[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

ful day of assassination of Gandhiji, i.e. on the 30th January. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, what has happened is that our leader did not make any statement. What they did was witnessed by all the passengers. (*Interruptions*).*

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 things and creating imaginary stories. (*Interruptions*). 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 PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) : मेरा पाइंट आफ अर्डार है। रूल 187 के मातहत मैंने ब्रीच आफ प्रिविलेज की नोटिस दी है वित्त मंत्री श्री प्रणव मुखर्जी जी के खिलाफ कि इन्होंने बजट को ... (**व्यवधान**) ..

श्री उपसभापति : आपने नोटिस दी है। मैं देख रहा हूं कि क्या हो सकता है क्या नहीं हो सकता है । लिहाजा आप बैठ जायें मैं परमिशन आपको नही देता हूं ।

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

श्री पी० एन० सुकुल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वह उनका ब्राफकेज खोया था .... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : श्रीमन् .. (व्यवधान) ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not record. Mr. Sukul and Mr. Jha.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL:*

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:*

श्री रामानन्द यादव : (बिहार) : रिगार्डिंग बजट मेरा पाइंट आफ आडर है । जब बजट पढ़ लिया गया, सब चीज हो गई और बजट के पहले कोई बात ... (**व्यवधान**) ..

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : मैं भी एक्सप्लेन करता हूं । मैंने नोटिस दी है ... (**व्यवधान**) आल इंडिया रेडियो ब्राडकास्ट कर रहा है ... (**व्यवधान**) कांस्टीट्यूशन कहता है कि दोनों हाऊसेज में रखा जायेगा ... (**व्यवधान**) ।

श्री सभापति : पहले आप बैठिए । उनकी बात सुनिए क्या कह रहे हैं । पाइंट आफ आर्डर उनका सुन लीजिए ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : बजट पढ़ने के बाद उस पर कोई भी चीज हो सकती है तो वह हाउस में बहस हो सकती है । प्रिविलेज की बात या कोई चीज नही उठाई जा सकती है ? अगर कोई सदस्य इस तरह की बात उठाते हैं तो उनकी अज्ञानता है । वह ठीक से प्रोसीडिंग्स को पढ़ते नहीं हैं । प्रोसीजर और रूल्स को नहीं पढ़ते हैं और ऐसे ही हर जगह कोई बात कह देते हैं किसी को कण्डेम्न करने के लिए । यह उनकी आदत है । आपसे मैं आग्रह करूंगा कि उनकी जो बातें हैं वे कार्यवाही में से निकाल दी जायें और जब बहस हो रही है तो.. (**व्यवधान**) ।

*Not recorded.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

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

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: (Madhya Pradesh): 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 be present.

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

MR. DEPUTY 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 House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to announce that this debate is to be completed today. So, the House will sit a little late till we finish with all the speakers. Secondly, if a Member is called and he is not present in the House, I am sorry, he will not be called again, because 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 will reply to the debate tomorrow at 5 P.M. Now, Shri Abdul Rehman Sheikh may start and then we shall adjourn for lunch.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: What about the presence of a Cabinet Minister?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have asked him to bring the Minister. Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, please ask your Ministers 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.

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

इतना तो अहसास उनको है लेकिन पहले जो उन्होंने दावे किये हैं कि पैदावार बढ़ी है, इक्तसादी 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 तरक्की के दावे किये गये हैं उनके बारे में यह सब चीजें सेल्फ-कंट्राडिक्टरी हैं। एक तरफ कहा जाता है कि आपने बहुत ज्यादा इरिगेशन की, बहुत ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन हुई है और दूसरी तरफ इम्पोर्ट जो है वह भी बढ़ रही है। अगर प्रोडक्शन हुई तो इम्पोर्ट क्यों हुई है? यह सेल्फ कंट्राडिक्टरी चीजें जो हैं उनका कोई एक्सप्लेनेशन नहीं है।

इक्तसादी पालिसी कितनी कामयाब रही है, उसका अंदाजा भाषणों से नहीं बल्कि उसके रिजल्ट्स से और अचीवमेंटस से हम लगायेंगे कि टार्गेटस क्या अचीव हुए हैं? जिस मुल्क में पांच करोड़ एजुकेटेड लोग

[श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख]

अनइम्पलायड हों जिस मुल्क के सैंकड़ों लोग सर्दी से मर जाते हैं, गर्मी से और लू लगने से मर जाते हैं, बीमारी से ला-इलाज मर जाते हैं, फुटपाथ पर सोते हैं और दूसरी तरफ एशियाड जैसी अयाशियां हों, जिन पर हजारहा करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जाय, फाइव-स्टार होटल बनें इससे अन्दाजा लगाया जा सकता है कि गवर्नमेंट किस डाइरेक्शन में जा रही है।

मुझे यकीन है कि यह अड्रेस भी पुराने अड्रेस की तरह सिवाए लोगों को धोखा देने का एक दस्तावेज है और इसमें कुछ भी नहीं है। इक्तसादी तरक्की के जितने दावे किये गये हैं उनको अगर हम हकीकत की कसौटी पर देखें तो इक्तसादी तरक्की जो है वह रिवर्स है। अगर कुछ तरक्की हुई है तो उसका फायदा बड़े-बड़े सरमायदारों को पहुंचा है, कामन मैन 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 आडर का ताल्लुक है इस के बारे में इसमें थोड़ा सा जिक्र किया गया है, लेकिन आज मुल्क की हालत क्या है?

असम में हजारों लोगों का कत्लेआम हुआ, लेकिन कहा जाता है कि अब वहां ठीक-ठाक है—जो लोग मर गये गोया उसकी जिम्मेदारी गवर्नमेंट पर नहीं है। कोई भी कल्चर्ड और सिविलाइज्ड गवर्नमेंट जो है एक भी शख्स के मरने की जिम्मेदारी वह अपने ऊपर लेती है लेकिन हजारहा लोग कत्लेआम हो जाएं, खून की नदियां बह जाएं और यह कह करके हमें तसल्ली देने की कोशिश की जाए कि साहब अब तो असम में ठीक-ठाक है जो कुछ हुआ, उसको भूल जाइए। उसको कैसे भूला जा सकता है? उसकी रेस्पांसिबिल्टी किस पर है? आपने वहां महज सरकार बनाने के लिए चुनाव करवाया, आपने महज वहां पर कुर्सी हासिल करने के लिए इस कद्र खून-खराबा कराया। उसकी जिम्मेदारी से आप नहीं बच सकते।

पंजाब और हरियाणा में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उसकी जिम्मेदारी से सरकार नहीं बच सकती, बल्कि न सिर्फ सरकार ला एण्ड आर्डर को मेनटेन करने में फेल हुई है, बल्कि सारे मामले को उलझाने में और 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 आया, पार्टी इंट्रेस्ट की खातिर उसको पीछे धकेल दिया गया और जब भी कोई मौका आया, उस वक्त सियासी मसले के पेशेनजर उस मसले को हल करने की बजाए उसको उलझाया गया, और आज यह कहा जाता है कि अपोजीशन पार्टियां—

†[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ

(اتر پردیش) : راشٹرپتی جی کے ایڈریس کا یہ دوسرا دن ہے - بہت سے آنریبل ممبران نے اس پر اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کیا ہے - پورا ایڈریس پڑھنے کے بعد اگر کہیں کوئی صحیح بات اور کام کی بات ہے تو وہ صرف ایک سینٹینس ہے جو لاسٹ پیراگراف میں راشٹرپتی جی نے کہا ہے....

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic script.

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

اتنا تو احساس ان کو ہے لیکن پہلے جو دعوے انہوں نے کئے ہیں کہ پیداوار بڑھی ہے - اقتصادی ترقی ہوئی ہے - اگر یہ ملک پیریڈ آف اسٹریس سے گزر رہا ہے تو پھر آپکے ان اچیومینٹس کا کیا ہوا اور یہ ملک یہاں کیوں پہنچا - اس کی کوئی دلیل نہیں ہے -

جہاں تک اقتصادی ترقی کے دعوے کئے گئے ہیں ان کے بارے میں یہ سب چیزیں سیلف کنٹراڈکٹری ہیں - ایک طرف کہا جاتا ہے کہ آپ نے بہت زیادہ اریگیشن کی - بہت زیادہ پروڈکشن ہوئی ہے اور دوسری طرف امپورٹ جو ہے وہ بھی بڑھ رہی ہے - اگر پروڈکشن ہوئی تو امپورٹ کیوں ہوئی - یہ سیلف کنٹراڈکٹری چیزیں جو ہیں ان کا کوئی ایکسپلینیشن نہیں ہے -

اقتصادی پالیسی کتنی کامیاب رہی ہے اس کا اندازہ باتوں سے نہیں بلکہ اسکے رزلٹس سے اور اچیومینٹس سے ہم لگائینگے کہ ٹارگیٹس کیا اچیو ہوئے ہیں - جس ملک میں پانچ کروڑ ایجوکیٹڈ لوگ ان امپلائیڈ ہوں - جس ملک کے سینکڑوں لوگ سردی سے مر جاتے ہیں گرمی اور لو لگنے سے مر جاتے ہیں - بیماری سے لاعلاج مر جاتے ہیں - فٹ پاتھ پر سوتے ہیں اور دوسری طرف یہ ٹھاٹ جیسی عیاشیاں ہوں جن پر ہزارہا کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ کیا جائے - فائیو اسٹار ہوٹل بنیں - اس سے اندازہ لگایا جا سکتا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کس ڈائریکشن میں جا رہی ہے -

مجھے یقین ہے کہ یہ ایڈریس بھی پرانے ایڈریس کی طرح سوائے لوگوں کو دھوکہ دینے کا ایک دستاویز ہے اور اس میں کچھ بھی نہیں ہے - اقتصادی ترقی کے جتنے دعوے کئے گئے ہیں ان کو اگر یہ حقیقت کی کسوٹی پر دیکھیں تو اقتصادی ترقی جو ہے وہ ریورس ہے - اگر کچھ ترقی ہوئی ہے تو اس کا فائدہ بڑے بڑے سرمایہ داروں کو پہنچا ہے - کامن میں سفر کر رہا ہے اور جن لوگوں کے لئے بیماری کے لئے علاج نہیں ہے - ۵۰ فیصد لوگ غریبی کی ریکھا سے نیچے بستے ہیں انکے لئے کیا کیا گیا ہے -

جہاں تک لا اینڈ آرڈر کا تعلق ہے اسکے بارے میں اس میں تھوڑا سا ذکر کیا گیا ہے لیکن آج ملک کی حالت کیا ہے - آسام میں ہزاروں لوگوں کا قتل عام ہوا - لیکن کہا جاتا ہے کہ اب وہاں ٹھیک ٹھاک ہے - جو لوگ مر گئے گویا اس کی ذمہ داری گورنمنٹ پر نہیں ہے - کوئی بھی کلچرڈ اور سویلائزڈ گورنمنٹ جو ہے ایک بھی شخص کے

[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ]

مرنے کی ذمہ داری وہ کچھ اوپر لیتی ہے - لیکن ہزارہا لوگ قتل عام ہو جائیں - خون کی ندیاں بہہ جائیں اور یہ کہکر کے ہمیں تسلی دینے کی کوشش کی جائے کہ صاحب اب تو آسام میں ٹھیک ٹھاک ہے جو کچھ ہوا اس کو بھول جائیے - اس کو کیسے بھولا جا سکتا ہے -

اس کی ریسپونسیبلٹی کس پر ہے - آپ نے وہاں پر محض سرکار بنانے کیلئے چناو کروایا آپ نے محض وہاں پر کرسی حاصل کرنے کیلئے اس قدر خون خرابا کروایا اس کی ذمہ داری سے آپ نہیں بچ سکتے -

پنجاب اور ہریانہ میں جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے - اس کی ذمہ داری سے سرکار نہیں بچ سکتی - بلکہ نہ صرف یہ کہ سرکار لا اینڈ آرڈر کو مینٹین کرنے میں فیل ہوئی ہے بلکہ سارے معاملے کو الجھانے میں اور اس معاملہ کو پیدا کرنے کی ذمہ داری سرکار پر ہے - پنجاب کا مسئلہ بہت دیرینہ مسئلہ ہے - میں اس کی بیک گراونڈ میں نہیں جانا چاہتا - لیکن جب بھی پنجاب کا مسئلہ حل ہونے میں آیا پارٹی انٹریسٹ کی خاطر اس کو پیچھے ڈھکیل دیا گیا اور جب بھی کوئی موقعہ آیا اس وقت سیاسی مسئلہ کے پیش نظر اس مسئلہ کو حل کرنے کے بجائے الجھایا گیا اور آج یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ اپوزیشن پارٹیوں........]

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप लंच के बाद भाषण जारी रखिएगा। सदन की 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.

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : जनाब वाइस चैयरमन साहब मैं इससे पहले जिक्र कर रहा था कि इकानामिकली हमारा मुल्क किस दौर से गुजर रहा है। जहां सबसे ज्यादा कैज्यूलटीज ल इलाज बीमारी के बिना लोग हों, गर्मी, सर्दी, में लोगों की मौतें हों और दूसरी तरफ एशियाड जैसी शाहाना फजूल खर्ची होती रहे और मुल्क के अन्दर इतनी डिस्पेरिटीज आ जाए कि एक तरफ मुट्ठी भर अमीर तबका ऐशो-आराम की जिन्दगी जीये और दूसरी तरफ आम आदमी अपनी जिन्दगी फाकाकशी से बिताने के लिए मजबूर हों, इसके लिए गवर्नमेंट को कोई क्रेडिट नहीं दी जा सकती। लेकिन हस्बे दस्तूर रुलिंग पार्टी के लोग, कांग्रेस आई के हमारे दोस्त अपोजिशन को इसके लिए जिम्मेदार ठहराते हैं। मैं बड़े अदब से यह दरयाफत करना चाहता हूं कि 35–36 साल की आजादी के बाद दो ढाई साल का वक्त निकालकर बाकी कांग्रेस आई ने ही देश में हुकूमत की है। आखिर 35 साल के बाद भी यह मुल्क इस हालत के अन्दर है तो इसके लिए कांग्रेस ई० के सिवा कोई दूसरा जिम्मेदार नहीं

ठहराया जा सकता । तो मैं जिक्र कर रहा था कि ला एण्ड आर्डर का कि जिस मुल्क के अन्दर ला एण्ड आर्डर की यह हालत हो, हरएक साल हजारों लोग फिरकेदाराना फसाद से मारे जायें, हरिजन और वीकर सैक्शन के गांव के गांव जला दिये जायें, जहां रेप और मर्डर रोज मामूली का काम बना जाए और जहां डकैती और इस तरह की वाक्यात राजधानी में होते जायें तो ऐसी सरकार को यह हक नहीं हासिल है कि वह अपने का काबिल बताये कि वह ला एण्ड आर्डर को कंट्रोल करती है । वह एफिशियंट सरकार है, यह सर्टिफिकेट उसे नहीं दिया जा सकता ।

जनाब, आसाम के अन्दर हजारों लोग कत्ले आम के बाद, पंजाब और हरियाणा की हालत जो दिन तीन दिन से इस हाउस में बहस का मौजू बनी रही, है उसके बारे में कौन जिम्मेदार है ? पंजाब की बैकग्राउंड में ज्यादा न जाते हुए म शाह कमीशन के फैसले का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं कि संत फतेहसिंह की सैल्फ-इमुलैशन की धमकी बाद जब पंजाब और हरियाणा बनने का फैसला हुआ तो शाह कमीशन बनाया गया । जस्टिस शाह हमारे देश के एक नामवर जस्टिस हैं, न वह पंजाब के थे, न हरियाणा के, न हमलाय के क्षेत्र थे। उन्होंने जो अवार्ड दिया जिसके तहत खरड़ तहसील और चंडीगढ़ हरियाणा को दिया गया, उसको किसने बदला ? जो कमीशन का अवार्ड था उसको इन-टोटो ऐक्सैप्ट किया जाता तो आफशाट्स नहीं निकलते और मामला वहीं खत्म हो जाता । लेकिन जब प्रधान मंत्री जो बीच में आईं, उनको बीच में मीडिएटर मुकर्रर किया गया, अगर किसी मुल्क के लीडर किसी मसले को हल करने के लिए मीडिएटर बनते हैं तो हम उसको ऐप्रिशियेट करते हैं, लेकिन अबोहर और फाजिल्का हरियाणा को और चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को देने का जब फैसला किया गया तो उसे इंप्लीमेंट क्यों नहीं किया गया ? उसको 10 साल तक लटकाया गया । उससे जितना बैड बलड क्रियेट हुआ, जिससे वह जहर फैला, उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार 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 आल्ट्रेशंस की तो अबोहर और फाजिल्का हरियाणा को और चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को दे देना चाहिए था, लेकिन उसको लटकाकर रखा गया । हमें कहना पड़ता है कि यह सियासी तौर पर फायदा उठाने के लिए किया गया और उसका नतीजा हमारे सामने है । पंजाब के अंदर ऐजिटेशन हुए, तीनों पार्टियों की अपोजिशन पार्टीज गवर्नमेंट और अकाली दल के बीच बातचीत शुरू हुई, बहुत अच्छा माहोल था बातचीत के समय, लेकिन उसको किसने टारपीडो किया ? एक तरफ हम मेज पर बातचीत कर रहे हैं, अकालियों की डिमांडस थीं रिलीजस की गुरुवाणी का प्रसारण हो, यह वहां टेबुल पर समझौते के अनुसार ऐग्रीमेंट होना चाहिए था न कि गुरुद्वारा बंगला साहब में जाकर अपने हिमायती सिख दोस्तों को इकट्ठा करके। ऐसे अकालियों को मौका दिया गया । अकालियों को साइडट्रेक करने के लिये, आइसोलेट करने के लिये यह एक भद्दी कोशिश थी। एक जगह बातचीत हो रही है और मामला उस बातचीत में हल नहीं होता तो सड़क पर हल किया जाता है । अगर अकालियों की यह डिमांड थी कि सेन्ट्रल-स्टेट्स रिलेशन पर बहस होनी चाहिए स्टेट को ज्यादा अख्तियार मिलने चाहिये उसके लिये कोई कमीशन बनाने की बात थी तो टेबल पर एग्रीमेंट

[श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेक]

होना था । ऐसे समय पर अकालियों को अपना एजिटेशन विदड्रा करना चाहिये था लेकिन यह तो हुआ नहीं बल्कि खून खराबा करने लगे । अकालियों को एक बहाना मिल गया था इसलिये वे बातचीत से हटकर एक आंदोलन के राह पर चले गये । अगर किसी मामले में महज इसलिये देरी करनी है कि अकालियों को क्रेडिट नहीं देना है । और सारा क्रेडिट इसलिये कि हमने अपोजीशन पार्टियों को क्रेडिट नहीं देना है, और सारा क्रेडिट अपने आप लेना है तो यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है । जो बात वहां हो रही है, जो फोरम हो रहा है उस फोरम को वहां निपटना चाहिये न कि उसको सड़क पर निपटाने के लिये छोड़ दिया जाए। मैं अकालियों के हर एक्शन को पसंद नहीं करता । कुछ गलतियां रूलिंग पार्टी की तरफ से हुई हैं । उस जिम्मेदारी से प्रधान मंत्री उसकी पार्टी और उसकी सरकार बच नहीं सकती । हरियाणा में जो कुछ हुआ, यह कहा गया कि यह रिएक्शन था। यकीनन रिएक्शन था। लेकिन उसको सहारा मिला इस सरकार की तरफ से । हरियाणा के चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री भजन लाल ने जो स्टेटमेन्ट दी थी उसमें मामले को भड़काने की कोशिश की गई । नतीजा हमारे सामने है । वह आग दिल्ली तक पहुंच रही है कंस्टीट्यूशन बर्निंग का मामला आ गया। जिसकी सारी पार्टियों ने निन्दा की लेकिन इस हालात को पैदा करने की जिम्मेदारी रुलिंग पार्टी पर है ।

