

MESSAGE FROM LOK SABHA

The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (Amendment) Bill, 2001

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

"I am directed to inform you that the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (Amendment) Bill, 2000, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th November, has been passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th March, 2001, with the following amendments:-

Enacting Formula

1. Page 1, line 1,-
for "Fifty-first"
substitute "Fifty-second"

Clause 1

2. Page 1, line 4,-
for "2000"
substitute "2001"

2 I am, therefore, to return herewith the said Bill in accordance with the provisions of rule 121 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha with the request that the concurrence of Rajya Sabha in the said amendments be communicated to Lok Sabha.

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.

THE MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - *Contd*

श्री गांधी आज़ाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, सात तो बज गए क्या अभी भी हाउस चलेगा ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : आप बोलिए ।

श्री गांधी आज़ाद : घन्यवाद महोदय । महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का स्वागत और अभिनन्दन करते हुए मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण, जो सत्ता पक्ष का एक दस्तावेज होता है,

के विपक्ष में खड़ा हूँ। महोदय, मैं अभिभाषण के चंद बिन्दुओं पर प्रकाश डालना चाहता हूँ। पैरा आठ में राष्ट्रपति महोदय द्वारा यह कहलाने का प्रयास किया गया है कि यद्यपि हम सभी को स्वतंत्रता के बाद हुए भारत की उपलब्धियों पर गर्व है। इसमें रंज मात्र संदेह नहीं कि आजादी के 54 साल बाद भारत का विकास हुआ है, जरूर हुआ है लेकिन इस विकास का लाभ इस देश के आखिरी व्यक्ति तक, गांधी के व्यक्ति तक पहुंचा है या नहीं आज इस बात का विश्लेषण करने की जरूरत है। हमारा मानना है कि विकास तो जरूर हुआ है लेकिन वह विकास चंद हाथों में ही सिमटकर रह रहा है जिन्हें इन उपलब्धियों का लाभ पहुंचना चाहिए उन हाथों तक नहीं पहुंच रहा है। इसलिए आज इसका चिंतन और विश्लेषण करने की जरूरत है कि देश के विकास का लाभ भी उन तक पहुंचाया जा सके। महोदय, इसी पैराग्राफ में महामहिम द्वारा बाबा साहेब डॉ. अम्बेडकर को उद्धृत करते हुए कहा गया है कि बाबा साहेब डॉ. अम्बेडकर के सचेतक शब्दों से हमें आगे बढ़ने में मार्गदर्शन लेना चाहिए। उन्होंने संविधान का प्रारूप प्रस्तुत करते हुए बड़े विश्वास के साथ कहा था कि 26 जनवरी, 1950 को हम अंतर्विरोधों के जीवन में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं। राजनीति में समानता होगी और सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक जीवन में असमानता।

हमें शीघ्रातिशीघ्र इस अंतर्विरोध को दूर करना होगा। महोदय, आज अगर हम इसका विश्लेषण करें तो आज हमें पता चलता है कि आजादी के इतने दिनों के बाद भी यदि राजनीतिक समानता की बात करें तो इस सब से बड़े लोकतान्त्रिक देश में आज भी करोड़ों लोगों ने बेलट पेपर भी नहीं देखा है। सिद्धांत रूप में राजनीतिक समानता आज हमारे सामने प्रकट जरूर होती है लेकिन व्यावहारिक रूप में आज भी यह नहीं मिल पा रही है। आज भी इस बड़े लोकतंत्र की हत्या मनी, मीडिया और माफिया द्वारा की जा रही है। जो इस लोकतंत्र के लिए बहुत ही बाधक है। इसलिए इस सदन के माध्यम से सरकार से और देश की जनता से मैं अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि इस बाधा को दूर करने का प्रयास किया जाए और राजनीतिक समानता आप सब भी देखते हैं, देख रहे हैं कि आज जनप्रतिनिधियों की भी जानवरों की तरह से खरीद-फरोख्त हो रही है। यह कैसे राजनीतिक समानता मान ली जाए।

महोदय, अब हम आते हैं सामाजिक असमानता की ओर। आज इस देश में सामाजिक असमानता योजनाबद्ध तरीके से बढ़ी हुई है। आज देश में जातिवाद, वर्णवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद का जहर बढ़ता जा रहा है और आज दुनिया के किसी भी देश में इन्सानों में जातियां नहीं हैं बल्कि केवल हमारे भारत देश में इन्सानों में एक दो जातियां नहीं 6000 से ज्यादा जातियां पैदा की गई हैं। महोदय, इस सदन के माध्यम से मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। जातियां जानवरों की हुआ करती हैं, इन्सानों की नहीं हुआ करती हैं। जानवरों को देख कर के भी बताया जा सकता है कि कौन सी जाति का जानवर है लेकिन मैं दावे के साथ कह रहा हूँ कि इन्सान को देख कर के भी नहीं बताया जा सकता है कि कौन सी जाति का इन्सान है। इसलिए यह कहना कि इन्सानों में जातियां होती हैं यह सरासर गलत है। हम किसान के बेटे हैं, खेती करने वाले किसान के लड़के हैं। किसान खेत और खलिहान में रहता है और दिन भर अपने खेत की रखवाली करने के बाद फिर घर चला जाता है। जानवर रात में उसके खेत का नुकसान कर जाता है और रात को नुकसान करके चला भी जाता है। किसान अगर रखवाली करने जाता है तो उसके पैर का निशान जिसको हम खुर कहते हैं, खुर देख कर भी बताया जा सकता है कि वह कौन सा जानवर है। विज्ञान आज बहुत बढ़ा है। इसमें रंजमात्र भी संदेह नहीं कि 100

