

1.00 P.M.

GOVERNMENT BILL

**THE INFLUX FROM PAKISTAN (CONTROL) REPEALING
(REPEAL) BILL, 2001.**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO): Sir, on behalf of my senior colleague, Shri L.K. Advani, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to repeal the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Repealing Act, 1952.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, it is nearing 1 O'clock. ...*(Interruptions)*... Should we adjourn for lunch?

SHRIMATI SARLA MAHESHWARI (West Bengal) : No, no.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal) : What about the Special Mentions?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do you want to sit through the lunch-hour? Special Mentions will have to be over by 1 O'clock. It is 1 O'clock now. We shall take up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Do you want to continue? All right. Shri Sangh Priya Gautam.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - *CONTD.*

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तरांचल) : सभापति जी, हम सभी यह जानते हैं कि बजट सत्र के प्रारम्भ में सदन के दोनो सदनों के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में प्रस्तुत...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA (Orissa) : Sir, what about the Special Mentions? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You see, it is already one O'clock. That is why we have taken up the discussion on the President's Address. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA: Sir, the Special Mentions are more important. . . .*(Interruptions)*...

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) पीठासीन हुए।]

श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हम और सभी सदस्य जानते हैं कि संसद के दोनों सदनों के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में बजट सत्र के प्रारम्भ में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण होता है वह सरकारी दस्तावेज होता है। सरकार ने अपने घोषणा पत्र के आधार पर निर्मित नीतियों द्वारा, बनाई गई योजनाओं द्वारा अपने उस कार्यकाल में क्या पाया, क्या खोया और सरकार को आगे क्या करना है यह सारे तथ्य उस अभिभाषण में सन्निहित होते हैं। अगर पाया तो उसकी प्रसिद्धि, खोया तो उसके कारण और राष्ट्र से सहयोग करने की अपील और जो आगे करना है उसकी दिशा भी उस अभिभाषण में सन्निहित होती है। मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का आभारी हूँ और उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उनके इस अभिभाषण में यह सारे तथ्य सन्निहित हैं। महोदय, पिछले दशक में सारे विश्व में विशेष रूप से आर्थिक, विज्ञान और तकनीक के क्षेत्र में एक क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन हुआ, आर्थिक उदारीकरण हुआ, व्यापारिक भूमंडलीकरण हुआ, औद्योगिक आधुनिकीकरण हुआ, वैज्ञानिक एवं तकनीकीकरण हुआ, कम्प्यूटरीकरण हुआ और इनके होते हुए बहुत से देशों में खासकर के हमारे देश में सरकारी संस्थानों का निजीकरण हुआ और इन सब के संदर्भ में आर्थिक नीतियाँ बनाई गईं। जाने या अनजाने, सोचे या बिना साचे, जल्दी में या देर में जहाँ से यह क्रांति प्रारम्भ हुई और जो इस क्रांति के प्रवृत्तिक और जो इसके प्रबल समर्थक थे उनके कहने में या उनके घेरे में दुनियाँ के सारे देश आ गए। हमारे देश ने भी उस व्यवस्था को स्वीकार कर लिया और जब व्यवस्था को स्वीकार कर लिया तो उस व्यवस्था के कारण सारे देश में एक नया वातावरण पैदा हुआ और इस व्यवस्था के पक्ष में, विपक्ष में, इसके समर्थन में, विरोध में, इसके लाभ क्या हैं इसकी हानि क्या है, इससे गरीबी मिटेगी या इससे अभीरी आएगी, इससे रोजगार मिलेगा या लोग बेरोजगार होंगे इस प्रकार की चर्चा सारे देश में प्रारम्भ हो गई और मैं यह देख रहा हूँ कि पिछले करीब 10 वर्षों से लगातार इस तरह की चर्चा चलती आ रही है और इस सदन में भी अनेकों बार चर्चा होती है। कोई कहता है कि इस आर्थिक उदारीकरण से देश वैभवशाली बनेगा, आर्थिक उत्थान होगा, रोजगार मिलेगा, आर्थिक प्रगति होगी और हमारे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा, आर्थिक रूप से हम स्वावलम्बी होंगे। तो दूसरा पक्ष यह कहता है कि इस अर्थव्यवस्था से गरीबी बढ़ेगी, बेरोजगारी बढ़ेगी, किसान कमजोर होंगे, मजदूर बेकार होंगे और हमारे देश के उद्योग रुग्ण होंगे और दूसरी जगह चले जाएंगे। इस प्रकार से सारा धुंधला वातावरण बन गया। इस दिशा में सरकार ने क्या-क्या कदम उठाये और इसका क्या लाभ हुआ और वास्तविकता क्या है इसकी जानकारी इस देश की जनता को देना यह सरकार का दायित्व था। इसलिए महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का मैं आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने लम्बे अभिभाषण में इन सारे तथ्यों पर रोशनी डालकर के इस देश की जनता का भ्रम दूर करना चाहा है और जो एक धुंधलापन छा गया था उसे दूर करने की कोशिश की है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुख्य मुद्दे पर चर्चा करने से पहले मुझे दो-तीन बातें स्पष्ट करनी हैं। इस सदन में बड़े-बड़े विद्वान वक्ता बोले हैं, अनुभवी वक्ता बोले हैं और हर वक्ता ने कोई न कोई नई और महत्वपूर्ण बात कही है। लेकिन हमारे पक्ष की ओर से श्री आपटे और विपक्ष की ओर से माननीय अर्जुन सिंह जी के भाषण से, मैं कम से कम इस बात को स्वीकार करता हूँ कि उन्होंने मुझे प्रभावित किया और यहां पर कुछ और सदस्यों ने मुझे उठाये, लेकिन माननीय अर्जुन सिंह जी ने एक बड़ी गंभीर बात कही और उन्होंने यहां तक कह डाला, हालांकि बड़े दुखी मन से कहा कि यह सरकार राष्ट्रविरोधी है और इस सरकार के मुखिया या इसके नेता राष्ट्रविरोधी हैं। मैं बड़े अदब के साथ माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि गलती हो सकती है, लेकिन इस देश के वे लोग जिन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई को समर्पण के साथ लड़ा जिसमें बहुत से उधर भी बैठे हुए हैं और जिन्होंने राष्ट्रवाद अपनी जन्म घुट्टी में पिया, अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जैसे लोग कभी राष्ट्रविरोधी नहीं हो सकते। गलतियां हो सकती हैं, लेकिन राष्ट्रविरोधी निर्णय इसको कहना, यह बड़ा उनके साथ में अन्याय है, मैं इससे सहमत नहीं हूँ। साथ ही साथ कल माननीय जनेश्वर मिश्र जी ने अपने भाषण के दौरान कहा कि प्रधान मंत्री पर या उनके कार्यालय पर आरोप लगा, यह एक गंभीर बात है। यह गंभीर बात तो है, लेकिन एक मिथ्या आरोप कोई भी व्यक्ति लगा दे तो उस पर कभी विश्वास नहीं करना चाहिए। माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के व्यक्तित्व से कौन परिचित नहीं है।

"जिंदगी तो बीती यो ही, इसके बुत में मोमिन,

आखिरी वक्त में क्या खाक मुसलमां होंगे।"

अटल जी के चरित्र को कौन नहीं जानता है, उनका चरित्र जग-जाहिर है। आखिरी वक्त पर वह व्यक्ति क्या अपने चरित्र पर दाग लगायेगा? नामुमकिन है, असंभव है। इसलिए यह बात मुझे बड़ी दुखद लगी। फिर उन्होंने कहा कि वे नहीं तो हो सकता है कहीं कार्यालय में ऐसे लोग हों, यह बात बुरी है या अच्छी, लेकिन हमारे देश में एक परम्परा चली आ रही है, जब पहले राजा-महाराजा होते थे, उनके मिरासी और दरबारी होते थे, उसके बाद में नेताओं के चमचे होने शुरू हुए और आज नेताओं के घर-परिवार के लोग इस दायित्व को निभा रहे हैं। ये रक्षा भी करते हैं और बदनामी के वायस भी होते हैं, ये बहुत सी जगह पर देखने को और सुनने को मिला है। इसलिए इस बात से सतर्क तो सबको ही रहना चाहिए और इससे कोई बचा नहीं है।

"काज़ल की कोठरी में कैसोऊं सयानो जाय,

एक लीक काज़र की लागे है तो लागे है।"

इससे कोई नहीं बचता है। इसलिए यह बात मुझे अच्छी नहीं लगी। एक बात फेलेरिया साहब ने कही कि इस अभिमाषण में कोई दिशा नहीं है। मैं अब बताऊंगा कि कितनी दिशा इसमें दी गई है। औबेदुल्ला खान आजमी साहब ने कहा कि यह केवल एक लफ्फाजी का टोकरा है। इसमें बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बातें कही गई हैं। यहां पर श्री गांधी आजाद जी नहीं हैं, उन्होंने कुछ ऐसी बातों का उल्लेख किया जो किसी समय सार्थक थीं, किसी समय वह बात प्रचलन में थी। अगर वह स्वयं अपने दल और अपने नेताओं के कंडक्ट को उठाकर देखें तो आज उसका प्रतिबिम्ब हमें वहां देखने को मिलता है। इसलिए महोदय, यह बात इस सदन में इस प्रकार की करनी न तो सही है और न औचित्यपूर्ण है।

अब मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के इस अभिभाषण से जो एक सरकारी दस्तावेज है और जो सरकार ने काम किए हैं, क्या पाया, क्या दिशा दी और खोया तो क्यों खोया ...। मैं इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मान्यवर, पैरा सात में राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है - अभी पिछले वर्ष हमने अपने गणतंत्र की स्वर्ण जयंती मनाई है और इसका हमें गर्व है लेकिन क्या खोया, क्या पाया और हमें क्या करना है ? क्योंकि हमारे मित्रों ने और खास तौर से अर्जुन सिंह जी ने यह कहा कि सबका सहयोग लेना चाहिए। तो राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा "This Parliament, the highest elected body of the world's largest democracy, should resolve to contribute its utmost to the furtherance of the republican values enshrined in our Constitution." यह एक सहयोग की अपील है। संसद के माध्यम से सारे देश की जनता से सहयोग की अपील की है, इसके लिए मैं राष्ट्रपति जी का आभारी हूँ। यही नहीं, आगे चलकर यह कहा कि हमने बहुत कुछ पाया और बाबा साहब डा० अम्बेडकर को इसमें कोट किया गया। उन्होंने कहा कि "26 जनवरी 1950 को हम आजाद होंगे। राजनैतिक बराबरी तो मिलेगी लेकिन सामाजिक, आर्थिक बराबरी नहीं होगी और यह भेदभाव रहेगा। इस भेदभाव को मिटाना है। यह सारा देश और देश की जनता मिलकर इस भेदभाव को मिटाए।" तो राष्ट्रपति जी ने पैरा आठ में अपील की "Therefore, all of us should hold our freedom and our democracy to be incomplete until we erase this contradiction and make our great nation a land of justice and equal opportunity for all its billion plus citizens." यह मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने हमेशा सहयोग की अपील की है, हमेशा सहयोग मांगा है और सहयोग करने के लिए आमंत्रित किया है, साथ बैठने के लिए आमंत्रित किया है क्योंकि यह राष्ट्रीय मुद्दा है। इसके बाद राष्ट्रपति जी ने 9वें पैरा में कहा है कि यह महिला वर्ष है और महिलाओं को ज्यादा शक्ति मिलनी चाहिए। अभी हमारी महिलाएं यहां पर चिंता व्यक्त कर रही थीं। उनकी चिंता सही थी लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्वयं चिंता व्यक्त की है और उन्होंने पैरा 9 में संसद के माध्यम से जनता से और सभी राजनैतिक दलों से यह सहयोग मांगा है : "I urge all political parties to arrive at a consensus and pass this Bill during this session. This would be a fitting tribute by India's Parliament to the "Year of Women's Empowerment", which we are observing this year." अब यह सहयोग की अपील है। सरकार ने हमेशा सहयोग मांगा है। कभी यह नहीं कहा कि मुठ-मरदर्ई से, अपने आप तानाशाही का रवैया अपनाकर कोई निर्णय लिया हो। जितने भी राष्ट्र हित के मुद्दे हैं, इस सरकार ने सभी राष्ट्रहित के मुद्दों पर सारे देश से सहयोग की अपील की है और उनके विचार, उनका साथ और उनका सहयोग हमेशा सरकार ने चाहा है। यही नहीं, इसके बाद जनसंख्या बढ़ रही है और जनसंख्या वृद्धि से हमारा देश प्रभावित हुआ है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस पर चिंता व्यक्त की और इसमें भी सहयोग की मांग करते हुए पैरा 10 में कहा : "The policy has three principal objectives--to reduce the rate of growth; stabilize the absolute size; and, providing welfare and developmental opportunities for the entire population, especially women realise these objectives, it is necessary to evolve, in concert with the States, a set of incentives and disincentives. These should be enforced in a non-coercive manner with the fullest cooperation of social, cultural and religious institutions."

इससे ज्यादा इस पर और सहयोग की क्या अपील हो सकती है । इस मामले में भी सरकार ने इस देश की सारी जनता का सहयोग मांगा है । मान्यवर, यह कहना कि...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राजनाथ सिंह "सूर्य" (उत्तर प्रदेश) : दीपांकर जी से कह रहे हैं अब तो मान जाएं ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : दीपांकर जी तो बात अच्छी कहते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : चलिए, आप अपनी बात कहिए ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपसे निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह बात कहना और यह आरोप लगाना कि यह सरकार सब काम अपने आप करती है और कोई सहयोग नहीं लेती, ऐसी बात नहीं है । यह आरोप गलत * मैंने स्वयं इस अभिभाषण में से उद्धृत किया है । अब मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो एक नया परिवेश बना है और हमने जिस नीति को अपनाया है क्या उसमें हम पूरी तरह से निष्फल हैं ? क्या हमने अपने देश का नुकसान किया है ? अगर हम दुनिया के संदर्भ में देखें तो हम सशक्त हैं परमाणु जगत में । आज हमारी पहचान बनी है, दुनिया में हमारा नाम हुआ है । इसके अलावा हम संपन्न भी बने हैं । आज दुनिया में चाहे कम्प्यूटर हो, सॉफ्टवेयर हो, सूचना-प्रौद्योगिकी हो, डॉक्टरी हो, इंजीनियरिंग हो, हमने अपना नाम किया है और दुनिया के बहुत से देशों से आगे गए हैं और हमारी पहचान बनी है और यह बहस भी होती है । हमने माना कि हम देश से आतंकवाद समाप्त नहीं कर पाए लेकिन दुनिया का समर्थन आज हमारे हक में है और दुनिया के लोग आज हमारी वकालत करने लगे हैं कि इन्हें भी सुरक्षा परिषद् में स्थायी स्थान मिलना चाहिए । मोरक्को के राष्ट्रपति यहां आए थे । कल-परसों जाते-जाते उन्होंने इस बात का जिक्र किया और आश्वासन दिया और यह भी कहा कि बड़ी मजबूती के साथ भारत को सुरक्षा परिषद् में स्थायी स्थान मिलना चाहिए । हमने अपनी नीतियों के कारण विश्व में अपनी पहचान बनाई है, अपना स्थान बनाया है, अपने देश की गरिमा बढ़ाई है और दुनिया का समर्थन प्राप्त किया है । यही नहीं हमने अपने प्रधानमंत्री की लोकप्रियता से भी अपने देश की गरिमा बढ़ाई है लेकिन दुनिया में यह कहना कि अपनी नीतियों के कारण इस सरकार ने केवल खोया है, पाया कुछ नहीं, ठीक नहीं है । रोजाना इसी सदन में इन विषयों पर हम चर्चा करते हैं । जहां तक खाद्यान्न की बात हो रही है आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे यहां अनाज, तिलहन, दलहन अंधाधुंध पैदा हो रहे हैं । दूध सबसे ज्यादा पैदा हुआ है । हां, शुरू में किसानों को तकलीफ हुई क्योंकि आयात ज्यादा होने लगा । आयात शुल्क हमने कम रखा था लेकिन जैसे ही आयात शुल्क बढ़ाया आयात बंद हो गया और आज हम गेहूं का भी निर्यात कर रहे हैं, चीनी का भी निर्यात कर रहे हैं और हमने चावल का भी निर्यात किया है । यह दुनिया के संदर्भ में हमारी उपलब्धि है । यह आरोप लगा देना कि इस सरकार ने खोया ही है, ये तो वे सच्चाइयां हैं जो स्वयं बोलती हैं कि ये तो सरकार की उपलब्धियां हैं ।

इसके अलावा जहां तक सामाजिक समरसता की बात है उस संदर्भ में कहना चाहूंगा कि गांधी की कहावत है झगड़ा तो पति-पत्नी में भी होता है । चार बर्तन होते हैं तो खटकते जरूर हैं लेकिन टूटते नहीं हैं । हमारे देश में भिन्न-भिन्न संप्रदाय, जातियां, उपजातियां खटकती तो हैं लेकिन टूटती नहीं हैं । हमारे देश में पहले व्यापक पैमाने पर जो मजहबी दंगे होते थे,

सांप्रदायिक दंगे होते थे इस पीरियड में कोई सांप्रदायिक दंगा नहीं हुआ। यह सामाजिक समरसता के क्षेत्र में इस सरकार की उपलब्धि है।

इसके बाद मान्यवर, जहां तक गरीबों की गरीबी मिटाने का सवाल है यह बात सही है कि गरीबी और अमीरी के बीच की खाई बड़ी है, लेकिन गरीबों का प्रतिशत कम हुआ है। हम आंकड़ों से ही बात करते हैं (समय की घंटी) मान्यवर, मुझे पांच-दस मिनट का समय दे दें। हमारी पार्टी के 43 मिनट हैं और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से मैं अकेला स्पीकर हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : नहीं, नहीं, आप अकेले नहीं हैं। दूसरे श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद जी भी हैं।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : उनका नाम आज आया होगा। कल नहीं था। आप मुझे पांच-दस मिनट का समय दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : आपकी ही पार्टी ने नाम दिया है। आप जल्दी समाप्त करिए।

श्री-संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैं शीघ्र ही समाप्त कर दूंगा। मैं दस मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : पांच मिनट में खत्म कर दें।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : नहीं, मुझे कुछ सुझाव देने हैं। केवल यह नहीं है कि मैं आंखें मूंदकर भीष्म पितामह की तरह द्रोपदी का चीरहरण देखता रहूँ। मुझे आंखें खोलनी हैं। मेरी सरकार की नीतियां सही हैं और अगर क्रियान्वयन में कमी है तो मुझे अपील भी करनी है और मुझे कुछ सुझाव भी देने हैं।

उदाहरण के तौर पर आपने इसमें कहा है कि हम सब को सबल बनाना चाहते हैं, समर्थ बनाना चाहते हैं। इसमें कहा गया है कि Providing welfare and developmental opportunities for the entire population, especially, women."

अब एन्टायर पापुलेशन के लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोग जनसंघ से आए हैं और हमारी ज्यादातर नीतियां, चरित्र और व्यवहार जनसंघ से आया है जो कि उस समय भी सार्थक था और आज भी सार्थक है और राष्ट्रवादी है। भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने भारतीय जनसंघ पर एक प्रकाशन का संकलन किया जिसका फोरवर्ड हमारे माननीय प्रधानमंत्री श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने लिखा है। उसमें उन्होंने टेक्नालाजी के बारे में एक वाक्य कहा जिसको मैं यहां उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ :

"Every individual has to be enabled to procure his minimum requirements of food, clothing, shelter, education and medicine. The necessary expansion programme of materials and services has to be undertaken and a technology evolved to suit Indian conditions; the technology which ensures not only mass production but also production by masses."

मैं इस सरकार से अपील करना चाहूंगा कि मशीनों से काम कम हो, कंप्यूटर से काम कम हो और मानव शक्ति से ज्यादा काम हो। जो प्रोडक्शन हो उसके मायने यह है कि मास प्रोडक्शन बाइ मासेज। इसलिए मेहरबानी करके आप आगे चलकर अपनी जो क्रियान्वयन नीति बनायें उसको इस दिशा में बनायें, मैन पावर इन्वोजमेंट की दिशा में बनायें। यहां पर कृषि मंत्री जी बैठे हैं। जनसंघ ने यह कहा था कि ट्रैक्टरों का इस्तेमाल बड़े जमींदारों को करना चाहिए, छोटे किसानों को जुताई बुवाई के लिए नहीं करना चाहिए। ट्रैक्टरों के आने से आज गांवों में बेकारी है, लोगों के पास काम नहीं है। जो किसानों के यहां काम करते थे वे मशीनों के कारण बेकार हो गए हैं। इसलिए आप मशीनों से काम कम कराइए और आदमी के हाथ से ज्यादा काम कराइए। जनसंघ का हमारा नारा था कि हर हाथ को काम हर खेत को पानी, यही जनसंघ की निशानी।

एक बात मुझे यह कहनी है, जैसे कि सड़कों की बात आ रही है, मैंने एक प्राइवेट मेंबर बिल पर बोलते हुए कहा था कि अगर सड़क बनाई जाए तो वह मानव शक्ति द्वारा बनाई जाए। यहां पर मंत्री जी बैठे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो इससे सब को काम मिलेगा। यह ठीक है इससे समय ज्यादा लगेगा लेकिन अधिक लोगों को काम मिलेगा। मैं उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। कृषि मंत्री जी आप गांव के हैं। सरकार जब कोई पुल अपने पैसों से बनाती है तो वह उस पर टोल टैक्स लगाकर उसका पूरा पैसा वसूल कर लेती है। कार, ट्रक, लारी जो उससे गुजरती हैं वह टोल टैक्स देती हैं, कोई भी पैसा देने में ऐतराज नहीं करता।

कभी किसी ने नहीं कहा कि पैसा क्यों दें, कभी किसी ने इसके लिए मना नहीं किया और इससे सरकार की पूरी लागत वसूल हो जाती है। आप सड़क बनाइए और उस पर आप टोल टैक्स लगाइए और सड़क की लागत के पैसे को जनता टोल टैक्स से दे सकती है। इसमें किसी को कोई ऐतराज नहीं होगा, इसके लिए कोई मना नहीं करेगा। लेकिन इसको आप मानव शक्ति से बनाइए तभी लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा।

मैं यह सुझाव दे रहा हूं। मेरा दूसरा सुझाव है। आपने यह कहा कि यूरिया की जगह आर्गेनिक फार्मिंग या आर्गेनिक फर्टिलाइजर को प्रोत्साहन देंगे। कृषि मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं लेकिन यह होगा कैसे? यह पशु धन से होगा, एनिमल हजबंदरी से होगा। आप पशु धन को बढ़ाना नहीं चाहते हैं और यह करना चाहते हैं। यह संभव नहीं है। इसलिए पशु धन को भी बढ़ाइये। आर्गेनिक फर्टिलाइजर और आर्गेनिक फार्मिंग प्रोत्साहित होगी। जब एनिमल हजबंदरी बढ़ेगी तो डेयरी भी बढ़ेगी, गांव में लोगों को काम मिलेगा, रोजगार मिलेगा। मैं दूसरा सुझाव यह देना चाहता हूं।

मैं तीसरा सुझाव यह देना चाहता हूँ कि अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति की बात कही गई, बेरोजगारी की बात कही गई लेकिन मान्यवर, मुझे यशवंत सिन्हा जी का बजट भाषण सुन कर कुछ निराशा सी हुई। आपने बैंकों के ऊपर जब भाषण दिया तो पैरा 31 में कहा कि बैंकिंग उद्योग में नई प्रतियोगिता के परिप्रेक्ष्य में सरकारी क्षेत्र के बैंकों के प्रबन्धन में सुधार करना आवश्यक है। मैं बैंक प्रबन्धनों को अधिक स्वायत्तता प्रदान करने का प्रस्ताव करता हूँ। अपनी भर्ती कार्य नीति कार्यान्वित करने में बैंक प्रबन्धनों को अधिक स्वायत्तता प्राप्त करना भी अनिवार्य है। अतः मैं बैंकिंग सेवा भर्ती बोर्ड को समाप्त करने का प्रस्ताव करता हूँ। अब बैंकिंग सेवा भर्ती बोर्ड बंद हो गया तो अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति की कोई भर्ती नहीं होगी और इनको आटोनोमी देने का मतलब क्या है टोटली कमर्शियल पूरा कमर्शियल बनाना। फिर कल्याण के कामों को पैसा कौन सा बैंक देगा? भकान, दुकान, पीने का पानी, छोटे छोटे उद्योग, काम करने वाले कारीगर, इनको पैसा कहां से आएगा, कौन सा बैंक देगा। इसलिए कम से कम आप एक ऐसा बैंक सुनिश्चित करिये जो यह काम करे। मान्यवर, आपने जो यह अलाटमेंट किया, षड़ कर के दुख हुआ। अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति के कल्याण के प्रति सरकार की प्रतिबद्धता है। इसके अनुरूप एक पृथक जनजाति विकास निगम बनाया गया है और इसके लिए 788 करोड़ से बढ़ा कर के 986 करोड़ किया गया है। यह बहुत ही कम है। लेकिन हास्यास्पद बात यह है कि अनुसूचित जाति की आबादी दुगुनी है अनुसूचित जनजाति से। उनका किया गया है 709 करोड़ से 790 करोड़ यानि अनुसूचित जनजाति से कम है, दुगना होना चाहिये। यह हास्यास्पद है। इस पर पुनः विचार करें। मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह धनराशि बढ़ानी चाहिये। मान्यवर, एक बात एट्रोसिटीज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति पर एट्रोसिटीज रोकने की बात कही गई है। अभी कल बहरामपुर में 27 दलितों के घर जला दिये गये। इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट का जजमेंट है एक अनुसूचित जाति की महिला प्रधान हो गई संत कबीर नगर की जनरल सीट पर वहां के स्वर्ण जाति के लोगों ने उसके घर में आग लगाने और बलात्कार करने की कोशिश की, मारा पीटा और जब उसने एफ.आई.आर. लिखाई तो वह लिखनी पड़ी लेकिन राजनीतिक वोटों की लालच के कारण कोई गिरफ्तार नहीं हुआ और हाई कोर्ट में एफ.आई.आर. को क्वेश कराने गये। हाई कोर्ट ने एफ.आई.आर. को क्वेश नहीं किया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : कौनसे प्रदेश में ?

