

सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का यह अभिभाषण इस समय 12वीं लोकसभा के चुनाव संपन्न होने के बाद हुआ है। दो साल पहले भी चुनाव हुए थे। 11वीं लोकसभा के और उस समय भी मेरी पार्टी, भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने कुछ सहयोगी दलों के साथ चुनाव लड़ा था और सबसे बड़े दल के रूप में उभरकर सामने आई थी परन्तु फिर भी सरकार बनाना संभव नहीं हुआ। दो और परीक्षण हुए सरकार बनाने के और सरकार चलाने के परन्तु 2 साल के बाद ही फिर से नए चुनाव कराने की नौबत आ गई। इस बार उस कमी को दूर करने का प्रयत्न कुछ हद तक हुआ है। चुनाव के पूर्व अनेक दलों के साथ गठबंधन करके भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने चुनाव लड़ा और परिणामस्वरूप भारतीय जनता पार्टी सबसे बड़ी पार्टी के रूप में इस बार भी जीतकर आई। और सहयोगी दलों के साथ भी सबसे बड़ा गठबंधन उसका बना।

परन्तु फिर भी स्थिति स्पष्ट नहीं थी और जब राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने हमारे नेता श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी को अपनी स्थिति स्पष्ट करने के लिए कहा, तो उन्होंने साफ कहा कि मेरे पास स्पष्ट बहुमत तो नहीं है लेकिन फिर भी हम सरकार बनाकर अपना बहुमत सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न कर सकते हैं। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अन्य दलों के नेताओं से भी परामर्श किया और अन्त में वे इस नतीजे पर पहुंचे कि वाजपेयी जी को प्रधान मंत्री की शपथ दिलाकर सरकार बनाने का अवसर दिया जाए और दस दिन के अंदर उन्होंने विश्वास मत प्राप्त करने के लिए उन्हें निर्देशित किया। आज जब मैं आपके समाने खड़ा हूँ तो। यह घटना पूरी हो चुकी है और गत शनिवार को वर्तमान सरकार को विश्वास का मत प्राप्त हो गया है और सरकार बनाने की प्रारम्भिक भूमिकाएं सम्पन्न हो चुकी हैं।

सवाल खड़ा होता है कि ऐसी परिस्थिति में जब सदन दोनों तरफ से पूरा आधा-आधा बंटा हुआ हो, क्या व्यवस्था की जाए? यह बात तो सच है कि वकेंबल मजारिटी। चाहिए और बिना वकेंबल मजा रिटी के कोई भी सरकार टिक नहीं सकती। लेकिन जिस तरीके से सदन का गठन हुआ है उसमें वकिंग मजारिटी यह हमेशा संदिग्ध रहने की सम्भावना है और इस आधार पर काम करने की एक ऐसी पद्धति हमें इवाँल्व करनी पड़ेगी जिसमें राष्ट्रीय महत्व के मारे प्रश्न जो देश के साथ सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, आम नागरिक के साथ सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, उनको हल करने के लिए उसके संबंध में पार्लियामेंट सैक्शन प्राप्त करने के लिए कोई तरीका

हम बनाएं उस पद्धति को स्वीकार करे और उस आधार पर सरकार को दीर्घकाल के लिए चलने का अवसर दें।

भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने अपने मोनिफेस्टो पर चुनाव लड़ा था। जिनके साथ चुनाव गठबंधन था उन्होंने भी अपने अपने मेनिफेस्टो पर चुनाव लड़ा और चुनाव में जब जीतकर आए और सरकार बनाने की सम्भावनाएं हुई तो सभी दलों ने इक्ठे बैठकर आज की परिस्थिति में जिस तरीके से सरकार बनी है उसके लिए एक नेशनल एजेंडा बनाया। स्वाभाविक बात है कि अपने-अपनी पार्टियों की कुछ चीजें छोड़कर यह नेशनल एजेंडा बना है। पार्टियों के मेनिफेस्टो अपनी जगह पर कायम हैं। यह सरकार बंधी हुई है एक नेशनल एजेंडा से और जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने परसों आश्वास्त किया कि यह सरकार नेशनल एजेंडा तक ही अपनी कारगुजारी सीमित करने के लिए वचनबद्ध है और इस कारण से यह कहना है कि बी.जे.पी. का दिन हिडन एजेंडा है, नेशनल एजेंडा अपनी जगह है। यह सरकार कुछ और बातें लेकर जो आज बोलना नहीं चाहती काम करना चाहती है, मैं अपनी सरकार की ओर से यही आश्वास्त कर सकता हूँ कि जब सभी गठन जोड़ वाली पार्टियों ने मिलकर एक रिटन नेशनल एजेंडा स्वीकार किया है तो यह गवर्नमेंट का कमिटमेंट उस नेशनल एजेंडा तक सीमित है और मुझे विश्वास है कि यह सरकार उस नेशनल एजेंडा के आधार पर आम नागरिक की मूलभूत आवश्यकताएं देश की एकता, देश की सुरक्षा और आर्थिक उन्नति के लिए निश्चित रूप से इस देश की सेवा करने में सक्षम होगी। सभापति महोदय, मैं आर.एस. एस. का सदस्य हूँ और आर.एस.एस. का सदस्य मैं उस समय से हूँ जब मैं जनता पार्टी में शामिल हुआ था, बचपन से उसका सदस्य हूँ, आज 50-55 साल हो गए। इस कारण से संघ के संस्कार मेरे जीवन में हैं। आज संघ के संस्कारित व्यक्ति देश और समाज के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में कार कर रहे हैं। कोई शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में है, कोई उद्योग के क्षेत्र में है, कोई वकील है कोई डॉक्टर है, कोई पोलिटिशियन है, कोई समाज-सुधारक है और ये सब एक ज्वाइंट फैमिली की तरह है। ज्वाइंट-फैमिली में हम सब एक संस्कार से प्रभावित है परन्तु अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों में अन्य लोगों को साथ लेकर हम अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों में अन्य लोगों को साथ लेकर हम अपने क्षेत्र के लिए जो काम देश सेवा का और इस देश के सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान करना चाहते हैं, उसमें किसी एक का दूसरे के साथ दखल नहीं है। आर.एस.एस. अपनी जगह पर है, विश्व हिंदू परिषद और ऐसे अनेकों संगठन है जो आज देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में आज से नहीं, 25 साल से 30 साल से, 40

साल सेल काम कर रहे है। एक ज्याइंट – फैमिली के नाते हम लोग बैठते हैं, एक दूसरे के विचारों से अवगत होते है, एक –दूसरे को सलाह देते हैं और अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों में सबके जो रेगुलर फोरम है, उनके अनुकूल, उनके संविधान के अनुकूल, उनके संविधा के अनुकूल, मैनीफेस्टो के अनुकूल फैसला लेकर हम काम करते हैं । इसमें कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है ।

**श्री ईश दत्त यादव** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ...(व्यवधान)... मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा चल रही है। माननीय सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी जी ने इसका शुभारम्भ किया है लेकिन यह सारा प्रचार इस सदन में आर.एस.एस. का कर रहे हैं । इनकी सरकार क्या करेगी? ...(व्यवधान)... राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में क्या कहा है? ...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री सभापति** : मुझे देख लेने दीजिए मुझे सुन लेने दीजिए कि विवादस्पद है या नहीं ।

**श्री ईश दत्त यादव** : मान्यवर, मैं अपनी बात पूरी कर लूं ।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री सभापति** : फैसला मैं करूंगा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है या नहीं । आप क्यों शोर करते हैं? ...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री ईश दत्त यादव** : मान्यवर, मैं अनुमति चाहता हूं । मैं अपनी बात पूरी कर लूं ?

**श्री सभापति** : लंबी बात नहीं । व्यवस्था का प्रश्न क्या है, बोलिए ।

**श्री ईश दत्त यादव** : मैं संक्षेप में कह रहा हूं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने दोनों सदनों के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में भाषण दिया और उस भाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव इस सदन में विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत है । माननीय भंडारी जी इस पर अपने विचार रखने के लिए खड़े हुए हैं लेकिन वे बचपन से आर.एस.एस. में है, कितने विंग इसके है और वे क्या कर रहे हैं, इस तरह की बातें कह कर वे इस सदन में एक तरह से आर.एस.एस. का प्रचार कर रहे हैं ।

**श्री सभापति** : नहीं, कोई प्रचार नहीं कर रहे हैं। इसमें कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है । आप बैठिए....इसमें कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है ।

**श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वे आपकी भ्रांतियां दूर कर रहे हैं ।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी** : यहां कहीं भी ड्यूअल मैम्बरशिप नहीं है । हम लोग जब बी.जे.पी. के मैम्बर हैं तो किसी दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टी के साथ ने हमारा संबंध है, न उसके डिक्टेट्स को हम मानते हैं । बी.जे.पी. अपना फैसला खुद लेती है और वर्तमान सरकार में बी.जे.पी एक मेजर पार्टनर हैं ।

हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि अन्य दलों ने भी जो अनावश्यक गलतफहमियां पैदा करके जान-बूझकर अलग रखने का, पालिटिक्स अनटचेबिलिटी का वातावरण बनाने का प्रयास किया था....

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA (Punjab): One clarification, Mr. Chairman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No clarification. Let him speak. Are you yielding, Mr. Bhandari?

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: No Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not yielding, Mr. Singla.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Unless you ask me to sit down, Sir, I will not sit down.

इसलिए मैंने कहा कि विश्वास निर्माण करने का वातावरण बनना चाहिए । बिना उसके न देश का काम चल पाएगा, न ससंद का काम चल पाएगा ।

लोग कहते हैं कि स्पीकर के चुना में विश्वास तोड़ दिया गया था । सामान्य परिपाटी है कि जो सत्ता पक्ष है, उसका स्पीकर होता है और अगर आपस में बात तय हो जाए तो विरोध पक्ष की तरफ से डिप्टी स्पीकर बने । मैं यह मानता हूं कि उस समय तक सत्ता पक्ष की मजबूरी थी, पोजीशन साफ नहीं थी और पोजीशन साफ न होने के कारण उसको इस बात के लिये मजबूत किये जाने की कोशिश हुई है आपोजीशन का स्पीकर होना चाहिए । हम मजबूर थे । शायद अगर परिस्थिति में सुधार न हुआ होता तो उस चीज को स्वीकर करने में कोई कठिनाई न होती । लेकिन जैसे ही परिस्थिति में सुधार हो गया.....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamilnadu): Sir, he is talking about the Speaker's election. He should not talk here about what happens in the Lok Sabha. (Interruptions)

SHRI MD. SALIM (West Bengal): That is not the subject matter here. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI

NATARAJAN: Sir, can we talk here about what happens there?

**श्री वसीम अहमद** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अगर स्पीकर के इलैक्शन पर बहस ...**(व्यवधान)**... फिर तो स्पीकर के इलैक्शन पर बहस होगी ।

SHRI MD. SALIM: If they have to clarify their position, let them clarify, but not in this House. *(Interruptions)*

**श्री वसीम अहमद** : स्पीकर के इलैक्शन में अपने क्या किया, यह दुनिया जानती है ।

**श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी** : मुझे मालूम है, आप बैठ जाइये । और इस कारण से स्पीकर का चुनाव इस समय जिस तरीके से हुआ है वह कनफ्रन्टेशनल पालिटिक्स के अंतर्गत नहीं आता । वह सहयोगी भावना आज भी विद्यमान है और वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री जी ने विश्वास का मत जीतने के बाद भी रीएसर्ट किया कि वह इसके बाद भी सहयोग के वातावरण में ही सरकार का काम और देश का काम चलाना चाहते हैं ।

मुझे अफसोस है कि उसदिन जो विश्वास का मत प्राप्त हुआ- यह एक डेमोक्रेटिक डिफीट है और डेमोक्रेटिक डेमोक्रेटिक वे में लेना चाहिये था । मैं उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ । रिपोर्टिड है कि मदुरई में महज इस बात की खबर सुनकर कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार को विश्वास मत प्राप्त हो गया । विद्यार्थी परिषद के उपाध्यक्ष प्रोफेसर परम शिवम को उनके स्कूटर से खींचकर he was hacked to death. 6 लोगों ने यह काम किया । मैं यह जानता हूँ कि साउथ में.....

