

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

The Vice-Chairman (Misa Saroj Khaparde) in the Chair.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON  
PRESIDENTS ADDRESS CONTD**

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (erala): Madam, Vice-Chairperson, I was mentioning about the new tendencies that are developing concerning the Centre and the States. There is confrontation between the Centre and a few States leading to a Constitutional crisis. Before I can elaborate on this point, I would like to point out one or two such instances.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Ravi, can you sit down for a minute? From your party there are nine Members who have yet to speak. I don't think I will be able to give more than eight to nine minutes to each speaker. So, please try to be brief so that everybody gets an opportunity.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I shall be very brief. In Gujarat, as soon as the BJP came to power, because of some kind of pressure from the oil lobby, they seized and sealed the godowns of the The National Dairy Development Board. This is a Central Government institution. There is a proper forum and there is a proper way of doing this. Now, you are seizing and sealing all these godowns so that the oil lobby can loot the public.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Rajasthan): This is not true.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I may be wrong. But I believe it because the prices have gone up. Madam, the question is that if every State with a non-Congress Government starts seizing and sealing the FCI godowns, where will we land ourselves? There is a proper forum where this can be discussed. This amounts to a threat. This new trend that is developing is very disturbing. We have problems from the Southern parts of the country also, Madam, there are

certain Constitutional heads like the Governor, the Chief Minister and the Speaker. Certain norms have to be followed because the Constitution that we are enjoying today is a product of the Indian revolution. I am sorry that my party lost in many States. I am sad about it. But this shows the inherent strength of our democratic system. It shows that the people have expressed their faith in the Indian Constitution and in democracy. They can defeat my party as they defeat the other parties. We appreciate that. But my question is, do the leaders of the political parties understand the sentiments of the poor people who voted them to power? What is happening in Tamil Nadu today? I do not want to go into the details. It is a piteous situation there. I am not defending the Governor. I may not agree with him. I have my own views on that. But if one person is wrong, it is not necessary that the others also should do the same thing. There should be co-existence of the Governor, Chief Minister and the Speaker. Unfortunately, there is more of confrontation than of co-existence. This has led to an unprecedented situation. The Legislature resorts to suspension of the rules. This House has some rules. And you can suspend the rules. But are we going to suspend the rules every day? I had an occasion to be in the Lok Sabha and I have the privilege to be here in this House. The Chair may throw out some Members of this House. We understand that. But we discuss and decide about it. But there is a Legislature in this country which throws out every Opposition Member every day from the Assembly. It dismisses and suspends the leaders of the Opposition parties. We have not dismissed the leaders. I do not know what is happening there. Is it democracy? It is murdering democracy within the democracy, using democracy to murder democracy. This is what is happening in Tamil Nadu. I do not want to go into the details of that. I would only quote a few lines from *The Hindi*\* which is one of the leading newspapers, an esteemed newspaper, in this country. I am not elaborating anything. I would only quote what has been said in an

editorial column. I quote: "The attack on the Governor reflected the culmination of an increasingly aggressive and authoritarian style of functioning on the part of the ruling party in the House. The AIADMK which has more than a two-thirds majority has been adopting methods that, even if technically within the rule book are undeniably violative of the spirit of democratic behaviour." What else is to be added to it? People give us majority to show our strength. And we have to use this strength to have tolerance, to hear the dissent. Unfortunately, it is lacking. That is why this kind of oppression of the Constitution prevails. It will destroy the spirit of democracy within the Constitution. We cannot allow the Constitution to be used for destroying it. Madam, I would quote one sentence more .. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): You say that the Assembly is functioning in an unconstitutional manner.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I cannot say it here. It further says: "Drowning out the dissenting voices and forcing its opinion on the entire Assembly amounts to a tyranny of the majority." Neither this side of the House nor the other side has shown tyranny here. We have shown the way. The Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha have shown the way. I would quote another important sentence which has been made in conclusion that article. It says: "A semi-fascist political culture that finds expression in violent demonstration such as outside the High Court, when a case against the leader is about to be heard, does not augur well for the law and order situation or for the prospect of democratic governance in Tamil Nadu." Can we allow this to continue? The President has said in his speech that democracy is to be made stronger. He made an overview of things. But this kind of a tendency is not good. In this respect, I wish to mention that the CPM might have been in power, but it never crossed the limits. The Janata Dal speaks from house-tops about corruption, about democracy. They speak about a lot of things. Today, my friends in the DMK would

understand that their alliance with the National Front is likely to come to an end. The DMK might have been sharing the same bed with the National Front. But their divorce is nearing. The National Front is going to have an alliance with the AIADMK. Mr. Jaipal Reddy, who has been a vocal spokesman of democracy, says: "The Janata Dal recognises the fact that the AIADMK is a non-Congress (I) Party." What does the Janata Dai-Left Front alliance mean? It only means the association of the non-Congress (.1) parties. The Chief Minister, the leader of a party, is facing trials in the Court on charges of corruption. But Mr. Jaipal Reddy and his party are not bothered about it. The Left Front is not bothered about it-- (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI (Tamil Nadu): See, Harshad Mehta had made serious charges against the Prime Minister. And what about the JPC report?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The allegations, were not proved. The hon. Member should know that suitcases are going to the Chief Minister's house in his State.

The VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS Sa-ROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Narayanasamy and Mr. Muthu Mani, have you taken my permission?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister does not see anybody without a suitcase. He is aware of the Tamil Nadu situation.

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: The Congress people are always indulging in corruption... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Have I given you the permission to speak here like this? If you don't require my permission, what is the need for me to sit here? This is not fair. Have you taken my permission to speak like this? No. I am not going to allow this kind of behaviour in this House. You must respect the.. Chair.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Madam, I orrfy would like to say that sympathise with the National Front and the Left patties fo'r their eagerness to have power. Their only criterion is non-Congressism. But mayI remind Mr. Balanandan, that the days of non-Congressism have gone. Mr. Balanandan should remember this... (*Interruptions*) . .

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bifiatr): The' Congress' is gone.. (*Inter-riptidns*).

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Congress will not go. It will be there.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Congress will never seme back.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: But Mr. Balanandan was kind enough. (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal): If the Communists go, there is no need for non-Congressism. That is over.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Why do you speak to say this? For 74 years, you have laboured. You argued for the Soviet Union. Now you don't speak about the Soviet Union. So, let us not talk about which party comes and which party goes. What happened- to the communist countries? Now the communist people" cannot say that they are communists. There are other names in Europe. So, don't speal about Congress or Communist partiess. We all have to work within the framework of Indian nationalism.

Madam, I will now come to the TADA. Thee President, in his Address, says that the-law and order position has improved. I admit that he is correct. That is why the TADA is very much attacked by everybody, by the Opposition and others in the country. I don't want to go into the details to deal with this. But I feel that the time has come or its repeal. This is my appeal. I know it is an enactment of Parliament. But who is the implementing agency? It is the State Governments. When many States edy that they don't want it, you repeal it. It is very Simple. The imp-

lementing agency is the State Government munt and the Central Government is b'amed for its misuse. the TADA has been grossly misused by thee State Governments. Therefore, I feel that the time has come—I don't want to go into the details because the time is very Limited—that it should be repealed. It should not be allowed to be extended again.

The next point is about the Subcontinent. Here the President speaks about Pakistan and its role. The President has said about this in para 41 of his Speech. I fully agree with him. Madam, I had an occasion to read the) book, "The Daughter of the East". I have great appreciation for her. When her father was hanged by the military regime, we, the people of this country, sympathised with that family. We sympathised with that family. We consider the people of Pakistan as our brothers and sisters. We are not their enemies. But, unfortunately, Begum Benazir Bhutto is dragging the Subcontinent into a cold war situation. She is begging the Americans to get arms and to set in motion an arms race in the Sub-Continent. It is going to affect the development of the entire Sub-Continent which maw create a war-like situation. It is very much unfortunate. I don't know what happened to that lady whom I consider as my sister, whom the people of this country consider as their sister. I hope wisdom will prevail upon the rulers of Pakistan. I don't know, she may have some internal problems which compel her to speak always against India. She thinks that it is a better way to continue In power. But what I feel is that we cannot compete here in arms. Arms race always means an increase in the expenditure of the country. The budget deficit Will go up again. My friend, Mr. Satish Agarwal, may like to argue for an atom bomb. But I am against it. We can spend that money for the development of our people. We can make atom bomb®. But we cannot use them. Where are you going to drop them? In the Sub-Continent? No It will affect the whole Sub-

Continent. Anybody can keep any amount of anus and ammunition. But you] cannot use the atom bombs, th© hydrogen bombs and other automatic weapons. We cannot use them. The modern world will not tolerate the use of these things. So, it is a criminal waste of money.

But, at the same time, Pakistan is supporting terrorism in this country. Madam, today smuggling of plutonium is: the most dangerous thing. It can create a havoc. We already know that Pakistan is. involved in the msuggling of plutonium. There are some other countries also who are involved in it. Then, there are some of the countries which were part of the erstwhile Soviet Union Madam. this is the most dangerous trend that the world is facing. This is a matter which is of concern not only to India but it is of concern to the whole world. Naturally we have to use the UN forum. India cannot be pray, India cannot be provoked to drag this nation; this sub-continent; into a situation of cold war. That will be very disastrous.

Madam; the whole review of the last year's performance and the projections for the next year; as brought out in the President's Address; are one of the best performances of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao's Government for bringing about stability and economic growth. So I support this Motion.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Madam, our President has painted a rosy picture of the Government's performance. Naturally, he can only do that. But for a fair discussion in the House, the Gov. ernment should come forward with the actual situation that is prevailing in the country. If we interact with each other and if we poperly discuss it, some points may emerge and then on the basis of that the Government can rorien-tare its polieies and thereby the democracy can function well. But that pro. cedure has been lost here. The position here is that the Government has lost its freedom of choice. Its policies are not being decided in Delhi or in this House. This charge is with somebody else. Whether our economy should go this way *ot*

that way, to left or to right, is being dictated by whom? It is being decided by the World Bank and the IMF. This is the whole point. Therefore, the first point that I wanted to make was that the Government has lost it freedom of choice.

Another point that I want to submit in all humility, Madam, is that the democratic traditions are also being given up. The basic democratic tradition demands that the whole approach of the Government needs change. I would go a little into the details of it.

The President hag said in his Address, "The projections made have been fulfilled in a substantial measure and it can be said with confidence now that the coun try has made a turn-around initiated by the new economic and other policies of the Government". This is a tall claim, Madam. But I don't want to deal with it now. Before dealing with the Government's achievements, etc., I go to para 4 of the President's Address which refers to *Ayodhya* .Why do I refer to this It is because this is a serious problem facing our country today and als o be. cause on it rests the country's unity as well as its secular foundations.

Madam, the issue of *Ayodhya* has been discussed in this House many a time. Now, after the Government had referred the matter to the supreme Court for a decision under Article 143 of the Constitution, we had said from our side that it should not be done like that, it should be referred under Article 138 so that we got a final decision of the Supreme Court. But the Government did not feel so. . Then the decision of the Supreme Court came. The Court put the question as to whether the Government was going to implement the decision that the Court would give. The Government side did not say anything properly. Therefore, the Court said, that it was not going to discuss it.

' Then what happened Mr. Chavan, our Home Minister, has gone on record that thethe present situation there is only one Way out. The way out is that this issue would be referred to the Supreme Court under" article 138(2). This was the assurance given toy Mr: Chavan.

Now, what does the hon. President say? The President says that the judgement recognises the possibilities of resolution of the dispute through negotiations. You may remember the story, Madam. After the Supreme Court have the judgement, the Government declared that they were going to refer it again to the Supreme Court for a decision and now our President tells us that there are possibilities of negotiation. We have seen the possibilities of negotiation just before the demolition of the Babri Mosque and after. The BJP and their friends publicly declared that it is a religious matter and it cannot be negotiated, it cannot be resolved through negotiations. This is the stand they took and, therefore, the Government is now shifting their position. The Government does not want to solve the problem. The Government wants to pressurise the minority community so that they can pressurise them for some other purposes and keep them always under terror of this and that. This is no democracy. This is a wrong method.

Coming to the latest position, we do not know what is being planned by the BJP and their friends who are now coming with new proposals. The real depth of the conspiracy being hatched by them is not revealed. What happened recently? I will bring to your notice an incident. A statement was issued that before Shivaratri. The BJP, the RSS, and Bajrani Dal, along with, other communal forces, suddenly announced that their intend in to liberate the Kashi Vishwanath Temple through organising Jalabhirheka That went on. An expert committee has been appointed to go into the question of the history of temples, etc. The VIIP and others are going to start the Ratha Yatra again. Three-four Rathi Yathras are to be undertaken from 3rd to 28th October, 1995. These will start from Haridwar, Ganga Sagar, Somnath and Rameshwaram. They will pass through the whole of the country. The purpose of these Yathras is to liberate 3,000 temples means demolition of mosques, in which the Kashi Vishwanath Temple complex and the Krishna Temple at Mathura are also included—This is the situation.

Therefore, once more they undertake again the Rath Yathras. These Rath Yathras are coming just before the elections. It is coming in October. The plan is to liberate 3,000 temples. Is it correct? We have religious rights. The Hindus have their rights, the Muslims have their rights. But, here they say "We will liberate all the 3,000 temples" "demolish 3000 mosque".

I come to the latest position. I read a report which is published by the India News Network. What is it? Sadhvi Rithambhara went to Udiayanagar town, Dewas District in Madhya Pradesh. The incident came up in this House. What was that incident? A Christian sister had been killed by somebody who had connections with the VHP or something like that. A memorial has been erected in her name. The VHP people smashed it. Then Sadhvi Rithambhara went there with thousands of people and had a meeting there. Then finally she warned. What is the warning? The warning is that, the entire community would be wiped out even if a single Hindu was converted. This is the warning she had given. That is this religious fate. The Christians have been living in India. Madam, they have their own rights—Fundamental Rights.

Another thing which has come to notice is about the Shiv Sena. My friend, Shri Bal Thackeray has declared that the Muslim minorities can live in India but they will not have equal citizenship rights. What does it mean? That means, through we have a Constitution, we have political parties, and no many things are there, but in India we are not giving equal rights to the Muslim minorities. According to the VHP, they have no religious rights; according to the Shiv Sena they have no equal rights; and according to Sadhvi Rithambhara the Christians should not have any rights. What is the Government doing? The Government's policy has always been shifting. I was there in the National Integration Council meeting wherein our Prime Minister declared in the open session "I shall see that the Mosque protected." Now, what happened? It was not protected. They just changed themselves. The talk of Mosque has

gone. They are only conspiring with some Sanyasi's to fleet some kind of a committee to build the temple. They have forgot tin about the mosqu]s. So, I have raised this point not because I want to make any ki ad of communal appeal. The point is, India is our land. Indivs basic unity is based on what? It in based on secular foundations That foundation is being broken. Are you not witnessing it? We are having a Government to protect the Constitution and they have to rule the country as per the Corstitution. This is a serious situation. My friend, Mr. Ravi, was agitated \on many points, but I don't want to make him more agitated. I am only telling him that India is ours. If you want India here, there ss a Constitution. The Constitution based on secular foun dation. What is your Government doing? Your Prime Minister is not doing anything . This is all what I-want to say.

Then, I come to the question of Kashmir. How complacently we are looking at things there. Elections have to be held. every;hing is ready, Seshan is not ready. What is there? The Government of India writ, does not work in Kashmir. That is a,b,c; everbody knows everything. The Governr/snt says that they are going to hold elections there. It shows that they are not serious. If they are serious then what should they have done? They must see that the Kashmiri population living in Kashmir, does not want to go to Pak stan. They don't an independent Kashmir. They want to be Indian citizers; bonafide Indian citizens; provided they are given a little more freedom. They don't want to come to Delhi for everything. The Kerala people know it. If the prices have gone down then we have to come to Delhi because we are a part of India. That way of independence or freedom for the State is restricted. In the case of Kashmir, at least you should have discussions with those people who can deliver the goods and who can influence-the people! Discuss with the, have an. understanding that more freedom will be given to them. This is what you have to make certain. Only then the Government should think of elections.

Therefore, I would request that the Government's policy on Kashmir should change.

Then comes of the question of the North-East. What is the position there? There you see that the military is the main thing. 3. P.M.

