

leased out to the Maharashtra State Electricity Board. This is a very extraordinary situation which we are not able to understand. I am given to understand that the monthly expenditure is of the order of Rs. 840 crores. They are recovering about Rs. 40 crores and the rest of the money they just don't have. That means the amount of money that they are going to get even from the private parties is going to be spent as revenue expenditure. If the money which they are getting is going to be spent as revenue expenditure for payment of regular monthly bills to either the employees or others, then, of course, it would be a very extraordinary situation which needs to be looked into by the Government of India. Mightbe, at some stage, the hon. Members can ask, "After all, it is a State subject. How can you raise it here?"

I would like to mention another factor and that is about one multi-national company called "Enron". They have also completed their erection and they are going to start generation of power and they have threatened that of the cheaper electricity which is being produced by TATA and BASES, almost 8 million units will have to be given up so that they have to purchase only from Enron. As regards this Enron project, a counter-guarantee was given by the Government of India. Now the new Government seems to have made an announcement—I do not know about it—on the very first day that the State Government have been empowered to invite foreign investment on electricity generation to a limit of Rs. 1,500 crores. They can enter into negotiations and finalise the deals up to that amount. They need not come to the Government of India at all. I doubt whether they will be able to do anything unless the Government of India gives a counter-guarantee. These are all matters which definitely need to be gone into. The employees have given notice that if these sets are going to be sold to private people or if they are going to be given on lease, they will go on strike. If there is

going to be a State-wise strike and if there is total mismanagement as is being brought to our notice, I have no doubt in mind that there will be a difficult situation. We have been resisting counter-guarantee and insisting that counter-guarantee should not be given to the multinational companies. Even the World Bank in its report has stated that they should face the music themselves. Why should the Government of India give a counter-guarantee for such a proposal? But in spite of all that, the counter-guarantees have been given and that is why there is a very alarming, a very disturbing situation, in Maharashtra. I have no doubt in my mind that this is going to be a first-class crisis in the electricity sector in Maharashtra State, and the Government of India, if the counter-guarantee is invoked, has to shell out the money to the multinational companies. So, this is the situation which I would like the Prime Minister to clarify. Maybe, I am making this kind of a statement on the basis of a report which I have read. I would like to have the exact position. I would like to know what the prevailing situation in that area is and what is being proposed to be done in order to see that such kind of mismanagement is stopped and the Government of India is not asked to make good the losses, which the multinational companies are going to incur, by way of invoking the counter-guarantee. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari.

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान): सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि:—

"राष्ट्रपति ने 25 मार्च, 1998 को संसद की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक में कृपया जो अभिभाषण दिया है, उसके लिए राज्यसभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित हैं, राष्ट्रपति के प्रति हार्दिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते हैं।"

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 करने 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 वर्कैबल मजॉरिटी चाहिए और बिना वर्कैबल मजॉरिटी के कोई भी सरकार टिक नहीं सकती काम नहीं कर सकती। लेकिन जिस तरीके से सदन का गठन हुआ है उसमें वर्किंग मजॉरिटी यह हमेशा संदिग्ध रहने की सम्भावना है और इस आधार पर काम करने की एक ऐसी पद्धति हमें इजाजत करनी पड़ेगी जिसमें राष्ट्रीय महत्व के सारे प्रश्न जो देश के साथ सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, आम नागरिक के हित सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, उनको हल करने के लिए उसके संबंध में पार्लियामेंट सेशन प्राप्त करने के लिए कोई तरीका

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

भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने अपने मेनिफेस्टो 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 इक्स्ट्रे बैठकर आज की परिस्थिति में जिस तरीके से सरकार बनी है उसके लिए एक नेशनल एजेंडा बनाया। स्वाभाविक बात है कि अपनी-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 आश्वासन किया कि यह सरकार नेशनल एजेंडा तक ही अपनी कारगुजारी सीमित करने के लिए वचनबद्ध है और इस कारण से यह कहना है कि बी०जे०पी० का एक 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 आश्वासन 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 आर०एस०एस० का सदस्य हूँ और आर०एस०एस० 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 कारगर रहे हैं। कोई शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में है, कोई उद्योग के क्षेत्र में है, कोई वकील है कोई डाक्टर है कोई पोलिटिशियन है, कोई समाज-सुधारक है और ये सब एक ज्वाइंट फैमिली की तरह हैं। ज्वाइंट-फैमिली में हम सब एक संस्कार से प्रभावित हैं परन्तु 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। आर०एस०एस० अपनी जगह पर है, विश्व हिंदू परिषद अपनी जगह पर है, विद्यार्थी परिषद अपनी जगह पर है और ऐसे अनेकों संगठन हैं जो आज देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में आज से नहीं, 25 साल से, 30 साल से, 40

