

grants for expenditure of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir for the year 1991-92.

THE BUDGET (MANIPUR) 1992-93

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SHANTARAM POTDUKHE): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of Manipur for the year 1992-93.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (MANIPUR) 1991-92

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SHANTARAM POTDUKHE): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants for expenditure of the Government of Manipur for the year 1991-92.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Hiphei, there are many speakers, from your party. So, please be brief so that other speakers also get time to speak.

SHRI HIPHEI (Mizoram): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I shall be brief and to the point.

The other day, I was the last speaker on this motion. Today, I am the first speaker on the same motion. What the Bible says has been proved true, "The first will be the last and the last will be the first". And I am happy to be the first speaker. The other day I was listening patiently to the other speakers. One of the hon. Members said, "The Prime Minister

of India wants the people to trust him. But he is taking the nation backward." I also feel that the people should trust us. But at the same time, we cannot force anybody to trust us. Now, the Prime Minister wanted the people of India to trust him. The people had voted him to Parliament with the biggest margin in the history of the Indian Parliamentary elections and the people of Punjab have also trusted him by voting for this party to come to power there. The people of Assam and the people of other States have also proved and have showed their trusts in him. But is he taking the nation backward? To me, Sir, the Prime Minister is taking the nation forward and upward. This I can say because of these facts. When this Government took over, our foreign exchange reserves as you all know, was Rs. 2600 crores. Today, in just 8 months, it has been raised to Rs. 11,000 crores. We can calculate by how much it has been increased. Can we say that the nation is going backward? It is really not going down. It is going forward. We are marching towards our progress. This is one point. The second point is, we have achieved the goals which we had set. So, we cannot say that we are going backward. We can say that we are going forward. Another point is about the rate of inflation which has come down from 16 per cent to 12 per cent. We all know this. So, considering all these achievements of the Government in the last eight months, can we say that we are going backward? So, I would request the hon. Members to accept that the nation is progressing, the nation is going forward. Then there was so much of protest that the Budget had been leaked by the Finance Minister. Today that protest, that complaint, is no more because nobody had leaked the 1992-93 Budget before it was announced to both Houses of Parliament. So they protested against what was not correct. It has also been said that the country has been mortgaged. Have

[Shri Hiphei]

we really mortgaged our country? We have to examine that, we have to analyse that. I would like to give my analysis of that point by point.

Some Members have said that there are commandments from the World Bank and the IMF. What are the commandments? There may be commandments which are good for us; there may be commandments which are not good for us. If there are commandments that are good for the nation, we can adopt them. We know that we are facing an economic crisis, an unprecedented one. Our economy was on the verge of collapse. That is accepted by all, whether one is a Member of this House or a Member of the other House or outside the House. That is an accepted fact. In order to restore our economy it was clearly stated in the last year's Budget that harsh measures were going to be adopted and harsh measures have been adopted by the Government of India. Those measures which are being adopted by the Government of India in order to restore our national economy, might also have been suggested by those organisations. So, if they are good for us, why should we say 'No' to them? My point is if an outside doctor prescribes a medicine that could heal my headache, should I refuse that medicine just because that doctor belongs to another village? I should not do that. If there is a good doctor and if the medicine prescribed by that particular doctor can heal my headache, I must obey his advice. Can I disbelieve the teacher who teaches me that 2 and 2 makes four? Can I disbelieve that only because that teacher belongs to another school? No, I should not do that. I must believe that 2 and 2 makes four because it is a fact. That is the true teaching. So, from wherever the commandment comes, whether from A or from B, if it is good for our nation, we can accept it. I will give you another example. If there is a commandment, whether from my

neighbour or from a member of my own family, that I should not send my children to school, I must disobey it, I must refuse it, because that is not for the good of my children. Therefore, whether from inside or from outside, from wherever an advice comes which is good for the nation, the present Government is adopting it. So, let us not protest against or object so much to the directives from outside India. Now, Sir, whether the Government of India is working under the directives of the World Bank or the IMF we have to examine very very carefully. To the best of my little knowledge, there is no harmful provision in the whole Budget and there is nothing to be feared by the nation in the Budget. To the best of my little knowledge, I see no reason to fear anything in our Budget provisions. This is my analysis.

Sir, can the proposal for opening 1,700 more fair price shops be a directive from outside India? I do not think so. It cannot be a directive of the World Bank or the IMF. Can the provision of Rs. 250 crores by way of food subsidy in the Budget for 1992-93 be a directive from outside India? I do not think so. Can the export subsidy, provided in our Budget, of Rs. 550 crores, be a directive from outside India? I do not think so. So, let us not fear. There is nothing to be feared in our Budget and let no one say that we have surrendered our national economic independence. Nothing has been surrendered. Let us not teach our people to fear something which is not fearsome.

Some honourable Members have spoken much against our foreign policy and they have spoken against the changes in our economic policy too. Sir, I would like to point out that the world has changed to such an extent as we never imagined. It has completely changed and changed beyond our expectation or beyond our imagination. So, we too have to change and we cannot be today as we

were yesterday. We have to compete with the other countries of the world. Unless we also change, we cannot compete with the other countries of the world. We have to change our policies according to the changes in the world politics.

Today, the Government of India has accepted the independence of Israel. This may be called a change. But we have to do that. But this will help India, according to my humble opinion, according to my calculation. You see, we have to solve our domestic problems. We have to solve our law and order problems and the other problems like Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab and Assam. In order to solve all these domestic problems, changes in our foreign policy will be helpful. That is one good point I see in our policy.

The second point is that now India, after change of foreign policy, will be able to play a more effective role between Israel and PLO. Before that India was thought to be biased, because that Government was not recognized. Their independence, their sovereignty, was not accepted by us. But today we have accepted this. So we can play a very effective role in bringing peace to the world. So this is a very good and effective change that we have made. So why should we go against good policies? Under the dynamic leadership of the hon. Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, India is moving towards the goal of self-reliance, towards the goal of self-sufficiency. During the meeting of the CPP Executive Committee once our Prime Minister, who is also our Party President, told us: "Friends, let us not work only for the party; let us give more importance to the future generations of India". I was fully convinced with this. He is giving more importance to the future generations of India. Now we are doing everything for the future generations of India. My only request and appeal to all Members regardless of political affiliations, is that let us join hands. The Government is

working for the nation, not only for one political party. Government is working for the future generations and India, under his leadership, is moving towards a better tomorrow.

So let us join hands and support the present Motion of Thanks on the President's Address so that India which is a very great nation will be made greater and will be made a developed country. So let us join hands and support this Motion so that India is made a better place for the coming generations.

Thanks you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Thank you, Mr. Hiphci. Now Mr. Ramachandran Pillai. You will have to conclude within 25 minutes.

SHRI RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI (Kerala): Yes.

Sir, I stand to oppose the Motion of Thanks to the Presidential Address. Now our country is facing an unprecedented crisis. This has affected almost all spheres of life. This has affected the economy of the country and the political system. Now the unity of the people is facing serious challenges. The unity of the country is in great danger. The number of communal and caste riots is increasing. Our judicial system has been facing a very deep crisis of credibility. We face serious problems in the educational system in the field of culture. The present policies of the Union Government cannot solve any of these problems. The present policies can only aggravate the situation.

Sir, the Government is claiming that the elections in Punjab will improve the situation. Definitely the situation would have improved if the Government had acted forthrightly. What was the type of elections the Union Government conducted in Punjab? Could the Government deny the fact that 95 per cent of the Sikhs did not vote? Does that situation help in bringing the people to the national mainstream? Can the present Gov-

[*Shri Ramachandran Pillai*]

ernment be called a representative government of the Punjab people? The whole situation could have been changed for the better if the Congress(I) and the Union Government had acted keeping the national interest in the forefront. What was the aim of the Congress(I) in enacting this drama in Punjab? Now, it is known to everybody; the sole aim is to grab some parliamentary seats and usurp power in Punjab. Had they been led by the lofty ideals they preach, they would have taken a different course of action. The Government now claims that they stand committed to finding a just and amicable solution to the Punjab problem. What prevented you from implementing the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. If you had handed over Chandigarh to Punjab, if you had given enough compensation for constructing a capital in Haryana, if you had taken some action against those who were responsible for the riots of 1984, if you had given the assurance that article 356 will not be invoked against a constitutionally elected Government in Punjab, if you had taken all these steps, you could have gained the confidence of the people of Punjab, and they would have come forward. On all these questions, on all these issues, the Government had the support of all major political parties in India. But the Union Government did not do that. If you had done that, then the people would have believed the bonafides of the Central Government. Now, the elections in Punjab cannot help in solving the problems that we face in Punjab. In the elections, it was the Hindu minority that went out to vote. Can such an Assembly represent the aspirations of the whole people of Punjab? One of the dangerous fall-outs of this election may be the communal division in Punjab. This is what the separatists and the extremists were trying for the last ten years. You had accomplished that by conducting this farce of an election in Punjab. The forces that have been courageously putting up resistance against separatism and extremism are now being sidelined. I fear the danger

of weakening of resistance against extremists and secessionists. If this happens, the extremists may be able to mobilise a mass base which they failed to achieve so far. This will lead to serious repercussions not only in the neighbouring State of Jammu and Kashmir, but also in the whole of India. So, the 3.00 P.M. Union Government should immediately come out with a political package. They should take all steps to give confidence and courage to the people. They should approach these issues in a manner above the narrow political partisan way.

In the case of Jammu and Kashmir also, the Government should take steps to find a political solution to the problem. The commissions and omissions of the Central Government have alienated a large section of Kashmir people from the national mainstream. The depredation of the secessionist and extremist forces backed by a foreign country have led to a large scale migration from Kashmir. The situation cannot be tackled by military or para-military forces. The scrapping of article 370 is a dangerous proposal. This will only help the secessionist forces. We all know the Central Government and its political party were hand in glove with those forces that stood for scrapping article 370. They aided and helped the BJP in conducting *Ekta Yatra* there. It is known to everybody now that *Ekta Yatra* had done immense damage to the cause of India's unity. Central Government helped *Ekta Yatra*. What we need to do is, more autonomy has to be given to that State. We should also give regional autonomy for Jammu and Ladakh regions. The Government should act swiftly and decisively.

In Assam also, the Union Government is playing a dubious game. Government is following a very vacillating policy. We oppose the demand for separation; but the Union Government should make serious efforts to redress the problems of economic backwardness of the people and re-

gional imbalance there. They should also sympathetically consider the discontent and struggle for identity of the tribal people.

The Union Government seems to be satisfied by passing a legislation on the places of worship to maintain status quo except Ram Janambhoomi/Babri Masjid. We know that the Ayodhya dispute involves the passions of both the communities. There are only two ways to solve the problem. One is a negotiated settlement and if that is not possible, then refer it for a court's verdict. If anybody tries to solve this problem by force, that would definitely destroy the secular fabric of our country. Government must come out openly against it. Any tampering with status quo will do immense damage to the unity of our country. The growing number of communal riots and growth of communal forces are now posing great challenges to the unity of the country. The Union Government should take a forthright secular stand and they should stop hobnobbing with communal parties.

The Government is making tall claims on the economic front. If we start criticising their economic policies, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, they get easily irritated; they get angry. Yesterday, the hon. Finance Minister said that the Left economists have gone to U.S. for medical treatment. They have only gone for medical treatment, Not for fat pension. The Government claims that gold has been redeemed. But, for redeeming the gold, what have you done to the country? For redeeming the gold, you have pledged the country's sovereignty to other countries. Therefore, the remedy is worse than the malady.

The hon. friend, who spoke just now, said that the balance of payments position has improved. It is said that the foreign exchange reserves are to the tune of Rs. 10,000 crores. I want to ask. Is it due to the improvement in trade balance? No. It is not due to the improvement

in trade balance. It is because of the crediting of loans from the IMF to The foreign exchange reserves. The Government cannot claim anything on this account.

The Government claims that they have taken steps, they have initiated steps, to restructure the economy, for greater productivity and growth. My hon. colleague, Shri E. Balanandan, had dealt with some of the points. I do not want to go into those details. Apart from mortgaging the economic sovereignty of the country, will the steps the Government has been taking help in greater growth and development? On the other hand, the new growth strategy, I fear, will bring stagnation and decline of our economy. The basic strategy of the present Government is to cut down Plan expenditure and concessions to the rich and the private sector.

Now, the State is an active investor. The withdrawal of the State from that role as an active investor, with the hope that the private sector would step in to fill the void, I do not think, is an automatic process. The fallacy is that the private sector investment will increase if the capitalists have access to larger funds. The most important prerequisite is, expansion of the internal market. The present policy of Government will not help the expansion of the internal market. The present policy will only make the internal market shrink. Hitherto, the growth of public investment has been the stimulus behind the growth of the market. The growing unemployment and the price rise will shrink the market further.

The Fund-Bank theoreticians claim that the State sector led to the crowding out of the private investors. But actually, what is happening? The State sector investment attracts private sector. This has been our experience. The strategy of reduction of fiscal deficit through cut in Government spending is not going to attract extra pri-

[Shri Ramachandran Pillai]

vate investment in our country. This will only lead to sluggishness in private investment. This will result in an overall decline in investment and growth.

The belief that there is plenty of pent-up demand for new commodities is also not correct. What has happened to the automobile industry? It has been rated earlier as one of the leading, growing sectors of our economy. Now recession has hit this industry. If private sector is freed from the shackles such as licensing and other controls and flush with funds, it need not automatically push them into investment. Everything, as I said earlier, depends on the expansion of the market. The present import liberalisation policies will further shrink the home market. The chance for export is bleak. The persistent protectionism and the growing recession in the West show that there is hardly any chance on this score. The expectation that exports would provide stimulus for growth in the future is also unreal.

The Economic Survey admits that investment has fallen off in the agriculture sector in the last few years. We find it difficult to maintain the current levels of output. The Central Plan outlay shows a decline. This will cause further shrinkage of the home market.

What is the ultimate result of all the policies of the present Government? It confers huge bonanza on the rich. It squeezes the poor. It surrenders the economic sovereignty of the country. It contributes complete choking of the growth impulses in the country. The present policies instead of bringing in growth and development will lead to stagnation—more and more unemployment, more and more poverty.

In order to justify the IMF Bank-dicated policies, the Union Government and other claim that there is no

alternate policy. I totally disagree with this statement. There is an alternate path. The fiscal deficit can be brought down. You increase the direct taxation, you reduce the inessential Government expenditure, you plug the loopholes of tax legislation. It is an admitted fact that black money comes to the tune of Rs. 1 lakh crores. Why can't you take stringent measures in confiscating this black money? Impose wealth tax on monopoly houses. Definitely, these steps will reduce the revenue and fiscal deficits. The present policy of relying on indirect taxes and administered price hikes should be reversed. This is intended to rob the poor and save the rich.

The million dollar question is, has the Union Government and its political party the courage to take such a step? The public sector must definitely continue to be given prominence in the strategic industries. Immediate steps should be taken to eliminate inefficient and bureaucratic management with workers' participation in management. The policy of indiscriminate imports of capital goods and technology for luxury goods production must also end. About the import of high technology, it must be limited to the vital sectors essential for development of our economy. We should give utmost emphasis in developing self-reliance and indigenous research and development. Genuine radical land reforms should also be implemented. These and the rural employment guarantee schemes will definitely expand the home market. The public distribution system should be strengthened. If the Union Government has the courage to do all this, growth and development can be achieved without pledging the sovereignty of our country. This will also help in more equitable distribution of income. Why is the Government not willing to take all these steps? The Government has refused to touch the rich, the monopolists, the landlords. It is their Government. The present Government is their Government. This is the reason why, instead of

touching these sections, the Government is heaping burden after burden upon the common people of our country.

Sir, the condition of the common people is worsening. The number of unemployed is increasing. The prices are rising. The number of people living under the poverty-line is also increasing. More and more burden is put on the people. The discontent is growing. The people are now rallying against the policies of the present Government. There would be a mighty popular struggle against the policies of the present Government. The Government wants to continue the present policies. That is the reason why now they are resorting to attack on the democratic rights of the people and other sections. Some others are trying to divert the popular discontent into communal, caste and divisive channels. We stand for protecting the democratic rights of the people. We fight the forces who try to divide the people and serve the cause of the rich.

The Government is now speaking about consensus. Where is consensus? The Central Government has done all these without consulting even Parliament. Your deeds and your words are totally different. Now you are taking away the democratic rights of the hospital workers, the teachers. You speak about strengthening the panchayati-raj institutions. What has happened in my State? When the Left Front Government was there in Kerala, elections were held for the District Council etc., and more power was given to them. They were trying to solve the problems of the people. After the present Congress (I) Government came to power, what have they done for strengthening the democratic set-up there, strengthening the panchayati-raj institutions there? They have taken away all the powers of the District Council. It has now become an advisory body. This is the way in which you are imple-

menting your words. Now they have taken over all co-operative societies. As per the provisions of the earlier Act, the period of the managing councils of the co-operative societies was five years. Now they have promulgated an ordinance limiting it to three years, and they have said that the managing bodies, directors' boards continuing after three years will cease to exist, and they have usurped all these co-operative societies. This is the way you are protecting the democratic rights of the people, democratic institutions. Sir, all these steps will bring more and more havoc to the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

SHRI RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI: Two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Your time is over.

SHRI RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI: We do not want continuation of such a Government.

Yesterday the BJP leader has said that they do not want to bring down the Government. It is natural that the BJP supports the policies of the Government. They only want to show that they are also opposing the Government, but they try to save the Government. They are a loyal Opposition.

