

whether I am becoming a mathematician now. If you don't have lunch hour we will have 2 hours 35 minutes and you have given me 9 names from the Congress Party. (*Interruptions*). Just a minute. Listen, How can I give more time! It is beyond me.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, my submission is that the lunch hour should be dispensed with. (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You did not listen to what I have said before. No lunch hour. I also don't want to waste my half a minute. We have to abide by the time limit. Every member of this House on both sides should not take more than 5 minutes. So please abide by it.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat): Madam, my Special Mention.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your Special Mention. All right.

Urgent need for consensus in the matter of Job Reservation

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am obliged to you for allowing me to make this Special Mention on a very controversial and current subject. I would welcome the statement made by the Prime Minister that he wants consensus from all the political parties on the Mandal Commission Report. I think, it will be a great relief for the nation if we can arrive at a consensus on this thorny issue because the nation is divided on caste lines. Communal line is another issue. Those who oppose the Mandal Commission Report, oppose it from the casteist angle and those who support it also sometimes refer to it from the casteist angle. Therefore the whole issue should be settled in a manner through consensus because after the Mandal Commission came

into existence in 1980, in 1990 there was another Anthropological survey of India. For four years 400 experts have worked for 25600 days for the survey and they came to the conclusion that there are 4000 castes and communities in India. Now, Mandal says that there are only 3700 castes of backward classes. But there are 500 scheduled castes and 1000 scheduled tribes. If we put together 3700 backward classes, 500 scheduled castes and 1000 scheduled tribes, then the figure would go up to almost 5200. But the Anthropological Survey of India's survey says it is not possible to have more castes than 4,000 in India. That was done ten years back. The State Government's list also listed only 1,300 backward castes. Therefore, our National Front manifesto has pointedly said that there are anomalies and they should be looked into. Therefore, I think when there are anomalies, when everybody wants to have a settlement, when castes, economic criteria, etc. are being discussed, let us come to some sort of a settlement; otherwise, we have seen the unfortunate flare-up in 1990 when young boys went in for self-immolation. In UP and in certain other States the State Governments hiked these quotas. I would, therefore, request the Prime Minister, through you, to give urgent attention to this consensus work so that all the political parties are taken into confidence and some settlement bringing new caste unity on the basis of scientific modalities, is worked out, some sort of a criterion for reservation is worked out.

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

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we start the further discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Now Shri Anant Ram Jaiswal.

श्री. अनन्त राम जायसवाल (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदय, राष्ट्रपति महोदय के

[श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल]

अभिभाषण में उल्लिखित सरकार की इस स्वीकारोक्ति कि देश महान् आर्थिक संकट से गुजर रहा है, मैं इतना और जोड़ देना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया के सबसे अधिक कर्ज में डूबे हुए दो देश, बाजील और मेक्सिको हैं, उनके बाद भारत का नम्बर आता है। भारत तीसरे नम्बर पर है। इन दोनों के मुकाबले में भारत का फर्क क्या है? निर्यात से जो आमदनी हमारे देश को होती है उसका चार सौ फीसदी ज्यादा हमारा विदेशी ऋण है, लेकिन उन देशों का दो सौ फीसदी है। उनके मुकाबले यह हमारे देश व उन दोनों में फर्क है। इसके साथ मैं इस बात को भी ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ कि भारत को अब विदेशी कर्जा नहीं मिल रहा है। हमारी हालत इतनी खराब हो गई है कि हमको कोई देश कर्ज देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। इसलिये हमें सोना बेचना पड़ रहा है। यह दुनिया में हमारी साख की गिरावट है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह आज की बीमारी नहीं है। यह बीमारी बहुत पहले की है और जो नुस्खा इसके लिये सुझाया गया है उस नुस्खे पर अमल भी बहुत पुराना है। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ, पूरे सदन को आपके माध्यम से बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जो पहले प्रधान मंत्री थे वे गरीब देशों की पैदावार के स्तर से और जो उनका खपत का स्तर था, उससे इतने प्रभावित थे कि उन्होंने देश में औद्योगिकीकरण पर सबसे ज्यादा जोर दिया और खाली जोर ही नहीं दिया, बल्कि अगर उनकी कोई नीति थी तो वह मात्र औद्योगिकीकरण की नीति थी। उनका सपना था कि बड़े उद्योगों के जगिये से हम माल पैदा करेंगे और उसके निर्यात से देश मालामाल हो जायेगा और दुनिया में बड़े देशों में उसकी गिनती होगी। लेकिन उनका यह सपना पूरा नहीं हुआ। उस तरह से वह देश बना नहीं और हम काफी पिछड़ गये, यही हकीकत है। उस वक्त में और आज के वक्त में फर्क क्या है? जवाहरलाल जी ने जब यह सपना देखा तब देश की यह हालत नहीं थी जो

आज है। क्योंकि उस वक्त हमारे पूरखों का कमाया हुआ करोड़ों रुपये का पौड़ स्ट्रॉलिंग इंग्लैंड के ऊपर बाकी था और उस वक्त हमको मालूम नहीं हुआ कि जो हम आज कर रहे हैं उसका नतीजा क्या निकलने वाला है। लेकिन जो जानकार लोग थे और अर्थ-नीति को समझते थे, उन लोगों ने 1950 के दशक में ही भविष्यवाणी कर दी थी कि देश दिवालियेपन की तरफ जा रहा है। यह अलग बात है कि अगर किसी आदमी का दिवाला निकलता है तो उसका जल्दी पता लग जाता है, लेकिन जब किसी राष्ट्र या किसी देश का दिवाला निकलता है तो उसका पता लगने में देर लगती है। हमने देखा कि जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी के जाने के बाद दो ही दशक के बाद इस देश के दिवालियेपन की तस्वीर पूरी तरह से सामने आ गई और उससे निपटने का जो नुस्खा अख्तियार किया गया वह विदेशी है। विदेशी पूंजी और विदेशी तकनीक का सहाय लेकर हम अपने उद्योगों को इतना सुधार लें कि वे दुनिया के स्तर पर प्रतियोगी बन जायें और अपना सामान बड़े पैमाने पर बाहर निर्यात कर सकें। इसके लिये सबसे पहले सहाय रुपये के अवमूल्यन का लिया गया। यहां पर मैं एक बात और कह दूँ कि सरकार का यह दावा है कि उन्होंने खुद यह नीति बनाई है। लेकिन मैं पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की बनाई हुई यह नीति नहीं है। जवाहरलाल जी जब पहली दफा अमेरिका गये तो थोड़ी अकड़ से बोले थे कि देश कोई भी विदेशी सहायता किसी शर्त के साथ लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। लेकिन आज हालत यह है कि सरकार ने विदेशी ताकतों के सामने, और खासतौर से अमेरिका के सामने, खाली घुटने ही नहीं टेके हैं बल्कि उनके सामने दंडवत हो गयी हैं। आपको शायद यह जानकारी भी हो कि यहां पर आई.एम.एफ. के लोग आजकल बैठे हुए हैं और सलाह दे रहे हैं कि सरकार किन किन नुस्खों को अख्तियार करे, इस हालत से उबरने के लिये। यहां तक कि वह दखल दे रहे हैं कि हमारा

बजट कैसा हो। आज यह हकीकत है कि सरकार पूरी तरह से उनके सामने पलैट हो गई है और दंडवत रूप में साष्टांग लेटी हुई है। यह जो नुस्खा है यह पहली दफा का नहीं है। जब जब भुगतान संतुलन में गड़बड़ी हुई तब इस रास्ते को चुना गया। लेकिन हमेशा इस बात की दुहाई दी है कि हमने उस रास्ते को पकड़ कर स्वावलंबी बनने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन हुआ हमेशा उल्टा। हमारी निर्भरता विदेशी ऋण पर बराबर बढ़ती चली गई और आज हमारी यह हालत हो गई है। यह हकीकत है। लेकिन हमेशा दावा यह किया गया है कि हम देश की स्वावलंबी बनाने जा रहे हैं। मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1980 के दशक पर गौर करें उसी अवधि में सबसे ज्यादा गिरावट शुरू हुई है। उस वक़्त से विदेशी कर्ज हमारे ऊपर बंताशा बढ़ा है। जहां तक बजट के बांटे का सवाल है वह भी बराबर बढ़ता गया है। मैं आपके सामने एक फिगर रखना चाहता हूँ, सबूत के तौर पर कि 1984-85 में हमारे ऊपर विदेशी कर्ज का बोझ करीब 40 हजार करोड़ रुपये का था। असल में यह पूरा 40 हजार करोड़ भी नहीं था। अगर यह फिगर सही है तो यह बोझ 39691 करोड़ रुपये का था लेकिन 1989-90 में, जिस साल श्री राजीव गांधी के नेतृत्व में चुनाव हुए उस साल यह बढ़ कर 80 हजार करोड़ रुपये से भी ऊपर पहुंच गई। चार साल में विदेशी कर्ज दुगुना हो गया यानी 40 हजार करोड़ से 80 हजार करोड़ रुपये हो गया। यह सदन जानना चाहता है कि आखिर यह जो दुगुना कर्ज लिया गया तो उससे देश का कौन सा कल्याण किया गया? उसे आप खा गए कि और कोई? खाने का मतलब यह है कि जिन कामों में इस रुपये को लगाना चाहिये था उस में न लगा कर आपने उसको शानोशोकत में फिजूलखर्ची में खर्च किया है और आज हालत यह हो गई है कि उसका सूद चुकाने के लिए नया विदेशी कर्ज लेना पड़ रहा है। यह हमारी हालत है। आज आप भीग मार रहे हैं कि आप इससे भारत को स्वावलंबी बना देंगे और भारत के

उद्योगों को इतना निखार देंगे कि वह दुनिया में प्रतियोगी देश बन जाएगा और पांच साल के भीतर रुपया दश की सम्पन्नता इतनी मजबूत हो जाएगी कि रुपये का मूल्य सरकार नहीं तय करेगी बल्कि रुपये का मूल्य अपने आप विदेशी बाजार में तय होगा और हमारा रुपया पांच साल के अन्दर कनवर्टिबल करंसी बन जाएगा। यह आप दावा कर रहे हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह नुस्खा काम नहीं आया है तो आगे कैसे काम आएगा? अब यह जो कर्ज ले रहे हैं यह तो विदेशी भुगतान में खर्च हो जाएगा। कर्ज देने वाले जब आपकी तारीफ कर रहे हैं तब आपकी समझ लेना चाहिये कि इस में क्या राज है। कर्ज देने वाला अगर तारीफ करे और कर्ज लेना वाला उससे खुश हो तो हम समझते हैं कि इससे बड़ी नादानी कोई नहीं होगी। आप कहते हैं कि उद्योग पिछड़े हुए हैं, आप यह मानते हैं। कर्ज देने वालों ने आपसे कहा कि दुनिया के बाजार में हमारे उद्योग पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनकी मशीनें रूढ़ी हो गई हैं, उनकी बदलने की जरूरत है, नयी साइंस और टेक्नोलोजी की जरूरत है। यह दावा किया जा रहा है कि जो पैसा आ रहा है उससे अपने उद्योगों का पुनरुद्धार करेंगे नयी टेक्नीक से। उसी के साथ आयात के लिये दरवाजे खोल देंगे इस टेक्नोलोजी और मशीनों की मंगाने के लिए। जब आप इनको मंगवाएंगे और रुपये के अवमूल्यन के साथ मंगवाएंगे, जो सामान आप मंगवाएंगे वह पहले से ज्यादा महंगा पड़ेगा। जब यह सामान आएगा तो कोई भी नादान से नादान आदमी कह सकता है कि इससे तुरंत साल, दो साल में कोई फायदा मिलने वाला नहीं है जिसमें कि आप इस देश की हालत को सुधारना चाहते हैं। इस अवधि में यह हालत दुस्त होने वाली नहीं है। नतीजा यह होगा कि और भी खराबी आएगी। (समय की घंटी) यह किस के लिए घंटी बजायी है मंडम,

उपभाषित : आपके लिए बजायी है।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : मैंने तो अभी शुरूआत की है।

उपसभापति : यह जरूर है कि आपके 28 मिनट हैं मगर हाऊस के हालात को देखते हुए जरा संक्षेप करें।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : इस में तो हम कंजूस साबित होंगे।

उपसभापति : आप कंजूस होंगे। मगर चेयर कंजूसी करना शुरू कर दें तो क्या होगा।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : तो फिर हम को आपकी उदारता पर भरोसा रहेगा।

उपसभापति : क्रोशिश करिये।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : आप देख रही हैं कि मैं कितना संक्षेप में बोल रहा हूँ। मैं यह कह रहा था कि अभी तक जो तर्जुमी रहा है उससे कोई फायदा आज तक नहीं निकला है बल्कि हम इसके जरिये से अपनी हालत को और भी खराब करते रहे हैं। मान लीजिये, आपने यह सब किया और उसके बाद आपका औद्योगिक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा। इस सिलसिले में एक बात की तरफ मैं इस सदन का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमने कभी यूरोप और अमरीका की नकल करते वक़्त यह नहीं सोचा कि वहाँ पर प्रति व्यक्ति औजारों में कितनी लागत लगी हुई है। हमारा यहां के मुकाबले में कम से कम यूरोप में 50 गुना अधिक लागत औजारों में लगी हुई है। अगर अमरीका को लिया जाए तो हमारा ध्यान है कि भारत श्री अमेरिका तीन सौ-चार सौ गुना ज्यादा लागत होगी। उसकी वजह से उनकी उत्पादकता ज्यादा है। उत्पादकता के फर्क के कारण जो सामान अमरीका तीन मिनट में पैदा करता है वह रूस 6 मिनट में पैदा करता है, चीन पैदा करता है, तीस मिनट में और भारत करता है 60 मिनट में। यह हमारा फर्क है प्रोडक्टिविटी का। उसका नतीजा क्या होता है कि आज भी और जब रुपये का अवमूल्यन नहीं हुआ था तब भी जो सामान हम बेचते थे उसमें भी

हमारा शोषण होता था क्योंकि 3 मिनट, 6 मिनट या 30 मिनट की महनत के बदले में हम अपनी 60 मिनट की महनत बेचा करते थे। नतीजा यह होता था कि हमारा बाटा होता था। आज जब हमने रुपये का अवमूल्यन कर दिया है तो आप समझिए हमारे शोषण की क्या इतिहास होगी और उससे हमको मिलने क्या जा रहा है। जो लागत औजारों में रूस में, अमेरिका में या यूरोप में लगती है क्या उसके मुकाबले में हम लागत लगा पाएंगे। जब लागत नहीं लगा पाएंगे तो हमारी प्रोडक्टिविटी कभी उस हालत में नहीं पहुँच सकती है जिस हालत में उन देशों की है। इसलिए जो आदमी यह सपना देख रहा है कि हम कम्पिट करेंगे दुनिया के बाजार में तो उनसे मैं सबब के साथ कहता हूँ कि आपका यह दिवा स्वप्न है, नाथान स्वप्न है कभी पूरा होने वाला नहीं है।

इसी के साथ साथ आप कितने बेगम हैं। यह राष्ट्रीय शर्म की सरकार इस हद तक पहुँच गयी है कि विदेशियों को बुला लायी है। इनके सहारे से हमारी पूँजी बनायी जा रही है। हमको ये सलाह दे रहे हैं कि इस रास्ते पर चलो। हमें अपने ऊपर भरोसा नहीं है, अपनी फ़ल पर भरोसा नहीं है, अपने पोष पर भरोसा नहीं है, अपने प्रवास पर भरोसा नहीं है, अपनी जनशक्ति पर भरोसा नहीं है। हम भरोसा कर रहे हैं उधार पूँजी पर, उधार तकनीक पर, उधार नुस्खों पर जिनसे कुछ भला होने वाला नहीं है यह मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

दूसरा नतीजा क्या होगा कि हमारी खेती जो पहले से ही पिछड़ी थी—यह शायद सरकार को नहीं मालूम है, ये तो कहते हैं कि हम बहुत खुश हैं कि पिछले 3 साल में मानसून हमारे ऊपर कृपालु रहा है, अच्छी फसल रही है। इससे पिछले साल की जो फसल कूटी है वह 17 करोड़ 72 लाख टन के आसपास है। इसमें थोड़ी थोड़ी याद रखनी चाहिए। नम्बर एक, खेती की पैदावार के साथ-साथ आबादी भी बढ़ी है। औसत आदमी के हिस्से में जो अनाज आता था उसमें

कोई बफेतरी नहीं है। वही चार छटांक या पांच छटांक जो आता था उसमें कोई बफेतरी नहीं हुई है। दूसरी बात है कि आज जो दश में जखीरा मिल रहा है, बफर स्टॉक मिल रहा है उसकी वजह यह नहीं है कि अनाज बढ़ गया है, प्रति व्यक्ति आज की खपत बढ़ गयी है बल्कि उसकी वजह यह है कि यहाँ पर लोगों के पास पैसा नहीं है कि पेट भरने के लिए पूरे जितने अनाज की जरूरत है वह उसे खरीद सके। हकीकत यह है। यह बात बिल्कुल सत्य है कि खेती पिछड़ी है। इसी के साथ यह बात नोट कीजिएगा कि खेती की प्रोडक्टिविटी भी घट रही है। जो अमेरिय इन्वेल्स है... उसको अगर आप तस्वीर जानना चाहते हैं तो बहुत झंकड़े न देकर केवल में आधुना ध्यान खिचता चाहता हूँ बिजली की खपत में, जिसमें आप यह देख सकते हैं...

उपसभापति: "देख सकती हैं", आप फिर तो एड्रेस कर रहे हैं।

श्री अमृत राम जयसवाल: देख सकती हैं। आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कह रहा हूँ।

यह जो आपका उत्तर पूर्वी क्षेत्र है जिसमें आसाम है और आसाम की सिस्टर रिणसतें हैं यहाँ पर औसत बिजली की खपत 76 प्वाइंट सर्मीशन है। यह है औसत खपत और इसके मुकाबले दिल्ली में 650 यूनिट, पंजाब में 639 यूनिट है। इसका मुकाबला अगर उत्तर प्रदेश से करें तो उत्तर प्रदेश में मात्र 159 यूनिट, अगर बिहार से आप करते हैं तो 102 यूनिट। यह है हमारी प्रगति का नक्शा। तो कहीं पर भी संतुलित विकास की तरफ आपका ध्यान नहीं गया है। जो प्रदेश बिजली के मामले में सड़क के मामले में, पानी के मामले में, खाद की खपत के मामले में पिछड़ गये हैं उनकी पैदावार भी पिछड़ गयी है। पिछली सरकार ने, जिसको आप बहुत कोसते हैं, उस चन्नेखर की सरकार ने यह कोशिश की थी कम से कम हमारी माछ का 50 प्रतिशत ग्रामीण विकास और ग्रामीणों के विकास पर खर्च होना। मुझे बहुत दुःख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति

के अभिभाषण में इसका कहीं जिक्र नहीं है। नतीजा उसका क्या होगा कि आज गांव और शहर में जो फर्क है, ग्रामीण और शहरियों की आमदनी में जो फर्क है वह फर्क आगे चलकर और बढ़ेगा। खेती की जमीन णासी है, जमीन को खाद नहीं है, खाद पर सस्तिडी आप कम करने जा रहे हैं। यह कांग्रेस के खुद के घोषणा पत्र में आज नहीं बहुत पहले सन् 1970-71 के घोषणापत्र में भी कहा गया था... कि जी सीमांतक किसान हैं, छोटे किसान हैं और जिनकी जोत पांच एकड़ से कम है, उन तक भूमि विकास और भूमि सुधार का कोई भी फायदा आज तक नहीं पहुंचा है।

अब जब यह सस्तिडी कम हो जायगी तो वह किसान जो किसी तरह से जिनका लयात भी माफ किया था उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने, वहाँ की गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार ने माफ किया था, जिससे कि उस पैसे से वह कुछ खाद, पानी की व्यवस्था कर सके। तो आप सस्तिडी हटा लेंगे, क्योंकि यह तो आपको करना ही है, आपके मालिकों का हुकूम है। इसको तो आप मान्य ही और खाली उस पर से ही नहीं, छायाओं पर से भी हटा लेंगे। दूसरी जो जरूरी चीजें हैं, उनसे भी हटा लेंगे। उन्हीं के कहने से आप सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र भी सिक्कीने जा रहे हैं। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के बारे में, उसके सुधार के बारे में कहना है कि यह सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र बहुत निकम्मा है। लेकिन इस निकम्मेपन की जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने क्रांतिकारी बनने के लिए बनाया था।

उनको रूस का नियोजन पसंद था यूरोप की समक-दमक व खपत पसंद थे। तो इसलिए उन्होंने बगैर क्रांतिकारी रास्ते को अपनाये हुए यह कहा था कि क्रांतिकारियों में उनका भी नाम लिखा जाये। इसलिये पूँजी स किसी तरह का कोई झगड़ा, संघर्ष करने के बजाय उन्होंने यह किया कि निजी क्षेत्र भी रखा और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र भी। योजना यह भी थी कि ज्यू-ज्यू सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र का विस्तार होता चला जाएगा, निजी क्षेत्र बरखर, उसरोशर घटता जाएगा।

[श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल]

मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज चीन हमसे क्यों आगे है। चीन की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने सत्ता पर कब्जा करने के साथ-साथ जो उनका राजनीतिक दर्शन था, उसके लिए संघर्ष किया, वग संघर्ष चलाया और उस संघर्ष से जो गमी निकली उस गमी का उन्होंने इस्तेमाल किया अपने देश को बनाने में, अपनी खेती और कारखानों को बनाने में। आप याद कीजिए कि जब यह दश 15 अगस्त, 1947 को आजाद हुआ था, तब परिवहन के मामले में, रेल के मामले में, जहाज के मामले में, कारखाने के मामले में हम चीन से आगे थे।

आज वह चीन आपको पीट रहा है और इस तरह से पीट रहा है कि उसके कहने में हमारे देश की लाख बर्ग मील के आसपास जमीन आज भी पड़ी हुई है। आप उससे दोस्ती का लाख दम भरे, लेकिन वह जमीन निकालने की आपकी हिम्मत नहीं है। आज आप इस तरह के शमदार हैं। तो इतना ताकतवर चीन हो गया है और एक हम हैं कि हमारी हालत रोज-रोज बिगड़ती चली जा रही है। आप खेती को बिगाड़ेंगे इस उधार बुद्धि के सहारे, उदार पूंजी के सहारे, उसके लालच में आप अपनी खेती को बिगाड़ेंगे, शहर को बढ़ायेंगे और इसके बदले में लोगों को क्या मिलेगा? आयात मंहगा हो गया है, रुपये का दाम घट गया है। उसका असर प्रोडक्शन पर पड़ेगा चीजें मंहगी पड़ेंगी, खाद मंहगी मिलेगी, उसके भी दाम बढ़ेंगे।

