

THE BEPUT CHAIRMAN: The Law Minister is here and to heard it.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीया उपसभापति महोदया, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के प्रति इस रूप में कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित की जाए :—

“राष्ट्रपति ने 13 फरवरी, 1995 को संसद की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक में कृपया जो भाषण दिया है, उसके लिए राज्य सभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित हैं, राष्ट्रपति के प्रति हादिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते हैं।”

महोदया, मैं अपनी बात महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के गतवर्ष के अभिभाषण के पैरा 2 से प्रारम्भ करना चाहूंगा जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि :—

“आज देश का परिप्रेक्ष्य विगत वर्ष की तुलना में बदला हुआ है। वर्ष 1993 के शुरू में हमारे सामने अनेक कठिनाईयाँ आयीं, लेकिन जैसे-जैसे यह वर्ष बीतता गया, हमारे नागरिकों ने अत्यधिक स्वस्थ प्रतिक्रिया अपनायी और 1993 का वर्ष समाप्त होते-होते निश्चित ही आशा की किरण सामने दिखाई देने लगी। सभी मोर्चों पर निरंतर प्रगति हुई, जिसका आभास कानून तथा व्यवस्था की सुधरती हुई स्थिति, खाद्यान्नों का रिकार्ड उत्पादन, खरीद के अभूतपूर्व स्तर, खाद्यान्नों के बहुत बड़े भंडार, मुद्रास्फीति को एकल अंकीय स्तर पर बनाए रखने, विदेशी मुद्रा के संतोषजनक भंडार, व्यापारिक घाटे में पर्याप्त कमी, निर्यात में वृद्धि, मूलभूत संरचना के कुछ आवश्यक क्षेत्रों के कार्य-निष्पादन में सुधार और प्रत्यक्ष तथा पोर्टफोलियो, दोनों में अधिक विदेशी पूंजी निवेश से मिलता है। ये सभी हमारे उभरते हुए आशावाद के प्रतीक हैं और उसके प्रौचिन्य को सिद्ध करते हैं। हमने राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर अपनी ऊर्जा को और

अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तर पर अपने विश्वास को फिर से प्राप्त कर लिया है। हमारे पास इस सर्वतोमुखी उपलब्धि पर संतुष्टि महसूस करने का कारण है और इसका प्रमाण है। लेकिन हमने अपने सामाजिक और आर्थिक विकास के जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किए हैं, उन्हें प्राप्त करने के लिए हमें अभी बहुत कुछ करना है”

यह गतवर्ष महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में उल्लेख किया था और मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि इस वर्ष जो उन्होंने अपना अभिभाषण दिया है, उन्होंने संतोष जाहिर किया है और मैं उनके कथन को उद्धृत करना चाहूंगा, जो पैरा 2 में इस प्रकार है :—

“पिछले वर्ष की हमारी आशावादिता और विश्वास सही सिद्ध हुए हैं। हमारी परिकल्पनाएं काफी हद तक साकार हुई हैं और अब यह विश्वास के साथ कहा जा सकता है कि सरकार की नई आर्थिक और अन्य नीतियों के फलस्वरूप देश में अपेक्षित बदलाव आने लगा है। जनता से सामाजिक स्थिरता के प्रति अपना विश्वास झुलकर व्यक्त किया है राजनैतिक दलों ने भी लोकतन्त्र को तथा विधि-सम्मत शासन जैसे मूलभूत मूल्यों को सुदृढ़ आधार प्रदान करने के लिए अपना योगदान दिया है। हमारे देश ने विश्व-समाज में अपनी स्थिति को बेहतर बनाया है तथा अब हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था संसार में तेजी से विकसित हो रही एक अर्थव्यवस्था के रूप में उभरकर सामने आ रही है।”

महोदया, इस बात के लिए निश्चित रूप से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री नरसिंह राव जी और उनकी सरकार बधाई की पात्र हैं, जिन भावनाओं का उल्लेख महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है। साथ ही महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण के अन्त में हमसे कुछ अपेक्षाएं भी की हैं, मैं उनको भी उद्धृत करना चाहूंगा, पैरा 49 और 50 में उन्होंने कहा है :—

“हमारे आर्थिक प्रवर्धों की सफलता : जिस पर हमारे देशवासियों की

आर्थिक समृद्धि निर्भर करती है, तथा आर्थिक उधारीकरण के परिणामस्वरूप हुए लाभकारी परिवर्तनों को विदेशों में कारगर ढंग से प्रस्तुत करने के हमारे प्रयासों की विदेशों में बहुत अनुकूल प्रतिक्रिया हुई है।"

"इन नीतियों के कारण देश में जो गतिशीलता आई है, उसे बनाए रखना होगा और यह सुनिश्चित करना होगा कि जो लाभ मिलने शुरू हुए हैं, उन्हें हमें गंवा न दें। हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था के प्रति निवेशकताओं की और आर्थिक सुधारों के प्रति जनता, विशेष रूप से विशेषाधिकारहीन जनता, का विश्वास बढ़ करने के लिए संयुक्त प्रयास की आवश्यकता है। संसद में बहस के दौरान आपके शब्द और विचार इन दोनों बातों को प्रतिफलित और प्रभावित भी करते हैं।"

ऐसी अपेक्षा उन्होंने हमारे माननीय सदस्यों से की है और उन्होंने विश्वास जाहिर करते हुए कहा है कि :—

मुझे विश्वास है कि आप इन उद्देश्यों पर उचित ध्यान देते हुए अपने काम में अग्रसर होंगे।"

महोदया, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में राष्ट्र के सामने अनेक चुनौतियों का भी जिक्र किया है और एक आत्म-विश्वास जगाने की बात कही है; ताकि भारत देश एक खुशहाल और सुदृढ़ देश बन जाये। उन्होंने देशवासियों के सामने एक प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह छोड़ दिया है कि हम कैसा भारत चाहते हैं? एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें अतंकवाद, जातिवाद और साम्प्रदायिकता न हो। एक ऐसा भारत जो समानता और सामाजिक न्याय पर आधारित हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें निर्धनता न हो और अश्वेत जनता और गरीब के बीच में किसी भी प्रकार की खाई न हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव की गौरवशाली परम्परा हो और सर्वधर्म-सम्भाव की जिसमें गुंजाइश हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें हरिजनों, आदिवासियों अल्पसंख्यकों और निर्धन वर्गों पर जुल्मोसितम न ढाए जाएं और

शोषण से अपने आपको मुक्त महसूस कर सकें और वह खुशहाल रह सकें। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें पुरुष और महिलाएं आत्मनिर्भर हों, स्वावलम्बी हों। एक ऐसा भारत जिसका नाम विदेशों में सम्मान के साथ लिया जा सके और जिसका विदेशों में अपना प्रभाव हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें सत्ता का विकेंद्रीकरण हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसकी आर्थिक, सामाजिक और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति अच्छी हो। महोदया, एक ऐसा भारत तभी बन सकता है, जब हम सब राजनीतिक दलों से ऊपर उठकर राष्ट्रहित को सर्वोपरि मानकर परस्पर आपस में दोषारोपण न करते हुए देश की प्रगति और विकास को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए जनमानस में एक अनुकूल वातावरण निर्मित करें।

महोदया, इसके लिए निश्चित रूप से हमें अपनी सोच में परिवर्तन करना होगा, अपने आपको देखना होगा। इस संबंध में मुझे संत कबीर की कुछ पंक्तियां याद आती हैं :

"बुरा जो देखन मैं चला,  
बुरा न मिलया कोय,  
जो दिल खोजू आपना,  
मुझसे बुरा न कोय।"

महोदया, आज स्थिति यही है, आज समय की आवश्यकता है कि हमें अपने आपका मूल्यांकन करना होगा, हमें अपने आचरण में परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे राष्ट्र के सामने बहुत सारी चुनौतियां हैं। आज पूरा राष्ट्र, कराहता राष्ट्र और उसकी जनता हम सब जिम्मेदार लोगों की ओर बहुत आशा भरी नजरों से देख रही है। जब साम्प्रदायिकता खत्म करने की बात हो, जब अलगाववाद खत्म करने की बात हो तब हमें विचार करना होगा कि हम सबका दायित्व क्या हो? हमें किस रूप में अपना कर्तव्य निर्वहन करता है? महोदया, ऐसा भारत तभी बन पाएगा— महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण की परिकल्पना के अनुरूप जब हम सब मिलकर देश हित को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए, संयुक्त रूप से परस्पर घृणा भाव दूर करने का प्रयास करेंगे।

महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कानून व्यवस्था में नियंत्रण, सम्प्रदायिक दंगों में पीड़ित लोगों को मुआवजा देने, मुद्रा-स्फीति को घटाने, काले धन पर रोक लगाने, खाद्यान्न व सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली को सुधारने आई.सी.डी.एस. कार्यक्रम का विस्तार करने, पिछड़ा विकास निगम की स्थापना करने, अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए 25 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का क्रियान्वयन करने, राजीव गांधी जी के नाम पर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था करने, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट, और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के हमारे भाइयों के लिए आरक्षित पदों को शीघ्र भरने व उनके ऊपर उद्धार के लिए विभिन्न योजनाओं के क्रियान्वयन करने के लिए महिला आयोग की स्थापना करने के लिए, जवाहर रोजगार योजना के सार्थक परिणाम के लिए संतोष जाहिर किया है, यह अपने आप में अत्यंत अभिनन्दनीय और सराहनीय बात है।

महोदया, हमारे विदेशी मद्रा भंडार में भी प्रगति हुई है। अर्थव्यवस्था में भी सुधार हुआ है। आयात-निर्यात में वृद्धि हुई है। महिला समृद्ध योजना में काफी बढ़ोतरी हुई है। उन्नत प्रौद्योगिकी क्षेत्र में हमारा देश आत्मनिर्भरता की ओर बढ़ा है और विश्व में मैत्री संबंधों में प्रगति आई है। इस सबके लिए निश्चित रूप से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी और हमारी सरकार बधाई की पात्र है।

महोदया राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जहां हम प्रतिनिधियों को अपने कर्तव्य बोध का आभास कराया है वहीं यह भी अपेक्षा की है हम कुटिल राजनीति से अपने आप को दूर रखते हुए देश-हित को सर्वोपरि रखें और ऐसे कामों में अपने आप को भागीदार बनाएं जिससे देश प्रगति और विकास के द्वार पर दस्तक दे सके। आज स्थिति यह है कि हम एक दूसरे पर दोषारोपण कर रहे हैं और यह जो परस्पर दोषारोपण की प्रथा है, यह भारतीय राजनीति की दुर्बलता और मानसिकता का प्रतीक बन गई है। आज स्थिति यह है कि भारतीय राजनीति जिस हास्यास्पद स्थिति पर आकर खड़ी हो गई है, उससे लोगों के मन में बड़ी अविश्वसनीय स्थिति पैदा हो गई है।

इसलिए आवश्यकता है कि हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन बहुत जिम्मेदारी के साथ, बड़ी संजीदगी के साथ पूरा करें ताकि देश में रहने वाला हर इंसान श्वं के साथ कह सके कि हम उस भारत देश के वासी हैं जिस भारत देश की प्रतिष्ठा विश्व में काफी बढ़ी हुई है।

महोदया, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्रीनरसिम्हा राव जी ने आज से चार वर्ष पूर्व जिस अभूतपूर्व आर्थिक संकट में इस देश का कार्यभार संभाला था, जिस वातावरण में उन्हें सत्ता मिली थी, वह एक ऐसा वातावरण था कि सर्वत्र अनिश्चय की स्थिति व्याप्त थी। लोगों के मन में यह धारणा थी कि क्या होगा? लेकिन जिस संजीदगी के साथ राष्ट्रीय भावना से ओत-प्रोत होते हुए सामंजस्य और तालमेल की राजनीति अपनाते हुए उन्होंने देश की प्रगति की, विशेष रूप से आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हमारे देश ने आदरणीय नरसिम्हा राव जी के नेतृत्व में जो प्रगति की है, वह अपने आप में सराहनीय है।

महोदया, मैं कुछ आंकड़े देना चाहूंगा कि 1991-92 में और 1994-95 में आर्थिक क्षेत्र में विभिन्न स्तरों पर हमारे देश की क्या स्थिति थी। जो आर्थिक वृद्धि दर थी, वह 1991-92 में एक प्रतिशत थी जो बढ़ कर 5.3 प्रतिशत हो गई। औद्योगिक वृद्धि दर आधा प्रतिशत थी जो 1994-95 में बढ़ कर 8.7 प्रतिशत हो गई। खाद्यान्न उत्पादन 1991-92 में 168 मिलियन टन था जो बढ़ कर 1994-95 में 185 मिलियन टन हो गया। खाद्यान्न स्टॉक 1991-92 में 14.7 मिलियन टन था जो बढ़ कर 1994-95 में 31 मिलियन टन हो गया। रोजगार के अवसरों में वृद्धि जो 1991-92 में आंकड़े 3 मिलियन के थे, वे बढ़ कर 1994-95 में दुगुने, 6 मिलियन हो गए। जो निर्यात दर 1991-92 में 15 प्रतिशत थी, वह बढ़ कर 1994-95 के पहले दस महीनों में 17 प्रतिशत हो गई। विदेशी ऋण की वृद्धि दर 1991-92 में 8 मिलियन डालर थी जो 94-95 में एक मिलियन डालर हो गई। विदेशी मद्रा का भंडार 1991-92 में एक मिलियन डालर था जो बढ़ कर 10 मार्च, 95 तक 20 बिलियन डालर हो गया। मुद्रास्फीति की बात हमारे विपक्षी भाई बार-बार करते थे कि सिगल डिजिट से डबल डिजिट

हो गई तो मद्रास्फ़ीति की दर 1991 में 17 प्रतिशत थी वह 8 अप्रैल 95 के आंकड़ों के अनुसार 8.9 प्रतिशत रह गई ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : चार साल में क्या हुआ ?