जातियों के पैर का निशान लगा दिया जाए तो कोई भी माई का लाल आज बता दे कि किस जाति के पैर का निशान है तो हम मानने के लिए तैयार हैं कि इन्सानों में भी जातियां होती हैं। महोदय, मैं उसी बात को और आगे बढ़ाना चाहता हूँ। मान लीजिये खेत में पानी हो, कीचड़ हो, जानवर का पैर दिखाई नहीं देता हो लेकिन जानवर खेत के अगल-बगल कहीं गोबर छोड़ जाता है, गोबर कर के चला जाता है तो उससे भी पता लगाया जा सकता है कि कौन सी जाति का जानवर था। लेकिन आज लेबोरेटरी में खून टेस्ट हो रहा है, स्टूल टेस्ट हो रहा है, मूत्र टेस्ट हो रहा है और दुनिया भर की बीमारियों का टेस्ट हो रहा है। मैं दावे के साथ इस सदन के माध्यम से बताना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी माई का लाल आज इन्सानों के गोबर की जांच कर के बता दे कि किस जाति के इन्सान का गोबर है तो हम मानने के लिए तैयार हैं कि इन्सानों में भी जातियां होती हैं अन्यथा यह बकवास है। मान्यवर, आज विज्ञान इतना बढ़ा हुआ है, इतना विकास हुआ है कि मां से बच्चे को पैदा करने के लिए मां की जरूरत भी समाप्त होती जा रही है, परख नली से बच्चा पैदा किया जा रहा है लेकिन मैं बड़े अदब के साथ यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि एक जाति ही के जानवर और एक ही जाति के देशी जानवर से अगर संकर क्रॉस करवाया जाए।

तब तो बच्चा पैदा हो सकता है। लेकिन इतने बड़े हुए वैज्ञानिक युग में भी एक जाति के जानवर से दूसरी जाति के जानवर को क्रॉस कराने पर, मैं दावे के साथ कह रहा हूँ कि बच्चा नहीं पैदा हो सकेगा। लेकिन जो यह इन्सानों की जातियां बांटी गयी हैं, बनायी गयी हैं, इन्सानों की जातियों में कहीं भूलवश या कहीं जान करके क्रॉस हो जाता है तो बच्चा पैदा होता है कि नहीं पैदा होता है? हमारा मानना है कि घकाघक बच्चे पैदा होते हैं। तो कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि इन्सानों की जातियां होती हैं। तो इसका मतलब है कि यह सरासर अन्याय है, सरासर यह ढोंग है। यह चंद चालाक लोगों की तिकड़मों की देन है और इस सामाजिक असमानता को अगर हमने जल्द से जल्द दूर नहीं किया तो इसके भयावह परिणाम हो सकते हैं।

अब हम आर्थिक असमानता की ओर आते हैं। आजादी के समय हमारे देश का आर्थिक विकास बहुत कम था। लेकिन आजादी के आज 54 साल बाद आर्थिक विकास जरूर बढ़ा है, इसमें रंच मात्र संदेह नहीं लेकिन जिस तरह से हमारा आर्थिक विकास बढ़ा है, उसी तरह से आर्थिक खाई भी बढ़ती जा रही है। यह देश के लिए चिंताजनक बात है। इसलिए महोदय, मैं सदन के माध्यम से बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस आर्थिक विषमता को हमें समय रहते ही किसी सरकार द्वारा कारगर उपाय ढूँढ करके कम कर देना चाहिए नहीं तो इसका भी भयावह परिणाम हो सकता है।

बाबा साहब को जो इसमें उद्धृत किया गया है, आज उसी तरह से हम राजनेताओं का हाल हो गया है। जैसे श्मशान पर जाते समय जब कोई दाह संस्कार होता है, उस समय सारे लोग शांत भाव से कहते हैं कि दुनिया में कुछ नहीं रखा हुआ है। कोई कुछ लेकर नहीं आया, कोई लेकर नहीं जाएगा। लेकिन दाह संस्कार के बाद लौटकर दस कदम बाद ही वे सारी कसमें, सारे संकल्प वहीं भूल जाते हैं और फिर उसी कार्यकलाप में लग जाते हैं। तो आज आजादी के 54 साल के बाद बाबा साहब डा. अम्बेडकर ने 1950 में जो कहा था, आज इस विषमता को - आर्थिक, सामाजिक विषमता को कौन दूर करेगा? इस विषमता को आखिर सरकार दूर करेगी या जनता दूर करेगी? मैं इसलिए इस सदन और आपके माध्यम से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर इस विषमता को जनता दूर करेगी, शिकारी दूर करेगा या शिकार हुए लोग दूर करेंगे? यह एक

राष्ट्रीय चिंतन का विषय है। मेरी राय में सरकार को नीयत साफ करके एक प्रकार की कोई नीति तैयार करनी चाहिए जिससे कि सामाजिक और आर्थिक असमानता को अगर दूर न कर सके तो इसकी खाई को जरूर कम किया जा सके।

महोदय, मैं महामहिम के अब पैरा 10 को उद्धरित करता हूँ। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति द्वारा हमारी बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या की ओर इशारा करते हुए कहा गया है कि अब सौ करोड़ की जनसंख्या पार कर गए हैं। जनसंख्या नियंत्रण की ओर संकेत किया गया है। महोदय जनसंख्या नियंत्रण की ओर तो संकेत जरूर किया गया है लेकिन जनसंख्या किन कारणों से बढ़ी है, इसकी ओर कोई इशारा नहीं किया गया है। हमारा मानना है कि आज इस देश में जो जनसंख्या वृद्धि हुई है वह अशिक्षा के कारण, गरीबी के कारण, अंधविश्वास के कारण हुई है। आज इस देश में इतनी अशिक्षा है कि टी.बी. का बीमार आदमी भालू के बाल की कमीज पहनता है। कैसे इस देश का भला होगा? आज इस देश में इतना अंधविश्वास है कि एक दर्जन लड़कियां पैदा हो जाएं लेकिन एक लड़के के बिना मुक्ति और मोक्ष नहीं मिलेगा। मुक्ति और मोक्ष के लिए लड़का पैदा होना जरूरी है। इतना ही नहीं, आज इस देश में इतना अंधविश्वास है कि आज यहां नदी को, पहाड़ को, जानवर को देवता बता दिया गया है।