नतीजा होगा कि आज जो मूल्य हैं जिन्हें श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज जी ने अपने भाषण में आपको बताया था कि चीजों के क्या भाव हैं। मैं उस व्यरि में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन पूरे जोर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो प्राइमरी कमोडिटीज हैं, असेंशल कमोडिटीज हैं, खाने-पीने का जो सामान है चौके का खर्च जो पहले बहुत थोड़ा हुआ करता था, आज साधारण आदमी की पूरी कमाई उस पर ही चली जा रही है।

आप उसी का दुख बढ़ाने जा रहे हैं। गरीब-गरीबी का फर्क बढ़ेगा, शहर और देहात का फर्क बढ़ेगा और शहरी और ग्रामीण का फर्क बढ़ेगा इसका कुल मिल कर नतीजा क्या होगा कि आज जो जलन और जनरोष है, वह और बढ़ेगा और उसको दबाने के लिए सरकार का रिप्रेशन बढ़ेगा। अंततः सरकार कमजोर होगी।

मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ, वॉनिंग के तीर पर आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो श्री आई.एम.एफ. के पास कर्ज के लिए गया है, वह खुद तो बचा नहीं है दश भी तबाह किया है। एक नहीं, दर्जनों देश हैं। आप उनकी मिसाल ल लीजिए। आप उस रास्ते पर चल पड़े हैं और आपको उस पर गर्व है, शर्म नहीं आती है। इसलिए बराय-मेहर-बानी।

आप गरीबों के भी बड़े हमदर्द हैं राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि जो साधनहीन वर्ग के बच्चे हैं, उनको अच्छे स्तर के स्कूल देंगे। ... (समय की घंटी) चार-पाँच मिनट और दीजिए।

उपसभापति : तीन मिनट।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : आपकी मेहरबानी। तो उनको आप अच्छे स्तर के स्कूल देंगे, नामुमकिन। जब इस देश में दो तरह के शहरी हैं, दो तरह की आबादी रहेगी, दो तरह के स्कूल रहेंगे, दो तरह के अस्पताल रहेंगे, तब तक उन बच्चों को अच्छे स्कूल मिलने वाले नहीं हैं। लोकशाही की नींव तो उस दिन पड़ेगी, जब चाहे राष्ट्रपति का बेटा, चाहे किसान का बेटा, एक जैसे स्कूल में पढ़े। लेकिन यह आपके बस का है नहीं, क्योंकि आपका वह रास्ता ही नहीं है। आपने हिन्दुस्तान किस तरह का बनाया है? हिन्दुस्तान को दो हिस्सों में बाँटा है। एक तरफ जो है कुछ थोड़े बड़े लोग, जहाँ पर सफाई है और सफाई वहाँ भी नहीं रह गई है, जब पूरा देश गंदा रहेगा तो दिल्ली कब तक साफ रहेगा। जब हम 1977 में आए थे लोक सभा के सदस्य हो करके तब हमने अपने एक दोस्त

से कहा कि हमको बाजार से एक मसहरी ला दीजिए क्योंकि होली का वक्त आया है और उस वक्त मच्छर आम तौर से आता है। उन्होंने कहा कि यहाँ मसहरी की जरूरत ही नहीं है, क्योंकि यहाँ मच्छर है ही नहीं। हमने जिद की कि नहीं, जरूर चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा कि अच्छा, जब जरूरत होगी तो बाजार से लाने में कितनी देर लगेगी। हमने पाया कि सचमुच में उस वक्त दिल्ली में मच्छर नहीं था। लेकिन आज क्या बुरा हाल है? दिल्ली में चाहे जितनी भी पोश लोकेलिटी में चले जाइये, वहाँ पर मच्छर है, मक्खी है, गंदगी है, और कोई इस ओर ध्यान नहीं देता है। इसलिए कि जो दिल्ली में बाहर से लोग रोजी के लिए आकर बसते हैं बड़े लोगों की सेवा के लिए बसते हैं उनके लिए कहीं पर कोई नागरिक सुविधा है ही नहीं। जब नागरिक सुविधा नहीं है तो आखिर दिल्ली गंदी होगी ही, इसको कोई बचा नहीं सकता है। शुरू से ही बड़े संपन्न लोगों के लिए कमल के टापू बनाने की कोशिश की गई है हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी के बल-दल में। अब वह भी अब बच नहीं पा रहे हैं और आगे और भी न बचेंगे। जिस तरह का तूफान इस देश में उठने वाला है उसकी तरफ जरा देखिए। कजखोरो से देश में कितनी अन्तरी आने वाली है, इसकी तरफ आपकी नजर जानी चाहिए। इसलिए मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि छोड़िए, इस राह को और गांधी के रास्ते पर आ जाइये गांधी की सादगी पर आ जाइये। यह नहीं है कि गांधी ने इसलिए वह सादगी अखित्यार की थी कि उनको कपड़े अच्छे नहीं लगते थे, गांधी ने जो देश की हालत थी उसके हिसाब से कपड़ों को अखित्यार किया। उनकी जो सादगी थी वह अपने आप में बड़ा भारी आतंककारी कदम था गांधी दो ही चीजों के लिए दुनिया में जाने जायेंगे, नम्बर एक आईनस्टाइन ने अगर दुनिया को एटम बम दिया तो गांधी जी ने नान-वायलेंस का हथियार दिया और गांधी जी ने वह सादगी दी जिसके सहारे इस देश को बनाया जा सकता था। लेकिन आपने क्या किया? मुगलिया ठाट-बाट। आपके जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर चलते हैं या अब

तक जितने प्राइम मिनिस्टर चलते रहे हैं गांधियों का पूरा काफिला चलता है और सड़क रोक दी जाती है इसलिए कि प्रधान मंत्री भार दिए जायेंगे। 1916 में काशी विश्वविद्यालय का जलसा था, महात्मा मालवीय जी ने गांधी जी को भी उसमें आमंत्रित किया था और तत्कालीन वायसराय भी वहाँ पर आमंत्रित किए गए थे। उनकी सैक्युरिटी का जो इंतजाम किया गया था उसको देख कर महात्मा गांधी ने वाइसराय से कहा था मैं खुद नहीं कह रहा हूँ; महात्मा गांधी की बात कह रहा हूँ उन्होंने वायसराय को खिताब करके कहा कि अच्छा हो कि लाट साहब, आप मर जाए, क्योंकि आपकी सैक्युरिटी पर इतना पैसा खर्च होता है। आज अपने देश में एक भी आदमी नहीं है जो प्रधान मंत्री को टोक सके या दूसरे लोगों को कह सके कि आप यह सब छोड़िए, इसको नहीं करना है, मर जायेंगे तो मर जायेंगे उसके बाद हालत सुधरेगी। इसी के साथ शान व शौकत कितनी बड़ी हैं? मीडस, यह जो मिनिस्टर्ज या बड़े आफिसर्ज की कारें हैं उनमें टेलीफोन लगाए गए हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप एक दफ्तर से दूसरे दफ्तर या घर से दफ्तर तक आते हैं तो इसमें कहां आसमान फट पड़ता है। क्यों लगाए गए टेलीफोन? एक टेलीफोन एक कार में लगता है तो उस पर एक लाख रुपया खर्च होता है। जो हमारी जानकारी है 2000 रुपया प्रति महीना उसका रेकर्डिंग खर्च आता है। यह क्यों लगाया गया है? इसके बगैर किसका काम बंद था? लेकिन आपने इसको लगाया मैंने एक बार यहाँ सुझाव दिया था जब मधु जी वित्त मंत्री थे कि भाई, आप रोज घाटा-घाटा बिल्लाते हैं, यह क्यों नहीं करते हैं कि सारे मिनिस्टर्ज को एक लोकेलिटी में बसा दीजिए और जैसे एम्पोज के लिए मिनी बसें चलती हैं, वैसे बला दीजिए। वैसे ही चला दीजिए। उसी में आ जाया करेंगे और सैक्युरिटी के प्रबंध पर भी कम खर्च होगा। आप दुनिया को उपदेश दे रहे हैं, सारे नागरिकों को यह उपदेश दे रहे हैं कि सादगी से रहें और त्याग करें। त्याग तो करते आए हैं, बेचारों को उस त्याग के अलावा मिला क्या है? लेकिन आप

[श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल]

उनके सामने देश के नेता होने के नाते आदर्श क्या उपस्थित कर रहे हैं ? उस आदर्श की तरफ आप देखिए। उस आदर्श की तरफ जब लोग देखते हैं तो उनको यह मिलता है कि आप रह रहे हैं इस ठाट-बाट से और लोग जो भूखों मर रहे हैं उनसे आप कह रहे हैं कि त्याग करो। यह दुनिया में कभी नहीं चला है और अभी भी नहीं चलने वाला है।

उपसभापति : जायसवाल जी, जब आप दूसरों की लिबर्टी पर एनक्रोच न करें।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : एक मिन्ट, मैं सिर्फ यह कहकर खरम करूंगा कि अगर सचमुच क्लियर करना चाहते हैं तो इस रास्ते को बदलिए। दूसरी चीज, क्यों इतनी मोटरे चलायी 1-00 P.M. जा रही हैं जब आप तेल की खपत को कम करना चाहते हैं ? आपका सबसे ज्यादा बिल तेल का आता है और एनर्जी कंजर्वेशन की आपकी कोई पॉलिसी नहीं है। इस तरफ आप ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। इस और सुर्त ध्यान कीजिए। अगर आप सचमुच में बचत करना चाहते हैं, बजट बाटे को कम करना चाहते हैं तो इसकी पॉलिसी बनाइए।

उपसभापति : जायसवाल जी, आपका टाइन हो गया, अब आप बैठ जाइए। दूसरे मेंबर को भी बोलना है।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : आखिरी बात, मेडम मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप क्लियरेंसारी का रास्ता अपनाएं। नंबर दो, तेल की बचत कीजिए, अपने बजट बाटे को कम कीजिए और इस देश के जो बड़े लोग हैं उनको कहिए कि जब तक हमारे देश में यह हासिल रहेगी तब तक फिजूलखर्ची, शाहजर्की अपराध माने जाएंगे। उसको बंद किया जाए और इन लोगों के बर्कों में खाते खलवा कीजिए। एक रकम निर्दिष्ट कर दीजिए कि इससे

उपचा खर्च नहीं करेंगे। जब देश की जरूरत से पैसा बचेगा तो उसे निकालने की इजाजत दीजिए। लेकिन आप यह नहीं करेंगे और जो साधारण वर्कर्स हैं, वर्कर्स हैं या 3, 4 या 5 हजार रुपए तक पाने वाले हैं या मान कीजिए हम लोगों को ही साथे 5 हजार के लगभग भित्ति है, उसमें किसका कैसे कचता है, वह आप जानते हैं।

उपसभापति : श्री सुरेश पचीरी।

श्री अनन्त राम जायसवाल : इन छोटे लोगों के बेरोजगी की चीज करेंगे, यह आपकी मंशा है। इससे आप जन रोष और बढ़ाएंगे। इसीलिए इन सारे रास्तों को छोड़कर गांधी के रास्ते पर आइए और जो देश के पास जनशक्ति है, जैसे कन्ह-शेखर जी ने एक करोड़ लोगों की उत्पादक काम पर लगाने की बात कही थी, उस रास्ते पर आइए, सबकी कमनाइए। धन्यवाद।

उपसभापति : पचीरी जी, जैसा मैंने पहले बोहराया है, आपसे भी निवेदन करूंगी कि आप संक्षेप में बोलिए।

श्री सुरेश पचीरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, महामहिम राज्यपाल जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में राष्ट्र के सम्मुख अनेक चुनौतियों का जिक्र करते हुए देशवासियों के मन में आत्मविश्वास जगाने की बात कही है तार्कि भारत एक सुदृढ़ और खुशहाल देश बन सके। उन्होंने देशवासियों के समक्ष एक प्रश्न छोड़ दिया है कि हम कैसा भारत चाहते हैं ? एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें आतंकवाद, जातिवाद व सांप्रदायिकता न हो। एक ऐसा भारत जो समानता व सामाजिक न्याय पर आधारित हो ? एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें निर्धनता न हो और धनवान और गरीब के बीच में खाई न हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें धार्मिक सद्भाव की गौरवशाली परंपरा हो और

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती जयश्री नटराजन) पीठासीन हुईं]

सर्वधर्म समभाव की जिसमें गुंजाइश हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें हरिजन आदि-वासियों, अल्पसंख्यकों, पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों के साथ जुलम-सितम न ढाए जाएं, बं शोषण से मुक्त हो सकें, मजबूत और खुशहाल हो सकें? एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें पुरुष और महिलाएं स्वावलंबी हों? एक ऐसा भारत जिसका नाम विदेशों में सम्मान से लिया जाए और जिसकी बात का असर हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें सत्ता का विकेन्द्रीकरण हो। एक ऐसा भारत जिसमें आर्थिक, सामाजिक और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति अच्छी हो।

महोदया, एक ऐसा भारत तब बन सकता है जब मैंने जो बात अभी कही है, उनके अनुरूप भारत तब बन सकता है जब हम देश के बदलने की बात करें तो जन-मानस में एक अनुकूल वातावरण निर्मित किया जाए। इसके लिए राजनीतिज्ञों को जिसमें हम भी शामिल हैं, अपनी सोच में परिवर्तन करना होगा। मैं कबीर की साखी का जिन्ना करना चाहूंगा। कबीर ने कहा है कि :—

“बुरा जो देखन मैं चला, बुरा न मिलिया कोय,
जो दिल खोजू अपना, मुख से बुरा न कोय।”

महोदया, आज स्थिति यह हो गयी है कि राजनीतिज्ञों का अवमूल्यन हो गया है। उनकी विषयसनीयता घट गयी है। इसलिए उनको अपने आचरण में परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। तब हम देश में एक ऐसा वातावरण निर्मित कर सकेंगे। आज राष्ट्र हमारे सामने बड़ी आशापरी नजरों से देख रहा है, इसलिए संसद में जब हम इन विषयों पर चर्चा करें, जब आतंकवाद की बात हो, जब समाजवाद की बात हो, जब सांप्रदायिकता खत्म करने की बात हो तो हमें विचार करना होगा कि हमारा अपना दायित्व क्या है? केवल यह किताबों में या केवल रैस्ट्रा में या केवल संसद में परिचर्चा के विषय बने रहे तो उसमें काम चलने वाला नहीं है। बल्कि व्यावहारिकता के रूप में इसको डालना होगा। प्रेक्टिकली—वे में क्या पोसिबिलिटीज हैं, उन गुंजाइश को हमको देखना होगा।

महोदया, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आज जो पहरेदार बने हुए हैं राजनीतिज्ञ, उनको अपनी सोच में परिवर्तन लाना होगा तभी ऐसा भारत बन सकेगा, जिसकी परिकल्पना राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में की है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कानून-व्यवस्था बन ए रखने, सांप्रदायिक दंगों में पीड़ित लोग को मुआवजा देने, मुद्रास्फीति को घटावे का फैसला घन पर रोक लगाने, खाद्यान्न व सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली सुधारने, आई०सी०डी०सी० का विस्तार करने, पिछड़ा विकास निगम की स्थापना करने, अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए 25 सूची कार्यक्रम द्वारा क्रियान्वयन करने, राजीव जी के नाम पर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था करने, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के आरक्षित पदों की भर्ती करने, महिला आयोग की स्थापना करने, जवाहर योजना को चालू करने का जो उल्लेख किया है, वह अभिमानदीय और स्वागत योग्य है। परन्तु, महोदया, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आखिर यह समस्याएं क्यों बनी रहीं? इसके मूल में क्या है? इसके मूल में सब चीजें हैं, जिनका जिन्ना मैंने कहा कि कहीं न कहीं हमारी सोच में परिवर्तन लाना होगा, कहीं न कहीं जो हमारे कार्यक्रम हैं, जो हमारी नीतियां बनती हैं उन नीतियों के ढंग में परिवर्तन लाना होगा।

महोदया, यह जो सारी बीमारियां पैदा होती हैं, यह चुनाव से लेकर होती हैं। चुनाव के समय हम जिन लोगों का सहारा लेते हैं और चुनाव के बाद जिन लोगों को प्रश्रय और संरक्षण देते हैं उन लोगों के बारे में विचार करने की जरूरत है तभी हम उन नीतियों का क्रियान्वयन सही ढंग से कर पाएंगे, जो आम आदमी के जीवनस्तर को बहुत बढ़ाने के लिए बनती हैं।

महोदया, पिछले चुनाव के समय हमने देखा कि चुनाव के समय हर स्थिति का वर्णन किया जाता है कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति क्या है, देश की राजनीतिक और सामाजिक स्थिति क्या है, देश की अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति क्या है।

[श्री सुरेश पचोरी]

जब हम देश की आर्थिक स्थिति का जिक्र करते हैं तो हम प्राते हैं कि हमारे दिवंगत नेता राजीव गांधी जी ने जब 1983-84 में सत्ता संभाली थी तब पावर्टी रेओ 37.4 प्रतिशत था और जब उन्होंने सत्ता दूसरी पार्टी को 1987-88 में सौंपी तब पावर्टी रेओ 29.9 प्रतिशत थी यानी देश की गरीबी की रेखा नीचे हुई, देश की गरीबी कम हुई। आज स्थिति यह है कि गरीबी हटाने वाले जो प्रोग्राम थे, वह सब बंद कर दिए गए। उसके कुछ अंश का जिक्र इसमें किया गया है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि जब राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा हो रही है तो जो निर्धनता दूर करने के लिए, गरीबी हटाने के लिए कार्यक्रम प्रारंभ किए गए थे, उस पर विचार किया जाए क्योंकि देश का जनमानस आर्थिक तंगी पर खिंच रहा है। देश के राजनीतिज्ञ, जब हम केवल भाषणों तक इसको सीमित रखेंगे तो व्यावहारिक नतीजों के प्रति जो अस्था और खिंच प्रेश के लोगों की है, उसके प्रति अनास्था पैदा हो जाएगी।

महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में राजीव जी की हत्या के मामले में जांच कर रहे आयोग के विचारार्थ विषयों को व्यापक बनाने की कहा है। मेरी मांग है कि इसमें राजनीतिक पार्टियों के लोगों को, नेताओं को भी शामिल किया जाए, जिनका षडयंत्रकारियों और विदेशी ताकतों से धन प्राप्त करके इस देश में अराजकता पैदा करने का काम रहा है। मेरे पास एक मैगजीन है, बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण मैगजीन है "इंस्ट्रिटिड वीकली", यह अंक है 21 फरवरी से 27 फरवरी, 1989 का। इसमें हमारे इसी संसद के एक साथी की श्रीलंका की यात्रा का उल्लेख किया गया है और उनकी भेंट लिट्टे के चीफ प्रभाकरण के साथ 12 फरवरी से 21 फरवरी तक की दिखाई गई है। इसमें उनके फोटोग्राफ भी हैं उन संसद-सदस्य के, लिट्टे के जो चीफ हैं प्रभाकरण, उनके साथ। यह सारी बातें बहुत चिंताजनक हैं। यह सारी बातें उन बातों को इंगित

करती हैं कि हमारे दिवंगत नेता राजीव गांधी जी की हत्या के पीछे जो साजिश हुई है, उनमें कौन-कौन लोग उस साजिश में सुमार हो सकते हैं। इसलिए जब व्यापक नजरिया लेने की बात हम कर रहे हैं तो हमें उन राजनीतिज्ञों को भी उसमें शामिल करना चाहिए। मेरा ऐसा आपके माध्यम से सरकार से निवेदन है।

महोदया, सभास में जब नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन काउंसिल की बैठक 22 सितंबर, 1990 को हुई थी, जिसमें राजीव गांधी को जाना था, वहां बम-विस्फोट हुआ और चूंकि राजीव गांधी जी वहां नहीं पहुंच पाए थे, इसलिए बच गए थे। ईश्वर ने उनको बचा दिया था। बम विस्फोट से उनका कोई नुकसान न हो पाया, लेकिन जो एस. पी. जी. उनसे विद्वद् की गई थी, विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की सरकार ने, उस एस. पी. जी. के विद्वद् होने के बाद और इस बम विस्फोट के बाद भी उस सरकार ने उनको पर्याप्त सुरक्षा प्रदान करने के बारे में कोई विचार नहीं किया, जो अत्यंत निंदनीय है जबकि लगातार राजीव जी पर हमले किए गए थे—राजघाट पर हमला किया गया, श्रीलंका की यात्रा के समय उन पर हमला किया गया, लगातार उन पर हमलों की साजिश की गई। "इंडिया टूडे" में भी जो समाचार छपा है वह यह दर्शाता है कि एक लम्बे अरसे से उनकी हत्या की कोशिश के लिए प्रयास और अभ्यास किए गए तो इस संबंध में सरकार को निश्चित रूप से गंभीरता से लेना चाहिए और उन सारे राजनीतिज्ञों को, जब हम जे. एस. वर्मा कमीशन को व्यापकता दे रहे हैं, तो उन सारे लोगों को इसमें शामिल होना चाहिए। साथ ही महोदया, तमिलनाडु के आई. जी. के स्टेटमेंट की मैं क्वोट करना चाहता हूँ, उन्होंने 13 मई, 1991 को कहा था जो "टाइम्स आफ इंडिया" के फर्स्ट पेज में है कि

'LTTE is no threat.'

