

about 700 workers who are working in a division in the outskirts of the Hyderabad city are not provided with any transport facilities. The management is neglecting the interests of the workers. Of course, hundreds of cars are being used by the officers. But for the transportation of the workers, not even a single vehicle is available. So far as the health condition is concerned, it is beyond description. Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the Government and also the concerned Minister to the health and medical care of the employees, and also to the simple fact that not even a single ambulance is available at the Division of the Company where 1300 employees are working though the Company is having a fleet of cars for the use of the officers. Sir, hundreds of workmen are on casual and temporary basis for years together and are deprived of their statutory rights and benefits. A lengthy memorandum dated 20th February, 1982 has been presented by the office-bearers of the Union, including Mr. N. Narasimha Reddy, MLA, President of the Union, Mr. Turlapati Satyanarayana, Vice-President, Mr. Anthony, General Secretary and Mr. Eanga Reddy, Treasurer, to the Prime Minister detailing «the demands and the grievances of the employees, and copies have been given to the Defence Minister, to the leaders of all Opposition parties in the Parliament and also to the trade union leaders.

Sir, I would like to appeal to the Government, through you, that immediate action should be taken against the management and the management must be persuaded to accept the reasonable demands of the workers so that the workers should join immediately and carry on their work. Otherwise, the situation will deteriorate and the condition will be beyond our control. So, I would request the Government to take immediate steps to redress the grievances of the workers.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will now resume the discussion on the Motion of Thanks—Shri Shankar Prasad Mitra.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the President's Address covers naturally a wide range of subjects and according to hon. Members in the Opposition many other subjects should also have been dealt with. It is impossible for a single speaker within the time allotted to touch upon every facet of this Address. It is also difficult, Sir, to make any new points after so many speakers have participated in this debate. I would, therefore, restrict myself only to paragraphs 4 and 19 of the Presidential Address.

Sir, in para 4 of the Presidential Address it is stated that the year 1982 has been declared as the "Productivity Year". Sir, I welcome the productivity year and wish it all success. A millennium, however, cannot be brought about by political machinery and Acts of Parliament only, without by the spirit, dedication and determination of the people who work that machinery. I fervently pray, Sir, that this year of productivity does not bring any disappointments to us in view of our fast deteriorating sense of moral values to which the President of India drew our attention in his broadcast on the eve of the Republic Day. The relevant portions of the Presidential Address have already been quoted by Mr. Goswami on Friday last in this House and I do not propose to quote them again. I shall quote, however, Mr. B. K. Nehru, Governor of Jammu & Kashmir, who has recently said in an academic address as follows:

"Why have we degraded in one single generation from being an honest society into a dishonest one? Corruption has spread to every part of the Government apparatus. An

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uncomfortably large number of politicians and Ministers are corrupt. Corruption is universal in the lower ranks of public service. It has affected the middle ranks as well and is now infecting the apex of our administrative structure who used, at one time, to be like Caesar's wife, wholly above suspicion."

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I also intend to draw your attention to certain extracts from the separate judgment of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the Sanchaita case. In this separate judgement, the learned Chief Justice says at page 32: "During the course of investigation until January 8, 1981, when it was stopped by an order of this court, as many as 80 places were searched by the police and a large number of documents were seized. It is apparent from these documents that the firm was paying to its depositors interest at the rate of 48 per cent up to September 1979 and 36 per cent thereafter for a short period. The interest was paid to each depositor every month by the agents who called on each depositor personally for that purpose. The interest in excess of 12 per cent was invariably paid in cash. The oncoming elections to legislative bodies in 1980 appear to have led to a reduction in the rate of interest. Since the firm's circulating capital was needed by 'political parties'. Which parties, I do not know, but this much is fairly certain from the facts which have emerged before us that funds available to the firm were diverted frequently for the use of political parties."

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, these are observations made by Chief Justice Chandrachud in the Sanchaita case. The Sanchaita Investments is a firm which was dealing in black money, which is creating havoc in our economy today. And, according to the learned Chief Justice of the Supreme

Court, political parties in this country, Sir, made use of a portion of this black money for election purposes. I do hope that some steps would be expeditiously taken to cope with this menacing problem of growing corruption by the passing of the Lokpal Bill or otherwise at least to make the Productivity Year a real success.

The second point I wish to go to is in paragraph 19 of the President's Address. Sir, we all know that without increased production, both in industrial and agricultural sectors this nation, in its present state, would see no flicker of hope. A modern society dependent unavoidably on technology to a larger or smaller extent faces a serious problem. As a permanent resident of the city of Calcutta, I am well aware of the dangers of man-made hazardous materials in the environment that has obvious impact on the life-support system and directly on the human life. The heart of the public policy issue, therefore, is to strike an appropriate balance between the ways of providing the needed goods and services to human society including the use of new technology and the development of new products and the ways to eliminate or reduce the environmental and health risks associated with the use of these new products and their processes of production. The United States of America has been trying to strike this balance ever since 1899 by the passing of the Refuse Act. Successive federal legislations have been enacted at different points of time covering almost all aspects of environmental pollution. I would not refer to all those Acts. But even today some U.S. scientists have expressed doubts as to how far these enactments have achieved their desired results. In the United Kingdom, however, the Control of Pollution Act 1974, it is claimed, has notable achievements to its credits. For example, concentration of smoke in the air has fallen by nearly 80 per cent since 1960. London no longer experiences dense smoke-laden

"Smogs" which we see in Calcutta
 iter now, and used to see in London
 when we were students there....
 (Time bell rings). We have got 1
 hour and 19 minutes, Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I may
 tell you; don't be unde, misappre-
 hension. Time for 'Others' is 1 hour
 and 16 minutes and there are 8
 names before me. So hardly 10 minu-
 tes I can allow.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA:
 Nobody has yet spoken of environ-
 mental pollution. I will finish in
 mminutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ten
 minutes are already over; there are
 others.

DR RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maha-
 rashtra) : He is the former Chief
 Justice and we have weakness for
 Chief Justices.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; We
 have great respect for them but time
 limit is there.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA:
 Similar improvements have been
 achieved in other cries also including
 Glasgow and Sheffield. Control mea-
 sures have reduced under ground-
 level concentration of sulphur dioxide
 is reduced by 40 per cent in the last
 10 years. The Act has also succeeded
 in creating noise-abatement zones
 where levels of noise from scheduled
 buildings have been made either con-
 stant or have been reduced. The Act
 contains, further, special provisions to
 con-rol noise from construction and
 demolition sites. Transport, Sir, is
 one of the main offenders is noise
 pollution and British measures like
 those of other countries, to control
 noise pollution, along with air
 water pollution, require careful study
 \ for appropriate legislation and strict
 implementation of Parliament's inten-
 tions expressed through such legis-
 lations. The U.K. has also the Radio-
 active Substances Act, 1960, to control
 "the users of radio-active materials.

Towards the end of last year an
 Indian environmental delegation led
 by Mr. B. B. Vohra, Chairman of the
 National Committee on Environ-
 mental Planning had visited China.
 The delegation, it appears, was im-
 pressed by the Chinese methods of
 environmental drive. The delega on
 has found that China is rapidly going
 ahead with proper management of
 land and water resources, afforesta-
 tion, soil and water conservation and
 flood control works. The delega on
 has also found that India has much
 to learn from China in the field of
 renewable sources of energy which
 had relieved pressure on forests or
 firewood and benefited its economy
 and environment in several ways.
 (Time bell rings). Sir, I am fin-
 ing in two minutes.

Sir, Mahatma Gandhi had advocad
 this plan many years ago. In China,
 the number of bio-gas plants had
 already reached 7 millions. The
 plants, true to Mahatma Gandhi's
 dreams, not only provide fuel, energy
 and fertilisers but also help in the
 maintenance of sanitation and eradi-
 cation of excretabourne diseases.
 New industries are allowed to be set
 up only if they had built-in arrange-
 ments for pollution control and after
 their locations are cleared from the
 environmental point of view. The
 existing industries were being induced
 to instal pollution-control devices
 within a stated period. I have noted
 with alacrity, in paragraph 19 of the
 President's Address, that the Depart-
 ment of Environment has started
 operations in all seriousness. We shall
 anxiously await its achievements in
 the months to come. Sir, I would,
 however, specially draw the Depart-
 ment's attention to the findings of the
 U.N. Centre for Human Settlements
 at Nairobi in January, 1980. Its find-
 ings are as follows:

"By the end of this century, 18
 cities in developing countries, in-
 cluding Calcutta and Bombay, are
 expected to have more than 10 million
 inhabitants. The growth of these

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cities has been taking place against the background of low incomes resulting in mushrooming of squatters settlements in and around these vast cities and between 20 and 80 per cent of the population live in these shanty towns. Overcrowding has become a common feature with three or four persons occupying a single room. Despite urbanisation, majority of the people in the developing countries, about 58 per cent, still live in rural areas."

In India, Sir, according to this centre there were 579,052 human settlements in 1980. Of this, 575,933 were rural settlements. It has, therefore, become necessary, in my view, that a Commission on Human Settlements should be set up to formulate a strategy in regard to human settlements which, in my opinion, should form part of our projects for environmental safeguards, prevention of eco-destruction and national eco-development. I express the hope that the Central Government, in this Year of Productivity, would pay serious attention to see that the problem of environmental pollution, which cities like Calcutta are facing today, is not faced by other parts of the country as well and something is immediately done in this regard to the already worst affected.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Bipinpal Das. Not here. Shri Narendra Singh. You will have 15 minutes only because the time is very short and limited. If members do not cooperate, I am afraid many of those who have given their names will be left out. The Prime Minister has to reply at 4.00 p.m. So, we will have to conclude the discussion by then.

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभापति महोदय, मैं बहुत जल्दी समाप्त करने की कोशिश करूंगा।

उपसभापति जी, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने 18 फरवरी को संसद के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में जो अभिभाषण दिया और उस सम्बन्ध में हमारे विद्वान मित्र डा० रफीक जकरीया साहब ने यह धन्यवाद और कृतज्ञता का जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण प्रत्येक दृष्टि से वर्तमान संदर्भ में बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण तथा दिशा-निर्देश देने वाला है। दिशा निर्देश के साथ ही साथ यह अभिभाषण सरकार की गरीबी, बेरोजगारी तथा देश के समस्त जो अनेकानेक समस्याएँ हैं उनके हल के लिए श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार का जो दृढ़ संकल्प है उस की ओर भी इंगित करता है, इशारा करता है जो देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए इस महान देश में रहने वाले 70 करोड़ लोगों के जीवनस्तर को ऊँचा उठाने के लिए आवश्यक है, ऐसा दृढ़ संकल्प है।

मान्यवर, पहली बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा स्थाई सरकार के संबंध में। सब से पहले सरकार की स्थिरता, स्टेबिलिटी बहुत जरूरी होती है किसी देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए उसकी प्रगति के लिए स्टेबिलिटी गवर्नमेंट की होना बहुत ही आवश्यक है। यह सब से पहली आवश्यकता है। बीच में कुछ दिन तक मान्यवर, अस्थिरता का वातावरण रहा। आज देश में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में एक मजबूत और स्थाई सरकार है जो देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए कृतसंकल्प है।

मान्यवर, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में प्रधानमंत्री जी के द्वारा घोषित नये बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम का स्पष्ट उल्लेख किया है। इस बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम को कार्यान्वित करना है। यह

बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम देश को नहीं दिशा देने वाला है और आशाओं का प्रतीक है तथा आगे बढ़ाने वाला है। करोड़ों गरीबों को और दबे हुए लोगों को, कमजोर लोगों को सहारा देने वाला है। सरकार पूरे निश्चय एवं विश्वास के साथ इस कार्यक्रम को लागू करने के लिए दृढ़ प्रति प्रतिभ जित है। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस कार्यक्रम का स्पष्ट तौर पर उल्लेख किया है। यह काम मिला-जुला ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रम (इंटेग्रेटेड ग्रामीण डवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम) के जरिये मे. गेड्यूल्ड कार्ट कम्पोजिट प्लान के जरिये से, हिस्स और ट्राइबल एरिया डवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम के जरिये से और गन्दी बस्तियों की सफाई करके उनको अच्छा बना कर के और आवादी की कम सुविधा के लोगों को अधिक सुविधाएं देकर के पूरा किया जाना है। मान्यवर, कानपुर नगर में और तमाम इलाकों के अन्दर इतनी गन्दी बस्तियां हैं जहां पर लोगों का रहना मुश्किल हो रहा है, इस बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम में इन गन्दी बस्तियों की सफाई का बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण कार्यक्रम है। हमें आशा है कि इस कार्यक्रम से जो स्वप्न है जहां पर इन्सान बिल्कुल नारकीय जिवंदगी बिता रहा है, उन स्वप्न में सुधार होगा और वहां के लोग रहने की स्थिति में होंगे।

मान्यवर, हमारे देश के सामने एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या हमारी बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या है। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस संबंध में भी राष्ट्र के लोगों का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है और सरकार द्वारा इस कार्यक्रम को आंदोलन के रूप में, एक, मूवमेंट के रूप में चलाने के दृढ़निश्चय को दोहराया है। इस शताब्दी के आखिरी तक जन्मदर घटाकर फी हजार 21 और मृत्यु दर 9 तक लाने का लक्ष्य सरकार का है। यह स्पष्ट किया है राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में।

हेल्थ फार आल, सभी के लिए स्वास्थ्य कार्यक्रम का भी उल्लेख किया गया है कि सन् 2000 तक सभी लोगों के अच्छे स्वास्थ्य का इंतजाम सरकार करेगी?

मान्यवर, इन दो सालों में प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में उत्पादन में काफी वृद्धि हुई है। उसकी वजह स्थिरता है, एक स्थिर सरकार का होना है। प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में उत्पादन में वृद्धि हुई है। बिजली में 80-81 के मुकाबले 81-82 में 11.3 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है, कोयले के उत्पादन में 80-81 के मुकाबले 81-82 में 11.2 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। रेल की ढुलाई में/बिक्री योग्य इस्पात में, सीमेंट के उत्पादन में 15 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। रेलों की ढुलाई में 14.4 प्रतिशत तक वृद्धि हुई है, बिक्री योग्य इस्पात में 18.7 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। नाईट्रोजन खाद में 51.9 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है, पेट्रोलियम पदार्थों में 18.4 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। ये सारे आंकड़े, बहुत से आंकड़े महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में दिये हैं, उन सबकों में यहां उद्धृत नहीं करना चाहता। प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में एक स्थापित आया है, एक स्थिरता आई है।

मान्यवर, स्पेस टेक्नालाजी के क्षेत्र में बड़ी प्रगति हुई है। तीन सेटेलाइट्स, रोहिणी, एप्पल और भास्कर 11 अंतरिक्ष में छोड़े गये और इस संबंध में, इस दिशा में हमारे देश ने बहुत प्रगति की है। भारत सरकार और भारत के वैज्ञानिकों को मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। मान्यवर, इससे दुनिया में हमारी प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ी है। मान्यवर, पिछले दो तीन साल पहले मुद्रास्फीति बहुत तेजी से बढ़ी थी। लेकिन सरकार ने इस पर भी नियंत्रण

[श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह]

किया है और उस पर काबू पाने के लिये पूरे तौर पर प्रयत्नशील है। मान्यवर, 12 जनवरी, 1980 को समाप्त होने वाले सप्ताह में मुद्रास्फीति 22.2 प्रतिशत थी, जनवरी 1981 में यह 14.1 प्रतिशत रही और जनवरी 82 में यह 6.9 प्रतिशत रह गयी और सरकार ने एक बड़ा ही प्रयत्नशील कार्य किया है मुद्रास्फीति को रोकने में।

मान्यवर, कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो वर्तमान संदर्भ है उसमें खरीफ की पैदावार 799 लाख मीट्रिक टन तक पहुँच जायेगी, ऐसा अनुमान है और यह उपज अब तक की जो खरीफ की फसलें हुई हैं उसमें से रिकार्ड उत्पादन है, इतना उत्पादन इससे पहले कभी नहीं हुआ। गन्ना, दाल, गेहूँ सभी की उपज में बढ़ोतरी हुई है। खाद्यान्न के मामले में हमारा देश आत्मनिर्भर हो गया है, इसके लिये मैं हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों को, कृषि वैज्ञानिकों को और भारत सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, इसका श्रेय भारत सरकार की जो ग्रामोन्मुखी नीति है उसको जाता है। लेकिन इसी जगह पर मान्यवर, एक बात मैं जरूर कहना चाहूँगा कि किसान को उसके उत्पादन का लाभप्रद, सही मूल्य नहीं मिल रहा है। और इससे उनमें कुछ निराशा आ रही है। मैं सरकार से अपील करूँगा कि किसानों को लाभप्रद मूल्य मिले, इस और पूरा प्रयास होना चाहिये।

