers in black and white. After some time, I was pushed into a lonely cell full of filthy smell. It was a cold night and I was not given any garment to wear. I had to spend a chilly night with uncertainty with bare body. It is difficult to describe my distress and mental angony after being put to such an awkward situation. 1 requested the police personnel to give some water and cloth but I was denied. I also requested them to give me some first aid as I was suffering from unnatural bleeding. None gave heed to my request. I was kept in a dark and filthy cell throughout the whole night.

Towards the later part of the night, one Shri Ahmad, a Deputy Superinten dent of Police attached to the Jaluk bari Police Station suddenly unlocked the cell and asked me to come out of the cell. He was intoxicated and asked me to come out of the cell. His motive in doing so in the dead of night was quite apparent. In another cell some young boys were lodged. They obsered the situation and understood the evil motive of the said police officer. They shouted at the top of their voices and warned the police officers with dine consequences if he further ap proached me with such evil motive. Another difficulty arose against evil motive of the saidi police officer. Thousands of immigrants from 'Char' areas (River Island) were brought to Gauthati to attend the Congress rally on 12-11-1983. They were allowed to stay all around the police station. Due to the presence thousands of people around and nearby the cell, it became also difficult for the said officer to fulfil his evil desire."

Now, this is the situation as it ob-

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ATOMIC ENERGY, SPACE, ELECTRONICS AND OCEAN DEVELOPMENT. (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sir, on a point of order. (Inteirruptions)..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen to him. Just a moment.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL; sir, can a paper of this nature be read out in the House? What is the sanctity of that paper? Who has written it? It relates to what? Why is it being read? There are certain procedures to be followed; it cannot be a place where all sorts of things can be said without any sanctity. What is- being read here? Who has written this letter? Can the floor of the House be used like this?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think it is the duty of the Member to see that it is authentic; he has read the name of the lady who wrote this letter to him.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: The procedure requires that anything cannot be read in the House unless it is proved or is supported by something substantial.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is the responsibility of the Member; he stands by it that the statement is correct. He says that this is the p?tition which was sent to some Minister or somebody, I don't k^{no}w.

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA (Andhra Pradesh): Is it supported by medical evidence?

'MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not the point. The point is, it is a petition which has been submitted to some authority, he says. Anyway, the Member takes the responsibility for it

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I take the responsibility. I have personally enquired; I have written to the

Prime Minister and the Home Minister and they have not replied. May be, Prime Minister thinks that she should not reply to any Member of Parliament on any inconvenient issue. I am only pointing out that this is the situation and here is a Government about which they take pride that things are all peaceful. And this is the kind of peace! This is the peace which the people of Assam are enjoying. This is only one case. There are hundreds of cases like that. I have already informed the Home Minister about this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 12 minutes; please conclude.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I refer to one more point. The President has said about the stress. The stress is because of the fact that today there is a crisis in the very political system in the country and this crisis is the result of the fact that we have a ruling party at the Centre but there is no Government. Only one individual is ruling and there is no Government functioning; that is the root of the crisis today.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA (Maharashtra): Utter nonsense; sheer frustration.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA; Sir, the President has specifically referred to the situation in Assam and he has mentioned two things, one that tribunals have started working for the resolution of the foreigners issue, and secondly, firm measures have also been taken to check illegal immigration. Had these two things been stated by the Prime Minister in the House, there would have been a privilege motion against her. These two statements are misleading. No tribunal is functioning and members of the tribunals are only taking coffee and tea and sitting in the Circuit House. They have no work to do. Let anybody go and see. About the second point of firm measures to check illegal immigration, it is... I do not use the word 'falsehood -a wrong statement made by the President to mislead Parliament, Now Sir, coming to the

Assam situation. About this, I happened to write to the Prime Minister three-four long 1< tters with all documents sa} ing that she has wittingly or unwittingly led thi situation in Assam to a state which las caused the death of thousands and the society has been completely shatte: ed. If the Government thinks that they can suppress the movement ano the people of Assam through Police at ocities, t\tey are absolutely mistaken. The Government accuses that the eaders of the movement are not coming for a discussion. The President als* wants hon. Members of Parliameni to help in the process of reconciliation. But the President, should, first if all, ask the Prime Minister to start the process of reconciliation since the ball is in her court now as far as thi Assam situation is

Motion of Thanks

In this connection I would like to refer to one more thing. Hon. Member, Shri Baharul Islam, is present in the House. At one stage, he, along with two other respecte 1 citizens of Assam, evolved a formula They suggest that the detection of foreigners should take place from 1961. They suggested this to the Governmen 1 as well as to the leaders of the mov* ment. Unfortur/ite-ly, Government dia not respond. During her latest tour n Assam, the Prime Minister has said that if any specific proposals come to ner, she can resume negotiations with the leaders of the movement, NOW, t is for the Prime Minister to chang* her attitude and take the initiative So long, she has - been taking an ada nant attitude, sticking to her own st; nd of 1971. It is in the interest of th 1 people of Assam and, in fact, the whole country that she changesi' her attitude and give her own proposals to start the detection and deportation of foreigners with effect from 1961. (Time belhrngs) There are two more points.

