

श्री शिव चन्द झा (बोलते रहें)

श्री उपसभापति : झा जी इस तरह से सदन की कार्यवाही नहीं चलेगी । चार माननीय सदस्यों को स्पेशल मेंशन की इजाजत दी गई । आपके पास तो बहुत से विषय हैं सब के सब दिष्यों पर इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती ।

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA
The Victoria Memorial (Amendment) Bill, 1981.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Victoria Memorial (Amendment) Bill, 1981, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 17th February, 1981."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): May I make an enquiry? Has the Lok Sabha sent any report, as a partner in parliamentary system, on the first-fighting that took place in the other House? (Interruptions) It seems that the Harijan Member wanted to speak something and he was gagged. The Harijan Member was gagged by the Members.... (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not proper to discuss that here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will the Secretary-General at least enquire if.... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down, Shri Shrikant Verma.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move that an Address be presented to the

President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 16th February, 1981."

उपसभापति महोदय, पिछले साल इन्हीं दिनों यह सरकार सत्ता में आई थी जब उसे जनता ने अपना विश्वास और बहुमत दिया । अगर हमारी सरकार चाहती तो वह जनता पार्टी की गलत नीतियों को दोहरा सकती थी । लेकिन इस एक वर्ष में एक भी कमीशन नियुक्त नहीं किया गया, किसी विरोधी नेता को अकारण जेल में नहीं डाला गया, किसी को सताया नहीं गया और किसी को परेशान नहीं किया गया । इसकी क्या वजह थी ? क्या यह आकस्मिक है या इसके पीछे कोई विचार है ? उपसभापति महोदय, इसके पीछे पार्टी का अपना विचार था, सरकार का इरादा था कि सहमति और कंसेंस की राजनीति को बढ़ाया जाए, असहमति, संघर्ष की राजनीति को निरस्त-हित किया जाए, क्योंकि भारत अपने विकास की अवस्था में है, एक ऐसी हालत में है जहां वह संघर्ष और उपद्रव झेल सकने की स्थिति में नहीं है । वर्षों से यह मांग होती रही है बल्कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू के बाद, श्रीमती गांधी ने बार-बार पिछले वर्षों में कहा कि कोई भी रास्ता तब तक आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता जब तक कि हम अपने छोटे-छोटे मुद्दों से ऊपर उठकर न सोचें । विरोधी पार्टियों को एक मौका दिया गया कि वे वक्त को पहचानें, स्थिति को पहचानें, अपनी हालत का पहचान, देश की नियति को पहचानें और अपने स्वयंसे मे परिवर्तन करें और सोचें कि कैसे इस देश को आगे बढ़ाया जा सकता है । लेकिन यह इस देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि यहां बहुत-सी पार्टियां हैं और हर पार्टी अपनी अस्मिता को, अपनी पहचान को बनाये रखने के लिए ऐसे कार्यक्रम

और ऐसे आन्दोलनों का बीड़ा उठा लेती है जिससे कि उसकी पहचान चाहे जितनी भी स्पष्ट हो, लेकिन राष्ट्र की पहचान धुंधली हो जाती है। पिछले एक वर्ष में यही हुआ है। देश का कोई हिस्सा नहीं कि जहाँ पर हड़ताल, प्रदर्शन या बेवजह आन्दोलन न हुए हों। इन के पीछे किसी तरह का चिन्तन नहीं है, न किसी तरह का जनहित है क्योंकि अगर जनहित होता तो फिर कांग्रेस पार्टी को आज उतना बड़ा समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं होता जितना कि प्राप्त है। स्पष्ट है कि जो भी आन्दोलन देश में पिछले 12 महीनों में होते रहे, उनके पीछे न जनहित था, न जनहित की भावना थी। उनके पीछे एकमात्र यह चीज थी कि छोटे-छोटे गुटों, जो कि पार्टियों के रूप में बदल दिये गये—खुद जनता पार्टी के न जाने कितने हिस्से हो चुके हैं—इन गुटों की अपनी पहचान को बरकरार रखा जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन पार्टियों ने और इन गुटों ने बहुत बड़ा देश का हित किया होता यदि वे इन 12 महीनों में एक दूसरे के नजदीक आने का प्रयत्न करते; क्योंकि वैसे हालत में उनकी शक्ति, उनकी उर्जा का अपव्यय नहीं होता और वे कुछ नजदीक आकर कम से कम अपनी शक्ति, कम से कम अपनी पहचान को स्पष्ट कर सकते थे। लेकिन उन्होंने संघर्ष का रास्ता अख्तियार किया और श्रीमती गांधी के इस ऑफर को ठुकरा दिया कि देश को सहमति के जरिये आगे बढ़ाया जाये। लेकिन यह ऑफर, यह देन अब भी खुली हुई है इसमें कोई देर नहीं हुई है क्योंकि इसके पीछे जैसा मैंने कहा कि विचार है, वर्षों का चिन्तन है। यह महान देश, यह विशाल देश तभी आगे बढ़ सकता है जब कि तमाम पार्टियाँ, तमाम व्यक्ति अपने हितों से ऊपर उठ कर अपने छोटे से छोटे संकीर्ण स्वार्थों से ऊपर उठ कर सोचें और ऐसा नहीं है कि यह पहली बार हो रहा है, इतिहास में, हजारों वर्षों से भारत में यही होता रहा है, जब तमाम जातियों ने तमाम वर्णों ने, धर्मों ने, सम्प्रदायों ने भाषा भाषियों ने अपने स्वार्थों को ताक पर रखकर और

राष्ट्र को नथा राष्ट्र की अखंडता को, उसकी विराटता को ध्यान में रख कर कार्य किया है। इससे भारत की प्रगति हुई है और होती रही है। इसलिए भारत आज भी बरकरार है। लेकिन इसकी अखंडता को अगर आज चुनौती है जाने अनजाने, मैं नहीं कहता कि जाने ही हुई है, मैं नहीं कहता हमारे प्रतिपक्षी मित्र जानबूझ कर ऐसा कर रहे हैं। हो सकता है कि उन्हें आभास न हो, लेकिन राष्ट्र की अखंडता को अगर आज कोई खतरा है, अगर आज कोई चुनौती है तो स्वयं प्रतिपक्षी पार्टियों की वजह से क्योंकि उन्होंने सहमति की राजनीति को स्वीकार नहीं किया बल्कि संघर्ष का रास्ता अख्तियार किया। इन्होंने दो टूक चुनौती का रास्ता अख्तियार किया, लड़ने का, मूठभेड़ का रास्ता अख्तियार किया जिससे उनकी छोटी-मोटी विजय हो सकती है, उनके छोटे-मोटे स्वार्थ साबित हो सकते हैं लेकिन उससे राष्ट्र का कोई हित नहीं होगा। यह तो एक संयोग है और यह एक इतिहास की महान घटना है और यह देश भाग्यशाली है कि इसे इन्दिरा गांधी जैसी एक महान नेता प्राप्त हैं वरना चारों ओर जितने छोटे-छोटे कुन्बे हैं राजनीतिक पार्टियों में, उनमें से किसी में इतनी शक्ति नहीं है कि तमाम अन्तरविरोधों को सुलझा कर एक नेतृत्व कायम कर सके। इन्दिरा गांधी का होना भारतीय इतिहास की बहुत बड़ी खूबी है और बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि है। लेकिन और भी लोगों को और भी पार्टियों को इसी तरह ऊपर उठ कर सोचना चाहिए जिस तरह से श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने तमाम छोटे-छोटे मतभेदों से ऊपर उठ कर सोचा, कभी संकीर्ण दृष्टि से नहीं सोचा।

इस राष्ट्र के पास, इस देश के पास आत्मबल की कभी कमी नहीं रही और चीजों की कमी भले ही रही हो। लेकिन हमारे इतिहास में कुछ शताब्दियों से ऐसी घटनाएं घट रही हैं कि एक खास वर्ग का विकास हो रहा है और वह विकास बहुत गलत ढंग से हो रहा है और गलत वर्ग का हो रहा है और

[Shri Shrikant Verma]

वह वर्ग है सिनिकल थिंकिंग करने वा क्लास का। उसमें राजनेता भी हैं, समाचार-पत्र भी हैं, बुद्धिजीवी भी हैं, जिन्हें चारों ओर सिर्फ निराशा दिखाई पड़ती है, जिन्हें चारों ओर केवल अंधकार ही दिखाई पड़ता है और बहुत हद तक यह देन पिछले 250 वर्षों के उपनिवेशवाद की भी है।

लेकिन अभी पिछले वर्ष देश में इतना बड़ा सूखा पड़ा जो कि पिछले सौ वर्षों में भी नहीं पड़ा होगा। आखिरकार, उस सूखे पर हम कैसे काबू पा सके? आखिरकार, उस सूखे के बावजूद हिन्दुस्तान कैसे बचा रह गया? उस सूखे के बावजूद देश के लोग कैसे भूखों मरने से बच सके? इसका कारण यह था कि वर्षों से हमने अपने आत्मबल पर और अपने परिश्रम के बल पर अनाज का एक ऐसा भंडार बना रखा था कि हमें बाहर भीख नहीं मांगनी पड़ी। हम आज उन देशों में से नहीं हैं जो कि भिक्षापात्र लेकर बाहर घूम रहे हैं। हम आज उन देशों में से हैं जो कि अपने पैरों पर खड़े हैं और विपदाओं और आपदाओं का सामना करने में समर्थ हैं, अन्यथा इतने बड़े सूखे के आगे यह देश घुटने टेक गया होता, इतने बड़े सूखे के आगे इस देश की जनता ने हथियार डाल दिये होते। लेकिन यहां के किसानों ने, यहां के मजदूरों ने, यहां के मध्य वर्ग ने, यहां की समस्त जनता ने इतनी मुसीबतों के बावजूद आत्म-समर्पण नहीं किया।

मैं सोचता हूं कि इस तथ्य को हमारे प्रतिपक्षी मित्रों को समझना चाहिए कि और पहचानना चाहिए कि इस देश की आत्म-शक्ति क्या है। पिछले एक वर्ष में, मैं नहीं कहता कि इसमें सब कुछ उज्ज्वल ही उज्ज्वल रहा है, मैं यह बात नहीं कहता कि इस पिछले एक वर्ष की बहुत बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धियां रही हैं। अभी तो सरकार को आए बारह महीने ही हुए हैं। लेकिन फिर भी उसके पहले के तीन वर्षों के मुकाबले पिछला एक वर्ष न केवल शान्ति का रहा है, बल्कि समृद्धि का रहा है।

जैसा मैंने कहा कि अनाज के मामले में आज हमारा देश आत्म-निर्भर है, न केवल आत्म-निर्भर है, बल्कि यह निर्यात करने की भी हालत में है और शीघ्र ही निर्यात करने की हालत में हो जाएगा।

मैं 'फाइनेन्शियल टाइम्स' में प्रकाशित 19 जनवरी के अंक से यह पढ़ कर बताता हूं और इसको पढ़ने का प्रयोजन ही यह है कि लोगों को मालूम हो कि आज हम दुनिया में उतने छोटे नहीं हैं जितना कि हमें बताया जा रहा है। हमें जितना हीन दिखाया जा रहा है, हम उतने हीन नहीं हैं, बल्कि हमारे पास कोई ऐसी शक्ति है, हमने पिछले तीस वर्षों में कुछ ऐसा विकास किया है कि आज संसार के बहुत से देश हम पर निगाहें रखे हुए हैं, चाहे द्वेषवश या प्रशंसावश, हमें गौर से देख रहे हैं। सुनिये जो 'फाइनेन्शियल टाइम्स' ने लिखा है, वह मैं पढ़ता हूँ—

"From being an importer of foodgrains in the 1960s, India has moved impressively towards establishing stocks of grain reserves and could next year become a grain exporter. Like China, she has a broad industrial base and self-sufficient industry, which, however, inefficient, gives her much independence of world trade."

यह किसी सामान्य पेपर ने नहीं लिखा है। यह किसी देशीय पेपर ने नहीं लिखा है कि आप यह आरोप लगा सकें कि भारत सरकार ने लिखवा दिया, बल्कि यह ब्रिटेन के प्रमुख "आर्थिक दैनिक" ने लिखा है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि कोई ऐसी वजह नहीं कि हम अपने चारों ओर अंधेरा देखें और जो उजाले की यहां-वहां किरणें हैं उन्हें नजरअंदाज करें। लेकिन मुख्य समस्या, जैसा कि मैंने आपसे कहा कि एक व्यक्ति के बल पर न तो कोई राष्ट्र बढ़ सकता है और न चार व्यक्तियों के बल पर कोई राष्ट्र गिर सकता है।

राष्ट्र के बढ़ने की और गिरने की अपनी शर्तें होती हैं और उन शर्तों को पूरा करना सबके हाथों में है; विरोधी पार्टियों के हाथों में ज्यादा है। क्योंकि अगर सरकार की ओर से कोई कदम उठाया भी जाता है, बहुमत के बल पर नहीं बल्कि राष्ट्रीय संकल्प के बल पर और विरोधी पार्टियाँ अगर उस संकल्प को ठुकराती हैं तो जनता में बेचैनी की तरंग पैदा होती है और इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ और मेरे वक्तव्य का मुख्य मुद्दा यह है—मैं स्पेसिफिक्स में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ—मैं तो यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक कोई राष्ट्रीय संकल्प पैदा नहीं होता, जब तक कोई राष्ट्रीय सहमति नहीं पैदा होती, तब तक राष्ट्र लंगड़ा होकर चलता रहेगा। श्रीमती गांधी ने जो ऑफर दिया उससे लाभ उठा कर विरोधी पार्टियों को दोबारा उस पर विचार करना चाहिए और उनके प्रस्ताव को मानना चाहिए।

अब मैं कुछ आंदोलनों की चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ और फिर एक बार आग्रह करता हूँ अपने प्रतिपक्षी मित्रों से कि वे गौर करें, अपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर सोचें कि असम में क्या हो रहा है? क्या वह आनंद का विषय है या पछतावे का विषय है या सोच विचार का विषय है? 20 महीने से भी अधिक हो गए जब से यह आंदोलन चल रहा है; लगता है जैसे पेट्रोल के कुएं में एक आग लगी हुई है जो बुझ ही नहीं रही है। अगर कोई दमकल पास पहुंचता भी है तो कुछ लोग उस दमकल को छीन कर ले जाते हैं। असम की हालत यही हो गई है। हर पार्टी यह कहती है कि उसके पास असम की समस्या का हल है लेकिन कोई पार्टी, सिवाए सत्तारूढ़ पार्टी के, यह नहीं चाहती कि असम की समस्या का हल निकले क्योंकि जब तक आग है तब तक हर

पार्टी तक उसकी आंच पहुंच रही है, उसकी गर्मी पहुंच रही है, जैसे ही यह आंदोलन बुझ जाएगा, कम से कम दो-तीन पार्टियाँ भी उसके साथ बुझ जाएंगी। समस्या छोटी-सी थी लेकिन उस छोटी-सी समस्या का किनना बढ़ा राजनैतिकरण किया गया? पिछले वर्ष इन्होंने और भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेताओं ने कहा कि असम की समस्या से, असम के आंदोलन से उन्हें कोई लेना-देना नहीं है। उस के थोड़े दिन बाद जब आरोप लगाया गया कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के लोग वहां जा कर कार्य कर रहे हैं, तब भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोगों ने इसका खण्डन करते हुए कहा कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के लोगों से इस का कोई सरोकार नहीं है। लेकिन नवम्बर और दिसम्बर के आते-आते रवैया बदलने लगा और न केवल इस आंदोलन का खुला समर्थन, बल्कि पेट्रोल के ब्लाकेड का भी खुला समर्थन भारतीय जनता पार्टी करने लगी। श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने इसका समर्थन करने हुए कहा कि मैं इसे गलत नहीं कहूंगा उन्होंने कहा, मैं छावनों की अलोचना नहीं करूंगा। क्यों नहीं करेंगे? छाव भी गलत हो सकते हैं, कोई भी व्यक्ति गलत हो सकता है। आप को उनकी निंदा करने में क्या संकोच है? सिर्फ यह संकोच है कि आपका नेतृत्व इन छोटे-छोटे उपद्रवों और इन आंदोलनों पर टिका हुआ है। तो असम पर अगर आप अपना दांव लगाए हुए है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह पार्टी के चलाने का बहुत अस्थायी तरीका है; क्योंकि असम की समस्या कभी भी हल हो सकती है। हो सकता है असम की जनता की इच्छा से हल हो जाए और हो सकता है भारत सरकार की पहल से। लेकिन राष्ट्रीय परिप्रेक्ष्य में एक बड़े प्रसंग में देखने पर आप को खुद ही यह महसूस होगा कि हम ने असम

[Shri Shrikant Verma]

बारे में एक गलत रवैया अख्तियार किया और वह रवैया दूसरे क्षेत्रों में, दूसरे प्रदेशों पर लागू करने पर एक भयानक नतीजा सामने ला सकता है। जिस अखण्डता की चर्चा जनसंघ या भारतीय जनता पार्टी करती रही है वह अखण्डता समाप्त हो जाएगी, अगर असम का आंदोलन दूसरे प्रदेशों में या दूसरे क्षेत्रों में फैल गया। जिस प्रभुसत्ता की बात भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोग पिछले 25 वर्षों से करते रहे हैं वह समाप्त हो जायेगी। असम आन्दोलन का फार्मूला दूसरे राज्यों में लागू हो जायेगा। इस लिये आग भड़कने के पहले आग में पेट्रोल या घी डालने के पहले भारतीय जनता पार्टी को यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि वह क्या कर रही है। पिछले एक वर्ष में जैसा कि स्वयं राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कहा, इन तमाम उपद्रवों के बावजूद, इन तमाम हलचलों के बावजूद, इन तमाम आंदोलनों के बावजूद आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार आया है। 1977 से 1979 के तीन वर्ष—वित्तीय वर्ष—गतिहीनता के वर्ष रहे, लेकिन पिछला एक वर्ष गतिशीलता का वर्ष रहा। आरम्भ में जरूर यह लगा कि कोई चीज बढ़ नहीं रही है। लेकिन फिर कोयले की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ, बिजली की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ, डीजल की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ। 1977-78 में मैं भूल नहीं पा रहा हूँ कि जब पेट्रोल पंपों के आगे हजारों ट्रकों का क्यू लगा रहता था डिजिल प्राप्त करने के लिये लेकिन आज इस तरह का कोई क्यू कहीं नजर नहीं आता। आखिर क्यों, इसलिये कि सरकार ने कुछ किया है। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please.