SHRI C. P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU (Pondicherry): All the six people are unknown. I am sorry they have no connection. All of them are unknown. Motion for the same not ascertained.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Maybe. I am not connecting this with anybody. I am just narrating the incident.

SHRI C. P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: Don't imput motives to the Government there.

**श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी** : हमको मालूम है कि पिछले दिनों में ऐसी कई जंघय हत्याएं कि गयी है । एक ऐटमॉस्फीयर टैरिजम का, हिंसा का जगह-जगह पर पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है । मैं सब सदस्यों से अपील करूंगा कि राजनीति की लड़ाई चलती है, चली

है। पिछले चार साल से तो हर बार तमाशा इधर से उधर जाने का हो रहा है, यह होगा। हम इसको डेमोक्रेटिकली डील करें, डेमोक्रेटिकली फेस करें और डेमोक्रेटिकली बर्दाशत करें, अगर यह नहीं हुआ और हरेक चीज का रिएक्शन अगर हिंसा के रूप में हुआ । आतंक पैदा करने के रूप में हुआ तो इस डेमोक्रेसी का परपज ही खत्म हो जाएगा, इस देश में हम नहीं रह पाएंगे । यह सच है कि इस समय के चुनाव में क्षेत्रीय दलों का एक विशेष महत्व है । अनेकों प्रांतों में, अनेक राज्यों में क्षेत्रीय का वर्चस्व स्थापित हुआ है और उसका एक ही सबक हमको लेना है कि यह पार्लियामेंट इन क्षेत्रीय आकांक्षाओं की, क्षेत्रीय अभिलाषाओं की पूर्ति करने के प्रति न्याय करें, उनको प्राथमिकता दे और कहां भी यह भावना पैदा न होने पाए कि उनको समुचित न्याय वाद के आधार पर पैदा होने वाला वैमनस्य है , वह समाप्त हो जाएगा । मैं यहां पर उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा कि इस बार के वोट आने एकाउंट में वीडिआईएस स्कीम के अंतर्गत जो 42,215 करोड़ रुपए का एडीशनल अमाउंट इन सभी स्टेट्स को देने का फैसला हुआ है, यह स्वागत योग्य कदम है और इसके बारे में जो वचन दिया गया था कि इस वीडिआईएस स्कीम का हिस्सा राज्यों को वितरित किया जाएगा, उसकी एक बहुत बड़ी पूर्ति हुई है ।

यह बात सच है कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव और फाइनेंशियल पावर्स स्टेट्स को देनेके बारे में हमें फिर से गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करना चाहिये और स्टेट्स जितने फाइनेंशियली स्ट्रॉंग होगी, एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिविली एफिशिएंट होगी, उतनी ही नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन और सारे देश को मजबूत बनाने में उसकी बहुत मदद मिलेगी ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने तीन नये राज्यों के गठन की बात की है । इन तीन नए राज्यों के गठन में वहां की स्टेट असेम्बली की मजूरी और एकमत धारण यह मुख्य कारण रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक राज्य स्तर पर ही मामला सहमति से न निपट जाए सेंटर को किसी नई एक्सरसाइज को शुरू नहीं करना चाहिए। ये तीनों राज्य विदिन दा एक्टिस्टिंग स्टेट्स है, नई बाउंड्री ओवर लेप नहीं हो रही है । उत्तरांचल उत्तर प्रदेश में से बन रहा है, वनांचल बिहार में से बन रहा है, छत्तीसगढ़ वर्तमान मध्य प्रदेश मे से बन रहा है। कहीं और लेपिंग नहीं है, कहीं किसी की बाउंड्री के साथ, कहीं किसी दूसरे राज्य को छेड़ा नहीं है । सरकार द्वारा हम इस बात को स्वीकार करना यह एक स्वागत योग्य कदम है । दिल्ली को भी पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा देने की बात है । दिल्ली भी एक उदाहरण

है। मैं मानता हूँ कि यहां पर केन्द्र सरकार का शासन है लेकिन एक बहुत बड़ा केस है कि दिल्ली को भी एक फुल स्टेट-हुड दी जाए। मुझे खुशी है कि वर्तमान सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में इस कमिटमेंट को भी स्वीकार कर लिया है।  
...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री मोहम्मद सलीम :** आप तेलगांवा की मांग भी तो मान लीजिये। ...(व्यवधान)... टीडीपी आपकी पार्टनर है।...(व्यवधान)...

† شری محمد سلیم: آپ تیلگانا کی مانگ بھی تو مان لیجئے... "مداخلت"... ٹی ڈی پی آپ کی پارٹنر ہے... "مداخلت"...

**डा. वाई. लक्ष्मी प्रसाद (आंध्र प्रदेश) :** टीडीपी ने कभी तेलगांवा का मामला नहीं उठाया है।  
...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी :** आप पहले घर में तय कर लीजिए। ...(व्यवधान)... मैं और क्या कह रहा हूँ।  
...(व्यवधान)... मैं यही कह रहा हूँ कि पहले घर में तय हो जाए। ...(व्यवधान)...

**डा. वाई. लक्ष्मी प्रसाद :** टीडीपी ने कभी तेलगांवा की मांग नहीं की है। ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.  
...(Interruptions)... Please sit down.  
...(Interruptions)...

**डा. वाई लक्ष्मी प्रसाद :** आंध्रा प्रदेश को  
...(व्यवधान)... टीडीपी कटिबद्ध है। ...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री वसीम अहमद :** वह तो आंध्रा के लोगों ने मांगा है, टीडीपी ने मांगा हो या न मांगा हो। ...(व्यवधान)...

**डा. वाई लक्ष्मी प्रसाद :** नहीं मांगा है।  
...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री वसीम अहमद :** वहां के लोग कह रहे हैं।  
...(व्यवधान)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down... (Interruptions)... Please sit down.

**श्री वसीम अहमद :** वहां से लोग मांग रहे हैं। मैं टीडीपी की बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। ...(व्यवधान)... स्टेट बीजेपी के लोग मांग रहे हैं, आपकी पार्टी के लोग मांग रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी :** मुझे अपनी पार्टी के बारे में आपसे ज्यादा मालूम है। ...(व्यवधान)... राज्यपालों का विवाद भी एक बहुत बड़ा विवाद का विषय बना हुआ है ...(व्यवधान)...

Telangana people have voted for TDP and rejected others. (Interruptions)

**श्री वसीम अहमद :** बी.जे.पी. ने यह बात कही है  
...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री मोहम्मद सलीम :** इतनी अस्थिरता जो पैदा हो रही है, वह हमें देखने को मिल रही है  
...(व्यवधान)...

† شری محمد سلیم: اتنی استہر تا جو پیدا ہو رہی ہے وہ ہمیں دیکھنے کو مل رہی ہے... "مداخلت"...

**श्री सभापति सिंह :** भंडारी जी आप बोलिए।

**श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी :** मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बात की व्यवस्था जरूर की जाए कि राजभवन राजनीति के अड्डे न बने। ये राज्यपाल किसके प्रति रेस्पा होंगे, इसका अभी तक पार्लियामेंट नोटिस नहीं ले सकते हैं। क्या इसपर कुछ विचार किया जा सकता है या केवल राष्ट्रपति जी पर ही इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी छोड़ दी जाए? मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बात पर विचार होना चाहिये।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने भय मुक्त स्थिति की चर्चा की है। मैं उसका उल्लेख कर चुका है। हिंसा इसका सोल्युशन नहीं है। बातचीत से हल निकाला जा सकता है और इसमें हमको पसीविरेन्स के आधार पर कार्य करना चाहिये। जो एलिमेंट्स हैं, जो सोशल ट्रेन्ड बन गये हैं उनके ऊपर सकती से कदम उठाने की जरूरत है तथा कानून को अपने रास्ते से चलने दिया जाए। उसको पोलिटिकली प्रेशराइज न करें और फिर एक्जिस्टिंग ला इतना समर्थ हैं कि देश में शान्ति और विश्वास को आश्वस्त किया जा सकता है।

भूख मुक्ति की भी बात कही गई है। स्वाभाविक है कि सबसे पहले जो हमारा पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन सिस्टम है उसको अधिक एफिशियन्ट बनाने की तरफ सोचें कि ये गांवों तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते क्यों बीच में सूख जाता है

इसके लिए हमें इस बात की व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी कि पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन के माध्यम से हम अनाज, तेल या अन्य जो चीजें देना चाहते हैं कि वे गांवों तक पहुंचें। मुझे इस बात की भी खुशी है, कि इसमें यह व्यवस्था की गई है।

प्लानिंग में एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर पर 60 परसेंट तक का खर्चा बढ़ाया जा सकता है और बढ़ाया भी जाना चाहिये क्योंकि बहुत बड़ी पापुलेशन है। सारी बैकवर्डनेस इसी वजह से है। क्योंकि जब हम मदद करना चाहेंगे तो निश्चय ही उनकी आईडेंटिफिकेशन ठीक प्रकार से होनी चाहिये। कई बार हम बड़े उद्घात विचार लेकर यहां सहायता घोषित कर देते हैं, परन्तु वह सही आदमी के पास नहीं पहुंच जाती है इसलिये ठीक आईडेंटिफिकेशन की जरूरत है। ग्रामीण औद्योगिकीकरण इस मामले में बहुत मदद दे सकता है और हॉटिकल्चर, फूड प्रोसेसिंग, ऐनीमल हसबेडरी और डेयरी आदि ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जिनको प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिये। मुझे इस बात की भी खुशी है कि औद्योगिकीकरण के लिये, ग्रामीण औद्योगिकीकरण या लघु औद्योगिकीकरण के लिये एक विकास बैंक की घोषणा भी राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में की गई है।

लघु उद्योगों के मामले में रिजर्वेशन, डी-रिजर्वेशन का सवाल विचाराधीन पिछले दिनों में कुछ लघु उद्योगों के लिये ईयर मार्कड आइटमस डी-रिजर्वर कर दिये गये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वर्तमान सरकार इस सवाल पर पनुःविचार करें, पुनः अध्ययन करे और उन उद्योगों के पनपने के लिये प्रोसपर करने के लिये कुछ समय भी मिलना चाहिये। बजाए इसके कि हम एकदम से उनको ओपन कम्पीटीशन के जाल में फंसा कर उनको थाटल करने की कोशिश करे। यह नहीं होना चाहिए।