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : लेकिन 1990 से कम ही रहा है जब विपक्षी दल सत्ता में था । विदेशी निवेश वर्ष 1991 से अक्टूबर, 94 तक 24 हजार 30 करोड़ का प्रत्यक्ष विदेशी निवेश अनुमोदित किया गया । गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या 83-84 में 37.4 प्रतिशत थी, वह बढ़ कर 1987-88 में 29.9 प्रतिशत रह गई । गरीबी उन्मूलन और रोजगार सृजन के जो प्रमुख कार्यक्रम थे उनके लिए जो बजट रशि निर्धारित की गई वह 93-94 और 94-95 के बीच 126 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है जो लाइफ एक्सपेक्टेसी एक्ट वर्ष 1951 में 32.1 थी वह बढ़ कर 81 में 50.4 और 92 में 60.8 वर्ष हो गई । लिटरेसी रेट 1951 में 18.3 प्रतिशत था वह बढ़ कर 81 में 43.6 प्रतिशत और 1991 में 52.2 प्रतिशत हो गया । वर्ष रेट 51 में 39.9 प्रतिशत था वह घटकर 1981 में 37.2 प्रतिशत और 1993 में 28.5 प्रतिशत रह गया जो डेयरेट पर थाउजैंड 1951 में 27.4 प्रतिशत था वह घटकर 81 में 15 प्रतिशत रह गया और इससे भी कम 93 में 9.2 प्रतिशत रह गया । रेट आफ पापुलेशन 71 से 81 के बीच में 2.22 प्रतिशत था वह 1981-91 के बीच 2.14 प्रतिशत रह गया । ये सारे आंकड़े इस बात के सबूत हैं कि हमने आर्थिक क्षेत्र में प्रगति की है गत वर्षों की तुलना में अब हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री नरसिंह राव जी के नेतृत्व में हम लोगों ने प्रगति के द्वार पर दस्तक दी है ।

जो राष्ट्रपति महोदय का अभिभाषण होता है वह पिछले वर्ष की उपलब्धियों और सरकार की नीतियों का प्रतिबिम्ब हुआ करता है । हमारे यहां यह भी हुआ है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का कुछ राजनीतिक दलों द्वारा बहिष्कार किया

गया और उसमें यह कहा गया कि रिस्पेक्टफुली असेंट हुए । ये सारे काम रिस्पेक्टफुली होते रहे । राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में रिस्पेक्टफुली असेंट हुआ करते हैं, रिस्पेक्टफुली एक विवादित घाचे का डिमोलिशन किया जाता है । रिस्पेक्टफुली एक धर्म के मानने वाले दूसरे धर्म के मानने वालों का अपमान किया करते हैं, उनके प्रति घृणा का भाव पैदा किया करते हैं और रिस्पेक्टफुली महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी की आलोचना किया करते हैं । ये सारे काम राजनीतिक दल रिस्पेक्टफुली किया करते हैं । इस सब के लिए धर्म की आड़ ली जाती है । (Interruptions).

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra):  
Madam, not a single leader of the Opposition parties is present at the time of this discussion. It is quite unfortunate.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI MARGARET ALVA):  
Madam, there is a meeting going on in the Home Minister's Office which was agreed to much earlier. The meeting is being held to make some nominations for the financial Committees. The Home Ministry has invited all the Opposition parties. All the Opposition Leaders will be here in another five minutes.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM  
(Uttar Pradesh): Mrs. Alva, thank you for your intervention.

सुरेश पचौरी : महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह उजागर कर रहा था कि रिस्पेक्टफुली दूसरे धर्म की आलोचना की जा सकती है । यह धर्म की आड़ में की जाती है । धर्म का अर्थ है महोदय धारयति इति धर्मः, यानी धारण करने योग्य । महोदय, मैं ओपाल के नजदीक के गांव का रहने वाला हूं । उसके पास ही सांची का प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध स्तूप है । सम्राट अशोक ने वहां शिलालेख में जो लिखा है उसको मैं यहां उद्धृत करना चाहूंगा :

“यो हि कच्चि अतप्रपडं पुजेति परप्रपडं,  
गरुडति सर्वे अतप्रपडमतिथ व किंसि अतप्रपडं

दियमि ति सो च पुन तथ करंत,  
सो च पुन तथ कृतं बहुरं उपहति  
अतप्रबडं ।”

यानी जो अपने धर्म की प्रशंसा करता है और दूसरे धर्म का अनादर करता है, दूसरे धर्म के मानने वालों का अपमान करता है और एक ऐसा वातावरण निमित्त करता है जिसमें ईर्ष्या और द्वेष-भाव का वातावरण निमित्त हो, तो दरअसल में वह अपने धर्म का मानने वाला नहीं होता। यह धर्म की व्याख्या है जिसका मैंने उल्लेख किया है। गुरु नानक देव जी ने कहा है कि :

“अबल अल्ला नूर उपाया, कुदरत दे सब बन्दे ।”

सब कुदरत के बन्दे हैं। इसके साथ ही गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह जी ने सर्वधर्म समभाव की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा है :

“देवुरा मसीत सोई, पूजा जो नमाज ओई,  
मानस सभै ऐक पे अनेक को प्रभाव है।  
अवह अभेख सोई, पुरान ओ कुरान ओई,  
ए ऐक ही सख्य सभै, एक ही बनाव है ।”

यानि मन्दिर, मस्जिद, गुरुद्वारे, पूजा, या नमाज, पुराण और कुरान में कोई अंतर नहीं है, सारी मानव जाति एक है। लेकिन कुछ हमारे राजनैतिक साथी हैं जो धर्म का उपयोग राजनैतिक स्वार्थों की पूर्ति के लिए करते हैं। महोदया, मुझे एक बात याद आ रही है। जो सीमा पर हमारे जवान रहते हैं, देश की रक्षा के लिए और जो विदेशी हमारे देश में प्रवेश करने की चेष्टा करते हैं, जब हमारे जवान उन पर आक्रमण करते हैं और उन्हें मार देते हैं तो हम उनकी प्रशंसा करते हैं, उनकी स्तुति करते हैं, उनका सम्मान करते हैं। लेकिन गांव में जब कोई जवान दूसरे का खेत हड़पने के लिए या दूसरी की सम्पत्ति पर कब्जा करने की लिए किसी का मदर करता है तो धारा 302 के तहत उसको सजा मिलती है। तो इन दोनों बातों में फर्क है। पहली बात जो सीमा पर तैनात जवान से संबंधित है, उसके साथ देश सेवा जुड़ी

हुई है, पर स्वार्थ जुड़ा हुआ है और दूसरी बात वाले जवान से गांव की सम्पत्ति से जुड़ी हुई है उसमें खुद का स्वार्थ जुड़ा हुआ है। उसके पीछे भावना यह है कि उसकी भूमि बढ़ जाय, उसकी सम्पत्ति में बढ़ोतरी हो जाय। इसीलिए एक को सम्मानित किया जाता है और दूसरे को दंडित किया जाता है। वही धर्म की बात है। हमारे यहां जो लोग धर्म का सहारा लेते हैं... वह दरअसल अपनी जो राजनीतिक शक्ति है, उसको बढ़ावा देने के लिए लेते हैं, ठीक उसी प्रकार की उनको सजा मिलनी चाहिये जो गांव में रहने वाला जवान अपनी भूमि को बढ़ाने के लिए एक दूसरे जवान या दूसरे इन्सान का मर्डर पर दिया करता है। मुझे याद है, चुनाव के समय, मेरे पास केसेट मौजूद है, जब तक तथ्य न हों मैं कभी बात नहीं करता हूं, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोगों ने चुनाव के दौरान यह कहा कि भगवान श्रीराम को खातिर आप भारतीय जनता पार्टी को वोट दीजिये। महोदया, भगवान श्रीराम हमारे आराध्य देव हैं। भगवान श्रीराम जो हमारे आराध्य देव हैं उन्हें मतदाता के वोट की आवश्यकता नहीं है। वह तो हमारे आराध्य देव हैं लेकिन उन्होंने इन बातों को इंगित किया, इस रूप में प्रस्तुत किया कि उनकी खातिर इस राजनीतिक पार्टी को वोट दिया जाना चाहिए। तो धर्म का जो लोग इस प्रकार से उपयोग कर रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : भिखारी भा  
तो अल्लाह के नाम पर मांगता है।  
(व्यवधान)

उपसमापति : इससे अच्छा उदाहरण नहीं मिला।

श्री सुरेश पच्चोरी : उनको जितनी निंदा की जाए, वह कम है। महोदया, जब यह बात मैं कहता हूं तो हमारे देश के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम आन्दोलन की याद आ जाती है जो हमने किताबों में पढ़ा। 1925 में महात्मा गांधी जी ने आल इण्डिया स्पीनर्स एसोसियेशन का गठन किया और लोगों को खादी पहनने के

लिए प्रेरित किया। लेकिन राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ जिसकी बुनियाद पर यह भाजापा राजनैतिक पार्टी टिकी हुई है, उनके लोगों ने यह हिंसायत की कि खादी इसलिए नहीं पहनी जाए कि उसको बनाने वाले बुनकर मुसलमान हैं। यह 1925 की बात है। यह स्वदेशी की बात करते हैं। हमारे माधुर जी इस बात की पुष्टि करें कि 1930 में जो नमक सत्याग्रह चला उसका विरोध आर०एस०एस० ने यह कह कर किया कि आर०एस०एस० को नमक सत्याग्रह और स्वदेशी आन्दोलन से अपने आप को विमुख रखना चाहिये दूर रखना चाहिये... (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : डा० हेडगेवार नमक सत्याग्रह में आगे रहे, आपको मालूम है (व्यवधान) वह पकड़े गये थे (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे : आप हेडगेवार जी को कितना जानते हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल (राजस्थान) : आपसे कम (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे : उन्होंने सही जवाब दिया है। कभी-कभी सच बोलते हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : आपने उनको शकल से देखा होगा। अगर आप उनको जानते होते तो आज आर०एस०एस० में आप होते, वहां नहीं बैठे होते। (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे : आप कभी मिले हैं उनसे ?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : मैंने कहा कि मैंने उनके कभी दर्शन नहीं किये लेकिन मैंने उनका समझा जरूर है। आपने दर्शन किये लेकिन समझा नहीं (व्यवधान) मन्दिर में जाएं और मूर्तियों को देखें लेकिन समझें नहीं तो क्या लाभ (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे : डा० हेडगेवार गांधीवादी विचाराधारा के सख्त विरोधी थे।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : यह मैं मानता हूं लेकिन मैंने कहा कि सत्याग्रह में वे गये थे। (व्यवधान) आपने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा है कि विरोधी थे। अगर विरोधी न होते तो आर०एस०एस० बनाते ही नहीं (व्यवधान) उन्होंने महसूस किया कि कांग्रेस खोखला संस्था है, यह देश का बंटवारा करा कर मानेंगे। यह भी उन्होंने कहा कि कांग्रेस रही तो देश का बंटवारा होगा। यह उन्होंने सन् 1925 में कहा था, आपको यह भी याद होगा। वह सच हुआ। इसीलिए उन्होंने कांग्रेस को छोड़ा, यह भी आपको मालूम होगा। वह रेवोल्यूशनरी थे। बंगाल की रेवोल्यूशनरी पार्टी में... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : महोदया डा० हेडगेवार का जिक्र माधुर जी ने किया है। मैं बड़ी किम्वदन्ता पूर्वक कहना चाहूंगा कि डा० हेडगेवार पहले कांग्रेस में थे। 1925 में अमरावती में एक प्रशिक्षण शिविर हुआ। उस कैम्प में यह तय किया गया कि सारी जातियों के लोग उस कैम्प में शामिल हों। डा० हेडगेवार उस कैम्प में शामिल हुए। लेकिन बाद में उनका मन परिवर्तन किया गया। डा० मुंजे के साथ जब वह बीर सावरकर जी से मिल गये। जब दूसरा कैम्प रत्नागिरी में हुआ तो हिन्दू राष्ट्र की कल्पना की बात तय हुई। (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : बिल्कुल सच कह रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : यह निश्चित किया गया कि डा० हेडगेवार जिस कैम्प में शामिल हों उसमें केवल हिन्दू लोग रहेंगे, मुसलमान नहीं रहेंगे। यह मन परिवर्तन डा० हेडगेवार का जो पहले कांग्रेस में थे। डा० मुंजे और बीर सावरकर जी ने किया ताकि वह इस बात के लिए मानसिक रूप से तैयार हों कि हिन्दू राष्ट्र की स्थापना होनी चाहिये। जो कैम्प रत्नागिरी में हुआ वह कैम्प

केवल हिन्दुओं के लिए हुआ (व्यवधान)  
इन लोगों का किस ढंग का रूप है,  
वह मैं कह नहीं पाऊँगा।

साया की विवेचना है।

“माना रूप धर कोला विचरन्ति महिले”

यानी समय समय पर यह बहुत प्रकार  
के मुद्राएँ ओढ़ लेते हैं कई प्रकार का  
चोला पहन लेते हैं। कभी ये भारतीय  
जनसंघ के रूप में जाने जाते हैं, कभी  
विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के जाबाज साथी के  
रूप में जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी  
का एक समय विरोध किया, कभी ये  
आर०एस०एस० के पट्टों के रूप में जाने  
जाते हैं, कभी वज्ररथ धल के समर्थकों  
के रूप में जाने जाते हैं, कभी  
संतों के प्रति समर्पित हैं ये, ऐसा  
आडम्बर करने हुए पाए जाते हैं। तो इस  
प्रकार के इनके अनेकों रूप हैं, जिनका  
प्रदर्शन ये समय समय पर करते रहते हैं।  
सारा रिस्वेकटफुली करते हैं।

