

Security Act. The name_s of these boy₉ are:

Mohd. Alam (15 years), Mohd. Azim Beg (17 years), Mohd. Aslam (15 years); Addul Hofiz alias Kuku (17 years), Khalid Zia alias Bablu (17 years), and Sharifuddin Sharfu (16 years).

All these six boys were arrested in the night of October 3/4, 1982. Mohd. Aslam is a patient of tuberculosis and although he wa_s undergoing treatment for the disease, he was arrested by the Police. Another boy, Chunni (15), escaped arrest because he was out of town, but his father's property has since been attached by the police.

These arrests were made at a time when human corpses were being discovered on the banks of the Ramganga near the Jama Masjid and some stabbing cases were also taking place in the city. According to the police report, these boys were planning to kill a Hindu—and had actually stabbed him, inflicting upon him a simple injury.

However, according to the relatives of the boys, it is all a concocted case of the police and a relative of one of the arrested boys has said that the Sub-Inspector of the Police who went to arrest the boy, had in fact demanded a sum of Rs. 10,000 for doing away with the arrest of the boy.

Sir, the arrest of these minor boys under the National Security Act seems to be a clear abuse of the Act. Even if some action was required to be taken against them, it should have been taken under the appropriate law and not the NSA. These arrests and such a long detention of the boy₉, is definitely contributing to inflame the passions of the minority community which feels that due justice is not being meted out to its members. So, I urge upon the Government the dire need to set these boys free immediately and for ensuring that the National Security Act is not abused or

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misused in future, and especially minors are ^{not} apprehended under it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the Home Minister can make an enquiry and supply the information to the House as to the position in this respect.

सदन की कार्यवाही सब दो बजे तक
स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at fourteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at nineteen minutes past two of the clock, the Vice-Chairman (Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam) in the Chair.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—contd.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Sir, I was submitting last time when I was asked to speak, that this document was a very solemn document, a document which records the achievements of the Government during the last year that has passed and also gives an insight into the working, the policies of the Government and what it is going to do in the future.

What does this document hold? What is the amount of promise this document holds for the people? This solemn document has been prepared in such a casual manner that it imparts nothing. The most important topics of the day, with which this whole country is today concerned, with which every person in the country is concerned, those problems have completely escaped this document; they have not even been referred to. I had in this connection mentioned the problem of unemployment. Sir, this unemployment problem has been dealt with on page 3 in a very very casual manner. There is just half a sentence devoted to it on page 3.11 says;

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

"This year more than 330 million additional mandays of rural employment will be generated under the National Rural Employment Programme."

This is the only reference to this aspect of life. It does not say what type of employment—skilled or unskilled, for educated people or professional people—will be thrown open to the people. From the figures we find that unemployment during the last five years has doubled on the live registers of the employment exchanges; from one crore it has gone up to two crores. And the trend that is continuing in the country, with more and more educated women offering themselves for employment, is likely to create a further problem, a more inflated figure. Sir, I may say that the figure of persons on the live registers of employment exchanges represents only the tip of the iceberg. At least there are three to four times more number of people than are recorded on the registers of employment exchanges, who have not thought it profitable to apply to the employment exchanges to put their names on the live register. So, if you work out on that basis, the figure of unemployed today turns out to be something of the order of six to eight crores. And in the next ten years, this figure will have gone up to 16 to 20 crores of unemployed educated people, people with proper degrees, with proper education, roaming and knocking at the doors of the Government or private companies and organisations and asking for jobs, with no chance of getting jobs. What are those people going to do? What can you expect out of these young men and women in their state of frustration? And what is the planning of this Government? How does the Government propose to solve this problem? There is nothing contained in this document. One very important scheme on which the Government has been at least thinking, or has been broadcasting so through the publicity media, is that it is going to take recourse to rural in-

dustrialisation. It has been talked or many times. I can understand that if rural industrialisation is taken up in right earnest, then at least it will stop people (from going for higher education unnecessarily, at least those people who have no use for higher education, and will, at an early stage of 16 to 18 years, put those young people into employment avenues. If the Government had been sincere about rural industrialisation, it could have, to some extent, solved the unemployment problem. But this is one subject upon which they talk a lot, but nothing has been done.

They say that in regard to rural industrialisation they have done a lot and they have put in so much money. They have put in money for giving loans of Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 25,000 to certain villagers for setting up small, little units, but actually the money that goes into the hands of people who want to put up the units is hardly about 50 to 60 per cent of that amount. The remainder is taken by the people distributing the money. The result is that after five or seven or ten years, the Government starts recovering the money and we reach a situation where neither the money is there nor the unit is there. I have not seen any progress on the rural side. I have toured a number of villages. There is no rural industrialisation. (Time belt rings). I think this bell means actually nothing because I have not even.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाल्लू मोहन निगम) : आप पहले बोल चुके हैं ।

श्री सुशील चन्द महुन्ता : मैं पहले बिल्कुल नहीं बोला हूँ । मेरे को खड़ा इसलिए किया कि मेरा नम्बर फिक्स हो जायेगा । इसलिए मुझे खड़ा किया मगर मैं बोला एक मिनट भी नहीं हूँ

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाल्लू मोहन निगम) :
आप तो बोल रहे हैं इसलिए आपको पता
नहीं चल रहा है

श्री सुशील चन्द महन्त : तो मैं अर्ज

^ X\$ <*T I Let us have a look at another problem. We had a famous jamboree, a very interesting even of 15 to 20 days where a number of people collected. It was said it was an event of world wide importance. I do not underrate its importance. But can you imagine the fate of a project like the Rajasthan Canal. In 1960 it was out of the World Bank's assistance with a solemn assurance by our own Prime Minister that we will complete the Rajasthan Canal by 1970. At that time the estimated expenditure of the Rajasthan Canal did not involve more than Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 crores. But today it has gone up several times the estimate. Much larger amounts are allocated. And yet the Rajasthan Canal is not complete. It will take yet another 7-8 years to complete. If only it had been completed, it would have provided drinking water to those villages which are now totally dry. Even the World Bank team which went there, found that muddy rain water was lying in pools and the same was being drunk by the people. They said this is a very good and valid reason for withdrawing the water of the eastern rivers of Pakistan and give it to them. Today we find that the Rajasthan Canal is still in jeopardy. We bought the waters of the three eastern rivers of Pakistan. The Thien Dam could have provided electricity and water for irrigation. But even the Thein Dam has not started. But there is no mention of these things in the President's Address.

Another aspect is about the Assam and the Punjab situation. They said that we have associated the Opposition parties. The President addressed both Houses of Parliament on 18th. On 21st we find there was a resolution moved by the Leader of the House express-

ing sorrow and grief over what happened in Assam. Could it not have formed part of this document? Could it not have been made a part of the President's Address? He could not express grief which the House did just on the 21st, three days later. Such an important thing, huge killing, the whole of Assam is put on fire, and yet no mention of it in the President's Address. The Punjab situation has been gradually allowed to deteriorate and develop today in to the same situation in which we find Assam today. In 1970 an award was given by the Prime Minister regarding the distribution of water and the demarcation of the boundary. And it was provided in the Reorganisation Act that if the States do not agree on any particular formula, then the Centre would within a period of two years, settle the dispute. But it took four the Government from 1972 to 1976, to intervene. Now we are in 1983. Almost twelve years have elapsed, but not a single step has been taken to appoint a commission for demarcation of boundaries. Nothing is done for waters. Nothing has happened and the whole situation has deteriorated. And what is the Government's reaction in such a situation? It has adopted the same imperialistic pattern of action as was done by the Britishers. They would not do anything till the people muster up courage and resort to agitation, go to jail, sometimes at some places people indulge in loot, arson with anarchy prevailing. And then only finally they intervene and concede a few demands. Is this not the same policy? The Punjab problem could have been solved in two minutes. But nothing has been done. The Opposition was associated at a late stage with the tripartite talks and there was almost a consensus on all important points. The water dispute broke down because there was a demand from other sections that they want to give water to Haryana on the completion of the water channel which would normally take two years, to the extent that it is being now utilised by them. In this situation between Haryana and Rajasthan, the Central Government said, look, water " must be

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[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta] given once the canal is constructed to the extent allocated, till the matter is finally decided by the Tribunal. This was a very small matter. The whole issue could have been referred to the Tribunal. After all the Prime Minister yesterday announced certain concessions to the Akalis. She conceded certain religious demands of the ""Akalis. Similarly, in this matter also unilateral action could have been taken. Instead, the problem of Punjab has been allowed to drift and take the shape of an ugly situation. We are today sitting over a volcano. We do not know what will happen tomorrow. This document does not say anything OH that. This is the State of affairs. You say that divisive forces are at work, I have been listening with rapt attention to the speeches made from that side and the arguments advanced by my learned friends opposite. Instead of giving thanks to the President for his Address, they have been trying to criticise opposition parties as if this is a debate on a vote of no-confidence against the opposition. Instead* of appreciating the role of the opposition in the tripartite talks, they were criticising the opposition. When the Government asked the opposition to join the talks, they readily agreed and helped the Government in the talks. Whenever they wanted us to cooperate, they never lacked initiative in coming forward and helping them. But they have always been talking about the failures of the opposition, not about the good work done by them. They were trying to put all the blame on the opposition for their own failures, as if the opposition is in control of the situation and we are the rulers. My submission is that in this document something positive should have been said about it.

Now about electricity. We are short of electricity everywhere, but we find that the rural sector is particularly neglected so far as electricity is concerned. In fact it is the rural sector which is responsible for stabilising the economy of the country. And that is the sector which is most

neglected. I have gathered the latest figures from the Library indicating the utilisation of electricity in the rural areas. For instance, utilisation of electricity by the agricultural sector is only 16.8 per cent. The utilisation of electricity in the industrial sector is 58 and odd per cent. I admit that we are short of electricity. Would it not have been better if the big industrial units were asked to set up generating stations for electricity and supply farmers, small farmers, with electricity enabling them to operate 5 H. P. motors so that by utilising electricity they can grow more food-grains? Is it not necessary to increase our food production when rice is selling at Rs. 7 per kg. in Tamil Nadu? But there is no mention of it in the President's Address.

The President's Address does promise certain things. But what has the Address promised for the common man of this country and for his welfare and prosperity tomorrow? The Government, instead, have raised the postal rates. They have increased the railway fare. What is the condition of the common man today? What are the steps that the Government is going to take or improving his lot? Nothing of that kind is mentioned in this document.

My submission, therefore, is that the amendments which we have moved to the Motion should be accepted. Otherwise there is nothing in this Address except that the whole country has been taken for a ride. The People of this country have been bluffed.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): I am grateful to you. Mr. Vice-Chairman...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): You have two minutes.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: I will finish as early as I can. Sir, the President's Address this time is notable for two things! One is that the President has said many things. The more important thing is that he has left many

things unsaid in his Address, in the present context of our country. Our country is going through a very difficult phase. As you know there is growing concern over the balkanisation of States of our country. There are different viewpoints on this matter. But we should also remember that we are Indians first and then only we are Tamilians or Maharashtrians or Bengalis. So, keeping in mind the unity of the country, we should act and this is the time when we should put our united efforts, particularly in the wake of the seething recession all over the world which has not picked up as early as it should have, particularly when our own land is going through a severe economic crisis and when there is labour unrest. The textile strike in Bombay has been going on for well over a year and the mighty Central Government, with all the powers at its command and also, fortunately, having the same political party ruling these in Maharashtra, has not been able to set right the matters nor solve the problem nor end the strike. If such a small thing like the textile strike cannot be solved in our country—I am not saying that it is a small thing; but it has become bigger now—how can you solve the other problems? This has become a big thing now. If you allow even some fungus to develop and if you do not control it in the early stages properly, then it will develop all over the body and it may become cancerous also. So, I think these are all the portents of something, which is more dangerous, to come and on all these matters, Sir, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet must act boldly irrespective of who is injured or who is involved and they should not mind taking strong action and if one man—I do not like to name him; we all know who is responsible for this strike and who is holding the whole country to ransom—cannot be dealt with, I must say then that it is really a sad stage to which our country is coming now.

Then, Sir, another thing that the President has taken note of is the politics of violence which is now prevalent all over the country. Perhaps in Assam

the local people have enough reason to be agitated over something; perhaps in Punjab the people there have some reason, if not enough of a reason, to be agitated over something. But, in both these places, there is not enough reason for promoting the politics of violence and hatred which will only result in destroying the political life as far as this country is concerned. Some people may die and some may live. But, ultimately, it is the country which will suffer. Therefore, Sir, I plead that the politics of violence has to be eschewed and, in this context, Sir, it is with great concern and regret that I have to bring to the notice of the House and through you to the whole of the country the politics of violence which is being propagated in our State of Tamil Nadu by the DMK Party. Even this morning you would have seen in the report that the car of our honourable Chief Minister, Shri M. G. Ramachandran, during his Tiruchendur election campaign, was stoned by the DMK volunteers and sympathisers. Is this the way we should settle our scores? In a democracy, Sir, everyone has a right to his opinion and everyone has got the right to his point of view. But all these should be settled by the ballot and not by the politics of violence. Even Mr. Shivaji Ganesan, a member of the ruling Congress (I) Party, was not spared and his car also has been stoned by some goondas and vandals. If we are going to allow this sort of a thing to go on in our own country, then I do not know where this will lead to and what it will lead to. But I condemn this and I hope that all sections of the House would join me in condemning this undesirable violence caused by the DMK Party.

Then, Sir, as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, I would like to bring a few points to the notice of the President and through him to the Council of Ministers. There is absolutely a discriminatory attitude which is being taken by the Centre as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned which I will prove with statistics.

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[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

Sir, in the Central financial assistance *or the Plans, over a period of time—I would like to limit myself to certain points only because the time is short—the allocation has been going down from Plan to Plan. During the First Five Year Plan, the total percentage of allocation which was given to Tamil Nadu was 10.8; in the Second Plan it came down to 9; in the Third Plan, it went down to 7.4; in the Fourth Plan to 6.8 per cent; in the Fifth Plan to 5.5; and, in the Sixth Plan, that is, the current Plan, it has come down to 4.1 per cent. You can see the figures. It is like the dwindling graph. You see, in Tamil Nadu, we have got a game called the *Paramapada Sopana Padma*, which is played on an auspicious day, for one day, in a year. When the person is moving his coin on the picture, and when he nears that depicting the portals of heaven, there is a big snake and he will suddenly be pushed down and he will come down to square one. This is also like that game and, consequently, the per capita Plan outlay for Tamil Nadu has been dwindling. The per capita Plan outlay for Tamil Nadu during the 1967—74 period was Rs. 114 against the All-India figure of Rs. 133 and our position was 17 in the Ust. Then, what has happened in 1974—78? The per capita outlay, the per capita Plan outlay for Tamil Nadu, during this period was Rs. 272 as against the All-India average of Rs. 345 and we went down to the 19th position in the list.

Therefore, if this sort of discrimination is going to be adopted by the party at the Centre against a State which is having the non-ruling party, then it will be a sad day for the country. Sir, Tamil Nadu has been discriminated against even in the case of industry. I will just give you briefly the figures. In 1979 we had recommended 61, recommended by the State, out of which 42 were granted. In 1980, 108 were recommended and 57 were granted.

In 1981, 92 were recommended and forty were granted; 23 were rejected and 27 are still under consideration. In 1982, 186 were recommended and 39 were granted; 140 are still under various stages of consideration. If it is going to take so long to give a Letter of Intent, to pass something which has been reasonably studied by the State, then I do not know how our country is going to progress.

Sir, another important point which I would like to refer to, and which has been referred to by our Governor in his Address to the Tamil Nadu State Assembly, is about the investment of the Central Government in Tamil Nadu. It stood at Rs. 262 crores by the end of 1969 out of the total investment of Rs. 3463 crores made throughout the country, forming 8 per cent of the total investment. And, Sir, what is the position today? As against this, the investment by the Government of India in Tamil Nadu up to 1979 was Rs. 616 crores, working out to only 4 per cent of the total investment of Rs. 15,668 crores made throughout the country. From 8 per cent it has come down to 4 per cent. Why I am giving these statistics is to show that steadily Tamil Nadu is being discriminated by the Centre.

