

1832 hours

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): Thank you, Chairman Sir, for allowing me to speak on the Presidential Address.

1832 hours (Hon. Speaker *in the Chair*)

I felt that the Presidential Address should have been a strategic Address, an Address that spoke to India about where we are and where we should be going, what are the challenges we are facing, what are the difficulties we are facing and what is the potential direction in which we can go. Unfortunately, the Presidential Address was a long list of things that the Government claims to have done but did not really contain the deeper strategic issues that we would have liked to see. Also, the Presidential Address did not touch a couple of central challenges facing our country. That is what I would like to discuss today. To me, it seemed that the Presidential Address was a list of bureaucratic ideas instead of a strategic vision. It looked to me as if it has been constructed not by a vision of leadership but by a group of bureaucrats who had simply to put something down on papers.

So, what did the Presidential Address miss? What did the Presidential Address not speak about? What did the Presidential Address hide from the people of India? I think there are three fundamental things that were not spoken about in the Presidential Address.

The first and what I consider to be the most important is the idea that there are now two Indias. There is no longer one India. There are two Indias. One India is for the extremely rich people, for those who have immense wealth, for those who have immense power, for those who do not need a job, for those who do not need water connections, electricity connections but for those who control the heart beat of the country.

And then, there is another India.

(व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): For my friends in the Government, I want to make it clear that the spirit of what I am saying is not one of criticism, the spirit with which I speak is one of discomfort with the state of our country and the spirit with which I speak is one where I am worried about what is happening to the country. So, you must not take it as a criticism, take it as a citizen of the country expressing his concern about what is going on.

आज दो हिन्दुस्तान बन रहे हैं, एक अमीरों का हिन्दुस्तान और दूसरा गरीबों का हिन्दुस्तान। इन दो हिन्दुस्तानों के बीच में खाई बढ़ती जा रही है। आपने भी देखा होगा, अभी दो स्पीकर्स ने बात की, मगर आपने यह नहीं कहा कि रोजगार ढूँढने के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में रेलवे की नौकरी के लिए वहाँ के युवाओं ने क्या किया, वहाँ क्या हुआ, इसके बारे में आपने नहीं बोला। गरीब हिन्दुस्तान के पास आज रोजगार नहीं है। प्रेसिडेन्शियल एड्रेस में बेरोजगारी के बारे में एक शब्द नहीं था। आज पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में युवा रोजगार ढूँढ रहा है। हर स्टेट उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और सभी जगह हिन्दुस्तान का युवा एक ही चीज मांग रहा है, हमें रोजगार दे दो लेकिन आपकी सरकार नहीं दे पा रही है।

मैं आपको आंकड़ा देना चाहता हूँ। पिछले साल तीन करोड़ युवाओं ने रोजगार खोया है। आप रोजगार देने की बात करते हैं, वर्ष 2021 में तीन करोड़ युवाओं ने रोजगार खोया है। 50 साल में सबसे ज्यादा बेरोजगारी हिन्दुस्तान में है। आपने मेक इन इंडिया की बात की, स्टार्ट-अप इंडिया की बात की, मगर जो रोजगार हमारे युवाओं को मिलना चाहिए, वह नहीं मिला और जो रोजगार था, वह भी गायब हो गया। यह सच्चाई है और इस सच्चाई को आप भी पहचानते हैं क्योंकि आपने भी अपने भाषणों में रोजगार के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। कितना रोजगार पैदा किया गया है, किस प्रकार किया गया है, उसके बारे में आपने नहीं बोला और आप बोल भी नहीं पाएंगे। अगर आप बोलेंगे तो हिन्दुस्तान का युवा आपकी ओर देख कर कहेगा कि ये मजाक कर रहे हैं। यह स्थिति कैसे पैदा हुई? दो हिन्दुस्तान कैसे पैदा हुए? रोजगार स्मॉलर इंडस्ट्री, मीडियम इंडस्ट्री और इनफॉर्मल सेक्टर में बनता है। आपने उनसे लाखों, करोड़ों रुपया छीनकर हिन्दुस्तान के सबसे बड़े अरबपतियों को दिलवा दिया।

(1840/SK/RU)