मैं फोरेन पालिसी की बात को लेता हूं । यह फारेन पालिसी किसी मुल्क 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 मित्र देश हैं, आपकी मदद करने वाले देश हैं तो आप उस हिसाब से अपने डिफेंस के खर्च में कमी कर सकते हैं और उस पैसे को, उस रुपये को गरीबी हटाने के काम में खर्च कर सकते हैं । और अगर पालिसी ऐसी बनाई जाए कि आपस में टकराव हो तो दुश्मन 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 जगुआर खरीद कर करना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए हमें अलग से पैसा रखना पड़ेगा और इसका बोझ किस पर पड़ेगा, क्या आपको पता है ? इसका बोझ मूलक 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 मुल्क के जनता पार्टी के दो-ढाई साल के राज में पड़ोसियों के साथ ताल्लुकात अच्छे हो गए थे। अफगानिस्तान पाकिस्तान के साथ ताल्लुकात अच्छे हो गए थे। बंगला देश के साथ ताल्लुकात अच्छे हो गए थे। श्रीलंका के साथ ताल्लुकात अच्छे हो गए थे, बर्मा के साथ ताल्लुकात अच्छे हो गए थे। नेपाल के साथ ताल्लुकात सुधर गए थे। चीन से भी सुधारने की शुरूआत हम ने की थी। लेकिन 1980 में गवर्नंट बदलने के बाद जब आपकी बड़ी कामयाब गवर्नमेंट आई तो इन चार सालों के अंदर नेपाल से हमारे ताल्लुकात खराब हुए, चीन से तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं, हमारी श्रीलंका से तनातनी है, बंगलादेश से झगड़ा है, पाकिस्तान से झगड़ा है यानी मुल्क को चारों तरफ से दुश्मनों के बीच लाकर खड़ा कर दिया । अगर आप इसको कामयाब फारेन पालिसी कहते हैं तो मैं क्या कह सकता हूं मैं इससे इत्तफाक नहीं करता । हमारे कांग्रेस के दोस्त यह कह सकते हैं कि हमारी प्रधानमंत्री नान-एलायंड मुल्को की चेयरपरसन हो

गर्व है । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सारी दुनिया में इलेक्शन जीतने के बाद बनी है ? यह तो एक रिवायतन है कि जो मुल्क होस्ट मुल्क होगा जो खर्चा बर्दाश्त करेगा, वह तीन 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 मुल्क है, होस्ट होने के वास्ते इनको चेयरपरसन की कुर्सी मिली । इसके बारे में सारी दुनिया में बताया जाता है कि यह हमारी कामयाबी है । यह तो एक कन्वेंशन है । इस कन्वेन्शन के मुताबिक अगर हमारा सैकड़ों, करोड़ों रुपया नान-एलायंड कान्फरेंस पर खर्च हुआ और उसके बदले में चेयरपरसन की कुर्सी मिल गई तो कोई कामयाब पालिसी नहीं कहा जा सकता । यह तो खुद अपने मुंह मिया मिठ्ठू बनने वाली बात है । अगर यह चेयरपरसन का इलेक्शन दुनिया भर में होता, उसमें वह बनती तो मैं क्रेडिट देता लेकिन रिवायतन चेयरपरसन बन कर अपनी फारेन पालिसी की कामयाबी बताना यह दुनिया की आंखों में धूल झोंकना है । देश के लोगों की आंखों में धूल झोंकना है । चेयरपरसन हमारी फारेन पालिसी की कामयाबी है, मैं इससे इत्तफाक नहीं करता ।

मैंने जैसा जिक्र किया इससे भी छोटे देश चेयरपरसन रहे हैं, यह कोई बड़ी कामयाबी की बात नहीं है । आज हमारे ताल्लुकात पड़ोसी मुल्कों से बेहतर हो जाते, आज हमारे ताल्लुकात दुनिया के अन्दर ज्यादा मुल्कों से बेहतर हो जाते तो हमको कई सूरतों में इक्तसादी बोझ बर्दाश्त नहीं करना पड़ता और आज हम ऐसी हालत में नहीं होते । आज नान-एलाइण्ड की जो पालिसी है तकरीबन हर पार्टियां उसकी हिमायत करती हैं । हमारी पार्टी भी गैर-जानिबदार पालिसी की हिमायत करती है । लेकिन क्या जनुअन नान-एलाइण्ड पालिसी पर अमल हो रहा है ? जहां हम एक तरफ इस बात की हिमायत करते हैं कि दियागो गर्शिया में अमरीकी अड्डे हटाये जायें, जहां हम एक तरफ इस बात की हिमायत करते हैं कि हिन्द महासागर को जोन आफ पीस बनाया जाय लेकिन दूसरी तरह अफगानिस्तान के बारे में हमारी सरकार क्या कहती हैं जहां कि दो लाख रूसी फौज अफगानिस्तान की आजादी का गला घोंट कर बैठे हुए हैं । जब तक इस मामले में बहस होती है तो इस का नाम लिये बिना कभी गोलमोल ढंग से प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि हम तो चाहते हैं कि कोई किसी की मदाखलत न करें, हम मदाखलत के खिलाफ हैं । लेकिन रूस का नाम लेने में क्या शर्म आती है ? अमेरिका हो या रूस, दोनों सुपर पावर अगर कोई गलत काम करें तो उनकी निशानदेशी करनी चाहिए तभी हमको सारी दुनिया में सही नान-एलाइण्ड माना जायेगा । कंपूचिया के बारे में हमारी पालिसी क्या है ? वहां सवा लाख फौज मौजूद होते हुए हम हिंगसमरीन की सरकार को समर्थन देते हैं--हमें नहीं मालूम कि वहां कौन सरकार है कम्मुनिस्ट सरकार है या वहां के लोगों की सरकार है -- यह उन लोगों को फैसला करना है । वहां देश के एक हिस्से में सिहानुक समर्थक सरकार है वह वहां कण्ट्रोल करती है । लेकिन वहां वह फार्मूला एडाप्ट नहीं किया । हम अफगानिस्तान और कम्पूचिया पर एक यार्डस्टिक रखें और बाकी देशों पर दूसरा यार्डस्टिक रखें तो यह ठीक नहीं है । हमें सही मायने में नान-एलाइण्ड होना चाहिए, हमारी सही मायने में गैर जानिबदार पालिसी होनी चाहिए । इसके लिए हम दो मुखतलिफ पैमाने नहीं अपना सकते । फारेन पालिसी के साथ में इस बात का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे रूलिंग पार्टी के कुछ सदस्यों ने बार-बार यहां जिक्र किया है, अपोजीशन

[अब्दुल रहमान शेक]

पार्टियों पर उन्होंने इल्जाम लगाया। मैं हैरान हूं। जम्हूरियत्त में एक उसूल है कि अपोजीशन पार्टीज का इसके सिवाय कोई काम नहीं है कि वह सरकार की गलतियों को बोले। उसका आधार क्या है टु क्रिटिसाइज एण्ड गवर्न दि गवर्नमेंट। गवर्नमेंट की गलतियों को दिखाना और उसको सही रास्ता बताना और उस पर अमल करना सरकार का काम है ; अपोजीशन टु स्पीक एण्ड रूलिंग पार्टी टु गवर्न। आपको सरकार चलाना है, हमको बोलना है आपकी गलतियों को। लेकिन हर बात पर अपोजीशन को जिम्मेदार ठहराना ठीक नहीं। अगर सूखा पड़े तो अपोजीशन जिम्मेदार है, अगर कहीं फ्लड आ जाय तो उसके लिए अपोजीशन जिम्मेदार है। सरकार को अपनी जिम्मेदारियों से बचने के लिए यह आसान तरीका है लेकिन यह ठीक नहीं है। और हम मिलकर बैठ कर बात करते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि यह कानक्लेव क्यों है और उन्हें बड़ी तकलीफ होती है। अगर हम आपस में बैठते हैं, सलाह मशविरा करते हैं तो उससे आप को खतरा पैदा हो जाता है। आपको तो केवल यह देखना है कि कोई एंटी-नेशनल काम तो नहीं कर रहे हैं। लेकिन जब हम किसी पार्टी के साथ बैठ कर बात करते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि ये रीजनल पार्टियां हैं जो कि खतरनाक हैं। रीजनल और कम्युनल पार्टियां जब तक कांग्रेस (आई) का समर्थन करें तब तक तो अच्छी हैं लेकिन जब अपोजीशन वाले उन पार्टियों से बात करें तो वे खतरनाक हो जाती हैं और मुल्क पर खतरा आ जाता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि अकाली दल के साथ पंजाब में सरकार बनाने के लिए पेश्तर कांग्रेस (आई) से बातचीत नहीं की थी? वह दूसरी बात है कि वह सरकार नहीं बनी मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि डी० एम० के० के साथ मिलकर एलेक्शन समझौता कांग्रेस (आई) का नहीं हुआ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि केरल में मुस्लिम लीग के साथ मिल कर कांग्रेस ने सरकार नहीं बनाई? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज फारुख अब्दुला का नाम बार-बार लिया जाता है आज क्योंकि वह नेशनल कान्फ्रेन्स में है। लेकिन जब कांग्रेस ने 1974-75 में अकार्ड करके फरवरी, 1975 में शेख मुहम्मद अब्दुल्ला 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 दी। यह एक नया तजुर्बा काश्मीर के अन्दर किया गया। वहां पर कांग्रेस की अक्सरियत थी, कांग्रेस की मजारिटी थी और नेशनल कान्फ्रेन्स का एक भी एम० एल० ए० नहीं था, काश्मीर असेम्बली में, मैं उस असेम्बली का मेम्बर रहा हूं, नेशनल कान्फ्रेंस का एक भी मेम्बर नहीं था, वहां पर शेख अब्दुल्ला एम० एल० ए० नहीं थे मिर्जा अफजल बेग एम० एल० ए० एम० एम० मरगू एम० एल० ए० नहीं थे, डी० डी० ठाकुर एम० एल० ए० नहीं थे और उनको ताज पहनाया कांग्रेस की सरकार ने अकार्ड के नाम पर लेकिन आज अगर फारुख अब्दुल्ला के साथ आपका अलायेंस नहीं है, आज आपकी दोस्ती उनके साथ नहीं है तो फिर वह जमायत खतरनाक हो जाती है। कांग्रेस के साथ शिव सैना का गठजोड़ हो तो बहुत अच्छी बात है और दूसरी पार्टी के साथ अगर वही तब करे तो फिरकापरस्त हो जाता है। आपने जो डी० एम० के० पार्टी के साथ अकाली दल के साथ, मुस्लिम लीग के साथ, रायशुमारी महाज के साथ गठजोड़ किया तो आप फिर भी सेकुलर हैं लेकिन जब वह पार्टियां अपोजीशन के साथ बैठ कर किसी कनक्लेव में बात करें तो देश को बहुत खतरा हो जाता है। आप फिर कहते हैं कि

रीजनल पार्टियां और कम्युनल पार्टियां देश की एकता के लिए खतरनाक हैं । कहा जाता है कि फारुख अब्दुल्ला का काश्मीर लिबरेशन फ्रन्ट से ताल्लुक है। जब आपको यह मालूम था तो आपने उस पार्टी को वहां पर सरकार क्यों सौंपी थी । आप शेख साहब के वफात के बाद क्या केयर टेकर चीफ-मिनिस्टर फारुख अबदुल्ला साहब को बनाया? आपने इसके बाद कोशिश की कि उसके साथ समझौता हो जाए लेकिन समझौता नहीं हुआ तो आप बदल गए । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह काश्मीर लिब्रेशन फ्रंट के जो चेयरमैन हैं जो कि लंदन में हैं जिनका नाम अमानुल्ला खान है वह 1974 में काश्मीर आए और काश्मीर में उन्होंने लाल चौक में हिस्टोरिकल भाषण किया और उन्होंने काश्मीर के इण्डिया के साथ एक्सेशन को चैलेंज किया और कहा कि हम इसको नहीं मानते हैं लेकिन मैं दरयाफ्त करना चाहता हूं कि उसको ऐसा किसने दिया ? उस वक्त सेंटर में भी कांग्रेस सरकार थी 1974 में और काश्मीर में भी मेरे दोस्त मीर कासिम साहब कांग्रेस के ही चीफ मिनिस्टर थे । जब अमानुल्ला खान जिसकी चर्चा आज इंटरनेशनल लेवल पर हो रही है जिसकी चर्चा म्हात्रे मर्डर केस में हो रही है, जिस अमानुल्ला खान काश्मीर के लाल चौक में हिन्दुस्तान की पोलिटिकल और कांस्टीट्यूशन सावरेंटी को चैलेंज किया और कहा कि काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का अंग नहीं तब कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट को तकलीफ नहीं होती और जब फारुख अब्दुल्ला साहब यह कहते हैं कि कन्याकुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक एक मुल्क है और हम मुल्क की मेनस्ट्रीम में आना चाहते हैं तो आज वह बुरा है, गद्दार हो गया है । इसलिए कि आपको वहां पावर चाहिए और वह वह देते नहीं । यह डबल यार्ड स्टिक नहीं चलेगी डबल स्टेंडर्ड नहीं चलेगा । रूलिंग पार्टी को अपनी गलतियों के लिए उसूलपरस्ती फरकादिली से आगे आकर अपनी गलतियों को मानना चाहिए । बहादुरी तो इसी में है कि अपनी गलतीयों को तस्लीम किया जाए और दूसरों की गलतियां बताएं । अपनी गलतियों पर पर्दा डालने के लिए इस तरीके से अपोप्रेशर, जीशद पार्टीज को मैं लाइन करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि रूलिंग पार्टी की तरफ से कोई पैंथर नहीं हो रहा है । आज अपनी नाकामियों पर पर्दा डालने के लिए जंग का हौवा दिया कि मुल्क बहुत खतरे में है, खतरे में होगा जब आप कहते हैं तो हम मान लेते हैं क्योंकि आप सरकार हैं, मैं पूछता हूं इसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन है..?

†[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ : جناب وائس چیئرمین صاحب میں اس سے پہلے ذکر کر رہا تھا کہ اکانومیکلی ہمارا ملک کس دور سے گزر رہا ہے جہاں سب سے زیادہ کیجولٹیز لا علاج بیماری کے بنا لوگ ہوں - گرمی سردی میں لوگوں کی موتیں ہوں اور دوسری طرف ایشیاڈ جیسی شاہانہ فضول خرچی ہوتی رہے اور ملک کے اندر اتنی ڈسپیریٹیز آ جائے کہ ایک طرف مٹھی بھر امیر طبقہ عیش و آرام کی زندگی جیئے اور دوسری طرف عام آدمی اپنی زندگی فاقہ کشی سے بچانے کے لئے مجبور ہو اس کے لئے گورنمنٹ کو کوئی کریڈٹ نہیں دی جا سکتی - لیکن حسب دستور رولنگ پارٹی کے لوگ کانگریس آئی کے ہمارے دوست اپوزیشن پارٹی اس کے لئے ذمہ دار ٹھہراتے ہیں میں بڑے ادب سے یہ دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ۳۵-۳۶ سال کی آزادی

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†Transliteration in Arabic script.

[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ]

کے بعد دو تہائی سال کا وقت نکال کر باقی کانگریس آئی نے ہی دیش میں حکومت کی ہے - آخر ۳۵ سال کے بعد بھی وہ ملک اس حالت کے اندر ہے تو اسکے لئے کانگریس آئی کے علاوہ کوئی دوسرا ذمہ دار نہیں ٹھہرایا جا سکتا - تو میں ذکر کر رہا تھا کہ لا اینڈ آرڈر کی جس ملک کے اندر یہ حالت ہو ہر سال ہزاروں لوگ فرقہ وارانہ فسادات سے مارے جائیں - ہریجن اور ویکر سیکشانس کے گاؤں کے گاؤں جلا دیئے جائیں جہاں ریپ اور مرڈر روز معمول کا کام بن جائیں اور جہاں ڈکیتی اور اس طرح کے واقعات راجدھانی میں ہوتے جائیں تو ایسی سرکار کو یہ حق نہیں حاصل ہے کہ وہ اپنے کو قابل بتائے کہ وہ لا اینڈ آرڈر کو کنٹرول کرتی ہے - وہ اینفیشینس سرکار ہے یہ سرٹیفیکٹ اسے نہیں دیا جا سکتا -

جناب آسام کے اندر ہزاروں لوگوں کے قتل عام کے بعد پنجاب اور ہریانہ کی حالت جو دو تین دن سے اس ہاؤس میں بحث کا موضوع بن رہی ہے - اسکے بارے میں کون ذمہ دار ہے پنجاب کے بیک گراؤنڈ میں زیادہ نہ جاتے ہوئے میں شاہ کمیشن کے فیصلہ کا ذکر کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ سنت فتح سنگھ کی سیلف امولیشن کی دھمکی کے بعد جب پنجاب اور ہریانہ بٹنے کا فیصلہ ہوا تو شاہ کمیشن بٹھایا گیا جسٹس شاہ ہمارے دیش کے ایک نامور جوڈیشیل ہیں نہ وہ پنجاب کے تھے نہ ہریانہ کے - نہ ہماچل کے تھے - انہوں نے جو ایوارڈ دیا جسکے تحت کورٹ ڈسٹرکٹ اور چنڈی گڑھ ہریانہ کو دیا گیا - اسکو کس نے بدلا - جو کمیشن کا ایوارڈ تھا اسکو ان - ٹو ٹو ایکسپٹ کیا جاتا تو یہ آف شاٹس نہیں نکلتے اور معاملہ وہیں ختم ہو جاتا - لیکن جب پردھان منتری جی بیچ میں آئیں انکو بیچ میں میڈیئٹر مقرر کیا گیا - اگر کسی ملک کے لیڈر کسی مسئلہ کو حل کرنے کیلئے میڈیئٹر بنتا ہے تو ہم اسکو ایپریشیئٹ کرتے ہیں - لیکن ابوہر اور فاضلکا ہریانہ کو اور چنڈی گڑھ پنجاب کو دینے کا جب فیصلہ کیا گیا تو اسے امپلیمنٹ کیوں نہیں کیا گیا اسکو دس سال تک لٹکایا گیا - اس سے جتنا بھی بلنڈ کریٹ ہوا - جس سے یہ زہر پھیلا اسکے لئے کون ذمہ دار ہے - پہلے تو شاہ کمیشن کے ایوارڈ کو مانا جانا چاہئے تھا اس میں کسی قسم کی چینج نہیں کرنی چاہئے تھی کیونکہ اس سے نیا پھیلاؤ پیدا ہو گیا - لیکن اسکو بدلنے کے لئے پرائم منسٹر نے میڈیئیٹ کیا اسمیں ایڈیشنل ایلڈ ایگریمنٹس کیں تو ابوہر اور فاضلکا ہریانہ کو اور

طریقے سے تو ہوا نہ [illegible] اپنا کرنے لگے - اکالیوں کو ایک بہانہ مل گیا تھا اس لئے وہ بات چیت سے ہٹ کر آندولن کی راہ پر چلے گئے - اگر کسی معاملہ میں محض اسلئے دیری کرتی ہے کہ اکالیوں کو کریڈٹ نہیں دینا ہے اسلئے کہ ہم نے اپوزیشن پارٹیوں کو کریڈٹ نہیں دینا ہے - اور سارا کریڈٹ اپنے آپ لینا ہے تو یہ طریقہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے - جو بات وہاں ہو رہی ہے جو فورم ہو رہا ہے اس فورم کو وہاں نپٹانا چاہئیے نہ کہ اسکو سڑک پر نپٹانے کیلئے چھوڑ دیا جائے - میں اکالیوں کے ہر ایکشن کو پسند نہیں کرتا - کچھ غلطیاں رولنگ پارٹی کی طرف سے ہوئی ہیں اس ذمہ داری سے پردھان منتری اسکی پارٹی اور اسکی سرکار بچ نہیں سکتی - ہریانہ میں جو کچھ ہوا یہ کہا گیا کہ ری ایکشن تھا - یقیناً ری ایکشن تھا لیکن اسکو سہارا ملا اس سرکار کی طرف سے - ہریانہ کے چیف منسٹر شری بھجن لعل نے جو اسٹیٹمنٹ دی تھی اسمیں معاملہ کو بھڑکانے کی کوشش کی گئی - نتیجہ ہمارے سامنے ہے - وہ آگ دلی تک پہنچ رہی ہے -