Sir, yesterday, in the debate, hon. Dr. Zakaria, mentTored about the burning of the Constituion by the Sikhs.

MR. DEPUTY CI AIRMAN: You are concerned only with \ssam. Do not go to Punjab.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Dr. Zakaria condemned the Sikhs. But may I point out that these Sikhs have been inspired by the Government >f India itseli to do so? The Government of Ipdia burned the Constitution in Assam, while holding the elections in February last year. (Interruptions) It is this Government which had burned the Constitution and now they cannot ask anybody else not to do so. (Interruptions) They have been inspired by this action of the Government *in Assam. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now. Let us hear the learned lady Member.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: There is one more point. Sir what is the Government of India trying to do in Assam? Of course, they have put up a Government there. But this Government has no legitimacy. The Ministers cannot come out of their residences. They are not functioning at all. People have not given them the recognition. And if it functions any more, if this illegitimate Government is allowed to carryon any more, it w^l do more harm to the country, to the State and the country, than any good. It is for the Central Government to dismiss the Government operating in Assam and also to start negotiations with the leaders of the Assam movement to bring about a satisfactory of the problem immediately and to restore peace and crder in the State.

PROF. (MRS) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the Motion of thanks en. the President's Address. Now, while discussing the Centre-State relations, some hon. Members raised a few questions on the appointment of Governors in some States. Sir, I feel, this is quite a delicate issue and is not relevant to the discussion on the President's Address. The President, in this Address, has rightiy stated that for imaintaining the unity and the integrity of the country, all parties should join hands and work in collaboration. And this would help to control the divisive, disruptive and anti-India forces -out-

[Prof. (Mrs) Asima Chatterjee] side the frontiers of India-the latter posing thereat and danger Io the country.

Sir, more money is being spent for defence Otherwise, this money could have been developmental channeled for various programmes. Now developmental programmes, including, the 20-point programmes and the anti-profiteering cannot be implemented measures. successfully. Hundred percent success is not possible if the atmosphere in ihe country is not congenial and peaceful. A climate of harmony is necessary. Notwithstanding various difficulties and disturbances, India in the current year 1983-84 has made impressive recovery in her economy a stated by the Fresident.

In science and technology, India has- made considerable progress. Agricultural production has increased due to the application of modern agricultural techniques and bio-technologies which aire the outcome of the efforts of our scientists who are working in collaboration with the technologists Dry land farming has been taken up and the results are extremely encouraging. Production of foodgrains is now almost 142 million tonnes. It is indeed a great achievement.

So far as oil production is concerned, it has increased considerably and the Government of India vJtould foe able to repay the loan of 181 million dollars-The Government at the Centre has made special efforts in order to generate more employment in urban and subarbaii areas. New programme of providing selfemployment to the educated unemployed has been a great relief. It deserves mention in this context which has been repeatedly suggested by many hon. Members last year and also by the Finance Minister that the mobilisation of natural resources in a 'must' because that wiH provide ample opportunities for employment "and self-employment.

Sir, Indian space science has made remarkable progress which speaks of the spectacular advancement in space

technology, for which Indian scientists and technologists are to be congratulated. In INSAT II there have been improvements and three major national services, telecommunication, meterology developmental television, have begn combined. Success-full launching of INSAT 1(B) on August 30, 1983, is indeed a great achievement. Last September when my colleagues and myself were in Moscow everyday we used to have a report from our Soviet friends about how the INSAT 1(B) was functioning. Everyday in the ' evening they used to give us the information and we were very proud to hear the successful working of the INSAT 1(B). Since 15th October, 1983 INSAT 1(B) has been rendering service as master centre in space for the purpose of telecommunication television, radio and meteorology programmes. Meteorology programme can forecast weather conditions, thus enabling us to suggest precautionary measures against bad weather, monsoon, flood and drought. The Central Electronics Ltd. (CEL), a public sector undertaking, has made advance in photo voltage systems. These are of high standard and have been installed in offshore platforms, on communication works, in remote mountain villages and for water pumping and public lighting places where distributed electric power is not available. So, science and technology has really made very good progress. Now programme for mass communication through TV network and radio in rural areas particularly, besides urban areas and suburban areas, has been undertaken. This would help in implementing adult and nonformal education and also in the universalisation of elementary education and thus assist in the eradication of illiteracy. This would also help to educate the masses in health care and family welfare.