Today, Sir, we are in the grip of a severe drought. The southwest monsoon and northeast monsoon both have failed miserably and put the entire people of Tamil Nadu in a situation of crisis. There is no water. There is no power. As far as power is concerned, for several power schemes the approval of the Centre was asked for over a period of time. But nothing was forthcoming in good time. Today we are in the grip of a power crisis because of this. Thanks to the weather gods, who have been very unkind to our country, we are in the midst of water famine, and in Madras only other day water is available. And today we are in the midst of severe drought. We have asked, for Rs. 190 crores as drought assistance. And even in anticipation of the Central team's visit there, I would like.

to say one thing. There is a wrong impression going on that we do not want the Central team to come to us, though a report was submitted on the 23rd January. Our Assembly was in session. Sir, we wanted the officials and others to be readily available for the Central team to grant assistance. I understand that the Central team is going there tomorrow, and it is going there at a time when Karnataka has been kind enough to release 3 PMC of water and, therefore, some water will be available in various rivers and rivulets. That should not give any misimpression. Even in anticipation of the Central team, we have already started drought works worth about Rs. 40 crores over a period of time, for construction of ring wells, transportation of water, irrigation works, road works, filter point tube wells, sinking of bore wells, etc. We have already commenced.

In this connection I would like to say that last time we also asked for Rs. 140 crores from the Central Government but we were allowed only Rs. 49.77 crores. We spent Rs. 01.8 crores, out of which the loan amount was Rs. 20.93 crores, and grant was Rs. 8.97 crores. So Tamil Nadu is facing a very difficult situation, but we are straining every nerve to see that we come up well.

Finally, I would like to conclude with one more point. Regarding Cauvery water, it has been the issue since 1974. The hon. Minister, Shri Mirdha, has convened a meeting of the Chief Ministers on the 25th and 26th of March. I hope he will be able to come out with a solution. The solution must be just both for Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and for the other riparian States. Sir, this problem has been defying a solution for a long time. Full rights of existing irrigated land in Tamil Nadu should be protected and the agreement continued. Otherwise also, some satisfactory solution should be found out and Karnataka should be stopped forthwith from building unauthorised dams on the tributaries of Cauvery

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viz. Hemavathi and Kabini, thereby restricting the flow to Cauvery. Even the Planning Commission has chided them. The Government should now *come* to our rescue.

With these words, I thank the President for his Address.

PROF. (MRS.) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while supporting the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, I deeply appreciate the statement made therein that the year 1982 has been an eventful year for our science and technology. This is indeed true. A few days ago, there were some adverse comments on this statement by some hon. Members on this floor and this has prompted me to rectify their version. There was a comment that such was the progress of science and technology that hardly any heavy water had been available. I would like to inform the hon. Members, through you, Sir, that not only heavy water but also deuterated chloroform which is obtained through the help of heavy water had been available, besides many isotopes and radio-isotopes for agricultural and industrial purposes and also clinical isotopes from the Bhaba Atomic Research Centre. In fact science and technology had paid much dividend. To cite with may be mentioned the applications of technology in the field of electronics—in the production of electronic components and equipments of high quality with Indian expertise, in the field of telecommunications and also in the field of semiconductors, in the production of organic intermediaries for drugs, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, pesticides and fertilizers. In defence area, including the defence bio-engineering, in solving problems arising out of high altitudes and on environmental pollution, the contributions of science and technology are indeed commendable. It has been proved by our scientists and technologists that ozone layer disturbance in the upper atmosphere by the release of aerosols from jet engines is one of the major causes

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[Prof. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee]

for the development of leukemia (the blood cancer). Technology for mutation and mutagenesis has led to the production of improved seeds and hybrids for high yielding crops and fodder crops and also for increasing the yield of herbal drugs and drug intermediates. Development of technology for utilisation of solar energy and the development of solar cell deserve special mention considering the world crisis in energy. Now, the solar energy received by the earth is about ten times the amount from fossil fuel sources.

Now, let us come to the economic front. On economic front, the progress is not discouraging. Many small-scale industries have developed and have been flourishing thus providing opportunities for self-employment which is very important. India today with all the difficulties and hardships has been going through gracefully enough receiving goodwill from various parts of the globe. Sir, the ruling party is being criticised for not checking inflation, bribery, black-marketing and corruption at various levels. This remark is unfair. In spite of serious efforts by the ruling party complete eradication of these evils had not been possible. True, nothing is hundred per cent perfect in this world. Why not let us all join the ruling party to eradicate these evils? We must not feel that we are non-Indians. So far as the productivity is concerned, it has been hampered to a great extent by labour unrest, various strikes and also by adopting go-slow techniques by the workers in the industries. Still, the economic stability has not been disturbed because of the untiring efforts of our Finance Minister. He has been working hard to protect the economy of the country and to maintain the price stability as far as practicable. And our Finance Minister must be congratulated for this excellent performance.

Lastly, Sir, agitations and violence leading to blood-bath have harmed

the cause of national unity and national integrity, so vital not only for economic stability but also for security and progress of the country. The reason for this turmoil is that we are gradually being drifted away from Indian ideals and moral values of life are being gradually eroded. We are ignoring the fundamental truth that India is one and in potentia. Unless and until this philosophy is realised and unless and until this feeling that we belong to one community irrespective of caste, creed and religion is revived, national disintegration with disastrous results is inevitable. To avoid the danger our people should be re-educated and made to ask themselves, with whom are we fighting? We are fighting with our brothers and sisters. Whom are we murdering, whom are we killing and for what purpose? We are murdering for power, for position. Why are we for this power, for this position? Can we not live in peaceful co-existence? This is the high time that we should give a serious thought about this problem. We must honour the human rights. We need simultaneously the universalizing of elementary education at the very grass-roots level so as to instil into the minds of our children the feeling that we belong to one community, with the development of a sense of unity. (*Time bell rings*).

Therefore, Sir, I appeal to all let our life be a radiance of purity and let us co-operate with the ruling party and let us all work hard unitedly with dedication and sincerity to achieve the goals. Thank you.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN-
(Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I did not realise that I will be called so soon.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as I read the President's Address, I must confess that the President is not conscious of the anguish and agony of the people of India. I think the cries that surround the Rashtrapati Bhavan do not penetrate the walls of the palace he lives in.

I find a peculiar lopsidedness in the President's Address. Education gets four lines, while" as the Asiad ijfts twelve lines. Now, this is unimaginable. I do not know who wrote this Address. I will not go into many other examples but it seems to me that certain ideas which are considered to be achievements of the Government are enlarged upon at length and the basic data is simply slurred over. You do not even know what is happening to the Sixth Five-Year Plan. You do not even know what has actually happened to the Revised 20-Point Programme that was shouted about so vociferously. No late are provided except in one or two instances.

After all, the whole object of Independence, the whole purpose of administration, the very purpose of running a Government is to provide for the happiness of the people. And, I would like to know today whether any member in the Treasury Benches can put his hand upon his heart and say that the people of India today in February, 1983 are happier than they were two, three or four years ago. To my mind, they are not. Their food and cloth availability has gone down and there is housing shortage. Allotment of house sites does not mean that they are getting houses. You know that in Delhi there are lakhs of people without proper shelter. Happiness includes health and medical care. We know that we are nowhere near the national goal of Health for All by the year 2,000, that was promised last year. This year I expected the President to tell us how closer we are to that goal. Not a word. Hatpin* ss would also mean security for the future, which would imply education for the younger people. No figures are provided to tell us how much progress has taken place in the field of education? The same old promises are repeated virtually in the same old words. many people remain unemployed and unemployment is increasing.

Mr., Vice-Chairman, we find that country's integrity is being threaten-

ed. Assam has been talked about at length. I do not wish to go into it. But I would like to offer just one comment, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that to my mind Assam is not an opportunity to work out the balance sheet of death, to work out the number of persons killed, belonging to various communities, ethnic groups or linguistic groups. All the blood that has been shed is the blood of India, and we should all be sorry for it. Assam has come to this pass, a happy land has stopped smiling. Can we hope that it shall smile again? Today Assam is a wounded State; it is a fractured State; it is a disintegrated society; it is a divided house. Can we restore it to its integrity? Assam today is alienated from the rest of the country. Can we bring it closer to us, to this House? Can we feel to their anguish? I feel that in that one sentence in which Assam and Punjab have been linked together, obviously the President shows himself or his Government shows itself to be totally insensitive to the enormity of the damage that has been done to Assam.

Sir, Punjab is really in an explosive situation. I am happy something has been done today that should have been done much earlier. There was virtually a national consensus on those particular demands; they could have been granted much earlier. I do not know; this Government, perhaps, believes in brinkmanship. They want to bring things absolutely to an explosive point, the point where it simply boils up or, perhaps, they take a very simplistic view of the matter and they do not understand the nature of the forces that operate. Perhaps, they thought that by electing a Sikh as the President they would solve the Punjab problem. That could not be. That is not the right approach.

We find Adivasis in the entire tribal belt of India in a state of unrest and dissatisfaction. Mr. Vice-Chairman, through you I would like to draw the attention of the Government to this state of unrest among Adivasis. It

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin] can blow up next year or a year after, for it will blow up unless you do something about it. Adivasis do not feel that the development that might be taking place in that region or in their part of the country is shared by them, or that it is for them. They feel alienated; they feel deprived; they feel dispossessed; they feel done out of their traditional rights. Do something about it before it is too late.

And the minorities, I shall talk about them later. Minorities whether they are linguistic or religious, are in a state of frustration and helplessness. They feel cut-off, torn asunder, no one to look at them and the Government is totally insensitive to whatever might be happening to them. All the weaker sections of our society for whom the Government swears day in and day out are equally frustrated and alienated. What happened to the Mandal Commission Report? We debated it in the last session and the Government is far from making up its mind, what to do about it. Please do something about it before it is too late.

The entire constitutional fabric of our country has been eroded, is being eroded persistently, deliberately and almost continuously. Our Centre-State relations are reaching a breaking point. I would appeal to the Treasury Benches, ponder over them, find out what is wrong. Look to the legitimate grievances of the various sections. It is no use debunking regionalism and crying out against it or saying that it is anti-national, subversive or wrong for the country. Go into the reason as to why it is happening and why it is rising and why these demands are being made. Then only you shall be able to remedy the situation. Merely cursing your fate or cursing the anti-national forces behind them which are allegedly operating according to you, you shall not get anywhere.

What about the judiciary? We find Supreme Court judges are speaking in

public against Supreme Court judges. Who has brought them to this pass? There has been deliberate political interference in our judiciary. There has been an erosion of the freedom of judiciary. The Executive has taken upon itself powers which have completely ruined the prospect of an independent judiciary in our country. The power of transferring them at the fag end of their career from one corner of India to the other will be used in an oblique manner—as a judge has put it—and for oblique reasons and it is a threat like the sword of Damocles which is hanging over their head and ruining all prospects of having a fair hearing for the citizen in the last court of appeal against the executive.

I come to the press. In the press, I know, there are brave and valiant people. They fought against this black bill and forced the Government to take it back. Yet the 3 P.M. danger is not over. Government media is being misused deliberately, to build up the party as well as personalities and those who dare to criticise the Government are shunted out. They are refused the so-called plums or assignments and they have faced occasional repression.

What has happened to the Press Commission Report? You tabled it on the last day of the last session. After that, we have heard nothing about it. We do not know whether the Government are accepting the recommendations, are going to act upon them, are going to implement them. Not a word so far, not a word in the President's Address. This is one of the most important issues before the country. Why is the Government silent about it?

We have talked hoarse, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in every Session about electoral reforms. Again, not a word. Last Session, we had promises by a number of hon. Ministers, Minister of Law and Justice and the Minister

oi Home Affairs that very soon a comprehensive Bill shall be brought before the House. Not an indication in this Address that something has been done, that some spadework has been done or a Bill is being brought before the House. Why? Why don't you consider electoral reforms as the most urgent piece of political business before the country today? Why don't you see that the entire system has been distorted and it needs to be corrected?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लालो मोहन निगम) : आप के यहां से दो आदमी बोलने वाले हैं

श्री संजय शहाबुद्दीन : वे नहीं बोलेंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लालो मोहन निगम) : कोई नहीं बोलेंगा।

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Coming to the administration, it is on the point of breakdown. It has shown its inefficiency in many ways. But the primary reason for the inefficiency is the constant reshuffle. Everytime you reshuffle the cards, you come up with the same old jokers because you cannot have new ones. The same old faces are there. Coupled with this, you have the frequent, arbitrary, unreasonable transfer of officers, after six months in a place, after three months in a place. How can you bring about efficiency in administration with changing Ministers, engaged in a game of musical chairs with changing officers as attendants? That is why, efficiency of the system is going down. And you have in the ranks of the services today a sense of demoralisation. Again, I would appeal to the Government; please listen to the murmur of discontent among the civil servants. You cannot run the country without the devotion, the dedication, the loyalty, the sincerity and the patriotism of the civil servants. You cannot. And you have neglected them.

You have interfered with them politically. You have also permitted the system to be penetrated by or to have linkages with anti-social elements. Look at any Government machinery. Telephones do not function. Railways do not function. Not a single service functions. You call the Police. They, do not even turn up.

Hanging over all this is the shadow of corruption, corruption which is no longer limited to individuals or at the base level, corruption which has been highly centralised, highly institutionalised, which has become well-formulated and well organised from the ground and grassroots up to the highest levels in the country; the system is built on corruption. And when the Government says, "now, we shall fight corruption", I dare say, they will not.

Apart from corruption, there is an air of violence in the country. I am not talking only about the violence which is the normal concomitant of human society. I am talking about State violence. In the name of encounters, in the name of action against anti-social elements, there is a deliberate violation of the fundamental rights and the civil rights in an organised manner. And the Police is used as a tool of repression by the Government against not only the usual targets, the kisans and the mazdoors, the students and the youth; they are being used even against the blind, against the disabled, against the lawyers, against Pressmen, against all sections of the society, who think about the country and who dare to speak out about the country. This violence is also used against the minorities. Why has the Government failed to curb the communal and what they call extremist anti-national forces in our country so far? Why don't you identify them? Why don't you take action against them? I have gone through the President's Address of 1980, 1981 and 1982. They all said 'communal and divisive forces are raising their heads'. All right, they are raising their heads. Why don't

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin]

you put them down? Why don't you bring them down? Not a word about Meerut in this Address, the worst expression of communal tragedy that we have witnessed for sometime. There have been record number of communal riots, according to the Home Minister nearly 500 in 1982, and the Address is silent about it. There has been no reorganisation of the police force. They have been some promises. No special courts or tribunals have been set up to punish those who indulge in communal violence. Again only promises are there. No statutory authority for the Minority Commission, although it was promised in your own manifesto, and no control on communal propaganda although we all know that communal riot is the flare up of the communal propaganda. It is communal tension which erupts into communal violence and unless you do something to suppress communal propaganda, communal riots can never be liquidated from our society. What has happened to the question of Wakfs? The Government promised to bring a comprehensive law on Wakfs. They have not done it so far. The report of the Burney Committee alleges that the Government itself is occupying more than 200 Wakf properties here in Delhi and the Government itself "ave a reply last Friday that it has not returned a single property identified by the Burney Committee to the Wakf authority. There was, once upon a time, a Committee on Urdu, called the Gujaral Committee. I am nure Mr. B. P. Maurya is fully aware of it, Not a word about what has happened to the implementation of the Gujarat Committee's report. Not a word here whether the grievance of the minorities about due share in Government employment has been attended to. It is a stark reality today, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that in the apparatus of the Central Government the Muslim minority which is 12 per cent, of the population is not represented by more than one to two per cent at any level. Recently we submitted a memorandum to the Prime

Minister. The Government was totally insensitive. The Government has been silent for three months. Now they have appointed a Committee to look into it. But not a word in the Address.

The economic situation also needs our attention. The gross national production was 8 per cent in 1980-81 and now it has come down to 2 per cent. It is expected to be 2 per cent in 1982-83—from 8 per cent to 5 per cent and now in this year to 2 per cent. If you consider that the population is going up by 3 per cent, it indicates a negative result.