کانسٹی ٹیوشن برننگ کا معاملہ آگیا - جسکی ساری پارٹیوں نے

چنڈیگڑھ پنجاب کو دیا جانا چاہئے تھا - لیکن اس کو لٹکا کر رکھا - میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ سیاسی طور پر فائدہ اٹھانے کے لئے کیا گیا اور اس کا نتیجہ ہمارے سامنے ہے - پنجاب کے اندر ابھی تینوں ہوئے تینوں پارٹیوں کے — اپوزیشن - گورنمنٹ اور اکالی دل کے بیچ بات چیت شروع ہوئی - بہت اچھا ماحول تھا بات چیت کے سمے - لیکن اس کو کس نے تارپیڈو کیا - ایک طرف ہم میز پر بات چیت کر رہے ہیں — اکالیوں کی ڈیمانڈس نہیں پارلیمنٹ کی کاروائی کا پرسارن ہو - یہ وہاں ٹیبل پر سمجھوتے کے انوسار ایگریمنٹ ہونا چاہئیے تھا نہ کہ گردوارہ بنگلہ صاحب میں جا کر اپنے سیاسی سکھ دوستوں کو اکٹھا کر کے- ایسے اکالیوں کو موقعہ دیا گیا - اکالیوں کو سائیڈ ٹریک کرنے کیلئے آئی سولیٹ کرنے کیلئے یہ ایک بھدی کوشش تھی - ایک جگہ بات چیت ہو رہی ہے اور معاملہ اس بات چیت میں حل نہیں ہوتا اور سڑک پر حل کیا جاتا ہے - اگر اکالیوں کی یہ بھی ڈیمانڈ تھی کہ سینٹرل اسٹیٹس ریلیشنس پر بحث ہونی چاہئے اسٹیٹ کو زیادہ اختیار ملنے چاہئیں- اس کیلئے کوئی کمیشن بنانے کی بات تھی تو ٹیبل پر ایگریمنٹ ہونا تھا ایسے سمے پر اکالیوں کو اپنا ایجی ٹیشن واپس لینا چاہئیے تھا

[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ]

ندا کی ہے - لیکن ان حالات کو پیدا کرنے کی ذمہ داری رولنگ پارٹی پر ہے - میں فارن پولیسی کی بات لیتا ہوں یہ فارن پولیسی کسی ملک کی بنیادی چیز ہے - فارن پالیسی کا تعلق ڈیفنس سے ہے اکانومی سے ہے - فارن پالیسی ایک ایسی چیز ہے کہ آپکے دنیا میں زیادہ مترا دیش ہیں آپکی مدد کرنے والے دیش ہیں تو آپ اس حساب سے اپنے ڈیفنس کے خرچہ میں کمی کر سکتے ہیں اور اس پیسے کو اس روپیہ کو غریبی ہٹانے کے کام میں خرچ کر سکتے ہیں اور اگر پالیسی ایسی بنائی جائے کہ آپس میں ٹکراؤ ہو تو دشمن تو کیا سگے بھائی ہم سے دور بھاگ جائینگے - کوئی امریکہ سے ایف - ۱۶ لے رہا ہے تو اسکا مقابلہ ہمکو میراج خرید کر کرنا پڑیگا - ہمکو جگوار خرید کر کرنا پڑیگا - اس کے لئے ہمکو الگ سے پیسہ رکھنا پڑیگا - اسکا بوجھ کس پر پڑیگا - کیا آپکو پتہ ہے - اسکا بوجھ ملک پر پڑیگا - اس لئے یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ جنتا کی ناکامیاب پالیسی فارن کی یہاں پر ہے اتنی ناکامیاب فارن پالیسی کہیں پر نہیں ہے - اس ملک کی جنتا پارٹی کے دو تہائی سال کے راج میں ہمارے پڑوسیوں کے ساتھ تعلقات اچھے ہو گئے تھے - افغانستان پاکستان کے ساتھ تعلقات اچھے ہو گئے تھے - بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ تعلقات اچھے ہو گئے تھے - شری لنکا کے ساتھ تعلقات اچھے ہو گئے تھے - نیپال کے ساتھ تعلقات سدھر گئے تھے - چین سے بھی سدھارنے کی شروعات ہم نے کی تھی - لیکن ۱۹۸۰ میں گورنمنٹ بدلنے کے بعد جب آپکی بڑی کامیاب گورنمنٹ آئی تو ان چار سال کے اندر نیپال سے ہمارے تعلقات خراب ہوئے - چین سے تو کوئی سوال ہی نہیں ہماری شری لنکا سے تناتنی - تناتنی ہے - بنگلہ دیش سے جھگڑا ہے - پاکستان سے جھگڑا ہے یعنی ملک کو چاروں طرف سے دشمنوں کے بیچ لاکر کھڑا کر دیا ہے - اگر آپ اسکو کامیاب فارن پالیسی کہتے ہیں تو میں کیا کہہ سکتا ہوں - میں اس سے اتفاق نہیں کرتا - ہمارے کانگریس کے دوست یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ ہماری پردھان منتری نان الائنڈ ملکوں کی چیئر پرسن ہو گئی ہیں میں یہ جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا یہ ساری دنیا میں الیکشن جیتنے کے بعد بنی ہیں - یہ تو ایک روایت ہے کہ جو ہوسٹ ملک ہوگا - جو خرچہ برداشت کریگا وہ تین سال کیلئے ہوگا - فیڈل کاسترو کیوبا کے رہ سکتے ہیں - صدام حسین عراق کے رہ سکتے ہیں - اگر انور سادات مصر کے اور جورڈن کے شاہ حسین رہ سکتے ہیں تین سال تک تو یہ

تو اتنا بڑا ملک ہے - ہوسٹ ہونے کے واسطے سے ان کو چیئرپرسن کی کرسی ملی - اسکے بارے میں ساری دنیا میں بتایا جاتا ہے کہ یہ ہماری کامیابی ہے - یہ تو ایک کنونشن ہے - اس کنونشن کے مطابق اگر ہمارا سیکڑوں - کروڑوں روپیہ نان الائنڈ کانفرنس پر خرچ ہوا اور اسکے بدلے میں چیئر پرسن کی کرسی مل گئی تو کوئی کامیاب پالیسی نہیں کہا جا سکتا - یہ تو خود اپنے منہ میاں مٹھو بننے والی بات ہے - اگر یہ چیئرپرسن کا الیکشن دنیا بھر میں ہوتا اور اس سے وہ بنتیں تو میں کریڈٹ دیتا لیکن روایتاً چیئرپرسن بن کر اپنی نان پالیسی کی کامیابی بتانا یہ دنیا کی آنکھوں میں دھول جھونکنا ہے دیش کے لوگوں کی آنکھوں میں دھول جھونکنا ہے - چیئرپرسن ہماری نان پالیسی کی کامیابی ہے میں اس سے اتفاق نہیں کرتا - میں نے جیسا ذکر کیا اس سے بھی چھوٹے دیش چیئرمین ہیں - یہ کوئی بڑی کامیابی کی بات نہیں ہے - آج ہمارے تعلقات پڑوسی ملکوں سے بہتر ہو جاتے ہیں - آج ہمارے تعلقات دنیا کے اندر زیادہ ملکوں سے بہتر ہو جاتے ہیں تو ہم کو کئی صورتوں میں اقتصادی بوجھ برداشت نہیں کرنا پڑتا اور آج ہم ایسی حالت میں نہیں ہوتے - آج نان الائنڈ کی جو پالیسی ہے تقریباً ہر پارٹیاں اس کی حمایت کرتی ہیں - ہماری پارٹی بھی غیر جانبدار پالیسی کی حمایت کرتی ہے - لیکن کیا جینوئن نان الائنڈ پالیسی پر عمل ہو رہا ہے - جہاں ہم ایک طرف اس بات کی حمایت کرتے ہیں ڈیاگو گارشیا میں امریکی اڈے ہٹائے جائیں - جہاں ہم ایک طرف اس بات کی حمایت کرتے ہیں کہ ہند مہا ساگر کو پیس آف زون بنایا جائے لیکن دوسری طرف افغانستان کے بارے میں ہماری سرکار کیا کہتی ہے جہاں کہ ایک لاکھ روسی فوجیں افغانستان کی آزادی کا گلا گھونٹ کر بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں - جب جب اس معاملہ میں بحث ہوتی ہے تو روس کا نام لئے بنا کبھی گول مول ڈھنگ سے پردھان منتری کہتی ہیں کہ ہم تو چاہتے ہیں کہ کوئی کسی کی مداخلت نہ کرے - ہم مداخلت کے خلاف ہیں - لیکن روس کا نام لینے میں کیا شرم آتی ہے - امریکہ ہو یا روس دونوں سپر پاور اگر کوئی غلط کام کریں تو ان کی نشاندہی کرنی چاہئیے تبھی ہم کو ساری دنیا میں صحیح نان الائنڈ مانا جائے گا - کمپوچیہ کے بارے میں ہماری پالیسی کیا ہے - وہاں سوا لاکھ فوج موجود ہوتے ہوئے ہم ہنگ سمرین کی سرکار کو سمرتھن نہیں دیتے ہیں - ہمیں نہیں معلوم کہ وہاں کون سرکار ہے کمیونسٹ سرکار ہے یا وہاں کے لوگوں کی سرکار ہے -

[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ]

یہ ان لوگوں کو فیصلہ کرنا ہے - وہاں دیش کے ایک حصہ میں سیہانک سمرتھک سرکار ہے وہ وہاں کنٹرول کرتی ہے - لیکن وہاں وہ فارمولہ ایڈوپٹ نہیں کیا - ہم افغانستان اور کمبوڈیہ پر ایک پارٹی اسٹیک رکھیں اور باقی دیشوں پر دوسرا پارٹی اسٹیک رکھیں تو یہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے - ہمیں صحیح معنی میں نان الائنڈ ہونا چاہئے - ہماری صحیح معنی میں غیر جانبدار پالیسی ہونی چاہئے - اس کیلئے ہم دو مختلف پیمانے نہیں اپنا سکتے - فارن پالیسی کے ساتھ میں اس بات کا ذکر کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے رولنگ پارٹی کے کچھ سدسیوں نے بار بار یہاں ذکر کیا ہے کہ اپوزیشن پارٹیوں پر انہوں نے الزام لگایا - میں حیران ہوں - جمہوریت میں ایک اصول ہے کہ اپوزیشن پارٹیز کا اسکے سوائے کوئی کام نہیں ہے کہ وہ سرکار کی غلطیوں کو بولے - اسکا آدھار کیا ہے کہ .... "ٹو کریٹی سائز اینڈ کورپٹ دی گورنمنٹ" .... گورنمنٹ کی غلطیوں کو دکھانا اور اسکو صحیح راستہ بتانا اور اس پر عمل کرنا سرکار کا کام ہے - اپوزیشن تو اسپیک اینڈ رولنگ پارٹی ٹو گورن - آپ کو سرکار چلانا ہے - ہمکو بولنا ہے آپکی غلطیوں کو - لیکن

ہر بات پر اپوزیشن کو ذمہ دار ٹھہرانا ٹھیک نہیں - اگر سوکھا پڑے تو اپوزیشن ذمہ دار ہے - اگر کہیں فلڈ آ جائے تو اسکے لئے اپوزیشن ذمہ دار ہے - سرکار کو اپنی ذمہ داریوں سے بچنے کیلئے یہ آسان طریقہ ہے - لیکن یہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے - اگر ہم مل بیٹھکر بات کرتے ہیں تو کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ کانکلیو ہے اور انہیں بڑی تکلیف ہوتی ہے - اگر ہم آپس میں بیٹھتے ہیں - صلاح مشورہ کرتے ہیں تو اس سے آپکو خطرہ پیدا ہو جاتا ہے - آپکو تو کیول یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ کوئی اینٹی نیشنل کام تو نہیں کر رہے ہیں - لیکن جب ہم کسی پارٹی کے ساتھ بیٹھکر بات کرتے ہیں تو کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ ریجنل پارٹیاں ہیں جو کہ خطرناک ہیں - ریجنل اور کمیونل پارٹیاں جبتک کانگریس آئی کا سمرتھن کریں تب تک تو اچھی ہیں لیکن جب اپوزیشن والے ان پارٹیوں سے بات کریں تو وہ خطرناک ہو جاتی ہیں اور ملک پر خطرہ آ جاتا ہے - میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اکالی دل کے ساتھ پنجاب میں سرکار بنانے کیلئے پیشتر کانگریس آئی سے بات چیت نہیں کی تھی - وہ دوسری بات ہے کہ وہ سرکار نہیں بنی - میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ڈی - ایم - کے - کے ساتھ ملکر الیکشن سمجھوتہ کانگریس آئی

آپ کی دوستی ان کے ساتھ نہیں ہے
تو پھر وہ جماعت خطرناک ہو جاتی
ہے - کانگریس کے ساتھ ہمیشہ ہی کا
گٹھ جوڑ ہو تو بہت اچھی بات ہے
اور دوسری پارٹی کسی ساتھ اگر وہ بات
کرے تو فرقہ پرست ہو جاتی ہے -
آپ نے ڈی - ایم - کے - پارٹی کے
ساتھ - اکالی دل کے ساتھ - مسلم
لیگ کے ساتھ - رائے شماری کے ساتھ
گٹھ جوڑ کیا اور آپ پھر بھی سیکولر
ہیں - لیکن جب وہ پارٹیاں اپنی
اپوزیشن کے ساتھ بیٹھکر کسی کلکتے
میں بات کریں تو دیش کو بہت
خطرہ ہو جاتا ہے - آپ پھر کہتے
ہیں کہ ریجنل پارٹیاں اور کمیونل
پارٹیاں دیش کی ایکتا کیلئے خطرناک
ہیں - کہا جاتا ہے کہ فاروق عبداللہ
کا کشمیر لبریشن فرنٹ سے تعلق
ہے - جب آپ کو یہ معلوم تھا تو
آپ نے اس پارٹی کو کیوں سرکار
سونپی تھی - آپ نے شیخ صاحب
کی وفات کے بعد کیوں کیکر لیکر
چیف منسٹر فاروق عبداللہ صاحب
کو بنایا - آپ نے اسکے بعد کوشش
کی کہ انکے ساتھ سمجھوتہ ہو جائے
لیکن سمجھوتہ نہیں ہوا تو آپ بدل
گئے - میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ
یہ کشمیر لبریشن فرنٹ کے جو
چیئرمین ہیں جو کہ لندن میں
ہیں جن کا نام امان اللہ خاں ہے -
یہ ۱۹۷۳ میں کشمیر آئے اور کشمیر
میں انہوں نے لعل چوک میں

کا نہیں ہوا - میں پوچھنا چاہتا
ہوں کہ کیرل میں مسلم لیگ کے
ساتھ ملکر کانگریس نے سرکار نہیں
بنائی - میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں
کہ آج فاروق عبداللہ کو بار بار
کہا جاتا ہے - آج کیونکہ وہ نیشنل
کانفرنس میں ہیں - لیکن جب
کانگریس نے ۱۹۷۵-۷۳ میں اکارڈ کرکے
فروری ۱۹۷۵ میں شیخ محمد عبداللہ
کو ساتھ میں لیا اسوقت نیشنل
کانفرنس کا نام بھی نہیں تھا -
اسوقت اسکا نام پلے بسیٹ فرنٹ
رائے شماری محاذ تھا - جس نے
پہلے اکسیشن کو چیلنج کیا تھا
لیکن اسوقت وہ کانگریس کے ساتھ
ہو گئے اسلئے انکو سرکار دیدی یہ
ایک نیا تجربہ کشمیر کے اندر کیا
گیا وہاں پر کانگریس کی اکثریت
تھی - کانگریس کی میجورٹی تھی
اور نیشنل کانفرنس کا ایک بھی
ایم - ایل - اے - نہیں تھا کشمیر
اسمبلی میں - میں اس اسمبلی کا
ممبر رہا ہوں نیشنل کانفرنس کا ایک
بھی ممبر نہیں تھا - وہاں پر شیخ
عبداللہ ایم - ایل - اے - نہیں تھے -
مرزا افضل بیگ ایم - ایل - اے -
نہیں تھے صلم لوگو ایم - ایل - اے -
نہیں تھے - ڈی - ڈی - ٹھاکر ایم -
ایل - اے - نہیں تھے اور ان کو
تاج پہنایا کانگریس سرکار نے اکارڈ کے
نام پر - لیکن آج فاروق عبداللہ
کے ساتھ آپ کا الائنس نہیں ہے - آج

[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ]
ہسٹوریکل بھاشن کیا اور انہوں نے کشمیر کے انڈیا کے ساتھ ایکسیشن کو چیلنج کیا اور کہا کہ ہم اس کو نہیں مانتے ہیں لوگوں میں دریافت کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس کو ہوا کس نے دیا - اس وقت سینٹر میں بھی کانگریس سرکار تھی ۱۹۷۴ میں اور کشمیر میں بھی میرے دوست میر قاسم صاحب کانگریس کے ہی چیف منسٹر تھے جب امان اللہ خاں جسکی چرچہ آج انٹر نیشنل لیول پر ہو رہی ہے - جسکی چرچہ مہاترہ سرقہ کیس میں ہو رہی ہے - جسوقت یہ امان اللہ خاں نے کشمیر کے لعل چوک میں ہندوستان کے پولیٹیکل اور کانسٹی ٹیوشنل سوبریئنٹی کو چیلنج کیا اور کہا کہ کشمیر ہندوستان کا انگ نہیں تب کانگریس گورنمنٹ کو تکلیف نہیں ہوئی اور جب فاروق عبد اللہ صاحب یہ کہتے ہیں کہ کنیا کماری سے لیکر کشمیر تک ایک ملک ہے اور ہم ملک کی مین اسٹریم میں آنا چاہتے ہیں تو آج وہ برا ہو گیا ہے - اسلئے کہ آپکو وہاں پاور چاہئے اور وہ دیتے نہیں -

یہ ڈبل پارٹی اسٹک نہیں چلیگی - ڈبل اسٹینڈرڈ نہیں چلیگا - رولنگ پارٹی کو اپنی غلطیوں کیلئے اصول پرستی اور فراخدلی سے آگے آ اپنی غلطیوں کو ماننا چاہئے - بہادری تو اسی میں ہے کہ اپنی غلطیوں کو تسلیم کیا جائے اور دوسروں کی غلطیاں بتائیں اپنی غلطیوں پر پردہ ڈالنے کیلئے اسطریقہ سے اپوزیشن پارٹیز کو ملائن کرنے کی کوشش کرینگے تو میں یہ کہونگا کہ رولنگ پارٹی کے پاس کوئی پاور نہیں رہا ہے - آج اپنی ناکامیوں پر پردہ ڈالنے کیلئے جنگ کا ہوا دکھا دیا کہ ملک بہت خطرہ میں ہے - خطرہ میں ہوگا جب آپ کہتے ہیں تو ہم مان لیتے ہیں - کیونکہ آپ سرکار ہیں - میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ اسکے لئے ذمہ دار کون ہے -]