Military is also in a mood of going home packing. From this part of India some Ministers are here—I do not want to name any Minister—they want to save their skin and no other problem they can think of. The Government are rot working there; this point has to be seriously gone into, discussed and decided. It is for the Government at the Centre to see that these Governments work there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): I would just like to remind you that your Party has been given 28 minutes and you have already consumed 12 minutes.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Madam, I may consume more than that.. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE : I do not mind that.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Anyhow, let us begin... (*Interruptions*). The next point is about the foreign Policy. A changed course has been accepted by the Government of ladia. Today you are seeing Foreign Secretaries, Defence Secretaries and many other Secretaries of special types a e coming to India to have discussions with our Defence personnel. They are going to have joint exercises. They are in love with America, for no qur-rel in this regard, in the know of f e things. Madam, we had developed our ISRO, then the veto came from the United States pressing ]-Russia not to five the Cryogenic Engines. Is it because of love? In this country somebody comes from America and tells Us soriething and then asks Russia not to give Cryogenic Engines to India. Then we have developed 'Agni' and developed 'Prithvi\*'; the Governments move is being opposed by the

United States, the Super-State. They say that this is to be done and this is not to be done. They are dictating terms to our Government;— latest is, the Nuclear non-proliferation Treaty. what has the stand of India all along been. They said that this is a kind of discriminatory treaty and we would not be a signatory to it. Now what is happening, I do not know. The Government Of India is trying to find some way to have some kind of an agreement. This is the position that the Government of India takes. The latest dangerous position to which I invite your attention, Madam, is that the independent, indigenous development of our defence system is being scuttled by the American intervention. Our scientists are ftaxious about the slow down in research. This is there in the "Times of India" of the 11th March. I do not want to read it out because of the paucity of time, but I want to say something about it. This is a very serious question. The expert scientists, whom I am proud, have developed our 'Agni' missiles, our 'Prithvi' missiles and our Gryonic Engine, our satellites and all these systems are the wealth of the country. Now because of the American Pressure, when the Government is under Mr. Rao, Our development is slowing down. The experts who come here tell our military officials, "Why do you make this? We will supply it to you at a cheaper rate." This is the position being acceded to by the Government of Mr. Rao which is an unpardonable crime, America is a country which is enemy number one of democracy, according to me. Mr. Rao may disagree. But, at the same time they interfere in our internal affairs. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, the then hon. Minister, of Commerce, is in difficulty. What is the difficulty? life has signed the WTO. The medicines which are manufactured in India are one-fourth or one-eighth of the cost the world over and our medicines are standard medicines. Equal to foreign standards. Now, as per WTO conditions, they want us to change our Patents Act, what does it mean? The United States and the big capita-

list countries want to deprive India this advantage. That is the situation. Therefore, you have no choice. The choice is with them. You say that this is Parliament. It is supreme. Mr. Pranab Mukerjee now comes and tells us, 'I want your okay'. Why didn't he tell us earlier? Why didn't he come here before signing the WTO we Parliament Members even though have political differences we will seriously look into the questions which are important for the nation. This question is very serious. It involves our country's freedom. America is arm-twisting in the economic sphere, in the social sphere and in the field of politics and, above all, the strategic interest of India. This cannot be pardoned. This attitude of the Government needs change. Then, coming to the question of economy...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SA ROJ KHAPARDE): Don't look at your watch. Whatever time your party has given to you can take.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: I know; I can adjust my time with my friend.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): You continue, please.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Okay, Madam, thank you. The point is about economy. What kind of claims have been made? How are the speeches made by my friends on the other side? I felt you, our economy is not very bad in all the sectors. A new change has come. What is this change? Profit is the presiding deity of the total politics. Profit is the presiding deity of our economic policy. If the public sector makes profit it is no profit at all. The profit should be for the foreign multinationals mainly and the big Indian capitalists. Therefore, do not think India is bad, India is good. If you go by the figures you will find—Mr. Taba, our friend has admitted—that this question of development cannot go to the lower rungs of the people, it can be at the top level. The Government is consulting everybody about their policies. The FICCT, ASSOCHAM and all other employer bodies.

## Address

And what *in* the result? The result is this: About 1,200 private industries of India earned 83 per cent more profit during the last year. The profit ratio is the highest in Asia, except in one or two small countries.

Therefore, Mr. Manmohan Singh's economics is working fairly well for the big capitalists of India and abroad. Today, they say that so many things are here. A lot of money has come in. A number of foreigners are coming. They say that even Mr. Jyoti Basu has given up his policy, etc. So many things are being said. I do not want to go into those things. But Madam, I can say that the present system is the best for capitalists. Even there, the complaint is that among the capitalists, the Indian companies are being victimised.

Take, for example, the telecom sector. My friend, Mr. Sukh Ram; talks about a lot about technological upgradation taking place all over the world in the telecom sector. He now wants to throw upon this telecom sector. Madam, we should remember that telecommunications is the second line of defence. Nowhere in the world—including the United States of America—more than twenty per cent foreign capital is allowed in this sector. But in India, it is forty-nine per cent. It is 'free for all' in India. Anything can be done here.

While inviting bids for this sector, they have attached one condition. It is a very wonderful condition. What is that condition? The condition is that the people who bid should have an experience of having operated five lakh telephones. We know that in India, we have only the public sector. No private party is functioning in the telecom sector. The condition attached is very simple! They say that anybody who bids—this is a prequalifying condition—should have an experience of having operated five lakh telephones. What does it mean? It means, being Indian is a crime. In the India of ours, in Mr. Rao's India, being Indian is a crime. You can go to a foreigner who is having

this kind of experience, tie up with him and then apply. This is what *in* taking place. I must say, with all humility, Madam, that no Indian can grudge to this.

I give another example. As an electrician by profession, I know that in the power sector, we have made sizeable gains. We can produce hydel machinery, nuclear machinery and thermal machinery. This morning, my friend, Mr. Krishna Kumar, was talking about wind energy and other things. I can say that cost of our machinery is less than fifty per cent of the cost elsewhere. Quality-wise also, it is the best. It can compete the world over. In that sector, we are in love with the U.S.A. only. Special love. Special relationship. I do not know the reason for his relationship. May be it is money-wise or something like that.

In Dabhol, Maharashtra, we have entered into a contract with Enron for generation of nearly 6,000 MW of power. I am not going into the details. There, we have given them sixteen per cent take-home profit plus other benefits. I do not want to make a speech on it here. Everybody knows about it. But I would like to quote, with your permission, Madam, what the 'Hindustan Times', of all the papers, has commented, editorially, in its edition of 25th April. The editorial says: "The investment cost at which Enron has undertaken to generate power at Dabhol is more than double the rate at which the Indian companies namely, B.H.E.L. and N.T.P.C., have executed power projects here and abroad". This makes a nonsense of economics. 'Hindustan Times' is saying this! Balanandan is not saying this. This kind of a policy makes a nonsense of economics. How long are we going to continue with this policy? So, being an Indian is a crime. Our NTPC and our BHEL can produce power effectively within 50 per cent of the cost. Therefore, the Maharashtra peasantry, the industrialists and everybody will benefit. The money being

spent is the money which is being generated in India, and they are not bringing a lot of money from abroad. Madam, on the question of the public sector, I am sorry, I have no time to say more things.

On the economic sector, I may quote one small thing dealing with economics and skip it. The policy is good for big capital, as I told you. Then, coming to industrial production, etc., we are having an economist here, Dr. Ashok Mitra. He is the Chairman of the Department-related Parliamentary Standing Committee on Industry. He, in his *12th* report, pointed out—and I may quote:

"An examination of trends based on the seasonally adjusted monthly indices of manufacturing output over the period April 1987 to June 1994 is illuminating. While the trend rate of growth during the pre-reform period from April 1987 to July 1991 stood at 7.7 per cent per annum, the rate of growth slowed down to just 0.9 per cent per annum during the period July 1991 to June 1994."

This is the statement here. Experts can go to Dr. Ashok Mitra and quarrel with him.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: They can discuss with him. Why should they quarrel?

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: I will quote one more para—para 3.10:

"The relatively unsatisfactory nature of the overall growth in industrial output during the last three years has been accompanied by pronounced changes in the composition of output, away from capital goods and consumer non-durables and in favour of consumer durables and intermediate products which sustain the production of the latter. For a late industrializing country attempting to close the gap relative to the more developed industrial nations,

the capital goods sector has a crucial role to play."

What does it mean? India is a country which started industrializing late. On which sphere should we place emphasis? The capital goods sector. Therefore, our economy can stand on its own legs and we will be able to compete. But this is being done away with. What we have done so far is being sought to be destroyed. That is the Government policy on the question of industry—I don't want to go further.

Madam, with your permission I will make only one more point. You see corruption everywhere. Corruption of many kinds is there. That is a story by itself—I have no time to elaborate. Now, we had many Ministers. My friend, Mr. Thakur, is here. Mr. Shankaranand is not here, Mr. Kalp Nath Rai also is not here. I don't know why they are not here. Is it accidental that they are not here? But the charges were serious about them, about their corruption. We know that Rs. 10,000 crores have been swindled by somebody in the so-called share scam and another Rs. 12,000 crores by the sale of public company shares. And how many crores were involved in the sugar scam, we don't know. The whole Bofors' story I don't know. What I am saying is, this is a Government which is shielding corruption, a Government always engaged in corruption and subject to corruption. Therefore, this is a Government which is not able to protect the country's unity and integrity, a Government which cannot give protection to the minorities—the Constitutional protection available to them is not being given. Also, the total industrial development which we have has so far is being destroyed and India is going through a process of re-colonization. Our freedom is in danger.

Therefore, I would request Mr. Rao: "Please quit; that is the only thing you should do to save the country."

Thank you, Madam.

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर (बिहार) :** माननीया उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति डा. शंकर दयाल शर्मा द्वारा संसद के समक्ष 13 फरवरी, 1995 को दिये गये अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव हमारे माननीय युवा सदस्य श्री सुरेश पचौरी ने जोरदार शब्दों में पेश किया जिसे माननीया श्रीमती जयन्ती नटराजन ने औजस्वी भाषण से अनुमोदित किया, मैं इसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण केवल विद्वतापूर्ण ही नहीं है, तथ्यपूर्ण भी है जिसे 15 पृष्ठों की 50 धाराओं में प्रस्तुत किया गया है। इसमें हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीति, कार्यक्रम, पिछले वर्ष की उपलब्धियाँ बहुत ही स्पष्ट ढंग से प्रस्तुत की गई हैं। हम लोग महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के विशेष आभारी हैं और अनुग्रहित हैं कि उन्होंने बहुत स्पष्टता के साथ राष्ट्रीय नक्शे को, मुख्य समस्याओं को और सरकार द्वारा किये गये कार्यक्रमों तथा उपलब्धियों को आंकड़ों के साथ हमारे सामने पेश किया है। मुख्य मुद्दे जो माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में आये हैं वे बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं। पहली बात जो उन्होंने कही है कि हमारी आशावादितता और विश्वास जो पिछले साल के अभिभाषण में उन्होंने सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया था वह सिद्ध हुआ है, कार्यान्वित हुआ है। इसी तरह से उन्होंने यह जो आशा प्रकट की है कि हमारी जो आर्थिक नीति है उसके अनुरूप हमें उपलब्धियाँ हुई हैं इसका उन्होंने स्पष्ट शब्दों में संकेत दिया है। साथ ही साथ उन्होंने यह भी बताया है कि सभी राजनीतिक दलों ने जो हमारी लोकतांत्रिक शक्ति है उसे मजबूत करने में योगदान दिया है। हमारी सरकार का प्रयास था कि विभिन्न राज्यों में जहाँ चुनाव अपेक्षित थे वहाँ शांतिपूर्ण हों। करीब-करीब सभी जगह शांतिपूर्ण चुनाव हुए हैं एक-आध जगह हमारे राज्य को छोड़कर जिसकी चर्चा थोड़ी सी हो गई है। मैं इसके विस्तार में नहीं जानना चाहता। आज देश में पहले की अपेक्षा पंजाब, पूर्वांचल प्रदेश तथा जम्मू-कश्मीर में भी बहुत हद तक शांति का वातावरण बना हुआ है। यह अपने आप में एक बड़ी उपलब्धि सरकार की है।

संसार में जो अर्थ व्यवस्था में हम परिवर्तन लाये हैं उसकी चर्चा हुई है। उसमें लोगों की भागीदारी है। और दूसरे देश जो विकासशील देश हैं, विकसित देश हैं दोनों ही देश हमारी इस भागीदारी में सक्रिय हिस्सा ले रहे हैं, भाग ले रहे हैं। इसका प्रमाण यह है कि लगभग हर मन्त्रालय दूसरे देश के लोग यहाँ आ रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Thakur, please come to the subject now.

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** और हमारे उद्योग तथा कारोबार की रचना में योगदान दे रहे हैं। अगर सही मायनों में हम देखें तो राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने संभाषण में जो चतुर्मुखी सफलता हमें विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में मिली है, उनका एक एक करके आंकड़ों के साथ विश्लेषण किया गया है। मैं इन बातों को दोहराना या जो आंकड़े पहले ही सुरेश पचौरी जी दे चुके हैं, उनको दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं समझता।

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह (बिहार) :** ठाकुर जी, माफ करिए, मैं चेयर से कह रहा हूँ। यह सब तो ठीक है लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के ज्ञापन में दो महीने से अधिक का समय सत्ताधारी दल ने लिया तो क्या यह उनका सम्मान है या लोकतंत्र का अपमान है, इस पर भी आप ईमानदारी से बोलें।

**श्री हेच. हनुमन्तप्पा (कर्नाटक) :** इस में आपका भी हिस्सा है।... (व्यवधान)... हाउस चलाने नहीं देते और शिकायत करते हैं। इसमें आपका भी हिस्सा है।... (व्यवधान)...

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** मैं ठाकुर जी की आलोचना नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** टोका-टोकी से बचकर मैं कुछ तथ्यों में जानना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक इसका सवाल है, मैं माननीय सदस्य को नम्रतापूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन के सभी राजनीतिक दलों के नेताओं के साथ और दूसरे सदन के नेताओं के साथ बातचीत करने के बाद

तिथि निर्धारित हुई है, तिथि बढ़ायी गयी है। जिन कारणों से यह तिथि बढ़ायी गयी है उससे आप अवगत हैं। इस पर विचार हुआ है और विचार के मुताबिक जो तिथि निर्धारित की गयी है उस तिथि से इस पर बहस हो रही है। सवाल यह नहीं है कि किस तारीख से विचार कर रहे हैं; सवाल यह है कि किस रूप में विचार कर रहे हैं और क्या हम सही आदर राष्ट्रपति जी को दे रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी से अपने संभाषण में यदि सरकारी विफलताओं का उल्लेख किया है तो उन विफलताओं की हम तथ्यों के आधार पर आलोचना कर सकते हैं। लेकिन जिस तरह से हल्की भाषा का प्रयोग कल हमने देखा है...

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : जिस तरह से कल माथुर साहब ने शुरू किया ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कमारी सरोज खाण्डे) : उन्होंने आपको प्रोवोक करने की कोशिश की है, आप अपने मुद्दे से अज हटिए।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : आप असली मुद्दे पर आ जाइए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (हूगारी परोज कापडे) : आपने जोश दिला दिया अन्यथा आपको अपने मुद्दे पर आना ही है।

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि इसकी जो गरिमा है...

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya): As he lost his Ministership, he has lost his mooring.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: I have not lost my mooring. I am replying to the point raised by the Member.

सवाल यह है कि जो राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण की गरिमा है उनको बनाये रखा जाना चाहिए। इस पर कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने, माथुर साहब ने जो कहा, उन्होंने कहा बेमानी है, बेईमानी है... (व्यवधान)...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मैंने बेईमानी शब्द कहा ही नहीं।

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : मैंने आपके भाषण की एक एक लाइन पढ़ी है और उनका मैं जवाब दूंगा। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि जो भी कहा गया है वह इस तरह से नहीं कहा जाना चाहिए। जो तथ्य हैं उनकी आलोचना करिए लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी का नाम लेकर इस तरह की हल्की बातें कहना ठीक नहीं। सवाल यह है कि यदि हम राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषणतथ्यों को विचार पूर्वक, विवेक-पूर्वक देखें और उस पर गंभीरता से विचार करें तो जहाँ सरकार के कामों में कमी है, उपलब्धियों में कमी है, इसको पूष्ट करने के लिए जो आंकड़े हैं, उसमें जो त्रुटियाँ दिखायी पड़ती हैं उनकी आलोचना करें। या कुछ ऐसी बातें जो सामने नहीं आयी हैं उनको आप प्रकट कर सकते हैं। यह हमारा कर्तव्य है। पिछले साल, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने प्रधानमंत्री पी. वी. नरसिंह राव के सुयोग्य नेतृत्व में सभी मोर्चों पर सफलता प्राप्त की है, निरन्तर प्रगति की ओर देश अग्रसर हो रहा है। सबसे पहली बात जो उन्होंने कही है वह यह कही है कि जनतंत्र को मजबूत करने की दिशा में काम हुए हैं। जिस रूप में हुए, जिस पार्टी के हुए, लेकिन राज्यों में चुनाव हुए हैं और शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से हुए हैं एकाध राज्य को छोड़कर। जैसे कि मैंने पहले उल्लेख किया कि करीब चुनाव ठीक हुए हैं। राज्यों में शान्ति का वातावरण है। पंजाब जैसे प्रान्त में केवल शान्ति की स्थापना ही नहीं हुई बल्कि चुनाव भी हुए हैं। केवल विधान सभा का चुनाव ही नहीं हुआ बल्कि पंचायतों के चुनाव भी शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से हुए हैं। पूर्वोत्तर में हुए हैं। और जो अभी तैयारी है, हम धीरे धीरे जम्मू-कश्मीर में आप सब के सहयोग से शान्ति करके चुनाव की ओर अग्रसर हो रहे हैं। कानून-व्यवस्था में पहले की अपेक्षा सुधार हुआ है। आर्थिक स्थिति में आशा-तीत सुधार हुआ है। कुछ लोगों को विभेद हो सकता है, अपना दृष्टिकोण हो सकता है लेकिन जो सही बात है जिसे राष्ट्र कबूल करता है और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर जिसको मान्यता है उसको हम नकार नहीं सकते हैं।

Address,

खाद्यान्न का भंडार हम सभी जानते हैं कि बड़ा है। उत्पादन बड़ा है। 166 मिलियन टन से 185 मिलियन टन पर हम आये हैं और हमारी खरीददारी भी पहले से ज्यादा हुई है। हमारे भंडार पहले से अधिक हैं। कल माथुर साहव ने कहा (समय की वंटी)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) :** आपकी पार्टी के हर सदस्य को 10-10 मिनट का समय दिया गया है और आपकी जो 10 मिनट की अवधि है, वह आपने समाप्त कर ली है।

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** सभी पार्टी के लोगों को समय देते रहे हैं, पूर्व में यही होता रहा है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) :** उनकी जो पार्टी है, उनका एक ओर भी नहीं बोलने वाला है।  
You have to be very brief because there are so many Members to speak.