The successful Antarctica expedition provides evidence of another achievement in the field of science and technology and biomedical sciences are also developing rapidly. Under the sponsorship of Health Ministry, the

traditional sys:.em of medicine has made reasonab e progress.

Motion of Thanks

Sir, India ce uld have made spectacular advancer ent in many important areas, but thi has not been possible due to the disturbances in the international situation which has been ccmplicated by aims race, the global expenditure oi armaments exceeding 600 billion do lars annually. In this context the ho ding of NAM in March 1983 was ven significant, of which our Prime Mi lister was the Chairperson and sr 3 pleaded for disarmament and equality for all nations which would bring peace in the world.

Sir, I will onclude by saying that I have listened to many good counsels from some hon. Members today in this House. They have given warning to the Governme! t at the Centre and they have given directives to the Government what th< Government should do. I feel they sh >uld be conscious about their duties; Isc. They are Indians through and 1 irough. They are not foreigners. Wivy should they not join the ruling party in order to achieve the goals?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a good suggestion. (Interruptions)

(MRS:.) ASIMA CHATTER JEE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I feel that all the parties should get united and w irk with dedication for national ideal I in order to eradicate poverty, illite acy and to provide our with brothers and sisters essential commodities-na nely, food, health, education and employment. So far as India is concerned, all the Indians belong to one community and if we work on the basis of this philosophy, we are bound to hav I success. Let us assist the Government at the Centre in alleviating the surferings of the people and in promoting the economic growth of the country.

With these few words, I would like to conclude 1 y supporting the Motion of Thanks to the President.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let 115 now hear another doctor. Dr. Mallick.

HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orrisa): Sir, I am so glad that you have kindly given me some time and further glad that the hon. Members have cheered me more than they cheered the hon. President for bis Address. (Interruptions) in the first para of the Address the President has welcomed us, we too have welcomed him with all grace and courtesy. That is on record. Similarly we also receiprocate the last para. But controversy arises in regard to the second para where he has actually shown complete unconcern for the toil and tears of the farmers for the good crops in the country and claimed that the Government has done it. That is a paradox and fantasy. At least here, Sir. he could have been pleased enough to mention about our brothers and sisters in Tamil Nadu and Andhra who died due to rain, storm and cyclones. This is very much missing and I condemn this lapse. Prime Minister Nehru wrote a book, The Discovery of India. Should we now demand that a book should be written about the Discovery of South India? The honourable President has to see India as a whole country through and through. In a city like Madras and in most parts of Tamil Nadu people were dying without a drop of water. I have myself seen, last summer, o ur sisters and mothers there who were digging up the sea-bed to get a few drops of water. And here we demanded, through Special Mentions, that water trains should be rushed there, but because that State is not- under Congress (I) rule, we think, it was ignored.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Some to Orissa

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: I am coming to Orissa.

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS Mr. Deputy Chairman, which language is he speaking? I want to know .. (Interruptions) ..

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: In Orissa, the Congress (I) Government has become Congress (J) Government. The English letter "I" has become a tail and unless they catch that tail, their pigtail will be caught in the coming days and the ruling party wiH become a rolling pack. This is my cruel forecast and prophecy. (Interruptions). Time wiH show it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are a jyofehi also. (Interruptions)

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: When my hon. friend, Sharmaji, was speaking about the deep agony of a sister, a mother and a daughter, I was astonished and ashamed to see that sister Members of the House were laughing and cajoling. Well, here is a Government by a woman, never for the women. .. (Interruptions)... Here in India we want a Government through the people.

Therefore, I really congratulate one Minister at least—the hon. Minister for Planning—who has given a press statement that there should be a national debate on planning to formulate the seventh Plan. Here I congratulate him. I think the other day you were in the Chair. Sir (Interruptions) I congratulate the hon. Minister who came forward to repeal the Leprosy Act. We want that the whole country should be geared to eradicate leprosy and we should formulate a Health for All Plan, even a year earlier. But the hon. President was silent about health. Without health how can a nation progress?

Well, he is silent on education. In the matter of education, you will see that the Central School has stood the test of time. Let the Government come forth and say that we will adopt the Central School as a model for the whole nation with the three-language formula—Hindi, English and the mother tongue. It will ser^e the entire nation. Let us adopt this in all schools

when all the private and public schools will go and when we wiH have, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, one motto, one platform.

About language also, no assurance has been there from the hon. Prime Minister. Pandit Nehrti's assurance was there.. (Inten-uptions). You only believe that you can solve the problem by floating lotteries. Just as you have lotteries in U.P., etc., for two crores or three crores, in the south also you want to have it for language whether it is Tamil, Telugu, TSalayalam or Kannada, by lottery but want them to adopt Hindi a_s an obligation. (Interruption)

About religion this being a secular State, no religion has supremacy over another religion, however, small or large a group may be. Therefore any communal incidents in any corner of the country must be, strongly dealt with and there should be no scope for any religion *or* any communalism to raise its ugly head.