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप हैं।

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : आप लोग हैं जिनके पास साकार है। जब सरकार हमारे पास होगी तो जिम्मेदारी ओन करेंगे लेकिन आप को गलतियों को मानना चाहिये। कहीं कोई कांग्रेस के जनरल सेक्रेटरी उठते हैं वह कहते हैं कि नवम्बर में पाकिस्तान हमला करने वाला है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के सारे सिक्रेट जो हैं वह कांग्रेस के सेक्रेटरीज को दिये जाते हैं या कांग्रेस के सेक्रेटरी कोई पामिस्ट हो गए, जादूगर हो गये, तांत्रिक हो गये जो वह प्रिडिक्शन करते हैं कि पाकिस्तान नवम्बर में हमला करने वाला है। वह कौन बेवकूफ है जो तीन महीने पहले लीक आउट करेगा कि वह हमला करेगा। इस तरह से सिवाय इसके अपनी इकोनोमिकल फेलयर, अपनी फारेन पालिसी को फेलअर्ज और मुल्क में ला एंड आर्डर की फेलयर पर और मुल्क के अन्दर सत्यानाश करने के लिए 35 साल की जो रुलिंग पार्टी है वह अपने ऊपर जिम्मेदारी लेने के बजाय औरों पर जिम्मेदारी डालना चाहते हैं। मुल्क के गरीब अवाम को चुप कराने के लिए बैरुनी हमले का खतरा दिखा कर फिर एक बार अपनी पावर को मजबूत करना चाहते

हैं। इस एड्रेस के अन्दर जो पहली लाइन मैंने पढ़ी है उसके सिवाय इस सारे एड्रेस को फजूल तज़िबेग्रोकात, हाऊस का वक्त जाया करना और जनाबे राष्ट्रपति जैसे ग्रहदा जलीला को जबान से गवर्नमेंट इस तरह की बातें कहलवा कर इस ओहदे को मजाक का मौजू न बनाए और न इस हाउस को मज़ाक का मौजू बनाए। गवर्नमेन्ट को अपने एड्रेस के वक्त अपनी पुरानी कारकर्दगी के साथ आना चाहिए और कहां उसकी गलतियां रहीं यह बताना चाहिए और नये प्लान के साथ आना चाहिए तब हम इसको ईमानदारी कहेंगे तब हम कहेंगे कि यह मुल्क को चलाने के काबिल हैं। अगर आप इस में लोगों को धोखा देना चाहते हैं और आप गलत क़िस्म का हौवा खड़ा कर के मुल्क के आवाम को गुमराह करना चाहते हैं तो इस किस्म के एड्रेस की रवायत को तोड़ देना चाहिए। मैं इस तरह के ऐड्रेस को क़ाबिले तारीफ नहीं बल्कि क़ाबिले मुस्तरफ समझता हूं और इस तरह से मैं इसकी मुखालफत करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

†[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ : آپ لوگ ہیں جنکے پاس سوال ہے - جب سرکار ہمارے پاس ہوگی تو ہم ذمہ داری قبول کرینگے - لیکن آپکو اپنی غلطیوں کو ماننا چاہئے - کہیں کوئی کانگریس کے جنرل سیکریٹری اٹھتے ہیں وہ کہتے ہیں کہ نومبر میں پاکستان حملہ کرنے والا ہے - میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا ڈیفینس منسٹری کے سارے سیکریٹ جو ہیں وہ کانگریس کے سیکریٹریز کو دیئے جاتے ہیں یا کانگریس کے سیکریٹری کوئی پامسٹ ہو گئے - جادوگر ہو گئے - تانترک ہو گئے - جو یہ پریڈکشن کرتے ہیں کہ پاکستان نومبر میں حملہ کرنے والا ہے - وہ کون ایسٹرولوجر ہے جو تین مہینے پہلے لیک آؤٹ کریگا کہ وہ حملہ کریگا - اسطرح سے سوائے اسکے اپنی اکانومیکل فیلیورز - اپنی فارن پالیسی کی فیلیورس اور ملک میں لا اینڈ آرڈر کی فیلیورس پر ملک کے اندر ستوہ ناس کرنے کیلئے ۳۵ سال کی جو رولنگ پارٹی ہے وہ اپنے اوپر ذمہ داری لینے کے بجائے اوروں پر ذمہ داری ڈالنا چاہتے ہیں ملک کے غریب عوام کو چپ کرانے کیلئے بیرونی حملہ کا خطرہ دکھا کر پھر ایک بار اس کو پاور فل کرنا چاہتے ہیں - میں اس ایڈریس کے اندر جو پہلی لائن میں نے پڑھی ہے اسکے سوا اس سارے ایڈریس کو فضول - تضیع وقت - ہاؤس کا وقت ضایع کرنا اور جناب راشٹرپتی جیسے عہدہ جلیلہ کی زبان سے گورنمنٹ اس طرح کی باتیں کہلوا کر اس عہدہ کو مذاق کا موضوع نہ بنائے اور نہ اس ہاؤس کو مذاق کا موضوع بنائے - گورنمنٹ کو اپنے ایڈریس کے وقت اپنی پرانی کارکردگی کے ساتھ آنا چاہئے اور کہاں اس کی غلطیاں رہیں یہ بتانا چاہئے - اور نئے پلان ساتھ آنا چاہئے - تب ہم اس کو ایمانداری کہیں گے - تب ہم کہیں گے کہ یہ ملک کو چلانے کے قابل ہیں - اگر آپ اس میں لوگوں کو دھوکہ دینا چاہتے ہیں اور آپ

†Translation in Arabic script.

[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ

غلط قسم کا حوا کھڑا کر کے ملک کے عوام کو گمراہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو اس قسم کے ایڈریس کی روایت کو توڑ دینا چاہئے - میں اس طرح کے ایڈریس کو قابل تعریف نہیں بلکہ قابل مسترد سمجھتا ہوں اور اس طرح سے میں اس کی مخالفت کرتا ہوں - دھنیہ واد -]

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का मैं समर्थन करती हूं ।

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

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : इम्पोर्ट क्यों किया ..

†[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ : امپورٹ کیوں کیا -]

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : इम्पोर्ट क्यों किया ? इम्पोर्ट आपके रूस और अमेरिका भी करते हैं, जिस समय जरूरत होती है तो करना होता है और हम एक्सपोर्ट भी करते हैं दोनों ही करते हैं अन्न भी और शूगर भी तथा और कई चीजे करते हैं । तो खैर... (**व्यवधान**) मैंने किसी को टोका नहीं है, इसलिए मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारे विरोधी दलों के सदस्य भी इतनी मेहरबानी करेंगे ... (**व्यवधान**) ।

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

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : सबके जवाब मैं दे सकती हूं लेकिन वे धीरज के साथ सुनने की मेहरबानी करें । तो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अन्न के उत्पादन में हमारी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है । 1420 लाख मीट्रिक टन का इस वर्ष हमने रिकार्ड स्थापित किया है ये हमारी जो पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं हुई, हमारी जो हरित क्रांति हुई, इन सबके ही फलस्वरूप ये उपलब्धियां हमारी हुई हैं । किन्तु अगर विरोधी दल को यह दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है तो इसमें हम क्या कर सकते हैं । चश्मा अगर नहीं बदल सकते हैं तो हमारी लाचारी है । सिंचाई की क्षमता में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है । 23.4 लाख हेक्टर 82-83 में था, 23.7 लाख हेक्टर 83-84 में है । फसलों की किस्म का विस्तार हुआ है, तिलहनों और दलहनों की पैदावार बढ़ाई जा रही है, पहले तिलहन जो हमें ज्यादा बाहर से लाना पड़ता था उसमें अब बहुत कमी आई है । सूखी भूमि पर नई टेक्नालाजी द्वारा हमने 4246 लाख जल विभाजकों का पता लगाया है जिससे हमारे जिन प्रदेशों में जल की कमी थी वहां भी हम फसल की पैदावार को बढ़ा सकते हैं ।

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

† [ ] Translation in Arabic script.

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 टी० टैंक बनाने जा रहे हैं उसको देख कर हमारा सिर ऊंचा होता है। उसी तरह अभी कलकत्ता में अंडर-ग्राउंड रेलवे बन रही है, जब तक वहां जा कर मैंने देखा नहीं था मेरा ख्याल था और 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 कहीं भी जो अंडरग्राउंड 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।

औद्योगिक विकास दर 83-84 में 4-5 प्रतिशत होने की आशा है। राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन की विकास दर लगभग 6 से 7 प्रतिशत होने की आशा 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 वृद्धि हुई और आयातों का मूल्य तेल निर्यात छोड़ कर 2.5 प्रतिशत गिरा यह सारी उपलब्धियां क्या यह नहीं बताती हैं कि हमारी जो पंचवर्षीय योजना थी--बीच के तीन साल के दौरान को छोड़ कर--यह उनकी सफलता का द्योतक है।

हमारे जो टेक्सटाइल्ज हैं, हमारे जो इंजीनियरिंग टूल्स हैं, जो हम बाहर भेज रहे हैं, उनकी जो क्वालिटी है, वह जब भी आप बाहर जाएं, आपका सिर ऊंचा हो जाता है जब आप हर जगह उनकी प्रशंसा सुनते हैं। यह क्या हमारी उपलब्धि नहीं है ?

जिस देश में 35 साल पहले एक सूई नहीं बनती थी, जहां सड़के नहीं थीं, स्कूल शिक्षा के लिए नहीं थे। किसी प्रकार की प्रगति नहीं थी, आज 37 साल के अन्दर हम डेवेलपिंग 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 हूं अभी दस पंद्रह दिन पहले गांव में हो कर आई हूं। वहां हमारे जो 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम हैं उनकी जो सफलता हुई है, वह सफलता देख कर वहां के लोगों में नई जान आई 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 आज जो जनता है, उसको खाली भाषणों से आप गुमराह नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि कुछ भी नहीं हुआ 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 हुआ था, तब पंजाब की क्या हालत थी--आज पंजाब की औसतन आमदन इस देश में सब से ज्यादा हो गई है।

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

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

हमसे पहले एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि अकालियों का जो कुछ भी हो रहा है, उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहती हूं 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। फल 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, फिर 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 फ़रियाद लेकर, कोई न कोई झमेला लेकर वह खड़ी करते ही रहना, उनका काम है।

सब से बुरी बात जो उन्होंने अभी दो दिन पहले की है, बर्निंग आफ दी कंस्टीट्यूशन--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 आपने जो पीपुल्ज का जो सावरेनटी का राइट है, उसको खत्म किया है, उसको चेलेंज किया है।

इस तरह के अनादर का जो काम है, इसको यह राष्ट्र कभी भी नहीं भूलेगा और न क्षमा करेगा। प्रकाश सिंह बादल जो पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री रह चुके हैं, वह आकर बंगला साहब के सामने कंस्टीट्यूशन को जलायें, यह कोई बात हुई? उनके जैसा जिम्मेवार आदमी, जो सेंट्रल के बेनेट में जो लोग रह चुके हैं बरनाला वगैरह, वह चण्डीगढ़ में संविधान को जलायें।

श्री शान्ति त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उन्होंने कंस्टीट्यूशन की शपथ भी ली थी।

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : यह इतने जिम्मेदार लोग हैं--ऐसा किसलिए कि उन्हें कुर्सी मिले। किस लिए कि यह राष्ट्र जो प्रगति के पथ पर चल रहा है, उसमें रुकावट आए, उसके कदम धीमे हो जाएं। ... (व्यवधान)

मल्लिक जी, आपकी बात का जवाब मैं दूंगी, अभी पांच मिनट रुक जाइयेगा। भिंडरवाला और लोंगोवाल के विचारों में कोई सांम्यता नहीं है, लेकिन जहां पर डेस्ट्रक्टिव फोर्सेज को युनाइट होने की जरूरत होती है, तो वहां सब एक साथ मिल जाते हैं।

वरना लोंगोवाल के विचार अलग हैं, भिंडरवाला के विचार अलग हैं, उनके लोग अलग हैं, उनके लोग हैं लेकिन जब स्वार्थ की बात आती है तब सब इकट्ठे हो जाते हैं।

माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है कि कानक्लेव से रुलिंग पार्टी चिढ़ती है। बिलकुल नहीं चिढ़ती है क्योंकि रुलिंग पार्टी काम करती है। इनकी विरोधी दल का हाल यह है कि जंगल में आग लगी तो सांप भी थे, शेर भी थे, गीदड़ भी थे, सब एक साथ एक पेड़ के नीचे बैठ गए, जब आग खत्म हुई तो शेर और गीदड़ की लड़ाई हुई, सांप और 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 आपके अन्दर भय है कि आप कभी भी इस देश के शासन में वापस नहीं आ सकेंगे, इस लिए आप सब कानक्लेव बना रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े शहरों में घूमते-फिरते हैं डेस्ट्रक्टिव विचारधारा को रख कर कि किसी तरह इस देश की नीति को बिगाड़ा जाय, किसी तरह इस देश की उपलब्धियों को कम किया जाय, किसी तरह यह देश कमजोर हो और पाकिस्तान और अमरीका

देश के ऊपर खतरा पैदा कर सकें। क्यों अमरीक पाकिस्तान को इतने हथियार दे रहा है ? क्यों इतनी मिसाइल दे रहा है ?

आपने कहा कि जनता पार्टी का जब शासन था तो आपने इन सब से समझौता किया था। क्या समझौता किया था। उस समय भी हम हाउस में थे, कोई समझौता आपका नहीं था। आपकी कमजोरियां थी आपकी जी हजूरी थी। आपके अन्दर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की तरह वह ताकत नहीं थी जो बंगला देश की लड़ाई के समय प्रेशर टेक्टिक्स के सामने नही झुकी, निकसन ने दबाना चाहा तो हमारी प्रधान मंत्री नहीं दबीं और हमने देखा कि हमारा देश कितना मजबूत है, उनका सातवां बेड़ा भी हमें नहीं डरा सका।

यह जो सारा अराजकता, हिंसा का वातावरण फैला है यह कुछ अमेरिकी ग्रुप का पैदा किया हुआ है जो सेशेनिस्ट्स को उकसा रहे हैं।

श्री अब्दुल रहमान शेख : भिंडरवाला कांग्रेस की पैदावार नहीं है ?

†[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ : بھنڈراوالا کانگریس کی پیداوار نہیں ہے -]

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : जी नहीं, बिलकुल नहीं।

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

†[شری عبدالرحمن شیخ : پھر آپ کو علم نہیں ہے -]

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic script.

1764—9.

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : अन्दर ही अन्दर वह आप लोगों से राय लेते थे। (**व्यवधान**) इसलिए मैं आप लोगों से विनम्र निवेदन करूंगी कि हिन्दू और सिखों के बीच जो हिंसा का वातावरण पैदा किया जा रहा है उसको न पैदा करें क्योंकि इन्हीं सारी बातों के परिणामस्वरूप विभाजन हुआ इस देश का, इसलिए फिर से उस तरह के बीजारोपन न करें इस देश में।

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

आखिर कांस्टीट्यूशन के आर्टिकिल 25 में है क्या ? कौन 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 सी बुराई की बात कही गयी है। गुरु नानक ने क्या कहा, उनके गुरुग्रन्थ 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 लिखी मेनुस्क्रिप्ट मैंने देखी है। एक सरदार जी लखनऊ में लाए थे, मैंने खुद देखी है वह दुर्गा स्तुति। इस कांस्टीट्यूशन को जलाने के

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

पहले क्या आप अपने घर को आग लगा सकते हैं ? आप गुरु गोविन्द सिंह के नाम पर, गुरु नानक के नाम पर, गुरु तेग बहादुर 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 हिन्दुओं को बचाने के लिए उन्होंने कहा कि हम देश को नहीं काटेंगे, हम कृपाण रखेंगे । हम एक संतुलित जीवन व्यतीत करेंगे और इस तरह से उस धर्म की उत्पत्ति हुई और इसीलिए उसमें देवी देवताओं की सुन्दर से सुन्दर स्तुतियां है। उस में चंडीपाठ है और आज यह हो गया कि यह दो शब्द एक साथ लिख दिये गये हैं एक आर्टिकल में इस लिये हम संविधान को ही जला डालेंगे। क्या कहेंगे लोग ? दूसरे देशों के लोग क्या कहेंगे ? क्या आप ने कभी इस बात को सोचा है। क्या अकालियों ने कभी सोचा है कि हमारे बिहार के एक सुदूर गांव में नेपाल की तराई में एक सिख बर्फ 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 हिंदू मारे जा रहे हैं तो उस सिख भाई की रक्षा क्या वहां जा कर अकाली भाई करेंगे ? इस तरह की बातें क्यों हो रहीं हैं सारे देश में। हमें सिख भाइयों पर गर्व था। जब कभी देश पर मुसीबत आयी, जब कभी धर्म पर मुसीबत आयी हमारी रक्षा सिख भाइयों ने की है और आज उन्हीं सिख भाइयों का हिंदुओं से अलगाव किया जा रहा है । आज चन्द अकाली धार्मिक स्थानों में बैठ कर अपने पास हथियार जमा कर के अपना अलग झंडा उठाते हैं, अपना अलग 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 मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए सब कुछ किया जायेगा ? आप देखें कि अकालियों ने क्या किया है। मुझे तो कल बहुत खुशी हुई कि जब यहां विरोधी दल के चन्द भाइयों ने भी कहा कि यह गलत बात हुई है । आपको 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 पाकिस्तान में एफ-16 आ रहे हैं और अमरीका से दूसरे मिसाइल आ रहे हैं उस समय हमको तो मिल कर रहना चाहिए। मैं 1953 से 57 या 58 तक पंजाब में रही हूं। पार्टिशन के बाद बहुत से हिंदू और सिख पाकिस्तान से भाग कर आये थे और उन दोनों ने बहुत बहुत तकलीफें सही थीं। दोनों के घर जलाये गये थे, दोनों की मां बहिनों की बेइज्जती हुई थी। क्या आज वही 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 हों या दुर्गा शप्तशती का पाठ करने वाले हों, नहीं किया जाना चाहिए । पूजा स्थलों में हम जा कर अपना दुख बताते हैं, अपनी बीमारी बताते हैं, जिन के पास अन्न 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 और वहा से हिंसा का प्रचार किया जायें और लोगों पर गोलियां चलायी जाये। एक साधारण आदमी वहां पूजा करने जाता है और वह वापस अपनी बीवी बच्चों के पास नहीं पहुंच पाता। आज यह स्थिति हम ने पैदा कर दी है। ऐसी कल्पना उन लोगों को है। क्या है ? आज सभी को राष्ट्र के हित की बात सोचनी चाहिए। बंगला देश की लड़ाई के समय बाजपेयी

जी ने यहां एक भाषण दिया था और वह दिन मुझे याद है। आज भी देश पर वैसे ही संकट काल का समय है। जो हमारा आगे बढ़ा हुआ प्रदेश था आज वहां खतरे की घंटी बजी है। मैं तो आडवाणी जी से और अपने विरोधी दल के दूसरे नेताओं से निवेदन करूंगी कि पार्टी लाइन से ऊपर उठो क्योंकि अगर कुछ होता है तो औरतों को ही सब से ज्यादा सहना पड़ता है। उनके पति मरते हैं या उनका बेटा मरता है तो हमको ही सहना पड़ता है और लड़ाई होने पर तो हम को सब से ज्यादा सहना पड़ता है। हमारी बेइज्जती होती है तो वह भी हम को ही सहनी पड़ती है। हिंसा सब मिलकर रोकें। लाश पर कुर्सी के लिए खेल ठीक नहीं है।

देश की एकता और अखण्डता को बिगाड़ने के लिए कान्क्लैव की रचना क्यों की गई है? जम्मू काश्मीर में आपने क्या किया है, पंजाब और हरियाणा में जाकर क्या कर रहे हैं? सैंटर स्टेट रिलेशंस को बिगाड़ने के लिए क्या हो रहा है? इसलिए न कि आज जो डेवलपिंग 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 चेष्टा में हैं।

महोदय, नई दिल्ली में गुट निरपेक्ष देशों का सातवां सम्मेलन क्या महत्वपूर्ण नहीं हुआ? प्रधान मंत्री का रोल शांति और निरस्त्रीकरण तथा आर्थिक सहयोग को बढ़ावा देने की दिशा में क्या महत्वपूर्ण नहीं रहा? अगर कलेजे पर हाथ रखकर कहें तो अपोजिशन के लोग भी बाहर यही कहेंगे कि सचमुच में ऐसा नेता किसी देश में नहीं है। न्यूयार्क में संयुक्त 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 छिपा हुआ है? नवम्बर में राष्ट्रमंडल देशों के शासनाध्यक्षों की जो मीटिंग हुई और मेजबानी की भारत ने, जिसमें अधौगिक विकासशील देशों के साथ हर पहलू पर प्रधान मंत्री ने बातचीत की और समस्याओं के समाधान पर सोच-विचार किया, क्या वह कम महत्व की बात है? अमरीका और फ्रांस में भारत उत्सव की बातें हो रही हैं? एशियाड करके हमने जो गौरव प्राप्त किया खेलकूद को प्रोत्साहन देकर, ये सारी चीजें क्या कम महत्व की हैं? लेकिन इनमें रुकावट और रोड़ा डालना ही विरोधी दल का जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार हो गया है। (**समय की घंटी**)

आखीर में, मैं एक बात और कह देना चाहती हूं कि 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की सफलता के लिए नीचे से बी० डी० ओ० लेवल से टाप लैवल तक इंसेंटिव दिये जायें, इसके लिए मैं सरकार से विनम्रता पूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहती हूं। कल जैसे बजट में कहा गया कि जो भी प्रदेश अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को संतुलन में डालकर उसे ज्यादा सुदृढ़ बनाने की चेष्टा करेंगे तो उन्हें विशेष सुविधायें दी जाएंगी। ऐसे ही हमारे जो आफिसर चाहे वह बी० डी० ओ० हों या कलैक्टर, जो भी अपने-अपने क्षेत्र में और जिले में और गांव में 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अधिक सफल बनाते हैं तो उनको कुछ इंसेंटिव दिया जाए या उनको प्रमोशन दिया जायेगा, इस तरह की कोई न कोई सुविधा या फायदा उनको पहुंचाया जाए।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ में इस भाषण और धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Before I call Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram to speak, I have to tell the hon. Members that I have got a list 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 all of you can have a chance to speak.