मैं यहां पर यह भी उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ कि जो आस्ट्रेलिया से फूड इम्पोर्ट हो रहा है, दो खेपों में यह फूड आस्ट्रेलिया से आ रहा है। एक खेप आ चुकी है। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि यह अभी तक बंदरगाह में पड़ी हुई सड़ रही है। उसके भंडारण की व्यवस्था नहीं, स्टोरेज फैसिलिटीज नहीं है। हमारे गोदाम आने वाली फसलों को स्टोर कर पाएंगे या नहीं, यह एक सवाल खड़ा हो रहा है। मैं चाहूंगा कि वर्तमान सरकार के कृषि मंत्री तत्काल इस प्रश्न पर ध्यान दें और देखें कि हम किस तरीके से यह जो 15 लाख टन अनाज दूसरी किश्त में डम्प होने वाला है इसके लिये हम क्या रास्ता निकाल सकते हैं, क्या रास्ता ढूँढ़ सकते हैं। यह बहुत आवश्यक है क्योंकि इसका एडवर्स असर यहां के किसानों पर, यहां की बाकी चीजों पर पड़ेगा। महोदय, गांवों के लिये लाभ-प्रद रोजगार की व्यवस्था भी करनी

पड़ेगी। बेकारी को अगर दूर करना है तो फिर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में ही रोजगार की व्यवस्था हम करें। यह बहुत आवश्यक है।

सारे समाज को उठाने के लिये शिक्षा की बात का महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने उल्लेख किया है। निशुल्क और अनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा यह बहुत आवश्यक है। शिक्षा का बजट अभी भी, हालांकि घोषणा तो बहुत बार हो चुकी है लेकिन 6 प्रतिशत तक हम नहीं पहुंच पाए हैं अगर वर्तमान सरकार इसको भी एश्योर कर दें या इस दिशा में तेज रफ्तार से बढ़ने का इंतजाम करें तो बहुत बड़ा लाभ इस सारे देश का हो सकता है। शिक्षा के लिये स्कूल खोलने के साथ-साथ क्वालिटी आफ एजुकेशन पर भी हमें विचार करना पड़ेगा। ऐसा न होने पर ही लोग सार्वजनिक स्कूलों की तरफ दौड़ते हैं और सामान्य स्कूलों की शिक्षा पर लोगों का भरोसा नहीं रह गया है। फीस की मार की वजह से बच्चे ठीक प्रकार से पढ़ नहीं पाते।

माहिलाओं के लिये भी यह घोषणा की गयी है कि स्नातक स्तर तक निशुल्क शिक्षा दी जाएगी। मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस मामले में तेज गति से आगे चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस मामले में तेज गति से आगे बढ़े। असंबलीज और पार्लियामेंट में रिजर्वेशन का सवाल

**SHRI SOMAPPA R. BOMMAI** (Orissa): Sir, if the hon. Member yields, I want to submit a very important thing. ... (Interruptions)...

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Can't you wait till he completes?

**SHRI SOMAPPA R. BOMMAI:** Sir, I have only one thing to say. ... (Interruptions)... Sir, he is speaking on elementary education. The Rajya Sabha has already passed a resolution making elementary education a Fundamental Right. This subject was also referred to the Select Committee. The Select Committee has recommended for making it a Fundamental Right. But, that has been omitted in the President's Address. ... (Interruptions)... That is why I want to know about it.

**PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA** (Delhi): He can speak when his turn comes. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: I have just touched the issue. He can explain the issue. ...*(Interruptions)*... If it is done it is well and good. Much remains to be done. That is also a fact. I am highlighting only that aspect and not the other one. ...*(Interruptions)*...

महिला उद्यमियों के लिए विकास बैंक की बात महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने कही है। यह बहुत आवश्यक है। पिछड़े क्षेत्रों को आइडेटीफाई करने की जरूरत है। कई ऐसे एरियाज रह गए हैं जो अंडर-डेवलप्ड हैं और यहां पर जिनके बारे में नेग्लेक्ट का आरोप भी लगाया जा सकता है। आप जब तक एक कमीशन बिठाकर उन एरियाज को आइडेटीफाई नहीं करेंगे और इनके डेवलपमेंट के लिए स्पेशल व्यवस्थायें नहीं करेंगे तब तक इन क्षेत्रों का विकास होना संभव नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस आइडेटीफिकेशन के काम में भी जल्दी लाई जाए। मकान भी एक बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है। मकान देने की बात कहीं गयी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार ने इस बात को भी माना है कि वह निजी क्षेत्र की भागीदारी से आवास इकाइयों का निर्माण करवाकर 20 लाख अतिरिक्त मकान प्रतिवर्ष प्राप्त हो सके, इसके लिए इंतजाम करेगी। मैं जानता हूँ कि बहुत बड़ी प्रॉब्लम है। लेकिन अगर यह टारगेट भी फुलफिल हो गया तो उसका बहुत लाभ होगा। उसमें से रास्ता निकाला जा सकेगा।

हिन्दुस्तान में अभी कैपिटल हैवी उद्योगों के लिए बहुत स्कोप है। यहां पर काफी इनवेस्टमेंट के लिए गुंजाइश है - विद्युत क्षेत्र है, सड़कें हैं, रेलवे हैं, अंतरदेशीय जल मार्ग, सामुद्रिक सी पोर्ट्स, नौवहन, हवाई अड्डे, दूर संचार तथा सूचना टेक्नोलॉजी सहित मूलभूत ढांचे के क्षेत्र में पूंजी निवेश के लिए पर्याप्त मात्रा में अवसर बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है। हिन्दुस्तान में कैपिटल को हमने अभी तक एवेन्यूज नहीं दिए हैं और इन एवेन्यूज में वे अब भी कैपिटल इन्वेस्ट कर सकते हैं। फारेन इन्वेस्टमेंट्स की भी जरूरत है। लेकिन फारेन इन्वेस्टमेंट्स हम लाएं, जो इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर की फील्ड्स हैं, तभी उनका भी उपयोग होगा और हमारे टोटल डेवलपमेंट में उसका बहुत लाभ हो सकता है।

उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में रूल्स रेगुलेशंस के कारण बहुत बंधन हैं और उद्योगपति कई बार इसके चक्कर में फंसकर उद्योग स्थापित करने का उत्साह खो बैठते हैं। अब जरूरत है कि उद्योगों के इस सरकार एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को हम ब्यूरोक्रेटिजेशन से मुक्त करने के बारे में सोचें

क्योंकि जब तक हम इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को अवसर नहीं प्रदान करेंगे और वे कैपिटल इन्वेस्ट करना चाहते हैं उनके लिए कंडीशंस कन्जीनियल पैदा नहीं करेंगे तो उनका उत्साह नहीं बनता है।

इंडस्ट्रियल सिकनेस भी एक सवाल है। मामले पड़े हैं। बरसों से पड़े हैं। हम इधर या उधर कोई फैसला नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। कोई न कोई रास्ता हमें मीनिंगफुल इंटरएक्शन का इसमें से निकालना चाहिए ताकि इस समस्या का हम समाधान कर सकें।

हिन्दुस्तान भी एक प्रोड्यूसिंग कंट्री है और वर्ल्ड मारकेट में अपना स्थान बना रहा है। लेकिन कामन कमोडिटीज के एक्सपोर्ट में हम क्या आपस के देश एक संगठन नहीं बना सकते? पेट्रोल तेल बेचने वाले देशों ने "ओपेक" बनाया है और "ओपेक" के आधार पर वे अच्छी कीमत प्राप्त करने में समर्थ हुए हैं। आज हमको भी इस दिशा में प्रयत्न करना चाहिए ताकि हम अपनी मारकेटबुल गुड्स की अच्छी कीमत प्राप्त कर सकें।

राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा के मुद्दे पर समझौता किए बिना, निर्णय प्रक्रिया में पारदर्शिता एवं ईमानदारी लाने का प्रयत्न बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात है। लेकिन इस दिशा में आगे बढ़ने की बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है और हिन्दुस्तान के हर व्यक्ति को हम आश्वस्त करना चाहते हैं कि सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से कोई कमी नहीं है, किसी थ्रेट के सामने झुकने की जरूरत नहीं है और इस मामले में वे निश्चित होकर रह सकते हैं। जिनका आज दुरुपयोग एक्ट के अनेक पहलू ऐसे हैं जिनका आज दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। सामान्य व्यक्ति को देने से वंचित रखा जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस मामले में जल्दी कदम उठाए और आम आदमी को राइट आफ इन्फारमेशन सही अर्थों में प्राप्त हो इसके लिए समुचित व्यवस्थाएं करें।

लोकपाल विधेयक की चर्चा भी इस भाषण में हुई है। यहां पर मैं समझता हूँ कि आज बीस वर्ष से ज्यादा का अर्सा हो गया जब लोकपाल बिल, लोकपाल विधेयक के बारे में चर्चाएं होती रही हैं। और कहीं न कहीं कभी पोलिटीकल रीजस, कभी पार्लियामेंट की जिन्दगी खत्म होने की वजह से यह मामला लटका हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार इस बात में बिलकुल स्पष्ट मत रखती है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर से लेकर हरेक व्यक्ति लोकपाल के दायरे के अंतर्गत आना चाहिए पब्लिक रिप्रेजेंटेटिव जिसको हम कहते हैं और इन मामलों को जल्दी से जल्दी पास करा कर हम लोगों में कंपीडेंस रेस्टोर करें। यह जो विच हंटिंग चलती है करप्शन के

मामले में कहीं तो नेल डाउन हों सारी चीजें, कहीं तो हम कह सकें कि यह यहां तय हो गया है यह आरोप गलत है या यहां तय हो गया है यह आरोप सही साबित हुआ है, इसको फिर पब्लिक लाईफ में से रिटायर करने की जरूरत है। डिफेक्शंस, करप्शन, क्रिमिनलाइजेशन, आफ पौलिटिक्स ये चीजें चुनाव सुधार कानूनों से दूर हो सकती हैं। जैसे भी तो इस बार भी इंज़ोड्यूस किया गया हरेक कैंडीडेट रेकार्ड नहीं हैं, उसके ऊपर कोई मुकदमा पैडिंग नहीं है। लेकिन इसके बाद भी ये आरोप बंद नहीं हुए हैं। ये आरोप लागू है, चालू है। तो हम क्यों न मिल कर ऐसी एक व्यवस्था जमाएं और अगर वह चुनाव लड़ने से ही वंचित कर दिया जा सकता है उस व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत तो फिर ये सब बातें अपने आप खत्म हो जायेगी। हम कानून बनाएं जिसमें से खिडकियां खुलती हो, जिसमें से बच निकलने के रास्ते हों और फिर हम कहें कि इसमें ईमानदारी नहीं है या ठीक तरीके से लागू नहीं किया गया तो कानून हम ठीक बनवाएं। चाहे वह एंटी डिफेक्शन लाॅ हों, चाहे करप्शन कर कानून हो, चाहे लोकपाल की अदालत की व्यवस्था हो, कहीं न कहीं हमें इस मामले में अपने आपको बांधना पड़ेगा। एक गोस्वामी कमेटी ने भी इस मामले में सुझाव दिए हैं। हम इन सुझावों को लागू करने की कोशिश करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अनेक ऐसे विषय हैं...**(व्यवधान)**...

**SHRI NILOTPAL BASU** (West Bengal): One specific question, Sir.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** No, no. He is not yielding...**(Interruptions)**...

He is not yielding. Please sit down...**(Interruptions)**...

**SHRI NILOTPAL BASU:** He is not yielding because it is very uncomfortable for him...**(Interruptions)**...

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** महोदय, मैंने कुछ बातों की तरफ सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है मैं आभारी हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में सदन का ध्यान इस देश के ज्वलंत प्रश्नों की तरफ उठाया है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि सारा सदन एक स्वर से राष्ट्रपति महोदय को इस अभिभाषण के लिए धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पारित करे।

बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

**SHRI SANATAN BISI** (Orissa): Sir, I have a point of order.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** What point of order?