श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम : उत्तर प्रदेश में "Caste system is being propped up for vote bank politics." मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि एट्रोसिटीज कम करनी ही चाहियें। जो कानून बनाए गए थे, जो निष्प्रभावी बना दिये गये थे, उन कानूनों को आप फिर से लाइये, प्रभावी बनाइए। अन्तिम मुद्दा बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है। मुझे तकलीफ है, मुझे पहले बता देते तो मैं इतनी तैयारी करके भी नहीं आता, मैं कम ही बोलता।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal) : Sir, I have a submission. The House does not have the quorum. You adjourn it for lunch.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) : He is about to finish his speech.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: I am concluding, Sir. बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा है, वह मैं पढ़कर ही सुना पाऊंगा। मेरा कागज इधर से उधर हो गया है।

मान्यवर, यह आपके लिए है एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर साहब : "Wasteland Atlas of India, Department of Land Resources, National Remote Sensing Agency, Department of Space, Government of India." इसका Foreword लिखा है, अरुण भटनागर, सेक्रेट्री, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया, मार्च 9, 2000। इसकी भाषा और आंकड़े देख लीजिए : Vast stretches of land, fit for improved use, merits urgent attention in the country. While there are varying estimates of the total extent of these lands, no less than 37.5 million hectares are currently expected to be available for viable treatment. It has been rightly pointed out that these lands are not wastelands, but wasted lands. इसका एक कोड बर्ड लिखा है, अरुण भटनागर, सेक्रेट्री, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया, मार्च 9, 2000। इसकी भाषा और आंकड़े देख लीजिए। और आंकड़े क्या हैं ? Water erosion-107.13 million hectares; wind erosion- 17.10 million hectares, ravines-3.97 million hectares, salt-affected-7.62 million hectares; waterlogging- 8.53 million hectares; shifting cultivation-4.93 million hectares, degraded forest-19.49 million hectares; special problems-2.73 million hectares; coastal sandy-1.46 million hectares. कुल मिलाकर 173.36 मिलियन हेक्टेयर यानी 17.36 करोड़ हेक्टेयर।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : कितना समय और लेंगे गौतम जी?

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : एक मिनट में एक वाक्य और।

इस जमीन पर आप इस देश के भूमिहीन खेतिहर मजदूर और अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोगों को लगा दें, उनको अलाट कर दीजिए ठीक करने के लिए और जब तक ठीक न हो, न्यूनतम मजदूरी उनको रोजाना दीजिए ताकि उनको काम भी मिले और यह बेकार जमीन खेती योग्य भी बने। यह देश की धरोहर है। इससे इस देश की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी होगी।

इसके अलावा मान्यवर, एक और बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारा देश जब आजाद हुआ तो हमारे आज के प्रधान मंत्री जी आजादी के बाद सन् 1957 में इस सदन में आए थे। उस समय यह जो हमारी फौज है उसमें रेजीमेंटों के नाम होते थे जैसे जाट रेजीमेंट, सिख रेजीमेंट, राजपूत रेजीमेंट...(व्यवधान)... एक मिनट की बात है...मराठा रेजीमेंट, महार रेजीमेंट, गोरखा रेजीमेंट। आदरणीय अटल जी का 24-7-57 का यह भाषण है इसी सदन का। उन्होंने कहा - One more thing. The Britishers have left, but our Armed Forces have still not been Indianised. मैं पूरा नहीं पढ़ रहा हूँ! अगले वे कहते हैं - All branches and the soul of our Armed Forces need to be Indianised. उन्होंने कहा डोगरा रेजीमेंट, राजपूत, जाट so and so। उन्होंने मांग की कि ये खत्म करनी चाहिए। If we have to give names to our regiments, we should have a राणा प्रताप रेजीमेंट, राजपूत रेजीमेंट की बजाए, शिवाजी और तानाजी रेजीमेंट, रंजीत सिंह और हरीसिंह नलवा

रेजीमेंट and so on. इसी तरह से इस देश में चमार रेजीमेंट थी। जब दुनिया की दूसरी लड़ाई लड़ी गयी थी तो - यह आन रिकार्ड है, इस समय मेरे पास अवेलेबुल नहीं है, मुझे दुख है - उन्होंने भूखे लड़ाई लड़ी थी। यह आन रिकार्ड है। यहां रिकार्ड मौजूद है। वे पीछे नहीं हटे थे। लेकिन चमार रेजीमेंट खत्म कर दी गयी। अगर जाट के नाम पर रेजीमेंट रखनी है तो चमार रेजीमेंट भी रिवाइज करिए। क्यों? क्योंकि आर्मी में रिजर्वेशन तो है नहीं। जब भर्ती के लिए जाते हैं, लाइन लगती है तो भर्ती करने वाले कहते हैं, आज यादवों की भर्ती है। आज जाटों की भर्ती है, आज राजपूतों की भर्ती है, आज सिखों की भर्ती है और उन लोगों की भर्ती नहीं करते जो फर्स्ट क्लास हैं, जो कैपेबल हैं, जो इलिजिबल हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जो नान मेरिटोरियस हैं उनकी भर्ती की जाए। जो मेरिट पर हैं उनकी भर्ती केवल एक ही तरह से सुनिश्चित है, या तो चमार रेजीमेंट बनाइये या फिर बिरादरियों के नाम पर रेजीमेंट बनाना समाप्त करके आप बनाइये सरदार पटेल रेजीमेंट, सरदार रणजीत सिंह रेजीमेंट, चौधरी चरण सिंह रेजीमेंट, डॉ. अंबेदकर रेजीमेंट, नेताजी सुभाष रेजीमेंट...(व्यवधान)... मीलाना आज़ाद रेजीमेंट...(व्यवधान)... मैं ठीक कह रहा हूँ। आप इस तरह की रेजीमेंट्स बनाइये तभी तो इन सब लोगों की भर्ती होगी और काम मिलेगा।

आखिरी बात, आपने संविधान संशोधन किया और बड़े फ़ख़्क़ से कहा कि हम प्रमोशन में रिजर्वेशन देंगे और बैकलॉग को पूरा करेंगे। इस सदन ने भी थोड़े दिन पहले यह संविधान संशोधन किया। अगर यह संविधान संशोधन वास्तविक है और आपको रिजर्वेशन इन प्रमोशन देना है और बैकलॉग पूरा करना है तो चाहे कुछ भी हो जब तक इनका रिजर्वेशन कोटा पूरा न हो जाए तब तक इसे जारी रखा जाए, फिर उसके बाद बेशक बंद कर देना। आप स्पेशल रेक्यूटमेंट अभियान चलाइये, विशेष भर्ती अभियान चलाइये, वरना यह लोगों के साथ विश्वासघात होगा। आप किसी नौकरी में से इनकी छंटनी मत कीजिए, क्योंकि उनका रिप्रेजेंटेशन पूरा नहीं है। इसके अलावा अगर आप छंटनी भी न करें और स्पेशल रेक्यूटमेंट करें और इसके बाद कम से कम जो नौकरियों में आगे आ गए हैं, आईएएस आफिसर हैं, एम्प्लॉयमेंट उनका यहां नहीं होता, ज्वायंट सेक्रेटरी लेवल के नीचे, उनका इम्प्लीमेंट कीजिए और बड़े-बड़े पदों पर, सेक्रेटरी...(व्यवधान)... और उनको यह बनाइये।...(व्यवधान)... मुआफ़ करना, आप लोग इन बातों को कभी नहीं कहते। आप लोगों का तो काम सिर्फ़ इतना है कि...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : चलिए, अब खत्म करिए।

श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम : तो उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के इस विस्तृत अभिभाषण के लिए उनका धन्यवाद अदा करता हूँ, उनके प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित करता हूँ और माननीय चतुर्वेदी जी द्वारा जो यह धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

The VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) : The House is adjourned for an hour for lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-eight minutes past one of the clock

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-nine minutes past two of the clock,

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Let us continue with the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Now, Mr. Ram Jethmalani.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, speaking on this Motion provides one an opportunity for sharing with the Government and this House one's ideas about good governance. This is not an occasion for mounting an attack on the Government or time to score points or bringing it down or even weakening it. This is an occasion when even a backbencher like me can advise the Government as to what should be done, as to what is being done should have been done more efficiently and effectively, and what are the pitfalls and some time wasting trivialities which should have been avoided. Sir, I propose to you, on this occasion, in a constructive manner, and hope the occasional harsh word or even a rhetorical exaggeration will not be misunderstood. Though I have moved twenty amendments, I propose to concentrate on a few matters which I regard as of vital importance at this juncture.

But, Sir, once again let me repeat that what I am going to say is a wholesome millennium advice. You are free to take it or leave it. But I can only advise that if you ignore it, you will be causing yourself and the nation an irreparable harm.

The first point I propose to deal with is something which is the essence of democracy. It is tried that there can be no democracy without transparency. The people, to whom we regularly pay lip-service, being the political sovereign of this country - of course, we do it mostly at the time of election and thereafter we forget it - are entitled to the fullest possible information as to how their elected representatives and their paid bureaucrats are running the country's affairs. Are they acting as trustees, with the poor as beneficiaries, or, are they only lining their own pockets and advancing their selfish interests? Sir, in total violation of our pre-independence promises, successive Governments in this country continue to rule by a prolific use of the Official Secrets Act an ancient colonial creation which was designed to conceal from their unfortunate subjects, their clandestine projects for exploitation and loot.

In 1966, the American Congress passed the Freedom of Information Bill. When President Johnson was signing it and converting it into a law, he said that it was the brightest and the proudest day in the history of American democracy. Sir, while it happened there in 1966, in this country, we took no heed. Fortunately, slowly, from 1975 onwards, the Supreme Court started spelling out the peoples' right to know from Article 19 of the Constitution, which talks of peoples' freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. I felt an amount of joy and fulfilment at this great judicial contribution. Sir, fortunately, the NDA's manifesto committed itself to the enactment of this law. This was another very bright event in the political history of India. It made me still happier when the hon. Home Minister introduced, quite some time ago, the Freedom of Information Bill, a Bill in the drafting of which I had some contribution to make. Critics may find some defects in that Bill, but it is my conviction that it is an improvement on the American version of that law. But it is a matter of profound regret that like the Women's Reservation Bill, this Bill too, after its introduction, has almost been forgotten. Nobody seems to be in a hurry because everybody seems to have something to hide. This House will pardon me for referring...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: I have to say something. This Bill was sent to the Standing Committee. The Committee has probably submitted its report, or is likely to submit it very soon.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I hope you will expedite it. But I have something else to say about it.

Sir, this House will pardon me for referring to something which I did when I was Minister of Urban Development. I announced that every citizen will have the right to inspect my files, on making a token payment of Rs.10/-. I know that it sent shock waves among the bureaucrats. My action was sought to be curbed by people superior to me, and one of the excuses then put forward was that I should wait until the Information Bill was introduced and passed. I retorted that people's constitutional right to know about the government affairs arose from the Constitution; that the Bill only created a mechanism and that I would not wait till this Bill was passed, before I respected the people's constitutional right, sir, I do not need bureaucratic approval or anybody's constitutional right. Sir, I do not need bureaucratic approval or anybody's suggestion or anybody's permission for these rights to be recognised. Sir I want this august House to ponder over

how the great American democracy respected the people's right to know, even before the 1966 law was passed. You will recall, Sir, that once President Eisenhower had to be hospitalised for an ailment which was initially suspected to be some ordinary flatulence, curable by taking Eno, Fruit salt, but, later, it turned out that he was suffering from a paralytic illness. Sir, every newspaper released the information about the operation, the place where the intestine was cut, how much of it was cut, the drugs that were administered, his blood pressure, his temperature, his response to the drugs, his slow recovery, etc., to the people. Sir, the people in every democracy are entitled to know whether their rulers live up to the rule, that there can be no sound mind except in a sound body. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wish to say no more except that this Bill must become a law, as expeditiously as possible. If, due to congestion of the Parliamentary calendar, it cannot be enacted into a law, I respectfully suggest that the Prime Minister may give an assurance to the people of this country and to both Houses of Parliament that even though the Bill has not become a law, its provisions are being respected in actual practice and the requisite amount of transparency exists in all the Departments of the Government. This will be a test of the commitment of the Government to this great essence of democracy. I regret that the President's Address gives no clue as to what is being done in the matter of creating transparency.

Sir, when the President spoke to the two Houses of Parliament on the 19th of February, he was speaking under the shadow of what he himself called, 'the Gujarat catastrophe.' It is a tragedy of mind-boggling proportions. While it is true that we cannot control earthquakes and, ultimately, the cause of this tragedy lies in some inscrutable providence, I want to make a couple of comments on the failure of we, the humans, who pretend to be managing the country's affairs. You will recall, Sir, that the decade 1999-2000 was declared by the United Nations General assembly as the 'International Decade for National Disaster Reduction.' The Ministry of Urban development did a comprehensive survey; and, with the aid of some of the best experts available in this country, this Department produced a Vulnerable Atlas of India, 1997. I had the honour of releasing this document when I became the Minister of Urban Development. Sir, apart from the written report, which consists of three big volumes, the report contains exhaustive and highly striking - striking to the eye - maps of zones which are vulnerable to earthquakes.

Sir, the Bhuj area, where the present tragedy has taken place, is marked in the maps with the deepest red ink, in the deepest red colour, to show that it is the highest damage-risk zone. I want to know : why do the Government waste so much time and energy on producing these documents, unless somebody takes notice of them? It is true, Sir, and the Government deserves to be complimented, because the President in his Address has promised that hereafter the rules relating to the building-safety and avoidance of earthquake-hazards will be very rigorously enforced. But, Sir, I am sorry to sound like a pessimist. I have almost a feeling that the tragedy will soon be forgotten; the enforcement of the rules will be almost abandoned; and ultimately, Sir, the kind of criminals whom you are seeking to prosecute temporarily today, will come to the fore, make their tonnes of money, and people will wake up only when the next tragedy of an equal dimension takes place. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (Maharashtra) : Do not defend them.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I assure you, I won't. I am not even going to the courts. Sir, while I am not against the creation of a National Disaster Management Authority, but let it not remain a high-sounding expression. The personnel and composition of this authority must inspire confidence. When the Indian Airlines plane was hijacked and when that plane was allowed to escape from Amritsar, some heads ought to have rolled, those heads who call themselves the crisis management group; not one head rolled, and if that is the kind of heads which will manage this organisation, Sir, God be with us, I do not expect anything to happen which will prevent or reduce the risk of disaster.

Sir, every Prime Minister has a vision, his own vision of India. Even Shri Gujral and Shri Deve Gowda were not exceptions; and, Sir, my respected Prime Minister Vajpayeeji is also no exception. After the historic visit of President Clinton, my Prime Minister made a return visit to Washington and other places in the United States. Sir, in one of his speeches, he told his audience -- and this is what is a matter for some enquiry - "Give us two-thirds majority -- obviously he meant in both Houses of Parliament - and we will create an India of our dreams." I am a little surprised that our journalists, who are so vigilant -- perhaps, the best journalist has joined the Government so that vigilance outside does not survive - should have asked : What is this dream of India which the Prime Minister had and which required a two-thirds majority in both Houses of

Parliament. I hope, Sir, the Prime Minister will throw some light on this, and I hope I will have the pleasure of sharing the Prime Minister's dream of India. Sir, another thing which concerns this trip -- though this trip was successful by all accounts, because it carried forward the momentum of our newly formed friendship between the two democracies -- is that while making his speech here, President Clinton promised that two of us will now create new mechanisms for the punishment of international terrorism and international terrorists. I want to know from the hon. Prime Minister or those who accompanied him, what was the follow-up action on this when they visited Washington, or, did this remain just another speech to be heard and then forgotten? Sir, I suggest that international terrorism amongst other things requires the creation of an International Criminal Court, and that is the sorry tale which I wish to share with this august House. Sir, they held a conference in Rome some time in May, June or July, 1998. There, they discussed it and finally produced what is called, "the Statute of the International Criminal Court."

Sir, I do not use strong words. I have already sought the apology of this House if I use any strong word out of rhetorical exaggeration. To me, the attitude of our representative there seemed to be almost a bungle, if not idiotic. Throughout the preparatory session, they opposed the creation of the Court. Then, when the time came for voting, they completely turned a somersault, and told them, "We want that the jurisdiction of this Court to be extended to the punishment of those who have nuclear weapons." Sir, this is the speech delivered by Dilip Lahiri, our representative in the Month of June or July, 1998, a month or six weeks after we had our own nuclear explosion.

I want to know: do our bureaucrats understand what is happening in this country? How did this happen? I do not blame the hon. Prime Minister because we were not yet firmly fixed in the saddle at that time. The Ministry of External Affairs, of course, was formally under the control of the Prime Minister himself at that time. But there must be somebody to control what is going on. Sir, it is a matter of personal sorrow and personal shame to me that a large number of nations voted for the creation of this Court, but there were 21 abstentions, and India was one of them.

After I took over the Ministry of Law, I started again taking interest in this kind of a thing, but my urban development work kept me away from this. I got in touch with the Lord Chancellor of England. England is one

country that has opposed it. America is another country that has opposed it. But I must tell you why. They opposed it on the ground that this would be an interference with their sovereignty. These countries do not want their nationals to be tried by an International Criminal Court. I entered into correspondence with the Lord Chancellor of England and Madam Albright. Both of them have written to me, "We have changed our attitude now, and we are looking forward to the cooperation of India in creating and streamlining the International Criminal Court." Now, the Statute is open for ratification, and I hope that instructions will be given to the Indian representative to go and ratify this Statute and bring this Court speedily into existence.

Where will those who hijacked our Indian Airlines' plane be tried? Where will the Taliban be tried? The Court is intended to create a jurisdiction and an obligation on all civilised countries to hunt down these terrorists and brigands and bring them to justice. There is going to be a Public Prosecutor of the World who will have the power to issue warrants for the arrest of these people. Every country, its government and its investigating agencies will be under an obligation. If we seriously want to contain terrorism, I think, we have got to take this effective step I have been talking about.

Sir, that brings us to our vexed problem of Kashmir. When the President delivered his speech, he, of course, spoke under the shadow of Gujarat, and, today, we are speaking under the shadow of the Taliban. The Taliban has secured international recognition, not from many governments but only a few, and you know their names. When we are talking about our friends, they are our well-meaning friends. I appreciate their constructive suggestions. They want us to talk to Pakistan and so on. I appreciate even your ceasefire, your bus trips to Lahore and so on. I appreciate all that.

But, Sir, the time has come when we must resolutely tell Pakistan, "We are not going to negotiate. We are not going to talk to you about anything so far as Kashmir is concerned until and unless the Taliban is disowned. We shall not negotiate with those who recognise this uncivilised outfit. We should be able to tell politely but firmly our friends who are giving us a good-meaning advice that, when Pakistan becomes a secular democracy, we will talk to Pakistan and that this problem is not very difficult of solution, however much it might have lingered for the last 50 years.

3.00 P.M.

Sir, we do not show proper commitment to our own domestic values. If we are eternally committed to democracy and the rule of law and the secularism about which we talk eloquently, we should at least be able to tell that we will not part with an inch of territory, unless you create a democratic Government in which rights of minorities will be fully protected by an independent judiciary and there should be a complete equality for all. On that condition, we should be prepared to take a large number of steps to be able to solve this problem.

One of the things which bothers me is the Babri Masjid and the Ayodhya temple dispute. Sir, I regret that ambiguous statements are being made from time to time; some provocative, some friendly, some less provocative and some less friendly and some more friendly. But, Sir, I believe that every time this statement is made, it revives fears and aggravates animosity. Why can't we have the courage and the honesty to make a forthright and unequivocal declaration once and for all? You might ask what should be the contents of this declaration. Sir, I wish to share with this House what I believe must be done in the interest of national integrity and total harmony in this country and our increased ability to meet our external enemies.

Sir, as recently as October last I wrote an article, which appeared in two of the principal newspapers, in which I said, and I wish to repeat: "Our intellectual thinkers and social workers must take on new responsibilities. First they must educate themselves and understand that Hindutva is the shield which protects our minorities, their religious beliefs and cultures. Hindutva does not tolerate demolition of mosques nor the building of temples on their debris. Second, they must proudly and loudly explain this meaning to those, who are ignorant and victims of false propaganda. I am not a little amused by the periodic declarations of somebody and many other organisations of the same ilk, their leaders that the Mandir will be constructed at the Babri Masjid site. A complex and chronic litigation is pending in the courts raising several issues of law and fact. Nothing can happen at the site unless all legal hurdles are overcome. I have not even seen a sincere attempt or preparation to surmount this primary obstacle." Sir, I must tell you that I recently received a word from one of the venerable Shankaracharyas that I should help to do this. I told him that I am ready for that stupendous task, but I have one condition. That arises from my own long-held beliefs and deep feelings in the matter. Let me explain that. I am justly proud of the character of Rama. If he is

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not a historical figure, but is only an invention of the fertile Hindu imagination, it is still a tribute to the great genius of the Hindu race. It should be a matter of joy and pride that more and more non-Hindus should understand the greatness of Rama's character. I would want the number of Rama's votaries to grow, but I do not believe that building one more temple to his memory is the best way of doing it, when it only makes large numbers resentful and hostile. Yes, the temple in Ayodhya must be built, but it should be done only when Muslims and Christians in large numbers participate in the construction, surcharged with emotions of respect and reverence for my Rama. I would not insult Rama by exploiting him for electoral prospects or for capturing power. Let me be fair to my friends, the Muslims and the Christians. I bypass the leaders and go to the common man amongst these two communities. I must say that except for some selfish political leaders, no one is seriously opposed to the construction of the temple. Most do not care. Many have recognised the benefits of soothing the sentiments of the majority community and quite a few acknowledge it to be a small compensation for the historic crimes perpetrated by conquerors who did not know their own faith. I am convinced that it is not impossible to secure their assent and cooperation. But let us first cleanse our own hearts. This is what I wrote. This is what I wish to repeat.

Sir, as a person deeply imbued with the spirit of Hindutva, there is one thing which disconcerts me, which revolts me. That is the condition of our two most sacred rivers. What is happening? Only the day-before-yesterday, I was crossing that bridge -- which the Japanese were good enough to build for us -- the whole of that river has become a stinking sewer. You could get the smell of urine and human shit right on the bridge. Sir, when I was in the Ministry of Urban Development, I was working on a plan. I hope nobody misunderstands me that I want to get back into the Ministry or anything of that kind. For God's sake, I don't have that. But I would love to become a honorary manager of the Yamuna project. Give me three years; without costing a single pie, I will convert that river into a clean and shining river of which every Hindu will be proud, of which every Indian will be proud. Sir, on both sides of that river, I assure you, we will create a condition which will attract tourists. People will come to visit the city of Delhi only to see the river Yamuna and its surroundings. Unfortunately, we are lost in trivialities, when a major project of this kind is waiting to be looked after.

Sir, coming to the economic front, I deeply regret that the first priority of economic reforms finds no mention in the President's Address. Let me repeat. I have said this. I have written about it ten times before. Basing myself on the best authorities on economics and economic development, I would say it is an iron law of economic development of the Third World or the Fourth World countries that they must have almost 100 years of sound economic management plus -- plus is more important -- a sustainable subdued zero per cent birth rate. Without a vigorous control on the numbers, all our economic reforms are bound to end in smoke. There will be no improvement in the living standards of the common man of India. Sir, the Malthusian disaster is overtaking us. We are strangely indifferent. In secular India, we beat our breast, without understanding what secularism is. Secularism means, the needs of the Republic must override the injunctions of all denominational religions. We must be able to have the courage to deal with this problem, with the utmost vigour that it requires, unhindered, unimpeded by what the obscurantists might tell us. That is your commitment to secularism. Secularism does not consist in merely securing votes.