जबकि "लिट्टे" की वजह से हत्या हुई। इसलिए ऐसे अधिकारियों के बारे में भी विचार करना चाहिए और उनको भी कठघरे में खड़ा करना चाहिए, मेरा ऐसा आपसे निवेदन है।

धर्म, सम्प्रदाय और वर्ग के नाम पर जो संगठन चल रहे हैं व आज राष्ट्रीय एकता के नाम पर चुनौती बने हुए हैं। उन्हें इस राष्ट्र की अधिष्ठा से, इस राष्ट्र में जो अराजकता है, इस राष्ट्र में जो भुखमरी है, इस राष्ट्र में जो सांस्कृतिक विक्रियाएँ हैं, उनसे मतलब नहीं है बल्कि उन्हें केवल वोटों की राजनीति से मतलब है। कोने-कोने में बरसाती मेढक की तरह इन लोगों ने छोट-छोटे धार्मिक संगठन बना रखे हैं। इसलिए जरूरी है महोदया, कि धर्मस्थलों से वोटों की राजनीति बंद हो और उनका राजनीति के लिए उपयोग बंद हो, रिलीजियस हैड... (समय की घंटी)... का जो उपयोग किया जाता है वोट के समय अपील जारी करने में, वह बंद हो। इससे उस जाति का भी अपमान होता है जिस जाति के रिलीजियस हैड मतदान के लिए अपील जारी करते हैं। उसमें यह दिखता है कि उस जाति के लोगों का अपना कोई सोच और फसला नहीं है और वे अपने रिलीजियस हैड की वजह से वोट करना चाहते हैं। इसलिए, महोदया, आज जरूरी है कि जब संसद में हम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिषेक पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं और बढ़ती हुई साम्प्रदायिकता पर चिंता व्यक्त कर रहे हैं तो इस इस बारे में भी किसी निर्णय पर पहुँचें। जब चुनाव का मौका आता है तो उस समय एक ऐसा वातावरण निर्मित करना चाहिए ताकि चुनाव के समय जो वोटर है वह काम और उपलब्धियों के आधार पर वोट दे, न कि जाति और धर्म के आधार पर वोट मांगा जाए। (समय की घंटी).... इस प्रथा को बंद किया जाना चाहिए। साथ ही भड़कीले वक्तव्यों को भी प्रथम नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए और जो भड़कीले वक्तव्य देते हैं उनके खिलाफ कार्रवाई की जानी चाहिए। मैं आपको क्वोट करना चाहता हूँ भारतीय जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष श्री जोशी ने एक स्टेटमेंट दिया 27 फरवरी, 1991 को, प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में उन्होंने यह कहा था और मैं उसको उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ :—

'The biggest stumbling block in the building of the Temple was

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Dr. Josh said.

और उसके बाद उन्होंने कहा कि वह राम-द्रोही है। उसके बाद महोदया, ऋतम्भरा ने, साध्वी ऋतम्भरा ने, जिसको हमेशा चुनाव के लिए इन्होंने उपयोग में लाया, तो साध्वी ऋतम्भरा ने यह कहा कि राम-द्रोहियों को जिंदा छोड़ना नहीं है। एक तरफ भारतीय जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष श्री मुरली मनोहर जोशी 27 फरवरी, 1991 को कह रहे हैं कि वह राम-द्रोही है, राम मंदिर में सबसे ज्यादा व्यवधान करने वाला राजीव गांधी है, दूसरी तरफ साध्वी ऋतम्भरा कह रही हैं और इस कंसेट में भी उसका वर्णन है, साध्वी ऋतम्भरा कह रही हैं कि राम-द्रोहियों को नहीं छोड़ेंगे।... (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : कंसेट का नाम बताइए इन्हें।

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM:
Hear say evidence is no evidence.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मैं सुना सकता हूँ। आप ऋतम्भरा जी को सुन लीजिए, इस कंसेट में देख लीजिए। तीसरी तरफ भारतीय जनता पार्टी और शिव सेना की रली भी उसी दिन होती है, जिस दिन ऋतम्भरा ने यह कहा कि राम-द्रोहियों को जिंदा नहीं छोड़ना है, उस दिन ठाकरे जी यह कहते हैं कि

'We are proud of Godse.'

जिसने महात्मा गांधी की हत्या की, यह ऋतम्भरा ने कहा। उनके पहले श्री ठाकरे ने कहा कि

'We are proud of Nathuram Godse, the Shiv Sena Chief, Bal Thackeray declared. He was addressing a huge B.J.P.—Shiv Sena rally in Pune.'

यह स्थिति है। इसके अलावा चुनाव के समय एडवर्टाइजमेंट निकाल गए...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTI NATARAJAN): Mr. Pachouri, please conclude. There are other Members to speak.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : जिसमें भगवान श्री राम को तीर चलाते हुए दिखाया और रावण के रूप में राजीव गांधी की फोटो दिखाई गई और उनकी तरफ इंगित करते हुए दिखाया गया। यह सारे हथकंडे चुनव के समय अपनाए गए। लाल कृष्ण अडवाणी रथ यात्रा के नाम पर हिन्दू जिन्ना भन्ता चाहते थे। यह सारे हथकंडे चुनव में अपनाये गये। इसलिए ऐसे हथकंडे चुनवों में न अपनाए जायें, इस बारे में संसद को विचार करना चाहिए तभी हम बढ़ती हुई साम्प्रदायिकता पर रोक लगा सकते हैं, महोदया, यह मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please conclude, please conclude.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : इसके अलावा इस कैसेट में विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के मंत्रि मंडल के एक सदस्य का यह उल्लेख है कि राजीव गांधी ने तीन पुस्तों के मुंह में आग दी। श्री राजीव गांधी ने अपने नाना के मुंह में आग दी, इस राजीव गांधी ने अपनी मां के मुंह में आग दी, इस राजीव गांधी ने अपने भाई के मुंह में आग दी, उसके बाद वह सेंसर पार्टी है इसलिए मैं नहीं कहना चाहूंगा। लेकिन उस मंत्रिमंडल के सदस्य से पूछा जाए कि यह क्या कहा था। अनसंसेंसर्ड पार्टी मेरे पास है। उसके अलावा उसी विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के मंत्रिमंडल के सदस्य ने यह कहा कि इस कैसेट में... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please conclude now, Mr. Pachouri please conclude.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : अब इस आंधी में राजीव गांधी नहीं बच सकता है तो महोदया, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा कौन सा विषला वातावरण बना जिसको वजह से राजीव गांधी की हत्या हुई। आज हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि राजीव गांधी जी हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Conclude now, please.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : : वरना राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा हो रही होती तो आज हमारे बीच में मौजूद रहते, महोदया... (व्यवधान)

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: On a point of order. A person who cannot defend himself, no allegation should be made against him.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : उस पर सरकार की तरफ से रोक लगाने के लिए विचार होना चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Pachouri, please conclude.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : महोदया, प्रारंभ एस० एस० की बुनियाद पर खड़ी हुई जो भारतीय जनता पार्टी है... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please do not refer to anybody who cannot defend himself.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : वह न कभी भारत की आजादी की समर्थक नहीं है... (व्यवधान)

जिस प्रारंभ एस० एस० की बुनियाद पर खड़ी हुई यह राजनीतिक पार्टी है वह न तो केवल राष्ट्रपिता को राष्ट्रपिता मानने के लिए तैयार है, वह देश की आजादी की कभी समर्थक नहीं रही और साथ ही साथ उसने देश के राष्ट्रध्वज को भी नहीं माना है। महोदया, मैं बच आफ थाट्स की वह चीजें उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ जो गुरु गोलवरकर ने कही है कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ की धारणा में हम रा राष्ट्रध्वज भी समस्त भारतवासियों को प्रेरणा नहीं देता, हमारे मन-मस्तिष्क में शून्य की स्थिति उत्पन्न करता है, जबकि भगवां ध्वज सबसे उन्नत, गौरवमय तथा राष्ट्रवाद का सबसे अच्छा प्रतीक है। बच आफ थाट्स में... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You have taken a lot of time. Please conclude I am calling the next speaker now.

SHRI SURESH PACHOURI: I will take two or three more minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You have already taken 15 minutes. Please conclude now.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : उसी वातावरण में महारमा गांधी की हत्या हुई, उसी दूषित वातावरण में राजीव गांधी की हत्या हुई। इसी तरह से महोदया, मध्य प्रदेश में भी चुनावों के समय भारतीय जनता पार्टी के जिम्मेदार लोगों ने आपत्तिजनक बातें कहीं, उन पर भी विचार करना जरूरी है। यह सब बातें हमारे देश में क्यों हुई? हमारे देश का सामाजिक वातावरण इसलिए बिगड़ा कि अनुभवहीन लोग सत्ता में आए, हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति इसलिए बिगड़ी, इन्फ्लेशन इसलिए बिगड़ा कि अनुभवहीन लोग आए। राजीव गांधी जी के समय जो रेट आफ इन्फ्लेशन 1989-90 में था वह 7.5 प्रतिशत था। विध्वनाव प्रताप सिंह के समय वह बढ़कर 90-91 में 10.1 प्रतिशत हो गया। उस समय महोदया, एक कवि ने यह कहा था कि अनुभवहीन लोग जब आ जाते हैं सत्ता में तो यह होता है कि—एक कबूतर चिट्ठी लेकर पहली-पहली बार उड़ा (व्यवधान)...

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: On a point of order. You have allowed him more than 20 minutes. He has made certain allegations against my Party and Party Leaders. I have to reply to his allegations and also make my points. So, my time will be curtailed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I have already requested him to conclude.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : महोदया, आप जरूरत इस बात की है कि विपक्ष अपने तौर तरीकों में परिवर्तन करे, विपक्ष अपनी सोच में और क्रियाकलापों में परिवर्तन करे, अपने काम करने के ढंग में परिवर्तन करे और वह सार्वक और सकारात्मक रख अपनाये। क्यों? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जरा सा तौर तरीकों में हेरफेर करो, तुम्हारे हाथ में कालर हों आस्तीन नहीं। विपक्ष की भूमिका दो निभाओ लेकिन एक सकारात्मक भूमिका निभाओ, यह मेरा आपके माध्यम से आग्रह है, महोदया। हमारे दिवंगत नेता राजीव गांधी जी अपने रक्त रूपी हुस्तावर से एक वसीयत लिख गए, जिसमें इबारात लिखी हुई है कि भारत प्रगति और विकास के द्वार पर दस्तक देगा। उनकी शहादत के बाद इस सरकार का यह फर्ज बन जाता है कि उनके द्वारा घोषित जो चुनावी घोषणा-पत्र है उसको बख़ोबत मानकर उनको मंशाओं को मूर्त रूप दें। महोदया, यह सरकार घरेलू दबावों, तनावों, के बावजूद हर कसौटी पर खरी उतरेगी, क्योंकि सच्चे और शगुन दोनों शुभ हैं, एसी धेरी मान्यता है। धन्यवाद।

SHRI S. MADHAVAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, I join my colleagues in supporting the Motion of Thanks to the President.

The Government has described the alarming economic and political situation in the country. I welcome the statement of the Prime Minister that his Government will take firm steps to overcome the present economic and political situation. Inflation and price rise are the most difficult problems that we have been facing for a number of years. The Prime Minister is taking a pragmatic approach to reorganize the economic structure without involving the ideological controversies that are going on in this country.

Today, the topic is market economy. We have no grievance about deregulation, decontrol and removal of bureaucratic controls to promote the industry but, at the same time,

[Shri S. Madhavan]

we must be very cautious about changing our long-standing policies. India has always been a deficit country and, with the hand-to-mouth availability of essential commodities that we are facing, we are depending heavily on imported essential commodities, including edible oils and petroleum products. So we must be very cautious about implementing the slogan of market economy. I am glad that this Government has started with a consensus of the other political parties and the Prime Minister has categorically stated that the public distribution system for essential commodities in this country will be strengthened to help the poor people of this country.

Another topic is opening of our economy to the multinational organizations. There is a fear amongst the public how—we have got very scarce natural resources—the multinationals will be allowed to exploit our scarce resources. So, the Government must be very careful about this problem.

I welcome the categorical statement of the Prime Minister that there will be no denationalization of the banks. Nationalization of banks came to the nation from the Congress Government. Now there is a talk of market economy, but it should not lead to denationalization of the banks. So, I welcome the statement of the Prime Minister on this.

Seeing our difficulties about petroleum products, the Government must come forward to take some bold decisions. We must strengthen the public transport system and the communications system in this country. It will go a long way in reducing the consumption of petroleum products and save on imports. Similarly, we can avoid import of foreign drugs. We can encourage indigenous manufacture of medicines in this country.

Another difficulty that this country has always been facing is the dual pricing policy that is being followed

for the past many years—of levy price and market price. The State Governments are always put to difficulty in implementing this dual pricing policy enunciated by the Central Government. We must think about a new line of policy to help the weaker sections of the public instead of resorting to this dual pricing policy which always, ultimately, helps only industrialists and blackmarketeers.

About the prohibition policy, the Government must take a decision to have a uniform policy throughout the country. It has been enshrined in our Constitution as a Directive Principle and so there must be a uniform policy throughout the country. If a State Government wants to implement this policy, at present a difficulty is always there from adjacent States and, so the Government should come forward to take a policy decision that the Government of India will always help those States which are prepared to implement the prohibition policy. The Finance Commission has been emphasising this aspect, that the Central Government must help the States who are prepared to implement the prohibition policy.

About the Centre-State relations, a new approach, a new attitude, a new thinking must be forthcoming from the new Government which has got the support of all political parties including regional parties. Pt. Nehru used to share the problems of the country with all the Chief Ministers. A new chapter must be opened now. All State Governments must be taken into confidence in all the problems that are facing this country. The State leaders and the State Governments must be treated as equal partners in governing this country.

There should be a new approach. Without centralising everything, we must try to decentralise everything. We have tried our best for the past many years to have a centralised administration, uniformity in all policies. Now we must try to decen-

tralise our policies and programmes. We must have faith in State leadership.

I assure that no State can thrive or survive without the help of the Centre or the adjacent States or other States. They should not make the States beg the Centre always for help. The Centre should not try to thrust the Central schemes on the State administrations. The Central Government must encourage the State Governments to tap all the resources of revenue available within the States and give powers to them. The new Government must learn something from the Russian history. After seventy years of rule, oppressive rule in the Soviet Union, now linguistic and ethnic feelings are more witnessed in that country. We must learn something from that. We must encourage the linguistic and ethnic feelings of this nation. There is nothing wrong in it. We cannot suppress the linguistic and ethnic feelings even if we take a hundred years.

We must think over the language policy of the Government of India. We are not against Hindi. We are prepared to learn Hindi. But at the same time the local languages must be encouraged. Facilities to learn Hindi and other national languages in the Roman script will go a long way in solving our language problems by spending some money by the Central Government I heard from the former Prime Minister that there is no proposal to provide facilities for learning Hindi and other national languages in the Roman script. But this Government must reconsider that decision. We must encourage the use of the Roman script to study other languages including Hindi. I find that there are more common words among the na-

people in the country can easily communicate with each other and that emotional national integration can come true.

The new Government must try to implement the assurance given on the floor of this House to set up a commission to study *inter alia* the relative wage structures of different sectors. There should be parity in the wage structure. There is always a quarrel about the wage structure of the Central Government employees, the State Government employees and the public sector undertakings. The State Government employees are always treated step-motherly, like second-class citizens.

For giving representation in the Central services to every ethnic and linguistic group there must be some formula. Even the Minister in this House has a grievance that his State, Kashmir, was not represented. Tamil Nadu has been always treated step-motherly for the past many years. Even Congress leaders used to speak in their election propaganda that regional parties are hence and that there was no investment from the Centre. The new Government with the support of the AIADMK in that State must try to help us. Now, I will come to the Sri Lankan problem. The Tamil Nadu fishermen are always suffering at the hands of Sri Lankan navy. We have raised this issue in this House because the Government has given away the Kachchatheevu island to them. When our fishermen go there for fishing the Sri Lankan navy resorts to firing. As a result of this, a number of our fishermen have died. This has been brought to the notice of the Government. We must have a rethinking on this policy. If you want to take Kachchatheevu back, you take it and save Tamil Nadu fishermen. May I tell this House...

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the 1974 agreement but now a different interpretation is being given? Our fishermen are being harassed by the Sri Lankan navy.

The terrorist activities in the Tamil Nadu State have increased. We have brought forward many problems before the Centre. The Indo-Sri Lanka agreement is the only solution for this. The Government must come forward to ask the Sri Lankan Government to implement the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and solve the ethnic problem in that country. That is the only ultimate solution for terrorist activities in Tamil Nadu. I raised a question in this House about harbouring of Sri Lankan militants and smugglers by an Indian smuggler in Thanjavur district one year back. Today we have seen in the newspapers that action has been taken and an Indian smuggler has been arrested and a lot of smuggled goods have been recovered from his place. Even sophisticated communication equipment and a lot of goods to be smuggled to Sri Lanka have been recovered from him. These kinds of activities are going on in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, we have demanded in this House that the Central Government must take up this problem and strengthen the Coast Guard in Tamil Nadu Coast and special assistance must be given to our State to strengthen the Coast Guard and also the local police to prevent the Sri Lankan militant activities and smuggling activities. Thank you.

**SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-
RA (Punjab):** Madam Vice Chair-
person, the country is passing
through a series of crises—political,
economic and social. Economic and
fiscal crises are being tackled with
a certain degree of urgency, compe-
tence and ability. But little initiative
has been displayed in the thinking
or dealing with the political and
social problems. In this regard, the
Address of the President has been

a great disappointment. I find during the course of the Congress Members' speeches that they have never gone beyond narrow and partisan lines. Merely magnifying and criticising the rule and imaginary failures of the previous Government is not going to solve the problems. The crisis today is so important that we must put our heads together and try to get the country out of the morass rather than keep on blaming other parties or blaming each other.

I find that after all the Congress today is a minority Government. They have to get cooperation of other political parties. Therefore, wisdom demands that there should be a consensus and not a contentious behaviour. I find lack of courage and imagination displayed in the Address while dealing with divisive tendencies in this country. And these divisive tendencies have taken dangerous dimensions. President's rule has failed. State repression has only increased militancy in various States. If you want to use more of this method, you are not going to get any satisfactory answer. It will only worsen the situation. It was an act of lack of wisdom when the election in Punjab was postponed at the eleventh hour. It is no use saying that the Election Commissioner decided it. We know the forces behind it which persuaded the Election Commissioner to change his mind within 24 hours. I would like to quote something from 'The Hindustan Times' about a meeting that has recently taken place in Punjab. The meeting, sort of a farewell to the outgoing Governor Gen. O. P. Malhotra, witnessed sharp exchanges. Gen. Malhotra said not only he but the people of the State had been let down by the Election Commissioner who was telling on June 20th that the poll would be held to postpone it in the early hours of the 21st June. People had gone through a lot of suffering. Candidates had been killed. Political parties faced a lot of problems. And the Govern-

ment spent a lot of effort and money. But the election could not take place because of the Election Commissioner. "Now, what magic wand is there to have peace and then poll?", asked Gen. Malhotra. Now, there is also a rumour, may be quite true, that there is going to be an amendment to the Representation of the Peoples Act to cancel the election. About this, people feel that all that is required for the Congress party is to have an amendment that they are the only party who can stand for election. Only then they may have some success in Punjab.

Apart from what has happened in Punjab, I find that in the Address lip service has been paid to the Rajiv—Longowal Accord at this stage. This shows that either the Congress still wants to befool the people by duplicity or it is totally out of touch with the ground realities. The root-cause of the divisive movement is the inability of the previous Congress Governments to fulfil the promises made. In addition, overcentralisation, taking away meaningful powers from the States, has been one of the main reasons why the present over-centralised Government has failed to produce results. The so-called federal structure mentioned in the Constitution is in name only. But the total absence of it is in practice. By scuttling the States' power and depriving them of progress in accordance with their genius and initiative, the country has continued to regress instead of progression. A repressive, overcentralised, regime is not going to keep the States together. Time is overdue to think realistically and courageously about granting greater autonomy to the States. Let them do their own economic planning. Let them deal with their own law and order problems. The States are closer to the ground realities. Sitting in Delhi, you depend on your so-called intelligence agencies. They always feed you with doctored information to please you and to sustain their

own importance. You can only keep a vast and divergent country like India together if all the constituents feel that it is to their advantage and interest to belong to the country as a whole. And it will not suffer from your repressive and regressive regime which has increased poverty and illiteracy. Mere Sarkaria Commission recommendations are not enough. These are peanuts. Think more in line with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which is likely to provide the answer. If you are serious about getting the country out of the political morass and bringing about real democracy, greater autonomy, less interference from the Centre is the only answer.

In the address, it has been mentioned that to overcome the communal violence, a Rapid Action Force may be constituted. Should we not first examine what causes communal violence? As you all realise, it is instigated mostly for political benefits and also for economic gains. Lumpens and anti-national elements are used to stir up the incidents which lead to the under-privileged people of both communities going in for each other's throat. Mere raising of a Rapid Action Force will not be enough. Can we do something, some heart searching about finding the root cause of these problems and dealing with them? However, if a Rapid Action Force is required to be raised, it should be a part of the CRPF and such units that are required, should come out of its present strength. Right composition, suitable equipment and proper training would be necessary. In fact, some of the States armed constabulary could also be used provided they are properly constituted, properly trained and properly equipped.

The recent incident at Pilibhit has once again raised the issue of the security of the Sikhs living outside Punjab. Your Government has not been able to live down the carnage

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of innocent Sikhs in November 1984. No serious action has been taken to punish the guilty either in Delhi or elsewhere. The authorities' towards Sikhs is not sympathetic or helpful while dealing with their problems. It is not the Sikhs who want to create Khalistan. Lack of security and confidence in the Government machinery is causing the schism and this is not incidentally owing to communal disharmony. It is the attitude of the Government.

It is heartening to learn that the Government has high regard for the defence services. There are two points which demand special attention and execution. The ex-servicemen find it difficult to appreciate why their demand for rank-for-rank pension has not been implemented so far. Secondly, the compensation or the ex-gratia grants to the families of those who died on duty and particularly in operational areas, should, in no way, be inferior to those civilian counterparts who are also working in these operational areas. I am sorry to say it is so and when we have approached the State administration, they say, it is up to the Centre to decide. Therefore, I call upon the Defence Ministry to look into this matter and make certain that the defence service personnel in no way should get less compensation than their civilian counterparts.

Lastly, I feel that in spite of the other changes that you may bring about, unless there are certain administrative reforms and we are able to make the governmental machinery more honest, more efficient and more practical, no amount of reforms are going to bring about any change in the present situation.