In the eastern sector, to solve the problem" of refugees, we have to deal with the issue with a little concern and foresight. I do not question the authority of the Government of India to welcome anybody as a refugee and confer citizenship, but some procedure must be there. Anybody coming as a refugee should be screened through refugee camps to find out whether they are really seeking shelter or coming as Sabeteurs. whether they are coming with grenades or what to do. if they want to come to embrace us, they have to be bound by one thing: having come to such and such place for sheller we adopt the Constitution of India and adopt secularism as enshrined in the Constitution. India is a major democracy which is proud to have secularism. It has not been affected by anything. (Interruptions) Do not disturb me, please. Carry on. You fail miserably If you disturb me, you will disturb your own future. Do not play with your own future. You are putting your hand on a wrong switch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: If refugees are c Jming, we are not going to create an imbalance either on linguistic or con munal issues. Merely because they are Bengali speaking.... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is the grand fim le of the debate.

SHRI HAREKI USHNA MALLICK: Merely because 1hey are from Assam they cannot be allowed. Let us create a new State for their rehabilitation. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan can contribute tyvent3 districts. Ten to fifteen hundred square miles are available. We can ere ite a new States. Let the Ministers of Planning, Environment and Agriculture examine it.

One small thing. I am concluding in a minute. You se< in Orissa a government is going on Twenty-point programme, planning this, that going on. We have the Rail vay Budget and" the General Budget. V e have in retrospect to see what has lappened in Orissa. There is a mine .'ailed Mishra Lime-ston Company wiere the employers have decided to reduce the wages of the workers. We are talking of the lot of the poor. Thei» the management and one Extra Lal our Commission axe hand in glove with each other. The negotiations failed and the Ministry is silent on this. This should also be looked into. In m niganese mines the labour and women have been harassed. There the Govenment is not taking extra care. Fifty p r cent of the population is being ignored. They are our mothers, sisters and daughters, and they have been ignom . •(Interruptions)

MR." DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now they are welcome ton.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: Let us plan in a ri^tit manner. Let us plan on the policy for the village where the whole of India and the soul of India lives. We c; nnot talk of Delhi, Punjab and Haryana. In Punjab for both industry and agriculture, the per capita income ft ~tTfe""same; and it is the highest! It is i teause agriculture

has been nationalised. Can we think of bringing Haryana nd Punjab together? We have to create two States capitals. It will take time. Haryana and Punjab are fighting each other, and in the process all the water are going to Pakistan.

There is one suggestion. A solar Energy Commission, an Animal Husbandry Commission and also a Bio-gas Commission to tap new resources are necessary. Similarly, in the coal belts hundreds of miles are going waste. Can we not monitor it and do something through the medium of water and steam and move turbines, and all that?

Now, in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Jammu and Kashmir, there are governments which are opposed to Congress (I). But they should know that the Government of India is one extending from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. It is in power all over. (Interruptions) Why are you so much allergic? Are your eyes Ailed with chillies? (Inier-ruptions) It is a matter of shame for the whole country. Moilly tape has demonstrated the type of democracy we have in the country.

With these few words. I demand that the President can make amends for his Address by calling immediately a National Summit under his Chairmanship because we Cannot cross over

to the other side. They wiH 7 P.M. never do it. They are playing

with fire, creating division and all that, following a divide-and-rule policy for their poll purpose. Rightly, the Budget has been brought as a palliative for poll purpose. Therefore, before we go to polls we should see that the forces do not raise their heads here and there. We cannot think of a police state. And we must have democratic policy.

With these words, I do not approve of this

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now let us have the last speech of the day. Shri Shiva Chandra Jha. (Interruptions) Now order please.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा (बिहार) : उप-सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के श्रभ-भाषण में यदि कोई अच्छी चीज है तो हम को कोई एतराज नहीं है। जैसे कहा गया है कि फूडग्रेस का उत्पादन 145 मिलियन टन तक बढ़ गया है तो हम को कोई एतराज नहीं है। खुणी की बात है । रेट ग्राफ इतना हो गया है तो हम को कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। लेकिन हर्ज यह होता है कि कुछ ऐसी वातें हैं जिनकी स्रोर रेफोंस नहीं दिया गया है ग्रीर परि-स्थितियां बिगड रही हैं और बिगड़ेंगी। उनकी ग्रोर हमको ध्यान देना है ग्रौर उन्हीं वातों को ध्यान में रख कर मैं कुछ बातें रखना चाहता हूं। सारे अभिभाषण में पहली बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हं वह यह है कि इस बात का जिक नहीं है, तीन करोड़ से ज्यादा मैथिली बोलने वाले हैं उनकी भाषा जो मैंथिली है उसकी मान्यता के लिये कोई रेफ़ेंस नहीं है, जिक्र नहीं है। बिहार की ग्राधे से ज्यादा ग्राबादी मैथिली बोलती है और उनकी मांग है कि उसकी मान्यता हो और इसे संविधान की ग्रष्टम प्रनस्ची में सम्मिलित किया जाये। बहुत दिनों से मांग चली ग्रा रही है। आपको याद है कि इस विषय पर मेरा एक निजी प्रस्ताव भी था लेकिन इस सरकार ने उसको ग्रमी तक मान्यता नहीं दो है। यह एक खतरनाक परि-स्थिति को पैदा करेगी। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हं कि परिस्थितियां बिगड़ रही हैं। मान्यता न होने से वे उपेक्षित समझे जाते हैं और उसको ले कर के ग्रीर मांगें ग्रा रही हैं जैसे मिथिला देशम...

