

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Ahluwalia, please take your seat. As I have heard him, the Home Minister, in his reply, did say 'I cannot say what the intelligence is doing'. He said that he cannot answer due to security reasons. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** Madam, on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now, the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. (*Interruptions*) Shri Yashwant Sinha. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** I am on a point of order, Madam. (*Interruptions*)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You write a letter to the Home Minister. He will give a written reply. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Madam Deputy Chairman, . . . (*Interruptions*)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Just a minute, Mr. Sinha. He is on a point of order. Let me hear what his point of order is.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** I am actually asking about the procedure of the House. Actually, the Calling Attention has been admitted by the Chair in consultation with the Government. The Government was prepared. And the Calling Attention was to the current situation in Jammu and Kashmir in the context of kidnapping and subsequent release of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed. The whole matter is surrounding the question of kidnapping and release of Dr. Rubaiya. Now the Home Minister is hiding everything connected with this affair. The Chair also is expressing her inability to ask the Home Minister to give a reply. Madam, the Calling Attention is admitted for a specific purpose and it has the concurrence of the Government also. The discussion is held

and at the end of the discussion the Minister comes out and says, I cannot give the information. Is this the procedure of the House? The Government should come out with the information. If it cannot come out with the information, if the Chair also shows her inability, where should we go? I want a ruling on this.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** My ruling is that the questions were asked and I asked the Home Minister to answer the questions. Whatever he answered, it is before the House. Whatever he could not answer, he says, he could not answer. (*Interruptions*). Look, Chair cannot ask anybody, I cannot ask anyone to answer any question.

**SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU** (Tamil Nadu): It is the duty of the Home Minister to answer. He has to answer.

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

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA** (Bihar): Madam, I move:

"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 20th December, 1989."

Having moved the Motion I would like to say...

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now the Vice-Chairman is taking the Chair.

[**The Vice-Chairman** (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair]

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** I have immediately recognised the change in the Chair. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say right in the beginning

that when I was sitting on that side of the House it was my attempt not to criticise the Government where criticism was not deserved. It will be my endeavour on this side of the House also not to praise my Government—mind my words—if the praise is not deserved. This is the spirit in which Members who are sitting on this side of the House have approached their duties now and earlier also, but Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sorry to say that this is the hallmark of difference between them and us.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Self-praise is no praise.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, the President in his Address has said that the people had given a clear verdict in favour of change. This is one very important sentence to my mind in the Address of the President. Now what is the change? Is the change only this that some of the people who were sitting here have gone to that side? Is this the change that the bodies in the Government have changed, that we have a new Prime Minister and that the old Prime Minister has been rejected by the people? Is that the change?? No, my point is that if we do not understand the implications of this change—I am telling you and I am telling myself—we will be sorrier or you will be sorrier than you have been in the past 21 days.

Now what are the implications of this change? The change is quite clearly indicative of the fact that no Government, whatsoever its majority in this Parliament may be, can take the people for a ride. The ultimate arbiters are the people. When I say this because, unfortunately, the Congress (I) Government at the Centre; I am even referring to some of the State Governments which were with us which have also to learn that lesson. We all have to learn that lesson. Of course, I include myself also. If we do not take note of this message, Mr. Vice-Chair-

man, then as representatives of the people in this House, we shall be failing in our duty. The people have given a clear message. They have not been swayed by all those Yojanas which were announced towards the end when that regime was breathing its last. They have not been impressed by any of the gimmickry to which the then ruling party took recourse to. That message is that such gimmickry will not work. I am saying this because, unfortunately, the scorched-earth policy which was followed by the then Government in Delhi—we have here the paper, to which Mr. Jagesh Desai was referring, the report of the Economic Advisory Council, to which I will also refer as I go along — is, unfortunately, being followed by the State Governments which are still under their charge and which are breathing their last, Mr. Vice-Chairman. We have said that we have no intention to dismiss those Governments. But if this is the manner in which they go on, if they continue to show the responsibility which the then Government in Delhi and shown under the leadership of great Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, then the Central Government will have to act. And I am saying this with full sense of responsibility that this cannot be allowed to go on and you must take note of this message which has been conveyed through this election. Even in the next election, nothing of this gimmickry that your Chief Ministers are indulging in will pay in the long run. They are going to get the boot like you got the boot here.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, what is it that we have inherited? This House has just been discussing Kashmir for the last 2½ hours. What is the picture which has emerged? After all, no Government starts with a clean slate. We inherit a situation. We have inherited a situation in this country in Kashmir. We have inherited a situation in this country in Punjab. We have inherited a situa-