It is the overmanned, inefficient and corrupt Governmental machinery at all levels which is mainly responsible for holding back the progress of this country. There have been Administrative Reforms Com-

mittees before, but their recommendations have never been taken into consideration. There seems to be no keenness to look into the administrative machinery and do anything about it for obvious reasons; because the people who are now sitting in the Chair don't want any change. They are the men who have the real power and, if I may say so, they are the brain behind the moustache, the moustache being the politicians. I would like to emphasise that if we are to overcome the present crisis, all of us have to pull together and we must not start repressive and aggressive policies in those States where the situation at present demands greater imagination and greater ability to win over the people.

For the reasons and the shortcomings mentioned above, I find it extremely difficult to honestly support this Motion of Thanks. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) : Shri S. K. T. Ramachandran. Please be very brief. There is no time left at all. I request the Members to cooperate and to be very brief.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, please give some time as I have been waiting for the last four days.

Madam, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address in the Joint Session, moved by you, Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan. At the outset, I would like to express my gratitude to the President for paying rich tributes to our departed leader, Rajivji. Rajiv was the tallest of all his contemporaries. Rajiv won the hearts of all the Indians and other people abroad by his charm and smile. The sudden demise of Rajiv snatched from us prosperity and our bright future. Madam, Rajivji was Rajivji whether he was in power or out of power. Even here I borrow an expression from him. Five years back while unveiling the statue of Kamaraj, Rajivji said:

"Whether **Kamaraj** was in power or out of power, **Kamaraj** was a **Kamaraj**."

Madam, so much has been spoken about the recent election results. We should follow the legacy of **Rajivji** in this regard. We should accept the election results as they are. In **Tamil Nadu** when Congress was defeated in 1967, a number of reporters went to **Kamaraj** and asked for his comments. What he said, you know, was: "People's verdict is to be accepted. I bow to the verdict of the people. The verdict of the people is the verdict of God." So, we should accept the verdict as it is and bow to it. Sometimes I find, people, who are frustrated by the defeat attribute so much strange reasons to the election results.

They do not have the grace to accept it. You see they interpret results as to their liking. Leaving that, we have to understand the results and read between the lines of the results. As I understand the results of the recent election, it is a verdict, a clear verdict directing the Congress to rule the country for five years. The strength might have been truncated. But the verdict is very clear. But though the Congress is given the sanction to rule, the Congress is to rule, the Congress is to rule the country with the co-operation of all other parties. The Congress under the presidentship, the leadership of **Narasimha Raoji**, is seeking the co-operation of all the parties. It wants only consensus. The process of consensus is to be adopted in finding solutions to most of the issues. Now, our leader, the Prime Minister, is consulting all the opposition leaders in regard to so many issues. His speech and his action showed to the world that he is a man who is going to lead the country out of the rut. Under the circumstances, I request all the Members of the opposition to give a helping hand to him. What is more important now is not that who is ruling the country but how the country is ruled. The country is pass-

ing through a grave crisis. Economically, socially and politically we are in a crisis. Social turmoil, political degeneration and economic collapse are ultimately threatening us. So let us all unite together sinking all our differences. Let us lead the country unitedly.

Madam, I want to make a few demands or a few pleas to the Government. So many effective steps are being taken to arrest inflation and to lead our country out of the crisis-economic crisis. One step is, making an adjustment in the value of the currency or in the foreign exchange rate. I appreciate the whole step of the Prime Minister when the government takes so many steps, in their efforts, they should see that the weaker sections should not be affected. I request the Government not to give up subsidies for foodgrains and fertilizers on any account. Madam, the price of fertilizer per ton now ranges between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 5,000. If you compare the cost of production and the sale price the difference is large. The sale price is lower than the cost of production. The gap is met by the Government. In the case of urea Rs. 3,000 per ton is met by the Government as subsidy when the price of it is above Rs. 5,000. If the subsidy is given up all of a sudden there may be a spurt in the prices of fertilizers. It will hamper the progress and it will break the bone of agriculturists. Already their back-bone is broken. Let us not squeeze and crush them.

Madam, my next subject is social justice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN):
Please conclude now.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:
Yes, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Otherwise, other won't be able to speak. Please conclude now.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: I am going to pay a glowing tribute to Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan. Yesterday while justifying caste as the criterion in the matter of reservation Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan traced the historical background of caste oppression. I listened and the whole House listened to her speech in rapt attention. Caste criterion has to be adopted. There is no doubt about it. There is consensus about it. But at the same time justice is not complete unless we consider the poor people in a particular caste who do not have enough money to go to school or who, after study, seek employment. The oppressed and the economically backward people in a particular caste or backward class should be given priority in the matter of reservation. This does not mean that caste criterion is to be totally neglected. If enough beneficiaries are not forthcoming from a particular caste or backward class, then the upper crust of that particular caste or class must be given consideration so that justice is properly meted out. *(Time bell rings)* Madam, please give me a few more minutes. Now I want to talk about my own State which has elected me...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No, no; please conclude now. I have to call other Members.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: Please give me just two minutes...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No. I am sorry I cannot give you. Then the other Congress Members will not be able to speak if you take away their time. So please make your concluding remarks now. I cannot allow any more time.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: Then I say, Madam, the natural resources should be shared according to need and availability. The natu-

ral resources belong to all. In Kerala much water flows down into the Arabian Sea. When Mr. Jacob was the Water Resources Minister we made a plea to him but he did not heed. We request the Government once again to take steps to divert such very good resources of Kerala and other places to the barren lands of Tamil Nadu. About the disputes between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. You know the grave situation. How long should these disputes be kept pending? There should be a statutorily constituted powerful institution at the highest level authorised by the Central Government to settle all disputes between the States. Then such situations would not arise. Therefore, I would request the Government to constitute a statutorily, powerful, permanent, institution to deal with all such disputes and to find quick remedial measures. Madam, since you are not allowing me more time I am unable to make some of the most important points but I would still like to say quickly a word about the LTTE menace. LTTE is a menace which is devouring and destroying Tamil Nadu. I appeal to the Government to put an end to this LTTE menace immediately. The Government must find out the accomplices who connived with the LTTE. I endorse Mr. Pachouri's request in this regard. Let the Government take effective steps to bring the culprits to book, who are at large and those who are conniving with the culprits. With these words I wish this Government all success in its efforts to achieve its goal. Thank you, Madam, for giving me this opportunity.
2.00 P.M.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya): Thank you, Madam Vice-Chairman. It has become an oft-repeated cliché that this Parliament is a hung parliament and that the people of India have not given any party a clear mandate to rule. I congratulate the Prime Minister for having quickly grasped the situation, having grasped the settle and for having assured at the earliest opportunity that this Government is not going to ride roughshod over the feelings of others

and other parties and that he would try to arrive at a consensus on every important issue. This is a very sensible approach and I think there is no other approach that will be able to grapple with the problems in the country today. However, this is not all that there is to it. We have been through a trauma, the sad assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the elections, at least two phases of elections were fought under the shadow of this trauma, under a huge column of sympathy wave all over the country. It is a moot question that if Rajiv Gandhi had been alive today, if he had been able to lead the party through the last two phases of the elections, whether the people of India would have given him a clear mandate as he wanted, to run the affairs of the country, or the Congress party might be less by about 50 seats and thereby compelling a coalition. The point I am going to make is that this is a kind of spoke in the affairs of the nation. The parliament should be the mirror of the country. It should be a barometer to gauge the mood of the people of the country and I think that opportunity has been denied to the people of India by this very sad and tragic demise of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Madam, Vice-Chairman, there is a certain amount of unrealism both in the debate on the Confidence Motion in the other House and on the debate on this Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address. The Government has just taken over and there is no reason why we cannot believe that they find the country in an extremely difficult situation. The only thing we can talk about is whether this Government has made the right approach towards the solution of this problem. It is here that the question of their efforts to obtain a loan from the International Monetary Fund is relevant. It is here that this whole question of shifting of a part of our gold holdings in order to obtain certain bridging loan comes. We have to look at all these questions from that angle. We were at the point of defaulting on our

international economic commitments. If we did default the pipeline of loan and foreign exchange would have been blocked. By all reports we are going to import very much more oil from outside. Almost 1/3 of our oil wells have been shut down and therefore much more petroleum would have to be imported into this country. We still have to import fertilizers; we still have to import edible oils and still have to import pharmaceuticals and chemicals. All these things are absolutely necessary for the industries of this country. If these had been blocked, these industries would have come to a grinding halt and there would be a large number of retrenchments. Would that be a desirable situation? I think the Government has grappled with the situation in a very very able manner and for this they deserve our compliments.

I do not understand certain criticism made by the honourable Members against the IMF. We have only to look abroad to see what is happening. Only the other day we saw the spectacle of the President of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, paying a visit to England, paying court to the leaders of the Group of Seven, the rich industrialised countries and asking them for a big loan, a kind of Marshall Plan, in order to retrieve the economy of the Soviet Union.

Madam, the Soviet Union today is still a superpower. It is still the largest country in the world and it is still potentially the richest country in the world. It produces the maximum of gold; it produces the maximum of diamond; and it is still the largest producer of petroleum. Now, if a country like the Soviet Union, goes there, what does it show? Mr Gorbachev has not achieved all that he wanted. All that he got was an assurance of technical assistance in critical areas of his economy, and assistance in order to bring the Soviet Union as an associate member in

[Shri G. G. Swel]

the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Now, if the Soviet Union, after so many years, thinks it necessary to become a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, because these two international institutions are still the axes on which the world economy rests, what is there to object to our Government making all these efforts? I see that the shifting of gold out of this country is only to restore the confidence of our lenders abroad and the confidence of the International Monetary Fund and to demonstrate the capacity of this country to pay and I think, to that extent, they have succeeded.

Now, here is a report that the International Monetary Fund is agreeable to extend to India a bridging loan, may be a short-term loan. I do not know what any other Government would have done. Suppose any other Government had come to power at this stage. I do not see what they could have done and, therefore, I do not see anything at all to criticize in this. And, Madam, I can say that Mr. Gorbachev has not succeeded in getting all that he wanted. He wanted hefty loans from outside. But these industrialised countries have not been able to agree to the extent to which he wanted. What is the reason? The reason that they have given is that they do not know about the situation in the Soviet Union. They are not sure as to who is in control in the Soviet Union, whether it is the Soviet central authority, whether it is Mr. Gorbachev or whether it is the Republics in the Soviet Union. This political uncertainty in that country has gone against the Soviet Union and I would like that we do not repeat that here in this country.

Madam, the President's Address is a kind of *tour d'horizon*, a kind of survey of the national horizon, and he points out the peaks and the valleys, and he points out the errors

and difficulties. But I think, much more than what the Government says, is a task before us and that is that we must learn to think of ourselves as a nation. We have to learn to think beyond ourselves. I would appeal to the various parties in this country to think not so much of their own parties to make political points, but to think of the country. We have a duty to save this country and to save this nation and, therefore, I for one will extend my full support to the Government. I want to extend my support to the Motion expressing gratitude to the President for his Address.

Now, having said all these things, I have two more points to make and they are very small points.

The first point is that the President has referred to the question of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes having a new composition which has been given a statutory status. Now I have it from a member who was the Chairman of this Commission that despite all this good, well intentioned motive of the Government there has been an effort within the bureaucracy to bring about... (*Time bell ring*) Mr. Jacob is here. I am happy he is here, because he also represents the Home Ministry. He is aware that this question of the composition of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been there for the last two or three years and it has been the demand of all the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Members of Parliament and others that the composition of this Commission should be entirely drawn from the members of these two communities. But under the Rules made—I would request you to go through the Rules—it is provided that it should be 7 members. Under the Rules it is there that one or two persons from outside the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes could also be members of this Commission. And more than that, a per-

son who had been the Secretary of the Ministry of Welfare, who is retired, who is not a member of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes—he is a Brahmin from the south—has been able to smuggle himself to get himself appointed as a member of this Commission. This is an example of bureaucratic manoeuvring. I would request Mr. Jacob to kindly look into this matter, and if the appointment of a particular person has been made in an irregular manner, in indecent haste, kindly do away with that, and do restore this Commission to the confidence of the people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

If you allow, Madam, I have just one more point. We talk of foreign exchange. One of the things by which we can get foreign exchange in this country is through tourism. It does not require much of export of anything. Now, the north-east is a huge area as Mr. Jacob knows very well. It is an area where we have so many things, a variety of things—wild life, exquisite landscape, beautiful climate, everything that would make that area a paradise for tourists. Just at a stone's throw away from that area you have a large concentration of diplomatic community, in Dacca, in Bangladesh. You know the climate in Bangladesh. An escape from Bangladesh into these hills in the north-east would be a kind of a windfall for these people there. But we have this totally silly administrative restriction of not allowing foreign tourists to the north-east. You are allowing these people to go to Kashmir every year. The other day we had this example of Israeli tourists being attacked by one of the militant organizations and all that. Everybody heard it. But there is no such thing in the north-east. Why do you have this kind of restriction. Of course, tourism would mean a whole infrastructure for tourism. But that is not so much needed as a precondition. People are ready to come there even now because of the

climate, because of the beauty of the place. I know that this question has been under consideration of the Government for many many years. I know that the last Government was actively considering lifting this totally silly restriction on foreign tourists. What kind of danger can you expect from them? They look so different from the local people. They can easily be identified. They would come only for a specified length of time and go away. People have calculated that if this ban is lifted, it can easily bring in Rs. 100 crores in foreign exchange by way of earning in this country.

I would appeal to Mr. Jacob—my friend, Mr. Jacob, is in the Home Ministry—because this is the responsibility of the Home Ministry, and the last Government was actively considering to lift this restriction—I would request him kindly to look into this and lift this restriction. This is how you will get tourists and earn foreign exchange. Moreover, you will be offering a number of jobs to the local people in the north. The north-east is known to have all kinds of militant organizations.

This is one way of solving the problem there. Thank you, Madam.

इस श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभिभाषण पर
चर्चा करते समय हमारे अधिकतर कांग्रेसी
भाइयों ने या तो कांग्रेस और अपनी
सरकार की तारीफ के झूठे पुलिन्दे बांधे
या श्री राजीव गांधी के नाम का जाप
किया। भूतकाल में इनकी क्या उपा-
लब्धियां रहीं और भविष्य में किन नीतियों
से, किन योजनाओं के माध्यम पर वे देश
की समस्याओं का समाधान करना चाहते
हैं, उनका केवल इशारा मात्र दिया,
लेकिन कोई भी ठोस उपाय इस सदन
के सामने नहीं सुझाए, फिर भी मैं अपने
चन्द कांग्रेसी साथियों का धन्यवाद करता
हूँ कि राष्ट्रहित में उन्होंने, खास तौर
से श्री सिद्धे रजो साहब ने इस सदन
का ध्यान दिलाया है।

[श्री तंभ प्रिय गीतम]

मैडम, 60 अनुच्छेदों में राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का उल्लेख किया गया है। मैं केवल अनुच्छेद 28, 29 जो अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, पिछड़ी जाति और अल्पसंख्यकों से संबंधित है और अनुच्छेद 60, जिसमें देश में बहुमुखी कष्ट का ध्यान राष्ट्रपति जी ने हम लोगों को दिखाया है, केवल इन्हीं पर तीन-चार मिनट में अपनी चर्चा करूंगा। यह कांग्रेस की सरकार कहती तो बहुत रही, लेकिन इसकी इच्छा-शक्ति कुछ करने की नहीं रही। इसकी इच्छा-शक्ति तब नहीं रही, जब इसमें शक्ति थी। तीन-तीन सौ, चार-चार सौ, साढ़े चार-चार सौ सांसद थे, बड़े-बड़े मेधावी और बड़े-बड़े विद्वान प्रतिभाशाली लोग इनकी मंत्रि-परिषदों में थे। जब ये शक्तिवान थे, तब इनकी इच्छा-शक्ति नहीं रही और आज ये शक्तिहीन हैं इसलिए इच्छा-शक्ति का कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं है। आज न इनकी संख्या घुसी है, न इनके पास वोट बक का बहुमत है और उसमें भी इरोजन हुआ है आज इन्हें मंत्रि-परिषद में भी लोग बाहर से लाने पड़े हैं, जबकि बड़े-बड़े विद्वान प्रतिभाशाली लोग, श्री पी० शिव शंकर जैसे लोग इस पार्टी में, इस सदन में उपस्थित हैं। आज उन्हें नजरअंदाज करके बाहरी लोगों को लाया गया है। मैं इनके कार्यकलाप पर कोई टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन यह इनके खोखलेपन और दिवालियेपन का सबूत है। इसलिए जब शक्ति ही नहीं है तो इच्छा-शक्ति का कोई प्रश्न नहीं उठता। इन अनुसूचित, दलित वर्ग एवं पिछड़े वर्गों के बारे में कितना कहा गया, लेकिन उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति क्या है मैं बताना चाहता हूँ। जमीन में काम करते हैं, जमीन के मालिक नहीं हैं। कारखानों में काम करते हैं, कारखानों के मालिक नहीं हैं। भट्टों पर ईंट बनाते हैं, भट्टों के मालिक नहीं हैं, सड़क बनाते हैं मगर सड़क पर पैदल चलते हैं। 10 मंजिल ऊँचे मकान बनाते हैं, खुद झुगी-ओपडियों में रहते हैं। बहन बेटियों की इज्जत लूटी जाती है। गाजर मूली की तरह ये काटे जाते हैं। पिंपरा कांड, बेलची कांड, साबूपुर कांड,

देहली कांड इनके साथ घटत हैं। सारे मुल्क में जुल्म और अत्याचार इन पर ढाए जाते हैं। मकानों के लिए पैसा मिलता है 4000 रुपए। फलश की छट्टी भी 25,000 में बनती है। शर्म आनी चाहिए। 4000 में मकान नहीं बन सकता। इनको वह भी पैसा नहीं दिया जाता। छात्रवृत्ति विद्यार्थियों को साल के आखिर में दी जाती है और वह भी उनको पेमेंट नहीं होता, लिहाजा न पुस्तकें ले पाते हैं और न अपने अन्य पढ़ाई-लिखाई के सामान खरीद पाते हैं, वह पैसा भी बंकार जाता है।

ग्राम जनता की यह हालत है, सरकारी कर्मचारियों और अधिकारियों की हालत यह है कि आरक्षण किसी क्षेत्र में पूरा नहीं है और प्रोन्नति के सारे एवेन्य समाप्त कर दिए जाते हैं। उनके चरित्र पंजिकाओं में विपरीत उल्लेख करके 1975 तक एक जी० ओ० था कि अनुसूचित जाति के अधिकारी की अगर गुड ऐंट्री है तो प्रमोशन के लिए एकसीलेंट मानी जाएगी, लेकिन वह भी खत्म कर दिया गया और आज एकसीलेंट एंट्री किसी को दी नहीं जाती, इसलिए प्रमोशन होती नहीं। मैं दाव देना चाहता हूँ सुप्रीम कोर्ट को कि अभी सिंडीकेट बैंक के मामले में सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने एक जजमेंट दिया। यहां की सरकार उसके खिलाफ रिज्यू में गई और रिज्यू एप्लीकेशन रिजेक्ट हुई और उसमें यह कहा गया कि रिजर्वेशन इन आखिरी स्टेज तक जारी रहेगा। लेकिन आज तक उसको इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया गया। नतीजा आज यह है, कि सारी भारत की सरकार में एक भी सचिव अनुसूचित जाति का नहीं है।

नतीजा आज यह है कि दूर की बात तो छोड़िए, इस दिल्ली में, भारत की सरकार में एक भी सचिव अनुसूचित जाति का नहीं है और कुल एक अपर सचिव है और जहां अल्पसंख्यकों की बात कहते हैं इनका भी केवल एक सचिव है, और दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि अल्पसंख्यकों का सचिव और अनुसूचित जाति का अपर सचिव दोनों ऐसे सहकर्म में बैठाए गए हैं

जो सबसे ज्यादा रद्दी समझा जाता है, जिसका कहते हैं—वैलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री आम तौर से जिसका मंत्री भी अनुसूचित जाति का व्यक्ति बनाया जाता है। यह है इनका प्रेम इन जातियों के प्रति, अब पिछड़ी जातियों के बारे में सुन लीजिए।

डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी के राष्ट्रपतित्व में पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू की प्राइममिनिस्टरशिप में वैकवर्डे कलास कमीशन, काका कालेलकर कमीशन बैठाया गया था। वह किसने बैठाया था? कांग्रेस ने बैठाया था। उसने अपनी रिपोर्ट दी मगर वह रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दी गयी। मंडल कमीशन बठा, कांग्रेस ने उसका विरोध नहीं किया, उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आयी, 10 साल यह शासन में है, वह रिपोर्ट रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दी और इतनी बड़ी संख्या में पिछड़ी जातियों के लोग जिनका आज प्रतिनिधित्व सरकारी सेवाओं में न के बराबर है, उसके बारे में आज आपने अपने वक्तव्य में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया है। जहां तक इन अल्पसंख्यकों का सवाल है हालांकि यह लोग, जजबाती ज्यादा है, इनको तो बाबरी मस्जिद चाहिए, रोजी-रोटी से इनका कोई मतलब नहीं है। आजादी के बाद कितने इनके कलैक्टर हैं? कितने इनके एम० पी० हैं? कितने इनके दारोगा हैं? कितने इनके तहसीलदार हैं? कितने इनके एस०डी०एम० हैं, नौकरी में आज अल्पसंख्यक नजर नहीं आता। आज जहां पर उनका प्रतिनिधित्व होगा चाहिए था। कौन जिम्मेदार है इसके लिए? यह सब कांग्रेसी लोग जिम्मेदार हैं और इनकी नीयत यही रही पहली बार एक शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट का चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया गया—डी० संजीवैया। लेकिन प्रावधान नहीं था उप मुख्य मंत्री का। उसके ऊपर डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर वाच एंड वार्ड के लिए पहली बार डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर नान शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट बैठाया गया। दूसरा चीफ मिनिस्टर राजस्थान में बठाया गया। रात के 11 बज वह यहां बैठा था उस हटाकर उसके पीछे दूसरा मुख्य मंत्री बिठा दिया गया। मान्यवर, इनके बाद