श्री महेश्वर सिंह (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :  
महोदया अभिभाषण पर बोल रहे हैं  
या आर०एस०एस० पर बोल रहे हैं।

कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें : अभिभाषण पर  
बोल रहे हैं। आपकी समझ में नहीं आ  
रहा है, तो क्या किया जाए।

श्री महेश्वर सिंह : आपको जवाब  
समझ है (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मैं अपने माननीय  
सदस्य को बताना चाहूँगा कि माननीय  
राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में हिन्दू  
+ पर अयोध्या का जिक्र किया है  
कि अयोध्या की किन हालतों में यह स्थिति  
हुई, अयोध्या क्यों चर्चा में आया, क्यों  
पूरे विश्व का वातावरण भयाक्रांत हुआ,  
क्यों “रघुकुल रीति सदा चली आई” माने  
जाने वाले लोगों के मुख पर कालिख पड़ी,  
क्यों बड़ी असहाय मुद्रा में इनकी भारतीय  
जनता पार्टी के लोग हो गए, जब वह  
विवादित ढांचा ढहा। बाद में उसी भार-  
तीय जनता पार्टी के नेता श्री लाल  
कृष्ण अडवाणी ने “आई विटनेस” को  
दिए गए इन्टरव्यू में यह बात कही कि  
6 दिसम्बर को विवादित ढांचा गिराने  
वालों की तुलना भगत सिंह, चन्द्रशेखर आजाद

और स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम में योगदान देने वाले  
अन्य साधियों से की जानी चाहिए।  
यह बात किसी साधारण न्यूज एजेंसी  
को नहीं कही, उन्होंने “आई विटनेस”  
को दिए गए एक साक्षात्कार में कही,  
जिसका कैसेट यदि चाहें तो माननीय  
सदस्य मेरे से लेकर देख सकते हैं। और  
तो श्रीर जिन हमारे पत्रकारों का वहाँ  
अयोध्या में अपमान हुआ, जिस निर्भमता  
से उनकी पिटाई हुई; जब उसके बारे में  
उनसे “आई विटनेस” में प्रश्न किया गया  
तो उन्होंने इन घटनाओं की तुलना  
1946 के नौसैनिक विद्रोह से की। तो यह  
इनकी दोमंही नीति है।

तो मैं मान्यवर, स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम  
आन्दोलन की बात कर रहा था कि हमारे  
देश को आजादी मिली 15 अगस्त, 1947  
को। परतन्त्रता की बैड़ियों से मुक्त  
हुए हमारे देश को चन्द दिन ही हुए थे  
कि 21 अगस्त 1947 को वहाँ  
फगवाड़ा में आर०एस०एस० का एक  
प्रशिक्षण शिविर हुआ, उसमें उन्होंने उस  
समय के जो सर संघ चालक थे, यह बात  
कही कि 15 अगस्त, 1947 का दिन  
हमारे देश के इतिहास में गहरी का दिन  
माना जाना चाहिए और प्रशिक्षणार्थियों को  
उन्होंने यह कहा कि एक समय ऐसा  
आएगा, इस देश में ऐसी अव्यवस्था  
फैलेगी कि लोग इस बात के लिए मजबूर  
होंगे और यह अहसास करेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान  
में जो अंग्रेज राज था, वह देश के लिए  
अनुकूल राज था। तो मैं यह कहना  
चाहता हूँ कि जिन लोगों का इस देश  
की आजादी में कोई योगदान नहीं रहा,  
जिन लोगों ने 1942 के क्विट इण्डिया  
मूवमेंट में आर०एस०एस० के माध्यम से  
ये हिदायतें दीं कि आर०एस०एस० के  
साधियों को न केवल इस आन्दोलन  
से अपने आपको परे रखना चाहिये,  
बल्कि यह सुनिश्चित करना चाहिये कि  
अंग्रेजों का साथ दिया जाये, तो उस  
विचारधारा के मानने वाले लोग और  
उस आर०एस०एस० की बुनियाद पर खड़े  
रहने वाली राजनीतिक पार्टी से यह अपेक्षा  
नहीं की जानी चाहिए कि स्वतन्त्र  
भारत की खुशहाली में, समृद्धि में, प्रगति  
में उनका कोई योगदान रहेगा।

इलिए बहुत सचेत रहने की आवश्यकता है और लोगों को बहुत सचेत करने की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि यह समय-समय पर कई मुद्दे उठाते हैं और वे मुद्दे केवल चुनाव से संबंधित होते हैं। उनके पीछे न तो आस्था की बात होती है, न अस्थिरता की बात होती है। महोदया, मैं याद दिलाता चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश में पहला आम चुनाव 1952 में हुआ, दूसरा 1957 में हुआ तीसरा 1962 में हुआ, चौथा 1967 में हुआ, पांचवां 1971 में हुआ, छठवां 1977 में हुआ, यह कहते हैं कि 1949 अर्थात् 1949 में भये प्रगट गोपाला भगवान श्री राम जी के दर्शन हुए, तो जब 1952 में चुनाव हुआ, उसके बाद 1957 में हुआ, 1962 में हुआ, 1967 में हुआ, 1971 में हुआ, 1977 में हुआ, तब इन्हें भगवान श्री राम जी के मंदिर बनाने की याद उन चुनावों में नहीं आई। और तो और इन्होंने यह कहा कि दिल्ली में जब उनकी सरकार बनेगी, तब अयोध्या में भगवान श्री राम जी का मंदिर बनेगा। महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस देश की जनता को याद दिलाता चाहता हूँ कि यह उसे दिग्भ्रमित न करें, क्योंकि 1977 में जो सरकार बनी, उस अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी और लाल कृष्ण अडवाणी जी उस सत्ता के अंग थे, मंत्रिमंडल में थे, उस समय उन्होंने एक बार भी इस बात को नहीं उठाया कि 1949 में जो भये प्रगट गोपाला थे वहाँ पर अयोध्या में भगवान श्री राम जी का मंदिर होना चाहिये। उसके बाद 6 दिसम्बर में जो भयावह स्थिति सारे निधियों को, कानूनों को ताक में रख कर, भारतीय संसद् को विश्वास में रख कर, सुप्रीम कोर्ट को भरोसे में रख कर निर्मित की, उससे निश्चित रूप से जो हिन्दू धर्म में आस्था रखने वाले लोग हैं, उनका धिर धर्म से झुक गया। और तो और भारतीय संसद् की भी इन्होंने अपमानता की, अपमान किया और इनके कुछ राजनीतिक दल के नेताओं ने यह कहा कि हमें धर्म संसद् का फैसला अयोध्या के मामले में स्वीकार होगा, जिसके बारे में इंगित स्वामी मुक्तानन्द, चिन्मयानन्द और भवैधनाथ ने किया था और उन्होंने कहा जो भारतीय संविधान है, हमारी

आस्था उसमें नहीं है। हम अपना खुद का संविधान बनायेंगे, जो हिन्दू राष्ट्र के बनाने में विश्वास रखता हो, जो हिन्दू धर्म जो इसकी व्याख्या है, उसके हिसाब से उस संविधान पर विश्वास करता हो, उस संविधान के बनाने की जो पैरवी चिन्मयानन्द, मुक्तानन्द और भवैधनाथ ने की थी, उसका अनुमोदन और उसका समर्थन इस राजनीतिक पार्टी के नेताओं ने किया और एक शब्द भी विरोध के रूप नहीं कहा। यह निश्चित रूप से हमारे भारतीय संविधान का अपमान है।

महोदया, जब मैं अपनी बात शुरू कर रहा था, तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि हमारे सामने जो अनेकानेक चुनौतियाँ हैं, हमारे देश के सामने जो अनेकानेक समस्याएँ हैं, उनसे मुक्ति पाने का एक ही तरीका है कि हम राष्ट्रहित को सर्वोपरि मानते हुए, राष्ट्रीय भावना से ओत-प्रोत रहते हुए, जिन आशाओं और अपेक्षाओं के साथ हमारे शहीदों ने इस देश को आजादी दिलायी और जो मन में उन्होंने सपने संजोए थे, वह सब पूरे होंगे, जब हम इस प्रकार की विपटनकारी ताकतों का पर्दाफाश करेंगे और उनके मंसूबों को हम विफल करेंगे। आज इस प्रकार की स्थिति है। आज हमारे देश में कुछ इस प्रकार की स्थिति बन गई है, कि वह विप्ले जबड़ों के बीच में दबा हुआ है, सांप्रदायिकता की बू आ रही है, जातीयता की बू आ रही है, कट्टरता की बू आ रही है, धर्मांधता की बू आ रही है। महोदया, धार्मिक होना अच्छा है, लेकिन धर्मांध होना बहुत बुरा होता है। हमारे देश में नाथू राम गोडसे को कोई नहीं मानता, यद्यपि शिवसेना के प्रमुख बाल ठाकरे जी ने कहा है कि उन्हें नाथू राम गोडसे पर गर्व है।

लेकिन लोग महात्मा गांधी को मानते हैं, हमारे देश में भिडरवाले को कोई नहीं मानता, लोग गुरुनानक देव को मानते हैं, हमारे देश में श्रीरंगजेब को कोई नहीं मानता, लेकिन दीने-इलाही मत वाले अकबर को लोग मानते हैं क्योंकि वह सांप्रदायिक सद्भाव के प्रतीक रहे। तो जिन्हें लोग नहीं मानते, वह चाहे गोडसे

हों, चाहे भिड़वाले हों—वह धर्मार्थ थे, इसलिए लोग उन्हें नहीं मानते थे और जिन्हें लोग मानते हैं वह धार्मिक थे ।

महोदया, मैं इस देश की आजादी की बात कर रहा था और इस देश को आजादी दिलाने में सभी धर्म और सम्प्रदाय के लोगों की भूमिका रही चाहे चन्द्रशेखर आजाद हों, चाहे भगत सिंह हों और चाहे असफाक-उल्ला हों । असफाक जी जब फांसी के तख्ते पर चढ़ रहे थे तो उनसे पूछा गया कि तुम्हारी आखिरी तमन्ना क्या है ? तो उन्होंने कहा कि मैं ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मेरा इस भारत देश में मेरे अपने मुल्क में पुनर्जन्म हो और ऐसे वक्त में जन्म हो जबकि यह देश आजाद हो और उस आजाद भारत में न केवल लोग खुशहाल रहें बल्कि साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव और सहिष्णुता के वातावरण में भाईचारे के साथ रहें । यह मंशा असफाक-उल्ला जी ने फांसी के तख्ते पर चढ़ने से पहले जाहिर की थी । महोदया, 1915-16 में जब हमारे देश में अंग्रेजों का राज था तो काबुल में एक अस्थायी सरकार बनी थी जिसके प्रधान मंत्री श्री बरकत-उल्ला भोपाली थे । मैडम सौभाग्य से मैं भी भोपाल से आता हूँ और जिनके नाम पर भोपाल में बरकत-उल्ला यूनिवर्सिटी का नामकरण भी हुआ है, उन्होंने विदेश में रहकर 1915-16 में एक ऐसा दबाव निर्मित किया कि अंग्रेज इस बात के लिए बाध्य हो जाएं और हमारे देश को छोड़कर चले जाएं । इस तरह मैडम, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश को आजाद दिलाने में जहाँ चन्द्रशेखर आजाद और भगत सिंह की भूमिका रही वहीं असफाक-उल्ला की भी रही और अन्य धर्मों को मानने वाले लोगों की भी रही । महोदया, जब असफाक-उल्ला जी को गिरफ्तार किया जा रहा था तो उनके कुछ साथियों ने उन्हें यह सलाह दी कि वह भारत से विदेश भाग जाएं, लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि मैं एक ऐसी मिसाल पेश नहीं करना चाहता, ऐसा उदाहरण छोड़कर नहीं जाना चाहता जिससे कि लोग कहें कि भारतीय मुसलमान का देश की आजादी में कोई योगदान नहीं रहा । सलिए मुझे इस बात का तनिक

भी डर नहीं है कि मैं गिरफ्तार हो जाऊंगा और फांसी के तख्ते पर चढ़ जाऊंगा और अंततोगत्वा यही हुआ तो मैडम, जब हमारे कुछ साथी हिन्दु राष्ट्र की बात करते हैं, जब एक खास जाति के विरोध में वे विष-धमन करते हैं और जब यह बात आती है कि महाराष्ट्र की नयी सरकार यह फैसला लेती है कि प्रमुख जाति के लोगों को वहाँ से निकाल देना चाहिए और उन पर अनाचार, अत्याचार और ब्यभिचार होता है तब हमें स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का आंदोलन याद आता है जिसमें कि सभी धर्मों, जाति और सम्प्रदाय के मानने वालों की भूमिका रही है । महोदया, जिस साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव का जिक्र महा-महिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है, जिस अयोध्या का संकेत महा-महिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में किया है, उसकी साक्ष्यता इसी में है कि हम अपने कर्तव्य के निर्वहन को समझे, राष्ट्र-हित को सर्वोपरि मानते हुए अपने उत्तरदायित्व का निर्वहन करें और यह देखें कि हमारा देश जित समस्याओं से जूझ रहा है, चाहे वह जनसंख्या वृद्धि की बात हो, चाहे वह पावर शॉर्टेज की बात हो, चाहे वह वाटर शॉर्टेज की बात हो, चाहे भू-जल स्तर के दिन प्रति-दिन नीचे गिरने की बात हो, किसानों की अनेकानेक समस्याओं की बात हो, उसे खेती के लिए 24 घंटे बिजली नहीं मिल पा रही है और फसल के लिए पानी उपलब्ध नहीं हो पा रहा है—जब हम इन समस्याओं से छुटकारे की बात पर विचार करते हैं तो इस तरीके पर पहुँचते हैं कि इन सभी समस्याओं का समाधान तभी हो सकता है जब कि हम इनके समाधान के लिए संयुक्त प्रयास करें और उन चुनौतियों का सामना हम सफलतापूर्वक तभी कर सकते हैं जब कि देश-हित को सामने रखते हुए एक जुट होकर सामने आएँ ।