Sir, my friend, Arun, will pardon me if I get back to BALCO. I am not getting back because I am not an opponent of the disinvestment. But all that I have to say about disinvestment is that I don't like what you are doing to the sale proceeds. I would again urge that we must dispose of things as quickly as we can. First of all, non-performing assets. Then, loss-making units. Then, assets which we do not need today, or, tomorrow; and even the good ones at the best possible price. But all the proceeds must be used to liquidate our national debt, foreign and domestic. We must get out of the debt trap. That is the only economic justification over the policy of disinvestment. Do not use the proceeds for current expenses. Though, you will tell us that you are using it for the social sector, or, you are using it for restructuring, or, other public sector units. No. First, you will have to liquidate the debt. Then, we will see. If you cannot restructure your other units, without using this money, then, don't restructure. Sell them off as unserviceable units, as non-performing units or loss-producing units. Before I part with this topic, I would say this. Yesterday, my esteemed friend, Mr. Arjun Singh, referred to the Supreme Court decision in the Samata case. I do not know the exact name of the case. The ratio of the judgment is not confined to the tribal areas in Andhra Pradesh; nor is it confined to any particular tribal areas. It applies to tribal areas wherever they are located. But what is disturbing is this. I am used to the atmosphere of courts where

both sides are present. I do not wish to say anything *ex parte* against anyone. But, Sir, here, at least, the Government is present, and I am blaming the Government. What is disturbing is the document which I wanted him to produce, but which he quoted. Fortunately, I have got a copy. If hon. Members want it, I will authenticate it and place it on the Table of the House. What is disturbing is that the Government has released its principal law officer from all rules of professional conduct and etiquette. My friend, Mr. Mishra, is sitting here. How can any lawyer who comes to court today and appears for a party and obtains a judgment in favour of that party, then advise another party how to circumvent that judgment and how to change the Constitution itself to override that judgment? Some other lawyer may do it. But the same lawyer cannot do it. And one cannot think very kindly of a Government which makes a nonsense of the rules of professional conduct and etiquette and tolerates and invites this kind of departure from rules by one of its own principal law officers. I do not wish to say more because, in a sense, the gentleman is not present here.

Sir, that brings me to a topic with which I am more concerned than anybody else. At least, I am more concerned with it than any other topics. That is, the reform of the legal system. The legal system is in shambles. There is no doubt. Everybody has noticed it. Judges, retired judges, sitting judges, perspective members of the public, jurists, NGOs, other organisations, everybody has said it. And the Government is aware that the legal system is in a bad shape. So, I would have expected the President's Address to deal with this vital topic at some great length, to explain to the people what you propose to do about this disease of long, long ago. What distresses me is that it finds a short reference in a short paragraph-- paragraph 53--of the President's Address. It is very unfortunate. When that paragraph was drafted, I do not think somebody even cared to read what was being written in that paragraph. "The Department of Justice is in the process of reviewing various procedural and substantive laws to reduce delays in litigation." I just want to know this. Maybe, after I became a Minister, I became ignorant. I am not aware of any substantive laws which are being reviewed for the purpose of avoiding delay in the courts. It is not the substantive laws which are producing delays. It is in the process of reviewing the various procedural and substantive laws. What are those various procedural laws? There are two procedural laws; one is dealing with the civil procedure and the other is dealing with the criminal procedure. The civil procedure has been examined time and again. At least, four expert committees, including committees of judges, Law Commission, have

examined it. They suggested 40 amendments, approximately. It may be 39 or 38 or 41. But about 40 amendments were suggested. It had the support of all expert bodies. The Bill was introduced in this House as far back as in 1997. It remained unpassed, and I had the honour of piloting this Bill through both the Houses. Lawyer Members in both the Houses, other Members, participated in a very, very vigorous debate. And, after that, I am proud to say, the Bill was passed unanimously in both the Houses, without a single dissent. And yet, Sir, who objected to it? It is not that the litigating public has objected to it. Very distinguished people, whom my friend knows, have supported this. Every successful section of the public has respected it, and welcomed the changes. But, Sir, the opposition came from some lawyers, and you know that strike, then the happenings at that strike. Fortunately, Sir, they are now being inquired into by a Commission of Inquiry. Therefore, I do not wish to go into it. But, Sir, one year has passed when the two Houses of Parliament had unanimously passed a Bill. Is it or is not time to bring it into force? You cannot defeat a legislative will by an executive decision, and even if you are negotiating--I read in the newspapers that the Law Minister and the Attorney General now are negotiating with the Bar--and even if you have to make some concessions to the Bar, please make some minor concessions, but make them quickly, and see that the rest of the law comes into effect, as quickly as possible, so that this kind of a disgrace, which afflicts our judicial system, must go.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Ram Jethmalani, may I request you to wind up?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I will. Your orders will be respected. I will start winding up right now. But, on twenty amendments, one is entitled to, at least, two minutes per amendment. However, I will wind up. Sir, the law of procedure has a very small contribution to make to the law of delays. It is marginal. The trouble is that our judicial officers--I am aware of some very distinguished ones, and they are an ornament to the Bench, they will hold a candle to anybody even the best in the world-- but, by and large, our judicial officers do not have the requisite expertise, to be able to intelligently use the rules of procedure for the purpose of an early settlement of issues, and the discovery of truth, and Sir, this is a stupendous problem, and, Sir, universities, bar associations and colleges must now embark upon vigorous courses of training for our judicial officers and our lawyers. I am proud of one thing that Karnataka has done. I have gone and seen there what they are doing for their judicial officers and their training. They have produced a wonderful system, which is working very well, and it must be

done everywhere throughout the country. But, Sir, when all is said and done, you need more judges; the Law Commission's 128th report says that for every one judge that you have today, you require five judges. That requires financial outlay. You have to have court rooms, you have to have paraphernalia, you have to have staff and so on and so forth. So long as you do not make a financial outlay, and a comprehensive and a very generous outlay in the system of justice, you will not be able to improve it. One word, and I have done with this subject. The Government has to improve itself first. Half the litigation in the High Courts, and a little less than half in the subordinate courts, is the result of administrative inefficiency, administrative corruption and bureaucratic arrogance. When I sat in the Urban Development Ministry, I devised a scheme, which I want to recommend to them. I do not know why they are not able to follow it. Sir, I have persuaded two ex-Chief Justices to become an honorary panel of arbitrators, and I invited every litigant--potential or actual--to sign an arbitration agreement. They will be heard by those two judges; those two judges will draw no salary and will require no paraphernalia. I had decided to provide for them a simple office in the DDA office. They would sit and dispose of these litigations, and Sir, the litigation would have been disposed of without any loss of time. 20 years is a normal delay, which is taking place in our courts. Sir, this is the method of alternative dispute resolution, which I commend to the House. Every department should be able to go to arbitration in disputes with citizens. But the trouble is that there are bureaucrats, who do not want this solution, and there are their lawyer friends, who do not want this solution either, and they are catering to these unholy elements and prolonging this disaster. Sir, since you have asked me to wind up, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): That is the tyranny of the clock!

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, can I have your permission to take three minutes?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Yes.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Thank you, Sir. I won't take a long time.

Sir, our NDA-manifesto has committed us to the creation of a National Judicial Commission with power to appoint, transfer, remove and

lay down a code of ethics for our judges. I want to know why this is put on the back burner. This is an imperative need, and this has been sanctioned, certified and recommended by all kinds of organisations which exist in this country, which are obsessed with the problem of judicial purity and judicial accountability. Our manifesto has not been touched today, and it does not find a mention in the President's Address. Have they forgotten it? Do they wish to give it up? I suspect that it is being given up because I know for a fact that the judges do not like it. Is it a manifestation or a desire which this Government has expressed for creating harmony with the Judiciary? This is not the creation of harmony with the Judiciary. This is treason against the people of India who are clamouring for changes in the method of appointment of judges.

Sir, the method of impeachment has proved useless. It was intended to make the judges independent of politicians. On the contrary, it has had the reverse effect that now judges have to go into the lap of politicians to be able to avoid the impeachment procedure! Sir, it is an urgent measure which has got to be attended to.

Sir, connected with this is the law of contempt. The law of contempt requires to be drastically changed. It is a disgrace that the Australians and the Canadians are able to do away with the law of contempt in which truth or *bona fide* belief in truth is a complete defence to a charge of contempt, but we continue to govern ourselves by the law of contempt which was appropriate when the judges were royal creations, and there was the feudal relationship of the subject with the judges. The law of contempt requires to be drastically modified and our stand is that this law of contempt does not eliminate contempt. It only drives contempt underground, and it takes other shapes and other forms which are worse than the original contempt.

Sir, in fairness to the judges, the age of High Court judges requires to be revised. The age of retirement of Supreme Court judges is 65 years, and that of High Court judges is 62 years. If a High Court judge goes to the Supreme Court, he continues to function for three more years in the Supreme Court. But why can't he continue to function in the High Court till 65? This is totally illogical, and it has created some kind of a race. Every High Court judge is dancing attendance on either the Law Minister or the Chief Minister and wanting to get into the Supreme Court! This race will stop if you raise the High Court judge's retirement age also to 65 years.

Sir, the salary differential between the High Court judges and the Supreme Court judges must be brought down to a minimum so that this kind of a fiscal imperative also no longer continues to vitiate the kind of atmosphere we have.

Sir, lastly, the NDA-manifesto promised two million houses a year! Sir, it was a difficult target. I am proud of this one fact that, sitting with my colleague who, at that time, was in charge of the Rural Ministry, we decided that in the urban sector we would construct more than half. So, about 13 lakhs were to be constructed in the urban sector, and the remaining 7 lakhs in the rural sector. Sir, we divided this, and I had personally seen to it that the construction of two million houses started for once at least in that first year. And, today, I don't hear of constructions! I hear of demolitions, and I hear of relocations! That pledge to the people for which people are dying is totally forgotten! And, Sir, there is a misleading statement in the President's Address which requires to be clarified; otherwise, somebody must come and give us the facts and figures how they say that they have kept to the target of two million houses a year. I believe that not one house--except in the private sector where some body has built--has been built in the second year. As regards the two million target, the construction started, but I am not sure that it ended.

Sir, I am very grateful to you. I would like to speak on our foreign policy. When the Foreign Ministry's Budget comes for discussion, we will discuss it. I will reserve the discussion for that. But, in the meantime, with all my criticism of the Government, I support the Motion of Thanks. Thank you.

DR. M.N. DAS (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I submit to you, at the outset, the moment you want me to sit down, I will sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Your party has got 48 minutes and there are two more speakers from your party.

DR. M.N. DAS: I think I have some time to speak something.

Sir, the Government, in its wisdom, perhaps, wanted to remind the Members of Parliament, through the President's Address, that we belong to the largest democracy in the world. But, perhaps, the Government forgot that the largest democracy may not necessarily contain the best attributes

of being the best of democracies. In its further wisdom, the Government perhaps thought that the President should be made obliged to impose on the House the longest ever Presidential Address in the last 50 years. But, may I submit, with all humility, that the longest Presidential Address is not necessarily the best indicator of the better days to come? Here, we need not forget that this Address was a pre-Budget Address to be presented to Parliament, and Parliament and the people were eagerly waiting to know the policies of the present Government, how they are going to tackle the acute economic challenges facing the nation as a whole; how the Government is going to solve the problems of explosion of population, explosion of poverty, explosion of unemployment, etc.; how the Government is going to control the slow-down in economic productivity, the slow-down in agricultural production, the slow-down in industrial production, the slow-down in exports, the closing down of public sector undertakings, the growth in imports, the destruction of our rural and cottage industries, etc. The Members of Parliament and the people desired to be enlightened by the Government, through the President's Address, on many matters. We wanted to know how the Government is going to tackle the basic issues that the nation is facing in matters of health, education, communication, power, energy, etc. But we came across tall promises with high hopes. You have pointed out what you want to achieve in future. You have pointed out what you want to achieve by 2008, what you want to achieve by 2010, what you want to achieve by 2012 and what you want to achieve by 2025. It seems this dispensation is speaking in terms of eternity. It is as if they are going to be there permanently in the Indian political spectrum. Whatever promises the Government has made, such as the Prime Minister's road connectivity programme, the rural development scheme, drinking water to rural areas, etc., as immediate objectives to be achieved, appear unreal. The people have their common sense. If the Government cannot supply drinking water to the slum areas in the national capital, how can the Government supply drinking water to hundreds of thousands of rural areas all over the sub-continent?

And with Rs. 2,500 crores annually for road connectivity programme is it possible to connect one lakh villages in seven years time? Now all these promises remind me of a famous saying of that veteran enemy of India, the Englishman Sir Winston Churchill. Once Churchill was asked, "How do you define a successful politician?" Prompt came the reply from Churchill, "A successful politician is he who can tell you today what he will do for you tomorrow and explain it away the day after tomorrow why he

could not do it yesterday." I am sure, in the present Government we have many politicians of the Churchillian definition. Sir, the President has been pleased to remind us that as Members of Parliament we should uphold the republican values. In what context did the Government want to bring in 'republican values' in the President's Address still remains ambiguous. Sir, the term 'republican values' goes by a special and implicit connotation. Here the republican values are identified with republican virtues. What did Plato think of republican values in ancient times? He thought of a State to be ruled by philosopher kings. What did he mean by a philosopher king? 'The philosopher king should have no property, no house and no family and he should serve the State selflessly, in a dedicated way.' That is the type of ruler which Plato thought of. Forget that ancient Greek. Even at the dawn of modern democracy, what did the French philosopher Rousseau think of republican values? How did he define republican values? He defined republican values by saying that the republic must have political liberty for all individuals, social equality among all people and national fraternity of all free and equal individuals. Forget even Rousseau. Come to our own times. Just at the time of Independence, what was Mahatma Gandhi thinking of our coming republic? From his words we derive a meaning that it is easy to destroy the mightiest Empire on the earth, but it will be very difficult to build a republic of our own. That was the apprehension of Mahatma Gandhi. When he thought of the ruling class, he thought of republican values in terms of republican virtues, in terms of republican austerity. To him, virtue meant austerity. We have collected valuable information from his words which he said in the last few months of his life. I would like to quote only one instance. I was a student of Allahabad University at the time of Independence. Shri Ranghanath Mishra was also studying there. One day some students knocked at my door and said, "Shri Kailash Nath Katju of Allahabad is going as a Governor of Orissa. We are going to congratulate him. Would you not accompany us?" I gladly accompanied them with a bunch of flowers in my hands. Katjuji received us with all affection and offered us sweets and tea. But then suddenly he sat down in a mood expressing sorrow and sadness as if he was in deep remorse. When we wanted to congratulate him, what did he say? He said, "I met Mahatma Gandhi and I could not sleep last night after hearing what he said." And, what did Mahatma Gandhi say, "कैलाश नाथ, तुम लाट बन गए हो, बहुत अच्छी बात है, लेकिन याद रखो कि तुम ब्रिटिश इम्प्रायर के लाट नहीं हो, तुम गरीब भारत के लाट हो। And, what he told us in English was: he was told by Gandhiji, 'Like a Kautilya of yore, live in a cottage and listen to the grievances of your

subjects. You have to advise your Government to serve the people honestly, sincerely and efficiently. That is your duty.* Now let us forget the austerity part also because that does not exist today. I don't think that this Government remembers Gandhiji, because austerity is something which does not exist in India of today. Sir, in what way, should we think of the republican values or virtues? What is the shape of our Republic today? We live in a Republic where 35 crores of humanity live below the poverty line. And a search is going on to find the poorest of the poor in that section of the unfortunate people. We live in a Republic where about half the population are illiterate or semi-literate. We live in a Republic where 37 crores of the youth are unemployed, or, are having no prospects of employment in future and they are suffering from frustration and dejection. We live in a Republic where our Government is burdened with more than Rs. 3,00,000 crores of fiscal deficit. As Mr. Ram Jethmalani pointed out just now, we are in a debt trap. How are we going to come out of the trap? And, what does the Report of the Chief Vigilance Commissioner say? Rupees one hundred thousand crores of blackmoney is in circulation in India. My friend, Shri Gautam, told us that out of every 100 paise of a rupee, only 15 paise reach the common people in the name of development and 85 paise go down the drain of corruption, from top to bottom. This is the state of our Republic today. How are we, as Members of Parliament, going to uphold the values of the Republic? Sir, I echo the sentiment of my esteemed friend, Gen. Roy Choudhury who, in his speech, referred to the so-called federal polity. In the recent days, we find that in our federal polity, there are some dangerous trends emerging slowly, sometimes perceptibly, and sometimes imperceptibly. Some of the regional satraps think that they are more powerful than the national Government. And if the regional satrap is powerful, he can terrify the Government, can threaten the Government and get the work done. But, where, the satraps belonging to the NDA are not that powerful, they lag behind. They cannot force the Government to oblige them. Sir, out of such regional threats, we find some ominous symptoms for our national polity itself. I am thinking of the tyrant days of the Mughal Empire when Governors became more powerful than the Badshahs. With that, they wanted to grab some regions for themselves. That is not possible in a democratic set-up. But what may come out of our federal polity of today? There will be the emergence of regional imbalances. Some of the NDA partners would make their States more resourceful, more powerful and more prosperous than their neighbouring States. How would it help the federal polity? For the first time, we find a trend where a State

leader or a regional leader works for the State and not for the nation. The region comes first to him, and the nation comes next. Till now, the trend has been that the nation comes first and the region comes next. So, certain trends are emerging slowly. Unless the Government nips this kind of attitude of our State leaders -- I call them regional satraps -- in the bud forcefully, the country's future will be in danger.

Sir, so far as the Women's Reservation Bill is concerned, my sisters, today, at the commencement of Question Hour, demanded that, in this Year of Women, the Government must make a commitment that the Bill for reservation of 33% of seats for women would be brought in this Session of Parliament. But, has the Government thought of any social policy for women, for the womanhood, of India? What kind of women do we find in our society today? What kind of women are there amongst the poorer sections, the middle classes and the upper classes of our society? we know that 200 years ago, there was a superstitious system of *satidah*, or widow burning'. Those widows could be middle aged or even old. But, today, we are accustomed to tolerating a new type of social system called '*vadhudah*' or 'bride burning'. How many hundreds of brides are being burnt every year in India, brides belonging to all sections of society? How are you going to prevent it? Unless you stop such things, nothing is going to happen. Simply reserving a certain percentage of seats for women in legislatures, in Parliament and in local Panchayats, is not, in any way, going to alleviate the miserable conditions that the women are finding themselves in.

Sir, please permit me only two minutes. I want to refer to the foreign policy of the Government. For some time, I have been doing same research on Indo-Pak relations. But, when I come to this particular point of time, I find as if the present Government wants to open a new chapter in Indo-Pak relations. That is good. The time must change. Something new must come. We agree. But, while you are thinking of today and tomorrow, please do not close your eyes to the past. There are two aspects of Indo-Pak relations that the Government should not forget. One is the value of the *Kashmiriyat*. Would you believe, Sir, when, in 1946-47, the whole heartland of India was crying hoarse about the creation of Pakistan, based on the two-nation theory, Kashmiris did not allow even Qaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, to enter Kashmir? What did Sher-e-Kashmir, Shaikh Mohammad Abdulla, say? He said, "You better preach the value of your two-nation theory and the creation of Pakistan amongst the Indian Muslims

of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. We, in Kashmir, believe in a different philosophy. Here, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Buddhists, live as brothers and we go by one nation theory, that is, Kashmiriyat". Now, we are talking of peace with Pakistan. But, first, we have to talk of peace with the Kashmiris themselves. Revive that fading out spirit of Kashmiriyat, if we want to proceed for in improving Indo-Pak relations. Sir, we should not close our eyes to the mind-set of the Pakistani people. What kind of a mind-set did successive Governments of Pakistan develop? Every Government knew that without an anti-India stand, no Government in Pakistan can stand even for a brief time. The slogan before Partition was *lad ke lange Pakistan*. But when Jinnah got his truncated, moth-eaten, Pakistan, they most felt unhappy; suddenly, they changed the slogan, *lad ke lange Hindustan*, and they invaded Kashmir. But it was that Kashmiriyat which saved Kashmir for India. Should we forget the clenched fist of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan? Should we forget General Ayub Khan's Rann of Kutch adventure? Should we forget Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's declaration of a thousand-year war against India, on the floor of the United Nations itself? We cannot forget these things. Should we forget the Kargil episode of yesterday? So, when we talk of peace, let us not prove ourselves by over-talking peace as a soft step, and, while talking of a unilateral ceasefire, let us not make Jammu and Kashmir one of the softest of targets. That should not be the policy. India is a much stronger nation, a much stronger State. We have 150 million Muslims in India who will go by the philosophy of 'One Nation. So, if you want to talk peace, it do it by all means, but don't forget that the cobra in Pervez Musharraf when he comes to talk to you should come peace, should come with teeth without venom. No. He has already armed his people with the teeth of containing the venom of *jehad*. We must be cautious while dealing with an enemy who is a permanent enemy. So, let us talk from a position of strength; let us not prove our country to be a soft State; let us not point our finger at Jammu and Kashmir, the softest of targets; let us not go with a palm from where trickles down the blood of innocent *jawans*, security forces and innocent Kashmiris, for shaking hands with the General who rules Pakistan. So, let us be cautious in our Foreign Policy. Think and think and think whether your peace policy is going to be successful or a total failure before the world. The so-called pleasure we are taking from the international community's support for our peace efforts, is all right; but the international community's words are words of diplomatic gesture. You have to evaluate the value of those statements, how far they are for you and how far they are for your

enemy. Without considering these things, with a sharp mind and a powerful brain, we cannot conduct our peace policy in a purposive direction. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, moved by you when you were sitting on this side. I feel it a privilege to speak on this subject, when the mover is in the Chair. I am aware of the constraint of time.

His Excellency, the President of India, has touched almost all the vital issues of the nation. But, in many areas, he could not reveal to the nation what concrete solutions the Government is contemplating. Sir, it is a bird's eye-view of the Government's policies and Government's performance. So, we take that the entire speech reflects the Government's plan of action in the future. We take it in that perspective.

Sir, he has very rightly mentioned about the national catastrophe that took place in Gujarat. It was a blow not only to the people of this country, but also to the economy. Compared to the past, the Government, to some extent, was quick in initiating relief measures and in mobilising the support of various voluntary organisations and international bodies. I should congratulate the Government on that count.

Sir, the President has made a reference about the National Disaster Management Authority. Sir, the Government's proposed Authority, which is going to be created, is a very important institution. I request the Government to confer a Constitutional status on it so that it is placed above political considerations.

We are very glad that the Government is trying to arrive at a consensus on issues like the unilateral ceasefire in Kashmir, by convening all-party meetings. Sir, the same process of arriving at a consensus can be extended to other spheres of governance. That is my request. Especially, in a democracy, decisions have to be taken by consensus; at least, a broader spectrum of the society should accord permission for important decisions that are taken.

Sir, there was a reference to the great man, Dr. Ambedkar, in the Address. Our senior Member, Shri Arjun Singh, mentioned about it. Sir, the

President has referred about certain contradictions. I quote: "On January 26, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality; and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest. Unfortunately, the contradiction that Dr. Ambedkar and many other stalwarts of the Freedom Movement had warned us about, continues to mar our national life even today."

Sir, it is a very relevant and a very significant observation made by the President of India. Ironically, yesterday, Mr. Arjun Singh was referring to this. Of course, it is true that it is more relevant today. We are unable to solve some problems, especially the rural-urban divide, minimisation of the economic inequalities and removing the disparity between the haves and the have-nots. These are the things which we could not totally eradicate. But who is responsible for it? The party, which was in power for four decades, is accusing the Government which is in power for the last one-and-a-half years! To what extent you are justified? That does not mean that I am extending support to this Government for not solving the problems. But who is responsible for it? Nobody prevented you from solving all these problems. You were having the full mandate of the people and yet you could not do it!