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 destablising forces inside the country. To criticise about the economic policies, we will 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 destablisation, 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 statement 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 po-

licy should fail. But they will be disappointed. Our foreign policy is on very sound lines on a very strong foundation. India is strong enough to project that foreign policy vecause the whole world which stands for peace and progress and friendship of all the people is with us. So, it is not that easy to make the foreign policy fail. We have seen how the policy of genuine non-alignment and equi-distance between the two super powers failed within two and a half years. Again that voice need not be raised in this country and at least 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 would have been at the feet of America by this time. So, it is the policy of peace 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 destablishing the progressive Governments of those countries. Coming nearer to us, I 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 Resolution 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 Ocean.

Added to this, Sri Lanka is now

3 P.M. being sought to be made a base for the imperialists 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. Kalyanasundaram]

opportunity to Jayewardene Government to invite the imperialists directly to their soil. As a matter of fact, 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 House 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 Goverment, it was a tactical move. Nd settlement is in sight now even though six months have passed. Is 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 year 1984, their defence budget is 2.3 billion. Added to that, recommendations have gone 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 policy will ruin their independence. This is what the Government of those countries must realise. But the Governments there will not realise it; the people will 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 place. While we emphasise upon this danger, this danger is secretly and stealthily—penetrating 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 Asia. Such times 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 this country?

Examine your own party before you accuse the Opposition parties (*Interruption*) There are many people who are clinging to you, not believing in your policies. They will shift anywhere provided loaves of office or some benefit is given to them. What is happening inside your own party, in several States? I am not against your party blindly. My policy is not to blindly oppose the Congress (I) but to oppose what should be opposed. Your party is like this. Still, I feel, you are going to celebrate the centenary of the Indian National Congress. Even though many chips might have broken away and left the Indian Nationl 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 will not come.

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

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

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: That is the reason for 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 will 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.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Certainly, the right to vote should be there. But the right to live is more fundamental than the right to vote. 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 of 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 on which we are going to base ourselves. the working people and the peasantry and the middle-class, and the policy makers 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 forces to turn the masses against the policy itself, even against the accepted natio-

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

nal 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 us but they say that our internal policy is retrograde. Well, Madam, if you do not change the internal policy in a progressive direction, your foreign policy will 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 be properly understood. I need not learn from Congressmen what Lenin taught to us. I have my own method of learning Leninism. (*Interuptions*). They will not listen to us also. I do not want anybody to learn from us. (*Interruptions*). Let us have proper dialogue, discuss with us, understand what we say before criticising, before attacking us try to understand what we say. Do not expect us to 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. Of 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 the Congress Party. The General Secretary of the Congress Party, when he went there, was given such a high reception. See how sincere they are in building up the friendship between the two peoples and the two countries. For our country also the close friendship and help is necessary. But for that where will you be able to even project your budget as you read yesterday? Could your balance of 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 for our economic growth and also for our defence. For the defence they 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. I am sure they will go on pursuing this policy of close friendship with India.

Now before I conclude, I want to pay a word of tribute to our armed forces from this House. At this moment of 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. Our armed forces must be strengthened both politically and also in their living. The Budget has made certain proposals for 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 imperialists inside the country, we have withstood all those things in the 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 non-aligned policy which we are pursuing.

Thank you.

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे (महाराष्ट्र) : श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर बोलने और उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ी हुई हूं। संसद् का जो बजट अधिवेशन हो रहा है यह देश की अत्यन्त गम्भीर परिस्थितियों में हो रहा है। संसद् के इतिहास में पहली बार ही ऐसी विषम आन्तरिक परिस्थितियों में...

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

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

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

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

श्रीमन्, आज अकाली दल और भारतीय जनता पार्टी अलग-अलग खेमों में बैठ कर देश को गुमराह करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं अकाली दल संविधान की धारा 25 को संसद् भवन के सामने जलाने के लिए उत्सुक 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 ठुकरा दिया। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इन दलों ने 1977 से लेकर 1980 तक किस प्रकार मिल कर अपनी सरकार बनाई और किस प्रकार से उस सरकार में बने रहे। अभी तक समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि उस समय अकाली दल की मांगों का क्या हुआ था। उन पर विचार हुआ था या नहीं यह तो जनता पार्टी ही जाने।

श्रीमन्, देश आर्थिक विकास की ओर बढ़ रहा है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को सरकार और जनता ने बड़ी लगन के साथ लिया है और उसको इम्प्लीमेंट किया जा रहा है। सरकार के आसपास आप अगर देखें तो आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के सिवाय कुछ और नजर नहीं आता 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 उसको गेहूं 1 रुपया 50 पैसे किलो और चावल 1 रुपया 85 पैसे प्रति किलो दिया जायेगा। सरकारी खर्चे को कम करने के लिए प्रधान मंत्री ने सभी मंत्रालयों और विभागों को आदेश दिये हैं। जब ऐसे आर्थिक कार्यक्रम सफल होंगे तो विरोधी दल जनता का रुख दूसरे राजनीतिक विषयों की ओर खींचने की कोशिश करता है जो केवल देश में अव्यवस्था, अराजकता और असामाजिक तत्वों को बढ़ावा देने में मदद करता है। इस समय देश की एकता अत्यन्त भयानक खतरे में पड़ी हुई है और राष्ट्रीय एकता इतनी अनिवार्य है कि जितनी देश की सीमाओं को सुरक्षित रखना। इतिहास साक्षी है कि जब लोग आपस में लड़ते हैं तो विदेशी आक्रमण कर के आपसी फूट का लाभ उठा कर शासन करते हैं। हमें हमारे इतिहास से कुछ प्रेरणा लेनी चाहिए। इन देशद्रोही ताकतों का हमें जम कर मुकाबला करना चाहिए। इसके लिए केन्द्र का मजबूत होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। मैं अकाली भाइयों से कुछ पूछना चाहूंगी कि क्या इसी दिन के लिए गुरु अर्जुन देव और गुरु तेग बहादुर और गुरु गोविन्द सिंह और गुरु गोविन्द सिंह के दो मासूम बच्चों ने अपना बलिदान किया था? और इतना ही नहीं, आज पंजाब में जो आग लगी

[कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे]

है वह सारे विभागों में तो फैली ही है लेकिन हरियाणा में भी, वहां के शहरों तक वह आग फैल चुकी है । इन राज्यों के लोग अपने को विदेशी समझने लगे हैं । त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता के लिए जब एक परिस्थिति बन चुकी थी तो उस समय हिन्दू सुरक्षा समिति द्वारा आयोजित 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 आ पड़ते हैं । देश की जनता गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठने का प्रयास कर रही है । पिछले कुछ वर्षों में ग्रामीण विकास में अद्भुत प्रगति हो रही है परन्तु विश्व के कुछ देश भारत की प्रगति को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पाते और हमारे बारे में झूठा प्रचार करते हैं जैसे कि मैं सदन का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगी कि "डेली" नाम का एक पत्र जो बम्बई से प्रकाशित होता है उसके फरवरी 24, 1984 के अंक में जो कुछ छपा है उस ओर मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगी । हमारे देश के बारे में विदेश में किस तरीके का अप-प्रचार होता है उसे आप देखें । इसमें कहा गया है कि :—

"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 बातें गुमराह करने वाली विदेशों के टी वी में दिखाई जाती हैं इससे हमें क्या दिखलाई पड़ता है । इस से हमें यह दिखलाई पड़ता है कि हिन्दुस्तान 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 झूढे प्रचार से विदेशों में हम क्या देखते हैं कि एक तरफ तो विदेशों में यह झूठा प्रचार होता है और देश के लोग एक दूसरे के खून के प्यासे हो रहे है । ऐसी हालत में देश की एकता कब तक सुरक्षित रह सकती है । इसकी इज्जत और आबरू का उत्तरदायित्व हम और आप सब पर है और इस बात को अकाली दल, भारतीय जनता पार्टी, हिन्दू सुरक्षा समिति और दूसरे राजनीतिक दल सब अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं । श्रीमन्, विदेशों में भारत की शक्ति का सभी को आभास है और वे शक्तियां इस देश को शक्तिशाली और सम्पन्न नही देख सकती हैं । भारत विरोधी नीति को प्रोत्साहित किया जाता है । अब तो हमारे राजनयिकों पर भी आक्रमण होने लगा है ; बरमिंघम में हमारे राज नयिक रवीन्द्र मैत्रा की जो दर्दनाक हत्या कर दी गई है काश्मीर लिबरेशन फ्रंट द्वारा, तो यह संगठन इंग्लैण्ड और दूसरे कुछ देशों में काम कर रहा है भारत के खिलाफ। इंग्लैण्ड की पुलिस अपनी व्यवस्था के लिए प्रसिद्ध है परन्तु वहां पर मैत्रा के हत्यारे का पुलिस अभी तक पता नही लगा सकी है और वह किसी निष्कर्ष पर नही पहुंच सकी है । इससे साबित होता है कि इंग्लैंड के कुछ लोग भारत विरोधी तत्वों के साथ मिले हुए है, उनके साथ गठजोड़ किए है । कुछ देशों में खालिस्तान के नाम पर भारत विरोधी प्रचार किया जा रहा है । विरोधी शक्तियों और भारत विरोधी तत्वों और देश में घोर गरीबी और उग्रवादी आतंक, इन सब शक्तियों का हमें मिल कर मुकाबला करना चाहिए । यदि देश कमजोर होगा तो देश की एकता निश्चित ही खतरे में पड़ जाएगी । देश किसी भी विदेशी शक्ति का सामना करने के

लिए असमर्थ सिद्ध हो सकता है । ऐसी स्थिति में टोहड़ा, लौंगोवाल, बादल और तलवंडी क्या सिक्ख भाइयों और भारत की सुरक्षा कर सकेंगे ! मुझे इसमें संदेह नहीं है कि वे भी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि बागडोर उनके हाथ से निकल चुकी है और ऐसे तत्वों के हाथ में जा चुकी है जिनको संभालने में वे भी असमर्थ हैं। मैं इस अवसर पर मास्टर तारा सिंह और संत फतेह सिंह को प्रणाम करती हूं कि सरकार में मतभेद होते हुए भी उनके सशक्त लोकप्रिय नेतृत्व में पंजाब में कभी ऐसा वातावरण नहीं फैला । अकाली नेतृत्व को इन नेताओं से प्रेरणा लेनी चाहिए और इस आतंक को शीघ्रता से समाप्त करना चाहिए ।

श्रीमन्, मैं सदन का कुछ और बातों की तरफ ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगी । हमारे देश में कई ऐसे लोग हैं जो सिर्फ भारत को तोड़ने के लिए काम करते हैं जोडने का काम नहीं करते हैं । जोड़ने 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 आयोजन, 1983 में गुट निरपेक्ष सम्मेलन और 1984 में राष्ट्रमंडलीय देशों का सम्मेलन नई दिल्ली में हुआ । विदेशी प्रतिनिधियों ने स्वयं देखा है कि भारत में कितनी क्षमता है और शक्ति है कि इन महान सम्मेलनों को वह सम्पन्न कर सकता है । श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी गुटनिरपेक्ष देशों की चेयर-परसन घोषित की गईं । यह सम्मान इंदिरा गांधी को नहीं बल्कि सारे देश की जनता को प्राप्त हुआ है । यह कोई कम उपलब्धि नहीं है जिससे आप इंकार नहीं कर सकते ।

श्रीमन्, आर्थिक 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 अगस्त 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 हुआ है और वे ऐसे समय पर कान्क्लैव का गठन कर रहे हैं जिससे कि देश में तनाव, अशान्ति और अराजकता पैदा की जा सके। विरोधी शक्तियां और समाज विरोधी तत्व उससे फायदा उठा रहे हैं। 27 फरवरी को बंगला साहब गुरुद्वारे के पास संविधान को जलाया गया तो ऐसे अवसर पर विदेशी समाचार पत्रों के संवाददाता किस प्रकार उस प्रदर्शन को देखने के लिए टूट पड़े विदेशों में उसका किस प्रकार प्रदर्शन किया गया इसको आप अच्छी तरह से जान और समझ सकते हैं । इससे देश की एकता और विश्वास को किस प्रकार आघात पहुंचेगा और हमारा मनोबल किस प्रकार से कमजोर होगा इसको हमें और आपको याद रखना चाहिए और उसके लिए समुचित कदम उठाने चाहिए। प्रगति में इस प्रकार की बाधाएं जो होती रहती हैं उनसे अलग रहना चाहिए। प्रजातंत्र का मूल सिद्धांत सर्वदा कायम रखने के लिए हर राजनीतिक दल को सत्तारूढ़ कांग्रेस और उसकी सरकार और प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत करने चाहिए, उनको अटूट विश्वास देना चाहिए । यह प्रजातन्त्र के लिए हितकर ही नहीं होगा बल्कि अनिवार्य भी होगा ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर रखे गए धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूं।

श्री मोर्जा इर्शादबेग एयुबबेग (गुजरात) : मान्यवर, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर श्री भारद्वाज जी द्वारा आधार प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि चल सके ऐसी

[श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग एयुबबेग]

सरकार के लिए जनता ने जो आकांक्षाएं रखी थीं उसको इस सरकार ने अपने कार्य द्वारा सिद्ध किया, स्वावलम्बन, आत्मनिर्भरता और विकास की दिशा में अनेक अवरोधों एवं कठिनाइयों के बावजूद स्पष्टरूप से आगे कदम किया है। शासन की समय अवधि में उसको चरितार्थ करने का भरसक प्रयास किया है जिसका प्रतिबिम्ब राष्ट्रपति जी ने दिया है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में जो बातें कहीं हैं इससे बिलकुल साबित हो जाता है कि इस सरकार ने विकास की दिशा में क्या-क्या कदम लिये हैं। मैं विपक्षी दलों के मित्रों से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि क्या कृषि उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में 9 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि, सिचांई में 23.4 लाख हेक्टेयर की जो बढ़ोतरी हुई है, कोल और बिजली का उत्पादन, खनिज तेल जो 82-83 में 21.6 लाख टन से अब 260 लाख टन जाने को पहुंचा है, औद्योगिक विकास के क्षेत्र में विकास दर की मात्रा 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 और उसकी प्रगति के लिए, उसके विकास के लिए जो कदम सरकार ने लिये हैं क्या यह प्रगति का द्योतक नहीं है। राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन विकास को दर में 6 से 7 परसेंट की जो बढ़ोतरी हुई क्या यह गर्व दिलाने की बात नहीं है। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष के साथ एक्सटेंडेड फंड एंड फेसेलीटी के अधीन और अधिक धन न लगाने का निर्णय हमारी आत्मनिर्भरता की दिशा में क्या अभिनन्दनीय कदम नहीं है? इसके लिए मैं सरकार को अभिनन्दन देना चाहूंगा।

32 लाख शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के परिवारों तथा अन्य 60 लाख परिवारों को 2253 करोड़ रुपये की लागत से ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत जो सहायता दी और 600 करोड़ की रोजगार गारण्टी स्कीम तथा शिक्षित बेरोजगार ढ़ाई लाख युवकों की सहायता, युवकों के भविष्य को उज्जवल बनायेगी।

मैं याद दिलाना चाहूंगा कि हमारी पार्टी के महामंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी का नाम लिया जाता है मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारी पहली राजनीतिक पार्टी ऐसी है जिसने अपनी पार्टी से जोड़े हुए लाखों नवयुवकों को बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत, ग्रामीण विकास के जो कार्यक्रम दिये हैं उन कार्यक्रमों को क्रियान्वित करने के लिए लगाया है। पहली बार एक रचनात्मक ढ़ंग से राजनीतिक दल ने काम किया है।

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

आज देश में, विदेश में लन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में भी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के कार्यक्रमों 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 विपक्षी दलों के मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूं कि क्या हम इस बात को पीछे छोड़ देंगे कि हाल ही में जनसंख्या पुरस्कार यू०एन०ओ० ने

जो भारत को दिया है वह तभी हो सका है जब प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में इस सरकार ने इस देश को कार्यक्रम दिये हैं। भारद्वाज जी जब बात कर रहे थे तब यह कह रहे थे कि विपक्षी दलों ने इस पर वाक-आउट किया था। मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि यह एक इतिहास है। इस सदन की कार्यवाही के पन्ने उल्ट कर देखिये कि क्या आप सबने मिल कर समाजवाद को लाने के लिए कुछ किया ? आपने समाजवाद लाने के लिए कुछ नहीं किया। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं यह तो आपकी एक परंपरा रही है। यह तो आपका इतिहास रहा है। जब विदेश में किसी ने समाजवाद की बात कही है, उसके कार्यक्रमों को आगे ले जाने की बात कही है, आप उठाकर देख लीजिए कि लाखों परिवारों को करोड़ों रुपये की लागत से जो सहायता दी जाती है वह कौन से कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत दी जाती है।

बैंकों से ऋण दिया जाता है और उसी के आधार पर योजनाएं चलाई जाती हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि जरा पन्नों को उलटकर आप देखें कि जिस दिन प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने, यह सदन इस बात का गवाह है, बगल का सदन गवाह है कि जिस दिन बैंकों के नेशनलाइजेशन का यहां पर बिल लाया गया था, क्या उस वक्त आपने वाक-आउट नहीं किया था? क्या आपको समाजवाद में विश्वास था, क्या आप यहां बैठे थे, क्या आपने उस बिल को को समर्थन दिया था ? नहीं। नीति संबंधी गलत बातें चलाई जा रही हैं और इस देश को खंडित करने की बात की जा रही है और विदेशी ताकतों के साथ मिलकर इस देश में जो रचनात्मक कार्य आगे बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, उनको मिटाने का काम किया जा रहा है, साजिशें की जा रही हैं। पंजाब का मामला और असम का मामला ले लीजिए। किन शक्तियों के साथ मिलकर काम करने जा रहे हैं? और अलग-अलग देशम् की बात कहते हैं तो क्या आपको भारत देशम् 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 अच्छा शासन दे सके। दो साल के लिये एक शासन आया था। इस समय के आंकड़े देखे हैं, इस देश को कहां ले गये? इन्होंने क्या किया। इन्होंने धर्म के नाम पर इस देश को बांटने की कोशिश की। लेकिन धर्म के नाम पर जो देश बने हैं उन देशों की 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 धर्मएव नीति।