Industry is in a state of recession. Agriculture production has gone down. You have made us once again dependent on agricultural imports. The stock of 23 million tonnes left by the Janata Government has been consumed and reduced to 11 million tonnes. You have no comprehensive energy policy and not a word has appeared here about the need for such a comprehensive energy policy to be formulated. There is power shortage everywhere. The trade deficit has reached an all-time height. Exports have risen, but risen slowly than the imports and the gap has increased and our share of world trade which used to be more than 1 per cent in 1960s has come down to 0.4 per cent. Our foreign debt has scaled heights, never reached before, thanks to the IMF's generous policy. Foreign reserves have shrunk. We left Rs. 5300 crores, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and today it has come down to Rs. 2800 crores, despite the transfusion of blood by the IMF. And then you take pride, and say that the prices have been stabilised, they have increased this year only by 2.8 per cent. In your own Economic Survey it has been pointed out that the consumer price index shows an increase of 8 per cent during the year 1982. Wage structures have not been revised. Therefore, there is labour Unrest and a record number of labour days have been lost. Unemployment has risen by 12 per cent during 1982 and on the

live register educated unemployment is recorded as nearly 20 million. And not to talk about the growing disparities between classes, between sections of the society, between rural and urban population and between different regions of the country. That has gone on widening.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the State has become a hunting ground today for the elite of the society. It has become a preserve of the rich. This Government introduces policies which are conducive only to the enrichment of the life of the rich, to better enjoyment of life and of the national resources by the 'beautiful people' as Kennedy called them, by the people who are *khandani*. The *khandani* people should alone deserve to enjoy the loaves and fishes of the society and they should feel a sense of pride that they are sending rockets into space and they are diving deep into the mysteries of the sea. I do not know for what purpose. How many hungry people are you going to feed, how many tears are you going to wipe, in Gandhiji's language, from peoples' eyes with these *tamashas* and such exercises in glory and glamour?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not have the time, I would like to end up with one or two quotations of Gandhiji so that the hon. Members who often swear in the name of Gandhiji, may recall them from time to time. Gandhiji said: When you are faced with a dilemma on a policy question—this was Gandhiji's advice to Jawaharlal Nehru—remember the nameless and the faceless Indian and find out...

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): When you say this, it looks as if devil is quoting the scriptures.

SHRI SYED SHAHABTJDDIN: Don't disturb me; I am finishing in a minute . . . ask yourself whether the policy you are going to advocate or the step you are going to take is going to make his life a little better. If so, you are on the right track. If not, you are not on the right track.

And Gandhiji also said, and he was not a Communist, "what cannot be shared with the masses is a taboo for me."

Here you are creating two cultures, two societies, with different value systems and with levels of enjoyment. What is available to the elite is not available to the masses of India. And that is the ultimate disgrace that you must face and that you must account for, before the people of India and before the bar of history. Thank you.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the President's Address presented to us normally should not only contain a survey of the work of the Government done in the last year but also it must indicate the line which the Government wants to move in the next year. Here, throughout the whole speech, what we find is that there is no direction, no indication of the direction in which the Government is going to function in the next year. Whatever has been included in this report is only perfunctorily done. Some schemes and projects and promises have been taken together and combined together to constitute an Address of the President. In that context, I would like to refer to paragraph 17 only¹, which has a reference to what is called, the political scene. Here the President is satisfied with mentioning certain generalised terms like "divisive and disruptive forces are at work fomenting violence and weakening the national fabric". Well, it is very easy to make such generalised statements. But the point, Sir, is why all these things happen in the country. Is it the fault of the people, or some political parties or of the Government, or those who are running the show of the State? What is the basic cause behind it? The basic cause is not mentioned in the President's Address.

The question, Sir, is that there is a crisis in the political culture of the country—a political culture built up round about 1968-69 and which has

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma] been pursued till now. That very political culture is at the root of all the troubles that we are facing in the country. Today we find that that political culture is symbolised by one person, where we find that so many slogans have been given, right from the slogan of "Garibi Hatao" to so many other things. We find that in 1969, when the old Congress system was demolished and a new system was evolved, it was led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi on a few particular slogans. First was "Garibi Hatao", and the second was one which related to centralisation of power, of highly centralised power by using the State power. Now, the *garibi hatao* slogan was used merely as a radical slogan and so it died its own natural death and we find today that it has been replaced by a new slogan of a revised 20-point programme which does not have any soul in it. It has not only propaganda value. But on certain points the present Government and the present leaders of the Government are very insistent and very particular. They are particular in demolishing all legitimate authorities at different levels, right from the authority of the States down to the authority of the very people. There is no respect for the sovereign rights of the people.

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

Now, in the course of the debate, the other day the Leader of the House intervened and gave us a lecture on democratic principles and he mentioned two things which I must answer because one is related to my earlier contention. According to him, if you can have an election, you achieve democracy—as if election is democracy and as if other dictatorial countries do not have elections. He was speaking in the context of the Assam situation and said that he had to hold the election to preserve democracy. But, what actually has he done? He has held an election by using the police bullets to murder as

many as 250 young men and women. According to the Home Minister's own admission, 125 young men have been killed by the police bullets, plus two to three thousand people killed due to clashes among the people. Now here also we find that the Government is not sorry for leading to such a situation. It is not sorry for this extensive scale of violence that has been enacted but it takes things very gladly. It only emphasised on the technical aspect of the election. And what is that election in Assam?

Sir, 126 seats in the Assam Assembly had to be filled up and out of that they could hold elections only in 108 constituencies. In 17 constituencies there was no election at all. And out of 10 Lok Sabha constituencies only in five election could be completed. And what are the results of the election held in the different constituencies? (*Time bell rings*). We find that out of 91 constituencies, results of which have been declared, less than one per cent of voters of the electorate cast their votes in as many as ten constituencies and between two and five per cent of polling was done in 15 constituencies. Similarly, between six and 10 per cent in nine constituencies, 11 to 15 per cent in seven constituencies, 16 to 20 in four and 21 to 25 per cent in four constituencies. We find that below 30 per cent polling was done in as many as 51 constituencies out of 91. And now we find an illegitimate Government born out of this election—and at what cost? The lives of 250 young men and women plus 2,000 and more of lives of people of the State have been lost, Rs. 20 crores have been spent on the election and untold atrocities committed on the people and, apart from that, complete destruction of democratic values and faith of the people. This is the achievement of the Government by holding the election in Assam.

Now, Sir, the Leader of the House. ... (*Time bell rings*) just only two minutes more,... Hon. Mukherjee, referred to one point I happened to*

mention earlier in the discussion on Assam. I have said that the CRP has been behaving as an occupation army in Assam. I hold my view, and I think if Mr. Mukherjee had gone to Assam during that period and seen the condition, he would have agreed with me and said that I was perfectly correct. Members of Parliament who have visited that State have seen the enormous atrocities committed by the CRP, of course, for that the CRP forces are not alone to blame, because the Forces have been utilized by the Government, have been directed by the Government to suppress and oppress the people. And by doing that, what has been achieved is that the people there have been antagonized more and it has produced a greater sense of alienation among the people, because the CRP represents the Central Government.

Now, Sir, even this morning I have received four or five telegrams intimating large-scale violence, killings, burning of houses by Bangladeshis going on in the entire State. All this is the direct result of the election campaign of the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Central Government. They are wholly and solely guilty of producing such a situation in Assam, which is now burning like anything.

Now, Sir, I mention one more important point from the Prime Minister's speech the other day in the Lok Sabha, as reported in the press. There were some Members who accused her of using the words 'Khuda Hafiz' instead of 'Jai Hind'. In answer to that, she made a very surprising statement. She said, "While addressing some election meetings in Assam, when I said 'Jai Hind', there was no response. So I said 'Khuda Hafiz'." If this be the fact, this very statement proves the contention and the fear of the people of Assam who have been continuing a struggle for the last three years demanding deportation of foreigners from that land. Now the Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha confirms that there

is a very large presence of foreigners inside Assam, who do not respond to Jai Hind and that problem has to be solved immediately and with a political will. Mere election of a Government, election of an Assembly, constituting a Congress (I) Government will not solve the problem. I wish the President's Address contained greater details about this issue.

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

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Even today I think the Government will pay its immediate attention to solve the problem because excepting through solution of that main problem of foreigners no peace will return to the State of Assam, and to the whole of the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Prof. Sourendra Chattacharjee—not there. Shri Syed Ahmad Hashmi.

श्री सयद अहमद हाशमी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वाइस चैयरमैन साहब प्रेसीडेंट एड्रेस को पढ़ने के बाद यह अंदाजा होता है कि जैसे फीगर्स और आदादों-शुमार की यह एक कहानी है जो उस एड्रेस के अन्दर बयान की गयी है फीगर्स के जरिये से और आदादोंशुमार के जरिये से एवम को यह बताने की कोशिश की गई है कि तुम कितने खुशहाल हो और कितनी तरक्की के रास्ते पर हो । हालांकि यह कहानी न जाने कितने दिनों से फीगर्स और आदादोंशुमार के जरिये बयान की जा रही है, लेकिन आज भी मुल्क में जो सिचुयेशन है वह यह है कि जो लोग बिलो पावरटी लाइन रह रहे हैं उनकी तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है । आज भी गरीबी अपनी जगह पर कायम है । लोग नतीजा पूछते हैं, रिजल्ट पूछते हैं । आज सारी प्रोजेक्ट्स की कहानी

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी]

को बाबजूद इन प्रोजेक्ट्स का जनता पर कोई असर दिखाई नहीं देता है। यही बात तो यह है कि उनमें से किसी का भी असर जनता की आम जिन्दगी पर, उनकी रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी पर, कुछ नहीं पड़ा है। पहले जितनी परेशानियाँ थीं आज भी उतनी ही परेशानियाँ हैं। जिनका नतीजा गरीबी को बढ़ती हुई शक्ल में आप खुद देख सकते हैं। रोजाना प्राइसेज के अन्दर, कीमतों में कितना इजाफा हो रहा है, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। आज शाम को बजट आयेगा। लेकिन उससे पहले आप जो पैट्रोलियम के अन्दर, ट्रांसपोर्ट और कम्प्यूटिकेशन के अन्दर इजाफा कर चुके हैं वह खुद इतना है कि यह बतलाने को जरूरत नहीं है कि जनता के हित के लिये और जनता के मफाद के लिये आपके दिल में कितनी दिलचस्पी है और आप आम जनता की रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी को कितना खुशहाल और कितना डैवलप करना चाहते हैं। वाकई मकेक्मूचल मिच्येशन यह है कि इस मुल्क में 20 फीसदी लोग 80 फीसदी लोगों के मुकाबले में पूरा फायदा उठा रहे हैं। यह सही बात है। 80 फीसदी अबाम आज भी 20 फीसदी लोगों के मुकाबले में गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे हैं।

इसी तरीके से आज कीमतों की बात अपनी जगह पर है। हमारी युनिवर्सिटीज और कालेज बेकारी के कारबाने हो गये हैं। माँ-बाप अपने बच्चों को इस आशा पर पढ़ाते हैं कि हमारे बच्चे पढ़ने के बाद कोई काम-धंधा करेंगे। एक तरफ तो सूरते हाल यह है कि तालीम की जो सहुलियतें हैं जो सहुलितें गरीबों के बच्चों को मिलनी चाहिए, पासमाँदा जातों और बैकवर्ड इलाकों को मिलनी चाहिए, वे उन्हें हासिल नहीं

हैं। तालीम के अन्दर फर्क है। एक तरफ तो मिशनरी स्कूल्स हैं, पब्लिक स्कूल्स हैं, सेंट्रल स्कूल्स हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीबों के बच्चों के लिये गैर-मिशनरी तालीम और म्युनिसिपल स्कूल्स हैं। तालीम में नाबराबरी है। हर एक को एक सी अपोरचुनिटी और मोका नहीं है। लेकिन इसके बाबजूद भी अगर किसी को मोका मिल जाता है और अपनी मेहनत से कोई कोशिश भी करता है तो कांस्टिट्यूशन के अन्दर उसकी जगह की, उसकी सर्विस की, कोई गारन्टी नहीं है। आज लाखों की तादाद में, करोड़ों की तादाद में मुल्क के अन्दर नवजवान बेरोजगार हैं। अजीब हालत यह है कि एक तरफ तो गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे के लोग अपनी जिन्दगी बिता रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ बेरोजगारी की यह हालत है। कोई नवजवान दरखास्त भी भेजना चाहे तो उसके पास इतना भी पैसा नहीं है कि वह दो, ढाई रुपये में रजिस्ट्री कर सके या 10) रु० में फार्म वर्गहरा खरीद सके। इस लिये में इस बात को बहुत जरूरी समझता हूँ कि एक तरफ तो कांस्टिट्यूशन की यह गारन्टी होनी चाहिए कि तालीम के साथ-साथ ही रोजगार भी देंगे और जितने भी बेरोजगार नवजवान हैं उनको रोजगार मुहैया करेंगे। यह हुकूमत की जिम्मेवारी है। लेकिन कम से कम दर्जों में मैं यह कहता हूँ कि जब यह उनको रोजगार मुहैया न हों, उन को डेढ़ साँ रुपया बेरोजगार का एलाउन्स मिलना चाहिए। दूसरे मुल्कों के अन्दर, छोटे से छोटे मुल्कों के अन्दर यह सहुलियत है। इस मुल्क के अन्दर भी, आबाज स्टेडों में इस अपोरचुनिटी को देने के लिये लोग तैयार हैं और दे रहे हैं। इस लिये 150 रुपये महीने बेकारी और बेरोजगारी का भत्ता नौजवान और बेरोजगार लड़के-लड़कियों को जरूर मिलना चाहिए। मैं

Address

ایسی طرح سے میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج راجنل ڈسٹرکٹ، ایلاکائی اڈم تھانہ بن رہا ہے۔ آج اس کا مسئلہ کیا ہے؟ اس کا مسئلہ اگر آپ ریلوے کے، جہاں اس کی گہرائی سے جانچ (سب سے پہلی)

جاننا چاہیے، اس میں میں نے شروع کیا ہے۔ بات کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ لیکن یہاں تو بات کہنے کو ترس رہا ہے جیسا کہ میں نے

† [شوہر سید احمد ہاشمی

(اگرچہ میں) : وائس چیئر مین

صاحب -

پریذیڈنٹ ایڈریس کو پڑھنے کے بعد یہ اندازہ ہوتا ہے کہ جو فیگرس اور اعداد و شمار کی یہ کہانی ہے جو اس ایڈریس کے اندر بیان کی گئی ہے - فیگرس کے ذریعہ سے اعداد و شمار کے ذریعہ سے ایوان کو یہ بتانے کی کوشش کی گئی ہے کہ تم کتنے خوشحال ہو - اور کتنی ترقی کے راستے پر ہو - حالانکہ یہ کہانی نہ جانے کتنے دنوں سے فیگرس - اور اعداد و شمار کے ذریعہ بیان کی جا رہی ہے - لیکن آج بھی ملک میں جو سچویشن ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ جو لوگ بڑے پارٹی لائن پر رہ رہے ہیں ان کی تعداد بڑھتی جا رہی ہے - آج بھی غریبی اپنی جگہ پر

قائم ہے لوگ بے روزگار ہیں - رزلٹ پوچھتے ہیں - آج ساری پروجیکٹس کی کہانی کے باوجود ان پروجیکٹس کا جملہ پر کوئی اثر دکھائی نہیں دیتا - صدمہ بات تو یہ ہے کہ انہیں سے کسی کا بھی اثر جملہ کی عام زندگی پر ان کی روزمرہ کی زندگی پر کچھ نہیں پڑا - پہلے جتنی پریشانیوں میں آج بھی ان کی ہی پریشانیوں میں - جاکر نتیجہ غریبی کی بڑھتی ہوئی شکل میں آپ خود دیکھ سکتے ہیں - روزانہ پرائسز کے اندر قیمتوں میں کتنا اضافہ ہو رہا ہے - یہ مہی سے چھوٹا ہوا نہیں ہے - آج شام کو بجٹ آئیگا - لیکن اس سے پہلے آپ جو ریفورمز کے اندر - ٹرانسپورٹ اور کمیونیکیشن کے اندر اضافہ کر چکے ہیں وہ خود اتنا ہے کہ یہ بتانے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ جملہ کے ہت کھائے اور جملہ کے مفاد کو اپنے دل میں کتنی دلچسپی ہے اور آپ عام جملہ کی روزمرہ کی زندگی کو کتنا خوشحال اور کتنا دلچسپ کرنا چاہتے ہیں - واقعی ایکٹرول سچویشن یہ ہے کہ ملک میں ۲۰ فیصدی لوگ ۸۰ فیصدی لوگوں کے مقابلے میں پورا فائدہ اٹھا رہے ہیں - یہ صدمہ بات ہے ۸۰ فیصدی عوام آج بھی ۲۰ فیصدی لوگوں کے مقابلے میں غریبی کی دیکھا کے

† [] Transliteration in Arabic script.