सिंचाई की तरफ सरकार का विशेष ध्यान है और इस ओर भी बहुत अच्छी प्रगति हुई है। 1980-81 के दौरान 24 लाख हेक्टेयर भूमि सिंचाई के योग्य बनाई गई है, 1981-82 में 26

लाख हेक्टेयर भूमि पर सिंचाई का इंतजाम किया गया और जो छठी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के तीन वर्ष हैं, मान्यवर, उसमें 30 लाख हेक्टेयर प्रति वर्ष सिंचाई की व्यवस्था करने का सरकार का लक्ष्य है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे हिन्दुस्तान में सिंचाई की सुविधा काफी बढ़ेगी और किसानों को इससे बड़ा प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा। सिंचाई की सुविधा, अच्छे बीज, उर्वरक मिलने से कृषि पैदावार में बहुत अच्छी वृद्धि हुई है, यह मैं पहले ही कह चुका हूँ। लेकिन किसानों को इंसेंटिव देने की जरूरत है।

एक बात के लिए मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिसका जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है, वह है लैंड एक्वीजिशन अमेंडमेंट एक्ट के बारे में। बहुत दिनों से इसकी चर्चा हो रही थी। हमारे कुछ मिलों ने बहुत से बायदे भी इस सिलसिले में किये थे, उससे किसानों को बहुत दिक्कत थी, नभाम किसान मजदूर हो जाया करते थे और बहुत सस्ती कीमत में उनकी जमीन, ले ली जाया करती थी और वह सब से कमजोर जमीन के सिलसिले में माना जाता था।

हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी घोषणा की है कि जो कृषि योग्य जमीन है, उसको नहीं लिया जायेगा, जो अनुपजाऊ जमीन है, उसको ही आवास के लिए तथा और कामों के लिए लिया जाएगा। तो यह जो लैंड एक्वीजिशन अमेंडमेंट एक्ट है, जिसका जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है, यह बहुत ही सराहनीय कदम होगा और इसके लिए मैं अग्रिम बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

मान्यवर, सरकार द्वारा नेशनल एग्री-कल्चरल एंड रुरल डेवलपमेंट बैंक की

स्थापना बहुत शीघ्र ही की जाएगी, यह भी सरकार की घोषणा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में और किसानों के विकास को बड़ा बल मिलेगा।

अब, मान्यवर, जो कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति है, उस संबंध में भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जिक्र किया है। हमारे देश में जो नाकामगार लोग हैं, वह कमजोर लोगों को सजाते हैं। यह बहुत दिनों से चला आ रहा है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की घोषणा है कि कमजोर लोगों के साथ नाकामगार लोग ज्यादती नहीं कर सकेंगे। हरिजनों और कमजोर लोगों का संरक्षण किया जाएगा, इस बात की स्पष्ट घोषणा है। हमारे देश में कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं, जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे कराने के चक्कर में रहते हैं और समाज में अशांति का वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश में रहते हैं। हमारी सरकार ऐसे तत्वों से, ऐसे लोगों से निपटने के लिए पूरी तरह से तैयार है और पूरे तरीके से सक्षम है। इस बात का भी जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है।

मान्यवर, राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस बात की ओर भी इशारा किया है कि आज दुनिया बड़ी कठिन स्थिति से गुजर रही है, लेकिन भारत के सामने कोई निराशा की बात नहीं है। इस बात को भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्पष्ट किया है और भारत हर कठिनाई का, किसी भी संकट का, किसी भी दिक्कत का मुकाबला करने के लिए पूरी तरह से तैयार है, ह राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में साफ तौर से कहा है।

मान्यवर, इन पिछले दो-तीन साल में दुनिया में हमारे देश की प्रतिष्ठा

बढ़ी है। हमारे देश के प्रति लोगों में, दुनिया के देशों में सम्मान पैदा हुआ है और लोगों की नजर में हमारे देश की इज्जत बढ़ी है और उसका श्रेय हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को है। उन्होंने बहुत ही स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा है कि अब शोषण को बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जाएगा। उन्होंने हमारे देश का नाम बहुत ऊँचा किया है।

मान्यवर, हमारे कई मित्रों ने कहा है कि विपक्ष से किस तरह के सहयोग की जरूरत है। विपक्ष के हमारे साथियों ने यह कहा है। मैं सिर्फ उनसे यह निवेदन करना चाहूँगा, कि वे सिर्फ निगेटिव अप्रोच ही न रखें; उन्हें पाजिटिव अप्रोच भी रखने की जरूरत है। उन्हें समालोचनात्मक दृष्टिकोण अपनाने की जरूरत है। अगर सरकार कोई अच्छा काम करती है तो उसकी तारीफ होनी चाहिए और अगर सरकार कोई गलत काम करे या कहीं काम नहीं हो रहा है तो उस ओर ध्यान आकषित किया जाना चाहिए लेकिन केवल नकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण नहीं होना चाहिए। मैं विरोध-पक्ष के अपने मित्रों से कहूँगा कि यह साल 1982 का साल प्रोडक्टिविटी ईयर है इसमें एक फैसला आप लें कि हम मिल कर पूरे तरीके से देश में उत्पादन को बढ़ाने में सरकार की मदद करेंगे और सरकार के काम में किसी तरीके की बाधा नहीं आने देंगे।

मान्यवर, अंत में आपने मुझे जो ये कुछ थोड़े से शब्द कहने का अवसर दिया इस के लिए मैं बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ और डा० जकरीया साहब के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कर रहा हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Bipinpal Das.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): The hon. Member should thank the Chair and not the President.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Because there are a large number of speakers, if the House agrees we can skip over the lunch and continue the debate.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: The House will continue.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes; Mr. Bipinpal Das. Fifteen minutes.

SHRI 'BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): ' Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by Dr. Zakaria. Sir, I have listened to some of the important speeches made by the Opposition Members. Unfortunately, they are not present. And although I was not present for two days, I have gone through the record of the speeches made in the last two days. They have nothing good to say about this country. They have found fault with the Government or the country or the developments of the country in every sector, in every point. I am extremely sorry that they have even failed to acknowledge the achievements made by the working class, the farmers, the scientists and the technicians. This is my regret. Condemn the Government as you like, but appreciate the achievements made by the farmers, by the working class, by the scientists and by the technicians. But that also they cannot appreciate. I am reminded of an incident. Much before Independence, an English lady came to this country. She went round a few places. In this country, went back home and wrote a book on India. When that book was brought to Gandhiji and Gandhiji went through that book, he made a very historic remark. That book was aimed at maligning! and denigrating everything that India stood for: our culture, our

economy, our social system and everything else. After going through the book, Gandhiji said, "This is a drain inspectress's report". Such a classic statement has never been made by anybody in the world. One simple sentence told the whole truth. If you go through a city looking for beautiful houses, beautiful parks and other beautiful places, you find them. But if you look only at the drains, you cannot see anything good. This is what my friends from the Opposition, most of them, have done in their speeches on the President's Address. They have seen nothing good in this country. They have said as Catherine Mayo had said, pinpointing only the * dark spots and the "weaker spots in the society without mentioning anything good. Sir, I have heard Mr. V. B. Raju, Mr. Piloo Mody and comrade Surjeet very attentively and I have read what all others have said. They missed the wood by counting the trees. They do not see over-all what has happened, the over-all development that has taken place in the country during the last thirty four years. They pin-point here and there. They spot here and there. They have missed the wood by counting the trees. They have found fault with the statistics given by the President.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: Is he a statistician?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Statistics that have been given are based on facts. They are on records. They are based on scientific records. I do not know if there is any economist in the world who can do without the basis of statistical data. The whole economic theory, the entire economic system, the economic development, the economic planning depend upon statistical data. If the President has quoted wrong statistics, please give the right statistics. But who will guarantee that your statistics are right? Who will guarantee? Therefore, this kind of childish talk of challenging the statistical, figures

given by the President, was really a matter of joke and nothing more than that, I am sorry about it. What have we tried to say? What has the President tried to say? The President never tried to say that we had done everything, that everything was all right in the country, that we had made tremendous progress. He never said that. The President only said what improvements had taken place during the last two years from January, 1980 to January, 1982. He pinpointed by facts and figures what improvements had taken place in industry, agriculture, infrastructure, the rate of inflation, so on and so forth. This is a very humble, very modest claim that has been made. There is nothing wrong in it.

I do not know what Mr. Raju was actually driving at. Once he was the General Secretary of the Congress Party during the emergency. I really did not understand the objective of his speech, what he was driving at. But I am really sorry to say, and I must go on record, that he ridiculed our talk about the growing danger in this region and around this country. The facts are there for everybody to see. This is nothing secret, nothing dug out from under the earth. If Mr. Raju wants to keep his eyes shut against the danger to this country, around this region, well, the Prime Minister and the President cannot. He can, but the President and the Prime Minister cannot do that. He advocated some kind of a coalition government at the Centre. He has forgotten the experience of S.V.D. governments in 1967 to 1969. He has also forgotten the experience* of the Janata which was, in fact, a coalition government, or as Babu Jagjivan Ram said, a conglomeration of parties. He has forgotten these experiments, and he talks of a coalition government. I do not understand what Mr. Raju talked about. The whole speech of Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet was nothing but replaying of a cassette.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:
Melodious?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: The same kind of speech, the- Marxist Communists go on making from every place, from every platform. So, there is nothing new about it. I do not want to waste my time about it. But he calls himself a Marxist. The point I want to make is that he and his party call themselves Marxists, but Karl Marx himself said and I quote:

'Thank heavens, I am not a Marxist.'

This was what Karl Marx said, and these people who call themselves Marxists, I do not know what kind of Marxism they are following. Anyway, I leave it to them. I come to Shri Piloo Mody.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar): Gandhiji said, "I am not a Gandhian."

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I have not said, "I am a Gandhian". Mrs. Indira Gandhi has not said, "I am a Gandhian". The President has not said, "I am a Gandhian". But he and his party have said that they are Marxists. Please try to understand Mr. Jha what I am saying. (Interruptions) We have not said that we are Gandhites. Now I will come to Mr. Piloo Mody whose speech was as eloquent as it was hilarious. (Interruptions) But through his eloquence and through his wit and humour, Mr. Piloo Mody very cleverly did his best to advocate his philosophy, the philosophy of the big business of this country and the philosophy of American colonialism. Go through his speech. Where he condemns us—I will come to one or two points—he simply advocates the philosophy of the big business of this country and the philosophy of American colonialism abroad. That is what he did. That is the substance, the essence of his speech. Sir, I do not blame him. After all, he was a Swatantra man. I do not know how he was misled into the lane of Janata. He was

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Swatantra man. And he has got domestic compulsions. How can I blame him for his thesis, for his philosophy? But he should not blame our Government, our country

He made one point about education. Very interesting. Nobody else said that. He said, our education system is hopeless; we have done nothing; our graduates are not recognised elsewhere, and so on and so forth. Sir, as an educationist, I do not claim that our education system is perfect. No. There is room, lot of room for improvement, and we have been trying to improve it. But let me tell Mr. Piloo Mody and people of his way of thinking who try to run down our own graduates, our own people by referring to America or Britain or Germany or France or what not, that in spite of defects and deficiencies in our educational system, during these 34 years we have produced the third largest army in the world of trained technical men and women. Not a mean achievement. Today we are third, next only to America and Russia, in the matter of technically trained men and women. This we have done in spite of the defects in our educational system. Our universities, our colleges and our schools have produced them. Nobody should forget it.

Mr. Piloo Mody also referred to the automatic rise in D.A. in 1980. A very clever chap, I must tell you. He referred to automatic rise in D.A. in 1980. He did not refer to 1981. Sir, we have ourselves said that when we took over power in 1980, the rate of inflation was as high as 22.2 per cent. If as a result of that, as a result of continuous price rise, automatic rise in D.A. took place in 1980, whose fault is it? The fault is not ours. The Janata Government created that situation, and we had to meet that situation. What was the situation in

1981? And what is the situation now? There he was completely silent.

Sir, he found fault with one remark in the President's Address when I also interjected; but he did not answer my question. He found fault with only one sentence in the President's Address. The rest perhaps he ignored as irrelevant. And what was the sentence?

"While the thrust of the revised 20-Point Programme continues to be on providing better living conditions for the less privileged sections of the population, the programme as a whole aims at all-round improvement in productivity."

No, I do not understand what is wrong in this sentence. What is wrong in that sentence?

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA (Andhra Pradesh): Nothing wrong.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: He found fault with this sentence because his economic thinking is borrowed from the Western model. TM is the difficulty. The difficulty is, if you always think of the Western model for the development programmes of our country, you can never think in terms of the realities of the situation in this country. What are the realities? And what is the 20-Point Programme? I have no doubt—I can analyse the 20-Point Programme joint by joint—that you have to bring about a rise in productivity by bringing about all-round improvement in the living conditions of the people, everywhere, in all spheres socially, even culturally. Even cultural improvement contributes to productivity. He does not know that. To raise productivity, it is not only necessary to train some people and to have improved machinery. Not only that Social conditions, cultural conditions and

even slum clearance also add to productivity. He does not know that. Therefore, he finds fault with this sentence of the President without understanding the economics of the developing countries. I am very sorry for that.

Then he says that you can develop West Asia, Africa, South-East Asia and so on. The only country we have not been able to develop is our own country. A fantastic statement is made that way. And I wondered whether I was sitting in Parliament or in a meeting of a gram panchayat where people are rather illiterate or uneducated or they do not know. Does he not know that? As I said earlier, we have been able to build up the third largest number of technically trained men and women in this country. Does he not know that? India today is the 9th or 10th industrialised country of the world. Does he not know that? India has become⁰ self-sufficient in food. Our food production this year has gone up to 134 million tonnes. It has gone up from 50 million tonnes in 1947 to 134 million tonnes in 1982. Are these not developments? I can quote hundreds of other facts. But these are the basic facts and these basic facts will convince everybody. As I said in the beginning, a drain inspector can never look at the beautiful side of the picture. Therefore, Mr. Piloo Mody does not see all

There are some others who spoke about scientific progress. You may belong to the Opposition. But for God's sake, don't ridicule, don't minimise, don't denigrate our scientists' achievements. Some of them have ridiculed even our scientific achievements. With all respect, I must say that this is not the attitude of a patriot. They talked about a lot of people going below the poverty line. Their number is going up. One day I answered that question here. What is the cause? What is the basic cause? There are so many causes. They find fault with the Plan, its aims and

that. I don't grudge that. But what is the basic cause? You draw up a scheme to provide jobs to one lakh of people. By the time that scheme is implemented, two lakh more people come up. Two lakh more babies are born. This is why we have not been able to keep pace. The population growth has all the time overtake¹ us and in spite of our best efforts, the best efforts of the Government and the people, we have not been able to keep pace and ultimately bring down the number of below the poverty line. This is the basic cause. There can be other causes also.

Somebody said, "People will decide whether the economy was left in shambles by the Jana's Government". Should he say that in 1982? People have already decided that the economy was left in complete shambles, complete chaos and the people have given the verdict in 1980. Today in 1982, he said, "People will decide". Let him wait for the next verdict.

Sir, the President placed before the House, in my opinion a very comprehensive and realistic picture of the situation in the country. We are going through difficult times. But there is a clear improvement over the last two years. We may not yet be out of the woods, but we can clearly see the light from the other end of the tunnel. This is the remark I want to make about the overall situation in the country. The most creditable achievement is in the field of agriculture where we have produced 134 million tonnes of foodgrains. The fall in the rate of inflation is not insignificant'. The rate of inflation was 22.2 per cent when we took over power. The President quoted the figure of 6.9 per cent in January, 1982 and even after that, the Economic Survey has quoted that the figure has further gone down to near about 5 per cent. This is not a very small achievement in the world of today. The entire world has been facing this tremendous crisis of inflation and there is not a single country in the world

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

which is not facing this problem or which is not suffering from this problem. So, this achievement is a measure of success of our economic policies. This is also the barometer of the overall economic situation. I have no doubt that further vigorous implementation of the policies, as has been pointed out by the President—I will not go into the details—will help to bring down the inflation further and improve our economy further. There is no doubt on that.