साल सेल काम कर रहे हैं। एक ज्वाइंट-कैमिली के नाते हम लोग बैठते हैं, एक दूसरे के विचारों से अवगत होते हैं, एक-दूसरे को सलाह देते हैं और अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों में सबके जो रेगुलर फोरम हैं, उनके अनुकूल, उनके संविधान 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 साफ प्रचार इस सदन में आर०एस०एस० का कर रहे हैं। इनकी गारंटी 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 आर०एस०एस० में हैं, कितने विंग इसके हैं और वे क्या कर रहे हैं, इस तरह की बातें कह कर वे इस सदन में एक तरह से आर०एस०एस० 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 इयुअल मैम्बरशिप नहीं है। हम लोग जब बी०जे०पी० के मैम्बर हैं तो किसी दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टी के साथ न हमारा संबंध है, न उसके डिक्टेट्स को हम मानते हैं। बी०जे०पी० अपना फैसला खुद लेती है और वर्तमान सरकार में बी०जे०पी० एक मेजर पार्टनर है।

हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि अन्य दलों ने भी जो अनावश्यक गलतफहमियां पैदा करके जान-बूझकर अलग रखने का, पॉलिटिक्स 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.

इसलिये मैंने कहा कि विश्वास निर्माण करने का वातावरण बनना चाहिये। बिना उसके न देश का काम चल पाएगा, न संसद का काम चल पाएगा।

लोग कहते हैं कि स्पीकर के चुनाव 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 मजबूर किया जाने की कोशिश हुई है आपोजीशन का स्पीकर होना चाहिये। हम मजबूर थे। शायद अगर परिस्थिति में सुधार न हुआ होता तो उस चीज को स्वीकार 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 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 आपने 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 कन्फ्रेंसियनलिस्ट 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 उस दिन जो विश्वास का मत प्राप्त हुआ—यह एक डेमोक्रेटिक डिफिट है और डेमोक्रेटिक डेमोक्रेटिक वे में लेना चाहिये था। मैं उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। रिपोर्टिड है कि मद्रास 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 impute motives to the Government there.

श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी: हमको मालूम है कि पिछले दिनों में ऐसी कई जघन्य हरियाएँ की गयी हैं। एक टेम्पोररी टैरिज्म का, हिंसा का जगह-जगह पर पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। मैं सब सदस्यों से अपील करूँगा 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 बर्दाश्त करें, अगर यह नहीं हुआ और होके चीज का रिएक्शन अगर हिंसा के रूप में हुआ। आतंक पैदा करने के रूप में हुआ तो इस डेमोक्रेसी का परफज ही खत्म हो जाएगा, इस देश में हम नहीं रह पाएँगे। यह सच है कि इस समय के चुनाव में क्षेत्रीय दलों का एक विशेष महत्व है। अनेकों प्रांतों में, अनेक राज्यों में क्षेत्रीय दलों 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 कहीं भी यह भावना पैदा न होने पाए कि उनको समुचित न्याय नहीं मिल रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें जो क्षेत्रीय वाद के आधार पर पैदा होने वाला वैमनस्य है, वह समाप्त हो जाएगा। मैं यहां पर उल्लेख करना चाहूँगा कि इस बार के वोट आने काउंट में वीडोआईएस स्क्रीम के अंतर्गत जो 4,215 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 वीडोआईएस स्क्रीम का हिस्सा राज्यों को वितरित किया जाएगा, उसकी एक बहुत बड़ी पूर्ति हुई है।

यह बात सच है कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव और फाइनेंशियल पावर स्टेट्स को देने के बारे में हमें फिर से गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करना चाहिये और स्टेट्स जितने फाइनेंशियली स्ट्रॉंग होंगी, एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिवली एफिशिएंट होंगी, 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 वहाँ की स्टेट असेम्बली की मंजूरी 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 चाहिये। ये तीनों राज्य विदिन दा एक्जिस्टिंग स्टेट्स हैं, 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 में 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 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 कमिटेंट को भी खीकार कर लिया है।  
... (व्यवधान) ...