[شری سہد احمد ہاشمی]

اسی طریقہ سے آج قیمتوں کی بات اپنی جگہ پر ہے۔ ہماری یونیورسٹیز اور کالج ہیکاری کے گارجانے ہو گئے ہیں۔ مار باپ ایچ بچوں کو اس آسا پر پڑھاتے ہیں کہ ہمارے بچے پڑھنے کے بعد کرنٹی کام دھندہ کریں گے۔ ایک طرف تو صورتحال یہ ہے کہ تعلیم کی جو سہولیتیں ہیں۔ جو سہولیتیں غریبوں کے بچوں کو ملنی چاہئیں۔ پسنداندہ ذاتوں اور بھک ورت علاقوں کو ملنی چاہئیں۔ وہ انہیں حاصل نہیں ہیں۔ تعلیم کے اندر فرق ہے۔ ایک طرف تو مشدزی اسکول ہیں۔ پبلک اسکول ہیں۔ سہولیت اسکول ہیں۔ اور دوسری طرف غریبوں کے بچوں کیلئے فیر معیاری تعلیم اور سہولیت اسکول ہیں۔ تعلیم میں نا برابری ہے۔ ہو ایک کو ایک سی ایورجونیٹی - موقع نہیں ہے۔ لیکن اسکے باوجود بھی اگر کسی کو موقع مل جاتا ہے اور اپنی مہارت سے کوئی کوشش بھی کرتا ہے تو کانسٹی ٹیوشن کے اندر اسکی جاب کی - اسکی سروس کی - کوئی گارنٹی نہیں ہے۔ آج لاکھوں کی تعداد میں کوڑوں کی تعداد میں ملک کے اندر نوجوان بے روزگار ہیں۔ جبکہ حالت یہ ہے کہ ایک طرف تو غریبی کی دھندہ کے نیچے لوگ

اپنی زندگی بنا رہے ہیں۔ اور دوسری طرف بے روزگاری کی یہ حالت ہے کہ اوپر نوجوان درخواستیں بھی بھیجنا چاہے تو اسکے پاس اتنا بھی پیسہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ دو تھائی روپیہ میں رجسٹری کر سکے یا دس روپیہ میں فارم وغیرہ خرید سکے۔ اسلئے میں اس بات کو بہت ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایک طرف تو کانسٹی ٹیوشن کی گارنٹی ہونی چاہئے کہ تعلیم کے ساتھ روزگار بھی دیں گے۔ اور جتنے بھی بے روزگار نوجوان ہوں انکو روزگار مہیا کریں گے۔ یہ حکومت کی ذمہ داری ہے۔ لیکن کم سے کم درجہ میں میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ جب تک انکو روزگار مہیا نہ ہو انکو قیود سو روپیہ بے روزگاری کا الؤنس ملنا چاہئے۔ دوسرے ملکوں کے اندر چھوٹے سے چھوٹے ملکوں کے اندر یہ سہولیت ہے۔ اس ملک کے اندر بھی بعض سٹیٹس میں اس ایورجونیٹی کو دینے کیلئے لوگ تیار ہیں اور دے رہے ہیں۔ اسلئے 10 روپیہ مہینہ ہیکاری اور بے روزگاری کا بہتہ نوجوان اور بے روزگار لوگ لڑکھوں کو ضرور ملنا چاہئے۔ اسی طریقہ سے میں یہ عرض کر رہا ہوں کہ آج ریجنل اسمبلیس علاقائی عدم توازن برابر یہ بڑھتا چلا جا رہا ہے۔ آج آسام کا معاملہ کیا ہے۔ آج آسام کا مسئلہ اگر آپ دیکھیں اور ذرا اسکی

کھڑائی میں جاؤں گا وقت کی
گنتی ہے جناب عالی ابھی
میں نے شروع کرنا ہے بات کہنا
چاہتا ہوں یہاں تو بات کرنے کو
توسی ہے زبان میری -

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामकृष्णन्) :
8 मिनट हो गये ।

श्री संयद अहमद हाशमी : असम के मसले पर अगर आप गहराई में जाय, यह महज इसलिए है कि एक जमाने से आप ने उनको इग्नोर किया । वहां बंचेनी पैदा हुई वहां मुखतलिफ सिमतों की तरफ अपने कदम बढ़ा रहे हैं और पूरी रिसायत को तशद्दुद की) गिरफ्त में ले रहे हैं । आज हजारों इन्सान, हजारों इन्सान, मैं उसके अंदर मुसलमान और बंगाली का इस्तियाज काम नहीं करना चाहता हूं कि कितने मुसलमान मरे, कितने बंगाली मरे और कितने असामी मरे । लेकिन यह सही है कि वे सब इस धरती के बेटे थे, इस धरती के रहने वाले थे, इस जमीन के वाशिनदे थे, हिन्दुस्तान के लोग मरे, हजारों की तादाद में मरे । आज आवाजवेंशन यह है कि बंगाल के अंदर, कलकत्ता के अंदर देश के तक्सीम होने के बाद जो फैसला हुए थे, उसमें जिस तरह से कत्लेआम हुआ था, मास मंडर हुआ था, उससे ज्यादा अगर नहीं तो कम से कम उसके बराबर जरूर सूरतेहाल हैं । वहां पर बड़े पैमाने के अन्दर, मास मंडर और कत्लेआम हुआ । आज भी वहां पर खेतों से लाश मिल रहीं है । दरिया ब्रह्मपुत्र भरा हुआ है खून से, ब्रह्मपुत्र खून से लालाजार हो चुकी है । लेकिन आज भी, बावजूद इतनी बड़ी तबाही और बरबादी के मैं कहता हूं एक खास

पर्टिक्युलर एरिया के अन्दर, अपर असम के अन्दर, नांगांव के अन्दर, सेन्ट्रल असम के अन्दर ऐसे कुछ इलाकों के अन्दर जहां पहले से डिस्टरबेन्स था । लेकिन हैरत होती है इस बात की कि क्यों नहीं इन इलाकों के अन्दर पूरा इंतजाम किया गया । वहां पर आपकी प्रेस कान्फ्रेस के अन्दर एक आफिसर ने कहा कि हमारे पास पूरे तरीके से फोर्स नहीं है जो डिप्लॉई करते और ऐसी जगहों को कन्ट्रोल करने की कोशिश करते । इसका मतलब यह है कि आपने इस बात के लिये पूरा मौका दिया कि उस इलाके के अंदर इस तरीके से वे मारा मंडर करें, कत्लेआम करें, नेली है, मोरी गांव हैं जहां भयानक तरीके से कत्लेआम हुआ है लेकिन आज वहां पर रिलीफ का माकूल इंतजाम नहीं है । न वहां पर मेडीसन है और न डाक्टरों इमलाद है । आज भी कैम्पों के अंदर लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं । वहां पर कोई प्रापर इमदाद नहीं है । प्राइवेट लोग जो इमदाद देना चाहते हैं, उनके लिए रास्ता नहीं है । इसी तरीके से मैं अर्ज करूंगा और अभी हमारे बाज हजरत कह रहे थे कि पिछला साइंस और टेक्नालाजी का साल रहा है । लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि पिछला साल, 1982 का साल, जो होम मिनिस्ट्री के फिगर्स मुहैया की थी उसके मुताबिक पिछले साल की फसादाद का साल कहना चाहिये । लेकिन इसके बावजूद, इतने फसादाद होते चले जाय मुल्क के अंदर और मुल्क की अक्कलियत और मुसलमान अपने को इन सिक्योर महसूस करें और हुकुमत की तरफ से महज यकीन दहानियां और एक्थोरेंस होते चले जाय लेकिन किसी बात का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन न हो तो इसका क्या मतलब है ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि किसी फसाद में जो लोग इवाल्ब हुए उनमें से कितनों को सजाये-मौत

[श्री सैयद अहमद हासमी]

मिली । अगर एक इंडिबिजुबल ने कोई कत्ल कर दिया तो आई सी सी इंडियन पैनल कोर्ट के अंदर उसको सजाये-मौत मिलती है । उसको फांसी की सजा मिलती है । लेकिन मास मर्डर के लिये इस तरह की सजा की बात क्यों नहीं है । इसके लिए सजा तो दूर रही बल्कि ऐसे अपराधों को जो फसादातों में मुल-व्विस रहे हैं उनको तत्काल भी मिल सकती है । . . . (उपबोधन) . . . मेरठ और फिर दिल्ली के बगल में बल्लभगढ़ है, जहां पर कितने ही मकान जला दिये गये, जामा मस्जिद फूंक दी गई और सिटी अपारिटीज जो हैं, कल का वाक्या है, एक मस्जिद को डिमोलिश कर दिया गया गिरा दिया गया लखनऊ में । एक तो मैं यह अर्जक इंग कि जब तक इन फसादात में जो लोग इन्वाल्व हैं उनको मुहमना मुहतक के अन्दर, तीन महीने के अन्दर इन्वायरी करके जो लोग मुलजिम हों उनको मौत की सजा नहीं दी जाती है उस वकत इस मुल्क के अन्दर अगर फसादात को रोकना चाहेंगे तो नहीं रोक सकते । इसलिए केपिटल पनिशमेंट होना चाहिए । मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि इस बात का एड्रेस में कोई तसकरा नहीं है । मुस्तलिफ मौकों पर इस बात का तसकरा आया कि यह जो फोर्सिज हैं जैसे सी आर पी , बी एस एफ और पी ए सी हैं इनका सेकुलर करेक्टर होना चाहिए, सेकुलर कम्पोजिशन होना चाहिये लेकिन मैं सी आर पी और बी एस एफ के बारे में बात नहीं कर रहा हूं लेकिन आज पी ए सी, बी एम पी और खुद आसाम के अन्दर जो सिचुयेशन है उसको सामने रखते हुए अगर उनका कम्पोजिट करेक्टर होता तो आज यह सूरतेहाल नहीं पैदा होती । आज माइनार्टीज का रिप्रेजेंटेशन उसके अन्दर नहीं है मैं अभी तसकरा कर रहा था कि मुस्तलिफ कमीशन बने,

उर्दू के सिलसिले में यकीनदहानिया की गई, गुजराल कमीशन बनाया औकाफ के सिलसिले के अन्दर यकीनदहानिया होती है । अभी हमारे वक्तीरे कानून ने यकीनदहानी की कि इस सेशन के के अन्दर वक्फ एक्ट आ जायेगा लेकिन कई सेशन के अन्दर जो भी यहां यकीनदहानियां की गई इनमें से देखने में नहीं आता । बरनी कमेटी, मैं कहता हूं जिस जमाने में कांग्रेस गर्वनमेंट थी उस जमाने में वक्फ मिनिस्टर, मिनिस्टर आफ हाऊसिंग के दरम्यान नेगोसियेशन ही कर और दिल्ली के जितनी अघाटी थी उनको सामने रख कर यह बरनी कमेटी की सिफारिशों को नाफिज करने का फैसला हुआ था वक्फ जायदाद की वा गुजारी का । अभी पिछले दिनों जबकि दिल्ली में फ्लाई ओवर बन रहे थे उस वकत आनरेबल मिनिस्टर ने एलान के जरिये यह यकीनदहानी की गई थी कि बरनी कमेटी का इम्पलीमेंटेशन होगा लेकिन आज तक इम्पलीमेंटेशन नहीं हुआ । तो मैं भी यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि जो रिजिनल इन्वैलेंसेज बढ़ते जा रहे हैं वह छोटे-छोटे पसमान्दा इलाकों में बेचनी पैदा कर रहे हैं आज उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी इलाकों को देखिये या तो वहां पर सैलाब है या वहां पर सूखा है । वहां के बहुत से इलाके जैसे डिस्ट्रिक्ट गाजीपुर है महज उसका गुनाह यह है कि उसने जंगे आजादी में बंद चढ़ कर हिस्सा लिया था आज भी उसकी इग्नोर किया जा रहा है और पीछे धकेला जा रहा है । मैं अर्ज करूंगा ऐसी बहुत सी चीजें हैं जिनका तसकरा एड्रेस के अन्दर नहीं है और न मुलाजमत के सिलसिले में कोई गारन्टी दी गई है न सविसेज के सिलसिले यकीनदहानी और बेरोजगारी दूर करने की कोई बात एड्रेस में कही गई है और न एड्रेस में इनको कान्फिडेंस में लेने की कोशिश की

گई है । त तो माइतारोज के एतमाद की बहाली और उनकी तरक्की के लिए कुछ करने का तजकरा एड्रेस में मौजूद है । शुक्रिया ।

†[] اشری سید احمد ہاشمی : آسام

کے معاملہ پر اگر آپ گہرائی میں جائیں - یہ محض اس لئے ہے کہ ایک زمانہ سے آپ نے ان کو اگلوں کیا ہے - وہاں بھیجی پھدا ہوئی - وہاں مختلف سمتوں کی طرف وہ اپنے قدم بڑھا رہے ہیں اور پوری ریاست کو تھکن کی گرفت میں لے رہے ہیں - آج ہزاروں انسان - میں اس کے اندر مسلمان اور بلکالی کا امتیاز نہیں کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کتنے مسلمان مرے - کتنے بلکالی مرے اور کتنے آسامی مرے - لیکن یہ صحیح ہے کہ وہ سب اس دھرتی کے بھگے تھے - اس دھرتی کے دھندلے والے تھے - اس زمین کے باشندے تھے - ہندوستان کے لوگ مرے - ہزاروں کی تعداد میں مرے - آج آپزیشن یہ ہے کہ بلکال کے اندر کلکتہ کے اندر دیس کے تقسیم ہونے کے بعد جو فساد ہوئے تھے اس میں جس طرح سے قتل عام ہوا تھا - ماس مروت ہوا تھا - اس سے زیادہ اگر نہیں تو کم سے کم اس کے برابر ضرور صورتحال ہے - وہاں پر بڑے پیمانے کے اندر ماس مروت اور قتل عام ہوا - آج بھی وہاں پر کھیتوں

سے لاشیں مل رہی ہیں - دریا برہم پتر بہا ہوا ہے خون سے - برہم پتر خون سے لالہ زار ہو چکی ہے - لیکن آج بھی باوجود اتنی بڑی تباہی اور بربادی کے میں کہتا ہوں ایک خاص پریکٹر ادریا کے اندر - ایدر آسام کے اندر - نوگلوں کے اندر - سینٹرل آسام کے اندر - ایسے کچھ علاقوں کے اندر جہاں پہلے سے کسٹریبیڈس تھا - لیکن حیرت ہوتی ہے اس بات کی کہ کھوں نہیں ان علاقوں کے اندر پورا انتظام کھا گیا - وہاں پر آپ کی پریس کانفرنس کے اندر ایک آفیسر نے کہا کہ ہمارے پاس پوری طریقہ سے فورس نہیں ہے جو قبائلی کرتے - اور ایسی جگہوں کے کنٹرول کرنے کی کوشش کرتے - اس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ آپ نے اس بات کے لئے پورا مرقعہ دیا کہ اس علاقہ کے اندر اس طریقہ سے وہ ماس مروت کریں - قتل عام کریں - نہی ہے - سووی گاؤں ہے - جہاں بھیانک طریقہ سے قتل عام ہوا - لیکن آج بھی وہاں پر رہائش کا - حقول انتظام نہیں ہے نہ وہاں پر سہولتیں ہیں اور نہ قابضی امداد ہے - آج بھی کیمپوں کے اندر لوگ بھونکے ہوئے ہیں - وہاں پر کوئی ہراپر امداد نہیں ہے - پرائیویٹ لوگ جو امداد دینا چاہتے ہیں ان کے لئے راستہ نہیں ہے - اسی طریقہ سے میں عرض کروں گا اور ابھی ہمارے بعض حضرات تھے

†[] Transliteration in Arabic script.