धर्म में यह भी कहा गया है कि:

उध्वानं ते पुरुष नावायनम्।

हमने ऊर्ध्व गति से देश को आगे उठाने के लिए प्रयास किया है। लेकिन क्या आपके ऐसे कार्यक्रम से हम आगे बढ़ पाते हैं, क्या इन बातों से देश आगे बढ़ 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। मैं विपक्षी दलों की कम से कम इस बात में सराहना करना चाहता हूं 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 हूं, जो धर्म की बात करते हैं क्या वह देश की एकता को बनाये रख सकते हैं। अगर कोई कर्मकांडी पुरुष मौजूद है तो मैं उससे पूछना चाहता हूं

[श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग एयुबबग]

कि क्या गंगाजल, जिसको पवित्र करने वाली बात किसी ने कही है कि गंगा जल की एक बूंद भी अगर दूसरे पानी में मिल जाए, मिला दिया जाए तो क्या गंगाजल शुद्ध रूप में रह सकता है? श्रीमन्, अगर ऐसा होता तो हर एक इंसान काशी और बनारस में जा कर एक बाल्टी पानी लेकर अपने घर के कुयें में डाल देता और वहां सब 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 आप कर रहे हैं। इस देश में साजिशें चल रही हैं और इस देश को तोड़ने की बात चल रही है। श्रीमन्, मैं आपके माध्यम से कह कहना चाहता हू कि अगर इस देश को आगे बढ़ाना 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 कुर्बान कर दी थी क्या उसकी कोई कीमत नही 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 लहू बह रहा है, उसको मिटाने के लिए कम से कम एक कार्यक्रम लेकर हम और आप मिल कर अपने मन में पक्ष-विपक्ष की बात छुपा कर और अपने मस्तिष्क को साफ रख कर आपस में बैठ कर उसका समाधान नहीं कर सकते? मैं इस सदन के सामने बड़ी दर्दपूर्ण आवाज में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर लाखों-करोड़ों की संख्या में ऐसे लोग हैं जो टेंशन में हैं, टेंशन में अपनी जिंदगी बसर कर रहे हैं। मैं विपक्षी दल के मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूं कि इस इश्यू पर, इस मासले पर हम राजनैतिक बातों को साथ न लायें और 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 आगे बढ़ाना है। देश बड़ी कठिनाइयों में से गुजर रहा है। इस देश की आजादी के लिए हजारों लोगों ने अपना लहू बहाया है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत मे अपने देश का मस्तक ऊंचा किया है। मैं तमाम बातों को आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं (**समय की घण्टी**)। हमने अखबारों में देखा है कि अमेरिका में आपके नुमाइन्दे वहां के राष्ट्रपति की बीवी के पैर पर चप्पल पहना रहे थे इंदिरा गांधी ने अपने देश का मस्तक ऊंचा किया है, इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में आई० एम० एफ० की बात उठी और इसके द्वारा उन्होंने लाखों गरीब परिवारों को ऊपर उठाया। वहां पर, बाहर के देशों में इंदिरा गांधी ने सदैव 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 हूं कि आज विश्व में सब से अधिक, यह देश आज अधिक शक्तिशाली और मजबूत देश है। आज अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में जब निरस्त्रीकरण की बात चलती है, विश्वशान्ति की बात चलती है तब अमरीका और रूस के साथ हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री को भी बुलाया जाता है, हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री का उस पर विश्वास लिया जाता है, क्या यह हमारे लिए, आपके लिए, गौरव की बात नहीं है? हमारे लिए यह गर्व की बात है कि आज देश का नेतृत्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी करती है। उनके हाथ में इस देश का भविष्य उज्जवल है और बहुत अच्छा है। यह देश के करोड़ों मानवों के लिए अच्छी बात है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं 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 आर्थिक-विद हैं कहा है कि जो बातें चल रही हैं विकास जिस गति से हो रहा है, यह बहुत अच्छी बात है । उन्हीं की तरह आप लोग भी खुले दिमाग से बात करिये । आप अपने दिमाग से राजनीति निकाल कर विकास को सामने रखें जो आंकड़ें बोलते हैं वह देखिए कि देश ने आज क्या आर्थिक प्रगति की है ? कई खराबियां हैं । कुछ सूत्रों को आप बना लीजिए और कहिए कि इस सूत्र के लिए हम आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं और इस देश को समर्थन तथा विकास देना चाहते है । मैं आखिर मे इतनी बात कह कर समाप्त करना चाहता हूं कि आइये कुछ समय के लिए हम मतभेदों को भूल जाएं और देश के विकास के लिए, एकता के लिए कार्य करें । जिस दिन जनमत होगा देश की जनता कहेगी कि किन को शासन में लाना है और किन को नहीं लाना है । आज तक देश की करोड़ों जनता ने कहा कि कांग्रेस को शासन चाहिए, इन्दिरा जी को प्रधान मंत्री का पद देना चाहिए । इस वजह से यह शासन चल रहा है । जब समय आएगा तब जनता फिर यह बात कह देगी । आखीर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं:

काक: कृष्ण: पिक: कृष्ण: को भेद पिककाकयो,
पिक: काकाद् न भिद्यते न वदेत् मधुरं यदि ।

अरे भाई कौआ भी काला है और कोयल भी काली है लेकिन भेद कैसे समझ में आए ? (**व्यवधान**। कौन कौआ है कौन कोयल है (**व्यवधान**) जब इलैक्शन आएगा तब मालूम होगा । इसी बात पर मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त करता हूं ।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman the President while expressing concern over the growing divisive and separatist tendencies, emphasised on maintaining India's unity and integrity. My party, the CPI(M) is second to none to fight for the unity and integrity of our country. But the President of India, I find, in his Speech, has not dwelt on the issue which is most crucial in preserving that unity and solidarity of the country, and that issue is the Centre-State relations and redistribution of both administrative and financial powers between the Centre and the States. As you are aware, as many as five Chief Ministers and 18 political parties of our country have made concrete proposals on this particular issue. But the President of India, though he is supposed to be the President of India, not the president of a particular party, I regret has overlooked this issue in making his Speech. Sir, the question of Centre-State relations has acquired greater importance in the context of the growing alienation between the Centre and the constituent States of 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 saying this, the learned Member from the other side, has betrayed his ignorance not only about what India is but also 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 for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a Constitution for the Government of India, acceptable to all 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, I 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 its 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 of strong States is not necessarily in contradiction to that of a strong Centre. Once their respective spheres of authority are clearly marked out, a strong and unfield 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.

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 it does not necessarily reflect your 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 the people of our country 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 interest of preserving the unity and solidarity of our country, the States-Centre relationship has to be re-defined and both administrative and financial powers have to be re-distributed. And while taking part in the debate on the budget my colleagues will speak how the States' financial powers are being usurped by the Centre. I want also certain Articles of the Indian Constitution to be modified so as to ensure re-distribution and devolution of powers.

But due to priority of time here I want to emphasise only one particular question, that is, the question relating to the institution of Governors. Sir, you know about the appointment of Governors, the 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 cases the Governors have used their office to serve the interests of the ruling party at the Centre. Here, in this connection 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 detached figure, obviously a figure that is acceptable to the province, otherwise he could not function there? He must be acceptable to the province, he must be acceptable to the Government of the province and 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 on the whole it probably would be desirable to have people from outside—eminent people, sometimes people who have not taken too great a part in politics. 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 us 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

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

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 two-fold. 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 as an institution, is discussed. 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.

4 P.M.

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. KALYANASUNDARAM: Sir, Mr. Salve has raised a very important question, supported by the 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 नियुक्ति 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।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. 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 substantive motion drawn in proper terms, 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. But when you came to the particular conduct of the West Bengal Governor in a particular matter, the Leader of the House took it up....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I did not discuss the conduct of a particular Governor. I did refer to the manner in which the Governor of my State was appointed. And I did not like to discuss the conduct of the Governor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Now, taking into account the broad Rule, you please proceed with your speech. (*Interruptions*) He has clarified that he is not referring to the conduct of a particular Governor.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I was referring in the context of what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru 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 particular thing because in my State the Governor was not appointed by the President of India in consultation with the State Government, not even with the Chief Minister. He was simply informed of the act that such and such person has been appointed as the Governor of West Bengal, over telephone when he was away from Calcutta to Srinagar. So, I want to mention this thing. The institution of the Governors has been reduced to a party post, to look after the party interests. I can cite an example...

AN HON MEMBER: Many.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ... how a Member of this House tried to become a Governor of a State, how he was sent to a State at the time of Panchayat elections as an observer of the Central ruling party.

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

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: From the panchayat 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? (*Interruptions*)

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

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: What do 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 reference? (Interruptions) These are all false allegations, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What I want to say is that even after becoming a 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 R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Now please conclude, Mr. Ghosh. You have already taken more than 25 minutes.. Please conclude.

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: If a Governor has come here, he should

[Smt. Monika 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,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. 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 will speak.

श्रीमन्, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर यह है कि सदन में कुछ परम्पराएं रही हैं और उन परम्पराओं को तोड़ने का से गलत परंपराएं पड़ 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 नियुक्ति के बारे में राज्यपाल अपनी राय दे सकते हैं। सभी को यह मालूम है कि वेस्ट बंगाल के वाइस चांसलर के अपाइंटमेंट 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 you to start another controversy. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI J. K. JAIN: They have no business to criticise the Governor. (*Interruptions*)

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

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

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

श्री जे० के० जैन : जनता राज में इन्होंने 8 गवनरों को डिसमिस किया है। . . . (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): 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 controvercy 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 the Governors.

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

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

SHRI 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-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): There is no harm in learning from anybody.

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

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please conclude. Mr. Ghosh.

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

try and he emphasised on the preservation of unity and solidarity of our country. I stated very clearly that my party, CPM, stands second to none to strengthen and preserve unity and solidarity of our country, and fight for it. But the main issue, which is a very crucial issue and a necessary issue in preserving the unity and solidarity of our country is the issue that relates to Centre-States relations. Five Chief Ministers and as many as 18 political parties have made concrete proposals in that regard; but I regret that the President, in his Address, did not mention a single word about it, but an alienation is growing between the Centre and the constituent States and this growing alienation in the background of assaults by the divisive forces is very dangerous. Naturally, in the interest of preserving the unity of our country, I think Centre-State relations have to be re-defined and both administrative and financial powers have to be redistributed in terms of what the five Chief Ministers and 18 political parties have demanded. Thank you.

SHRI B. IBRAHIM (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the motion moved by my friend Shri Bhardwaj. The most disturbing phenomenon in recent times is the rise in politically motivated communalism. Sir, in the past, communalism was motivated largely by the religious fanaticism: but now the motives are ulterior, or intended solely to dislodge the Congress-I Government by hook or by crook. The strategy adopted by the Opposition parties is unholy marriages and unprincipled combination, sometimes open but more often cover. This challenge has to be met by the party not by resorting to unscrupulous tactics or untenable postures, but by reaffirming to our ideals of secularism, socialism and democracy; in more unambiguous terms. A massive programme of educating the people of the dangers of communalism is therefore imperative and urgent; otherwise the shortsighted tactics of Opposition would lead to national 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 given the highest importance to economic 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 by genuine sympathy for the millions who are afflicated of poverty and disease. In contrast to fascist and communal parties 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 our party has embraced the strategy of economic growth with social justice in our Five-Year Plans. However, it is but natural that we might commit mistakes in the conception or execution of economic plans. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that our system of priorities—I emphasise the words system of priorities is formulated on a rational basis, very carefully. The success of our plans will depend entirely on our ability to judge which objectives are more important of urgent than the others. Given our humanistic philosophy 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 meaningful action. We must not only reiterate this goal, but review our planning process constantly so that the poorest and the down-trodden individuals in this country become the focus of attention. I submit here a few concrete measures which should occupy a high position in our scales of priorities.

Firstly, in regard to the production and distribution of foodgrains, it should be given the top-most priority so that the heart-rending spectacle of hunger is wiped out for ever and the

[Shri B. Ibrahim]

national loss involved in the degradation of 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 provide adequate nutrition to the people.

Secondly another equally important thing in regard to human welfare and efficiency is health. The removal of malnutrition as suggested earlier would be the biggest single step in promoting the health of the people, 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 abolished, unless safe drinking water and sanitary amenities are provided, unless 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 that we should initiate determined action to expand and strengthen preventive measures for promoting public health.

Another problem which is vexing our economic planners is the 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 because the question is one of technology and productivity and not of capital or labour. As a developing nation, we cannot afford to ignore this, we cannot afford to lag behind in technology, and ignore the vital importance 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 commdn people.

Sir, adverting to the international situation, I am glad to say that our policies have been quite sound and successful. Novertheless, 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 bundless 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 of 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 her 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. (*Interruptions*) It has become a habit, nobody can help.

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

SHRI B. IBRAHIM: I hail from that State and it is my bounden duty to reply to that allegation. Sir, he went

on accusing the Congress Party to the effect that we are trying to topple the Janata Government in Karnataka, but, Sir, it is quite otherwise.

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

SHRI B. IBRAHIM: I am saying so because the Congress(I) is not trying to topple the Government. If at all that Government falls it will fall on its own

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): It means Mr. Hegde is trying to topple his own Government.

SHRI B. IBRAHIM: Let me complete. 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 that he is ruling the Karnataka State. For example, for the rising price of coconut, sugar, rice or any other essential commodity if anybody, especially the press people, puts in the question, he says that Mrs. Gandhi is responsible for that. For everything he says Mrs. Gandhi is responsible. It that is so, what for is he there? He is ruling the State, he has got his own responsibility, he has to control the distribution of the essential commodities in his state. Central Government's responsibility is also there. I do not deny that, but at the same time as the head of the State he is equally responsible to see that whatever essential commodities are supplied by the Central Government are equally distributed among the people. So, Sir, if at all the Government in Karnataka falls, it will fall of its own.

Before concluding I would like to add a sentence that India has come of age. We can no longer crave the indulgence of political infancy. We have to shoulder the responsibilities of adult nationhood. By increased productivity, sustained enterprise and determined idealism we must 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 speak 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 this 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 of Tamil Nadu sent a letter to the Central Government seeking 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 came to the conclusion that Rs. 100 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 concern 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—of course the Finance Minister is not here, but through you, Sir, I would like to ask him that 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 course 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 Punjab 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 Punjab 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 as 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 utferances of the Chief Ministers of Tamil Nadu during the past 35 years, that they ever said, "Hindi down down." Never has anybody said so. They have said

"Imposition of Hindi down down." Never did they say "Hindi down down." Let them develop their Hindi language in their own State; we are not going to bother, we are not going to stand on their way. What we have said was that imposition of Hindi should not be there; improvement of a language should not and cannot be at the expense of another language. That is what we said. I do not know why the Prime Minister of this country yesterday pointed out, "Let 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 in our language; our poets gave us their sermons and scriptures in our language. Our language is one of the best and we have got 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 our language which is eligible to rule over 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 are not asking that our language should be imposed over the whole of this country, but we are saying that all the languages should be equals and a particular language, because of its birth, because 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 whole of India we have to invite all the 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 be 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 Government 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 Nadu and I hope the Government will come forward and give us the rice as we required.

Sir, about industries, they have taken statistics—the Industry Minister is not here—from 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 taluk-wise and not district-wise. Sir, I have spoken several times about the implementation of the Master Plan with regard to Mahabalipuram, Kanyakumari and Rameshwaram. 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 write about the northern part, completely forgetting our southern part. You do not find anything about Pallavas 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 will 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 we 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 of 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 will also be the Chair-

man of the Rajya Sabha. I want a learned person from South India to be elected the Vice-President of this country.

With this, I conclude my speech.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is no Cabinet Minister now. Kindly inform. It was rained earlier also.

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

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Gopalsamy has drawn the attention of the Parliamentary Affairs Minister. He will be sending now.

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN : That is good for you. You can talk 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 Dhaleshwar Meena not present.

श्रीमती रत्न कुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने खड़ी हुई हूं । उसमें खाद्यानों, तिलहनों और दालों का उत्पादन बढ़ाने की चर्चा की गई है। मैंने अपनी पद यात्रा के अवसर पर दलहनों के वे खेत भी देखें हैं जिनमें अतिवृष्टि के कारण चना और मसूर के पौधे इतने सट गए हैं कि हवा और धूप के अभाव में 80 प्रतिशत फसल खराब हो गई है। हमारे कृषि वैज्ञानिकों को ऐसी उन्नत किस्मों की खोज या ऐसी औषधियों की खोज करनी चाहिए जिस से अति वृष्टि से भी दलहनी फसलों का नुकसान बचाया जा सके। इसी प्रकार कीट व्याधि से भी दलहनी और तिलहनी फसलों की भारी क्षति होती है। मध्य प्रदेश में पौध संरक्षण औषधियां केवल बैंक परमिट पर 50 प्रतिशत छूट पर छोटे किसानों को दी जाती हैं जब कि दलहन उत्पादक किसानों का बहुत बड़ा समुदाय बैंकों का सदस्य नहीं है। यदि सभी किसानों को नकदी पर भी छूट दी जाए साथ ही 50 प्रतिशत छूट की सीमा 100 प्रतिशत कर दी जाये तो उतने ही क्षेत्रफल में दलहन और तिलहन का काफी उत्पादन बढ़ जाएगा।

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

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

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

[श्रीमती रत्न 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 गति लाना आवश्यक है। कहीं-कहीं मुझे यह शिकायत भी मिली है कि शहराती लोगों ने शहर से लगे आवास प्लाटों और भूमि का अपने का अपने नाम पर आवंटन करा लिया है। गलत आवंटन की जांच करा कर ऐसे लोगों को बेदखल कर सही हितग्राहियों को भूमि दी जानी चाहिए।

एकीकृत ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत अनेक परिवार लाभान्वित हुए हैं। अनेक स्थानों पर बैंकों का पूरा सहयोग न मिल पाने से कार्यक्रम में वांछित गति नहीं आ पाई है। विकास खण्डों में क्षेत्रवार यह आंकड़े होना चाहिए कि किस मौसम में कितने मजदूर बेकार रहते हैं। उस अवसर पर शासन की ओर से उन्हें काम दिया जाना चाहिए। शिक्षित बेरोजगारों को स्वतः के रोजगार खोलने हेतु ऋण देने का महत्वाकांक्षी कार्यक्रम चलाया गया है। यदि बैंकों का पूरा सहयोग मिल सके तो इस कार्यक्रम की सफलता से भटकते हुए युवावर्ग में स्वावलंबन की उत्साहवर्धक लहर दौड़ जायगी।

पिछले वर्ष रेलगाड़ियों की संख्या और गति के बढ़ने से आवागमन में सुविधा बढ़ी है परन्तु कर्मचारियों की लापरवाही से मध्य रेलवे के जबलपुर संभाग में रेल का डिब्बा जल गया। कुछ यात्री मर गये और भी गाड़ियों की टकराहट में कई व्यक्तियों को चोटें आयी हैं। रेल प्रशासन को ऐसी दुर्घटनाओं की तत्काल जांच कर दोषी व्यक्तियों को दण्डित करना चाहिए और ऐसे प्रयत्न करने चाहिए कि इन दुर्घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति न हो।

स्वास्थ्य विभाग की ओर से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में भी अस्पताल खोले जा रहें हैं। प्राथमिक चिकित्सा के लिए प्रति दो हजार की आबादी 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 बारी-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 औषधालयों में दवाइयां और आवश्यक औजार भी उपलब्ध कराना चाहिए।