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** अगर आप चाहते हैं तो मैं जल्दी से कहूंगा।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) :** मैं नहीं चाहती हूँ। म टाइम का बंधन निभाना चाहती हूँ।

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** अभी तो शुरुआत ही है।

**श्री सतीश अग्रवाल :** रामेश्वर ठाकुर जी, समय थोड़ा है इसलिए केवल एक तथ्य बता दीजिये। आप मिनिस्टर आफ रुरल डवलपमेंट रहे हैं। यह विवाद खड़ा किया जा रहा है कि पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे रहने वाले लोगों की संख्या 40 करोड़ से बढ़ कर 50 करोड़ हो गई है। आप कहते हैं कि 30 से 25 करोड़ हो गई है। आप इस शंका का निवारण कर दीजिये।

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** वह भी मैं रखने वाला हूँ। जैसे कि मैं कह रहा था हमारे भंडार बढ़े हैं। 14 मिलियन टन से 31 मिलियन टन का हमारा खाद्यान्न का भंडार है। विदेशी मुद्रा के भंडार का जहाँ तक प्रश्न है, जैसे कि आप जानते हैं कि 1991 में लगभग 21000 करोड़ अर्थात् एक मिलियन डालर के करीब था और आज

20 गुना से ज्यादा 20 मिलियन डालर हो गया है (व्यवधान) इसमें किसी को कोई दुविधा है क्या ?

• (Interruptions)... Have you got any doubt about it.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) :** आप उधर जवान मत दीजिये।  
You address the Chair.

**SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR:** I am sorry. I will address you only. I had quoted some authentic figures and he was saying something. Those are authentic figures.

इसमें मूलभूत आधार जो हैं, उसमें रचनात्मक सुधार हुआ है। इससे अभी भी सुधार की गुंजाइश है खास तौर से हमारा जो ऊर्जा का क्षेत्र है, उसमें कमी है क्योंकि हमारी निरंतर बढ़ती हुई कृषि और उद्योग की आवश्यकता है। इसलिए इसमें गुंजाइश है। विदेशी नीति में हमें सफलता मिली है। हमारी मंत्री काफी बड़ी है। सामाजिक नीति के कार्यक्रमों में हमें सफलता मिली है। आर्थिक विकास में केवल शहरों के लिए ही नहीं जैसे अभी अग्रवाल साहव कह रहे थे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की बात मैं करता हूँ। ग्रामीण विकास के संबंध में... (व्यवधान)...

**SHRI SATISH AGARWAL:** We want the figures of the people living below the poverty line not about the rural development.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** Why do you interrupt him? Let him speak.

**श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर :** जब विषय पर ही बोलना है (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) :** ठाकुर, जी, विषय पर ही बोलना है लेकिन टाइम का भी ध्यान रखना है।

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : यह जो ग्रामीण विकास का काम है, यह सामान्य काम नहीं है। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने कल कहा कि ग्रामीण संख्या गांवों में रहती है। हिन्दुस्तान की 74 प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में रहती है। जो कार्यक्रम हमारे चलाए जा रहे हैं जिनकी शुरुआत स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी ने 1988-89 में की थी।

जवाहर रोजगार योजना और दूसरी योजनाएं जिन्हें कि आज प्रधान मंत्री बड़ी तेजी से और नयी योजनाओं के साथ चला रहे हैं, वे हिन्दुस्तान के 5 लाख 8 हजार गांवों में निरन्तर चल रही है। इनसे जो उपलब्धियां हुई हैं उन्हें भी कृपापूर्वक आप खुलने का कष्ट करें। इसी से मालूम होगा कि गरीबी गांवों में फैली है या घटी है। लोगों को आमदनी आती तो रोजगार मिलता है उनकी स्थिति में सुधार होता है या कमी होती है। जितनी हमारी सतत योजनाएं हुई हैं, कभी भी इतनी राशि का प्रावधान उनमें नहीं था, जो अब हुआ है। इसमें 1992-93 में जहां 3100 करोड़ था वहां 1993-94 में बढ़कर 5,010 करोड़ हुआ, 1994-95 में उसको बढ़ाकर 7010 करोड़ किया और इस साल 7,700 करोड़ है (समय की घंटी)।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Please conclude now.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: Madam, this is not the way (Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष: (कृपारी सरोज खोर्डे); आपका जो दिया हुआ समय है उससे भी अधिक समय लिया है आपने। मैंने आपको 8-10 मिनट ज्यादा दिए हुए हैं। आप अगर बोलते रहें तो बाकी के आपकी पार्टी के लोगों का ही आज नम्बर नहीं आएगा।

(Interruptions). Before me, there is a list. And there are many Members from your party who would like, to speak on this subject. Please wind up.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: Madam, why are you delaying the hon. Member? He is giving us the figures about the people below the poverty line.

Address

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Agarwal, I am not delaying the hon. Member. I am just reminding him that there are many other Members who would like to speak.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: In the last three years, we had invested Rs. 9,185 crores and the physical achievement was 2.594 million man-days. Last year also, we had invested under the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Rs 2,439.55 crores and the achievement was 548.2 million man-days. (Interruptions), Under URY (we invested Rs. 6,374 crores and achieved 123.9 million man-days. These are large scale employments. Under the IAY, we had made 9.46 lakh houses for the poorest of the poor and the SC, ST and the poor in rural areas. This year, the Budget is 10,000 lakh houses every year. This will give them employment and this will bring down the number of people below the poverty line (Interruptions). I am not getting more time from the Chair. Otherwise, I have more information. I now the background, the basis on which the assessment was made. About 29 per cent (Interruptions).

In 1988-89, this had been one crore. An Expert Committee of the Planning Commission said that the criteria adopted were not correct. According to their criteria, the figure would be more in the year 1977-78.

Every five years, there is again a regulation on a national basis. It had been done in 1992-93. The figures are yet to come. The current three years' achievement will be reflected and recalculated only in 1997. That figure is still to come. Therefore, I do not know on what basis the hon. Member is saying that it has gone up. Is there any basis?

Yesterday, your colleague was good enough to speak about the per capita income in dollar terms.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Would you please conclude now?

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: Only one point. Mr. Mathur mentioned coal yesterday. In 1990, we had a loss of RS. 253 crores. We had improved the performance and the profit was Rs. 167 crores in 1991-92, Rs. 291 crores in 1992-93 and Rs. 400 crores in 1993-94. Even then, you are criticising the performance of the public sector and every time you are asking us to improve its position.

In one of the sectors, our production has gone up from 9.77 million tonnes to 11.6 million tonnes by December and the half-yearly profit was Rs. 300 crores. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Thakur, if you won't conclude, I will call the other speaker.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: I know that there are deficiencies. There are some weak organisation in the public sector. But we should not go on criticising them without taking the real facts and circumstances into consideration. If I had time, I would have proved with facts and figures that whatever has been said by the Members from the other side is not based on facts and figures. But, I would like to conclude by saying that the performance of the present Government, under the able leadership of the hon. Prime Minister, as reflected in the speech of the hon. President, has shown an all-round improvement. There is all-round development made in the economic sector, in the agricultural sector, in the industrial sector and in the rural development sector and the improvements so made cannot be rebutted. The people may have differences and they may say something. But this is not the correct way of judging the work done by millions and millions of farmers and workers in the fields and factories who produce the results and when we have the results, we go on undermining the work done by them by saying that this has not been done. This is not proper.

With these words, I would like to conclude by saying that whatever facts and figures have been given in the President's Address represent the achievements of the Government and we will be able to achieve the projections made for the current year and we will be able to do much better than what we have done in the past. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Thank you very much, Mr. Thakur. Now, Mr. J. S. Raju.

\*SHRI J. S. RAJU (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Vice-Chairperson, I rise to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address on behalf of D.M.K. The Hon'ble Member Shri Rameshwar Thakur who preceded me, and also Hon'ble Members Shri Vayalar Ravi and Shri Narayanasamy spoke as though the country is making strides in every field. Shri Rameshwar Thakur had sunk us in a sea of statistical figures a little while ago.

Yesterday, when Shri Vayalar Ravi was speaking, hon'ble members Shri Chaturanand Misra asked why that the rich is becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer despite the launching of sever?! schemes. The same question was posed by late Shri Kamaraj. Even Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had asked a similar question. He once appointed a Committee to trace as to where the funds of all these schemes meant for people went. The Committee held that the fund is pocketed by a handful of influential people.

Madam, once the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi went to Orissa and visited some slums there. Since he was not in public life in his younger days, he did not have any idea about the magnitude of poverty in rural India. So, he was shocked and moved to see people living in utter misery with a single cloth and utensil and without proper shelter. Then he realised that these many years of Congress rule could

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\*English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

[Shri J. S. Raju]—Contd.

not improve their living condition. That is why they got the Panchayati Raj Bill drafted to improve the living conditions of the rural poor. Even four years after the demise of Rajiv Gandhi nothing better has happened. Poverty is gnawing the poor throughout the country.

The Congress Party in its last election manifesto said that, if voted to power it would roll back the price of commodities to the level prevailed in 1990. But what did they do?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Prices of several things have come down. You should admit that.

SHRI J. S. RAJU: I will come to it later. Don't divert my attention now (interruption). You said you would roll back the price to the level it existed during Rajiv Gandhi's rule. This is what Congress Party said; but the price of all essential commodities have gone up. Ironically, the price of petrol has gone up only in India, while it has been reduced in the rest of the world. In our country, we know only to hike the price and not to bring it down. If you continue to rule the country this way, I am afraid, even after 100 years, you won't be able to check price rise.

Madam, we are going through a piquant situation wherein, on the one hand there is lot of black money and on the other, there is absolute poverty where people don't have the buying power. The new economic policy and the arrival of multinationals have only helped the rich becoming richer. You have been trumpeting about the tax concessions like customs and excise duty given in this current year budget. But I wish to ask whether the price of a single commodity has come down so far? Even before Mr. Manmohan Singh could go out after presenting the budget, the price of cigarette had gone up. Then! what happened to your tax concession? What is the title? If tax concession has

not helped to bring down the price, will the Government come forward to withdraw the tax concession? Do you have that courage?

You talk of shelter for all in the country. But the poor people, SC|ST people, backward class people are not able to buy cement and bricks for having a roof over their head. This is the reality. Today the poor cannot afford to have coffee. People mostly take coffee in the South. And in the last three years the price of coffee has gone up by 300 per Cent. Coffee seeds that were sold for Rs. 30 to 40 a kg. is sold at Rs. 160 per kg. now. This is the result to your mismanagement. You exported coffee without taking the local need into account. This is what this Government has done even with cotton. You exported cotton and jeopardised the cotton industries. In 1992-93 cotton export was to the tune of 356.89 million tons, whereas in 1993-94 it was increased to 411.75 million tons. Because of this, our own industry, our own people suffered. Handloom weavers in particular, were pushed to misery.

I wish to tell one thing to Mr. Narayanasamy who has been proclaiming that industrialisation is taking place in a big way. The Department related Standing Committee on the, Ministry of Industries has observed that till 1994 nothing better has happened as a result of new economic policy. I don't think anything miraculous would have happened in the few months.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I said that industrial growth has been to the tune of 7.8 per cent. This is a fact.

SHRI J. S. RAJU: Mr. Narayanasamy is speaking about statistics, but I am speaking about the realities (interruption) I feel that Mr. Narayanasamy is trying to say that the observations of the Standing Committee are wrong. If it is so, you can abolish this Committee system. Why have these Committees of all? (Interruption) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Raju, your party has

only sixteen minutes. Please don't indulge, in this kind of argument. You come to the point and express your views on the subject.

SHRI J. S. RAJU: Thank you, Madam, I am only saying that never before industrial growth stagnated continuously for three years. This is what the report of the Committee says- But the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have been saying time and again that as a result of new economic policy, there will be enormous industrial growth and employment generation. I don't now when this will happen?

Madam, lots of promises are made for helping our farmers. The Agriculture Minister Mr. Balram Jakar speaks of lofty policies for the betterment of farmers. But what is the real situation? Nothing noteworthy has been done to export agricultural products. Because of this, farmers don't get the right price for their produce. The Government should take steps to see that farmers are not exploited by middlemen while selling their produce.

I have a few words about Tamilnadu. We have been demanding for setting up a bench of Madras High Court at Madurai. The Tamilnadu Government had recommended the matter to the centre during the time of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The Jaswant Singh Commission was set up in 1983, to look into the matter and the Commission submitted a favourable report in 1985. But nothing has happened so far. The building constructed for this purpose at a cost of Rs. 36 lakhs of Madurai is lying vacant. People of southern districts have to travel several hundred kilometres to Madras to seek justice. I fail to understand why the centre is reluctant to set up a bench there. I appeal to the Government to respect the sentiments of the people and take steps to set up a bench of Madras High Court at Madurai soon.

The Government announces many a scheme for SC/ST people. But the funds earmarked for them do not

reach them through the banks. That is why NFSDC was set up in 1989 for this exclusive purpose. But only Rs. 150 crores was allocated for the Purpose. This fund is not sufficient to meet the requirement of even a small *fraction* of SC/ST population. Now the Finance Minister has allocated Rs. 500 crores and said that the fund would be disbursed through NABARD. I don't know what the Finance Minister had in mind while doing this. I request the Government to entrust this task to NFSDC which is meant 'for that purpose. I also appeal to the Government to provide Rs. 1000 crore to NFSDC as capital.

Madam, the hon'ble Prime Minister has gone on record saying that only if the same party rules at the centre and state, the state can prosper. This comes from no less a person than the Prime Minister of the country. I wish to ask whether this is federalism? Whether this is multi-party democracy? He is known as a stalwart in *politics*, a *very senior* leader and *one* who can save his chair at all times. He says that people should vote for his party both, at the centre and the state and then alone the state can progress. If this is the kind of thinking, you can ask all other parties to wind up and go in for single-party system. This is because the Congress people have certain basic misgivings. They always talk *of* one country and one language. They fail to understand that there can be unity only when you stop imposing your "one language" formula. Your only intension is to impose Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people. That is why our revered leader Dr. Anna pleaded for a autonomous Government at the, state and federation of states at the centre. You should undersand that language cannot be imposed on unwilling people. I am a good orator in Tamil and I keep addressing a number of meetings in Tamilnadu. Here we cannot express our feelings

freely, nor can we understand the entire proceedings because it is mostly in Hindi. Here you speak of three language formula. You want us to study Hindi and English in addition to our mother tongue. But if you go to the Government Offices here, you will find most officials speaking Hindi alone. Why this double standard? You say English is a foreign language. Yes, it is. And of course, Hindi too is a foreign language to us. Hon'ble BJP Members are here. The BJP Government in Delhi recently issued an order saying Hindi will be used in all official work. I don't know how this party is thinking of ruling India by imposing Hindi. I wish to tell you that unless you remove the idea of imposing Hindi from your mind, you cannot save this country.

The Hon'ble President has promised panchayat elections by June. I don't know whether he was referring to the coming June or 1996 June. Because, in Tamilnadu where there is said to be a "life-term" Chief Minister, there is no hope of Panchayat elections in the near future. Even Co-operative societies have been superseded.

SHRI S. MUTHUMANI: I think the Hon'ble Member is not aware of the fact. Our Hon'ble Chief Minister has already said that all steps are being taken for holding elections. (*Interruption*) ... There has been no democratically elected Government in Jammu and Kashmir for the last many years. Congress Government has been dragging its feet on election there. (*Interruptions*). .

4 P.M,

SHRI J. S. RAJU: Madam, I want to remind the Hon'ble Member of one thing Ekirmg M.G.R.'s rule elections were hold for Panchayats but the term of Panchayats was reduced to three years. But when D.M.K, came back to power, it restored the term to five years. Because believe in democracy and the slogan "power to people" and so we did that. But it is

AIADMK which superseded the duly elected Co-operative societies in the state. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): No, no, this can't go on like this. Please don't interrupt. Mr. Raju, please go ahead.

SHRI J. S. RAJU: Madam, I don't want to waste my time in arguments.

I wish to make an important point. The National Development Council gave all powers to the Prime Minister to protect the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. But Narasimha Rao Government was a mute witness to the brutal demolition of the masjid. Even now the centre is not clear about Ayodhya. Whether you are going to build a mosque there, or a temple or both? Why don't you come out clearly? Mr. V. P. Singh sacrificed power for the sake of principle. But now we have a Prime Minister who can sacrifice principles for the sake of power.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Raju, your time is over. Please conclude.

SHRI J. S. RAJU: Yes, Madam. I am just concluding.

On the 14th of January this year, the Governor of Tamilnadu was asked a question by the press as to whether he was aware of the charges of large scale corruption by AIADMK Government (*Interruption*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): No, this is not fair- Please allow him to conclude his speech.