सारे देवता हैं, जानवर यहां का देवता है, लेकिन इंसान को घूना पाप बताया गया है। यह देश कैसे चलेगा? महोदय, इसी संदर्भ में गंगा की पवित्रता की बात यहां आई है, कुंभ की बात आई है। जरूर कई करोड़ लोग वहां जुटे थे। लेकिन मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से उस गंगा की पवित्रता की दुहाई देने वालों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि गंगा के छीटों से नहाए तो जरूर लेकिन गंगा के पवित्र पानी को पीने की हिम्मत नहीं की। किस बात की पवित्रता को ललकारते हो, कौन सी पवित्रता को कहते हो? वहां अगर पानी पीने की जरूरत पड़ी तो देशी और विदेशी बोतलों के पानी से प्यास बुझाने का काम किया। इसी तरह से यहां गाय की पवित्रता को कहा जाता है और गाय का दूध पीने वाले दूध पी करके उस गाय के पलने-फोसने वाले जब वही गौ माता मर जाती है तो उसको कंधा भी लगाने का काम नहीं करते हैं। कौन सी मां है वह तुम्हारी जिसका तुम कंधा भी लगाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हो? जिस तरह से इस देश में पवित्रता के नाम पर धोखा-धड़ी की जा रही है यह देश के लिए अच्छा नहीं है।

महोदय, मैं अब पैरा 20 पर आना चाहता हूँ जिसमें सुधार की प्रक्रिया को इस प्रकार व्यापक बनाए जाने की आवश्यकता है कि आत्म-निर्भरता को पुष्ट किया जा सके, रोजगार के अधिक अवसर सृजित किए जा सकें, गरीबी को तेजी से दूर किया जा सके। कैसे किया जाए, विवरण नहीं दिया गया है। इस सदन के माध्यम से सरकार से देश की जनता जानना चाहती है कि आखिर यह कैसे किया जाएगा? क्या विदेशी कंपनियों के देश में आ जाने से आत्म-निर्भरता आ जाएगी? क्या सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों का विनिवेशीकरण एवं निजीकरण करने से देश में रोजगार के अवसरों में वृद्धि हो जाएगी? क्या उदारीकरण एवं निजीकरण की व्यवस्था से इस देश की गरीबी मिट जाएगी, क्या सरकारी क्षेत्रों में कार्यरत कर्मचारियों की छंटनी व्यवस्था लागू करने से रोजगार के अवसरों में वृद्धि हो जाएगी? क्या सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के निजीकरण के फलस्वरूप अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति व पिछड़े वर्गों के लोगों के आरक्षण के हितों को बहाली मिल जाएगी?

महोदय, अब मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के पैरा 46 की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ । ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : गांधी जी, आपने अपने आवंटित समय से चार मिनट ज्यादा ले लिए हैं, अब आप समाप्त करिए, और भी बहुत से लोग हैं ।

श्री गांधी आजाद : बस अब चंद मिनट में समाप्त करता हूँ ।

श्री ब्रतीन सेनगुप्त : इतना अच्छा भाषण दे रहे हैं, इन्हें मौका दीजिए ।

श्री गांधी आजाद : भारत का भविष्य बनाने में शिक्षा, विशेषकर बालिकाओं की शिक्षा सर्वाधिक लाभप्रद निवेश है । सभी को आरंभिक शिक्षा उपलब्ध कराने के लिए एक समेकित राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा कार्यक्रम सर्वशिक्षा अभियान शुरू किया गया है । इसके लिए एक राष्ट्रीय मिशन गठित किया गया है जिसके अध्यक्ष प्रधान मंत्री जी हैं । महोदय, यह एक साहसिक कदम है, किन्तु देश की जनता माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से सवाल करना चाहती है और यह जानना चाहती है कि इस देश में वे किताबें भी विद्यमान हैं जिनमें लिखा गया है कि "स्त्री शूद्रो न ध्येताम्" अर्थात् स्त्री और शूद्र समाज को पढ़ने-लिखने का अधिकार नहीं देना चाहिए । ऐसी किताबें भी विद्यमान हैं जिनमें यह भी लिखा गया है कि शूद्र अगर ज्ञान की बात सुन ले तो उसके कान में सीसा पिघला कर डाल देना चाहिए । शूद्र अगर ज्ञान की बात बोल दे तो उसकी जुबान कटवा देनी चाहिए । शूद्र अगर ज्ञान की बात याद कर ले तो उसका गला कटवा देना चाहिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : अब ये पुरानी बातें हो गई हैं ।

श्री गांधी आजाद : महोदय, आज देश की जनता प्रधान मंत्री जी से सवाल करना चाहती है ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : आउटडेटेड हैं ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री गांधी आजाद : महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से प्रधान मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इन किताबों पर बैन लगा दिया जाएगा ?