They talked of prices and asked why they have not come down. Dr. Zakaria quoted a very valuable report published in 'the Statesman'. "The statesman" had published a report based on an on-the-spot survey of the people. The consumers themselves had quoted some figures regarding prices and "the Statesman" published those figures. I think Dr. Zakaria has done a unique service by quoting those statistics into which I need not go. That report itself says that the prices have not gone down much, but the prices have been controlled. In some items the price has come down and in some others it has gone up a little. But overall, the prices have come under control in the wholesale market but in regard to retail prices there are some difficulties. You know them and we know them. We have to make more vigorous efforts to see that the retail prices also behave in the same way as the wholesale prices behave.

Now, the 20 point programme is not a substitute for the Sixth Plan. It is essentially the essence and the nucleus of the Plan itself and the need and urgency to concentrate on certain items have been correctly and effectively high-lighted by the programme. We must congratulate the Prime Minister for that. If one carefully analyses the programme it will tie found that it has given the maximum importance to agriculture and the rural sector which constitute the base

of our socio-economic system. As many as eight points have been devoted to agriculture and rural sector. There is another point concerning Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who, by and large, belong to the rural sector. But their case has been rightly emphasized under a separate point. Then infra-structures come under two separate points and as many as four points have been devoted to social welfare programmes, and rightly so. The other five points cover urban slums, prices, the anti-social elements in trade, industry and public sector undertakings. This is comprehensive and it pin-points the urgency of these particular points so that while implementing the other programmes of the Sixth Plan these may receive more attention and greater emphasis. That is the purpose of the 20 point programme...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you may try to conclude.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I can sit down just now. But if you like, I will finish in five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Otherwise, other speakers will be affected.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I am sorry. I do not want to deprive them of their chances.

So, it is a very balanced programme. And this is the task before us in taking the country forward along the path of growth with social justice? But since you are asking me to cut down my speech...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can refer to one more point.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: One point and a half point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One point will do.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I cannot resist the temptation of touching upon the half point. It was said that we are asking for co-operation, but co-

operation in what? This was the question asked from the other side. Somebody has put in an amendment also on this. How can there be co-operation when there are" NSA and ESMA? My answer to this is my half point. It is precisely here that we want your co-operation so that you do not create a situation, so that a situation is not created, when the Government will be compelled to apply the National Security Act and the ESMA. (*Interruptions*) That is what we want. We are asking for your co-operation and you say, "We cannot co-operate with you because of this". I say, "This is precisely where we want your co-operation". We also do not want to use it. Whether we shall be compelled to use it or whether we could do away with it, whether we could do without using it, depends upon you and it is in your hands. If you create certain situations and conditions when we will be compelled to use them, then, we cannot help because we have come here to govern and we have been elected to govern. We have been elected to govern and we have not been elected to abdicate. You must know that we have been elected to govern and not elected to abdicate. We have to govern and we will govern. But I tell you that governing does not mean that we will use strong-arm methods. We do not want to use them. So, it depends entirely upon the Opposition parties. Sir, this is the half point that I wanted to make. Then, Sir, they organised the 'Bharat bandh'. Did it keep anybody? The people have given the answer and it was a complete flop. The people have given the answer that the 'Bharat bandh' was not in the interest of the people or the society.

Then, Sir, my last point about Assam. I do not want to mention Kerala because there is no time and, moreover, I am directly concerned with Assam. What is the situation there now?

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:
A minority Government is there.

श्री बिपिनपाल दास : अल्प जरा सुनिये ।

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE
(Maharashtra): You please hear him. Mr. Mallick, and then make a remark. Otherwise, there is no meaning.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Mallick, first you try to understand and then make a remark. You may make any remark. I do not mind. But first try to understand and then make any remark. First, Sir, there was an alliance which was organised with Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha as the leader of the alliance which was a conglomeration of parties. The alliance claims 65 members. But I challenge from the floor of this House Mr. Sinha or anybody from that side to physically present those 65 members before the Governor. I challenge. What is really happening is this: Mr. Sinha takes seven members or so with him and he shows them to the Governor saying, "Sir, these are my supporters". They say, "Yes, yes", or they keep quiet. The moment Mr. Sinha goes, they tell the Governor, "Sir, we are not with the alliance". Unfortunately, Mr. Sinha lives in a house... (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:
Mr. Mallick, please listen. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:
Sir, I want to rise on a submission.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Please let him speak.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:
What happened in Kerala we know and what happened in Assam also we know. Whatever he says about Assam is only a satire. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, the tragedy is that Mr. Sinha keeps two doors in his house open, one, the front door, and the other, the back door. They come by the front door and go away by the back door. No body remains! This is the position. How many remained now? The CPI

I Shri Bipinpal Das] says, "We- will support the Government, but will not joint the Ministry". The CPM is not joining; CPI—no; CPM—no; SUC—no; Janata—no; RCPI—no. The only support he is getting is from his group, one himself and then two o'hers. So, he has got the support of two Cong. (S) members, one Lok Dal man and himself included, it comes to four. So, Mr. Sinha can form a four-man Ministry and nothing more than that. Can any Governor allow such a Government to be formed by a group which is palpably, knowingly, openly, vey clearly, an unstable government? On the ottier hand, the people want a popular Ministry. The Governor himself wants a popular Ministry. He does not want a bureaucratic rule. Being a politician by training, he does not like the bureaucratic rule. People do not like the bureaucratic rule. They demand a popular Ministry there and, therefore, ultimately, he was compelled, under the circumstances, to ask the single largest party in the House to form the Ministry there. This is the only democratic way of doing it. When he is not sure of a majority government there, when he is not sure of the majority of any group there, he gives the chance to the single largest party to form the Ministry there and this is the only democratic way open to a Governor. Now, it is for Mr. Gogoi to prove his majority in the House. They said, "Call the Assembly". The Assembly has been called on the 17th of Twlarch. Either Mr. Gogoi proves his majority or he goes. This is the democratic way. Then, why do you blame the Governor? I cannot understand this. My friends like Shri Dinesh Goswami and others like him passed some unkind remarks, uncharitable remarks, against the Governor, the new Governor. That is very unfortunate. What can the Governor do under the circumstances? It is for Mr. Gogoi to prove his majority.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:
Or he can resign.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Now, Sir, I may say one thing with satisfaction. You may yourself go to Assam and I may invite you and I would invite Dr. Mallick also.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): What about others?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Others also. You go there and you will see that the political climate in the State there now has improved very much. For the first time, the political parties have been able to hold public meetings without disturbance. The Chief Minister has addressed about six or seven huge public meetings. 'Huge' is the word I am not using. 'Huge' is the word used by Assam Tribune' which is not very friendly to us. No disturbance. No CRP. The CRP has almost been withdrawn from the State, except from vital installations like oil refineries, etc. Government employees are being released one by one after examining each case on merit. On top of it, the Assam Tiibune, which was very critical of our party and a supporter of the movement, has editorially welcomed the formation of this Ministry. (*Interrwptions*) Can you imagine that a paper like the Assam Tribune will welcome the formation of the Ministry? (*Interruptions*) Every time you go there, you will see the public meetings. Previously nobody could hold a public meeting. Nobody was allowed. The political climate in that sense has improved. And I must also congratulate the students for the role which is being played by the student leaders of the movement. They have also come to constructive lines. Recently they drew up plans for building roads, clearing up slums, and so on. They have also come on to constructive lines. More than tliat, they are now at the negotiation table with the Government. The Government is always for negotia- r tions. And they are continuing these negotiations, so both the parties are at the negotiating table. Therefore, we must be very careful,

very restrained, in what we say about Assam situation. I only hope and wish that all these negotiations going on between the Government and the leaders of the agitation will bear fruit and some kind of amicable settlement will be arrived at and the political situation in Assam will improve further, and that ultimately the people of Assam will get an opportunity to elect their representatives to the Lok Sabha.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Buddha Priya Maurya.

श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मौर्य : परम आदरणीय उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ जो...

श्री उपसभापति : आपका 10 मिनट का समय है।

श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मौर्य : श्रीमन्, थोड़ा ज्यादा समय लगेगा मुझे।

श्री उपसभापति : मैं तो चाहता हूँ, मगर मैं करूँ क्या ?

श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मौर्य : 10 मिनट

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE: Please give him more time. (Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति : मैं क्या करूँ मडम, बहुत सदस्य बोलने वाले हैं समय नहीं है। इसलिए मैं पहले बता देता हूँ।

One or two minutes I can adjust here and there. (Interruptions)

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: Sir, it is very strange that when an hon Member starts, the Chair is interfering. It is very strange that there is disturbance at the start itself. (Interruptions)

श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मौर्य : परम आदरणीय उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ कि आपने महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर मुझे अपने विचार रखने का सुप्रवसर दिया है। श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण के पैरा-

ग्राफ 21 23 और 25 के द्वारा संसद् को राष्ट्र का, राष्ट्र के नेताओं और राष्ट्र की जनता का ध्यान दान खतरों की ओर दिलाया है, एवम् तो अन्दरूनी खतरा और दूसरा बाहरी खतरा। श्रीमन् मैं इन्हीं तीन पैराग्राफ के ऊपर अपनी बात कहूँगा। श्रीमन्, मैं सबसे पहले राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण से पैरा 21 को कोट कर रहा हूँ।

"I now turn to some problems concerning law and order. There cannot be forward movement without the assurance that national energies are not frittered away on agitations engineered by sectional interests. Government are distressed at the outrages perpetrated against members of Scheduled Castes communities at some places and are determined to ensure that all sections of the population live in safety and honour. The guilty will be firmly dealt with. The problems confronting these classes are part of the larger socio-economic problems of the country. The fullest cooperation of the public necessary to fight against the forces of communalism and casteism, who are often in league with anti-social elements. Programmes for the integrated socio-economic development of Scheduled Caste, and Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections have been intensified and much larger outlays than ever before have been provided. Their implementation will be closely monitored."

श्रीमन्, इस पैरा में सबसे पहले राष्ट्रपति जी ने संसद् और राष्ट्र का ध्यान आन्दोलनों की ओर दिलाया है। जब आन्दोलन की बात आती है तो इस सदन में भारतीय जनता पार्टी के माननीय सदस्यों ने, दूसरे दलों के माननीय सदस्यों ने, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के माननीय सदस्यों ने और दिनेश गोस्वामी जी ने भी कुछ लिपटा कर एजीटेसन का समर्थन किया है। श्रीमन् ? इस संबंध में परम

[श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मौर्य]

पूज्य बाबा साहेब डा० अम्बेदकर को मैं कोट करना चाहता हूँ। बाबा साहेब डा० अम्बेदकर ने जिस समय कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली के आखिरी दिन उनका अभिभाषण हो रहा था, संविधान पूरा बन चुका था प्रचुर दिनों के उस भाषण से मैं कोट करने जा रहा हूँ जहाँ तब प्रान्दोलन का प्रश्न है, मैं कोट करता हूँ :

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रत्नोत्तम तरोया) पीठासीन हुए।]

"If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing, in my judgment we should do is to hold fast to the constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody method of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and Satyagraha. When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned the better for us."

श्रीमन्, वे मैंने इसको इस वजह से कहा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्वयं एक संकेत एजेंडेशन को और किया क्योंकि उनको नजर आया इसी वजह से उन्होंने यह शब्द अपने इस पैरा में डाला है। मैं श्रीमन्, इसके बाद चला जाना चाहता हूँ दूसरी समस्याओं का और, शोषित समाज को समस्याओं को और, शोषित समाज का समस्याएं केवल शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को समस्याएं नहीं हैं। शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट की समस्याएं अकेले बोकल सेक्शन को समस्याएं

नहीं हैं। इस देश को 70 करोड़ की आबादी में करीब 17 करोड़ उनकी आबादी है। यदि 17 करोड़ की समस्याओं को राष्ट्रीय समस्या मान कर नहीं चला जाए तो राष्ट्र कभी भी उन्नति कर नहीं सकता। मैं उनका बहुत आभारी हूँ क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस पैरा में विशेष तौर पर शोषित समाज के शोषण, शोषित समाज के विकास के बारे में अपना चिन्ता का है। यहाँ पर विरोधी दलों के बहुत से मातृतीय सदस्य नहीं हैं, जिन्होंने इस संबंध में बहुत कुछ कहा था। मैं केवल उनसे यह कह देना चाहता हूँ। सन् 1977, 1978 और 1979 तमों सालों के राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण मेरे पास मौजूद हैं, इनमें कहीं भी एक भी शब्द शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स पर जो अन्याय हुए, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स पर जो जुल्म हुए, शोषित समाज की कार्रगताओं पर जो बलात्कार हुए, उनके नन्हें मुन्ने बच्चों को जिंदा जला दिया गया, इनके बारे में एक शब्द भी नहीं है। इनमें नहीं है एक भी शब्द उस हत्याकांड के बारे में जिसमें बड़े जमींदारों ने शोषित खेत मजदूरों की शोषणियों पर मिट्टी का तेल छिड़क कर आग लगा दी थी और जो उनमें जान बचाने बाहर भागने निकले थे तो घोड़े पर बैठ कर जमींदारों ने गोलियों से उनको भून डाला था। यह बेलछा का हत्याकांड था। उन में बेलछा हत्याकांड का कोई जिक्र नहीं है, उनमें कोई जिक्र और दूसरे हत्याकांडों का नहीं है, उनमें कोई भी जिक्र नहीं है आगरा के हत्याकांड का, जहाँ पर वर्दीधारी सिपाहियों ने जनता पार्टी के राज में सरकारों नौकर होकर तनखवाह पाने वाले ने सरकारों बंदूक से वहाँ पर गोलियों के जरिये से निहत्थे बाबा साहेब अम्बेदकर में विश्वास करने वाले लोगों के ऊपर गोलियां चलायी थीं और 18 को जान से मारकर दमन किया था। इसमें कोई भी जिक्र उस समय के मराठवाडा

हत्याकांड का नहीं है जहाँ पर परम पूज्य बाबा साहेब अम्बेदेकर के नाम से यूनि-वर्सिटी बनायी थी। स्वयं महात्मा के दोनों सदनों ने प्रस्ताव पास किया और जब वहाँ के मराठावाड़ा के बौद्ध नेताओं ने, शोषित नेताओं ने, मजदूर नेताओं ने अम्बेदेकर वादियों ने तथा और समझदार लोगों ने माँग की तो उनको गोलों का शिकार बनाया गया। कोई भी जिक्र इन तमाम घटनाओं का नहीं है। मैं पूछता चाहता हूँ उधे कि किस मुँह से आज बात रहे हैं आप लोग। राष्ट्रपति वहीं हैं, यह भी समय का विडम्बना या वक्त की नज़ाकत है कि राष्ट्रपति आज वहीं हैं। लेकिन आज को सरकार कम से कम राष्ट्रपति का डरान इस ओर लाती है, और राष्ट्रपति कृपा करके इन शोषित समाज के लोगों का जो मारे जा रहे हैं उनका जो कत किया गया है उनके साथ जो हत्याकांड हुए हैं, जिक्र करते हैं। उनके बारे में इसमें जिक्र है। इसमें जिक्र है कि किस तरह से उनको बचाया जाये, इसमें जिक्र है कि किस तरह से उनका विकास किया जाय। मैं यहाँ पर केवल एक प्रश्न पूछने खड़ा हुआ हूँ। बेलछा का हत्याकांड हुआ, उसे वक्त के प्रधान मंत्री जा नहीं गये। अटल जी को तो बात करना बेकार है, उनका शोषित समाज से संबंध हो क्या? नहीं गये। क्यों नहीं गये? अंतर केवल इतना है कि जब आज देश में हत्याकांड होते हैं इंदिरा गांधी जो बेलछा गयी, आज की प्रधान मंत्री जब उस पद पर आसीन नहीं थीं, तब बेलछा गयी आज वहीं इंदिरा गांधी बेलछा जाती हैं, गृह मंत्री जाते हैं और यहाँ नहीं प्रदेश कांग्रेस के नेता जाते हैं, मुख्य मंत्री जाते हैं। मैं केवल निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूँ कि आज आप अपने दामन को देखें, यह हंसने की बात नहीं मिन, मैं केवल यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि शोषित समाज को समस्याओं