से कोई भी अ० जाति का व्यक्ति उपयुक्त ओहदे पर नहीं पहुंचा। मोरारजी देसाई के जमाने में एक अनुसूचित जाति आदमी को चेयरमैन यू०पी०एस०सी० बनाया गया। आप दिल्ली को देखिए, एक भी हैड आफ दि डिपार्टमेंट शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट का आदमी नहीं है, डी आई जी लेफ्टीनेंट गवर्नर बन सकता है लेकिन शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट का आदमी डायरेक्टर जनरल पुलिस, जिसका बैस्ट रिकार्ड है, जिसका नाम यहां पर है वह नहीं बन सकता है यहां का लेफ्टीनेंट गवर्नर। यहां चीफ सेक्रेटरी नहीं बन सकता। डेपू का चेयरमैन नहीं बन सकता, डी०टी०सी० का चेयरमैन नहीं बन सकता। पुलिस कमिशनर या वाइस चेयरमैन एन० डी० एम० सी० नहीं बन सकता एक भी कहीं पर हैड आफ दि डिपार्टमेंट नहीं है, कहीं कारपोरेशन का चेयरमैन नहीं है, किसी निगम का एम० डी० नहीं है। यह आपका दर्द इन अनुसूचित जातियों और पिछड़ी जातियों के बारे में।

अंत में दो शब्द, आज देश की जो स्थिति है उसके बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। समाज का अपराधीकरण हो गया है, राजनीति का अपराधीकरण हो गया है, चोरियां, डकैतियां हत्याएं, सामूहिक हत्याएं, बलात्कार, बलात्कार के बाद हत्याएं, महुंगाई, भ्रष्टाचार, रिश्वतखोरी, अश्लील साहित्य का प्रशासन, अश्लील फिल्मों का प्रदर्शन चरम सीमा पर है। आबादी अंधाधुन्ध बढ़ गयी, देश के ऊपर कर्जा बढ़ गया, देश की सीमाओं पर खतरे बढ़ गए। आतंकवाद एवं उग्रवाद बढ़ गया। यह किसकी देन है? 40 साल में यह देन कांग्रेस की है। कौन है जिम्मेदार इस स्थिति के लिए? आप हैं और आपने कहा कि हम कटौती करना चाहते हैं खर्चों में।

मैं थोड़ा सा बोलूंगा। अपनी पार्टी के सिद्धांत को नहीं तोड़ूंगा, खत्म कर रहा हूं। पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू की कैबिनेट में 39 मिनिस्टर थे, श्री मोरारजी देसाई की कैबिनेट में 38 मिनिस्टर थे श्री वी० पी० सिंह के मंत्रिमंडल में 39 मिनिस्टर थे और श्री चन्द्रशेखर जी की

[श्री सच प्रिय गौतम]

मिनिस्ट्री में 34 मिनिस्टर थे। शर्म आनी चाहिए इनको 58 मिनिस्ट्रों की फौज बनाने की क्या जरूरत थी, अगर आप खर्चों में कटौती करना चाहते हैं ? तो।

प्रधान मंत्री का एक निवास होता है। पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू जो खत्म हो गए तो प्रधान मंत्री निवास बदल गया, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री खत्म हो गए तो प्रधान मंत्री निवास बदल गया, इंदिरा गांधी खत्म हो गयी तो प्रधान मंत्री निवास बदल गया, राजीव गांधी खत्म हो गए तो प्रधान मंत्री निवास बदल गया। क्यों फिजूलखर्चों की जा रही है यह प्रधान मंत्री के निवासों को दोबारा बनाने में ? प्रधान मंत्री का एक निवास क्यों नहीं रखा जाता ? इसलिए मैं तीन सुझाव देना चाहता —मिनिस्ट्रों की फौज को हटाइये, 40 मिनिस्टर बनाइये और खर्चों में कटौती कीजिए। दूसरा, जो पहला प्रधान मंत्री निवास है, प्रधान मंत्री को उसमें भेजिए। तीसरा, अगर जातिवाद और साम्प्रदायिकवाद को खत्म करना चाहते हैं।

Let there be free uniform and compulsory education and casteless society in the country then there shall be no caste and no need for reservation for any community.

और अब राम जन्मभूमि और बाबरी मस्जिद के बारे में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ इस विवाद को किसने पैदा किया मैं, इतिहास में नहीं जाना चाहता। एक मिनिट मैडम, सिर्फ एक मिनिट और कहना चाहता हूँ।

महोदय मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। जब उत्तर प्रदेश में पं० गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, और जब वहाँ कांग्रेस की सरकार थी तब दीवार तोड़ दी गई। क्यों नहीं दीवार आपने बंद कराई ? जब 1986 में कोर्ट ने

फैसला दिया ताला खुलवाने का, तब वीर बहादुर सिंह चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, कांग्रेस की सरकार वहाँ थी और केंद्र में भी कांग्रेस की सरकार थी। तब क्यों नहीं एक्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर से आपने ताले को बंद कराया ? क्यों वहाँ रामलला रखवाए ? क्यों आपने कीर्तन शुरू करवाया ?

महोदय, 1989 में नारायणदत्त तिवारी मुख्यमंत्री थे केंद्र में श्री राजीव गांधी की सरकार थी और बूटा सिंह होम मिनिस्टर थे तब क्यों आपने शिलान्यास करवाया ? आप हैं इसके जिम्मेदार और कहते हैं कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी जिम्मेदार हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपनी इच्छा शक्ति को प्रकट कीजिए और जब इच्छा शक्ति होगी तभी समस्याओं का समाधान हो सकेगा। धन्यवाद।

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Karnataka): Madam Deputy Chairperson, I am grateful to you for giving me a little time. But for the fact that I had a couple of important points to make which I would like to be communicated by the Prime Minister who is going to reply today at 3 O'clock, I would not have otherwise ventured into it.

Madam, I expected the President's Address to prominently suggest some breakthrough of the problem that has tortured this nation for the last so many years and I am talking of the Punjab problem in particular. Having heard the speech, I regret that no breakthrough of any kind is suggested or foreshadowed and some unfortunate incidents which have taken place during the last few days, made the problem still more tragic and more intractable. I know that we are dealing with the problem with which the U.P. Government is primarily concerned. I have no right to comment upon the performance of that Government and I do not intend to make any premature judgement on any Government. But I wish to comment upon the general pattern of behaviour of law enforce-

ment agencies which seems to be prevalent all over the country. It originates in Punjab which is ruled by the Centre, which is governed by the Centre and it seems that the pattern of behaviour has become an all-India pattern and is resulting in these tragic consequences with which we are faced now in the district of Pilibhit. Some facts cannot be denied. Whatever be the character of the persons killed, whatever be their objective, one fact which stands out prominently is that they were in a group which was largely a group consisting of men, women and children, when the police intercepted them. The police separated the men, the adult males from the rest and bundled them into another bus which the police had kept ready for the purpose. Madam, as a lawyer I know, once you have the people in your control—and they were obviously in your control because you huddled them from one bus to another and after that these persons have been shot, to my mind as a lawyer, it is a case of the massacre of innocent people and those who indulged in this act, unless they are quickly prosecuted and hanged, Punjab problem will never be solved. This is precisely the condition of what happened in 1984 that the killers of 1984 have not been punished and the Sikh psyche continues to remain in the original state of coma and injury and we have no answer to the Sikhs complaint that they are not full-blooded citizens of this country, that their people are killed, their community members are killed and there is no justice available to them which is otherwise available to everybody. So, Madam, I suggest that the Parliamentary Committee of the Lok Sabha which is going to investigate, should be converted into a Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Members from this House should also be added and the Committee should go to the spot and make a report forthwith within the next 3 or 4 days, because the surest way of avoiding and evading an issue is to

appoint a committee. The Committee keeps working while things go on in the old fashion. Unless, we find a very strong solution to the problem of State terrorism, the Punjab problem will continue to get accentuated from day to day and we will never be nearer a solution.

There is one more problem to which I wish to make a very brief reference. I know I am speaking on your indulgence, and, I have very little time. The Mandal Commission report has been a major policy plan of my party and I am not ashamed of it. I am proud of it. But what I wish to draw attention to is to the ambiguity and hypocrisy that surrounds this subject. No political party, during the election campaign, had the moral courage to say that the basic philosophy of the Mandal Commission is wrong. Every party was willing to shoot over somebody else's shoulders. Some dummies were set up who challenged the Commission's report before the Supreme Court. But no political party had the courage to take a specific stand except that the two Governments of Tamil Nadu and Bihar took up a brave stand and said that they support the Mandal Commission report. Now, we heard the President's Address. I find that there is a usual reference to some kind of an economic criterion, a criterion which has been referred to in vague terms all over. I wish to make one thing clear that this so-called reference to the economic criterion is another high-caste ploy to frustrate the intentions and the promises of the Constitution-makers. We have the habit of honouring our leaders of the past by going and garlanding their statues. But we murder their philosophy and the message which they had delivered to posterity. Both Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar examined the economic argument. Nehruji was nothing else if he was not a great economist. But when the economic argument was mentioned and debated in the Constituent As-

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

sembly, it was rejected overwhelmingly and in express terms. What was said was that we shall reserve for those who are socially and educationally backward. Socially and educationally backward, according to Dr. Ambedkar, were those who for thousands and thousands of years had been the victims of humiliation, the victims of segregation and the victims of cruelty, practised by a section of the society against the backward classes. It is against this historic injustice that the Constituent Assembly pledged, "we are going to give compensation". But so clever are the high-caste people that they made nonsense of the Kalelkar Commission report and of the Mandal Commission report. It kept gathering dust in the archives of the Congress Government until Shri V. P. Singh and the Janata Dal rescued it from destruction by termites and made it into an effective programme of implementation. It is true that the party has come in for a lot of criticism and has come in for a lot of attack—a virulent attack on that—an example of which can be found in an editorial published in the *Times of India* yesterday. But we are proud of that attack because, we feel that it is hypocrisy which has prevented being done to the backward classes. Unfortunately, when we are talking of an attractive economic argument, this is a ploy by the exploiters to say that, now, all the poor people of the exploited classes and the exploiting classes will be put on a footing of equality. Therefore, the basic philosophy of Mandal that we have to provide compensation for historic injustice in the past, is being abandoned and is being destroyed. This kind of hypocrisy must come to an end. I hope the Prime Minister, instead of making the statement which he has already made in the other House yesterday, which I read with great interest, will remove that ambiguity and assert the moral stature of the Prime Minister's office and assert the moral stature of his own Government

and his party. Speaking for myself—I think I am also speaking for everybody in the Opposition—we are prepared to support this Government through and through because we know there are very grave problems facing this country. We will see to it that there is no political instability. But Madam, at the same time, there are certain basic philosophies and programmes of the opposition parties which cannot be sacrificed at the altar of his hypocrisy, at the altar of the self-interest of politicians.

One point more and I am done. We welcome the breath of fresh air which the Government has brought in now. It is in the economic field. I, for myself, am prepared to support this Government to the extent of saying that there are so many holy cows of the past which have got to be jettisoned. They have got to be thrown overboard and a new economic philosophy has to come into being. But Madam, two things must be said here.

One is, there is Part IV i.e., the Directive Principles of State Policy in which there is an eternal commitment. The basic philosophy of this Part is that if a person, a citizen, for reasons beyond his control, is in a situation of want, his special needs are a paramount charge on the public exchequer. It is only in this sense that this country is a socialist country and I hope this country will continue to be a socialist country. Whatever economic changes or liberalisation you make, our fundamental obligation under this Part, Part IV of the Constitution, must remain.

Lastly, Madam, liberalise by all means. Our industry has become infantile. They have always operated in clustered markets, in protected markets, seeking Government protection. But when we free them from the restraints, at the same time, we must tell them that the law will be strictly enforced. Scrap the M.R.T.P. Act. Scrap the F.E.R.A. Reduce in-

come-tax. Do everything. But tell them that such laws as continue to exist will be enforced strictly irrespective of how politically powerful a particular delinquent is. We must strictly enforce these laws. Your laws must not hang lyp when they are faced with powerful politicians and corrupt businessmen who are engaged in a holy wedlock. This wedlock has to be broken. Break it by your new principles. But certainly see to it that this wedlock does not continue. This has been the bane of our polity.

Madam, these are the points that I wanted to make. I hope the Prime Minister will reply to these three points of mine.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Khyomo Lotha. Please be brief.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHIA (Nagaland): Madam, I rise to support the Motion of thanks on the President's Address to both Houses of Parliament.

We have gone through a nightmare in the assassination of our beloved leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Just now, one hon. Member said in a casual and light way that if Rajiv Gandhi had been alive, the Congress would not be on the treasury benches. I say with all the authority at my command that if Shri Rajiv Gandhi had been alive, he would have been sitting as the Prime Minister here. If he had been alive, the position in U.P. and Bihar would have been different than what it is today. After his assassination, many people, inside and outside the country expected that this country would go to pieces and that the Congress Party would disintegrate. I know they are very much disappointed now. The Congress is still alive. It has come to power. It may be a hung Parliament, but the Congress has come to power. I am sure, the able Prime Minister that we have now will do better than what many of you expected of him.

Madam, I will make a few points only. Now we have many programmes, apart from Mandal Commission, in different forms for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, backward communities and minorities which have been envisaged in our manifesto and in our policies. Here I would like to differ with one of my hon. Members in so far as the establishment of National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned. It is high time that the Commission is bifurcated and a new Commission is instituted for the Scheduled Tribes. Madam, the problems of the Scheduled Tribes are different. If you look at the tribals of Kalahandi district in Orissa, the tribals of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and the tribals in Maharashtra, their problems are different, their condition is pitiable. Their problems are different from those of the Scheduled Castes. The financial institution or Corporation has actually been initiated by the Delhi Government. The Government sitting in the Union territory of Delhi has instituted a Financial Corporation for Scheduled Castes, leaving out the Scheduled Tribes. Lakhs of Scheduled Tribe people are living in the Union territory of Delhi. They have asked for the bifurcation of this National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, I demand that there should be a separate national commission for the Scheduled Tribes.

So far as students are concerned, when we think of giving them better employment, think of generating employment for youth, self-employment, I say that we should instil in our younger generation an instinct of dignity of labour. Unless we do this, our purpose will not be achieved. What I see in this country is that people are not willing to work with their own hands. Excepting the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes, others are not willing to work with hand. When I was a school student, I had to study

[Shri Khyomo Lotha]

and also to work after school time. We were paid a small amount for the work we did and that was a great help for the poor people. But I came to Delhi and joined University, I stayed in the hostel. In the hostel in the morning I was carrying a bucket of water. On this a friend of mine said, "Why are you carrying the bucket, why don't you call the servant? People will laugh at you." This is the attitude of our own people. This attitude has to be changed. We have to carry our own bag and baggage, we have to learn to work, even manage our own things at home. Here the housewives are suffering because their husbands are not helping. We must have the dignity of labour. This must be instilled in the minds of the younger generation. So our education must be linked with dignity of labour and this must be taught from the primary level to the high school level.

Because of lack of time I will come to my last point of foreign policy. Para 58 of the President's speech says, I quote:

"Our foreign policy will take into account the far reaching changes taking place in the international situation while adhering firmly to the principles of non-alignment."

I fully agree with this and I say that we have never done like China which has invaded part of North-East India and we were put in such a dangerous situation. Then we have Pakistan who has been instigating and helping terrorist and secessionist movement in Punjab and Kashmir, but still we have diplomatic relations with them. In Sri Lanka our Rajiv Gandhi was nearly murdered earlier. Still we have diplomatic relations with them. If that is so, why can't we have relations established with Israel and South Africa? The things have now changed. By establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, I think we may serve the cause of Palestine better. I feel, we may have

done better to remove apartheid from South Africa if we had established diplomatic relations with South Africa. Madam, you know that India is a land of religions, faith, saints and *sanyasis* and we go to different places on pilgrimage. Now, Christians go to Jerusalem in Israel on pilgrimage but, Madam, today we are deprived of that facility. Here I have this passport wherein every country is permitted except South Africa and Israel. I hope the Government will take immediate steps to see that this ban on these two countries is remove and we shall have all countries permitted in our diplomatic and other passports.

With these words, Madam, I support the Motion of Thanks. Thank you, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarti, You have five minutes because, at three o'clock the Prime Minister will reply, and there are several other speakers.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Madam, although the President's Address covers broad areas of our national life, sadly enough it does not sum up some of the very important issues and problems of our country. In fact, I would like to draw the attention of the House to this aspect of it.

Madam, the law and order situation of the country has been declining day by day. Not to speak of Assam, Punjab and Kashmir, even in Delhi itself we have seen how each and every day people are murdered, even infants and women not being spared.

Madam, it is unfortunate that under various pretexts the army has been deployed in different parts of the country. Thus the Indian Army, which has once been held in high esteem by the people of this country, has been reduced to a major police

force. Why has the country's defence force been allowed to face the fire of the people by having been deployed in such a way? In the process, I have seen, in Assam and other parts of the country also, that hatred has been generated in the minds of the people towards the army personnel.

Madam, in Assam, simultaneously with the imposition of President's Rule, two black laws also had been imposed there. In the name of Operation Bajrang and Operation Sher Dil, the army brought about large scale vandalism, looting, killing of innocent people, rape and what not. I have mentioned these things several times in this House. The black laws are still in force in Assam, although a Congress (I) Government is installed there. An impression was earlier given to the people of Assam that as soon as a Congress (I) Government is installed at Dispur, there would be peace and peace in every nook and corner of the State. But, even on the day of installation of the Congress (I) Government at Dispur in Assam when the Saikia Government took charge in the State, havoc was wrought in the State. More than 19 persons, including a foreign national, were kidnapped. An important Home Ministry official was kidnapped from the capital complex itself. We find that no improvement has taken place in the situation there.

We have also seen that in the international scene also the country's image has been very badly tarnished. News in respect of the dead body of the Russian engineer who was working in the coal fields of Margherita came over the radio yesterday, that the dead body of that person has been recovered. But in today's Indian Express it is seen that it is a decomposed body and identity of the body is yet to be established. This shows how impudent and unjust the Congress (I) Government in Assam is

tige? Is it a fact that the Assam Government resorted to this self-defeating and heinous crime at the instance of the Central Government?

Coming back to elections, I would like to say that people in general were under the impression that Assam was a chaotic State and, if elections were held, there would be a law and order situation there. What we have seen is that in a very peaceful atmosphere the election work has been completed in Assam. It was more peaceful than the what it was in the rest of the country. I hope that you are agreeing with me.

But now, Madam, there is no peace in Assam. Each day people are kidnapped. There is no trace of them. Although amnesty of a general nature has been granted, still, there is no peace even after the installation of the Congress (I) in Assam.

Another problem is that Assam is now reeling under floods. The flood waters have caused deaths and have caused damages to lands and other properties of the Assamese people. Even in a single year twice or thrice floods occur in Assam, and these cause damages to the valuable economy of the State. People go on suffering, and there is no remedy from them. Many a time in the House I have pleaded the hon. Minister to contain the problem of floods.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

There is a proposal for the Brahmaputra which I mentioned earlier. If the Suvansiri Dam Project is implemented, it will not only control the flood-waters in Assam, but it will also control erosion and it will give cheap electricity to Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and the entire North-Eastern region.

Moreover, Madam, the Address

[Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarty]

the entire North-Eastern region. The entire North-Eastern region including Assam is still at the pre-industrial stage of the country.

What is unfortunate is that "resource crunch" has been the ready-made reply whenever a demand is placed for industrial development or building of a bridge or a road or anything else. That is the reply given every time.

There is no reference to the anomalies or the gross irregularities committed by the Chief Election Commissioner at the behest of a particular political party.

We would have been very happy if the Address had hinted at changing certain election laws so that elections could be held in a perfect atmosphere with no anomalies, with no disturbances.

Another important point I want to mention, and after that I will conclude.

Women have been the worst victims of socio-economic injustice in independent India. In a country where women are said to be the most respected people, they are killed at their birth. Killing of the female child either in the embryo or at its birth is a regular feature. It has appeared in different national dailies almost daily. Probably you know the amniocentesis test which is done particularly to identify, to determine the sex of the baby in the womb of the mother. When the sex is determined, if it is a girl, it is murdered in the womb.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Chakravarty, will you please conclude?

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Madam, I simply mentioned the grim fact regarding women. Because of the killing of the female children, the population of women is

declining in the country very precariously. You know it will create a very terrible situation in the long run. So, I want, Madam, that stringent laws should be enacted to stop this at the earliest.

Madam, there are various other important points which I should mention. But because of the paucity of time I should not go into them.

But I want to say that there is spiralling of prices, but there is no effort on the part of the Government to control it. The Government should take note of it.

With these words, Madam, I conclude, and I cannot support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

Thank you.

श्री० ब्रज प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश):
आदरणे योग्य उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ जो आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है उस पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर प्रदान किया है। मैं प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आपके द्वारा जो समय निर्धारित किया गया है, मैं उसका आभारः पालन करूँगा।

सर्वप्रथम, मैं अपने वक्तव्य के संबंध में विवेकन करना चाहता हूँ जिसमें कि माननीय सदन के माध्यम से देश तथा विदेश की वास्तविक स्थिति का ज्ञान हो सके। जैसा कि सर्वविदित है कि मैंने यह कहते हुए भारत सरकार के राज्य मंत्री के रूप में कार्य ग्रहण करने में असमर्थता व्यक्त की थी।

जैसा कि सर्वविदित है कि मैंने यह कहते हुए भारत सरकार के राज्य मंत्री पद की शपथ ग्रहण में असमर्थता व्यक्त की थी कि जब तक श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी अमेठी क्षेत्र से सांसद नहीं बन जाती हैं तब तक मैं राज्य मंत्री अथवा मंत्री के पद की शपथ नहीं ग्रहण करूँगा। मेरी

उपयुक्त घोषणा का कारण पूर्णतया स्पष्ट है। मैं अमेठी संसदीय निर्वाचन क्षेत्र का निवासी हूँ, सन् 1962 में उत्तर प्रदेश में विधायक निर्वाचित हुआ था तब से अर्थात् लगभग 30 वर्षों से नेहरू परिवार से मेरा भावनात्मक संबंध रहा है। सन् 1981 में अमर शहृष्ट राजीव गांधी जी अमेठी में कांग्रेस "आई" के प्रत्याशी हुए थे तब से मेरा पूजनार्थ राजीव गांधी जी से एवं आदरणीया सोनिया गांधी जी से निकट का संबंध रहा है। मैंने उन्हें बहुत निकट से देखा है। आदरणीया सोनिया गांधी जी के व्यक्तित्व में समस्त मानवीय गुणों का समावेश है। उनके प्रशंसा शब्दों में नहीं की जा सकती है। वह देश की गौरवशाली अंतर्गत हैं, मर्यादापूर्ण वर्तमान हैं एवं उज्ज्वल भविष्य हैं। आज माननीय सदन में मैं इस बात को प्रतिज्ञा करता हूँ कि जब तक आदरणीया सोनिया गांधी भारत की प्रधान मंत्री नहीं बनेंगे, मैं कोई राज्य मंत्री पद अथवा मंत्री पद ग्रहण नहीं करूँगा। मैंने जो घोषणा की है उसमें भावनात्मक कारण के साथ राजनीतिक कारण भी अत्यंत स्पष्ट है। मेरा विश्वास है कि आदरणीया सोनिया गांधी देश की अखंडता, एकता एवं प्रभुसत्ता को शक्ति प्रदान करेंगी। वे देश में लोकतंत्र, समाजवाद, धर्म निरपेक्षता एवं गुट-निरपेक्षता की नीति को शक्ति प्रदान करेंगी। वे देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाएंगे, देश को समृद्ध और शक्तिशाली बनाने में सहायक होंगी। वे देश में मूल्यों की राजनीति की स्थापना करेंगी। वे देश की सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता चरित्र और ईमानदारी की पूर्ति करेंगी। मेरा विश्वास है कि उनके नेतृत्व में देश के चरित्रवान एवं ईमानदार व्यक्तियों का सम्मान होगा क्योंकि देश तभी वास्तविक अर्थों में प्रगति कर सकेगा, विकास कर सकेगा....