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल : बाल्मीकि की तो किसी ने जुबान नहीं काटी ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री गांधी आजाद : क्या इन किताबों पर ... (व्यवधान) ... आज की इस सदी में भी लागू है और प्रधान मंत्री जी से आज इस देश की जनता का सवाल है कि क्या इन किताबों पर भी बैन लगा दिया जाएगा ? क्या इन किताबों की होली जला दी जाएगी ? तब तो इस देश की जनता को भरोसा हो सकता है कि हां, यहां पर शिक्षा का विकास होगा अन्यथा यह एक कोरा राजनैतिक आश्वासन समझा जाएगा ? महोदय, मैं अब पैरा-53 जो न्याय विभाग के मुकदमों में होने वाले विलंब को कम करने के लिए विभिन्न प्रक्रियात्मक और मूल विधि की समीक्षा कर रहा है, की ओर आप का ध्यान आकर्षित कर रहा हूँ । मेरी राय में आज न्याय, अन्याय करने वालों का पक्षधर है

और न्याय चाहने वालों के विरुद्ध है। यहां यह बात चरितार्थ है कि रिश्तखोरी में पकड़ा गया व्यक्ति न्यायालयों में रिश्त देकर ही छूट जाता है। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। दल-बदल विरोधी कानून का एक मुकदमा आज सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में पेंडिंग है, लेकिन उस में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा आज तक संविधान पीठ का गठन नहीं किया जा सका है जब कि चंद मास के बाद वहां चुनाव होने वाले हैं। उस में न्याय कब मिलेगा यह तो न्यायमूर्ति ही बता सकते हैं और आज न्याय की आशा कैसे की जाए जबकि सामाजिक व्यवस्था के अन्यायी मनु की मूर्ति राजस्थान के हाइकोर्ट के सामने लगायी जा रही है। ऐसे में किस तरह से इस देश में न्याय की आशा की जाय।

इस प्रकार इस अभिभाषण द्वारा जो सरकार के क्रियाकलाप का प्रदर्शन किया गया है, उस से इस देश की जनता को सरकार से जितनी आशा थी, यह उस के अनुरूप नहीं है और यह देश हित, जन हित, किसान हित, कर्मकार हित, विद्यार्थी हित और अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति और पिछड़ी जातियों, किसी का भी हित करने में सक्षम नहीं है और न दिखाई दे रहा है। इसलिए मैं महा-महिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय का आदरपूर्वक सम्मान करते हुए इस अभिभाषण का विरोध करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद (बिहार) : महोदय, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने अभी तक संविधान पीठ का गठन नहीं किया है, मैं समझता हूं कि यह कहना सुप्रीम कोर्ट के कार्यकलाप पर टिप्पणी है। अगर ऐसा है तो मेरा निवेदन है कि इसे कार्यवाही से निकाल दिया जाना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : मैं समझता हूं कि यह अन-पार्लियामेंटरी नहीं है और ऐसा उत्तर प्रदेश वाला एक केस पेंडिंग है। वह यही सच्चाई बता रहे हैं।

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR (Nagaland): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand here to oppose the Motion. First of all, I would like to deliberate more on the North-East. It is very important to recognise the strategic location of the North-Eastern Region, the long international borders with China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan and tenuous links with the rest of India through the chicken neck in North Bengal. I think these are important geo-political factors in the national security scenario.^a It is not only now, but also in future that this Region shall have a vital bearing on the security of the country. Unfortunately, most of the people in the country have not realised the sensitivity or the importance of this Region. It is also important to note that people think that the North-Eastern Region consists of one State. This erroneous impression prevailing among many people in the rest of India tends to lump the whole North-Eastern Region as one entity. I feel the Central Government is guilty of this generalisation because bureaucracy finds it convenient. So, it is necessary to keep in mind that the North-Eastern Region consists of seven different States plus Sikkim with widely different characteristics. There may be some common features. But the

seven States differ from each other ethnically, racially, socially, politically, geographically, historically, economically, culturally and in many other aspects.

Their problems, too, are varied. What is true of Assam may not be true of Mizoram and what is relevant for Tripura may also not be relevant for Nagaland. This diversity becomes very crucial when we attempt to find answers to the issues that confront the seven States of the region. We could go badly wrong if generalised solutions are prescribed for maladies that are very different. To be effective, the policies, plans and programmes that are drawn up should be State-specific within the region and location-specific within a State. Moreover, the people of the region are sensitive about this common classification and dislike it, as it dilutes their distinct sense of identity. They are proud of their individuality. I think this is one area which has to be taken with utmost seriousness. Though it is very small, I think, it has very big implications.

Right from the time of Independence, regional aspirations have dominated the political scenario in the region. The threat of being overwhelmed and submerged by mainland India has always been a factor, particularly in the tribal psyche. Beginning in Nagaland in the early fifties, these aspirations became secessionist in nature and developed into full-blown insurgencies. There is hardly any State that is not affected, in greater or lesser degrees. The genesis was in Nagaland and the others are offshoots that emanated at different times. The causes, the intensity and the methods adopted may be different, but the violence, loss of lives, suffering and insecurity have deeply and directly affected the lives of people all over the region. Indirectly, such disturbed conditions have kept alive the feeling of alienation, impeded emotional integration with the rest of India and severely retarded socio-economic growth and development of the people.

Sir, the insurgency factor should not be overlooked or underestimated while considering measures for the growth of the region. Real and sustained progress will be possible only when political solutions are found to end insurgency and assuage the feelings of estrangement. A mature and accommodating approach and a spirit of mutual trust and confidence, without, in any way, compromising the integrity of the country, has to be adopted by all the parties, if a breakthrough is to be made. Administrative and military solutions have not succeeded in the past.