Motion of Thanks

उपसमायति : तेलग देशम।

श्रो शिवचन्द्र ज्ञाः मैथिली राज्य

मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को खास करके-कहना चाहता हं, ग्रापक जो मंत्री हैं जा कर प्रधान मंत्री से कह दें कि मैथिली को मान्यता न होने, उसको मांग की पूर्ति न होने से जनता वहां भभक रही है ग्रीर उनको मांग रहो है कि मिथिला राज्य की स्थापना हो। हमारी जेन-रेशन के लोग जो डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद श्रीर लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण की रोशनी में काम कर चुके हैं उन पर यह बात उतनी बँठतों नहीं है लेकिन वो नई जेनरेशन, वे नए लोग आ रहे हैं जिनका कोई कमिटमेंट पिछले दिनों से नहीं है पिछली रोशनी से नहीं है और वे झण्डा उठाने जा रहे हैं कि अलग मिथिला राज्य हो। मिथिला राज्य पहले था इतिहास बताता है ग्रौर उससे लिंक जोड़ना कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं है। इसलिये याद रिखए बिहार की जनता जब उठेगी तो बिहार बिहार है, बिहार ग्रासाम नहीं है, बिहार पंजाब भी नहीं है। बिहार का अपना ही करने का ढंग है और तब इस सर-कार के लिए टेढ़ी खीर हो जायेगी। इसलिये में चेतावनी देना चाहता हं ग्रौर ग्रागाह करना चाहता हूं कि मैं थिली की मान्यता संविधान की ग्रष्टम ग्रन-सूची में हो जाए ताकि परिस्थितियां काब् से बाहर न जाएं। जनता आगे बढ़ रही हैं इससे और बड़ी-बड़ी मांगों के लिये जैसे मिथिला राज्य जिसका कि जिक इस भाषण में नहीं है। दूसरी वात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि योजना की बातें यहां उठा हैं ग्रौर सारे ग्राम-भाषण में आंकड़ों की भरमार है, पाइ-लिंग अप है 'भ्रमजाल है...(व्यवधान)

ग्रव मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हं और साथ ही साथ यह भी मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को कहना चाहता हं कि योजना मंत्री से कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। प्लानिय इज

Motion of Thanks

बाइ द प्लान मेकसं। मैं प्लानिंग की कंसलटेटिथ कमेटी का सदस्य हूं, पिछले दिनों में भी था ग्रार बराबर मेरी दिलचस्पी रही है। आप जानने हैं कि देश प्लानिंग कितना भांगता था पिछले दिनों में और ग्राप को यह भी मालूम है कि जब देश म्राजाद हुआ तो बड़े बड़े इक्नामिस्तट, पंडित जो थे वे इसको शेखविल्ली की बात समझते थे, कि सारी इक्नामी को रेलान करना वडा आइडियलिस्टिक है। यह टोटल इमेजिनेशन है। फला प्राइवेट इंटरगहन से गुलक कितना बढ़ा, फलां से मुल्क कितना ग्रागे बढ़ गया है, हम लोगों को प्रेक्टिकल होना चाहिए, व्यवहारिक होता चाहिए। लेकिन एक नेताया देश में जिसके सामने सपना या और जिसमें वह दढता थो, जिसने एक सोध ग्रीर लाइन बनाई कि इक्नामिक प्लान कैसे चलेगा। प्लानिंग कमीणन की स्थापना हुई । लेकिन आज मैं देखता. हं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन दम तोड़ रहा है योजना आयोग दम तोड़ रहा है वह एक गोडाऊन है आंकड़े। वहां बड़े-बड़े एकोबेटस हैं वे अकोबेटस म्रांकड़ों से फाइट करते हैं। कहते हैं हमने यह किया, यह पत्सें टेज निकाला यह सब खिलबाड़ है। बोजना का इलान बाइटल जो है वह इलान बाइटल खत्म हो रहा है ब्रोर यह बात मैं कंसलटेटिव कमेटी में भो कहता हं ग्रीर ग्रमी ज्यादा जोरे से कहना चाहता हू प्रधान मंत्रो जी को, वे नहीं हैं इसलिए ये मंत्री जी पहुंचा देंवे वे उसकी नेपरमन हैं लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी कभो नहीं आती है। कंसलटेटिव कमेटी में क्या हो रहा है उनको पता भी नहीं है ग्रीर इस तरह योजना दम तोड़ रही है, यह हमारे लिए बहुत दुर्भाग्य की बात है । इसको पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने इतना बड़ा रूप दिथा था। अब वह क्यों दम तोड़ रहा है उसकों मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि एक ऐसी परिस्थिति बन रही है, इसको कौन हल करेगा। योजना मंत्री को वह ताकत नहीं है हल