को राजनीतिक दलदल में मत घसाटिये, क्या इसका उत्तर कोई दे सकता है विरोधी दलों से। जगजीवन राम जी की बात करना बेकार है। उनको बात करना इसलिए बेकार है कि वे उस समय रक्षा मंत्री थे। बिहार के रहने वाले थे, बेलछा नहीं गये। आगरा में हत्याकांड हुआ, नहीं गये, मराठावाड़ा में नहीं गये... लेकिन आज जिस तरह से अटल जी ड्रामा करने के लिए पहुँचते हैं उसी तरह से जगजीवन राम जी भी पहुँच जाते हैं। इस ड्रामे से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। क्या हमने इसको गम्भीरता से लिया है? अगर गम्भीरता से लिया होता तो मेरा विश्वास है कि आज इस देश में जो गरीबों की रेखा के नीचे 35 करोड़ ईशान हैं और जिनमें से शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब को आबाबा के लोग कम से कम 70-80 या 90 फीसदी हैं, वे नहीं होंगे। अगर हमने इसकी गम्भीरता से लिया होता, यदि हमने इसको राजनैतिक दलदल से नहीं जेड़ा होता तो आज इस समस्या का हल अवश्य होता। फिर जो कुछ देवलो में हत्याकांड हुआ वह नहीं होता। मैं इस संबंध में महात्मा गांधी को कोट करके अपनी बात को आगे बढ़ाना चाहता हूँ और फिर श्रीमन् मैं अज्ञात बाहरी खतरे को और। महात्मा गांधी ने जातियों के बारे में क्या कहा। क्योंकि मेरी यह मान्यता है कि जातिवाद और जनतंत्र, पार्लियामेन्ट्री डेमोक्रेसी और कास्टी-जिज्म, ये दोनों साथ-साथ नहीं चल सकते, अगर हमको जनतंत्र प्यारा है तो जातिवाद को दफनाना होगा। स्वयं राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी को मैं इस संबंध में कोट करने जा रहा हूँ। आई कोट "यह जानने के लिए कि आज मैं क्या मानता हूँ, मेरे सारे पिछले लेखों को देखने की जरूरत नहीं है, क्योंकि मेरी आज की मान्यता ही सही है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दू धर्म में आज जाति जिस शक्ल में मौजूद है, वह एक ऐसी बेहूदा चीज है जिसका वक्त गुजर

[श्री बूढ़ प्रिय मौर्य]

गया है। सच्चे धर्म की बढ़ोत्तरी में इससे रूकावट ही होगी और अगर हिन्दू धर्म तथा हिन्दुस्तान को जीना है और दिन प्रति दिन तरक्की करनी है, तो जाति-पांति मिटनी ही चाहिए। ऐसा करने का उपाय यह है कि सब हिन्दुओं को अपना भंगी आप वन जाना चाहिए और पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी से भंगी कहलाने वाले को अपना भाई समझना चाहिए। मैंने भंगी इसलिए लिखा है कि जीने की सब से नीची सीढ़ी पर वही खड़ा है।" अप्रैल, 1945 में महात्मा गांधी जी ने यह कहा था।

जातिवाद के बारे में बाबा साहेब डा० अम्बेदेकर के भी विचार मैं यहां पर कह करके आगे की समस्या पर बढ़ जाना चाहूंगा। बाबा साहेब अम्बेदेकर ने जिस समय अपनी स्पीच को कंस्टीट्यूट एसेम्बली में समाप्त किया, उस समय उन्होंने जातिवाद के बारे में कहा था। उन्होंने कहा था कि—

"The castes are anti-national in the first place, because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these defects if we wish to become a nation in reality, for fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity equality and liberty will be no deeper than a coat of paint."

श्रीमन्, बाबासाहेब डा० अम्बेदेकर ने यह चिन्ता जाहिर की थी। यह चिन्ता जाहिर इसलिए की थी कि उनको दिखाई पड़ता था कि क्या होने वाला है।

मैं अपना सुझाव देकर, श्रीमन्, आगे चलता चाहूंगा कि किस तरह से शोषित

समाज का कल्याण हो सकता है। राष्ट्र-पति जी ने कृपा करके कम्पौन्ट प्लान की योजना इसमें रखी है। भारत सरकार ने बहुत भारी धन इसमें रखा है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी देखना होगा कि इसका ठीक तरह से उपयोग हो।

श्रीमन्, वगैर खेती सुधार किये हुए, बिना लैंड रिफार्म्स किये हुए, शोषित समाज और खेत मजदूर का कल्याण नहीं किया जा सकता है। श्रीमन्, मेरा यह कहना है कि जिस मैनपुरी में यह हत्याकांड हुए, साठपुर का हत्याकांड हुआ, देवली का हत्याकांड हुआ, इसी मैनपुरी में मैंने कहा था हथियारों के बारे में— अच्छा हो कि किसी भी सिविलियन को हथियार रखने का अधिकार न रहे। यह, श्रीमन्, मैंने कहा था कि किसी भी सिविलियन को हथियार रखने का अधिकार न रहे। जितने भी हथियार हैं वापिस ले लिये जाएं। अगर तमाम हथियार वापिस ले लिये जाएं, तो खेत मजदूर जमींदारों से अपना हिसाब ठीक कर लेगा। हथियार बीच में आ जाता है क्योंकि हथियार ही शोषण का प्रतीक है, अगर किसी वजह से सरकार इन तमाम हथियारों को वापिस नहीं लेना चाहती, तो श्रीमन्, मेरा सुझाव है कि— मैनपुरी को ही देखिये, उसमें करीब 16,726 हथियार हैं। यह हथियार, यह बंदूके, एक-नली, दो-नली, रिवालवर यहां तक कि सेमी-ऑटोमेटिक वैंपस भी उनको दिये गये हैं। यह 16,726 हैं। उधर उत्तर प्रदेश में 5,70,603 हैं।

श्रीमन्, मेरा सुझाव है कि जहां-जहां हथियारों का दुरुपयोग होता है, वहां हथियारों को 50 प्रतिशत खत्म कर देना चाहिए और उसमें से 25 प्रतिशत

शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को दिया जाना चाहिए। इससे सोसाइटी में बैलेंस हो जाएगा।

मेरा यह भी एक निवेदन है कि बगैर जमीन सुधार को संविधान के नवम शेड्यूल में लाए, हम खेत मजदूरों को जमीन नहीं दे सकते क्योंकि हमने देखा था कि 1974, 1975, और 1976 के अन्दर कांग्रेस सरकार ने खेत मजदूर को जो जमीन दी, वह जनता पार्टी के राज के आने पर किस तरह डंडे और अदालत के बल पर जमींदार लोगों ने छीन ली। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि बहुत आवश्यकता है कि जमीन को संविधान के नवम् शेड्यूल में डाल दिया जाए।

श्रीमन्, इसी के साथ एक बात कह कर मैं आशा करूंगा कि भारत सरकार—क्योंकि संविधान की धारा 46 भारत सरकार पर जिम्मेदारी डालती है, केन्द्र की सरकार पर जिम्मेदारी डालती है शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की रक्षा करना और उनका विकास करना इसलिए भारत सरकार.... (समय की घंटी)

श्रीमन्, बस दस मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा। मैं तो बोलना ही नहीं चाहता था इतने कम समय के लिए। तो श्रीमन्, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता था। जहाँ तक शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट का सवाल है, जब उन पर जुर्माना होता हो, तो भारत सरकार को जिम्मेदारी डालनी होगी, जिला के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के ऊपर जिम्मेदारी डालनी होगी और उस प्रांत की सरकार के ऊपर जिम्मेदारी डालनी होगी जहाँ पर इस तरह से उन निहत्थे शोषितों को मारा जाए।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक दूसरे खतरे की ओर आता हूँ—बाहरी खतरा। बाहरी खतरे का जहाँ तक संबंध है, राष्ट्रपति

का मैं आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने बाहरी खतरे के बारे में पैरा 23 और 25 में विस्तार में बताया। मैं उसको कोट करके इस सदन को समय खराब नहीं करना चाहता लेकिन यह जरूर बता देना चाहता हूँ कि आज बीसवीं शताब्दी में जहाँ बाबूद का ज्वालामुखी पर्वत जो है उसके ऊपर हम खड़े हैं, किसी भी समय अब यह ज्वालामुखी पर्वत फट सकता है और मानव समाज का हमेशा के लिए पूर्ण विनाश हो सकता है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में श्रीमन्, जब कि एक मिनट के अन्दर-आंकड़े यहाँ पर इंटरनेशनल कमिशन आफ ज्युरिस्ट्स एण्ड सेक्रेटरी जनरल '(Secretary General of the International Jurists)'

के दिए हुए हैं—हम एक मिलियन डालर दुनिया के अन्दर रक्षा के ऊपर खर्च कर सकते हैं। यह करीब 500 बिलियन डालर साल में आता है। श्रीमन्, जब इस तरह की परिस्थिति है, और इस तरह की परिस्थिति के साथ में जब कि "नर्व गैस" बनायी जा रही है, पायजनस गैस बनायी जा रही है, तरह-तरह से शक्तिशाली न्युक्लियर वेपन्स और न्यूट्रन बम बनाये जा रहे हैं—ये तमाम परिस्थितियाँ हैं—इन परिस्थितियों में एक चिंता अवश्य जाहिर होती है। मैं मानता हूँ, राजू जी जैसे व्यक्ति को चिंता नहीं होगी। उन्होंने बड़ी हल्की तरह से इस बात को लिया लेकिन एक जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति को इससे चिन्ता होनी ही चाहिए। इसी वजह से हाल ही में इंटरनेशनल यूथ कांफरेंस के अन्दर हिन्दुस्तान के डेलीगेशन नेता ने ये शब्द कहे थे, और उस कांफरेंस ने सर्वसम्मति से उन विचारों को स्वीकार करके प्रेस स्टेटमेंट भी दिया था :—

"It is tragic that the world spending on armaments today is double that on education and 3 times that on public health, Tftis

[श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मौर्य]

massive stockpiling of sophisticated weaponry and the poverty that is resulted from its accumulation together constitute the gravest threat to global stability."

श्रीमन्, मैं आप से निवेदन करने जा रहा था, अकेले आप अमरीका को ही ले लीजिए। 1978 में उनका केवल केमिकल वेपन्स का बजट 111 मिलियन डालर्स का था; 1981 में 239 मिलियन डालर्स हो गया; 1982 में 532 मिलियन डालर्स है। अकेले केमिकल वेपन्स के लिए सन् 1983 में उन की योजना 705 मिलियन डालर्स खर्च करने की है। श्रीमन्, अमरीका के अन्दर केमिकल वेपन्स के स्टॉक का हिसाब देखें तो 15,000 टन्स आफ केमिकल वेपन्स अपनी इन्वेंटरी में जमा कर लिए हैं, 30 लाख तक आटिनरी शैल्स उनके पास हैं, और भी इसी तरह के हथियार हैं। तो श्रीमन्, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा, जब इस तरह की सिचुएशन बन गई है, और जहां अमरीका ने न्यूट्रोन बम बनाया तो सोवियत यूनियन के पास एस० एस०-20 बीस हजार गुना, न्यूट्रोन बम के मुकाबले में अधिक भार करने वाला है, इस तरह की परिस्थितियों को हम भुला नहीं सकते हैं। अभी यू० एस० ए० के हाऊस आफ रेप्रेजेंटेटिव्स ने 11.1 मिलियन डालर्स का, जिसके अंदर युद्ध की स्ट्रेटेजी के ऊपर खर्चा पेश किया है, बजट पेश किया है। श्रीमन्, इस परिस्थिति में जब कि हमारे पड़ोस में हियमोरासिया में और पाकिस्तान में अमरीका के हथियार इकट्ठा किए जा रहे हैं, तो हम इस संकट की अनदेखी नहीं कर सकते। श्री बी० बी० राजू जैसे जिम्मेदार लोग इस संकट को मान थे न मानें लेकिन यह संकट जरूर है। मुझे ताज्जुब है, उन्होंने मिसाल दी

एक मां की, जो बच्चे को दूध नहीं दे सकती है, दूध की बजाए भूत से डराती है। भूत की बात नहीं है। जब युद्ध छिड़ जाया करते हैं, तो हमने जैसा कि 1962 में देखा है, उसी विचारधारा की वजह से चीन की फौज हमारे देश की सीमाओं में घुस आई थी। 1957 में यह विचारधारा आई है, 1960 में यह विचारधारा आई थी। कि हिन्दुस्तान में फौज की जरूरत नहीं, उसे उत्पादन कार्य में लगाया जाए। लेकिन हमने देखा श्रीमन्, कि जब चाइना ने हमारे खिलाफ हमला किया तो उस समय हमारी फौजें—45 किलोमीटर फी 24 घंटे के हिसाब से पीछे हटी थीं। श्रीमन्, मैं पाकिस्तान के बारे में अपने विचार रखकर समाप्त कर दूंगा।

2 P.M.

श्रीमन्, पाकिस्तान का जहां तक सवाल है, एफ-16 बहुत ही सेंसिटिव वेपन है, बहुत ही पावरफुल वाम्बर है। पाकिस्तान के नो-वार पैकट के बारे में जो बात है, वह बिल्कुल खुलकर आ गई है। इंदिरा जी ने यह कई बार कहा कि गोली कोई दिशा नहीं देखती। यहां पर अमरीका के जो हथियार हैं, वे हमेशा हमारे खिलाफ इस्तेमाल हुए हैं। अमरीका की घोषणा के बावजूद भी सन् 1947 में, सन् 1965 में और सन् 1971 में हमारे खिलाफ पाकिस्तान ने इन हथियारों का इस्तेमाल किया है। ये जो हथियार दिये जा रहे हैं, ये भी हमारे खिलाफ इस्तेमाल किये जायेंगे। लेकिन यहाँ पर कुछ मित्रों ने नो-वार पैकट के बारे में कुछ मजाकिया बातें कहीं। मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ कि पाकिस्तान से समझौता करने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान ने 1948 से लेकर आज तक बराबर कोशिश की, यहां तक कि जब मोरारजी देसाई प्रधान मंत्री थे, तब भी यह कोशिश की कि नो-वार पैकट

हो। लेकिन तब से कौन पीछे हटा ? पाकिस्तान पीछे हटा क्योंकि पाकिस्तान अमरीका के इशारे पर चल रहा है और उसका कठपुतली बनकर रह गया है।

काश्मीर के बारे में शिमला पैकट में तय किया गया था कि इसका प्रश्न किसी भी फारम पर नहीं रखा जाएगा लेकिन हमें ताज्जुब हुआ कि यूएन राइट्स कमीशन के सामने इस काश्मीर की समस्या को दह लाये। उनके तमाम नेताओं के दिवार मेरे पास हैं। मैं यहां पर दिस्तुत उल्लेख करना चाहता था लेकिन समय ही नहीं है, कोई फायदा नहीं है। आईदा में यह जरूर चाहूंगा कि इतना समय मिले कि सदस्य अपनी बात पूरी तरह से प्रकट कर सकें।

श्रीमन्, कल मजराक उड़ाया 20 नुक्ते कार्यक्रम का हमारे पीलू मोदी साहब ने। अगर पीलू मोदी साहब मजराक नहीं उड़ायेगे तो कौन उड़ायेगा ? श्रीमन्, यह 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम क्या है, जमीन की हदबन्दी। यह बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम है खेत मजदूर के लिए मीनिमम वेजेज। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का लक्ष्य है शोषित समाज का कल्याण। यह कैसे उनको पसन्द आयेगा ? उन्होंने मजराक बनाया 20 नुक्ते-कार्यक्रम का क्योंकि उसमें दिया है तस्करी को बन्द करना। मालूम नहीं उनको तस्करी से क्या लगाव है। पीलू मोदी के बारे में जिक्र करके मैं सदन के समय को बर्बाद नहीं करना चाहता हूं क्योंकि जो अपनी मातृभाषा हिन्दी का मजराक उड़ा सकता है और गोरों की भाषा अंग्रेजी की तारीफ कर सकता है, वह अगर 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का मजराक बनाता है तो मुझे इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। मैं उसे गंभीरता से नहीं लूंगा।

(समय की घंटी)

श्रीमन्, बहुत सी चीजें मुझे इसमें कहनी थीं, लेकिन बोलने के लिए समय नहीं है। समय पूरा मिले, यह जरूरी नहीं है कि बहुत से लोग उसमें रखे जायें। श्रीमन्, आखिरी नुक्ता है, मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूं।... (अवधान)

श्रीमन्, एक नये क्रान्तिकारी नेता पैदा हुए हैं। 35 वर्ष तक उन्होंने ब्राह्मिनिकल सोसायटी की हां में हां मिलाई और जातीयता का लाभ उठाया। आज जिन्दगी की शाम है उनकी, आज वह क्रान्ति करने चले हैं—

'उम्र सारी बीती इश्के बुतामैं गालिब, आखिरी दक्तर मैं क्या खाक मुसलमानोंगे ?