महोदया, समय-समय पर हमारे देश साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए हैं । मैं इस विवाद में नहीं जाना चाहता कि कौन इस साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के पीछे रहा है लेकिन बड़े अदब के साथ, बड़ी विनम्रता के साथ मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से यह मांग करना चाहता हूँ कि समय-समय पर जिन-

जिन स्थानों पर साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए हैं और उनके लिए जो ज्यूडिशियल कमेटीज बनीं, उन कमेटीयों की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर एक दस्तावेज तैयार होना चाहिए और वह दस्तावेज इस राष्ट्र की जनता के सामने पेश किया जाना चाहिए ताकि वे मुछोटें सामने आ सकें जो मुछोटें समय-समय पर अपना रूप बदलते हुए इस देश में साम्प्रदायिक तनाव की स्थिति निर्मित करते हैं और देश की प्रगति को रोकते हैं। इसलिए जब हम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं तो हमें यह फैसला करना होगा कि उन सारी ताकतों को हम लोग बेनकाब करें, जिन ताकतों की गतिविधियों की वजह से, जिन ताकतों के अनामल प्रताप की वजह से, जिन ताकतों की गतिविधियों और क्रिया-कलापों की वजह से एक भाई दूसरे भाई के खून का प्यासा हो जाता है। इसलिए उन सब लोगों को उजागर करने की बहुत जरूरत है। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से यह आग्रह करूंगा कि उन सारी ज्यूडिशियल कमेटीज का एक सफेद दस्तावेज प्रस्तुत किया जाना आज की परिस्थितियों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में बहुत ज्यादा आवश्यक है जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगों से संबंधित है।

महोदया, आज सुबह साध्वी ऋतभरा जी की गिरफ्तारी का जिक्र किया गया। महोदया, मैं उस विवाद में नहीं जाना चाहता कि साध्वी ऋतभरा जी को किन परिस्थितियों में गिरफ्तार किया गया, लेकिन अभी मैंने जिन बातों का उल्लेख किया है, यदि साध्वी ऋतभरा जी के अभी तक के सारे व्याख्यानो का संकलन कर लिया जाए, तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि मेरे सामने वाले साथी खुद खड़े होकर यह मांग करेंगे कि उनकी गिरफ्तारी बहुत देर से की गई। यदि उनके केसेट्स को सुना जाए जो उन्होंने समय-समय पर दिए, चुनाव के समय उन्होंने—“एक धक्का और दो बाबरी मस्जिद तोड़ दो” “जो हिन्दू हित की बात करेगा, वही देश पर राज करेगा” यह कहा। ये सारी बातें उस देश में, जिसमें विभिन्न धर्म और सम्प्रदाय के मानने वाले रहते हैं, नहीं की जा सकतीं। महोदया, मैं मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य

मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने बहुत निर्भीकता से, बहुत निडरता से हमारे प्रदेश में, जहां शांति और अमन का वातावरण है, जहां साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव है, सहिष्णुता का वातावरण है, जहां भाई-चारे के रूप में सब लोग रह रहे हैं, वहां के वातावरण को बिगड़ना न किया जाए, उस पर अंकुश लगाने के लिए साध्वी ऋतभरा जी को गिरफ्तार किया। जो बातें कही गईं, यदि उनका व्योरा इकट्ठा किया जाए तो आप सहमत होंगे कि जहां उन्होंने भाषण दिया उसमें तो आपत्ति-जनक बातें कही हों, वे उस स्थान पर जा रही थीं “धार” में भोजशाला में; जहां काफी पहले से हमारे मुसलमान भाई नमाज अदा करते थे। हमारे कुछ मनबले भाइयों ने तो हनुमान चालीसा का पाठ आरम्भ कर दिया। हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के संवेदनशील मुख्य मंत्री ने जो बिपक्ष के नेता भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता श्री विक्रम वर्मा जी और मंत्री श्री तनवंत सिंह कोर को वहां भेजा कि भाई, मुलह समझौता करके कोई उपाय निकाला जाए और कुछ हद तक उपाय निकला भी। मैं सहसाहसा करता हूं श्री विक्रम वर्मा जी की कि उन्होंने व्यापक दृष्टिकोण अपनाया, लेकिन साध्वी ऋतभरा जी को क्या पड़ी थी कि जब सारा वातावरण ठीक हो गया तो “धार” की उस भोजशाला में वह उस वातावरण को बिगड़ाने के लिए इंदौर के माध्यम से जाने वाली थीं, इसी बीच हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री जी ने यह कदम उठाया है। मुझे विश्वास है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जब साम्प्रदायिकता का विरोध करते हुए हमारे साथी बोलेंगे, कट्टरता का विरोध करते हुए बोलेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से उनके इस कदम की सराहना करें।

महोदया, पुरानी घटनाएं इस बात की गवाह हैं, न केवल साध्वी ऋतभरा जी बल्कि जिम्मेदार दल के लोग और जिम्मेदार दल के लोग जिस विचार धारा पर विश्वास करते हैं—आर०एस० एस० की विचार धारा पर, उनके सर संघ चालक ने हमारे राष्ट्रीय ध्वज, उस पर भी कभी विश्वास नहीं किया। मैं बीच आफ थाट्स के कुछ वाक्यों को

उद्धत करना चाहूंगा। उसमें गुरु गोल-धत्तकर जी ने कहा है कि—“राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ की धारणा में हमारा राष्ट्रीय ध्वज भी समस्त भारतवासियों को प्रेरणा नहीं देता, हमारे मन मस्तिष्क में ग्रन्थ की स्थिति निर्मित करता है। जबकि गंगा ध्वज सबसे उन्नत, गौरवमय और राष्ट्रवाद का प्रतीक है।” महोदया, प्रजा-पत्र में राजनीतिक दलों का जो स्थान होता है वह बहुत सर्वोपरि होता है राष्ट्रीय एकता और साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव बनाए रखने की सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता राजनीतिक दलों की हुआ करती है। लेकिन वोटों के लालच में हमारे कुछ विपक्षी दल बाजीगरों की तरह व्यवहार करते हैं और इस क्रम में न केवल साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव की ध्वजियां उड़ा देते हैं, बल्कि जातीय विद्वेष का वातावरण निर्मित करते हैं और एक ऐसा वातावरण निर्मित करते हैं कि देश की राष्ट्रीय एकता और अखंडता पर खतरा उत्पन्न हो जाता है।

शिव सेना के प्रमुख का मैंने जिक्र किया। कुछ की बात है कि अहिंसा के भुजगरी महात्मा गांधी का यह देश रहा है, उसमें ऐसे लोग भड़काऊ बातें करते हैं। मैं बाल ठाकरे जी उद्धृत करना चाहूंगा। उन्होंने खुलेआम हिंसा की वकालत करते हुए कहा है कि :

Of course, you have to use violence.  
How will change come otherwise?"

हमारे विपक्षी नेता बाल ठाकरे अपने आपको तानाशाह हिटलर के समक्ष मानते हुए वसुधैव-कुटुम्बकम् को भी चेतावनी देते हैं और कहते हैं कि :

There should be militancy in  
Hinduism.' We should, if need arises,  
use weapons."

धीर बात यहां तक सीमित नहीं होती है। उन्होंने इंडिया शब्द प्रयुक्त करने पर आपत्ति जाहिर की है। मेरे पास उनका पूरा का पूरा इंटरव्यू है। अग माननीय महोदया कहीं तो मैं उसे प्रस्तुत कर सकता हूं। महोदया, सहिष्णुता, समन्वय

और धर्मनिपेक्षता भारतीय संस्कृति का सही रूप में मूलाधार रही है और हमारे नेता राजीव गांधी जी ने भी इसकी व्याख्या करते हुए यह कहा कि धर्म निपेक्षता हमारी जीवन शैली होनी चाहिए, जो सत्य, अहिंसा, कर्मग्रा और सहिष्णुता जैसे हमारे परम्परागत सिद्धांतों, मूल्यों और विचारधारा से जुड़ी हो, इसे राजनीति या अन्य रंग में नहीं रंग दिया जाना चाहिए। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारी जो वर्तमान सरकार है, धर्मनिपेक्षता को इसी रूप में देखते हुए काम कर रही है। लेकिन आज कुछ ऐसे भी राजनीतिक दल-विपक्षी दल हैं जो बड़बड़कर मुस्लिम हितों की भी बातें कर रहे हैं, सामाजिक न्याय की बातें कर रहे हैं। लेकिन वे देश को इस बात का जवाब देने में अक्षम हैं कि संघ परिवार का साथ उन्होंने 1967 में क्यों दिया था? 1977 की जो साझा सरकार बनी थी, उसमें उस संघ परिवार के सदस्यों के साथ शामिल क्यों हुए थे? 1989 की जो सरकार थी, उस सरकार में डटे रहने के लिए, बने रहने के लिए उन्होंने उन संघ परिवार के लोगों का सहारा क्यों लिया था और उस समय उनको धर्मनिपेक्षता की, सर्वधर्म-सम्भाव की परिभाषा क्या थी, यह जवाब देने के लिए वे आज भी अक्षम नहीं हैं। आज बड़बड़कर सामाजिक न्याय की बात की जाती है। जो राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा के अध्यक्ष हैं, आंध्र प्रदेश में उनके राज्य में क्या रहा है? हरिजनों का जो मंदिर प्रवेश है, वह वहां रोका जा रहा है। अभी हमारे कांग्रेस के सदस्यों ने विधान सभा की कार्यवाही का बहिष्कार प्रोटैस्ट के रूप में किया है।

महोदया, इससे पहले कि मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूं, मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हमने संसद में प्रवेश और विशेष रूप से मैंने और जो यहां पर हमारे कुछ नौजवान सदस्य हैं, उन्होंने हमारे दिवंगत नेता श्री राजीव गांधी की कृपा से इस संसद में प्रवेश किया था और हमें गर्व है कि हम श्री राजीव गांधी जी के अनुयायी हैं। उनकी जो निर्मम हत्या 21 मई 1991 को हुई, उसमें दोषी लोगों को सजा देने के लिए विभिन्न कठिनाइयां बनीं, बाधाएँ

Address

का गठन हुआ। एस.आई.टी. का गठन 24-5-91 को हुआ और मुझे खुशी है कि एस.आई.टी. जिस जिम्मेदारी के साथ अपना काम पूरा कर रही है, उससे निश्चित रूप से जो लोग उनकी मौत के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं, उनको जल्दी से जल्दी ही सजा मिल जाएगी।

इसी तरीके से राजीव जी की मिक्सी-रिटी लैप्सेज को देखने के लिए वर्मा कमीशन ग्राफ इन्क्वायरी का गठन किया गया। उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की। उस रिपोर्ट के आधार पर जो दोषी लोग हैं, उन पर कार्रवाई करने के लिए आदरणीय नरसिम्हा राव जी के प्रधानमन्त्रित्व-काल में उनके नेतृत्व में हमारी सरकार ने निर्णय लिया और मुझे विश्वास है कि जल्दी ही उन लोगों के खिलाफ न केवल चार्जशीट प्रस्तुत हो जाएगी बल्कि उन लोगों को सजा मिल जाएगी। लेकिन जैन कमीशन का गठन 23-8-91 को किया गया। अक्टूबर 1993 को ए.आई.सी.सी. ने एक लेटर जैन कमीशन को लिखा। हमारे ए.आई.सी.सी. महामन्त्री आदरणीय अहमद पटेल जी यहाँ मौजूद हैं। उन्हीं के हस्ताक्षर से वह लेटर जैन कमीशन को गया अक्टूबर 1993 को कि वांछित दस्तावेज जैन कमीशन को प्रस्तुत कर देने चाहिए। प्रिबिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी ने यह फैसला लिया कि जैन कमीशन को वांछित सहयोग प्रदान किया जाएगा लेकिन समय-समय पर जो हम लोगों को ज्ञात हुआ, उसके अनुसार जो वांछित दस्तावेज हैं वे पूरे के पूरे उनको समय पर उपलब्ध नहीं कराए गए। कई प्रकार की जैन कमीशन की सिटिंग हुई लेकिन वे दस्तावेज उपलब्ध नहीं कराए गए। जब यह बात हमने गृह मंत्री जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी के ध्यान में लाई तो हमें खुशी है कि उन्होंने स्वयं इस बारे में दिलचस्पी ली और 60 पाशिवल प्रिविलेज्ड डाक्यूमेंट्स, 40 ओपन डाक्यूमेंट्स और 8 एक्सायूटली प्रिविलेज्ड डाक्यूमेंट्स जैन कमीशन के सामने प्रस्तुत किए गए। इससे निश्चित रूप से जैन कमीशन जिन बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए बनाया गया है, वह अपने उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति कर सकेगा ऐसा हमें विश्वास है। यह बात मैं इसलिए कह

रहा हूँ कि जब महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण होता है तो गत वर्ष की गति-विधियों का उसमें ब्योरा प्रस्तुत करते हैं और आगामी वर्ष की कार्ययोजना हम प्रस्तुत करते हैं। हर बार छह माह का कार्यकाल जैन कमीशन का रखा गया है। इस जैन कमीशन का कार्यकाल यानि एक्स्टेंशन अभी तक सात बार बढ़ाया गया और अभी इसकी जो तिथि है, वह 31 अगस्त 1995 है।

महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह आग्रह करना चाहूँगा कि इस नियत समय में, इस निर्धारित समय में जैन कमीशन को पूरा-पूरा सहयोग सरकार के द्वारा प्रदान किया जाएगा, ऐसा सरकार निर्णय लेगी ताकि अगली बार, अगले वर्ष जब महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी अपना अभिभाषण प्रस्तुत करें तो हम यह पाएँ कि उसका भी उल्लेख हो। महोदया, आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हमारे देश में जब अराजकता का, अव्यवस्था का वातावरण व्याप्त है, कट्टरता और धमन्धिता का वातावरण व्याप्त है तो हम विचार करें और हम अपने कर्तव्य बोध को समझें। जिस बात की ओर संकेत महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने किया है विपक्षी दल भी अपने तौर तरीकों में परिवर्तन करें और अपनी सोच में अपनी कार्यप्रणाली में, अपने क्रियाकलापों में परिवर्तन करें और एक सकारात्मक भूमिका अनायें। जैसा एक कवि ने कहा है --

जय सा तीर तरीके से हेरकर करो,

तुम्हारे हाथ में कालर हो, आस्तीन नहीं

यह दुष्प्रवृत्तियाँ जो ने कहा है जो हमारे भोपाल के हैं। आप विपक्ष में हैं किसी भी चीज का विरोध करने का आपको हक है लेकिन सत्तारक्षक पक्ष भी आपके कर्तव्य बोध का आभास कराती है। आपको इस बात के लिए प्रेरित करती है कि देश के नव-निर्माण में आपको एक अहम भूमिका होनी चाहिए वरना आगे आने वाली पीढ़ी कहेगी कि जब रचना और निर्माण का वक्ता था तब लोग मंदिर और मस्जिद के विवाद में उलझे रहे, तब लोग परस्पर एक दूसरे पर दोशरोपण करते रहे, वैमनस्य का वातावरण बनाते

रहे। उस समय भविष्य की आशे आने वाली पीढ़ी निश्चितरूप से हमें कभी सम्मान की दृष्टि से नहीं देखेगी।

महोदया, मुझे विश्वास है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण के पैरा 2 में जो पिछले वर्ष की उपलब्धि पर आशा दिखाई है उसको दृष्टिगत रखते हुए यह सरकार अपने दायित्वों का राष्ट्रहित में सही निर्वहन करेगी और घरेलू दवावों, तनावों के बावजूद हर कसौटी पर खरी उतरेगी, क्योंकि संकेत और शगुन दोनों शुभ हैं, ऐसी मेरी मान्यता है। मैं अपनी बात, महात्मा गांधी जी जो अपनी प्रार्थना में रोज एक बात कहते थे, उससे समाप्त करना चाहूंगा—“सबको सम्मति दे भगवान्”। हम ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करें कि वह हमें सम्मति दे ताकि राष्ट्र के नव निर्माण में हम अपनी भूमिका सही अंदाज में कर सकें। महोदया, मैं गौरवविता हूँ कि महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखने का अवसर मिला। मुझे बहुत आशा ही नहीं बल्कि दृढ़ विश्वास है कि हमारे सम्मानित सदस्य यद्यपि अपने विचार तो प्रस्तुत करेंगे लेकिन वह हमारी गौरवमयी परम्परा का निर्वहन करने हुए महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव को सर्वसम्मति से पारित करेंगे। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan to second the Motion.  
.. (Interruptions)

You are clapping in advance because you don't want to clap with them afterwards?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: She is my neighbour... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That means you are clapping out of fear.  
.. (Interruptions)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, we are appreciating the emerging women power.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): We have emerged, Madam, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

In his Address, Rashtrapathi Ji has viewed the national scene with a justifiable sense of optimism. The President has said: "The optimism and self-assurance evident last year has been vindicated; the country has made the turnaround initiated by the new economic and other policies of the Government. The people have responded handsomely by reasserting their faith in social Stability. Democratic institutions and fundamental values such as the rule of law have been strengthened. Our country has improved its standing in the global community and now stands poised to become one of the rapidly growing economies of the world." This is what the Rashtrapati Ji has said.

The President's Address this year was remarkable and unique for a particular reason. The achievements of the past years and the tasks ahead of us in the coming years were not just merely fulfilment of electoral pledges of a party in power, not merely the exercise of gaining political advantage of narrow competitive populism, but it was the result of a far greater vision, a vision of India, a vision of the future, a vision of a truly international India where the people of this country can stand shoulder to shoulder with the biggest, the strongest and the most powerful democracies and economies in the world. It was the fulfilment of a national commitment. It was a major steps towards what India is going to be in the future, towards tapping the manpower, towards tapping the tremendous talent and potential that lie in this country, that have been kept under chains because of lack of progress in recent times.

From economic policies to agricultural policies, from communalism to seeking normal relations with Pakistan, from restoring the democratic process in Kashmir to encouraging trade with USA, the

President has rightly enunciated and reiterated India's time-honoured programmes and objectives.

Madam, I would like to make a special reference to Rashtrapati Ji's reference to communalism and to the Ayodhya verdict, which my colleague, Mr. Pachouri, has referred to in great detail. I do not want to tread on the same ground, but I would like to begin what I have to say before this hon. House by adverting to it for a special reason. Fundamentalism and communalism, are the single greatest enemy of the civilised society today. It exposes our deep insecurity and reduces the otherwise cultured people to the lowest common denominator of narrow minded chauvinism and violence. In such a barbaric society it is the women who will be the worst affected. I do not know how many of us have seriously considered this, but in all these years that I have been in Parliament, in the few years that I spent while working with the Human Rights Movement, one fact that has stood starkly out is this. It does not matter which religion it is, it does not matter which class of society it is, it does not matter which caste we are referring to it is the women who are always the worst sufferers, and in a society where fundamentalism bears the lowest common denominator, where the most primitive urges of the society begin to surface, the people who are affected the most are women. I do not say this lightly. I say this for a reason. Even if you take the practice of *Sati* during the British time, when Lord William Bentinck abolished *Sati*, research has found that whenever there were economic constraints, whenever there were difficulties in society whenever people found that daily life was being threatened with some kind of difficulty, a kind of insecurity made them want to reassert an identity—perhaps the identity of a community, perhaps the identity of a caste. They began to find pride in chauvinistic attachment to either their region or to their caste or to their community and women were considered the trophies, women were considered the chattels by this kind of narrow-minded people. That is why in today's India when

our daily life is being threatened by various kinds of insecurity—our economic insecurity insecurities of day-to-day life, it is the women who become the immediate target. This is why when a young girl from a particular caste marries a boy from a lower caste, the people of the village get together and hang her. This is what happened in Haryana recently. This is why when a girl belonging to the Hindu religion or to Islam marries a boy from another religion, immediately communal riots break out. The sense of tolerance that we have been fostering from Independence is, to my mind, rapidly getting eroded. Again, what we fail to see while we are discussing at great length the effects of communalism and fundamentalism in our society what we fail to see is, it is the women who are being harmed, it is the women who are being told that they should cover their heads with sarees or chunnis and go back inside. Every religion, no matter which it is, finally turns around and tells the women that their job is to stay at home and that they should not go out. It is up to them to keep up the honour of the religion by staying at home, by not coming out, by not participating in the progress of the society. Madam, it is true that women will be the total sufferers, if fundamentalism and communalism are allowed to go unchecked in our polity today.

Madam, personally speaking, I do not want to go into the details. I do not want to go into the history. I would like to apologise, if what I am going to say causes offence to anybody. But it amazes me that anybody could emotionally get worked up so much. Many parties may resort to expression of genuine emotion, political expediency. We may resort to political expediency. The opposition parties may resort to political expediency. All of us may report to, from time to time, political expediency. I am not talking about that but about genuine emotion. I understand that religion is a very fundamentally emotional issue. History is replete with examples of how in the name of religion, wars

have been fought, wars have been won, wars have been lost, how people have been killed, how societies have been destroyed. I understand all that. But today's India, I for one fail to see how all this passion, outrage, excitement, murder, mayhem, killing, riots can be excited. Over an issue like Ayodhya in the name of Ram. If all this passion and excitement had been directed towards getting one man or one woman getting a job, towards getting one girl child educated, towards saving one female foetus from being killed at birth, if all this passion and enthusiasm and outrage had been directed to achieve one job for one human being in this country, then, it would have been well worth it. But it would like to say with great regret that the actual motivation of this kind of an outrage is, perhaps, a political motivation and to keep it at the political level is one thing. But today we have reached the Lakshman rekha, once we cross this rekha, the society would be destroyed. Madam, we have seen what has begun to happen, one kind of fundamentalism, one kind of an outrage immediately breeds a reaction breeds a backlash, immediately breeds fundamentalism in another religion. Please see what has happened in the past. This House has witnessed uproarious scenes over what has happened in Maharashtra. Today, Shri Suresh Pachouri has dealt with what Shri Bal Thackeray has said, at great length. We have been raising this issue in this House. Madam, he said that he was grieved of Nathu Ram Godse. He said that Mahatma "Gandhi was not the Father of the Nation. He said that even though Mahatma Gandhi said he would die if the country was partitioned, yet the country was partitioned. He said that only Maharashtrians should live in Bombay. He has said so many things. At that time, whatever he said could have been dismissed as the ravings of an insecure human being. But today

that cannot be dismissed because he has also declared that he controls the Government of Maharashtra through a remote control. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra has tried his best to try and somehow dilute what Mr. Thackeray has said. But he was unable to do that either. I only want to refer to it for one reason and that is that it has now reached a stage when the "Gateway of India" which is at Bombay will have to be renamed as the "Get away from India". We have now reached a stage that without entry permits, we cannot enter Bombay. If he thinks that we need entry permits to enter Bombay, then, it is wrong. After all Bombay belongs to all of us. Bombay belongs to the nation. Bombay doesn't belong to a single person. This is another example of destruction of the political fabric of any society, total intolerance, intolerance of religion, intolerance of a caste, intolerance of other regions. I do not want Tamilians to settle down in Maharashtra. I do not want people from Bengal to settle down in Maharashtra; and invite Maharashtrians from all over the country to come back and settle down in Maharashtra. This is the most unfortunate thing. I do not know if the new Government in Maharashtra wants to throw out Indians belonging to other States from Maharashtra. But we on our part welcome Indians of all States to come and live in our State.

We do not want to send them away. This is an example of the destruction of our polity of the intolerance. This is certainly not a constructive way to begin to build the India of our dreams and the India of the future.

Madam, Mr. Suresh Pachouri has already dealt with it in great detail and I will not go further than that on the point of what Rashtrapathiji has said about Ayodhya. The main

thrust of Rashtrapathiji's Address, his unmistakable message, is that the economic reforms and liberalisation are here to stay. And Rashtrapathiji was equally unequivocal that India's vast mass of underprivileged people will be the focus of Government's special and anxious attention. Rashtrapathiji's more significant statement, however, is that it is necessary to strengthen the confidence of the investors in our economy and of the people of our country particularly, the most underprivileged, the most disadvantaged, sections of the society. Rashtrapathiji, if I may say so with respect, has put the issues squarely into focus. Today, the agenda the country has to concentrate on is the economic agenda. Today, we either reform, pull up our socks, or perish. Unfortunately, attempts have been made to politicise the economic reforms. This does not bode well for our country; this does not bode well for our economy: because no longer can we afford the luxury of quibbling, of talking about it, of flinging invectives at each other, of politicising it. We have to pull up our socks or we perish.

For the last four years, the propaganda against the reforms has been as vigorous as the defence of the reforms has been weak and sporadic. Frankly, Madam, as far as the reforms are concerned, I do not see what we have to be apologetic about. Everybody knows that the reforms initiated in 1991 have made the country solvent once more. The country was on the brink of economic disaster, of economic collapse. These reforms have made the country solvent once more. From 900 million dollars in June 1991, our reserves have climbed up to 19.5 billion dollars today. This has not only given the country an economic cushion that it needs for an industrial take-off but it has also restored out political sense. Despite claims to the contrary

But it is merely the legacy of the Government's achievement. It is not the actual achievement. A greater achievement was to set India squarely on the course of sustained and sustainable growth which promises not only a six-per cent growth-rate for some time, but also will totally wipe out the unemployment problem in the next 10—15 years.

But there is one crucial area that we have failed in a substantial way. This Government has failed to market the reforms. This Government has failed to make the people understand, the people of this country understand, how and why these reforms are necessary why these reforms are so necessary that unless we perform we perish, in this crucial aspect, we have failed. And this is why the reforms have been caught in a mesh of false and disingenuous propaganda.

Today there are several misconceptions about the reforms. The first misconception is that the reforms are turning it from planning to *laissez-faire*. It is true that the proposed reforms, in key aspects, are allowing a greater play for the market. It is true. But why? When bureaucrats have a stranglehold on the economy, when bureaucrats have a stranglehold upon the industry, there is no way at all that industry can prosper or can flourish, therefore, the reforms have intended to refocus policy intervention and not to eliminate it. This is a very important concern. We have to refocus the policy intervention of the Government. It is not that the Government is going to disappear from the picture: it is not that the Government is going to totally abdicate its responsibility and make way for a free-for-all. It is none of those things. It is just that the attention of the Government will be refocused on areas where it is actually required. The reforms are about appropriate intervention and not no intervention. The whole idea is to take Government out of some areas where Government's presence is unnecessary and use Government's attention to concentrate

upon the areas where Government's attention is necessary and vital. There is no option but to completely dismantle the extensive framework of licensing, of regulations and ultimately, Madam, if this happens successfully, the picture that emerges before us is that the Government will be involved in the key areas, fiscal and monetary management, education, public health, science and technology and trade management.