(संक्षेप)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Are we proposing a vote of thanks to the President or to Mrs. Sonia Gandhi?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is entirely his speech. Can't he discuss any other point?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: His speech does not come within the purview of the debate on the President's Address. Does it come or does it not come? I want a ruling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Perhaps he thinks that he can mention it here.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): The point of order raised by Mr. Jaipal Reddy is not a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you are really serious that my ruling should be implemented, then, it should be from retrospective effect. Earlier also many speeches were delivered without any relevance to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. So it should be implemented in every case. But we have not followed that *parampara*.

SRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You praised Mr. V. P. Singh for nothing.

उपसभापति: जो भी आप बोल रहे हैं, बोलिए, लेकिन संक्षेप में बोलिए।

डा० राम प्रताप सिंह: मेरा विश्वास है कि उनके नेतृत्व में देश से गरीबी, बेकारी तथा आर्थिक संकट दूर होगा। ये कुछ प्रमुख कारण हैं जिनके आधार पर मैंने यह घोषणा की थी कि जब तक सोनिया गांधी अमेठी से सांसद नहीं निर्वाचित होंगी तब तक मैं राज्य मंत्री अथवा मंत्री पद नहीं ग्रहण करूँगा।

सन् 1981 में अमेठी से राजीव गांधी स्वामी सुरज का उदय हुआ था जिसका प्रकाश विश्व में फैला। दुर्भाग्यवश सन् 1991 में उसका अस्त हो गया। मेरा

[डा० शत्रुघ्न प्रताप सिंह]

विश्वास है कि सन् 1991 में अमेठी से सोनिया गांधी रूपी शशि का उदय होगा जिसका प्रकाश विश्व में फैलेगा। उसकी शीतलता में द्वेष, घृणा, हिंसा का अंधकार समाप्त होगा। सम्पूर्ण मानवजाति सुखपूर्वक जी सकेगी और शांति की नींद सो सकेगी। सरकार से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आदरणीया सोनिया गांधी जी, प्रिय राहुल जी, प्रिय प्रियंका की सुरक्षा की उत्तम व्यवस्था की जाए क्योंकि यह परिवार देश की कोटि कोटि जनता की श्रद्धा एवं विश्वास का केन्द्र है और कोटि कोटि जनता के हृदय का स्पंदन है।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त (मध्य प्रदेश) : उनकी गैरमौजूदगी में उनका जिक्र इतना ज्यादा नहीं होना चाहिए।

डा० शत्रुघ्न प्रताप सिंह : महोदय, राष्ट्र के समक्ष एक गम्भीर प्रश्न है, एक गम्भीर चुनौती है और वह अष्टाचार की है जो जनसंख्या के बढ़ने की दर से भी अधिक तीव्र गति के साथ बढ़ रहा है। आज देश के समक्ष जो भयंकर आर्थिक संकट है उसका प्रमुख कारण अष्टाचार है। जब तक अष्टाचार समाप्त नहीं होगा तब तक आर्थिक संकट समाप्त नहीं हो सकता। अष्टाचार समाप्त करना एक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य है। सर्वप्रथम आत्मनिरीक्षण करना पड़ेगा कि मैं तो अष्टाचार नहीं कर रहा हूँ। स्वर्गीय महादेवी बमो ने कहा था, इसे मैं उद्धृत करता हूँ "कि गंधगी गंदे जल से नहीं धोई जा सकती है उसके लिए निर्मल जल की आवश्यकता होती है।" मैं उद्धरण समाप्त करता हूँ। अष्टाचार का उन्मूलन अभी संभव है जबकि देश के समस्त राजनेताओं का चरित्र संदेह से परे हो। इस दिशा में सत्ताहट्ट दल का 3.00 P.M. सदा ही अधिक उत्तरदायित्व रहेगा। अष्टाचार का उन्मूलन योजनाओं के द्वारा नहीं हो सकता है। समस्त राजनेताओं को अपने जीवन से अष्टाचार का उन्मूलन करना होगा। यह कार्य अत्यंत सरल है। (समय की घंटी) और जब सूर्य का उदय होता है, प्रकाश फैलता है,

अंधकार अपने आप समाप्त हो जाता है। उसी प्रकार जीवन में सदाचार के सूर्य का जब उदय होता है, तो अष्टाचार का अंधकार स्वयं समाप्त हो जाता है।

मेरा विश्वास है कि सरकार देश में नैतिक मूल्यों की स्थापना की दिशा में क्रांतिकारी पथ उठायेगी, क्योंकि नैतिक मूल्यों की स्थापना से ही देश में आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक, समस्त समस्याओं का निराकरण हो सकेगा।

अंत में मैं एक रूबाई पढ़ कर अपनी बात को समाप्त करूंगा।

"सांस का पिंजरा किसी दिन टूट जाएगा,
हर मुसाफिर राह में ही छूट जाएगा।
हर किसी को प्यार कर लो,
प्यार लो सब का,
क्या पता कब प्यार का घट टूट जाएगा।"

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुआ है, धन्यवाद का, मैं उसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR (Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairperson, at the fag end of the debate, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. At the same time, I lament that the changes that have been taking place after Independence have not been brought out or discussed.

The first transformation that is taking place in the society is that the mantle of power is being passed on from one generation to another generation. And what I feel, looking into the various aspects and into the various agitations that have been going on in this country, is that every generation is a new generation in this country; every generation is a new nation in this country; and every new nation brings along with it a new culture, a new way of life, a new thinking. And I lament that

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Ambedkar]

to seven months. Today, the IMF has only broken our legs. Today, the IMF has crippled us. I do not know when they will make us crawl—and the only way in which I can see this is that on India, somebody declares a war. We do have neighbours with whom we are unfriendly. We are at cross roads with each of our neighbours and this is one of the aspects which I would like the Government to think and rethink over. This is the time when we have not only to think but we have to interact with each other. I hope, the Government will take the Opposition parties into confidence on these national issues and not play politics with these issues. Thank you.

श्री ईश बंस बाम्ब (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
माननीय उपसभापति जी, मैं आपके प्रति हृदय से आभार प्रकट करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के प्रति प्रस्तुत धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर अपने विचार रखने के लिए समय दिया है।

महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण, संसद के दोनों सदनो को उनका संबोधन, केवल औपचारिकता होती है, सर्वधानिक औपचारिकता होती है और धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव भी मैं समझता हूँ कि यह भी एक सर्वधानिक औपचारिकता है दोनों सदनो के लिए महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के प्रति आभार प्रकट करने की। लेकिन महोदय, मैंने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को भी सुना और उसका पूरा अध्ययन भी किया, मुझे इस अभिभाषण को पढ़ने के बाद पूरी निराशा हुई है क्योंकि इससे ऐसा कोई संकेत नहीं मिलता है कि यह नयी सरकार भविष्य में इस देश की जनता के लिए, करोड़ों-करोड़ जनता के लिए, हरिजन के लिए, गिरिजन के लिए, पिछड़े वर्ग और किसान के लिए, जहाँ इस देश का मेरुदंड है, जिस किसान के परिश्रम की बदौलत इस देश का अस्तित्व बना हुआ है, उसके लिए सरकार कुछ कर पाएगी। रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान, स्वास्थ्य और शिक्षा की समस्या हल

हो पाएगी, इस तरह का कोई संकेत इसमें नहीं मिलता है।

महोदय, माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने और इस सरकार ने घोषणा की थी कि सौ दिन के अंदर मंहगाई कम करेंगे। आज सरकार को कार्यभार ग्रहण किए, मैं समझता हूँ लगभग एक महीना पूरा हो रहा है, सौ दिन का लगभग एक तिहाई समय पूरा हो गया है, लेकिन मंहगाई घटने के बजाय बढ़ती चली जा रही है। प्रधान मंत्री जी की यह घोषणा एक कोरी कल्पना और मिथ्या बात साबित हो रही है।

महोदय, मैं ज्यादा विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता देश की समस्याओं के बारे में। जो ज्वलंत समस्याएँ हैं, उनके बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि समय बहुत कम है, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार की किसानों के बारे में नीति बहुत स्पष्ट नहीं है। महोदय, मैं गांव का रहने वाला किसान हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि किसान जो अपने खेतों में उत्पादन करता है, उसका आज तक कोई भी लाभकारी मूल्य उसे नहीं मिल सका है। सरकार और महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में इस बात का कोई संकेत नहीं है कि किसान की तरफको के लिए, उसे उत्पादन का लाभकारी मूल्य देने के लिए सरकार कोई व्यवस्था कर रही है।

महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री जी बोलने वाले हैं, मैं केवल दो बिंदुओं पर निवेदन कर अपनी बात समाप्त करना चाहूँगा। महोदय, मैंने प्रधान मंत्री जी का उस सदन में कल दिया गया भाषण पढ़ा। उसे पढ़कर मुझे मंडल कमिशन के बारे में निराशा हुई है। महोदय, मंडल कमिशन इस देश की एक बड़ी गंभीर समस्या है। उन पिछड़े वर्गों के लोगों के लिए जो शैक्षणिक रूप से, सामाजिक रूप से पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनके उत्थान की गंभीर समस्या है। राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा सरकार के भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री बी० पी० सिंह ने अनजाने एक राजनीतिक खतरे से बचने के लिए उन्होंने इस सदन में मंडल आयोग को जागू करने की अनचाही मन से घोषणा की थी। देश के करोड़ों लोगों ने इसको

this new culture, this new way of life, which is expressed in the form of demand of autonomy for the States, which is expressed in the form of separatism, which is expressed in the form of demand of autonomy for the states, which is expressed in the form of unemployment in this country, is not being brought out, is not being debated, in this House.

May I say that the forces which kept India united were the forces of freedom. Some of them fought for political freedom and some of them fought for social freedom. The bond of freedom, which kept men united, is slowly vanishing, for, those who fought for freedom, one by one, are leaving this House. And those who are coming into this House are coming from the forces which face the fact of life. The fact of life is that we are culturally divided; the fact of life is that we are religiously divided; the fact of life is that we are regionally divided. To this division, we have given a colour that under diversity we are going to have unity and I do hope that this illusion which we have that this diversity is going to keep us united, today, breaking up; for, what we have said while framing the Constitution is that we are a Union of States, not United States. What do we mean by 'Union of States'? By 'Union of States' we mean that States are equal; we mean that all the States will be treated on a par. But if you look at the last Lok Sabha elections that have taken place in the last Lok Sabha elections, some States have been segregated for one type of treatment and some States have been segregated for a different type of treatment. In one State elections were held while in the other State, elections were postponed. May I ask, through you, the Government as to who has authorised or from where do they derive this power of discriminating between the States? When we say we are a Union of States, here all the States have to be equal and they have to be treated as equal. If we have to postpone the

elections as it has been done in Punjab, I will say that we will have to state, while postponing, the next date on which the elections are going to be held or state that the State is not going to have elections as long as there is law and order problem. Which State does not have law and order problem? If you look at the constituencies that were selected as sensitive constituencies by the Election Commission, we find that half of them were sensitive constituencies and if in these constituencies could have law and order problem and if that problem can be solved there, why can't we have it for other States. That is the only issue which is agitating my mind.

The second aspect which I would like to raise over here is the devaluation of money. I do not know how far we have thought of the consequences of what is going to happen. External debts have to be adjusted and we have adjusted it through devaluation. The Government might say that we have gone in for devaluation but I will say, we have declared ourselves as insolvent and we have done it at the instance of the IMF. There is no urgency because every day, the Reserve Bank of India goes on adjusting our currency with other currencies. If there was a malady, it could have been adjusted by the Reserve Bank. But we have gone in for a drastic action. Today, if you look at the various reports that have come from the IMF and the other organisations, you will realise that the world wants a basket where they can throw the industrial goods. I think India has been identified as a basket where the goods can be dumped. We are paying for the policy—I won't discuss the policy—of the last seven or eight months in which we have tried to challenge the super-powers over here; whether we have the capacity or not, that is a question which can be debated. But we have gone and challenged the super-powers and I think, what is being done today is that we are being made to pay for what we did in the last six

स्वागत किया था। महोदया, आज वह विवाद उच्चतम न्यायालय में विचाराधीन है। मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी का बयान पढ़ा। मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी का प्रशंसक हूँ। मैं प्रशंसक हूँ इनकी विद्वता का, देश चलाने की अच्छी नीयत का, लेकिन इनके उस बयान को पढ़कर मुझे निराशा हुई है। मंडल कमिशन के बारे में फिर से विचार किया जाएगा। महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा कि उस पर और पुनः विचार न करें। अगर मंडल आयोग लागू कर दिया गया तो उसे चलने दें। हाँ, यह बात सही है कि इस देश में बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जो फारवर्ड क्लास के हैं। उनकी भी अधिक परिस्थिति अच्छी नहीं है। आप उनके लिए भी आरक्षण करें, महिलाओं के लिए आरक्षण करें, मुसलमान भाइयों के लिए आप आरक्षण करें, हम आपका स्वागत करते हैं। महोदया, इसका एक्सपैरिमेंट इस देश के अंदर उत्तर प्रदेश में हो चुका है। उत्तर प्रदेश के भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री माननीय मुलायम सिंह यादव ने वहाँ 15 परसेंट के रिजर्वेशन को 27 परसेंट तक और बड़ी जाति के लोगों के लिए 8 परसेंट रिजर्वेशन कर दिया है। मैं अनुरोध करूँगा कि आप उपापूर्वक मंडल आयोग की संस्तुतियों को पूरे तौर से लागू कर की घोषणा करें।

माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी बोलने वाले हैं, मैं एक मिनट इस देश की एक ज्वलंत समस्या के बारे में निवेदन करना चाहूँगा और वह है इस देश की रामजन्म-भूमि और बाबरी मस्जिद की। मैं विवाद में नहीं पड़ना चाहता। चूंकि मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का हूँ, इसलिए प्रधान मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ इस बारे में, कि केंद्र सरकार का, आपकी एक निश्चित राय होनी चाहिए कि साम-संभ्रमति से, हिंदू और मुस्लिम भाई के आपसी सीद्दाई से, आपसी बातचीत से इस समस्या का हल होना चाहिए वरना न्यायालय के फैसले का इंतजार होना चाहिए।

महोदया, मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी, जिनके हाथों में इस देश

को चलाने की जिम्मेदारी आई है, जो सुयोग्य और अनुभवी हैं, इस तरह की इस माननीय सदन में घोषणा करें।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, महोदया, मैं आपके प्रति हृदय से बहुत-बहुत आभार प्रकट कर रहा हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Madam, I am grateful to the honourable Members who have participated in this debate. I have got everything suggested by them and I have notes and comments by way of response to what they have said. The President's Address starts with a tragic event, namely, the assassination of our youthful and dynamic leader, Rajiv Gandhi, who had solved the problem of leadership of this country for the next twenty years. It is not just one person leaving the scene. This assassination is much more than that. Whether Rajiv Gandhi sat on this side of the House or on that side of the House, he had established his leadership. That leadership was unquestioned. What he did or what he proposed to do might have been criticised. might have been praised by different sections of the House or the population but still he was the leader, he was topic number one in the country just as his mother had been. She was topic number one in this country even when she was herself defeated in 1977. So the departure of Rajiv Gandhi is not just one person leaving us but leaving us poorer by perhaps several persons of that stature because today this country has to find leadership, a young leadership, and let us face the fact that this young leadership is not going to be easy to find. So what I would like to submit to the House is the measure of loss, real loss, of this country has to be understood in the spirit in which we can all combine, we can all cooperate, to find alternatives or find programmes of cooperation which he wanted to implement, which he promised through the Congress manifesto, not only the

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manifesto but by hundreds of his speeches all over the country, in every nook and corner of this country. This has to be our goal. In any case, this is going to be the goal of this Government. So I would say that we are faced with a very intricate problem. This problem needs to be understood. A whole generation has left. We are finding a new generation coming into the field, as he used to say. More than sixty per cent of this country are youth, under forty.

Now the problems, the aspirations, the advantage of having a youthful country have to be pressed. If there are any disadvantages they have to be minimised and this is where the programme given by him becomes important. I would like to say that the programme given by Shri Rajiv Gandhi can be implemented only when millions and millions of young people in this country combine to implement it, not by Government alone, not by the State Governments alone, not by the authorities alone, but by those who are really motivated to take up this work, take up this work on themselves and do it. Only then can we expect the real implementation of this programme. Certain doubts have been raised in certain quarters in this country—I do not know why; I find no justification whatsoever for those doubts—that we have been making some departure from the Nehru line or even from Rajivji's line. You may recall that when he was alive, when he was the Prime Minister the same kind of allegations were made against him. When Indiraji was the Prime Minister the same kind of allegations were made against her. So this has become more or less the beaten track, the beaten path, that whenever a new Prime Minister comes, the first allegation is that this Prime Minister is departing, is making a departure from the Nehru line or Indiraji's line or any line which has been established in the Congress. I would like to tell the House that there is no truth

whatsoever in this. The Nehru line is firmly entrenched in this country. I may even say that the Nehru line cannot be changed even by other parties. They tried it they could not whether it is in foreign policy, whether it is in domestic economic policy, whether it is in industrial policy, whatever policy you take, you will find the inevitability of the Nehru line and the presence of the Nehru line. whether one admits it or not. So there is no question of this Government making any departure from the Nehru line. And the Nehru line is so comprehensive, I am glad to say. It is not because the Nehru line is something which we rigidly want to follow; it is because the Nehru line itself is not rigid, itself has enough opportunity, enough scope to make innovations, make changes according to circumstances and still remain the Nehru line. Therefore I would like to say that there is no departure and there is not going to be any departure. The Nehru line is ideally suited to the conditions of this country. It is not for nothing that it has remained so long and it will remain as long as it is relevant and it is going to be relevant for a long long time. It is because it is comprehensive, it is because it admits of innovation. He himself talked about the scientific temper, for instance. When he talked of scientific temper, we, who were much younger to him were not able to follow what this scientific temper is. We followed science. We knew what technology would mean because we had read books of science, but scientific temper is something which was his own innovation. We tried to understand, we tried to puzzle over it for a long time and finally we thought it is not just science and technology or the laboratory or the technicians working there or the professors working there, but, the temper has to permeate the entire society and the thinking of the society and that is how he propounded this theory about the scientific temper and said that is a must for this country. After

that, he established laboratories. Indiraji strengthened the scientific temper because she gave a great fillip to science and technology in this country. Rajivji came, he not only continued the work done by Indiraji, but he brought a new dimension. He said that the only or, at least, the main purpose of science and technology in a country like India is to solve the problems of the people. It is not pure science, it is not the ivory tower science, which has its own importance. I do not agree that it has no importance. Pure science has its importance, basic science has got its own importance. But the point is that we cannot indulge in the luxury of basic sciences alone. We will have to develop basic sciences, we will have to develop sciences which are fundamental. But, at the same time, we have to concentrate, in the short term at least, on how to use science and technology to solve our problems. A number of examples can be given, starting with drinking water facilities starting with immunization programmes, starting with afforestation programmes, starting with any programme that is going on in the country, and we can prove that what he really wanted was the use of science and technology, application of science and technology, in order to solve these problems. So, this is a new approach that the application of science and technology has to be a part of the anti-poverty programme. That was propounded by Rajivji and I want to say here and now that this is going to the policy of this Government. We would like to revive what was dismantled, what was kept in cold storage, for whatever reason; I am not blaming anyone. But it so happened that the Technology Missions which Rajivji set up happened to go into disuse, happened to go into hibernation, during the last two years. Why? I would like to know this.

No one has told me about, no one has justified, the relatively lower importance given to the Technology

Missions. If you are really committed to solving the problems which the Technology Missions were intended to solve, then you should tell us why those Missions were not good and what was better, what was the better vehicle which you could devise during the last two years. This has not been done. So, I would like to say that whatever has been in hibernation—in fact, it has not been completely dismantled; I must be thankful to the previous Government for that will be revived. It will be revived and reinvigorated and whatever is to be done in order to solve these problem will be done.

We are introducing a new scheme to give drinking water to every village in this country in the next five years, to be named after Rajivji. Now, this scheme of giving water is not just a five-year scheme. It has to be a continuous scheme. In a village, if you give one well this year, you will have to give another well next year. In a village, if you find that the problems of sheet rock this year, you will have to see that by next year you get over the problem of sheet rock. Otherwise, you won't be able to give water. You have to see, in a particular area, whether the water available underground is full of fluoride or some worm or some chemical or some mineral which make it not potable, not fit to be consumed by human beings and then you will have to see how you get water from, say, fifty miles or a hundred miles, if necessary. It is because nothing is more important than water to a human being. You cannot say, "This is only a village or a hamlet of ten huts. Why should I give a well here?". You may say that in the case of many other things, but you cannot say that you do not give water because a village is small or the hamlet is small. You will have to give water there. So, in this way, if you unfold the whole programme, you will see and it is a huge programme, a country-wide programme,

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and whatever has not been done will be done under this scheme and that is what I would like to assure the House.