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा : जैसा मैं कह रहा था कि गति आने में समय लगता है, खास कर जब तीन वर्षों तक गतिहीनता रही हो और गति को तोड़ दिया गया हो। लेकिन फिर भी काम शुरू हुआ है और इस वर्ष और भी सुधार होगा स्थिति में और मैं समझता हूँ कि जो लोग निराशा के स्वर में बातें करते हैं उन्हें अपने स्वर में परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। इसी सदन में मैं सुनता रहा हूँ और अक्सर मेरे मन में भावनाएँ उठती रही हैं कि आशंकाओं को उठाना जैसे भारतीय राजनेताओं का स्वभाव हो गया है। उदाहरण के लिये, जब नेशनल सिक्योरिटी आर्डिनंस को ऐक्ट में परिणत करने का सवाल आया तो इसी सदन में न जाने कितनी शंकाएँ व्यक्त की गयीं। न जाने कितनी बातें कहीं गयी कि यह लोकतंत्र के दमन के लिये है। लेकिन ऐक्ट को पास हुए दो महीने हो गये, लोकतंत्र का कौन सा दमन हो गया? कितने लोग गिरफ्तार हुए? इसी सदन में जिन लोगों ने नेशनल सिक्योरिटी आर्डिनंस का विरोध किया था वह सब आज यहां मौजूद हैं। उन में से एक को भी गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया, एक को भी सताया नहीं गया, एक को भी परेशान नहीं किया गया, कम से कम इस ऐक्ट के तहत। हर जगह वह आने जाने के लिये स्वतंत्र हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): One of our comrades, a Member of our Party a trade union

worker in Ghaziabad, has been arrested.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: You are here. You have not been arrested.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have not been. But others are being arrested.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT (Uttar Pradesh): I think. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is only expressing his gratitude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is all right. You mean to say we are so selfish? You should have a little charitable idea about us also.

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा : बहरहाल, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि किसी भी व्यक्ति को इस कानून के तहत गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया होगा लेकिन मेरा यह कहना सिर्फ यह है कि अभी तक इस का प्रयोग विवेक के साथ किया गया है। और हम यह आशा कर सकते हैं कि आगे भी विवेक के साथ इसका इस्तेमाल किया जातः रहेगा। तो हम हर चीज पर क्यों आशंका व्यक्त करते हैं? क्यों मानते हैं कि हर चीज गलत होगी ही। इस तरह से क्यों नहीं सोचते कि जिस तरह से हम ईमानदार हैं, जिस तरह से हम विवेकवान हैं, उसी तरह से दूसरा व्यक्ति भी हो सकता है। जितना विवेकवान प्रतिपक्ष है उतना ही कम से कम रूलिंग पार्टी भी हो सकती है। आप तो विवेकवान हैं, समझदार हैं, ईमानदार हैं। आप की नेकनीयति पर कोई उंगली नहीं उठा सकता, लेकिन हम पर हर आदमी उंगली उठा सकता है, इसलिए कि हम रूलिंग पार्टी में हैं, सत्तारूढ़ दल में हैं, यह अपने दामन को पाक रखने का कौन सा तरीका है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसा मैंने कहा शुरू

में ही इस देश में एक निराशा के पंगम्बरों का वर्ग पैदा हुआ है और उस ने पिछले वर्ष भी यह कहा कि आर्थिक स्थिति में कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन जो भी आंकड़े सिर्फ राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में दिये हैं उतने ही काफी हैं यह साबित करने के लिये कि आर्थिक स्थिति में चाहे नगण्य ही सही, लेकिन सुधार हुआ है। यह कहना कि कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ एक तरह से सत्य को झुठलाना है। कई चीजों पर हमारा बस नहीं है, मसलन पेट्रोल पर और पेट्रोल का आने वाले वर्षों में 11 हजार करोड़ रुपए का इंपोर्ट करना होगा और जिन हिसाब से इंपोर्ट की कीमतें बढ़ेंगी, उसी हिसाब से दूसरी चीजों की कीमतें भी बढ़ेंगी। इस पर हमारा क्या बस है। इस पर किसी का क्या बस है। कौन सा देश प्रभावित नहीं है? सिर्फ भारत ही प्रभावित नहीं है, सिर्फ भारत के पास अपना रोना नहीं है और भी देशों के लोग चीख रहे हैं, चिल्ला रहे हैं। कौन सा देश है जहां पेट्रोल की कीमतें बढ़ने से मंहगाई नहीं बढ़ी है? फिर भारत ही क्यों अपना रोना रोयेगा? पेट्रोल फिलहाल हमारे हाथ में नहीं है। मैं तो कम से कम आशावादी व्यक्ति हूं, मैं सोचता हूं कि कम से कम 10-15 वर्षों में भारत ऐसी स्थिति में पहुंच जाएगा जब कि पेट्रोल के मामले में हम आत्मनिर्भर हो सकेंगे और हम नहीं सोचते कि राष्ट्र के जीवन में 10-15 वर्षों का वक्त बहुत वक्त होता है।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं अन्त में अपने प्रतिपक्षी मित्रों से यह अपील करना चाहूंगा कि वह समस्याओं को समेट न देखें और यह सोचें कि जो भी राष्ट्र के सामने कठिनाइयां हैं उनका हल कैसे

[श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा]

निकाला जा सकता है। किसी व्यक्ति को कभी खड़ा होना भी पड़ता है और खड़ा होना ही काफी नहीं है, हमें अपनी जगह पर खड़े होने से पहले पहचानना होगा कि हम किस जगह पर खड़े हैं इस जमीन पर हजारों साल पहले सम्राट अशोक खड़े हुए, चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य खड़े हुए और उन्होंने खड़े होकर अपने सैनिकों को ललकारा। आप उस महान जाति के उत्तराधिकारी हैं। लेकिन आपका प्रभाव क्या है? क्या आपका प्रभाव चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य, सम्राट अशोक, हर्ष, गुप्त, अकबर और इनके उत्तराधिकारियों की तरह है आपसे मेरा मतलब आम नहीं हम सब से है। हमें अपनी जगह से कुछ ऊपर उठना होगा और यह महसूस करना होगा कि यह एक महान देश है और मुझे अभी चार रोज पहले इस महान देश के दर्शन हुए जब मैंने यहां 25-30-35 लाख किसानों को देखा। वह किस लिए यहां आये? उन्हें क्या लेना था? उन्हें कुछ नहीं लेना था। वह आये सिर्फ इसलिए कि सारे देश की एकता के वह प्रतिनिधि हैं।

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN: (Tamil Nadu): You engaged 30,000 trucks to bring them here.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: Why don't you have trucks in your State and bring them?

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं सिर्फ प्रसंग-वश किसान रैली का जिक्र कर रहा हूँ वरना इसका जिक्र करने का मेरे लिए कोई कारण नहीं है, हाथ कंगन को आरसी क्या? मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि जो देश के पड़े-लिखे लोग हैं, शिक्षित वर्ग के लोग हैं, वे सभी मैं अपने आपके विश्वास को आप खो रहे हैं। वह इस देश की महान कल्पना को भूल रहे हैं। वह इस महान कल्पना को झुठला

रहे हैं, ठुकरा रहे हैं? लेकिन इस देश के साधारण लोग, साधारण किसान, साधारण जनता के आगे इस देश में वही कल्पना है जो हजारों साल पहले उसके पूर्वजों के आगे रही होगी। उस कल्पना को आगे बढ़ाने का कर्तव्य आपका है। उस कल्पना को साकार करने उसे सत्य में परिणत करने का कर्तव्य हमारा है। अगर हम इसको भूलते हैं और अपने छोटे-छोटे झगड़ों में पड़ते हैं, अगर हमारे लिए पार्लियामेंट ही सब कुछ है। मैं सिर्फ आपसे इतना ही निवेदन करता हूँ और फिर आग्रह करता हूँ कि सहमति की, जिसकी पिछले वर्ष आफर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने दी थी एक राष्ट्रीय सहमति की विचारधारा पर, चिन्तन पर एक बार फिर आगे बढ़ें और संघर्ष और चुनौती का रास्ता छोड़ें। आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I deem it a great privilege to second this Motion of Thanks proposed by the hon. Member. It is customary on an occasion like this to thank the President and my thanks are really profuse this year because in his Address he has recounted very modestly the achievements of our Government in the last one year.

In order to assess the correct position of the failure or the success of the Government in the last one year, it is necessary for us to look at the background, look at the context, look at the conditions and the situation and the time at which we took over the power and I assure this House that this will be the last time when we will compare ourselves with the last Government. Henceforth we will compare ourselves with ourselves, with our performance. We will give the nation a full account of what we will do next year in comparison to what we have done in the last

year. (*Interruptions*) In any event, you should not expect any elections next year because we have yet four more years to go. I can tell you that we are not going to fail the nation as you did and we are not going to collapse in the next year or in the next three years. We are going to run the full-five year term and we are going to last much longer than that, maybe, much to your distress.

Now the point is. I am not one of those who in order to prove that I am good will say that somebody else is bad. But this comparison becomes unavoidable. It is inevitable. And let us go and find out the position in which we came to power, because the facts are there, the figures are there. There should not be any controversy about them. May be, the analysis may differ. But the facts and figures are there. In the context of that, let us apply the three principles by which a Government must govern. Firstly, the Government must have a policy of its own. Secondly, the Government must have a plan of its own. And, thirdly, the Government must have an administration of its own. You will find that the former Government whom we succeeded utterly failed and led the country into a deep malaise. Look at the policy which it had. (*Interruptions*) You will not interrupt me. I am coming to that. I will deal with every point that the Opposition wants to raise. This sort of interruption is not going to affect the figures. This sort of interruptions is not going to change the performance which we have made.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Rafiq Zakaria) in the Chair].

The point which I am making is, look at the policy which the previous Government pursued. They pursued a policy of persecution. They pursued a policy of reprisal. They pursued a policy whereby they thought that our leader would be put in jail, that

her relations would be harassed, her followers would be demoralised. But they had to pay very dearly for this policy. As against this, we are guided by a policy which has been there as the policy of the Congress Party ever since the 1929 Lahore Resolution. It has been very aptly put in the words of the Father of the Nation—Mahatma Gandhi—and I quote the revered Father of the Nation:

“Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. A non-violent system of government is an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the rich in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day, unless there is voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for common good.”

It is for this diminution of inequality, both social and economic. That is the goal of our party, that is the policy of our Government. I know, that there would be doubtful nods from some quarters here, but there is no manner of doubt that if the poor in this country have confidence, if the downtrodden in our nation have any faith if they have any hope they have that confidence, faith and hope only in our party, only in our Government and only in our leader Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I need not recall to the House the Lahore Resolution of 1929 in the famous words of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I need not recount the Karachi Resolution of 1931 to which many of you then subscribed and which was ultimately filtered....

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM (Madhya Pradesh): Are you prepared to accept *in toto*?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: We have subscribed *in toto*. I will come to that and you will have an opportunity to talk on that. The point which I am again emphasising is that all this ideology of Congress was filtered into the Constitution, finding its place in the Preamble of the Constitution, article 38 of the Constitution and various other provisions of the Constitution. And it is this constitutional philosophy which induced us to bring in an amendment of the Constitution saying that it is a "secular" Constitution, providing that it is a "socialist" Constitution. So, let there be no mistake as to what we feel about the Constitution. Let there be no mistake as to what our goals are. Those goals were reflected by the 20-point programme which we accepted and which the opposition abused, which the opposition abandoned and which, the opposition sort of abjured. I am happy that the Government is once again reviving that programme. It has taken steps—in great strides—towards the achievement of that programme.

Now, coming back to the comparative position, look at the drift which we found ourselves in. Look at the worst ever drought of the century we had to face and how it was faced. It was faced by a 12-point programme providing for foodgrains, providing for drinking water and pursuing the food for work programmes vigorously. The Prime Minister herself visited a number of States to see that it was effectively enforced and implemented. The result was that there was not even a single starvation death in spite of the worst drought. Then we started working. We gave the infrastructure. We reserved 60 per cent of the power for agricultural operations. I am happy that the hon. Minister for Food and Agriculture is here. We gave them necessary inputs like improved seeds and fertilisers. We augmented irrigation so

that from 23 million tonnes we brought it to 79.5 million tonnes and at the end, today, we have a record crop of 130 million tonnes and we will not waste anything. Today we have enough for ourselves. We have enough to build up the buffer stocks which were wasted by the previous Government, and a time will come when we will be exporting foodgrains to places like China. Sir, if I may take a little pride in what we have done, the nation will realise the distinction between drift and direction.

Now I come to the Plan. What Plan did the previous Government have? The previous Government had a Rolling Plan, rolled and rolled and rolled, gathering no moss, no strength, providing nothing for anybody in the country. (*Interruptions*) And what a mighty fall they had in that roll, if I may say that. So, in a year's time, in record time, we have come out with one of the most ambitious and one of the most pragmatic Plans that this nation has known, the sixth Five-Year Plan providing for an outlay of Rs. 97,500 crores. Now I do not want to take you through the details because they are all recounted in the Presidential Address, but I may briefly enumerate the significant achievements during the last year—and this, you will have to appreciate, whether you like it or not, in the word situation which obtained when we took over. The whole world was caught in a great spiral of inflation. Particularly look at our neighbouring country Sri Lanka. It had a 40 per cent inflation. In a developing country inflation below 20 per cent was not known. You will be happy to note that the rate of inflation was brought down from 22.3 per cent to 12.7 per cent during the last 12 months ending December, 1980. I do not want to give the figures, but you can take it from me that even in a country like Japan there was an inflation of 4.5 per cent. Now the industrial growth rate which was dis-

mal, which was minus 3 per cent, picked up and today the total growth, considering that we had to cover ...

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh): Where did you get these figures from?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I may correct myself. It is minus 4 per cent. In 1979-80, it was minus 4 per cent and in 1980-81, it has been 10 per cent—a net growth rate of 14 per cent, the hon. Members would do well to remember. That is why the share market has seen a buoyancy which it had not seen in three decades. The estimated food production, as I said, is 130 million tonnes. The economic position registered positive recovery pushing to 4 per cent growth against abysmal decline of 3 per cent in GNP in 1979-80.

Now I will come to one important feature of the economy. I am happy that the Deputy Finance Minister is here. The combined collection from income-tax and the corporation tax was as much as Rs. 659 crores in December 1980. This only shows that the expectation of better recovery on the present tax rate has been fulfilled. The remittances from Indians abroad and other investments remain steady. The power generation has risen by 6 per cent. Coal production is up by 8 per cent.

In foreign policy, the prestige of the country is high as seen from the recent Non-aligned Conference held at a time of grave tension and conflicts. The Sixth Five-Year Plan has been completed. The launching of the satellite SLV-3 (Rohini) in July last year is again an achievement of great significance (*Interruptions*) He does not know what the space club is and probably does not know how many members there are of the club. It is very easy to laugh, but it is very difficult to put up a skylab.

The Assam problem has been dealt with great firmness, with great forbearance, with great patience. I should say that a time has come when a solution of the Assam problem will also be round the corner because kindly remember that the Barauni Refinery which gives 3 million tonnes of crude oil per year could not be operated for more than 15 months, causing us a huge loss, particularly in foreign exchange, because we had to make good this loss by way of import. But that also has now started working. Considering the pledges we have made to the electorate, considering that those pledges were made for a period of five years for which we will last and certainly last and last much more than that because the next election also we will win—I think that we can with all modesty and in all humility say that we have done well. But at the same time I must say that this is only the beginning. The problems are far too complex and they spring up from things which are beyond our control. For the first time I appeal to the Members of this House to realise that a great portion of the inflation is beyond the control of national factors and that it is dictated by international factors.

The oil exploration must go on. The worthy mover of the resolution felt that we would be self-sufficient in oil in fifteen years. But he is wrong. I work on the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals. He is not here. But I can tell this to the House. It is more for the House than for him—those who are working with me on the Consultative Committee will bear me out and many of them are from the other side of the House—that within a period of five years with a bit of luck we will reach a stage where we will be self-sufficient in our oil requirements.