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی]

رہے تھے کہ پچھلا سال سائنس اور
ٹیکنالوجی کا سال رہا ہے۔ لیکن
میں کہتا ہوں کہ پچھلا سال ۱۹۸۲ء
کا سال جو ہوم منسٹری نے فیکرس
مہیا کی تھیں اس کے مطابق پچھلے
سال کو فسادات کا سال کہنا چاہئے۔
لیکن اس کے باوجود اگلے فسادات
ہوتے چلے جائیں ملک کے اندر اور
ملک کی اقلیت اور مسلمان آپے کو
ان سیکرور محسوس کریں اور حکومت
کی طرف سے محض یقین دہانیاں
اور ایسورنس ہوتے چلے جائیں۔
لیکن کسی بات کا ایمپلمنٹیشن
نہ ہو تو اس کا کیا مطلب ہے۔
میں کہتا ہوں کہ کسی فساد میں
جو لوگ انوالو ہوئے ان میں سے
کتنوں کو سزائے موت ملی۔ اگر ایک
انڈیویجیڈل نے کوئی قتل کر دیا
تو آئی۔ پی۔ سی۔ انڈین پبل
کوٹ کے اندر اس کو سزائے موت ملتی
ہے۔ اس کو پھانسی کی سزا ملتی
ہے۔ لیکن ماس مرڈر کے لئے اس
طرح کی سزا کی بات نہیں ہے۔
اس کے لئے سزا تو دور رہی بلکہ
ایسے آفیسروں کو فسادات میں
ملوث رہے ہیں ان کو ترقی بھی
ملتی ہے۔۔۔۔۔ (مداخلت)۔۔۔۔۔
میرٹھ اور دلی کی بغل میں
بمب گڑھے ہیں جہاں ہر کلمے ہی
مکان چلا نیٹے گئے۔ جامع مسجد
پھونک دی گئی اور سٹی انہارٹیز جو

ہیں۔ کل کا واقعہ ہے ایک مسجد
کو قسولیس کر دیا گیا۔ گرا دیا
گیا لیکن وہیں۔ تو میں یہ عرض
کروں گا کہ جب تک ان فسادات
میں جو لوگ انوالو ہیں ان کو
معینہ مدت کے اندر۔ تھیں مہلت کے
اندر انکوارڈ کر کے جو لوگ ملزم ہوں
انکو موت کی سزا نہیں دی جاتی
ہے اسوقت تک اس ملک کے اندر
اگر فسادات کو روکنا چاہیں گے تو
لہیں روک سکتے۔ اسلئے کیپٹل
پلیمینٹ ہونا چاہئے۔ میں یہ
عرض کروں گا کہ اس بات کا ایڈریس
میں کوئی تذکرہ نہیں ہے۔
مختلف موقعوں پر اس بات کا
تذکرہ آیا کہ یہ فورسیز ہیں جیسے
سی۔ آر۔ پی۔ بی۔ ایس۔ ایف۔
اور پی۔ اے۔ سی۔ ہے انکا
سیکولر کریگٹر ہونا چاہئے۔ سیکولر
مپوزیشن ہونا چاہئے۔ لیکن
میں سی۔ آر۔ پی۔ اور بی۔ ایس۔
ایف۔ کے بارے میں بات نہیں
کہہ رہا ہوں لیکن آج پی۔ اے۔ سی۔
بی۔ ایم۔ پی۔ اور خود آسام کے
اندر جو سچوایشن ہے اس کو
سامنے رکھتے ہوئے کہوں گا اگر انکا
کمپوزیٹو کریگٹر ہوتا تو آج یہ
صورتحال نہیں پیدا ہوتی۔ آج
مائنارٹیز کا ریپرزیٹیشن اسکے اندر
نہیں ہے۔ میں ابھی تذکرہ کر رہا
تھا کہ مختلف کمیشن بلے۔ اردو
کے سلسلے کے اندر لیکن دہانیاں

کی کٹھن کھجورال کمیٹن بنایا -
 اوقاف کے سلسلے میں یقین دہانیاں
 ہوتی ہیں - ابھی ہمارے وزیر
 قانون نے یقین دہانی کی کہ اس
 سیشن کے اندر وقف ایکٹ آجائیگا
 لیکن کئی سیشن کے اندر جو بھی
 یہاں یقین دہانیاں کی گئیں ان
 میں سے دیکھلے میں نہیں آتا -
 برنی کمیٹی - میں کہتا ہوں کہ
 جس زمانہ میں کانگریس گورنمنٹ
 تھی اس زمانہ میں وقف منسٹر
 منسٹر آف ہاؤسنگ کے درمیان
 ٹیگوسی ایشن ہو کر - اور دلی کی
 جتنی اتھارٹی تھیں انکو سامنے
 رکھ کر برنی کمیٹی کی سفارشات کو
 نافذ کرنے کا فیصلہ ہوا تھا وقف -
 چاندانی وا گزاری کا - ابھی
 پچھلے دنوں جب کہ دلی میں
 فائلنگ آرڈر بن رہے تھے اس وقت
 آنریبل منسٹر نے اعلان کے ذریعہ یہ
 یقین دہانی کی تھی کہ برنی کمیٹی
 کا امپلی مینٹیشن ہوگا - لیکن آج
 تک امپلی مینٹیشن نہیں ہوا -
 میں تو یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ جو
 ریجنل اسمبلیسز بڑھتے جا رہے ہیں
 وہ چھوٹے چھوٹے پسماندہ علاقوں میں
 بیچھلے پھلے پیدا کر رہے ہیں آج
 اتر پردیش کے یورپی علاقوں کو دیکھئے
 یا تو وہاں پر سیلاب یا وہاں پر
 سوکھا ہے - وہاں کے بہت سے علاقے
 جیسے دسترکت غازی پور ہے محتض
 اس کا گلاہ یہ ہے کہ اس نے جنگ
 1977RS-11.

آزادی میں ہونے چاہئے کر حصہ لیا
 تھا - آج بھی اس کو اکلور کیا جا
 رہا ہے - پچھلے تھکایا جا رہا ہے -
 میں عرض کروں گا ایسی بہت سی
 چیزیں ہیں جن کا تذکرہ ایڈریس
 کے اندر نہیں ہے اور نہ ملازمت کے
 سلسلے میں کوئی گارنٹی دی گئی
 ہے - نہ سروسز کے سلسلے میں
 یقین دہانی اور بے روزگاری دور کرنے
 کے ایڈریس میں کوئی بات کہی
 گئی ہے اور نہ ایڈریس میں ان کو
 کونڈیشنس میں لوٹنے کی کوشش
 کی گئی ہے - نہ تو مائٹارٹیز کے
 اعتماد کی بحالی اور ان کی ترقی
 کے لئے کچھ کرنے کا تذکرہ اس ایڈریس
 میں موجود ہے شکریہ -]

श्री भगतराम मनहर (मध्य प्रदेश) :
 उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मोर्य जी द्वारा
 प्रस्तुत राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर
 धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करता हूँ।
 महोदय, विपक्षी सदस्यों में एक आम बात
 यह हो गई है हर बात को क्रिटीसाइज
 करना उनका रोजमर्रा का काम हो गया
 है। सरकार ने बहुत तरक्की की है।
 इन्दिरा जी के नेतृत्व में देश ने बहुत
 तरक्की की है। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी
 ने दृढ़ निश्चय कर रखा है कि
 हम गरीबी को काफी हद तक मिटा
 कर सांस लेंगे। उन्होंने बहुत से कार्यक्रम
 भी इस मामले में दिये हैं। पिछले दो
 तीन मास में कोयले, बिजली और
 खाद्यान के मामले में हमने बहुत तरक्की
 की है। मान्यवर, एक आंकलन के अनुसार
 इस देश में बेरोजगारों की संख्या लगभग
 10 करोड़ है और हर साल 70 लाख
 लोग रोजगार के लिए बढ़ रहे हैं।

[श्री भगतशम मनहर]

जहाँ तक इनकी बेरोजगारी का सवाल है ग्रामीण अंचलों में यह बेरोजगारी अधिक है। उसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि जिनके पास खेती है वह खेती नहीं कर रहे हैं। जिनके पास खेती नहीं है उनको कोई काम नहीं है। इन सबको काम में रखने के लिए पशुपालन, कुटीर उद्योग एवं सामाजिक वनिकी की अहम भूमिका है। कृषि कार्यों में बेरोजगारों को बड़े पैमाने पर रोजगार दिलाना संभव नहीं है, क्योंकि पहले ही इस काम में काफी लोग लगे हुए हैं। अतः शासन को चाहिए कि सरकारी भूमि पर बेरोजगारों को सामाजिक वनिकी के तहत फल और चारे वाले और अन्य किस्म की वृक्षों की प्रजातियों के लगाने हेतु प्रोत्साहित किया जाय तथा उन्हें मजदूरी के साथ वनों को उपज का हिस्सा दिया जाय। यह बहुत जरूरी है।

देश में लगभग तीन करोड़ हरिजन आदिवासी परिवार गरीबी रेखा के नीचे हैं। बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के तहत 50 प्रतिशत परिवारों को गरीबी रेखा के ऊपर उठाने का निर्णय शासन ने लिया है जो कि एक अत्यंत ही सराहनीय कार्य है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में सभी भूमिहीन हरिजन एवं आदिवासियों को भूमि का आवंटन संभव नहीं है। अतः मेरे विचार में उन्हें लघु वन उपज के संग्रहण एवं कुटीर उद्योगों में उत्पादित रोजगार उपलब्ध कराया जाना चाहिए।

जहाँ तक खेती का सवाल है बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के तहत उनको जमीनें दी जा रही है लेकिन जो जमीनें उनको उपलब्ध कराई जा रही हैं मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ, कुछ जगह जाने के बाद, कि उस जमीन पर खेती करना बिल्कुल असंभव है। अतः शासन को चाहिए कि उनको

जहाँ-जहाँ नगद के रूप में या सहायता के रूप में पैसा दिया जा रहा है वह पैसा उनको नगद न दिया जाकर जो जमीनें उनके पास हैं या जो आप देना चाहते हैं उसको खेती योग्य बनाकर उसको कंसालीडेशन आफ होल्डिंग करके दिया जाय ताकि फिर उसमें चाहे वह पम्प लगाये या कुछ करे और वह फिजिबल हो सके तभी वह उत्पादन ठीक से कर सकेंगे अन्यथा वह खेत अगर आप उसको देते हैं तो वह कोई उपयोगी नहीं है। अतः जो मकसद हम हल करना चाहते हैं जिस उद्देश्य के लिए हमने जमीन दे रखी है उसकी पूर्ति नहीं होगी। उसी तरह से जो मकान उनको दिये जा रहे हैं उसके लिए जो साइट दी जा रही है वह भी ठीक कंडीशन में नहीं होती है।

जहाँ तक उनके पेय जल की समस्या का सवाल है। स्थिति यह है कि आदिवासियों को उतनी तकलीफ नहीं है, सामाजिक रूप से उनको अछूत नहीं मानते हैं लेकिन हरिजनों के लिए बड़ी तकलीफ होती है। अगर किसी गांव के किसी कोने में हरिजन हैं तो सवर्ण वस्तियों में ज्यादातर जो हैं वे लोग क्या करते हैं कि अपने मुहल्लों में कुएं खुदवा लेते हैं पानी पीने के लिए लेकिन हरिजन मुहल्लों में अभी तक अधिकांश गांवों में कुएं नहीं खुदे हैं। अतः उनके पीने के पानी की समस्या ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई है। जो समस्या मूलक गांव घोषित किये गये हैं उनको नक्शे से मिटा देते हैं। इसलिए अगर कहीं बोरिंग वेल भी लगाते हैं तो समस्यामूलक गांव नक्शे से हट जाते हैं। नतीजा यह है कि जिनके लिए यह समस्या है उनकी वह समस्या अभी तक ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई है। उसके ऊपर शासन को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। अब तक हरिजन मुहल्लों में पीने के

योग्य कुंए न खोदे जायें तब तक उस गांव को समस्या मूलक गांव से नहीं हटाना चाहिए।

मान्यवर, शासन ने निर्णय लिया हुआ है कि खेती के लिए लैंड रिफार्म्स बनाये जायें। उसमें भी यह देखना जरूरी है कि जो खेती नहीं करता है जो खेती में काम नहीं करता है उससे वह जमीन लेकर जो खेती जोतते हैं उनको दी जाय और इस पर भी मेरा सुझाव है कि जहां भी जमीन बंटे वहां कंसालीडेशन आफ होल्डिंग की हैसियत से वह दो एकड़, एक एकड़ या जितनी भी हो वह चक में ही जानी चाहिए।

मान्यवर, देश में इस समय जो स्थिति है, अभी सब प्लान या कम्पोनेंट प्लान के तहत हरिजन आदिवासियों के लिए पैसा दिया गया है आप उसकी तह में जायें। बड़ी खुशी है कि शासन ने 85 करोड़ से बढ़ाकर 95 करोड़ इस साल रखा है आदिवासियों के लिए लेकिन उसका उपयोग कहां हो रहा है। 80 प्रतिशत तो तनखाह और स्कालरशिप्स में चला जाता है 20 प्रतिशत में 10 प्रतिशत सब खा जाते हैं इधर उधर, नतीजा हो रहा है कि उसका 10 प्रतिशत रुपया भी उन को नहीं मिलता है। जहां तक सेंट परसेंट सन्सिडी का सवाल है, उसमें अगर आप देखें तो पता लगेगा कि जब हरिजन आदिवासी को पैसा मिलता है, तो वह रोने लगता है। उसकी स्थिति यह हो जाती है कि जो सन्सिडी वह पाता है, उसका केवल 10 प्रतिशत ही उसके हाथ लगता है, बाकी का सब इधर उधर क लोग खा जाते हैं। तो जब तक प्रापर इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं होगा तब तक हम यहां पर कितनी भी हरिजन आदिवासियों के लिए दुहाई देंगे उनकी तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है।

आज तक के यदि आंकड़े देखे जाएं, तो पता लगता है कि अरबों रुपया इस योजना के तहत खर्च किया गया है, लेकिन उनका मसला, उनकी समस्याएं वैसी ही हैं। इस योजना का जो उन्हें लाभ मिलना चाहिए, उसका लाभ जैसा कि मैंने कहा 10 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा नहीं होगा इसलिए इस दुहाई देने के बजाए मेरा शासन से यह निवेदन है कि इसके लिए कोई एक्सपर्ट कमेटी बिठावें या जगह-जगह जाकर सैम्पल सर्वे कराएं और देखें कि आपके वीस-सूची कार्यक्रम की कहां पर घुंजियां उड़ाई जा रही हैं। ग्रामीण अंचलों की आपको जो रिपोर्ट्स आ रही हैं, जिसकी अगर कोई पूरी समीक्षा करें, तो उसके हालात वर्णन करने की मैं स्थिति में नहीं हूँ। इतनी दयनीय स्थिति है।

तो मेरा सुझाव है कि शासन की मंशा बहुत अच्छी है, प्रधान मंत्री जी की दृढ़ इच्छा है, और नेहरू खानदान की तमन्ना है कि हरिजन आदिवासियों का उत्थान हो, लेकिन और जो दुर्जन लोग हैं, जिनके हाथ में शासन की बागडोर है, जिनके हाथ में इम्प्लीमेंटेशन है, उनकी हालत क्या है, उनके बारे में मैं यहां कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। मैं इतना निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उसके लिए आप कोई भी कमेटी बनायें और रैंडम सैम्पल सर्वे करायें कि जो प्रोग्राम आपने गरीबों के लिए बनाया है, उसमें कितना पैसे का यूटिलाइजेशन हुआ है और कितना मिसयूटिलाइजेशन है, आपको मालूम हो जाएगा। कई जगह ऐसी स्थिति है कि हर साल पैसा सरेंडर हो रहा है और सब से ज्यादा दुहाई देते हैं कि हरिजन आदिवासियों के लिए हमने मैजिस्टिम काम किया है। यदि आप बजट और रिपोर्ट को देखें, तो 50 प्रतिशत तो