We stand for removal of this Government. Then only can the problems of our country be solved.

श्री धूलेश्वर मोषा (राजस्थान) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे देश के राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण पार्लियामेंट के दोनों सदनों की संयुक्त बैठक में किया गया और उसको इस सदन में माननीय राम नरेश यादव जी ने जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

[श्री धूलेश्वर मीणा]

महोदय, जब से यह बहस शुरू हुई, सब से मैं विरोधी पार्टी यों की तरफ से और यहां से हुए भाषणों को सुनता रहा हूँ। कुछ सदस्य बता रहे थे कि इस अभिभाषण में बहुत ही कम उपलब्धियों के बारे में कहा गया है जैसे महाजन जी कह रहे थे कि सिर्फ 8 उपलब्धियों के बारे में कहा गया है। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि जब राष्ट्रपति जी का सारा अभिभाषण ही उपलब्धियों से भरा हुआ है तो उनके दिमाग में ऐसी कौन सी बात आ गई कि उनको उपलब्धि नहीं माना जा रहा है।

श्रीमन्, हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने सबसे पहले पंजाब के चुनाव के बारे में बताया है और वहां की जनता को उन्होंने बधाई देते हुए कहा है कि वहां की जनता ने बड़ी दिलेरी और होशियारी के साथ जनतंत्र को कायम रखने का जो प्रयत्न किया है उसके लिए वह बधाई की पात्र है। वास्तव में पंजाब में 5-6 साल तक राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू रहने के बाद वहां की जनता ने अपना जो मत व्यक्त किया है और कांग्रेस को बहुत ही ओवरबेल्टिंग मैजोरिटी से हराया है और वहां सरकार कायम की है, उसका साफ-साफ नतीजा यह है कि देश के अंदर अन्य जगहों में जहां इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति में वोट पड़ते हैं तो लोगों को इस प्रकार की भावना जनतंत्र में रहकर व्यक्त करनी चाहिए, यह इस बात का सबूत है।

महोदय, पंजाब का उदाहरण कोई नया उदाहरण नहीं है। देश की आजादी के समय कितने लोगों ने कुर्बानियां दीं और इसी के साथ ही साथ जब देश आगे बढ़ता गया तो पंजाब भी आगे बढ़ता गया और उसने देश को सही रास्ता दिखाने का काम किया है। तो मैं वहां की जनता को बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ, आभार प्रकट करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि इसी प्रकार से एक सबक वह देश की जनता को दे।

श्रीमन्, यही नहीं हमारी सरकार ने कश्मीर में भी जब वहां शांति हो जाएगी तब चुनाव करने का प्रस्ताव रखा है। आज इस प्रकार से कश्मीरियों के पीछे आतंकवादियों का जाल बिछा हुआ है कि वहां के लोग अपने घर-बार छोड़कर पलायन कर रहे हैं, दूसरी जगहों पर जा रहे हैं। जब तक वे अपने घर वापस नहीं जाते हैं, तब तक यह समस्या सुलझ नहीं सकती है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया है कि इस प्रकार से शांति स्थापित हो जाने पर वहां भी चुनाव कराए जाएंगे।

श्रीमन्, असम का उदाहरण ले लीजिए। असम में भी हमारी सरकार ने धीरे-धीरे सितंबर, 1991 में शांति स्थापित करने के लिए सेना को तैनात किया था जिसने उग्रवादियों को पकड़ने और हथियारों को ज्वलत करने का प्रयत्न किया। वहां के कुछ उग्रवादियों ने स्वेच्छा से समर्पण किया है और उन्होंने तंग आकर इस आन्दोलन को खत्म करने का ऐलान किया है। महोदय, 4-5 दिन पहले वहां के मुख्यमंत्री ने भी कहा था कि वहां शांति स्थापित करने की कोशिश की जा रही है।

मैं आपका ध्यान वापस उस ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ कि किस तरह से हमारा देश जो इतना विस्तार से फैला हुआ है—पश्चिम में पंजाब से लेकर पूर्व में अरुणाचल प्रदेश तक, उत्तर में जम्मू-कश्मीर से लेकर दक्षिण में अंडमान निकोबार तक, उसकी रक्षा करने के लिए चारों तरफ से हमारी आर्मी, नेवी, एयर-फोर्स जागरूक प्रहरी की तरह डटे हुए हैं। हालांकि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इस का बहुत ही कम मुझे आभास मिलता है लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा कि इस देश की रक्षा के लिए तीनों टुकड़ियों जो डटी हुई हैं इन पर ध्यान दिया जाए। आप देखिए हिमालय की चोटियों पर, पहाड़ियों पर पहले तो चढ़ना ही मुश्किल है और फिर बर्फाली पहाड़ियों पर हमारी आर्मी जो वहां पर पहुंची हुई है उनके लिए इन पहाड़ों पर काम करना कितना

ही कठिन और दुर्गम है, फिर भी वे लोग अपना काम कर रहे हैं। इधर राजस्थान में जहां गर्म हवाएं चलती हैं उसका भी उन्हें सामना करना पड़ता है। इधर हमारे नाविक समुद्र में किस तरह से हिम्मत से काम कर रहे हैं यह भी सराहनीय योग्य है। हमें बड़ा फख्र होना चाहिए कि हमारे देश की रक्षा हमारे ये जवान कर रहे हैं, हमारे किसान भाई खेतों में काम कर रहे हैं, हमारे वैज्ञानिक अलग-अलग अन्वेषण कर रहे हैं, देश को आगे बढ़ाने में काम कर रहे हैं। उन सभी लोगों को हमारे देश की जनता को धन्यवाद देना चाहिए।

मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर भी ले जाना चाहता हूं कि पाकिस्तान अधिकृत कश्मीर के उपवासियों ने हाल में सीमा पार कर हमारे देश के अंदर आने का प्रयत्न किया और इस महीने के आखिर में 30 तारीख को इस देश में प्रवेश करना चाहते हैं। इसकी रोकथाम के लिए वहां के पाकिस्तान अधिकृत कश्मीर के प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जे०के०एल०एफ० को सीमा पार न करके देने के लिए सारी व्यवस्था की है लेकिन फिर भी मैं चाहता हूं इस प्रकार से आये दिन हमारे देश पर कोई अड़चन न आये, कोई झगड़ा न खड़ा हो इसके लिए हमारे देश की 85 करोड़ जनता को मोरली तैयार रहना होगा और हमारी सेनाओं को भी पूरी तरह से तैयार रहना होगा।

श्री संघ प्रिय गोतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपने अमेंडमेंट दिया है क्या ?

श्री धूलेश्वर बोणा : अमेंडमेंट तो आपके लिए छोड़े हुए हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कीमतों के बारे में गहरी चिंता व्यक्त की है। मुद्रास्फीति काफी हद तक राजकीय घाटे के कारण है, यह बताया है और अगर इस पर काबू पा लिया जाए तो मुद्रास्फीति समुचित स्तर पर आ जायेगी। अगस्त, 1991 में मुद्रास्फीति 16 परसेंट थी जो घट कर 12 प्रतिशत आ गई है। यह राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है लेकिन के बारे में मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा

कि आज किस प्रकार से कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं। उन कीमतों का प्रभाव किस तरह से गरीब जनता पर और मध्यम वर्ग पर पड़ता है। आज इस महंगाई के अंदर लोगों के पास खाने को अनाज नहीं है, पीने की पानी नहीं है, गाय बैलों के लिए चारा नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में व्यापारी वर्ग लगातार कीमतें बढ़ा रहा है। उसमें हालांकि सरकार काफी प्रयत्न कर रही है, लेकिन फिर भी काश्तकारी बहुत कम हासिल हो रही है। मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार ऐसे कदम उठाए कि देश की हर जनता को, व्यापारियों को और सभी वर्ग के काम करने वाले लोगों को इसका यकीन होना चाहिए कि सभी चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ा करके वे लोग समाज में वहां एक ओर उच्च वर्ग पैदा कर रहे हैं तो दूसरी तरफ निम्न वर्ग पैदा कर रहे हैं। हर एक व्यक्ति को इस देश को आगे बढ़ाने में, देश को सफल बनाने के लिए कष्ट करना चाहिए और देश की प्रगति के बारे में सोचना चाहिए। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस प्रकार से कीमतें बढ़ा करके और लोगों के लिए समस्या पैदा करना उचित नहीं है। खाने-पीने की चीजों को सस्ते दाम पर उपलब्ध कराने में किसी को बाधा नहीं डालनी चाहिए।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने साइंटिस्टों और टेक्नोलॉजी के बारे में भी बताया है। हमें गर्व है कि हमारे वैज्ञानिक ने इसेट-2 उपग्रह का अपने देश में स्वदेशी निर्माण का कार्यक्रम निर्धारित करके काम किया जा रहा है और इसेट-2(ए) के इस माह में छोड़े जाने की संभावना है। इस बारे में अगर यह कार्य पूर्ण हो जाता है तो इस इसेट-2(ए) को छोड़े जाने के बाद 5-6 राज्यों को इसका फायदा होगा। यह एक बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि है। इसके साथ साथ अगले वर्ष में हमारा देश उन देशों में गिना जाएगा जिनमें स्वयं अपना उपग्रह छोड़ने की क्षमता है। इसके साथ साथ बायो टेक्नोलॉजी की असीमित क्षमता का भी लाभ उठाया जाएगा जो हमारे कृषि, मत्स्य पालन और स्वास्थ्य जैसे क्षेत्रों के लिए भी प्रासंगिक होगा। वैज्ञानिक विकास की दिशा में हमारे देश में काफी प्रगति हो रही है। गर्व निरोधक

[श्री धूलेश्वर भोणा]

गोलियों को सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में भी पहुंचाया जाएगा। इस प्रकार उनका निर्माण करने की बात कही गई है। हमारी बढ़ती हुई आबादी को देखते हुए फैमिली प्लानिंग के कार्यक्रमों को आगे बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। आबादी को बढ़ने से रोकने में कंट्रोल तो हो रहा है, लेकिन उस मात्रा में नहीं हो रहा है जिस मात्रा में होना चाहिए था क्योंकि जिस प्रकार से आबादी बढ़ रही है उसको देखते हुए हमारे सभी विकास के कार्यों में बड़ी बाधा पड़ रही है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने नदियों के पानी के बंटवारे के बारे में भी बात की है। आप जानते हैं कि पानी के बंटवारे के बारे में राजस्थान और पंजाब का झगड़ा कुछ दिन चला था और राजस्थान और गुजरात का माही डैम के बारे में झगड़ा चला था। कावेरी नदी का हमारे समक्ष उदाहरण है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जैसा राष्ट्रपति जी ने इंगित किया है कि इस प्रकार की नदियाँ जो हमारे प्राकृतिक साधन हैं उन पर किसी एक स्टेट की मोनोपोली नहीं होनी चाहिए। ये जो प्राकृतिक साधन हैं ये सभी मनुष्यों और सभी स्टेटों के लिए होने चाहिए। इसी प्रकार से जो मिनरल्स हैं, वे भी सभी के लिए बराबर मात्रा में उपयोग में लाये जाने चाहिए। मुझे माफ करेंगे, हमारे कुछ साथी हो सकता है कि दूसरे पक्ष के हों, लेकिन मैं हमेशा यह निवेदन करता आया हूँ कि इस प्रकार के झगड़ों को केंद्रीय सरकार इस प्रकार से निपटार दे कि जिससे सभी लोगों को और सभी स्टेटों के लोगों को बराबर फायदा हो।

जहाँ तक पर्यावरण का मामला है, पर्यावरण के बारे में मैंने कई बार इस हाउस में स्पेशल मेशन के जरिये और बूथर जूनियों से सवाल उठाये हैं मैं गांवों से आता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि जंगलों का प्रभाव लोगों पर पड़ता है। हमारे राजस्थान में पहले हरे-भरे जंगल थे, घने जंगल थे, वनस्पति थी। लेकिन आज इन जंगलों को ठेकेदारों को दे करके, ठेके में काट करके, इन जंगलों को उजाड़ कर दिया गया है। और वहाँ वे पहाड़ उसी तरह नंगे खड़े हैं, वनस्पति की

बात छोड़िए, वे धीरे धीरे रेगिस्तान में परिवर्तित हो जायेंगे। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारी सरकार, खासकर राजस्थान में जापान की मदद से आकाश से, हवाई जहाज से बीजों को नीचे पहाड़ों पर गिराकर पौधे उगाना चाहती है, यह ठीक है, लेकिन श्रीमान जहाँ पानी न हो वहाँ बीज डालने से वह पौधा कैसे उगेगा? आज पांच-पांच सात-सात साल हो गये, कहीं भी पेड़ उगने का सवाल नहीं है। तो मेरा निवेदन यह है, मैं शुरू से निवेदन करता आया हूँ कि इस प्रकार के प्रोग्राम, इस प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों को सफल बनाने के लिये आपको ऐसे कदम, उठाने होंगे जिससे वहाँ के लोगों की जीविका भी मिले और कार्य सफल भी हो। इसके लिये जो छोटे छोटे नाले हैं, जो छोटी छोटी नदियाँ हैं उनमें बांध बांधकर पानी को रोकना जाय। इससे क्योंकि पानी का स्तर, वाटर लेवल ऊपर आयेगा, उसके कारण कुंये अपने आप भरेंगे और वहाँ सिंचाई के साधन मिल जायेंगे। वहाँ से पानी लेकर पहाड़ों में सिंचाई की जा सकती है और वहाँ के लोगों को इम्प्लोईमेंट भी मिल सकता है। इसी प्रकार स पर्यावरण के लिये कार्यक्रम करने पड़ेंगे। इसके अलावा शहरों में पर्यावरण का सवाल है। लेकिन मैं इस समय इसके विशेष डिटेल्स में जाना नहीं चाहता।

श्रीमान, राष्ट्रपति जी अपने भाषण में शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की विशेष भर्ती या स्पेशल ड्राइव के बारे में कहा है। श्रीमान, इसके बारे में मैं निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि स्पेशल ड्राइव आप भले ही करें, इससे होता कुछ नहीं। बहुत सारे भाई यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, उन सब को पता है कि स्पेशल ड्राइव जो शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों की भर्ती के लिए होता है, उससे पहले ही उनके माथे पर झुरियाँ पड़ जाती हैं और अगर करते भी हैं तो केवल दिखाने के लिए होता है। सभी डिपार्टमेंट्स में कई एक वैकेंसीज पड़ी हुई हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में स्पेशल भर्ती के बारे में कहा है। हम लोग कमेटीयों में जाते हैं और उन लोगों का इंटरव्यू लेते हैं। जब उन-

हैं तो वे बैकलाग पूरा कर लिया गया है। लेकिन वह कहीं पूरा नहीं किया जाता है। कहीं उनको प्रमोशन नहीं दी जाती है, कहीं भर्ती विशेष नहीं की जाती है। अगर 100 जगह हैं तो 15-20 जगहों के लिये भर्ती कर लो। अगर ऐसा करते हैं कि कौन सा बड़ा काम करते हैं। इसलिये इन जगहों की भर्ती में यह सबसे बड़ी दिक्कत है। रिक्तमैट ड्राइव के समय एडवर्टिजमेंट कर दिया 15-20 जगहों का और 15-20 की जगहों के लिए सैकड़ों हजारों लोग आ गये भर्ती होने के लिये। उनमें से केवल 10-12 को भर्ती कर दिया और बाकी सबको वापस भेज दिया। इसके लिए विशेष सेल है लेकिन इससे कोई फायदा नहीं होता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस बारे में सरकार विशेष ध्यान दे। हावाकि दो-तीन बार भर्ती के लिये एडवर्टिजमेंट करके लोगों को बुलाकर भर्ती का काम किया गया है, लेकिन इससे कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है।

श्रीमन्, मैं अब आपका ध्यान कृषि की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। देश की सुरक्षा और प्रगति कृषि के विकास पर निर्भर करती है, जिमें खाद, खाद्य उपज, बागवानी, मत्स्य पालन, मुर्गी पालन आदि शामिल हैं। इस क्षेत्र में हमने जो तेज प्रगति की है, उसका श्रेय हमारी अनुसंधान प्रयोगशालाओं को जाता है। श्रीमन्, इस बारे में मेरा निवेदन है कि जहाँ जहाँ कृषि के बड़े बड़े क्षेत्र हैं, वहाँ तो ये सारे नये बीज चले जायेंगे, आपके ट्रैक्टर चले जायेंगे... सिंचाई के साधन हो जाएंगे लेकिन दूरदराज में रहने वाले जो छोटे किसान हैं, उन लोगों को भी अगर यह चीजें नहीं पहुँचायेंगे तो वह लोग अपनी कृषि को ठीक ढंग से विकसित नहीं कर सकेंगे क्योंकि जो किसान सुदूर इंदौरियर क्षेत्रों में रहते हैं, गांवों में रहते हैं, वे लोग कृषि पर ही निर्भर करते हैं। कृषि भी वर्षा पर निर्भर है और वर्षा पर निर्भर रहने के कारण, जैसे कि इस वर्ष फसल पकने से पहले वर्षा खत्म हो गई है, वहाँ अफाल की स्थिति हो रही है, लोग गांवों को छोड़