Sir, we have been experiencing, for the last three years, the peace process and we do not find any concrete progress or any solution coming out of it. Yes, recently, the Minister of Home Affairs, Shri L.K.Advani also visited the North-East. He did touch Kohima, the capital of Nagaland. As our demand has always been, negotiations should not be with one faction only but should bring all the groups, factions, together to the negotiating table. I believe that in principle that has been agreed upon. I hope that the Government of India will also stick to it so that some viable solution will come about in the near future. In this regard, we have also been pressing that a person with a political background, enjoying a high credibility in the country and with an understanding of the complex issues of the region, should be given the responsibility of talking with the insurgents. So far, as we see, a bureaucrat is on the forefront in the negotiations. If I am not mistaken, recently, Lt. Gen. Kulkarni has been appointed as Chairman of the Peace Committee. I think it is a welcome sign because he is a person who is acceptable to both sides. And we hope that his initiative as a mediator, with the help of the State Government also, will give some positive result.

Sir, apart from Assam, to some extent, the other States of the region entered the development mainstream only well after independence. The hill areas of the North-East were neglected and kept totally isolated by the British rulers, and the tribal people joined the Indian Union with a massive disadvantage in terms of development and social services. This handicap is yet to be made up. While the rest of the country is going foreign in investment and going global, the North-East is still struggling to put into place even the basic infrastructure, which is taken for granted elsewhere. They have a long way to go to catch up with the other States, and an accelerated focussed strategy is essential if they are to reap the benefits of modernity, liberalisation, globalisation and economic reforms. The Shukla Committee report is an eye-opener in this context, as it spells out the infrastructure needs of the region in detail. This report needs to be studied by all policy-makers. But, unfortunately, it has hardly been acted upon till date. The existing position is quite dismal in terms of road, rail and air communication, telecommunication, information technology, services, postal services, health services, urban and civic services, industrialization, use of natural resources and so on. In fact, today, the North-East MPs had a meeting with the Civil Aviation Ministry, and I think, there was a unanimity on the complaint of the MPs that there is lack of air connectivity, and in fact, for the last fifty years, though we have been harping that connectivity

in the North-East should be improved, but so far it is not forthcoming, and I think, to talk about connectivity today in a new millennium, where we are talking of information technology and global economy, is very distressing and discouraging for the people of the North-Eastern region, and I hope that the Government will take initiatives in these areas, not only in the field of Civil Aviation but in other infrastructure developmental areas, which is very much necessary in the prevailing situation, where the problem of law and order and insurgency is at its peak, and there is disruption of any economic activities, and in such a situation, I think, it is very necessary that we should take things on a war footing, and the Government should also come with a big heart to save the North-Eastern States which are reeling under the financial constraints and bring them out of this situation, because we believe that it is not the finance which is more important, but it is the unity and integrity of the country which is more important. In this connection, I would like to quote what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote. "The avenues of development for tribal areas should be perused within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:-

1. People should develop along the line of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture.
2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt be needed, especially, in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territories.
4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institution.
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but the quality of human character that is evolved."

But, unfortunately, today, Sir, *...(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM): Mr. Jamir, there are five speakers more. Please conclude.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR: Unfortunately, whenever it is a question of North-East, I think, it has become a dumping ground for all sorts of criticism. When we talk about irregularities, or whenever there is a financial misconduct, every time, the North-East is focussed. Sir, I totally oppose what has been spoken by the President of India, and especially what is stated in paragraph 15:

"I urge the State Governments to ensure that there is no mismanagement or leakage of public funds. For this they should carry out effective decentralization, strengthen democratic institution and increase the participation of people's organisations. They must also protect the minorities in their respective States."

I think this sweeping remark is not a very healthy practice, specially for the M.Ps. of the North East. Do you mean to say that it is only the North-Eastern States which are mismanaging or where there is a leakage of public funds? I am sure, there is much, much more corruption and much, much more mismanagement in other parts of India also. Why do you particularise the North-East? They are attributing every fault which is detected, to the North-East. I think that is not fair, and especially at a time when the Central Government is trying to bring about some sort of understanding, and to bridge the emotional gap that has been there for the last 50 years, I think this sweeping remark is not only harming but is also creating discontentment and a feeling of ill-will among the people of the North-Eastern region. Sir, I demand that this particular sentence be removed, and even the remark "They must also protect the minorities in their respective States." Sir, I am sure, in the North-East, the minorities are well protected, more than what is happening elsewhere in the country. In fact, in the hilly States, in the tribal areas of Nagaland, we are a classless society. We don't have any caste system. In fact, in my constituency, I have already mentioned it, we have a large population of Hindus. my home town just hundred yards away from, our residence is a temple and we are having a very good proximity, a very healthy environment relationship with the neighbours of other religion, but such negative comments, as you know, do send a very wrong signal, and I would like the Government to remove this sentence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM): Please conclude.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR: Sir, I am just concluding. As far as the financial situation is concerned, the State Governments of the North-East are reeling under a serious financial stress. Up to the end of the financial year, 1998-99, the Central Government was providing an additional financial assistance to Special Category States to cover the assessed non-Plan gap. In addition to providing full assistance to finance the agreed Annual State Plan Outlay for the year 1999-2000, this practice was discontinued. Instead of providing additional financial assistance for covering the non-Plan gap, the negative factor was taken into account for working out the resources for the Annual Plan Outlay. The resources for the Annual Plan, after taking into account the non-Plan gap, being inadequate, recourse had to be taken to huge quantum of loans, mostly from open market borrowings. The quantum of loans obtained also eroded the non-Plan resources further due to debt servicing. As a result, the Budgetary deficits for the States have been steadily mounting year after year. For example, in Nagaland, it has gone up from Rs.89 crores in 1997-98 to Rs.209 crores in 1998-99, to Rs.252 crores in 1999-2000 and to Rs. 342 crores in 2000-2001.