Sir, I would like to say one thing. The Government has failed to address some important problems that are being faced by the nation, especially the farmers. The plight of the farmers is miserable. Sir, the input cost has gone up. Still, they have to depend on the vagaries of the monsoon. There is a very limited area which has been irrigated in this country. Especially, in the southern part of the country, the percentage of irrigated area is very less. They continue to be dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon. In spite of that they are unable to get proper price for their produce. Ultimately, the Government could not come out exactly on how to mitigate the miseries of the farmers. Very apparently it is lacking. Sir, with regard to surplus foodgrains, I have to say that even today I have come to know that foodgrains worth Rs.900 crores that are lying in the godowns are unfit for human consumption. Sir, the Government should have lived up to this problem. I was reading these figures in a newspaper. I am not aware of the actual figures. The Government should have initiated some measures to dispose of this surplus produce either by way of exports or by way of consumption by creating rural capital assets. Some innovative thinking should have been made by the Government. Sir, now even storing

4.00 P.M.

has become a problem and the FCI is unable to further procurement from the farming community, as a result the farmers are facing a lot of problems. We are unable to motivate the farming community to the extent of changing the cropping pattern in which we are deficit like oilseeds and pulses. In spite of the efforts by the State Governments -- unless the Central Government comes out with an Agricultural Policy so that we can change the cropping pattern and do not import oilseeds, pulses and other agricultural produce which are short in this country -- it is very difficult to solve this problem. So, I draw the attention of the Government to this very important issue. Sir, another point is with regard to improving the potentiality of the employment. It is a very vital thing. Sir, we are strong advocates of economic reforms and umpteen times we have made it clear on the floor of the House. I have one observation to make in this regard. You should not jump before you learn how to stand and how to walk. But you are making an attempt to jump. It is going to boomerang. We have to take into consideration the realities of the nation, the ground realities. What is successful in other countries will not necessarily be successful in this country also. The ground realities are different. So, which type of policies are suitable to this country is the duty of the Government to analyse, formulate and implement them. Ultimately the Government has to deliver the goods by improving the economic standards of the people. Sir, I would like to submit that the steps that have been taken or the measures that have been announced by the Finance Minister in his recent Budget are not sufficient to reinvigorate the economy, to rejuvenate the economy. Sir, I would like to tell the hon. House that these are the words of the Prime Minister. These are not my words. Sir, with regard to growth rate, I would like to submit that we have proclaimed that we will achieve 9 per cent growth. Sir, this year we could not increase it to more than 6 per cent. It is only 6 per cent as per the figures given by the Government. Sir, in 1998-99, it was 6.6 per cent and in 1999-2000, it was 6.4 per cent. This year we are likely to achieve 6 per cent. Sir, it is slipping down. The economic indicators are going down. You take any sector whether primary or secondary or tertiary or any other sector, there is no improvement. Sir, with regard to the service sector, I would like to submit that the growth has come down from 10.1 per cent to 9.6 per cent. It has come down. In manufacturing sector, in 1999-2000 it was 6.8 per cent. This year we are likely to achieve 6.4 per cent. So, there is a decrease of 0.4 per cent. Sir, with regard to the agricultural sector, the increase is very nominal, that is,

0.9 per cent, in spite of the bumper harvest. Sir, it is not sufficient even to appropriate and offset the inflation rate of 7.2 per cent. Sir, I request the presence of, at least, one Minister in the House to represent the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): The Health Minister is there. His ear is quite close to you.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sorry, I could not see the hon. Minister. Now, I am more invigorated by drawing the attention of the hon. Health Minister. Coming to the point, even on the investments side, there was a shortfall in the investments, both in the public and the private sector. There was a slowdown. Public investment has slowed down by 25 per cent. So, it has, naturally, affected the investments in the infrastructure, service, agriculture and various other sectors. It has got its own ramifications. When the investment in the public sector has gone down by 25 per cent, naturally, the investments in various other sectors will go down. So, automatically, it will have an adverse impact on the growth rate.

With regard to savings, I would like to submit that in 1995-96, it was 25.5 per cent of the GDP. Last year -- 1999-2000 -- it was 22.3 per cent. It had gone down. To achieve a 6 per cent growth rate, we require a minimum of 25 per cent of the nation's savings; and, to achieve a 9 per cent growth rate, the savings should be more than 32-33 per cent. I do not blame the hon. Finance Minister for reducing the rate of interest on savings. But the problem is, how to mop up resources from the public when you have reduced the rate of interest? It was reduced from 10 per cent to 8.5 per cent. I am not objecting to reduction of the interest rate. I am very happy that the lending rate has been reduced, which helps in making available more funds to the industry, and there will be a lot of investment in various other sectors, especially, the infrastructure sector, and the products that are being manufactured in this sector will be more competitive. It is okay. But, to achieve a 9 per cent growth rate, you will require more funds to be made available in various sectors. Unless you mop up resources in the form of savings from the public, I do not know how the Finance Minister will procure those funds, unless he borrows from others at a high rate of interest. Again, this leads to an increase in the fiscal deficit, the revenue deficit; it becomes a vicious circle which will adversely effect the economy. Added to this, they have inherited the legacy of wasteful expenditure, which is continuously going up, non-merit subsidies and other forms of economic

populism which result in immense financial problems for the country. In this scenario of tremendous strain on the States' and the Centre's finances, the hon. Finance Minister could not have come out with a concrete plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Ramachandraiah, your time is running out and you have to think of your colleague also, and also the Budget, which we will take up after some time.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: I request my colleague so that I can take his time also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Oh! I see. It is all right. But, still, I will have to remind you that the Finance Minister will be there when the Finance Bill is discussed. So, you may like to concentrate more on the Address and save something for the Finance Minister! I am saying this because you are emphasising on savings.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, predominantly, the hon. President of India has made a reference about Pakistan. He said, "That the initiatives that have been made by India are not being responded positively and the cross-border terrorism is being encouraged by Pakistan." I failed to understand, honestly, as to what the policy of the Government on Kashmir is. We should not forget that the creation of Pakistan was based on the "Two-nation Theory." So, I want to caution the Government that we should be alert. A lot of migration is taking place, and you are giving leverage to Pakistan to extend this logic of "Two-nation Theory."

Sir, they are not going to relent. They are revengeful because of the 1971 division of Pakistan. Kashmir is the extension of the two-nation theory. This has to be kept in mind. What exactly is the policy of the Government on Kashmir? Does it want to drive away the people from the Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir, and occupy it? Or, does it want that the present LOC be accepted as the international line of control? The Government should come out with a clear policy. Or, just driving away the militants from the Indian soil? What exactly is the policy on Kashmir? That has to be clearly enunciated. I read in the newspapers, while I was a student, that there was some unwritten understanding that the present LOC would be accepted as the international line of control. And, then, Madam Indira Gandhi sought some time to convince and arrive at a consensus in our country. I read in some books also that the Late Ayub Khan and

Nehruji were also of the same opinion. Does this Government also got have the same thinking? Sir, they have to take the House into confidence with regard to the policy on Kashmir. We should also be aware of their evil designs. The Prime Minister's bus *yatra* to Lahore was neither a success nor a failure. As soon as he returned from there, we had to fight the Kargil war. The present CEO of Pakistan was the Army Chief then. He never cared to call on our Prime Minister. He is the present ruler of Pakistan. He boycotted the function also. So, what I am trying to advise the Government is, Kashmir is not the only unfinished agenda of Pakistan. They have got an agenda beyond Kashmir. They will evolve it on the two-nation theory. I cautiously advise the Government to be careful and alert, and take into consideration the interest of the nation. Don't be mild by the logic that is accepted by extremists who are very close to Peshawar. They frequently visit Pakistan. Ultimately, it is the interest of the country which is paramount. I am not against the bold initiatives that have been taken. But what I am trying to say is this. The best example is the Kargil war. So, unless we are very alert, we can't prevent such things. After the Kargil war, we were compelled to do *post mortem* here. *Post mortem* may be a juicy story for the Press, but not for the nation.

Now, Sir, I come to the economic reforms. I will conclude within five minutes. While we are talking about BALCO, I would like to say that we are never against disinvestment. Conceptually, we are for economic reforms. We are not like the Congress party which, earlier, had initiated the economic reforms, but is now going back. Without mincing words, we are saying that our party stands with economic reforms. But, at the same time, whatever you do, you do it with transparency. It is a transition period for this nation. You are changing the economy of the country from a Government-regulated economy to a market economy. You have to take some important decisions, like disinvestment, etc. But unless you are alert, you are cautious, you will be giving a platform for the corrupt people. Sir, everybody knows the present scenario of the country. I need not explain it. Everybody knows under what circumstances the Government is providing governance. Everybody is aware of the overall characteristics of the industrialists, the overall characteristics of the politicians, the overall characteristics of the bureaucracy. But in this framework of constraints, you have to deliver the goods, keeping in view the peoples' interests. That is why I want to draw the attention of the Government to it. That is why I said, "Don't try to jump before you learn how to stand and how to walk."

Sir, it is very aptly said in the speech that the scope of the reforms process itself needs to be widened so as to fortify self-reliance, create more employment opportunities and to remove poverty rapidly. Sir, the ultimate result of the reforms should be, we should be self-reliant. We need not be parasitic. I would like to know whether the measures that have been initiated by the Minister of Finance are sufficient to achieve these objectives, I am doubtful, Sir.

Now, I come to the economic issue. It is true that the Minister of Finance has tried to make some structural changes so that some friendly atmosphere could be created for the corporate sector as well as for the foreign institutional investors. But that did not last long. Unfortunately, the Sensex came down. Sir, I don't think the sensex alone is the indicator of the Indian economy. Nowhere in the world is it so. But our people are very gullible. They are believing it. It went up by 170; then it came down. We are going to discuss this issue on Monday. Then, Sir, appropriate efforts are not being made for resource mobilisation. It is true that an Economic Council of the Prime Minister has made some recommendations, which have been accepted by the Finance Minister, on rationalisation of duties, subsidies, etc. It is okay. But, unless you mobilise the resources, you will not be able to make sufficient funds available for the economy, for various sectors. Already, the Minister of Finance has said that he has to borrow more than Rs.1,17,00,000 (Rupees one crore seventeen lakhs). But if his statement that he is confining the fiscal deficit to 5.1% is accepted, it is really an achievement, in the present economic scenario. But what will be the position next year? The interest expenditure is going up; the defence expenditure has not gone down, and the subsidies are being maintained at Rs.23,000 crores. So, ultimately, I do not think these efforts alone are sufficient to achieve the objectives that have been enunciated.

Now, I come to the public sector issue. Sir, the public sector has played a very vital role in this country earlier. It was also responsible for the growth of the private sector in this country. When appropriate technology was not available, when sufficient capital investments were not available, we were constrained to go to the public sector. Subsequently, the economic scenario changed, we came to a mixed economy and now we are going to the market forces. But that does not mean that out of vengeance, we should ruin the public sector. This is the impression that is being gained by the people. Why did you do it? The Government needs to have an introspection over it. I am telling you that we are not against reforms; we

are not against disinvestment. A picture is being given that the TDP is against economic reforms. No. We are far ahead in reforms, than the BJP Government. -

Now, I come to WTO. No mention has been made about this. Sir, our apprehension is that appropriate steps have not been taken, precautionary measures have not been initiated, before lifting the quantitative restrictions. Sir, it will have a tremendous, adverse, impact on our country. Of course, we have got the leverage of imposing anti-dumping duties, but in spite of that, unless you upgrade the technology in our small-scale industry, unless you pump in more funds into the small-scale industry, the products that are being produced in the small-scale industry will not be competitive in quality or price. Ultimately, the small-scale industry is going to be ruined in this country. How will you accommodate the people who are being displaced from this industry. Secondly, what will be the fate of the banks which have financed these institutions?

The NPAs will go up, and nowhere, a mention has been made, how to recover the NPAs. So, ultimately, the NPAs also will go up, and the entire industry, which is responsible for more than 30% of the exports, will be killed. So, this aspect also has to be taken into consideration while formulating the policies. I think, the Finance Minister has not taken note of all these things. Sir, there are two positive aspects which I want to mention. One is regarding the inter-State water disputes. The Government is coming out with a Bill. Sir, this Bill has to be legislated very urgently. The Central Government has to assume the role of an arbitrator to settle the disputes between the States, because most of the projects are pending on account of litigations and disputes among the States. So, unless the Government comes forward and takes the initiative and settles the disputes, the projects cannot be started. Sir, I am very happy that the Finance Minister has, at least, made an attempt at downsizing his Department, but let us do it in the case of the Ministry first, and then come to the Government Departments. Sir, we have to do these things with utmost sincerity and in good faith. Otherwise, it is very difficult to achieve this objective. Sir, the President of India has broadly touched upon a whole range of issues. All the aspects, with regard to internal security, external threat, foreign policy, etc. have been taken care of in the President's Address. Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Dr.(Smt.) Joyasree Goswami Mahanta; she is not present. Shri R.N. Arya; he is also not present. Shri Virumbi.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I thank you for having given me this opportunity to participate in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Sir, during the last two years, the people of India have expressed their solidarity more than once. During the Orissa Cyclone, during the Kargil stand-off as well as during the Gujarat earthquake tragedy, people from all parts of India joined hands to help the victims. Today, there is a news in the Press that the prisoners of the Tihar Jail have also contributed to the cause of the earthquake victims. Sir, such a tremendous cooperation even from unexpected quarters shows that in times of stress and strain, the people of India will stand as one man, cutting across party lines, language barriers and State barriers. Sir, today, being the 'International Women's Day', I want to start my speech by making a reference to it *...(Interruptions)...* We have to protect them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): But none of them is here. *...(Interruptions)...* Your colleagues are not present. *...(Interruptions)...* You have shown a gallant gesture, but nobody is here to appreciate it.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, they would have gone to celebrate this day at home. In the morning itself, I said that we, the DMK party, support the move for the reservation of seats for women in Parliament. Sir, in our State, 30% of the jobs in Government services had already been reserved for women.

We have made 33 per cent reservation for women in the local bodies. We have provided for free education for women up to the graduation level. If a BPL girl completes the tenth standard, we even give financial assistance for her marriage.

As far as the property right is concerned, in 1929, our forefathers in the Dravidian Movement, under the chairmanship of Periyar, passed a resolution for giving equal rights for women. We have enacted that law in 1989 in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, I can say that we are in the forefront; we are forward in this area.

Sir, the President's Address mentions about secularism in para 16. Actually, I cannot take up all the policies or concepts mentioned in this. I want to take up only a few selected things. I quote from para 16 of the President's Address:

"The Government is uncompromising in its commitment to secularism. The levels of communal and caste violence have continued to decline."

This is what he has said.

Sir, before the elections, when the NDA was formed, we gave some assurance to the nation. I quote it. You can take it as the preamble or the prologue or the mission of the NDA. I quote:

"The NDA pledges to the people of India a government which shares their hopes and anxieties and which will work as partner with all people, irrespective of class, caste and religion, not just with a privileged few. This is our contract with the people. The NDA is new. The NDA is the future. The NDA is a broad-based movement for progress and justice. Our vision is one of national renewal with modern programmes of change for a resurgent India. We reach out to the minorities, and, even at the cost of repetition, proclaim that we will safeguard the rights as enshrined in our Constitution. NDA is the political arm of none other than the Indian people as a whole. No one will be cast aside. Fairness and justice will be rendered to one and all, and we assure you that there will not be any discrimination. We appeal to our brothers and sisters of minorities that we wholeheartedly extend our hands of friendship in these fraternal words. Let us hold hands and work together to build a resurgent modern India. Let us throw away our old prejudices. Let us put an end to divisiveness. Let us have a moratorium on contentious issues. Let us bind ourselves with bonds of trust and friendship. We want an India which we all feel part of, in whose future we all have a stake. And we want to enter the new millennium with confidence; not with divisive feelings. This is our call for reconciliation, and it is part of our commitment to the minorities. NDA came into being because of a historic need."

Sir, I want to say that when we talk of secularism, I want to mention one example. For the Haj pilgrims, during the Congress regime, at that time, the airfreight was Rs.19,000/-. At that time, Rs.7,000/- was collected from the pilgrims, and they had given Rs.12,000/- subsidy. Now, for the same thing, Rs.31,000/- is the airfreight. Only Rs. 12,000 is being collected from them. I think so. Now only Rs. 12,000/- is being collected and a subsidy of more than Rs.19,000/- is being given. We are giving more subsidy than what the Congress Government had given to Haj pilgrims. When it was Rs.19,000/-, they had given Rs.7,000/-. It is Rs.31,000/- now, and we are giving Rs.19,000/- subsidy. Therefore, we are not discriminating anybody. We stand by our pledge. This is what I want to say.

Then, my learned friend from the other side said, "regional satraps." I do not know how he took the word. It has hurt us a little bit. We want to say very clearly that India is multi-lingual and multi-cultural. It is a sub-continent. Do not say, "regional satraps." I want to ask the so-called national parties, "On how many States have you got hold?" We want to know from the so-called national parties whether we have got any national party in India having two-thirds of the States under its control? How can you say, "regional satraps?"

They must respect the regional culture and regional languages. Only then integrity of India can be kept in tact.

The President in his Address while speaking on Centre-State relations, had said that Centre-State relations continue to be harmonious. The Inter-State Council and its standing Committee has been meeting regularly. This augers well for democracy and federal polity.

Yesterday an hon. Member said that what the President had said on the eve of the Republic Day was quite different from what he said in his Address to Members of both the Houses of Parliament. In this regard I would like to make one thing clear. The Chairman of the Constitutional Review Committee has clearly stated that the Constitutional Review Committee will not touch the basic features of the Constitution. You know on what conditions the Sarkaria Commission was set up. Yet most of its recommendations have not yet been implemented. Here I would like to point out that Article 356 was used again and again. Even yesterday it was said that in UP when the United Front Government was in power at the Centre and when they wanted to dismiss the BJP Government in UP, we,

the DMK, had opposed it even in the Cabinet. In the same way when somebody wanted to disodge the West Bengal Government, we opposed it. Our stand is whatever the complexion of a Government, if it is elected by the people, that Government should not be dismissed, be it the BJP Government in UP or the Communist Party Government in West Bengal. Our party's stand on this issue has been consistent.

Yesterday some hon. Members spoke about imposition of Emergency by Indiraji. I may point out here that when the Emergency was imposed by her, we had opposed it and had passed a resolution at that time opposing the imposition of emergency and sent a message to the Government at the Centre saying: release the national leaders, revoke the national emergency, repeal MISA, restore normalcy restore normally and re-establish democracy. This was the message we sent to the then Central Government. But, here I may point out that Indiraji had openly accepted that not only the operation of emergency, but even its proclamation was wrong. Later while speaking at the Marina Grounds in Chennai she had openly said that she regretted that. But again and again these people want to rake up the same thing. This is not proper. What I want to say is that after her having expressed regrets, this chapter should be closed. They need not rake it up again and again. But, I must point out that Article 356 is still on the Statute Book.

Now, I would address on Centre-State fiscal relations. You know that the income of the Centre is elastic in character while that of the States is inelastic. Secondly, in my view, the Eleventh Finance Commission has not done justice to the States. It said that out of the 25 States which existed before the new States were carved out, fifteen States were found to be revenue deficit States. According to them ten States are revenue surplus States. Some States which were able to administer properly and when they wanted to honour the commitments made to the Planning Commission on mobilisation of resources, plan expenditure and the capital expenditure, the Eleventh Finance Commission has said that they were revenue surplus States. The amount of Rs.35,000 crores was earmarked for the backward States. But, the word 'backward' has not been clearly defined by them.

Whatever definition they have given is not acceptable. It cannot be accepted. Therefore, it has to be reviewed once again. They wanted to withhold only Rs.5,300 crores and wanted to give it to other ten States.

They wanted to give not only to ten States, but to all twenty-five States. The Central Government will also contribute another Rs.5,300 crores. About Rs.10,672 crores has been set apart for all twenty-five States. Our Tamil Nadu State is being administered efficiently. Now we are being punished by the Finance Commission. I feel, its recommendations should be reviewed. This is number one.

Secondly, the Constitution Review Committee has made it very clear that the basic features of the Constitution will not be touched. There should not be any suspicion over it.

Now, I come to some important issues.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Now, you have to wind up.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I will take only five minutes. In the past, I had never asked for any extra time. But this time I am making a request.

According to the National Population Policy, the rate of growth was 2.14 per cent during 1981-1991. During 1991-2001, it was estimated to be 1.70 per cent. This has been done in order to ensure the absolute size of the population. We agree with that. We have successfully implemented the family planning programme in our State. But we have been punished. How? Earlier, we had 41 Lok Sabha seats from our State. But due to the successful implementation of the family planning programme, the Centre reduced it from 41 to 39 seats. We have lost two seats because of the reduction in the population. Then, our hon. Prime Minister had assured us that, at least, the 39 seats would be continued for 25 years. But there is a lobby in Delhi. They wanted to reduce the period from 25 years to 10 years. We oppose this move. I would request the Government not to succumb to this pressure. You are punishing the States which have successfully implemented the family planning programme. This is nothing but a retrograde step.

Regarding the power tariff, there is a policy to introduce full metering for all power consumers. The Tamil Nadu Government has totally rejected this. As far as the power tariff is concerned, we are providing free power to our farmers. I want to make it very clear that our Government will not go back on that commitment. We have made this commitment after a careful thought.

Regarding the agricultural sector, some people are raising doubts that, after liberalisation, our agriculturists are going to face difficulties. Articles 6, 18,19,20 and 21 of the GATT rules provide protection to agriculturists. We can provide tariff protection also. Therefore, there is no such thing. The Government of India has also assured that, after liberalisation, if our agriculturists are going to be affected, an appropriate legislation will be passed in Parliament to provide protection to them. Therefore, we need not have any suspicion over this issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): May I tell you? The articles which you have referred to, pertain to the TRIPS Agreement.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Yes, Sir.

After liberalisation, if our workers and agriculturists are going to be affected, they will be provided protection. China also has applied to the WTO for membership. About 27 per cent of the Chinese population is unemployed. In spite of it, they did not withdraw it. This clearly shows that there is a protection. That is what I want to make clear. When there was an economic crisis in East-Asia, our country was not affected because our agricultural economy was strong.

Only two per cent people in the USA are agriculturists; only five per cent in the Western Europe are agriculturists; 22 per cent in the Eastern Europe are agriculturists. But, here, in India, 70 per cent of the people are agriculturists. But what they contribute to the national income is only 29 per cent. That is why we want to still protect them. I agree. At the same time, I feel that they are enjoying the protection. Instead of touching the agriculturists, more power supply from hydro-electric projects can be obtained. We can utilise the potential in the Brahmaputra, Arunachal Pradesh and also neighbouring countries like Nepal. A vast untapped energy is there in these places. We get 80 per cent of our power supply from thermal power stations only. Only 18-20 per cent, we get from hydro-electric projects. We can enhance this percentage at least to 40. If we concentrate on hydro-electric power projects, we can get much cheap energy. There is another point regarding power supply. In thermal power plants, the plant load factor is between 63 and 68 per cent. The international standard is much more. We have decided to increase the power production by 10,000 mega watts. I agree. But I feel the Government of India should concentrate on increasing the plant load factor to the international level.

Only in the southern region it is about 80 per cent. All over India, otherwise, it is between 63 and 68 per cent only. The Government of India should take care of the plant load factor.

The total credit for agriculturists last year was only Rs.51,500 crores. Now, in this Budget, it is enhanced to Rs.64,000 crores. People are afraid of agricultural imports. Seventy per cent of our agricultural imports during the last year were only vegetable oils. That is what Mr. Ramachandraiah also mentioned. We have to increase the production of edible oil, vegetable oil. If that is increased, agricultural imports will reduce. That is my opinion, Sir.

As for Railways, an Expert Committee was constituted to go into the operation, organisation, investment, tariffs and other policies. That Committee has submitted its report. I request the Government to bring it before Parliament for a fair discussion.

I would like to make a few points in regard to Tamil Nadu particularly. The Sethusamudram Project was totally left out in the Budget proposal. I request that it should be included. The Dave Committee has submitted its report on pension. That report should also be discussed in Parliament and it should be implemented as early as possible. Regarding the textile sector, we requested for extension of the concessions enjoyed by the SSI units to the organised sector also. Stand-alone spinning mills are there in the south only, not in the north. Most of them are in the south. The excise duty is eight per cent and there is a 15 per cent surcharge on it. Effectively, the excise duty comes to 9.2 per cent. They are unable to bear it. The industry will become uncompetitive. We wanted a reduction of the excise duty on cotton yarn. Instead of reducing the excise duty in respect of the organised sector, the Government has removed the concessions given to the SSI units. That is why I appeal to the Government to again give the concessions not only to the SSI units but also to the organised sector.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): With this appeal to the Government, you listen to my appeal and wind up.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Only three more minutes, Sir.

The Government has also withdrawn concessions given to the ready-made and apparel manufacturers. I want that the Government should

restore the concessions available previously to the ready-made and apparel manufacturers. The Salem Steel Industries, the Hindustan Photo Films and the Government Press in Periyanaicken Palayam should be revived with the help of the Central Government.

Lastly, I come to the fast-track method for court cases.

The Fast Track Courts are being set up for the disposal of long pending cases. They have stated that, at the present moment, there are 5400 cases of the violation of foreign exchange, which are pending. But, what I feel is that even with the Fast Track Courts method, it is very difficult for the Government to expedite 5400 cases. In fact, lakhs and lakhs of cases are actually kept in abeyance. Unless you expedite these cases expeditiously, you will not be able to stop the entry of criminals into the political arena. If you want to stop the criminals from entering into the political arena, you must see to it that these cases are expedited as early as possible. I would like to give one example. The palace of Edward II in Britain was purchased by a single person from India for Rs. 248 crores. He was able to purchase a palace that was owned by Edward II for Rs. 248 crores. I would like to give another example. Four people have deposited Rs. 985 crores in some bank in the Cayman Island. The Interpol should look into the whole matter. They must find out as to who are those Indians who have been able to deposit Rs. 985 crores in some bank in the Cayman Island. Unless the truth is found out, the criminals cannot be stopped from entering the political arena.

Lastly, since the hon. Members have been referring to liberalisation, I would like to deal with this point. I would like to quote from the HINDUSTAN TIMES dated 2nd March, 2001. Since the hon. Member, Shri S. Ramachandran Pillai, has given a signal, I am speaking for him. I am quoting:-

*Mr. Bhattacharjee has always been known as a Stalinist, a much admired label among the Marxists. But how responsibility breeds common sense! Today he is not only talking of responsible trade unionism, but even in favour of the contract system even if it ushers in the American practice of 'hire and fire', which has long been lambasted by the Leftists as a typically anti-worker capitalist ploy. Not only that, Mr. Bhattacharjee startled a group of

businessmen recently with his view that he wanted to shed the burden of running sick units by disinvesting them."