SHRI J. S. RAJU: Madam, responding to this the Governor said that every day people talk about this only. But it is for the concerned officials and the centre to take note of it. Asked whether he received any complaint on the matter, he replied in the affirmative and added that he has

been forwarding all such complaints to the centre without making any comment on it. The Governor further said that it is for the centre to take action on the matter. With these words I conclude.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का बड़ा महत्त्व है। वह एक दिशा निर्देशकत्व है और देश की परिस्थिति का मूल्यांकन करता है लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि हम लोग बिना इस बात में नये हुये और बिना उसका मूल्यांकन यहीं किये हुये जैसे-तैसे आगे बढ़ जाते हैं और राष्ट्रपति के इस महत्वपूर्ण भाषण को बहुत पीछे कर देते हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि बिना एतवार की नाव ले करके हम लोग आगे बढ़े जा रहे हैं। सबसे बड़ी दिक्कत यह आ रही है। मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि देश और सदन दोनों डिफ्ट कर रहे हैं जिसको किसी तरह से रोकना है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :** अपना माइक ठीक करिये। . . . कागज थोड़ा हटा कर रखिये। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** लाल तो हमारा अपना ही रंग है लेकिन साथ नहीं दे रहा है। मैं जिस तथ्य की ओर सबसे पहले जानना चाहता हूँ और जिस पर जब कल बापालार रवि जी माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे तो हमने यह उठाया था। मान लीजिए थोड़ी देर के लिये कि विकास की गति जो आप कह रहे हैं वह सही है। मान लीजिये इस बात को कि ट्रेड का डेफिसिट घाटा है, एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ा है और फॉरन एक्सचेंज की अनिंग ज्यादा हुई है। हम इसको सपोज कर लेते हैं कि सही है लेकिन हम जो प्रश्न चाहते हैं कि क्या विकास की यही दिशा होगी कि जो धनी हैं वे और भी धन संचित करें? क्या यही दशा होगी जो इंग्लैंड और अमरीका में हुई है जिसको उन्होंने जांचा है कि वहाँ के 60 परसेंट लोग बहुत धनी हो गये हैं और जो 40 परसेंट हैं वे बहुत दरिद्र हो गये हैं। क्या वही हमारे

यहाँ दशा होगी? और अगर नहीं, और अगर सरकार में कोई भी ईमानदारी है तो तुरन्त एक एक्सपोर्ट की कमेटी बैठा करके इस बात को स्पष्ट कर दे कि नई आर्थिक नीति में गरीब लोगों की क्या स्थिति हो रही है। मैं आपके सामने कुछ सबूत रखता हूँ। कल माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे कि हम जो अच्छा काम करते हैं, उसका विज्ञापन नहीं होता है। पंडित नारायणसामी जी कल बोल रहे थे। तो उन्होंने कोटेशन दी थी। मैं लेबर व्यूरो शिमला के आंकड़े आपके सामने उपस्थित करता हूँ और वह भी है

Twelve months ended July 1994.

उसके मुताबिक जो एग्रीकल्चर बक्सेर है, उनके जीवन का खर्चा कंज्यूमर प्राइस इंडेक्स राजस्थान में 27.3 परसेंट, उत्तर प्रदेश में 20.8 परसेंट, महाराष्ट्र में 17.3 परसेंट, केरल में 16.6 परसेंट, मध्य प्रदेश में 15.3 परसेंट यह बढ़ा है। मैं जानना चाहूँगा माननीय सदस्यों से जो कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग हैं कि यह जो प्राइस राइज हो रहा है यह गरीबों के हित में हो रहा है क्या? आप हम लोगों की बात पर ध्यान नहीं देते। खुशहाल वर्ग के लिये उतना प्राइस राइज नहीं हो रहा है, कार के दाम उतने नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं, फिज के दाम उतने नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं, टी.वी. के दाम उतने नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। बढ़ते हैं तो खाल तेलों के, गरीब के खाने-पीने की चीजों के। यह सम्झाते-समझाते हम तंग आ गये, आप लोग मानते नहीं। इसलिये हम कह रहे हैं कि आपने पूरे देश को ज्वालामुखी पर लाकर खड़ा कर दिया है। बहुत बड़ा विस्फोट होगा इस देश के अन्दर। अभी तक तो कश्मीर, नागालैंड, मिजोरम में होता है वहाँ तो आर्मी भेज कर संभाला जा सकता है लेकिन बिहार के अन्दर नहीं संभाला जा सकता है, उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर नहीं संभाला जा सकता है। दस वर्ष के अन्दर यदि यही विकास की गति रही तो इस देश के अन्दर भारी बवंडर उठेगा जिसको कोई सरकार नहीं रोक सकेगी। यह स्थिति है। असमतलों में दवाइयाँ नहीं मिलती क्या यह बात सच नहीं है? जो माननीय सदस्य मेरे साथ

दखना चाहें में उनको दिखा सकता हूँ कि दवायें नहीं मिलती हैं। दवाओं की कीमत इतनी ज्यादा बढ़ गई है कि गरीब लोग दवा नहीं कर पाते। आप हमें प्रोप रेट बता रहे हैं, बता रहे हैं कि फारेन एक्सचेंज की इतनी अनिश्चिती हुई। आप यह नहीं जानते कि जो टैक्स रिक्लीक आप देते हैं उसे जो हमारे व्यापारी वर्ग के लोग हैं वह हम जनता को नहीं देते हैं क्या यह ठीकी हुई बात है ? मिस्टर एंटोनी नहीं हैं...

**रमणयन और उर्बेरक मंत्रों (श्री राम लखन सिंह यादव) :** दवाओं के बारे में बार-बार क्यों कह रहे हैं ?

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हम जामते हैं कि आपको दवा की जरूरत है। हमको मालूम है हमारे दवा विभाग के मंत्री बहुत ज्यादा बीमार हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़े) :** दवा के नाम पर आप मंत्री जी की तरफ मत देखिये, आप चेयर की तरफ देखकर बात करिये। मंत्री जी दुस्त हैं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि विकास जो होना चाहिए वह दरिद्रता को दूर करते हुए होना चाहिये, रोजगार को बढ़ाकर करना चाहिये। सरकार को चुनौती देते हुये यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक कमेटी इसकी जांच करेगी तो पता लगेगा कि जो विकास हो रहा है उसमें रोजगार घट रहे हैं, विकास नहीं हो रहा है, उसमें दरिद्रता बढ़ रही है। फूड स्टॉक हम को दिखाया जाता है कि बहुत ज्यादा है और हम देखते हैं हंगर डेथ हो रही है। आपके राज में होती है हैंडलूम मजदूरों की भूखमरी हो रही है। तो क्या यह सज्जाजनक बात नहीं है ? आजादी के इतने दिनों के बाद भी हमारे देश में अन्न के बिना लोग मरें तो इसमें ज्यादा सज्जाजनक बात और क्या हो सकती है। हम तो एयर कंडीशंस में बैठ कर यह कहते हैं कि हमारा देश बड़ा सुशहल है लेकिन बाकी

लोगों का क्या हाल हो रहा है। इसलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ आप इस देश को बना नहीं रहे हैं। अगर कल प्रधान मंत्री बोलें तो उनको यह देखना चाहिए कि अपनी पार्टी के वह अंतिम प्रधान मंत्री नहीं बनें इसलिए कम से कम जांच कमेटी बैठ कर के जायें। इससे गरीबों की हालत क्या हो रही है, पता चल जायेगा। वोट के पहले इसकी जांच हो कर आ जाए और अगर हमारी बात गलत हो तो हम अपना विरोध विद्वुष्ट कर लेंगे। यह मैं अपनी तरफ से कह रहा हूँ। गरीबों की तबाही बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गई है।

**श्री संघ प्रिया गौतम : (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** हम आपके साथ हैं भले ही आप कांग्रेस के साथ हों।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हम कांग्रेस के साथ भी रहते हैं और अगर आप शक्य करके तो आपके साथ भी रहेंगे। लेकिन आपको बता दें कि दूसरा सबसे जरूरी काम जो इस देश में हो रहा है वह उत्तर भारत में हो रहा है दक्षिण भारत में यह प्रक्रिया पहले ही हुई। बड़ा भारी सामाजिक परिवर्तन हो रहा है। यहां पर हिन्दू पद्धति के उच्च जाति के लोग सर्वोच्च पदों पर आसीन थे। मुख्य मंत्री वही होते थे, बाकी मंत्री वही होते थे। पिछड़ी जाति के लोगों को अवसर नहीं दिया जाता था। वे लोग उठे हैं। पहले भी उठे थे फर्री ठाकुर के वक्त में, लेकिन तिकड़म से उनको फिर बैठा दिया गया था। इस बार फिर वे उठे हैं। डा. जगन्नाथ मिश्र कहते हैं कि बिहार का विकास नहीं हुआ, बिहार में पानी नहीं है, बिहार में दूध की धारा नहीं बही। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि सभी पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग इन बातों को सोचने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। वह इस बात को देख रहे हैं कि समाज में परिवर्तन हो रहा है। इस परिवर्तन का अगर मुकाबला किया जायेगा तो देश ध्वंस हो जायेगा।

**श्री संघ प्रिया गौतम :** हम आप से सहमत हैं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** सहमत तो हमारी बात सुन लीजिए। हमारे पैदों में लिखा हुआ है—ब्राह्मण मुंह से पैदा हुआ, सत्री हाथ से

पदा हुआ, मद्र पर से पदा हुआ। यह ऋग्वेद का श्लोक है कि किसने किससे जन्म लिया है। अब यह वे लोग नहीं मानेंगे कि वद क्या कहता है। अगर भा०ज०पा० का हिम्मत है तो कहिये लोगों को। देश को एक करना है। संविधान और धर्म में टक्कर हो रही है। यह बात आप समझने को तयार नहीं होते। गीता में लिखा है—चातुर्वर्ण्य मया पृष्ठाः यानी चारों वर्ण भगवान ने बनाया। कृष्ण ने अर्जुन से कहा था। अब वह कहते हैं हम इसको नहीं मानेंगे। यह परिवर्तन हो रहा है। पहली बार उत्तर भारत में यह परिवर्तन हो रहा है भारी परिवर्तन हो रहा है। कांग्रेस इस परिवर्तन को रोक रही थी अतः लोग कांग्रेस के खिलाफ हो रहे हैं। इसलिए हम कहेंगे इसको समझना पड़ेगा कि क्या बात हो रही है। कांग्रेस के खिलाफ लोग क्यों हो रहे हैं। बम्बई में और दूसरी जगह में लोग क्यों खिलाफ हो रहे हैं? दंगा होता है तो पुलिस क्या करती है कि एक तरफ मुसलमानों को मार देती है बड़ी तादाद में। मैं बम्बई गया था, खुद जाकर देख कर आया था। आज फिर कोई बदले की भावना से बम बना लेता है, बम्बई में विस्फोट करता है, ऐसा बड़ा विस्फोट जैसा हिन्दुस्तान ने कभी नहीं देखा, सारा भारत कांप गया। कांप गया सारा भारत। उसमें कांग्रेस के लोगों का नाम आया है कि बम बनाने वाले लोग कांग्रेस के हमदर्दों में से थे, पैसा देते थे, फिल्म में थे। उनका नाम आ गया। इसलिये जनता आपके खिलाफ हो गयी। जो मुस्लिम नेता हैं, जो इस्लाम को मानने वाले हैं उनसे मैं कह रहा हूँ कि एक परिवर्तन हो रहा है। बुनिया का सबसे फंडामेंटलिस्ट देश जो है वह ईरान है और उस ईरान के राष्ट्र-पति रफसनजानी है भारत आकर उन्होंने कहा है कि इस देश में एक बहुत बड़ी बात है और वह यह है कि यहां धार्मिक सहिष्णुता है, सेकुलरिज्म है और वह यह कहकर गये हैं। यहां के मुसलमानों को कि कहीं बार-बार बाबरी मस्जिद का सवाल उठते हो। लेकिन हमारे वी०जे०पी० के मित्रों को लज्जा नहीं आती है। अगर कोई फंडामेंटलिस्ट भी हमें सबक सिखायें कि यह देश बहुत ही अच्छा देश है, यहां धार्मिक सहिष्णुता है यह बात आप यही समझते हैं। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

श्री संघ भिय गौरुम : बाबरी मस्जिद का जिक्र सब ही लोग करते हैं। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : भूला क्यों न दीजिये। हम किसी को जान से मार देंगे तो भूल ही जायेंगे। बाबरी मस्जिद को तोड़ दिया तो भूल गये। जब तोड़ दिया . . . (व्यवधान) . . . बाबरी मस्जिद अब क्या बनेगी . . . (व्यवधान) . . . जब बाबर नहीं हैं तो बाबरी मस्जिद कैसे बनेगी ? . . . (व्यवधान) . . . सुनिये, अब अगर मस्जिद होगी तो सरकारी मस्जिद होगी या बुखारी मस्जिद होगी। लेकिन आपने हिन्दू धर्म को सदा के लिये कलंकित कर दिया है। यह कलंक हिन्दुओं पर से जायेगा नहीं। यह जो हिन्दुओं पर कलंक लगा भारत में कभी ऐसा कलंक उनके ऊपर नहीं लगा। हमने दूसरे धर्म के लोगों को सदा शरण दी। हमारे बाप-दादाओं ने शरण दी। हमने दलाई लामा को शरण दी। लेकिन आपने हमें कलंकित किया है, यही हमारा आपके ऊपर दारुण है। . . . (व्यवधान) . . . एक दूसरी बात यह है कि सरकार के खिलाफ लोगों में यह भावना हो रही है कि विदेशी कंपनियों के साथ अपमान जनक समझौता कर रही है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) : गौतम जी आप बीच में टोकाटकी न कीजिये। उनको बोलने दीजिए।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मैं आपकी तरफ मुख़ातिब होकर बोल रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) : मैं आपसे नहीं, उनसे कह रही हूँ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : दूसरी एक हवा चल पड़ी है कि विदेशी कंपनियां आ रही हैं। आये, किस चीज में आये। भारत ने यह गेटवे आफ इंडिया खोल दिया है। जिसको चाहे लायें। मिनिस्टर लोग कहते हैं कि देशी पूंजी और विदेशी पूंजी में क्या फर्क है? फर्क आए गांधी जी से पूछिए जिन्होंने हम लोगों को विदेशी कपड़े का बायकाट कराकर खादी और चर्खा सिखाया। अगर फर्क नहीं तो हुआ कैसे? विरोध पक्ष के भी कुछ नेता लोग हैं जो कहते हैं कि

There is no difference between micro chips and potato chips of Transnational.

बड़ी अजीब बात है। माइक्रो चिप्स और पोटो चिप्स में अगर कोई फर्क नहीं है तो फिर कांग्रेस चिप्स में और तेलुगु चिप्स में क्या फर्क है? कोई फर्क नहीं है। कहीं तो बात करो कि देश किधर चले। इसीलिये हम आपसे कहना चाहेंगे कि एक संघीर परिस्थिति में हम लोग पहुंच चुके हैं। यह सरकार के हाथ में है, प्रधानमंत्री के हाथ में है कि वे इसके बारे में स्पष्ट कहें कि बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनी किन उद्योगों या व्यवसायों में आर्यगी।

तीसरी बात, जो सबसे बड़ी बात है वह है करपश्चन के बारे में। टापू वाटम भ्रष्टाचार में देश डूब रहा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम लोगों के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, एम.एल.एज और एम.पीज के बारे में लोग कहते हैं कि ये चोर हैं। क्या हम यहां पर इसलिये आये हैं कि हमें लोग चोर कहें। ऐसी धुवा बना दी गई है चारों तरफ। क्योंकि कम समय में कुछ एम.एल.ए. और एम.पी. बहुत ज्यादा धन अर्जित कर लेते हैं। कुछ लोग तो टेलीफोन और गैस कनेक्शन बेच देते हैं। हम लोग माथा नीचे कर चलते हैं। मुह नहीं दिखा सकते हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री जगेश देसाई (महाराष्ट्र) : यह ठीक कह रहे हैं आप। सब बदनाम होते हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : सुनिये, भ्रष्टाचार की बात मैं कहता हूँ, ठीक है आपको पार्टी बड़ी है, आपकी पार्टी राज करती है इसलिये आप पर ज्यादा चार्ज है। यह तो है। प्रधानमंत्री बहुत अच्छा करते यदि अपने कलंक से बचने के लिये लोकपाल बिल ही पास करा लेते और अपनी स्थिति सबके सामने स्पष्ट कर लेते। लेकिन हम कहेंगे, आप भी सरकार चला रहे हैं। बी.जे.पी. की सरकार है, कांग्रेस की भी सरकारें चल रहीं हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री अखिलेश शर्मा (हिमाचल प्रदेश) : आपकी भी चल रही है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हमारी भी चल रही है। हम तो छोटे पार्टनर हैं। हमारी होल्डिंग कम्पनी दूसरे लोग हैं। (व्यवधान) हम सवसिडियरी कम्पनी हैं। (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : पार्टनर चाहे छोटा है या बड़ा, पार्टनर पार्टनर होता है (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम तो मानते हैं भाई। हम तो कह रहे हैं। हमारी शटल ट्रेन कलकत्ता से अगर तल्ला चलती है। हमारी शटल ट्रेन चलती है। लेकिन हम कह रहे हैं क्यों नहीं इंजिनयरी बैठते धाम जनता से पूछने के लिये कि किस राज्य में भ्रष्टाचार है या नहीं है। हम दावा करते हैं कि हमारे राज्य में कुछ कम है। यह हम नहीं कहेंगे कि मिश्रकुल नहीं है लेकिन बी.जे.पी. के राज में भी है। ब्लाक का वही हाल, कर्नाटोरेट का भी वही हाल, सेक्रेटेरियट का भी वही हाल कांग्रेस राज में भी वही हाल है, जनता दल राज में भी वही हाल है, चारों तरफ यही है। क्या हम लोगों का यह कर्तव्य नहीं है कि बैठकर कोई रास्ता निकालें क्योंकि हमें सब चोर कह रहे हैं, बेईमान कह रहे हैं, बदनाम हो रहे हैं। क्यों नहीं कोई रास्ता निकालते हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री सुधीर रंजन मजुमदार (त्रिपुरा) : अपनी पार्टी का आदमी बोला, पोलिट ब्यूरो का आदमी बोला, ज्योति बसु के बारे में (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : आपको ज्योति बसु का सकुन तकिया हो गया है। ज्योति बसु, ज्योति बसु सकुन तकिया में आप चलते हैं तो हम क्या करें? मैटल डिस्मिग है। हम दूसरी बात कह रहे थे। अगर ऐसा चारों तरफ हो रहा है तो इसके लिये रास्ता निकालना चाहिये। एक और बात हो रही है। तेजी से क्रिमिनलाइजेशन आफ पोलिटिक्स हो रहा है। हम यह दिन देख रहे हैं जिस दिन यहां इस सदन में रंक्त-पात होगा क्योंकि क्रिमिनल लोग माननीय सदस्य होकर सदन में चले आर्यगी। इधर से उधर से छुरा चलेगा तो खून बहेगा, अगर इसी रफ्तार से राजनीति का अपराधीकरण होता गया। इसलिये जरूरी है कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज बैठा दीजिये जो