कर जा रहे हैं। यदि आप इस प्रकार के कृषि के नये नये उपकरण नहीं भेजेंगे तो क्या होगा। वह लोग गांवों को छोड़ कर शहरों की ओर चले जाएंगे। जितना प्रेशर शहरों पर पड़ रहा है उससे भी ज्यादा प्रेशर पड़ने लग जाएगा। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इस प्रकार के नये बीज, खाद या अन्य सुविधाएं छोटे-छोटे गांवों तक पहुँचाई जाएं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब मैं आपका ध्यान आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना की ओर ले जाना चाहूंगा। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि आर्थिक नीति संबंधी परिवर्तन आठवीं योजना का आधार होंगे। आठवीं योजना में विकास दर को लगभग 5-6 प्रतिशत रखा गया है। इसको प्राप्त करने के लिए चार लाख करोड़ रुपये का प्रस्तावित परिस्थिती है जिसमें अधिक से अधिक रोजगार पैदा करने का लक्ष्य रखा गया है। खास कर के प्राथमिकता इसमें निरक्षरता उन्मूलन, प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा को व्यापक बनाना, पीने के पानी को गांव-गांव तक पहुँचाना, स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं का गांव गांव तक पहुँचाने की दी गई है। इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि इतने सारे काम करने हैं इसलिए हम सब को तैयार रहना है। राम जन्म भूमि के बारे में बताया है कि हम पूजा स्थलों की 15 अगस्त, 1947 की यथास्थिति बनाए रखेंगे। मैं चाहूंगा, मेरे ख्याल से मेरे विरोधी भाई भी इसका विरोध नहीं करेंगे। इसके लिए एक कमेटी बनाई गई है और कम्पोजिट रेपिड एक्शन फोर्स भी बनाई गई है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अब आपका ध्यान इण्डियन एयर लाइन्स में सुधार करने के बारे में जो अभिभाषण में कहा गया है, उसकी ओर दिलाना चाहूंगा। आए दिन कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल होती रहती है और गड़बड़ियाँ भी चलती रहती हैं खास कर के हवाई जहाज के एक्सीडेंट भी होते रहते हैं। लोगों का यह भी कहना है कि हमारे हवाई जहाज 50-50 साल पुराने हैं। इसलिए इनमें सुधार

[श्री धूलेश्वर मोणा]

करना एक बहुत ही अच्छी व आवश्यक बात है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि मैंने लोक सभा में और यहां भी बताया था कि जहां जहां आदिवासियों और हरिजनों की आप मदद करना चाहते हैं, उनकी मदद आप तभी कर सकेंगे जब आप आदिवासी बाहुल्य क्षेत्र में कोई कारखाना लगाएं या सविस का साधन प्रदान करें तो सब से पहले वहां के लोकल लोगों को भर्ती किया जाए। उसके बाद में दूसरी जगहों से लोगों को बुला करके भर्ती किया जाए। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जाट रेजीमेंट, राजपूत रेजीमेंट, सिख रेजीमेंट, इसी भावना के आधार पर बनाई गई थी ताकि लोग इस में ज्यादा से भर्ती हों। इसी प्रकार से मेरे यहां एक यूनिट जो कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के समय में बनाई गई थी वह भी मील कोर। इस यूनिट में क्योंकि यह आदिवासी बाहुल्य क्षेत्र होने के कारण इसमें आदिवासी भर्ती हुआ करते थे। बाद में धीरे धीरे दूसरे क्षेत्रों के लोग इसमें आ गए। देश की आजादी के बाद साढ़े सात परसेंट और 12 परसेंट के हिसाब से भर्ती होने लगी। इस प्रकार से आदिवासी लोग बेकार रहने लगे और बाहर से इन्टर-उब्बर के लोगों को भर्ती किया जाने लगा। मेरा कहना यह है कि जहां आदिवासियों और हरिजनों का बाहुल्य है आपको किसी भी जगह इम्प्लायमेंट करना है तो पहले स्थानीय लोगों की भर्ती करना है। उसके बाद बाहर के लोगों को बुलाकर भर्ती कर दिया जाए तभी जाकर वह प्रोग्राम सफल होगा।

अंत में श्रीमान, मैं सभी भाइयों से और खासकर मेरे विरोधी भाइयों से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति जी के जो बताये हुए प्रोग्राम्स हैं उनको हम सबको मिलकर एक साथ करना है। हम सारी पार्टियों और ग्रुपों को छोड़कर करें क्योंकि आप भी कभी कभी पावर में थे तो आपने कहा था कि एक साथ होकर काम करना है क्योंकि समय आ गया है जब एक दूसरे के साथ लड़ना

नहीं है बल्कि मिलकर काम करना होगा तभी यह देश ऊंचा हो सकेगा। आप भले विरोध में बैठकर चिल्लाते रहें हम चिल्लाते रहें इससे क्या होता है। हिंदुस्तान की जनता यह समझ चुकी है और इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानती है कि कौन सा ग्रुप, कौन ही पार्टी, कौन सा दल कैसा है और किस तरह से कौन सी पार्टी किस किस सिद्धांत में है जिससे देश का विकास हो सकता है। इसलिए मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि आप भले अपनी बहस के तरीके से विरोध करें सिद्धांत के तरीके से विरोध करें लेकिन जहां तक काम करने का सवाल है आप सरकार के साथ मिलकर अपना सहयोग दें तभी इस देश का विकास हो सकेगा। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): There are two speakers from the Janata Dal and the total time allotted is 33 minutes.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Karnataka): Thirty-three minutes? Sir, I will make it less than that.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you must have noticed, as all of my friends must have noticed in the House, that I very rarely speak. It is always a disconcerting experience to address empty benches, deserted press galleries and the lonely Minister who is either enjoying his afternoon snooze or enjoying his chat. But this time I have taken special care to plead with my party that I should be allowed to speak and I wish to share with you and with the House the two reasons which compelled me to speak this time.

Sir, first I am exercising today a newly won freedom which Members of Parliament have acquired as a result of the recent judgment of the Supreme Court. The anti-defection law which had been enacted before had said that "If a Member of Parliament violates his party whip it is a disqualification of membership". We complained that the whole law is *ultra vires* because it takes away the

time-honoured freedom of every Member of Parliament to speak according to his own intellect and according to his own conscience and not be bound by the dictates of his own party. Sir, two judges of the Supreme Court accepted this and declared the law *ultra vires*. But the three judges who said that it was *intra vires* went to the extent of modifying this law considerably by their interpretation and they have now said that "if a Member of Parliament does not accept even his party whip and votes against the direction of the whip, he does not incur a disqualification except on one rare occasion when the result of the vote might be the toppling of the Government". Since there is no such consequence attached to any vote in this House, I propose to exercise the freedom to oppose the whip of my party.

Sir, the second reason is that this is the first Budget which has now been presented to the Parliament...

SHRI DAYANAND SAHAY (Bihar): Sir, you may lose your membership if you oppose the whip.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Don't worry. I will take care of it. Sir, the second reason is that this is the first Budget and the first Presidential speech after the mind-boggling changes which have overtaken the world, whose echoes will reverberate for years and for decades throughout the world and whose echoes are already heard in this country. Sir, I know that some people welcome these changes and there are others who detest them and a large majority of our people are apathetic to them because they have nothing to gain and nothing to lose. They have never had anything except a miserable past and they are not looking forward to any happier future. So nobody is concerned about these ideologies and conflicts. But these changes certainly do matter to some of those whom they affect immediately, and some of those whose deepest intellectual assumptions have now been dissolved and been washed away. Sir, let me

be frank. There is jubilation in one camp. I might call them the camp of the capitalists. And there is equally a feeling of frustration in the other camp, which I might call the socialist or even the communist camp. But, Sir, there is no victor and there is no vanquished in the field of ideas. Ultimately, what seems to me is that two great principles have triumphed. The first principle that has triumphed is that life is too complicated and is becoming more and more complex every day for life to be encompassed by any single formula or any single principle, or plan of action or even an economic theory or dogma. Sir, while the society will survive, we will continue to hear the voices of Adam Smith, we will hear the voice of Marx, we will hear the great Ricardo's analysis, we will hear the depressing prophecies of Malthus. So, the economic debate will go on. But one thing must be said that applies. Marxism might have failed in some countries but the greatest contribution of Marx will remain that Marx has changed the face and soul of capitalism and capitalism has now a new face and a new soul altogether and it is this new capitalism with a new soul and face which is now beginning to assert itself. The second principle that has now established its paramountcy is that every idea generates its own opposite and ultimately we work out some kind of a synthesis. Sir, not being an economist but only a lawyer and a student of Constitutional Law, I was proud of my Constitution because the Constitution was based upon the great synthesis between conservatism on the one side and radicalism, on the other. It produced a substratum in the Constitution which I have always called liberalism of my Constitution. And that liberalism was that you must have an open mind and a cautious hand, and a cautious mind and a cautious hand and an open mind and a cautious mind and an open mind.

I don't wish to say anything about the previous distinguished Finance Ministers of this country. I don't wish to denigrate any of them or their

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

achievements or learnings. But let me say this that I am here today because I feel excite. I feel a new sense of well-being. I feel a new sense of euphoria. A few days ago, we celebrated the birthday of one of the greatest men of India. I regard him as one of the greatest men. I had great differences with him, political, economic and otherwise. But Shri Morarji Desai still stands head and shoulders above the rest of his fellow-beings. On the 29th of last month I went and called on him to earn his blessings and to wish him a happy birthday as the common parlance goes. I have had debates with him in the past. I have always told him that I am a pessimist. But he always told me: "Look you will see that before I die this country will somehow be on the way to prosperity and well-being and this country has a great future." So, on the 29th I asked him a question. I had not yet heard the Budget. The Budget was to be announced that evening. I asked him a question in the morning on that day. I said, "Morarjibhai, has your optimism been diminished or has it increased?" And that old man told me in on uncertain terms. "You wait till the turn of the century; it is only 3 or 4 years more, it is only 7 or 8 years more; wait till the turn of the century, this country has the brightest future before it." Sir, I never shared these ideas with him. I never shared this expectation and hope with him. But I am now beginning to see it because, according to me, for the first time, such a Budget is there. And this is not to denigrate anybody else in the past. There had been great economists in the past; there had been great Finance Ministers and Prime Ministers in the past they also spoke according to their wisdom, the wisdom which might have been good for its clime, for its own circumstances, for its own place and the circumstances that existed at that time. But I believe that never has a budget been presented to this country in the past-

Independence era, a budget which contains more economic sense. A solid economic sense for the first time, I find is presented in the Budget of Narasimha Rao's Government through its Finance Minister Shri Manmohan Singh. I congratulate them. I don't accept this criticism that we have forfeited our economic sovereignty. These are all cliches which we politicians are in the habit of using. We lost political sovereignty, for example, when we joined the United Nations. When you signed the charter of the United Nations, you forfeited part of your independence. You then became subject to votes in the General Assembly, and votes in the Security Council. So long as politics itself is an interdependent phenomenon, it is foolish to talk about sovereignty in the abstract. If one country is dependent upon every other country for its economic growth and survival and pursuit of happiness, it is foolish to talk of so-called economic sovereignty. But Sir, the main point we notice is that we have been governed by certain principles. I do not wish to characterise the authors of those principles as either lacking in intelligence or lacking in statesmanship, but certain set of principles have been the guiding stars to which we have hitched our wagon. What has the country landed itself in? The country has landed itself into a state of insolvency and Sir, for an insolvent to talk of economic sovereignty, according to me, is to indulge in the worst kind of fantasy and is to delude oneself. But, Sir, is there anything wrong in taking good advice? The advice which we had hitherto taken, whether it came from within or we had taken it from outside, I do not wish to go into that controversy, because I believe that even then we had taken it from outside, but if good advice come from outside it should be welcomed. If I go to a creditor and ask for money and the creditor tells me please, do not go to the race-course from tomorrow if you want my money, surely you cannot say that I

have forfeited or diluted my economic sovereignty. All terms which this Government has accepted must be judged on their own intrinsic merits. It does not matter who talks of those terms. It does not matter who suggested those terms. It does not matter who even dictated those terms because insolvency is the consequence of previous policies and if you have to get out of insolvency you have to give up your old methods and embark upon a new path. Sir, we have embarked upon a new path and that gives me a feeling of well-being. For the last so many years I have been attacking the economic policies of the Government and at that time I was unpopular to the Treasury Benches because they said 'he seems to be an imperialist, he seems to be a capitalist'. I have been nothing of that kind. I believed that the system and the principle on which we have worked have suppressed the energies and the talent of our entrepreneurs, have prevented us from exploiting even our natural resources and we have got bogged down in the quagmire of corruption. It is now time that we should struggle out and I am glad that the first significant step has been taken to get out of that quagmire. Sir, an argument has been made that there has been a leakage, that we have communicated the budget to the IMF and that the IMF knew about it much before the Members of Parliament came to know of it. Sir, this is another cliché. Is there any legal document which says that budget should be secret? A budget is secret for one good reason and that good reason is that, if there were leakage of budget some people as a result of that leakage will be able to harvest an advantage, undeserved economic advantage over others which others will not be able to have because they just do not have the requisite information. This inequality of access to source of information is of Budget and the what produces the doctrine of leakage of Budget and the secrecy of Budget. But we have to discuss with our creditor from whom we want money and

the paradox of which is nobody else is prepared to give us the money. Money has to come and our other erstwhile friends whose hands we have grasped so long are themselves going to the same source for money. We need the money. But we keep abusing them that they are indulging in wanton economic aggression, political aggression and all sorts of aggression. So, all these criticisms are totally misplaced. Having now congratulated the Government and its Finance Minister for these bold steps which they have taken, let me talk about a few shortcomings of the President's speech. Sir, I wish to make it clear here and now that I am so impressed with this Budget and I am so impressed with what this Budget is going to achieve, subject to a few minor criticisms which I hope will be listened to and conveyed by my friend who is here. Subject to that, I am prepared to withdraw every other criticism, which I have to make of the President's speech. Otherwise, it will not be fair and I do want notes to be taken of some of the things which have got to be said in all conscience.

Sir, I belong to the Janata Dal, a political party which came into existence at a time when corruption was the hottest issue. It became the largest election issue. We fought the election virtually on the question of corruption at higher places. My advice to this Government is that if this Government wishes to take advantage of the new and exciting things which you are proposing to do and if you wish to leave deep imprints upon the sands of Indian times, please at least try to do your best to get rid of those past images. I do not wish to go into details because I don't have a lot of time at my disposal. But, Sir, it is a matter which causes pain to those who wish to help this Government to survive for the next five years. It pains us in no small measure because you will be compelling us to criticise you and to attack you, if you don't stop the old ways of the old

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

Government. I am referring to the sensitive investigations which have started many years ago, which were an election issue in the previous election and honest officers have carried out those investigations to a point where truth is about to be disclosed. Sir, I do not wish to waste more time of the House. I have been writing about it and I propose to write about it. I propose to talk about it again outside this House. But there is great evidence, conclusive, evidence to believe that this Government seems to have committed itself to scuttling those investigations and those investigations must be pursued. There must be an assurance that they will be vigorously pursued, that honest officers who were carrying out those investigations will be brought back and out in their proper place because they have been transferred not by this Government but some of these transfers were made by another Government which was in existence for a brief span of time. Those misdeeds of that Government must be undone.

The second thing which I wish to talk about and dilate upon at some length is the hypocritical attitude of this new Government to the fate of the backward classes in this country. We have had this party, the Congress party and these Governments for a long time. They have successively tried to entice the backward classes into believing that they were the champions of the backward classes. Having something to do with the Mandal report and my championing the Mandal report and my standing forthrightly in favour of the Mandal report and its implementation has cost me a lot of friendships; it has cost me a lot of political support. But principle is principle, conscience is conscience and the truth must be uttered whatever be the unpleasant consequences of the utterance of that truth. I believe that this society, this Indian society will never get on an even keel. We shall make no progress whatsoever till the methods of historic compensation

which have been sanctioned by the Indian Constitution are literally followed and a state of equilibrium and complete equality is brought about between those who have suffered from infamy, calumny and ostracism and all kinds of injustice for 2000 years. For two thousand years you have condemned the people to backwardness, educational and social; you have denied them a share in the management of the country's affairs. You have caused to them—this is important; my good friend who is here listening today, I want him to notice this—a permanent genetic damage, you have caused a permanent genetic damage to a large majority of our population, and this genetic damage can only be removed when those people are put in positions of power and authority where they sit in dignity and equality with others and are prepared to say "we are being treated as equals". There has been a conspiracy of the high castes. I am not talking of all. There are well-meaning high castes who have devoted themselves to the upliftment of the backward classes. But, by and large, there has been an effective conspiracy in this country and I hope my good friend has read that famous book "Yes, Minister". The bureaucrats have tied up these Ministers in their knots and they are not able to move at all. I am glad that Mr. Sitaram Kesri—he is another Minister who deserves to be congratulated—has overcome some opposition within his own party and has succeeded in ramming down the throat of his party the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report. But here Mr. Sitaram Kesri's work stops. He has become a victim of the hallucination created by his bureaucrats and those who really don't want the Mandal Commission Report to be enforced and who say 'we are trying to work out some economic criterion'. Now, the economic criterion was discussed in the Constituent Assembly. The people in this country do not realise that in the Constituent Assembly there were two strains of thought, one was the

Nehruvian thought and the other was the Ambedkar thought. And fortunately for this country Ambedkar prevailed over Nehru and unfortunately Ambedkar died early and afterwards the Nehru Government for 16 to 17 years, under the influence of bureaucrats, very clever bureaucrats, did not do anything except one bureaucrat saying, "We are going to evolve an economic criterion". After three years' time he woke up and said, "I cannot work out the economic criterion." And the Nehru Government said, "Now we are not having any reservation at the Centre at all." In 60s the Central Government solemnly decided that there would not be any reservation for backward classes at all. Then the so-called high-caste influences even turned Kaka Kalelkar hostile to the very report which he had prepared. And after that when you got this Mandal Report, for ten years it was put on the shelves of the archives and it was let to my good friend, V.P. Singh, to resurrect it and enforce it. If I had not that intellectual sympathy with the Mandal Report, I would have quit the Janata Dal Party right at the time. But unfortunately for me I am committed to that Mandal Report and its implementation. And today, Mr. Minister, two things you must immediately do: Instruct your Attorney General in the Supreme Court to ask that the stay of the implementation should be vacated. We who appear on behalf of the Government of Bihar and sometimes on behalf of the Government of Tamil Nadu say that this stay should go. But never did your Attorney General oppose that stay! Therefore, ...