That really sums up the progress which we have made. And that takes me to a very sensitive part to which I am quite sure, the hon. Members of

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]
the House will give me utmost patience and forbearance. I am going to refer to the role of the Opposition. I am saying it not because I stand on behalf of the ruling party, but I think I stand here primarily as a citizen of the country, and I share with the Opposition that we have a common goal to take our country forward on to the path of glory, on to the path of prosperity and on to the path of equality. But the point I am making is this.

Before I start, let me give a small story. Unfortunately, the illustrious person who was a Member of our House, is no more. Chief Justice Chagla once constituted a full bench consisting of three members to decide a very intricate and difficult question of law. All eminent counsels appeared before him. The question was really very complex and complicated. Chief Justice Chagla just did not know what way to decide it. So, he turned to the Judge on his right who said, "It is very complicated. But let us see; as the arguments proceed, we may get an answer." He turned to the Judge on the left. The judge on the left said. "Chief Justice, I have no problem at all. Why should the whole problem appear to you to be complex?" Chief Justice Chagla was heartened that the second Judge was ready with an answer. When the Chief Justice turned to the Judge on his left and asked, "Brother what do you think the solution is? What have you decided?" He replied, "Chief Justice, I have decided to agree with you"

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He was lucky he did not have Mr. Antulay on his front.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: In the same way, whenever you ask the Opposition they will tell you that they have decided to disagree with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. If Mrs. Gandhi says yes, they say no. If she says no, they say yes. Please give up this negative attitude. I will

tell you why the Opposition is failing. It is because the basic tenet of any Opposition—if I may quote from illustrious Champion—is that there may be several parties in the Opposition . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The analogy that you have given is not well suited.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Dada, do not interrupt.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I must say that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the Chief Justice, you are on one side and Mr. Verma on the other side.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I do not think so. I would put it this way. She is the Chief Justice. We are on her right. We find that the task is really complicated, the task is really complex, the task is really difficult. You on her left side just do not agree.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Bhandare, please do not get disturbed by these interruptions. You proceed with your speech.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Anyway, I am happy that Bhupesh Da also agrees with me on what I say the attitude of the Opposition should be.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): He has a delightful habit of disturbing everybody.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sometimes disturbance is welcome. In his case it is always welcome.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no, I am not disturbing.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sir, if I may, proceed to quote, he said:

"There may be several parties in Opposition, but the Opposition

means the second main party, temporarily in a minority, with leaders experienced in office, who are ready, when the time arises, to form an alternative Government. This affords a guarantee that its criticism will be directed by a consistent policy and conducted with responsibility—not in a spirit calculated to ruin the game for the sake of “the prize.”

Now, this is what is lacking here. We do not have an Opposition, the second main party which can take over. The result is that never the main task of the Opposition is discharged, either in this House or outside, the task of offering an alternative, the task of being ready there. With the result, what happens? In the words of Sir Ramsay MacDonald, “the Opposition has no right to obstruct in the sense of making Parliament barren or unproductive.” This is what is happening. But I do hope—as has been said by the mover—that it is still not late. We must all believe that everyone of us is here in this House or elsewhere with the same goal in mind, with the same purpose in mind, with the same objective in mind, and that is, to take our nation forward. We share the same confidence, we share the same belief in democracy. And I may tell you that when we lost the elections in 1977, I was a very happy in a way, because I felt that for the first time, there would be a two-party rule in the country, which would usher in real democracy. I really wished the Janata Party well, full five years of run...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You were happy then?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: At that time, even in my sorrow. I saw a silver lining in the dark clouds. I thought there would be a two party rule emerging for the benefit of the coun-

try, for the progress of the country. But the internal contradictions had to topple that Government, without much effort from anybody else. Therefore, I would request, I would appeal, I would beseech. It is a gigantic task. The problems spring up every day, every minute. And I think that unless we go hand in hand, with our shoulders put together, it is not possible really to take the nation with the same speed, with the same zest, in the right direction, as early as we ought to. Therefore, I am particularly grateful to the President when he called upon all sections of the Home to extend their Cooperation. To quote from the address—“May I urge all sections of the House to approach the urgent and onerous task facing the nation in a spirit of co-operation, while keeping in mind the need to serve the interests of our people.” As I said, the challenge is not only national, but the challenge is global. I am quite sure that our country, with the rich heritage, with its great history and past, will really go ahead on the path on which we want it to go and that the millions of those who are below the poverty-line will soon see the outbreak of the economic and social revolution.

Sir, it will not be fair on my part to conclude unless I say a word to the members of the press.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Don't look at them. Look at me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I suggest one thing? I have no objection. Let the members of the press be allowed to come down and sit here so that he can address them. I have no objection.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sir, the only reason why I looked at the press box was that I was not quite sure whether they were there and I did not want to say anything if they were not there because I am not used to talk-

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ing to stone-walls or deaf ears or whatever you may say. Mr. Bhupeshda has a privileged position where while looking at the Chair, he can also look up at the press.

Sir, this is my last point. And it is this. I will speak for the experience of this House. What I find is that very serious things which engage the attention of this House, very important matters on which the Members pay a lot of attention, take a lot of effort, take much pains, are never noticed by them. What is noticed unfortunately is only sensational things, and this has a very adverse effect on the image of this great institution. I would request the press to be more responsive to the proceedings of this House as well as to their role elsewhere. I find, for example, if there is a scarcity of drugs, they will put it in the front page but nobody will try to find out whether there is a cell where you can report and get the drug urgently. I think along side the scarcity report should be reported on the front page also that there is a cell where a patient in distress can go and get the life-saving drug without delay. As a measure of SOS that should be displayed in a more prominent way. I would request them not to copy their western fraternity because we are a developing nation and we owe it to the nation also to educate them, to put all the things in the right perspective, exclude sensationalism, exclude a negative attitude, build up a healthy, positive, attitude, towards the progress of the nation.

With these words, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would once again request the House wholeheartedly to adopt this Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address on the 16th February, 1981.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now, there are 432 amendments to the Motion which may be moved at this stage...

SHRI J. K. JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): Thank God, there are not 420.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Four-twenty is there on the other side.

श्री जे० के० जैन : मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि आपने अपने में सुधार कर लिया है। चार सौ बीस के जो नम्बर था वह आपने छोड़ दिया है...

(व्यंग्य)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, with your permission I will make one correction to one printing mistake. (*Interruptions*) We have heard the two judges of the bench now constituted. Mr. Bhandare and Mr. Verma. We have a bench of three persons constituted now. Of them two have spoken. And the Chief Justice, that is, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, is yet to speak. Even so, I shall move my amendments.

In amendment No. 79 there is a printing error. I have to correct that small error. Instead of the word "forcefully" kindly read 'specifically'. It is not 'forcefully'. Maybe, I committed the error or whatever it is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Which amendment?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Amendment No. 79: Instead of the word "forcefully" please read "specifically". That is with reference to the mention of Diego Garcia. I have got 154 amendments in my name. Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not show due awareness of the deep economic crisis fraught with grave social consequences through which the country is passing.'"

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

'but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that there is stagnation and even decline in many branches of the economy.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show due concern at the growing economic disparities or even at the fact that more and more people are sinking below the poverty line.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that although the national income is increasing in current prices both national income and the per capita income in real terms or in constant prices are showing a decline.'

5. "That at the end of the Motion, the following added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the conditions of the Harijans and other oppressed and backward sections of the community are deteriorating despite the tall official declarations and promises.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the new stirrings among the tribal people not only for their economic and cultural development but also for their political rights and opportunities.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not seem to be concerned about the increasing sufferings of the

masses as a result of rising and high prices of all essential commodities of common consumption.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any warning against official attempts to advertise the so-called 'deceleration of inflation' on the basis of some temporary and seasonal decline in the wholesale price index even though retail prices continue to rise without reflecting any such temporary decline.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious view of the failure of the government to revamp and extend public distribution system which is essential for checking price rise and ensuring supply of the daily necessities to the people.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not seem to be concerned about the intensification of operation of the 'free market economy' encouraged by the retrograde trends in government policies.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the correctly assessment of the demands of the peasants and the problems they are facing on the one hand and on the other ignores the attempts of those in power at the Centre to create the impression as if the peasants are in support of the policies of denials and plunder of which they are victims as a result of the operations of multinationals and monopolists in the country-side, backed by the Government.'

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

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'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that funds allocated for agriculture, irrigation and rural developments mainly go to the benefit of the rich while the poor sections are, in fact, denied these benefits.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not still see the necessity of a radical change in the credit policy of the public sector banks with a view to helping those in the rural areas who need the financial assistance most.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that exploitation of the rural masses is daily intensifying as a result of the wrong policies of the Government on the one-hand and continuance of the semi-feudal survivals on the other compounded by the invasion of capitalism in rural economy.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not record its appreciation of Kerala and West Bengal Governments, led by the Left and Democratic forces, that the radical land reforms have been carried out and still being continued.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious view of the fact that in most of the States the implementation of the land reforms including the land ceilings has come to a dead halt.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the growth of

agricultural workers from 50 million to well over 60 million which is an indication of rural poverty and growing landlessness among the vast rural masses there.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not see that even the existing laws relating to the minimum agricultural wage are not being faithfully implemented in a number of States and places as a result of the influence of the landlord elements on the Government and the administration.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of even the extreme distress and famine conditions through which millions are passing in the drought and famine affected areas of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and other places, nor does it promise adequate provision of relief assistance by the Centre for mitigating their suffering and for the rehabilitation of the economy.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not express any shock even after 33 years of Independence that more than one third of the Indian villages are not provided even with drinking water.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that as a result of the Government's failure to buy jute, cotton, tobacco etc., through its own agencies, these mills and certain middle men are reaping benefits by depriving the peasantry of the due prices, while the unlifted stock accumulates.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not still see the need of taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains and certain other essential commodities.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not express its shock that even now nearly 3 million bonded labourers exist in the rural India to the shame of us all.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the growing rural indebtedness which is causing so much suffering to the agricultural labourers and the poorer sections of the peasantry, neither does it indicate any measure nor relief to them.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not speak sharply against the unconscionable concessions that are being showered on the monopolists and even the multinationals in the name of 'incentives' in order to appease their insatiable appetite for super profits.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern that the industrial policy has not only been revised by the New Industrial Policy Statement of July last year but is also being distorted in order to suit the interest of the monopolists and other tycoons including foreign multinationals.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn the Government against the bankrupt theory of seeking economic and industrial development by appeasing the monopolists and other vested interests.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the retrograde 'Industrial Licensing Policy' intended to serve the interest of the monopolists.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not propose an end to the policy which legalises unauthorised expansion of capacity by the industrialists in violation of the Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note that the FERA measures are not faithfully enforced and that they are being allowed to be defied by the multinationals such as the Hindustan Lever.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn against the reckness signing of the so-called 'collaboration' agreement with the West—nearly over 400 such agreements have been signed or sanctioned during the last one year.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that in the name of transferring 'technical know-how' the multinationals are trying to further penetrate into the Indian economy, to the detriment of our national aim of selfreliance.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to develop comprehensive programme for self-reliance by taking more effective measures against neo-colonialism and its exploitation in all forms.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not propose any effective curb on the drain on our national resources as a result of remittances of profits, interests, royalty, dividends etc. by the multi-nationals from this country.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the protectionist policy of the Western countries particularly the European Economic Community, nor does it propose any effective measures to encounter it.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn the Government against its illusion about EEC, nor does it promise that proper vigilance would be exercised so that India does not succumb to the bails of the EEC.'

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

'But regret that while our trade deficit are mounting the Address does not propose any measure to meet the situation or even to prevent the dissipation of our foreign exchange reserves.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that

India's share in the total turnover of the world trade is declining along with that of many other developing countries as a result of the protectionist, discriminatory and other neo-colonialist policies pursued by the West, notably the USA and the EEC.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take timely note of the situation resulting from the Japan's expansionist economic policies which is aimed at capturing markets in our region to the detriment of the trade relations and economic development of the developing countries of the region including India.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern that despite all talks about 'socialism' the concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of few continues to grow, menacing democracy and the working of its institutions in the country and eroding all moral public standards.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not see the urgency of drastic curbs in profits by the monopolists including foreign monopolists in our country but, on the contrary, prefers to encourage their profits-hunt.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not see the need for resource mobilisation by adequately taping the monopolists and the rich who are in a position to pay for the development of the country and who have amassed enormous wealth in various forms.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not even take note of the jubilation among the monopolists and other big business circles at the existing policies of the Government concerning big business, nor does it draw any lesson from this fact to devise remedial measures in the interest of national economy.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the planned and systematic sabotage of the national economy by the monopolists and other vested interests in pursuance of their narrow selfish interests.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any realisation that the 'economic growth with social justice' is impossible unless drastic measures are taken against monopoly capital and similar other vested interests and for bringing about radical structural changes including thorough going radical agrarian reforms.'"

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

'but regret that the Address unfortunately does not even echo the President's very correct and forthright public statement that a handful of rich people at the top are dictating policies, nor does it propose any measure to end this state of affairs rightly exposed by the President himself.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that as a result of the business malprac-

tices of the monopolists even the small and medium industry in the private sector are put to great difficulty.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any sign of alarm at the deepening liaison between the big business circles and the corridors of power, one off-shoot of which is rampant corruption in high places.' "

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

'but regret that the Address overlooks the disturbing reports and serious allegations about 'kick-back deals' between big business circles and those in positions of power and authority.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the systematic propaganda by some Congress (I) Ministers including the Chief Ministers and some Central Ministers against the Parliamentary-cum-cabinet system with a view to preparing the ground for a switch over to an authoritarian Presidential form of Government, nor does it give any assurance that such destruction of the Constitution and democracy will not be allowed.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not welcome the fact that all the Opposition parties in the country have come out strongly against the moves to replace the present Parliamentary-cum-cabinet system by the Presidential form of Government, while the need of the hour is to further strengthen and also to renovate existing system by electoral reforms and other measures

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with a view to bringing it closer to the requirements of democracy and to the aspirations of the toiling people.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that it is highly improper for any Minister who has taken an oath of office under the Constitution to denigrate the present Parliamentary system prompted by certain dangerous and reactionary considerations.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not seem to realise that the propaganda in favour of Presidential system by the Ministers and others of the ruling party is an indication of certain dangerous trends altogether alien to the tradition of our freedom movement and its heritage.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn against the attempts to denigrate the Parliamentary democracy to cover up the failures of the rulers to function the system in a democratic way or to implement faithfully even the Directive Principles of the Constitution on the socio-economic questions.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take the lesson from the contemporary history that the bourgeois rulers' failure to function democracy and to respond to the democratic urges of the masses often lead them to turn against Parliamentary democracy and to go in for an authoritarian rule under the cover of the Presidential form of Government.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in

some Third World countries the Presidential form of Government has been resorted to for riding rough-shod over democracy, and to suppress the masses struggling for better life and social justice.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not recall the firm stand of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in defence of Parliamentary democracy in the face of attempts to undermine it.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not feel concerned at the anti-working class policy of the Government marked by attacks on the trade union rights and otherwise also by repressive measures.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the widespread discontent among the public sector employees all over the country on account of the Government's refusal to implement the agreements which had been signed earlier.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the workers' cooperation is very important for the smooth and efficient running of the public sector undertakings.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of even the magnificent peaceful strike of the Bangalore-based public sector workers numbering 1,25,000 demanding that the agreement signed in 1978 be implemented in respect of these units in order to bring wage, DA and other emoluments, in conformity with those obtaining in BHEL.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the largescale deployment of police forces including Border Security Force, CRP etc., in Bangalore in order to create tensions and to intimidate the workers and their families, which is now being followed by the arrest of the workers' leaders.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that although the leaders of striking workers of the Bangalore—based public sector undertakings have expressed the earnest desire to settle the dispute with the Government through negotiations the Government has not responded to it.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that instead of sending Union Labour Minister to Bangalore for trying to settle the dispute with the public sector workers on strike, the Government had sent the Minister for Communications who used impermissible language against the workers and tried to aggravate the situation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the indefinite strike notice which is proposed to be served by the civil defence employees, nor does it make any concrete proposal for the solution of the problem so that it does not become necessary to resort to strike action.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the LIC

Amendment Ordinance promulgated designed to not only nullifying the judgement of the Supreme Court and repudiate the commitment made by the Government to pay the due bonus by the 15th April, 1980.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that industrial relations in the country cannot be maintained on an even keel unless the Government respects the trade union rights and the right of collective bargaining by the workers.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the growing tendency of the Government to tailor its Industrial Relations Policy according to the recommendations of the Boothalingam Committee and the Bureau of Public Enterprises.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the growing unrest among the public sector workers including those in the P & T, Ports & Docks, Power etc., establishments and that it needs a constructive approach to solve the problems faced by them.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the repressive measures on the part of the Government against the public sector workers would encourage monopolists and others to take similar attitude towards the workers and intensify their offensive against them instead of seeking better industrial relations which are needed in the interest of the national economy "

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

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'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the industrial unrest provoked by the adamant and unreasonable attitude of the management of the public sector is fraught with danger to the public sector itself, especially when there are forces in the country which are set to sabotage the public sector and destroy it.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that a large number of members of the loco running staff have already been arbitrarily sacked to suppress the peaceful trade union action on their part.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the brutal police attacks on the students in Haryana, Orissa, U.P., Punjab and other parts of the country as a result of which there is much unrest among the students.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that there is chaos and confusion in the academic world because the Government has no clear cut democratic education policy.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that as a result of the wrong education policy the teaching and non-teaching staff are discontented and without a correct lead.'"