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

الاشرفي محمد سليم: آپ تیلانگانا کی مانگ  
میں تو مان لیجیو۔۔۔ "مداخلت"۔۔۔ ٹی۔  
ڈی۔ پی۔ ای۔ جی۔ پارٹنر ہے۔۔۔ "مداخلت"۔۔۔

डा० वाई० लक्ष्मी प्रसाद (आंध्र प्रदेश): टीडीपी ने कभी तेलंगाना 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) ...

डा० वाई० लक्ष्मी प्रसाद: टीडीपी ने कभी तेलंगाना की मांग नहीं की है।... (व्यवधान) ...

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

डा० वाई० लक्ष्मी प्रसाद: आन्धा 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) ...

डा० वाई० 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 के 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: बी०जे०पी० ने यह बात कही है।... (व्यवधान) ...

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

الاشرفي محمد سليم: اتنی استھیر تاجو پیدا  
ہو رہی ہے کہ 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 रेषा खेचिल होंगे, इसका अभी तक पालियामेंट नोटिस नहीं ले सकी है। 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 सोल्यूशन नहीं है। बातचीत से हल निकाला जा सकता है और इसमें हमको पसीवरेन्स के आधार पर कार्य करना चाहिये। जो एलिमेंट्स हैं, जो सोशल ट्रेन्ड बन गये हैं उनके ऊपर सकती से कदम उठाने की ज़रूरत है तथा कानून को अपने रास्ते से चलने दिया जाए। उसको पोलिटिकली प्रैशराइज न करें और फिर एक्जिस्टिंग ला इतना समर्थ है कि देश में शान्ति और विश्वास को आधस्त 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 लिये हमें इस बात की व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी कि पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन के माध्यम से हम अनाज, तेल या अन्य जो चीजें देना चाहते हैं वे गांवों तक पहुंचें। मुझे इस बात की भी खुशी है कि इसमें यह व्यवस्था की गई है।

प्लानिंग में एग्रीकल्चरल सैक्टर पर 60 परसेंट तक का खर्चा बढ़ाया जा सकता है, और बढ़ाया भी जाना चाहिये क्योंकि बहुत बड़ी पॉपुलेशन 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 उदात्त विचार लेकर यहां सहायता घोषित कर देते हैं परन्तु वह सही आदमी के पास नहीं पहुंच पाती है इसलिये ठीक आईडेंटिफिकेशन की जरूरत है। ग्रामीण औद्योगिकीकरण इस मामले में बहुत मदद दे सकता है और हॉटिकल्चर, फूड प्रोसेसिंग, ऐनीमल हसबैंडरी 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 इथर मार्कंड आइटमस डी-रिजर्व कर दिये गये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वर्तमान सरकार इस सवाल पर पुनः विचार करे, पुनः अध्ययन करे और उन उद्योगों के पनपने के लिये प्रोत्साहन करने के लिये कुछ समय भी मिलना चाहिये। बजाए इसके कि हम एकदम से उनको ओपन कम्पीटीशन के जाल में फंसा कर उनको धाटल करने की कोशिश करे। यह नहीं होना चाहिये।

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 किशत 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

पड़ेगा। 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 दे या इस दिशा में तेज रफ्तार से बढ़ने का इतजाम 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।

महिलाओं 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 बढ़े। असेंबलीज 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 आइडेंटिफाई करने की जरूरत है। कई ऐसे एरियाज रह गए हैं जो अंडर-डेवलपड हैं और यहां पर जिनके बारे में नेलेट का आरोप भी लगाया जा सकता है। आप जब तक एक कमीशन बिठाकर उन एरियाज को आइडेंटिफाई नहीं करेंगे और इनके डेवलपमेंट के लिए स्पेशल व्यवस्थाएँ नहीं करेंगे तब तक इन क्षेत्रों का विकास होना संभव नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस आइडेंटिफिकेशन के काम में भी जल्दी लाई जाए। मकान भी एक बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है। मकान देने की बात कही 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 सकें, इसके लिए इंतजाम करेगी। मैं जानता हूँ कि बहुत बड़ी प्रब्लम है। लेकिन अगर यह टारगेट भी फुलफिल हो गया तो उसका बहुत लाभ होगा। उसमें से उस्ता निकाला जा सकेगा।