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION (SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ): Did your Attorney General press with the vehemence which it deserved when your Government was in power? The stay was granted when you were in power.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Don't compare one evil with another. What is right must be done...

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I have the greatest respect for you as a lawyer. But you must see through the game. When this question was taken to the Supreme Court, I was closely watching the goings on there. And I know personally that your Attorney General did not put his heart and soul in this matter and that is why the stay was granted.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Well, you are a greater student of the heart and soul of the Attorney General. All right, let me plead guilty to this charge. So what? Therefore,...

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I am taking notes.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Today we are here supporting some of your policies. Please meet us at least half-way with the implementation of policies which are good and right...

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: There is no difficulty. You have spoken about the good intentions of Kesriji. In future also you will get good news. We will not play hide and seek like your Government.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: You have scored a debating point. Now, let us talk of Mandal and I am glad that there is going to be an assurance that it is going to be implemented properly.

Sir, with regard to the economic criterion, you will never be able to work it out. Nobody understands what it is, what the economic criterion is. For the last one year you have been talking of the economic criterion, but the Mandal Commission Report is in the same old archives as it was many years ago. Now, let us also stop talking about this argument of merit. For God's sake, let us stop talking about it. Wherever I go, lawyers sitting in air-conditioned rooms and others are talking about merit and say that merit is being sacrificed. I want to ask them, in the name of truth and in the name of justice: How do you expect the same kind of aptitude for examinations from those people whose

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]
 psyche, whose intellect and whose confidence you have damaged and destroyed for the last two thousand years? If a person coming from those classes secures 45 per cent marks in an examination, take it that he has a much greater talent and merit than a person who comes from other sections and secures 50 or 55 per cent marks. So, this argument of merit is the most bogus argument that has ever been made. Please put these people in the position in which they want to be.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if I can have two or three minutes more, I would like to deal with two or three subjects.

The first is the subject of Punjab. Sir, I congratulate this Government for holding elections in Punjab just as Mr. V. P. Singh deserves to be congratulated for the Mandal Commission Report implementation. But his critics told him, "you selected a wrong time and you did it on a wrong motivation." All right. We accept the criticism. Of course, you did a good thing. But I am also equally convinced that you did it out of a wrong motivation. But I will not hold that against you. I unquestioningly congratulate you for holding elections in Punjab. Let me say that it is a tragic instance of a missed opportunity. You had an opportunity to solve the Punjab problem, but you missed that opportunity, again on motives which are questionable and going on plans of action which are dubious.

Sir, five of us, myself, one Congress (I) MP and my esteemed friend who defeated me in the Bombay elections, and three other gentlemen of great repute, persons who enjoy the confidence of the communities in Punjab, called on your Home Minister and called on the Prime Minister and also held a Press Conference and said, "These are the minimum requirements. Announce them. Announce them, and you will be solving not only the problem of Punjab, but also the problem of Assam and you will also be solving all the secessionist problems wherever they exist in the

country." I do not have much time. As I said, I need a couple of minutes more. Even now, your new Government has come. But this new Government is, believe me, not wearing a crown of roses, but is wearing a crown of thorns. This Government must, first of all, get rid of all the pulls and pressures from the adjoining State. You must execute the Longowal accord unconditionally, without putting any conditions.

Secondly, here you will have to sacrifice a few persons. You will have to sacrifice perhaps half-a-dozen friends. But sacrificing half-a-dozen friends is nothing compared to the three thousand or four thousand innocent persons who are being killed every year in Punjab. You will not solve the Punjab problem unless the 1984 killers are punished. You take it from me and write it down in your book that, today, this problem will never be solved. You have already made it impossible for any court to convict anybody because no evidence is there and no identification is going on to hold water, after so many years of delay. The witnesses have died and memories have faded out and it is very difficult for the lawyers to convince the judges that this is the identification. But at least you do the right thing now. Let the courts do whatever they like. Sacrifice some of your friends and make them face the courts. Manacle them. Everytime, when an arrest is to be effected, the first thing you do is to inform the accused so much so that he goes out, collects a crowd there and gets an anticipatory bail. Now, you arrest a handful of people and march them in the streets of Delhi and that itself will be enough and you will solve the problem of Punjab, if you are prepared to do it. It requires a little political courage.

Then, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is there which you all have criticised as a secessionist document. Please apologize to the Sikh community. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution is a welcome contribution to Indian political thought. It is one

document which everybody should frame and hang on the walls of his drawing room or study. It is one document which says that India needs a strong Central Government. But you cannot have a strong Central Government without having strong State Governments. What you need is autonomy but autonomy, as you have seen, is not of the manner in which it has worked out today in the Soviet empire which has vanished overnight. I do not want anything of that kind to happen. But limited autonomy you will have to concede. You will have to repeal article 356 or modify it. You will have to make the Governors govern us in the States, responsible to the State Governments and not allow them to function as spies or agents of the Central Government and to bring down the duly elected Governments. Take these steps and the Punjab problem will be solved like this. I have always said that the Sikhs will forget and forgive. But if you do not deal with them properly, they will not forget for 50 years, they will not forget for 100 years. You see. (*Time Bell rings*) the Jalianwalabagh—after how many years? In London. Take these lessons from history. But I regret to say that you have a Home Minister who like the Bourbons of France, neither learns lessons from history nor will be willing to learn lessons from contemporary politics or contemporary happens.

Sir, only half a minute more.

Lastly, I talk of the great economic debates going on in this country and one of the great economists who told you that prosperity ultimately depends on population. I was not a great admirer of the late Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, but I am on record in this House: I paid him a great tribute that that young man had instinctively realised that there is a vital connection between population and prosperity. But he embarked upon the family planning programme—this great wizard; he proceeded somewhat wrongly in a wrong direction and in a right way. But his basic instinct

was right. What are you doing? I want to know, what are you doing for family planning? All your economic development will be neutralised by the population growth, and unless you control population with clinical, medical, educational and statutory background, you are not going to make any significant progress.

Lastly, Sir—and this is a very small criticism of your Budget proposals—please raise the exemption limit that you have raised up to Rs. 28,000. What does it mean? It is like not raising it at all, considering the value of money and considering the inflation rate, and so on. I think it is a big joke. But I have a feeling that the Finance Minister has deliberately kept it low so that he should be able to negotiate and raise it at the proper time. If that is what you are trying to do, it is okay. Please do that.

Restore some of the exemptions which you have taken away—those 80L exemptions, as they are for the benefit of the small man who wants to save a little. (*Time Bell rings*).

Lastly, Sir, you have been asking people to bring gold home. Very sensible! It is a very sensible thing that you have done. But what is these kilos or 5 kilograms which you have put and some tax to be paid at the Customs entry port? Abolish all that and you will see the miracles you achieve in this country. After all the Government of the day, for good or bad, is the teacher of public behaviour. Why are you holding so much gold? Sell that gold forthwith. Convert it into some good currency, keep it separate, do not touch it, do not spend it and do not give it to your creditors to keep it. Let it earn interest. Why is that rotting? The love of gold you have to destroy in this country. You cannot destroy it amongst the irrational populace unless intelligent Ministers first destroy. This love.

So, please take necessary steps. And I promise not to vote against the Motion of Thanks. (*Interruptions*).

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri R. T. Gopalan. I have been told that he has to go somewhere. But I would like the Members to be very brief, because the Prime Minister is going to reply to the debate tomorrow at 12 o'clock. Therefore, by this evening you have to complete the debate. Shri R. T. Gopalan.

***SHRI R. T. GOPALAN (Tamil Nadu):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to register my views on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The President has broadly outlined the policies and programmes of the government for the ensuing year.

Having Cauvery Water dispute in mind, the President has referred to sharing the water of Inter-State rivers. He further says that such disputes arising out of the sharing of the water of inter-state rivers should be settled through negotiations. However, the President goes on to say that when talks fail, the centre will take steps to resolve the disputes through Tribunals. This stand is appreciable because... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please do not interrupt. Let him have his say. Please do not interrupt.

SHRI R. T. GOPALAN: Sir, Mr. Bangarappa's attitude was not at all satisfactory during the recent meeting of the Chief Ministers of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Pondicherry which was held in the presence of the Prime Minister. Even after the interim order of the Tribunal was gazetted, Mr. Bangarappa had refused to abide by the order. It is very unfortunate that he has not respected the Tribunal and also the Supreme Court. Therefore, I urge upon the Prime Minister to advise Mr. Bangarappa to abide by the order of the

Tribunal and release 205 Tmc water to Tamilnadu from the month of June regularly.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after the order of the Tribunal was gazetted, terror was unleashed on the Tamils living in Karnataka. Tamils, who have been living there for over 50 years were attacked, their houses and properties looted and set on fire. About one lakh twenty thousand Tamils had to flee Karnataka during the violence. When these unfortunate Tamils came to Tamilnadu, our Hon. Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi, extended all help to them with a mother's heart.

Sir, due compensation should be given to the Tamils who were affected during the violence. I demand that a sitting Judge of Supreme Court should be appointed to assess the amount of compensation to render justice to the victims. I hope the Hon'ble Prime Minister will take immediate steps in this direction.

I wish to say a word about water going waste. Kallaru river which originates in the Western Ghats of Kerala flows waste into the sea. If the course of this river is diverted towards Tamilnadu, the southern districts will be benefited. This will put an end to the water scarcity in the southern part of Tamilnadu. Therefore, I request the Prime Minister to call a meeting of the Chief Ministers of Tamilnadu and Kerala to plan it out. I also request the Prime Minister to work in the direction of nationalisation of rivers to solve the mounting problem of water scarcity throughout the Country.

Keeping the welfare of the people in mind, our Hon. Chief Minister Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi has implemented prohibition policy in Tamilnadu. This shows how strongly she believes in Gandhian policies. Because of prohibition, Tamilnadu Government is losing about 400 crores of rupees each year. To compensate this loss, our Chief Minister has sought financial

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

assistance from the centre. So, I request the Union Government to give financial assistance to Tamilnadu without further delay.

The Address refers to the new economic policies of the union and says that these policies will bring about drastic changes in our economy. But it is regrettable that many projects recommended by the Tamilnadu Government are pending with the Centre. For example, the Aromatics Project and Jayankondam Lignite Mines Project have not yet been cleared by the Centre. Therefore, I demand that these projects should be cleared without any more delay.

Sir, President's Address does not say anything crystal clear about rolling back the price. It merely says that the inflation has come down by 4 per cent. But in reality the price is shooting up every day. Common man who could have a day's food by spending Rs. 10 needs to spend at least Rs. 20 today. People are unable to buy even essential commodities. Recently, the centre has hiked the price of rice given through public distribution system. As a result, some States also had to increase the price of rice. This has created a situation wherein people have a mistaken notion that states have only increased the price. Therefore, the centre should immediately roll back the price of essential commodities. Stringent action should also be taken against those hoarding essential Commodities.

Sir, Tamilnadu Government needs about 276.31 crores of rupees for modernising its police force. Since it is a huge amount, the Tamilnadu Government has sought Rs. 80.45 crores as assistance from the Centre. The modernisation of police force is imperative in the present situation to deal with the anti-social and anti-national elements effectively. A strong and advanced police force will also help the centre to keep a strict vigil along the coastal line of Tamilnadu. Keeping these facts in mind, the centre should provide Rs. 80.45 crores

as assistance to Tamilnadu immediately. With these words I support the motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Dayanand Sahay; I am giving you ten minutes. Let everybody take only ten minutes each.

श्री दयानन्द सहाय : माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर प्रस्तुत धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण है वह सरकार की तरफ से बनाया गया और राष्ट्रपति द्वारा पढ़ा गया होता है। महोदय, उस अभिभाषण में कुछ पिछले बरसों की मैमोरीज का रिफ्लेक्शन होता है और कुछ आगे का कार्यक्रम का वर्णन होता है। जहाँ तक मैमोरीज के रिफ्लेक्शन का सवाल है, बहुत डिटेल में, बहुत तफसील में उसके बारे में बातें कही गई हैं लेकिन बिहार प्रांत की कुछ ऐसी घटनाएँ हैं जिनका उल्लेख उसमें नहीं है। खासकर लॉ एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन, बिधि व्यवस्था का उसमें कोई जिक्र नहीं है। महोदय, बिहार में गत 4-5 वर्षों से गैंग मर्डर हो रहे हैं, समूह के समूह लोगों की हत्या की जा रही है। निजी तथा जाति का झगड़ा यहाँ बन गया है—बैकवर्ड और फॉरवर्ड में। अभी 19 फरवरी को “बारा” गांव में तकरीबन 35 लोगों को गला घोटकर मारा गया। हमारे गृह मंत्री जी और केसरी जी 20-21 फरवरी को वहाँ गये तो उनको गया शहर से आगे नहीं जाने दिया गया। प्रश्न उठता है कि हमारी मनुष्य जाति के लोग क्या इतने नीचे गिर गये हैं कि एक गांव से दूसरे गांव के 35 से 40 लोगों को गोली नहीं मारते हैं, जहर नहीं देते हैं बल्कि एक-एक को पकड़ कर बकरी की तरह काटते हैं। क्या हमारी मनुष्यता इतना नीचे गिर गयी है, यह प्रश्न चिह्न है। इस पर भारत सरकार को सोचना चाहिए कि ऐसी परिस्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई। भारत की सरकार बिहार की जनता को एबंडंड छोड़ नहीं सकती। चूंकि भारतवर्ष की 10 परसेंट पापुलेशन बिहार में बसती है। मैं दो दिन के बाद दो-

[श्री दयानन्द सहाय]

रीन सांसदों के साथ वहां गया था । मैंने पाया कि गांव का आदमी उनके यहां आने का विरोधी नहीं था । हमारे गृह मंत्री और कैसरी जी के आने के वे लोग विरोधी नहीं थे । बल्कि गांव के लोग बैठे थे कि वे आयेंगे और उन्हें उनसे कुछ मदद मिलेगी । लेकिन कुछ राजनैतिक वर्कर्स ने गया शहर में आकर घेरा डाला । मुरली मनोहर जोशी को तो जम्मू-कश्मीर में सरकार हेलीकॉप्टर से श्रीनगर ले जाया गया पर हमारे गृह मंत्री को गया से आगे नहीं जाना दिया गया जब कि उनका वहां जाना जरूरी था । उस गांव के लोग बड़े आतुर होकर इंतजार कर रहे थे लेकिन मंत्री जी गया से लौट आये क्योंकि कुछ चंद राजनैतिक वर्कर्स ने वहां जाने से रोका । सरकार को यह सोचना होगा इसका कारण क्या है । यह दशा देखकर मुझे महाभारत की एक बात याद आई । एक सीन है उसमें कि भीम ने दुःशासन को मारा और मारने के बाद उसका खून पी गया । उस खून को लेकर अपनी पत्नी के पास गया और कहा कि अपने बालों में लगाओ । क्या इतनी असभ्य थी हमारी सभ्यता ? क्या इतने क्रूर थे लोग ? नहीं । हमारे समाज में प्रतिज्ञा और प्रतिशोध की भावना इतनी तेज होती है कि वर्षों के बाद भी लेते हैं । जन्म-जन्मांतर के बाद भी लेते हैं प्रतिशोध । क्या बिहार में यह जो हुआ है यह प्रतिशोध की भावना से तो नहीं हुआ है ? आज लोग कह रहे हैं कि हम एक पर दस मारेंगे और हम बिहार की सरकार को कुछ नहीं कहते । हम उसको डिसमिस नहीं करते । शायद इस दिल्ली की सरकार को डर है । खुद हम मानते हैं कि हमारा गलती है । चालीस वर्ष हमने भी राज किया है । लालू सरकार ने दो वर्षों में यह हालत नहीं बनाई है । हम सबकी कमजोरी है । अगर सब की कमजोरी है तो उसको सब मिल कर सुधारो । मैं मानता हूं कि कमजोरी है आर्थिक विषमता की । विकास का काम नहीं हुआ । विकास का सारा पैसा सरकारी अफसर खा गये । कुछ नेता खा गये । और कुछ कट्रेक्टर खा गये । यह सुलिए

हुआ कि गांधी जी के मरने के बाद इस देश में आर्थिक विकास कमांड इकोनोमिक सिस्टम से किया गया । कमांड इकोनोमिक सिस्टम चला हम सरकारी अफसरों के तंत्र द्वारा । कोई पालिटिकल वर्कर्स का तंत्र नहीं था । यह सब लूट ले गये और लूट कर के पूरे देश की सम्पत्ति इन 10-15 परसेंट लोगों के पास पहुंच गई । इसका वर्णन एक राष्ट्रीय कवि "नीरज" ने अपनी दो लाइनों में किया है । वह दो लाइने मैं बताना चाहता हूं :

"चंद मछरों ने मिलकर सागर की सम्पदा चुरा ली,

और मावी ने कांटों से मिलकर फूलों की कुर्की करा ली ।

खुशियों की हड़ताल हुई, सुख की तालाबंदी है,

आने को आई आजादी मगर उजालाबंदी है ।"

यही हुआ कमांड इकोनोमिक सिस्टम का फल । अभी जेठमलानी साहब उधर से बोल रहे थे । मैं समझता हूं आर्थिक नीति को सपोर्ट करने वाला उनसे ज्यादा ओजस्वी शायद ही हमारी तरफ से कोई होगा । उन्होंने जोरदार शब्दों में आर्थिक नीति को सपोर्ट किया है । मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं । लेकिन उन्होंने मंडल कमिशन की बात कई बार उठाई । दो-दो बार, तीन-तीन बार और चार-चार बार बहुत जोरों से उन्होंने मंडल कमिशन की बात कही । मुझे एक बात कहनी है । मंडल साहब ने खुद अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है और एकलव्य का एग्जाम्पल दिया है कि एकलव्य ने अपना अंगूठा कटवा लिया । यह आज से कोई 6 हजार और 8 हजार वर्ष पहले की घटना है जब द्रोणाचार्य ने बेईमानी से या अपने शिष्य को मदद करने के लिए एकलव्य का अंगूठा कटवा लिया और एकलव्य ने दान में अपना अंगूठा दे दिया । एकलव्य सिर्फ एक आदिवासी ही नहीं था बल्कि साथ साथ एक विलक्षण तीव्र और तेज बुद्धि वाला ब्रिलिएंट लड़का

या । एकलव्य की छः हजार साल पहले की घटना जिसमें हम दोषाचार्य को बेईमान कहते हैं, क्या आज हम उसके बदले में हजारों एकलव्यों का, जो ब्रिलिएंट हैं, तेज हैं, कम्पीटिशन में आगे आते हैं, उनकी अंगुलियां कटवा दें ताकि आने वाली पीढ़ी दस हजार सालों के बाद भी यह कहे कि आज के पार्लियामेंट ने बेईमानी की... (व्यवधान)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : यह बिलकुल गलत है । आपकी दोहरी शिक्षा नीति है । गरीबों को आप पढ़ने नहीं देते हैं, उनको अच्छी शिक्षा नहीं देते हैं... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री० रत्नाकर पाण्डे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : चिल्लाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please do not disturb. Please do not interrupt. (Interruptions). You don not have much time.