यह जांच करके रिपोर्ट दे कि किस पार्टी के अन्दर कितने क्रिमिनल हैं। इसमें सब पार्टियों की हिंमति हो जाये, सब अपना जवाब दें और देश के सामने स्थिति स्पष्ट कर दीजिये। अगर आपके दिल में कोई चोर नहीं है तो आपको कौन रोकता है, आप तो सरकार में बैठे हैं। सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज बैठा दीजिये। आपके पास सी. बी. आई. है, बहुत कुछ है। आप नया अध्याय शुरू कीजिये देश आगे बढ़ सकता है। कौन रोकेगा? कोई नहीं रोक सकता है। रोकते हैं तो सरकार के लोग रोकते हैं। इसलिये इस दिशा में जाना चाहिये (सभ्य को घंटो) हमारा टाइम ही गया क्या? (व्यवधान)

श्री संकर दयाल सिंह : अभी तो शुरूआत ही नहीं हुआ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : नहीं, ऐसा नहीं है।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : जो टोका-टाकी हुई है, वह समय नहीं लिया जाए। इसलिये बोलिये आप।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : ठीक है। इसलिये हमने आपसे कहा कि भ्रष्टाचार के अपराधीकरण से क्या-क्या हो रहा है। माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं कि विदेशी 0 जो आप लें। कल एक माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि 35 हजार करोड़ रुपया मिला विदेशी कम्पनियों से लेकिन दूसरा पड़ल भी विचार कीजिये। 'Unused continued foreign logins of Rs. 75,000 crores'

जिसमें हमको कमिटमेंट चार्ज देना पड़ता है। ऐसी नालायक सरकार है कर्जा ले लेती है विदेश से।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: It is not only the Central Government, but also the State Governments.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Whoever it may be. A loan is a foreign loan. India is being mortgaged. Why not protest? (Interruptions) I have never mentioned you alone. I asked why this is being done. This is the central point. What is happening? Why is it happening? On the one hand Rs. 75,000 crores of foreign loan

is lying idle and we are paying commitment charges. Again, you are taking loan! The second point is, the Government is so much inefficient, due to delays cost escalation is on a very large scale. Rs. 70,000 crores every year are being wasted on this account. Who is responsible for this? Ordinary citizens? Or anybody sitting here in the ruling party? Whoever it may be, it is a national loss and national wastage. We cannot tolerate it and that is why we are going against it.

गै एक दूसरी बात यह कहना चाहंगा कि हमारे देश के संबंध में एक धारणा विदेशों में आ गयी है कि अब यह देहू का भारत, इंदिरा गांधी का भारत, राजीव गांधी का भारत नहीं है। अब यह घुटने टेक का भारत है। विदेशों में चर्चा हो रही है। ईरान का राष्ट्रपति यहां आए और वह बोले . (व्यवधान) कि इंडियन ओशन में विदेशी नौसेना और विदेशी फौज नहीं रहे। हमारे मौनी बाबा के मूंह से निकलता ही नहीं। आप ऐसा प्रधान मंत्री बना दिए मौनी बाबा. कि बोलते नहीं। कल तक बोलते थे भारत के तमाम प्रधान मंत्री। लोग उसकी प्रतिष्ठा करते थे। अमेरिका से यहां आते हैं—पहले तो आई ट्रेड की वे लेडी, उनका नाम हम भूल रहे हैं . (व्यवधान) नहीं, उससे पहल जो थी। मिसेज भारती हिस्स ट्रेड वाली जो थी। लगता था जैसे भारत उसका 52वां स्टेट हो वह कहती थीं हम 301 धारा लागू कर देंगे, हम तुम्हारा यह कर देंगे, हम तुम्हारा यह कर देंगे . (व्यवधान) हा उनके सब्जेक्ट है, रियाया है कि के ऐसा बोलेंगे? अभी उसका एक ट्रेड सेन्टेरी आया। वह बोलकर गया कि हमको मालूम होता कि ईरान के राष्ट्रपति यहां आने वाले हैं तो वह उसने अपमान करते हुए हमारे यहां यह बात कही। हमारे यहां अतिथि बैठा रहेगा और कोई आदमी आकर कहे कि अतिथि न रहे यहां पर। क्या लज्जाजनक स्थिति है? क्या विरोध करने की आपकी हिम्मत है? इसी तरह में सरकार चलती है? सारे देश के अंदर ऐसी बातें हो रही हैं कि भारत सरकार घुटनाटेकू हो रही है

श्री जगेश देसाई : आप पहले कभी ऐसे नहीं बोले ? In such a voice I have heard you for the first time.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : कुछ ऐसी बातें हो रही हैं (व्यवधान) कितनी प्रेस्टिज घट गयी है, यू नो ? ग्रुप आफ 15 कंट्रीज़ की मीटिंग बुलाई जाती थी। पहले तमाम लोग सुनते थे। "नाम" की बात छोड़िए, मान एलाइंड नेशन की बात। 15 ग्रुप की 15 गवर्नमेंट की जो मीटिंग बुलाई जाती है उसका कोरम ही नहीं पूरता है। हाउस में कोरम नहीं पूरता तो घंटी बजाई जाती है। 15 राष्ट्रों का कोरम नहीं पूरेगा तो कहां घंटी बजाएगा। आप सोचिए कि आपकी प्रतिष्ठा में हानि हो रही है। इस बात को हम लोगों को थोड़ा बहुत समझना चाहिए।

"गेट" में आपने समझौता किया। क्या किया, क्या नहीं किया, इसकी चर्चा अभी नहीं करेंगे लेकिन इतनी बात हम आपको कहेंगे कि यह संदेश सारे विश्व में गया है कि टेम्पटाइन में कुछ अमेरिका से बाजार लेने के लिए आपने सरेंडर कर दिया। किसी दिन चर्चा होगी तो कहेगा इस वक़्त इतने आगे जा नहीं सकते हैं। फिर उनके साथ आप संयुक्त सैनिक सहायद करते हैं। हम अमेरिका के कोई खिलाफ नहीं हैं। अमेरिका से दोस्ती कीजिए। हम उसके खिलाफ नहीं हैं। लेकिन संयुक्त सहायद करते हैं उनके साथ भित्ति की, जवाइंट करते हैं। तो आखिर किसके खिलाफ लड़िएगा? हम सब लोग जानते हैं कि अमेरिका पाकिस्तान का पक्ष कर रहा है। वह कम पक्ष करे आप इसके लिए बारगेन कीजिए, हमको कोई ऐतराज नहीं। हम इसके खिलाफ नहीं हैं। लेकिन पाकिस्तान को अगर कोई उकसावा दे रहा है और भारत के इस भूभाग को, इंडियन पेनिनसुला को अगर कोई अस्त व्यस्त कर रहा है तो यह अमेरिका की पालिसी है जिसके चलते यह हो रहा है। ये जो काश्मीर में आते हैं अफगानिस्तान और ईजिप्ट वगैरे या और दूसरे देशों से जितने भी विदेशी, इनफिल्ट्रेशन आ रहे हैं इनको कितने ट्रेनिंग दी? रूस से, सोवियत कम्युनिस्टों से

लड़ने के लिए... (समय की घंटी) उन देशों की जेलों से जिह्वाद के नाम पर ललकारा अपराधकर्मियों को पाकिस्तान की खुफिया एजेंसी ने।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARADE): Please try to wind up.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : दो तीन मिनट और दे दीजिए हम अपने आप बैठ जाएंगे।

उन लोगों को निकालकर उन लोगों ने ट्रेनिंग दी, आधुनिक हथियार दिए और अब वे पाकिस्तान को भी बरबाद कर रहे हैं भारत को भी बरबाद कर रहे हैं, इसलिए इनके पीछे अमेरिका है। मैं उनसे आपको युद्ध करने के लिए नहीं कहता। मैं चाहता हूँ युद्ध न हो। लेकिन डिफॉसिव होकर क्यों बोलते हैं हमारे नेता हमें यह समझ में नहीं आता। इस बार हमारे गुलाब नबी आज़ाद साहब गए थे वे थोड़ा आफेंसिव बोले थे। हम लोग भारत के लोग कोई पाप कर रहे हैं क्या यह हमको बता दोजिए। सेक्युलरिज्म में हम सबसे अच्छे हैं, रंगविभेद हमारे यहाँ नहीं है, अमेरिका में है। हमारे यह जो सम्पत्ता है उनसे कहीं ऊँची है। अपराध कर्म में हम न्यूयार्क से बहुत कम हैं। हमारे लोगों को क्या हो गया है कुछ पता नहीं चलता है। टी०वी० पर रोज रोज विदेशियों के नग्न नृत्य देखिए, नंगा नाच देखिए और आगे चलकर वे लोग क्या क्या कहते हैं कि मर्दे-मर्दे की शादी होगी लड़की लड़की की शादी होगी। यही सब बाल-बच्चों को दिखला कर आप भारत बनाना चाहते हैं? यह क्या सांस्कृतिक हनला हो रहा है, कहां आपने सीखा, कहां आपने देखा? इस बूढ़े प्रधान मंत्री से यह उम्मीद नहीं की जाती थी। ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : मिश्रा जी... (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : मैं आब्जैक्शन कर रहा हूँ। प्रधान मंत्री को बड़ा मत चाहिए। ... (व्यवधान) उनको बहुत तकलीफ होगी। ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
मिश्रा जी, देखिए ... (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : : कांग्रेस के  
किसी व्यक्ति ने प्रोटेस्ट नहीं किया, लेकिन  
में कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
शंकर दयाल जी, आप जरा बँटेंगे। ...  
(व्यवधान) मिश्रा जी ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : : आपको हम  
बूढ़ा दिखते हैं तो बताइए आपको बुरा  
लगते हैं ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
नहीं, मुझे बुरा लगने का सवाल नहीं है ...  
(व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : आदमी तन  
से नहीं, मन से बूढ़ा होता है। ...  
(व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
मिश्रा जी, मैंने आपकी पार्टी को जो समय  
दिया था उससे भी ज्यादा समय मैंने आपको  
दिया है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मैडम, मैं कनक्लूड  
कर रहा हूँ। ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
देश के इतने बड़े व्यक्ति के लिए इस तरह  
की भाषा इस्तेमाल करना यह कुछ अच्छा  
नहीं महसूस होता है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : जवान  
कह दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : नहीं, हम जवान  
कैसे कहेंगे ... (व्यवधान) अब मालवीय  
जी अगर जोर लगा रहे हैं कि जवान कह  
दें तो ... (व्यवधान) जो जवान महिलाएँ  
हैं वे प्रोटेस्ट करेंगी। ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
मिश्रा जी, जवान और बूढ़े का सवाल नहीं  
है। आखिर में बूढ़े तो सभी को होना है,  
लेकिन एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा करते  
हुए इस तरह की भाषा इस्तेमाल करना  
ठीक नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हमने नहीं किया।  
हमने रिडीकुल किया इसीलिए कि हमारी  
सांस्कृतिक विरासत पर हमला हो रहा है। हम  
इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं करते। ... (व्यवधान)  
इसीलिए हमने कहा यह क्या टेस्ट है ?  
हम लोगों को कहा जाता है कि अमरीका  
की कंपनी आएपी और चटनी बनायेगी।  
अगर हम कहें कि बूढ़ों को चटनी का बड़ा  
शौक होता है तो आप इस पर एतराज  
कीजिएगा। क्या हमारे देश में चटनी नहीं  
बनती थी कि आज आप अमरीका से चटनी  
बनवा रहे हैं ? आप हमको अंकल चिप्स  
खिलवा रहे हैं, क्या हम पोटैटो चिप्स बनाना  
नहीं जानते हैं ? वह थोड़ा हम से ज्यादा उम्र  
के हैं, बड़े भाई हैं प्रधान मंत्री, तो उतना  
तो हक है, कहने का अधिकार है और  
इसीलिए थोड़ा हमने कह दिया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
आप ऐसा न कहें। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : अब आप कहें  
कि मत कहें तो हम नहीं कहेंगे। हमने  
आपसे यही कहा है कि कई एक चीजों पर  
माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा ... (व्यवधान)  
हम कनक्लूड कर रहे हैं, ज्यादा टाइम  
नहीं लेंगे, कि जो अमरीकन इंटरफीरेंस  
हो रहा है जहाँ तक हमारी सॉर्टिंग एंड  
टेक्नोलॉजी के विकास में स्पेस में जाने  
पर और-मोर चीजों पर और यहाँ तक कि  
अमरीका हमको कहता है कि जब तक  
आप काश्मीर का सवाल हल नहीं करेंगे  
हम सैक्गोरिटी कौंसिल में परमानेंट मेंबर  
नहीं बनने देंगे तो यह हमको अमानजनक  
लगता है। मैं एक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी हूँ,  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, दिल में बहुत दुख  
हुआ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :  
इसलिए हम आपका आदर भी करते हैं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : इसीलिए हमको  
चोट पहुँची, इसीलिए हमने कहा यह रास्ता  
जो है वह ज्वालामुखी पर जो भारत बैठा  
हुआ है वहाँ आप फैला देगा और इसलिए  
हमने शासक पार्टी को सावधान किया।  
अगर कुछ कटु शब्द निकला हो तो हमें  
क्षमा करें। धन्यवाद।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारो सरोज खारपडे) :**  
मिश्र जी, आपको मैं अकेली नहीं, सारा  
सदन एक आदर की भावना से देखता है  
और आपको हमेशा मान-सम्मान करते हैं।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हमने तो वापस  
कर लिया। आपके कहने पर हमने कहा कि  
अगर किसी को कोई बाँट पहुँचो हों तो  
हम वापस लेते हैं। आपने जो कुछ आदेश  
दिया हमने तो उससे मान लिया। बड़ा  
शब्द हुआइये तो ठीक है। यह भी कह दते  
कि बूढ़े तो हम भी हैं। अब इस पर क्या  
किया जाए। . . . (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ  
KHAPARDE)- Dr. M. Alam, there is hardly  
any time for your party. Only ten minutes are  
there.

DR. M. ARAM (Nominated): Madam  
Chairperson, I am grateful to you for giving  
me this opportunity to speak particularly  
because I happen to be a Member nominated  
by the President of India. The President's  
Address, Madam, portrays a picture of  
optimism tempered by realism. The Address is  
panaromic, comprehensive and holistic in  
character. The Address gives the positive  
features of the national scenario and also the  
various steps being taken by the Government  
to take the country forward on the path of  
peace and all-round development. This year,  
1995, is an important year for us, Indians, for  
the country as a whole, because this year  
happens to be the 125th Birth Annver-sary of  
Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. In  
this connection, the reversed Rashtrapatiiji has  
made a reference in his Address to the High  
Powered Committee, presided over by the  
Prime Minister, which has come out with  
some important economic plans to conserve  
the 125th Birth Anniversary of Mahatma  
Gandhi. This Committee has come out with a  
plan, with an action plan, to revitalise the  
khadi and village industries programme to  
create two million additional jobs. In the  
current year's Budget, Rs. 1,000 crores have  
been earmarked for this purpose.

More importantly, the President has also  
referred to the programme under which  
intensive development would be launched in  
125 blocks in the country in order to really  
achieve our national goals, i.e., full employ-  
ment, employment for all, education for all  
and health for all. If these 125 blocks- in- the -  
country can achieve these national goals by  
October 2 this year —. if that is impossible, at  
least, next year—they would become pace-  
setters for the 5,239 blocks in the country

Madam, the struggle against poverty cannot  
be waged successfully only by official efforts;  
it cannot be waged only by the Government. It  
would have to be a joint struggle, a joint  
struggle involving the Central Government,  
the State Governments, voluntary  
organisations, scientific institutions,  
universities and schools, religious bodies,  
financial institutions and, above all, • the  
Panchayati Raj institutions.