करने की इक्नामी को प्लान करने के लिए कुछ खास ताकत की जरूरत है, एक नेतृत्व को जरूरत है कि जिसके द्वारा हल करें, रास्ता वतायें । अब परिस्थिति आ गई है कि उस निर्णय की जरूरत है। देश की इक्तामिक , अर्थव्यवस्था एक भीषण कण्टा-डिक्शन से गुजर रही है। वह क्या अन्तरविरोध है ? मैंने कई बार कहा है। ,कल ही अखबार में था कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर, के जो असेट्स हैं वह टाटा के 24 हजार या कितने करोड़, बिड़ला के वीसियों या . कितने के हैं, इसी तरह सिहानियां के हैं, मफ्तलाल के हैं। यह सेक्टर बहुत आगे बढ़ा है। ग्रापका पब्लिक संक्टर भी बढ़ा है। उसको और आगे बढ़ाना है। मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूं। मैं तो चहाता. हं कि उसको और बढ़ाया जाये। लेकिन ये. दोनों ही ग्रनकम्पैटीवृल हो रहे .हैं। जब मैं इस बात को उठाता हूं तो मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि मिक्स इक्नामी का हमारा दर्शन है, इंडस्ट्रियल रिवोल्यूशन का हमारा है। इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। अब आपको निर्णय लेना होगा कि कब हम कितनी दूरी तक करें। जी फ़ैकैस्टाइन बढ़ रहा है, प्राइवेट इक्नामी का, मोनोपोली का, इसको कितनी दूर तक बढाने देंगे, इसके लिए लीडर के निर्णंय की जरूरत है यह योजना मंत्री नहीं कर सकते हैं, उनमें वह ताकत नहीं है। मैंने कहा है कि वे कसरत करने वाले एकोबैट है ग्रांकड़ों के, उन्हीं के पंजे में हैं। इसलिए एक लीडर की जरूरत है। अब आपको निर्णय लेना होगा कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर कितनी दूर तक हम बढ़ाने दें, कितना इस पर हम कंट्रोल करें। एम० आर० टी० पी० से कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। अब क्या करें? इसलिए अब लीडर के निर्णय लेने की जरूरत है और समाज में बुनियादी परिवर्तन लाने के लिए आपको कुछ टिमिडिटी , से ऊपर उठना है । यह सरकार टिमिडिटी के दायरों में है और श्री शिव चन्द्र झा

Motion of Thanks

में कहंगा कि सोशलिज्म और नया समाज बनाने के लिए आपको टिमिडिटी से ऊपर उठना होगा, इसका निर्णय नेता को करना होगा । और यह नहीं हो रहा है । इसलिए उसकी ग्रीर भी बीभत्स कंसिक्वेन्सेज हो रहें है, जैसे उदहारण के लिए इन स्लेशन की बात । बड़ा गर्व है कि इनफलेशन इतना कन्ट्रोल हो गया है, लेकिन चार सालाना ग्रपने को हकुमत में लाने का प्रधान मंत्री ने किया रेडियों पर 1984 में मैं रेडियों पर सुन रहा था । उन्होंने कहा अच्छा जनता साल में 23 प्रतिशत इनफलेशन था, हम 3 प्रतिशत पर आ गये हैं, लेकिन यह वित्त मंत्री कोई दूसरी ही चीज बताते हैं लेकिन खैर यह उनका झमेला है कि3. 7 या 10 प्रतिशत है । तो यह आपका मानेटरी एक्सपेशन है। इस पर निर्णय करने के लिए भी प्लानिंग कमीशन को ताकत देने की जरूरत है ग्रॉर वह ताकत ग्राप दे नहीं रहें है।

अब वजट की बात आती है 1700 करोड़ का डेफिसिट है उसमें ।

श्री उपसभापति : झा जी, संक्षेप में कहिए।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : तो सवाल यह है कि योजना आयोग को इस पर भी सोंचना है, लेकिन योजना ग्रायोग तो इमेस्केलेटेड हो गया है।

श्री उपसमापति : योजना ग्रायोग को छोडियं और विषय बलाइये:

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : अब में एक बात ग्रीर कहना चाहता हूं जब ग्रखवार में मैंने पढ़ां- प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि पाकिस्तान ग्रटामिक एक्सपालोजन करने जा रहा है, तो मझको बड़ी हैरानी हई।

से भी श्रो उपसमापति : इधर लोगों ने कहा है।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :: वह छोडिये न, मैं तो रोज कहता हूं। उनकी बात ग्राप क्यों दोहरा रहे हैं?