आपने पिछले सात सालों में अनऑर्गेनाइज्ड सैक्टर और स्माल एंड मीडियम इंडस्ट्रीज़ पर एक के बाद एक, एक के बाद एक आक्रमण किए। ... (व्यवधान) मैं सात की बात ही कर रहा हूँ, मैं 60 की भी करूँगा। ... (व्यवधान) मैं अपने भाषण के अंत में 60 साल की बात आपको खुश करने के लिए करूँगा। ... (व्यवधान) आप ठहर जाइए। ... (व्यवधान)

आपने असंगठित सैक्टर पर आक्रमण किया। कैसे किया? नोटबंदी, गलत जीएसटी और कोरोना के समय जो सपोर्ट देना था, आपने नहीं दिया। नतीजा क्या हुआ? नतीजा यह हुआ कि हिंदुस्तान के 84 परसेंट लोगों की आमदनी घटी और तेजी से वे गरीबी की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं। आपने पूछा और आपने 60 साल की बात कही। यूपीए सरकार ने 23 करोड़ लोगों को, गरीबों को दस साल में गरीबी से निकाला था। ... (व्यवधान) हमारा आंकड़ा नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान) आप हंसिए। ... (व्यवधान) हमारा आंकड़ा नहीं है, यह सच्चा आंकड़ा है। ... (व्यवधान) 27 करोड़ लोगों को हमने गरीबी से निकाला था और 23 करोड़ लोगों को आपने गरीबी में वापस डाल दिया। ... (व्यवधान) हो क्या रहा है? फॉर्मल सैक्टर में मोनोपोलीज़ बन रही हैं। आप किसी भी सैक्टर में देखिए। मैं दो मोनोपोलिस्ट के बारे में थोड़ा सा बोलूँगा। ... (व्यवधान) कोरोना के समय अलग-अलग वेरिएंट्स आते हैं - डेल्टा, ओमिक्रोन। ... (व्यवधान) वह डबल वेरिएंट है। ... (व्यवधान) पूरी की पूरी हिंदुस्तान की जो अर्थव्यवस्था है, उसके अंदर फैल रहा है।

आपने बात उठाई, तो उसके बारे में पहले बोल देता हूँ। मैं नाम नहीं लूँगा। एक व्यक्ति को हिंदुस्तान के सब पोर्ट्स, एयरपोर्ट्स, पावर, ट्रांसमिशन, माइनिंग, ग्रीन एनर्जी, गैस डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन, एडिबल ऑयल ... (व्यवधान) जो भी हिंदुस्तान में होता है, उधर अडानी जी दिखाई देते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) दूसरी साइड, अंबानी जी की पेट्रो कैमिकल्स, टेलीकॉम, रिटेल, ई-कॉमर्स, की मोनोपोली है। ... (व्यवधान) पूरा का पूरा धन चुने हुए लोगों के हाथ में जा रहा है।

आपने असंगठित सैक्टर को खत्म किया। देखिए, अगर आप इनफॉर्मल सैक्टर को खत्म कर देते और मैनुफैक्चरिंग जॉब्स क्रिएट कर देते हैं तो फिर इतनी प्राब्लम्स नहीं आतीं, फिर दो हिंदुस्तान नहीं बनते। मगर आपने क्या किया? आपने असंगठित सैक्टर को खत्म कर दिया, नोटबंदी, जीएसटी, कोरोना। सारे के सारे स्माल एंड मीडियम बिजनेस को बंद कर दिया। ... (व्यवधान) बोलने दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान) आपने सारी की सारी स्माल एंड मीडियम इंडस्ट्रीज़ को खत्म कर दिया, नष्ट कर दिया। अगर आप उनकी मदद करते, उनको सपोर्ट देते तो फिर मैनुफैक्चरिंग सैक्टर तैयार हो सकता था।

(1845/MK/SM)