**SHRI SANATAN BISI:** I am paying full respect to Shri Bhandariji and other Members. But, since this is the House of elders, whatever discussions we are having here, must be had as per the provisions of the Constitution. Article 87, sub-clause (2) clearly enumerates, "Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of either House of allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such addresses." So, my submission to the House is that we should discuss only those matters which are referred to in the Presidential Address from paragraph 1 to 43. The matters which are ancillary, matters which are disputed, matters which are connected with other things should not be discussed. Am I correct, Sir?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I am told that rules have already been framed. ...**(Interruptions)**...

**SHRI SANATAN BISI:** Ours is a House of Elders.

**SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:** I am not elderly.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Sanatan Bisi, please see rules 242(1). It says: "After the member who moves a motion has spoken, other members may speak to the motion in such order as the Chairman may call upon them." I have called upon Shri G. Swaminathan.

**SHRI SANATHAN BISI:** I do not dispute that, Sir.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Then, what is your point of order? There is no point of order. It is disorder.

**SHRI SANATAN BISI:** Sir, my point is this. Article 87(2) says: "Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address". Therefore, only matters which are referred to in the President's Address should be discussed and not any ancillary or extraneous matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Mr. Swaminathan, you may begin. ,

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to second the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, so ably moved by the senior leader and a colleague of mine in the Rajya Sabha, Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari, today.

Before coming to the subject proper, I would like to point out one thing to the hon. Member who has just raised an objection. His objection is that one should not bring up issues which have not been referred to in the President's Address. Sir, it has been the convention is our House that when we give amendments to the President's Address, we refer to things which have not been mentioned in the President's Address, this has been the convention. If the Member had gone through the list of amendments to the President's Address given notice of by Members, he would find that they refer to things which have not been mentioned by the President in his Address.

Therefore, I would say that my able colleague, Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari, has raised certain matters which are very relevant and which could not be referred to by the President in his Address for want of time. Hence, I think it is very relevant that we should discuss certain other important things also. I hope the hon. Member would see this point. As you know, this is a House consisting of very senior Members belonging to different parties.

Coming to the subject, there are many subjects which have been referred to in the President's Address. There is also some confrontation which had arisen. I find it very strange that people in the various fora and even in Parliament, particularly, in the other House, Members have mentioned that from, 29 parties in the Eleventh Lok Sabha, we have now, in the Twelfth Lok Sabha, 42

parties. But when I took up the list and counted the number of parties in the present Lok Sabha, I found that the number was 39. I do not know whether my counting is right, or, the number quoted by them is right. They say that the number is 42. I have not counted Independents, Nominated Members, etc. From 29 parties in the Eleventh Lok Sabha, the number has gone up to 39.

It has been mentioned that many smaller parties from the various States are getting ingress into Parliament. It has also been mentioned that representatives of smaller parties have also been given Cabinet berths. It has been said that even a single member party has found representation in the Cabinet. Reference has also been made to the fact that as against the thirteen-party coalition, we now have a eighteen-party coalition Government at the Centre.

Sir, my humble submission is the politics is now going to the people. As you know, earlier, the Congress was the largest party. The Congress had fought for the freedom of the country and it then represented the ambitions and the aspirations of the people in this country. But now, it appears that different people have got different ambitions. Therefore, politics has to go to the grassroots now. From parliament, it goes to the State Legislatures. From the State Legislatures, it goes to the Panchayats. The democratic aspirations of the people at the grassroots are reflected in the respective State Legislatures. These aspirations, in turn, have to be reflected in Parliament also.

Therefore, it is very necessary that politics should go to the grassroots. It is also very important that the opinion of the people from the grassroots—maybe a minor opinion, maybe a small opinion—should find its place at the level of Parliament.

It is not that only is our country, we have a coalition Government. In most of the countries, the coalition era has come about.

Another important thing we find is that in many countries, the sub-nationalities have their own fora. Take, for example, the USSR. It consisted of many linguistic sub-nationalities. These linguistic sub-nationalities have their own independent States now. Then, we have Yugoslavia, many independent States have been formed now. Even in the British Isles, we find that it is no more one Parliament. After Mr. Tony Blair became the Prime Minister of that country, he gave sanction for another Parliament, a separate Legislature, for Scotland. Consequent to this, the people of Wales are also demanding a separate legislature. The aspirations of the people of Wales were voiced in the British Parliament through their own party in the Westminster. They now want a Legislature of their own for that particular area.

Sir, you take Canada. The hon. Governor-General of Canada is here today. It is very well known that even in that particular country, one particular State, by name "Quebec" which has its own separate Constitution, wants independence. So, there is bifurcation of various countries. There are aspirations of people in various forms. It is also happening throughout the world. So, my personal feeling is that if you really want democracy to function and if you really want that the country should be united and it should not get bifurcated, as it happened with the USSR, the real aspirations of the people should be represented. I think my Marxist friends would pardon me. It was said that the USSR was one nation where under the Marxist-Leninist Party, they had solved the problem of linguistic sub-nationalities. But we find that it could not be solved in the Soviet Union, and many States have come about because the real aspirations of the people were not represented at the highest forum. This happens. I personally feel that it is all the more good that more people should come here and that more parties should come here. We have a coalition Government in the country. As the hon. Prime Minister once said,

Bharat Mata has naturally got many languages. Even though she has got one space, as has been said by Bharati, she has many languages, many kinds of-ethos and other things. The Prime Minister has said this in Lucknow also. So, my personal feeling is that it is not one we have to regret because many parties are coming about. We have to go through this experiment of a coalition government for more time. We have to see that it is representative and that it functions so that the country's unity is protected. I personally feel that it is good, especially so because I belong to a State party. I am very happy that we are representing. A long time after our able leader, MGR, we have four hon. Ministers here who are our representatives in the Cabinet. Naturally, Sir, it is in our own interest. We are happy that we are being represented. Two Cabinet Ministers and two Ministers of State are here.

Another matter is that the parties which are coming together and forming the Government, are raising many matters. They are demanding ministerial berths. There is an accusation that the AIDMK Party or any other party which is coming together has got its own demand. They want ministerial berths and that they want the matters of the States to be taken up. It is said that these pose a problem to the Prime Minister to compromise on all these things. It is said that the Prime Minister has to decide about the ministerial berths to be given to a particular party. But I personally feel that when you have a coalition, giving ministerial berths is not the prerogative of the Prime Minister. It is not a one-party rule. Several parties have joined together in this coalition Government led by the BJP. Naturally, the parties which have joined the coalition as partners, give strength to that party to form the Government. Naturally, the parties want as many ministerial berths as can possibly be granted to them by the hon. Prime Minister. I do not think that there is anything wrong in a coalition partner asking for ministerial berths. I do not agree with

those who accuse a party for asking for ministerial berths. They ask, "Why should you ask for ministerial berths? Why should you create problems for the main party at the Centre?" Even a very respected daily, *The Hindu*, wrote a sub-editorial or a main editorial wherein it said, "It is right on the part of a coalition partner to ask for ministerial berths." It is not entirely the prerogative of the Prime Minister. It is the prerogative of the combined parties to say who will be a Minister, who will not be a Minister and which Minister will have which portfolio. It is the prerogative of the total combination. I do not want to wound my able colleagues in the BJP. But I want to say very clearly that it is not the prerogative of the Prime Minister alone, but we have also got a right to ask for ministerial berths.

(Interruptions)

That is a different thing.

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU (Pondicherry): I am saying about who is entitled to be a Minister.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Who is entitled?

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: I will tell you later who can become Minister.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I do not understand this.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SING-LA: Is the purpose of your asking for a review of the Constitution to define a coalition arrangement in the Constitution? Is that the attempt of the review of the Constitution?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I do not know exactly what he means. I do not exactly understand what he means.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SING-LA: They said the Constitution is being reviewed. (Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The party is entitled and it has a right to recommend to the Government as to which portfolio is to be given. Ultimately it is

for the Prime Minister to say whether he is able to give it or not.

SHRI CM. IBRAHIM (Karnataka): We are happy that you are speaking the truth.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, they should not say that we should ask for this or that. (Interruptions)

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATUR-VEDI: Sir, I do not know why a fun is being made about it. He is making it very clear. घर में जब बहुएं आती हैं तो एक कहती हैं कि हमें यह मकान चाहिए, यह कमरा चाहिए, दूसरी कहती हैं कि हमें वह कमरा चाहिए, आपको ऐतराज क्यों है इब्राहिम साहिब ?

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम : आप हसबेड बने रहेंगे और सबको बहुएं बना लेंगे ? ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी : यह हसबेड की बात नहीं है, यह तो हम सिर्फ बहुओं की बात कर रहे हैं ।

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह उदाहरण है, उदाहरण का अक्षरशः पालन नहीं होता । यह तो उदाहरण है, उदाहरण का भाव लिया जाता है, शब्दार्थ नहीं लिया जाता ।

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swaminathan, are you yielding?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SING-LA: Sir, ... (Interruptions)

श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी : आप भी बोलेंगे, अभी स्वामीनाथन जी को बोलने दीजिए ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swaminathan, if you are not yielding, then address the Chair. Why are you addressing the Members?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, may I suggest a matter of private bargain may not be made public?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: That is what I am saying. There is nothing private in that. If there had been anything private, I would not have made it public in this House. It is something open. I have got every right to ask and it is for the Prime Minister to decide.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): It is a private bargain. Please don't bring it to the House.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is not a private bargain. It belongs to the House and to the Government. *(Interruptions)* I do not agree that it is a private bargain. I have a right to ask and it is for the Prime Minister to decide. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swaminathan, are you yielding?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not yielding, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then why are you replying to them? Please address the Chair. Why are you looking at them? Please address the Chair.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not able to make my presence felt, because my voice is weak. Their voice is very strong. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please speak.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: These are some of the demands that our Party had made. We made these demands when the National Agenda was being formed. I accompanied my very respected leader to the meeting on 9th March. *(Interruptions)* One of the demands which we raised in the National Agenda meeting was implementation of the Interim Award. *(Interruptions)* It is there not only in the National Agenda, but also in the President's Address. What we raised was regarding implementation of the Award. It is very vital to our State's interest. Our hon. leader raised it in strong terms. She said the Interim Award of the Cauvery Waters Dispute Tribunal has to be implemented. That is a very vital issue to the party to which we belong. When our party extended support to the Government, we emphasised that the Award on the Cauvery dispute has to be implemented. This is our demand and there is nothing secret about it. We also wanted the level of the Periyar Dam to be increased it has already been cleared by the Central Water Commission and is pending implementation for a long time

due to non-cooperation of the Kerala Government. Then, 69 per cent reservation in Government jobs and in education. This has already been included in the Ninth Schedule. Naturally we wanted that the Supreme Court should not limit it to 50 per cent and there should be freedom for States also to raise it. We have also said that Tamil which is one of the languages should be the official language in the Eighth Schedule of the Union, 33 per cent reservation for women was also raised by our leader, reservation for backward classes, nationalisation of river Waters. These six demands were raised by our leader during the meeting. When we raised these issues earlier, it was agreed. The question was with regard to the Cauvery waters dispute. I don't think there was any secret of the meeting. Sir, naturally, the views of many parties have been represented in the National Agenda, not merely the views of the AIADMK party. There are many parties who have given support to the BJP Government. Every party has a right to say what they feel about various issues. When we had raised the issue of Cauvery waters dispute and about the Tribunal, Mr. Hegde, who is now a Cabinet Minister represented the State of Karnataka which has the upper riparian rights. As a Minister from Karnataka, naturally, he has to protect the interests of his State. If somebody is there, he will also do the same thing. I was there and I was a witness to all those things. Mr. Hegde said that he has to protect the interests of the people of Karnataka, the upper riparian State. When the same matter was raised, Mr. Bansi Lal, the Chief Minister of Haryana, belonging to the lower riparian State, accepted it. Mr. Barnala representing Punjab said that he belonged to the upper riparian State and he would not accept it. So, when there are many ...*(Interruptions)*...