मुझको हैरानो यहाँ हुई कि प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा पाकिस्नान अटामिक एक्स-पलोजन करने जा रहा है वह किसको कह रहो है हम लोग कहते हैं, तो मंत्री को रेफर करके कहते है, जिनके हाथ में राजसत्ता है, लाकत है, उनको कहते है लेकिन जो वह कहती है पाकिस्तान का तो वह किसको कह रही है।

थो शिव राज पाटिल: जनता को। श्री शिव चन्द्र झा: उनसे ऊपर कौन है ? जनता को श्रापने दिया है क्या जनता बना रही है जो उसको दीजिए। यह वेकार बाहियात वातें हैं कि जनता को कह रही है (व्यवधान) हैरानी की बात है(व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : आप क्यों बोलते है ?

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : हैरानी की बात है जब वह कहती है तो किसको कह रहीं है । उसके साथ साथ तकाजा है कि वह खुद क्या कर रही है। जब वह इतनी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है, जो यहां अखबार में ग्रागया है कि उसके साइंटिस्ट्स ने बोल दिया है कि यदि हकुमत से हमको ग्रोन सिंगनल मिल जाएगा, तो हम बना लेंगे और उसी तरह का बना लेंगे जैसा कि नागासाकी, हिरो-शिमा पर गिरा था - सिर्फ सिगनल देने को जरूरत है और ग्रंदर ही ग्रंदर वह बना . रहा है, एनरिज्ड युरेनियम. से ।

तों ग्राप क्या जवाब देने जा रहे हैं ग्राप क्या कर रहे हैं ? ग्रौर सीकेट है क्या, मैं इस बात पर जोर देना चाहता हं।

भो उपसमापिता : वह बात सीकेट है, बलाई नहीं जाती है ।

भी शिव च द्र झा : मैं जोर दे रहा हूं बताइये न बताइये इतिहास में वह बलती न कीजिए जिसकी बदौलत आप दो औं वर्ष था सात सी वर्ष गलाम थे।

· यहां पं जवाहर लाल नेहरू का जिक किया गया - डिसकवरो आफ इंडिया का । मैंने - भी उसको पढ़ा है और क्या खोज उन्होंने की, डिसकबरी आफ इंडियाँ में, किस बात के पीछे उन्होंने माथा पच्ची की है ?

क्या बजह है कि भारत जो हर क्षेत्र में आगे था, लेकिन आजादी की संभालने में ग्रीय आजाद रहने में पीछे हट गया ? क्या वजह की कि तिजारत में, संस्कृति में, दर्शन में, सब में, भारत दुनिया में सब से आगे था, लेकिन म्राजादी ही हाथ से छिन गई, क्या बजह थो ?

कोई उस पर खोज की कि क्या वजह थी ? और बातों के अलावा एक बात ग्रीर भी है ंजो उस डिसकवरी ग्राफ इंडिया में भी है, रजनी पाम दत्त में भी है और दूसरे लेखकों में भी है जो बिल्कुल ही ग्रपर माइंडेंड मार्कसस्टस या साइटिफिन समझे जाते है जिसको नेशनल कन्युनिजम नहीं है, नेशनल कम्युनिज्म उसमैं रहता है जो इंटर नेशनल-लिस्ट अपने को समझते है जो कनकरेंट लिस्ट के बारे में सोचते है। भारत हम्रा बावज्द बहुत सी चीओं में आये होने के चंकि एक चीज में भारत एट पार नहीं था

दूसरे मुल्कों के बंदिल फील्ड में जैसे दुसरे म्हना आमें जा रहे थे।

श्री उपसमापति : खेरम करिये ।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झाः उदाहरण एक-दो दे देला है। पानीपत की पहली लड़ाई हुई 1526 में। यह बात नहीं कि हिन्दुस्तान की फौज कम भी, उस में जोश कम था या बहाद्री काम थी लेकिन हमलावर पानीपत के मैदान में फतह हुआ क्योंकि उसके पास एक ऐसी चीज थी जो हिन्द्रस्तान के पास नहीं थीं। वह थी नई इजाद केनन, तींप । हमारी न्यं क्लियर पौलिसि शान्ति के लिये बिल्कुल सही है, मैं भी सहमत हं, लेकिन इतिहास को जरा पहें कि क्या बात थी जिस से हम पीछे हटे पानीपत के मैदान मे। एक नयी चीज इजाद हुई थी। इस वात को सामने रखिये।