मगर, जो लोग आपका मैन्युफैक्चरिंग सेक्टर बना सकते थे, उनको आपने खत्म कर दिया। ... (व्यवधान) आज हिन्दुस्तान में आप मेक इन इंडिया, मेड इन इंडिया की बात करते रहते हैं। आज मेड इन इंडिया हो ही नहीं सकता। बात खत्म हो गई। मेड इन इंडिया वाले कौन हैं? मेड इन इंडिया वाले स्मॉल मीडियम वाले लोग हैं। उनको आपने खत्म कर दिया। मेड इन इंडिया वाले असंगठित लोग हैं। उनको आपने खत्म कर दिया। आपने उनको हटा दिया। आपने उनको परे कर दिया। मेड इन इंडिया नहीं होने वाला है। ... (व्यवधान) मेड इन इंडिया करने के लिए स्मॉल और मीडियम इंडस्ट्रीज को ही बड़ा करना पड़ेगा। बिना स्मॉल और मीडियम इंडस्ट्रीज को सपोर्ट दिए मेड इन इंडिया हो ही नहीं सकता है। अगर, आप पूछते हैं तो मैं आपको बताता हूँ। अगर, हम मैन्युफैक्चरिंग जॉब्स की बात करें, तो मेरे पास आंकड़ा है। पिछले पांच सालों में मैन्युफैक्चरिंग जॉब्स 46 परसेंट कम हुए हैं। There is a 46 per cent drop in manufacturing jobs in India. Why? It is because that you have destroyed the unorganised sector. It is because that you have destroyed MSMEs. That is why you are focussing completely on five or ten people. I do not have problem with that. I do not have problem with big industries. Focus on them. But please realise that they cannot produce jobs for you. Small and medium industries are the only ones which can produce the jobs for you. That is the reality. हो क्या रहा है? दो हिन्दुस्तान बन रहे हैं और आप यहां पर भाषण देते रहते हैं। आप नया हिन्दुस्तान, न्यू इंडिया, मेक इन इंडिया और स्टार्ट-अप इंडिया के बारे में बोलते रहते हैं और देश में बेरोजगारी फैलती जा रही है। आप यह मत सोचिए कि गरीब हिन्दुस्तान जिसको आप बना रहे हैं, वह चुप बैठा रहेगा। वह चुप नहीं बैठा रहेगा। इस हिन्दुस्तान को सब कुछ दिख रहा है। ... (व्यवधान) आप इस आंकड़े को सुनिए। ये आपकी सरकार की देन है। इसको अच्छी तरह से सुनिए। इस गरीब हिन्दुस्तान को दिख रहा है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के 100 सबसे अमीर लोगों के पास हिन्दुस्तान के 55 करोड़ लोगों से ज्यादा जायदाद है। आप इस बात को समझिए। ... (व्यवधान) 10 लोगों के पास 40 परसेंट हिन्दुस्तान से ज्यादा का धन है। ... (व्यवधान) यह कैसे हुआ? यह आपने किया। यह नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ने किया। मैं आपको एक सुझाव देता हूँ। प्रधान मंत्री जी को और आपको सुझाव देता हूँ। आप जो दो हिन्दुस्तान बना रहे हैं, इन दो हिन्दुस्तान को जोड़ने का काम जल्दी से शुरू कीजिए। स्मॉल एंड मीडियम इंडस्ट्रीज की मदद करना शुरू कीजिए। जो हमारे बेरोजगार युवा हैं, उनकी मदद कीजिए। आप पूरा का पूरा धन इन्हीं पांच-दस लोगों को दे रहे हैं, क्योंकि ये आपकी मार्केटिंग करते हैं। आपको टी.वी., वाट्सएप और फेसबुक पर लगाते हैं। आप यह काम बंद कीजिए, नहीं तो देश का नुकसान होगा। आपका नहीं देश का नुकसान होगा। मेरा पहला सुझाव यही है। ... (व्यवधान) नम्बर 2 और नम्बर थ्री भी है। वह अभी आगे आएगा। आपने जो 60 साल की बात कही थी, वह नम्बर थ्री में आएगा। ... (व्यवधान)

Now, I would like to say that there are two competing visions of this country, which is frankly the main difference between 'us' and 'them'. If you read the Constitution of India you will find – and many of my colleagues who have not read it should look at it – that India is described as a Union of States. India is not described as a nation. It is described as a Union of States. What does that mean? That means that my brother from Tamil Nadu has to have the same right as my brother from Maharashtra, as my sister from Maharashtra, as my brother from Uttar Pradesh, as my brother from Bihar, as my sister from Manipur, Nagaland or Mizoram has.