There is nothing hidden in the national agenda. The whole thing has come out in the national agenda as well as in the President's Address. It has come out in all the newspapers. I am not saytog

anything secret. Naturally when there are many parties from various States, they would take up their own issues and say on which point they are not able to compromise. Ultimately, a compromise has to be evolved. It has been evolved according to our understanding and our interests. Sir, increasing the level of Periyar Dam was also raised. Then, they said that they would consider it. Regarding 69 per cent reservation also they have accepted. I am very happy that they have accepted all the issues which we have raised. On behalf of my party and on my own behalf I thank the Honourable Prime Minister for accepting all the issues which we have raised and they have found a place in the President's Address. I will read one or two paras from the President's Address. "The pending legislation seeking to reserve 33 per cent seats for women in Parliament and State Assemblies will be taken up immediately. A Development bank, the first of its kind, will be set up for women entrepreneurs." This is one of our demands. "By synergising legal, executive and societal efforts, the Government will strive for rapid social, economic and political empowerment and uplift of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes and Minorities. My Government will take all appropriate measures to uphold existing percentages of reservation in educational institutions at the State level." They have accepted this proposal. I am grateful to them.

The third thing was Tamil as an official language. They said that the Government would set up a committee to study the feasibility of treating 18 languages at the same level and include them in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. This proposal also has been accepted. They also said that a National Water Policy will be evolved for effective and prompt settlement of disputes and their time-bound implementation. We are very happy to say that all the important points which have been raised by us and which are relevant to the State of Tamil Nadu have been accepted by the Government.

These proposals have found a place in the President's Address. Many Governments have been there, many demands have been there, many parties have represented to the Government, but none of their demands has been put up as forcefully as has been done by my leader. *..(Interruptions)..* None of them has been accepted by them and found a place in the President's Address. I am very proud to say that we have put up our demands forcefully and succeeded in getting them accepted. No party which was there earlier could get these demands accepted. I am very happy we could get these demands accepted.

Then, another point is regarding consensus, confrontation, openness and all that. Shri Bhandari also stated about these things. He has also mentioned this views. I would like to mention only one point regarding coalition Government, consensus and confrontation. I feel that in the Westminster system there will be confrontation, there will not be an absolute kind of consensus. It is very difficult to find consensus in the Westminster system. When you are sitting in the Opposition, naturally, you do not want your opponents to be sitting in the treasury benches. Manmohanji, definitely, under this system, has got a right to expect to become the Prime Minister of this country. Nobody can object to that. I still remember what May's Parliamentary Practice said. When you are talking to your opponent, please do not talk within the Lobby, within the precincts of the House, because there may be some visitors sitting there in the galleries and looking at you. They may feel that you are not opponent to the Members whom you are soft with because they are in the treasury benches and you are in the Opposition benches. It has said, not only you fight but appear to fight. That is very important in the Westminster system. I wish to inform the hon. Prime Minister who says that everything will be under consensus that whether he likes it or not, he has to face confrontation. This is a thing which he

cannot avoid. No Prime Minister can avoid it. Now, there is a party which is sitting opposite to the treasury benches here, of a large number of people in the Lok Sabha, sitting there. Naturally, we have to accept all these things. If you do not accept all these things, we will not be able to run the Government. The very system is based on confrontation and unless there is confrontation, it cannot exist. I was one who was against a National Government which was proposed once by our earlier President Shri Venkatramanji and also by the present Prime Minister when he was the Opposition Leader. People came and asked me, "Do you agree for a National Government? In this kind of confusion when there is no party getting a full majority, when a large number of parties have to join together and form a government, is it not good for the country to have a National Government?" I told them, "I do not agree. I do not feel that a National Government would serve the purpose." They asked me why I did not agree. It is because of this. In a National Government, who will be in the Opposition? There will be nobody in the Opposition. Everybody will be in the treasury benches. Then what will happen to the country? If there is any mistake committed by the treasury, if any omissions and commissions are done by the party in the treasury, there will be the Opposition sitting there to criticise you, to find fault with you, to see that you are sent away from the Government. A National Government will not serve any country and that too, India. I personally feel that consensus politics will be very difficult. Even though I am very happy to have consensus, I personally feel that confrontation may come for which this Government should be prepared.

Then I would come to a very poor subject of an economist. The point I would like to make here is this. When we had the Interim Budget, I was extremely sorry to the mismanagement of the

economy. I am very sorry to say that even though the former Finance Minister comes from Tamil Nadu, I have to be very strong in saying here that the economy of our country has been very badly mismanaged by the previous Finance Minister for 1997-98. Why do I say that? It has been completely mismanaged. This Government has to do a lot of home work. It will be difficult for them to get out of the mire, of the economic confusion that has been created by the previous Government. I am saying this because (1) tax receipts and non-tax revenue have fallen short of expectations; (2) market borrowings have become more than anticipated; (3) debt-servicing has gone beyond what was budgetted; (4) the total Plan expenditure, both revenue and capital, has been less than the suggested outlay; and (5) there had been a fall in the industrial growth and slow-down in the economy. The VDIS has a disastrous impact on the collection of income-tax and corporation tax. What was collected under the VDIS was the revenue that should have been otherwise collected. The so-called 'dream Budget' of 1997-98 has turned into a 'nightmare'. It was not a dream Budget but a nightmare Budget. The BJP-led Government has to set right the mistakes made during the tenure of the previous Finance Minister. Many reasons may be adduced for that: "I am not personally responsible. The kind of Government we have may be responsible. There had been no peace for me. Everybody was pulling me in every direction. What can I do". The main reasons for this adverse impact of the 1997-98 Budget on the economy was that it was too ambitious and even irresponsible. The previous Finance Minister has made sweeping tax cuts and projected 20 per cent increase in tax revenue which could not be realised. I am very sorry to say that the economy is in bad shape and I hope, the new Finance Minister, Shri Yashwant Sinha, will be able to set things right. Why am I saying so? It is because of the fact that the people are suffering. There has been a demand recession. There is no money

in the market. Even the other day, it was said that the business houses are losing 40 per cent on their sales over the last year. Everybody is in the red. I, as Chairman of the Committee on Papers Laid on the Table of the House, have visited 55 institutions in this country during the last year. Out of 55 institutions, 45 industries are in the red because of demand recession. People don't have money. I am referring to what the previous Finance Minister has said. He said: "Why are you looking at the wrong things of my Budget? I have done two things. Why can't you emphasise on the positive points?" Sir, what are those positive points? The state of currency is one thing and high foreign exchange reserve of 24 billion dollars is another thing. I am very sorry to say that the state of currency has to be beneficial to the country. Now, the state of currency is like this. I am very happy to know that the new Government has decided to make an all-out effort to stabilise the economy. All the exports are diminishing. Nobody wants to get anything. At one point of time, when the yen was very strong in Japan, that itself became detrimental to Japan. I don't want to dilate on this issue. But my point is, if it has a positive effect, to what extent has it affected the economy? It does not matter whether one dollar costs the country 39 rupees or 40 rupees or 41 rupees. What is good for the country has to be decided by the new Finance Minister.

Another point is about the high foreign exchange revenue of 24 billion dollars. I am sorry to say that these 24 billion dollars have not been earned by the people. It has not been earned by way of export. The whole thing has come to this country by way of loan by the NRIs. They can withdraw it at any time and go away. They have come here because of the fact that you are giving more interest to them. But it is a most unstable kind of thing. It is something like an advance for future interest. You have not earned this money. You cannot boast of these 24 billion dollars. You cannot say that the

receipt of 24 billion dollars has a positive impact on the economy and in that way, it is a positive point. I personally feel that it is a negative point. You cannot be sure of that money, it is not your money. You have not earned that money. When the exports are languishing, how do you say that this reserve of 24 billion dollars is a fortune that you have created? The former Finance Minister has mismanaged the whole economy. It will take a very long time for the B.J.P. Government to set the whole thing right.

Finally, I will come to the extremists activities in Tamil Nadu—the bomb blasts and other things in Tamil Nadu—about which we are very much exercised. The bomb blasts in Tamil Nadu has started in Coimbatore during the election time. I think it was 14th February, 1998 when Shri Advani Ji had to come to Coimbatore. When he was to come to Coimbatore, there were bomb blasts at 23 places and he was so lucky that his plane came late. Sometimes, you have to thank the Indian Airlines for the late arrival of their planes. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Jayalalitha?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: She was not scheduled to be there. Now, when she was not scheduled to be there, he would say that she knew it that there would be a bomb blast and that was why, she was not there. (*Interruptions*) The point is: my leader is very wise. They are attributing more wisdom to her than what is legitimate by saying that last time when Rajiv Gandhi was there, she did not go there because she knew that there would be a bomb blast. Now, they are saying that she did not go to Coimbatore because she knew that there would be a bomb blast. I do not know. She is a very wise lady. The point is: as a leader of a team of my party, I was sent to Coimbatore two days later. When I was asked to go to Coimbatore with two, three former Ministers, as a leader of the Fact Finding mission of the AIADMK

party, and when I got into the train, I was really surprised that there was nobody in the train. There were only three, four persons in the whole first class compartment. There are 50, 60 seats in the whole compartment. But there was none except four people. Only two of these Ministers and I were there. And then I found that nobody from the Ministry wanted to go to Coimbatore. There was a great scare that was created about the bomb blasts. The bomb blasts took place at 23 places. Had Mr. Advani come on time, at 3.15 naturally thousands of people would have been died. What happened was, not only near the rostrum but all around the rostrum, people were just going and running here and there, everybody would have killed. And there was a car there. In the venue where about 100 kilo or 115 kilo explosives were there; I had the great opportunity of seeing that. The police officers said, "Don't stand for long. Sometimes, it may burst and you may become a casualty. That may happen, Sir." Not only that. What has happened in the hospitals? People would go to the hospitals. There also, there were bomb blasts so that patients would not be taken there. It is inhuman. Even inside the hospitals where people came in autorickshaws, they were chased away. That was the most inhuman thing that happened in Coimbatore. Thereafter, Sir, the most surprising thing was, there was a similar kind of finding near my place. I come from Thanjavoor. Near my place, in a village, Salaimangalam, where there was a rice mill, some people found that some children were playing in a ground where the children found something very funny. They went there and picked it up and the thing burst injuring the children.

Similar things happened in Madras. There was no police. There was nothing. No information. It was by sheer circumstances that the people found that those were bombs. Like that only, it happened, Sir. Then what had happened? Sir, since the last month, till today, there was bomb blasts. Yesterday also, there was a

bomb blast in Madras. *...(interruptions)...* Wait, wait. I will come to that subject. I know that you will raise the subject. Sir, it was on 29th...*...(interruptions)...* I will come to that. I know because the subject is very interesting for you; I will come to that. I have come prepared. *...(interruptions)...* There were gelatin sticks and detonators in Madras on 29th and they have caught some people. The question was raised yesterday. My hon. friends were saying yesterday that there was one Fatima Beevi; it was flashed in the newspapers—that lady happened to be an ADMK worker or, say, some important person of ADMK. "The owner of a house, Fatima Beevi, belonged to the ADMK." The Police said that four extremists were hiding there, and she was caught. And on TV belonging to the ruling party of Tamil Nadu, they showed not only that lady, Fatima Beevi, but also the card. Sir, The ADMK-card became very famous. Only we, the Members, know what the ADMK-card was, what is to be there and all that. My leaders photo would be there. But they publicised that this was the card that they had found in that place. It is a house...*...(interruptions)...* It is a house. Sir. *...(interruptions)...*

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: She belongs to ADMK. She belongs to your party.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I accept that; she belongs to my party. She belongs to my party. *...(interruptions)...* She belongs to my party. *...(interruptions)...* No, no, no. I don't say, forged. I don't say, forged. I said, the card was shown. She belongs to my party. *...(interruptions)...* Sorry; she belongs to my party. I don't deny that. Sir, my party is a monolithic organisation. *...(interruptions)...* ADMK is a monolithic party. It consists of 1.25 crores of people in Tamil Nadu. It is not a small party. It is not a small outfit. And this lady rented out the upstairs of the building to some people and she got Rs. 1,500/- per month. And the ruling rate is ten months' rent.