The second misconception about the reforms is that we are abandoning the poverty alleviation programmes for growth that all these years the successive Governments at the Centre have concentrated upon. They have concentrated upon the alleviation of poverty of our rural areas and this Government is attempting to emphasise growth, growth of the economy, growth of industry and has decided to abandon the poverty alleviation altogether. Madam, nothing could be farther than from the truth. Poverty alleviation and growth are not mutually exclusive. The only way to achieve poverty alleviation is by impacting upon growth. Proper growth and constructive growth is the only way by which poverty can be truly alleviated in this country. Madam, it is the failure to achieve growth and not emphasis on growth that has led to poverty. We did not emphasise growth sufficiently all these years. If we had done it, then we would have been much down on the road to poverty alleviation than we are today. Even our ability to finance the governmental support for anti-poverty programmes will cripple if there is no growth at all. From Pandit ji's time, this has happened. There is no change.

Another misconception is that the Congress has completely discarded Pandit Ji's approach, the approach of our leaders, that has taken the country successfully so far ahead on the path of progress. This is not true. Even in Pandit Ji's time, growth was regarded as a way of impacting on poverty. Growth is not a trickle-down approach. I have gone through several articles, I have read several criticisms saying that a trickle down approach is what we are aiming at and this will

never trickle down to the people who actually need it. This is an incorrect apprehension. What is being aggressively advocated today is not a trickle down approach. It is an aggressive strategy to pull up and not for benefits to trickle down. It is an aggressive strategy to pull up our economy, to pull up our reforms, to pull up our industry, to pull up export and to make India competitive in the world market because we cannot live like an ostrich. We cannot say that we will live like this, we will live in this particular way and do not care what happens to the rest of the world. We have to live with the rest of the world. We have to become a part of the world community and if we could not become a part of the world community, we have no choice but to compete on an international level in a market economy.

Madam, another misconception about reforms is of conditionality. Time and again, criticism has been levelled against the Government that the Government is succumbing to the pressure of the World Bank, to the IMP pressure that we become slaves of the World Bank or we become slaves of the IMF. Madam, to be honest, I do not understand this argument at all. If something is good for the country, if reasons and logic and the best of our economists suggest that this course of action is good for this country, I fail to see any reason why we should not pursue that course of action merely because it is the same thing that the World Bank or the IMF want. This is just a political game aimed at destabilising a successful Government. Madam, conditionality is irrelevant. The only object that should be before our eyes and the only sincere criticism that can be directed against the Government is, if there is a genuine apprehension that this will be against the interest of the country, then it should be avoided. If these steps are actually good for the country, it is completely irrelevant who else has suggested the steps or if anybody else has suggested it. I think, it would be a shame for all of us to declare that a country like India, with a Society like ours, all of us would not stand with our head held high because

we are capable of even being influenced by such observations made by the World Bank or the IMF. The need of the hour is, therefore, a clear and repeated affirmation of reforms with the greater momentum and speed for these reforms.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [SHRI SATISH AGARWAL in the Chair].

Madam, an important aspect that I would like to touch upon is that, if at all, there is a problem about these reforms, if at all, there is a fact that we have to consider very seriously, it is that even at the Central level, reforms are taking off very slowly Sir, the reforms should have taken off much faster than this. It is because of the ill-informed criticism, it is because of the sustained, ill-informed opposition that the reforms have not been able to gather the momentum which they should have gathered by now in order to achieve the maximum benefits for the country. Sir, the hard truth is that even the initiatives taken by the Government at the Centre, have not been able to engulf important areas like the ports, roads, railways, water resource's, and the Pulic Distribution System. In all these areas the Government has not been able to intervene appropriately and effectively enough till today, and unless the key reforms are undertaken in all these areas, vital infra, structural areas like the ports, water resources and others, there is no way the Government can. be successful, there is no way the full benefits of those reforms will percolate down to us.

Sir, one important aspect on which I would like to dwell is that the economy of the country does not depend solely on the efforts of the Central Government alone. And an important reason why it has not been possible to see the full benefit of the reforms is that the States are not doing their bit. I mean, Sir. the States are just not doing enough. On the contrary, the States are undoing whatever success the Centre has achieved in these economic reforms. Why in the areas in which the Centre has

succeeded in introducing transparency, delicensing, the State began to intervene and flog the reforms' process,—I say so with an example, Sir—I am going to read out to you in a moment. Take the case of Tamil Nadu. I have an article written by an eminent economist who is Director-General of the National Council of Applied Economic Research: A clear message from the highest political powers in Tamil Nadu':

"That the State was respective and open. The investment was vital to place it once again on the forefront of industrialised States in India",

Prof. Rao said. Sir, this economist has further said:

"The industrialists were expressing concern about investing in the State mainly due to corruption at various levels, disinterest displayed at the policy-making level."

He, however, lauded the State bureaucracy as a good Civil Service, but contended that it was not given much of a free hand in deciding issues. He said:

"Moreover, the inadequate representation of officials from the State at the Union has also cost the State."

Sir, "an indicator of political inattention for attracting investment was the noticeable absence of Ministerial representation at various summits, meetings of industrialists, as such forums were considered ideal to serve the State. The case of Tamil Nado was in contrast to the situation in other States like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka or Haryana", he pointed out.

"Though the State is presently ranked fifth in the approval of foreign direct investment and fourth in the country in terms of market capitalisation, this was not due to the steps taken by the Government or the assurances given, but because of the inherent strength and the past richness of the State."

Sir, he said much more, but I do not want to go into that. Sir, I would refer to one more paragraph:

"Prof. Rao expressed concern over the decline in educational standards, especially at the university level in the States. Earlier Tamil Nadu offered the best of educational facilities, but now, the universities were a hollow facade. Political interference has resulted in a fall in educational standards and if the present trend is continued, its advantages in education, especially in engineering, would go to Karnataka".

be cautioned.

Sir, therefore, the question is What are the States doing? Sir, I have an editorial also from a major newspaper and I would just like your indulgence to refer to what it says:

"When the State Governments present their Annual Budgets, they will have to formulate new strategies for growth with a focus on infrastructural facilities. More States have shown little inclination to launch administrative reforms, to cut red tape and corruption. More importantly, while the Centre has progressively dismantled the licence-permit quota regime, the State Governments have failed to streamline the bureaucracy and strengthen their infrastructure. Not many have launched schemes to improve irrigation and formulate policies for modernising agriculture; to help agro-based industries. Whether they have; the political will to undertake reforms matching with the Centre's economic liberalisation programme will only be known when the States present their Budgets."

Sir, the States have shown a noticeable lack of political will in truly implementing the course of the economic reforms. What the States are actually doing is

indulging in competitive populism. In one State after another growth has been abandoned and populism has been taken up in order to win elections. This is a very narrow-minded, myopic, short-sighted strategy for the future of this country. We have the prime example of Andhra Pradesh where the present Chief Minister announced a Rs. 2 a kg. rice scheme.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal): Sir, I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): What do you want to say?

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, she is discussing the role of the State Governments. We know that in a federal polity we have different political forces.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, what is the rule under which he is raising a point of order?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): There is no point of order.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: don't understand it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mrs. Natarajan, you continue and conclude.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, there is no interest in *the House* unless somebody fights with Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, we have the prime example of the State of Andhra Pradesh which I was referring to. In their election manifesto, the present Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh announced a Rs. 2 a kg. rice scheme without any money in the treasury. Today, he is before the Central Government requesting for money. Whether, it was given or not, I do not know, But the fact remains that today the State of Andhra Pradesh has had to borrow

from a private company, Peerless, in order to finance the economy of the State in order to finance the Government of the State. This is the sorry situation to which we are driven when the leaders who should have been more responsible, begin to indulge in competitive populism instead of looking at the interests, at the progress, at the future progress, of the nation as a whole. Sir, the States, therefore, have to face some very hard options. If the economy of this country has to succeed, if our economy has to progress, if we are to go down on the path of progress and join the comity of nations with our heads held high, the only way to do it is the Centre and the State Governments working hand in hand, educating the people and expressing their concern about the disadvantaged people and working together to pull this nation out of the crisis into which it has fallen today.

Sir, I only want to say one or two things more about the reforms. Having said all this about the immense importance of the reforms, about the tremendous job that this Government headed by Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao has done in placing the economic reforms squarely on the agenda of the nation as opposed to resorting to a narrow political agenda, I would like to use this opportunity to voice my concern and to say that, while we have done all this, while the Government is aware that the economic reforms have to be speedily implemented, we should also be equally aware that there is a vast mass of under privileged and disadvantaged people in this country and that we have to turn our attention to these people also.

Sir, much has been said about a human face, about a human facade to the reforms. I don't like to use the word 'facade' because it is not a question of facade. It is not merely a cosmetic finish upon the reforms. But I am deeply concerned about the actual impact of these reforms. Where is it going to hit? Who are really going to benefit from these reforms? Is the attention in this country going to be diverted from what many of us feel are vital areas of social security to other areas which are not as important to the lowest

Indians to the poorest and the most disadvantaged Indians. Therefore, it is not a facade. It has to be a way of life. When we talk about the economic reforms, when people just get up and talk in a glib manner about the economic reforms, the reason why I feel slightly at sea is, the reforms are essentially macro-economic level policies. They relate to dismantling controls. They relate to globalisation. They relate to free entry of foreign technology and investment in power, petroleum and telecom sectors. They relate to the reforms of the financial sector, to its development, restructuring, and integration with the world market and finally, transparency and discipline in the fiscal system. This cannot possibly have a human face. These are matters of policy. These are matters of Government policy on which only the Government can take a decision. It is a matter of direction. It is a matter of ideology. This cannot have a human face. What we are really talking, however, is of Government intervention in crucial sectors that affect the life of people. What we are seriously concerned with is that attention to these macro economic details should not take away Government's intervention wherever it is badly needed is sorely needed. In vital sectors like education, like health, like the public Distribution System, like the IRDP, like the minimum needs programme, Government's intervention, Government's anxious attention is very much needed. The most sensible and the most practical way of implementing the reforms would be by concentrating side-by-side, on these sectors as well Sir, over the years, all these programmes have been reviewed by both official and non-official agencies. What has emerged from these reports is that there is deficiency and leakage in all Government interventions like the IRDP, like the PDS and like the minimum needs programme. Sir, as early as 1987, our then Prime Minister, our beloved leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, pointed out that only 15 per cent of the benefit meant to help the most disadvantaged people actually reached the target beneficiary. More than 85 per cent of these funds are squandered

away in the name of institutional expenses, administrative expenses, in salaries and in whatever way the State Governments divert them to. Time and again, Members of Parliament, elected representatives belonging to this House and the other House, have screamed themselves hoarse that State Governments are diverting into other fields funds which the Central Government had granted for IRDP and for Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. Allegations have been made, I do not know if they are true, that even in Bihar, at some time, all these funds were being used to pay salaries of Government employees. Sir, therefore, our hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our late revered leader, tried to introduce power to the people, tried to introduce grassroot democracy in the country by revitalising the Panchayati Raj institution. This was Mahatma Gandhi's dream. His dream of power to the people, his dream of three tiers of Panchayat, of local administration where the people of every village, of every ward would have the right to decide the programmes that they wanted, would decide what they wanted to build, what they wanted to achieve, a dream where one-third of the seats were reserved for women, for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes so as to finally empower them because political empowerment is something which they cannot possibly dream of unless the Government intervenes and helps them to get it. We all know, many of us were Members here, that for reasons best known to themselves, my friends in the Opposition in those days voted against this Bill.

Later, Sir, our Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao brought back the dream of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and of Mahatma Gandhi. The Panchayati Raj institution has become a law. But what is the effectiveness of the Central Government, I ask myself and I would like to ask the Government. Sir, the law was passed two years ago. The Constitution 73rd and 74th amendment Bills were passed two years ago, exactly two years ago yesterday. The requirement in these Bills was that within a period of one year, as soon as may be possible, all the State

Governments would have to enact legislations to fall in line with the Constitutional amendments. All the State Governments did it with the sole exception of the Government of Tamil Nadu. It did it on the last possible day. It enacted the Panchayati Raj legislation on the 23rd of April, 1994. The AIADMK party which, is represented by Mr. Swaminathan and my other friends over here and the DMK party were the only parties which had voted against the Panchayati Raj legislation, for reasons again best known to themselves which, I am sure, they will dwell upon when they speak. They voted against the Constitutional amendments. I do not know why an amendment which was pro-poor in my opinion, an amendment which was meant to take power to the people of this country, to take power to the grass-root levels, they voted against it and in total consonance with their action in the Parliament, they also did not bring about, did not enact the required legislation. It was mandatory to enact it within one year. Finally, because they had no choice under the Constitution, they enacted a legislation on the last possible day. And now the Panchayati Raj Act of Tamil Nadu also is in force. Sir, almost one year has passed and no rules have been framed under the Act. A State Election Commissioner for Panchayati elections has been appointed. He was functioning from a single room for many months. It is only now that he has gone into an office. Sir, the work of revising the electoral rolls has not even begun. The work of delimiting the constituencies has not yet begun. Actually, the State Government has not even made, a request to the State Election Commissioner who cannot begin to do this work unless a request is made. In any case, the Government is not bothered to frame the rules under which these elections are to be held. One year has gone. Sir, in October, 1994... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. RAJAN CHELLAPPA (Tamil Nadu): The State Election Commissioner has gone on tour... (*Interruptions*). Action has already been taken... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Have the rules been framed?