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

'but regret that despite high-sounding talks about the protection of the honour of the women, the Address does not propose any effective

steps to protect women from atrocities and rape by the criminal, anti-social elements and even by the police.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate that Government has drawn correct lesson from the findings of the Ray Commission which investigated the Baghat incidents and the crimes of the police.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the growing expansion of the Diego Garcia US military base and the arms-build up there including nuclear arms.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not express its displeasure at the fact that the declaration of the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference does not specifically refer to the Diego Garcia military base including the stationing of the Rapid Development Forces there.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show due awareness of the fact that certain forces, both external and internal, are at work to undermine and weaken India's policy of peace, non-alignment anti-imperialism etc., by raising diversionary voices over Afghanistan and Kampuchea.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn against the machinations of imperialist and their allies to harp on the theme of the so-called "super power rivalry" and "super power bids" for spheres of influence in order to cover up the aggressive moves of US-China axis.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any rousing call to the nation against the machinations of the aggressive US imperialists and their Chinese and other collaborators who threaten the security of our country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention to the fact that the arms captured from the insurgents in the North Eastern region of the country are mostly of the American, Chinese and Pakistani make.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any correct policy towards the countries of the ASEAN which are being more and more involved with the intrigues and machinations of imperialism and hegemonism of the US-China axis.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not name the US imperialists as the main culprits in escalating threat against the security and independence of our country by its military build up not only in Diego Garcia but also in the other parts of the region.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not outline concrete steps and initiatives the Government of India should take in implementing the decision of the non-aligned movement for establishing a new international economic order, nor does it indicate that fight against neo-colonialism will be intensified within our country through correct steps to curb and eliminate the exploitation of the multinationals in particular.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that the non-aligned conference saw the dirty campaign of imperialists and also of reactionary forces within the country in order not only to propagate the imperialists line with regard to the movement and for its disruption but also to embarrass India's position as the host country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not note the fact that during the non-aligned conference thousands of anti-Soviet, Anti-Cuba and anti-Democratic Republic of Afghanistan posters appeared in the capital under the inspiration of certain external forces, nor does it propose any inquiry into this pro-imperialist disruptive propaganda intensified to weakening and undermine our country's position in the eyes of the world.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that in the recent months a large number of Afghans who are hostile to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have infiltrated in our country to carry on subversive propaganda against the DRA.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not stress the urgency and importance of strengthening the anti-imperialist content of India's foreign policy.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not stress that the stability the nation needs today is to be achieved by improving the living conditions

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of the people and by inspiring their willing cooperation in all fields of national activity—political, economic and social.”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not express its alarm at the phenomenal growth of money power invading different walks of public life.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not still see the need for the review of the Centre-State relations with a view to giving wider powers to the States and providing them with greater financial assistance.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious criticisms that have been made by some Chief Ministers regarding the formulation of the Draft Sixth Five Year Plan and also to the effect that the States have been all but ignored.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the objections by the Kerala and West Bengal Governments to the refusal of permission by the Central Government to them to mobilise greater resources by public borrowings.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in the preparation of the Draft Sixth Five Year Plan the non-official Members of Parliament have been completely ignored, contrary to the practice followed earlier, specially during the preparation of the 2nd and 3rd Five Year Plan.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note that planning in India can no longer be a success or achieve desired objectives unless there is a radical orientation in the socio-economic approach of the planning.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the monopolists and multinationals are the avowed enemies of planning.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious complaint by some non-Congress(I) ruled State Governments against discriminations by the Centre, nor does it indicate the redressal of the grievances on this score.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not promise the abolition of contract system in jobs in industries.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not promise the decasualisation of the casual labourers in the state-owned industries like Ports & Docks & Railways.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not give stern warning against the use of NSA against trade union movement and the political opponents or otherwise for suppressing the democratic struggles of the working people.’”

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the lockouts, closures and lay-offs would be banned and the workers rights would be protected against such anti-workers steps.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show proper awareness of the power-crisis in the country, nor does it indicate the adoption of a correct, integrated energy policy.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the complaints by the non-Congress (I) State Governments like West Bengal and Kerala that many of their measures including legislations requiring Centre's approval and the President's assent are unduly held up at the Centre—thereby causing great harm to the States concerned.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the recommendations of the Gujral Committee on the status of Urdu language would be forthwith implemented.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the difficulties and sufferings of the handloom weavers and other artisans, nor does it propose any measure to mitigate them or solve their problems.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the strong protests from the different sections of the public in the country, not to speak of the opposition parties, against the partisan manner in which the offi-

cial mass media AIR-TV are being run.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious view of the statement by the Minister of Information & Broadcasting which encourages the idea of censorship.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the struggles of the working class and other democratic sections of the toiling masses are planfully played down by the official mass media as if all this has no news value.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the official media boosting out of all proportions the Government statements and other propaganda while neglecting to educate and inspire the people in the ideas of secularism and democracy and in the struggle against communal and disruptive trends.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that while covering speeches and statements of the opposition leaders and members, if at all, only inconsequential points are taken up in order to create the impression as if the opposition is being given its due share in the coverage.'

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

'but regret that the Address ignores the complaint of the Chief Minister of Kerala that he was prevented from broadcasting from the Trivandrum Station of the AIR on the occasion of the first anniversary of the L.D.F. Government.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the unprecedented misuse of the Government machinery and resources for organising by the ruling party its partisan rally in Delhi on February 16 or the adverse press and public comments on the same.'

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

'but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that the Government itself has been raising prices, the latest example being the coal prices close on the heels of the price rise of the petroleum products.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not react to the valid criticisms of the Draft Sixth Five Year Plan by the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Kerala and the refusal of these two States plus Tripura to support this Draft.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not still see the necessity of giving the National Development Council a statutory status and make its work accountable to Parliament.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the steady concentration of power in the upper echelons of bureaucracy as a result of the malfunctioning of the Cabinet as a collective body.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the creeping demoralisation in the administration as a result of partisan, favouritism being shown in the matter of appointments, promotions and postings etc.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the open agitation even in the intelligence service such as IB, CBI and RAW caused by certain policies being pursued there.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that there are growing tendencies to downgrade, in actual practice, the functioning of Parliament and the various committees comprised of its members.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note that the disapproval by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha of the practice of the promulgation of Ordinances on the eve of Parliament's Session has gone unheeded by the Government.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious view of the fact that an Act of Parliament—the Maintenance of Internal Security (Repeal) Act, 1978 was repealed by an executive fiat, i.e. the National Security Ordinance, which amounts to usurpation of the legislative power by the executive.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the disturbing growth of communal propaganda and activity, nor does it propose any effective curbs on them.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not counsel the Government that

instead of sweepingly and indiscriminately decrying the opposition and accusing the opposition parties of "non-cooperation" the Government should spell out exactly on what issues such cooperation is expected by the Government, bearing in mind that the left and democratic forces in the opposition cannot be expected to support the anti-people and anti-democratic policies of the Government, or such immoral policies as the Special Bearer Bonds Scheme would signify."

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

'but regret that the Address does not see the necessity of sharing the corporation tax, customs and export duties with the States.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note that the failure by India to make its own national statement at the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference in addition to preparing the Draft declaration for it was a mistake.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note that India should have taken a firm stand in the face of the retrograde pressures at Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference on the issues of Diego Garcia, Kampuchea and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, while continuing its efforts to preserve the unity of the non-aligned movement.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not stress that the anti-imperialist content of the non-aligned movement has to be constantly reinforced

for the sake of its principles and future as for the cause of peace, independence and international security.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the US tactics of pressure against India over the supply of the enriched uranium for the Tarapur plant and also the officially inspired press campaign.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the serious situation which has arisen due to sharp and continuous rise in prices of edible oil, nor does it propose and step to face it.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take a serious view of the fact that the CIA and other imperialist agencies are active in our country with a view to encouraging the forces of reaction, disruption and distintegration.'

(Amendment Nos. 1 to 132 also stood in the names of Shri M. Kalyana Sundaram, Shri S. Kumaran and Shri Bhola Prasad).

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

'but regret that the Address opens with the gushing claims of achievements of the Government seeking to conceal the Government's failure as if some statistical jugglery can distort the sombre reality.'

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

'but regret that the Address is a classic exercise in smug complacency whereas it should have been a frank

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

and honest attempt at self-criticism in order to understand where the Government had failed and how the corrections could be found."

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

'but regret that while the Address rightly expresses happiness for India hosting the recent meeting of the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers in New Delhi, it fails to take note that on some crucial questions, the Government yielded to the pressures of the retrograde forces within the movement even to the point of compromising its past, relatively better positions.'

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

'but regret that the Address this time does not strangely mention the Diego Garcia, US Military base, even while referring to the demand for the establishment of a Zone of Peace in Indian Ocean, whereas this particular flash point base of war needed special attention.'

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

'but regret that the Address declares that "With the USA we share common values and ideals" unmindful that this amounts to nothing but self-denigration in so far as India is concerned on the one hand and a totally uncalled for and impermissible eulogy to the USA and that too specially at moment when this imperialist power has assumed an aggravated aggressive posture, menacing peace, independence and international security.'

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

'but regret that the Address completely fails to understand the dangerous trends in the policies of the countries of the Western Europe and declares "We are heartened at

the emergence of a new mutual of interests" with these countries which is nothing but an embellishment of the West.'

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

'but regret that the Address expresses its happiness at the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of States and Government belonging to the Asian and Pacific Region, while the communique issued at the end of that meeting has caused concern because it encourages the reactionary elements in these Commonwealth countries and caters to the interests at least in some ways of the US imperialism and its hegemonist collaborators.'

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

'but regret that while referring to India's relations with Pakistan and China and expressing the hope for the improvement of such relations the Address has chosen to shut its eyes to the arms build-up and other dangerous moves by Islamabad and Beijing including the construction of certain military bases near the Indian border.'

192. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address makes an exaggerated claim that the Government has "gone ahead with speed and determination" to repair the damage caused in the national economy by three years of drift and lack of direction" while in many respects it has, in fact, basically pursued the policies of the previous regime of which the concessions to the monopolists and the multinationals is one example and the growing anti-working class attitude another.'

193. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address while making much of what it calls

"significant slowing down of the inflationary rate from 23 per cent to 15 per cent" conveniently glosses over the fact that this fall largely due to seasonal factors in wholesale price index, is not reflected at all in retail prices which have continued to show upward trends."

194. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that in making the claim that the "Central and State Governments mounted a massive relief operation" to meet the unprecedented drought situation of 1979-80, the Address passes over the fact that for the drought areas in Andhra Pradesh only Rs. 23 crores have been allotted while the magnitude of the problem demands Rs. 200 crores for relief under various heads.'

195. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that while the Address juggles statistics of production of some foodgrains and other agricultural commodities to draw a rosy picture it fails to see the crisis and the suffering of the people engaged in such production.'

196. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address takes a pie-in-the-sky approach when it talks about economic growth and social development.'

197. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that while the Address anticipates increase of national income by about 6.5 per cent during 1980-81 it omits to note that at constant prices both the GNP and per capita income are declining, thereby indicating serious crisis in our economy.'

198. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that while claiming that the "climate for industrial investment and growth has been improved" the Address does not take note of the fact that the offensive of the monopolists as well as the Government as the employer against the working people—employees and workers—is daily visiting the kind of climate that is required for industrial progress particularly in a developing country such as ours.'

199. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that while the Address claims that "Government are firmly committed to safeguarding the interests of farmers" nothing concrete is actually offered them by way of remunerative price or otherwise but on the contrary they and other sections of the community are asked "to exercise restraint in demanding higher incomes and prices.'

200. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that on the question of the farmers' crucial demand for remunerative price and other demands, there is not even a faint echo in the address of the pledge to "do everything to solve your problem" which the Prime Minister were to give at the "Kisan rally" barely one hour later after the Address was delivered.'

201. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that while the Address is against the demand for "higher incomes and prices" it is completely silent on high profits and other forms of money grabbing by the monopolists, multinationals and other exploiters.'

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

202. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has not thought fit to explain why it was necessary to use the Ordinance making power to promulgate the Special Bearer Bonds Ordinance to legalise black money and reward the black money holders or to promulgate the LIC Amendment Ordinance to throw overboard the Government's agreement with the LIC employees and to negative the judgement of the Supreme Court on the question of bonus.'

203. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address would create the wrong impression as if it is more or less all roses, while, in reality, the country is passing through unprecedentedly difficult times and the boundless mass misery.'

204. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address sweepingly repeats the hackneyed formulation, "big powers", while referring to "growing military activities in the Indian Ocean" but overlooks the fact that only one big power", that is the USA, is responsible for such military activities as "seriously affected our security environment.'

205. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that after so many years of independence if the Address continues to be uninspiring and increasingly so it is because of the wrong policies on socio-economic issues, lack of vision and perception on the part of the Government.'

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Prof. Sourendra

Bhattacharjee is not present. The fore, Amendment Nos. 141 to standing in his name are not moved. Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh.

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention any specific programme to establish near-equality in the earnings and living conditions of those who work on land and the rest of the population.'

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEW DHABE (Maharashtra): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not assure giving of remunerative prices by Government to peasants for agricultural produce and food grains taking into consideration the rising cost of agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, insecticide etc.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the problems of cotton growers especially with regard to the monopoly procurement scheme and guaranteed price.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to land reforms and distribution of surplus land to Harijans and landless labour and housing programme for the rural population.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the national wage policy and policy on bonus even though Government is taking unilateral action for wage freeze by issuing

Ordinances like the Life Insurance Corporation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1981 giving go-bye to collective bargaining and principles of settlement of industrial disputes and also making discrimination between one group of Government employees and the other by paying bonus to some and denying it to others.”

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

‘but regret that the Address makes no mention about the national sports policy in order to promote sports and healthy recreation especially in view of the poor performance of the Indian teams in International events and Olympics.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address makes no mention of the National Housing Policy and the needs of urban population.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not refer to any national employment policy and the measures taken to solve the unemployment problem.’”

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about increasing difficulties and sufferings of workers and down-trodden masses as a result of steep rise in prices of all commodities.”

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Shri Syed Ahmad Hashmi is not present. Therefore, amendment Nos. 154 to 174 standing in his name are not moved. Shri Jha.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar): Sir, I move:

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

“but regret that the Address does not contain any assurance about the inclusion of Maithili Language in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India.”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the control of 75 big Monopoly Houses in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken for reducing the income disparities in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the fixation of the minimum and maximum incomes in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not contain anything about broadening the freedom of the press by establishing planned press and party press in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not give any assurance for providing full employment to all in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not contain anything to contain the student unrest in the country.’”

[Shri Shiva Chandra Jha]

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the discriminatory treatment to the Indians in U.K.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention any steps for maintaining the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace as recommended in the U.N. Resolution.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain anything about establishing equality among the Member-States in the U.N. by abolishing the veto system in the U.N. Security Council.'"

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHAN-DARI: Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain anything new and hopeful which would inspire confidence that henceforth the country would have a Government that works instead of a Government that shirks.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the recent party Tamasha held in Delhi in the name of Kisan Rally, for which rail and road transport in most States was seriously disrupted, official machinery was abused to raise party funds, and mobilise participants for the rally, industrial activity was suspended in Delhi's neighbouring areas by cutting power supply and Delhi's educational activity was brought to a halt by closing schools and colleges.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance to contain within a specific period the soaring prices of essential commodities which are adding to the agony of the already hard pressed common man.'"

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of the arbitrary use of the National Security Act in different parts of the country against leaders of trade unions, and political parties when they seek to voice public grievances by legal and peaceful means.'"

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

'but regret that the Address fails to refer to the imposition of precensorship on press in Assam, its endorsement and support by Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, and the ominous threats to Freedom of Press contained in the utterances of Ministers in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and other States.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not hold out any assurance that the independence of judiciary would be safeguarded from executive interference.'"

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

'but regret to note that the Address does not mention steps to end the blatantly partisan propaganda by Akashvani and Doordarshan which has severely undermined the credibility of the official media.'"

(The amendment Nos. 185 to 191 also stood in the names of Shri Lal K Advani and Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur).

SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA
(Gujarat): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing unemployment among the educated youth.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken by Government for bringing down the prices of essential commodities and their supply through fair price shops in the country at reasonable prices.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the rise in prices of steel, coal, petrol and petroleum products.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the Prime Minister's assurance held out immediately after her victory at the polls that her Government would not work for destabilization or indulge in politics of confrontation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the freedom of Press which is continuously vilified, attacked (as in Karnataka and Orissa) and subjected to censorship (as in Assam).'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the working of AIR and Doordarshan which have

become mouth pieces of the party in power and Government.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the brutalities on women which have become an every day phenomenon.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the deteriorating law and order situation in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about increasing use of brute force by police on citizens either as individuals or in groups.'"