श्री दयानंद सहाय : मंडल रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि एकलव्य के साथ ऐसा हुआ, बेईमानी हुई । लेकिन क्या उसी एकलव्य का बदला आज हम दस हजार बच्चों से ले ताकि आगे आने वाली पीढ़ी इस पार्लियामेंट को, इस समाज को, आज इस सभ्य कहे जाने वाले समाज को, कंडम करे ? ऐसे लोग भी हैं जो आई०ए०एस० के इम्तिहान में या इंजीनियरिंग के इम्तिहान में 90 परसेंट मार्क्स लाते हैं और किसी को 45 परसेंट मार्क्स मिलते हैं तो क्या हम 90 परसेंट मार्क्स पाने वाले को हटा करके 45 परसेंट मार्क्स लाने वाले को रखें ? यह सोचने की बात है । हमारी सरकार और हमारी पार्टी मंडल कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को सपोर्ट करती है और हमारी सरकार उसको मानने जा रही है । मैं उसका विरोध नहीं कर सकता हूँ । लेकिन एक प्रश्न-चिह्न लगा कर रख रहा हूँ ताकि सदन के सदस्य इस पर सोचें ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Within one min-

ute you shall have to complete. The Prime Minister is going to reply to-morrow at 12. By any means we shall have to complete the debate before six today.

SHRI DAYANAND SAHAY: I will take only five minutes more. Hardly do I get a chance to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): No, no, I cannot allow it.

SHRI DAYANAND SAHAY: Another two-three minutes.

अब मैं इकनामिक पालिसीज पर आ रहा हूँ । मैं अपने प्रधान मंत्री को तहेदिन से क्रान्तिकारी कह रहा हूँ । उन्होंने पहली बार समाजवादी रूपी रामनानी भौढ़े हुए नई क्लास को एक्सपोज किया है । आज उन्होंने एक क्रान्तिकारी काम किया है । उन्होंने मार्केट इकनोमी को अपने देश में अपनाया है और कंट्रोल्ड इकनोमी को हटाया है । यह नीति देश को तरक्की के रास्ते पर ले जाएगी । कंट्रोल्ड इकनोमी के कारण ही 75 बिलियन डालर का कर्ज हुआ और उसी का परिणाम है कि लोग एक दूसरे के खून के प्यासे हो गये । हमें लगता है कि जिस तरह से गांधी जी ने हमें पोलिटिकल आजादी दिलाई, आज नरसिंह राव जी ने आर्थिक आजादी की तरफ देश को बढ़ाया है । हमें उनको मजबूत करना है । अभी बहुत काम बाकी है । अभी हमारे अपोजिशन के साथी सिन्हा जी ने दो तीन बार इन्दिरा जी का नाम लिया और राजीव जी का और नेहरु जी का नाम लिया और कहा कि उनकी पालिसीज को बदला जा रहा है । अरे भाई, नेहरु जी के बनाये विधान को हम पचासों बार बदल चुके हैं तो क्या इकनोमिक पालिसीज को नहीं बदला जा सकता है ? क्या आज की परिस्थितियों में उनको नहीं बदला जा सकता है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि क्रिटिसिज्म करने के लिए अपोजिशन के लोग बैठे हुए हैं और समझते हैं कि उन्हें तो केवल क्रिटिसिज्म ही करना है ।

दूसरी बात विचारों की है। विचारों का डायलेक्टिक्स बराबर विकास की तरफ बढ़ेगा। विचार कभी भी फण्डामेंटलिस्ट की तरह से नहीं हो सकता है। आज जो आर्थिक विचार है, पचास साल के बाद भी वही आर्थिक विचार नहीं हो सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सिन्हा साहब प्रोफेसर रहे हैं और पोलिटिक्स पढ़ाते रहे हैं। वे जानते हैं कि पहले योसिस होता है, फिर एन्टो-योसिस होता है और फिर सिन्थिसिस होता है और कुछ दिनों के बाद फिर योसिस हो जाता है। इसलिए मैं विरोध में बैठे हुए साथियों से कहूँगा कि वे हमारे इस प्रस्ताव को सपोर्ट करें और धन्यवाद दें और क्रांति की जिस दिशा में देश बढ़ रहा है उसको आगे बढ़ावें। इतना कह कर मैं इस प्रस्ताव को सपोर्ट करता हूँ।

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHAR-
YA: (West Bengal): Thank you,
Mr. Vice-Chairman.

I am reminded of a statement made by our present Prime Minister when he was just the Congress President regarding the Nehruvian Philosophy and he remarked that the Congress would be following the Nehruvian Philosophy and that any alternative to the Nehruvian Philosophy, he went to the extent of saying, was fascist. Now the question is: what is before us today?

I must at the outset say, I am not a believer in the Nehruvian Philosophy. I call myself Marxist-Leninist. After all the dramatic experiences in the Soviet Union and East Europe, I still believe that Marxism-Leninism still continues to be very relevant for bringing about social transformation. But I have a fair idea of what is known by "Nehruvian Philosophy" and what has happened thereto under the leadership of Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao who, from the pedestal of Congress President, rose to be the Prime Minister of the Country and continues today as an elected President at that though uncontested.

Just today the House witnessed or listened to an unprecedented speech. From the bench of the Janata Dal a particular speaker spoke in defence of the Budget presented by Dr. Manmohan Singh under the aegis of the Prime Minister of the country.

On our part, there is no doubt that this is a sell-out Budget. This is a Budget which is mortgaging the country to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and nothing else.

In this connection, I would quote from the writing of Mr. Nikhil Chakravarty, an eminent journalist, regarding the position of our present Finance Minister, who was the Secretary-General of South-South Commission earlier. Mr. Nikhil Chakravarty says that he cannot say anything about the integrity or honesty of Dr. Manmohan Singh but that he is reminded of the days when the media was full of warning from Dr. Manmohan Singh as Secretary-General of South-South Commission against Fund/Bank debt burden, against the pernicious effect of the invasion of multinationals and against the West imposition in Uruguay Round.

Today it is for us to see what he does. Maybe, as a professional, Dr. Singh remains faithful to his assignment. His previous assignment, made him talk like that. His present assignment makes him talk of the benefit of Fund/Bank influence on our country. But the country as a whole is unable to accept that position. The President's speech refers to grave economic situation in the country. I, for one, would contest that talk of extreme crisis in our economy in the sense in which the government has presented it. The capitalist economy faces a cycle of crisis, no doubt, but that crisis means crisis of inflation and unemployment. In developed countries it is periodic while developing countries it is constant. It is that type of crisis. What

does the economy of a country consist of? Economy of our country does not consist of foreign exchange reserves alone. Foreign exchange reserve, according to our Finance Minister, this year was at its lowest. I do remember in 1979-80, we were told our foreign exchange reserve was only Rs. 800 crores, much lower than what it was this time. Therefore, foreign exchange reserve was also not at the lowest. But that is not the only part. The foreign exchange is concerned with export and import. Export and import alone do not constitute the economy of a country. The economy of the country constitutes of our wealth under the Earth and above the Earth in the form of agricultural production and industrial production in our factories. What is there in our fields and factories? I would not say even from the speech of the President listing progress in various fields, it reflects that our economy is in shambles altogether. Mr. Ram Jethmalani told us our economy was completely insolvent. Now, our insolvent foreign exchange have been increased by what? They have been increased by the World Bank loans. By nothing else. Not by the increase of our exports or by reduction of our imports. We are not in a position to reduce our imports. Our compulsion is to export. We have to match it by increasing our exports. Our factories are not in a position to supply us with adequate resources of exports just at the moment. There are ways and ways to deal with the situation, but the way definitely is not the sell-out which has been made out. This Budget which has been presented before us, I would call it, is a deceptive Budget. It does not really contain the proposals which the Government intends to bring in order to increase further the burden on the common man. Therefore, the steps were taken to a certain extent to mitigate those burdens so that people's resentment may be taken care of. I am sure with further doses of taxes and increases in administered prices and in various other forms the Govern-

ment of India will increase the burden on the common man, to protest against which, as you know, it has been decided to cast vote against the Motion of Thanks in the Lok Sabha by the Opposition parties and here also. Before concluding, I would just refer to another aspect, the sell-out to the foreign country in the matter of foreign policy. It has been said that we are following the old non-alignment policy. The non-alignment policy has been given a go-by. We are trying to accept help of MOSSAD in fighting terrorism. We are entering into defence accords with the U.S.A. We have become their clients. We are just weakening our policy-based support to the Palestinians, our support for Blacks' rule in South Africa. Therefore, we are faced with a situation, with our dependence on the U.S.A. under the plea that the Soviet Union is no more there. That does not mean that we cannot be independent and non-aligned. So with this economic dependence together with dependence in international politics, this Government have brought us to this stage. I would oppose the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address thoroughly on that account. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora. The time is very much limited. Please try to be very brief.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. Except for the new directions to the country's economic and fiscal policies, I find this Address disappointing and uninspiring. The first is mention about the Punjab elections and talks about the assurance fulfilled to hold elections in Punjab. My question is: How? Today, there may be an elected Assembly with 87 members from the Congress party. I would say more than 80 per cent of the people have decided not to vote. Do they really have a mandate? Have

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora]

they really analysed and realised whether this is an election, whether this election is going to solve any problem or aggravate the problem? One thing that has happened is that we have again tried to push the moderate Akali Party towards the militants. Similar thing happened during Operation Bule Star. This is the second step that has been taken by the Congress Government again to push them towards the militants.

I feel that there is a definite need that such elections where 20 per cent or less than 25 per cent votes have been cast, should be considered seriously, or that new elections should take place because if this happens then it becomes a farce? If this is allowed to happen it will lead to further manipulation and this type of election which has no mandate, can be more damaging than of help.

The second point I would like to mention here is that I was hoping that the people elected in Punjab headed by their Chief Minister would follow a course of achieving consensus would follow a course which will make even those people who have boycotted to come closer and find a solution to the problem by consensus.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: It is a good suggestion.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-
RA: But what is happening is, ever since they have been installed, the Chief Minister has been threatening the Akali leadership saying, "I am not going to let you out. I will keep you...". (Interruption).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY
(Pondicherry): No. No.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-
RA: Please do not interrupt me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR.
NAGEN SAIKIA): Please do not in-
terrupt.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-
RA: This has come in the papers. I am not saying anything myself. He has been threatening them that he is going to keep them in jail incarcerated till they promise that they will behave properly. Then, what is the difference between the present Government which is supposed to have been elected democratically and the President's Rule? In fact, it is going to cause greater exasperation; it is going to lead to greater dissatisfaction; and this sort of attitude, if adopted, is going to create greater dissension within Punjab. It is only going to help militancy. Or it is going to help Pakistan, our neighbour, which was not in favour of elections. You have decided to hold it. But you are serving its purpose rather than achieving consensus which is so vital. I hope that directed from the Centre, the Government, at the Centre as well as in the State, will now at least rise to the occasion and meet the lawful demands of the Akali Dal party or, I should say, the Punjab with regard to water, with regard to the capital Chandigarh and with regard to the greater autonomy for the State. If you follow this course, the chances are that they will increase their popularity amongst the people rather than following the present policy of confrontation and being dictatorial. So, here is a chance for the Congress party, both in Punjab and at the Centre, to rise to the occasion and do something worthwhile about it rather than, having won the so-called 87 seats which they have never done before, sitting back and letting the Presidential form of Government which has been going on for five years and seven months, carry on.

The next point I want to make is that if you look at the law and order situation in this country especially the States which are close to the international borders, you realise that the people there are generally un-

happy and frustrated. And why are they unhappy and frustrated? Because they feel that they are not getting what are due to them. They feel that they have no control over their own destiny and they find that the Government is totally lacking in understanding their aspirations. Therefore, I would suggest that the present Government must see the writing on the wall. They must see that if we are going to keep these States together, we must meet the aspirations of the people; we must find out what their fears are and, if I may say so, if you are going to be realistic about the direction in which the world is going, you must consider giving greater autonomy to the States. It is better that these States realise that they are benefited being a part of India rather than suffocated. If a strong Centre controls all policies and all measures leaving little to the States, they feel that they

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bhaskar Annaji Masodkar) in the Chair.]

have nothing to gain. In fact, they are feeling as if they are helpless to look after their own 5.00 PM affairs. There is a definite need for a change of attitude by the Centre and I would like to say that at this stage, if we are going to consider the Sarkaria Commission as a document on which you are going to work, then I must say that the Sarkaria Commission is out of date. It is necessary as has been said by my worthy friend, Shri Ram Jethmalani, that it is better for the Government to try, understand and follow the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which would be far more suitable and which is going to meet the aspirations of practically all the States with regard to the autonomy they want. I would recommend that we should catch this opportunity by the forelock because like the time, it is bald from behind.

As I said earlier about the fiscal and economic policies which have been referred to in this address, already the Budget has been presented though not discussed. That is one

bright spot in the whole address and I would like to congratulate the Government for it. In fact, I would

also like to appeal to everybody that we must give this Government a chance to put these fiscal and economic policies into practice at least for one year in which lies the salvation of not only this party but of the country also. Therefore, all patriotic people of my way of thinking by realising under what serious financial circumstances the country is, must support these policies and help the Government to overcome it.

One word of warning I would like to make and that is no policies can succeed unless they are put into practice efficiently, honestly and with great determination. Unfortunately, the administration in this country in the course of last forty-five years has become inefficient and corrupt and unless certain measures are taken and unless the Government shows determination to clean up these organs of administration of inefficiency and corruption, no policy is going to succeed for which time is required but the determination is equally important and one hopes that this Government will rise to the occasion and provide that determination and efficiency.

(Time Bell rings). I thought I have been given twelve minutes and twelve minutes are not over.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): According to me, you have already taken fourteen minutes.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: All right. Kindly give two more minutes. One of the points that I would like to mention is that it is a great pity that enough resources have not been allotted for education and control of population. We are not administering and caring to handle both these problems properly. There is a definite relationship between education and control of population and unless we allocate enough resources and organise education throughout the country, the population

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora]

problem will not be solved merely by the use of Doordarshan.

This question is so vital that any amount of progress, economic progress, in this country will not give us any dividend unless the population is controlled. We have to keep on running in order to remain on the same spot and this situation cannot go on for long. There seems to be a fear complex in respect of talking about population control. It has to be not only propagated, but certain statutory measures must also be adopted to ensure that the population does not increase further with the same rapidity as it has been doing for the last 45 years.