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI (Tamil Nadu): Yes... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: The rules have not been framed... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. RAJAN CHELLAPPA: Our Chief Minister has already announced in the Legislative Assembly that everything is ready, that the Government of Tamil Nadu is ready to hold the elections... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That is what I am telling you... (*Interruptions*) I am asking you to hold the elections... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: Sir, even after knowing the facts, she is deliberately blaming the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am not here to defend your Chief Minister. I am here to speak on behalf of the Congress Party... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: You make charge against the Tamil Nadu Election Commissioner. You only defend your Prime Minister.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That is what I am doing. I am defending my Prime Minister... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Our Chief Minister has already stated in the Assembly that the election will be held by July-

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mrs. Natarajan, don't Join issues with them.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: No, Sir. I cannot understand their interventions... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. RAJAN CHALLAPPA: You always make allegations against our Chief Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mrs. Natarajan, you said that the rules had not been framed. They are saying that the rules have been framed and that it has been announced in the Assembly.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, they do not even know whether the rules have been framed.. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has already announced in the Assembly that the elections will be held by July.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, since you have permitted him to refer to the Assembly, in the same Assembly, the Minister for Local Administration has said that neither in the Constitutional Amendment nor in the Pandhayati Raj Legislation enacted by the State has any time frame been given. They have amended the Panchayati Raj legislation which they themselves, passed, in order to extend the term of the special officers till December, 1995. Even if they begin the work today there is no way that they can hold the elections by July because they have not delimited the constituencies. Sir, there is a limit to falsehood and sycophancy in this House. At least they must be aware of the facts. There is no way that they can hold the elections until December.. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, this is not Tamil Nadu Assembly. She cannot discuss it here.. (*Interruptions*).

श्री कनेश्वर मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
साइकोफैसी तो असंसीय है सर । . . .  
(व्यवधान) . . . . साइकोफैसी पर ये इतना  
बोलेंगी और उसको डिफेंड करेंगी . . . .  
(व्यवधान) . . . . अगर ये साइकोफैसी इन  
लोगों के लिए कहती हैं चीफ मिनिस्टर  
के लिए इस्तेमाल करती है तो वही  
साइकोफैसी अपने प्राइम-मिनिस्टर के लिए  
इस्तेमाल करें । . . . . (व्यवधान) ।

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The lady speaks as if there is no sycophancy in the Congress party, as if there is sycophancy in Tamil Nadu alone.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Yes, Mr. Swaminathan, let her conclude her speech... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, she should not use strong words like sycophancy and all that. Sycophancy is there in the Congress also. Why should she accuse the State Government? The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has already stated that the elections will be held by July. Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan creates problems. This is not Tamil Nadu Assembly where we can reply. I cannot reply on behalf of my Government. The point is, we are sincere. We want to hold the elections. If we have got the term of the officers extended until December, it is only as an abundant caution that we have done it. We have all intentions to hold the elections in July. And it has been announced in the Assembly. She may not believe it... She says, "They have not done this and they have not done that." Neither I nor any member of our party can reply on behalf of the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I have a reason for saying it. I am not making a political speech. I tell you the reason why I am referring to it,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): This problem cannot be resolved here.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Mr. Swaminathan has already intervened, and he has made his position clear. Let me explain to you why I am referring to it. I am not doing it for any narrow political gain. He says that they are going to hold the elections by July.. We all know that the local self-Government Ministers' meeting was held in Delhi

in October, 1994 wherein the Committee of the Local Self-Government Ministers adopted a Resolution stating that the Panchayati Raj elections in all the States would either be announced or be completed before 24th of April, 1995. This is the reason why I am very anxious about the State. But my friends on the other side seem to think that because they are running the Government there, they have a monopoly. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, the Prime Minister has stated that funds will continue to be released irrespective of the fact whether the Panchayat elections have been held or not. This was the announcement made by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has already clarified the matter. *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): The funds will not be held back only on account of non-holding of panchayat elections.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Central Government has not withheld the release of funds. *(Interruptions)* ..

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: First you try to conduct elections in Kashmir. *(interruptions)*

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, we are celebrating the silver jubilee of the Madras Corporation, after 25 years of its existence, without a Commissioner. I don't know what my hon. friends on the other side are saying.

**श्री महेश्वर सिंह : हिमाचल का भी बता दीजिए ।**

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You talk about Himachal Pradesh when your turn comes. I am elected from Tamil Nadu. I have a right to talk about Tamil Nadu... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Elections to Panchayat institutions are not conducted in many Congress party—ruled

States. In many States ruled by the Congress party, elections to the Panchayat institutions are not conducted. I can give you many examples of the States ruled by the Congress party where elections are not held.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): You please conclude in five minutes.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Perhaps, Mr. Swaminathan is not aware—he has not read the news item properly, but we have read it properly—that the hon. Prime Minister has intervened on his own. The Chief Minister replied in the State Assembly that she had never made any request to the hon. Prime Minister. The hon. Prime Minister is more concerned about the State than its own Chief Minister. That is why he, intervened on his own because the Chief Minister denied that she made a request to him. He intervened on his own and for the last quarter of 1994, an amount of Rs. 130 crores was released. Now I am talking about the Rs. 315 crores which are due for 1995-96 which will not be forthcoming from the Central Government unless these elections are held.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is because we have taken a decision that we will not support the Congress Government at the Centre. Most probably they are trying not to release the funds because of the recent decision we have taken not to support them. The issue should not be politically motivated. The hon. Prime Minister promised that funds would be released. Don't try to make use of these developments for stopping the funds to the poor people.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: They don't hold the elections for the poor people for 25 years and they are talking about stoppage of funds. What is this?

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think she is speaking on the Motion of Thanks to the

President's Address. We have digressed from this to Tamil Nadu. I think she has to come back to the track.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Mr. Viren J. Shah, I am elected from the State of Tamil Nadu. I owe a duty to the State of Tamil Nadu, to the people of Tamil Nadu to defend its interests.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: I am sorry to say that the President's Address concerns the whole nation.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: But I have a duty to speak about my State. I am standing here to represent the people of Tamil Nadu and it is my duty to speak for them.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: With due apology to you, I request you to confine yourself to the Motion of Thanks. Otherwise, it will be degenerated into an argument between the Members of the Tamil Nadu and others. I am sure there are many other things to be said.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Then, you please tell your friends not to interrupt me.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Are they not your friends?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, she provokes the Members in such a manner that they will be constrained to intervene.

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mrs. Natarajan, kindly conclude now.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I would only require three or four minutes. Please don't take into account the interruptions. I am, after all, the second speaker from the Congress party.

, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): The Chair is not responsible for the interruptions. I request the hon. Members not to interrupt her. She will be concluding her speech in two or three minutes. If the Central Government is determined to see that elections to the Panchayati Raj institutions are held immediately, effective action on the part of the Central Government is called for. As Mr. Swaminathan pointed out it is not a political issue. I plead with the Prime Minister not to stand on formalities, but to please release the funds for the people of the State, whether or not elections are held because the people of Tamil Nadu should not be made the victims for the lack of political will on the part of the present Government of Tamil Nadu.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: But, Sir, if the Prime Minister feels hamstrung and inhibited by the Constitutional provisions, if the Constitution and the intended spirit of the 73rd and 74th Amendments pertaining to Panchayati Raj go against this and if in the spirit of the "Amendments, the funds cannot be released to those States which have not held the Panchayat elections—and it is only one State in the country, the State of Tamil Nadu then, I would call upon the Prime Minister to take action, as he may be advised under the Constitution under Article 261 and 262, under which he can take action against a State Government for not complying with the provisions of the Constitutional amendments. I would call upon the Prime Minister to take action... (Interruptions).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: What is the action that you are going to take (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: What is this, Sir? I am not. .... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mr. Swaminathan, please.. (Interruptions). Mr. Swaminathan.. (Interruptions).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: sir, she is quoting some law.. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): She is referring to Articles 261 and 262 and not to Article 356. Please take your seat. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, you cannot permit him to do this. (Interruptions). I am sorry, Sir. I am not here to answer them. They may have to be answered somewhere else, but not here. (Interruptions).

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is because you are quoting certain sections— (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am not yielding and I am not listening to you ----- (Interruptions) -

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Mr. Swaminathan, please take your seat.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, therefore, I would make this appeal to the Prime Minister to take action as he may be advised to take. Even the Planning Commission has taken a serious note of the siphoning off of funds which are meant for rural employment programmes in various States. There is also a serious problem of identifying the right beneficiaries for the IRDP and for ensuring that credit is available for feasible income-generating projects.

Then, here is the most important point and this is about the Public Distribution System. Sir the Public

Distribution System in the country is actually not functioning at all in an effective way to reach the right beneficiaries. The Public Distribution System has an urban-affluent orientation, supplying essential oils, cereals, rice and wheat to affluent urban areas. In the rural areas, there is hardly any Public Distribution System functioning. Therefore, Sir, this has to be examined on a priority basis. Sir, food security implies "access to adequate quantity and requisite quality of food to each house, hold at all times". This is the goal that this country has to work towards. It is a matter of great shame for every Indian that 63 per cent of the children in the country suffer from malnutrition. However, we must say that the Central Government has introduced programmes like the IRDP and the rural employment programmes which have had a tremendous impact on alleviating starvation and has not been as much as we really mal-nutrition. However, the impact wished to see. But, still, the impact is there. Therefore, I request the Central Government to concentrate upon these areas to prevent leakages and to see that the benefits reach the right people so that it can have an overall impact that the planners had actually desired while first introducing and then implementing these programmes. I will just mention them.

Education is a vital area of human resource development where the Government has to concentrate on. Then, economic reforms. No economic reforms. It is a matter of shame to us that most of the investment that the Government has been doing, has been in the field of higher education. Primary education has been woefully neglected in its proper development. Primary education is a vital sector. The phenomenon of dropouts in the age group of 5--15 has almost been institutionalised. If we have drop-

outs in the age-group of 5--15, theft the purpose of education itself in the country would be completely meaningless. Education and literacy is not a luxury here. It is a matter of empowerment of the poor people. Unless there is literacy, unless there is education, there is no way by which people can pull themselves out of the vicious circle of deprivation and poverty. Sir, only 39 per cent Indians are literate. In rural areas, it is about 30 per cent.

This is a sorry state of affairs for all country like India and the Government has to concentrate on it. Among women the literacy levels are even lower. They are quite pathetic and we have to concentrate on these. I would like to quote a UNICEF Report which says: "In the long term, almost every other aspect of progress, from nutrition to family planning; from child health to women's rights, is profoundly affected by whether or not a nation educates its girls"

One more field that I would like the Government to concentrate upon is these fields of family health. As compared to China and Sri Lanka, India's performance in this field is very poor. Their material mortality rate is 3.5 per thousand. They are a long way behind the industrialised countries whose rate is only 0.24. Again, in family health, just like in education and public distribution system, there is an urban bias. Also, Sir, the deteriorating environment all over the country has caused great difficulties to the health of rural women who have to trek long distances to fetch fuel and drinking water. So, this deteriorating environment has also affected the Health of the women of this country.

Sir, finally, I would like to say that the way in which the structural adjustment programmes are being evolved, viable as they are, necessary as

they are, for the growth of this country, there is an apprehension, probably a justified apprehension in many sectors, that women will be the worst sufferers because of the problems of the structural adjustment programmes, particularly reduction of employment opportunities, the exclusion of women workers in the production process, because there will be a reduction in wages for women and it will cause a fall in the number of women workers in times to come. Sir, steps will have to be taken to see that these structural programmes do not hit the women workers who have come through with great difficulty to join the labour force of this country, Sir, with that, I would like to second the motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Thank you.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA  
(Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the intention of Government to bring about comprehensive amendments in the electoral laws."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything to eradicate the backwardness of Uttar Pradesh."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about mitigating discontent prevailing amongst the people of Uttarakhand due to extreme poverty and backwardness nor about formation of a separate state of Uttarakhand."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about removing discontent prevailing amongst the peasants and the steps Proposed to be taken by Government in order to provide them remunerative prices of their produce."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about bringing improvement in the condition of tribals residing in Mirzapur and Meja-Bara Tehsil, Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh)."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything to eliminate unemployment amongst educated and uneducated youths in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about solving the housing problem and providing dwelling units to the shelterless people."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about improving the situation in backward regions of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about controlling the prices of essential commodities and containing steep rise in the cost of living."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about concrete steps to be taken by Government in order to stop barbaric atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and the Weaker Sections."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about any plan to do away with the custom of manual scavenging."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about providing uninterrupted supply of power to the peasants."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the reforms to be made in the working of the nationalised banks,"

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any programme for implementation of Assam accord."

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

"but regret that the Address, does not mention about any concrete step to be taken to check the communal tendencies and tension."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything to incorporate the 'Right to Work' as a fundamental right in the Constitution"

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the provision of unemployment allowance to the unemployed persons."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the land reforms"

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to improve the standard of living of the agricultural labourers and the landless people."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to stop the misuse of the Door-darshan and the all India Radio by the ruling party to serve its purposes"

55. 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 to improve the condition of the people living below the poverty line."

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

but regret that the Address does not mention about any effective time-bound programme to check the losses being incurred due to floods, excessive rainfall and droughts every year."

57. 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 improve and modernise the Bamroli airport at Allahabad in ... Uttar Pradesh."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of Punjab Accord (Rajiv-Longowal Accord)."

59. 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 by Government in order to solve the acute drinking water crisis in various regions of the country"

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

... "but regret that the Address does not mention about the necessity of checking the migration of villagers from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment."

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

but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken to check the unabated mushrooming of slums in the urban areas."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme to check the exhibition of obscene, indecent and sex depicting posters at public places."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to end the use of English, which is a symbol of colonialism and a foreign language in the official work in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to retrieve the unauthorisedly occupied Indian territory from China: and implementation of the Resolution of 1962, passed by Parliament."

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65.. 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 eradicate dowry system."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to "revamp the sick-industries."

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

"but regret that the "Address" does not mention about any plan to improve the conditions of Central Government pensioners."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to provide adequate compensation to farmers for the land acquired from them."