(1850/KSP/SJN)

Of course, the people of Jammu and Kashmir have the same rights; the people of Nagaland, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep also have the same rights. That is what it means. What is the difference? You have to understand this. This is a serious matter. I would like to have your view on it and I would like this Parliament to start serious discussions instead of the type of discussions that we are having. It is serious and I would like a serious response. What I heard in the first speech today was not serious. What Mr. Dwivedi said in his speech was not serious. It did not behove this House. It was not the standard that this House should be used to. It is not the standard that India should watch.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me come back to the discussion. There are two visions of this country. One vision is that it is a Union of States. It means it is a negotiation; it means it is a conversation. I go to my brother in Tamil Nadu and I say, 'what do you want?' and he says, 'this is what I want'. Then, he asks me, 'what do you want?', and I say, 'this is what I want'. It is a partnership. It is not a kingdom; remember that. You will never ever in your entire life rule over the people of Tamil Nadu. It cannot be done. You will never ever in your life rule over these other people. ... (*Interruptions*) Please listen to what I am saying.

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): No matter what fantasies you might have, you will never ever rule over the people of the States of India. It had never been done in 3,000 years. It had never been the way India was ruled and you can look at any empire you want.

You can look at Ashoka the Great, you can look at the Mauryas, you can look at the Guptas, you can look at anyone you want; India has always been ruled by means of conversation and negotiation.

Now, what is the problem? The problem is, you people are confused. The problem is, you think that you can suppress these languages, these cultures, these histories. You think that you can suppress them. You have no idea of history, you have no idea of what you are dealing with, because the people of Tamil Nadu have, inside their heart, the idea of Tamil Nadu, the idea of the Tamil language and then also the idea of India. Do not be confused. The people of Kerala have the idea of their State. ... (*Interruptions*) I am telling you the truth. The people of Kerala have a culture. I am now a Member of Parliament from Kerala. I understand it slightly better. They have a culture, they have dignity, they have a history. Like the gentleman said, the people of Rajasthan have a culture, have a history, have a tradition, have a language, and they have a way of life. This is like a bouquet of flowers. This is our strength. I learn from the people of Tamil Nadu, I learn from the people of Rajasthan, I learn even from you, every day I learn from you; it is not funny. I learn from you; it is not funny.

(1855/KKD/YSH)

Anyway, there is another vision -- a vision that India can be ruled by a stick from the Centre. You people have no idea of history because every time, it has been attempted, that stick has been broken and smashed.

Now, what is happening as a result of your flawed vision of the country? Two Indias are, of course, being created... (*Interruptions*) Two *Indias* are, of course, being created.

Speaker, Sir,

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): So, what is happening as a result of this flawed vision? Two Indias ... (*Interruptions*) मैं उस पर भी बोल देता हूँ... (व्यवधान) मैं उस पर भी बोल देता हूँ मैं इमरजेंसी पर भी बोल देता हूँ... (व्यवधान) मुझे कोई प्रॉब्लम नहीं है। मैं बोलने से नहीं डरता हूँ... (व्यवधान)

So, there are two visions. One is the Union of States, union of languages, union of cultures, a bouquet of beautiful flowers that can challenge any power in the world. No power in the world has ever been able to challenge this bouquet of flowers.

Now, there is another vision – a centralising vision, the vision of a king, the idea of a king, which the Congress removed in 1947... (*Interruptions*) We smashed that idea of a king. Now, that idea of a king has come back. Now, there is a king, a *Shahanshah*, a ruler of rulers, a master of masters... (*Interruptions*) Now, what is happening? ... (*Interruptions*)

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): Now, Speaker, Sir, what is happening as a result of this flawed vision?

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): What is happening is that the instruments of the conversation between our States, the instruments of the conversation between our people -- what we call, the institutions of our country -- are being attacked and captured by one idea.

So, for example, today, the idea of Tamil Nadu is excluded from Indian institutions. They can keep coming to you again and again and again and again saying 'NEET, NEET, NEET, NEET, NEET'; and you will say: 'No; get out of here.' Right? They do not have a voice in your framework.