Lastly, the question of 'power to the people.' I find that we pay lip-service to Panchayati Raj, but we have done really nothing about it. Unless we actually do give power to the people through the Panchayati Raj, the Panchayat which has the resources, the Panchayat which has the authority to raise resources, the common man in this country will never feel that he has attained freedom. Today the common man is as much under the thumb of corrupt officials as he was during the British regime. The only point is, corruption at that time was within manageable means, but now it is beyond manageable means. The second thing is that the system that we took over from the Britishers is a colonial system. We have done nothing to democratise it and with the present system, if it carries on, it will be impossible to achieve the efficiency that is required. So there is definite need to have a committee of Members or somebody to sit and decide on how to overhaul this system so that it will be in keeping with the democratic norms and possibly it will give a more efficient Government and the country will be able to march forward...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I think you have completed it now.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Sir, I am just completing

it. I would like to finish this by stating that whatever be the type of Address, because the country is going through an extremely difficult situation, it would be wrong for us at this stage to vote against it. We must forget our own interests at this time and give this Government a chance to pull out the country from this fiscal, economic and even political morass in which it is. Therefore, in spite of my dislike for many things that have been said in this Address, I propose to vote in favour of it.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think on the President's Address this may be my last speech. I want to speak, therefore, in Assamese a few words...

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Why are you saying 'last'? I hope you will come back.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: I will not come back. Therefore, I think it will be my last speech on the President's Address and I want to speak in Assamese.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I hope you will get another term.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BASHKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Speech is ever-lasing. It remains here. Let us hope you will return.

*DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Sir, I thank you for your good wishes.

Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I am unable to appreciate the address of the Hon'ble President of India delivered to the joint sitting of both the Houses of the Parliament on the 24th of February. By introducing a host of issues in the Address an attempt has been made to give a rosy picture of the country. But it is not the true picture of the country. And therefore, I don't see anything appreciable in this Address; instead there is a lot of scope for criticism.

In the present political context of India, instead of proper handling of the problems of different states the

*English translation of the Original Speech delivered in Assamese.

government is only putting on a whitewash. To solve the problems of the Punjab the Rajiv-Longowal Accord was signed. However, it was never implemented; and as a result of this Punjab is still under turmoil. Although election was held in the Punjab, it was done without the consent and co-operation of the Sikh population. Therefore, we cannot agree that now there is a truly elected popular government in the Punjab. Same is the case with Assam. The Assam accord was signed in 1985. But the Central Government never implemented the clauses therein; instead, indirect efforts were made to sabotage the then Asom Gana Parishad government's attempts to fulfil the promises. All this has led to the present turbulent situation in the State. I have been telling time and again in this august House that until we try to analyse and resolve the problems behind regionalism, we cannot expect to have stability in the country.

Today we see secessionist tendencies growing up in different states of India. Secessionism cannot be removed only by deploying police and army. If we do not reevaluate the centre-state relationships and give more power to the states, then we will not be able to control the secessionist tendencies and agitations brewing up in different parts of the country. As a matter of fact, we are passing through a very critical time. Therefore, I hope and demand that the government redefine the centre-state relationships to strengthen the country.

The Sarkaria Commission was instituted in 1983. But the Report presented in 1987 is not adequate enough in the present context. Amendments in that report are being demanded. My friend General Jagjeet Singh Aurora has referred to the Anandpur Sahib resolutions in his speech. I would

like to compare the 1988 Mangaldoi resolution of the Asom Gana Parishad with that. Both these resolutions have demanded the revaluation of centre-state relationships. Transferring of more power to the states is the main content of both these resolutions. The Centre should retain the four departments of currency, Communication, External Affairs and Defence under its control and transfer the matters relating to other departments to the states so that the states can decide their own destiny. When more power is transferred to the states then they will be responsible for the destiny of their states. This exercise will help in furthering the integrity of the country.

The implementation of Article 356 of the Constitution is responsible for curtailing the powers of the states. I have been submitting in this House that by frequent use of the Article 356 of the Centre is committing excesses which is harming the centre-state relationships. Therefore, this Article should be completely abrogated from the Constitution.

Moreover, the President's Address is not giving a true picture of the inflationary situation presently prevailing in the country. The condition of the common man has become very miserable, very critical. In a situation like this if the government does not take measures to control inflation sooner, then there is no doubt that the country is going to be mortgaged with foreign countries. Moreover, we are not truly foreseeing the dangers we are going to face due to soaring price and inflation. Both these are making not only the financial condition of the country critical but also pushing the people towards a serious economic crisis. The President's Address does not throw any light in this regard.

In this Address there is no convincing reference to the Non-Alignment policy we have been following since 1947. We are, as if, drifting away

[Dr. Nagen Saikia]

from the Nehruvian policy of Non-Alignment. It will certainly be not a good indication to be aligned with any group.

Fourthly in the President's Address I do not find any measures adopted to resolve the inter-state disputes in India. Now we talk about seven states—seven sisters in the North-East. These states are carved out from Assam. There are always border disputes of these carved out states with Assam. About two months ago I have mentioned in this House about Nagaland encroaching upon 49,000 hectares of land of Assam in the border areas, and setting up two sub-divisional head-quarters there. If this dispute is not settled then it would never bring harmony between the two states, which in the long run would not be good for the country.

Sir, I would like to speak a few words about the problems of the state I come from, Assam is very rich with different natural resources. But every year the floods have been doing havoc with the economy of the State and inflicting misery on the people. The development of the State and the people at large are hampered to a great extent. Every year property worth hundred of crores of rupees is lost. But although flood is a national problem, the Centre is not taking any step to control the mighty Brahmaputra. There has not been any long term plan for the proper utilisation of the vast water resources of this river. In this House only many a times I have been trying to raise the issue of the Brahmaputra Board through Special Mentions. But, perhaps, the government has drowned the proposals of the Brahmaputra Board in the Brahmaputra only and they will never be acted upon. I am afraid Assam will always have to live with problems.

Sir, Assam is lagging behind in the field of industrial development. When the Nation Front government was in power the then Petroleum Minister announced that Rs. 8,000 crores will be appropriated in the Petroleum

sector for the state. But in reality we see that since 1985 only the paper work has been done regarding the installation of another refinery in the State. The proposal regarding a gas cracker unit in Assam has become a matter of doubt now. Everywhere we see that the problems—not only of Assam, of any state of India are not sincerely analysed and realised. These problems are only solved by the file-work. No real efforts are being made to solve the problems. Every state is now facing more and more problems. A sense of dissatisfaction has developed among the States. Feelings of regionalism and secessionism are springing up. Until and unless we treat every State equally, take care for the development of each State, and try to remove the causes of unhappiness, we cannot think of having a unified India in its real sense. I have been expressing my apprehensions before also that if we do not redefine the Centre-relationships and give more power to the state, one day it will be really difficult to keep this Country united. Therefore, in the greater interest of the solidarity and the integrity of the country it is necessary for us to respond to the call of time. We should give more power to the states so that we can have a united, firm and integrated India.

Nowhere in the President's Address I see the real yet dark picture of the future of the country is presented. There is only a sense of complacency. This complacent attitude will only harm us. Therefore, analysing it from all these angles I am unable to appreciate the President's Address. I would rather say that it is giving a distorted picture of the country. This will never enlighten us in building the future. With these words I conclude my speech.

Thank you.

SHRI JAGMOHAN (Nominated): Thank you, Sir. I would be dealing with only a few points which I believe have not been touched upon and on which the President's Address

is silent. I think these are of crucial importance to the future of the country and it is time that we take note of it. In my view, the most dominant feature of the Indian contemporary scene is what I call the culture of superficiality and shallowness. From its seeds have sprung our critical problems of the present time. The talk that is now going on about the economic reforms, so-called economic reforms, only points to this culture of superficiality. It is being argued that these economic policies, these new economic propositions that are being propounded, these will pull the country out of its present crisis. I think this argument is quite hollow, because it misses the fundamental point. The roots of the crisis are far deeper. The injection have gone into the bloodstream of the nation. They have made deep inroads into our policy, into our administration, into our business and into our industry. Today we are discarding our adherence to socialism or the concept of the welfare State. But what are we doing? We are really transferring the infirmities of our own ethos, of our own cultural attitude, of our own character, to these concepts. Can anyone say that in India, the concept of socialism or the concept of welfare State was properly absorbed or was honestly implemented? I have heard Members speaking in this House about the losses of the public enterprises, the public undertakings. But what is the basic reason for this? Has anybody tried to analyse this? You set up the State Forest Corporation. The idea is to save the environment, the idea is to run it on sound ecological basis and on sound financial basis. But what happens is that the political head becomes the Chairman of the Corporation. And the first thing he does is to appoint hundred persons in the State Forest Corporation. I know of a case in which the Minister called the Managing Director of the Road Transport Corporation and gave him

a list of hundred persons to be appointed as drivers in the Road Transport Corporation. The Managing Director said, "Sorry, Sir, there is no vacancy". He said, "Create vacancies". Then the fellow went to his office. He was very upset about how to deal with this problem. Then ultimately, since they were the orders from the Ministers, he asked for the applications. During the course of scrutiny, it was found that these one hundred persons did not even have the driving licences. How to appoint them as drivers without driving licence? Then Managing Director thought that he had found the answer to his dilemma and he went to the Minister and said, "These people don't have the licence. Therefore, I hope you agree that they cannot be appointed". His answer was

"आप किस मर्ज की दवा हैं, आप इनको लाइसेंस भी नहीं दिखवा रहे हैं!"

Now the object of my telling this story is to request you to think whether it is the fault of the public enterprise concept or the fault of the ethos of corruption? Do not transfer your faults, the faults of your ethos, to the concept. Now we find that the concept of market economy, liberalisation and globalisation are the new songs that are being sung, I am quite sure that after a few days, maybe after a few months, we will find the discordant notes in these songs. I was hearing Mr. Jethamalani. He said that wonderful things had happened in this country, as if the magic of Budget could solve all the basic problems of the country. I am quite sure, after a few months, we will be transferring our own faults to these concepts, as they will also not yield any result. Take for instance, the black money. The phenomenon of black money is being discussed. It is thought that after we have dismantled our bureaucracy and after we have dismantled the public sector, India will become very clean and honest and that there will be no tax evasion. The same thing was said sometime

[Shri Jagmohan]

back. We appointed the CBI. We appointed the Revenue Intelligence. We even gave incentives to the people through the immunity schemes. And what is the extent of black money today? It is 462 times more than what it was in 1961. At that time, it was 5 per cent of the national income. Today, it is 60 per cent of the national income. It has been increasing at the rate of 23 per cent per annum on an average. With all this liberalisation, with all this dismantling of the bureaucratic regimes, you think that the corruption will go. No, it will only change the direction of corruption; it will only move from one sphere to another. We must understand that unless we reform the fundamental forces that govern the life of the community, unless we transform our values, our attitudes, our basic thinking, neither the concept which we had earlier nor the new concepts which have now adopted will solve the problems of our country and the country will only move from one crisis to another. Take the case of your institutions. In our Constitution the construction of our institutions is the same as in Western democracies, as in Britain. But what is lacking is the spirit behind these institutions. You take the case of the judiciary. It has got all the frills of independence. It has got all the privileges. It has got all the safeguards. You have increased the number of judges. And what is happening? Can we say honestly that our judiciary is functioning in the same manner as it functions elsewhere? Can we forget that today there are two lakh cases pending in the Supreme Court, there are two crore cases pending in the subordinate judiciary, there are eighteen lakh cases pending in the High Courts, there are forty thousand cases pending in the Administrative Tribunals and about Rs. 40,000 crores is held up because of stay orders given by various courts? And my friend here was speaking about the plight of the weavers. The legislation of 1986 is held up in the Supreme Court for the last six years

while the weavers are dying. It is not the institutional framework, it is not the physical structure, it is not your legislation, that is going to yield the results. It is the spirit with which these institutions are worked it is the spirit behind these policies and how you implement them. Even if I say for the sake of argument that your new policy is going to yield the results, do you think that the Indian system today has the administrative capacity to implement them?

Another characteristic which you have forgotten is the softness of culture, the softness. It can never solve any problem. It has never solved any problem elsewhere. The lesson of history is against it. Do you think that you will be able to take hard decisions? By this convertibility of money you have devalued the money again. You have given incentives to the people. Do you think that by giving 40 per cent and 60 per cent concessions the black money, the havalas money, will go, that the underhand transactions will disappear? No, they will not. You give the man the concessions and even then he is reluctant to pay the tax which is due from him. The problem is fundamental. It is the reform of the Indian mind that is required. And it is this that has been forgotten ever since 1947. We started with building political institutions, administrative institutions. But we forgot basically what was wrong. It was social restructuring of the country that was required. It was cultural reorientation of the country that was required. It was a new attitude that was required. And what happened was that with every election our evils went on accentuating. And that is what the problem is today. And the crisis that you find is cultural, attitudinal we did not look to the fundamentals. And today when the crisis has come, what is our attitude again? Instead of learning a lesson, instead of indulging in self-introspection, we run to the IMF straightway, within fifteen

days of the crisis. And Dr. IMF prescribes the drug and we take it very quickly. It might relieve you temporarily. But the dangerous effect of that drug on your system, you have not evaluated it; you have not tried to assess the internal bleeding that this drug will cause. Easy path has been chosen. In fact, whenever there is a crisis, there is also an opportunity. There is an Urdu verse which says:

जहाँ कारवां भूल जाता है रास्ता,
वहीं से निकलती हैं मंजिल की राहें।

We should have found a new path. But you have not. You have followed the beaten track of Peru and Argentina. And you took only five months to accept the conditionalities whereas, Peru and Argentina took five years to accept the conditionalities. So you followed the beaten track. You have not thought of any other new system which could have yielded us better long term results. Therefore, the measures are not going to solve our basic problem unless we have the other basic reforms simultaneously of the entire system. This is only the aspect, and I must say there are another aspect. There are many other things to be said. I would not like to take much of the time of this House. This is the only broad thing I could say. Because of the paucity of time I will straight go to other point and that is about...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Your time is over.

SHRI JAGMOHAN: Then I will just take only one minute and I won't like to speak out of the time-limit. A point has been made in the President's Address about Kashmir that with regard to the propaganda which Pakistan and pro-Pakistani agencies are doing, they are taking steps to counter their propaganda. What I have to ask now is this: What about

the propaganda which is being conducted by Indians themselves, Indian organizations, like the so-called People's Union for Civil Liberties, the so-called Humans Rights bodies, who are operating within the country? The President's Address is totally silent on this.

I have been saying that the worst enemies of India are Indians themselves. In the Human Rights Commission and other international bodies, reports were produced by Pakistan three of which were written by Indian I would not have minded if these reports had been authentic, if they contained correct facts. But they were all exercises in distortions, concoctions, exaggerations and falsehoods of the highest order. I have documented all these. But I do not have the time. But I can put on record from my book and this is my only submission to the Government—that whatever allegations the so-called Kashmiri organizations and the so-called other parties, the local organizations, have made or whatever reports they have produced, with regard to these the Government should come out and say, "This is the allegation of the person concerned, the agency concerned, and this is the Government's view on it." Let the public decide who is telling the truth. So much of distortion is there, so much of falsehood is there, that there is no need to give any comments at all. This is only my suggestion.

The other thing is that with regard to those people who are in India and who are indulging in all types of anti-India propaganda, if their motives are not bona fide at all and what they say or do is a part of the game, then the Government must take action against them. For example, one of the ex-Chief Justice has filed a writ petition in the High Court in which he has said that India annexed Kashmir by fraud, by force by intimidation and he has added many adjectives. But, because of the paucity of

[Shri Jagmohan]

time, I am not reading out what he has written. But I will put my suggestion to the Government on record to take it up. This is a clear case of sedition and the Government must take up prosecution and other action. While we are countering the Pakistani authorities and their propaganda let us also look at the great damage that is being done by our own people, by our own agencies, who are getting all the benefits from the State and still undermining the integrity and the stability of the State. This is what I would request the Government to do. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Now, Mr. Salaria.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I think I have about twelve minutes. I have been as brief as possible.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Anyhow, you continue; we will see. You are a lawyer and you can easily compress your arguments.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: Sir, the question with regard to the structure of India as a federal country has not engaged the attention of the President in his Address. One of the reasons why there are centrifugal forces in India is that our federal structure requires a reconsideration. The division of powers between the States and the Centre is such that the residuary powers are left with the Central Government. It would be in the interest of the country if those powers, the residuary powers, are given to the States and the powers enumerated in List I and List II are given to the Centre and the States respectively.

Article 356 of the Constitution has been referred to in the President's Address. It has been pointed out that this is one of the causes for the fric-

tion between the States and the Centre. The past history of our country has shown that Assam was aggrieved over it, that Tamil Nadu was aggrieved over it, that Punjab has been aggrieved over it and Jammu and Kashmir has been aggrieved over it. Maybe, article 356 was intended to be used sparingly for *bona fide* purposes. But at times it has been used for furthering the ends of particular political parties in command at the Centre. Therefore, to allay the fears of the States of the Indian Federation, this article needs to be recast, the Governors need to be made answerable to State Assemblies and they should be elected by the State Assemblies as was provided in the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir also before it was eroded.

Now it has been said that the economic condition of our country is bad, and to save the country from an economic chaos certain measures have been taken. It is true that we were facing a serious economic and financial difficulty and steps which have been taken have ameliorated the position to some extent. But what is needed is that our tax structure needs a further look. In the slabs on which taxes are imposed, the exemptible limit needs to be increased. The rate of taxation needs to be reduced. It is said that despite that there will be an effort to conceal income. I admit there will be an effort to conceal because that effort cannot easily be removed. But that will also give an incentive to people to pay tax and not to conceal income. The present tax structure is such that you cannot but try to conceal income, otherwise it is confiscatory and takes away most of your earnings.

Now, thirdly, coming to the lower castes and minorities and their condition, the Address of the President has not referred to that in detail and has not applied its mind how to save minorities and lower castes from caste and communal riots which have become the order of the day. They

constitute a reasonable chunk of the population of India and they are a necessary part of our population. If confidence is inspired in the people who are in the lower castes and in the minorities, that can be a source of great strength to our country.