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

but regret that the Address does not mention about the resentment arising out of procedural lacunae in the appointment of the Governors of States."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to check the profligacy of Government."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any plan to provide cheap and speedy justice to common man."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to fix the maximum limits of the income and expenditure."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of Government to eradicate corruption prevailing at higher levels and the lack of will power in Government to do so and to appoint Lok Pal."

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

"but regret that the Address does

not mention about the continuously increasing liability of the Government regarding the payment of foreign debts."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of Government to unearth black money and the amounts deposited in foreign banks by Indian and to punish the guilty."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the demand for according the status of industry to agriculture."

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

but regret that the Address does not mention about any positive steps to be taken regarding inflation, unemployment and agriculture except for certain stereotyped phrases and platitudes."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any steps" to be taken to check the activities of communal and chauvinistic forces which are posing threats to the secularism of the country."

79. That at the *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 the Government to solve the problems of Jammu & Kashmir."

"

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

"but regret that the Address fails to give an assurance to the effect that Government will not misuse the provisions of Article 356 of the Constitution as has been done for the last many years in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about effective measures proposed to be taken to bring down the prices, particularly of consumer goods for providing relief to the common man."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action to be taken to punish the persons involved in the, security

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken by Government to eradicate illiteracy fully from the country."

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

"but regret that, the Address fails to mention, any scheme to provide compulsory and, free education to all boys/girls below the age of 14 years."

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

but regret that the Address fails to mention any scheme to eradicate child labour from the country. Indest is statmet.

*Address*

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete step to be taken to check the adulteration of foodgrains."

SHRIMATI CHANDRA KALA PANDEY (West Bengal): Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving unemployment allowance"

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about inclusion of 'the.' "Right of Work' as fundamental right in the Constitution of India."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing alternative employment to the workers rendered unemployed due to closure of sick, industries."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about adverse impact of Drug Policy on 'health for all' programme"

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the sale of unproven contraceptives by multinational which is harmful for women health "

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for laying a gas pipe line in West Bengal."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about allocation of funds for exploration of oil and gas in West Bengal."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the pending projects in West Bengal."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the improvement of transport and communication system of Eastern and North-East States."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the government to allot more funds for completion of railway projects and take up gauge conversion in West Bengal."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to re-open closed fertiliser units and carry-out modernisation programme to boost production and thereby reduce import."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about huge import off fertiliser."

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE  
(West Bengal): Sir I beg. to move:

137. That at the end of the Motion, the following-be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about indecision in reviving HFC and FCI plants inspite of Standing Committee recommendations."

138. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be added, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about zonal imbalance " in fertiliser production created through under capacity utilisation/non-running of HFC and FCI plants."

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address, about the fact that nutrient balance in soil had sharply deteriorated since decontrol of nitrophosphate and potassic fertilisers."

140. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that investible surplus in public sector and cooperative sector is not being utilised through merger of sick public<sup>1</sup> sector fertiliser units with healthy companies to meet the demand of fertilisers within the country."

141. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about revival of sick public sector units as per a time bound schedule."

142. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that indigenous capital goods industry is facing a major crisis because of government's policy."

143. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the crisis in wagon manufacturing industries in West Bengal."

144. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the setting up of gas based power stations and industries in Tripura."

145. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the revision of rate of royalty on coal."

146. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about delayed payment and non-payment of salaries and wages to employees of sick Public Sector Undertakings."

147. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about

the failure of the government to deposit statutory dues like P.F. and E.S.I. for the sick Public Sector Undertakings."

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR  
(Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move:

148. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps Government propose to take to tackle the fast deteriorating law and order situation in Jammu a Kashmir in the wake of series of bomb blasts in Jammu during the Republic Day celebration in last January."

149. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

but regret that the Address does not mention about the plight of Kashmiri migrants and the measures Government propose to take to rehabilitate them."

150. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the measures Government intend to take to meet challenge posed by the growing insurgency in the North-Eastern States."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps Government propose to take to control the prices of essential commodities and to check the steep increase in the cost of living."

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

"but regret that the Address does

not mention about the measures Government intend to take to bring down the rising inflation rate."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's plan to tackle the rampant corruption in administration."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's action plan and issuance of directions to State Government to check the migration of rural population to urban areas."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention as to what effective steps Government have taken or propose to take to trace the end-use of the securities scam money."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's determination to tackle the growing menace of ISI (of Pakistan) activities in India."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's plan to flush out foreign mercenaries operating in Jammu & Kashmir and other parts of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any time bound plan for solving the ever-growing unemployment problem and to provide employment opportunities to unemployed youths of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps Government propose to take to remove discontentment prevailing amongst the farmers by providing them remunerative prices for their agricultural produce."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps Government propose to take to stop effectively the spread of Punjab militants' tentacles in other States."

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

"but regret that the Address does mention about the Government's directive to all State Governments with a view to stop atrocities on Harijan/women/tribals."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the safeguards Government have taken against the economic uncertainty and other short comings that may arise in the wake of Government's economic reform policy."

163. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps Government propose to take to curb the unproductive expenditure."

164. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps Government intend to take to check the declining tax revenue."

165. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps Government have taken to preserve the interests of the nation in the World Trade Organisation."

166. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention as to what concrete measures Government have taken for promoting export of manufactured goods."

167. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about the steps Government have taken to safeguard the interest of the weaker sections of the country in the wake of the new economic policy."

168. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about Government's plan to improve P.D.S, working in such a way to insure proper relief to poor and middle class."

169. That at the *end*, of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not

mention about Government's action plan to meet the threat to our security because of the expanding Pakistani military nuclear programme."

170. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not mention as to what steps Government have taken to check the KLF activities outside Punjab like in Rajasthan."

171. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about the necessary safeguards required before schemes for privatisation of education and health sectors are introduced."

172. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not mention the steps Government have taken to check the smuggling of arms into Kashmir from Pakistan."

173. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about the electoral reforms and other effective steps Government propose to take to put an end to malpractices in the present day electoral system."

174. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the measures Government propose to take for creation of a new State of Uttarakhand as demanded by the people and proopsed twice by U.P. Legislative Assembly."

175. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's action plan for the improvement in the living conditions of people of backward areas."

176. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in Address about steps to prevent effectively devaluation of the rupee."

177. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about what effective steps Government propose to take to check the flow of illegal migrants from across the border particularly from the Eastern border."

178. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's proposal to deport the illegal Bangladeshi migrants from the country."

179. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"But regret that there is no mention in the Address as to how Government intend to face the grave danger posed by the presence in large number of unauthorised settlers from Bangladesh"

180. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's will to solve the inter-state water disputes to the satisfaction of all concerned."

181. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps Government propose to take to improve the telecommunication services in the country to the satisfaction of the subscribers."

182. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding the measures adopted by Government to check the rising! revenue deficit GFD ratio."

183. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address as to how Government propose to maintain efficiency and effectively of the army after reducing the limits to required standards—"

184. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the policy brutalities on the Uttarakhand demonstrators in Khatima on September 1, 1994 and near Muzaffarnagar on October 1 last year and great failure to punish the high officers found guilty by the C.B.I."

185. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's will to stop funding populist schemes as these have invariably "benefited" the unscrupulous."

186. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address as to how Government propose to check the better-off-section from exploiting the process of liberalisation for their benefit and as a result harming the weaker sections."

187. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the welfare schemes to be adopted by the Government for the senior citizens of the country."

188. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding health care schemes for the senior citizens."

189. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address as to how the Government propose to check the drift towards western culture being promoted by media."

190. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"But regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's failure to promote sense of unity amongst the people."

191. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need to preserve and promote Indians culture among the people."

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Sir, I beg to move:

192. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the rampant corruption in the country in general and particularly about two scams, viz. Securities Scam and sugar import scam which had completely rocked the country and the steps taken by Government to obviate the chances of occurrence of such scams in future."

193. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that Address does not mention about the extensive misuse of Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA) by the authorities concerned and the need to put an end to the abuse of human rights and the assault on human dignity perpetrated in the name of TADA."

194. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to highlight the deteriorating law and order situation in the country particularly in Jammu & Kashmir State and the steps taken by Government to improve the situation."

195. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the increasing crimes against women and weaker sections of the society and the steps taken to combat effectively the situation."

196. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the achievements made in the implementation of the various rural development schemes like IRDP, Jawahar Rajgar Yojana and the Employment Assurance Scheme."

197. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that Address does not mention any concrete directions to contain the wide spread terrorist activities in the country."

198. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the details steps taken or required to be taken to assist the sagging small scale industrial sector."

199. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that Address does not mention any concrete suggestions to contain the rising neck-breaking inflation and spiralling prices."

200. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does contain any programme for the eradication of poverty and upliftment of poor and down-trodden"

201. That at the *end* of the motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the atrocities on and rape of women volunteers of Uttarakhand in Muzaffarnagar (UP) by the personnel

of security forces, about the details of CBI report in this regard and the action taken against the persons involved in such a heinous crime."

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any comprehensive plan for tackling the increasing problems of unemployment in the country and under-employment in the agriculture sector;

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any proposal for establishing the institutions of Lok Pal and Lok Ayukta to curb rampant corruption at the higher levels;

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any time-bound programme for providing basic and elementary facilities like electricity, drinking water, primary schools and postal facilities in all the villages in the country;

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any scheme to check corruption in the Public Distribution System;

256. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any policy to control the rising prices of essential items of daily use like flour, pulses, vegetables, milk, sugar, etc.;

257. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the huge pendencies of cases in the courts and need for evolving ways and means to provide immediate and cheap justice;

258. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not contain any time-bound programme for tackling the insurgency problems of the North-Eastern region and for speedy industrial development of this region;

259. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the increasing frauds in the Nationalised Banks and need for effective measures to tackle these frauds;

260. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for setting up an Ombudsman for redressal of customer's grievances relating to banking services;

261. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to highlight the large-scale misuse of external assistance with

*Address,*

the total backlog in the economy mounting to several billion dollars;

262. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to highlight the delays in the utilisation of foreign loans necessitating the payment 'of huge amounts of commitment charges;

263. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to emphasize the need for taking immediate and effective steps to implement the Prasar Bharti Act passed by Parliament in 1990;

264. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to give directions to the Government to keep the broadcasting media such as All India Radio and Doordarshan free from Government control;

265. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to emphasize the need for evolving suitable ways and means to check the large-scale exodus of doctors, engineers and technologists from the country to abroad;

266. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, nameiy:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the reasons for the delay in the recasting of Nationalised Banks' Boards and *emphasize* the need for immediately filling up of the large number of vacancies of Non-official Directors on these Boards."

श्री शंकरदयाल सिंह (बिहार) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि—

267. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राजभाषा हिन्दी के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है जबकि स्वाधीनता के 47 वर्षों के पश्चात् उसे निश्चय ही उचित स्थान प्रदान किया जाना चाहिये था और इस संबंध में राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जारी किए गये आदेशों की अवहेलना करने वाले व्यक्ति को दण्ड देने का प्रावधान किया जाना चाहिए था।”

268. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार में व्याप्त गरीबी, ऊर्जा संकट और बेरोजगारी तथा इनका समुचित समाधान ढूँढने के लिए केन्द्र द्वारा की जाने वाली पहल के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।”

269. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बहुराष्ट्रिक कंपनियों के लिए भारतीय बाजार के खुल जाने के कारण “स्वदेशी” की भावना समाप्त होने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।”

270. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सामोद्योग के लिए किसी ठोस कार्यक्रम और उस रचनात्मक कार्य के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है जो राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की 125वीं जयन्ती तथा संत बिनोबा की 100वीं जयन्ती के अवसर पर प्रस्तुत किया जाना चाहिए था।”

271. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में प्रसार भारती का गठन करके संवाद समितियों

Address

के लिए मांग प्रशस्त किए जाने, जिसका फायदा कुछ समय पहले वर्तमान सरकार द्वारा किया गया था, के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।”

272. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

“किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कामज के बढ़ते मूल्यों के कारण पुस्तकों, समाचार-पत्रों और पत्रिकाओं के मूल्यों में तेजहाशी वृद्धि होने और इस संबंध में आवश्यक उपाए किए जाने के आश्वासन के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।”

SHRI S. MADHAVAN (Tamil Nadu):  
Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the increase in the incidents of shooting and killing of Tamil Nadu fishermen by the Sri Lankan Navy inspite of the assurance given by the Government in the Parliament and the steps taken to protect our fishermen."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken to solve the problems faced by the people of Tamil Nadu because of the ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka resulting in migration of refugees into India and thereby threatening the security of the southern parts of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken to protect the maritime interests of the country in the Southern Coastal Areas from the increasing activities of smuggling."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to

mention about the failure of the Govt, to implement the Sethusamundram Canal Project inspite of the recommendations of all the expert committees constituted by the Government."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken to restore the rights of Tamil Nadu fishermen for fishing and navigation in the historic waters between India and Sri Lanka as guaranteed under the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement entered into in the year 1974."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Govt, to set up a High Court Bench at Madurai in Tamil Nadu State inspite of the unanimous recommendation by Jaswant Singh Commission constituted by the Government."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps taken to resolve the long pending dispute in sharing Cauvery waters between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka States."

**श्री ईश बल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि—

**287. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—**

**"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश**

**में बढ़ती हुई साम्प्रदायिकता और सरकार द्वारा उसकी रोकथाम करने के प्रयासों के संबंध में उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"**

**288. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—**

**"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश से गरीबी और बेरोजगारी का शीघ्र और पूर्ण रूप से उन्मूलन करने के सरकार के प्रयासों के संबंध में उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"**

**289. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—**

**"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में बेरोजगारी को समाप्त करने के लिये रोजगारोन्मुखी शिक्षा प्रदान करने के प्रयासों के संबंध में उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"**

The questions were proposed.

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** महोदय,.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 AM. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty-nine minutes past four of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 26th April, 1995.