tion on the communal front in this country. We have inherited an economic chaos in this country. I will not like to waste the time of the House on Kashmir because we have discussed it enough. What about Punjab? The then ruling party, which is now sitting in the Opposition, was shedding crocodile tears when an all-party meeting was called that Mr. Mann was not there, that Mr. Badal was not there and what was the use of having an all-party meeting in the absence of Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann and Mr. Badal? In fact, this party when it was in the Government had kept behind bars Mr. Badal; this party had kept Mr. Mann in the Bhagalpur jail and tortured him. This is the party which is now saying that no all-party meeting can be complete without Mr. Badal and Mr. Mann. This is the party which never called an all-party meeting. In this House, Mr. Vice-Chairman, whenever a discussion took place on Punjab, we all on this side now, used to say: "Please call an all-party meeting on Punjab. Punjab is a national problem. It is crying for a national solution. A solution to the Punjab problem can be worked out only on the basis of national consensus". But all our pleas fell on deaf ears. I would like to ask: why is it that all these years—I have been a Member of this House for nearly two years—no all-party meetings on Punjab were called? What was the interest? Somebody who speaks from the side should answer this question. Do they realize that within days of this Government taking office, the Prime Minister himself goes to Amritsar and visits not only the Swarn Mandir but also the Durgiana Temple and meets the people there? Did they realize the import of the fact that the Prime Minister had the courage to travel in an open jeep with the confidence of the people that we enjoy? And should they call it a minority Government?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Gimmicks, gimmicks!... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, with all the majority...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Order, order.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): He is making a statement. He doesn't know how many security people were there in the Golden Temple at that time... (Interruptions)... I could identify some of the security people there... (Interruptions)... How many security people accompanied the Prime Minister?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You can raise it when you speak.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it has become a fashion with them to call this a minority Government. They call it a minority Government. I do not know whether they learnt arithmetic in their fifth grade or not. But this Government has asserted its majority in the manner in which majorities can be asserted in the Houses of Parliament or Legislatures, not in the Rashtrapati Bhavan or Raj Bhavans. The head of this Government had the courage to go to Amritsar and travel in an open jeep. Of what use was the majority of 415 Members if Mr. Rajiv Gandhi could never visit Punjab without all the security, if he could never even deliver an Address to the Nation without standing behind bullet-proof glasses? If this is the courage which the Prime Minister of a minority Government displays, Mr. Vice-Chairman, then I would suggest, let all Governments in future be minority Governments in this country... (Interruptions)...

Mr. Vice-Chairman, on the communal front, on Punjab, this Government has taken the initiative in the right direction... (Interruptions)... Shut up and sit down... (Interruptions)... The Government has to approach the problem with a great deal of caution. There is absolutely no room for euphoria as far as Punjab is concerned, and it calls for urgent

solution. We have said, we believe in national reconciliation. The President has said this in his Address, we have said this in our manifesto. We believe in national reconciliation and national reconciliation can come through consensus. It can come through dialogue and discussion, and that is precisely what we propose to do. It is not a sign of weakness. It is a sign of strength. Like *ahimsa* was a sign of strength with the late Mahatma, similarly, our demand, our desire, for a dialogue and a consensus is a sign of our strength, it is a sign of our maturity. Do not take it as a sign of weakness. We want your cooperation like we want the cooperation of everybody else, and we hope that that cooperation will be extended by you ungrudgingly in matters which call for a national solution because we are interested in finding national solution to national problems.