[श्री भगतराम मनहर]

मिड्यूटिलाइन होता है और जितना नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, वह सब सरंजाम हो रहा है। इस तरह की स्थिति कई प्रदेशों में है।

देश में हम इस समय नौ सौ करोड़ रुपये का बेजिटेबल आयल और टैलो विदेशों से आयात कर रहे हैं। मेरा शासन से सुझाव है—खास करके छपि मन्त्रालय को कि हमारे यहां नीम, साल, करंज, इस तरह के वनों में बहुत सी चीजें हैं फलदार वृक्ष हैं जिनके बीजों का यदि संरक्षण और दोहन किया जाए, तो न केवल विदेशों मुद्रा बचा सकते हैं, बल्कि यहां से विदेशों को निर्यात करने की स्थिति में भी हम सक्षम हो सकते हैं। इतना हमारे पास तेल बोज है जिसका बेस्टेज हो रहा है।

तो मेरा शासन से निवेदन है कि इसके लिये कोई भी एक कारपोरेशन बनायें और इसका संग्रहण अगर आप गरीबों से करवायें, जो कि अधिकतर गरीब लोग हैं, तो ऐसे एक लाख लोगों को इसमें रोजगार भी मिल जाएगा और इतने लोगों को हम गरीबों की रेखा से ऊपर भी ले आवेंगे। इसके लिये शासन को चाहिए—इस तरह से विदेशों मुद्रा को भी मदद होगी (तम्र को घंटा) साथ ही साथ लोगों को रोजगार भी मिलेगा (तम्र को घंटा)

मान्यवर, पेट्रोल और डीजल का उपयोग कम करने के लिये मेरा एक सुझाव है। चालीस किलोमीटर की दूरी पर जितना भी ट्रांसपोर्ट होता है, खास करके वनों में लकड़ों के लिये और रसायन खाद जो गांव-गांव में भेजते हैं, या जो खाद्यान्न हैं, उनके लिये बैलगाड़ियों का उपयोग बहुत उपयोगी होगा। हमारे आ.ई. आ. १० डी. में या बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम

में, एन० आर० ई० पी० के तहत इसके लिये प्रोग्राम भी है कि हम बैलगाड़ियां मुहैया करवायें। इसके लिये प्रावधान भी है कि हम बैलगाड़ियां मुहैया करवाएं। उसके मुहैया करवाने से डीजल की बचत होगी और उससे उतने ही लोगों को करीब-करीब पांच हजार सालाना इनकम हो जाएगी प्रति व्यक्ति। वह पार्ट-टाइम ट्रांसपोर्ट का काम भी करेंगे और साथ ही साथ अपनी खेती भी कर सकेंगे। तो ऐसी स्थिति में इस स्कीम में शासन को रुचि लेनी चाहिए।

अब मध्य प्रदेश में काफी काजू लगा हुआ है और उसका रेस्पॉस भी अच्छा है। तो छपि मन्त्रालय को चाहिये कि इस दिशा में आदिवासियों की मदद करें ताकि जो बंजर या पड़ती भूमि है, उसमें काजू को प्रोत्साहन दिया जा सके। देश में जलाशयों की वृद्धि हो रही है तथा डूब क्षेत्र के निर्धन परिवारों की वसाहट की समस्या कहीं-कहीं उग्र रूप धारण कर रही है। जिन लोगों की जमीन डूब गयी है उनको कोई विशेष मुआवजा नहीं मिलता है। उन को जमीन के बदले में जमीन दी जाए तो वह लोग अपना जीवन-यापन सही रूप में कर सकेंगे। मुआवजा देने से उन को कोई लाभ नहीं होता है। वह लोग जहां पैसा पायें इधर-उधर खर्च कर देते हैं। इस दिशा में शासन को चाहिये कि अवश्य ध्यान दे।

मान्यवर, जहां तक राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों का सवाल है, प्रधान मंत्री जो ने गरीबों की भलाई के लिये राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था। लेकिन अभी यह स्थिति है कि शासन के निर्देश के बावजूद जो राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंक हैं ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जाने में हिचकिचा रहे हैं। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि गरीबों को शासन द्वारा

सहायता देने की जो योजनाएं बनाई गई हैं उन को बैंक न सहयोग दे रहे हैं न सपोर्ट करते हैं; ऐसी हालत में उन की सब फाइनेंशियल योजनाएं धरी रह गई हैं। जो राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंक हैं उनको शासन को चाहिए कि बाध्य करे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अधिक से अधिक जायें और हरिजन और आदिवासियों के कल्याण के लिए जो योजनाएं हैं उनमें उन का सक्रिय सहयोग रहे।

मान्यवर, चम्बल के बाढ़ की समस्या बहुत जटिल है। वहां पर शासन ने निर्णय लिया है कि हम भूमि-क्षरण, सूखा, रेगिस्तान एवं समुद्री तूफान से होने वाली क्षतियों को लगातार कम करना चाहते हैं। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी अधिक पैसे लगाने हेतु राष्ट्र के सभी नागरिकों से अपील कर चुकी हैं। दैविक विपदाओं को रोकने हेतु तथा भूमि का कटाव को बचाने हेतु हम वर्दीनीकरण के कार्य को उच्च प्रश्रय देते हैं तथा आशा करते हैं कि शीघ्र ही 'वन विभाग' की केन्द्रीय सरकार में भी स्थापना की जाएगी। वन विभाग अभी तक शासन का असंग विभाग नहीं है। इस को अलग दर्जा मिलना जरूरी है।

मान्यवर, जहां तक प्रिमिटिव ट्राइब्स का सवाल है, यह लोग लुप्त होने जा रहे हैं। उन के विकास हेतु हमारी सरकार विशेष ध्यान दे रही है। इस क्षेत्र में कार्य करने हेतु समर्पित व्यक्तियों की आवश्यकता है, जिन की कमी है। उन्हें बचाने हेतु सभी प्रयास आवश्यक हैं। कुछ क्षेत्रों में गेम फार्म खोलने पर भी पर्यावरण विभाग को विचार करना चाहिए। गेम फार्म अधिक से अधिक खोले जाने चाहिए।

मान्यवर, उद्योगपति पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में जाने से हिचकिचाते हैं। वे कोई न

कोई बहाना बना लेने हैं कि पिछड़े क्षेत्र में न जाना पड़े। वहां से कच्चे माल की निकासी होती है और इस कारण वहां के लोगों को ठीक से रोजगार नहीं मिलता है और लोगों में काफी इस के लिए विरोध शुरू हो रहा है। मेरा शासन से निवेदन है कि जहां भी कच्चा माल मिलता है वहीं पर उद्योग स्थापित किये जायें ताकि वहां के लोगों को कुछ राहत मिल सके। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by my hon. friend, Mr. Maurya.

I must confess that I have listened to the speeches of most of the hon. Members on this side with some dismay. There is a very serious threat posed to the security of India which has been referred to by the President in his Address. There is a gathering storm of danger across the frontiers of India and if it break out, the speeches of the hon. friends would read like the pages of India's yld history which recorded that the rules of India were fighting, quarrelling among themselves before they were overtaken by the forces from abroad. Our negotiations for peace with Pakistan are going on. And I welcome those negotiations. Peace, goodwill and co-operation between the people of India and the people of Pakistan is a historic necessity. They share common history, common heritage, common language and common problems- I* is only through amity and goodwill that the people of India and the people of Pakistan can solve the problems which confront them. But the question before this hon. House, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is whether these negotiations for peace should lull us into complacency. With us, Simla Agreement has been an article of faith. It was a dramatic act of supreme states-

[Shri Madan Bhatia] manship on the part of Mrs. Indira Gandhi who translated this historic necessity into Simla Agreement which bound the two nations to settle their disputes through mutual, bilateral negotiations. But I want to speak today because I have a little sense of history. Military dictatorships in the world have been known to talk of peace and prepare for war. It is the ambivalent policy of the rulers of Pakistan which has compelled me to speak in support of the Presidential Address on this most vital issue.

श्री लखन सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश)

यहाँ पर कोई भी मिनिस्टर नहीं बैठे हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Mr. Dharmavir, the Minister of State, is there.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: It is brick by brick that the Simla Agreement is being sought to be dismantled by the rulers of Pakistan. First of all, the issue of Kashmir was raised in international fora in violation of this Agreement. Thereafter, There has been massive induction of sophisticated weapons by the US into Pakistan. And now, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq has openly declared that so far as the disputes are concerned, Pakistan cannot subscribe to the proposition that they must be settled by bilateral negotiations. This is the final knock to the spirit and the letter of the Simla Agreement. And the coup de *grace* has been furnished when he was asked in the US whether there is any proposal for establishing military bases in Pakistan, his reply was equivocal and he said, 'not yet'. I must say that my thought goes out to the people of Pakistan. And I would also like to remind the rulers of Pakistan what Bismarck had stated in the 19th century. And he said, "a military alliance between a big military power and a small military power is an alliance between a rider and a horse." It is this background against which I wish to warn, through you, Sir, my countrymen and the hon.

Members of this hon. House about this danger which is confronting India.

The question is what is the rationale of this policy of the United States to give massive military aid to Pakistan? Imperialism, Sir, has the habit of coming back through the backdoors and the side-doors. On December 23, 1953, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said, when similar situation confronted India with the induction of U.S. arms into Pakistan, that it was a return of colonial spirit to Asia. At that time President Eisenhower held forth an assurance to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru by means of a letter and I would read that letter, a quotation from that letter: "What we are proposing to do and what Pakistan is agreeing to is not directed in any way against India and I am affirming publicly that if our aid to any country including Pakistan is misused and directed against another in aggression I will undertake immediately in accordance with my constitutional authority to take appropriate action both within and without the United Nations to thwart such aggression." But what has happened in reality? When the Paton tanks supplied by the United States rolled into the Rann of Kutch, there was an ill-concealed glee on the part of the United States and there was no protest. At that time the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs had to make a statement in Parliament that they had protested to the United States and the United States had expressed her inability to stop Pakistan from using these weapons against India.

Sir, what is the justification which the United States is today trying to give for the supply of these arms? It is not merely a part of the policy containing the Soviet Union or finding a substitute for Iran. It is a part of consistent and persistent policy of the United States to destabilise India, to prevent her economic growth, and to prevent her from obtaining a rightful place in the comity of nations which

belongs to the Indian people because of the size of India, because of the resources of this country and because of the talents of the Indian people. It is this aspect of the United States' policy which we have to bear in mind. And, what is the role which the opposition should play at this time? The role of the opposition is quite obvious. The role of the entire opposition forces in this country at this critical juncture is to warn their countrymen against this gathering storm of danger. The role of the opposition forces at this juncture is to call upon the people of India to get together and stand united and I would say, not with a partisan spirit but as an ordinary Indian citizen with the experience of 1971, that they should stand united behind the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi who steered the country through the rough and stormy weather of 1971 Bangladesh crisis to calm and placid waters of peace and glory to the motherland. But what role is the Opposition playing? The role of the opposition, I must respectfully submit, has been manifest by this enigmatic silence which has been observed by the hon. Members on this side on this most vital issue. Not only that. Some of the opposition parties have been gone to the extent of accusing Mrs. Gandhi of raising a false bogey for political purposes. This is the extent to which they are going in order to protect their personal political interests or the interests of their own political parties and are going away from their commitment to the interests of the nation. But, Sir, this is not the only thing. In this country, there have been opposition forces working for the last 35 years which have been the strongest champions of the policies of the United States. It is because they represent those economic and political forces in this country which have somehow identified themselves with the interests of the United States in the world at large. Take the history of their political conduct. When Mr. Nehru extended his hand of friendship to the Soviet Union, they decried him. When he propounded the doctrine of non-align-

ment, they condemned him. When Mrs. Gandhi concluded Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty, they called it a sell-out to the Soviet Union. When Mrs. Gandhi entered into Simla Agreement with Pakistan they created uproarious scenes in Lok Sabha and described this agreement as having entered into at the behest of the Soviet Union. And today they talk of genuine non-alignment. What is genuine non-alignment? Sir, what I respectfully submit is, genuine non-alignment is nothing but hideous euphemism for hostility towards the Soviet Union and championing the policies of the United States. Sir, it is all the more tragic that at this critical juncture, communal, regional and linguistic passions of the people are being aroused to gain access to political power. It is this against which Mr. Nehru gave warning more than 30 years ago and I will give a quotation from Mr. Nehru: —

"Democracy, while it ensures free expression, and freedom of thinking, also demands unified action afterwards. It demands acceptance of decisions taken. Otherwise, there is a break-up. You are acquainted somewhat with the history of India. It has been our misfortune through long periods of history to be faction-ridden, to be liable to separatism, with the result that the great strength of India has been wasted in inner conflict. I think it is correct to say that foreigners who came here hardly ever really conquered India. Certainly, the British did not, in spite of their superior arms. They simply took advantage of the divisions in India. That is the big lesson of Indian history. And, therefore, we must learn to hold together."

And this warning cannot be more appropriate than at this stage when I have already said the kind of threat that India is facing today, it has not faced in the last 35 years, and it is rather preposterous, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that at this critical juncture, a slogan has been raised that power of

[Shri Madan Bhatia] the Centre should be diluted and should be transferred to the States. I respectfully submit, it is sheer political madness. Those who have raised this slogan show colossal ignorance of the developments in the words. The Constitutional history of the leading federal democracies of the world is the history of accentuation of powers of the Centre at the expense of the States. The requirements of the defence of the modern State the economic activities of the modern State, participation by the modern State in the social welfare activities and the challenges thrown by the social and political tensions to the modern State have been responsible for this particular phenomenon. I need not go into different countries' history but I would take, Mr. Vice-Chairman, only the example of the history of the United States. This is not the first Constitution which the United States has had. Previously, there were articles of confederation framed in 1777. Within ten years of experience, they found that these articles of confederation which only bound up States loosely together, were not sufficient to maintain the integrity and the unity of the United States. It was replaced by the present Constitution. Even under this Constitution various States continued to nourish the idea that the Centre was merely their agent and all the powers were reposed in the States. It took the dreadful civil war of the United States to put an end once and for all to this theory that the Centre is merely a representative of the States. And the U.S. Supreme Court... (*Time hell rings*).

Mr Vice-Chairman, I will take five minutes more.

The US Supreme Court put its stamp on it by saying that all the provisions of the Constitution look to an indestructible Union with indestructible States. Similar was the development in 1930, when the new deal legislation of Roosevelt brought him into conflict with the powers of

the States, he could not pack the Supreme Court. But the Supreme Court noticed the writing on the wall and it accepted and upheld the entire legislation, which was described as a social legislation at the expense of the powers of the States. During the Second World War, the entire powers of the United States were turned into almost those of a unitary form of Government. This is the result of the requirements of defence in the modern age.

Take even France. It has a unitary Government. In 1958, when France was collapsing under the forces of anarchy, and the forces of agitation, De Gaulle was brought back to power. He not only amended the Constitution by changing the system of Government, but also introduced articles 4 and 16 into the Constitution which gave over-riding powers to the President to uphold the institutions of the nation, the democratic institution of the nation, and its ideals.