लेकिन आज वह क्रान्ति करने चले हैं। जरा वह अपने गिरहबान में मुंह डालकर तो देखें कि उन्होंने कौम को किस तरह से गिरवी रखा, क्यों बादा साहब अम्बेदकर का साथ नहीं किया ? वह एक क्रान्तिकारी इंसान था। वह चाहता था जातिहीन समाज की स्थापना करना। कौन है जिसने कौम को धोखा दिया ? कौन है जिसने शोषितों को धोखा दिया ? कौन है जिसने परिवारों को पाला ? आज शोषित समाज के पड़े-लिखे लोगों को, जातीयता के आधार पर भड़काया नहीं जा सकता।

श्रीमन्, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ-काश मैं अमरीका के फौजी अड्डों पर अपने तमाम दिचार रख सकता—आपने मुझे दो चार मिनट ज्यादा दे दिये, इसके लिए आपका आभार मानते हुए मैं माननीय डा० जकरीया साहब, जो इस समय स्वयं सदन की मुख्य कुर्सी पर बिराजमान हैं, का धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव जो राष्ट्रपति

[श्री बुद्ध प्रिय मोष]

के अभिभाषण पर आया है, उसका हृदय से समर्थन करते हुए आकाश ध्वनिवाद करता हूँ।

श्री संव्यस सिन्हे रजौ (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले चार दिनों से राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर इस सदन में वहल चल रही है। वहल चलने के तरीके से और विरोध पक्ष के अमेंडमेंट्स वगैरह को देखने के बाद मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि दुनिया में दो तरह के लोग होते हैं। एक तो वह होते हैं जो अंधेरे में बैठकर हमेशा अंधेरे को कोसते रहते हैं, हाथ और पैर नहीं हिलाते और दूसरी तरह के लोग वे होते हैं जो अंधेरे में जागरण की ज्वाला अपने दिलों में जगाते हैं, अंधेरों की तस्वीर मिटा देते हैं और इस तरह से आने वाले जमाने के लिए भी एक ज्योति जला देते हैं। मान्यवर, हमारे देश में विरोध पक्ष के लोग उस पहली पंक्ति में आते हैं जिसका मैंने तजकिया आपके सामने किया है। हमारे देश की नेता, हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री हमारी पार्टी और हमारी सरकार उस दूसरी पंक्ति में आती हैं जो अंधेरों से घबड़ाती नहीं, समस्याओं को पीठ नहीं दिखलाती बल्कि उन से जूझने का दिल और जिगरा रखती हैं। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में पिछले साल में हुई जिन उपलब्धियों का जिक्र है उन को विरोध पक्ष ने नकारात्मक दिशा की तरफ ले जाने की कोशिश की है। लेकिन हमारा विश्वास है—

‘उम्मीद की मद्धिम सी लौ भी हो तो प्यारी है, यह एक किरन तनहा जुलमात पे भारी है।

मान्यवर, अभिभाषण के अन्दर राष्ट्रपति ने विरोध पक्ष को इस बात की दावत दी है कि वह विकास के कार्यक्रमों में और देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को और

सुदृढ़ बनाने के लिए, देश के लाखों लोगों को गरीबी और भुखमरी को मिटाने के लिए सत्ता के साथ हाथ से हाथ मिलाकर आगे बढ़े। यह कोई नयी बात नहीं कहीं गयी है। 14 जनवरी, 1980 को जब इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी दुबारा सत्ता में लौटी थीं तो उन्होंने इस देश को सम्बोधन करते हुए कहा था : I Quote;

"The goal before the nation was to build a strong, self-confident, self-reliant, independent India. Come, now let us all work together."

I again quote;

"There is no room for cynicism or indifference. Our country needs the healing touch. We must all unite in a common effort to solve the problems of different sections of our people and different regions of our country."

I again quote:

"This is too stupendous a task to allow any time or scope for mutual recrimination and vindictiveness. Divisive urges should be tempered with the spirit of conciliation. Malice and the politics of hate are selfdestructive. Equally alien to the real task ahead are the oft-repeated confrontations, such as, rural versus urban, agriculture versus industry, labour versus capital, and the multifarious configurations among castes and communities. We have only one adversary—social and economic injustice. We have only one goal; to build a strong, self-confident, self-reliant, independent India. Come, now let us all work together."

मान्यवर, विरोध पक्ष ने जिस तरह से राष्ट्रपति की तरफ से दी गयी दावत को नकारात्मक दिशा की तरफ ले जाने की कोशिश की है उसी तरह इस ब्राडकास्ट

के बाद भी उन्होंने क्या किया देश को जतना भली-भांति जानती है। शहरों के अन्दर और गांवों के अन्दर, किसानों के अन्दर और शहरों में रहने वालों के अन्दर एक खलिश पैदा करने की कोशिश की गयी। आप जानते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र के अन्दर एक बहुत बड़ा किसान आन्दोलन चला। इस देश के किसानों में इस देश की बढ़ती हुई प्रगति में अवरोध पैदा करने की टेंडेंसी पैदा की गयी। मौलिक और बुनियादी मुद्दे जो थे उन्हें हटा कर देश के किसानों का ख़ान बिनाश की तरफ और मांगों की तरफ बढ़ाने की कोशिश की गयी। अभी-अभी जैसा दादा ने कहा, जनवरी '82 में सारे भारत के अन्दर 'बन्ध' का आवाहन देकर उन्होंने साबित कर दिया कि वह देश की प्रगति के चक्के को रोकना चाहते हैं। एक तरफ मुद्रास्फोति की बात कही जाने लगी, एक तरफ बढ़ती हुई कीमतों की बात की जाने लगी, एक तरफ यह कहा जाने लगा कि ऐसी सरकार आयी है जो काम नहीं करती और दूसरी तरफ 'बन्ध' की बात, हड़ताल की बात, इंडस्ट्रियल रिलेशन्स को खराब करने की बात। किस तरह से मुद्रास्फोति के ऊपर हम कन्ट्रोल करते, किस तरह से बढ़ती हुई महंगाई पर रोक लगाते? हम ने मेटेनस आफ इन्टरनल सीक्योरिटी एक्ट, मेटेनस आफ एमैशियल सर्विसेज एक्ट की बात कही तो विरोध पक्ष ने उस का विरोध किया। मान्यवर, जब तक आप पैदावार नहीं बढ़ाते, मुद्रास्फोति पर कन्ट्रोल नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन तमाम उन अवरोधों के बाद हमें गर्व है कि राष्ट्रपति ने देश की नयी सरकार की नीति का वर्णन करते हुए अपने अभिभाषण में उन तमाम तरक्कियों की तरफ भी इंगित किया है जो हम ने पिछले एक साल के अन्दर उपलब्धियों की सूची में हासिल की हैं। (समय की छंटी) मान्यवर, मैं आखिरी पंक्ति के

वक्ताओं में खड़ा हुआ हूँ, लेकिन फिर भी आप थोड़ा सा समय मुझे दें।

I quote from Presidential Address:

"1981-82 के साल में हमारा काम और मजबूत हुआ है। दुनिया भर में आर्थिक वातावरण ठीक न होने के बावजूद मुद्रा के फ़ैलाव को काफी हद तक कम कर दिया गया है। चालू साल में हमारे बुनियादी ढांचे में सुधार से और संशोधित बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम के एलान की बुनियाद पर हम और ठिकाऊ तथा ज्यादा समाजी न्याय के साथ आगे बढ़ सकेंगे।"

मान्यवर, नभ, थल और जल, तीनों ओर यदि हम देखें तो पिछले एक साल के अन्दर हम ने बहुत काफी उन्नति की है। मान्यवर, जिस तरह से न्यूक्लियर इनर्जी के लिए काम हो रहा है, जिस तरह से इस देश में एलेक्ट्रानिक गुड्स के क्षेत्र में काम हो रहा है और एलेक्ट्रानिक गुड्स के साथ-साथ हम इंजिनियरिंग गुड्स तथा हैवी इन्डस्ट्रीयल गुड्स का जिस तरह से प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा रहे हैं वह हमारी उन्नति का परिचायक है। और इस बात को सारी दुनिया ने माना है, विश्व के जितने प्रगतिशील देश हैं जब वे इकट्ठा हुए चाहे नई दिल्ली में या कैनकन में, हर जगह इस बात को माना गया है कि हम आगे बढ़े हैं। भारत में किसानों ने किस तरह से आगे कदम बढ़ाया है और अन्न के क्षेत्र में किस तरह से हम सेल्फ रिलायेंस और आत्म-निर्भर हो रहे हैं और क्या हुआ होगा इस बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम का खातिरखवाह असर, यह सब को मालूम है। (समय की छंटी) आप मुझे थोड़ा सा समय और दें। जिस तरह से कैनकन कांफरेंस के अन्दर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय रंगमंच पर, पिछड़े हुए देशों में, जिन देशों का आर्थिक शोषण हुआ है, प्रगतिशील

[श्री सैय्यद सिन्ने रजी]
देशों ने, प्रगति किये हुये देशों ने, अपने देश को भूख मिटाने वाले देशों ने, इस बात का फैसला किया और जिस का विवरण श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने अपनी कैनकन की यात्रा के बाद एयरपोर्ट पर देते हुए कहा था, I quote:

"Two problems, food security and agricultural production, took the whole of the first session. On this issue Cancun reached the maximum consensus because there was no question of two opinions or shades of opinion. The main conclusions were: eradication of hunger was an obligation of the international community; secondly, an international assurance was given for increasing food self-sufficient. The importance of population control was recognised and it was decided to have task forces to assist agricultural programmes in developing countries which needed this type of help or which asked for them."

मान्दवर, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के सन्दर्भ में मोदी जी ने जिस तरह से इरिगेशन के बारे में बोलते हुए भूख को मिटाने के लिये पैदावार बढ़ाने, उपज बढ़ाने और कारखानों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा उपज बढ़ाने की बात का मजाक उड़ाया है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्होंने ऐसा करके केवल भारत-वासियों की भावनाओं की अयहेलना नहीं की है बल्कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में कदम से कदम मिला कर आगे बढ़ने वाले देशों के करोड़ों इंसानों के जज्बात का भी मजाक उड़ाया है। मान्दवर, कम्युनल रायट्स की बात कही गई। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसने हवा दी इन कम्युनल रायट्स को? 1977 में 188 कम्युनल रायट्स

हुए जिनमें 36 लोग मारे गये, 1978 में 230 कम्युनल रायट्स हुये जिनमें 110 लोग मारे गये, 1979 में 304 कम्युनल रायट्स हुए और उनमें 372 लोग मारे गये, 1980 में 421 कम्युनल रायट्स हुए जिन में 372 लोग मारे गये, 1981 में 251 कम्युनल रायट्स हुए और उनमें 181 लोग मारे गये। इस तरह से 1977 से पहले जो कम्युनल टेंशन था, जिसमें आपसी सौहार्द की भावना खत्म हो रही थी, उस पर हमने रोक लगाई थी और अंत वाली जनता पार्टी ने उन तमाम बातों को, जिस तरह से यहाँ की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को खराब किया उसी तरह से यहाँ आपस की सौहार्द की भावना को, मैत्री की भावना को, एक दूसरे के प्रति टालरेंस की भावना को भी खराब किया। मुझे खेद है कि अभी-अभी माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने 14 फरवरी को इस बात की मांग की है और विशेष रूप से कहा है कि एक कमीशन बिठाया जाये इस बात की इक्यायरी के लिये कि जिस तरह से इकोनामिक व्यवस्था को खराब किया गया 1977 और 1980 के दरम्यान। मान्दवर, मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहूँगा, लेकिन इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों को जिनको कमीशन बिठाने को आदत पड़ चुकी थी उन्होंने देश की व्यवस्था को और इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को किस तरह से प्रभावित किया है, इसको आप देखें। पिछले 1977 और 1980 के दरम्यान दो सौ कमीशन एक्वाइंट किये गये और उनका देश के ऊपर न जाने कितना ही खर्चा आया है। वह खर्चा है 1 करोड़ 28 लाख 46 हजार 943 रुपये और वकीलों को फीस दी गई 3 लाख 42 हजार 515 रुपये और उसके बाद नतीजा

क्या निकला । नतीजा निकला कि जहाँ-जहाँ कमिशन के द्वारा श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और उनकी पार्टी की छवि को मिटाने का प्रयास किया गया देश की जनता ने उतना ही इन्दिरा गांधी की तस्वीर को अपने दिलों में सजाने का प्रयास किया ।

मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा । आखिरी बात कहना चाहूंगा कि वरिष्ठ नेता वी०वी० राजू साहब ने इस सदन में हमारी पार्टी की बात कही है । मुझे आद आता है वह जमाना सन् 75 का जब एक गिरौह था । वह कहा करता था कि "तेरी सुबह की जय, तेरी शाम की जय, तेरे काम की जय, तेरे नाम की जय" । उस गिरौह के अन्दर आगे-आगे की पंक्तियों में खड़े होने वाले वी० वी० राजू साहब भी थे । सन् 77 में जब मुसीबत आई, सन् 77 में जब हमारी सत्ता चली गई तो इनको इन्दिरा गांधी में सारी बुराइयां नजर आने लगीं । 35 साल के अन्दर हमने देश की व्यवस्था को खराब किया । 35 साल के अन्दर हमने देश को कोई दिशा नहीं दी । ऐसा कुछ लोग कहने लगे जो कल तक हमारी नेता की सुबह और शाम की जय की बात किया करते थे । मान्यवर, आखिर मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि सन् 77 से लेकर 80 तक मैं कुछ लोग ऐसे भी थे जो उस वक्त कह रहे थे... (व्यवधान) तेरी सुबह की जय, तेरी शाम की जय, तेरे काम की जय, तेरे नाम की जय (व्यवधान)

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAULICK:
But why... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Please don't disturb, Mr. Mallick.

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDK:
You were not born then, Mr. Mallick...

(Interruption^)

श्री सैयद लिखते रजी : जब इन्दिरा गांधी सत्ता में नहीं थीं तब भी कहते थे तेरी सुबह की जय । जब हम कहते थे तेरी सुबह की जय, तो हमारा मतलब उन करोड़ों सुबहों की जय से था, जो लोगों में आशाओं की कारणें बिखरने वाली थीं । जब हम कहते थे तेरी शाम की जय तो हमारा मतलब था उन अंधेरे घरों से जो इन्दिरा गांधी को प्रतीक मानकर नहीं रोखनी, नथे बांधे अपने आंगनो में जताना चाहते थे । जब हम कहते थे तेरे काम की जय तो इन्दिरा गांधी के व्यक्तिगत काम की जय हम नहीं कहते थे हम कहते थे वीन-दुखियों के लिये एक संयोजित ढंग से लड़ाई लड़ने वाला इन्दिरा गांधी के काम की जय हो । तेरे नाम की जय । इसी तरह से वी० वी० राजू साहब ने कहा कि आज देश के अन्दर सेरिमोनियल एटमोस्फियर नजर आता है । इस सन्तार को, दुनिया के करोड़ों लोगों को अगर भारत की दोस्ती, भारत की प्रतिभा, भारत की प्रगति और भारत के बढ़ते हुए बादलों की रफ्तार देखनी है तो मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि करोड़ों लोगों को विदेशों से नहीं लाया जा सकता है बल्कि उन देशों के राजनयिकों को ही बुलाकर यह बताया जा सकता है कि जिसे कुछ देश विश्व के नक्शे पर नकारात्मक हिन्दुस्तान समझते थे, जिसे कुछ देश भीख का प्याला लिये हुए रहने वाला हिन्दुस्तान समझते थे वह हिन्दुस्तान जाग चुका है । वह छठी ताकत विश्व की बन चुका है । एटोमिक पोसफुल एक्सपेरिमेंट करने के बाद दुनिया की बड़ी ताकतों को चुनौती दे चुका है । हम

[श्री सैयद सिद्दी रज़ी]

बताना चाहते हैं कि विश्व शांति के नये सपने हमने जगाये हैं इसलिये बाहर के लोग हमारे यहाँ आते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि हम जो भी करते हैं दिल्ली को सड़कों पर खुल कर करते हैं। हम जनता के विश्वास को लेकर आने वाले लोगों, आगन्तुकों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं और हम छुपकर मौशे-दयान को नहीं बुलाते हैं। देश के करोड़ों लोगों की मान्यताओं का हनन हमने नहीं किया है। इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ कि कई बार घंटा बजाने के बावजूद आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया कि मैं आपके सामने अपनी बात रख सकूँ। इस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कर सकूँ अपनी आकांक्षाओं को प्रदर्शित करते हुए आमतौर इन्दिरा गांधी जो देश की नेता हैं हमारी पार्टी की नेता हैं और देश की प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उनके प्रति अपनी अकादमि का इजहार करते हुए मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि :

नज़रों में तेरो खड़ाव है,
हाथों में अलम है ।
तू कौम को ललकार है,
तू कौम का दम है ।
जलना हुआ दीपक तेरा,
हर नक़्शे कदम है ।
घरती पर तेरो नाज़ करे,
किसका वह दम है ।
इस देश की किस्मत
तेरे माथे पर अया है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I am afraid I am in an awkward position. As the Presiding Officer I have to...