Madam, this august House and the other  
House unanimously adopted the Constitution  
(Seventy-third) Amendment Bill in this  
regard. The flowering of the Panchayati Rai  
institutions around the country would be a  
fitting tribute to the memory of the Father of  
the Nation. The President has, very rightly,  
referred to the question of resources. The  
President has referred to the fact that. Rs.  
7,010 crores have been earmarked for the anti-  
poverty programmes, the highest ever in our  
planning history. The President has also  
referred to the fact that unless the Panchayats  
are given adequate finance, they would not be  
able to fulfil the higher expectations of the  
people. I quote from the President's Address:  
"In order to fulfil the' higher expectations of  
the people, the Panchayats must be  
empowered with financial and administrative  
delegation".

The Tenth Finance Commission has  
earmarked an *ad hoc* provision of

Rs. 4,380.93 crores for the Panchayats in all the States of the country for the period 1995-2000. But this is not adequate. This is only an *ad hoc* provision- The Ministry of Rural Development proposed to the Tenth Finance Commission that a sum of Rs. 7,500 crores should be earmarked for the Panchayats. The Centrally-sponsored schemes like the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana are there. The funds for them should be channelled through the Panchayati Raj institutions .

The most encouraging, most creative and most inspiring part of the story is this We are all depressed by some of the features, negative features, of the national situation. But r have gone around some parts of the country. There are villages, there are pockets, there are bright spots, mere are success stories, at the micro level- where some of our goals have been achieved. For example, the population growth rate has been brought down. I have worked in the Gandhigram University. In the villages there, the population growth rate has been brought down. The population growth rate has teen brought down to zero, to one per cent, whereas the national average is 2.1 per cent.

Now the question is: When we have this micro success, how are we to bring about a macro- success, a macro transformation? Here, one of the most revolutionary features—one can use the word 'revolutionary'—is that one-third positions in the Panchayati Raj institutions are reserved for women, not only as Panchayat Members, but also as Panchayat Chairpersons. This is an improvement which has been made through this legislation so that around the country, we will have as many as one million, i.e. ten lakhs, women who, as Panchayat leaders, would be running the local bodies. This emergence of women power, this emergence of stree shakti at the jrassroots level, I do believe, is a

most encouraging development in the country and they will take care of many of the problems which assail our minds and thoughts and we are worried about.

Just a few days ago, in the capital, Delhi, there was a national conference on Women and Panchayat Raj. Now, our hon. Deputy Chairperson inaugurated the conference and the distinguished Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha was also there. The women there asked the question, why only 33 per cent, why not 50 per cent, women being 50 per cent? Generally it was agreed, yes, it should be 50 per cent but, finally, when I saw the resolutions, they had gone beyond that. They were so impressed by our Deputy Chairperson and our Secretary-General that they have said, in the Rajya Sabha there should be 100 per cent women. Now, this is a dangerous proposition. But then, the enthusiasm was such that when women come up—may I say? — They come up very fast.

I can tell you, as a Vice-Chancellor I had to work under five women bosses—would you believe that? My immediate superior, the Chancellor was Dr. Soundaram Ramchandran, a distinguished women leader and former Union Minister. And since Gandhigram was a deemed University, I had to work under the Chairperson of the University Grants Commission, Dr. Maclhuriben Shah, at that time. Since my University was a Central University, I had to work under the Education Minister of the Central Government, who was Mrs. Sheila Kaul at that time. And very important decisions and files had to go to the Prime Minister, because mine was a Central University, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister at that time. Add to these four women bosses the "Home Minister", my wife at home, who certainly guides. So I had to work under five women bosses! When I mentioned this in the Commonwealth Universities Association, everybody had a big laugh.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): Now you are speaking when a lady is in the chair!

DR. M. ARAM: Now, here also we have a lady Vice-Chairperson. So, when women come up, they come up very fast. But in the Panchayat Raj institutions they are going to make a difference and I am sure a better era is awaiting us.

Madam Vice-Chairperson, the President's Address also refers to a very important proposal, which I heartedly support. The President has said that the time is ripe right now for a fourth special session on disarmament to be convened by the United Nations. The first special session on disarmament was convened in 1978, the second in 1982 and the third in 1988. All these three special sessions on disarmament in the United Nations made substantial contributions to advances in the field of disarmament. The time is ripe right now to have a fourth special session. This is the 50th year of the United Nations and, as I said earlier, the 125th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi and, therefore, I heartily endorse it and I hope the Ministry of External Affairs will pursue this proposal for a fourth special session on disarmament because India has always been—right from Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajiv Gandhi—for disarmament and we have always been fighting and struggling for a non-violent and nuclear-weapon-free world by 2000 A.D. This year, being the United Nations 50th anniversary, as I said, is also the UNESCO's 50th anniversary, and the UNESCO has declared this year as the International Year of Tolerance as a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore, India should continue to go in the path of non-violence and disarmament towards a non-violent world and not produce atom bombs. India should pursue this vision of a nonviolent and nuclear-weapon-free world. Finally, Madam Vice-Chair-

man, our revered Prime Minister, presiding over the National Committee on Mahatma Gandhi's 125th Anniversary, made a profound observation. Our Prime Minister is a thinker. He said: "What do you see around the world? You see a crisis in the system. The system around the world is in crisis. We also witness the same systemic crisis in our country." So, these are difficult times for the world and for the country. So, we have to bring about democratically, non-violently and peacefully a Radical restructuring of the system, be it at the global level or at the national level or at the State level or at the local level. India has to lead the world in the restructuring of this system. I am sure, if all of us work together, we can take this great country forward.

Thank you very much for this opportunity.

\*SHRI S. MADHAVAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Vice-Chairperson, I rise to present my views on the motion of thanks on the President's address. It was said from the Congress side that Panchayat elections have not been held in Tamilnadu. It was indeed Mr. M. G. R. who held elections to Panchayats that were not held long before his taking over as the Chief Minister. Even the present Chief Minister of Tamilnadu wanted to hold Panchayat elections on assuring the office. But unfortunately, the Cauvery water dispute took a different turn and many Tamils were killed and their properties looted. Because of this unleashing of terror on Tamils in the neighbouring state and the emotional turbulence of Tamils in Tamil nadu over the matter, the Panchayat elections were postponed. It was after this that the Panchayati Raj Bill was passed. I wish to point out that the AIADMK Government, in actuality, was preparing to hold

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\*English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

Panchayat election much before this Bill was passed. The Panchayati Rai Bill, a brain-child of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, aims at making Panchayat elections mandatory after every five years so that Panchayat bodies don't become the victims in the political game between the ruling and opposition parties. Tamilnadu Government never opposed the sanctity of Panchayat elections, devolution of powers and reservation to women, SC/ST and the backward classes. We are in favour of all this.

Madam, Tamilnadu Government only opposes indirect election to any level of Panchayat bodies. Because such indirectly elected body will not be representative in character. So, we want that direct election should be held for all the Panchayat bodies. We oppose indirect election to the district level bodies. These district boards were superseded with the spirited efforts of late Mr. Kamraj. The Congress people who take his name very often during election, want to undo what he had done. This is what we oppose.

The address of the Hon'ble President says that strict vigil is maintained on the international borders and the coastlines. But the facts are to the contrary. Border vigilance has failed- Even national security is in danger. Southern coast has become the haven for smugglers, drug traffickers and terrorists. The movement of Pakistan's ISI activists has increased. International smugglers are operating through the southern coast. Central Government officials have confirmed these facts. A Central Government official has said, I quote.

The southern coast has become vulnerable to drug smuggling- Sri-Lankan authorities have voiced their concern over the drug traffic^ king from India. Drugs originating from Pakistan. Afghanistan and

Iran are brought to Indian cities find smuggled into Srilanka, Southern coast is fast emerging as a gateway for smuggling of heroin, opium and ganja into Srilanka. The foreign smugglers have local financiers, middlemen and carriers.

This is what the official had to say.

Madam, the address mentions that care is taken to protect humanrights and that National Humanrights Commission has been set up for the purpose. But it is my duty to point out what the Amnesty International had to say about the humanrights situation in India. It has said that humanrights are being violated in India. I wish to quote what our National Humanrights Commission has to say.

*Appeal to law makers*

The Terrorist and disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, of 1987 has freely applied to situations not contemplated by the Act.

TADA is indeed, draconian in effect and character and has been looted down upon as incompatible with our cultural traditions, legal history and treaty obligations.

Provisions of the Act have yielded to abuse. The Act has been misused over the years and thou sands of innocent people have been roped into languish in jails. They could have been dealt with under other laws.

Police have found TADA a convenient legal process to silence opposition and that it has been frequently abused for political considerations .

Bring an end to this draconian legislation.

The plea that without this special law the integrity of our mother

[Shri S. Madhavan]

land would be in jeopardy is a stand without merit.

It is a black law. The Act operates unjustly and has as its very base a foundation of injustice.

The Commission is finding it difficult to maintain human rights because of this draconian law.

This is what our Humanrights Commission had to say.

The Hon'ble President has expressed concern over the price rise of essential commodities. I can assertively say that the centre has miserably failed to check price rise. The new economic policy and the opening to flood gates to multinationals has resulted in inflation, price rise and shortage of commodities at home. The principles of self-reliant economy, protection to indigenous goods and safety against foreign trade invasion pursued by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru have been thrown to the winds. The Finance Minister was happy to export coffee seeds for earnings foreign exchange. The coffee barons exploited the situation and made quick money. But our own people, particularly the people of the south suffered because the price of coffee powder went up by 300 per cent. Even my esteemed friend Mr. Vayalar Ravi would have felt the pinch.

So also the Centre allowed export of cotton and cotton yarn and that led to 100 percent increase in the price of cotton yarn in India. The weavers, particularly handlooms weavers, have suffered a lot on account of this. Many weavers and their family members have died of starvation. Only the middlemen and the traders reaped a rich harvest because of your policy. The National Congress fought for the rights of weavers. But today's Congress has

trampled upon the rights of weavers leaving them in the lurch". The entry of multinationals into India has jeopardised our economy. The flow of money from foreign agencies has led to even mounting inflation, I quote;

#### **Inflation because of the invasions of Foreign Capital**

Foreign institutional investors Portfolio investments had been contributing to the inflationary pressure on the economy. FICCI's study report reveals that the period witnessing higher FDI inflows led to higher rate of inflation while the period recording lower FDI inflows led to fall in inflation rate.

This proved that the future Indian economy will be controlled by foreign investors.

Hon'ble P.M. conceded to review the flow of FDI inflows if that contributed to inflationary pressures.

This is what the centre has done through the so-called liberalisation.

Madam, Tamilnadu has been demanding the execution of Sethusamudram Project. From the year 1956 the centre appointed several committees to look into the issue and each committee recommended the project. Yet the centre does not have the heart to sanction Sethusamudram Project. This is a project that will be helpful in safeguarding national interest and increasing international trade besides improving the economy of southern districts, including the district of the Hon'ble Minister Mr. Arunachalam. This project might cause some revenue loss to Srilanka, but it will certainly help India progress. The Central Minister in a reply sent to me cited resource crunch as the reason. When it comes to helping Tamilnadu then\*

Centre has one or other problem. I appeal to the centre to clear the project and expedite execution.

In Salem and Kanjmalai area of Tamilnadu, there is lot of iron ore deposit.' For the last 40 years, from the time of Mr. Kamaraj, we have been demanding for a steel plant in the area. It was Mrs. Indira Gandhi who had set up a stainless steel plant at Salem. At that time I was the Industries Minister there. People of Tamilnad shall remain grateful to her for this. The Secretary Steel has said during his recent visit to Tamilnadu that 60 percent steel could be obtained from the iron ore available there and that a Rs. 2000-crore Integrated Steel Plant need to be set up for the purpose. There is 7.5 crore tonnes of iron ore reserve in this area. I think Honorable Minister Mr. Arunachalam will look into this. I say so because, when I asked a question about it, the concerned Minister said that there is no such project under consideration. The Secretary says it is viable but the Minister says there is no scheme. I request the Govt, to consider this long pending demand of Tamilnadu and set up an integrated steel plant at Salem.

As regards energy in Tamilnadu, all the viable hydroelectric projects have been completed because they were pursued in earnest by Mr. K. Kamaraj. For future energy requirement we have to bank on only atomic energy. We can also go in for coal or gas based power generation. But the National Thermal Corporation concentrates only in north India. No new project is coming up in the south. This Corporation has 10 coal based and 5 gas based thermal power plants in the country. But not a single Plant is in the south. This corporation has so far invested Rs 19,756.79 crores and has 14,663 M.W. capacity. In all it generates 76.5 crore unit of electricity. But Tamilnadu has not got a single plant. Even

the National Hydroelectric Corporation has not given any project to Tamilnadu.

The Koodankulam Atomic Power Plant that has been envisaged to provide power to the southern districts has been pending from 1988. From 1991 I have been mentioning in the House as to how two atomic power plants of 100 M.W. capacity have not been completed. I have been asking for it ever since I became Member of this august House. Even Congress Party had cast its votes to send me here. So I demanded on behalf of the Congress Party. But nothing happened. Our own atomic experts have said that two atomic power plants of 500 MW. each can be set up. I can understand the fall of USSR was the major reason. But the fact is, the matter was not pursued further. It is said that even France came forward to render assistance but no one knows what happened later. I too have been getting only routine reply from the Government. I request Mr. Arunachalam to look into the matter. Because, even when our Prime Minister had been to Russia, the matter of Koodankulam atomic plant is said to have been just referred to. So far the centre has spent Rs. 5.3 Crores and the Government of Tamilnadu is extending full cooperation. So, I request the Government to take steps to complete the project soon.

There is also a scheme for setting up 300 ton capacity vanadium sponge manufacturing plant and a 1000 ton capacity titanium sponge manufacturing plant in Nellore district. This has been pending from 1991. I appeal to the Government to execute these projects.

I am happy about the keen interest shown by the Petroleum Minister in exploring the oil and gas reserves in the Cauvery basin. These precious petroleum reserves stretch to an area of 25,000 Sq. Kms. on

[Shri G. G. Swell]

shore and 23,000 Sq. Kms. off shore. There is huge hydrocarbon deposit in this area. In all, it is estimated that 54-crore tons of petroleum products are available in the Cauvery basin. Steps should be taken to expedite exploration of these reserves. I urge upon the Government to set up a fertilizer industry in this region making use of the oil and gas- The setting up of LPG bottling unit at Trichy should also be expedited.

There is a long pending demand for harnessing the surplus water of west-flowing rivers in Kerala for use in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu where there is shortage of water. Tamil Nadu Government has been pressing for linking of Pamba, Achari koil and Vaigai rivers for this purpose. National Water Commission, after examining the scheme, has reported that 665 crore cubic metre surplus water can be harnessed and diverted to Vaigai delta in Tamil Nadu for irrigating over 1 lakh hectare land.' It is estimated to cost Rs. 668 crore. But unfortunately, without taking any action on the matter, the centre has passed the buck to both the State Governments, asking them to find a solution. This is a problem of southern districts to which Mr. Arunachalam belongs to. So I hope Mr. Vayalar Ravi won't oppose this.

Madam, on assuming the office of the Chief Minister, our beloved leader Dr. Anna renamed the erstwhile Madras State as Tamil Nadu. We are thankful to Mrs. Indira Gandhi who accepted our demand to rename Madras High Court as Tamil Nadu High Court for the last 28 years has not been accepted so far. Mysore High Court has been renamed Karnataka High Court so also the High Courts of Gujarat, Kerala Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan have been named after

.Address;

after their respective states. While 12 High Courts have been named after their states, one wonders why the demand of Tamil Nadu is not being accepted? Does it mean that the centre treats Tamils as second class citizens?

Since 1968, there has been another demand for setting up of a Bench of Madras High Court at Madurai. The Centre says that the judges of Madras High Court do not accept the proposal. The late Chief Minister Mr. M.G.R. wrote a letter to the centre in 1980 explaining the necessity of setting up a Bench of Madurai, rejecting the demand taken by the judges. Then the centre appointed Jaswant Singh Commission and the Commission submitted a report in 1985 favouring setting up of a Bench at Madurai. Yet even the centre has been silent for the last 10 years. I hope the Government will take accept this proposal and bring suitable legislation during the current

5 P.M. session itself. Then alone the striking lawyers of Tamil Nadu will withdraw their strike.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Madhavan Please wind up.

SHRI S. MADHAVAN: It seems the centre is not concerned over the problems of the Srilankan Tamils in Tamil Nadu who had to flee Srilanka due to ethnic conflicts. The ongoing civil war in Srilanka has its echo in Tamil Nadu and the Tamil Nadu Government has to spend crores of rupees to face these problems. Tamil Nadu Government has been pleading with the centre from 1993 to send back the Srilankan Tamils who have been detained here against their wish. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has expressed regret over the indifferent attitude of the centre. Another demand of the Tamil Nadu Government for financial assistance to modernise the police force for

effectively dealing with the well armed liberation Tigers has been ignored by the centre. Even the request to waive customs duty for importing modern weaponry for Tamilnadu police has not been agreed to. Centre has also rejected the demand to keep foreigners in custody when they indulge in unlawful activities. Tamilnadu Government has complained that "the centre has not given permission even to take certain persons under police custody for their illegal activities. It is well known that liberation Tigers are a well trained and well equipped force fighting for the liberation of Tamil Elam. But the centre has not been serious in finding a solution to the problem faced by Tamilnadu as a consequence of this.