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention that:—

(i) more than fifty per cent of our people live below the poverty line;

(ii) sixty five per cent people are illiterate; and

(iii) eighty per cent people do not get any elementary medical assistance.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate the glaring disparities in development in towns and villages which are causing anxiety.'"

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the unrest in the farming community and their wide spread agitations in various places because of the unremunera-

[Shri Ghanshyambhai Oza]

tive prices of agricultural produce and non-availability of elementary facilities of life in the rural areas.'"

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

'but regret that the Address fails to indicate the long term and effective solution to the price problem.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the urgent need to build and expand the scope of the public distribution system to ensure the availability of essential consumer goods at low prices, particularly to the people who live in villages or below the poverty line.'"

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention about the problems of Minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes which deserve immediate attention and their solutions.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the problem of regional imbalances which are growing fast and the steps taken by Government to find out solutions thereto.'"

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the freedom of judiciary, the Press and other media which are essential for the preservation of our democratic values.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the radical electoral reforms to be undertaken to

save democracy, to bring in objectivity and to raise the character of the public representatives.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the institution of judicial or Parliamentary inquiry into the whole affair of the Thal Vaishet Fertilizer Project.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the blinding of under trials and shooting of prisoners in the jail premises, particularly in Bihar.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the elimination of all unnecessary powers of licensing and related procedures with a view to stimulate the industrial development.'"

(The amendment No.s. 206 to 226 also stood in the names of Shri Viren J. Shah and Shri Syed Shahabuddin).

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the detention of the political workers, trade union workers under the National Security Act.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the brutal use of National Security Act to suppress popular and democratic movements.'"

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing atrocities on the Harijans, minorities and other weaker sections of the population in States of Gujarat, Bihar, U.P. and M.P.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the U.P. Government to restore complete normalcy in places like Moradabad where minorities are facing danger to their lives and properties.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the defiance by the Bihar State Government of the Supreme Court's directives regarding the cases of blindings of undertrials in Bhagalpur Jail.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the police blindings of undertrial prisoners in Bhagalpur.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the armed attack on the Republic of Mozambique by the racist South African Government.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the oppres-

sion of tribals by non-tribals in the tribal belts.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to condemn surveillance of innocent citizen by the CBI/IB through tapping of telephones, censoring their letters etc.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to condemn the discriminatory attitude of the Government towards the people of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura so far as Central services are concerned as is evident from the Home Ministry Circular No. 18011/6(5)/17-Estt. (B).' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention anything about the increasing menace of dowry and dowry deaths in the country.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to condemn the revival of Sati.' "

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention about the increasing insecurity in the rail travel.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to condemn the increase

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

in rape cases by policemen and other members of law enforcing agencies.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the galloping price rise and the large anti-price rise resistance by the people.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the widespread peasant upsurge for remunerative price for their produce.'

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing pressure from the multinationals on the free run on under-developed countries resulting in neo-colonialism getting back what old colonialism lost.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the genuine help rendered by the Socialist countries to India.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the econo-

mic onslaught on the people's standards of living.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to curb the monopolists and foreign multinationals in the country.'

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing attack on the working class, peasantry and the common people in order to throw the burden of the crisis on their shoulders.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's arming itself with ever-increasing repressive powers to crush the people.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's bonanza to black money holders by allowing them freely to legalise their ill-gotten wealth through the bond scheme introduced by the Ordinance.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the increased number of Ordinances issued by the Government which subvert the rights of the working people and

also endangers the norms of Parliamentary democracy.”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the hypocritical plan proposal regarding income and wage policy of the Government.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the deteriorating economic situation in the country wherein the rate of inflation is increasing day by day with steep rise in the prices of essential commodities, and the failure of the Government in this regard.’”

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

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

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the stench of corruption which pervades the administration and the wheels of industry stop moving because of inefficient management, bureaucratic attitudes and corruption.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the influx of petro-dollars from the oil-rich countries for investment in non-essential concerns thus, marring further the helpless conditions of the Indian Economy.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the disrespect shown to the Chief Minister of Kerala by not allowing him to broadcast over the All India Radio on the eve of one year completion of the Kerala Left Democratic Government.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the US Naval bases in Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean which is a constant threat to the security of the littoral States.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the curtailment of the State Government's powers by the Central Government.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the biased attitude of the Centre in regard to the allocation of funds to the non-Cong(I) States.’”

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

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

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the abject failure of the Government in checking the recurrence of flood havo in the country.’”

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for inclusion of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about giving relief to unemployed in the country and the need for special allocation of funds to the States which are giving relief to the unemployed.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the proposal floated by some members of the ruling party to change the present responsible form of Parliamentary democracy to a Presidential form which is nothing but a veiled form of authoritarian and despotic rule to be imposed on the people of India legalising the dynastic rule.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the mounting attack on the Judiciary by the Executive to get the Judiciary committed to the authoritarianism of the Executive thereby undermining the independence and impartiality of the Judiciary.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the transfer

of Judges of High Courts on considerations other than principles of justice thereby deliberately creating the conditions under which the Judiciary would be compelled to serve the authoritarian interests of the Executive.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to nationalise the monopoly houses in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing impoverisation of the rural masses and the manifestation of their discontentment in the rising struggle of the rural masses.'"

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the land reforms in the interests of the peasants as without radical land reforms the economy cannot be saved from its present situation position.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the undemocratic private management of the educational institutions of the country and the steps the Government propose to take to do away with the same.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for a circular Railway for Calcutta and its immediate construction to ease the problem of transport there.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the pro-people activities of the three State Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura and the conspiracy by the vested interests to create the conditions of instability to pave the way for central intervention.'"

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

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

(The amendments Nos. 227 to 295 also stood in the names of Shri P. Ramamurti, Shri Pattiam Rajan, Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee and Shri Syed Shahedullah.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Shri Ram Lakhan Prasad Gupta is not present. Therefore, amendment No. 286 standing in his name is not moved.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not show due awareness of the social violence, economic crisis fraught with grave social consequences through which the country is passing.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that

[Shri Era Sezhiyan]

there is economic stagnation in the infrastructure of the economy and even decline in many segments of the economy."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that national income and the per capita income in the real terms at constant price are declining.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the conditions of the Harijans and other oppressed and backward sections of the community are deteriorating despite the tall official declarations and promises.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of police violence and the loot by contractors against the tribal people nor of the deep apprehensions in their minds regarding their economic and cultural development and political rights and opportunities.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the rising and high prices of all essential commodities of common consumption resulting in pushing of 15 million more people below poverty line.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious view of the failure of the Government to extend and strengthen the public distribution system to cover the vulnerable sections of the Society in particular.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not correctly assess the demands of the peasants and the growing disparities between the prices of agricultural commodities and industrial products, and the fact that the terms of the A.P.C. are neither broad nor satisfactorily implemented.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that funds allocated for agriculture, irrigation and rural development mainly go to the benefit of the rich while the poor sections are in fact denied of these benefits.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not still see the necessity of a radical change in the credit and investment policies of the financial public institutions with a view to helping the rural poor who need most the financial support.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take serious view of the fact that several land ceiling laws are still excluded from the Ninth Schedule to the constitution and that in most of the States the implementation of the land reforms including the land ceiling has been halted by the semi-feudal elements in Government and bureaucracy.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the extreme distress and famine conditions

through which millions of people are passing in the drought and famine affected areas of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and other places, or promise adequate provisions of relief assistance by the Centre for mitigating their suffering and for the rehabilitation of the economy.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not express any shock that while 45,000 villages were provided potable drinking water by Janata Government in 27 months the pace of progress has been deaccelerated.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government agencies to buy jute, cotton, tobacco etc. with the result that the manufacturers and wholesale traders are reaping benefits by depriving the peasantry of the due prices, while the unlifted stock accumulate.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address makes no mention about the attitude of the Government to the unanimous recommendations of the Standing Advisory Committee on unorganised rural poor, the bonded labour and agricultural workers.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not show any concern that the industrial policy has not only been revised by the New Industrial Policy Statement of July last year but the Janata Government's policy of reserving specific items for production in small and cottage sectors has been given up removing the
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Central focus of employment generation and that it is also being distorted to suit the interest of the monopolists and foreign multinationals.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not give an assurance for ending the policy which legalises unauthorised expansion of capacity by the industrialists in violation of Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act even in priority areas, and the sectors covered by FERA and MRTPA Act.’”

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

‘But regret that the Address does not take note that the FERA measures are not being faithfully enforced and that they are being allowed to be defied by the multinationals such as the Hindustan Lever.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that our Research and Development Programme is not attended to adequately and instead the multinationals are allowed to further penetrate into the Indian economy on conditions detrimental to our self-reliance.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not propose any effective curb on the drain on our national resources as a result of remittances of profit, interests, royalties, dividends etc., by the multinationals from this country.’”

(The amendments Nos. 287 to 306 also stood in the names of Shri Surendra Mohan, Dr. Shanti G. Patel and Shri Biswa Goswami).

[Shri Era Sezhiyan]

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to take-over the B&C Mills, Madras, to ensure continued production and employment.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not disapprove of various scandalous deals like Thal Vaishet, sugar, coal etc., with which Union Government has been associated.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in some Third World countries the Presidential form of Government has been resorted to for riding rough-shod over democracy and to suppress the masses struggling for better life and social justice.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the anti-working class policy of the Government marked by threats to take away trade union rights including the right to strike and otherwise also by repressive measure.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the widespread discontent among the public sector employees all over the country on account of the Government's refusal to implement the agreements which had been signed earlier.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the erosion of

real income of salaried employees as brought out by Rath Committee Report.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of even the magnificent peaceful strike of the Bangalore-based public sector workers numbering 1,25,000 demanding that the agreement signed in 1978 be implemented in respect of these units in order to bring wage, DA and other emoluments, in conformity with those obtaining in BHEL.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the large-scale deployment of police forces including Border Security Force, CRP etc, in Bangalore in order to create tensions and to intimidate the workers and their families which is now being followed by the arrest of the workers' leaders.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that although the leaders of striking workers of Bangalore-based public sector undertakings have expressed their earnest desire to settle the dispute with the Government through negotiations the Government has not responded to it.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the indefinite strike notice which is proposed to be served by the civil defence employees, or make any concrete proposal for the solution of the problem so that it does not become necessary to resort to strike action.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the LIC Amendment Ordinance promulgated which is designed not only to nullifying the judgment of the Supreme Court and repudiating the commitment made by the Government to pay the due bonus by the 15th of April, 1980.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any proposal of a comprehensive policy on industrial relations.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the repressive measures on the part of the Government against the public sector workers that would encourage corporate sector management to take similar attitude towards their workers and intensify their offensive against them. "

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

'but regret that the Address does not make serious note of the brutal police attacks on the students in Haryana, Orissa, U.P., Punjab and other parts of the country as a result of which there is much unrest among the students.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that there is chaos and confusion in education because the Government has usurped the autonomy enjoyed by the academic institutions has retained elitist public school system, has not given over secondary education, a vocational bias and has generally retained the colonial priorities.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that as a result of wrong education priorities, the number of dropouts at primary and secondary levels has been going up rapidly and real illiteracy is increasing.' "

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

'but regret that despite high-sounding talks about the protection of the honour of the women, the Address does not propose any effective steps to protect women from atrocities and rape by the criminal, anti-social elements and even by the police and takes no lessons from several incidents of that nature.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the growing expansion of the Diego Garcia US military base, the ready deployment of force of the US, the Cam-Ranch bay naval arm base of the Soviet Union, the sale of arms by some developed countries to Third World countries and development of nuclear arms.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not express its displeasure at the fact that the declaration of Non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference does not forcefully refer to Soviet occupation of Afghanistan the Diego-Garcia military base including the stationing of the rapid Development Forces there by US.' "

SHRI BISWA GOSWAMI (Assam):
Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not show due awareness of the

serious consequences that might follow from the continued wrong handling of the Assam Situation.'"

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that while our trade deficit is mounting the Address does not propose any measures to rectify the situation or even to prevent the dissipation of our foreign exchange reserves which had almost been doubled in 1977-79.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern that despite all talks about 'socialism' the concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of few, continues to grow, thereby menacing democracy and the working of its institutions in the country and eroding all moral public standards.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the reduction in the rate of growth substantially as compared to 1977-78 and 1978-79 or suggest means of restoring it.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any sign of alarm at the deepening liaison between the big business circles and the corridors of power, one off-shoot of which is rampant corruption in high places.'"

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

'but regret that the Address overlook the disturbing reports and serious allegations about 'kick-back

deals' between big business circles and those in position of power and authority.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the systematic propaganda by some Congress(I) leaders and even Ministers denigrating the Constitution and the political system and propagating the Presidential System.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not propose any measures for electoral reform in order to eliminate the influence of money power generally and black money in particular.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the Government's failure in progressively winding the National Adult Education Programme which was in fulfilment of Gandhiji's dream and would have strengthened the social consciousness of the people.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the Antyodaya programme in various States which had given economic rehabilitation to 1.2 million people in 1977-79 has been wound up.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the allocations for the Food for Work Programme have been drastically reduced, throwing millions of the poorest sections into unemployment once again.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the Directors appointed by Government on the boards of private companies have been instructed not to guide the boards, which would jeopardise social interests.'"

(The amendments Nos. 308 to 318 also stood in the names of Shri Surendra Mohan and Shri Dayanand Sahaya.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Shri Surendra Mohan and Shri Dayanand Sahaya are not present. Therefore, amendments Nos. 319 and 320 standing in their names are not moved.

Shri Hukmdeo Narayan Yadav is also not present. Therefore, amendments Nos. 341 to 353 standing in his name are not moved.

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Shahi is also not present. Therefore, amendments Nos. 354 to 358 standing in his name are not moved.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to take over the B&C Mills, Madras, to ensure continued production and employment.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not disapprove of various scandalous deals like Thal Vaishet, sugar, coal etc., with which Union Government has been associated.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in some Third World countries the Presidential form of Government has been resorted to for riding rough-shod over democracy and to

suppress the masses struggling for better life and social justice.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note, show concern at the anti-working class policy of the Government marked by the threats to take away trade union rights including the right to strike and otherwise also by repressive measure.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the widespread discontent among the public sector employees all over the country on account of the Government's refusal to implement the agreements which had been signed earlier.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the erosion of real income of salaried employees as brought out by Rath Committee Report.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of even the magnificent peaceful strike of the Bangalore based public sector workers numbering 1,25,000 demanding that the agreement signed in 1978 be implemented in respect of these units in order to bring wage, DA and other emoluments, in conformity with those obtaining in BHEL.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the large-scale deployment of police forces including Border Security Force, CRP etc., in Bangalore in order to create tensions and to intimidate the workers and their families which is

[Shri Harkishan Mallick]

now being followed by the arrest of the workers' leaders.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that although the leaders of striking workers of Bangalore based public sector undertakings have expressed their earnest desire to settle the dispute with the Government through negotiations the Government has not responded to it.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the indefinite strike notice which is proposed to be served by the civil defence employees, or make any concrete proposal for the solution of the problem so that it does not become necessary to resort to strike action.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the LIC Amendment Ordinance promulgated which is designed not only to nullifying the judgment of the Supreme Court and repudiating the commitment made by the Government to pay the due bonus by the 15th of April, 1980.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any proposal of a comprehensive policy on industrial relations.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the repressive measures on the part of the Government against the public sector workers that would encourage corporate sector management to take similar attitude towards their workers and intensify their offensive against them.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not make serious note of the brutal police attacks on the students in Haryana, Orissa, U.P., Punjab and other parts of the country as a result of which there is much unrest among the students.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that there is chaos and confusion in education because the Government has usurped the autonomy enjoyed by the academic institution, has retained elitist public school system, has not given over secondary education a vocational bias and has generally retained the colonial priorities.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that as a result of wrong education priorities, the number of dropouts at primary and secondary levels has been going up rapidly and real illiteracy is increasing.' "

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

'but regret that despite high-sounding talks about the protection of the honour of the women, the Address does not propose any effective steps to protect women from atrocities and rape by the criminal, anti-social elements and even by the police and takes no lessons from several incidents of that nature.' "

376. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the growing expansion of the Diego Garcia US military base, the ready deployment of force of the US, the Cam-Ranch bay naval arm base of the Soviet Union, the sale of arms by some developed countries to Third

World countries and development of nuclear arms.”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not express its displeasure at the fact that the declaration of Non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference does not forcefully refer to Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the Diego-Garcia military base including the stationing of the rapid Development Forces there by US.’”

(The amendment Nos. 359 to 377 also stood in the name of Shri Manubhai Patel.)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Sir, I move:

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the unprecedented drought of 1979-80 in Rajasthan and the complete failure of the State machinery to provide adequate relief and drinking water in the affected areas.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about a perceptible decline in the economic and industrial climate in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the serious power shortages being experienced all over the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the country wide stir for remunerative prices for farm produce.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention about the soaring

prices of essential commodities, more particularly, of sugar, edible oil and cereals.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of a perceptible decline in the social environment and the spate of unprecedented communal riots in the country.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not present an integrated alternate energy policy and a policy for optimum utilisation of scarce resources.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not define how environment and ecology criteria are to be institutionalised in the national framework.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention that despite the willingness of the leaders of the Assam Movement, the Union Home Minister has not yet found fit to invite them formally for talks.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that during the recent meeting of the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers in New Delhi, India was completely isolated and that has almost become apologist for the Soviet Union.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention the deteriorating security environment of the country to which the Prime Minister has on many occasions drawn the nations attention.’”