She got Rs. 15,000"- @ Rs. 1,500/-. Those people brought in some boxes and kept everything there and they were just going about and running away. Suddenly, the police came and on interrogation they found that they were in her house. And consequently, the ADMK was also brought in all these things! Sir, I would only say that Fatima Becvi belongs to the Dravidian Party. Dravidian Parties have been there for a long time. Dravidian Parties have been very sympathetic to wards the Muslims. That is there from the time of Pcriyar EVR. Fatima Beevi ..... (*interruptions*)...

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: Does she belong to the ADMK or to the Dravidian Party?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Dravidian Party, Sir.

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: No, It has been accepted by Jayalalitha, sorry, the former Chief Minister, that she belongs to ADMK. You please look into the newspapers.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No, no; I don't object to it. She belongs to ADMK. She is a card holder of ...(*interruptions*)... The point I am raising is ...(*interruptions*)... She is the owner of the house. She is an ADMK functionary. There is no doubt about it. ...(*interruptions*)... There is no doubt about it. Sir, the point I am raising is ...(*interruptions*)...

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: Why was publicity given?

1.00 P.M.

SHRI S. PETER ALPHONES (Tamil Nadu): This particular Ayesha is supposed to be the culprit. She has been hiding in that house for the past six months. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Let me speak. (*Interruptions*)... Let me say what I want to say. (*Interruptions*)... Let me say what I want to say. (*Interruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let them say. Why do you become a victim of interruptions? (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sorry, Sir. Let me say what I want to say. I will only take five minutes more. Let me take five minutes more and I will conclude. I am concluding. (*Interruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Pleased sit down. Mr. Swaminathan, you are a very seasoned Parliamentarian. Why do you become a victim of interruptions? You should talk to me, not to them.

The House is adjourned till 2 o'clock.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one minute past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at four minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Chairman in the Chair.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA The Income-tax (Amendment) Bill, 1998

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

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Income-tax (Amendment) Bill, 1998, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 30th March, 1998.

The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Woney Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India." Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now,... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: (West Bengal): Sir, the new Government must be told about the Parlimentary niceties. In the morning also, we raised it. Just have a look at House, at the Treasury Benches. Not a single Member who is a Cabinet Minister is here to listen to the debate. It is fruitless....(*Interruptions*) Please adjourn the House... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal): So long as they were there in the Opposition, every day they used to stall the proceedings...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: You adjourn the House. Sir, the House must be adjourned. *(Interruptions)*

The House must be adjourned. *(Interruptions)*

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra): Sir, the House must be adjourned. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Nobody should be allowed to play foul with parliamentary decorum.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Particularly, when the Leader of the Opposition is going to speak, courtesy demands that either the Leader of the House or a Cabinet Minister must remain present to listen to the Leader of the Opposition. It is not fair.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: No, Mr. Pranab, Babu, a Cabinet Minister must always be present in the House. *(Interruptions)*

Sir, you adjourn the House. *(Interruptions)*

*Kindly adjourn the House.*  
*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I adjourn the House for fifteen minutes.

The House then adjourned at six minutes past two of the clock.

The House reassembled at twenty two minutes past two of the clock, MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS (Contd.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. G. Swaminathan, please continue.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, I have been talking about the lady, Fatima Bibi, in whose house some extremists were living, whom the Tamil Nadu Police has arrested and from whom the Police

has also got some bombs. I had been mentioning in the House that she had only rented her house. She didn't know what was happening. The Police said that Fatima was the 6th Division Secretary of the Puratchi Thalaivi Narpani Manram and she holds some post in the AIADMK. Sir, AIADMK is a very large party. I have also been mentioning about the Dravidian Party. The very reason why the Police has been searching all the places is of the extremists who took away bombs from Coimbatore. One of those persons is one Aisha, who is considered to have taken the bombs along with her. Sir, people in Tamil Nadu have all the time been talking about this lady, the lady who has taken these bombs and had terrorists in her house. Sir, DMK and the Dravidian parties have always had some soft corner for the Muslims and many of the Muslim gentlemen were there in our party also. This lady, Aisha, whom the Police wanted to arrest and whom they ultimately got arrested was an extremist. The Police were looking for her. Her grandfather was formerly a DMK Town Secretary and he is now the President of the Mansapuram Agricultural Cooperative and Credit Society. Her uncle is a District representative of DMK. Her brother is a Town Panchayat Secretary of DMK. What I want to mention here is...

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: From where have you got this information.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: This has already been published in the Press.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Thirunavukkarasu, please sit down.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is in *The Hindu*, Sir. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not yielding, Mr. Thirunavukkarasu. You sit down. You speak when your turn comes.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: This is a news item in the *The Hindu* datelined Chennai, March 28. It gives this information wherein it has been

mentioned that the information is as given in the statement of my leader, Jayalalitha, and all these things have been very clearly stated. Now, what I want to say is, they can always dispute the facts and bring it before the House. What I would like to say is that this Fatima Bibi had given the house or rent. Sir, a similar thing had happened in Karnataka. You may remember that a house had been rented out to the one-eyed man, Sivarasan of LTTE by Shri Aswathanarayanan who was a Congress member at that time. Then it was said that the Karnataka Congress people were supporting Sivarasan. Later on, they came to the Jain Commission and the Jain Commission said that simply because somebody had rented the house does not mean that they were accomplices to them. I would only wish to say this thing. Sir, not only bomb blasts... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: He had not rented his house.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: One Aswathanarayanan of Karnataka had rented his house to him. *(Interruptions)*... Or he was a party to renting the house... *(Interruptions)*... Shrimati Margaret Alva was here. There was a big controversy going on about Karnataka. *(Interruptions)*... He was a Youth Congress member. *(Interruptions)*... The Karnataka Members were here and they can tell him. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: The House did not belong to him. He had not rented that house. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, what is the hon. Member discussing here? We are discussing the Motion of Thanks. Mr. Swaminathan is a senior Member of this House. *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swaminathan, either you must not be a victim of interruptions or you go on speaking. *(interruptions)*... Let him speak. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN. Sir, not only bomb blasts, regular murders of party workers are also being committed. On 28th March, a Commerce Professor of Madurai College.....*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, he is talking about so many murders.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, this is the situation which has been prevailing over there. *(Interruptions)* Finally, Sir, I would say about one more point. Sir, the information regarding bomb blasts in Tamil Nadu.....*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, the information regarding bomb blasts in Tamil Nadu is not a new thing. We have been hearing that information from the CID in Tamil Nadu and from the Centre has gone to the Government of Tamil Nadu. The hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu while replying to the Motion of Thanks to the Address of the Governor stated—I don't have the English version but it clearly says in Tamil, Tamil Nadu, Kawalturai, December, 11. The Intelligence of Tamil Nadu Police had come out that there will be such bomb blasts. Sir, the Joint Commissioner of Tamil Nadu Intelligence again sent a message on December, 21. Sir, again the SP, CID Police sent a message on December, 27, as also the DGP. Then the Government of India sent a message on December, 21. Then a message from DGP Delhi had gone to Tamil Nadu on January, 2. So, messages regarding bomb blasts had been going to Tamil Nadu from December, 11 onwards. These messages had been going on for the last more than two months. As per the statement of the hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, 2,019 gelatine bombs and detanators, 207 kilograms of explosives and guns were recovered there. Ninety-five people were arrested and 49 cases registered. This has been going on for the last two months.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much more time will you take?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am about to compete.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: What I wish to say is that the Tamil Nadu Government has been very inactive. I would like to mention one more point. Sir, when I went to the President—I don't know whether it is relevant or not— for giving the letter, then a discussion came up. He also said that he had received some letters from the people of Tamil Nadu. So, the people have sent messages even to the hon. President. These messages have been there in a Press. These messages have been given by the Tamil Nadu Intelligence; these messages have been given by the Central Intelligence. They knew about it for the last two months. My personal feeling is that they had been preparing for these things for the last more than two years. Otherwise, nothing like this would have happened in Coimbatore. What was the Tamil Nadu Government doing all these years? They are still recovering bombs. So, ultimately I charge the Government of Tamil Nadu and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for this inefficiency as they have not done anything so far. I would conclude with only one slogan of the hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. He is a Tamil point and is very good in punning words. Those days, when Shastriji was the Prime Minister, one Alagesan was a Minister in Railways and there was a rail accident. After that accident, the Dravidian Party, at that time AIADMK was also a part, the present Chief Minister coined a slogan wherein he said in Tamil and I would give it in English: Alagesan of Adiyalur fame, is it not enough that you have ruled, having sufficient people died? This is the slogan he gave. I want to repeat it to the hon. Chief Minister with regard to the death and what is happening there. I want him to resign taking responsibility for what has happened in Tamil Nadu. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. P. DURAISAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Swaminathan, this is not in good spirit. *(Interruptions)* He is a senior leader! *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not enter into a dialogue, please. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Chief Minister is not taking responsibility and the Member should take the responsibility. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Motion that has been moved and seconded is:

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on March, 25, 1998."

There are 164 amendments which may be moved at this stage.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Uttar Pradesh): I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any time bound action plan for eradicating corruption by bringing about transparency and accountability in Administration."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of any time bound plan of poverty alleviation despite every third person is found to be hungry."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any time bound plan to make arrangements for providing compulsory primary education to all the children in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any time frame to bring the production rate of oil seeds, pulses, wheat and rice at par with the maximum production rate in the world."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about effective steps to be taken by Government to check the fertile land from becoming barren land due to fall in Ground Water Table in the States like Punjab etc."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time bound scheme to augment the capital investment in the Agricultural sector."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete steps to be taken by Government to rectify the mismanagement prevalent in the field of water management in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete action to make use of about 50% unutilised water in the country by completing all the projects like Thein Dam without further delay."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention to repeal the restrictions imposed by the State Government on the right to purchase land in Rajasthan by the residents of Punjab."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of any time bound scheme to provide drinking water to each village of the country having population over 500 and to connect them by all weather roads".

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete measures to be taken for checking the loss of human lives in railway accidents due to human errors."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any decision to be taken for refraining the Housing Policy in view of the Housing necessity of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of any time bound action plan for the upliftment of the living standard of the downtrodden, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the special efforts to be made for the utilisation of electronic media for creating a clean, healthy, moral and harmonious atmosphere in the country and removing the superstitions among the new generation and inspire them to have scientific knowledge and intellectual rationality."

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

"but regret that the Address (does not mention about the<sup>\*</sup>effective

steps to be taken for removing the causes attributing stiekness in the small scale and cottage industries."

16. That at the *ead* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the effective steps to the unnecessary delay for years together in providing counselling services to the India immigrants residing in foreign countries, uncertainty of taking decisions about the disputes relating to them, harassment and misbehaviour with them and demand of bribe by some officials of the Embassies, and their harassment at the Indian Airport during their visit to India etc."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the effective action to check the usurption of the benefits of reservation by certain prosperous castes due to their inclusion in the Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which deprives the real downtrodden and Scheduled Tribes from those benefits."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about punishing the officials who do not pay any attention to provide 3% jobs, as provided by the Law, to the Handicap-ped in Government and Semi-Government institutions of the country."