As regards the recognition of Israel, I will submit that it is a complete reversal of the time honoured policy of India not to recognize a country which has defied the United Nations Resolutions time and again and which country has occupied the lands of other countries. The conditions had not changed in any manner. Israel had persisted on that course and Mr. Yashwant Sinha says that it has been done to please America. I cannot comment on that. But the fact that there was not any sea-change in the policy of Israel shows that this recognition is made for extraneous reasons, and not for any reasons which are akin to the policy of India which India had been following from the very beginning.

Now, as regards Jammu and Kashmir it has been noticed that there are abnormal conditions and they continue to be so. But after noting that, nothing has been said in the Address what is the policy of the Government of India in future to improve the conditions in Jammu and Kashmir. Only the other day a very important seat of learning, that is Madinatul Uloom in Hazratbal shrine was torched, causing loss of lakhs of rupees and also loss of very good research work. And only the other day Press men, the Reporters, have been taken into custody. Many of them have been beaten and many of them are still under arrest. This is taking place there, which is not going to help the situation but would rather complicate conditions there. Thousands of people are held there under TADA and under the Public Safety Act. Not all are guilty. The hon. Home Minister is on record that he would consider them. But there is no evidence also against many of them. Yet, they are held.

They should not have been held so long, and their cases should have been reviewed. But nothing has been said in the Address of the President. Something positive has to be done to improve the situation, to bring about normalcy in Kashmir. Mere talk cannot do. As regards the hospitals in Kashmir, you will find that the hospitals have been the target of crackdown in Kashmir. The reports are in the press that for the last four days, the S.M. Hospital was under a crack-down with the result that some people died because of that. The doctors could not attend to them. The local press says that out of 700 beds, only 60 to 70 beds remained occupied and the other patients had to flee away.

Sir, there are reports by an agency from our own country with regard to the conditions in Kashmir. Nobody has so far contradicted what is said in those reports. But those very agencies which are giving those reports have given some facts and figures. And it has been demanded repeatedly that a Judge of the High Court or of the Supreme Court should go into the cases of repression, the cases of excesses, the cases of rapes. That has not been acceded to. Had that been done, a judicial inquiry would have exposed the correctness or otherwise of any such reports.

As regards the agricultural reforms and the agricultural indebtedness in our country, Sir, that is one of the cases of worry in the rural society. That is what is keeping the people poor. The lands are tilled by the tiller, but the lands are owned by others. In order to improve the lot of the peasantry, it is necessary that the land should go to the tiller, and the landlord should get adequate compensation for the land. That is the only way in which we can bring about reform in the rural areas and better the lot of the peasantry. No doubt, half-hearted, legislation has been made, but even that has not

[Shri Jagmohan]

been implemented because of the pressure of the higher castes, because of the pressure of the moneyed people and because of political interference. Since 80 per cent of India lives in villages as Gandhiji has said, the improvement of India or the improvement in the lot of the people of India can be achieved only by improving the conditions of the people living in the villages.

As regards the Panchayati Raj that seems to have been totally forgotten in the Address of the President. The Panchayati Raj always been looked upon as a means to give power to the people and also to attend to their needs of which they alone are best aware. But that has not been implemented in letter and spirit. In actual practice, the panchayats, wherever they are constituted, are without power. They are not given sufficient means, sufficient power, sufficient infrastructure to execute policies for improving and developing the villages and providing employment to the people at the village level.

Sir, much has been said about the Cauvery water dispute and about the dispute between Rajasthan and Punjab regarding the water. But it has not been noted that in Jammu and Kashmir, the three rivers, the Sind, the Jhelum and the Chenab, are already given to Pakistan on the basis of the water treaty which India has with Pakistan. No care has been taken about the welfare of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, as we submitted last time also, we repeat that injustice to the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be done away with at the earliest.

Communal riots which take place in the country are a slur on the secular fabric of our country. It is not that people want those communal riots; it is only some fundamentalist organisations whether amongst

Muslims or others who are responsible for generating these riots in the country. This causes a great loss to the country and this also may shake the confidence of the people in our polity. Effective steps should be taken to see that communal or caste riots are not repeated here.

It has been said here that elections in Punjab have been held and it is something laudable that has happened. I do admit that holding of elections in Punjab is a very good start, especially when these elections could not be held for five and a half years. It is a welcome step. But had these elections been held in June when Akalis were also prepared to participate, the results would have been much better. As Jagmohan Sahib pointed out, most of the actions that we take are sometimes motivated and governed by superficiality. Similarly in the present case, going ahead with elections in Punjab this time was clearly motivated because of the reason that this time Akalis did not join, and cancellation of the elections at an earlier time was because Congress did not want to join. That way, it was neither good for the country nor it was good for the people. I feel elections in Punjab should have been held in an atmosphere where people of Punjab could also participate.

I have one last point to submit to and then conclude. In Punjab, whatever be the Government, I feel if the Government in Punjab can be assisted in executing the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, conditions in Punjab would improve and this would give some strength and confidence to the people in Punjab. Similarly, in Kashmir also, there is Indira Gandhi-Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah Accord of 1975. If that is implemented in letter and spirit and more positive steps taken, a positive and effective message can go to the people and conditions will certainly improve.

With these few observation, I conclude and I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR) Now last speaker is Dr. Ratnakar Pandey.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Is the discussion over?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR) He is the last speaker on my list. There is no other name left.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में 57 बिंदुओं पर प्रकाश डाला है और 58वें बिंदु पर जो कुछ कहा है वह उनके पूरे अभिभाषण का सार तत्व है। उन्होंने कहा है—

“भारत भविष्य की ओर तेज और उद्देशपूर्ण कदम बढ़ाने के लिए तैयार खड़ा है। ऐसी स्थितियाँ उत्पन्न की जा रही हैं जिनसे विकास की गति तेज हो, हमारी जनता अच्छी जिन्दगी जो सके और भारत विश्व में तेजी से हो रहे बदलाव में अपनी पहचान बनाये रख सके। इस समय हमारे सामने चुनौतियाँ भी हैं और अवसर भी। आइये, हम इन चुनौतियों को अवसरों में बदल डालें। हम नये रास्ते खोजने से पीछे न रहें। हम अपने दृष्टिकोण में नवीनता लायें तथा निडर रहें। आज की कठिनाइयाँ उज्ज्वल भविष्य की सूचक हैं। किन्तु भविष्य की ओर बढ़ते हुए हम अपने दृष्टिकोण में अनुशासन और दृढ़ता लायें। हम बातचीत के लिए उग्रता का, सौहार्द के लिये हिंसा का त्याग करें, वरना इतिहास में हमारा महत्व गौण हो जाएगा।”

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का यह सार

तत्व और जिस्ट है और उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। पिछली सरकारों ने इस देश को दिवालिया बना दिया चाहे विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की सरकार रही हो, चाहे चंद दिनों के लिए चन्द्रशेखर जी की सरकार रही हो।

इन लोगों ने इस देश में आर्थिक, राजनैतिक एवं सामाजिक व्यवस्था को छिन्न भिन्न कर दिया। अभी हमारे सदन में विद्वान वक्ता पाननीय जगमोहन जी बता रहे थे कि छिछलेपन की संस्कृति को बढ़ावा मिला। छिछलेपन की संस्कृति पनप रही है और छिछलेपन की संस्कृति का बीजारोपण करने का श्रेय अगर किसी को दिया जा सकता है तो वह विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी की सरकार को है। उन्होंने बिना सिद्धांत, बिना कार्यक्रम, बिना नीति, बिना योजना के गहारी करके, विश्वाघात करके कांग्रेस से अलग हो करके ‘आजीव गांधी’ का चरित्र हनन करके, बोफोर्स पनडुब्बियों की खरीद आदि में जो कुछ किया, जो आज तक सिद्ध नहीं हो सका—चरित्र हनन की राजनीति छिछलेपन का सबसे प्रबल उदाहरण होती है और उसकी शुरुआत विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की सरकार ने की थी। उसका परिणाम हुआ कि 11 महीने तक सरकार नहीं चली और दूसरी सरकार जो चन्द्रशेखर की आई वह बजट भी पेश नहीं कर पाई। ऐसी स्थिति में आज तक राजनैतिक एवं सामाजिक व्यवस्था का जो

अधःपतन हुआ है जो राष्ट्रीय मुद्दों के साथ अवघात हुआ है जो विदेशों में हमारी प्रतिष्ठा निरंतर गिरी है उसका सारा दोष पिछली सरकार को है। भारत में राजनैतिक, सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक कठिनाइयाँ आज भी खड़ी हैं। हम उनका मुकाबला करने के लिए हिम्मत और दिलेरी के साथ आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। भारत की आर्थिक दशा 1991 के पहले आध वर्ष में मई जून तक इतनी बिगड़ी हुई थी कि हमारे पास केवल 2700 करोड़ की विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार था जो तीन सप्ताह के आयात के लिए काफी नहीं था। हमने अपने ऋणों के भुगतान की व्यवस्था में अत्यंत कठिनाई का अनुभव किया और तत्कालीन सरकार की गलत आर्थिक

डा रत्नाकर पाण्डेय

नीतियों अथवा निर्णयों के कारण सरकार को सोना तक विदेशों में भेजना पड़ा। हमारी क्रेडिट खत्म हो गयी और जो औद्योगिक इकाइयाँ थीं उनके पास आयात के कच्चे माल की कमी होने लगी। देश एक थोड़े समय के लिए कैसी फजीहत में फँस गया था इसकी सहज कल्पना सारा देश कर रहा था। इन गलत निर्णयों के बीच में कांग्रेस को वेलेंस आफ पेमेंट, विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी, बढ़ती हुई कीमतों, कालेधन का खुलेआम नंगा नाच, औद्योगिक इकाइयों में बढ़ती हुई बीमारी एवं कुछ राष्ट्रीय बैंकों में बढ़ती हुई खराबियों का मुकाबला करना पड़ा। 1990-91 में इन्फ्लेक्शन की भारी कमी हुई, फिजिकल डिफिसिट 43,333 करोड़ पर जा पहुंची। कीमत वृद्धि की दर 12.7 प्रतिशत पर आ गयी और आम जनता का विश्वास शासन से उठने लगा था उस समय। आज भले ही हमने महंगाई पर नियंत्रण नहीं किया है, बाजार में आसमान छूने वाले दाम हैं फिर भी जहाँ भी चुनाव हो रहे हैं चाहे पंजाब का चुनाव हो चाहे महापट्ट में कारपोरेशन का चुनाव हो चाहे उड़ीसा के नगरपालिकाओं के चुनाव हों सब जगह कांग्रेस को लोग वोट दे रहे हैं और ऐसा विश्वास है कि जो आपने छिन्न भिन्न किया, नष्ट अष्ट किया जो भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था को दूषित किया उसका सुधार थोड़े समय में हमारा सरकार कर लेगी और जो चेलेंज है हम उनमें मोट करने को तैयार हैं और कहीं झुकने को तैयार नहीं हैं। भारत में जहाँ पर 40 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जिदा रह रहे हों वहाँ इक्विलिटी का नाश देकर, समानता का भाव प्रकट कर हम हर रास्ते में पानी पहुंचा रहे हैं, हर बेरोजगार को काम देना चाहते हैं, हर आदमी को अपनी प्रतिभा के अनुरूप, योग्यताानुरूप रोजगार देना चाहते हैं और कांग्रेस सरकार ने आर्थिक दशा में सुधार के लिए, जो राजनैतिक और सामाजिक विमोचिका थी उसके बीच में जो कदम उठाये हैं उनका परिणाम है कि बरस आने के पहले 5200 रुपये प्रति दस ग्राम के

सोने का जो मूल्य था वह आज घटकर 4200 रुपये हो गया है और जब किसी देश में सोने के मूल्य में गिरावट आती है तो वहाँ की अर्थव्यवस्था नियंत्रित होती है, कालाबाजारी, चोर बाजरी ब्लैक मनी का जो मार्केट होता है वह धीरे धीरे खत्म होने लगता है। कांग्रेस सरकार के रचनात्मक कार्यों और नीतियों से भारत में फैली हुई अराजकता कम हुई है और भारत की जनता में विश्वास की एक नई लहर आई है।

6.00 मं० पं०

हमने इलेक्शन में जो वायदा किया था, रचनात्मक नीतियों के माध्यम से अंतराष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भी हमने अपना एक अलग स्थान बनाया है और भारत अब पर्सलिंग जो सेना के विमान सुपर पावरज के आकर के इंडिया में रीफर्लिंग करवाते थे, विश्वास थे हम नहीं तो हमारा आर्थिक व्यवस्था चरमरा जाती, वह नहीं है। आज हम जो भी अंतराष्ट्रीय मंच हैं, उन पर भारत दुनिया के पिछड़े हुए गरीबी रेखा से नीचे जिदा रहने वालों का नेतृत्व करने के लिए आगे आया है और उसका सपना साकार हुआ है, जो भारत की प्रतिष्ठा इन्दिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी के समय में थी, उन प्रतिष्ठा को पुनः हमने प्राप्त किया है, चाहे वह वर्ल्ड मार्केट में हो, चाहे अंतराष्ट्रीय समझौतों में हो, चाहे निरस्त्रीकरण के क्षेत्र में हो।

हमारे पास आज इतनी ताकत है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री साऊथ एशिया में निस्त्रीकरण हो और बड़ी-बड़ी सुपर पावरज न करें और हम निस्त्रीकरण करें और अटॉमिक शक्ति न बढ़ाये उस पर हमारा प्रधान मंत्री दृढ़ता के साथ यू-एन.ओ. में कहता है कि यदि निस्त्रीकरण करना है, तो सुपर पावरज पहले निस्त्रीकरण करें, तब हम अटॉमिक कामों को रोकेंगे। हम दुनिया की किसी भी बड़ी से बड़ी ताकत का मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार हैं। पाकिस्तान के सिर पर हाथ है अटॉमिक बम बनाने के लिए, हथियार है, साधन मिलता है यरेनियम मिलता है, कई सौ करोड़

रूपया मिलता है, लेकिन हमारे देश की जनता का आत्म-विश्वास इतना प्रबल है कि इस छोटी सी अवधि, आठ महीने के भीतर हमने जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठा को सुपर पावर्ड के जूते के नीचे दबा दिया था, पिछली दोनों सरकारों ने, उसकी फिर से मुकुट पहनाने का काम, भारत को हमने गरीब देशों का मुकुट बनाया है।

यह काम हमारे सरकार ने किया है और इस पर इस देश का हर नागरिक गर्व करता है। अर्थ-व्यवस्था के क्षेत्र में हमने एक नया मोड़ दिया है और मिक्सड इकानमी तथा मार्केट में अर्थ-व्यवस्था के अनुरूप उद्योगों की स्थापना की हमने शुरुआत की है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR) How much more time will you take?

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: It is up to you, Sir. I will take another ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR) It is already 6 O'clock.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): We have to go also.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: If you go, how will I speak? This is my last speech.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: We want to hear you.