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal) : Who is that Bhattacharjee? I never heard of him.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, since he has sought clarification as to who this Mr. Bhattacharjee is, I would like to respond to his question. *..(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI: Mr. Jibon Roy, he is from West Bengal. Don't bother. *..(Interruptions)...*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I quote, "Sir COMMUNIST diatribe against the Budget was predictable. Apart from their ingrained habit of finding fault with anything with which they are not associated, this year's Budget was bound to rouse their ire because of its pro-reforms thrust...." *..(Interruptions)...*

"The CPI(M) might have had a way out if Mr. Bhattacharjee was a renegade of some kind--like his cabinet colleague Subhas Chakravarty or the party's former M.P. Saifuddin Chaudhury. But he is not...." Mr. Jibon Roy, do you now understand as to whom I am referring to? "Mr. Bhattacharjee startled a group of businessmen recently with his view that he wanted to shed the burden of running sick units by disinvesting them. It isn't clear if there has been a breakdown of communications between the CPI (M)'s offices in New Delhi and Kolkata. But what is undeniable is that what is being said by the party's stalwarts in the national capital is the exact opposite of what its Chief Minister is saying in West Bengal...." *..(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Jibon Roy, are you satisfied now?

SHRI JIBON ROY: Mr. Virumbi, why are you so defensive? *..(Interruptions)...* If you want to support them, support them. *..(Interruptions)...*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, I never used to complain. "It isn't clear if there has been a breakdown of communications between the

CPI (M)'s offices in New Delhi and Kolkata. But what is undeniable is that what is being said by the party's stalwarts in the national capital is the exact opposite of what its Chief Minister is saying in West Bengal. Either the CPI(M) does not know its own mind or it is in such disarray that it cannot formulate a coherent policy, presumably because the gap between its doctrine and the present-day realities is growing increasingly wide.

"Unless it closes the gap, it will be ready for another historic blunder." These are his words. Sir, I know that no Minister can reply to all the points, but I hope that, apart from the reply to be given by the hon. Prime Minister, the concerned Ministers will take whatever points that we have raised into consideration and give a reply, at least, in writing to the Members of this august House.

With these words I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद, आपके पास छह मिनट का समय है।

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD (BIHAR): Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me the time. I would try my best to stick to the allotted time given here.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप उसको पूरा करिए।

You achieve it.

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD: Sir, I rise today to support the Motion of Thanks, moved by our hon. Member, Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, on the President's Address. Some of the momentous events need to be noted. This is the first President's Address of this century, to the Parliament. Therefore, it is not merely a statement of intent of the Government in power being expressed by the President, but also a statement of vision. It is also a statement indicating the future course of action which the country must take, and I must say very proudly that this statement, though too long, clearly spells out some of the profound ideals of the country that India has to become strong, self-reliant and hold its head high in the comity of nations. Sir, this Address was delivered under the shadow of the tragedy of Gujarat. The entire nation rose in unison in providing relief. I have personally gone to Gujarat. I have extensively toured

all the troubled areas affected by the earthquake. Sir, I saw for myself the enormous efforts being undertaken by the voluntary organisations in providing relief. This was a very good initiative because, for the first time, the country experienced that beyond the Governmental initiative, other great initiatives also exist. That is a lesson for us, and I was truly troubled by some of the statements made that there was discrimination in awarding the relief. I myself saw the RSS-people removing the decomposed bodies, even of those belonging to the Muslim community. There was a universal praise. In Bachau, I saw for myself in the RSS-run hospitals about 20 percent Muslims specially being treated. We found that a good treatment was being given. I am willing to say that even the Islamic organisations rendered good help. Please don't bring politics in this very earnest endeavour.

Sir, it is the 50th year of our Republic. India's Constitution has become 50 years strong. These years have been years of trials and tribulations, but, ultimately, we have seen the light of democracy which we must salute, and we must also note that the speech of the hon. President uses a very unique expression:

"The sacred flame of freedom and democracy will continue to illuminate India's journey in the new century and the millennium."

Sir, there have been attempts to stifle the democracy. We were part of the J.P. Movement. We have fought the Emergency and we have seen as to how during the Emergency, an attempt was made to stifle the democracy. My friends from the Left were also there. They too suffered. An argument was made in the famous case of A.D.M., Jabalpur vs. N. Shukla, in the Supreme Court that "even if a detenu is killed in custody, he has no remedy". Unfortunately, the Supreme Court upheld that contention of the then Attorney-General. I am very happy to note that the people rose in revolt then. And today, no one can think of imposing Emergency! Sir, when I salute our democracy, in the light of the experiences that we have had in the last 50 years, I must also express my concern over the increasing criminality which is creeping into our body politic. Today, Sir, an innocent man, a man with some conviction, does not have the courage to contest; he says that. Today, we witness a scenario wherein persons who have occupied the post of a Chief Minister are going to jail, and yet saying, "I will not relinquish my post. I will have a back-door Government till I am exonerated by the Supreme Court!" What is happening in our country? The manner in which rank criminals are entering our Parliament and Vidhan

Sabhas is a very disturbing development. I certainly urge upon the Government to come out with urgent electoral reforms with a view to ensuring that criminals do not have a place, at least, in the elections. Only then, will this flame of democracy continue to glow.

Sir, much has been talked about economic reforms. Manmohan Singhji is not here. Though he is from the Congress, I have deeply appreciated the manner in which he sought to undertake massive economic reforms about ten years ago. When we reflect upon the last 50 years, we have to admit that the model of Socialism, which started in Europe, and the model of Communism, which started in Moscow and Beijing, today, have floundered on the bedrock of history. The world over changes have taken place. I saluted Manmohan Singhji when he began that change and, today, I am very much distressed when I saw him maintaining a very conspicuous silence when the challenge came about. It may be good politics, but certainly not good economics for which he is well known. The public sector certainly has a role to play. They had a role. But, I would like to ask certain questions today. A whopping amount of Rs.2,40,000 crores is locked in 40 PSUs. I exclude the banking and insurance companies. What is the return? A petty sum of Rs.9,052 crores! It is our taxpayers' money, not my money or your money. The people have a right to know how you are using their money. We talk of Air India. Air India is in such a precarious condition that an Indian does not feel comfortable to fly in its flight. Is it not time to think about it, to change it, to make it more profitable, to make it accountable? I was going through the Ramakrishna Commission Report on disinvestment. It was of the year 1996. The party of my esteemed friend, Mr. Dipankar Mukherjee, was also supporting that Government which instituted that Commission. All the objections that are raised on BALCO, all the methods that are sought to be followed today, were there in all the reports of the Commission, be it strategic sale, be it disinvestments, be it the process of auctioning or bidding. Everything was there. When they did it, it was fine. When we seek to improve upon it, it becomes bad. It is time that we arrived at a consensus, if we have to take the economic reforms to their logical conclusion. I was very much impressed when I read in the newspapers that a team of Congress leaders had gone to England to learn from the new Labour Government as to how they are maintaining their hold on the people. Then I read that they found, on their return, that many of the stands that they were taking here were absolutely contrary and ought not to be taken. The world over the experience is that when disinvestments or economic reforms began, there

was initial hostility, strong hostility, followed by gushing acceptance and, thereafter, open appreciation. That has been the road. Why? Because there is a universal recognition the world over that the model of development, which Socialism initiated, and the model of development, which Communism initiated, are not relevant today. I don't say that they may not have been relevant earlier. But, today, from the bar of history, from the bar of development, we see profound changes taking place. To make it profitable, to make it competitive, to make it accountable, you will have to go in for a change and disinvestment initiative is the most important means of that change. Politics has a role to play in a democracy. But I am amazed to see that the Chief Minister of a State is threatening that the workers would not be allowed to work, the officers would not be allowed to work. Is he aware of the disastrous consequences that he is bringing? Is it in the interest of his own State? I read in the newspapers that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had written a letter to the Chief Minister saying, "We are trumpeting the world over about your State as a destination for investment because of the mineral resources. What kind of an impression are you giving to the international community?".

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please wind up.

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD: I am winding up.

Therefore, I see a great force of unanimity or consensus and I appeal to my friends, particularly, the Congress friends, at least, to ensure that the country's economic reforms, which they initiated, and I acknowledge rightly initiated, ought to be taken to their logical conclusion.

Sir, I am a lawyer. I will take up only one point and I will conclude. My esteemed senior professional friend and equally esteemed Member of this House, talked about judicial reforms.

That is certainly needed. I would urge upon the Government that this Judicial Commission which has been part of our manifesto is a long-felt demand. There was one mode of judicial appointments. It failed. The Supreme Court took this power upon itself. Today, there is a universal acceptance that that particular mode of appointment has also failed. Sir, impeachment is not always the solution. It is a very hallowed institution. But judges must be accountable. Judges must be transparent. There must be proper accountability. For that a Judicial Commission is certainly

5.00 P.M.

necessary. I think the vision which this particular speech of the President has given ought to be taken to its logical conclusion. I hope the Government would certainly address some of the concerns which I have raised. Thank you.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : मूल चन्द मीणा जी, आपके भी आठ मिनट हैं क्योंकि अभी श्री अंगु सिंह जी हैं ।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा (राजस्थान) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपना अभिभाषण संसद के सदस्यों के सामने पढ़ा । वैसे तो राष्ट्रपति जी का हम सभी स्वागत करते हैं लेकिन भाषण का जो दस्तावेज है उसमें सरकार ने जो साल भर कार्य किया है, अपनी उपलब्धियां जो रही हैं उनका समावेश होता है। यह राष्ट्रपति जी की मजबूरी है क्योंकि संविधान में ऐसी व्यवस्था है कि राज्यों में राज्यपाल और केन्द्र में राष्ट्रपति जी को, जो सरकार जैसा व्याख्यान अपनी उपलब्धियों का बनाकर देती है, जो सरकार जिस ढंग से भी बनाती है, उसे उन्हें पढ़ना पड़ता है। मजबूरी है क्योंकि संविधान में व्यवस्था है। इस दस्तावेज को पढ़ने के बाद मैंने यह पाया कि इस दस्तावेज में कुछ वास्तविक बातें छोड़ दी गई हैं। आज देश में क्या हो रहा है ? आज देश के गरीब की क्या स्थिति है ? आज देश के किसान की क्या स्थिति है ? आज देश के उद्योगपति की क्या स्थिति है ? नौकरी करने वाले नौकरीपेशा लोगों की क्या स्थिति है ? वास्तविक स्थिति का चित्रण इस दस्तावेज में कहीं भी नहीं है। इसका कारण है। इसमें सरकार का दोष नहीं है। आज देश के अंदर 23-24 दलों को मिलाकर सरकार बनी है। इनके अलग-अलग विचार हैं, विरोधाभास है हर बात के लिए। यदि सरकार कुछ करना भी चाहे तो उसके जो सपोर्टर्स हैं, जिनसे यह सरकार बनी है वे नहीं करने देते। यह केवल गाड़ी खींचने के बराबर है, सरकार चलाना नहीं है। आज हम इस विरोधाभास की स्थिति में किसान की बात करते हैं। यह सरकार जब आई थी और जिस चुनाव में आई थी तो उस समय इसने किसान से बहुत से वादे किए थे लेकिन किसान के हाथ से जब वोट का हथियार निकल गया तो सरकार में बैठे लोगों ने डीजल के भाव बढ़ा दिए । इस देश के गरीब किसान को सस्ती खाद मिल सके इसके लिए सबसिडी की व्यवस्था थी लेकिन इन्होंने सरकार में आकर के किसान के लिए दी गई सबसिडी को भी कम कर दिया । मुझे एक बात कहने में अतिशयोक्ति हो रही है कि यहां कांग्रेस का राज 1986 तक था तो इस देश में किसान को डीजल 7.20 पैसे प्रति लीटर दिया जा रहा था और आज चार साल के अंदर वही डीजल 18 रुपये प्रति लीटर हो गया । गरीब किसान की खाद पर सबसिडी हटाने के बाद आज यूरिया के भाव बढ़ गए । यहां तक तो सही है लेकिन स्थिति दूसरी भी है कि जिस हिन्दुस्तान को किसानों का देश कहा जाता है, उस किसान की हालत आज जर्जर हो गई है । वह जो लागत पैदावार में लगाता है, वह भी वापस नहीं मिल रही है ।

आज किसानों द्वारा सुइसाइड करने की बात कई प्रांतों में सुनने को मिलती है । आंध्र प्रदेश, कर्नाटक, मध्य प्रदेश तथा दूसरे और प्रांतों से यह बात सुनने को आई है । इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी सरकार का दृष्टिकोण किसानों के प्रति सही नहीं है । किसानों के ऊपर टैक्स

का इतना भार है कि वह उसको वहन नहीं कर सकते। हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर 76 प्रतिशत लोग किसान और मजदूर हैं। जब तक इनकी खुशहाली नहीं होगी तब तक हिन्दुस्तान खुशहाल नहीं हो सकता। जब तक आप उनको खुश नहीं रखेंगे, उनको उनकी मेहनत और मजदूरी का उचित मूल्य नहीं देंगे तब तक हिन्दुस्तान के विकास की बात करना बेमानी है, तब तक देश का विकास नहीं हो सकता। सदन के अंदर कृषि मंत्री जी कह रहे थे कि पाम-आयल देश में आ गया। कैसे आ गया पाम-आयल? राज कर रहे हो या तमाशा कर रहे हो। इस देश के किसान ने सरसों, तिलहन और तिलहन की दूसरी जिस पैदा की है। पिछले साल जो सरसों ढाई हजार रुपये क्विंटल था वह अब एक हजार रुपया क्विंटल रह गया है। पाम-आयल बाहर से आ गया, कैसे आ गया, आप लोग राज कर रहे हैं या तमाशा कर रहे हैं। आप उसको आने से नहीं रोक सकते थे?

बजट में किसानों की बात कहते हुए कहा गया है कि हमने बाहर से आने वाली चीजों पर ज्यादा टैक्स लगा दिया है। लेकिन मुझे इस पर विश्वास नहीं होता क्योंकि पिछला एक साल जो निकला है वह साल किसानों का दुखदर्द का निकला है। किसान के ऊपर इतना भयंकर अत्याचार हुआ कि उसको मरने पर मजबूर होना पड़ा। आज जिन नीतियों से यह सरकार देश को चला रही है उससे शायद किसान को उसका अपना कृषि का जो धंधा है उसे त्यागना पड़ेगा और उसका नामोनिशान मिट जाएगा। इसलिए सरकार को किसान के प्रति अपना दृष्टिकोण बदलना पड़ेगा। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के अंदर यह कहीं नहीं है कि किसान, जो अपना जीवन-यापन नहीं कर सकता, अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा नहीं दे सकता, उनका ठीक से पालन-पोषण नहीं कर सकता उसके लिए सरकार क्या करने जा रही है। खेत में जो पैसा उसने लगाया है अगर वह पैसा उसको वापस नहीं मिलेगा तो जगह जगह पर किसान सुइसाइड करेगा। इस से देश में इस तरह की घटनाएँ हो रही हैं। अगर इसी तरह चलता रहा और देश के 70 प्रतिशत लोग दुखी रहते हैं तो यहां भी वही वातावरण बनेगा जैसा रूस के अंदर बना। यह बात कल श्री अर्जुन सिंह जी कह रहे थे। अगर सब तरह से देश की आर्थिक स्थिति खराब हो जाएगी और 70 प्रतिशत लोग दुखी रहेंगे तो हमें डर है कि जिस तरह से कुछ राज्यों में हो रहा है उससे देश के टुकड़े न हो जाएं और यहां वही वातावरण न पैदा हो जाए जो रूस के अंदर पैदा हुआ। इसको रोकने के लिए सरकार को कुछ ठोस कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे वरना देश की जो आर्थिक दुर्दशा होने वाली है उससे देश कठिनाइयों में आ जाएगा। अगर इस देश में गरीब के साथ, किसान के साथ बदसलूकी हुई, यहां की इंडस्ट्री के साथ बदसलूकी हुई, यहां के बेरोजगार लोगों के साथ बदसलूकी हुई तो कभी रूस की तरह हमारे देश की हालत न हो जाए। इसलिए सरकार को सचेत होकर देश की एकता और अखंडता को बनाए रखने के लिए कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे, काम करना पड़ेगा।

महोदय, आंतरिक और बाहरी सुरक्षा की बात इसके अंदर कही गई है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आपको जल्दी खत्म करना है।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कोशिश कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : जल्दी करिए क्योंकि 7 बजे तक सब कुछ हो जाना चाहिए। अभी आपके बहुत से साथी भी बाकी हैं।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : जब हम आंतरिक सुरक्षा की बात करते हैं तो चाहे नार्थ ईस्ट को लें, चाहे आंध्र प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु और कर्नाटक की बात करें पिछले दिनों वीरप्पन की बात आपने सुनी । इसी तरह नार्थ-ईस्ट में रोज क्या हो रहा है यह हम देख रहे हैं । जम्मू-कश्मीर की जब हम बात करते हैं तो जिसको हिन्दुस्तान का स्वर्ग कहते थे, आज उस स्वर्ग में क्या हो रहा है । किधर जा रहा है हमारा स्वर्ग ? ठीक है, सरकार ने कोशिश की, रमजान के टाइम में सीज़ फायर की घोषणा की और उसको लागू किया लेकिन इसके परिणाम अच्छे नहीं निकल रहे हैं । कल गृह मंत्री जी कह रहे थे कि सेना डिमोरलाइज़ नहीं हो रही है । यह गलत बात है । सदन के अन्दर वह बोल रहे थे । आप वहां सेना के लोगों से पूछिये । जो सैनिक आते हैं, रात-दिन वहां सैनिकों को मारा गया है, कितने दुख उठा रहे हैं । उनसे पूछिये, उनसे बात तो करिये, पता लगाइये कि उन लोगों का क्या दृष्टिकोण है । बिना बजह उनके ऊपर हमला कर दिया जाए और वह बैठे रहें, यह कैसा सीज़ फायर है ? इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक देश की सुरक्षा की बात है, देश को सुरक्षित रखने के लिए इस सरकार ने पिछले साल ऐसा कोई काम नहीं किया । यही हालत बिहार की है, यू०पी० की है । गज देश के हर प्रान्त के अन्दर ऐसी स्थिति बनती जा रही है । पुलिस बल को आपको आधुनिक बनाना पड़ेगा, आधुनिक प्रशिक्षण देना पड़ेगा । आज राजस्थान जैसा राज्य जिसको हम शान्तिप्रिय राज्य कहा करते थे, उसके अन्दर क्या स्थिति है ? लोग रात को सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : अब आप समाप्त करिये क्योंकि समय हो गया है । आपने मुझे की बात तो कह दी है ।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने तो अभी स्टार्ट ही किया है । मैं जनसंख्या के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा । आज हम जनसंख्या के मामले में चीन से भी आगे बढ़ गये हैं । एक सौ करोड़ से ज्यादा हमारी जनसंख्या हो गई है । जनसंख्या में वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए सरकार ने कोई सक्रिय कार्य नहीं किया । इस में राजनीतिक दल और धार्मिक नेता सब से बड़ी बाधा हैं । इस देश के अन्दर जनसंख्या वृद्धि को रोकने का दृष्टिकोण देश की नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और संजय गांधी ने दिया था । उन्होंने एक कार्यक्रम इस देश में दिया जो जनसंख्या की वृद्धि रोकने के लिए सब से अच्छा कार्यक्रम था लेकिन उसका राजनीतिक लाभ उठाया गया और इन्दिरा गांधी के खिलाफ एक वातावरण बनाया गया कि इन्दिरा गांधी जबरदस्ती जनसंख्या कम कर रही है, हम नहीं करना चाहते ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : हेल्थ मिनिस्टर साहब ने आपकी बात समझ ली है । अब आप समाप्त करिये ।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : आप समझ लो मिनिस्टर साहब तो समझे हुए हैं । मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि सरकार में जनसंख्या वृद्धि को रोकने की इच्छा शक्ति होनी चाहिये । जनसंख्या वृद्धि पर रोक कानूनी तरीके से सख्ती के साथ लागू करनी चाहिये नहीं तो जनसंख्या बढ़ने के कारण अपराध बढ़ रहे हैं, नौजवान तस्करी के काम कर रहे हैं, आतंकवादियों के हाथों में आ रहे हैं, देश के अन्दर अशान्ति पैदा हो रही है । इसलिए सब से बड़ी समस्या जनसंख्या वृद्धि की है । इस वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए सख्ती से कार्य करना चाहिये ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): धन्यवाद । आप सपोर्ट कर रहे हैं या अपोज कर रहे हैं ?

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : आज महिलाओं का दिन है इसलिए महिलाओं के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): महिला तो कोई है नहीं । सुबह हम कह चुके हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : मेरा महिलाओं के प्रति विशेष...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): लगाव है ।

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : लगाव नहीं, लगाव तो सब का होता है लेकिन हमारे राजस्थान में महिलाओं की स्थिति के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ । मैं जिस वर्ग से आता हूँ वह बहुत कमजोर वर्ग समझा जाता है । महिलाओं के साथ समानता का व्यवहार हो, मैं इसलिए यह कहना चाहूंगा कि महिलाओं का बिल पेश कर दिया गया जिसमें शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स महिलाओं की स्थिति बहुत दयनीय है । सभी कहते हैं कि इस बिल को पास करना चाहिये, कहते जरूर हैं लेकिन क्या हुआ ? आम सहमति बननी चाहिये लेकिन आम सहमति कैसे बनाएं । वह कोशिश तो करें बनाने की लेकिन कोई कोशिश नहीं होती है । इसलिए महोदय, मैं एक बात कह कर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ । शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए इस सरकार के समय में कुछ न्यायालय के निर्णय हुए थे । उन न्यायालयों के निर्णयों को जिनसे शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के अधिकारों का हनन हो रहा था, उनको रोकने के लिए ये बिल जरूर पास हुए/ लेकिन मुझे कहते हुए दुख है कि उन बिलों के पास हुए करीब साल भर हो गया है लेकिन वे लागू नहीं हुए हैं । इस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की बात की गयी है लेकिन जो निर्णय संसद ने लिए हैं, जो कानून संशोधित किए हैं उनको जल्दी से जल्दी लागू करें । यही कहते हुए मैं इस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का - जो बनावटी तरीके का दस्तावेज है - विरोध करता हूँ ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Now, Shri R.S. Gavai. After him, Shri Manoj Bhattacharya. Mr. Gavai, you have got 10 minutes. Other hon. Members would also get the same time.

SHRI R.S. GAVAI (Maharashtra): Sir, I will obey your directions. I will not take more than ten minutes. I will be brief. Sir, this is the Golden Jubilee Year of the Republic and also the Golden Jubilee Year of the adoption of the Indian Constitution, for which the stalwarts of the Constituent Assembly, including the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, did a wonderful job.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMA SHANKER KAUSHIK) In The Chair]

At the outset, Sir, I extend my thanks to His Excellency the President that it is befitting that he has referred to the caution given by Dr. Balasaheb Ambedkar when he presented the Constitution to the nation. In his concluding speech, he had cautioned the country. It is befitting on the part of the President to have referred to Dr. Ambedkar's word of caution. His Excellency, the President, has also urged that we must respect the values enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The observations and the caution given by Dr. Balasaheb Ambedkar form part of the President's Address. What has been mentioned in the Address of the President, I don't want to repeat. But, in other context, in other words, I would say that his observations are quite befitting today, even 50 years after the coming into existence of the Republic and adoption of the Constitution. It is quite relevant even today. What did he observe? "On 26th January, 1950, we will enter into the life of contradiction. In politics, we will have equality, and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. If, we shall, by reason a social and economic structure continue to deny the principle of one man one value, and also further to continue this life of contradictions, we will do so by putting our political democracy in peril." This observation was made on 27th November, 1949. Today, we have entered the year 2001. I think, this observation is quite relevant even today. Further, he expressed his anxiety. What was his anxiety? He said, "My anxiety is much deeper by realising the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of caste, creed and religion, whether we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political ideas. Will the Indians and the politicians place their caste, creed and religion above the nation or they will place the nation above their caste, creed and religion?"

Sir, this precautionary and cautionary observation is quite relevant even today. Sir, the lot of the weaker sections of the society, and, more importantly, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, has not improved to the desired level. Rather, there is a decline in their standard of living. More and more such families have gone below the poverty line, despite the caution given in 1949. The weaker sections remain unrepresented in the services of both the Centre and the State despite so many Constitutional provisions carried out through so many OMs and GOs. The educational level of such people, particularly, the women and the girls, has not increased. The number of illiterate among them is constantly

increasing. The atrocities on the weaker sections of the society are constantly increasing. Women and girls have become vulnerable to atrocities like rape, molestation, stripping in public places, teasing and so on. I, therefore, urge upon the Government to take note of the caution given by the President, quoting the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Despite so many provisions for the weaker sections, detrimental OMs are being issued, thereby, depriving their legitimate safeguards enshrined in the Constitution.