Madam, the Srilankan Navy has been attacking and killing Tamilnadu fishermen continuously. Last year, while answering to the debates on the Motion of Thanks on the "President's Address, the Prime Minister promised to hold talks with the Members of Parliament from Tamilnadu on the matter. But that never happened.

The 1974 Katchatheva Agreement protects the traditional fishing rights of our fishermen even in Srilankan waters. But our own Navy and Coast Guard Officials warn our fishermen against fishing near "Srilankan waters. The views expressed by the External Affairs Minister on the matter recently in this House were shocking and surprising. He alleged that LTTE cadres are attacking our fishermen in the disguise of Srilankan Navy. He also parroted the Srilankan Government version that the Tamilnadu Government has been ar-

resting Srilankan fishermen besides seizing their boats- There can't be more cruel a joke than this. In this connection, I wish to refer to the answer given by the External Affairs Minister on 21-12-94 in reply to my question. He then said that the centre has received information that Srilankan Navy attacked and killed our fishermen besides destroying their nets and boats. From July 1991 our fishermen were fired upon and killed by Srilankan Navy 9 times. On 26th June, 1991 our fishing boats were destroyed and our fishermen were fired upon. These incidents were accepted by the centre on the floor of this House. Without realising these brutal incidents, our External Affairs Minister was rubbing salt on the wound by unnecessarily blaming Tamil Nadu Government. They forget that Tamilnadu always came to the rescue of Congress.

Those in power at the centre fail to understand the sentiments and the simmering discontent in Tamilnadu with regard to imposition of Hindi. No one opposes to learning Hindi as a language. We only oppose Hindi imperialism and its domination as the official language of the Union. Three-language formula is said to be a solution for the language issue. This formula provides for studying Hindi and English in addition to the language of the State. However, in Hindi speaking states, students study Hindi *alone* and join Government service. So in these states it will remain 'our language' forever. Since Mr Panaji Puri, a great visionary he foresaw it and that is why he stoutly opposed Hindi alone being the official language. He assertively said that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance for the continuance of English as the associate link language should be enshrined in the Constitution. Realising the difficulties in studying three different languages, the former Union Finance Minister

(SHRI S. MADHAVAN)

Mr. C. Subramanyam made an appeal for teaching Hindi in Roman script. That suggestion was also rejected by the centre (*Interruptions*)

The Minimum thing that the centre can do is to conduct all the official works in all the Central Government offices in Tamilnadu only in Tamil. The People of Tamilnadu want the promise of Pt. Nehru to be enshrined in the Constitution.

The simmering against imposition of Hindi has not died down in Tamilnadu. It is boiling deep inside the minds of the people. It can explode like volcano any time. I warn this Government to take necessary steps immediately to save the situation.

As I conclude, I hope the Prime Minister will respond to the sentiments and the long pending demands of the people of Tamilnadu in his reply.

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** मैडम, मैं माधवन जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ . .

I am not objecting to you. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Have some tolerance. (*Interruptions*) Nobody is imposing foreign language-But Shri Shankar Dayal Singh is imposing Hindi on the non-Hindi speakin? States. (*Interruptions*)- For the official language, there is a Committee of Parliament. Why is there no Committee for some other language? (*Interruptions*). Does this not amount to imposing Hindi? (*Interruptions*). We know how to defend ourselves. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: We are not against any language. (*Interruptions*). But, we want to protect our own language. (*Interruptions*) Hindi, may not be the only language of India. (*Interruptions*).

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** मैं माधवन जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। धन्यवाद इसलिये देता हूँ कि उन्होंने . . .

**श्री श्री० नारायणसामी :** तामिल में बोलो ।

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** मैं इनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने भारतीय भाषाओं की इज्जत रखी। भारतीय भाषा में भाषण दिया और हम लोग ऐसे भाषण को बहुत धन्यवाद देते हैं। मैं स्वयं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि हिन्दी कभी लादी नहीं जानी चाहिये। मैं इस बात को बराबर कहता हूँ कि एक विदेशी भाषा को नहीं लादा जाना चाहिये। हम लोगों को अगर तामिल पढ़ने के लिये प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये तो हम लोग निश्चित रूप से पढ़ेंगे, यह मैं कहता हूँ। मैं फिर माधवन साहब को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने तामिल में भाषण दिया। मैं बार-बार उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: We are not against any language.

**श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह :** मैंने तो इनका स्वागत किया है। बहाई और यूसो एंग्री।

मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है और व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि कल इस सदन में उपसभापति जी ने रूलिंग दी थी कि जब भी कोई भी सदन चलेगा कैबिनेट स्तर का कोई मंत्री यहां बैठेगा। कल ही रूलिंग दी गई है। आज कोई भी कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री नहीं है। मैं आपसे अनुरोध करता हूँ कि हाउस को एडजर्न होना चाहिये। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर जब धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव हो रहा है तब एक भी कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री नहीं है। यह दुख की बात है। यह सदन की मर्यादा इससे समाप्त होती है और कल रूलिंग दी है। . . .  
(व्यवधान)

**श्री ए. राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद दे रहे हैं या उनका अपमान कर रहे हैं ? . . .**  
(व्यवधान)

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय :** मैं तो शंकर दयाल जी की बात का समर्थन करता हूँ। . . . (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) :** प्लीज, सिट डाउन। . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मैं उनका समर्थन करता हूँ और यह जो राष्ट्रपति जी के प्रति अनादर है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा हो रही है और कैबिनेट स्तर का कोई भी मंत्री यहां पर प्रस्तुत नहीं है। कल माननीया उपसभापति जी ने इसी पर अपनी कलिंग भी दी थी कि कम से कम कैबिनेट स्तर के मंत्री को हाउस में अवश्य रहना चाहिये यहां तक कि रोस्टर मंत्री को जरूर होना चाहिये। मेरा यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है... (व्यवधान) मेरा आपसे आग्रह है कि आप अभी सदन को स्थगित करें। (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : मालवीय जी... (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : अभी पांच बज चुके हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है... (व्यवधान) पांच बज चुके हैं और एक भी कैबिनेट स्तर के मंत्री यहां पर नहीं है, इसलिये मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से वाक आउट करता हूँ... (व्यवधान)

(इस अवसर पर माननीय सदस्य सदन त्याग कर गये)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : आप दूसरों की बात भी सुना करिये। (व्यवधान) आप बैठिये।... (व्यवधान) बड़े रहिये वह बात अलग है। (व्यवधान) चेयरमैन साहब के कमरे में मीटिंग चल रही है (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : यह सवाल नहीं है। आज लोक सभा भी नहीं है। आज लोक सभा की छुट्टी हो गई है। वहां माननीय सदस्य की मृत्यु हो गई है तो लोक सभा चल नहीं रही है। यह बहाना भी सरकार नहीं ले सकती कि उनके मंत्रिमंडल के मंत्री लोक सभा में है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : मैं यह नहीं कह रही हूँ कि सरकार कोई बहाना ले रही है। अभी हम कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर को बुला रहे हैं।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : इस वक्त क्यों नहीं है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : वह मीटिंग में बिजी होंगे।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मेरा निवेदन है कि आप सदन को स्थगित करिये।... (व्यवधान) पांच बज चुके हैं, सदन को स्थगित करिये। (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : मालवीय जी, राम लखन जी को अभी तब यहीं बैठ थे, शायद ही सकता है कि लॉर्ड में गये हों... (व्यवधान) देखिये, वह पीठें बैठ हुये हैं।... (व्यवधान) राम लखन जी, आप जरा इधर सामने आकर बैठेंगे। श्री जी.जी. स्वेल।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : महोदय, क्या आर्डर में कुछ चेज किया है? नामों के आर्डर में कुछ चेज हुआ है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : नहीं, नामों के आर्डर में चेज नहीं हुआ है, मतलब पार्टीनाइज सत्र चल रहा है। जिस पार्टी के कोई लोग नहीं बोले उन्हीं लोगों को हम बुला रहे हैं। मालवीय जी, आपका नाम था लेकिन मैंने अपने अधिकार का उपयोग इसलिए किया कि स्वेल साहब मुझे कहने लगे कि मुझे कहीं जल्दी जाना है, मैंने कहा ठीक है। इसलिये मैंने उनको पहले बुलवाया है, और कोई बात नहीं है।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : जाना तो हमको भी था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : आपको भी जाना था, ठीक है। कई लोगों ने आकर मुझे रेकवेस्ट की लेकिन मैंने कहा कि आई किन गो बाय द रूल।

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Madani, because of the paucity of time, I would refer only to one aspect of the President's Address- The President, in his Address, has been pleased to say that in the conduct of international relations, we can view the past year with satisfaction- With all respect to

(Shri G. G. Swell)

the President, I think this is the joke of the year. I hope the Ministers sitting here understand and what I am saying. What the President has stated, I repeat, is the joke of the year. The image of India in the international arena has never been so poor. The handling... (Interruptions) ...

Madam, there is only one Cabinet Minister in this House and he too is busy making a speech. He can as well make a speech on my behalf. There was so much of noise in the House because no Cabinet Minister was here.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Madam, what is this? The Minister has just gone out.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: He was busy speaking to others... (Interruptions).

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: There are many Cabinet Ministers. One should have been here;

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: The Minister is here. He could just have gone to the toilet. They cannot say like this. There should be a limit for anything.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: Mr. Ravi says that the Minister has gone to the toilet. It is all right. I do agree with him. At the same time, I want to point out that there are 20 Cabinet Ministers. One of them could have been in the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Some Ministers are busy in the meeting.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West-Bengal): Madam Vice-Chairman, I have to make a small request to you.

THE<sup>1</sup> VICE-CHAIRMAN MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): No more requests, please.

रसायन और उर्वरक मंत्री (श्री राम लखन सिंह यादव) : मैं 4:00 बज से यहाँ बैठा हुआ हूँ (व्यवधान)... मैं मान लेता हूँ (व्यवधान)... उनका हुकम मानकर लावी से, बगल से ही वापिस हो गया। (व्यवधान)... कोई चिंता की जरूरत नहीं है। (व्यवधान)...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: You should not trivialise the issue.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खारडे) : आप बैठेंगे जरा। (व्यवधान)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee is abroad attending the Non-aligned Meeting in Bandung. There is only one Cabinet Minister and he went out for five minutes... (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Anyay, now he is here... (Interruptions).

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र: मैडम, यह मिनिस्टर साहब कह रहे हैं कि ये टॉयलेट जा रहे थे और रास्ते से लौट आये हैं, आप इनकी इजाजत दे दीजिये कि जा आयें।

श्री रामलखन सिंह यादव : इतना हमारा पेशाब पर कब्जा है, मेरे कपड़े में आप जाइये मैं यहीं खड़ा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Yes, Mr. Swell, please speak.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Madam, I started by saying that the President has said in his Address here that the conduct of international relations can be viewed, with satisfaction. I am saying, with all respect to the President, that this is the joke of the year-The image of India in the international arena has never been poorer, the handling of our international relations has never been more inest and the progress report of our achievements has never been poorer than what is has been in the last four Fear\*.

In the first place, Madam, we did not have a full-time functioning Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, • (*Interruptions*). Of Foreign Affairs. (*Interruptions*). I am sorry. I am so much obsessed with Margaret Alva that when she is here I forget the Foreign Affairs and talk about Parliamentary Affairs.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Great compliment!

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I am saying that in the first place India did not have a full-fledged functioning Minister for Foreign Affairs. The world today, Madani, is a restless world. It is a world 'full of trouble, whether it' is Bosnia, whether it is Afghanistan,, whether it is Burma, whether it is Sri Lanka, whether it is Mexico or Chechnya. The world is witnessing important Foreign Ministers of their countries, whether it is Douglas Hurd or Warren Christopher or Kozirev shuttling around the world gallivanting, trying to make peace or to keep peace.

Even in the matter of China, China has stood eyeball to eyeball with America over various issues. Whether it is the question of human rights or it is 'the charge of America that China is plagiarising its Copyrights and its patents, they have stood eyeball to eyeball and it was the United States, the powerful United States of America that was the first to blink. This is the picture of the world.

There was a time when the word of India stood out and stood forth in all the crises of the world. Whether it was the Korean peninsula or it was Katanga in Central Africa or it was Indo-China, the image of India was present, its word was powerful and its presence was felt. Where are we today. I ask you and I ask this Government: Where was your Foreign Minister in all these years and these

months when the world has been undergoing a change? It is a troubled world. Where are you? Who knows who the Foreign Minister of India is? If this is the satisfaction that you derive from the handling of your foreign affairs, then I feel nothing but pity for you. This is number one.

The second thing that I would like to say is that except for some verbal satisfaction, petty little verbal victories over some resolutions, whether it is in the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva where we sent hordes of Ministers getting; into each other's way in order to be in Geneva only for one day and we saw the spectacle of a new leader of the Indian delegation day after day—< you changed your leader from day to day except for those kinds of small verbal victories or in the United Nations Assembly or in the Organisation of Islamic Countries, where you take great pride that the Islamic countries have not endorsed Pakistan's stand, except for those small little verbal victories, I ask you, the Government, tell me, what victory you have achieved in the conduct of your foreign affairs that you say- that you can view it with satisfaction.

On the ground-Madam, we have lost out politically and strategically to Pakistan; we have lost out to China; we have lost out everywhere. The security environment of India was never worse than it is today. Take the case of the emergence of a new force, i.e. the Taliban in Afghanistan. The new force, the Taliban went out from Pakistan in a cavalcade of victory, into Afghanistan. It took province after province and today the Taliban is a force to be reckoned with in Afghanistan. It is standing on the outskirts of Kabul. It is engaged in fighting with the ramshackle Government in Afghanistan, and I think the time is not far when the Taliban will take over the whole

(Shri G. G. Swell)

of Afghanistan- What is this Taliban? It emerged "from the Madrases in Pakistan. It went out from there. Where did it get its arms, its tanks, its aircraft, its weapons? Where did it get its expertise to be able to dislodge a powerful warlord like flekma-tiyar in Afghanistan? Where did it get it? The Taliban is nothing but a creation of Pakistan's Inter - Services Intelligence, might be with a little addition of money and arms from other Islamic countries, might be with the help of the United States, may be via Pakistan. Now, what has Pakistan achieved by this? it has achieved a victory and more than a victory it has achieved strategic depth. In any kind of war strategic depth is very important. The disadvantage of Pakistan vis-a-vis India, is that it is a small country. In case of an ail-but war, Pakistan can't destroy all the installations in India. But, we can destroy all the installations in Pakistan in one go. Having enlarged its presence in Afgh mistan, Pakistan has gained strategic depth. Pakistan has gained commercially, because through Afghanistan lies the route to the new and rich market of Central Asia.

We welcomed the President of Iran here. I must say, I was very pleased with him. He was a winsom: personality. The way he came and greeted the Members of Parliament wa.s something very winsome. But, the fact remains, Madam, that Iran, at best, is an unreliable friend and, at worst, can be a slippery customer. You must remember that what is most important to Iran is not regional security sand solidarity. What is important to Iran is religion Islam, Islamic fundamentalism. I think, it is on record that Iran is, perhaps, the most fundamentalist, the most fanatical Islamic country in the world which lives by the phiosophy, "If you die for the causf Islam, if you die for the

cause of *Jehad* over Kashmir"—and there have been times when Iran had been talking of *Jehckd* in Kashmir and it is on record — "he. gees straight to heaven where he will be waited with Hories, with open arms". This is what it is. How, if it comes to a crunch over Kashmir, do you think you can put your egis on Iran?

You talk of having a gas pipeline from Iran to India throug Pakistan-Firstly, what is the guarantee that you will have the gas pipeline and what is the guarantee that Pakistan will not blow up yew gas pipeline? You talk of getting into the markets eft' the Central Asian countries through Port Bandar Abbas, in Iran. But, Pakistan has stolen the show over you by having the control of Afghanistan and the tie of similar religion, Pakistan lias stolen the march over us. We have lost out to Pakistan diplomatica ly and strategically . Is this your satisfat tion of the conduct of your in ernaional relations? I ask you. There is another great neighbour of ours. Today there is a country which has the longest boundary with India on land and see together after China. You calculate it, and that is Buma, I he largest land-mass in the whole of South-East Asia, potentially the ricbes country in the world in term; of mineral and natural resources-

Your Defence Ministry, say 'your' Defence Ministry. This has been verified from the Defenci Ministiy. Many times I have tried to draw the attention of this Government to what is happening in Burma which is of great importance to us. I had put questions and these puny little Ministers knowing nothing, thi.k that they can come here in the House and say, "We have no information about what is happening there." But, this is what your Defence Ministry is saying, and I read out the paragraph for your benefit. Here, it says— please listen.