The communal situation, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is again one such issue. Bhagalpur burnt. What was the cruelty? As Members sitting here in this House, do we realize the kind of cruelties, the acts of barbarism which have been perpetrated in Bhagalpur and other places? Doesn't our heart really bleed for the kind of violence which had taken place in that area? We were busy fighting the election and, perhaps, therefore, like the famous Bhopal gas tragedy which came in 1984, some of us might have missed the great significance of the Bhagalpur riot, the great horror that was created there. But, doesn't it call for national reconciliation? Can anyone sitting on this side or that side say that there should be no communal harmony in this country that we should not live in peace with each other as brothers? That is what we want to establish and that is what is meant when the President says that we are going to give an alternative model of governance and development. Mark these words very carefully! I do not know how many of my friends on the other side have taken note of these words which are

full of meaning. We wish to give to this country an alternative model of governance and of development. (Interruptions) Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have already said that whether we are in a majority or in a minority or whatever the number, a government is judged by its performance, not by the numbers that it commands in either House of Parliament. Therefore, as far as performance is concerned, this document outlines what we intend to do, what legislative business will come or has come before this session of Parliament and what it is that will come in the next session.

I will come to the economic situation later, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

What is it which was most significant? When I say this, I would like to refer to the last five years. What is it which was most disturbing in the last five years? It is not that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister and that he followed the scorched-earth policy or whatever policy. The most disturbing thing of the last five years, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to my mind was the destruction of the institutions of democracy in this country as never before in its history. This is what happened in the last five years with the brute majority that the then Congress Government commanded. One by one all the safeguarding institutions, all the watch-dog institutions of democracy were picked up for denigration, for downgrading, for destruction whether it is this Parliament, whether it is the high office of the President, the Head of our nation, the Head of our State, whether it is the Chief of Army Staff, whether it is the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, whether it is the judiciary, the Supreme Court and the High Courts, whether it is the Prss or the U.P.S.C. You name an institution, and I will tell you in each and every case that the institution was sought to be subverted. And in the process there was a sinister design. The sinister design,

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, was to subvert democracy itself. But democracy fortunately has been saved.

The most important message of this election, of the Indian electorate, like in 1977 is that nobody can play with democracy in this country. If anybody tries to subvert the democratic institutions, the democratic framework, the democratic norms of life of this country, then, he is going to face the same fate which has overtaken our colleagues, taking them from this side to that side of the House. This is going to happen to him. Let us take note of this message that the people will not tolerate this. Therefore, the President says:

"The restoration of the dignity of the institutions is going to be the most important task of this Government."

I will suggest that we should raise above petty political considerations. There are many things which call for a national approach. Don't snigger. It calls for a national approach. It is not important whether your party is in power or is sitting in the Opposition. It does not matter in the long run. We shall all be gone. We are all ephemeral. I am telling you. Remember that institutions shall stay well after our bones have rotted in our graves or our bodies have been consigned to flames. Remember that the institutions of this country shall remain. And in this task I am inviting you today to join us in restoring the dignity of those institutions which unfortunately in your arrogance of power you had forgotten. You have forgotten the importance of those institutions. Join us today. This is an open invitation to you. Join us in upgrading, restoring, revitalising and making alive those institutions of democracy. And if ever our Government does anything which you think is denigrating the institutions, please stand up and shout. I will not mind it. But don't try to carry on doing through your shoutings now what you

tried to do while sitting here. What you were trying to do in the Government, don't try to do the same thing here in this House later.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:  
What happened to Mr. Jethmalani That was the democratic functioning.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. V. P. Singh's election was the height of 'democracy'!

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: On the economic front, I had asked a question earlier in the morning about distortions in the economy. Now here we have this paper. I will not be taking the time of the House in reading out various distortions which have crept up, but just one little thing and I do not know whether the Members who are sitting opposite now, when they were in the Government, ever had access to this information which has been now brought up by the Economic Advisory Council. I am reading from the report.

"There are also reasons for supposing that the production of certain consumer durables is quite import intensive. A further problem with the growth in production and use of cars, scooters etc. is the rapid increase in the demand of motor gasoline, which has been rising at over 10 per cent per year on an average in three years."

I am saying these things just by way of illustration that the elitist consumption pattern which was set in vogue and encouraged by the previous Government has played havoc with our economy. It is not merely the deficit either of the budget or trade or the balance of payments. It is not merely reflected in that. The long-term damage that has been done to the economic system of the country in the last five-years is something which will take years and years of hard and painstaking work to correct. I would like my friends to realise, which they perhaps did not realise

when they were sitting here, what the long-term import of their policies was going to be; and for momentary and petty gains they indulged in gimmickry which caused such havoc to this economy. Our economy is in a shambles today. When the Prime Minister said that our coffers are empty, he was not exaggerating it. It was God's own truth and this is what has come out of it. *(Interruptions)* When I came across the amendments to the President's Address, which have been circulated, I was amused. A number of people have given amendments led by Mr. Rameshwar Thakur. One of the amendments says: "But regrets that the Address chooses to mention some of the disquieting trends in the economy but overlooks the overall successful performance and the buoyancy reflected in the economy and the tremendous progress made by the Government on the economic front during the last five years."