The Prime Minister had given an assurance that there would be a comprehensive legislation dealing with the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, weaker sections and for those for whom there is a Constitutional safeguard regarding their recruitment, promotion and filling up of the backlog. The promise has not yet been fulfilled.

Sir, during the Birth Centenary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the then Union Government, headed by Shri Narasimha Rao, had taken a decision to have a memorial for Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar at 26, Alipore Road, where he had stayed for long and where he had worked on the Indian Constitution. There is a feeling at the national level that the promise given by the then Prime Minister has not been fulfilled. Sir, the result of the Birth Centenary was that on the basis of the decision taken by the then Union Government, they founded the Dr. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar Foundation under the Ministry of Social Justice. I am very sorry to say that whatever decisions were taken by the Birth Centenary Committee, they are not being implemented by the Ministry of Social Justice. Not only that, the Ministry of Social Justice is becoming irrelevant and it is deviating from the spirit of justice. I am very sorry to mention that it would be proper if you designate the Ministry of Justice as the 'Ministry of social injustice'.

Sir, the recent occurrences which took place after the Presidential Address are with regard to the demolition of the statues of Lord Buddha. The Parliament has condemned it unanimously. Various other countries have also condemned it. Despite the fact that there is a heavy pressure, the Taliban Government is bent upon demolishing these statues. I urge upon the Union Government, particularly the Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs, to intervene in this matter. The most unfortunate thing is that Maulana Syed Abdullah Bukhari has linked this issue with the demolition of the Babri Masjid. I personally feel that this is most irrelevant and inhuman for one who happens to be an Indian citizen to have made

such type of statements. I would call it the "most unfortunate". The Government should take some measure to prevent such statements so that the harmonious atmosphere, peace and tranquillity of the nation are not vitiated. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): Sir, thank you very much. I do not know. I sometimes feel, looking at the House, whether I can do justice to the points that I have prepared by, sometimes, virtually exhausting myself. When the opportunity matures for me, the House becomes vacant. I feel that we should re-look into this. Some parties get three speakers on rotation, and only then our turn comes. When all other speakers are exhausted only then it comes to us. I represent the Revolutionary Socialist Party. I am not alone in this House. We have three Members. I request that, sometimes, you should put us in between the speakers. It is very unfortunate. I feel very frustrated, sometimes. I feel really frustrated. And, sometimes, I feel that I have unnecessarily given my name to participate in a discussion. However, that is the point that I wanted to make. But, I feel sorry. I feel frustrated. That is the reason why I have made this point. If at all some advantage or if at all justice can prevail in the days to come, I request you to look into the point raised by me.

However, as advised by you, I rise to speak. I rise to oppose this Motion moved by the hon. senior colleague, Shri T.N. Chaturvedi to thank the hon. President of our country for his Address to the Joint Session of Parliament on 19th February, 2001. I do feel sorry that the most respected first citizen of our country has been, unfortunately, forced to read the speech as prepared by the most inept NDA Government to laud its own delusion and dubious achievements. I repeat that an inept and inefficient jumbo Cabinet, formed out of an opportunist political combination, which could not even manage a worthy and profit making public sector enterprise by the name BALCO and had to dispose it off through a surreptitiously, hurried and shady deal, endeavoured to present a lengthy, monotonous and deluding account of their so-called 'Governance'. There has been most deplorable travesty of truth which sought legitimisation through the voice of the most revered gentleman, the President of our country.

Sir, paragraphs two to five have elaborately dealt with the most unprecedented, unfortunate and devastating earthquake that struck Gujarat on the fateful day of 26th January morning at 8.46 a.m. Expectedly, the so-

called info-technologically advanced Cabinet must have had the information about this catastrophe within a few minutes of its occurrence. But, perhaps, the entire Cabinet chose to participate in the Ceremonial Parade of the Republic Day without instantly rushing to the site of devastation. They, presumably, preferred to enjoy the brute exhibition of the State power, besides other things, when thousands of our fellow countrymen were struggling with the ominous disaster. Maybe, their prudence dictated them so. What is more intriguing is that even after almost one month of the occurrence of the incident, the Government have utterly failed to provide the number of persons died in the most gruesome natural calamity, even though a number of sentences have been inscribed in the President's Address in paragraphs two to five. What is more distressing is that during those days of trauma of the nation, the hon. Defence Minister, Shri George Fernandes, who heads the Army, Navy and Air Force, whose services in the rescue and relief operations have been applauded, informed the media, of all hue, that there are more than one lakh people whose lives have been perished in the catastrophe. Whereas, the hon. Agricultural Minister, Shri Nitish Kumar, informed this House on 26th February, 2001 that the latest figure of death till 25th February, 2001, as reported by the Gujarat State Government is 19,710. The nation is further confused as to what should be believed -- the Defence Minister's statement made in media of all hue or the Gujarat State Government which utterly failed to respond and act rising to the occasion during those distressing days.

Sir, not a single word has been spelt out even though some four paragraphs have been inscribed in the hon. President's Address about the total number of deaths and how many people we have lost in the catastrophe. That has not been mentioned in the President's Address. So, either the Cabinet has tried to hide the truth or there is a complete travesty of truth. Sir, I draw your attention, and through you, I require this answer. The nation requires this answer. The nation demands this answer as to how many of our fellow countrymen lost their lives in the Gujarat catastrophe. How many lives could we save and what is the present state of affairs? The exact narration should have been reflected in the President's Address. Unfortunately, it has not been mentioned even though it is a voluminous Address which had been read over in an hour on 19th February, 2001.

Sir, now, I refer to paragraph 16. I quote, "The Government is uncompromising in its commitment to secularism..." It really evokes laughter.

It reminds me of a popular joke where the most notorious element of a locality, who was uncontrollable, who was an eve-teaser, used to tease all the girls. Some so-called wise people of the locality decided that the best girl, against whom he used to perpetuate different sorts of activities, should be married to that notorious boy. Then, he will dissuade from these activities. It is a peculiar logic, and that logic, perhaps, applies to the present secularism, which is being propagated by the present Government. There are umpteen instances where the rights of the minorities have been badly trampled upon; particularly, the rights of Christians have been trampled upon at various places, particularly in the BJP-ruled States. However, many of my hon. friends, many of my hon. colleagues have already dealt, quite elaborately, with this issue. I am not going into the details of it. But I would, once again, say that this paragraph is a complete travesty of truth. The rights of the minorities, the rights of *dalits*, the rights of the down-trodden people have been trampled in different States, at different times, and gruesome activities have been perpetrated against them. I demand, through you, Sir, that this should be noted and properly replied, and this sort of travesty of truth should not take place in future.

Sir, now, I come to paragraph 20, which deals with the agenda of reforms. I quote, "The agenda of reforms has been sustained by a growing national consensus." I would like to ask the Government as when and how this consensus has been arrived at. Is it that a referendum has been taken? Did the people across the country, people across-the-board, voted for this reform process? The Economic Survey of this Government, which we have received a few days back, has indulged in a statistical jugglery. But, despite this report, more than 26 per cent people of the country live below the poverty line. The demarcation of poverty line has been changed. The base year has also been changed. So, quite a number of statistical juggleries have taken place. Sir, more than 26 per cent, means, not 26 thousand people, not 26 lakh people, but more than 26 crore people. So, more than 26 crore people are languishing below the poverty line. And the Government is saying that a nation-wide consensus is emerging! I am sorry, either it is a travesty of truth or it is an ugly attempt to hide the truth, to hide the fact, from the international community and from the fellow countrymen. Sir, I would not like to go into the details of what had taken place under this neo-liberal dispensation because I have spoken a lot last Friday, while speaking on a Private Member's Bill. I would just tell you, Sir, that the programme of privatisation the world over -- it is not only a national phenomenon here -- has been accompanied by retrenchment of

workers. Sometimes there is a process of creeping privatisation where the public sector undertakings are slowly starved to death and the private sector firms are allowed to grab the cream. Sometimes, the public sector firm itself is sold off, shut down and its assets are sold off at a tidy profit or at no-profit, in the most surreptitious manner. Sir, to facilitate such activities, existing laws and policies, for example, regarding the sale of factory land or regarding the revival of sick units, are modified, changed, scraped against workers' interests and against the interests of the entire nation, against the interests of the poor population and to the interests of speculative capital, which is necessarily volatile in nature and is ruling the roost in the entire world. Sir, it is quite evident...*(Time-bell)*... Yes, I will just read it through. I am conscious of the time factor. It is also quite evident that in our country also, this Government is going to encourage the speculative capital. To whom the tax concessions have been provided? To which culture? Kaun Banega Crorepati! Without any endeavour, without any labour, you can become a crorepati. Earlier, you were charging tax at the rate of 40 per cent; now it has been reduced to 30 per cent. That way, you are giving indulgence to this speculative capital, to the capital which will necessarily be volatile, and which will not be put or used any constructive or productive activities. Sir, I, once again, say that these reforms have created enormous problems for our country.

I know it for certain that a vast cross-section of the toiling millions of this country, across-the-board, have never joined in the chorus of the ominous design for disaster. The industrial workers, the agricultural labourers, the urban poor, millions of unemployed youth, never endorsed the anti-national, anti-human and disastrous pattern of reforms made at the behest of the multinational corporations. What is being pursued quite vigorously by the present NDA Government is only to subserve their real masters, the big capitalists of this country, the FICCI, the CII, the ASSOCHAM, and their finance capitalistically imperialist bosses, mainly the USA and other advanced, developed, countries in the Northern hemisphere, at whose instance and dictat the Government of India is betraying the cause of the nation. Sir, in fact, there is a growing consensus against such design for disaster. The Government should remember that as per their own manipulated statistics, more than 26% .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : अब कृपया समाप्त करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA : I once again repeat that more than 26 crore people are living below the poverty line. I would just like to say that the so-called swadeshi wallas who were propagating swadeshi theories are the hawks for promoting the interests of the transnational corporations and their cohorts. They have systematically subverted the country into a happy hunting ground for the uncouth multinational corporations (MNCs).

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया समाप्त करें भट्टाचार्य जी।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Yes, Sir, I am just concluding. The labour reforms are being contemplated only to make our fellowmen an easy prey to the hawks of peril. This is all about swadeshi. In fact, the entire cocountry is being pushed into an inevitably ominous disaster by subverting the economic sovereignty of this country. Sir, in paragraph 25, I have noted that for infrastructure building, the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna has been introduced. It is quite heartening, of course. But for whom is this infrastructure being built? It is being built to facilitate better marketing facilities for the multinational corporations so that they can grab the rural markets very easily.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया आसन ग्रहण करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Yes, Sir. I am just concluding. Sir, I have a very revealing news. This has to be looked into. This is in regard to reforms. I am quoting from the report on the International Labour Conference, 2000. This report has been prepared by the Ministry of Labour and sent to us. On page 29, Chapter IV, of the report, which relates to Commission on Human Resources-Training and Development it is said -- just to vindicate my words -- "In the context of a shift to liberal, market based economies, technological change, changes in the nature of work, work organisation, rapid incidence of unemployment and social exclusion is taking place. Dr. L. Mishra, Secretary, Labour, Government of India, felt that insufficient attention has been devoted to the social consequences of globalisation..

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया समाप्त करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA : Yes; Sir. I am just concluding. ..particularly, the growth of inequality and poverty affecting millions of people the world over."

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया समाप्त करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Lastly, I come to the foreign policy.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया समाप्त करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA :There is a very revealing news. Sir, the 'Telegraph', Calcutta, has reported on 6th March that two military vessels, one from the United States of America and the other from Great Britain, have invaded the exclusive economic zone of our country. From within 190 nautical miles, they are visible.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): मैं अन्य माननीय सदस्य को बुला रहा हूँ। कृपया आसन ग्रहण करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA :The Government has utterly failed. It is an abject surrender to US imperialism; it is an abject surrender to British imperialism. They have failed to contain those vessels.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): मैं अन्य माननीय सदस्य को बुला रहा हूँ। कृपया आसन ग्रहण करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA :They have simply ignored the Indian Government's protest. So, what stand has been taken by the Government?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया आसन ग्रहण करें।

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA :Okay, Sir. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMA SHANKER KAUSHIK) Shri W. Angou Singh. आपके दल का समय पूरा हो चुका है इसलिए आप संक्षेप में अपनी बात कहियेगा।

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH (Manipur): Sir, I assure you that I will extend you my full cooperation as far as the time is concerned in the interest of my hon. colleagues. Sir, I am rising here to raise a very serious issue of the State of Manipur in connection with the discussion on the

President's Address. But, before I raise that issue, I want to say something on the President's Address. To me, the President's Address which was delivered by our hon. President on 19th February, is the policy and programme of the NDA Government, headed by the BJP, for the year 2001-2002. Sir, on hearing the President's Address which was delivered by our hon. President for more than one hour and later on when it was read by myself, I find that it is nothing but an annual report of a voluntary organisation. In the President's Address, a mention has been made regarding the security-related expenditure of Jammu and Kashmir. But as far as the security measures are concerned, I would like to say that the present situation of Jammu and Kashmir is not worse than that of the North-East. But for the North-East, nothing has been mentioned in the President's Address. Sir, regarding the modernisation of the police force, it is quite appreciable that the Government of India is issuing the fund not in cash, but in kind. But the situation in the State of Manipur is that sub-standard material has been issued. I would like to state that an incident happened recently in Manipur, that 6 or 7 hand-grenades, which were issued by the Government of India, were thrown at the insurgents by the police commandos while chasing them, but they have not exploded. Later on, the short out from insurgents from the hideouts assaulted the commandos, and one had lost his life. Now, Sir, whose fault is it? It is the fault of either the State Government or the Central Government. But the material is issued by the Centre. I do not want to take much time of the House, but I would certainly like to highlight some of the observations made by the hon. President.

Sir, now, I would like to mention one of the serious problems which is facing the State of Manipur presently. It is regarding the non-payment of salaries for more than three months. Sir, the recommendations of the 5th Pay Commission have aggravated the Budget-imbalance, not only of the State of Manipur, but also of the whole North-East. It has an adverse impact on the social life. The additional liabilities arising out of the revision of pay of the State Government employees are adjusted by the 11th Finance Commission's recommendations; but it is quite contrary to the expectation of the people of Manipur.

Because of that, this situation has come now. The previous Government, the Manipur State Congress Party Government-this Party is a partner of the NDA, and one of its Members of its party is now a Minister at the Centre--had fallen down because of the non-release of the fund, and

the other problems became more and more serious day by day. Then, the new Government, the Samata Party-led Government, has been installed in Manipur. Now, out of 59 MLAs, 57 support the present Government.

Recently, the leader of the Samata Party and Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, went to Manipur. He was in a joyous mood because his party was leading the Government in one of the States of India. He announced to the Press that Rs.200 crores would be released as a grant in order to meet the immediate needs of the State. The Chief Minister recently came to Delhi and met the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Finance Minister, the Defence Minister and other Ministers and requested them to release the fund. The Finance Minister assured him that he would release Rs.100 crores in advance. The Chief Minister expected that he would get that amount. If not, the situation in the State will be serious, and it will be out of control. I want to know whether it is a fact that at the time when the Finance Minister was releasing the fund, the Home Minister interfered, and it has not yet been released.

Sir, from tomorrow, the Doljatra Festival is to be observed in Manipur. The Doljatra Festival, "Yaosung" in our language, is one of the biggest festivals. It will be observed for at least more than three days in the State. All the people, including the businessmen and traders are waiting for selling their goods for the Doljatra Festival. But, now, because of the non-payment of the salaries, everything has been held up. This is a very serious situation.

If I do not raise these issues in the House and keep quiet but the people will not pardon me and will ask me why not to take my responsibility. For that reason, I tried to raise this issue in different ways, but, because of the present business position, the hon. Chairman did not allow me to do so. So, I took this opportunity of participation for raising this issue of the State.

With these few words, I again urge the Centre that, at this juncture, politicking must not be played in releasing funds to the States of the North-East, as they are dependent on the assistance from the Centre. They must release the funds to meet their requirements in time. If not, the situation will aggravate day by day, and this will lead to a serious situation in the States.

With these few words, I oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह "ललन" (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर माननीय सदस्य श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी जी ने जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव पेश किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं इसका समर्थन सिर्फ औपचारिकतावश नहीं कर रहा हूँ बल्कि इसलिए कर रहा हूँ कि जो महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है वह एन.डी.ए. के चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र और राष्ट्रीय एजेंडा का प्रतीक है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एन.डी.ए. ने 1999 के लोकसभा चुनाव के समय अपने घोषणा-पत्र में यह वादा किया था कि हम इस देश को पारदर्शी और भ्रष्टाचार से मुक्त शासन देंगे और आज यह सरकार उस ओर बढ़ रही है इसलिए हम इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज एक तरफ तो चाहे देश की सुरक्षा का सवाल हो या सांप्रदायिक सद्भावना कायम करने का सवाल हो, जहां राज्यों के साथ बेहतर संबंध स्थापित करते हुए हम देश के पुनर्निर्माण की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं तो वहीं दूसरी ओर हमने अपनी सफल कूटनीति के साथ विश्व के नक्सों पर देश का एक बिरोध स्थान प्राप्त करने में सफलता हासिल की है इसलिए हम इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हैं। महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से एकाध सुझाव सरकार को देना चाहता हूँ। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है और हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था पूर्णतया कृषि पर आधारित है लेकिन परसों दो-तीन दिन पहले मैंने टी.वी. पर देखा कि अभी इसी समय राजस्थान में सुखाद की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। हमारे देश में हर साल बाढ़ और सुखाद की समस्या हमारे लिए एक नियति बन गई है। इस प्राकृतिक आघात से निपटने के लिए और इसके सफल समाधान के लिए एक स्थायी कार्य योजना बनाने की आवश्यकता है ताकि हम अपने देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को सुधार सकें। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज स्थिति यह है कि प्रत्येक वर्ष हमारे देश का आधा भाग सुखाद से और आधा भाग बाढ़ से जूझता रहता है लेकिन अभी तक भी इसके स्थायी समाधान की कोई कार्य योजना तैयार नहीं हो सकी है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि 1972 में जल प्रबंधन के सवाल पर के.एल.राव समिति की रिपोर्ट सरकार को मिली थी जिस पर कोई कार्रवाई नहीं हुई थी और फिर दोबारा 1980 में बाढ़ और सुखाद से निजात के लिए नेशनल वाटर ग्रिड ने भी अपने सुझाव सरकार को दिए थे लेकिन इस पर भी कोई कार्रवाई नहीं हुई। फिर इन दोनों समितियों की रिपोर्ट पर विचार करने के लिए हासिम कमेटी बनाई गई थी जिसने 1999 में अपनी रिपोर्ट सरकार को सौंपी। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि आज जल प्रबंधन की दिशा में जो भी उचित कदम हो सकता है उसे उठाएं और बाढ़ और सुखाद के स्थायी समाधान के लिए कोई स्थायी कार्य योजना तैयार करें। महोदय, अभी मीणा जी कह रहे थे कि किसानों के सवाल पर राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के पैरा 22 में इस बात का उल्लेख है कि पिछले वर्ष हमारे देश में खाद्यान्न का रिकार्ड उत्पादन, 209 मिलियन टन हुआ है। बाढ़ और सुखाद के बावजूद भी यह रिकार्ड उत्पादन होना हमारी सरकार की जो कृषि नीति है, का ही परिणाम है। आज पूरे विश्व में चावल गेहूँ, फल और सब्जी पैदा करने वाला हमारा देश दूसरे नम्बर पर है।

6.00 P.M.

इसलिए महोदय, हम कृषि के क्षेत्र में काफी आगे बढ़ रहे हैं । अभी भीणा साहब बोल रहे थे कि किसानों को उनके उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य नहीं मिलता है । मैं उनको याद कराना चाहता हूँ कि जब श्री नरसिंह राव की सरकार ने गैट समझौता किया था तो उस समय किसानों की समस्याओं की पूर्णतया अनदेखी की गई थी और उसी का कुपरिणाम है कि आज हमें कृषि उत्पादित वस्तुओं पर आयात शुल्क बढ़ाना पड़ रहा है । अपने देश के उत्पादन को बाजार मिले इसीलिए इस पर आयात शुल्क और बढ़ाना पड़ रहा है ताकि वह सामान यहां न आ सके ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इस बात की भी चर्चा है कि कच्चे तेल का उत्पादन हम अपने देश में बढ़ायेगे । महोदय, यह चुनौतीपूर्ण लेकिन एक साहसिक कदम है । अगर सरकार इसमें सफलता प्राप्त कर लेती है तो कच्चे तेल के लिए हमें विश्व के और देशों की ओर नहीं देखना पड़ेगा और हम आत्मनिर्भर हो सकते हैं । लेकिन महोदय, मैं एक बात की ओर आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगा । हाइड्रो-कार्बन सर्वे के अनुसार 1-4-1994 तक अपने देश में 28 हजार 70 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन तेल उपलब्ध होने की संभावना बताई गई है । इसी सर्वे के अनुसार ईस्ट कोस्ट के गहरे पानी में 4 हजार मिलियन मीट्रिक टन क्रूड आयल होने की संभावना भी बताई गई है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : अब आप कृपया समाप्त करिए ।

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह "ललन" : महोदय, दो मिनट ।

महोदय, अप्रैल, 2001 तक जो क्रूड आयल का क्षेत्र चिन्हित किया गया है उसकी क्षमता 937.72 है लेकिन वास्तविक स्थिति यह है कि इस 937.72 मिलियन मीट्रिक क्षमता में से सिर्फ 32.20 उत्पादन कर पा रहे हैं । जितना चिन्हित क्रूड आयल क्षेत्र है उस पर पूरी तरह अगर उत्पादन प्रारंभ कर दें तो हम इसमें आत्मनिर्भर हो सकते हैं । महोदय, एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ और सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि सितम्बर माह में जब अंतरराष्ट्रीय बाजार में क्रूड आयल की कीमतों में वृद्धि हुई थी तो सरकार ने पेट्रोलियम पदार्थों की कीमतें बढ़ाई थी । लेकिन दिसम्बर माह से अंतरराष्ट्रीय बाजार में क्रूड आयल की कीमत घट रही है । इसलिए हमारा सरकार से अनुरोध होगा कि क्योंकि अंतरराष्ट्रीय बाजार में इसकी कीमत घट रही है इसलिए आप इसका लाभ, जो उपभोक्ता हैं उनको पहुंचाने का काम करें क्योंकि इन पेट्रोलियम पदार्थों की कीमतों में वृद्धि से हमारे देश के गरीब, मजदूर किसान प्रभावित हैं । महोदय, इस सुझावों के साथ मैं श्री चतुर्वेदी साहब के धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the President's Address. Sir, I stand here in support of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, but with some reservations, because of some derogatory comments in relation to the States of the North-Eastern Region. First, I will deal with para five. The Government says that they have set up

a National Committee on Disaster Management; and the Government will consider setting up a permanent National Disaster Management Authority. This is a very welcome approach. It is a long felt requirement of the country. In the last fifty years, we should have done it, but the need for it has been felt only today. Our latest experience is in Orissa and in Gujarat. With 100 crore population and with 50 years of experience in governance

people were under the debris for 10 days. Despite the sincere initiatives to do something, we could not do anything to save our people, to rescue them, from the debris. Sir, the main defect of the system is that, till today, we have not created any rescue battalion. To start with, about 1000 youths could be exclusively recruited to receive training in rescue operations at the time of disasters, whether they are floods, cyclones, drought or earthquakes or other calamity. The normal phenomenon is, we send the military and the paramilitary forces. I can give you the example of a flood in Assam, in my own constituency. Some army personnel were called for rescuing persons in the flood-affected areas. The army went with rubber boats. But they failed to rescue any person there. We have been relying on the military and the paramilitary forces for the last 50 years. Now it is time to create an exclusive battalion. There should be a rescue battalion. And it should be well-equipped. It should have all the equipment, communication systems and transportation mechanisms, including helicopters, etc. It has been seen that from some other countries, teams came and installed hospitals in one day and started operating on patients. That should be our aim. There is surplus man-power in many departments. We are going to downsize them. This very important issue should be given priority. I hope the Government will take a decision immediately to create a rescue battalion, whatever may be the name. It is a requirement to meet any disaster that may come. I also request the Government to treat all the disasters in the country equally, whether it is in West Bengal or Mizoram, whether it has happened in a smaller State or a bigger State. All disasters should be treated equally. That should be the motto of the Government.