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the positive steps to be taken to provide the necessary thrust to the development of export trade of the country.'

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Shri Sadashiv Bagaitkar is not present. Therefore, amendments Nos. 390 to 398 standing in his name are not moved.

Shri Abdul Rehman Sheikh is also not present. Therefore amendments Nos. 399 to 407 standing in his name are not moved.

Shri Satya Pal Malik is not present. Therefore, amendments Nos. 408 to 416 standing in his name are not moved.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the mounting unemployment in the country and measures to eradicate the same and give unemployment allowance to the educated unemployed.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the unabated rising prices of essential commodities and measures to establish effective distribution system at the national level to make the essential commodities available to the common man at a reasonable price.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the police indulgence in extra legal methods in the investigation of crimes, blinding of undertrials in Bhagalpur and killing of a large number of undertrials by police firing in Samastipur.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of Government to check communal disturbances in various parts of the country and measures to check such incidents and to ensure safety of lives and property of the minority community.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the rapidly deteriorating law and order situation in the country.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about measures to improve the conditions of the people living below the poverty line.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of Government to give remunerative price to the farmers for their agricultural produce commensurate with the rise in the prices of agricultural inputs and essential commodities.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps for solving the problem regarding in-

adequacy of drinking water in the rural areas.”

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Shri Patitpaban Pradhan is not present. Therefore, amendments Nos. 425 to 432 are not moved.

The questions were proposed.

4 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The Motion and amendments are open for discussion.

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री (बिहार) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं शुरू में यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति-पद और राष्ट्रपति के लिये मरे दिल में बड़ी इज्जत है, इस में किसी को शुबहा नहीं होना चाहिये, लेकिन जब मैंने इस भाषण को पढ़ा है तो मुझे घोर निराशा हुई है और मुझे याद आता है कि इस तरह का सुपरलुअस डाकूमेंट, इतना पुअर डाकूमेंट आज तक सदन में पेश नहीं किया गया। यह उम्मीद नहीं थी हम को कि राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में कि इस तरह की पुअर बात कही जायेगी। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में यह उम्मीद की जाती है और देश चाहता है कि देश के सामने जो मौलिक प्रश्न हैं आगे आने वाले वर्ष में उन को कैसे हल किया जायेगा इस को कुछ रूपरेखा मिलेगी। इस बात का कोई संकेत इस में नहीं है। ऐसे कौन से प्रश्न हैं। आज देश का सबसे मौलिक प्रश्न है यहां की गरीबी मिटाने का। क्या सरकारी पार्टी के लोग इस को चैलेंज कर सकते हैं कि यह प्रश्न नहीं है, लेकिन इस गरीबी को मिटाने के लिये इस राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में क्या है। सरकारी पक्ष से जब जवाब आयेगा तो वह उस में बतायेंगे, लेकिन इस में तो कोशिश यह हुई है कि किस तरह से यह गरीबी और बढ़े। यहां इस के जरिये उल्टी गंगा बहायी जा रही है। यह चीज है जो मैं कहने जा रहा हूँ

कि इस सदन से और यहां से देश उम्मीद करता था कि जो पार्टी पावर में है और जिस को देश की जनता ने चुन कर भेजा है और उसने भेजा है तभी आप वहां बैठे हैं कि यह लोग कुछ करेंगे, देश की गरीबी मिटाने के लिये कुछ करेंगे, लेकिन आप कुछ करिये तो। मैं पहला आदमी होऊंगा कि जो आप का साथ देगा। लेकिन आप कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं यह मैं जानता हूँ। कहां कमजोरी है, कहां आप की ताकत है और कहां आप का कलेजा कांपता है इस के डिटेल् में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन मैं उसे जानता हूँ। इस गरीबी को इस देश से मिटाने के लिये इस भाषण में कहीं कुछ नहीं है और जो बातें इस में दी गयी है—इसमें कुछ 40 मुद्दे हैं। इस में पहला तो इंट्रो-डक्टरी है और आखिरी में मेम्बरों का स्वागत किया गया है, बाकी 38 मुद्दे हैं जिन में एक भी ऐसा मुद्दा नहीं है जिस से सरकार इस देश की गरीबी को मिटा सकती हो। कही कुछ नहीं है और जो बातें दी गयी हैं राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में यह तो अखबारों में रोज छपती है और अक्सर छपती रही हैं। क्या है राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में? जो बातें कही गयी हैं यह अखबारों में दिन रात छपती रहती हैं। उन में जो एडीटोरियल लिखे जाते हैं, उन में जो समाचार छपते हैं, वहीं सब इस में है और इस में कुछ और नहीं है। मुझे ऐसा महसूस होता है कि सरकार को इस विषय पर सोचने के लिये पूरा समय नहीं मिला है और अगर मिला है तो जल्दी जल्दी कर के इस को लिखा गया है। इस लिये कि कुछ बातें दे दें और उन को ही राष्ट्रपति के मुंह से कहलवा दें। अगर सच्चाई के साथ सोचा जाता तो पहला मुद्दा हो सकता है कि इस में पहला मुद्दा यह होता कि इस तरह से देश की गरीबी को मिटाया जा सकता है। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि उस को आप एक दिन में मिटा

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

नहीं सकते, लेकिन इस दिशा में आप की तवज्जह होनी चाहिये थी, सरकार की तवज्जह होनी चाहिए थी और कि हम कैसे इस को मिटा सकते हैं। एक अर्ज होना चाहिये, एक बचैनी रहना चाहिये। कोई आदमी इस देश की गरीबी को एक दिन में नहीं मिटा सकता। यह पार्टी भी अगर वहां चली जायेगी तो नहीं मिटा सकती, लेकिन उस के लिये एक अर्ज दिखा सकती है। लेकिन इस सरकार में क्या अर्ज है। इस सरकार में तो अर्ज ही नहीं है। इस के लिये क्या उपाय है? क्या आप सोचते हैं? आप में तो वह सोच ही नहीं है। आप लोगों के सामने तो यह सवाल ही नहीं है। इसलिये मैं कहता हूं कि इस राष्ट्रपति के भाषण से इस देश को कोई रोशनी नहीं मिली है। अधिकार सरकार ने फैलाया है, हम लोगों ने नहीं फैलाया है। हम लोग तो अपोजीशन बेंच में हैं। आप लोग तो करने वाले हैं। आप को वोट दे कर लोगों ने भेजा है और आप ठीक ही कहते हैं कि हम को जनता ने थपिंग मेजारिटी में चुन कर भेजा है कि आप जा कर सरकार बनायें। आप सरकारी बेंच में सुशोभित कर रहे हैं। हम लोग तो यहां बहुत कम नम्बर में हैं और जो कुछ सहा समझते हैं उस के हिसाब से अपनी राय देते हैं। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर आप के विचार क्या हैं यह देश की जनता को जानना चाहिये, कम से कम उस ने जो सरकार बनवायी है उस ने राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में क्या कहलवाया है और कैसे इस देश की गरीबी मिटेगी और कैसे उस की दीनदुनिया होगी, कैसे उस की सुरक्षा होगी इस को उसे जानना चाहिये। सबसे पहला मुद्दा इसमें जो लेता हूं वह ला एण्ड आर्डर का है। सफा 24-25 और 26 को पढ़िये राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में। मुझे जहां तक याद

है हुजुरेवाला, सरकारी पार्टी ने पहला वायदा किया था कि ला एण्ड आर्डर को ठीक करेंगे। खुद राष्ट्रपति ने ऐडमिट किया है कि ला एण्ड आर्डर ठीक नहीं किया जा सका है। अगर ला एण्ड आर्डर ठीक नहीं कर सकते हैं तो विकास का कोई काम नहीं कर सकते हैं। सरकारी पार्टी का दिया हुआ बयान इसमें है। उन्होंने कहा है इधर कुछ दिनों से इंफ्रामेंट मालूम पड़ता है। क्या इंफ्रामेंट मालूम पड़ता है? थोड़े से अरसे में तो कब से? आज असम में आंदोलन हो रहा है, गुजरात में, अलीगढ़ में, मुरादाबाद में गर्म आ जाती है और इस ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के खराब होने से सबसे ज्यादा अफेक्ट माइनारिटी कम्यूनिटी पर पड़ा है। गरीब हरिजन, आदिवासी को सबसे ज्यादा अफेक्ट किया है। आप दावा करते हैं कि हमने ठीक किया है। आपको बोलने के पहले सोचना चाहिये। वहां बैठने से कुछ बोल दिया जायेगा तो इसमें कुछ प्रभाव हो जायेगा, ऐसा मत समझिये। मालूम पड़ता है कि वहां जाने से, कुरसी पर बैठने से कुछ दोष आ जाता है। हम भी वहां रहे हैं, लेकिन हमको भी कभी कभी हो जाया करता था। कुरसी का दोष है यह आपका दोष नहीं है। हम आपके सामने ऐडमिट करते हैं। लेकिन हम इतने निडर नहीं होते थे, हर वक्त सजग रहते थे कि कुरसी का क्या काम है, लोगों की क्या आशा है, कम से कम डर कर रहते थे। ये तो डरने का नाम ही नहीं लेते। ये समझते हैं सैंयां भये कोतवाल अब डर काहे का। आप कहिये वही बात सही होगी, आप कहिये कि हिन्दुस्तान में दूध दही की नदियां बहा दी तो हम लोग क्या करेंगे। मेजारिटी से आप हमको हरा देंगे। अगर इस पर मतदान हो कि कांग्रेस आई की पार्टी ने एक वर्ष के अन्दर कम से कम देश में दूध की नदियां बहा दी तो वोट इसमें लिया जायेगा तो हम लोग हार जायेंगे

और आप जीत जायेंगे। तो क्या दूध दही की नदियां बह गईं ?

अभी राष्ट्रपति जी ने 14 अगस्त को जो भाषण दिया था उसमें उन्होंने कहा कि देश में यह जरूरी नहीं कि कोई पार्टी मेजरिटी होने से ही अच्छा काम कर सकती है। यह हमारा नहीं राष्ट्रपति का भाषण है जिसके भाषण पर हम आज यहां भाषण कर रहे हैं। तो आप इन चीजों को याद रखिये। किस पोजीशन में उन्होंने कहा है, कोई मेजरिटी पार्टी आ भी जाये तो जरूरी नहीं है कि गरीबी मिटा देगी, कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि देश को अच्छी स्थिति में पहुंचा देगी, कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि अमन और शान्ति कायम कर देगी। हमें दृढ़ संकल्प चाहिये, हौसला चाहिए। देश की ताकत आपके पास है, देश के रिसोर्सेज आपके पास हैं। क्या माननीय मंत्री जी को जो डर है लोगों में उसका आभास है? आज हिन्दुस्तान में इंडोनेशिया के बाद सबसे ज्यादा मुसलमान हैं जो माइनारिटी में है। फिर्गस मेरे पास नहीं हैं लेकिन दुनिया में अगर कहीं ज्यादा हैं तो पाकिस्तान बनने के बाद आज भी हिन्दुस्तान में हैं। उसकी क्या हालत है, आप कह सकते हैं, उसके भीतर क्या डर है? आपको यहां कुछ कह देंगे वह जो मेम्बर नहीं हैं, आपकी पार्टी में हैं लेकिन उनके दिल में भी क्या है, आप जानते हैं। उनको डर बना हुआ है। बहुत सी बातें नहीं कही जाती हैं। पार्टी का आदमी कहेगा। कल एक आदमी हमको कह रहा था, कल तो उसको जान से मार दिया जाता। गलत हो या सही, यह लोक-सभा के इतिहास में पहली घटना हुई थी कि एक हरिजन पर जो कांग्रेस आई पार्टी का था, उसने हरिजनों पर जो जुल्म हो रहे थे उस पर कुछ कहना चाहा, उसका गला लोगों ने दबाना चाहा। वह बच गया। उनका मुंह बंद किया गया लेकिन वह बच गये। मैं यह कहता हूं

कि हम आपकी नीयत पर शक नहीं करते, डाउट नहीं करते लेकिन जब लोक सभा में जनता से एक आदमी चुन कर आया है और हरिजनों की तकलीफों की बात कहता है तो उसी की पार्टी के आदमी उस का मूंह बन्द कर देते हैं, गला दबा देते हैं। यह अच्छा हुआ कि उसकी जान बच गई। बाहर तो यह बात फैली हुई है, कामन मैन की फीलिंग यह है कि गरीबों की बात कहने वालों को बोलने नहीं दिया जाता। गरीबों को दबाया जाता है। कौन उनकी मदद करेगा। आप जो चुन कर आये हैं आप गरीबों की सेवा नहीं कर सकते। गरीबी को नहीं मिटा सकते। मैं हिम्मत रखता हूं, कांफिडेंस रखता हूं यह कह सकता हूं कि आप गरीबी को नहीं मिटा सकते क्योंकि आपकी पार्टी धनियों की पार्टी है। 60 प्रतिशत लोक सभा के सदस्य राजा महाराजा हैं। उनकी जमीन, जायदाद है। वह खुशहाल हैं। आपका विकास हो चुका है इसलिये आप गरीबों को सुधार नहीं सकते। यह मैं राष्ट्रपति के भाषण की बात कह रहा हूं। अपना भाषण नहीं दे रहा हूं। हमको इसलिये निराशा होती है कि राष्ट्रपति को कह सुन कर भाषण पढ़वा दिया जाता है। उनकी बहुत इज्जत है लेकिन करे तो क्या करे। मेजरिटी होने की वजह से उन्होंने तो यहां तक कह दिया कि तमाम नोमिनेटिड मिनिस्टर है। इससे क्या राज होगा। स्टेट में जहां नोमिनेटिड चीफ मिनिस्टर हों तो चीफ मिनिस्टरी कैसे चल सकती है। वह तो हरदम दिल्ली की तरफ देखेगा। ऐसा कोई काम नहीं करते जिससे वह गद्दी से हट जाये। जब उनको कुर्सी का मजा आ जाता है तो वह राज्य की भलाई की तरफ नहीं देखते। यह तो बात की बात में कह दी। लेकिन मैं कह रहा हूं आपने ला एण्ड आर्डर बिल्कुल नहीं सुधारा है। जैसा ला एण्ड आर्डर गुजरात में है, महीने से गड़बड़ी चल रही है वैसे मैंने कभी नहीं सुना। वहां केवल एक मामूली

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

हरिजन के रिजर्वेशन की बात है। आप हरिजनों की भलाई की बात करते हैं, उनको रिजर्वेशन दिया हुआ है तब भी उन पर गोलिया चलाई जा रही हैं, सताया जा रहा है। इस सदन में जहाँ पर हम को बोलने का अधिकार है और हमारा गला दबाया जा रहा है तब चाहे आप प्रेजिडेंशियल फार्म आफ गवर्नमेंट बना लें या और कुछ बना लें तब भी रास्ते चलते आदमी को मार दिया जायेगा, हमला कर दिया जायेगा। हमको यह पक्का विश्वास है, हम अखबारों में भी पढ़ते हैं, बड़े-बड़े बैरिस्टर्स से सुनते हैं, आर्टिकल निकल रहे हैं उनको देखते हैं उनसे भी विश्वास बनता है कि इस देश में अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम होगा तो यहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन जो चलेगा वह कुछ आदमियों का ही चलेगा। उनके चमचे लोगों का चलेगा। लोग तब चुप हो जायेंगे। कोई बोल नहीं सकेगा। बोलने का अधिकार नहीं होगा। जब लोक सभा में एक हरिजन सदस्य बोलने के लिये खड़ा हुआ तो उसको रोका गया और लोक सभा के स्पीकर साहब देखते रह गये। उनको यह पहला अनुभव था। उनको पता नहीं था कि यहाँ क्या-क्या हो सकता है। इस कारण उनको हाउस बंद कर देना पड़ा।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त : भले ही पंजाब के स्पीकर रह चुके हों।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : उस समय थे जब ठीक कांग्रेस के लोग थे, ट्रेड्युनल कांग्रेसी मैन थे। अब वह बात नहीं है। जमाना बदल गया है। अब नया जमाना आ गया है।

श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी : अब यह हाइब्रीड हो गये हैं।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : आप तो प्रगतिशील हैं। हम लोग तो बुद्धू आदमी हैं। पुराने आदमी हैं, सीधे आदमी

हैं। बाग में बुलबुल है महफिल में परवाना। आप खुद समझते होंगे कि इसका क्या मतलब है। इस बात को आप भी रिलाइज करते हैं और आज आप दिल से खुश हैं इसलिये यह बात हमारे लिये भी खुशी की है। आपने इसमें हमारी बात की ताईद की है।