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Bihar): Control your partymen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA):...adhere to the

schedule that has been given. As the mover of the Motion I would like Members to speak as much as they want on this Motion, but I am afraid I can't and, therefore, I seek your co-operation

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): Your liberalism... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. VENKA (Tamil Nadu): You are giving more time to your people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): There is no question of giving more time to the people because Congress (I) has still got a lot of time. You must realise that time is given according to the party, even if one Member takes a little more time. Here the time is given according to the party. Mr. Piloo Mody the other day took away a major part of the time of the Janata Party and he said "I will take it and nobody could prevent him. So, that is not the point. The point is that this allocation is being done on party basis I will now call upon Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay to speak.

You have got only five minutes.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): I will try not to speak because in five minutes I cannot even express one thought.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I quite appreciate it, but I am quite helpless.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: I know. And I abide by the decision of my party, which is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): A little adjustment here and there is possible.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: In the President's Address we expected a realistic picture of what is happening inside the country at this moment, but the time at disposal will not permit to go

into details. We find a general erosion: erosion of human values erosion of our old values, erosion of the parliamentary system, erosion of the dignity and power of Parliament, erosion of the High Courts and the Supreme Court, erosion of the Election Commission. It is an all-round erosion that we find everywhere. Serious-minded MPs should seriously think where it is leading to. Minority Governments are being installed, defections are openly encouraged. These are very bad signs. Whosoever does it, should be refrained from doing it.

Sir, we have heard the Budget speech presented by the new Finance Minister, Shri Pranab Mukherjee. I find it is a compromise. They have tried to make a compromise between what they should have and what they should not have. So there is nothing new in the Budget and I find that it has not been realistic also. If it was realistic, there would have been much more allocation on vital sectors, affecting people's everyday needs. I am glad that Defence has got a good priority this time; at least about Rs. 500 crores have been increased in the allocation to the Defence Ministry. What I feel is that, according to the present needs of the country, Defence should have got the top-most priority. I have been associated with defence preparations and through the Public Accounts Committee I have noticed that though we have the best talent, the resources are very inadequate. So we cannot get fully prepared to meet any eventualities. Even this Rs. 500 crores additional allocation that has been made this year will not, I am afraid, do justice to the three wings of Defence, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. We had been to the Defence institutions throughout the country and we have found what beautiful work they are doing, what important work they are doing and the country can be proud of the talent that we have in our defence institutions whether it is anti-aircraft mis-

sile or new ammunition or building of a new structure for the helicopters or in the Navy. The Navy has been fully ignored. The Indian Ocean being what it is, I feel that it was imperative for the Finance Minister to allocate more funds to the Navy because the Andamans are only 80 kms. from Thailand and other international borders. It would have been necessary to have more speedy boats, more interception missiles, but the Navy has been given very little allocation.

Then I come to the imposition of the wealth tax. Sir, the market value of a small house built for Rs. 30,000 has now risen to Rs. 2 lakhs or somewhere even Rs. 3 lakhs. So to impose that kind of wealth tax on people having a small, old house is something unjust; and also they will be liable to pay death duty on the same wealth. Sir, 95 per cent of the people who are assesseees of wealth tax are in the category of Rs. one lakh to Rs. five lakhs. The ceiling could have been raised. And in the remaining 5 per cent, there are only about 17,500 persons and families. *(Interruptions)* Sir, you have given me only five minutes and if you yourself talk so much, I feel mentally disturbed. I do not know what I am speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I am sorry, I am not talking. The Members are coming, wanting to know the position. What do you expect me to do? I cannot drive them away.

SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBULLAH (Uttar Pradesh): Why is she so disturbed?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: I do not think you are ever disturbed. But I do. I am a serious parliamentarian. If I feel that even the Minister or the Chairman is not paying attention, what is the use of whatever I am speaking? *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Please I appreciate what you are saying.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: Five per cent of the people who pay the wealth-tax, are those whose wealth exceeds Rs. 5 lakhs. So, the Government should impose more taxes on those five per cent to give relief to 95 per cent of the people whose wealth is below Rs. 2 lakhs or just about Rs. 2 lakhs. That is an unwise thing that the Government has done, that it has raised the limit up to Rs. 1,50,000 only. I am not pleading for the rich people who pay the wealth-tax but those who are in the poor stratum. They have a house the valuation of which was made 20 years ago at only Rs. 30,000, but the valuation of which at present is more than Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 2.5 lakhs. These people will also be liable to pay both the wealth-tax and the death-tax on the property. When we will discuss the Budget, we will have an opportunity to elaborate this point.

In today's context when values are being eroded, I find that we are not seriously paying attention to our public conduct as well as our private conduct. We are creating not only displeasure in the mind of the people but we are creating distrust in the mind of the people by our both the private and the public conduct. We should see to it that we re-establish the image that we had in the past, before the Independence came, the image of the freedom fighters. We may not reach up to that standard, but at least when we are in the public life, our personal conduct, our personal behaviour, our behaviour as the Members of Parliament, as the representatives of the people, should be very high indeed. *(Time bell rings)*

You have rung the bell. I am sitting down. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No. no. You can take one or two minutes more.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: That is all right.

SHRI • SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to speak on this Motion, more in sorrow than in anger, more in pain than in protest, because I feel that the President's Address does not mirror the reality or place on record the President's awareness of the rumblings of the volcano that is simmering under the pile of statistics.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, as a co-passenger in the ship of the State, I have a sense of apprehension—I do not say I have a sense of doom, Sir, but a sense of apprehension—that the ship of the State is foundering on the rock of economic stagnation, political instability, social anarchy and administrative insensitivity. There seems to be lack of sense of direction. The captain seems to have lost the magic touch.

Sometimes I wonder why the proceedings of this House are unrelated to the reality with which we are so familiar outside the House. I may say, Sir, that there is no reference in the President's Address to the culture of corruption, the culture of violence, of inefficiency, of waste, of elitism, of sycophancy that have emerged in our country. And that is a pointer for the times to come I know that the hon. Prime Minister feels that corruption, inflation, violence are all global phenomena. I would suggest to her with due respect that she might also add that incompetence and inefficiency are also a global phenomena.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, throughout these two years we have seen a steady erosion of institutions. We have seen the Constitution writing under an inspired campaign of denigration. We have seen the parliamentary system being downgraded.

We have seen the Presidency being deliberately brought down in the esteem of the people. We have seen the Ministers acting like lifeless puppets with no views and no will of their own. We have seen some Governors of States being changed in midnight coups and some acting as the tool of the Home Minister, almost like in the old days when Subedars were appointed. We have seen Chief Ministers who, as soon as they become Chief Ministers, become devotees of the cult of the "rising son". We have a Chief Minister, whom I need not name, who said that the Prime Minister is a Goddess and should be l'shipped. We have seen in this country unknown, incompetent sycophants rising to the top of the pinnacle of power. I am reminded of Hafiz when he was talking about the days of anarchy after the Mongol invasion of Iran; he talked about the golden chains round the necks of all the asses.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we know that in this country there are minority Governments forced on the people. We know that there are unstable combinations which are racked by internal dissensions. We know that the parliamentary system and the parliamentary norms have lost their value. The Garhwal election has not been held. The Delhi election is not being held. I do not know the reasons. We know that there is an atmosphere of confrontation between the executive and the judiciary. The power of transfer is being sought to be used in order to destroy the independence of the judiciary, as also the power of confirmation and the power of promotion. As for the bureaucracy, today for the first time I hear rumblings of revolt even in the IAS. I see the judges going on strike, on a pen-down strike or threatening to go on strike. We see that the administration, as you rightly said, has not changed since the colonial times. But who is responsible for it? Have you ever asked that question? We see the press under attack, the press being treated as the enemy,

as the opposition, as the hostile force. We see the autonomy of the Election Commission, the UPSC and any number of autonomous institutions being destroyed. We see the intelligentsia asking in a mood of despondency: whither India? Where are we going? Which way are we turning? The Opposition has been called anti-national, unpatriotic, as if patriotism was the monopoly of the Treasury benches alone. We have been accused of not co-operating with the Government. I would like to say only one sentence on this point. If the Treasury benches seek our co-operation in formulating a policy on a matter of national concern, we shall co-operate with them in implementing that policy. But if you do not wish to seek our co-operation in formulating the policy, why should you expect our co-operation in implementing what you unilaterally decide?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have seen the police force in all its brutality. It has become a parasitic force; it has almost become a Fascist force; it has become an anti-social force. And our expenditure on it, if you look up the budgets, has gone up with every passing year.

I would like to ask you: are the people today after two years happier? Are they better off? Have they got, on a per capita basis, a higher share of the goods of life, of the minimum necessities of life? Are less people below the poverty line or are more people sinking below the poverty line? Aren't the landless people in different parts of the country being hounded like animals and shot in cold blood? Aren't Government employees being asked to live on less and less with rising prices? Aren't women facing a situation of violence outside in the streets? Aren't they feeling insecure? Aren't they being molested and raped and burnt? Aren't the labour being subjected to anti-labour legislation? Aren't farmers being asked to pay a higher cost of production and get a lower value for their produce? Are the students and youth happy? Aren't university campuses full of unrest and

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin] violence? What is the social scene today? We find the social scene full of violence. (Time-bell rings) The Government has said there were 26,748 cases of atrocities against Harijans and Scheduled Tribes in the course of the two years in which 960 people were killed. This is an underestimate. There is a confrontation today in our countryside between the landed interests and the landless. The land reforms that you have talked about are a myth; they have not taken off. There is not even land records in a State like Bihar. The number of police lathi-charges, the number of police firings that have taken place on the disabled, on the under-trials, on the farmers, on the labour, on the youth and the students have broken all records. That has been your rule of law. Then we have the so-called encounters in which less decoits are killed and more civilians are killed. Political violence has reached an all-time high, and the country is facing, instead of solving the old problems, newer and newer problems. One problem is Khalistan now haunting us. We have the rumblings of separatism among the Adivasis which is a very bad sign. We have Hindu chauvinism parading today in all its glory trying to mislead the people into a social confrontation, and the Government seems to be encouraging it.

I would like to finish by saying just one word about minorities. I am surprised that the President does not have to say one word about the minorities. In the entire Address, I have looked and I could not find any. Have you already forgotten Moradabad and Bihar Sharif? The communal tension in the country has reached an all-time peak. There are forces which are anxious to exploit minor issues and ties in order to create tensions and in order to exacerbate existing tensions. The number of communal incidents have risen to a new high. I am glad that my friend, Mr. Sibte Razi, gave the statistics for the year 1980 and 81, the record

shows a higher number of incidents than the previous three or four years. And you had promised many things in your manifesto; you promised many things in the previous Addresses. In the last two years, what has been done? Have you established any special courts? Have you collected or have you imposed any collective fines? Have you paid any compensation not on a compassionate basis but on the basis of the value of a life lost or a person disabled or a property destroyed. Have you punished any one? Have you even suspended a police constable in Moradabad? Have you taken any action on the Jamshedpur report that was* flourished on the floor of the House? If Gianiji were present I would have

liked to tell him:

ज्ञानी जी, कातिल

आपके सामने खड़ा है, फासी का फंद
आपके हाथ में है क्या आपको फिर
एक और मुरादाबाद का इंतजार है, एक और
बिहार-शरिफ का इंतजार है तब आप एक्शन
लेंगे। यह मैं उनसे पुछना चाहता हूँ।

Mr. Vice-Chairman, no anti-riot force which you have promised, which the President promised in the last two Addresses, has been created. The PAC, the BMF, the CRP, have not been reorganised. The Muslim community has been fobbed off with illusions. The exercise on the question of AMU was no more than an illusion. On the question of Urdu, you have created more tension than you have given facilities. On the question of appointment of waqf boards, even in regard to Delhi waqfs, no action has been taken. The Burney Committee report has not yet been accepted. Waqf law has not been revamped.

Talking of the economic opportunities, even the report of the Gopal Singh Panel, of which, I believe, you are a member, has been thrown into the dungeon and forgotten. The Minorities Commission has been made

into a lifeless limb. It has been given its statutory authority. Although you had made a promise last year, no Bill has been brought. This is not the case with just the minorities, the same is the story with all the backward and weaker classes.

I am not going into the economic situation because economic situation, I am sure, we are going to deal with fully when we take up the Budget.

Before I conclude I would just like to say a few words about the foreign situation. (*Time bell rings*) I take only two minutes, with your indulgence, Mr, Vice-Chairman...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): You have already taken ten minutes.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I will just conclude.

We in India go about preaching to the world that there should be an end to armed confrontation, there should be an end to the diversion of resources from the purposes of development to the purposes of war. And yet we do not seem to carry much credibility. I would like the Government to ask itself why. We face a difficult security situation but I would like in a free society like ours that there should be a free debate on national security for a national consensus to emerge. We have to ponder over the various diplomatic and other alternatives that are available to us. These have not been done. I would like the sub-continent to emerge as a zone of peace, cooperation and friendship. And whatever steps the Government have so far taken, they have been dragging their feet, and it seems to me that perhaps they would not get a happy Notice in the outside world if things were left like this.

The Prime Minister or, I would like to say, the Foreign Minister have

not visited in the course of the last one year a single neighbouring country. In Afghanistan we have been isolated...

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA (Uttar Pradesh): Our Foreign Minister visited Nepal recently.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: In the last one year, I said. In Afghanistan we have been isolated and we seem to have lost our influence with the USSR... (*Time bell rings*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Shahabuddin, I have been very indulgent to you. You do not appreciate that. Still you are going on.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: This is my last point. I am summing up. We seem to content ourselves by reciting the *mantra* of political solution ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Please conclude.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: On the Indian Ocean and on the Iraq-Iran conflict again, we do not seem to have a well defined policy. We seem to have developed ceremonial style of foreign policy rather than having a substantive discussion on foreign affairs. Mere visits to Melbourne and Cancun will not solve our problem. These will yield no results. (*Time bell rings*.)

Sir, I shall end by saying that the statistical jugglery cannot hide realities. People are losing confidence and let it be noticed by all politicians and all political parties that our political system is losing its credibility. We are all in the public eye and we cannot carry their conviction any longer. It is not a question of this side or that side. It is a question of how we should run our polity.

It seems to me that today our country has been divided into two nations

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin]

with their own two culture₃ with their own parallel economies and with their own seprate societies, one marked by conspicuous ways of living and affluence, and the other marked by penury, poverty and misery. In such a situation I think the winds of change are bound to blow. And I am sorry that the President's Address does not record the movement of these winds of change and the footsteps of the coming revolution.

Therefore. I stand up today, with deep regret, to oppose the Motion of Thanks moved in the House.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Motion so ably moved by you and very strongly supported by my dear friend, Mr. Pande.

Th_e President's Address is based on something very concrete. It is not based on flattery or anything like that. It i_n based on something which is very, very concrete and about which the whol_e hatio_n has to take note. The independence of our country is being threatened every day. The massive military assistance that has been promised by the United States of America to Pakistan is a development which can disturb every Indian. It is not only disturbing the mind of every Indian, but it is disturbing the very progressive plans of the Government.