The second issue I want to emphasise is security, internal and external. Whatever has been given about the external and internal security in the President's Address, there is some deficiency. Paragraph 11 deals with the external and internal security issue. Certain important aspects of security are not adequately dealt with. One aspect is the absence of a clear indication about a political settlement through negotiations with the militants. The second aspect is the inadequate pressure on the neighbouring

countries like Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar, for their active support to curb the terrorists operating, crossing borders, from there. The third aspect is the unilateral and bilateral ceasefire in the north-eastern region and Jammu and Kashmir with the militants. The fourth and the last aspect is about the surrender of militants. Sir, I strongly feel that none of the approaches of the Government is transparent; nor is it producing any result; nor is it likely to yield any positive outcome in the years to come. These are purely based on bureaucratic advice, incapable of finding a permanent solution. They increase the magnitude of the problem rather than solving it. For example, the latest ceasefire is limited to stoppage of operations between the militants and the security forces. But innocent people are open to extortion and killing. Similarly, the surrendered militants are given arms and they are not rehabilitated properly. They rely upon the extortion money as the source of their income. If this continues, the peace process cannot be restored. We must be very strong with Bhutan and Bangladesh who harbour terrorists. They have facilitated their training and all other activities from their side. They should be strongly dealt with by the Government. So far, the stand of our Government has been very weak. The Bhutan Government is continuing to patronise extremist forces operating from their territories.

Sir, now, I would like to draw the attention of the House to para 15 of the President's Address, because it is derogatory, irresponsible and uncalled for. There should not be such a comment from the highest office of the country. It sends a very wrong signal. I quote:-

"There is relative improvement in the situation in the North East. Pace and normalcy in this strategic region require both political stability and faster socio-economic development. This has to be combined with firm action against militant and extremist outfits. The special developmental package devised for the North East is being speedily implemented. Substantial developmental resources flow into the region each year. However, their impact on the ground is not commensurate. 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 institutions, and increase the participation of people's organizations. They must also protect the minorities in their respective States."

I would like to inform the House that the minorities are much more protected in the North-East than in any other part of the country. So far as the question of leakage of funds is concerned, when the highest office of the country gives this message, what will be the status of the bureaucrats? The bureaucrats have already a negative mind-set towards the North-Eastern region. The North-Eastern region is already neglected. Since this region is backward in all respects, it needs a special treatment. That is why so many packages have been declared for the North-Eastern region. But they have not been implemented properly. These packages give only lip-sympathy to the North-Eastern region. A non-lapsable pool has been created. But a lot of conditions have been put so that the money cannot flow to the North-East. This is the situation in the North-East. When militancy cannot be controlled, and when there is continuation of extortion activities by the militants, when the officers are kidnapped, money is extorted, and this money goes to Bhutan and Bangladesh....
..(Interruptions)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : अब कृपया समाप्त करें।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Sir, because of the wrong policies which have been followed during the past, the North-East was fragmented into seven States. Non-Plan expenditure is there. It was allowed by the Central Government. Now, the Plan money is being diverted for the salary component. That was why the real development activities could not take place and the common man could not benefit from these activities.
..(Interruptions)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : माननीय शर्मा जी, अब आसन ग्रहण करें। माननीय राजीव शुक्ल।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Sir, I have been waiting for the last three days to speak. I am from a very small party. Some extra grace in time has already been given to all the parties. I come from a backward region. I must be given some more time to present my point of view. I need five minutes more. I will obey your orders.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): एक मिनट में समाप्त कर दीजिए। कृपया समाप्त करें। जितना आपका समय निर्धारित था उससे आप कहीं ज्यादा बोल चुके हैं।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: I request you to give five minutes more to me. About the employment problem, no specific programme has been spelt out. There are 37 crores of youth in our country. If out of 37 crores of youth, seven crores are employed, thirty crore youth remain unemployed. The President's Address is very much silent on how to deal with the problem of the unemployed youth. Whatever is given by the Government, is given on piecemeal basis, with a lot of restrictions and conditions, especially, with regard to granting of loans for the self-employed schemes. Sir, the North-East Council Bill was brought last year. Till today, the Bill has not been discussed and passed by the Parliament.

Sir, on the education issue, crores and crores of rupees are being spent, but little has been done for enterprising education. Education is now imparted only with the aim of providing a Government job to the youth. A false hope is given to the youth. So, the entire concept of education has to be revised.

Sir, my last point is about the Centre-State relations. We have experimented with democracy and socialism, and many other concepts which we have followed during the last 50 years could not produce any significant results. We could not deliver the goods to the people. Sir, it is high time we evolved a new strategy and reviewed whatever we have practised in the last 50 years. We have to totally restructure our Constitution. I reiterate my appeal that we should have another Constituent Assembly. We have to review the entire system about disinvestment. We have to decide as to how we should go about the public sector. There has to be some set procedure. If we go on a piecemeal basis, one company after another, there will be resistance.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : अब आप आसन ग्रहण करें । माननीय राजीव शुक्ल ।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Therefore, I hope the Government would come with a proposal to convene another Constituent Assembly so that we can restructure our Constitution and remove a lot of our out-dated laws and rules which have harmed our country. Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमाशंकर कौशिक): श्री राजीव शुक्ल ।

श्री राजीव शुक्ल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के

अभिभाषण पर प्रस्तुत धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। अब क्योंकि वक्त कम है इसलिए मैं दो-चार बातें ही रखना चाहूंगा। राष्ट्रपति जी ने विमेन एम्पॉवरमेंट की बात काफी जोरदार ढंग से रखी है और उन्होंने इस बात पर बल दिया है कि हमारी संसदीय संस्थाओं में महिलाओं का समुचित प्रतिनिधित्व होना चाहिए। कई सालों से यह बिल पड़ा हुआ है और एक-दो साल से इस पर विवाद चल रहा है, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हो पा रहा है। मेरा अपना इसमें सुझाव यह था कि जो एम.एस. गिल फॉर्मूला है अगर वह लागू हो जाए तो शायद इसका हल निकल सकता है, जिसमें सभी राजनीतिक दलों के लिए पाबंदी है कि अमुक प्रतिशत वे महिलाओं को प्रतिनिधित्व दें। उसमें हमारे कुछ दल के लोगों के लिए जो यह कहा जाता है कि वे उत्तर प्रदेश में पॉवरफुल हैं, बिहार में उनका काफी अच्छा बेस है, लेकिन वे केरल से टिकट दे देंगे तो उसकी रोक भी इस फॉर्मूले के अंदर है कि उसी राज्य में उतना प्रतिशत उन्हें देना पड़ेगा। इसलिए अगर इस एम.एस. गिल फॉर्मूले को सारे दल मान लें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे एक रास्ता निकल सकता है और महिलाओं को जो सचमुच सशक्तिकरण की बात कही जाती है वह इससे पूरी की जा सकती है।

दूसरी बात मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रीय महिला कोष में जो धन है वह सिर्फ 67 करोड़ का है। गांव से लेकर यहां तक जो हमारी महिलाएं इस स्थिति में जीती हैं, उनके लिए वह रकम बहुत कम है। इस रकम को अगर बढ़ाया जाए और कम से कम इसको 100 करोड़ रुपये किया जाए तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे महिलाओं को ज्यादा फायदा होगा। तीसरी बात उन्होंने लीगल रिफॉर्म्स की रखी है। उन्होंने कहा है कि फॉस्ट ट्रेक कोर्ट्स बनाए जा रहे हैं। हमारे कानून मंत्री जी भी यहां बैठे हुए हैं और मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहूंगा कि जब से वह आए हैं तब से इन्होंने इस काम को काफी आगे बढ़ाया है और कई ऐसे प्रावधान हैं जिनको वह लागू करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ताकि इन चीजों का जल्दी से निपटारा हो। मेरा उनको एक सुझाव यह था कि अगर इंडियन जूडिशियल सर्विस की स्थापना करके वह एक बड़ा काम करें तो मेरे ख्याल से इस समस्या का समाधान हो जाएगा। यह जो प्रोसीजर है कि वकीलों से हम जज बनाते हैं तो उसमें इतना वक्त लगता है कि पूछिए मत और कई बार अच्छे लोग मिलना मुश्किल हो जाते हैं। इसलिए अगर इंडियन जूडिशियल सर्विस की स्थापना हो जाय तो मेरे ख्याल से यह एक बहुत बड़ा काम हो सकता है। मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि यह काम जरूर किया जाये।

अगली बात राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने पॉपुलेशन की रखी है और राष्ट्रीय जनसंख्या नीति की बात की है। महोदय, जनसंख्या नीति तो है और योजना आयोग में भी इस बारे में एक वर्किंग ग्रुप काम कर रहा है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उस जनसंख्या नीति से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है और 50 साल बाद फिर वही स्थिति होगी जो आज है। कुछ साल बाद हम देखेंगे कि हमारी जनसंख्या डेढ़ अरब, दो अरब हो जाएगी और उसे आप नहीं रोक पाएंगे। जो एक बात यह है कि इंसेंटिव्स और डिस-इंसेंटिव्स लागू किए जाएं, वही मेरे ख्याल से इस समस्या का हल है। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि सिर्फ इंसेंटिव्स देने से भारत में जनसंख्या वृद्धि को रोका जा सकता है। यहां जब तक आप डिस-इंसेंटिव्स लागू नहीं करेंगे, तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। मेरे ख्याल से सरकारी नौकरियों में जिन के दो से ज्यादा बच्चे हैं, उन पर पाबंदी लगनी चाहिए, उन को राशन कार्ड नहीं मिलना चाहिए और उन को कोई लोन नहीं मिलना चाहिए। इस तरह की जितनी सुविधाएं होती हैं, वे रोकी जानी चाहिए। सभी लोग मानेंगे और इसे स्वीकार करेंगे वरना हाल

यह हो गया है कि तमाम शहर आज नरक बन गए हैं। जनसंख्या पर रोक लगाने के लिए डिसइंसेंटिव्स का एक बिल जरूर आना चाहिए और उस के साथ इंसेंटिव्स लागू किए जा सकते हैं। मेरे ख्याल से इस बारे में सरकार को कुछ ऐसी कोशिश करनी चाहिए। महोदय, एक और खतरा है जिस की ओर मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह है क्वालिटी पॉपुलेशन और नॉन-प्रोडक्टिव पॉपुलेशन। महोदय, अभी क्या हो रहा है कि जो लोग पढ़े-लिखे हैं, जो अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा दे सकते हैं, उन्होंने तो फेमिली प्लानिंग को एडॉप्ट कर लिया है, लेकिन जो लोग बच्चों को शिक्षा न देने में विश्वास करते हैं या उन के पास इतनी सुविधाएं नहीं हैं कि वह शिक्षा दे सकें, उन के बच्चे बहुत हो रहे हैं। इस तरह अगले 10-15 सालों में इस आधार पर जनसंख्या का अनुपात क्या होगा? मुश्किल से 25 परसेंट क्वालिटी पापुलेशन होगी और 75 परसेंट नॉन-प्रोडक्टिव पापुलेशन होगी। फिर इस देश की क्या हालत होगी, यह आप भी सोच सकते हैं। महोदय, यह बहुत ही गंभीर समस्या है जिस की ओर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए। इस बारे में सरकार को खुद एक पॉपुलेशन कंट्रोल बिल लाना चाहिए।

महोदय, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में एक बात सेकुलरिज्म की उठाई है जिस से मैं पूरी तरह सहमत हूँ कि मायनोरिटीज को पूरी तरह से प्रोटेक्शन मिलना चाहिए और इस देश में कम्युनल हार्मोनी कायम होनी चाहिए। लेकिन मुझे भारत सरकार से एक शिकायत है। हो सकता है उस से दूसरे दल के लोग सहमत न हों। मैं अपनी शिद्दत के साथ महसूस करता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जो रिलीजियस प्लेसेस बिल आया था, वह एकदम ठीक बिल था, लेकिन पता नहीं कुछ राजनीतिक कारणों से, वोट बैंक की लालच से लोगों ने उस का विरोध किया। उस बिल में सिर्फ मदरसों और मस्जिदों पर रोक नहीं थी, उस में गुरुद्वारों पर रोक थी और मंदिरों पर भी रोक थी। अगर बिना प्रशासन की इजाजत से मंदिर बनता है तो वह गलत है, अगर बिना प्रशासन की इजाजत के कहीं भी गुरुद्वारा बनता है तो वह भी गलत है और मदरसे या मस्जिदें बनती हैं तो वह भी गलत है। मेरे ख्याल से उस से ज्यादा सेकुलर बिल कोई नहीं हो सकता था। महोदय, उस बिल को रिवाइव करना चाहिए और भारत सरकार को उस संबंध में पहल करनी चाहिए नहीं तो वोट बैंक के चक्कर में यह मुल्क तबाह हो जाएगा और कुछ नहीं होगा। इसलिए जितने सेकुलरिज्म को मानने वाले लोग हैं उन को इस तरह के विधेयक का समर्थन करना चाहिए। महोदय, कुछ ऐसे राज्य हैं, ऐसी सरकारें हैं, जैसे मध्य प्रदेश है जहां यह लागू है। इस में क्या गलत बात है? इस से किसी भी वर्ग के हित का नुकसान नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए वोट बैंक से उठकर इस बारे में सोचना चाहिए। शायद एकाध मंत्रियों के बयान गलत आए जिस की वजह से गलतफहमी हो गयी वरना यह विधेयक पूरी तरह ठीक था और उस में कोई आपत्ति वाली बात नहीं थी।

महोदय, एक बात मैं पावर रिफॉर्म्स की रखना चाहूंगा जोकि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में कही है। अगर एक लाख मेगावाट की योजना है तो उस के लिए हमें पैसा जुटाने की जरूरत है। मेरे ख्याल से हमारे यहां जितने मेगा पावर प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, उन के क्लिअरेंस में इतनी देर लग रही है कि पूछिए मत। वे कहीं राज्य सरकार के स्तर पर अटकी हैं तो कहीं केन्द्र सरकार के स्तर पर। इसलिए स्पेशल टास्क फोर्स के जरिए उन योजनाओं को क्लिअर कराना चाहिए। महोदय, एक और सुझाव था कि हमारे यहां रूरल डेवलपमेंट पर बहुत पैसा खर्च होता है, करीब 50 हजार करोड़ के करीब खर्च होता है। लेकिन रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन, रूरल

डवलपमेंट का पार्ट नहीं है और किसी राज्य सरकार के पास रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन के लिए पैसा नहीं है । उन को इस के लिए आर.ई.सी. से पैसा लेना पड़ता है और वह भी उन्हें 12-14 परसेंट के लोन पर मिलता है । चूंकि वह धन उन के पास नहीं है, इसलिए अगर इस ग्रामीण विकास में रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन को शामिल किया जाय तो मेरे ख्याल से यह बड़ी सार्थक पहल होगी और इस से ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण बहुत आसानी से हो सकता है ।

महोदय, अंत में दो योजनाओं का समर्थन कर के मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ । एक तो प्रधान मंत्री ग्राम सड़क योजना है । यह मेरे ख्याल से बहुत अच्छी योजना है । यह अगर सचमुच में पूरी हो जाय तो इस से गांवों का बहुत भला हो सकता है और लोगों को इस काम से रोजगार भी मिल सकता है । गांवों का शहरों से संबंध कायम हो सकता है जिस से गांव के लोगों का शहरों में आना जाना आसान हो सकता है । दूसरी अंत्योदय अन्न योजना है । अभी जिस तरह से 70 दिन में यह लागू हुई है और देखने में आ रहा है कि यह बहुत अच्छा काम हुआ है । इस के लिए मैं उन्हें बधाई देना चाहता हूँ ।

महोदय, अंत में मैं इस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कर के अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ ।

SHRI B.J. PANDA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri T.N. Chaturvedi. At the outset, in his Address to the Joint Session of Parliament, the President first referred to the great tragedy that befell Gujarat on this Republic Day. Sir, being from the State of Orissa, I can appreciate the enormous difficulty the State has gone through, the enormous tragedy that it had to face. The people of Gujarat have shown exemplary courage and fortitude in coming out of this great disaster. In particular, one must thank the tireless efforts put in not only by millions of people of Gujarat but also thousands of other citizens who visited the State to lend their support and also many non-Governmental organisations that worked tirelessly to rescue people and rebuild Gujarat. However, it is my painful duty at this point of time to draw a contrast between this and the treatment received from the Central Government by Orissa when it was hit by the most devastating cyclone ever recorded in our history just 15 months ago. Sir, 14 districts in the State of Orissa were completely devastated. The State Government has been working round the clock and has built far in excess of 50,000 houses to rehabilitate the people. By the end of this month one lakh houses will be constructed. But that is nowhere near adequate. There is stark contrast in the kind of funds that have been allocated for the rehabilitation work in Gujarat vis-a-vis the kind of funds that have been allocated for Orissa. It is ironic that a State that is more developed, a State that has far better insurance cover gets greater attention

than the poorest State in the country by the latest reckoning. Orissa is still reeling. Its economy is completely devastated after what has happened at the end of 1999. The State requires tremendous, continuous support to get back on the rail. Media reports have pointed out that many victims in Gujarat are showing courage and even refusing the aid that is being granted to them. The State of Orissa has no such luxury because thousands of affected people are still at the bottom and below the poverty line. They have no such luxury and they need the help of the country. A National Disaster Management Authority has been set up and it is heartening to note that it has already held its first hearing. For this I congratulate the Government.

The President has also talked about the Eleventh Finance Commission's report. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not speak out on the injustice done by the Eleventh Finance Commission to my State, Orissa. I have just talked about the super-cyclone which befell it. Sir, the State has gone through some kinds of flood, droughts and cyclones year after year in the recent past and it is in a serious financial crunch which can be seen from the fact that more than 50 per cent of the State's budget goes only for making interest payments. It is known internationally and it is well understood that when any country or any State pays 20 or 25 per cent of its budget as interest charges, it is in a serious fiscal crunch. My State has gone beyond 50 per cent and this is the situation that has been inherited from decades of bad governance. Sir, the State of Orissa deserves to be categorised as a 'special category State', which would provide the necessary financial structure, for it to be put back on the rails. This is particularly important because Orissa, although, it has now been categorised as the single poorest State, has taken some of the early and bold steps towards economic reform, which the President's Address has given so much emphasis on. It is the State which has had the first reform in the power sector. The State's power sector reform is being cited all over the country and yet the State itself is in a fiscal mess. There are many other bold steps that the State is taking. For example, recently, its policy on Kendu leaf liberalisation has provided scope for the tribal population; more than one-third of our population are tribals. This policy has provided scope for 25 lakh tribal citizens of Orissa to increase their income by at least 25 per cent. These are the steps which deserve our recognition. Sir, this is the State which requires a great deal of help from the Central authorities for it to get out of its economic crisis.

Sir, for the 'vision' that the President has spelt out for our country to go forward, there is an urgent need for administrative, judicial, educational and labour reforms. Without these, all the vision that has been pointed out will remain only a pious intention and it will not get translated into action. Many of my esteemed colleagues have spoken in detail about that. I shall not go into the details.

Sir, I shall end with two final points. The great thrust provided for agricultural policy is vastly overdue and it is desperately needed for our country. It is a country whose economy is largely agrarian. The past policies have led to such a flawed situation that we have a situation of low productivity and high prices, that is, we have a situation where procurement prices are not high enough for the farmers, at the same time, the prices for consumers become unsustainable.

Sir, the final point I wish to make is about electoral reform. Many hon. Members have taken up the subject of electoral reform and it is obvious that it is also a very highly overdue area for action to be taken. I would like to conclude by making one specific suggestion here. The specific suggestion that I would like to make is that it is long overdue for a country, for a democracy, of our size to have a clean funding system for elections. State funding is a well-accepted norm everywhere else in the world. It can be made transparent. It can be made applicable all across the country and this can help to bring about cleansing of the system that so many of my colleagues have talked about. I would urge upon the hon. Prime Minister to give his attention to this particular area. With these words, I thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : श्री जवारे गौडा जी, आप कृपया 2 मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कीजिए क्योंकि आपकी पार्टी का समय शेष नहीं बचा है ।

SHRI H.K. JAVARE GOWDA (KARNATAKA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as per the constitutional requirement, the hon. President addressed both the Houses.

Sir, the NDA Government went against their election manifesto and the farmers and the workers have been put to a lot of difficulties. In the name of development, in the name of economic growth, this Government is taxing the farmers like anything. It is the policy of this Government that they are going to remove subsidy on fertiliser phase-by-phase. Four days

back, the hon. Prime Minister said at the Chief Ministers' Conference that he is going to remove the subsidies on power. The farmers of this country are suffering. There is no purchaser of their produce. They are not getting reasonable prices for their produce. The farmers are suffering. No Government has come forward to rescue the farmers. Their agricultural produce is rotting in the godowns and their fields.

Now, the Government says that under the WTO agreement, they have no option but to pursue the matter. The farmers of this country will become paupers one day. Their families will be ruined. They will be left with no penny to buy inputs for agricultural production. This Government has not taken this point into consideration. They have said very clearly in para 22 to para 24 that this is being done under the guidance of the World Bank. But the Address of the President has not taken the reality into consideration. We have all been hearing from all parts of the country that whether it is maize or wheat or rice or any other product, there is no minimum support price. The farmers of this country are committing suicides. Why? They are committing suicides because they have no income and returns.

The other point is that agriculture sector has given employment to 65% of the total workforce in the country but it has been coming down now. Apart from that, the children of agriculturalists are not getting employment anywhere. They do not have job opportunities. Where should they go? Whose doors should they knock at? That is why I say that this Government is not for agriculturists.

Then, in the name of privatisation, this Government has been privatising all the public sector undertakings, whether under the excuse of losses, mismanagement or anything else. If they carry out privatisation at such a speed, where will be the employment opportunities left for the people of this nation? Where would they go? The small scale industries are also suffering at the hands of the multinationals, and subsidies on power and raw materials are being taken away. The developed countries are dumping their products to India and the small businessmen, industrialists and factory owners are not being in a position to compete and run their business. This Government has not addressed this issue.

Sir, what is the programme of this Government for rural development? What is the budgetary allocation? What is the amount that

this Government has earmarked for development of rural roads? They have mentioned the figure of Rs.2,500 crores. Is it sufficient for constructing roads in villages? What is the Government doing to make all-weather roads? Can you make all-weather roads with this meagre allocation. What about rural electrification? The Government has not done anything. So far as employment and education is concerned, this Government has been saying that information technology is providing a lot of employment opportunities in the country. But what is the percentage? It is only one to two per cent. What about the rest of the unemployed youth. The people, who have technical or engineering qualifications, may have some job opportunities. But where are the opportunities for people who do B. Com or B.A. or B.Sc. The Government has not addressed this point also. There are no employment opportunities for such people.

As far as extending credit facilities to the agriculturists is concerned, we all know that after this privatisation move, banks are not going to extend credit facilities to farmers. If a person wants to open an account with Rs.500 in a bank, the banks are not inclined to open it because they say that it is not profitable for them. The Government has not said anything about the Non-Performing Assets. About Rs.52,000 crores have been given by way of loan to industrialists and big business houses. Only Rs.6,000 crores have been given by way of loan to agriculturists. If an agriculturist does not pay his debt in time, his utensils are auctioned, but no action is taken against the industrialists and big business houses who owe Rs.52,000 crores to the banks.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : गौडा साहब, अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

SHRI H.K. JAVARE GOWDA: I am concluding, Sir. I am again raising a point about agriculture. The Government has not earmarked any amount for new irrigation projects. If we want to make agriculture more profitable, then we have to tap the potential of irrigation. But that has not been done. No watershed programme has been taken up. They have not taken up any new irrigation project in this year's Budget.

Sir, the next point I want to raise is about dispensation of justice. The Law Minister is here. I would like to draw his attention to a point which came up for discussion in this House three days back. Under section 125 of the CrPC, cases of neglected wife, parents and children have to be disposed of within six months. I would like to inform you that in courts,

cases are pending for more than eight years. They have not been disposed of. When we talk of a society in which every help should be extended to women, children and aged parents, this area has to be looked into. In every moufssil court, district and city, you will see neglected women and children. No specific action has been proposed for that. I urge upon the Law Minister to seriously look into this area and find a solution of it. So, I would say that this Government has not done any welfare activity for the people of this country. With these words, I conclude.