The critical situation faced by the Government of Nagaland will be clear from the fact that as against the total Plan and non-Plan expenditure of Rs.1,222 crores during 1999-2000, as much as Rs.672 crores, that is 55 per cent, went for salaries and pensions and Rs.203 crores, that is, 17 per cent, for debt-servicing. Barely 28 per cent of the total Budget is left for development works, maintenance of law and order, and other costs of administration and maintenance of assets. A large part of this goes for combating insurgency. What then is left for development and welfare of the people? This is being highlighted only to show that in the present financial circumstances any real growth and development is simply not possible and the States are just limping along from month to month. The State Governments literally go with begging bowls every month to the Centre just to ensure that salaries of employees are paid. The problem is compounded further in a situation of insurgency, as the insurgents fully exploit the disaffection and frustration of the people. This situation cannot go on like this. I think the people in the region are really fed up with insurgency. In fact, the public themselves are rising against insurgency. I think, at this juncture, the Government should provide full support to the public and give them encouragement so that they can also counter insurgency.

Sir, I know that you are in a hurry and you would like to give time to others. But this is also very important.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM): Whatever you have already spoken is important. But kindly conclude because there are others to speak.

SHRI C. APOK JAMIR: Sir, I want to bring to your notice the letter that has been submitted to the Christian MPs. It is regarding the census of Scheduled Castes, Tribals and Backward Classes. It is quite pertinent that in the last two or three years there were unfortunate atrocities on minorities which has been very strongly condemned by the minorities of this country. The minorities are complaining the manner in which it has been done. In this context, the Scheduled Castes, the Tribals and the Backward Classes have given a representation with regard to their discrimination. I would like to just read out their demands and know the views of the Government of India on them. Their demands are: (1) to allow all the Scheduled Caste members to register their identity as Scheduled Caste irrespective of religion; (2) to delete the discriminatory note on religious criteria from question No.8; (3) to instruct enumerators to enter religion of Sarna Tribals in the religious column and the Tribals in ST column in all the States; (4) to instruct enumerators not to ask the Scheduled Castes their religion; and (5) to freeze all data on the score that may have already been collected, unless all Dalits are permitted to enter their identity in Census.

Lastly, I just want to end by saying that the people of the region do not harbour any ill-will or hostility towards the rest of India. However, they desire to be treated on par with other Indians and want their aspirations and identities to be acknowledged. In terms of political arithmetic, the region may not be significant; but this should not make us indifferent or unsympathetic to the genuine hopes and wishes of the people. With these few words, I oppose the motion. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM): Dr. (Smt.) Joyasree Goswami Mahanta. Not present. Dr. Y. Radhakrishna Murty.

DR. Y. RADHAKRISHNA MURTY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I make a critical analysis of the President's Address, I would like to make it clear that we on this side have great respect for our President who has got an intellect par excellence and a very

compassionate heart for the poor and the downtrodden of this country. Leave alone the uncivil comments by intellectual pygmies. But, Sir, the President's Address in the Central Hall on the 19th February was only a 60-minute burdensome rhetoric imposed and inflicted on him. Yet, he had discharged his duty and the Constitutional obligation with dignity, grace and charm.

Now I come to the contents of the President's Address. It is, I feel, 'all things to all' - showing moon in the mirror to the one billion people of the country. It is just a self-glorifying programme paper of the Government. It concludes with a specious advice to the Members of Parliament 'to best use the precious time of the Parliament for the completion of the scheduled business'. And strangely, it is business indeed!

My comments may ruffle the feathers of some, but, after all, we have to speak the truth and nothing but the truth. Sir, I will select only four or five paragraphs which my predecessor speakers from this side or from my party have not touched. Strangely, in para 7 at page 3 there is a mention of 'the sacred flame of freedom and democracy'. This phrase comes only after 'the religious piety of the Maha Kumbh' and that sets the tone of the Address and the latter taking precedence over the former.

The compliments to the UP Government for the coordinated efforts appear to have been intended to sidestep the gross failure of the Gujarat Government of the discoordination in dealing with the catastrophe in Gujarat.

Then para 10 at page 4 refers to the ongoing Census operation and couples it with the National Population Policy (NPP) and theorizes that it is necessary to have a set of incentives and disincentives. I am emphasising this point because the World Population Conference at Cairo in 1994 had categorically discouraged the approach to the population programme in terms of targets, incentives and disincentives.

India is a signatory to this declaration. The Government had also set up a Committee in 1994 to evolve a population policy with a famous scientist, Shri M.S. Swaminathan, as the Chairman of the Committee. He gave a report which has these three components 'no targets, no incentives and no disincentives'. Our Population Policy which is called the National Population Policy, 2000, which was published in February 2000, also

mentions about the incentives very liberally for obvious reasons. But it does not mention about the targets or the disincentives. It is strange to find in the President's Address the combination of incentives and disincentives which were disregarded in the previous Committee reports and our own Health Ministry's National Population Policy, 2000. I do not know wherefrom this wonderful idea has emerged in the President's Address.