You will kindly recollect that at one time when ou_r great leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wanted this country to move forward, when he wanted India to become strong in agriculture and industry and when he wanted to set up heavy industries in this country, some leaders in the opposition said that the Government of India led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was trying to spend money on things which were not at all useful for the country. Even a veteran like

Acharya Kripalani charge,} the Government of wasting money. "When the Chinese aggression took place, the Government was blamed for not equipping our defence forces to compete with the Chinese forces. Now, today, most of th_e leader₃ in this House are thinking that they are still in the past and they have totally and deliberately forgotten the developments that have taken place in 'this country. Sir, thi_s Government which ha_s come into existence after a very short span was faced with one of the most difficult situations and it i_s this that the leader_s who were occupying the treasury benches at that time had created chaos_s in this country by creating indiscipline in every section of society. There wa_s indiscipline even amongst the leaders wh_o were the Ministers the_n including the Prime Minister. Then, Sir, we knew, and the whole country knew, the differences and the divisions amon[^] the then Ministers. One Minister wanted to give assistance or some facilities to the working class in one of the Government Departments, namely, the Railways and the other Minister opposed it. So, thi_s Sort of difference perculated to the entire nation. Even the students and the youths in the country became completely indiciphned. Today, Sir, this nation, the student community, is very much disturbed and it i_s because they are frightened by unemployment and they are frightened about the variou₂ km_ds of problems facing them and, therefore, t_o take the whole nation forward is an uphill task. The leader_s in the Opposition unconsciously thought that they could disturb the minds of the youth, that they could spoil the mood of the workers and that they could spoil everything and make them feel that there will be still somebody who would take them forward. This I^s something which is very unfortunate. But, fortunately for us, we have got a very able leader in our country, namely, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who

«>uld eteer the country to progress
ah<j prosperity.

Sir, the President of India this time has based everything on the very important developments which are taking place and which have taken place, both internal and external and, therefore, he has cautioned this Government, the people and the Opposition that unless we move forward unhitedly, we would not be able to protect ourselves, we will not be able to ensure the prosperity and progress of this nation. Therefore, Sir, while Btressing the various things which the Government has so far been able to achieve, he has also mentioned certain important things in which the whole nation hag to take interest.

Sir, the slogan, "Produce or periih" was given to the nation by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Now, production cahnot come suddenly. Now, the industries which have to march forward can do so only when the management and the workers co-operate and work together and only when the other wherewithal is provided to the industries. Otherwise, it would not be possible for them to go forward. (Now, the people in the Opposition sometime, try to encourage the big industrialists. Quite often they Bay that the industries are not making progress because sufficient incentive or sufficient encouragement is not given to the big industries. Often, they also take up the cause of the workers and ofte, they try to misguide the workers and misdirect them. Sir, this nation is definitely going forward in spite of the fact that we have to and we will have to spend large amounts of money on defence preparations. m the matter of defence Sir, we cannot become really Belf-sufflcient and we cannot be self-sufficient both for our internal needs and our external requirements, unless we are self-sufficient in almost, everythin'gs. Fortunately, Sir, today, in this country, many of the vital needs for our defence force*, most of the things, are manu-

factured in our own country. Even with regard to the things that are being imported into this country today, our technicians in the Defence Department are excellent in handling them and they have acquired a reputation not only for maintaining them well, but also for producing them themselves. Sir, when we have got such a talented lot in this country, it is but natural that we should try to encourage them and give them ali the neecessary help. But we don't do that. We may, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Produce or Perish," because internally also many things »re happening in State capitals. Many of the leaders are encouraging certain elements either to become communal or to talk about certain things which are going to really flare-up «ome communal feelings. All such things are happening in State capitals. The Govertiment of India is not only concerned about the external danger but also dangers growing in State capitals also. Therefore, this Government has to take more care and see that our Intelligence Department is really made effective and efficient, because many things which are happening in the country have to be remedied and corrected in time, otherwise it is definitely going to lend support to some of the international magnets and international agencies which are operating in the country.

Sir, the President's Address has very clearly stated, apart from many developments, that the 20-Point Programme is one of the things which is really improvng the lot of the people of this country who are low placed. In many places, the administrators have not given due importance to H and also have not been able to gear if up to give full advantage to the people. {*'Ame Bell rings*}.

Sir, I have not taken even five minutes yet.

THE VTCE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): It is nearing 10 minutes.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: Sir, the first and foremost thing that we will

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

have to do in order to really meet the demand of the President, that is, production, is to see that our power position is improved. Sir, if you take the working of the State Electricity Boards, they are in doldrums in many places. Their losses are colossal. And until we set them right, until we make them really to produce, until we make them to function efficiently, until we change the management of these things, I do not think we will be able to help the production in industries.

Sir, while advocating production, we should not forget the social benefits or other objectives which the framers of industrial development policy have promised this country. You might like the industrial houses to produce more. But while doing so, you should not forget to help the small industries. Sir, today the bigger industries have cornered most of the funds. Nearly sixty to seventy per cent of the industrial loans have gone to big houses. And today the small-scale industries have to suffer because they cannot get loans from the banks and whatever they produce—the material, the spare parts, etc. which go to big industries—they have to supply to them on credit basis. On the one side, the banks advance to the big houses the credit and on the other side they do not pay to small-scale industries the money for components which they produce. The small-scale industries have to wait to collect their money. In that way, you may cripple the small-scale industries and small entrepreneurs. The monopoly and restriction of trade practices was introduced with the dual purpose of restricting these big houses from controlling the newspapers and controlling or influencing the Government and Government Departments. But, today, in order to produce more, if you forget these social objectives, you might be creating not only a great danger to this country, but

you might be planning to defeat the very objectives which have been laid down by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Therefore, even in regard to the financial corporations which are going to advance funds only for big industries, the Government should see that small industries and agro-industries also get some assistance so that all industries can grow together. Otherwise, you will be encouraging the big industry to grow more and more and finally they may become a menace to the Government and we may have to forget the very noble philosophy of socialism and equality of opportunity.

Sir, since you are going to ring the bell, I will have to be a little faster. Even in the cooperative sector, we are lacking the drive today. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that there are three pillars which strengthen democracy in this country. He named them as Schools, Panchayats and the Cooperatives. But the cooperatives today are in a bad shape. The cooperatives which have come into existence are not being encouraged to help the small farmers. They have become monopolies of certain individuals. You may take the sugar cooperatives or the milk cooperatives. You know that in Bombay, in Maharashtra, many of these cooperatives and the cooperators are vested interests. They control the political power in those areas and they are definitely not helping the poor people who are the agricultural labour, low-paid workers and other people. It does help definitely some of the rich farmers. You have seen them in Maharashtra. Therefore, Sir, while helping production, we will have to see that a large number of people get involved in this sector, particularly, the cooperative sector and that they really give help to the weaker sections and minority sections. These sectors should be encouraged in a large way. With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks to the President.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Dr. Sarup Singh. You get 5 minutes.

DR. SARUP SINGH (Haryana): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It is very appropriate that I should get only 5 minutes because I am going to speak about education and education really should not get more time. After all, the President himself spoke only 7 lines. But, now that I have stood up, I would like to say one thing that will offend everybody here. As I do not have any political constituency and do not want to please anybody, I think I should have the courage to speak the truth. Let me speak the truth. The President said that he wanted that there should be no confrontation and that we should have unity of purpose. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am convinced that one point all the political parties in India have the unity of purpose and that is how to destroy our educational system. It is a remarkable kind of unity. For instance, you saw this morning the lady Member raising a very legitimate point. The point was about Jama Milia being closed for some reason. My friend from here shouted back saying, "No." She was saying that perhaps the Vice-Chancellor was right. He said, "No, the students were right." We see today that in no university the Vice-Chancellor can ever be right. The rioters are always right. I hope Mrs. Habibullah for whom I have great regard will forgive me. If Mr. Bhattacharya were the Minister for Education and if he were defending the universities, Begum Sahiba would have said, "No, the students are right and the university is wrong". Why do we do it? I am merely enquiring. I am puzzled, I am in confusion. You talk of agricultural growth; very good. You talk of industrial growth; very good. But there is something which is called the making of men and women. Where do you make them? You make them in universities. Universities are the nurseries of culture.

They are the nurseries of knowledge. They are the place where ultimately all your manpower, the kind of manpower you need—scientists, administrators, teachers, doctors and engineers—is produced. All these are produced by the universities. And if they go down, what will happen? May I request Mr. Kalp Nath Rai to give me his ear? I will speak only for five minutes. You can suffer for five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The Leader of the House is very attentively listening to you.

DR. SARUP SINGH: But, Sir, there is no harm if Mr. Kalp Nath Rai also hears.

Sir, the President even though very vaguely mentioned three very important objectives of our national educational policy. He mentioned, as I say vaguely, universalisation of primary education. We know what has happened that? Out of 90 million people, young boys and girls, who join class 1, by the time they reach class 3, 63 per cent of them drop out, by the time they reach class 8, 77 per cent of them drop out, and then some remain, they come to the universities, and you know what is happening to the universities. The second thing that he mentioned, which was very important and which we have missed, is the Vocationalisation of higher secondary education. Here was a pregnant idea which we could have picked up with zeal and with courage. Unfortunately, we have not picked it up. The idea was of higher secondary education up to Class 12, and after class 12 there were to be two streams—academic stream and vocational stream. Now the vocational stream has not taken off at all. So, what happens? Everybody, irrespective of whether he is fit to come to the university or not, comes to the university. The third thing is that we had as a national objective is that excellence, pursuit of excellence at the

[Dr. sarup Singh]

university level. How can we have this pursuit of excellence at the university level without some kind of a bifurcation of this huge stream that is coming up to the university? We have reached a stage, Mr. Vice-Chairman, where it is no use talking of equal opportunities. Let us be honest. We do want that after Class 12, the students come to the university and pursue a vigorous intellectual course for three years, call it Honours or whatever you like, and then two years' course of MA, and then you have Ph. D. which will have some meaning. Otherwise, today our degrees are being devalued. Our BAs are not equal to BAs elsewhere, our MAs are not equal to MAs elsewhere. And many university degrees are worthless. If our university degrees and research degrees are devalued, what happens to the country? But, has anybody bothered to look into this?

Sir, I will make a few suggestions because my time is short. The first suggestion that I am making is that we have created an institution called the University Grants Commission. The University Grants Commission was supposed not merely to fund the Various projects in the universities but also to see that standards are maintained. Can the University Grants Commission do that? You have given power to the Medical Council of India that they can recommend to the Government of India that the degrees of a medical college can be derecognised. Can the University Grants Commission do that? Why can't it do that? Where is the difficulty? You had appointed a Committee to see the functioning of the University Grants Commission. You had spent some money on that. You had spent some years on that. And nobody has touched that Report. The Report had said, 'strengthen' the University Grants Commission. Give it at least three whole-time Members

so that they can go round the country and see what is happening, and wherever necessary, close down the university. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, whatever you may say, there are many universities in India today—and I am not talking of the large number of colleges; they are not fit to exist. Who shall stop this? One of the Chief Ministers made a statement some four days back that he is going to have four more universities in his State. The other universities are not functioning and you want four more. D. M. Adishiah said the other day that there are only two ways out, one dismantle the whole thing. But that is impossible. Second thing, overhaul it. But my request, Mr. Vice-Chairman, not the educational system that needs to be overhauled. It is our political thinking that needs to be overhauled. We are dealing with generations of students whom we are making semi-literate and that is all. Unless the political parties come to a decision that whatever happens, we will not interfere in this one area; the area of education, this is as important an area as the area of defence, things will not improve. When the country is attacked we all are one. I say the country is faced with an invasion today from not merely anti-social forces but also from anti-intellectual forces and when the country is invaded by anti-intellectual forces then your roots are destroyed. I have been saying again and again why cannot the Prime Minister of India call the leaders of all the political parties and why cannot she say to them, look here, let us disagree elsewhere, let us quarrel elsewhere, but on the university campus we shall not quarrel? Whether you like it or not, universities are sacred places because they are seats of learning, they are seats of excellence and the methods that you employ outside, you cannot be allowed to adopt inside the universities.

One word more Mr. Vice-Chairman and I will finish. What about that

appointment of Vice-Chancellors. We are a large country where we have still talent enough in the country, where we can find suitable Vice-Chancellors. But how do you appoint Vice-Chancellor? The Chief Minister appoints the Vice-Chancellor. I know of a State where all the Vice-Chancellors were dismissed by an Ordinance. And, in one university, a Reader, who was rejected by the Selection Committee for the post of a Professor, was appointed the Vice-Chancellor of that university, and the first act of this gentleman was to appoint himself as a Professor, and you expect the university to function. How can they function? So, Sir I plead not only with you but with everybody here, please overhaul your own thinking. Then you do not have to overhaul the 'educational system. (*Time bell rings*). The educational system can look after itself provided you leave it alone. And, I am pleading for the cause of future generations, of young men and women, whom you are turning out and they cannot even be 'employed, because they are learning nothing. And, when they make noise some of us say, wonderful, because we regard universities as the recruiting ground. Let me warn, Mr. Vice-Chairman, all the political parties, whatever may happen in this country, you talk of revolution, revolution may come, I do not know from where it will come, but in this country revolution will not come through these methods that we are employing in the universities. Incidentally, public Opinion is growing in the universities. Any body who has a partisan attitude, who belongs to one political party is rejected. Even as a union leader, one will have to be non-partisan. At the time of the elections to the DUTA Delhi University Teachers Association, we saw that the teacher who declared publicly that he belonged to no political party, won the elections because, as he said, our credibility

is gone, political parties are all suspect and consequently universities themselves will have to find a way out. Whether they can do it, I do not know. But what is our job? We are supposed to be, in a sense, the voice of the nation. We are the representatives of the nation. Now, here is one area here we all must unite. My child is like your child and we are playing with these children's lives. Let us play with each other's lives, if it is necessary, but for God's sake, leave the children alone and let them have some kind of a future. We talk of cynicism in the country. Here is a place where idealism is bred. Here is also a place where cynicism is bred. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once said if all is well with the universities then all is well with the nation. Now we are talking about the nation. But I say, all is not well with the universities. (*Time bell rings*). And, I blame each one of us, not one party alone, every party. As I said, in this one cause we all must unite. Let us do some thinking and save our future from the kind of blankness to which it is moving and education is the one way which can show the light to us. Thank you.

SHRIMATI HAMTDA HABIBULLAH: Sir, I listened to his speech: he made a very good speech and I hope the Education Minister takes note of it. I am not going to oppose him because he made a very good speech.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, after listening to all the criticisms and insinuations by the Opposition, I have a feeling, an established feeling, that this Government under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi has taken pains for the last two years to refurbish our efforts to raise the image of the nation and the country. Whatever may be the

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utterances of the Opposition, I can tell you, because I was recently in the United States and U.K. even a paper so critical of the Congress Party, like the *New York Times*, had a devastating despatch published by its Delhi Correspondent but the editorial spoke about the balanced economy of this country and about Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. It was no mean achievement for the Government of India to elicit admiration and respect in the western countries, more particularly in the U.S.A. And you all know that one British paper considered Mrs. Gandhi as the tigress of India, that there is a Government which is vibrating, a Government which is capable to match the racketeers, the Black-marketeers, the vested interests, the collaborators with international monopoly houses, that there is a Government which is committed to socialism. And the other day, we had a luminous Budget from Prof. Pranab Mukherjee, which of course we will discuss later on.

I am speaking about paragraph 9 in the President's Address, about inflation. It is an achievement for this Government of Mrs. Gandhi to bring it down from 20 per cent to almost less than 12 per cent in 2 years time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Four per cent, now.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: So, this shows the economy is in the progress. Economy is at an elevated stage and the entire success of this economy goes to the 20-point programme which is the Magna Carta of Indian people inst as the Magna Carta was in the hands of the English people who snatched it away from King John. This is going to elevate the status of the down-trodden, the Harijans, the Girijans, the backward and the teeming millions who are not properly clad and properly fed. Sir, as the time of our disposal is very short...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I am glad you appreciate it.

DR. SARUP SINGH: I also did.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): You co-operated; but I cannot say it about Mr. Shahabuddin.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: Sir, the Father of the Nation was not; only a political figure but also an economist and those who knew him and read Gandhian economy, know that he believed that India's progress lay in decentralisation. Gandhiji never believed in centralised economy, and in one of his letters to Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, whom he considered to be the Finance Minister of the country if India became free he said that country-salvation lay only in decentralisation.