SHRI JIPON ROY (West Bengal): I move—

19. That at the *ead* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention introduction of the system of secret ballot for the purpose of determining the recognition of unions in industries."

20. That at the *ead* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for workers' participation in manange-ment."

21. That at the *ead* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fail to mention about the need to sanction revival packages for those public sector enterprise which are referred to BIFR like IISCO, MAMC, BOGL, Cycle Corporation of India, Tyre Corporation of India, Jessop, NTC, NIMC, Dur-gapur and Haldia unit of Hindustan Fertilizer Corporation."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to declare Calcutta and Chennai as A-1 cities."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete steps contemplated by the Government to usher in a process of actual and meaningful development in the North-Eastern States and effectively curb extremist activities in the region."

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE:  
(West Bengal) I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any continued hike in the prices of essential commodities."

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

"but regret that the Addicts does not mention about sickness of industries and effective measures to curb rampant corporate misman-

agement leading to sickness in corporate sector."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about revival of sick public sector units like USO, Jes-sop, Burn Standard, National Instrument, MAMC, BOGL, Tyre Corporation of India, Hindustan Cables Durgapur and Haldia units of Hindustan Fertilizer Corporation, NTC, NJMC, Jute Corporation of India, Bengal Immunity, Smith Stanistreet, Cycle Corporation of India etc."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the statutory dues to Central Public sector unit workers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about guaranteeing minimum wages to agricultural labours."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about recognition of single trade union through secret ballot."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the concrete measures to be taken to arrest soil erosion in border districts of West Bengal."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about improvement of navigation in Hooghly river to improve condition of ports at Calcutta and Haldia."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about large scale subsidence which is taking place in Raniganj-Jharia area due to unscientific mining operation."

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not clearly spell out the implication of treating all the 18 languages included in Schedule VIII of the Constitution as Official language."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to resolve the long standing Cauvery Water dispute."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention availability of the resources to earmark upto 60 percent of the plan fund for agriculture."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the concrete measures being taken to step up the rate of domestic savings at the level of 30% of G.D.P. over the next 5 years."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any specific step to involve the labour as equal partner in national reconstruction."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention how the resources will be mobilised to step up investments

substantially in the infrastructure sector."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the level of investment in the social sector which has been considered to be inadequately funded."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention what specific measures will be taken to reach out the under-privileged and unemployed."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention how the resources will be mobilised to provide free education to women upto Graduation."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Ruling Party's-immoral and unethical action to create artificial majority by causing defection in other Parties."

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH (Assam): I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the Protection of Places of Worship Act, 1991 which freezes the status of all places of worship as on 15th August, 1947 will be strictly enforced."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention of the importance of Khadi and Village industries in promoting employment in rural areas."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any concrete programme to promote the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other backward classes."

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

"but regret that the Address is silent on the future of Minorities Commission."

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

"but regret that the Address has nothing to say about reversing the industrial slow down and sharp deceleration in export growth."

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

"but regret that the Address does not outline any coherent strategy to achieve the growth rate of 7-8 per cent."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to expand agricultural credit system."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to expand the mid-day meal programme for school children."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to set up a separate National Commission for Scheduled Tribes and give it a statutory status."

DR. SHRIKANT RAMCHANDRA JICHKAR: (Maharashtra) I move—

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the measures proposed to be taken for the Melghat tribal area in the Amrawati District of Maharashtra where more than 5000 tribal children below the age of 5 years have died due to malnutrition and disease during the last three years."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps proposed to be taken to give relief to the victims of the widespread hailstorm which had hit Vidarbha region of Maharashtra extensively damaging property, standing crops and oranges."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any programme to give Pneumonia Vaccine to Children below the age of five years."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about receiving all possible vaccines which is the birth right of children below the age of five years."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the steps proposed to be taken for the prevention and control of AIDS and the need to activate and enthuse NACO and its officers to make them committed for the work of AIDS."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to assist, help and fund the NGO who are tirelessly doing field level work for the prevention and control of HVI/AIDS."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the most unwise use of huge funds by the officers of NACO, totally neglecting the actual felt needs and field realities in the matter of control and prevention of HIV/AIDS."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the sudden stoppage of the production of Typhoid Vaccine by the Haffkine Institute Biopharmaceutical Corporation, Mumbai on the instructions of the Government of India causing great hardship in the vaccination programme and denying of the inexpensive vaccine in favour of the expensive vaccine available in the market."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the huge number of pending cases for registration under the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act, 1976 and the need for their early disposal."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to take special steps for the Oranges and Cotton crops in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra."

SHRI S. RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI  
(Kerala): I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the political immorality committed by the present government at the Centre.

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about upholding genuine secularism that stands for separation of politics and religion."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention that this government will not resort to forceful population control on the basis of belonging to a particular religion."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention to protect the interests of peasants from adverse effects of GATT agreement and WTO.

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention to pass a central legis-lation providing minimum wages and social security measures to the agricultural workers in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention to provide a mechanism to protect peasants from the adverse effects of price fluctuations of agricultural crops.

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about fighting corruption and allow law to take its own course in corruption cases."

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE  
(Maharashtra) I move—

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the importance of Khadi and Village industries in promoting employment in rural areas."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any concrete programme to promote the welfare of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward classes."

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

"but regret that the Address is silent on the future of Minorities Commission."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to expand agricultural credit system."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to set up a separate National Commission for Scheduled Tribes and give it a statutory status."

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

"but regret that the Address does not reflect Government's determination to provide adequate financial and other assistance to the hapless farmers of Vidarbha region of Maharashtra who have lost their crops, orchards, livestock, huts and semi-pucca house due to untimely and unprecedented rains and hails torn so as to heal their wounds inflicted by natural calamity."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's action plan to provide adequate financial assistance to the cotton growers of Maharashtra whose cotton crop has been destroyed by non-seasonal rains and who have totally been ruined due to non fulfilment of assurance by Maharashtra Government and cotton Corporation of India to purchase their saved cotton crop at the rate of one thousand rupees per bale which has demoralised the cotton growers and if timely help is not provided immediately, Andhra type situation may develop in the cotton belt of Maharashtra also."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the abnormal rise in crimes against women throughout the country and Government's determination to contain crimes against women by enacting deterrent punishment laws for crimes against women."

SHRI WASIM AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing danger of communalism and casteism."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing trend of subversion of parliamentary and legislative practices as recently witnessed in U.P."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the ill-effects of foreign media in our country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time bound programme of action for the socio-economic and educational development of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, OBCs and Minorities."

SHRIMATI SHABANA AZMI (Nominated) I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete time bound programme to provide Housing for all by the year 2020 A.D. and that while there will be private participation in this national endeavour, the Government will not abdicate its own responsibility."

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): I move—

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any specific plan to solve the problem of educated unemployed particularly of the educated youth in rural areas."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for enactment of a central legislation to protect the interests of agricultural labour."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the seed for the effective implementation of Land Reform Laws throughout the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fall in prices-

- of agricultural products like cotton, jute, rubber etc. leading to a situation where a number of farmers have committed suicide in different states."
136. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to expedite the completion of investigations to Bofors deal and some other financial scandals."
137. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address fails to ensure that the religious places at Mathura, Varanasi etc. will not be demolished."
138. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not mention any effective measures to check corruption at various levels corroding the vital economic and political system."
139. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps proposed to be taken to stop serious atrocities committed on women and members, of weaker sections of the society."
140. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be added namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not take note of the rampant violation of labour laws by industrialists denying the benefits of provident fund scheme, ESI scheme, minimum wages etc. to the workers."
141. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address fails to mention that the private sector, indigenous or foreign, will not be allowed to enter the Insurance sector"
142. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to revamp public sector to fight onslaughts of multinationals."
143. That at the *end* of the Motion\* the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not take note of the plight of the public sector undertakings like SAIL, BHEL etc. suffering from high rate of inventories and underutilised capacity due to lack of orders for their products due to wrong import policy of the Government."
144. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious problem of insurgency in Manipur and other North-Eastern states and need to take effective measures to solve the problem."
145. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not express its serious concern about the atrocities and discriminations against women in Manipur."
146. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not mention of any steps to provide fair price to jute cultivators in West Bengal and Orissa and potato growers in West Bengal."
147. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be added namely:—  
 "but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government to implement the legislation for using 50 per cent of the requirements of packing of cement in jute bags causing immediate difficulties to jute industry and jute workers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of any time bound plan of poverty alleviation despite every third person is found to be hungry."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound plan to make arrangements for providing compulsory education to all the children in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of any time-bound scheme to provide water to each village of the country having population over 500 and to connect them by all weather roads."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the effective steps to be taken for removing the cause attributing sickness in the small scale land cottage industries."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about introduction of the system of secret ballot "for the purpose of determining the recognition of unions in industries."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for implementing the scheme of workers' participation in management."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to sanction

revival package for those public sector enterprises which are referred to BIFR like IISCO, MAMC, BOGL, Cycle Corporation of India, Type Corporation of India, Jessop, NTC, NJMC, Durgapur and Haldia units of Hindustan Fertiliser Corporation."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to declare Calcutta and Chennai as A-1 cities."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about concrete steps contemplated by the Government to usher in a process of actual and meaningful development in the North-Eastern states and effectively curb extremist activities in the region."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the continued rise in the prices of essential commodities."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about sickness of industries and effective measures to curb rampant corporate mismanagement leading to sickness in corporate sector."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about guaranteeing statutory minimum wages to agricultural labourers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for

extending revamped public distribution scheme all over the country particularly in neglected rural areas."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the staggering decline in the value of rupee against dollars."

SHRI SANATAN BISI: I move

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the cause of mid-term election."

SHRI CP. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: I move

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to declare Pondicherry as a State with special status."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of the interim award passed by Cauvery Tribunal to supply water to Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry."

*The question were proposed*

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank the hon. President for his gracious Address, but note with regret that it does not project any clear vision of India's future; nor does it contain a clear statement of the challenges, strategies, policies or programmes that our country needs to meet those challenges. This is also true of the so-called National Agenda of Governance as much. We all know politics in our country has ceased to be an engine of purposeful social change. The malfunctioning of our political system has given rise to a good deal of

cynicism all round. We also know that our economy in the last 18 months has greatly slowed down. Industry is clamouring for positive action on the part of the Government. Our exports have nearly collapsed; The external environment for India's development has deteriorated. Developments in Asian countries, have serious consequences on the functioning of our economy. But, none of these have been taken note of in the President's Address or addressed to meaningfully in the so-called National Agenda of Governance.

Mr. Chairman, both the National Agenda and the President's Address talk about evolving a meaningful national consensus. Given the state of our fractured polity, I do agree with the Prime Minister and my colleague, Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari, that all political parties will have to rise above their narrow sectarian concerns if the Governance of this country has to move on the desired lines. We recognise that the country comes first, the political parties come thereafter. On behalf of our party, the Congress President, Smt. Sonia Gandhi, has already promised constructive cooperation so long as the government seeks to implement the agenda in the larger interests of the country and it does not depart from the chosen policies and programmes of the Congress Party. The Prime Minister has paid emphasis on evorvtag a national consensus on major national issues. Sir, the proof of the pudding, however, is in the eating. Despite all this talk of consensus, I will be less than honest to myself or to this House if I do not point out that our party has serious concerns about the good intentions of the ruling party. I am not going to refer to what happened in the course of election to the office of the Speaker in the other House. But even before that the consensus evolved in the National Integration Council with regard to the handling of Ayodhya dispute was torn apart by the BJP and its cronies to promote their

sectarian interests. We also know what has gone in all these directions. Therefore, I sincerely hope, Sir, that the BJP and, in particular, the Prime Minister, will atleast now set an example so that the governance processes of this country can steer along the desired lines. I believe there is an almost total unanimity in our country and this is on the assumption that the ruling party, as it has stated, has no hidden agenda other than the National Agenda—and if this is correct, then I take it that there is today in our country a near unanimity that divisive issues of Ayodhya, article 370 and Common Civil Code have to be put on the back burner. Now I think we would like the Prime Minister to state categorically that this indeed is the case. I heard my colleague, Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari—I hope I have not misunderstood him, because he was speaking in Hindi—has said that the Government has the National Agenda but the BJP stands by its election manifesto.