दूसरा उदाहरण देना चाहता हं पलासी के मैदान का भुजाउहौला के अन्दर कम जोण था ऐसा नहीं, कम ताकत थो ऐसी बात नहीं। लेकिन इस सब के बावजद उस के पास वह चीज महों थी जो नयें-नये अंग्रेज आए थे उनके पास थी-फायर आम्सं। यदनाच सरकार की किताब है 'मिलिटरी हिस्टरी आफ इंडिया'। यदनाथ सरकार माम्ली अथारिटी हिस्टरी की नहीं हैं। यदनाय सरकार ने जिक किया है क वह एक कीज थी जिस के न होने से मैदान हमारे हाथ से निकल गया और फतह कोई दूसरा हो गया।

एक ग्राँर उदाहरण देना चाहता है। इतिहास की बात है। साउथ में दिन के उजाले में मुगलिया सल्तनत की ताकत को शिवा को तलवार ने रींद दिया,

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा लेकिन उसी साउथ ने ग्रंग्रेजी जो स्रो कर रहे थे शिवाजी की फीज ने उस को चारों तरफ से घेर लिया. उस में चार अंग्रेज के बेटे थे, उन्होंने देखा इतनी बड़ी फाँज ग्रामी हुई है तो चारों चार कोनों पर खड़े हो गये फायर श्राम्सं लेकर, मरना तो है हो, मरने से पहले वाजी लगा लें। शिवाजी मुद्धिमान थे, उन्होंने महसूस किया जो चीज उनके पास है वह मेरे पास नहीं है, हम उन का मकाबना नहीं कर सकते, दो बार, चार बार चक्कर लगा कर वहां से अपनी फीज ले कर चले गये। कहने का मतलब है कि जो चोज अंग्रेज के बेटों के पास थी वह उन के पास नहीं थी...

भो उत्तमापितः स्राप ने सपता पोइन्ट बहुत अच्छी तरह समझा विधा।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा: अंग्रेजी फोर्ट की भी वह काब में कर लेते तो सारे भारत के इतिहास का पलड़ा इधर से उबर हो। जाता। यह सोचने की बात है। न्युक्लियर पोलिसी जो हमारी है उस के मतालिक हम को चिन्तन करना है, विचार करना है। यह यद्ध का, संबंध का काल है। लेकिन आप का मेडिसिन का क्षेत्र हो या एग्रोकल्चर का हो, आप ने किस में कौन सा कमाल किया है। अर्थ न्य विजयर मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हं कि न्यक्तियर इनर्जी में, खेती में, मेडिसिन में किउनी तरको हुई है। मेरा कहना है कि कुछ भी नहीं हो रहा है। तो यह एक ऐसा पहल है कि जिस का इस में उल्लेख नहीं है। अभी मैं पंजाब ग्रौर हरियाणा के विषय को नहीं लेना चाहता। उस पर बहुत बहस हो चुका है। तो इत सब बातों को अगर हम ठीक कर से सामने नहीं रखगे तो बावजूद हमारे 143 मिलियन फड़ग्रेन पैदा कर लेने के कुछ भी नहीं होगा। 1943 में बंगान में खाद्यान्न की कभी नहीं थी लेखिन वहां 3. मिलियन लोग भूख से मर गर्ये और यह सरकारी आंकड़े हैं। यह इतिहास की बात है। तो उस के मुकाबले आप का 142 या 145 मिनियन खाद्यास आज क्या है। आज देश में 50 प्रतियत लोग गरीबी को रेखा के नीचे हैं। आप देहात में जाकर देखें कि वे कितता खाते हैं, तो इन सारो विभियादी बातों का इस एडेंस में कोई जिक नहीं है जो कि होना चाहिए था। ग्रीर मैं इन बातों को छोटे मंतियों को नहीं कहता चाहता लिकिन यह जो दो दूत यहां बैठे हुए हैं उन से कहता हं कि वे इन वातों को प्रधान मंत्री जी की बता दें कि इन बातों को ओर हम ने उन का ध्यान खींचा है, जैसे खास कर मैंबिलो को बात है, उन को आप जरूर देंखे और उस पर विचार करें।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate on the Motion is over, completed, and tomorrow the hon. Prime Minister wiH reply to the debate at 5 P.M.

सदर को कार्यवाही कर 11 बने तक के लिए स्थगित को जाती है।

> The Hous.! then adjourned at twenty-three minutes past seven of the clock till' eleven of the clock, on Friday, the 2nd March, 1984.