During the last few years, our industries have produced goods worth many crores of rupees. In 1970-71, we produced goods worth Rs. 13,455 crores in 1977-78, we produced goods worth Rs. 37,836 crores; in 1978-79, we produced goods worth Rs. 44,691 crores and in 1981-82, we have to produce goods worth Rs. 80,000 crores. How many people have we been able to employ in these industries? It is between 50 and 60 lakh only. India is a country with 680 million people. How are we going to absorb all these people in the rural areas—the youth, those who are pulsating under the grievances that they have no job? When we consider this problem we have to consider the fact that the tillers constitute 70 per cent of the population in rural areas. The day in rural area, our economy is such that unless we have something ditamatte and drastic, revolutionary and dynamite, it is impossible to change the fate of rural people. That is why, Sir, It is better we devote more and more consideration

for the village economy, for the uplift of the rural economy. Japan was the only country in the whole world which based its economy, which based its economic thinking on the rural side, on village industries, house-hold industries and so on, laying stress on the employment of people in household including women, in their extra time. Such has been the economic development in Japan that it has been able to compete with the most enlightened and developed countries of the world. If you go to America, if you go to U.K., if you go to Germany, if you go to France, the electrical goods which you get are not of those countries', but those produced by Japan. Even automobiles are from Japan. They have been able to develop their economy because of the fact that they laid emphasis on decentralisation more than on centralisation. And Gandhiji in all his writings in 'Young India' and 'Harijan' had largely appreciated Japan's thinking in this regard.

Another thing is the unemployment problem. Our unemployment problem is such that today, in the whole country, we have 13,07,541 people registered in Employment Exchanges, those who are matriculates. The number of undergraduates is over 20 lakhs and the number of graduates is over 13 lakhs and the number of post-graduates is over 11 lakhs. This is the plight of the educated people in the country. The number of agitations we are seeing among the students and the younger elements, is due to frustration. It is necessary that we try to absorb all these people. How can we absorb them? We cannot have lot many large-scale industries and centralised industries, big industries and so on, to absorb all these people. There are more than 37,000 doctors and a little over 40,000 engineers who are unemployed in our country. There are engineers, there are overseers, there are technical men and there are persons who use tools. How can

we absorb them? The best course is to go in for rural economy and village economy and it is better that we absorb them through rural and village-based industries.

Sir, India is the 15th poorest country in the world and India is the sixth industrialised nation in the world. This is the diversity. There was a time when we had to import everything from pins to planes. We had almost nothing. Even cloth we had to import from Manchester. Cars had to be imported; cycles from Japan. We had no thermal power station, we had no hydel station and we had no steel plants. We had almost nothing. But in 30 years, we have built the nation to such an extent that when Mr. Brezhnev came to India, he said that in 34 years time, even the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic did not progress that much, which India had done under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi. This is no mean achievement. We have traversed a long way to catch up with the developed and enlightened nations in every walk of life, in every field. We have progressed much. India has an aim and if any politician today in our country is known outside India in the developed countries of the world, it is only Mrs. Gandhi and nobody else. This is a fact because of her dynamism and because of her thought.

Sir, inflation is a bacteria. It has contaminated almost every country of the world. I go every one or two years to foreign countries. What a difference in prices and what a price rise; three times, four times. Take, for example, U.K., France, Germany, USA and other developed countries. These countries are far ahead of us. But what a rate of inflation is there in those countries! In this regard, India has gained much and has saved much also. Sir, the situation is difficult because of the wars in the Third World countries. If the world has suffered much, it is because of this

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trouble in Vietnam, in Kampuchea, in Laos; it is because of the war, between Iran and Iraq; it is because of the trouble in Namibia and other African countries. The Third World has suffered because of these wars and the States which are gaining are the developed countries and those industries which are producing war weapons. It is not only F-16. It is all types of war weapons, whether it is General Electric of General Motors or the Lockheed Company or any other multi-national corporation. These are the institutions which are gaining and we are the ones who are actually losing.

What the country needs today is unity. What the country needs today is discipline. We had a strike on the 19th January. Sir, I am a trade unionist having spent 25 years of my life in trade union movement. When the strike call was given it was a general bandh. Then, it was an industrial strike by all parties. Sir, the interest of one industry differs from another. If it is cement, it is different from steel. If it is steel it is different from railway. If it is railway, it is different from civil aviation. If it is civil aviation, it is different from fertilizer. How could all the unions combine on one issue, that is during the bandh of 19th? The root cause was to weaken the Government of Mrs. Gandhi, to bring disruption, to create chaos and out of the chaos to gain ground. The opposition parties were determined to create chaos. I can tell you, the trade unionists are wiser, the labour population is wiser today and they did not succumb to all the coercive tactics of the opposition parties. I come from Orissa and I can tell you, in the Rourkela Steel Plant the recognised union belongs to the opposition. The recognised union gave the call that there will be no smoke from the chimneys and the INTUC which is the minority union gave the call that the chimneys will bring out smoke, the steel plant will run and the steel Slant did run. Eighty per cent of the

workers went to the steel plant. That shows that the workers are with Mrs. Gandhi. That shows that the workers, the peasants, the Government employees, the younger generation do not want chaos in the country, they do not want sabotage in any industry, in any steel plant, in any vulnerable area, they want India to be united. And it is Mrs. Gandhi who has been able to keep India united. You had some trouble in Moradabad. You had some trouble in Lucknow, in Nagpur. There was some secessionist act in Arunachal. In Orissa there was some trouble. All such troubles are meant to weaken the Government of India and to weaken Mrs. Gandhi's hands. These are all handles of opposition to stop transformation. Nobody is thinking of social transformation. They are only thinking of coming back to power. And a few top leaders not all the opposition parties, are trying to compete with one another to become Prime Minister of the country. That is the goal of these leaders and not to bring in any social change or social transformation.

With these words, Sir I thank you very much.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity. At the outset I extend my gratitude to the hon. President of India for having been pleased to deliver his Address before the Joint Session of both Houses of Parliament. I was listening with rapt attention the thunderous speeches of Mr. Bipinpal Das, Mr. Shahabuddin and Mr. Maurya. Now I speak amidst thunderous noise in the sky. My time is limited, I know.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Seven minutes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The Government has sought cooperation from the opposition parties. This is a welcome trend. Opposition is part of democracy. They are also responsible to the people. Last year the Government initiated a dialogue with the opposition on the issue of Assam, on

the issue of Khalistan. In this connection, I would appeal to the hon. Prime Minister of India to initiate a dialogue with opposition to identify the subjects, the issues on which the cooperation is sought. When I go through the speech of the President, I come to para 24. Of course, I welcome any effort on the part of the Government to develop good relations with our neighbours. Our President visited Sri Lanka, but Sir, in Sri Lanka 4 million people, 4 million Tamilians are shedding tears and 15 lakh people are called 'Stateless'. I was very much "distressed to see the morning paper 'Times of India'. Here is the Times of India dated 1st March, 1982 and I quote the news under the caption "Indo-Sri Lanka move on 'Stateless' issue". This word 'Stateless' is a misnomer because they have categorised nearly 15 lakhs as 'Stateless'. On what lines the Government is proceeding. I quote:

"The proposal seems to have emerged from the discussions here between the foreign secretary of Sri Lanka, Mr. W. T. Jaisinghe, and Indian's External Affairs Secretary, Mr. Eric Gonsalves, who accompanied the President... Early efforts are expected to be made by both Governments to finalise the proposal."

Sir, there should not be any agreement, there should not be any pact renewing the terms and conditions of the agreement on this question because the 1964 Agreement between Sirimovo and Shastri was the biggest betrayal of the Union Government against the interest of the Tamilians. As long as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was holding the reins of the Government, he never conceded the disastrous request from the Sri Lanka Government. Of course, we had the agreement. But our Government assured the people in Sri Lanka that once they landed in our country, they would be given houses, they would be given jobs, better medical facilities and educational facilities for

their children. But what happened? Once they reached here, they got disillusioned; they got disappointed and disgruntled. They were violently uprooted from there. These people were taken by the British in the 19th century. They contributed to the prosperity of Sri Lanka with their sweat and blood; braving snakes and scorpions, they worked in the plantations. They laid the infrastructural and economic foundations of Sri Lanka. But, Sir, any country when it obtains freedom, has the bounden duty to give franchise to those citizens who lived there before the declaration of independence, whatever their origin may be. But in this case, in 1949, with one stroke of the pen, their destiny was decided: they were declared stateless persons. I have got still hope and confidence in our Prime Minister because when they were attacked, our Prime Minister expressed her concern.... (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No, please. You know there are so many speakers from among the Independents who represent different points of view and they have urged that they must all be given some time.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, I will conclude in five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs..... (*Interruptions*) Please sit down. I am on my legs. The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has kindly agreed that nobody from this side will speak. But I must try and accommodate every one, provided the Members also cooperate by being brief. Instead of cooperating you are just objecting even to my effort at trying to see that every one gets an opportunity to speak. So please be brief.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Therefore, Sir, I request the Government not to renew any condition of the past agreement, because already

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people from Tamil Nadu—both of the ruling party and the opposition—from all quarters have expressed their opinion. We have expressed our wishes and those must be taken into consideration. I hope discussion on this subject in this House will be held. I do not want to go into details.

I want to say one word about our news media. Our news media, particularly the AIR and TV, are considered to be the people's media. But what is happening? On 15th February, from Madurai to Tiruchendur—about 220 kilometers—my leader, Mr. Karunanidhi, launched a long march. Never before in history, such mammoth crowds have participated in such a march. More than 2 lakh people participated in the long march. More than a million spectators lined the long march. But that was not covered. Political parties may have different opinions about this: they may have different attitudes; but any news-worthy happening should be reported and published. But what happened? That was not at all given coverage by AIR or TV. I think AIR and TV are not getting their salaries from the Central Government. They are, I think, getting some doles from vested interests in Tamil Nadu. They have become very irrelevant before the eyes of the people in Tamil Nadu. Because the intelligence agencies would have definitely reported to the Central Government. I hope the Prime Minister and the Home Minister would have been informed about the magnitude of the march. Although the issue for the long march was a local issue, more than 2 lakh people marched, raising the slogan: "Demand Justice. Arrest the culprits", because the **Paul Commission Report** was published...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I have to stop you now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Before I conclude my speech, I want to bring **all these things** to the notice of this

Government. Unless the Central Government directs such agencies, the people in the South will get frustrated.

Sir, before I conclude my speech, I would like to make a request to the Central Government to release and publish the Mandal Commission Report because socially, educationally backward classes people who were oppressed in the name of religion and caste have to be given a new deal. The report is already pending with the Government. People are expecting the publication of the report. So I would request the Government to publish the report. With these words, I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Shrimati Rajinder Kaur. Five minutes, please.

DR. (SHRIMATI) RAJINDER KAUR (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, one discrepancy in the President's Address has been referred to by some Members—that there is absolutely no mention about the minorities in the President's Address. But this discrepancy has been pointed out by Members of the minorities only: no Member of the majority community has ever bothered to show his concern towards the minorities.

But the President has referred to one thing which is practically ruinous for the benefits of one minority of India, that is, the Sikhs of Punjab, and that is the Ravi-Beas Agreement. The Ravi-Beas Agreement is unfair, unjust and highly discriminatory against the interests of Punjab. Sir, there is one riparian right by which the water of a river is for the use of the State through which it passes, but here both the rivers pass through Punjab only and nowhere in either Haryana or Rajasthan. But the riparian State has been allotted the benefit of only 25 per cent of the use of the total waters of Ravi and Beas. In fact, in 1976 there was one Award by the Prime Minister by which Punjab was allotted only 23 per cent

of the total waters and the rest 77 per cent was given to States outside Punjab which have got no riparian right whatsoever. It was, in fact, not a dispute between the different riparian States because Haryana and Rajasthan do not come anywhere near the rivers. This was, in fact, a transfer of rights, the rights of Punjab to its river resources. The only natural resource available in Punjab is its rivers, and Punjab is deprived of those river waters and electricity. Punjab is mainly an agrarian State and it contributes more than 60 per cent to the food basket of India. If this Agreement is implemented, nine lakh acres of land of Punjab will become barren, and already Punjab is using that water which is going to be taken away from Punjab. (Time bell rings). I am going to finish, Sir. I do not want to take much time.

I just want to point out to the House that great injustice is being done to Punjab, especially to the Sikhs who are the farmers there, and this tendency of discrimination against the economic interests of Punjab by the Central Government will have far-reaching consequences, and it is encouraging the extremist elements in Punjab. The Government should know that there is none ahead of the Sikhs in patriotism and in sacrifices for the motherland. Why are they going astray? The reasons are economical.

I must warn the Government that if this Agreement is implemented, it will create great problems for the country, and the Punjabis and the Sikhs will not allow this Agreement to be implemented even at the cost of their blood. The Government will have to shed a great deal of blood of the Punjabis before this Agreement is implemented. Sir, I have taken only three minutes. You started ringing the bell and I am not used to speaking when the bell is rung.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): It was only

after four minutes, and that too just to warn you about the time. Shri Gulam Mohi-ud-Din Shawl.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir): She is taking my time, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I do not mind it. I know that for Jammu and Kashmir I am the sole spokesman here and that is why I have to say much, but the time being short I will confine myself to one aspect of the Address, the Centre-State relationship. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, ours is a backward State and under-developed because of lack of funds. In that State, the peculiar thing is that only one road, National Highway No. 1-A, leads from Jammu to Kashmir and it is blocked most of the year, not only in winter when there is snow and rain but also even during the summer when there are dry land-slides. Those tourists who visit Kashmir have the bitter experience to stay on roads for days together. There are two roads under construction there, from Poonch and Mandi to Shopian and Pulwama. These two roads, as was estimated last year, would cost Rs. 30 crores, but as the State has meagre resources it cannot afford the construction of these two roads. Of course, it will, but it will take time. Our immediate concern and anxiety is the development of communications, not only with respect to these two roads but also other roads which can link different hilly tracts in that State. That is the urgent need of the hour. But here we see nothing for that. During the debate on the Budget, we will be able to develop that aspect of the case. Our President had said that the States must be given more fiscal powers. But with regard to the nationalised banks the States have no say, with respect to disbursement of loans and other things, not to speak of management. As far as that State is concerned, it requires more funds, of course, from the Planning Commission and our Exchequer so that the means of communications and industries are developed and poverty goes for good. I would suggest only

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one thing here. Too much has been said about Leh and Kishtwar. What is the real position in Leh and Ladakh? Those are sparsely populated areas, mostly with hills. And in the Leh tehsil—now a district—these people demand regional autonomy—and regional autonomy along with a scheduled tribe region status. On both these aspects our Chief Minister has written to the Centre and it is for the Centre to consider them. As far as balkanisation of the federal structure is concerned, as far as treating further troubles by giving regional autonomy, especially to border areas, and not to States, is concerned, such as Fazilka asking for regional autonomy, that stands on a different footing. So far as Leh and Ladakh are concerned, China is on the border, and not friendly to us. In any case, the matter rests with the Central Government. As far as the agitation is concerned, that is uncalled for.

The other matter is with regard to the Kishtwar tehsil. There the people demand a district status. Sir, the Kashmir Government has appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of ex-Chief Justice Shri Janki Nath Wazir and it has to demarcate further areas, tehsils into districts and other divisions. But the matter rests there. There was an agitation and they took law in their own hands. Sir, you can appreciate that timber worth crores of rupees is lying on the banks of the Chenab. And these people did not allow that timber to be taken from that place and transported to Jammu. •Instead, that agitation was there. Then the agitation was over because the people were not with it. I am sorry to say that our Minister of State for Home had the time and energy to go all along from Delhi to Kishtwar just as, I should say, a moral booster because no agitation was there. What was the purpose? What was the idea? The idea of going there and not even to consult the State Government was more surpris-

ing. As far as the matter is concerned, the agitation was quite uncalled-for. (Time bell rings).

Sir, it is only three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Six minutes.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Six minutes because three minutes were taken by Dr. Rajinder Kaur.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No, no, please,

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: In any case that was as far as the Centre-State relation is concerned. Now, I would like to stress upon one thing, about Pakistan, about the no-war pact. It is good that our President has said, "We want closer relations with our neighbouring countries". But as far as the atmosphere is concerned, there is no doubt that it has been vitiated by the Pakistan's own reference to Kashmir. But let us not give to outside world a feeling of helplessness or being jittery about Kashmir. I suggest with due humility that the proper thing would be to give proper representation and associate true representatives of Jammu and Kashmir in all the delegations in the world forums so that we can tell them what the truth is, how we have fought three wars with Pakistan on the basis of secularism, socialism and democratic principles. Thank you, Sir.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Re Appointment of new Chairman of Expert Committee to study Financial implications of the proposal for inclusion of list of declared goods and for levy of additional excise duty in lieu of sales tax on certain commodities and also on extension of term of the Committee

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The Leader of the House has to make a statement.