रेडियो और टेलीविजन की सहायता से अनौपचारिक शिक्षा के जबरदस्त कार्यक्रम की योजना बनाई गई है। देश की 80 प्रतिशत आबादी ग्रामों में रहती है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में ग्राम पंचायत मुख्यालयों के साथ-साथ एक हजार आबादी वाले हर ग्राम में टेलीविजन उपलब्ध कराया जाना चाहिए। भारत के केन्द्र स्तर पर स्थित 10 लाख की आबादी वाले जबलपुर शहर में अभी तक टेलीविजन की सुविधा नहीं मिल पाई है। मुझे बताया गया है कि माननीय सूचना प्रसारण मंत्री इसका शीघ्र प्रबंध कर रहें हैं। यदि यह सच है तो वे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में शिक्षा का स्तर गिर रहा है। इसके लिए बहुत कुछ करना है। पढ़ाने के लिए विद्यार्थियों की संख्या के आधार पर शिक्षक उपलब्ध किए जाएं। शालाभवनों का सुधार किया जाये और शिक्षक ठीक समय पर जाकर ठीक पढ़ाई करते है, इसकी निगरानी रखी जानी चाहिए।

महिलाओं और बच्चों के लिए ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पोषण आहार भेजा जा रहा है। हरिजन, आदिवासी और पिछड़े वर्ग की बच्चियों को स्कूलों में कपड़े भी वितरित किए जा रहे हैं। बाल-बाड़ियों के द्वारा 5 वर्ष की आयु के बच्चों को शिक्षा तथा अनुशासन की प्राथमिक तैयारी में लगाया जा रहा है। मेरा सुझाव है कि अपहरण, दहेज और बलात्कार की शिकार परित्यक्त महिलाओं को प्रशिक्षण देकर इन बाल-बाड़ियों में नियुक्त किया जावे ताकि वे सम्मान पूर्वक अपना जीवन बसर कर सकें। योग्य महिलायें यदि स्वरोजगार स्थापित करना चाहती हैं तो उन्हें सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता देकर सहायता दी जाये। शिक्षा एवं समाज कल्याण मंत्रालय भी इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देगा ऐसी मैं आशा करती हूं।

कृषि विभाग की ओर से भी किसानों के लिए बहुत से महत्वाकांक्षी कार्यक्रम चलाये जा रहें हैं, परन्तु कृषि विभाग के अधिकारियों की लापरवाही के कारण कई स्थानों पर घटिया खाद, बेअसर कीटनाशक दवायें और अंकुरित न होने वाले विकलांग बीज किसानों में वितरित कर दिए गए। मध्य प्रदेश के भारत कृषक समाज द्वारा जांच कराये जाने पर यह गलती पकड़ी गई। भारत कृषक समाज द्वारा संबंधित कंपनियों पर मध्य प्रदेश हाईकोर्ट में मुकदमे भी दायर कर दिए गए हैं। शासन को इस मामले में आगे आना चाहिए और धोखेबाज फर्मों के लाइसेंस निरस्त कर कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए।

आज देखने में आता है कि लोक सेवक अपने अधिकारों और वेतन भत्ते के प्रति तो जागरूक हैं परन्तु कर्तव्य के प्रति उदासीन हैं। यदि उसमें कर्तव्य के प्रति भी निष्ठा आ जाये तो आप महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा भाषण में बताये गये महत्वाकांक्षी कार्यक्रम निश्चय ही देश को खुशहाल बनाने में सफल होंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करती हूं।

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 will be colourful.

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

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]

रीस्टर में कौन हैं मिनिस्टर, आप इस बारे में बताईये। Two or three times honourable Members have raised this question....

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री कल्पनाथ राय) : जो भी इन्होंने स्पीच दी है मैंने उसको नोट कर लिया है। इस समय प्रधान मंत्री जी वहां अड्रैस कर रही हैं, उस सदन में जवाब दे रही हैं। जो मिनिस्टर यहां ड्यूटी पर हैं, मैंने उनसे कह दिया है। वह आ रहे हैं प्रधान मंत्री जी की स्पीच हो रही है। आप थोड़ा समझने की कोशिश करें

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामकृष्णन) मिस्टर कल्पनाथ राय ने कहा है : Hon. Members, the Minister of Parliamentarl 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) : आधा घंटे के लिये कल्पनाथ राय को ही केबिनेट मिनिस्टर मान लेते हैं।

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.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Hon. Members, I 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 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 be 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 (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a tired 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 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 Orwellian in more ways than one. A study of his particular Address exemplifies double-think, it exemplifies everything that Orwell spoke of in the Context of 1984. As the ruling party members were not present when called, I do hope that you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, would be a bit more indulgent about the Opposition and the time allocated to them. The question of double-think and double-talk is exemplified by this particular Address. I would like to start by talking of the economic statistics in paragraph 7 of this particular Address. It is mentioned that the growth rate of GNP this year is expected to be 6 to 7 per cent as compared with only 1.8 per cent in 1982-83. In the first four years of the Sixth Plan, the average rate of growth in GNP will be 5.4 per cent. The question will be best answered by me if you permit me to counter this particular statistics and the basis of arrival at these statistics, I would say that in this whole maze of double-talk and double-think and the statistical obfuscation of what 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 5.2 per cent. In a predominantly agricultural 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 therefore 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 in 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 against the assertion which says that there is growth and there is acceleration in growth, it is not so. Now, there is yet another factor which has been brought out and pointed out by Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah. If you were to combine this particular aspect with the growth in population, you will 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 larger 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.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Sir 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.

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

Then, Sir, the 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 consumpion. I would be very happy if there is anything which does not make economic sense and if I make any mistake in my statistics, I would really welcome and intervention by Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah. Now currently, there is an 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 cent of consumable supplies in rural areas and 3.4 per cent in urban areas. Now, this i the position today. This cannot be disputed. 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 on 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 the daily consumption of the calorific 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 the poverty 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 the

1979-80 figures upwards to 51.5 per cent claimed tha in the first two years of the Plan the poverty ratio had been brought down to 41.5 per cent, or by 10 per cent. This is the claim. That has been reiterated in various forums and on the floor of this House as indeed in the other House. It is reflective to me, Sir, as I started by saying, of the Orwellian tendency of the Government to double-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 represent to the whole of the House and the country, a major and drastic modification of a 30-year trend. At this rate, if similar claims continue to be made, we would certainly be abolishing poverty in the near future. That however is not reflecting itself in any kind of trends existing within the country. One more example of our government's Orwellian double think and double talk is about the I.M.F loan. A claim is made that on account of prudent management of economy, we are not drawing the last 1.1 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 will now be available for the other developing countries. Without getting into that extraneous aspect, let us examine the facts as they stand. In the last 3 years, the balance of payment situation has witnessed a deficit of 5800 crores, declining to 5500 crores and though the official figures for the current year are not available, it is going to be in the region of 5000 crores. Now, where has been the dramatic improvement in the balance of payment situation to warrant a claim that it is on account of efficient management of our economy and of our external debt situation that we are not drawing on the 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 that have governed it, it is the fact that beginning from 1985, the debt servicing ratio that the nation will have to contend with is going to be so uncomfortable that no amount of statistical obfuscation will then come to our rescue. By 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. This 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 amongst our people that it is on account of an enhancing of the debt servicing ratio that we visualise, that we anticipate in 1985 that we are now voluntarily not taking it. As against this, to make the kind of claim that has been made in the speech, again 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. There would then hve been interference by the IMF even in our budget-making exercises. It does not redound to the Government's disadvantage if the Government had said that it is on account of the IMF's suggestions about conditionality that we are now voluntarily not taking the last tranche. The country would have understood and we 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 my mind, an example of how the Government is attempting to play politics with economy. (*Time Bell rings*) I understand the Bell, Sir.

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

I shall not dwell any longer on the economic aspects of the presidential Address. I will 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 which they subscribe, that Jammu and Kashmir represents. And 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 of this nation, a nation which is as vivid, as 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 and State. It no longer understands what the difference is between State and Government. And it is no longer able to distinguish between government and party. It is up to them what they do within their party. 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 made to equate this nation with an individual. That is the fundamental flaw in this Government's thinking. It is because of this fundamental flaw that they look at every issue that confronts us through a haze of electoral advantage. And when you look at every issue that confronts the country through the haze of electoral advantage, you will always be ad hoc, you will never seek 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 state except to correct one factual doubletalk. There 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 not start. They were supposed to have started earlier. Earlier the assumption was 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 yet. It is my knowledge as indeed it is in the knowledge of many that a number of Justices who had been called to function with these tribunals sat idle in Gauhati circuit house without a job. I would like to caution the Government about Assam because Assam has already suffered. I would like to caution the Government about Punjab. I would like to caution the Government about Jammu and Kashmir. Rumours are rife, 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 going 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 to 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 merely your governance and preserving yourselves in power, but you are also enjoined with the responsibility that the future generations of India will continue to be able to call themselves Indians. Otherwise, it will be a very empty satisfaction that you will have. You may have a party. But the party, whether they are of the ruling party or of the opposition, and in this 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 the time, Sir. You have been most indulgent to me. I will take only one more minute to talk about the security environment.

Sir, very repeatedly statements have been made both by the Prime Minister and certain other members of the ruling party, who are supposed to be privy to what is 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 would, however, like to once again caution the Government that if you cry wolf too often, and that too by as responsible a person as the Prime Minister, about the threats to the security of the country, then the very purpose of warning the nation, of getting the nation to stand up and rise and take note of 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 nation 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 would take the specific example of the espionage case. Following upon the espionage case, responsible statements were made from the Treasury Benches that in order to prevent any future espionage, 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 exservicemen 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 Bell 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 find 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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tations, uncontrollable and unmanageable, 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 of Thiruvalluvar, and I quote one couplet which is so relevant now. What is a country? It has been defiined 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 epidemics, 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 Congress 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 statement 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 order 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. Mallick, I have already told you; you don't disturb me. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is better to deport Mr. Mallick to a cricket test match because his running commentary will be useful there. (*Interruption*) Do not disturb me. I am speaking very seriously.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Mallick, you are always in the habit of giving a running commentary. When Members are making important speeches, their trend of 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 exodus from Pakistan. Therefore, their demand is a justifiable demand in regard to Chandigarh. You gave an assurance. Why have you not implemented this assurance? You created Bhindranwale. You have not implemented what you have assured them. Sir, I am not against Haryana. You should form a new capital for Haryana. It is estimated that this will cost Rs. 100 crores. Earlier, you had calculated that it would be Rs. 10 crores. Now, due to cost escalation, Rs. one hundred crores will be needed. What is wrong in it? You have spent thousands of crores of rupees on NAM, CHOGM and the Asian Games. If you form a new capital, that will generate employment in Haryana. That will also give a push to the economy. But you are not finding a solution to the problem. You may delcare Emergency. You may declare anything. But these things will not pay you any dividends. What Mr. Jaswant Singh has said should be taken very seriousy. If you rub on the wrong side, what will happen? The younger elements could be easily instigated. Sir, the Punjab issue is very serious. And you have failed, the Government has failed. You are shifting the blame on the Opposition. The Opposition has always been co-operative. Even now, they are prepared to give any sort of 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. Farooq 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 of secularism. If you want to destabilise Jammu and Kashmir, if you want to play mischief with Farooq Abdullah, then, you can be rest assured that there will be reverberations of this throughout the length and breadth of this country the echo will be heard from Kashmir 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 forget that until. 1975, Mr. Sheikh Abdullah and his party were for plebiscite. You should not 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 is 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 this 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 another catastrophe, they are going to face another holocaust, another

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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 and reacted in some parts of the country, all of us know that. I am 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. Jayewardene is planning, preparing designs diabolically to annihilate Tamil population there. He is sending emissaries to China, 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 is working as an agent of this Government. In dictatorial regimes, the army and the police are given wide 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 her 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 Jhalukbari 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 taken back to Dispur Police station".

Are 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-

ing brutally. Sir, on the floor of this House when Bhagalpur blindings were condemned, our hon. Prime Minister came here and said that this was a matter above party politics and we should all condemn it. They did not deserve to live in a civilised society So where are we going?

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

Sir this is the Blitz. This is a weekly which once praised the Nehru family. Here is the Independence Day Special Number here. It shows a photograph of people competing with dogs in eating left over meals. This is India. You cannot give a rosy pucture by talking about NAM, Asian Games, CHOGM and all that by spending crores of rupees over Ashoka Hotel or for catering facilities. Here in 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 country. Sir, this is what is going on. Here I can show persons competing with dogs in eating left-over meals on 24-11-83. This is what this photograph depicts. This was taken in Villivakkam in Madras. I am not criticising any political party. But throughout India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, starvation is there. epidemics are there. I repeat my question.

URUPASIYUM OVAPINUYUM SERUPAGAIYUM SERA THIYALUATHU NADU--

Whether we fulfill the definition? No? According to that we are not free from foes, epidemics, from starvation. So this is not a country as defined by Thiruvalluvar. They have no opportunity. To 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. He 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 brightnees went unnoticed. Again he shed tears over another tomb: "In this a politician like Oliver Cromwell would have been buried". And then he stated:

"Full many a gem of
purest ray serene

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. Amba-

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

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 Commission and it will take considerable time for final report; but, in the meanwhile what will 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, has got importance in view of the constitutional background when the Constitution says it is a mere Union of States and 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 suggest 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 proceedings—which 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 will further be on the brink of disaster. The Centre-State relations contemplate that the State Governments will not be ruled always by the same party as at the

Centre. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, my submission is that on this very vital aspect it brooks no delay. We should not have done what we have done in Punjab and 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 to Haryana, this problem would not have arisen. Reference has been made 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 problem cannot be solved. It will aggravate the situation. It will not lead to a solution which you desire. And the Opposition parties have made it clear that they are ready to give all cooperation in this matter. It is difficult for the people to understand Central Government policy. In 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 years. You formed the Government. Why could you not call them and solve it when the same party is ruling at the three places? I think it is a total failure of the Central Government that they could not solve this question. They cannot blame the Opposition for non-cooperation. The Chief Ministers were 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 that they had to dismiss their own Government and have President's Rule in Punjab.

Therefore, Sir, apart from article 25 of the Constitution 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 mingled with. Unfortunately in Kashmir the political party interests and the Central Government interests are mingled with, and, therefore, these contradictions are coming up. The party in the Kashmir valley is en-

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couraged to make any statements which will provoke and will not be in the interest of our country.

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 spoken.

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 not 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 of 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 will improve the administration of 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 is decentralisation of judiciary. Under article 130 of 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 will 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 is 13.9 per cent Punjab, 4.9 per cent; Karnataka, 44.7 per cent. Tamil Nadu has certainly excelled in performance; the achievement in regard to allotment of house sites is 380 per cent. I find from those figures that Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, which are run by the Opposition

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

"The latest Planning Commission study on the Prime Minister's so-called revised 20-point programme to ameliorate the 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 authorities 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 it shows that the targets set for all except two of the 20 points have fallen woefully short, some by more than 80 per cent."

The only programme which they have completed is the tree plantation programme; there the achievement is 100 per cent.

"The most glaringly shoddy performance is in the case of bonded labour, where the target set for the release of 26.8 million between April and November, 1983, has been achieved to the extent of only 26.9 per cent or 7.75 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 has 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 161,000 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 P.M.

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 Government's claim, that production has gone up, is completely wrong and is bogus, because if production

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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 correct.

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. Unfortunately, the standard of living of our people, though we claim and are proud that it is going up, that 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 of 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, Maharashtra, pays Rs. 1.37 as the lowest wage, in Madhya Pradesh it is Rs. 1.25 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 in 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."

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 of national unity and progress."

These two observations made by the President in his Speech have impressed me the most. 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 experience, it is but natural for me to impressed by 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

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

Sir in power generation, I would like to point out that Jammu and Kashmir has a potential of 13000 million kw hydro-electric power alone. I would urge upon the Minister that while formulating the Seventh Plan targets this should be taken into 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 Commission 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, that 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 the 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 said that Dr. Farooq 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 called 'Nai Duniya'. In this I found a sensational thing. At the end of 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 Zakaria, 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 abductor 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).

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : जो माननीय सदस्य बात कह रहे है वह बिल्कुल गलत है । कोई इस तरह की बात नहीं है ।

श्री गुलाम रसूल मटटू – मैं सोसाइटी मैगजीन को आपके सामने पेश कर सकता हूं ।

श्री उपसभापति : यह तो कह दिया, अब आगे चलिये ।

श्री गुलाम रसूल मटटू : मेरे कहन का सिर्फ एक ही मतलब है...

I have only one thing to say that the exhibition of 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 become be one foot 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 over 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 Zakaria 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 trying 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 10.30 A. M. and again at 7.30 P.M. the same day, an erstwhile Pakistani, Mr. Shafi Qureshi, 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 7.30 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 South India to Bangalore, Madras and other places, Maulana Farooq has seen the Indian situation and he is very much in the mainstrem of the Indian life.

श्री (मौलाना) असरारुल हक (राजस्थान): काश्मीर में राय शुमारी का रैला करते घूमते हैं और यू एन ओ में राय शुमारी की बात करते हैं, इस संबंध में आपको क्या कहना है ?

†[شری (مولانا) اسرار الحق : کشمیر میں رائے شماری کا ریلا کرتے ہوئے گھومتے ہیں اور یو - این - او - میں رائے شماری کی بات کرتے ہیں - اس سلسلہ میں آپکا کیا کہنا ہے -]

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I have stated categorically and I said it on the floor of the House and I say it again that the people of Kashmir have cast their lot with India. Any movement that is against the declared accession of Kashmir to India will be fought by us with our blood. This shoud be understood for all time to come.

श्री मौलाना असरारुल हक : फिर फारुक को छोड़ दीजिए

†[شری (مولانا) اسرار الحق : پھر فاروق کو چھوڑ دیجئے -]

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I have stated tha Maulana Farooq was not left untapped by the Congress during the last year. If Dr. Farooq has got him for winning peace in Kashmir without paying any price for it, what is the harm in it? With these observations, I have nothing else to say except that I will really commend the two paragraphs of the President's Address which I have just mentioned. I thank him for the two paragraphs which I have quoted just now.

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 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 26th 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 Rajastan Chief Minister to help her to find her husband.
>
> With tears in her eyes, 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, but 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."

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic script.

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

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 6.2o 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 sitting 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 insisted 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 that there was any boy except my son in the house.

To my utter surprise, one police officer, namely, Shri Moqbul Hussain, Officer-in-Charge of Dispur Police Station (Dispur is the capital of Assam near to Khanapara Campus) started abusing me at the top of his voice by using all filthy language and then caught hold of my hair and dragged me out of my house. I was simultaneously, severely beaten by the said officer and after 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. When my daughter ran towards me requesting the police officer to take her also with me, Shri Ahmed kicked my daughter and the son also, who was standing nearby causing them hurt. I was taken to 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 station. I was

brutally behaved by the police officials and it is difficult to explain in words the behaviour 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 University, who were also arrested earlier along with three to four staff members of the University and detained in the police station. They were looking 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 of Police, suddenly entered the police station and rushed towards me and started beating on my back by catching hold of my hair without any ground or reason, I could not stand the assault caused in my person by the said officer and I fell down on the ground, The said officer, then again 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 part. I became exhausted and wanted to drink some water. Water was denied to me. I was then dragged out from the said police station and asked to board in a bus standing nearby. There was no lady police in the bus. It wa a dark night. I became unconscious in the vehicle due to profuse unnatural bleeding. I did not know what had happened for some time.

After being taken from one police station to another, I was finally taken to Jalukbari police station about 15 KM away from the Dispur police station and 20 KM away from my residence. I was there alone in the vehicle with the police personnel. On arrival at Jalukbari police station, I was dragged out of the bus with my hands tied up. At the police station, my wearing garments were stripped off 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. I 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 Superintendent of Police attached to the Jalukbari 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 observed 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 dire consequences if he further approached me with such evil motive. Another difficulty arose against the evil motive of the said police officer. Thousands of immigrants from 'Char' areas (River Island) were brought to Gauthati to attend the Congress I rally on 12-11-1983. They were allowed to stay all around the police station. Due to the presence of 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-

doing in Assam

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 petition which was sent to some Minister or somebody, I don't know.