The farmers of Punjab can stand up and say: 'We do not agree with these three laws.' They do not have a voice in your framework. Only the king has the voice. The farmers can sit for one year; they can sit for one year outside, in Corona; they can die. It does not matter! The king does not agree ... (*Interruptions*)

You do not listen to anybody, and even all of you, my dear brothers and sisters in the BJP. I saw my *Dalit* colleague speak today -- Paswan-ji. I saw him. He knows the history of the *Dalits*; he knows, who has oppressed the *Dalits* for three thousand years; and he is speaking with a hesitancy; he is speaking without ... (*Interruptions*) I am proud of him. I am proud of this gentleman. He has spoken to me about what is in his heart. I am proud of this man. But he is in the wrong party ... (*Interruptions*) Do not worry. घबराइए मत।... (व्यवधान)

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): Look, look. ... (*Interruptions*)

Speaker, Sir, I am a democratic person. I will allow him to speak.

(1900/RP/RPS)

... (व्यवधान)

... (व्यवधान)

... (व्यवधान)

... (व्यवधान)

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): Speaker, Sir, so this confused ideology, this confused understanding of the nation of India is playing havoc with this country. I will give you examples. The Judiciary, the Election Commission and the Pegasus are the instruments of ... (*Expunged as ordered by the Chair*) the voice of the Union of States.... (*Interruptions*) When you apply Pegasus on an Indian politician, when the ... (*Expunged as ordered by the Chair*) personally goes to Israel and authorises the use of Pegasus in India, he is attacking the people of Tamil Nadu, he is attacking the people of Assam, he is attacking the people of Kerala; and he is attacking the people of Bengal... ... (*Interruptions*)
(व्यवधान)

SHRI RAHUL GANDHI (WAYANAD): So, what is happening is that a particular organisation has captured the institutional framework of the country and is attacking the voice of the different States of this country. My fear is that you will get a reaction from that voice. My fear is that this attack that you are carrying out on the institutional framework of this country is going to get a response from the Union of States. You are fiddling, I understand this. You might not appreciate it but my great grandfather spent 15 years in jail in building this thing. My grandmother was shot 32 times and my father was blown to bits. So, I understand a little bit about what this country is. My blood is being sacrificed not by me but by my great grandfather, by my grandmother and my father for this country. So, I understand what it is and you are fiddling with something very, very dangerous. I am advising you to stop it because if you do not stop, you will create a problem. You have already started creating the problem. The problem is already started in the North East. The problem is already started in Tamil Nadu. It is not visible to you right now.

I will speak about Jammu and Kashmir as it is my third point. What you are fiddling with is extremely dangerous and it demonstrates a complete lack of understanding of history. This evening, please go back and look at all the empires that have ever ruled India. Look at them carefully. You will find that every single one of them is a Union of States. There was a reason Ashoka used to go and put his pillars everywhere.

(1905/NKL/SPS)

It is because it was a Union of States where Ashoka, the great King respected everybody. You are disrespecting everybody. Disrespect me, I do not care; it does not matter to me. But you cannot disrespect the people of this country. ... (*Interruptions*)

Now, I come to the final point, and I think it is one of the more important parts of my speech. Actually, I want to say one other thing. I demand an apology from the hon. Home Minister. This again represents the idea of a Union of States vs. the idea of a King. A few days ago, some political leader – I am not going to name him – came to me from Manipur, and he was very agitated. I spoke to him and asked “Why are you agitated, my brother?” He said, “Rahulji, I have never felt as insulted as I had a few days ago.”

I asked him the reason. He said, “Rahulji, a delegation of Manipuri political leaders, senior leaders, went to see the Home Minister. Outside his house, we were told to take off our shoes. When we went inside his room, we found that the hon. Home Minister was wearing his *chappals*.” What does this mean? What exactly does this mean? Why is it that in the hon. Home Minister’s house, the hon. Home Minister can wear *chappals* but a delegation of Manipuri politicians cannot do so? ... (*Interruptions*) What does this mean? ... (*Interruptions*)

(व्यवधान)

श्री राहुल गांधी (वयनाड) : मैं गलत नहीं बोल रहा हूं। स्पीकर सर, मैं आपको फोटो दिखा दूंगा। ... (व्यवधान) मैंने उस व्यक्ति से बोला कि आप गलत बोल रहे हैं तो उसने कहा कि राहुल जी मैं आपको फोटो देता हूं और उसने मुझे फोटो दी। This is not the way to deal with the people of India. ... (*Interruptions*)

Anyway, let me come to my final and the most important point. ... (*Interruptions*) We are sitting. ... (*Interruptions*)