आपका एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ठीक नहीं है। आप कहते हैं कि विरोधी दलों के पास गलत सूचना है। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे पास कोई ताकत नहीं है, हमारे पास इन्फार्मेशन लेने का कोई साधन नहीं है। जो कुछ हम देखते हैं पब्लिक में जो कुछ लोग कहते हैं और जो उनका अनुभव होता है उसी को हम आपके सामने रखते हैं। ला एण्ड आर्डर का जहाँ पर सवाल आता है, आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में हरिजनों पर आज भी अत्याचार हो रहे हैं? जुल्म हो रहे हैं, उनकी महिलाओं के साथ रेप किया जाता है। आज तो हालत यह हो गई है कि एम. पी. की खैर नहीं है तो किसी और की खैर कैसे हो सकती है? डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट हरिजनों से बात नहीं करता है और कहता है कि तुम छोटी जात वाले हो, हमारे साथ क्या बात करोगे। इस तरह का हमारा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हो गया है। आप लोग यहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं और यहाँ पर बैठ कर गौरव अनुभव करते हैं। वैसे गौरव कुछ और ही चीज होती है। सम्मान वह माना जाता है जिसमें जनता सम्मान करती है। वोट लेकर शासन चलाना दूसरी चीज है। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में यह सरकार बिल्कुल फेल रही है। अपने भाषण में राष्ट्रपति ने कहा कि कुछ सुधार हो रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सरकार को बचाने के लिये कहा गया है। उनको इतना भी नहीं कहना चाहिये था। लेकिन, उन्होंने कहा कि इधर कुछ इम्प्रूवमेंट हुई है। हम तो कोई खास इम्प्रूवमेंट नहीं देखते हैं।

आज भी हमारे देश में गरीबों और हरिजनों पर रात और दिन जुल्म हो रहे हैं, रेप हो रहे हैं, लोगों के घरों को जलाया जा रहा है। रोहतास में एक केस हुआ है। एक आदिवासी लड़की को एक-एक करके कई आदमियों ने रेप किया है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि चाहे मोरारजी देसाई की सरकार हो या श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार हो, इन अपराधों में कोई अन्तर आने वाला नहीं है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि इसके पीछे क्या कारण हो सकते हैं? मोरारजी देसाई की सरकार में हरिजनों पर जुल्म होते हैं, इंदिरा जी के शासन में हरिजनों पर जुल्म होते हैं। प्रेजीडेंट महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि इसमें कुछ इम्प्रूवमेंट हुआ है। उन्होंने 80 का फीगर दिया है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पहले कितने जुल्म हुए हैं और अब कितने हो रहे हैं, इस बारे में कुछ भी नहीं बताया गया है। मैं मानता हूँ कि मनुष्य में क्राइम करने की और रेप करने की एक प्रवृत्ति होती है। लेकिन इस बारे में फीगर्स क्या हैं, यह तो सरकार को मालूम होने चाहिये। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण के 24, 25 और 26 चैप्टर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से संबंध रखते हैं। इन चैप्टरों में कहीं भी कोई डाटा इस बारे में नहीं दिया गया है। अगर सब कुछ ठीक है तो इसको यहां लाने की जरूरत नहीं है। सब ठीक है तो ठीक है। इतनी रेडिकुलस स्पीच आज तक कम से कम मैं भी पिछले 10 सालों से राष्ट्रपति के भाषणों को सुन रहा हूँ मैंने नहीं सुनी।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Sir, he said that the President's speech is ridiculous. Is it parliamentary, Sir? You say ridiculous.

► SHRI BHOLA PASWAN SHASTRI: Yes, it is ridiculous. मैंने राष्ट्रपति के पद को नहीं कहा है, मैंने यह राष्ट्रपति को

स्पीच के लिये कहा है I have a right to criticise his speech, Mr. Minister.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: The word "ridiculous" in my humble opinion is not parliamentary.

SHRI BHOLA PASWAN SHASTRI: I am on my legs. Let me speak. (Interruptions)

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: You refer to the book and then talk. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Order, please. Yes, Shastriji.

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : इन लोगों को हमारी बात सुननी चाहिये। पहले इनके दिल के जितने भी लोग बोले हैं उनके बीच में हमने एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा। श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा और श्री भंडारे जब बोल रहे थे तो हमने उनकी बात सुनी है, उनको बीच में डिस्टर्ब नहीं किया है? हमने कोई गलत बात नहीं कही है और न ही कोई अनपार्लियामेन्टरी बात कही है।

श्री मगनभाई बरोट : मैंने तो यही कहा है कि क्या वह शब्द संसदीय है?

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : मैं आपको इसमें चैलेंज करता हूँ ... (व्यवधान)

श्री मगनभाई बरोट : यही तो मैंने कहा है।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : आपने जो कहा है, वह गलत कहा है। आज हमारे मुल्क की ला एण्ड आर्डर की क्या हालत है, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। आसाम का प्रोब्लम क्यों सोल्व नहीं हो रहा है? आप दावा करते हैं कि ला

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

एण्ड आर्डर की हालत में सुधार हो रहा है। आसाम का मामला पिछले 13 महीनों से हल नहीं किया जा रहा है। अपोजीशन पार्टियों पर आरोप लगाया जाता है कि वे सरकार को सहयोग नहीं दे रहे हैं, लेकिन आपने देश की समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये क्या काम किये हैं? हम को भय है कि जो सिचुयेशन वहां है वह भयावह न हो जाय। आपने वहां के न्यूज-पेपर्स पर सेंसर लगा दिया। आपने अपोजीशन को बुलाया, हम लोग, सभी पार्टीज के लोग गए। होम-मिनिस्टर, मकवाना साहब जो हैं और प्राइम-मिनिस्टर ने खुद बुलाया। हम लोगों ने कहा कि यह एक नेशनल इश्यू है इसको ठीक से डील, टैकेल कोजिये। हम लोग आपके साथ हैं लेकिन एक चीज का ख्याल रहे कि यह देश के इन्टीग्रेशन का सवाल है, कभी आपके कदम से देश का डिस-इन्टीग्रेशन न हो जाय। यह सरकार की जवाबदेही है। जो वहां के लोकल पेपर हैं उनमें न्यूज बिल्कुल नहीं होती इसलिए रेडियो में जो आता है उस पर विश्वास करना पड़ता है। हमारे पास कोई सर्विस इन्फार्मेशन के लिए नहीं है और इस तरह की कोई सर्विस सेटअप करने के लिए हमारे पास धन है जिससे यह ठीक से पता चल सके कि आसाम की प्रजेन्ट सिचुयेशन क्या है। हम लोगों के पास यह भी बात आ रही है कि वहां विदेशी शक्तियां हैं जो यह काम कर रही हैं परन्तु इसको अभी तक आपकी सरकार ने स्वीकार नहीं किया है कि वहां पर विदेशी शक्तियां हैं या नहीं हैं। अगर यह है कि आसाम की लड़ाई में विदेशी शक्ति का हाथ है तो हम लोग आपके साथ मर मिटने के लिए तैयार हैं। यह नहीं कि आप उधर बैठे हुए हैं इसलिए आप बहुत बड़े

देशभक्त हो गए। मैं यह नहीं मानता हूं। मैं इस देश की रक्षा के लिए आज भी मर मिटने के लिए तैयार हूं, आप हौसले के साथ कहिये, आप क्या समझते हैं। देश सब से ऊपर है। जब देश पर संकट आयेगा और चाहे हम पावर में रहें या न रहें हम आपके साथ हैं। और यह हुआ है। आफिसर भाग गये। आफिसर तेजपुर से भाग गया, जेल खाली कर दी। पर पब्लिक भागकर कहां जायेगी। वह वहीं रहेगी। आसाम की जनता वहीं रहेगी। आफिसर जायें या आयें। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आसाम की समस्या को हल करने में आप सफल क्यों नहीं हो रहे हैं? आपकी मंशा क्या है? यह देश के इन्टीग्रेशन का सवाल है, राष्ट्रीय एकता का सवाल है। एक बात कही गई है कि इसको दृष्टि में रखते हुए एक नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन कौंसिल की स्थापना हुई है, राष्ट्रीय एकता परिषद हिन्दी में जिसको कहा जाता है, उसकी स्थापना हुई है। पहले भी जब यह परिषद् बनी तो मैंने इसका स्वागत किया था आज भी करता हूं। लेकिन जो नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन कौंसिल बने वह ऐफिक्टिव बने। एक दफा जब पहले बनी थी तो बहुत दिनों तक मीटिंग ही नहीं हुई। एक कहावत है कि 'तोप का मुकाबला हो तो अखबार निकालो'। तो जब नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन कौंसिल की जरूरत हो, बना दिया जाय और जब न हो तो छोड़ दिया जाय। हमको अनुभव है। जब बंगलौर गए थे। इन्क्वायरी में जाते हैं। अपना अनुभव है कि जब जब लोगों के घर जलाये जाते हैं, रेप होते हैं, लूट लिए जाते हैं, गरीबों को उजाड़ दिया जाता है, जब सब काम हो जाते हैं तो फिर पीस कमेटी की स्थापना होती है और तब महसूस किया जाता है कि पीस कमेटी होनी चाहिए। यह

सब काम करा धरा करके उस पर मुहर छाप देने के लिए कि गलत काम हुआ इसके लिए कमेटी रहेगी। वह पीस कमेटी एफेक्टिव नहीं होती है। दो-चार दिन काम होता है और उसका काम खत्म। अगर पीस कमेटी बनानी है और आपको नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन कौंसिल बनानी है तो हम आपके साथ हैं आप क्वाटरली उसकी मीटिंग कीजिए और देखिए कि देश के किस क्षेत्र में, उत्तर प्रदेश में, बिहार में, मद्रास में किस तरह के कम्युनल राइट्स हो रहे हैं। यहां पर कास्टिज्म का नाम लिया है। अभी तक हम यह सुनते थे कि बिहार, यू० पी० में हिन्दू-मुसलमानों को लेकर झगड़े होते हैं और जिसके कारण पाकिस्तान बन गया परन्तु अब कास्ट कास्ट की लड़ाई हो रही है। आपकी पार्टी में कास्ट कास्ट की लड़ाई है कि नहीं इसको जरा ईमानदारी से अपने कलेजे पर हाथ धरकर देखिए। आपकी जो पार्टी में उसमें कास्ट कास्ट का डिफरेंस है कि नहीं या उसको खत्म कर दिया गया है या मिटा दिया... (व्यवधान)...

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : (बिहार) : मिटा दिया गया है। (व्यवधान)।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : बहुत अच्छी बात है। अगर मिटा दिया गया है तो प्रतिभा जी और खापर्डे जी के मुंह में घी शक्कर। आप बहुत खुश हैं। लेकिन इस दिखावटी खुशी से कब तक काम चलेगा। नहीं चल सकता है। रेरा प्वाइंट जो है, मेरा मुद्दा जो है वह लिमिटेड है। मैं इन्टरनेशनल पालिटिक्स का विद्यार्थी नहीं हूं, लाल-एलायन्ड का विद्यार्थी भी नहीं हूं। मैं कोई बहुत लम्बी-चौड़ी बात करने वाला आदमी भी नहीं हूं। लेकिन मैं देश का एक मामूली

सेवक जरूर हूं और जब देखता हूं ये सब बातें तो उससे मुझे तकलीफ होती है। मेरी जो योग्यता है उसी के अनुसार मैं बात कहता हूं। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के 10वें चेंप्टर में यह है कि सरकार ने किसानों की उपज के लिए दाम बढ़ा दिए हैं, मार्किटिंग की व्यवस्था की है वगैरह-वगैरह अगर सच पूछा जाए। हमारा ख्याल गलत हो सकता है, यह भी जो किया गया है मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूं। मैं कहां इसका विरोध करता हूं। लेकिन यह भी किया गया है जब महाराष्ट्र में किसानों का आन्दोलन चल गया कर्णाटक में किसान का आन्दोलन चला यह क्रेडिट गवर्नमेंट का नहीं है। सरकार तो देनेवाली है। कर्णाटक में आन्दोलन चला, बिहार में चलने वाला था, जब यह देख लिया तब आप किसान के भक्त हो गए और किसानों को दे दिया। यह क्रेडिट जाना चाहिए किसान आन्दोलन को। गवर्नमेंट को कभी नहीं जाना चाहिए। मैं भी गवर्नमेंट को यह क्रेडिट देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं अभी और सुनिये। 1971 के सेंसस के आंकड़ों को उठा कर आप देख लीजिए। हिन्दुस्तान की 55 करोड़ की आबादी है इसमें से 18 करोड़ आदमी वर्कर है। वर्कर का मतलब है जो हाथ का काम करते हैं। आप और हम जो यहां पर बैठे हैं वर्कर नहीं हैं। 18 करोड़ आदमी में से तीन करोड़ किसान हैं और पांच करोड़ खेतिहर मजदूर हैं। क्या राष्ट्रपति जी नहीं जानते हैं कि इस देश में खेतिहर मजदूर भी रहते हैं। यह सब गरीब है, हरिजन आदिवासी वीकर सेक्शंस के लोग हैं। इन के बारे में राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कहीं भी कोई जिक्र नहीं है। गरीबों के लिए कुछ नहीं है। गरीब इस देश में है ही नहीं। राष्ट्रपति की नजर में यहां कोई गरीब

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

नहीं। कोई जिक्र नहीं है, बोलिये उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, है या नहीं, कहिये। राष्ट्रपति की नजर में हिन्दुस्तान में कोई खेतिहर मजदूर नहीं है। जहाँ पाँच करोड़ आदमी खेती का काम करते हैं। जो जनेऊ रखते हैं वे तो हल नहीं जोतते हैं। हल तो छोटी जाति का आदमी जोतता है। जनेऊ रखने वाले इसलिए हल नहीं जोतते कि कहीं वे छोटे न हों जाएं। यह तो हमारी सोसाइटी है। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में गरीबों के लिए कोई जिक्र नहीं है, इनकी तरफ कोई इशारा नहीं है। जरा भी कोई ख्याल नहीं है। यह राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण जो है सरकार इसको कहलवाती है। यह हमारे राष्ट्रपति का भाषण है। इस देश में 55 करोड़ की आबादी है और बढ़ती चली जा रही है। पाँच करोड़ आदमी खेतिहर मजदूर हैं। आपके लेबर डिपार्टमेंट द्वारा एक स्पेशल स्टडी हुई है। इसमें कहा गया है कि जो मजदूरी सरकार ने फिक्स की है, वह मजदूरी लेबर डिपार्टमेंट की स्टडी के मुताबिक जीने के लिए काफी नहीं है। इस विषय में एक सेंट्रल एक्ट है। तो यह मजदूरी जीने के लिए काफी नहीं है। जो मिलता है वह भी काफी नहीं है। वह भी मिलता नहीं है दूसरी बात। मांगने पर मारा जाता है। ह्यूमिलियेट किया जाता है, बहू-बेटियों की बेइज्जती की जाती है, घर गांव को जला दिया जाता है। मजदूरी मांगने पर मर्दर भी हुए हैं। (समय की घंटी) कुछ वक्त क्या मिलेगा? जब आप कहेंगे उसी वक्त एक भी सेकेंड नहीं लूंगा, बैठ जाऊंगा अच्छा तो यह वार्निंग है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकारिया) : जरा सहयोग कीजिए, आपको बैठाना मेरे वस की बात नहीं है, आप बुजुर्ग हैं।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : आपकी बात सिर आंखों पर। मैं कंट्रोल करता हूँ। आपकी गवर्नमेंट दावा करती है कि किसान को हमने दिया है। मेरा कहना यह है कि किसान आज एक बोकल लाबी है, पावरफुल लाबी है इसके डर के मारे किया है। इसका हम स्वागत करते हैं। हम क्यों खिलाफ जाएंगे। लेकिन जो पाँच करोड़ इस देश में खेतिहर मजदूर हैं, जो काम करते हैं उनके लिए राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में कोई स्थान नहीं है। यह राष्ट्रपति का भाषण गवर्नमेंट को रिफ्लेक्ट करता है। (समय की घंटी) आपको अधिकार है, यह तो आप कर सकते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकारिया) : शास्त्री जी, यह तो आप जुल्म कर रहे हैं।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : मैं बहुत खुश हूँ। भीतर ही भीतर मैं आप पर बहुत खुश हूँ। आप यह न समझिये मैं किसी से नाखुश नहीं हूँ। देखिये, एक प्वाइंट और आ जाता है और वह है छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना। हमारे भाई साहब बोल रहे हैं इतना डायनामिज्म हुआ कि छठी योजना बन कर तैयार हो गई है। अपनी तारीफ आप ही करते हैं। छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में 97,500 करोड़ पब्लिक सेक्टर में है। कहीं दिया हुआ है खुलासा कि अन-इम्प्लायमेंट में कितना खर्च हुआ है पावर्टी को खत्म करने के लिए। यह तो मेन इश्यू था इसलिए मैंने उठाया। होल स्पीच का मुद्दा ही यही है। मैं इसलिए सार्वजनिक जीवन में हूँ कि देखें कौन सी पार्टी आती है हिन्दुस्तान से गरीबी को मिटाने के लिए। उसको धर होता है, उसके बच्चों के चेहरे पर ललाई होती है उसको खाने के लिए दूध मिलता है, और समान नागरिक का आप दावा करते हैं। इसमें कहाँ है वह, कहीं नहीं है। आज तो मजदूरी मांगने पर मारा जाता है, कहीं कोई ठिकाना नहीं है पाँच

करोड़ आदमियों का और अब आप प्लान बनाकर गर्व के साथ कहते हैं इतने डायनिमिक हैं, इतनी गतिशीलता है । अब तक की पांच पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में 50 परसेंट से ज्यादा बिलो पावर्टी लाइन हो गए । ये जो खेतिहर हैं ये तो जिन्दगी भर के लिए बिलो पावर्टी लाइन हैं । बिलो पावर्टी लाइन यह तो आपकी भाषा है उनकी भाषा में तो बेचारे भूखों मरते हैं शाम को टट्टी लगाकर पानी पीकर भूखे सो रहते हैं . . . (व्यवधान) हजूरवाला एक बात और सुन लीजिए । मजदूरी की तो सुन ली । अब तो यह चला है कि अगर तुम काम नहीं करते तो काम नहीं देंगे । अब कहिये, कहां गरीब आदमी जाये । काम ही नहीं देंगे क्यों, कम परिश्रम है वह । काम नहीं देते हैं तो इस तरह से राज्य में, राज्य में नहीं, इस राज्य को तो हम नहीं कहते, मैं वापस लेता हूं यह पहले भी था मैं दोष नहीं देता हूं । हम भी गवर्नमेंट में थे मैं भी उसमें अपने को शामिल करता हूं लेकिन 30 वर्ष मे इस समाज को काम नहीं मिलेगा और काम न देकर हमको झुकायेंगे बेगार के लिए । तमाम बांडेड लेबर पड़े हुए बांडेड लेबर की बात अलग है ।

एक बात और, आखिरी बात समझिये । आपने सेकेण्ड पैराग्राफ में दिया है :

"The result has been a significant slowing down of the inflationary rate from 23 per cent to 15 per cent."