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 letters with all documents saying that she has wittingly or unwittingly led the situation in Assam to a state which has caused the death of thousands and the society has been completely shattered. If the Government thinks that they can suppress the movement and the people of Assam through Police atocities, they are absolutely mistaken. The Government accuses that the leaders of the movement are not coming for a discussion. The President also wants hon. Members of Parliament to help in the process of reconciliation. But the President should, first of all, ask the Prime Minister to start the process of reconciliation, since the ball is in her court now as far as the Assam situation is concerned.

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 respected citizens of Assam, evolved a formula They suggest that the detection of foreigners should take place from 1961. They suggested this to the Government as well as to the leaders of the movement. Unfortunately, Government did not respond. During her latest tour in Assam, the Prime Minister has said that if any specific proposals come to her, she can resume negotiations with the leaders of the movement. Now, it is for the Prime Minister to change her attitude and take the initiative So long, she has been taking an adamant attitude, sticking to her own stand of 1971. It is in the interest of the people of Assam and, in fact, the whole country that she changes her attitude and give her own proposals to start the detection and deportation of foreigners with effect from 1961. (*Time bell rings*) There are two more points.

Sir, yesterday, in the debate, hon. Dr. Zakaria, mentioned about the burning of the Constitution by the Sikhs.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are concerned only with Assam. 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 of India itself to do so? The Government of India 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 will 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 order in the State.

PROF. (MRS) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the Motion of thanks on 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 rightly stated that for maintaining 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 to the country.

Sir, more money is being spent for defence Otherwise, this money could have been channeled for various developmental programmes. Now developmental programmes, including the 20-point programmes and the anti-profiteering measures, cannot be implemented successfully. Hundred percent success is not possible if the atmosphere in the 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 President.

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 are 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 would be 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 subarban areas. New programme of providing self-employment 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 will 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, i.e. telecommunication, meterology and developmental television, have been combined. Successfull launching of INSAT I(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 I(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 I(B). Since 15th October, 1983 INSAT I(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 non-formal 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 bio-medical sciences are also developing rapidly. Under the sponsorship of Health Ministry, the

traditional system of medicine has made reasonable progress.

Sir, India could have made spectacular advancement in many important areas, but this has not been possible due to the disturbances in the international situation which has been complicated by arms race, the global expenditure on armaments exceeding 600 billion dollars annually. In this context the holding of NAM in March 1983 was very significant, of which our Prime Minister was the Chairperson and she pleaded for disarmament and equality for all nations which would bring peace in the world.

Sir, I will conclude by saying that I have listened to many good counsels from some hon. Members today in this House. They have given warning to the Government at the Centre and they have given directives to the Government what the Government should do. I feel they should be conscious about their duties also. They are Indians through and through. They are not foreigners. Why should they not join the ruling party in order to achieve the goals?

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

PROF (MRS.) ASIMA CHATTERJEE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I feel that all the parties should get united and work with dedication for national ideals in order to eradicate poverty, illiteracy and to provide our brothers and sisters with essential commodities-namely, 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 have success. Let us assist the Government at the Centre in alleviating the sufferings of the people and in promoting the economic growth of the country.

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

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

SHRI 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 his 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, our 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 will become a rolling pack. This is my cruel forecast and prophecy. (*Interruptions*)..Time will show it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are a jyotishi 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, without planning 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 serve the entire nation. Let us adopt this in all schools when all the private and public schools will go and when we will have, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, one motto, one platform.

About language also, no assurance has been there from the hon. Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru's assurance was there..(*Interruptions*)..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, Malayalam or Kannada, by lottery but want them to adopt Hindi as 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 shelter 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 coming, we are not going to create an imbalance either on linguistic or communal issues. Merely because they are Bengali speaking.... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is the grand finale of the debate.

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

One small thing. I am concluding in a minute. You see in Orissa a government is going on Twenty-point programme, planning this, that going on. We have the Railway Budget and the General Budget. We have in retrospect to see what has happened in Orissa. There is a mine called Mishra Limeston Company where the employers have decided to reduce the wages of the workers. We are talking of the lot of the poor. There the management and one Extra Labour Commission are hand in glove with each other. The negotiations failed and the Ministry is silent on this. This should also be looked into. In manganese mines the labour and women have been harassed. There the Government is not taking extra care. Fifty per cent of the population is being ignored. They are our mothers, sisters and daughters, and they have been ignored. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now they are welcome you.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: Let us plan in a right manner. Let us plan on the policy for the village where the whole of India and the soul of India lives. We cannot talk of Delhi, Punjab and Haryana. In Punjab for both industry and agriculture, the per capita income is the same; and it is the highest It is because agriculture has been nationalised. Can we think of bringing Haryana and 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 Biogas 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 filled with chillies? (*Interruptions*) 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 will 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.

7 P.M.

With these words, I do not approve of this Address.

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) : उपसभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण 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। खुशी की बात है। रेट आफ ग्रोथ इतना हो गया है तो हम को कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। लेकिन हर्ज यह होता है कि कुछ ऐसी बातें हैं जिनकी ओर रेफ्रेंस नहीं दिया गया है और परिस्थितियां बिगड़ रही हैं और बिगड़ेंगी। उनकी ओर हमको ध्यान देना है और उन्हीं बातों को ध्यान में रख कर मैं कुछ बातें रखना चाहता हूं। सारे अभिभाषण में पहली बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि इस बात का जिक्र नहीं है, तीन करोड़ से ज्यादा मैथिली बोलने वाले हैं उनकी भाषा जो मैथिली है उसकी मान्यता के लिये कोई रेफ्रेंस नहीं है, जिक्र नहीं है। बिहार की आधे से ज्यादा आबादी मैथिली बोलती है और उनकी मांग है कि उसकी मान्यता हो और इसे संविधान की अष्टम अनुसूची में सम्मिलित किया जाये। बहुत दिनों से मांग चली आ रही है। आपको याद है कि इस विषय पर मेरा एक निजी प्रस्ताव भी था लेकिन इस सरकार ने उसको अभी तक मान्यता नहीं दी है। यह एक खतरनाक परिस्थिति को पैदा करेगी। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि परिस्थितियां बिगड़ रही है। मान्यता न होने से वे उपेक्षित समझे जाते हैं और उसको ले कर के और मांगें आ रही हैं जैसे मिथिला देशम..

श्री उपसभापति : तेलुगु देशम।

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : मैथिली राज्य मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को खास करके—कहना चाहता हूं, आपके 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 और उनकी मांग रही है कि मिथिला राज्य की स्थापना हो। हमारी जेनरेशन के लोग जो डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद और लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण की रोशनी में काम कर चुके हैं उन पर यह बात उतनी बैठती 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 और उससे लिंक जोड़ना कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं है। इसलिये याद रखिए बिहार की जनता जब उठेगी तो बिहार बिहार है, बिहार आसाम नहीं है, बिहार पंजाब भी नहीं है। बिहार का अपना ही करने का ढंग है और तब इस सरकार के लिए टेढ़ी खीर हो जायेगी। इसलिये मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूं और आगाह करना चाहता हूं कि मैथिली की मान्यता संविधान की अष्टम अनुसूची में हो जाए ताकि परिस्थितियां काबू से बाहर न जाएं। जनता आगे बढ़ रही है इससे और बड़ी-बड़ी मांगों के लिये जैसे मिथिला राज्य जिसका कि जिक्र इस भाषण में नहीं है। दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि योजना की बातें यहां उठी है और सारे अभिभाषण में आंकड़ों की भरमार है, पाइलिंग अप है भ्रमजाल है...(**व्यवधान**)

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

बाइ द प्लान मेकर्स । मैं प्लानिंग की कंसलटेटिव कमेटी का सदस्य हूं, पिछले दिनों में भी था और बराबर मेरी दिलचस्पी रही है । आप जानते हैं कि देश प्लानिंग कितना मांगता था पिछले दिनों में और आप को यह भी मालूम है कि जब देश आजाद हुआ तो बड़े बड़े इकनामिस्टस, पंडित जी थे वे इसको शेखचिल्ली की बात समझते थे, कि सारी इकनामी को प्लान करना बड़ा आइडियलिस्टिक है । यह टोटल इमेजिनेशन है । फलां प्राइवेट इंटरप्राइज से मुल्क कितना बढ़ा, फलां से मुल्क कितना आगे बढ़ गया है, हम लोगों को प्रेक्टिकल होना चाहिए, व्यवहारिक होना चाहिए । लेकिन एक नेता था देश में जिसके सामने सपना था और जिसमें वह दृढ़ता थी, जिसने एक सोच और लाइन बनाई कि इकनामिक प्लान कैसे चलेगा । प्लानिंग कमीशन की स्थापना हुई । लेकिन आज मैं देखता हूं कि प्लानिंग कमीशन दम तोड़ रहा है योजना आयोग दम तोड़ रहा है वह एक गोडाऊन है आंकड़े । वहां बड़े-बड़े एक्रोबेटस हैं वे अक्रोबेटस आंकड़ों से फाइट करते है । कहते हैं हमने यह किया, यह पर्सेंटेज निकाला यह सब खिलवाड़ है । योजना का इलान वाइटल जो है वह इलान वाइटल खत्म हो रहा है और यह बात मैं कंसलटेटिव कमेटी में भी कहता हूं और अभी ज्यादा जोर से कहना चाहता हूं प्रधान मंत्री जी को, वे नहीं हैं इसलिए ये मंत्री जी पहुंचा देवें वे उसकी चेयरमन हैं लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी कभी नहीं आती है । कंसलटेटिव कमेटी में क्या हो रहा है उनको पता भी नहीं है और इस तरह योजना दम तोड़ रही है, यह हमारे लिए बहुत दुर्भाग्य की बात है । इसको पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने इतना बड़ा रूप दिया था । अब वह क्यों दम तोड़ रहा है उसको मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि एक ऐसी परिस्थिति बन रही है, इसको कौन हल करेगा । योजना मंत्री के वह ताकत नहीं है हल करने की इकनामी को प्लान करने के लिए कुछ खास ताकत की जरूरत है, एक नेतृत्व की जरूरत है कि जिसके द्वारा हल करें, रास्ता बताये । अब परिस्थिति आ गई है कि उस निर्णय की जरूरत है । देश की इकनामिक अर्थव्यवस्था एक भीषण कण्ट्राडिक्शन 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 बीसियों या कितने के है, इसी तरह सिंहानियां के हैं, मफतलाल के हैं । यह सेक्टर बहुत आगे बढ़ा है । आपका पब्लिक सेक्टर भी बढ़ा है । उसको और आगे बढ़ाना है । मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूं । मैं तो चाहता हूं कि उसको और बढ़ाया जाये । लेकिन ये दोनों ही अनकम्पैटीबुल हो रहे हैं । जब मैं इस बात को उठाता हूं तो मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि मिक्स्ड इकनामी 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 । जो फ्रेंकैस्टाइन बढ़ रहा है, प्राइवेट इकनामी का, मोनोपोली का, इसको कितनी दूर तक बढाने देंगे, इसके लिए लीडर के निर्णय की जरूरत है यह योजना मंत्री नहीं कर सकते है, उनमें वह ताकत नहीं है । मैंने कहा है कि वे कसरत करने वाले एक्रोबैट हैं आंकड़ों के, उन्ही के पंजे मे 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]

मैं कहूंगा 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 उसको और भी वीभत्स कंसिक्वेन्सेज हो रहें है, जैसे उदहारण के लिए इनफ्लेशन की बात । बड़ा गर्व है कि इनफलेशन इतना कन्ट्रोल हो गया है, लेकिन चार सालाना अपने को हकूमत में लाने का उत्सव 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 है लेकिन खैर यह उनका झमेला है कि3, 7 या 10 प्रतिशत है । तो यह आपका मानेटरी एक्सपेंशन है । इस पर निर्णय करने के लिए भी प्लानिंग कमीशन को ताकत देने की जरूरत है और वह ताकत आप दे नहीं रहें है ।

अब बजट की बात आती है 1700 करोड 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 सोचना है , लेकिन योजना आयोग तो इमेस्केलेटेड हो गया है ।

श्री उपसभापति : योजना आयोग को छोड़िये और विषय बताइये:

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : अब में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं जब अखबार में मैंने पढ़ा– प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि पाकिस्तान अटामिक एक्सपालोजन करने जा रहा है, तो मुझको बड़ी हैरानी हुई ।

श्री उपसभापति : इधर से भी लोगों ने कहा है ।

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

मुझको हैरानी यहाँ हुई कि प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा पाकिस्तान 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, ताकत है, उनको कहते है लेकिन जो वह कहती है पाकिस्तान का तो वह किसको कह रही है ।

श्री शिव राज पाटिल : जनता को ।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उनसे ऊपर कौन है ? जनता को आपने दिया है क्या जनता बना रही है जो उसको दीजिए । यह बेकार वाहियात बातें 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 हैं । जब वह इतनी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है, जो यहां अखबार में आ गया है कि उसके साइंटिस्ट्स ने बोल दिया है कि यदि हुकूमत से हमको ग्रीन सिगनल मिल जाएगा, तो हम बना लेंगे और उसी तरह का बना लेंगे जैसा कि नागासाकी, हिरो-शिमा पर गिरा था – सिर्फ सिगनल देने की जरूरत है और अंदर ही अंदर वह बना रहा है, एनरिच्ड यूरेनियम से ।

तो आप क्या जवाब देने जा रहे हैं आप क्या कर रहे हैं ? और सीक्रेट है क्या, मैं इस बात पर जोर देना चाहता हूं ।

श्री उपसभापति : वह बात सीक्रेट है, बताई नहीं जाती है ।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : मैं जोर दे रहा हूं बताइये न बताइये लेकिन इतिहास में वह गलती न कीजिए जिसकी बदौलत आप दो सौ वर्ष या सात सौ वर्ष गुलाम थे ।

यहां पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू का जिक्र किया गया – डिसकवरी आफ इंडिया का । मैंने भी उसको पढ़ा है और क्या खोज उन्होंने की, डिसकवरी आफ इंडिया में, किस बात के पीछे उन्होंने माथा पच्ची की है ?

क्या वजह है कि भारत जो हर क्षेत्र में आगे था, लेकिन आजादी को संभालने में और आजाद रहने में पीछे हट गया ? क्या वजह थी कि तिजारत में, संस्कृति में, दर्शन में, सब में, भारत दुनिया में सब से आगे था, लेकिन आजादी ही हाथ से छिन गई, क्या वजह थी ?

कोई उस पर खोज की कि क्या वजह थी ? और बातों के अलावा एक बात और भी है जो उस डिसकवरी आफ इंडिया में भी है, रजनी पाम दत्त में भी है और दूसरे लेखकों में भी है जो बिल्कुल ही अपर माइंडेड मार्कसिस्टस या साइंटिफिक समझे जाते हैं जिसको नेशनल कम्यूनिजम नहीं है, नेशनल कम्यूनिज्म उसमें रहता है जो इंटर नेशनल-लिस्ट अपने को समझते है जो कनकरेंट लिस्ट के बारे में सोचते है । भारत पीछे हुआ बावजूद बहुत सी चीजों में आगे होने के चूंकि एक चीज में भारत एट पार नहीं था दूसरे मुल्कों के बैटिल फील्ड में जैसे दूसरे मुल्क आगे जा रहे थे।

श्री उपसभापति : खत्म करिये।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उदाहरण एक-दो दे देता हूं। पानीपत की पहली लड़ाई हुई 1526 में। यह बात नहीं कि हिन्दुस्तान की फौज कम थी, उस में जोश कम था या बहादुरी काम थी लेकिन हमलावर पानीपत के मैदान में फतह हुआ क्योंकि उसके पास एक ऐसी चीज थी जो हिन्दुस्तान के पास नहीं थीं। वह थी नई इजाद केनन, तोप । हमारी न्युं क्लियर पौलिसि शान्ति के लिये बिल्कुल सही है, मैं भी सहमत हूं, लेकिन इतिहास को जरा पढ़ें कि क्या बात थी जिस से हम पीछे हटे पानीपत के मैदान में। एक नयी चीज इजाद हुई थी। इस बात को सामने रखिये।

दूसरा उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं पलासी के मैदान का शुजाउद्दौला के अन्दर कम जोश था ऐसा नहीं, कम ताकत थी ऐसी बात नहीं। लेकिन इस सब के बावजूद उस के पास वह चीज नहीं थी जो नये-नये अंग्रेज आए थे उनके पास थी–फायर आर्म्स। यदुनाथ सरकार की किताब है 'मिलिटरी हिस्टरी आफ इंडिया'। यदुनाथ सरकार मामूली अथारिटी हिस्टरी की नहीं हैं। यदूनाथ सरकार ने जिक्र किया है कि वह एक चीज थी जिस के न होने से मैदान हमारे हाथ से निकल गया और फतह कोई दूसरा हो गया।

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

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

लेकिन उसी साउथ ने अंग्रेजी फोर्ट जो ग्रो कर रहे थे शिवाजी की फौज ने उस को चारों तरफ से घेर लिया, उस में चार अंग्रेज के बेटे थे, उन्होंने देखा इतनी बड़ी फौज आयी हुई है तो चारों चार कोनों पर खड़े हो गये फायर आर्म्स लेकर, मरना तो है ही, मरने से पहले बाजी लगा लें। शिवाजी बुद्धिमान थे, उन्होंने महसूस किया जो चीज उनके पास है वह मेरे पास नहीं है, हम उन का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते, दो बार, चार बार चक्कर लगा कर वहां से अपनी फौज ले कर चले गये। कहने का मतलब है कि जो चीज अंग्रेज के बेटों के पास थी वह उन के पास नहीं थी...

श्री उपसभापति: आप ने अपना पोइन्ट बहुत अच्छी तरह समझा दिया।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा: अंग्रेजी फोर्ट को भी वह काबू में कर लेते तो सारे भारत के इतिहास का पलड़ा इधर से उधर हो जाता। यह सोचने की बात है। न्यूक्लियर पोलिसी जो हमारी है उस के मुताल्लिक हम को चिन्तन करना है, विचार करना है। यह युद्ध का, संकट का काल है। लेकिन आप का मेडिसिन का क्षेत्र हो या एग्रीकल्चर का हो, आप ने किस में कौन सा कमाल किया है। अर्थ न्यूक्लियर मंत्री जो यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि न्यूक्लियर इनर्जी में, खेती में, मेडिसिन में कितनी तरक्की हुई है। मेरा कहना है कि कुछ भी नहीं हो रहा है। तो यह एक ऐसा पहलू है कि जिस का इस में उल्लेख नहीं है। अभी मैं पंजाब और हरियाणा के विषय को नहीं लेना चाहता। उस पर बहुत बहस हो चुकी है। तो इन सब बातों को अगर हम ठीक कर से सामने नहीं रखेंगे तो बावजूद हमारे 143 मिलियन फुडग्रेन पैदा कर लेने के कुछ भी नहीं होगा। 1943 में बंगाल में खाद्यान्न की कमी नहीं थी लेकिन वहां 3 मिलियन लोग भूख से मर गये और यह सरकारी आंकड़े हैं। यह इतिहास की बात है। तो उस के मुकाबले आप का 142 या 145 मिलियन खाद्यान्न आज क्या है। आज देश में 50 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं। आप देहात में जाकर देखें कि वे कितना खाते हैं, तो इन सारी बुनियादी बातों का इस एड्रेस में कोई जिक्र नहीं है जो कि होना चाहिए था। और मैं इन बातों को छोटे मंत्रियों को नहीं कहना चाहता। लेकिन यह जो दो दूत यहां बैठे हुए हैं उन से कहता हूं कि वे इन बातों को प्रधान मंत्री जी को बता दें कि इन बातों की ओर हम ने उन का ध्यान खींचा है, जैसे खास कर मैथिली की बात है, उस को आप जरूर देखें और उस पर विचार करें।

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

सदन की कार्यवाही कल 11 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

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

GMIPND—L—1764RS—14—6—84—570