I sincerely believe, if that is the case, we are heading for a trouble. The Government may continue to say that Ayodhya is not on its agenda, Mathura, Kashi are not on its agenda and Article 370 is not on its agenda. On all these issues, the Governemnt may express its lack of interest. But if its major nerver centre i.e., the B.J.P., or its frontal organisations, continue to divide our people on these issues, we are back to fractured politics. That is no politics of consensus. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Prime Minister, that he should use his tremendous influence with the R.S.S., with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and with the Bajrang Dal, that they should adopt the same line as the hon. Prime Minster has assured that his Government is going to adopt. That is the only way through which he can create a climate conducive to the growth of national consensus in our country and we need that.

The second thing I wish to emphasize is, as I mentioned earlier, today, politics in our country is in a sad state. It has become a ticket to power for self-aggrandisement. Poepple do not accept politics as a purposeful instrument of social change or for mediating effectively in societal tensions and conflicts which are built into the body politic of a poor country trying to modernise itself, we have to change all that. We need a well-functioning Indian State. We need a State which will be the servant of social sympathies. What does that mean? Here, I appreciate paragraph 36 of what the President has stated in his Address referring to the need for good governance. He said, "This can be possible only when Government rests on the foundation of morality and ethics. All round us today we find increasing cynicism towards morality in politics and ethics in governance. This has severely eroded faith in the State." I entirely agree with the hon. President. I am not going to blame either one party or the other. Maybe, all politics parties have contributed to the degeneration of politics in this country. But, there must be some new beginning. I suggest to the hon. Prime Minister, I suggest to the Government, that it is their responsibility to provide a lead in this direction. Quite frankly, while reading this paragraph of the President's Address and when I tried to tally it with what has been hapeing in recent months in the State of Uttar Pradesh or what had happened last week in Himachal Pradesh it does not give me confidence that the ruling party is serious about its commitment to morality and ethics as stated in the President's Address. I sincerely hope I am wrong. But, we need to introduce that missing element of ethics and high moral purpose so that politics in our country truly becomes a servant of social sympathies.

Sir, in the same way, the President in paragraph 7 talks about secularism. I quote; it states, "Secularism is integral to India's traditions. My Government is unequivocally committed to upholding our secular values."

I welcome the affirmation of the Government's commitment to our secular values. I also note that between the adoption of the so-called "National Agenda" and the President's Address, there is one important word which is missing because the National Agenda talked of genuine secularism. I may be forgiven if I am somewhat suspicious. But I note that in 1977 when the Janata Party came into power, it tried to play with a similar word. While defining our national foreign policy, it changed it from a policy of Non-Alignment to a policy of genuine Non-Alignment and we saw what happened. The then Foreign Minister went to Beijing. He was well received by the Chinese govt. At that very time the Chinese were marching their forces into Vietnam. So, if you use words which can lend themselves to different meanings, they do invite suspicion. Once again, I hope I am wrong. But, I think, it is the obligation of the Government to clarify its position; and in this context I would like to ask the following questions: First, if you are serious about your commitment to secularism, will the Government and the BJP respect the Places of Worship Act and maintain the status of all religious places as it existed on 15th August, 1947? Two, will it abide by the court's judgement on the issue of Ayodhya? Three, what will be the future of the Minorities Commission? Four, What will be done to ensure proper representation of minorities in public services, including police and paramilitary services? These are, Mr. Chairman, Sir, practical issues which will really define this Government's commitment to secularism. I hope that when the Prime Minister replies to the debate, he would be gracious enough to answer some of these questions. The same para of the President's Address, talks of the need to combat the menace of terrorism, subversion and insurgency, that has come to hurt common man. It goes on to say violence has no place in a democracy. Differences should and can be resolved through dialogue and discussion. I could not agree more. But, I

do feel that in dealing with this problem of terrorism, subversion and related issues, we must avoid brutalisation of the Indian State. I think, our police forces, our para-military forces need special training in this regard for respecting the human rights of our citizens, and also for ensuring that no innocent citizen is harassed while combating violence, terrorism and subversion. This, I think, will be the acid test of this Government's commitment to the cause of secularism.

Now, I come, Sir, to some issues of defence policies. In paragraph 30 of the President's Address, the President says, My Government joins the country in saluting the bravery of the personnel of our armed forces who are ever prepared to make sacrifices for the defence of the nation." I endorse these sentiments. But, Sir, it is not enough merely to pay lip service to the cause of our brave and valiant servicemen. We all know that in recent months, over the Pay Commission's Report, there has been a growing discontent among certain segments of the armed forces. I sincerely hope that this matter will be resolved, so that the dissent brewing in the forces on this issue becomes a thing of the past. It is also necessary to discourage political or bureaucratic interference in the promotion, appointment and transfer of senior officers. There has also to be greater transparency in defence contracting so that some vague charges are not brought every now and then against people in authority. We owe it to our people to bring about greater transparency so as to set the record straight and, thereby we will promote a healthy debate, a healthy discussion of issues of defence policy. Today, defence policy issues are the monopoly of a few chosen experts and I do not think that, in a democracy of our kind it is entirely appropriate that the bulk of our people should remain as ill-informed about the imperatives of defence as is the case right now.

Therefore, greater transparency, greater freedom of information, greater infer-

mation about the system of contracting all this, I believe, would contribute to a stronger defence preparedness in our country.

Sir, I would like to say a few words about the statement that has been made in the so-called national agenda on the induction of nuclear weapons. After its introduction in the national agenda, so many conflicting statements have been made. A newspaperman recently pointed out, probably the day before yesterday, that Atalji's bomb has produced more confusion than fusion. This is not good for our country. We should not divide our country on the issue of nuclear weapons. We must be fully prepared for defence and this is not a party matter. But I think this thing should not be left as vague, as one day it is said, we will induct nuclear weapons, then the second day you say there is no change in the policy. I heard the Prime Minister say the other day in the other House that there is no change in these policies. So, I think we ought to know from the Prime Minister when he replies to the debate in this House what exactly is our nuclear policy I am not an expert. I think there should be an informed debate in our country. I would like to submit to those who talk lightly of the induction of nuclear weapons, that an effective nuclear deterrent requires a strong, a credible second strike capability. Therefore, we ought to be assured that before the Government embarks on this venture, it sees to it that all those implications and calculations, domestic policy implications financial calculations and foreign policy implications, are fully realised by the Government. I hope that, when the Prime Minister replies to the debate, he will answer some to these issues.

Sir, there is a small section in the national agenda on foreign policy. I am not going to comment on this. My esteemed colleague, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, when he speaks, will deal with this matter at greater length. But I do notice a sentence in that part of the national agenda, it talks about a generalized sys-

tem of traiff preferences among developing countries. So, this is a non-starter.

I am sorry the BJP's advisors are not well-informed on international affairs. A system of generalized preferences among developing countries has existed for the last 20 or 30 years. Over a period of time it has become dysfunctional. I do not believe that you can flog this dead horse to get much mileage. I sincerely hope that the Government would have a fresh look at this issue with an open mind.

I am happy to note that the President in his Address has expressed concern about the persistence of backwardness in certain parts of our country. But I do not believe that by itself is enough. What is proposed in the Address is not at all adequate. We know which are the backward areas. We also know what are the causes of backwardness. And, therefore, merely stating that a Commission will be set up to identify those areas, I think' is a time-honoured technique of the Government postponing action. When you don't want to take action. We want the backward areas to develop and develop at a faster pace and we know, for example, that the north-eastern region of our country feels isolated. States like Assam are suffering due to a lot of unemployment and in the entire north-eastern Region there is unrest which is taken advantage of by anti-national forces. You don't need an Commission to identify these backward areas, What is necessary is a credible strategy. There is plenty of work in the Planning Commission and elsewhere in our Government. I think Government should take timely action.

I recall that Shri Sivarman, a former Cabinet Secretary and a Member of the Planning Commission produced volumes on the problems of backward area, on identifying backward areas, on dealing with those problems on a time-specific basis. I had also appointed, when I was the Finance Minister, a Committee to identify these backward areas for tax purposes. You do not need any fresh Commission to deal with the problem of

backward areas. The time has come to act and act quickly. In particular, the problems of the North-Eastern Region cannot, and do not, brook any further delay. What is required is a structured approach to provide both financial and administrative resources for the development of the vital North-Eastern Region of our country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are several passages in this Address which deal with the problem of social justice. But I think these things—whether it is the National Agenda, or, the President's Address—are mostly clichés. I say this with all respect and with all humility. When you say 'Our aim is education for all', 'Health for all', 'Employment for all', etc., I think these are well-known national imperatives. The real thing is to work out. Concrete strategies and programmes. The question is: how are we going to achieve these objectives on a time-bound basis? What strategic approach, what programmes, we need to get these objectives fulfilled? On these points, both the National Agenda and the President's Address are totally silent.

Paragraph 15 says: "By synergising legal, executive and societal efforts, the Government will strive for rapid social, economic and political empowerment and uplift of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes and Minorities". Generalities. On this particular section, I would like the Prime Minister, when he replies to the debate, to tell us as to what he is going to do with the Minorities Commission. We heard before that the Minorities Commission may be abolished. Therefore, I would like to hear from the Prime Minister, unambiguously, his Government's views on the future of the Minorities Commission.

Similarly, in the area of tribal development, we feel that there is need for a separate National Commission on Tribal Areas which should have a statutory status. I would like to hear from the Prime Minister what he thinks of this Suggestion.

in no paragraph, there is any mention about the need for land reforms. I do believe that there is a lot of unfinished business. I hope this does not reflect the class bias of the ruling party. But I do believe sincerely that there are many unfinished items in the agenda on land reforms and these need attending to.

We have, of course, the Scheduled Caste component plans. We have tribal development programmes. But their working needs to be improved, needs to be streamlined, apart from giving them more resources. I would like to hear from the Prime Minister what he proposes to do to streamline these components of the national plans having to do with the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

I now come to the issue of the economy. I started by saying that the Address does not deal with the challenges that our economy faces. What we find today is that although the Address talks about having a 7-8 per cent rate of growth, we all know that the growth rate has declined in the last one year. If you want a growth rate of 7-8 per cent, you need a strong, resurgent, growth in our exports. But not a word is mentioned about exports either in the so-called National Agenda, or, in the President's Address. Let me say that whatever your views on Swadeshi economics are, no viable strategy of development of the country is feasible unless you have a strong, robust, export economy as its foundation. No country in the world is wholly self-sufficient. Everywhere, imports need to grow, in the wake of successful development. Now, if you do not want India to become an isolated country, it is necessary that we think again as to what has gone wrong with our exports in the last eighteen months and how, working together, we can recapture the dynamism in India's exports which was displayed between 1993-94 and 1995-96 when, in each year, our exports, in dollar value, recorded a growth rate of 20.3.00 P.M.