सेकेंड में इसलिए दिया है कि जल्दी लोग पढ़ेंगे । सरकार ने इन्फ्लेशन से खूब फाईट किया है । अरे इसको कौन समझेगा । इसको तो किताब लिखने वाले ही समझेंगे । यह जो आपने फिगर्स

दिए हैं ये जो पुस्तक वुस्तक लिखते हैं, पढ़ते हैं उनकी भाषा है । लेकिन कामन मैन ने इसको नहीं समझा है । कामन मैन तो कहता है आज हर चीज का दाम बढ़ रहा है । बढ़ रहा है कि नहीं बढ़ रहा है बोलिए । कोई कह सकता है कि नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं । कामन मैन ने नहीं समझा आपका 23 परसेंट 15 परसेंट यह राष्ट्रपति से पढ़वा दोजिए, किताब लिखने वाले, रिसर्च करने वाले वे लिख देंगे, हम तो नहीं समझते । हम तो कामन मैन की भाषा मानते हैं । कामन मैन ने इसको नहीं समझा है । आज जो गरीबों को मजदूरी मिलती है मैंने पहले कह दिया उसके लिए इस सरकार में कोई स्थान नहीं है, माइनारिटी के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है, हरिजनों को सुरक्षा दे ही नहीं सकते । आदिवासियों को दिन 3 हाड़े मारा जाता है . . . (व्यवधान) . . . जरा बोलने दीजिए . . . (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सरोज खापड़ : (महाराष्ट्र) आरोप मत लगाइये । आपकी सरकार में हरिजन और आदिवासी इतने मेक नहीं थे जितने सेफ आज कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट में हैं, यह मत भूलियेगा ।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : हम आपसे कभी लड़ाई नहीं करते, आप खामख्वाह में उठ जाती हैं . .

श्री श्रीमती सरोजखापड़ : आप भी इस बात को महसूस अपने मन से करते हैं कि आपके जमाने में . . . (व्यवधान) उतना संरक्षण नहीं था . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : अच्छा मैं कह देता हूं कि आपकी सरकार ने सब प्रॉब्लम्स साल्व कर दीं अब तो

खुश हैं. . . (व्यवधान) अब आगे क्या कहना चाहता है. . . (व्यवधान)

इसलिए आज चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं, गरीब तबाह तबाह हैं और मैं अंत में यह कह कर बैठता हूँ कि मुझे फिर दोहराना पड़ता है और दिल से जितने मेरे मित्र वहाँ पर हैं बहने हैं सबके लिए कद्र है, राष्ट्रपति के लिए कद्र है प्राइम मिनिस्टर के लिए कद्र है, लेकिन आप यह मत समझिए कि वहाँ उस पार्टी में आप बहुत गुरू हो गए और हम लोगों की इज्जत नहीं है। लेकिन मैं यह कहकर बैठता हूँ कि इस राष्ट्रपति के भाषण से मुझे थोरा निराशा हुई है और इस सरकार से गरीबों का उद्धार माईनारिटी का उद्धार, आदिवासियों का उद्धार हाने वाला नहीं है।

SHRIMATI RODA MISTRY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, being the first speech in this august House, I seek yours' and the hon'ble colleagues' indulgence for any omission that may be noted.

Sir, the President's Address is to be welcomed for its broad perspective, new directions for economic and social welfare and a bright hope for the future. The House is aware of the economic gloom left by the 33 months of the Janata regime which had advocated ill-conceived economic policies and inexperienced budgeting system.

The Address, therefore rightly takes up long-term measures of economic growth and that of self-reliance. The measures taken up by the Government during the last 13 months have retrieved successfully the economic disaster by the policy of drift and lack of direction pursued by the previous Government.

There is today an all-round increase in production of foodgrains, food crops and agricultural products. The lethargy with which the previous

Government worked has given place to economic recovery and maximisation of production through agro-based industries. Regional imbalances have been improved, which has provided a new outlook for backward-area development. The nationalisation of six more banks and the re-introduction of the 20-point programme has kindled new hope among the people who had been denied the utility of such welfare activities.

The denigration of public sector by the harmful measures of the former Government had demoralised those responsible for management of public enterprises. The industrial labour front had escaped their involvement in industrial productivity and overall growth of the national economy of the country. The revenues of Railways and rural development had gone off the rails. It was a hard task for the present Government to bring them back on rails.

The Sixth Five Year Plan has been finalised with greater economic and social measures for the welfare of the people. The weaker sections of the society feel confident that the Government does stand for them. The programme content of the new Plan has restored a sense of dynamism for economic development. The Plan, as has been stated in the Address, seeks to reconcile the requirements of growth and stability strengthen the impulses of modernisation to achieve self-reliance so as to reduce inequality, unemployment and poverty.

However, the Address does not mention any measures by the Government for the welfare of women who form 50 per cent of our population. Awareness created amongst women, which is responsible for the constant exposure of atrocities against them, should have been taken cognizance of and measures worked out to give women confidence that the Government in power recognises the problem and wishes to solve it.

Unless women get a better educational economic and social deal, the

future generations created through them will remain under-developed in various respects. Similarly the problem of literacy has not been tackled adequately in the Address. Who does not know the harm the country has suffered due to near 70 per cent of its people being non-literate? Even the literates who would like to continue their education through libraries and reading rooms do not seem to have got a fair deal in the Address.

Another area which seems to have been neglected is tourism. The tourism industry has to be strengthened by various measures to boost the economy and the foreign exchange position of the country. Several States should have feeder air services, apart from the North-Eastern States that have been mentioned in the Address.

This year has been proclaimed as the Year of the Disabled. Yet sufficient measures for the welfare of the disabled have not been specified. Through the United Nations and several other international agencies like UNESCO, WHO, the problems of the disabled people have been specined and Governments of member-countries have been asked to devote their attention to these unfortunate people by providing various welfare measures for their betterment and social development. The Address should have taken sufficient notice of this issue, particularly when our country abounds 1/5th of the total disabled people of the world. The Government has taken sufficient measures to control price rise. Yet it has not been able to overcome this problem completely. It is necessary that people should know the measures the Government proposes to implement to bring a curb on the tendency among hoarders and blackmarketeers to exploit people by whatever measures they adopt. Stricter measures should have been specified to give relief to the poor and the weaker section of the people from this ghost of price rise. Mere checkmate of the rise is not sufficient which the Government

has done during the last few months it has been in office, but what is required is bringing down the prices to the original level in which the profiteers do not get a free hand to fleece the people and the people at large get relief by not paying more than what is necessary.

The Address rightly mentions the prestige the country has earned on the international map. The principles of co-existence and the policy of non-alignment that had received a setback during the 33 months the previous Government has been in office, have been vindicated once again through the mature policies of the present Government, with a few of these mentioned already. It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to lend my unqualified support to the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. Thank you very much.

SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA:

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the President's Address provides us with an opportunity to know what the Government thinks or wants us to think about its performance during the year ending and what it proposes to do in the coming year about the various problems that we face. Now, Sir, if one were to be asked, "What is or what was the most critical period in our history after freedom?", one would unhesitatingly say that it is the present one. Ask any knowledgeable person, any intellectual, any conscientious citizen in the country. He will certainly say that the country has never faced a more grievous situation. We had wars in the past there was aggression on this country in the past, there were severe droughts in the past, there were floods also in the past and we faced many other serious problems also. Today we cannot say that there is any aggression on this country, that we are facing severe droughts or scarcity of food or floods. Even then, Sir, all of us think that the situation is very critical and very grave. We do not know what is in store for us. Many conscientious citizens are keeping their fingers crossed; they do not know what is going to

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happen, what shape things will take in future.

Sir, in this context when I see the Address, if I have to describe it very shortly I would say that it is an ostrich performance—with some difference. As the hon. leader of the Congress (Urs Group), Mr. Shastri, pointed out, it is most disappointing. Here is a Government which takes an ostrichlike attitude to the serious situation in the various sectors, various spheres. But I would go further and say that the poor ostrich thought that because it has thrust its head into sand, everything is all right. Here in this case the ostrich, that is, the Government, wants us to believe that everything is all right. It very well knows that the situation is very bad, even though it has thrust its head into the sand. But people cannot be fooled. You can fool some people for all time—as it appears at present—you can fool all people for some time but not all people for all times. People are getting disillusioned. It is true that you have got a very vast mandate and you are entitled to rule this country. As you rightly observed in one of the paragraphs of the President's Address it is said that it is no use being complacent. They warn themselves that they need not be complacent. Sir, the situation, as I said, is very grave. I do not want to take a partisan view of all these things. Because you are in power, we want solutions of problems from you. Maybe that some problems cannot be solved forthwith and it may take some time to solve them; but we want a tone of earnestness, of sincerity, which is necessary in any democratic set-up. But what do we find? We find utter callousness, utter indifference to public opinion. It will be possible for you to rule for some time, but it will not be possible for you to govern and to give results. We have been seeing what has been happening in the country all round. Take any sector. See what is happening in any sphere, in any sector. Take, for example, the economic front. If the na-

ture is not propitious, as it was during the former regime, the then Government was responsible for whatever calamities the people had to face. If the national income goes down, the Government is held responsible. If the power generation goes down because hydel electricity cannot be generated, it is the Government that is held responsible. And if the natural production more than perhaps natural production more than perhaps you had expected, you float over it. Because the lakes are full, you can generate more power. But you take credit for it. How long is this going to continue and how long are you going to take satisfaction out of it?

As I said, on the economic front, the situation is extremely gloomy. We need not be complacent at all. Touch anything under the sun in this country. Look at the public sector. What is the performance even today? We have invested huge amounts in the public sector and what is the result? They are almost all running at a loss. And on the top of it, today we have got the labour trouble in which lakhs of workers are involved. Take the Railways. Can you derive any satisfaction out of its working. Inefficiency is the keyword. Take your telephone system. Just now I tried to talk to some friend from the lobby, but I found no phone was working. All phones are mostly out of order. Take anything, as I said, under the sun. But still you are complacent and you derive satisfaction out of what the nature has given you. This is the most unfortunate part of it. I do not want to take any partisan view of this thing. This is the cumulative effect of what we have done during the last four decades after freedom. Recently we passed a legislation about the control of air pollution. Good. It should be done. I have no quarrel with that. But what is necessary is to provide for control of political pollution. What is the panorama so far as politics is concerned? Look at any State

in any part of the country. Ask the people of that State: How is your Government running? Bring any person who can say with sincerity that he is happy with the performance of any Government in any part of this country. Why has this happened? Sir, I have been saying that we sometimes show some confidence, some faith, in the letter of the Constitution, but we have utterly disregarded to the spirit of democracy, to the spirit of the Constitution. Just clinging to the words of the Constitution is not going to pay us any dividends. Democracy does not mean that we have only the forms of democracy in this country, the Legislature, the Opposition, Budget, Questions, Answers. These are only the forms of democracy. But the spirit of democracy which can make democracy function properly and achieve the results we want to achieve in this country cannot be had unless we have got the spirit of democracy properly instilled in this country.

What is to be done? Unless all of us put our heads together and arrive at some consensus on how to make this apparatus function properly, I do not think there is a bright future for this country; we will not be able to make progress on any front at all. The time has come, I think, for all the political parties to come together. Kindly do not say, do not be complacent, that you have got numerical majority. You had this majority in 1977. The Opposition was much more in disarray in 1977 and before. There were small groups. There was no well-defined opposition. Even then, what happened. So, merely going by the votes or by the so-called majority in this House or the other House, is not going to lead us to any solution unless all the political parties put their heads together. Do not take all the political parties for granted because, in your view, they

have not got sufficient strength or they have not got the popular backing that you think you have. Unless a consensus is arrived and we establish some norms to be followed not only in the Government but also in public at large, all our institutions are going to deteriorate very fast.

Touch any sector as I said in the beginning. Take your educational institutions. Can you derive any satisfaction out of what is happening in our education? All of us are very unhappy. Only today I read a news in a Delhi paper that admission is not possible in good schools because people do not want to send their children to schools run by the Government and the Corporation. Why? Poor people and middle-class people cannot afford to send their children to public schools or the schools run by some good institutions because they cannot pay the fees. They have necessarily to send them to the schools run by the Government and by the Corporation. But they are utterly disillusioned about the education that is being given in those schools. Why is it so? It is because we cannot create an atmosphere among the staff of doing their duty properly.

Go to the hospitals. I know that people are utterly dissatisfied with the services that they get in the hospitals. Why is it so? We pay heavily for the doctors and we pay heavily for the medicines that we purchase. Even then, those who have to go to the Government hospitals are utterly unhappy. They are not at all satisfied. Go to any hospital in any part of the country. This is the position. I can enumerate so many institutions. It is because, as I said, no norms of behaviour have been laid down. What are the norms of behaviour that we are laying down before the country? When the highest amongst

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us can be accused of corruption rightly or wrongly—I do not say always rightly. people at large read newspapers; they hear the news—when top-most people level charges of corruption against other top-most people, people say, “Look here, these are all corrupt people.” And lakhs of karmacharis all over the country say, “If people at the top can mint lakhs and crores of rupees, what is the harm in minting hundreds and thousands?” If we behave in a disorderly manner at the top, sitting here—consider the scene that we witnessed the day before yesterday in the Lok Sabha—how do you expect people at large to behave in a dedicated, disciplined manner, in the various institutions of our public life? So, unless all of us decide that whoever he may be, to whatever party he may belong, we are not going to tolerate these things, unless those sanctions are enforced, there will be no improvement. As I have been saying very often, only legal sanctions are not going to help us. Society is kept in shape by so many sanctions. You very well know the moral sanctions, the social sanctions. I am afraid of what you will think about me; you have also to take into consideration what I will think about you. Now, even legal sanctions are getting loose. Go to the rural areas. There is lawlessness; and “goondas” are having the upper hand in all spheres of public life. Your Panchayats are being controlled by “goondas”. Our co-operative movement was the best in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. What is happening even there? It is going down. It is not yielding the results which it was expected to give even in those three very good States. Why? Because unsocial elements have come forward and they are trying to take possession of your co-operative movement also. So, taking into view all these things, we will not be able to achieve sufficient results only through the Government machinery. The Government machinery has to play a supplementary

role. We have to create a climate in this country, and that climate can be created only from the top. We have to educate the people also. It is a two-way traffic. We have to educate the people, the masters. Democracy, in order to be successful, must educate its masters. We have got to educate our masters. But, at the same time, we have to lay a pattern of behaviour before the public. It need not be proved in a court of law. We see before our eyes what is happening and every now and then, people ask you to go to a court of law and prove it. This is not the way of creating a good, healthy climate, or the way of fostering democracy in this poor, illiterate country. We have to lay down a very good behaviour pattern at the top, which should percolate below and also educate our masters. Unless we do it, all these exercises are going to be futile and they are going to pay no dividends at all. Take it from me—Sir, I would like to warn the House, because I am at the fag end of my public career—we are facing a very grave situation. Posterity is not going to forgive us for the way in which we are behaving in this country. Don't be complacent at all. See the writing on the wall. As Caesar was warned, “Beware the Ides of March.” I don't know which March, but he was warned “Beware the Ides of March.” All of us will sink together unless all of us put our heads together and arrive at some consensus. What happened in 1947? The Congress invited all the political parties to frame the Constitution. If the Congress had wanted, it could have kept out seasoned persons like Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Iyengar, Mr. Santhanam and others. But it invited all persons from all sections of the country to frame a Constitution for the country, because we were framing a Constitution for the country, not a Constitution for the Government or the party. In the same spirit, at this critical juncture, if all of us do not put our heads together and arrive at some consensus, I think

we shall have to repent for what is
in store for us.

stands adjourned -till 11 A.M. to-
morrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR.
RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The House now

The House then adjourned
at two minutes past five of
the clock till eleven of the
clock on Friday, the 20th
February, 1981.