Madam, we are wedded to certain basics and we will continue our commitment, undermined, undiminished to those basics and, on the basis of that conviction, we will have our programmes implemented. The approach however, is going to be one of consensus. Time has come to realise that even in a party democracy no single party—of course it has to be a single party Government, if possible—apart from ruling the country—yes, that is possible—can solve problems. Solving the problems that are faced by this country is going to be possible or at least easier if you have the consensus approach, and not otherwise. I have said so, and I have said that even if I did not fall short by 10 or 15 seats in the Lok Sabha, my approach would be one of consensus. I have had a long enough experience of Parliament and party democracy in general, and I have come to the conclusion that most of the problems in this country are common problems that cut across parties and, therefore, there is really no party problem faced by the party. Except when elections come, every party seems to take all the credit to itself and all discredit is pushed to the other side. That is a different matter. But the problems themselves are national problems faced by the people as such. And they could not care less who solves these problems so long as they are solved, while we are quarrelling and keeping the problems where they are. It is time for us to realise that we should attend to the solution of the problems rather than apportioning the blame or credit because there is very little credit if we go on quarrelling. There is nothing to apportion and there is nothing to share. If there is anything, it is only the blame to share. I think that is not

a very satisfactory solution, not a satisfactory method of solving the problems. Therefore, my approach is going to be one of consensus on all issues—political and others—which face the country. I have problems on which I would be contacting, I would be discussing and I would be sharing my thoughts with the leaders of the Opposition parties and I would try to build a consensus. The decision of course has to be mine and of this Government and the responsibility and whatever consequences are to be faced will be faced by this Government. But before taking decisions I am willing not only willing—I am going to have this consensus approach built into every consultative or deliberative process of the Government.

Madam, we are passing through a very difficult time. The economic situation has been described as near-hopeless. But during the last few days there has been some hope revived that this Government has the courage to take decisions which just did not get taken during the last so many months. Not because anyone did not want to take them but it was not possible to take these decisions, given the political and party situation then. We have been able to take those decisions. Those decisions are momentous by any standards. And I would like to say that I would require hundred per cent support and sympathy of political parties plus the people of India. (Interruptions) I am appealing to the people of India to cooperate with this Government. In fact, it is not cooperation. It is their operation and my co-operation. (Interruptions) I would like to cooperate with them in going through this ordeal. And it is going to be nothing less than an ordeal—order of dimensions which we have never seen before. Imagine that the country is going to become a defaulter next week. Imagine that the country is going to have an unlimited inflation within the next 15 days, if that happens. Imagine that the country will

be absolutely in anarchic condition. If all these things happen, people will come on to the streets and there will be no law and order, there will not be a semblance of the Government. These are the horrendous consequences which stare us in the face, no matter how they were brought about, no matter who brought them about. This is not the time to go into that. Historians will write about them. It is not for us now. We have to face these problems. In order to solve these problems we will have to see that there is no unwillingness on the part of anyone to undergo this ordeal. So I am of the view that in facing these problems we do not have to be criticising one another why the decisions were not taken in the past and why they have been pushed just within a few days. Now all these criticisms have come. That is why I am referring to them. Never mind those things. We have to take these decisions this Government has taken. I am not claiming any credit. I am saying that we had to take the decisions; we have taken these decisions. That should be the end of it. And then, when we take these decisions, certain things must follow, certain discipline must follow, certain results must follow. And I want to assure this House that whatever might have been said of how our decisions have been taken, I would like to say that the decisions are of this Government. The decisions are ours. There was some jibe, some little taunt about some World Bank report or something being the basis of all our decisions, all our packages. I cannot imagine a World Bank report asking me to put my public distribution system on rails. I cannot imagine a World Bank report asking me to do all the anti-poverty programmes which we are going to take up. So, if I have done all these things, if this Government has included all these things, both in its programmes and also in its conceptualisation of its own duty, then this cannot be possibly based on anything except what the Indian

Government here is thinking, what any Indian Government should think. There is no other way for any Indian Government to think otherwise. Therefore, to say that this is the shadow of some other report or some other sources is not correct. We have several sources. Books have been written. Dr. Subramanian Swamy, I think, must have written a book or two on this...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY
(Uttar Pradesh): I will send you a copy.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO:
That's right. So, there is nothing new in this. Sources are available. Ideas are available. They have been taken because we have come to a stage where those ideas would have to be experimented, the ideas would have to be accepted and implemented. So, that is the simple truth about whatever programme has been prepared by the Government. And I would like to say that there is no profit, no benefit in trying to dig up things which will only create unnecessary misunderstanding in the minds of the people. I would say that the programme is there before you. You please comment on it. You please tell us how to improve the programme. We are open to advice. We are open to your guidance. We are open to discussion. We have not closed our minds. And, therefore, it is better to talk of what we have on the table rather than talk about where it came from. That would be not quite relevant to the occasion.

Madam, promises in the Manifesto have been referred to from both sides of this House. Some Members seem to feel that we have just made the promises like that and we are not going to hear about them once we have made them. At least, the Congress Party does not come in the category of those parties for whom the promises made by them are not sacrosanct. For me, they are sacrosanct. And I would say that whatever the Manifesto says is going to be a command of the Party to me, in fact, something which I will obey,

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which I will implement in both letter and spirit. I have no doubt on that. And you will see that we have already initiated action on several programmes which we have adumbrated in the Manifesto to be started within that time-frame of three months, 100 days. Now I cannot tell you of what could be done in 100 days within 19 days or 20 days. It is not possible. But at the end of 100 days, you will find that, by and large, whatever needed to be done within that time-frame will be done because if we do not do it, then we will encroach into the next time-frame of 200 days or 150 days. I would not like any time-lag, any backlog. In Maharashtra, we talk about backlog every day. So, no backlog as a hundred days period to spill over into the next period. So, I would like to see that all the programmes that we have adumbrated, included in the first hundred days, will completely be initiated.

Madam, there are so many important issues on which, I am sure, the hon. Members have expressed themselves: issues like Punjab, issues like Kashmir, issues like Assam. Now, briefly I would say that on Punjab we have come to a situation where elections have been postponed. In the first place, the Congress party and many other parties were against holding the elections. I know for a fact that at a meeting held of all the Punjab Units of all the parties in Chandigarh, they had come to the conclusion that it was not yet time to hold elections. Today, all the candidates are more or less like prisoners. I was being told, just now before coming here, by some friends from Punjab that the candidates there are very much exercised over the fact that the security given to them was withdrawn. I don't know why it was withdrawn. I will certainly see that security is given back to them. But the point is that the moment security is withdrawn, the person is not found in that area. Now, how is this a good atmosphere for having free and fair elections? I

don't know. This is a fact which has been brought to my notice by friends from Punjab just one hour back. So, while security will certainly be given to them, we will have to take this fact as one of the relevant facts to decide on what to do with Punjab. I am having discussions with leaders of other political parties. I am sure, there will be some consensus, some opinion that would emerge at the end of the discussion. There are two opinions. One opinion is how long are you going to deprive the people of Punjab of the right to vote. How long? If you go on doing it, what will be the result? Is it possible at all to deprive them for all time and still be able to solve the Punjab problem? I am entirely in agreement with the fact that in a democratic set up problems have to be solved democratically. All efforts to solve problems must have some democratic basis, some democratic agency. At the same time, we have to see how democracy will function. Is it expected to function if you have elections where the will of the people is not what will come out but something which you may call the will of the gun? If that is what is to come out, then do you call it a free and fair election? And if you feel a free and fair election is not possible—I have not come to that conclusion about the elections—would you still persist with the elections? This is the question. So, at the end of my consultations, whatever consensus emerges, I would like to consider that as the basis of the Government's decision and we would go ahead with that. But before doing that, there is one aspect which I would like to place before the House, which I consider very important. I have been talking about it to friends from other parties. In principle, those to whom I have spoken have agreed that I have a point, a very important point. At this particular election, two or three days before the nominations, one of the parties or, I do not know a combination of parties made a declaration, a public announcement that they were going to treat that election as a referendum for Khalis-

tan. This may look very innocuous. But it is not so. I am not talking of Punjab alone. I am talking of any part of India.

If one of the parties participating in the election—which obviously will have to be within the four corners of the Constitution or two of the parties declare in advance that this election, according to them, is a referendum on a separate country being carved out of India, what do we make of that election? How do we look at that election? What is the legal and Constitutional implication of that announcement and going ahead with that election or participating in that election? Never mind who wins or who loses. Is it at all possible to participate in an election in which secession is an issue? In fact, from the point of view of those parties, secession is the only issue, not development, not anything else, not what Punjab has to get from the Centre, nothing at all; they are not bothered about anything. They say: We get the votes; we get the seats; we pass a resolution in the Assembly. It is not like an election to Lok Sabha. It is election to the Assembly. And they say they will pass a resolution for Khalistan or for any separate country. Taking the example of any other State. What is the implication of that? In practice, nothing might happen; in practice, a separate country may not come into existence. But what happens in international circles? What is the result or what is the conclusion that will be drawn about the will of the people of that State in regard to the unity of India? This is the problem that has been troubling me. This is the problem on the basis of which Rajivji decided not to participate in the election. There was no time to sort out all this and, therefore, he said, for the present we will keep out of the election so that at least there is one important party of this country which will not take the responsibility for the implications of participating in the election. That is the problem. It is not easy to solve it.

As Members are aware, when the question of secession and the question of separatism came some time back, we had passed a law saying that along with the nomination, a candidate would have to give an affidavit that he swears by the unity and integrity of the country. It was not there earlier. It was not there in 1952 or 1957 or 1962 elections. It came by the time we had elections in 1967, if I remember aright. Why was it brought? It was brought because we found—in Lal Bahadurji's time if I remember aright—that there were some feelings of secession and separatism raising their head in several parts of the country or in one part of the country which triggered this and they said why should we not separate and secede. So, along with the law, to plug that, this was brought in. Now having taken the oath in favour of the unity of India, if a candidate reneges on that oath during the election or his party says that this is going to be a referendum for separation, is it possible for us to allow him to contest the election? If for not taking oath he forfeits his right to become a candidate, should not there be another provision of law which similarly makes him forfeit his right to contest the election and disqualify him even before the poll? Is it possible? Is it not possible? Is it desirable? Is it not desirable? In the overall context in which we find the unity of the country being assailed today from all sides, from several quarters. I think, in my humble view, this is necessary. It is not going to be a very easy matter to find the legislative framework in which this can be one. But I feel that an attempt has to be made, and I am making that attempt. After coming into the Government, we have done some exercise on it. We will work on whatever ideas have emerged so far and then after discussing with the leaders of the opposition parties, I am sure, we will come to some conclusion on how to meet this situation if not by legislation. Is there any method of doing it? It is a real problem which I would like the House to appreciate. Since it is

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a real problem, how do we solve it, how do we face it and how do we get over it, are the questions. After that is sorted out, I have no insistence on the dates of elections. I am not saying that I do not want the elections for another 1 year or so. I am prepared to have election whenever it is convenient to do so, taking the law and order situation, etc. into account. And I would be very willing to come to another conclusion and another decision along with the leaders of other parties. That is what I want to say on Punjab.

On Kashmir, again, it is unfortunate that the only bridge between the people of Kashmir on the one hand, namely the State Government and the Central Government on the other has been dismantled. It should not have been done. Today, we are in direct confrontation with the people there. The people are having sleepless nights because of terrorism, being fuelled from across the border, and there is no let-up in this process. Now, we have to see how to create a mechanism which will be a buffer between the Central Government, whose representative is running the State, and the people. That buffer is necessary. In the President's Address, mention has been made about the People's Committee. If there are any methods of attempts at bringing about some results, I would be grateful if any suggestions come from any quarter, including, of course, the hon. Members of Parliament, and I would be open to all these suggestions. The point which has to be appreciated is that we cannot continue like this, where there is a total hiatus between the Government on the one hand and the people on the other. You must build bridges there and that is what we have to do in the first instance. Meanwhile, we have run into the problem of kidnapping like, in the case of Mr. Duraiswamy, and the whole process of negotiation, etc., is going on. Even on that, there were some demands from the Members of the

House that the House should be taken into confidence. I have to submit that these negotiations are so delicate and so slippery. What we hear one hour before is immediately changed after one hour. Then, we hear something else. So, with reference to which point of time, the report is to be made to the House is not clear to me. Naturally, it will not be clear to the Home Minister too. Please bear with us. It is not because we do not want to share any information with the House that no statement has been made so far. It is not for that reason at all. I would be very happy to share the information whenever it is possible to do so and I am sure that Chavanji would do that. Whenever a stage has been reached which can be reported to the House, I am sure he will come and report to the House.

Then, we have the Assam situation. Again, we are faced with the same kind of problems there. The new Government took over and suddenly plunged into this problem. I would not like to say anything beyond hoping that the new State Government will be able to cope with this problem. I would like to give the State Government the opportunity to solve the problem, to tackle the problem, and I am hopeful that it will be possible for the new Government to do so. It is headed by an experienced administrator with very wide contacts and, therefore, I am hoping that this problem in Assam also will be solved in the near future. Assam is now facing floods. We are rushing some aid to the flood victims and also some medicines, etc. I am sure this has been done already or is being done. But the problem of Assam is not so much the flood that it gets every year, three-four times, but the reason for the floods. That is a very big undertaking which will run into thousands of crores if the river Brahmaputra, the mightiest river of India, has to be tamed. That is the real problem that we will have to solve in course of time. Meanwhile, we

can do little beyond giving them whatever assistance that is possible, year after year. It is not a satisfactory solution, but then, our limitations are there for anyone to see, and we cannot possibly go beyond it. The Members from Assam have been coming to me. I have asked them to suggest as to what could be done immediately within the means of the Government of India. They have promised to do so and, to the extent it is possible, I would like to assure the House that we will do it.

Then, coming back to the programmes we have promised to the people programmes for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, Minorities and the Backward Classes. All these programmes, I reiterate, will be implemented. Every small detail or big detail given in the manifesto will be implemented.

A point has been raised about programmes for women, about the appointment of a Commissioner for Women's Rights. I would like to say that, again, this concept of the Indira Mahila Yojana, given to the country by Rajivji, is not the normal women's programme which we are in the habit of putting in our manifestos, in our Governmental activity. This is again something like the human resource development.

It was Rajivji who gave this concept of human resource development. we were all unable to understand what it was, to start with. In fact, I have been the Minister of Human Resource Development, but I found it quite difficult to define the parameters of human resource development, to define the concept, the comprehensive and integrated concept, of human resource development. I remember, Madam, whenever I went to the Prime Minister's house then, the person there would ask 'Who is in the car? My gunman was not able to describe his own Minister. When we ourselves could not describe it, how could that person describe it? When I became temporarily Home Minister, for two months, he

heaved a sigh of relief. Whenever he was asked as to who was in the car, he would say 'Home Minister saheb'. The whole subject was very difficult to understand. But now, it has come to stay in this country. The concept of human resource development has come to stay because, if a human being has to develop, it has to be a multi-disciplinary approach. It cannot be just education. It cannot be just sports. It has to be a combination of all these, plus underpinned by certain cultural traditions that we have inherited in this country. Without these, human resource development will not be really what it ought to. Therefore, the whole concept has been slowly unfolding itself.

So is the concept of Indira Mahila Yojana. Again, this concept has to unfold itself. Now, women's programmes are in different boxes like social welfare programmes, women's welfare programmes, educational programmes. Again, the idea is to integrate all these things under one umbrella so that we have a real thrust in the programme, rather than making bits and pieces here and there, without any co-ordination, without any proper integration and attention being paid to it. It has been the same thing with human resource development. It has to be the same with women's programmes now. This is the central idea. It is just like of 4 P.M. the women, by the women, for the women' That is what it is. We have several programmes which could have been much more successful, had women been in charge of those programmes. It is quite natural that it is not possible for everyone to understand the peculiar problems of women, particularly in respect of their rights. We have passed several laws in this country about women's rights, but we find that those laws are only observed in breach or partial breach. Now it is for women, therefore, to fight for their rights, to organise themselves to get their rights and that is what

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this Indira Mahila Yojna is really all about. It is a new concept. I am sure it will be taken care of I am sure it will be much more successful than the bits and pieces of programmes that we have been implementing over the years and this is why I would like to commend this programme to the House, and particularly that part of it which concerns the Commissioner for Women's Rights. It is not just women's problems. All problems of women, almost all problems of women, emanate from the fact that their rights are trampled upon. If they are conscious about their rights, if their rights are really given to them or they are able to get their rights back from unwilling hands, as we know, then all other problems perhaps would become easier of solution than otherwise. So, the Commissioner for Women's Rights again is a very important functionary who is going to actually look into the root cause of the problems of women in this country and that is how I look at this functionary.

About minorities, we have promised the rapid action force for which I have initiated some action. It was not very clear how this has to be put together, how it will be made available to all the circumstances. All those details are being worked out in the Home Ministry. I am sure, we will be able to give you the details of the rapid action force as quickly as possible. We are monitoring the progress and what is being done in that direction.

Now, compensation to victims of riots. This is very important. We have seen that riot after riot after riot, lives are lost, properties are lost, but the victims are not given compensation either adequately or in time. This is very important because you cannot get the people, who have been killed, back to life, but at least those who survive, those who are left behind, they have to be taken care of by adequate and timely com-

pensation. We will have to see that everything possible by Government is done.

Then the statutory status of the Minorities Commission, that is also being looked into and generally whatever we have said in the manifesto we are going to implement it. There will be no exception and this is what I would like to report to the House.

About backward classes, Madam, the Congress has made a very comprehensive, clear, unequivocal promises. It is clearly stated what it clearly stated what it stands for. We have given backward classes reservations in the Southern States and many other States, perhaps with the exception of a few and we have no problem at all about reservations to the backward classes. They come to us as naturally in those States as the reservations to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I would like to mention about a personal experience of mine. I do not know if Mr. Jaipal Reddy was an MLA at that time in Andhra Pradesh. I was in charge of the education section of the Telengana Regional Committee in which we had recommended for the first time, I think in 1958 or 1959, as early as that, that backward class students should get admission. To my very pleasant surprise, the very first year I found that the backward class candidates had got all the seats on the basis of merit and not on the basis of reservation. There are some surprises in the backward classes. If you give them a little encouragement, the kind of talent that they have, the kind of skills that they can develop, are fantastic. So, I am sure that the backward classes will not need this spoonfeeding for all time. It is only a question of a limited time within which they will exceed anybody's expectations and that is something which is an asset to the nation. If the skills are not developed, if they remain backward, it is a drag on the society. We are not doing it for the backward classes themselves; we are doing it for the whole nation.

And that is why I look at the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as a national asset which is being wasted and is not allowed to come to its legitimate level of perfection. Now, that is how I look at the provision to give reservations to them.

Fortunately, I find now, after comparing the manifestoes of the last election, of all parties, that the nucleus of a national consensus on backward classes exists. We have been trying to sell our own ideas to the people separately because it was electoral compulsion. Now, after the election, we don't have to repeat what we repeated at that time. Lives have been lost in the name of the Mandal Commission. Votes have been won or lost in the name of the Mandal Commission. We don't have to continue that controversy. We have lots of other recommendations of the Mandal Commission with which no one can have any quarrel. We will implement all of them. About the area in which a doubt exists or there is a difference between the approaches, we can sit with the other parties, we can come to a conclusion. I am sure that whatever each party has said is so close to whatever all other parties have said, that a unified approach is possible, and I would like to attempt that before saying anything. Rajivji always said that this is a matter for national consensus. He never said anything one way or the other. He said that a consensus has to emerge. If it was considered advisable at some time not to allow any consensus to emerge, I have nothing to say about that time, but about this time, today, I would like to repeat what Rajiv Gandhi said, because that is more relevant today than anything else. So, let us try. I would like to try this and I am sure that we will be able to get over and solve this problem satisfactorily without impairing without fracturing, national harmony.

It is not just social justice. We are all welded to social justice. But social justice with social harmony is

what is needed here. If social harmony is fractured, all our attempts to get social justice or give social justice will also be defeated or, at least, weakened to a very large extent and they will become festering sores which we should not allow them to become. So I would say that after all that has happened in the wake of the Mandal Commission Report and what was done on that, we have come to a stage where, fortunately, we will be able to find a consensus, and I would like to find that.

Madam, I have taken much time already. I have, I think, covered most of the points that Members have raised. One point which has been raised by some Members, and with a certain amount of concern, I would like to refer to, and that is about the protection to Soniaji and family. Now I would like to tell the House and my friends who have raised this point, that the Government, myself and my colleagues, are fully aware of the risk that this family faces.

They are a precious legacy to us. We will not let them down. If a law has to be changed, yes, we will do it. In any case, they need not have any apprehension or any doubt on this score. All their minds could be set at rest, all doubts could be set at rest. It will be done.

Madam, I think, I have covered most of the points raised. This has been a long debate. We would now go to the implementation side. I would like the House to co-operate, the Members to co-operate. I have started, this Government has started as a new chapter in the democratic history of this country, consensus, the politics of consensus, the politics of co-operation rather than confrontation, the methodology by which you keep the areas of disagreement aside as far as possible and concentrate on areas of agreement. In fact, this is what we have been doing in international affairs as a non-aligned country. This is what we have been doing in international affairs. We keep the areas of disagreement aside

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and concentrate on areas of agreement. We have had enough of recrimination, mutual recrimination. We have had enough of even bloodshed sometimes. We have had enough of confusion in this country, electoral and other. Now is the time to come together with a purpose and solve the problems of the country, face the problems of the country first and then go on to solve them. I am sure we will all get together to shoulder this task.

Thank you very much.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:
Madam, could I seek some clarifications?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is it? Do you want to say something?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I want to seek some clarifications.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Clarifications? I have got lots of amendments. .. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: This is a tradition. I think our Prime Minister referred to Rajivji so many times. When Rajivji was the Prime Minister, we sought clarifications, and he was good enough to give clarifications. I hope that that tradition of Rajivji will be kept up by the present Prime Minister.
(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No problem. आप पूछ लीजिए
Anybody can ask clarifications. Yes.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Madam, at the outset I appreciate and applaud the Prime Minister's impassioned plea for the politics of consensus. He has covered a whole gamut of issues and problems in his own voluminous and luminous language.