ज्वा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : अर्थ-व्यवस्था के क्षेत्र में दुनिया के बाजार में हम खड़े हो सकें, इसलिए मिक्सड इकानमी पर हमने बल दिया है, और मैं कहना चाहते हूँ कि औद्योगिक नीति जिसमें हम कामगर मजदूर की हिस्सेदारी देना चाहते हैं, पार्टिसिपेशन आफ वर्कर्स इन मैनेजमेंट को एक नई शुरुआत हमने की है जिससे औद्योगिक इकाईयों की कार्य कुशलता, उत्पादकता, उत्पादन क्षमता एवं कम्पी-टिटिवनेस बढ़ेगी, उसको हमने अपनाया है और नई औद्योगिक नीति के तहत हम उस काम को अंजाम देंगे। भारतीय अर्थ-व्यवस्था का जिब्रलाइजेशन और प्राइ-वेटाइजेशन मिला करके हमने जो राष्ट्रीय

नीति बनाई है, उससे भारतीय अर्थ-व्यवस्था में, उत्पादकता में वृद्धि हुई है और आने वाले समय में भारतीय जनता के रहन सहन के स्तर में उंचाई आएगी और सामाजिक जीवन में एक नई विचार-धारा और एक नई संस्कृति का जन्म होगा।

भारत के विदेशी मुद्रा कोष में पिछली सरकारों के कारण बहुत कमी हुई थी। सरकार की नीतियों के कारण विदेशों में रहने वाले भारतीय हमारे देश की ओर रुख नहीं करते थे कि हम पूंजी लगायेंगे, तो उसका रिटर्न हमको मिलेगा कि नहीं, लेकिन हमारी नई सरकार के आने से जो विदेशी भारत मूल के लोग हैं, यहाँ एन.आर.आई. के माध्यम से जो हमने औद्योगिक सुविधायें दी हैं, जो हम उन्हें मुक्त दे रहे हैं, लेकिन नियंत्रण हमारा खुद रहेगा, सरकार का पूंजी उनकी लगेगी, पूंजी का अधिकांश हिस्सा हमारी सरकार लेगी। और उन्हें औद्योगिक नए तीर्थ स्थापित करने की जो हमने एन.आई.आर. के माध्यम से नई शुरुआत की है उससे हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था में क्रेडिट दुनिया में बढ़ी है। कीमत में जो वृद्धि हुई वह 12 परसेंट के लगभग है। इसको और भी कम करना चाहिए। कीमत में वृद्धि एक समस्या है। मैंने अभी विल मंत्री को से बात की थी। जो टैक्स इवेडर्ज हैं, जो होर्डर्ज हैं, जो काला-बाजारी करते हैं, जो धन छिपा करके रखते हैं, जो कृत्रिम अभाव बना करके गोदामों में माल रखत हैं— उनकी जानकारी मगर इस सरकार को नहीं है तो यहां की जनता को जानकारी है। जनता को जानकारी हो और सरकार को जानकारी हो और हमारा इन्फोर्समेंट डाइरेक्टोरेट, केवल उदाहरण दे देने से विल मंत्री के कि हमने 2 235 छापे मार मगर आपने छापे मारे तो उसका क्या परिणाम हुआ, उसका प्रभाव क्या पड़ा, कितना डिमारे-लाइजेशन चोर-बाजारी करने वालों में होर्डर्ज में और टैक्स इवेडर्ज में आया? इस देश की जनता यह देखना चाहती है कि जो आप काम करते हैं उसके

डा रत्नाकर पाण्डेय

एक्शन का, फालों-अप एक्शन का क्या असर पड़ता है और उससे कितना मनोबल देश को अस्थिर करने वाली ताकतों का गिरता है? वित्तीय संस्थाओं को अधिक कार्यकुशल बनाने के लिए तरसिम्हम कमेटी की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है और इसका कड़ाई के साथ हमें पालन करना पड़ेगा। जहाँ तक देश में हमने जनता से वायदा किया था कि हम चुनाव करायेंगे और हमने आसाम में चुनाव कराए, फिर विदेशी ताकतों के इशारे पर उत्कावादी ताकतों ने फिर उठाया तो हम केवल बात करने में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं, सेना भेज करके उनकी नियंत्रित किया है और आज उससे बात-चीत के माध्यम से हम नेशनल स्ट्रीम में उनको मोड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हम जो कहते हैं वह करते हैं। पंजाब में जब हमने चुनाव कराया हमारे सरकार ने घोषणा की थी कि हम पंजाब में डेमोक्रेसी को रेस्टोर करेंगे। उस समय जिन दलों ने पंजाब में चुनाव का बायकाट किया, जिन अकाली दल के लोगों ने राजनैतिक दल ने बायकाट किया, वे जनतंत्र के साथ खुलेआम बलात्कार करने वाले दल हैं। केवल कांग्रेस ने चुनाव कराया और उसे श्रेय न मिले इसलिए आपने चुनाव का बायकाट किया। परिणाम क्या हुआ कि जो वोटिंग पटर्न था उसका परसेंटेज कम हुआ। इसलिए कम हुआ कि आतंकवाद की छाया में जिंदा रहने वाली पंजाब की बहादुर जनता ने दिखा दिया, जिन लोगों ने वोट दिया उन्होंने यह दिखा दिया कि हम संख्या में कम हो सकते हैं लेकिन हमारा जनतंत्र में विश्वास है और जनतंत्र की बहाली के माध्यम से वहाँ जो बेअरत सिंह जी की कांग्रेस की सरकार आई है उसका यह दायित्व है कि वहाँ से वह आतंकवाद की समूल नष्ट करे और हमेशा के लिए पंजाब में जो अमन-चैन था, जो वीरता वाली एक दृष्टि थी, जो औद्योगिक कारनामों वहाँ होते थे, जो एक चारों ओर सौंदर्य, श्री और शक्ति बिखरी हुई थी, उसको पुनः प्रतिष्ठित करने का काम बेअरत सिंह जी की सरकार का है और उसमें

कड़ाई के साथ केन्द्र सरकार को उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए। अगर आतंकवादियों की बंदूक से निरंतर धूम्र छोड़ने की ताकत है, गोले-बारूद हैं तो एक बार हमेशा के लिए पंजाब से आतंकवाद को मिटा देने के लिए जनतंत्र का मतलब हाथ में चूड़ी पहन करके बैठना नहीं है, जनतंत्र का मतलब है कि जनता को प्रोटेक्शन देना और प्रोटेक्शन देने के लिए हमें कड़े कदम उठाने होंगे। सभी राजनैतिक पार्टियाँ... (व्यवधान)...

उपाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अनाजी मसोदकरा : फाईव मिनट्स मोर।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : जम्मू-काश्मीर में अमानुल्ला जो सीमा पार कर काश्मीर में घुसने की उन्होंने धनकी दी थी हमारे सारे राजनैतिक दलों ने प्रभावी ढंग से उसका विरोध किया है। ऐसे हालात और माहौल की ओर हमारा एक कदम, धीरे ही धीरे क्यों न बढ़ रहे हों, काश्मीर में भी बढ़ रहे हैं कि वहाँ जो स्वतंत्र काश्मीर की मांग करने वाले हैं, पाकिस्तान डामीनेटेड काश्मीर की मांग करने वाले हैं, वहाँ भारत का अविभाज्य अंग काश्मीर है इसकी मांग करने वालों की संख्या बहुमत में है और जो सिर-फिरे लोग हैं या जो पाकिस्तान और सुपर पावर्ज के इशारे पर जिनका बौद्धिक हनन करके इन्हें विवश किया गया है कि आप अगर आतंकवादी नहीं बनेंगे, स्वतंत्र काश्मीर की मांग नहीं करेंगे, पाकिस्तान डोमीनेटेड काश्मीर की मांग नहीं करेंगे तो आपको नेस्तनाबूद कर दिया जाएगा। ऐसे लोगों को हमें रास्ते से हटाना होगा। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, काश्मीर भारत का अविभाज्य अंग है। काश्मीर का मामला जब भी उठेगा, तब भारत की पार्लियामेंट में उठेगा और कहीं फोरम नहीं है। जो यू.एन. ओ. में उठाने की बात करते हैं काश्मीर के मसले को, वह बहुत दिनों से करते आ रहे हैं, लेकिन उसका फायदा उन्हें होने वाला नहीं है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरदार पटेल ने कहा था कि हम शांति चाहते हैं, परंतु जंग के लिए हर वक्त तैयार हैं। तो हमारे गृह मंत्रीजी बैठे हुए हैं, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि

हमें तैयारी के साथ रहना चाहिए अभी हमने पाकिस्तान को कई बार वार्निंग दी है, कई बार बात की है, लेकिन उसका जो नुइसेंस क्रिएशन का जो टेंपर है, उसमें कोई कमी नहीं आ रही है। ऐसी स्थिति में एक बार हमेशा के लिए पाकिस्तान को अगर हम दो टुकड़ों में बांट सकते हैं तो उचित होगा। इंदिरा गांधी के शासनकाल में इतिहास बदलकर भूगोल की रचना की गयी। इंदिरा गांधी के शासनकाल में 84 हजार सैनिकों ने कर्नल नियाजी के नेतृत्व में इस देश के सामने बंदूक झुकाकर आत्मसमर्पण किया। इसलिए एक बार हमेशा के लिए नरसिंह राव जी की सरकार को काश्मीर के मामले को, चाहे हम को लाहौर तक क्यों न कूच करना पड़े, निपटाना होगा। इसके लिए इस देश की 85 करोड़ जनता आपके साथ है। हम हर तरह से मजबूत हैं, चाहे न्यूक्लियर पावर में हों, चाहे आर्मी में हों, चाहे जनशक्ति में हों हमेशा के लिए इस मामले को निपटाना पड़ेगा और पाकिस्तान डोमिनेटड काश्मीर की बात करने वालों को सबक सिखाना होगा कि काश्मीर भारत का अविभाज्य अंग है, भारत का नक्शा है, भारत का हिस्सा है और काश्मीर पर उंगली उठाने वालों को हमेशा के लिए समाप्त कर दिया जाएगा।

मान्यवर, मैं औद्योगिक क्षेत्र के बारे में एक-दो बिंदु पर अपनी बात कहना चाहूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नाजी मासोदकर) : पाण्डेय जी, कनक्लूड कीजिए

डॉ० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : दो मिनट में समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नाजी मासोदकर) : ठीक है।

डॉ० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बराबर मांग करता रहा हूँ कि जहाँ चुनाव हुए हैं और जहाँ कांग्रेस

डोमिनेटड स्टेट्स नहीं थे, वहाँ पर जो कुछ किया गया है, चाहे बी०जे०पी० रूल्स गवर्नमेंट्स हों, चाहे जनता दल द्वारा संचालित गवर्नमेंट्स हों, हर जगह संसद के चुनाव में बहुमत हमारे पक्ष में आया और यह सरकार हाथ-पर-हाथ धरे बैठी है। बिहार में एक साथ 37 आदमी जातीय उन्माद के वशीभूत काटे गए। टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर, जैसे गोशत काटा जाता है, उस तरह से जिंदा इंसानों को काटा गया और वहाँ लालू प्रसाद यादव की यह हिमाकत कि भारत सरकार के हमारे गृह मंत्री जाते हैं तो वहाँ नुइसेंस क्रिएट करा के गृह मंत्री को सहानुभूति प्रकट करने के लिए गांव के लोगों के बीच में नहीं जाने देते। कुछ दिन पहले जहाँ बारा में यह कल्ले ग्राम हुआ, लालू प्रसाद यादव जी मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा था कि इस बिहार में केवल यादवों का राज चलेगा, दूसरे को राज नहीं करने दिया जाएगा। उन्होंने भड़काने वाली स्पीच दी, जातीय भावना को उद्वेलित करने वाली स्पीच दी और उसके परिणामस्वरूप कुछ दिनों बाद जो कल्ले ग्राम हुआ उससे इंसानियत भी तड़फ उठी। ऐसे कल्ले ग्राम को रोकने के लिए हमारी सरकार को कोई संकोच नहीं होना चाहिए। जहाँ की लाँ एंड और्डर सिचुएशन खराब है, जहाँ जन-जीवन तस्त है, जहाँ जातियों के नाम पर, ब्राह्मण, चमार, मुसलमान के नाम पर कल्ले ग्राम हो रहा है, उन जगहों पर हमें खुलकर उन सरकारों को भंग करना चाहिए। बी०जे०पी० की सरकारें जहाँ हैं, वहाँ की जनता ताहि-ताहि कर रही है। वहाँ भ्रष्टाचार, अनाचार, अत्याचार और दुराचार से वह तस्त है। ऐसे में हाथ-पर-हाथ रखकर बैठे रहने को इस देश की जनता बहुत दिनों तक बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, डेमोक्रेसी के मायने समाजवाद के मायने आत्म-समर्पण नहीं हैं बल्कि एक्शन है। एक्शन लेने की ओर सरकार को मुड़ना चाहिए और बी०जे०पी० रूल्ड गवर्नमेंट्स को और जनता दल द्वारा रूल्ड बिहार की सरकार को भंग करना चाहिए।

[डा० रत्नाकर पांडेय]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अंत में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि सांप्रदायिकता बहुत बड़ा बहुर है और उस जहर को पनपाने में बी०जे०पी० सरकारों का बड़ा हाथ है। ये अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा की बात करते हैं। अभी कल अखबारों में पढ़ रहा था कि मध्यप्रदेश में जो आदिवासी क्रिश्चियन हैं, उनको बी०जे०पी० के लोग, कई लाख की संख्या में हिंदू धर्म में परिवर्तित कर रहे हैं और बहाना यह बना रहे हैं कि ईसाई मिशनरीज ने उनको लालच देकर के धन का हिन्दू से क्रिश्चियन बनाया है। हम कौनसा काम कर रहे हैं? हिन्दू और सनातन धर्म तो वह है कि जिसका स्पर्श कर दे, वह हिन्दू हो जाता है। पुनः धर्म-परिवर्तन की जो यह प्रक्रिया बी०जे०पी० के लोग, विप्रव हिन्दू परिषद के लोग, बजरंग दल के लोग, शिव सेना के लोग, आर०एस०एस० के लोग, हिन्दू मुदडी के लोग इस देश में चला रहे हैं, इससे कड़ाई से निपटना होगा और जबरदस्ती धन का लालच देकर के, शासन की सुख-सुविधा का शूठ लालच देकर के जो धर्मान्तरण हो रहा है, चाहे वह क्रिश्चियन से हिन्दू हो, चाहे हिन्दू से मुसलमान हो, चाहे मुसलमान से क्रिश्चियन हो, इस चीज को कानून बनाकर के बेन करना होगा तभी इस देश में धार्मिक एकता और सर्वधर्म समभाव की भावना आ पाएगी।

दूसरा, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मंडल कमीशन के माध्यम से जो आग लगाई श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी ने, उसके परिणाम हम साफ देख रहे हैं और वह परिणाम सारे देश के सामने हैं। नवयुवक निराश है। जातियों में डिप्रिया बंट गई है, नौकरियां जातियों के आधार पर मिलेंगी तो प्रतिभा का क्या होगा।

महोदय, ला एण्ड आर्डर की प्रोब्लम जो इस देश में है, उसको सुधारने की जरूरत है। इसमें यह कहकर हमारी सरकार नहीं बच सकती कि स्टेट सब्जेक्ट है। स्टेट सब्जेक्ट होना चाहिए, लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार का नियंत्रण उसमें होना चाहिए।

अन्त में, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बी०जे० पी० के लोग राम मंदिर और बाबरी मस्जिद के मामले में फेल कर गए हैं। अब एकता यात्रा किया। कब शुरू किया और कब खत्म हुआ, इस देश को पता ही नहीं लगा। ऐसा मैंने ज्ञात किया नरसिंह राव जी की सरकार ने, कि इनको पब्लिसिटी नहीं मिल पाई। आप कमल के फूल वाला भगवा ध्वज लगाकरके एकता यात्रा करना चाहते है? हम कांग्रेस का तिरंगा झंडा लगा के या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अपना लाल झंडा हसिया और हथौड़ा का लगाकर यात्रा इस देश में करेंगे? इस देश में एकता तभी आएगी जब भारतीय जनता पार्टी और उसके चट्टे-बट्टे जितने सांप्रदायिक तत्व हैं, उनको इलेक्शन कमीशन बेन करे और भी जाकर इस देश में एकता आएगी।

राम मंदिर और बाबरी मस्जिद को छोड़कर, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बड़ी चिंता की बात है कि अब इनका ध्यान काशी विश्वनाथ मंदिर की ओर, और मथुरा में कृष्ण जन्मभूमि की ओर गया ने दोनों स्थानों पर एस्लामिक लोगों है अपने उन्माद में चार-पांच सौ साल पहले मंदिरों के भाग को तोड़कर के मस्जिद बना दी। हम फिर कहते हैं कि सनातन धर्म सभी धर्मों को अपने में समेटता है और कहता है—

जे हरखै पर संपत्ति देखी, दुखित होई
पर विपत्ति विशेखि।

जिनके कपट छिद्र नहीं माया, तिनके
हृदय बसहुं रघुराया ॥

मानवता में हमारा विश्वास है। और, महोदय, वहां काशी विश्वनाथ मंदिर में अभी शिव-रात्रि के दिन जो वहां विवादित स्थल है, वहां बजरंग दल के लोग 70-80 की संख्या में बी०जे० पी० के एक एम०पी० हैं श्री दीक्षित, आर०पी० दीक्षित, उनके नेतृत्व में गए और जो मुसलमानों का पूजा-स्थल है वहां लाखों की भीड़ में जल चढ़ाना चाहा। हमारे पुलिस प्रशासन ने उसको नियंत्रित किया। इसमें हमारा एक पुलिस इंस्पेक्टर और 12 कांस्टेबल हास्पिटल

में हैं। तो इस तरह से धार्मिक उन्माद के अफीम का नशा चटाकर के हम फिर से मस्जिदों को तोड़कर मधुरा के, काशी विश्वनाथ के मन्दिर बनाने का काम करेंगे? इस तरह तो इस देश में शान्ति और अमन-चैन नहीं रहेंगे।

महोदय, राम मन्दिर के पुजारी, जो स्वतंत्रता के बाद से चले आ रहे थे लालदास जी, जिनका राष्ट्रीयता में विश्वास था, उनको एक झटके में न्यास, ट्रस्ट बनाकर के उत्तर प्रदेश की बी०जे० पी० सरकार ने अलग कर दिया। इसका लेकर के बहुत बड़ा जनता के बीच में आन्दोलन का खूब उत्तर प्रदेश में है।

महोदय, हर जगह मुसलमानों की भावना को, अल्पसंख्यकों की भावना को, ईसाईयों की भावना को, बौद्धों की भावना को, जैनियों की भावना को कुरेद कर के इस देश में जनतंत्र नहीं चलाया जा सकता। और, यह ताकतें जो हैं, ओवरसीज बी०जे०पी०, मैं स्पष्ट कहना चाहूंगा, सुपर पावर के इशारे पर बी०जे०पी० ओवरसीज बी०जे०पी० का संगठन किए हुए है कोई भी राजनीतिक दल ओवरसीज इस देश का नहीं है, केवल बी०जे०पी० है, उस पर नियंत्रण लगाया जाए। ओवरसीज बी०जे०पी० का जो धन है, कहां से वह पैसा आता

है जो इतना लॉडश्लो बी०जे०पी० और साम्प्रदायिक ताकतें खर्चा करती है? सुपर पावर के पकित के पैसे से अगर इस देश में जनतांत्रिक राजनीति चलेगी तो यह देश फिर गुलाम हो जाएगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Hon. Members, the discussion on the Motion of Thanks, except the reply by the hon. Prime Minister is over. The reply would be after the Question Hour tomorrow.

Now, the House is adjourned till tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-one minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday the 10th March, 1992.