This is the background of the slogan of Centre-State relations into which I cannot go further because of shortage of time. But I would like to say one word about Assam. It has been said that Government should not have held elections in Assam. Government has put its record very straight by mentioning the extent to which co-operation was not forthcoming. But Sir, I would say that even if this co-operation had been forthcoming, it was the Constitutional obligation and it was the Constitutional duty of the Government to uphold the provisions of the Constitution and hold the election, Government has taken the oath to uphold the Constitution. The agitators of Assam have taken the oath to trample the Constitution under their foot, and stain the Constitution of India with the blood of innocent women and innocent children. That is the essence of democracy. Democracy is inconsequential and has no effect if those who are elected by the voice of the people do not have the powers to ensure the laws of the land and the Constitutional obligations enjoined

upon them. It is a different matter to my countrymen to demonstrate the fact that the various Opposition parties did unity and the strength of the nation by not co-operate. Their conduct has been standing united behind the leadership consistent with their conduct during of Mrs. Gandhi because she symbolises the last 35 years. They have never seen the unity, the stability, the integrity of the Government but they say. They talk of the strength of India. They believe neither in Gandhian socialism nor in socialism. They can scarcely spell out the contents of Gandhian socialism. They talk of political morality. They have reduced the politics of this country by resorting to the hideous weapon of character assassination and personal denigration to the lowest depths and denuded the entire political debate in this country of all ideologies. They talk of authoritarianism. What did they do?

When they were intoxicated with the spirit of 1977, the resurrection of which impel them even today, there is hardly any vestige of parliamentary democracy which they did not seek to destroy. Mrs. Gandhi was elected by an overwhelming majority from Chikmagalur. The Constitution gave her the right to sit in Parliament. They expelled her from Parliament. They used their majority against the Constitution, against the will of the people, to throw her out. And they talk of the rule of law. The manner in which Sanjay was taken from his sick bed in hospital where he lay after a serious operation, for making a statement before the Judge, will forever remain the darkest chapter in the history of prosecution by the State. So, let it be. For, Sanjay's fightback for justice will shine like a star against the blackness of the misdeeds, as the custodians of the rule of the law in this country. And I say, Sir, if you believe that India is facing a serious threat from across the borders, if you believe that the agitational communal forces in this country are throwing an ominous challenge to the unity and integrity of India and if you believe that the world has turned to the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi to give the path of peace to the people of this world through non-aligned movement, then not with partisan spirit but as an ordinary humble citizen I pray to you and

श्री बा० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण को पढ़ने के बाद हमें ऐसा मालूम होता है कि जो मौलिक समस्याएँ हैं जो आम जनता की समस्याएँ हैं उनके बारे में इस में कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। ऐसे तो पाँच पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनीं और योजनाएँ गईं लेकिन आज भी इस देश में हजारों की तादाद में ऐसे गाँव हैं जहाँ लाखों लोगों को पीने के पानी का इन्तजाम नहीं है। आज भी लाखों की तादाद में इस देश के अन्दर लोग हैं जिनके लिए अभी रोजगार का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं हुआ है। अभी तक जिन को काम नहीं मिला। आज भी लाखों की तादाद में ऐसे किसान हैं जो देहातों में बसे हुए हैं जिनको अपनी पैदावार की बराबर कीमत नहीं मिलती। आज भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो पुराने जमाने में अपने हाथ से काम कर के अपनी जिन्दगी गुज़ारते थे जैसे लौहार हैं, आटीजन हैं वे बेकार पड़े हुए हैं। उनको अपने धन्धों को बढ़ाने का कोई इन्तजाम आज तक नहीं हुआ। यह तमाम समस्याएँ हैं। पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनती हैं, नयी-नयी योजनाएँ बनाते हैं लेकिन इन समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए बुनियादी तौर पर कोई ऐसा कदम नहीं उठाया गया जिससे कि यह समस्याएँ हल हों और राष्ट्रपति का जो भाषण है हिन्दुस्तान की जो बुनियादी समस्याएँ हैं इनके बारे में जैसे कि गरीबी का मसला है, बेरोजगारी का मसला है, इसके बारे में कोई जिक्र इसके अन्दर नहीं है कि वह किस तरीके से हल किया जाएगा। दूसरी चीज़ जो हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को खत्म कर रही

[श्री वी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी]

है वह है धूसखोरी इसके बारे में भी राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में कोई जिक्र नहीं किया गया है कि किस तरीके से वह खत्म को जाए। मेरे मुअज्जिज दोस्तों ने अपने भाषणों में कहा कि गांधी जी का यह देश है। महात्मा गांधी के सिद्धांतों पर चलते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं इस तरह के दोस्तों को या उस तरह के दोस्तों को ही नहीं बल्कि सारे देश को, कि सारे सदन को यह जानना चाहिए कि गांधी जी के सिद्धांत क्या थे। गांधी जी क्या चाहते थे। गांधी जी यह चाहते थे कि इस देश का हर आदमी गरीब से गरीब आदमी यह महसूस करे कि देश मेरा है, इस देश के लिए मैं हूं। मगर क्या हालत कर रही है इस आदमी की? वह इस हालत में नहीं है कि वह देश के बारे में सोचे। वह बेवस हालत में पड़ा हुआ है। हमें देश और समाज के बारे में सोचना है। आज हम देखते हैं आसाम में, पंजाब में हिंदुस्तान के कई हिस्सों में दंगे-फसाद, जुलम और ज्यादतियां। इनको कैसे रोका जाए और कैसे उन समस्याओं को हल किया जाय, इसके बारे में भी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कोई जिक्र नहीं है। आप जानते हैं कि दंगे होते हैं जगह जगह पर देश भर में, हर साल हर समय पर, तो इन दंगों का मूल कारण क्या है। इसके पीछे कौन है, कौन से ऐसे अनासिर हैं जो इन दंगों को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। सरकार इसके लिए क्या कदम लेना चाहती है ताकि हमेशा के लिए ऐसी वारदातें देश के अंदर न हों। यह देश के लिए बहुत बड़े कलंक की चीज है। जो दंगे करने वाले हैं जो ऐसे अनासिर हैं चाहे व किसी तत्व के हों, किसी जगह के रहने वाले हों, उनको समाज के अंदर कोई जगह नहीं होनी चाहिए, कोई स्थान नहीं होना चाहिए। तो सरकार को

आज तक इसकी परवाह नहीं है कि इसके पीछे जो मूल कारण हैं उनके बारे में क्या एकदम किये जायें। इसके बारे में सरकार ने कुछ नहीं सोचा है। बक्ती तौर पर आंसू बहा देना, कुछ पैसा देना, कुछ समाएं करना और इस सदन में तथा और जगह अपने बयान देना इससे मसला हल होने वाला नहीं है। इसके लिए कोई ठोस कदम उठाने की जरूरत है और यह भी इस सदन में कहा गया है कि इस देश के अंदर प्रांतीयता बढ़ती जा रही है और देश को तोड़ने की कोशिश की जा रही है मैं इस सदन को और देश को बताना चाहता हूं कि हिंदुस्तान का कोई हिस्सा हिंदुस्तान की कोई राजनीतिक पार्टी हिंदुस्तान का रहने वाला कोई व्यक्ति ऐसा नहीं है कि वह देश को तोड़ या देश को टुकड़े करने के बारे में सोचता हो। हर वह आदमी... (समय की घंटी) इस देश की हर राजनीतिक पार्टी चाहे वह किसी राज्य तक सीमित हो या सारे देश की हो वह कभी यह नहीं चाहता कि देश टूटे या देश कमजोर हो। कुछ मित्रों ने आन्ध्र में तेलगूदेशम की पार्टी के बारे में कहा मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश में हाल के विधान सभा के चुनाव में तेलगूदेशम बहुत बहुमत से जीत गई और उसने 35 साला काँग्रेसी हुकूमत का तख्ता उलट दिया क्या हिंदुस्तान से अलग होने के लिए, नहीं, क्या वह सेक्टेरियन है, नहीं। वह तो 35 साल से जो कर्प्शन, धूसखोरी, जो मिसमैनेजमेंट था उसके खिलाफ आंध्र प्रदेश की जनता में एक होकर जो सारी बुराई और खराबों को खत्म करने के लिए एन० टी० रामाराव तेलगूदेशम के नेतृत्व में जन आन्दोलन को कामयाब बनाया। यानी कर्प्शन मिसमैनेजमेंट, मिसरूल और जो ऊपर से लोगों को जनता के सिर पर थोपा जा रहा था

उसके खिलाफ उन्होंने अपना मतदान दिया। इसमें मेरे दोस्तों का यह कहना कि वह सेक्टरियन हैं, सही नहीं है, वह सेसेशनिस्ट हैं, सही नहीं है, वह रीजियनलिस्ट हैं, सही नहीं है। वह सही मायनों में देश को ताकत पहुंचाने के लिए यहां एक नई ताकत पैदा हुई। अगर देश के सारे राज्य (समय की घंटी) ताकतवर बनते हैं, तो सारा देश ताकतवर बनता है। केन्द्र ताकतवर बनेगा। अगर राज्य ताकतवर नहीं बनेंगे, कमजोर रहेंगे, तो सारा देश कमजोर रहेगा। आज तेलुगुदेशन या दूसरी कोई प्रांतीय पार्टी का यह भ्रम नहीं है कि हिंदुस्तान को कमजोर बनाया जाए। हिंदुस्तान को मजबूत बनाने के लिए हैं। देश में मुखातिफ पार्टियों की हुकूमत हो सकती है जैसे कश्मीर में नेशनल कानफ्रेंस की, तमिलनाडु में अन्ना-डी-एम-के की (समय की घंटी) आन्ध्र प्रदेश में तेलुगु देश की, बंगाल में सी.पी. (एम.) की या केरल में मिलोजुली सरकार—क्या इन पार्टियों से केन्द्र में एक सरकार बन सकती है? क्या इससे देश कमजोर होगा? नहीं, राज्यों में भिन्न-भिन्न पार्टियों की सरकार रहने पर भी केन्द्र में एक मिली जुली नेशनल गवर्नमेंट बन सकती है, एक मजबूत हुकूमत बन सकती है सारी पार्टियों की मिल कर के। यह सोचना कि एक ही पार्टी की हुकूमत रहे उनसे ही ताकत बनो रहेंगी, यह सही नहीं है। सारे हिंदुस्तान के लोग (समय की घंटी) सारे हिंदुस्तान की पार्टियाँ और हिंदुस्तान में जो मुखातिफ राज्य हैं, वे सब देश की उन्नति चाहते हैं।

श्री पी. एन. सुब्रह्म (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
यह भी तो नेशनल गवर्नमेंट है।

श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी :

यह नेशनल गवर्नमेंट नहीं, यह तो एक पार्टी गवर्नमेंट है। तो हम यह चाहते हैं कि हिंदुस्तान में जो बुनियादी मसले हैं, जैसे बेरोजगारी और कर्षण, और हजारों की तादाद में किसान और 80 फीसदी लोग जो देहातों में रहते हैं (समय की घंटी) उनको जिंदगी को ऊंचा बनाने और सारे देश में रहने वाले लोगों को खुशहाल बनाने के लिए समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए एक नई शक्ति की जरूरत है, नई ताकत की जरूरत है, नई रोशनी की जरूरत है। वह आज मुखातिफ राज्यों में नई शक्ति के जरिए से, नई फोर्सों आज ऊपर आ रही हैं। इससे आपको गिला नहीं करना चाहिए। हमको सारे देश को, सारी जनता को एक नये रास्ते पर ले आना है, नई जिंदगी देनी है, नई रोशनी देनी है, जो महात्मा गांधी ने आजादी के दौरान में दी थी—(समय की घंटी)—और जो लूट-खसोट अंग्रेजों के जमाने में थी, उसको खत्म करने के लिए आजादी चाहिये थी, ताकि देश में रहने वाले लोग खुशहाल हों। आज भी देश की आजादी के पैंतीस साल बाद भी (समय की घंटी) जो हालात, जो समस्याएँ हिंदुस्तान के सामने हैं, जैसे असम और पंजाब की समस्या...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामलुण्णन्) :
छरवा समाप्त करिए।

श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी : ऐसी समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए सरकार को रास्ता ढूँढना ही चाहिए और सारे देश को ताकतवर बनाने के लिए सब को एक नये ढंग से, विशाल दृष्टि से आगे बढ़ना होगा। (समय की घंटी) मैं समझता हूँ कि (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामकृष्णन्) :
नहीं, अब आप बैठ जाइये ।

श्री श्री० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी : मैं
समझता हूँ कि जो... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० रामकृष्णन्) :
अब आधा घंटा बाकी है, आप
कृपा करके तशरीफ रखिए ।

श्री श्री० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी :
राष्ट्रपति जी ने अभिभाषण दिया है, उसमें
इसका कहीं मार्गदर्शन नहीं है ।

डा० संकेत प्रसाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री मोर्य जी ने जो
प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं उसका समर्थन करना
चाहता हूँ । राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण
के समय कुछ विरोधी दलों ने अभिभाषण
का वायकाट किया था, वह उचित नहीं
था ।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति देश के सर्वमान्य
व्यक्ति हैं । उस समय जब अभिभाषण
हो रहा था, उस दिन उन्हें वायकाट
नहीं करना चाहिये था । यह उचित नहीं
था । हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग जानते
थे कि धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव हाउस में
आएगा । उस वक्त वह अपनी भावना
व्यक्त कर सकते थे । उससे उन्हें कोई
रोकता नहीं था क्योंकि वह अनुचित
नहीं था । अभिभाषण में सरकार की
अनेक उपलब्धियों की तरफ राष्ट्रपति जी
ने इशारा किया है । चाहे वह साइंस
और टेक्नोलॉजी के क्षेत्र में हो, चाहे
अन्य उत्पादनों के क्षेत्र में हो । तमाम
दिक्कतों के बावजूद, सूखा और बाढ़,
और दूसरी तमाम दिक्कतों के बावजूद
देश ने हर क्षेत्र में तरक्की की है,
जिस पर हम सभी लोग गर्व कर सकते
हैं ।

अभी हाल में, जैसा कि हम जानते
हैं, यहाँ पर एशियाड के खेल हुए थे ।
सरकार ने उन खेलों का कुशलता से
संचालन कर दुनिया के खेल जगत में
भारत का नाम ऊँचा किया । उस की
भी हम सराहना करते हैं । लेकिन
जहाँ वायकाट हुआ राष्ट्रपति जी के
भाषण का, उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना
चाहता हूँ कि एशियाड में श्री चौधरी
चरण सिंह ने वायकाट किया था ।
पर्सनली मैं जानता हूँ, मेरे पास उनके कुछ
लोग आये और कहा कि चौधरी साहब
ने तो वायकाट कर दिया है, जरा टिकट
दे बीजिए, हमारे वच्चे देखना चाहते
हैं, एशियाड । तो कहने का मेरा मनलब
उपाध्यक्ष जी, यह है कि ऐसे वायकाट
होते रहेंगे, लेकिन देश आगे बढ़त रहेगा ।
इस तरह के वायकाट और इस तरह की
बातों पर जनता ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं देती ।

नान-एलाइन्ड देशों की कान्फ्रेंस हमारे
देश में होने जा रही है । यह भी
हिन्दुस्तान के लिए एक लैंडमार्क होगा
इससे भारत की सरकार का और देश
का नाम ऊँचा होगा ।

लेकिन मुझ अफसोस के साथ कहना
पड़ता है कि जो हमारे विरोधी दल
हैं वे सरकार की उपलब्धियों को नजर-
अन्दाज करके केवल खामियों की तरफ
ही देखना चाहते हैं । विरोधी दलों का
यह काम है कि सरकार की त्रुटियों को
देखें और इंगित भी करें, लेकिन जो
सरकार के अच्छे काम हों उनकी उन्हें
तारीफ भी करनी चाहिये । लेकिन मुझे
अफसोस है कि ऐसा नहीं है, वह ऐसा
नहीं करते, अच्छे काम की कभी तारीफ
नहीं करते, केवल सरकार की त्रुटियों
की तरफ नजर रखते हैं । उस का
एक कारण है और वह कारण यह है
कि इनका सिर्फ एक प्रोग्राम है कि वह
किस तरह से आगे आने वा इलेक्शन

में बोट लें। यह दिशाहीन है, इन का कोई लक्ष्य नहीं है। इसलिए सदैव इन की नजर सरकार की खामियों की तरफ ही जाती है। हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार का, हमारी महान नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का एक लक्ष्य है, एक हमारी दिशा है जिस माध्यम से हम देश को दुनिया के सामने सशक्त देश बनाना चाहते हैं।