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:** What is this? He is moving a Motion of Thanks.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** He is referring to what amendments have been made.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** They have been circulated. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will satisfy Mr. Bansal by saying I am not speaking on the amendments. I am merely saying that I am amused by these. I am merely saying that we have this amendment on the one hand and we have the report of the Economic Advisory Council on the other. We have not changed the Economy Advisory Council. All the Members, including its Chairman, are members and Chairman as before and what did they say? In paragraph 2 itself, the Economy Advisory Council in its report says: The Economic Advisory Council has drawn attention to many of these problem areas in earlier reports." Did you act on them? Will

somebody get up from that side and say what happened to all the reports that Mr. Sukhomoi Chakravarty and his team had submitted? What action did the Government take? So, we are today faced with the dire consequences which has been brought out in this paper. What was being done? You were ignoring the reports. You were not acting on wise counsel which was provided to you. This is what you were doing.

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh):** They can give extension of term of Prof. Sukhmoy Chakravarty.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was talking about the dignity of the institutions. The Election Commission which has the responsibility of conducting free and fair polls in this country was expanded just a few days before the elections. What was the reason? What were the specific responsibilities assigned to the various Election Commissioners who were inducted is something which remains a mystery to me. I was dealing with the Election Commission during the elections but I could see nothing, I mean, no specific functions they were performing except that they were acting as brakes on the Chief Election Commissioner.

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:** Is he casting aspersions on the Election Commissioner? He should know what the Constitution is.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** He does not have a point. I am not casting any aspersions on the Election Commissioners.

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:** He is talking of the Commission disparagingly. He should know what the Constitution says about it.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** It is a governmental appointment. They have not been appointed under the Constitution.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:  
I can give him a copy of the Constitution.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): I would request the hon. Member to yield for a minute.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sit down, Mr. Singh, I don't disturb you.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: It is a point of order. It is a very important point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I will prove my point.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am not yielding.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: This is a very important point. I am not prone to shouting but today... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am referring to the violence which took place during the elections. I am referring to the booth-capturing in this... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No interruptions. Mr. Sinha, are you yielding?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He is not yielding.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: This is a matter of record.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Let him hold his horses. He will perhaps get time to speak. You cannot disturb me. Why I am saying this... (Interruption)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He is not yielding.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am rising on a point of order.

The hon. Member has deliberately or otherwise been saying and trying to mislead the House on a very important point of the Constitution. He has alleged that the appointments of the Election Commissioners were not done in accordance with the Constitution of the country but it was a governmental appointment.

DR. BAPU KALDATE (Maharashtra): The question was, it was done just before the elections.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I think, Mr. Sinha does not require an advocate like Dr. Kaldate. The hon. Member is sitting here. If I heard him correctly, he said that it is a governmental appointment and it was not a Constitutional appointment. This is what he has said. I am referring to article 324 of the Constitution of India, clause 2 says:

"The Election Commission shall consist of the Chief Election Commissioner and such number of other Election Commissioners, if any as the President may from time to time fix and the appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners shall, subject to the provisions of any law made in that behalf by Parliament, be made by the President."

I will tell the hon. Member that these appointments were not made in contravention of any constitutional provisions but these appointments were made . . . (Interruptions) . . . My point is that this was done strictly in accordance with the Constitution of the land. I want to share it with the hon. Member whether he still adheres to this thing that these appointments were made . . . (Interruptions) . . . appointments were in accordance with the Constitution or against the spirit or in contravention of the constitutional provision.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are many occasions when you might technically

adhere to a law or the Constitution. but I was referring to the spirit behind these appointments and I was saying that coming as they did, a few days before the election was like... (Interruption)...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** This holds against your spirit in which you are saying. (Interruptions)...

**SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan):** Sir, I am on a very small point of order. Sir, Mr. Pawan Kumar Bansal's point is well taken that Mr. Sinha cannot cast aspersion on the Election Commissioner. But he can certainly cast aspersion on the intention of the then Government in appointing these Election Commissioners... (Interruptions)...

**SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Kamal Morarka has made another distinction.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Sir, I am submitting to your ruling on this. So, let this debate end (Interruptions). I was pointing out that despite... (Interruptions)...

**SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR (Bihar):** Sir, I am on a point of order. (Interruptions).. No, not on this matter but on a slightly different matter. Mr. Yashwant Sinha was good enough to mention my name. He also mentioned about the Advisory Committee report about the current economic situation. He was good enough, if I understood him correctly, to say that this report was ignored. I only wanted to mention... (Interruption)...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** It cannot be a point of order. It is not a point of order. I rule it out.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Sir, I was saying that we witnessed much

violence and it saddened the hearts of all of us to see that kind of violence during the elections. But what was the saddest part of this election which has just gone by? The saddest part was that in Amethi, which happens to be the constituency of the then Prime Minister, the Election Commission was compelled by the facts of the case, after having sent a team to make an on-the-spot inquiry, to order repoll in over 100 booths. (Interruptions)...

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:** What is the result of re-poll? We got still more votes.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** In the constituency of the then Prime Minister, the Election Commission was compelled to order repoll. What can be a greater shame to our democratic system, Mr. Vice-Chairman? The Election Commission ordered immediate transfer of the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police.

It is a shame on our democracy. (Interruptions). I tell my friends, Mr. Vice-Chairman, if you don't develop the capacity to listen to things, you will never, never, see this side again. (Interruptions). You must apologise. You must develop the capacity to put up with the truth however, bitter that truth may be. (Interruptions)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** Let me tell this. There was no mention of the Government by the Election Commission. (Interruptions).

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** The President has said in His Address that a clean public life—my friend Mr. Subramanian Swamy is not here; I wanted him to listen to this part—is the bedrock of democracy. It was not a bedrock of democracy as it existed during the last five years. And we are determined to clean up the Augean stables. We are determined to



[Shri Yashwant Sinha]

bring the guilty to book and all those like my friend Dr. Subramanian Swamy who are hopeful, who are suspecting... (*Interruptions*). Mr. Vice-Chairman, my friend Dr. Subramanian Swamy and all those who are hoping that we will not bring the guilty to book... (*Interruptions*). Let them note it, let them take note of the fact that all these scandals... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Order, order. You will also get time. At that time, you can debate. I will not allow you now. All of you, please sit down.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say, with all the confidence and the solemnity at my command, that those who are guilty of all their acts of commission shall be brought to book and that the law of this land shall be allowed to take its course however high and might they may be. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): Now Mr. Swamy has come.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to repeat for Mr. Swamy as he is suspecting and they are hoping that we shall not bring the guilty to book. I would like to tell him that all the scandals shall be brought above the surface and all the guilty shall be punished.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: When?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Immediately.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Immediately means when? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: My assurance will not be an assurance to the House

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He cannot assure you, Mr. Swamy.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Then why is he saying that? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): You are living in... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I know that my friend Mr. Narayanasamy is absolutely safe because he has not committed any act of commission. Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have said... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: But don't give that guarantee for V. P. Singh. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: The amendments to the Commissions of Inquiry Act seeking to withhold information from the Houses of Parliament will be removed from the Statute book. The President said this in His Address. I would suggest that even before this is done, let the Government come out and place the Thakkar Commission report before the Houses of Parliament, the report which our friends were unable or afraid to share with Parliament. Let those portions of the report be placed by the new Government on the Table of both the Houses so that the world knows the truth of the dastardly murder of the late Prime Minister.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the President has talked about the right to work and I find in one of the amendments that somebody has raised this point. The right to work is a commitment of the National Front. It is a part of our manifesto and we are absolutely serious in implementing the right to work. I don't think there is any Member in this House or anywhere who will oppose the institution or the embodiment of this particular right in our Constitution. We have done without it, we have faced, we know what our young men in this country are facing. But our Government will bring forth this legislation and I hope

just as we are seeking their cooperation in all matters which are of national importance, in this matter also our friends across will lend us their support and the right to work will become a fundamental right in the Constitution. But I would like to say that right to work cannot just remain a slogan, it cannot remain an empty dream, it cannot remain merely on the statute book. Therefore, the whole economic policy which has been followed in this country till date will have to be given a new thrust. If we do not change the direction of the economic policy, then right to work will have no meaning. The right to work can be enshrined, can be implemented, can really fructify, only if we follow purposeful economic policies about which, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sure, you personally agree and many Members on the other side agree, and that is the need of the hour. And I expect from the new Government that they shall take these steps immediately to introduce the right to work and change the economic policies of this country.