Sir, coming to Para 16, which speaks of the Government's uncompromising commitment to secularism, I quote: "The levels of communal and caste violence have continued to decline." I think this is a great hyperbole. How can we forget the lengthy discussion we had in the same House about the nasty, planned attacks on minorities, a series of them on the institutions and individuals, leading to destruction and death? How can we forget the vandalism on M.F. Hussain's Art Gallery, on the cricket pitch at Kotla, on the cinema hall showing 'Fire', on the shooting sets of 'Water' and even on the hotels, against the Valentine's Day Celebration? How can we forget the prescribing of dress codes for girls, on the precious plea that mosquitoes may bite them on the legs? How can we forget the door-to-door preaching by the Parivar against honey-mooning, saying that it is something not Indian? Should we forget about the systematic attempts at saffronisation of NCERT, the Indian Council of Historical Research, the Indian Council of Social Science Research and other organisations? I am not going into the details. I am only giving a list of them. Should we close our eyes and ears to the lecturing on the need for Indianising the Churches, and on the need for Indianising the Muslims, because their forefathers were Hindus, or, to the textbooks in some of the BJP-ruled States, with a highly distorted Indian history, poisoning the young mind, or, to the proposals and exhortations to teach Vedic Maths and Astrology in schools and colleges? Did not the Parivar give an ultimatum to the Government to clear the decks by 12th March, 2002, for the construction of a temple, and did not the Government leaders meekly say that it is not the NDA's agenda? And we know how the Prime Minister himself shed his mask and described the temple construction at the so-called disputed site, that is, the Babri Masjid site, as a national sentiment and an unfinished task. Of course, he later on modified it by saying, "It is not in the NDA agenda." We know how the Prime Minister himself is giving a call for a debate on 'conversions'; we know the BJP Chief's call for a debate on trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir, and a junior Minister calling for a debate on reforms. Then, we have a debate on the review of the Constitution. Debate has become a fashion with this Government. Probably, the next call would be

for a debate on the legitimacy of this Government itself. Sir, in the days of the freedom movement, our great leaders wrote their autobiographies in jails, which have become classics for us and we read them. Now, we are told that Dara Singh is writing his autobiography in the jail. I hope it won't be prescribed as a textbook later on. And, what explanation can we offer when, recently, the Bajrang Dal gave a call for retaliatory action for what had happened in Afghanistan? Such comments may not be coming technically from the Government, but they are certainly from the Parivar, and the Government is almost silent on this.

Sir, the President's Address to the nation, delivered on 14th August, 2000, - of course, the Cabinet prepares the President's Address - mentions about this thing. I would just like to quote a few sentences.

"The precious heritage of tolerance of different faiths and ideologies, which has been the cementing force in our complex pluralistic society, is showing signs of breaking down and a new intolerance, resulting often in violence, is manifesting itself in our society".

That is our President in his Address to the Nation. I would like to know, is this "uncompromising commitment to secularism", as the Address calls it, with all that is happening today, a positive secularism? Is it a negative secularism, a neutral secularism or a saffron secularism? I would like to know this from the Government.

In Para 17, the creation of three new States is described as "a momentous event" that took place last year. A momentous event! All these three States are now agitating for massive monetary and other help which the Government at the Centre is unable to provide. Not only that; this has also opened the Pandora's box with cries and agitations in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and several other States. And this required a high level of political compromise in our State of Andhra Pradesh, virtually a ceasefire between the BJP and the TDP, on this count.

Now, let us turn to Para 39 which speaks gloriously of our textile industry as "...a traditional industry in which India enjoyed a global advantage...". The National Textile Policy, much publicised but least read document, spared only a couple of pages to the handloom industry with two-and-a-half crores of artisans who were self-employed, in the rural areas.

8.00 P.M.

And we had a plethora of committees over the last few decades to review this sector with innumerable recommendations. But what is the result, Sir? Today's 'Hindu' gives a news item from our State, Andhra Pradesh, that 26 suicides by handloom workers in Siricilla had taken place during this year. The handloom workers are living in inhuman conditions with miserable wages. And there is only - again I am quoting from the New Textile Policy - "...a periodic review of the present policies, keeping their interests in view". What a casual attitude, Sir! They are asked to pay 8% of their paltry wages - and I know they get Rs. 1200 to Rs. 1400 a month for the whole family; that is their emolument - for the Thrift Fund. And now they are again being asked again to pay 12% of their earnings towards Provident Fund. Deendayal Hathkargha Protsahan Yojana and other yojanas do not help them. But the Address cynically promises that the exports going up from "US\$ 13 billion to US\$ 50 billion" by 2010, again showing a moon in the mirror to the handloom sector.

Sir, again coming to Para 42, it mentions,

"While removing most Quantitative Restrictions in April, as per our WTO commitment, we will see that the transition will not be painful to Indian agriculture and industry, especially to the small scale sector".

This is a quotation from the President's Address; and I think, as a doctor, this is something called 'promising euthanasia', which means mercy-killing. They have made it less painful. With unequal competition, Sir, and the free play of market forces, with the Indian corporate and the MNCs on a spree of mergers and acquisitions, a corporate cannibalism is taking place, with the survival of the strongest, the fittest and the fraudulent and the decimation of the small, the weak and the meek.

Sir, now I turn to para 9, on page 3, which refers to the under-representation of our sisters - the word 'sisters' is given - in Parliament and State Legislatures. The woes of our sisters is not just a matter of political reservation. What about the feminisation of poverty, after the reforms package, of which the Human Development Reports deplores so much; what about the female foeticide; what about the diagnostic tools which are helping female foeticides and what about the discrimination against the girl

child and what about dowry deaths? I have got a lot of statistics, but for want of time, I am not going into them. What about domestic violence against women and their sexual harassment at work places? What about the so-called Hindu Constitution's plea for women to confine to the house and the kitchen and the glorification of sati and temples to Lord Rama on the one side and temples to Roop Kanwar on the other side? By the way, Sir, who is obstructing the 85th Constitution Amendment, when that is described as having all-round support." Why this failure at "arriving at a consensus?" Is it not because a section of the Ruling Party and the NDA itself is subverting this consensus?