सभी भाई जानते हैं कि हमारी पार्टी, हमारी सरकार ने बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम पेश किया है जिस में देश के सभी लोगों की सहायता की आवश्यकता है। उस प्रोग्राम के माध्यम से हम देश में सभी क्षेत्रों में तरक्की करेंगे और अगर सभी का सहयोग रहा तो उस कार्यक्रम से देश का सर्वांगीण विकास हो सकेगा।

उपसमाध्यक्ष जी, लेकिन मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे कुछ दल ऐसे इस देश के अन्दर हैं—जिनका मैं नाम तो नहीं लेना चाहता—जो कौमी, भेदवादी, क्षेत्रीय और भाषा के जज्बात को उभार कर उन से फायदा उठाते हैं। इस तरह के जज्बात को उभारने से देश का बहुत बड़ा नुकसान होता है। यही नहीं, जो लोग साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना पैदा कर के, क्षेत्रीयता की भावना पैदा कर के देश में उपद्रव कराते हैं वह यहीं तक सीमित नहीं रहता, वह उन दुश्मनों के लिए भी जमीन तैयार करते हैं जो हम को दुनिया में फलना-फूलना नहीं देखना चाहते। मैं इस विषय में याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले दिनों अखबारों में बालकनाइजेशन की बात की बड़ी चर्चा चली कि कोई कंट्री जिस का मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता सभी जानते हैं, बालकनाइजेशन की बात चलाये। तो यह साम्प्रदायिक और क्षेत्रीयता की भावना या भाषा की

भावना जो लोग पैदा करते हैं उन लोगों को दावत देते हैं या उन के लिए जमीन तैयार करते हैं जिन को हमारे देश की तरक्की और इस देश का फलना-फूलना और अच्छा होना अच्छा नहीं लगता है। इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता हमारा बहुत बड़ा दुश्मन है। साम्प्रदायिकता ने अनेकों झगड़े और फसाद इस देश में पैदा किये हैं, लेकिन मैं नहीं जानता कि यह साम्प्रदायिक लोगों की समझ में कब आयेगा कि यह गलत बात है। अगर हम देखें तो बापू के खून से लेकर अभी तक साम्प्रदायिकता के अलग-अलग झगड़ों की एक लंबी श्रृंखला है, एक बहुत लम्बी श्रृंखला है लेकिन वह साम्प्रदायिक ताकतें जो यह काम कर रही हैं, जो क्षेत्रीयता पैदा करने वाली या भाषा के सवाल को पैदा करने वाली ताकतें एक घटना से दूसरी घटना में चली जाती हैं और वह घटनाएँ बढ़ती चली जाती हैं और हजारों लाखों लोगों का खून बहाती हैं। उन को सोचना चाहिये कि इस से देश का बहुत बड़ा नुकसान होता है। मैं इस विषय में अगर किसी का नाम लूँ, किसी पार्टी का नाम लूँ तो कुछ बुरा नहीं होगा। बी.जे.पी. या मुस्लिम लीग जब कहीं कुछ होता है तो देश में उस पर पंखा झेल देती हैं और आप में तेल छिड़क देती हैं जिस से साम्प्रदायिकता की लौ भड़कती है और उस में छोटे-छोटे बच्चे, बूढ़े और जवान भाई, बाप सब का खून बहता है और बंगे पैदा होते हैं। तो मेरा आप के माध्यम से निवेदन है कि ऐसी पार्टियों, ऐसे संगठनों को जो देश में साम्प्रदायिकता को पैदा करते हैं जो देश में भाषा के सवाल को उठाते हैं और उस के आधार पर झगड़े पैदा कराना चाहते हैं, जो क्षेत्रीयता के सवाल को उठा कर झगड़े पैदा कराना चाहते हैं ऐसी पार्टियों और ऐसे संगठनों को बैन कर दिया जाना

[डा० संकटा प्रसाद]

चाहिए। यह देश की इंदीग्रेटी के लिए, देश की एकता और देश की भलाई के लिए इस प्रकार के संगठन बहुत खतरनाक हैं और वह समय आ गया है कि जब हम को सोचना ही पड़ेगा। मैंने बी० जे० पी० का नाम लिया है। यह पार्टी अपना नाम बदलती रहती है, कभी बी जे० पी० हो जाती है, कभी आर० एस० एस० के नाम के काम करती है, कभी किसी और नाम से काम करती है। यह झगड़े और दंगे कराने में बड़ी एक्स-पर्ट है। शराब एक ही है लेकिन बोटल बदलती रहती है। इसलिए ऐसे लोगों पर जो हिंदुस्तान के अंदर सांप्रदायिकता की भावना पैदा करते हैं और आपस में लोगों को लड़ाते हैं, ऐसी पार्टियों को बैन कर दिया जाना चाहिये।

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir). Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity of making submissions on the President's Address.

In both Houses of Parliament there have been voices raised and concern has been shown with regard to the so-called disintegration of this nation. I submit, I do not share their views. That there are some State parties which are ruling their own states never means that there is any danger of disintegration. The basic cause for this is that the national parties have overlooked and given step-motherly treatment to the problems facing the various States, especially those States which are quite under-developed just like the Jammu and Kashmir State. I represent the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference which is in predominant majority in that State has been ruling that State for the last seven to eight years. The question is that there was and still there is, simmering discontent in these under-developed States because most of the

funds go to the Centre rather than to the States. The States, as C Rajagopalachari said, are glorious municipalities. I say they are now pauper municipalities because whenever the Centre is to allocate the funds, our Chief Minister and other Ministers and high officials have to run down from Kashmir to Delhi and plead, argue, submit and say what not about more allocation of funds. Still there is always paucity of funds which results in our States becoming weaker economically. I have raised in this House so many times the question of an alternative route to the State Capital from Jammu and Pathankot. National Highway 1-A is invariably blocked during winter by snow, rain and landslides. Even during the dry season, in summer, there are landslides; and the road, this highway, the only lifeline linking the State with the rest of the country gets blocked. But no heed is paid towards this aspect of the matter. We say that the need of the hour is to open and construct roads between the valley and the rest of the country. Not only that, we have great hydro-electric power generation potential in that State. Throughout the country there are not so many rivers which can give us that much of hydro-electric power. But not sufficient attention is paid to that aspect of the matter. The basic thing is that you shall have another look at the Centre-State relationship. I, on behalf of the National Conference, welcome the emergence of Telegu Desam, a State party now ruling Andhra Pradesh. We are not sorry, and none should be sorry for that, because we know the problems of the State. Sometime back when I had gone on an intermediate journey, the Salaries Section told me that Kishtwar is nearer to Srinagar. I told them, "No, there is no road between Kishtwar and Srinagar. Jammu is the nearest airport and so we have to go from Kishtwar to Jammu." That is the knowledge of these people who are at the helm of affairs. So it is the State party which knows the problem, of the State and is anxious to solve them.

Sir when we talk of democracy, it must mean economy democracy, and economic democracy cannot emerge when there is disparity between the States and the Centre. They say that Rs. 16,000 crore₃ are allocated to the States as against Rs. 30,000 crores allocated to the Centre. We have had no say i_n the public enterprises, nationalised banks, the Reserve Bank, the LIC and other public enterprises. I had put a question here once. The nationalised banks are managed by some people, and the State Government has no say in the matter. There are corruption charges and the regional directors, legal advisers and directors of those banks are appointed we do not know by whom. And we have had no say in *the* matter. I had put this question : What are the names of directors, of regional advisers and Legal Advisers and what are the criteria for appointment, nomination to these posts, and whether Government of Jammu and Kashmir are consulted before such appointment? And the answer was vague. I think you will appreciate that they have to hide much without saying anything. The answer is, "Presumably the honourable Member is referring to advocates, lawyers engaged by banks for conducting their cases. Arrangements in this regard are made by banks depending upon the actual requirement and due consideration for qualification, etc. Banks are not required to consult either the Central or the State Government while making such appointments". The fact is that these banks are run by the Central Government. And it is the Central Government which has the say in the matter. They say we have had no say in the matter. The last sentence is most ambiguous and creating more trouble. "The information sought in part, (a) of the question is not readily available." Then they said, "Efforts required for collecting and compiling the same in the form desired may not be commensurate with the results intended to be achieved." what was the result? It was pointed out in the question itself. That was simply that the State Government must have ^a say i_n the appointment of these regio-

nal advisers or directors or legal advisers, so that when there are people seeking advances or loans from these nationalised banks, such person does get the loans and there is ^{no} harassment and corruption. That aspect, of the case is to be looked into and stigma removed.

And then, the pattern of taxation, both at the Centre and the States, has to be modified to enable the State to have more income with the sharing of the Reserve Bank, nationalised banks, LIC and other public enterprises. Again, our State is economically very weak. India is a Union of States and every state must have a share of national income. Then, when an organ of the Union is weak, it requires more assistance from the Centre. We require more funds. There is not enough allocation of funds to us.

Then I come to Assam. I wonder when the very perception of the Government is that none can be evicted from there, then why have these talks at all? The other day in Lok Sabha the Prime Minister said—"She had not said anything like that; she reiterated what she often said about making 1971 not the cut-off point but the starting point." That had been her consistent stand and it was on that basis that all these talks had been held.

She had pointed out to some of the students in her meetings the great difficulty of moving large populations. Where would they go and which State in India would accept them? Which country outside India would accept them? That was the question which she posed to the students. At the time they agreed with her that it was a major problem. She also said that those children who were born here—it was in the Constitution—that those who were born after 1950 when the Constitution came into force, were Indian citizens and we could not send them out. Again, Bangladesh said they will not take back even the post-1971 people. Therefore, do you think you could send them outside Assam? No State in India is going to accept these

[Shri Ghulam Mohi-ud-din]

linguistic or religious minorities back to their States. If Bangladesh says that we will not allow them to enter Bangladesh, how on earth are you going to force them? With what purpose and what results. Are you having talks about identification of so called foreigners in Assam. The result is that you have had that great holocaust after 1947 which has no parallel in this history? Thousands of innocent men, women and children are massacred and many more rendered homeless. My point is that as far as the Assamese problem is concerned, while we share their sentiments, their approach was wrong.

Sir, the President's Address has ignored totally the Afghanistan problem. There is a naked aggression by Russia on Afghanistan. And Afghanistan is at our doors in Kashmir and the presence of Russian troops were causes great concern to the people of Kashmir. But there is no mention about that in the Address. Why is this softening attitude towards Russia? There should be no bargaining in regard to non-alignment as far as friends are concerned. It should not gag us from speaking the truth. Unless and until the Seventh Non-aligned Summit comes to grip with this problem and ask Russia to vacate this naked aggression, there will be no peace in this part of the world. A political solution to this problem is to be worked out.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Before I call Shri Ram Pujan Patel, I want to inform the House that there is a suggestion that the House should adjourn at 4.35 p.m. to enable Members to listen to the Budget Speech of the Finance Minister, Shri Patel can speak for five minutes.

श्री रामपूजन पटेल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपका
आभारी हूँ जो श्री बी. पी. मोर्य जी

द्वारा प्रस्तुत राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन के लिये आपने मुझे समय दिया।

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं सबसे पहले राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा में अपना भाषण संसद के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया। साथ ही साथ मोर्य जी ने भी अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा में संसद के सामने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव पेश किया है, उसके लिये वह भी बधाई के पात्र हैं।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने सबसे पहले अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान को आजादी दिलाने वाले राष्ट्र के उन शहीदों के हम कृतज्ञ हैं जिन लोगों ने अपना खून और पसीना एक करके देश को आजादी दिलाई। मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट कर रहा हूँ जिसमें पहले ही उन्होंने कहा है कि आने वाला वर्ष हमारे लिये चुनौतियों से भरा हुआ है जिसके लिये संसद, सरकार और जनता को मिल जुल कर काम करना चाहिए। लेकिन मुझे खेद है कि विरोधी दल के लोगों ने पहले ही दिन राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का बहिष्कार किया कि हम लोग उनके भाषण में नहीं शामिल होंगे। वे प्रजातंत्र की बात करते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रजातंत्र का नाम लेकर वे अपने विचारों के परे की बात किया करते हैं। मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज आर्थिक दृष्टि से हमारा देश दिन प्रति दिन विकास की ओर बढ़ता जा रहा है। हमारे सामने एक चुनौती है और आर्थिक विकास के साथ ही साथ मैंने एक निवेदन करना है कि हमें अपने देश की नैतिकता को ऊपर उठाना है। बिना नैतिकता को ऊपर उठाये आर्थिक दृष्टि से ही हम अपने देश को मजबूत नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसके साथ

ही साथ भारतीय संस्कृति की रक्षा करने में अगर हम सफलता प्राप्त कर लेते हैं तो हम समझते हैं कि हमारा देश सुख और शांति से आगे बढ़ता चला जाएगा। हमारे विपक्ष के सदस्यों का कहना है कि देश कांग्रेस के शासन काल में आगे नहीं बढ़ा है। मुझे बड़े खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ था, उस समय हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी केवल 36 करोड़ थी और लोगों को खाने-पीने और पहनने को इतना नहीं मिलता था और उस समय हिन्दुस्तान में एक भी कल-कारखाना और उद्योग नहीं लगा था। लेकिन आज हम कल-कारखानों और उद्योगों की ओर कितना आगे बढ़ गये हैं इसकी एक तुलनात्मक दृष्टि में आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। अप्रैल, 82 और दिसम्बर, 83 के बीच में बिजली के उत्पादन में 7.2 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई, कोयले के उत्पादन में 4.2 और सीमेंट के उत्पादन में 10.2 फटिलाइजर के उत्पादन में 9.6 और रेल गाड़ियों की दुलाई में 3.5 प्रतिशत की प्रगति हुई है। इसके साथ ही साथ तेल के मामले में ... (समय की घटी) मुझे थोड़ा मौका दिया जाय।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्री रामकृष्ण) :
बकत नहीं है आपका।

श्री रामपूजन पटेल : 1980-81 में
तेल का उत्पादन 1.05 मीट्रिक टन
हुआ, 1981-82 में 1.62 मीट्रिक

टन और 1982-83 में 2.10 मीट्रिक टन उत्पादन होने की आशा है। इसके साथ ही साथ जिन चीजों का निर्यात किया गया है उससे हमारे देश का 3960 करोड़ रुपये की आमदनी हुई। अगले वर्ष के लिये 17.8 प्रतिशत अधिक का लक्ष्य हम लोगों ने निर्धारित किया है।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं आपका ध्यान एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय की ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ और उसके बाद मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूँगा। क्योंकि मैं आपसे बहुत ही सक्षम रूप में और साधारण बातों को बताना चाहता हूँ जो किसानों से सम्बन्ध रखती है, समय की कमी के कारण हो सकता है कुछ रह जाए। जो हमारा लक्ष्य आज हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी को मिटाने के लिए है इसके लिए कृषि को हम आगे बढ़ावें। सिंचाई के कार्यक्रम को बीस सूखी कार्यक्रम में प्राथमिकता के आधार पर रखा गया है और इस वर्ष 23.5 लाख हेक्टेयर भूमि की अधिक सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की गई है। मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि किस नों को बिजली, उर्वरक और पानी की दरों में दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़ोतरी की जा रही है उस पर सरकार की गम्भीरता से विचार कर के काम करना चाहिये। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो उत्पादन घट जाएगा। जब किसान के द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुएं कम होंगी तो देश के अन्दर मंहगाई होगी। इन शब्दों के साथ राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव श्री मोर्य जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): This concludes the discussion on the President's Ad-

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

dress. There will be no further debate on the subject. The honourable Prime Minister will reply at 5.00 P.M. instead or at 12.00 noon tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 6.45 P.M. today.

The House then adjourned at fifty-six minutes past four of the clock.

The House reassembled at forty-four minutes past six of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

The Budget (General) 1983-84

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1983-84.

(Interruptions)

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

The House then adjourned at forty-six minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 1st March, 1983.