† मिर्जा अब्दुल रशीद (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, ज्याइंट सेशन में प्रेजीडेंट एड्रेस पर बहुत बड़ी बहस हुई है। इस बहस में बड़े-बड़े दानेभरों ने, बड़े-बड़े सियासतदानों ने हिस्सा लिया। इस एड्रेस में मुल्क के बाहर के खतरों और अंदरूनी मुश्किलात के मुकाबले में जो प्रपोजल दिए गए हैं, उन पर सेरहासिल तफसरा हुआ। बहुत सारे साथियों ने इसकी तारीफ की और बहुत सारों ने तामीली नुक्ताधीनी भी की। चूंकि मुझे वक्त की किल्लत है, मैं तफसील में न जाते हुए गुजरात में जो कयामत खेल मंजर हुआ, उसके बारे में गुजारिश करना चाहूंगा। नेघर की क्या ताकत होती है और हमारे लिए कितना इबरत का मकाम है कि रात को करोड़पति सोते हैं आसमान से बाले करने वाले महलों में और नेघर का यह करना है कि उन्हीं महलों में वे हमेशा के लिए मिट जाते हैं। जो कोई रात का सोया हुआ करोड़पति सुबह लूला-लंगड़ा बचता है वह सुबह का भिखारी होता है। एक आधा सेकेंड में नेघर ने क्या से क्या कर दिया और कैसे-कैसे, वैसे-वैसे हो गए और वैसे-वैसे, कैसे-कैसे हो गए।

काश कि हम जितने भी इंसान इस भारत में रहते हैं, हम लालच, हवस और करप्शन से पीछे हटें और अपने अपने किरदार को संवारने की कोशिश करें। यह एक बहुत बड़ा सबक है, एक बहुत बड़ा मौका है, वरना आजकल के जमाने में दौलत कमाने के सिलसिले में दौड़ लगी हुई है मगर कहा जाता है कि

दौलत बुरी नहीं, पर इतना ख्याल रख ।

ऐसा न हो कि जान का निकलना महाल हो ।

हमें खुशी है कि हस्बे दस्तूर मुल्क में बिलातमीज़ मजहब-व-मित्तलत, रंग-व-नसल, सब लोगों ने, सब कौमों ने, पूरे मुल्क ने इस भूघाल का मुकाबला किया और हमारी रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर जो चारों तरफ से मुश्किलों से घिरी हुई है, वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने भी 10-11 करोड़ रुपया इमदाद दी है और आगे भी देने जा रहे हैं । जनाबे वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, आज क्योंकि इंटरनेशनल लेवल पर यूमेन्स डे है, मेरी पार्टी और हम भी इसकी ताईद करते हैं कि यूमेन्स रिजर्ग्रेशन बिल को पेश किया जाए और पास भी किया जाए और उनको बराबर किया जाए, मसायी हकूक दिए जाएं क्योंकि बहुत देर हो चुकी है । आज के इस दिन हम पुरजोर मजम्मत करते हैं कि अफगानिस्तान के जो दरिन्दे सदियों की तहजीब को, सदियों की तारीख को और सदियों के कल्थर को दरिंदों की तरह तहस-नहस कर रहे हैं, हम उसकी पुरजोर मजम्मत करते हैं । इस्लाम ऐसी दरिन्दगी के खिलाफ है । इस्लाम का पूरा मनमजहब है, वह तो सारी दुनिया को तहजीब सिखाने वाला है इसलिए हम इसको कंडेम करते हैं । हमारी रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर में पंचायत के इलैक्शन हो रहे हैं । जेटली साहब यहां तशरीफ रखे हुए हैं । 14 डिस्ट्रिक्ट में से

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

8 डिस्ट्रिक्ट के इलेक्शन हो गये हैं जहां 80 परसेंट लोगों ने इलेक्शन में हिस्सा लिया है। पाकिस्तान के दूसरे एंटी इंडिया एलीमेंट्स जो हैं, उनके सौ सवालों का एक जवाब है कि 80 परसेंट लोगों ने इलेक्शन में हिस्सा लिया है और लोग अमन और तरक्की चाहते हैं। इससे ज्यादा लोगों के दिल में और कोई ख्वाहिश नहीं है। लेकिन हमें अफसोस है कि मीडिया पर जिस ढंग से इसको प्रोजेक्ट करना चाहिए था, वह नहीं किया गया है और साथ ही पिछले दिनों एम.एल.ए. ने श्रीनगर में एक जलसा किया जहां चीफ मिनिस्टर, श्री फारूख साहब चीफ गैस्ट थे। उस जलसे में पचास हजार लोगों ने हिस्सा लिया। सर, पचास हजार आदमी मुल्क में मुल्क के हक में, एंटी इंडिया लोगों के खिलाफ खड़े होते हैं लेकिन उसको अच्छे ढंग से न प्रोजेक्ट किया गया, न दिखाया गया। हम चाहेंगे कि इस कमी को पूरा किया जाए। जहां तक हमारी रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर का ताल्लुक है, मैं सबसे ज्यादा स्ट्रेस इस बात पर करूंगा कि सीज फायर के सिलसिले में हमारी बदनसीबी है कि अब जब तीसरी दफा यह सीज फायर हुआ - इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारे महबूब प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने बड़ी दूरअदेशी से अपने इस भारत की परम्परा को इस सरकृति को दोहराने के सिलसिले में खुदएत्मादी का मुजाहिरा किया और ताकत होने के बावजूद, कुय्यत होने के बावजूद माफ करने और सब करने का सबक उन्होंने दोहराया। यह बड़े आला आदर्श हैं। इस अनाउंसमेंट को सारी दुनिया ने सराहा है। अमेरिका से लेकर रूस तक मशरिक से लेकर मगरब तक, लेकिन हमारे देश के अंदर, हमारी रियासत के अंदर क्या हो रहा है, मैं यह बताना चाहूंगा। इस वक्त हमारी रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर के अंदर इतने सबर आजमा हालात हैं और जनता इतनी दुखी है कि हर तरफ खून ही खून की नदियां बह रही हैं, इस सीज फायर के दौरान और सुहागिनों के सुहाग लूटे जा रहे हैं। वहां किसी फातिमा की इज्जत महफूज नहीं है, हर राधा का सुहाग लूटा जा रहा है, माओं की गोदें खाली हो रही हैं और इस किस्म के खून नाहक बह रहा है कि इस सीज फायर के अरसे के बाद यह सब देखकर इंसान हैरान हो जाता है। यह सब कुछ इसलिए हो रहा है कि वहां जितनी साजिशें हो रही हैं, जितने हमले हो रहे हैं, वहां के सैक्युलरिज्म को, वहां के भाइचारे को मिटाने के लिए, क्योंकि 1947 में वहां की मुस्लिम कॉन्फ्रेंस ने रियासत के दो टुकड़े किए जैसे मुस्लिम लीग ने यहां भारत के दो टुकड़े किए। उस वक्त शेर-ए-कश्मीर ने, जितना भी सदियों से वहां भाइचारा था, ऋषभ ऋषि से लेकर नन्द ऋषि तक, लला अरफां से लेकर शेख-उल-आलम तक, बडशां से लेकर शेर-ए-कश्मीर तक - साधुओं, संतों, भक्तों, पीरों, फकीरों के जितने भी कारनामे थे, जितने भाइचारे थे, उनको खत्म करने के सिलसिले में - लेकिन इस सोच को, इस फिक्क को शेर-ए-कश्मीर ने नेशनल कॉन्फ्रेंस की पार्टी के अंदर समोया, पिरोया और इस किस्म का उस वक्त मुजाहिरा किया जिस वक्त बर्रैसगीर में, हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में कत्ल-ओ-गारत हो रही थी, उस वक्त जम्मू कश्मीर में और खासकर कश्मीर वादी में शेर-ए-कश्मीर ने हिन्दू-मुस्लिम ऐतहाद को कायम रखा और मच्छर तक को भी मरने नहीं दिया। इसीलिए उस वक्त मुस्लिम अकसरियत रियासत होने के नाते शेर-ए-कश्मीर ने हिन्दू अकसरियत वतन के साथ अपना रिश्ता जोड़ा और हिन्दुस्तानियत की अजमत को जिला बक्शी और इसको और ऊंचा किया। इस आदर्श को इस सैक्युलरिज्म को तोड़ने के लिए पचास साल से पाकिस्तान हमले कर रहा है।

इसे बचाने में जहां जम्मू-कश्मीर के लोग इस वक्त कुर्बानियां दे रहे हैं वहां हमें खुशी है कि भारत भी इसमें हमारा पूरा साथ दे रहा है। मैं खास-कर के इस सदन से कहना चाहता हूं

कि इस सीज़ फायर के बाद तीन किस्म के सीज़ फायर हुए । पहले सीज़ फायर के बाद जसले साब (?) जम्मू-कश्मीर की रियासत में लोगों ने बड़ी खुशी मनाई । वहां के मुसलमानों ने, हिन्दुओं ने बड़ी खुशी मनाई और इंटरनेशनल लेवल पर भी लोगों ने बड़ी सराहना की । दूसरे सीज़ फायर के बाद भी ऐसा ही हुआ कि जम्मू-कश्मीर के लोगों ने इसकी सराहना की और इंटरनेशनल लेवल पर भी इसकी बड़ी सराहना हुई । लेकिन अब की बार जो तीसरा सीज़ फायर हुआ है इसकी इंटरनेशनल लेवल पर तो सारी दुनिया तारीफ करती है, इसकी सराहना करती है लेकिन जम्मू-कश्मीर में जो हुर्रियत के लोग हैं या उसे चाहने वाले या उसे सपोर्ट देने वाले लोग हैं वे आज यह कह रहे हैं कि भारत इस वक्त इंटरनेशनल लेवल पर पोलिटिकल स्टैंट खेल रहा है, वह सीरियस नहीं है, वह मीनिंगफुल सीज़ फायर नहीं कर रहा है । अगर ऐसा किया होता तो कम से कम वहां जो मोडरेट किस्म के हुर्रियत के लोग हैं उन्हें पासपोर्ट दिया जाता । वे उस तरफ चले जाते जिससे कम से कम जो ये भाड़े के कातिल हैं उन्हें रोकने के सिलसिले में वे उनसे बात करते, उन्हें सच्चाई बताते, हकीकत बताते या इस सिलसिले में लोकल लेवल पर हिजबुल मुजाहिदीन से कोई बात की जाती या जो दूसरे लोग हैं, अपने लोग हैं उनसे बात की जाती लेकिन क्योंकि वे कहते हैं कि कोई कदम नहीं उठाया जा रहा है इसलिए इस पर वे अब कोई ऐतबार नहीं कर रहे हैं । इसे रिथिक करने की जरूरत है । आज भी पिछले दिनों सीज़ फायर के बाद भी श्रीनगर में पुलिस हैड क्वार्टर पर इन्होंने हमला किया, आर्मी हैड क्वार्टर पर हमले किए और उसके बाद सुरिनकोर्ट पर हमले हुए, डोडा में हमले हुए, आर्मी के ऑफीसर, बड़े-बड़े कर्नल, जनरल और ब्रिगेडियर शहीद और जख्मी हुए । यह मैं सीज़ फायर के बाद की बात कर रहा हूं । मेरा डिस्ट्रिक्ट राजौरी है उसमें आज से पंद्रह दिन पहले जो पंद्रह बकरवाल थे उनका यह कसूर था कि उन्होंने वी.डी.सी. की रेफर ली थी अपने आपको डिपेंस करने के लिए । पंद्रह बकरवालों को एक मकान में आग लगाकर झुलसा दिया गया जहां स्वामी जी, जो होम मिनिस्टर हैं होकर आए हैं। मियां अल्ताफ, वहां के स्टेट मिनिस्टर, रियासत के मिनिस्टर भी उनके साथ थे । उन्हें इसीलिए झुलसाया गया । प्रसों की बात है, मैं राजौरी से आज आया हूं , अपने जम्मू से, वहां उन्नीस पुलिस वालों को उन्होंने शहीद कर दिया । अगर यही सिलसिला रहना है तो क्या यह सीज़ फायर का इनाम है ? हम चाहेंगे कि इसे रोकने के लिए कोई न कोई उपाय किया जाए । वरना इतना खून बह रहा है कि जिसकी कोई हद नहीं है । बल्कि मैं इसे यूँ कहूंगा कि : *वे अपना खून न छोड़ेंगे, हम अपनी वजां क्यूं बदलें, सबब बनकर क्यूं पूछें कि हमसे सर गिरा क्यूं है* । हां, एक बात मैं जरूर कहूंगा कि जहां तक इस बात का ताल्लुक है, सी.एन.सी. भी कहती है कि कश्मीर एक पोलिटिकल प्रॉब्लम है, सियासतदान भी कहते हैं पोलिटिकल प्रॉब्लम है लेकिन अगर पोलिटिकल प्रॉब्लम है तो ट्रायफरकेशन इसका हल नहीं है । क्योंकि ट्रायफरकेशन से अगर कश्मीर को अलग रियासत बनाएंगे, लद्दाख को अलग बनाएंगे, जम्मू को अलग बनाएंगे तो यह डिसइंटिग्रेट हो जाएगा । अगर पोलिटिकल प्रॉब्लम है तो इसका पोलिटिकल सोल्यूशन जम्मू-कश्मीर की सरकार ने, वहां की चुनी हुई असेम्बली ने आपको रेस्टोरेशन ऑफ ऑटोनॉमी का पेश किया था । उस पर गौर करना चाहिए था, उसको रद्द नहीं करना चाहिए था , उसे डाउन साइज करके इस वक्त जो भी मुल्क के हित में, हक में बात थी वह करनी चाहिए थी ताकि लोगों का गुस्सा, लोगों के जज्बात और लोगों का ऐतमाद बहाल होता । लेकिन हमें अफसोस है कि ऐसा नहीं हुआ हालांकि महाराजा हरीसिंह जी ने उस वक्त देर की । पंद्रह अगस्त, 1947 तक उन्होंने यहां एक्सेशन नहीं किया । उसके बाद भी ढाई महीने नहीं किया और जब किया तो तीन सब्जेक्ट्स का किया जिसकी वजह से आज भी मुसीबत है ।

महाराजा हरीसिंह जी ने केवल तीन सब्जेक्ट्स का एक्सेशन किया, पूरे का करते तो यह मुसीबत ही नहीं होती । इन तीन सब्जेक्ट्स का एक्सेशन करने के बाद नेहरू जी ने इसे कबूल किया और शेर-ए-कश्मीर ने असेम्बली में इसे अप्रूव किया । इसी का नाम ऑटोनोमी है जिसे रिस्टोर करने के लिए वहां की सरकार और वहां के लोग यह चाहते हैं । हम यह कहेंगे कि अपनों पर भरोसा करना ज्यादा जरूरी है बनिस्पत इसके कि गैरों को अपना बनाने की कोशिश की जाए और जिसका कोई फल न निकले । इससे साथ-साथ मैं यह कहूंगा कि सिर्फ सीज फायर करना ही काफी नहीं है वहां इस वक्त दस लाख से ज्यादा ग्रेजुएट, पढ़े-लिखे लोग बेकार हैं । उन्हें इस मुल्क में सर्विस देने के सिलसिले में या कारोबार देने के सिलसिले में कोई न कोई बंदोबस्त करना चाहिए वरना यह मुसीबत खत्म होने वाली नहीं है । मैं ज्यादा वक्त न लेते हुए आपसे इतनी गुजारिश करूंगा कि इस सीज फायर के सिलसिले में हम तारीफ करते हैं इस वक्त के प्राइम मिनिस्टर की जिन्होंने बहुत अच्छा कदम अता किया है लेकिन इससे केवल एक ही फायदा हुआ है कि इस वक्त बॉर्डर पर खामोशी है । लेकिन बॉर्डर की खामोशी के पीछे जो तूफान है उसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि इस सीज फायर के जमाने में हजारों मिलिटेंट ट्रेनिंग लेने के लिए पार चले गए और हजारों ट्रेनिंग लेकर वापस आ गए हैं । टनों के हिसाब से हथियार, असलाह, बड़ी-बड़ी तोपें, राकेट, लांचर आदि चीजें मुल्क में आ गई हैं...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : अब आप कृपया समाप्त करें ।

मिर्जा अब्दुल रशीद : इतना रीआर्गनाइज्ड कर दिया उन्होंने, इतना कंसालिडेट कर दिया कि मुझे लगता है कि आने वाले दस साल तक और बड़ी मेहनत करनी पड़ेगी वरना सीज फायर से पहले सिक्योरिटी फोर्सज की रिट चलती थी ..

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): माननीय आर.एन. आर्य ।

मिर्जा अब्दुल रशीद : .. और पुलिस गालिब थी, हाबी थी लेकिन सीज फायर के बाद, अब इस दौर में दहशतगदों की रिट लोग महसूस कर रहे हैं । इन लफ्जों के साथ जो यह मोशन आफ थैंक्स है इसके हक में मैं इसकी तारीफ करता हूं, इसको मैं सपोर्ट करता हूं और मैं दुबारा यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जम्मू और कश्मीर की जो हालत है- इस वक्त यह हाउस खाली है, काश, बहुत सारे साथी हमें सुनते और हमें सपोर्ट करते, जेतली साहब यहां तशरीफ रखें हैं, वह पहले ही हमारी रियासत के दामाद हैं

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): माननीय श्री आर.एन. आर्य ।

मिर्जा अब्दुल रशीद : हमें पूरा भरोसा है कि वह हमारी बात प्राइम मिनिस्टर तक ले जायेंगे और इस हालात से हमें निकालने की कोशिश करेंगे ।

श्री आर. एन. आर्य (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने विशाल भाषण में बहुत कुछ कहने की कोशिश की है । लेकिन जिन बिन्दुओं पर हमें ऐतराज है वह मैं आपके सामने प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूं । महोदय, यहां पर 69 बिन्दुओं पर बड़ी चर्चा हुई है और उन पर सभी लोगों ने अपनी बात रखी है । मानव-शक्ति की सीमा से बाहर होने

वाली आपदाओं पर चाहे वह गुजरात त्रासदी भूकम्प की रही हो, चाहे वह उड़ीसा का महाचक्रवात रहा हो, इनके अतिरिक्त मैं जो मानव निर्मित संस्था का, एक राज्य का, एक स्टेट की अपनी ड्यूटी है, पालिसी है उस के बारे में बिन्दु नंबर 8, बिन्दु नंबर 34, बिन्दु नंबर 37, बिन्दु नंबर 47 और 53, इन चार-पांच बिन्दुओं पर विचार करना चाहता हूँ। बिन्दु नंबर 8 में डाक्टर अंबेडकर का संदर्भ दिया गया है। बड़ा अच्छा हुआ कि इस संदर्भ में उनको कोट किया गया। इसके बारे में हमें जानकारी है। लेकिन हम इसे किस रूप में करते हैं यह सोचने की बात है। डा. अंबेडकर ने जिस वक्त संविधान को 26 जनवरी को लागू करने में विरोधाभास की संभावना व्यक्त की थी, उस वक्त उन्होंने एक बहुत जबरदस्त बात रखी थी कि:

"We are entering into the age of contradiction on 26th January, 1950. We will accept equality into our political life -- one man one vote and one vote one value. But, we will deny equality into our socio-economic life. We will deny one man one value. In socio-economic life if this equality is not established in India, the sense of Constitution is -useless." बड़ी कोशिश से जिस संविधान को बनाया है उस संविधान को आने वाली जनरेशन, जिस पर हमारे पूर्वजों ने आजादी के बाद बहुत समय लगाया, लोग उस संविधान को भूल जायेंगे जैसा कि आज कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि संविधान का रियू होना चाहिए। इसीलिए उन्होंने उस वक्त सावधान किया था और उन्होंने सावधान करते हुए यह भी कहा था कि: "It is not enough to be elector only. It is necessary to be law-makers. Otherwise, who can be the law-makers will be master of those who can be the electors to exploit." केवल मतदाता बने रहने से इस देश में कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है। हे मेरे पिछड़े लोगों तुम्हें इस देश में कानून निर्माता भी बनना होगा वरना कानून निर्माता लंबे समय में आपका मास्टर बन जाएगा, आपका खून चूसेगा, आपके साथ यह न्याय नहीं करेगा। इस पहलू को जब हम देखते हैं तो मैं आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ कि आल इंडिया एजुकेशनल सर्वे से पता चलता है कि हमारे दलित लोग जो हैं उनकी बस्तियां किस तरह उपेक्षित रही हैं और किस प्रकार से 1991 तक, गांवों से दस करोड़ लोग भारत के गांवों को उजाड़कर उन्हें छोड़ आए हैं और शहरों में बस गए।

दिल्ली में 10 लाख लोग सीवरों की लाइन पर, फुटपाथों पर रात गुजारते हैं, 20 लाख झोंपड़ियों में रहते हैं। कोलकाता, मुंबई, मद्रास और हैदराबाद के आंकड़े इस समय हमारी जानकारी में नहीं हैं। लेकिन इस प्रकार से 1991 तक जो पोजीशन हुई, आज 10 साल और गुजर गये अब क्या पोजीशन होगी, इसका आज अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार से 10,59,191 बस्तियों में 5,32,962 प्राइमरी स्कूल हैं। 1,45,824 बस्तियों में अपर प्राइमरी स्कूल और सिर्फ 11,955 सेकेंडरी स्कूल हैं। 50 प्रतिशत आबादी के लिए पांच लाख से ज्यादा बस्तियां ऐसी हैं जहां कोई प्राइमरी स्कूल नहीं है। एग्रेज लिटरेसी भारत में 52.21 की तुलना में अनुसूचित जाति की लिटरेसी 37.41 परसेंट है। उनकी महिलाओं की लिटरेसी 39.29 परसेंट है और यू.पी. में अनुसूचित जाति की महिलाओं की लिटरेसी केवल 10 परसेंट है। शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की इलीट्रेसी 70.6 है जबकि 47.70 परसेंट सामान्य निरक्षरता है। शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की महिलाओं की निरक्षरता 80 परसेंट है। कहां ध्यान गया है? हमारे जो बच्चे प्राइमरी स्कूल से ड्राप कर जाते हैं, हमारे बच्चे सामान्य रूप में नेशनल एग्रेज के हिसाब से 47.93 ड्राप कर जाते हैं और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बच्चे 64.53 परसेंट हर वर्ष प्राइमरी स्तर पर ड्राप कर जाते हैं।

अल्पसंख्यक, पिछड़ी जातियों की स्थिति बहुत बुरी है। जहां तक पावर्टी लाइन में गिना गया है सामान्य जनता 37.4 परसेंट पावर्टी लाइन के रूप में काउंट की गई है लेकिन शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के 45 परसेंट लोग पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे जी रहे हैं। हमें यह बताते हुए काफी दुख हो रहा है। डिस्ट्रेस माइग्रेशन के बारे में बताते हुए काफी दुख हो रहा है। 1975 से 1985 के बीच में हमने शिक्षा का आंकड़ा आपके सामने प्रस्तुत किया। काफी दुख हो रहा है कि इतनी इलीट्रेसी बढ़ रही है, इतनी बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है। इनसिक्युरिटी की भावना जहां तक है यू.एन.ओ. में हमारे प्रतिनिधि बोलते हैं, वायलेशन आफ ह्यूमेन राइट पर बोलते हैं, ह्यूमेन राइट्स पर भी बोलते हैं, चाइल्ड लेबर पर बोलते हैं, महिला एट्रोसिटीज़ पर बोलते हैं और अनुसूचित जाति की एट्रोसिटीज़ पर बोलते हैं। मैं आपके सामने यह बताना चाहता हूं कि एस.सी.एस.टी. कमिशन 1992 की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार 1975 से 1986 के बीच में जो केस दलितों पर एट्रोसिटीज़ के लिखे गये, उनकी संख्या 1,67,000 थी जिसमें कनविकशन 4322 पर हुआ, 15000 छोड़ दिये गये और 19240 केस कोर्ट में पेंडिंग पड़े हुए हैं। कोर्ट में कोई भी डिसिजन होने की स्थिति में नहीं है। हम देखते हैं संविधान के आर्टिकल 340 के तहत अप्वाइंटमेंट आफ कमीशन हुआ। जहां बैकवर्ड क्लास है, बैकवर्ड समाज है, वीकर सेक्शंस हैं उनके लिए कमीशन नियुक्त करने की बात कही गई है। लेकिन उनके बारे में काफी छोड़ा गया है। मैं एक मिनट में कंक्लूड करता हूं। जिस प्रकार से सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में हमारे आरक्षण को छोड़ा गया है। हमारे बजट की पूर्ति करने के लिए हमारे कर्मचारियों के जी.पी.एफ. और ई.पी.एफ. को यूज़ किया गया है। यह भी अच्छी बात नहीं है। पेट्रो डीज़ल प्रोडक्ट की कीमतों में वृद्धि हुई है। किसानों का काफी शोषण हुआ है। हमने देखा जेहाद का जिक्र किया गया है लेकिन जेहाद के विरुद्ध हमारी सशक्त टिप्पणी नहीं जा पाई। तालिबान ने भगवान बुद्ध की प्रतिमाओं को जो एक धरोहर थी, उड़ा दिया है। हम कुछ भी नहीं कर पाए। हम न्याय की प्रक्रिया में काफी पीछे हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि इस मुल्क के बाशिंदों को देखें किसी की कोख में सोना पैदा नहीं होता। अगर कोई कहे कि क्वालिटी के बेस पर पैदाइश हो रही है और यहां तो सब नालायक पैदा हो रहे हैं, यह ठीक बात नहीं है। आल दैट ग्लिटर्ज इज़ नॉट गोल्ड। अच्छे घरों में अच्छे लोग पैदा होंगे, गरीब घरों में अच्छे लोग पैदा नहीं होंगे, ऐसी संभावनाओं पर गलत नीयत नहीं होनी चाहिये। हमें सभी जनता को बराबर मौका मिलना चाहिये। मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं और इन मुद्दों पर अपना विरोध दर्ज करता हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): धन्यवाद। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा समाप्त हुई। प्रायः सभी दलों के सदस्यों ने अपने विचार रखे। माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी आगामी सोमवार, 12-3-2001 को दोपहर बाद सायं साढ़े चार बजे बहस का उत्तर देंगे। सदन की कार्यवाही स्थगित करने के पूर्व मैं सदन के सभी माननीय सदस्यों को रंगों के त्योहार होली पर अपनी हार्दिक बधाई अर्पित करता हूं।

अब हम सोमवार दिनांक 12.3.2001 के 11.00 बजे पूर्वाह्न तक के लिए उठते हैं।

The House then adjourned at one minute past seven of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 12th March, 2001.