But I will confine myself to one issues. He spoke of the scheme of representation for backward classes. I have gone through the Congress (I) Manifesto, in the preparation of which our Prime Minister had his own hand. I have gone through the President's Address. I have gone through his speech in the Lok Sabha. I have heard his speech in Rajya Sabha with rapt attention. I may tell you, Madam, my confusion about the Government's approach has been worse confounded. The Prime Minister referred to the time-frame I would like to know from the Prime Minister the time-frame within which a consensus on this question would be developed. I want the Prime Minister to promise to this House that this question will not be postponed in the name of social harmony.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: That is a very easy assurance I could give because I have no intention of postponing it. I have to make my position clear before the Supreme Court, before the 6th August. So I would like to consult all the leaders of the Opposition parties before that and continue the consultations even after we take a stand because if the stand taken by the previous Government had been comprehensive enough I would not have been called upon to take another stand.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: No, Sir. What is your stand?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): We want your stand.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): We want the new Government's stand.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Yesterday in the other House—I do not know whether I should refer to anything happening in the other House—it so happened that our former Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh himself made a statement which was very heartening, very heartening;

and that is what really encouraged me to say that a consensus already exists. Now, that was what I understood yesterday. Therefore, I am very hopeful that this consensus will not only emerge but it can be converted into a programme, a viable programme for the backward classes. I would not like to comment anything beyond that and I want to complete this.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: What about time-frame?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put the amendments which have been moved to vote.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, I just want to ask the hon. Prime Minister something.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
मैडम, हम को भी बोलने दीजिए । हम
भाषण भी नहीं किए ।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: May I know from the hon. Prime Minister whether it is possible for him to indicate a time-frame for the appointment of a Commissioner for Women's Rights in view of his sensitive approach to the problems of women? He talked about the rights, duties and obligations.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: What about the constitution of National Commission on Women? You ask about that.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That is what I am asking.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is what she is asking.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: My intention is to find a woman Commissioner for Women's Rights.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: You can find a man who is pro-women.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: There are too many candidates to

choose from; whether this particular specification is going to make the selection more difficult or less remains to be seen. But we will not take too long.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the amendments from Nos. 21 to 31 by Shri Ranjit Singh to vote. He is not here.

*Amendments Nos. 21 to 31 were
negatived.*

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, you put all the amendments together for voting.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I cannot put all the amendments together for voting because the amendments are in different names of the Members. Some Members may like to withdraw them. I cannot over rule and bulldoze everything. Sorry. We will have to wait for some more time.

Now I shall take up amendments moved by Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy. Mr. Gurupadaswamy, are you withdrawing your amendments Nos. 47 to 51 and 350 to 354 or shall I put them to vote?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, except amendment No. 48, I will not press my other amendments.

*Amendments Nos. 47, 49 to 51 and
350 to 354, were by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put Amendment No. 48 to vote.

Amendment No. 48 was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up Amendments No. 52 to 97 by Shri S. S. Ahluwalia.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया (विह्र) : महोदय, प्रधानमंत्री महोदय ने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जबाब देते हुए आगे भाषण में हर चीज की विस्तार-पूर्वक रखा है और मैंने जितने भी अमैण्डमेंट रखे थे उसमें काफी कुछ उन्होंने अपने भाषण में अकवर किया है, खासकर के राजीव जी के परिवार, सोनिया जी, राहुल और प्रियंका की सुरक्षा प्रदान करने के संबंध में लगा सरकार भी सचेत है, जितने कि हम मैसेंजर हैं। उन्होंने जो आश्वासन इस माननीय सदन में दिया है, मुझे उम्मीद है कि वह इस सत्र में अपने आश्वासन को पूरा करेंगे। इस आश्वासन को मानते हुए मैं अपने अमैण्डमेंट 52 से 97 तक खींच-झंका करता हूँ।

Amendments No. 52 to 97 were, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments No. 98 to 103. Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee. He is not there. I shall now put Amendments No. 98 to 103 to vote.

Amendments No. 98 to 103 were negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments No. 104 and 148. Shri Chaturanan Mishra. He is not there. I shall not put Amendments No. 104 and 148 to vote.

Amendments No. 104 and 148 were negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments No. 149 to 162 by Shri Shabbir Ahmad Salaria. He is not there. I shall now put Amendments No. 149 to 162 to vote.

Amendments No. 149 to 162 were negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 163. Shri Rajmohan Gandhi. Are you withdrawing?

SHRI RAJMOHAN GANDHI (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, this amendment relates to the question of blackmarketing and corruption. The Government has slashed

the rupee. But slashing blackmarketing and corruption is a different matter altogether. Although I cannot say that I have great confidence that the Government is going to slash blackmarketing and corruption, I will make an earnest appeal to the Government to consider strong measures for doing so. After making that appeal, I withdraw my amendment.

Amendment No. 163 was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments No. 176 to 191 by Shri P. Kiruttinan. He is not there. I shall now put Amendments No. 176 to 191 to vote.

Amendments No. 176 to 191 were negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments No. 192 to 204 by Shri V. Naryanasamy.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I will take only one minute. Most of the amendments I moved were aptly replied to by the hon. Prime Minister. I am happy that social welfare schemes have been announced by the Prime Minister in his speech. Madam, I would like to say one thing about the presence of the LTTE in Tamil Nadu that is agitating my mind because the LTTE presence in Tamil Nadu is causing anxiety and concern because they are the betrayers and the enemies of this country. Therefore, Madam, the elimination of the LTTE from Tamil Nadu should be done by this Government. Otherwise, Tamil Nadu will become a terrorist bound area. There are political parties in Tamil Nadu who are supporting them in their process of not only fighting the Sri Lankan Government... (Interruption) Madam, the regional parties in Tamil Nadu are aiding, abetting and conniving with the LTTE. (Interruptions)...I withdraw the amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request the Members to speak on their amendments but it should be in the spirit in which the Prime Minister made his speech. Let the House also run in the same spirit—in consensus and cooperation.

Amendments No. 192 to 204 were, by leave withdrawn.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : महोदया, मैं केवल एक मिनट लेकर अपनी बात को समाप्त करूंगा। दिवंगत नेता श्री राजीव गांधी जी के परिवार का इतिहास त्याग और कुर्बानियों का रहा है और जैसा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उल्लेख किया है कि उनके परिवार—श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी, उनके पुत्र राहुल गांधी और पुत्री प्रियंका गांधी, उनकी भी जान को खतरा था और निश्चित रूप से उस परिवार के सदस्यों को एक अमूल्य धरोहर मानकर चल रहे हैं और जिस परिवार की अपनी जान का खतरा है, व उसको बड़ी गंभीरता से ले रहे हैं। इसको महनजर रखते हुए मेरा उनसे आग्रह है कि वे अविलम्ब ही एस०पी०जी० एक्ट 88 में संशोधन करके इस परिवार के सदस्यों को एस०पी०जी० की सुरक्षा प्रदान करें।

उपसभापति : आपने काफी आषण कर दिया, है, ...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मंडम, अमेंडमेंट पर बोलने का तो राइट है मेरा।

उपसभापति : अमेंडमेंट पर इतना राइट नहीं है।

You have already spoken. You have just to give reasons You cannot another speech. I am sorry. Whatever the reasons are, you give the reasons.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मैं रीजन दे रहा हूँ।

उपसभापति : आराम से बीजिए, मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : दूसरा, जो "जैड" कैटेगरीज में आते हैं, उनको कैमिकल डिटेक्टर सिक्चुरिटी अरेजमेंट की बात है। हमारे देश में आतंकवाद काफी बढ़ रहा है, उसकी महनजर रखते हुए हमारे देश में जो भी वी०आई०पी० "जैड" कैटेगरी में आते हैं उनको केवल एस०पी०जी० ही पर्याप्त नहीं है, कैमिकल डिटेक्टर सिक्चुरिटी अरेजमेंट भी प्रदान किया जाए, ऐसा मेरा उनसे आग्रह है।

साथ ही जो एल०टी०टी०ई० की गतिविधियाँ हमारे देश में बढ़ रही हैं, उनको जो आश्रय और संरक्षण दे रहे हैं, चाहे वे कोई भी हों, उनके खिलाफ भी प्रधान मंत्री जी कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही करेंगे, चाहे वह राजनीतिक दलों से संबंधित ही कोई न हों, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

इस विश्वास को व्यक्त करते हुए मैं अपने संशोधन 205 से 222 को वापिस लेता हूँ।

Amendments No. 205 to 222 were by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam, I withdraw the amendments.

Amendments No. 223 to 225 were by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam, I would like to seek a clarification from the Prime Minister, particularly, about my amendment no. 240. Madam Deputy Chairman, you are aware that last time, during V. P. Singh's Government, when we were made to vote a Motion of Thank, an amendment was moved from the Congress(I) party to the motion of Thanks and that amendment got passed. Some of the Member who got it passed are Ministers in the present Government [They are indeed members of the Council of Ministers like Mr. S. B. Chavan; Mr. M. M. Jacob, Mrs. Margaret Alva, Mr. M. L. Fotedar, Mr. Sitaram Kesri. All are now members of the Council

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

of Ministers and they got it passed that the right to work should be included as a fundamental right in the Constitution. This time, I have noticed, it did find a place in the President's Address. I have heard our hon. Prime Minister's reply when he relied on the youth. 80 per cent of the population consists of youth. And he relied on the youth.

About the economic situation which our learned Finance Minister explained to us the other day, I have an apprehension that there may be a fall-out on this particular field and he himself has expressed his apprehension that compression of import beyond a certain extent, may have a fall-out. In that background, I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister... (Interruptions)...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): Is he making a speech, Madam?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Everybody is making a speech. I am allowing...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister a thing which was found this poor right to work has been good enough to have been incorporated in the Motion of Thanks as an amendment in 1989-90, in what conditions, in what situations, today that Party does not consider it necessary to be incorporated in the President's Address?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you like to withdraw your amendment?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Let me have the clarification first.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Madam, from what I understand from Mr. Chavan here and a friend there

this poor right to work has been subjected to different directions at different hands on different occasions. Let us stop at that. Let us examine what we can do. I earnestly tell you that it is something which deserves consideration, positive consideration, and we will come back to the House if we come to the conclusion we can do something.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: In view of the assurance given by the Prime Minister, I withdraw all my amendments.

Amendments No. 38 to 41 were, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Ratnakar Pandey, are you pressing your amendments No. 257 to 276?

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, मैंने कल 20 संशोधन संचालित, परिचालित और प्रस्तावित किये थे और उसमें 271 संख्यक जो प्रस्ताव किये उसमें एस० पी० जी०—विशेष संरक्षा गुप्त की मांग मैंने श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी और उनके परिवार के लिये की थी। मुझे शायद बोलना न पड़ता अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने स्वयं नाम ले लिया होता। जिन सदस्यों ने इसकी मांग की थी—श्री अहलुवालिया, श्री पचौरी और मैंने, तीनों सदस्यों ने इसकी मांग की थी और माननीय नरसिंह राव जी देश के और दुनिया के प्रधान भाषाविद, विद्वान और सर्वसम्मति द्वारा स्वीकृत राष्ट्र के ऐसे प्रधान मंत्री हैं जिन्हें—“सहज सुभाव छल नाहि” वाली स्थिति में हैं और विश्वास करूंगा कि सीता को खोज में लिये जब सुग्रीव और राम की मित्रता हुई थी तो उस समय एक पंक्ति राम चरित मानस में आयी है :

“सुग्रीवहि सुधि मोरी बिसारी,
पावा राज कोष पुर नारी।

अच्छा तो यह होता उपसभापति महोदया, श्रीमति सोनिया गांधी और उनके परिवार के लिये, एस० पी० जी० का जो

एक्ट है उसमें यह सरकार पहले ही दिन सदन में संशोधन लेकर आती।

आज उसका आश्वासन दिया गया और मैं विश्वास करता हूँ कि राहुल चाहे यहाँ पहुँचें या बाहर किसी भी देश में पहुँचें, उनकी सुरक्षा की पूरी व्यवस्था होगी। महोदया, जो जूता राजीव जी के निर्धन के बाद सोनिया जी ने कोर्ट से मंगाया है या जो फटा हुआ कुरता मंगाया है, उसके पीछे इस देश की 85 करोड़ जनता की भावना जुड़ी हुई है और उस भावना की यह सरकार कदर करेगी, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है क्योंकि यह सरकार सोनिया गांधी की कृपा पर सत्ता में आई है। महोदया, इस देश की 85 करोड़ जनता सोनिया गांधी को चाहती है और मैं विश्वास करता हूँ कि भविष्य में हम निरंतर उस परिवार का ध्यान रखते हुए उसकी सुरक्षा की बात करेंगे और ऐसी बात करेंगे जिससे नेहरू परिवार का जो त्याग और बलिदान है, इंदिरा जी, राजीव जी और संजय जी का जो त्याग और बलिदान है वह विश्व के इतिहास में स्वर्णाक्षरों में लिखा जाए।

महोदया, त्यागी पुरुषों की इस देश में सदा पूजा हुई है और सोनिया जी पूजा की वस्तु बन चुकी हैं क्योंकि राजीव जी की चिता के पीछे से जो ज्वल्यमान व्यक्तित्व हमने देखा है उसकी पूजा सारा देश और सारी मानवता करती है। हमें सदा इसका स्मरण रखना चाहिए। सरकार ने और हमारे प्रधानमंत्री ने इस काम में जो रुचि ली है, उसका मैं सारे सदन की ओर से स्वागत करता हूँ और विश्वास करता हूँ कि सरकार अगले हफ्ते एस. जी. पी. ऐक्ट में संशोधन करके उनके परिवार को सुरक्षा प्रदान करेगी। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने संशोधन वापस लेता हूँ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : प्रधानमंत्री जी कृपा करके स्पष्ट कर कि क्या श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी की कृपा पर आपकी सरकार चल रही है... (व्यवधान)

Amendments No. 257 to 276 were, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we go to Amendments No. 299 to 345 by Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya. Malaviyaji, are you pressing your amendments?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): माननीय उप-सभापति जी, मैं केवल संशोधन 299 और 302 के बारे में बोलना चाहूंगा। मेरा संशोधन 299 चुनाव सुधारों के संघ में है। उपसभापति महोदया, सत्तारूढ़ पार्टी का जो चुनाव घोषणा पत्र है, जिस तयार करने में स्वयं माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी का हाथ था, उनमें चुनाव सुधारों के बारे में चर्चा की गई है और यह कहा गया है कि इस संबंध में एक कानून लाया जाएगा लेकिन न तो राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में उसकी कोई चर्चा की गई है और न ही अभी प्रधानमंत्री जी ने जो भाषण दिया है, उसमें इसका कोई जिक्र है। महोदया, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इस समय जो संविधान संशोधन विधेयक विचाराधीन हैं—एक तो दि पीपुल्स रिप्रेजेंटेशन ऐक्ट के अंतर्गत विचाराधीन है और दूसरा संविधान विधेयक 1970-71 विचाराधीन है, इनके संबंध में सरकार को निश्चित रूप से अपने विचार प्रकट करने चाहिए।

महोदया, मेरा जो संशोधन 302 है वह मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों के संबंध में है। मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों को लागू करने के लिए 1984 से लेकर 1990 तक जब भी चर्चा हुई है तो मैंने कम से कम चार बार स्पेशल सेशन के जरिए इस सवाल को उठाया है और हर बार तत्कालीन सरकार यह उत्तर देती रही है कि आम सहमति के आधार पर इस पर विचार किया जा रहा है। आज भी प्रधानमंत्री ने इस चीज को दोहराया है। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि जिन मुद्दों पर आम सहमति है, जो एरियाज आफ एग्रीमेंट हो सकते हैं उन्हें तो लागू करने की कृपा करिए।

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: If there is any legislation pending before the House, what is the difficulty in continuing with it? Or, if it is not pending or if it has lapsed, we will certainly look into it and examine it again.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: They were moved in Rajya Sabha by Shri Dinesh Goswami on 30th May 1984.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: They are current legislation before the House. Is it right? Then what is it that I have to tell you about?

AN HON. MEMBER: Private Member's Bills.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: They are not Private Member's Bills. They are pending before the House but...

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: If someone tells me finally what they are, and at what stage they are, I will certainly look into them. If they have to be reintroduced, we will examine it and reintroduce them.

If they are to be reintroduced, we will examine them and reintroduce or the House can proceed with them... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: Madam, there are 45 Bills introduced and are pending in both the Houses—25 in the Lok Sabha and 20 in the Rajya Sabha. I told the Prime Minister about this once. Most of the Bills including these three which concern women are based on the consensus of various parties. Therefore you can again consult them and take action on them... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, the Representation of People Act was sent to the Joint Select Committee and Mr. Bharadwaj was made the Chairman. Now by all fairness they should give the Chairmanship to us and

revive the Committee... (*Interruptions*) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing your amendments?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: Yes, I withdraw.

Amendments Nos. 299 to 345 were, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now let us take up amendments Nos. 365 to 373 moved by Dr. Sivaji... (*Interruptions*)...

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I would like to seek clarifications from the Prime Minister on my two amendments. After the clarification I may withdraw it. The first is, after the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the two States, Congress (I)—ruled States of Andhra Pradesh, and Tripura, and Tamil Nadu atrocities took place against the non-Congress (I) people. A lot of property was damaged. I would like to seek the opinion of the Government to pay compensation to those affected. The second is, in this land of Mahatma Gandhi, the Governments both at the Centre and the States are encouraging consumption of liquor—cheap alcohol as well as arrack. It has been estimated that more than Rs. 10,000 crores worth of alcohol is consumed in the country. This is giving rise to a lot of social and economic problems and even on health grounds this consumption needs to be discouraged. It has also been estimated that more than Rs. 30,000 crores, worth of production is hampered by the consumption of liquor. I would like to know the opinion of the Government in regard to introduction of prohibition in the country... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing or pressing? ... (*Interruptions*)...

DR. YELMANCHILI SIVAJI: Let the Prime Minister react and then I will decide... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want him to react on everything. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: His amendment also includes paying of compensation to the victims affected in the riots after Rajivji's assassination. Let the Prime Minister react to it... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There should be some catalyst in the amendment for him to react... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-RA: The Prime Minister promises compensation for the victims of post Rajiv Gandhi assassination riots. His question is whether it is included in this scheme.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing or pressing... (Interruptions)...

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Madam, I am not going into the technicalities. If property has been damaged, if people have sustained losses we have to take this as a serious matter and we will take it seriously... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing or pressing... (Interruptions).... My concern is only this much... (Interruptions)...

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Yes, I withdraw.

Amendments No. 365 to 373 were, by leave withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now let us take up amendments No. 374 to 377 by Smt. Kamla Sialha.

श्रीमति कमला सिंह (बिहार) : महोदया, मेरा अमेंडमेंट यह था कि राष्ट्रपति ने मंडल कमीशन की रिक्मंडेशन को लागू करने के बारे में कुछ भी चर्चा नहीं की थी। उसके संबंध में प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने वक्तव्य में जवाब दिया है।

मेरा दूसरा अमेंडमेंट यह था कि राइट टु वर्क को संविधान में संशोधन करके फंडामेंटल राइट्स के चेंटर में जोड़ दिया जाए। उस संबंध में भी उन्होंने कुछ ऐश्वर्य दे दिए हैं।

लेकिन मेरा जो तीसरा अमेंडमेंट था जिसके बारे में राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कुछ भी नहीं कहा है और न ही प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कुछ कहा।

मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में क्रिमिनलिटी बढ़ रही है, वॉयलेंस बढ़ रही है और महिलाओं पर जो अत्याचार बढ़ रहे हैं उनके संबंध में राष्ट्रपति जी ने कुछ भी नहीं कहा जबकि हमारे देश में आधी आबादी महिलाओं की है। उनके ऊपर दिन प्रतिदिन अत्याचार हो रहे हैं इनके बारे में कुछ न कहा जाए यह बड़े ही दुख की बात है। मैं चाहती हूँ प्रधान मंत्री जी इस बारे में स्पष्ट करें।

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Madam, may I make a final attempt to persuade the honourable Member to withdraw her amendment by saying something? What I have just now said I would like to elaborate a little. I know that women have been made targets of atrocities of centuries in this country. During the last five years we passed legislation in Parliament which, perhaps, is not matched by any other five-year period in tackling this problem, taking cognizance of this problem. Now, it is a question of implementing these laws. Some of them fall in the State List and they have to implement them. I would like to assure the honourable Member that we will not flinch from doing whatever the Central Government is expected to do. The Commissioner for Women's Rights, as I said, is a very important functionary. He will be responsible... (Interruptions)...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: You have said "he" instead of "she".

श्री सिकन्दर बल्लभ : खुदा न करे "शी" "ही" होने लगे । क्या हालत होगी हमारी ?

श्री पी० बी० नरसिंह राव : ऐसा भी हुआ है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the Prime Minister wishes, "she" may include "he" also ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: In fact, in this case, "he" is only "she". We will certainly see that the first duty of this Commissioner will be to see that the laws are implemented. This is the most important, top-priority, job that she will have to do. So, when I am assuring this, I am sure I have succeeded in persuading the Member to withdraw the amendment on this score.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: Madam, I would like to ask the Prime Minister whether he is going to implement the laws... (*Interruptions*)... We passed a Bill for setting up a National Commission for Women. We passed the necessary Bill. What happened to that?... (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Why should we implement your manifesto? It is not our promise... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: It is true. But this belongs to the nation.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: But it was not even gazetted; you people kept it in the cold storage... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, are you withdrawing your amendments?

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: Yes.
Amendments Nos. 374 to 377 were, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put amendments, Nos. 378 to 393, to vote.

Amendments Nos. 378 to 393 were negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Motion to vote.

The question is:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 11th July, 1991."

The motion was adopted.

THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS) 1991-92

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we will take up the Railway Budget. Shrimati Kamla Sinha.

AN HON. MEMBER: Adourn the House. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): In the Chair.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, call the House to order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Most of the Members are leaving. Silence, please.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Let not the Members stand in the aisle. How can the hon. Member speak? Let the House be called to order.

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा (बिहार) : मिस्टर वाइस चेयरमैन, रेल मंत्री जी ने 16 जुलाई को जो रेल बजट देश के सामने पेश किया था उसके संबंध में मैं कुछ दो चार बातें