हिंदुस्तान में अभी कैपिटल हैवी उद्योगों के लिए बहुत सीप है। यहां पर काफी इन्वेस्टमेंट के लिए गुंजाइश है—विद्युत क्षेत्र है, सड़कें हैं, रेलवे है, अंतरदेशीय जल मार्ग, सामुद्रिक री 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। हिंदुस्तान में कैपिटल को हमने अभी तक एक्सेस नहीं दिए हैं और इन एक्सेस में वे अब भी कैपिटल इन्वेस्ट कर सकते हैं। फारेन इन्वेस्टमेंट की भी जरूरत है। लेकिन फारेन इन्वेस्टमेंट्स हम लाएं जो इम्फ्रस्ट्रक्चर की फील्ड्स हैं, तभी उनका भी उपयोग होगा और हमारे टोटल डेवलपमेंट में उसका बहुत लाभ हो सकेगा।

उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में रूस्स रेगुलेशंस के कारण बहुत बाधा है और उद्योगपति कई बार इसके चक्कर में फंसकर उद्योग स्थगित करने का उत्साह खो बैठते हैं। अब जरूरत है कि उद्योगों के इस सरकार एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को हम अप्रोप्रिएशन 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 पैय 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 उस्ता हमें मीनिंगफुल इंटरएक्शन का इसमें से निकालना चाहिए ताकि इस समस्या का हम समाधान कर सकें।

हिन्दुस्तान भी एक प्रोड्यूसिंग कंट्री है और वर्ल्ड मार्केट में अपना स्थान बना रहा है। लेकिन कामन कम्पैक्टिटीज 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 मार्केटबुल 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 हिंदुस्तान के हर व्यक्ति को हम आश्वस्त करना चाहते हैं कि सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से कोई कमी नहीं है, किसी श्रेष्ठ के सामने चुकने की जरूरत नहीं है और इस मामले में वे निश्चित होकर रह सकते हैं। आफिशियल सीक्रेट एक्ट के अनेक पहलू ऐसे हैं जिनका आज दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। सामान्य जानकारी भी पब्लिक इंटरैस्ट का बहाना बनाकर सामान्य व्यक्ति को देने से वंचित रखा जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस मामले में जल्दी कदम उठाए और आम आदमी को एडिट आफ इन्फरमेशन 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 अर्स हो गया जब लोकपाल बिल, लोकपाल विधेयक के बारे में चर्चा होती रही है और कहीं न कहीं कभी पोलिटिकल रीजंस, कभी पार्लियामेंट की जिदगी खत्म होने की वजह से यह मामला लटका हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार इस बात में बिल्कुल स्पष्ट मत रखती है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर से लेकर हरेक व्यक्ति लोकपाल के दायरे के अंतर्गत आना चाहिए पब्लिक रिजिस्ट्रिड जिसको हम कहते हैं और इन मामलों को जल्दी से जल्दी पास करा कर हम लोगों में कंफिडेंस रेंसोर 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 रेटायर करने की जरूरत है। डिफेंकेंस, करप्शन, क्रिमिनलाइजेशन ऑफ् पौलिटिक्स ये चीजें चुनाव सुधार कानूनों से दूर हो सकती हैं। वैसे भी तो इस बार भी इंड्रोड्यूस किया गया होकर कैडीडेट को एक एपीडेविट देना था कि उसका कोई क्रिमिनल रेकार्ड नहीं है, उस के ऊपर कोई मुकदमा पैडिंग नहीं है। लेकिन इसके बाद भी ये आरोप बंद नहीं हुए हैं। ये आरोप लागू हैं, चालू हैं। 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 बनाए जिसमें से डिडिकियां खुलती हों, 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 डिफेंकेंस ला हो, चाहे करप्शन का 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 धंधारी: महोदय, मैंने कुछ बातों की तरफ सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है मैं आपारी हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में सदनों का ध्यान इस देश के ज्वलंत प्रश्नों की तरफ उठाया है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि साग 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 an 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 AIMDK 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 SINGLA: 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 SINGLA: 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 C.M. 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 CHATURVEDI: Sir, I do not know why a fun is being made about it. He is making it very clear. घर में जब दो बहुरे आती हैं तो एक कहती है कि हमें यह मकान चाहिए, यह कमरा चाहिए, दूसरी कहती है कि हमें वह कमरा चाहिए, आपको ऐतराज क्यों है इम्राहिम साहिब?

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

श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी: यह हसबैड की बात नहीं है, यह तो हम सिर्फ बहुरों 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 SINGLA: 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 saying

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 Beevi belongs to the Dravidian Party. Dravidian Parties have been there for a long time. Dravidian Parties have been very sympathetic towards the Muslims. That is there from the time of Periyar 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 Money 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 Parliamentary 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)