Again, Sir, in this context, I would like to quote a few sentences from the President's Address to the Nation on 14th August. "Our women are still treated as less than human. Day-in and day-out, we read in the newspapers gruesome stories of dowry deaths of young women in the flower of their youth because of the insatiable greed of husbands and the in-laws. The law-enforcing agencies remain indifferent or ineffective and the law itself remains awfully inadequate. In fact, statistics show that crimes against women have been on the increase. No place is safe for them, not even their own homes." Sir, this is the Address of the President to the nation. *(Time bell rings)* Sir, I have been waiting for a long time; give me a few minutes more. Let us turn to para 5. I won't take much time. I will take a couple of minutes. I am also tired.

श्री मूल चन्द श्रीणा : एडजर्न कर दीजिए। कल बोल लेंगे। कंटीन्यू कर लेंगे।

DR. Y. RADHAKRISHNA MURTY : No, Sir, I will finish it off. I want to unburden myself. Let us turn to paragraphs 55 to 65. I am quoting, Sir. "India's Foreign Policy resting on a strong foundation of continuity and national consensus, has responded creatively to the changing global scenario." This is what the President's Address states. A very interesting semantic exercise. Our obsession with nuclearisation and missileisation of India had invited the wrath of the world community - Can we hide it? - and suspicion from the neighbours. How can we forget about the sanctions from which we have not wriggled out till today? In spite of the Jaswant Singh - Talbott secret confabulations - how many times, Sir - 8, 9, 10, - nothing has come out, and these, at a great peril to our country and the economy.

Why is the anti-Indian sentiment so widespread in our neighbouring country, a Hindu country, Nepal? Why? We could not convince our

neighbours, leave alone the intransigent Pakistan, not to harbour insurgents in the North-East and not allow drugs and arms trafficking? Why do our important Cabinet Ministers indulge in the most irresponsible talk, without any substantive evidence, that our great neighbour is enemy number one, and build helipads on our borders. At a most inappropriate time we are trying to build bridges with that country. Is it the continuity of our tried and tested foreign policy that we have almost given up nurturing the NAM and preferred to have pleasantries with US imperialism? How dare the US embassy official visit Bengal to see a fictitious carnage? How is it that the US Home Secretary's spokesman, the other day, come out with his so-called evidence on violation of human rights in West Bengal on the eve of the Assembly elections? Sir, that is about the foreign policy.

Now, I come to the last paragraph, which may interest you also because, in the Address, the President, quoting Babasaheb Ambedkar, affirms, "We must remove the contradictions of social and economic inequality at the earliest." Sir, the President, in his Address to the nation on earlier occasions, referred to the conditions of the *dalits*, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, after fifty years of our Republic, with obvious anguish. Sir, shall I read out two sentences?

The Ministry of Social Justice just ignores all the findings, the articles, news and editorials coming in the newspapers. They are not aware of the atrocities being committed on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Now, I will mention the efforts the State Governments--and, probably, some of Government of India's bureaucrats--which are working hard to bring enactments to dilute the protections given to the tribes under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, to hand over land and assets to the private companies. Then, Sir, in this context, I will read what the President had said on another occasion in his Address to the nation: "We have laws that are enshrined which prohibit transfer of tribal lands to the non-tribals, to private bodies and corporations. The Supreme Court has upheld these provisions through its judgments. We can't ignore the social commitments enshrined in our Constitution. In Eastern India, the exploitation of minerals like bauxite and iron are causing destruction of forest and sources of water, while the nation must benefit from the exploitation of mineral resources. We would have also to take into consideration the questions of environmental protection and the rights of tribals."

Sir, in my own State now, a lot of things are going on. They are trying to alienate the land in one district to a Dubai-based company, in the name of constructing an aluminium factory and captive mines in the scheduled areas.

Again, our human rights record is not very bright. We have lock-up deaths everywhere. In my own State, Sir, in the last one month, we have had half-a-dozen lock-up deaths and the human rights activists everywhere are being killed by surrendered naxalites, just as they have been doing in Assam. They are called SULFA, Surrendered ULFA. Here, the surrendered naxalites are being used to kill the human rights activists. The International Human Rights Watch has a lot of things to say. Because of the time-limit, I am not reading those things.

With due respect to the President, Sir, we are in total disagreement with the contents in his Address of 19th February to the Joint Session of Parliament.

Thank you.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : मान्यवर सदस्यगण, मैं सदन की राय लेना चाहता हूँ । वक्ताओं की सूची में कुल मिलाकर 15 सदस्य हैं जिन में से 5 सदस्य सभापति महोदय से कल बोलने की अनुमति ले चुके हैं । शेष जो 10 सदस्य हैं, उन में से इस समय मुझे सदन में 2 दिखाई नहीं दे रहे हैं । अब 8 सदस्य बचते हैं तो क्या इन के भाषण आज समाप्त कर लिए जाएं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : कल के लिए छोड़ दें ।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Assam) : Sir, the smaller parties like ours are called at the end. If the bigger parties start tomorrow and take one hour or fifty minutes or thirty minutes, then we will be left out.*(Interruptions)*.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM): Your turn will come tomorrow. ...*(Interruptions)*... Your number may be either first or second. ..*(Interruptions)*..

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: That should be ensured.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM) : Now, what is the sense of the House? ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : एड्जॉर्न कर दें ।

DR. M. N. DAS (Orissa) : May I know the number of speakers who will take part in the debate tomorrow and how much time has been allotted to each one of them? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM) : The time is allotted according to the time of the party.*(Interruptions)*.... I think there is no need to read out the names. I want to take the sense of the House whether we should continue or not.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Adjourn the House.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम) : अब इस घन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर आगे चर्चा कल जारी रहेगी और माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी कल बहस का उत्तर देंगे । सदन की कार्यवाही कल बृहस्पतिवार 8 मार्च, 2001 प्रातः 11 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned at twelve minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 8th March, 2001.