श्री राहुल गांधी (वयनाड) : संस्कृति यह होती है कि वे भी जूते उतारें और आप भी उतारें। संस्कृति यह नहीं होती है कि वे जूते उतारें और आप नहीं उतारें। पता नहीं यह आपकी कौन सी संस्कृति है। ... (व्यवधान) Let me finish my point. ... (*Interruptions*)

(*Interruptions*)

... (व्यवधान)

... (व्यवधान)

Anyway, I go back to my main point and the final most important point. My understanding is that the RSS and the BJP are playing with the foundations of our country and they are weakening the foundations of our country. ... *(Interruptions)* They are weakening the links between our people. They are weakening the links between our languages. ... *(Interruptions)* They have further weakened the country by ensuring that not a single Indian youngster can get a job. ... *(Interruptions)* So, today, unlike a decade ago, fifteen years ago, India is weak. Ask yourselves why you were not able to get a guest on Republic Day. Ask yourself that question. ... *(Interruptions)*
(1910/MMN/RAJ)

Do not look surprised. Ask yourselves that question. What is happening is that India today is completely isolated. We are completely isolated and surrounded. We are surrounded in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Burma, Pakistan, Afghanistan and China. Everywhere we are surrounded, and our opponents understand our position. ... *(Interruptions)* Please let me speak because I am saying something very serious. Is that right? I am saying something very serious. Let me say we have been weakened. The conversation between our people is not taking place. Our institutions are under attack and we are completely surrounded.

The Chinese have a very clear vision of what they want to do. They are very, very clear about what they want to do. ... *(Interruptions)* One second, please.

You can ask anybody who understands it. The single biggest strategic goal of India's Foreign Policy has been to keep Pakistan and China separate. This is fundamental for India and what you have done is you have brought them together. ... *(Interruptions)* Today, do not be under any illusion. Do not underestimate the force that is standing in front of you. Do not underestimate the power that stands in front of us. Do not underestimate it. You have brought Pakistan and China together and this is the single biggest crime that you could commit against the people of India. China has a clear vision and I can clearly see without any confusion in my mind that China has a plan. ... *(Interruptions)*

China has a plan. ... *(Interruptions)* I can see without any doubt that the Chinese have a plan. ... *(Interruptions)* We are all nationalists, please. So, let us discuss properly. I can see that China has a clear-cut plan.

The foundations of their plan have been put in place in Doklam and in Ladakh. Do not underestimate what we are facing. This is a very, very serious threat to the Indian nation. ... (*Interruptions*) We have made huge strategic mistakes in Jammu and Kashmir. We have made huge strategic mistakes in our Foreign Policy. If we do not correct those mistakes ... (*Interruptions*)

What are the mistakes? I have just told you that you have brought China and Pakistan together. ... (*Interruptions*) You have brought China and Pakistan together. You have taken the concept of two different fronts and converted it into one unified front. By the way, in case you have not realised it, in case you have not understood what is going on, it is very clear that the Chinese and the Pakistanis are planning. Look at the weapons that they are buying. Look at their activity. Look at the way they are talking. Look at who they are speaking to.

I am clearly stating in the House of Parliament that we have made a massive blunder and we need to make absolutely sure that we can defend ourselves against the Chinese. Please remember what I am saying because the Chinese will act. Remember what I am saying. Remember that you will be responsible for anything that happens. That is why, it is important that as a nation we start this conversation. It is important that as a nation that you listen to what we say because we have experience; we have understanding.

(1915/VR/VB)

You might not think so. But we have people on this side, who understand these things, and have great understanding. Use us.(*Interruptions*) I can see that some of you are understanding what I am saying. I am happy. I can see. So, these are the three points I wanted to make today.

The nation is now at risk. The nation is at risk. The nation is at risk from outside. The nation is at risk from inside, and that is a very dangerous place for a nation to be. I do not like it. I am very uncomfortable with my nation, with my beloved country standing where it is standing, completely isolated on the outside, fighting on the inside, institutions captured, States not able to speak to each other. This worries me. It frightens me for my country. That is why I thought it important that I speak today. I know that many of you will just rubbish what I am saying. I understand it. That is what you have been told to do, and I am happy to let you do it. But remember what I said – you are putting this nation, this wonderful nation and its people at huge risk. Stop! Thank you. (ends)