Beijing — I hope they have heard the name of Beijing — is engaged in building sortage road links from its border tonns to mail-heads and seaports of Myanmar. Myanmar is the new name for Jurma. It is helping to develop their ports. China has also teen rapiuly modernising its armed fores and is equipping them with sophisticated aircraft, air-defence weapons, enhancing its blue-water capabilities. I hope these Ministers sitting hers understand what is 'blue-water captailitjs'... (*Interruptions*). Then they have to go to school again. It is enhancing its blue-water capabilities. Cnina also continues to carry out nuclear tests. Burma today is comple ely under the control of China. Your Defence Ministry says, they are building roads, highways from the border of China to the rail-heads in Burma to the ports in the South of Burma. It is an understatement. I know for sure that the entire land region of Burma in the North which at one time was known as a 'no-man's land', because it was under the control ol" the Kachin Re-volutionaiy Army. Now the Kachin Revoluntic nary Liberation Army has come to terms with the military junta in Rangoon, with the result all the landed property in the north of Burma had been bought up by the Chinese; whether it is Chinese from the main and or the prospective Chinese expatriates from Hong Kong, the whole land has been bought up by the Chinese. I repeat that in a port of Hangni town in the South of Burma, China has built up a naval base. Th; whole of land mass of Burma is being used by China as a land bride to the ports in the Indian Ocean from where it will branch out into the vlue Sea where it will have its Blue sea many its Blue Sea submarines. You look at the map. I hope you know where the Andaman and Nicolaar Islands are. You look up where the Andaman and Nicobar islands are. You look a little further up, you will find a little small

island called Coco Island just under our armpit, China has built a listening mo.iitoring base there to keep a watch over our Navy and our submarine: . What have you done with Burma' With so much of cultural and re igious ties, it is the ambition of every Burneese to come to India every year to bow, to pay their respect., Just like christians go to Jerusa' em or the Muslims go to Mecca, the Burmese want to come to Gaya. I know it because I was an Ambassador there. I know how much they wmt to come here... (*Interruptions*)-you have to learn something. You are opening your mouth, you have to learn something. What have you done? Why have you failed? I am sure that Burma cannot be happy with the position in which it is. Of course, with the help of the Chines?, with the two billion dollars worth >f weapons which is given to the military junta in Burma, the Burmese junta has been able to defeat the insurgents, although at the moment, it is engaged in another kind of war with the wor-lord Khunza. All this is happening. What have we done? Why have we lost? (*Time-bell*) I will finish in two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Will you please sit down for a minute? Will you please sit down for a minute? I would like to take the sense of the House. Would you like to continue the discussion on this?

SOME HON. MEMBER: Let him complete. after him we will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): After him, can I take one or two more?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: After Mi. G. G. Swell we will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): If you do not have any objection, I will take one Member from the Congress Party, just one Member.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: After Shri Swell it will be an anti-climax. Let him have the last word today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Okay, please go ahead, Mr. Swell.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Madam, there is a great transformation in Burma today. There has been a great economic boom as a result of all that, but at the cost of democracy. Burma is fast attaining respectability, despite its hated record in terms of democracy. It is soon going to be admitted into ASEAN. In respect of ASEAN what is India's position? We would like to be part of ASEAN. But so long, ASEAN has given us only a status of a sectoral-dialogue partner-I hope the Ministers here understand what is a sectoral-dialogue partner-They don't discuss with you. South-East today, or South-Asia, Madam, is very much agitated over the question of the Spratly Islands where it is expected that there is the largest concentration of oil and gas in the world. As many as five nations claim to be owners of Spratly Islands but China is looming over that. This is a new flashpoint. And, therefore, South-East-Asians have started with a call, for a regional security forum. Everybody is there. China is there, Japan is there, America is there, Russia is there, everybody is there. We send our people to Bangkok, they are asked to wait in an ante-room but there is no place for India in the South-Asian security forum. Is this how you conduct your foreign affairs and you say, it is satisfying to you? But even now you can do something. Number one, come out with a clear statement of what your policy in Burma is? Are you with the people of Burma or are you with the military junta The daughter of the hero of Burma, the man who led Burma into independence, Aung San Suu Kyi is still rotting in jail, you have not said anything. If you are for democracy, will you go for democracy for the

people of Burma? A time will come when the people of Burma will assert themselves. Military dictatorship has never remained. There was never a stronger military dictatorship than, the iron curtain of the Soviet Union, or the bamboo curtain. Well, all those military dictatorships have crumbled. The people have asserted themselves. What about the desire of the people of Burma for democracy? What have you to say? Have you made your position clear? But even today Madam, we can do business with the military junta-I can say for sure that Burma is not never remained. There was never happy in its position where it is completely under the thumb of China-No country can be. It would like a leaning space and India could offer that leaning.

There are a few things. There was a time when the Burmese Airways used to operate between Rangoon and Calcutta. It was stopped. Now, they have made a request to reopen the route between Rangoon and Calcutta. But you are thinking even on that. I do not know why.

Then, Burma's main export is rice. Why don't you buy rice from Burma? Why don't you do some of these things to show your interest?

There is trouble today on the border. There is trouble. Insurgency is there. We have an open border between India and Burma. Madam, through the small town of Moreh, in Manipur, every day, Rs. 10,000 crores worth of goods pass. Most of them is hard drugs. I am told, the greatest drug-lord of today, Kunza, has moved his mobile heroin manufacturing unit to the border with India. Very soon, you are going to see a new invasion of India, an invasion of drugs, through this border. As my friends from Tamil Nadu said, most of the drugs come through the Golden Triangle...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Swell, would you conclude?

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I am concluding. Most of the drugs come through the Golden Triangle and the Golden Crescent. Are you aware of these things? Are you aware that you are losing out? Have you a policy? Have you a foreign policy? But before you say you have a foreign policy, can you tell me, who are running this policy? It is only the bureaucrats who are moving in the bureaucratic rut. There is no imagination. There is no thinking. I urge you even now, although it is useless. Very soon, you will go out and we will be talking to a new Government.

There has to be a policy planning. It cannot be done by the bureaucrats. It has to be by some individuals in the country who know what is going on. You may not name the members of this panel. But there has to be a policy. My charge is that you have no policy. You are only moving around like blind mice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Swell with your wishful thinking, would you like to conclude?

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I have said enough, Madam. Therefore, I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Hon. Members: the Prime Minister would reply to the discussion tomorrow at 5 p.m.

SHRI DIGVUAY SINGH (Bihar): Tomorrow?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): In the Rajya Sabha. As you know, tomorrow is the Private Members' Day. I would like to request you. We can conclude the discussion today itself.

SHRI DIGVUAY SINGH: How can it be, Madam?

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Madam, please tell us what is the total time allotted to the Congress Party, how much time they have taken and how much time is left?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): The Prime Minister would be replying tomorrow. Therefore we have to complete the discussion today itself. (*Interruptions*) Shrimati Basanti Sarma, please. (*Interruptions*)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, may I make a point?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Let us not waste the time. Let her speak. (*Interruptions*)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Last time, we came to an agreement whereby we allowed the Appropriation Bills to be put through. We withdrew many of our speakers. Now, I would like to know how much time is left, how much more time required and how long we have to sit today. Can you give us an idea? We cannot go on indefinitely- We have to have some idea.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Let her speak now. (*Interruptions*)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We should have some idea as to how-much more time is required.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: And how long are we going to sit? (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Total one hour is left now and the Prime Minister also is to reply for about one hour.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: If one hour is left for discussion, we are asking how much time is left for the Congress Party.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We are prepared to listen to the lady. Member now. Would the Congress Members be kind enough to withdraw from speaking and give us the time? •(Interruptions')...

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Why so? They should also speak. We want to hear their views also.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: It is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS S. ROG KHAPARDE): Would you please listen to me? The hon. Mem-ber will speak now.

•••(Interruptions)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : आप जरा यह भी देखिए, आखिर जिनकी ओर से अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव है उनके कितने सदस्य मौजूद हैं इस सदन में। आप जरा इसको भी देखिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी शरोज खापड़ें) : देखिए। उनके तो सिर्फ दो तीन ही हैं।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : यह मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैंने कहा कि उधर के कितने सदस्य हैं, मुश्किल में 21-22 हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी शरोज खापड़ें) : उधर के दो तीन लोग ही हैं और आप दो तीन लोग हैं। इसलिए मैं कहती हूँ कि इसको आज ही खत्म किया जाए।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैडम, आठ घंटे एलाट किए थे और इसमें मेरी पार्टी के 48 मिनट बाकी हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी शरोज खापड़ें) : आपकी पार्टी ने सबसे ज्यादा समय लिया है गौतम जी।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : हमारा टाईम 94 मिनट है, श्री माधुर जी ने 46 मिनट लिए हैं। 48 मिनट हमारे बाकी हैं। हम 48 मिनट अपने बोलेंगे तब तक हाउस नहीं उठने देंगे। चाहे फिर इनके सौ बोलें, चाहे दस बोलें। हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। चाहे उनके कितने ही बुलवाएं।

You cannot curtail my time, my Party's time.

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ मौम अफजल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : हमारा भी 21 मिनट टाईम बाकी है तो इनको भी वह टाईम दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी शरोज खापड़ें) : अफजल जी, थोड़ा सा... (व्यवधान) गरिमा नाम की चीज सदन में हीनी चाहिए। अभी तक के जितने लोग बोले हैं किसी महिला ने किसी प्रकार की टोका टोकी नहीं की। अब एक महिला खड़ी है बोलने के लिए, उनको बोलने दीजिए... (व्यवधान) नहीं, गलत मत समझिए... (व्यवधान)

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह : बात यह हो रही है कि कितना समय चाहिए। आप हाउस को चलाना चाहती हैं तो यह तय कर लीजिए फिर बात शुरू हो जाए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी शरोज खापड़ें) : कितना समय चलाना चाहते हैं यह सवाल आपने पूछा है। अभी कांग्रेस पक्ष के दो-चार लोग बोलने बाकी हैं। मेरे सामने जो लिस्ट है उस लिस्ट में सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय जी हैं, जनेश्वर जी हैं, जी.जी. स्थला तो बोल चुके हैं, गोपालसामी हैं, उमेश जी हैं लेकिन वे यहां पर नहीं हैं, देव संघ प्रिय गौतम का नाम है, अफजल का नाम है, शंकर दयाल सिंह जी का नाम है। घंटा, दो घंटा तो लगेगा।

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह : भाव 7-8 प्रायमियों के नाम तो बता चुकी हैं।

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: It cannot be finished within one hour. It is impossible to finish it within one hour.

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल : इन्होंने आपको अभी कहा कि एक घंटा का समय है आपने अभी जो बताया कि यह टाइम एलोकेशन हुआ है, उसके हिसाब से दो एक घंटे में समाप्त नहीं हो सकता। हम तो बैठने को तयार हैं, 7 बजे तक बैठ जाएंगे लेकिन खत्म नहीं होगा। इसलिए प्रधान मंत्री से कल 5 बजे उत्तर देने के पहले दो-एक भाषण सुन लें फिर उनको भी जवाब देने का अनुरोध आएगा, नहीं तो खाली प्रायवेट मेम्बर्स प्रिजिनस के बाद आएंगे तो यहाँ 50 के बीच मेम्बर्स बैठे होंगे और वे जवाब देंगे। इसलिए दो-तीन भाषण उनके पहले ही जाएं, उनका जवाब 6 बजे था साढ़े 6 बजे हो जाए।

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I would suggest, Madam, that you postpone the discussion after the lady speaks and take it up on Tuesday, because it cannot be finished within one hour. It is impossible. I suggest you postpone the discussion after the lady speaks.

श्री जगेश्वर मिश्र : जीरो आवर कल खत्म किया जाए।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : जीरो आवर को कल खत्म करें और लंच भी खत्म करें और पूरा समय दें।

Their party has consumed more than the allotted time. I don't mind if you continue the debate for 12 hour even, but you cannot curtail my time.

उपाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) : गौतम जी, किसी भी पार्टी का टाइम करटेल करने की बिल्कुल मंशा नहीं है। मैं सिर्फ एक सवाल पूछना चाहूंगी सभी से, सभी माननीय सदस्यों से कि कल जो

जीरो आवर है अगर हम उसको करटेल कर दें तो इसका मतलब है कि आज आप एक घंटा बैठने के लिए तैयार है क्या ?

कई माननीय सदस्य : हां कल तैयार हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) : आज भी बैठेंगे और कल के लिए जीरो आवर करटेल कर दें।

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह : जीरो आवर को आप खत्म नहीं कर सकते हैं। जिसकी परमिशन आज ही बहुत से लोग ले चुके हैं उसको आप कैसे खत्म करेंगी। चेयरमैन जीरो आवर की पावर दे चुके हैं।... (व्यवधान)

श्री जगेश्वर देसाई : मैडम, आज ही बैठिए और एक घंटा और आधा घंटा और तो कल हो जाएगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) : फिर ऐसा करते हैं कि हम आज ही बैठते हैं।... (व्यवधान)

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह : आज कब तक, यह तय कर लीजिए।... (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : कब तक, क्या सात बजे तक ?... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें) : एक घंटा या जो भी होगा, देखेंगे।... (व्यवधान)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, it is impossible to complete the discussion within one hour. All the names that you have mentioned, cannot be completed unless you give at least two or two-and-a-half hours. (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Where is the question of giving so much time?

(The Deputy Chairman in the Chair DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madani, What I am suggesting is that at least two hours or so will be required for the Members who are yet to speak. ... (Interruptions)...')

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If all of you speak together, I cannot understand anything-

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: In that situation, we want to know how long we have to continue. At least, after the lady Member finishes her speech, we should adjourn today. Tomorrow, we can skip the lunch time. . . . . (Interruptions),,

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैडम, मेरा एक प्रश्न है। . . . (व्यवधान)

उपलभापति : यह क्या कह रहे हैं . . . (व्यवधान) बिप्लव बाबू आप क्या बोल रहे हैं . . . (व्यवधान) एक सैकण्ड जरा, मैं अभी सुनती हूँ। . . . (व्यवधान)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, I am suggesting that the time required to complete all the speakers, will be at least two hours or so. Today there is no sufficient time. We are not ready to continue for that long. Let the lady Members who is on her feet, complete her speech. After that we should adjourn today. Tomorrow, we may curtail Half-an-hour or so of the Zero Hour. Or we can curtail one hour of the Zero Hour and half-an-hour of the lunch hour. There will be two hours- . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: We cannot suspend the Question Hour.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: No, no.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैडम, मेरी पार्टी के 45-50 बाकी हैं। . . (व्यवधान) हम बोलेंगे . . . (व्यवधान) हम अपना समय लेंगे।

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: We can skip the lunch hour-tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have followed it. I have understood your problem. I know our time is less. How much time is available and how many names are left have been listed over here. I know how much time of whom remains. We can calculate and find it out. Let me discuss it with the Government. Let us come to a negotiated settlement. Okay?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मैडम, मैं आपकी बात से सहमत हूँ, आज खत्म करना चाहिए। कल प्राइवेट मेम्बर्स डे है और प्राइम मिनिस्टर कल उत्तर देना चाहते हैं तो आज ही सारा खत्म होना चाहिए (व्यवधान) किसी समय भी हो। जैसे मेरी पार्टी के मैंने जानबूझकर 40-45 मिनट छोड़े हैं . . . (व्यवधान) और जितने भी हैं, वह सब मेम्बर्स का है, तो कल अगर आप जीरो आवर काट भी देंगे तो भी नहीं होगा तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : लंच आवर काट दें। . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : तो भी नहीं होगा। . . . (व्यवधान)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We can get two hours.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : लंच आवर की बात आप अभी नहीं कर पायेंगे। लंच आवर . . . (व्यवधान) कल चेयरमैन होंगे . . . (व्यवधान) हाउस के सामने आएगा। कल हाउस तो होगा। . . . (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me hear the other side of the House also... (Interruptions)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Madam, we can start immediately after the Question Hour. Many times we have skipped the lunch hour. We can do so tomorrow. We can have two-and-a-half hours time. We can complete that. We can have the reply at five o'clock. Managing one hour and fifty minutes is not difficult. We can start the discussion immediately after the Question Hour.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We can have one hour after the Question Hour. (*Interruptions*)

पार्लियामेंटरी  
अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर बोल रही हैं

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, as an alternative, this is only a suggestion.

Monday is a public holiday. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, as you are aware, the Prime Minister will be busy with the SAARC Heads of Government meeting which is taking place in India. I am prepared to accept whatever is agreed to by all of us, but, if we want more time, I suggest that we should agree that the Private Members' Day should be shifted to Tuesday. We can use some time of tomorrow and finish the debate. Let the Prime Minister reply tomorrow, and, on Tuesday, we can do the Private Members' Business in the afternoon.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Agreed?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: That is a more sensible suggestion and we agree to it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for cooperation on the suggestion.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : आपका जो बुलेटिन आता है, उसमें कह दिया जाए।

SHRI DIGVUAY SINGH: Madam, call it a day. It is about 6 p.m. (*In-terruptions*)

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If everybody keeps quiet, I can give, my ruling.

It has been decided by consensus on the suggestion of the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.. (*Interruptions*) Mathur Saheb, it is a disrespect to the Chair if the Member interjects I am sorry. It is very very bad. I have a limit of tolerance also. If a Member has a tolerance limit, so do I have. Every time I try to help, you people try to interrupt.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I said you should say "hon. Minister."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I say "honourable". O.K.? Are you satisfied? I only want to put it on record so that it goes into the bulletin and that there is no problem tomorrow. On the suggestion of the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mrs-Margaret Alva and on agreement by all the Members on this side of the House, it has been decided that tomorrow's Private Members' Business would be taken up on Tuesday. Agreed?

HON. MEMBERS: Agreed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It should go in the bulletin. I think we should adjourn now. You speak tomorrow.

The House is adjourned till 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty seven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 28th April, 1995.