Now I would like to refer to one or two things which this Government has done in the last 20—25 days that it has been in office. The Government has said somewhere, not in the President's Address, that a review will be made of the agreement with PEPSICOLA...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Sinha, your party has been given one hour's time and you have already taken forty-two minutes...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: But you must count the disturbances...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I am prepared to allow you some more time. But I am reminding you...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I will wind up in the next few minutes...

DR. BAPU KALDATE: Without winding up the charges.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am referring to PEPSICOLA about which

the new Government said they will review the terms. We have discussed PEPSICOLA fully in this House and I remember, I had participated in that debate. Now, PEPSICOLA is not merely a soft drink. PEPSICOLA is a symbol. PEPSICOLA is a symbol of the new imperialism. PEPSICOLA is a symbol of new style of life which this country can illafford. And when I said that the previous Government's policies were all oriented towards elitist consumption, this is what I meant, and one did not expect anything else from a Prime Minister who put on Italian shoes and dark glasses...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): This I think you should withdraw.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Okay, I withdraw it. But what I am saying is that PEPSICOLA is a symbol which we can illafford to have in this country and, therefore, I am pleading with the Government that they should quickly and sternly look into this entire agreement and see to it that PEPSICOLA gets what PEPSICOLA deserves...

DR. BAPU KALDATE: The boot.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Now, in the President's Address he has talked of import management. I must confess that I am somewhat disappointed with the use of the word 'import management'. I would have expected a more forthright assertion which, I am sure, the Government will be coming forward with, to curb imports. We know what has happened, what deleterious effect liberalisation of imports has had not only on our balance of payments but on our industry, on our economy. And, therefore, we expect of this new Government that it will not take recourse to import management, but it will take recourse to a drastic cut in imports, that it will reduce, cut and eliminate all unnecessary imports which have been permitted in this country during the last five years. Similarly, I

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]

was a little surprised to find that there was no reference to multinationals.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): But you should allow it in the case of essential commodities. I think there is a reference to that.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Does he really realize that he is condemning his own Prime Minister when he says that the import liberalisation policy was wrong?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No, no. I am not saying that. I am only saying that the new Government will stand by its manifesto, though it does not find a place in the President's Address, and will review the role of the multinationals, of foreign capital, of foreign technology, with the kind again of sternness, firmness and determination which are called for.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): What about foreign investigating agencies, Mr. Sinha?... (Interruptions)... Mr. Sinha, what about foreign investigating agencies for which you paid ... (Interruptions)...

DR. BAPU KALDATE: For which you paid, Mrs. Alva... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What about Fairfax?... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Foreign investigating agencies, Margaretji, were employed when your party was a power. Remember that... (interruptions)...

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: By Mr. V. P. Singh... (Interruptions)... the present Prime Minister... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am only saying that our Government will review, I hope that our Government will take — I am absolutely confident that they have the capacity, the courage and the determination to

take — the steps which are needed in order to take this nation away from the position of a hostage into which it has fallen in international relations, in international affairs, as a result of the undue influence which some of the multinationals were exercising or had exercised on the previous Government.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is much wretchedness in this country and when you travel on the roads, when you travel on the highways, when you go to the villages you are bound to see that wretchedness all around you, all around you, and you will see children of school-going age begging on the streets of Delhi, the Capital of this great country.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Calcutta also.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Calcutta, of course, takes the cakes.... (Interruptions)... I am only saying that there is much wretchedness and there is absolute wretchedness... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Sir, they are reacting as if Calcutta is outside India; This is their attitude... (Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, may make a submission? Calcutta is very much a part of India... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That is correct.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: When the whole country is suffering from poverty, Mr. Jyoti Basu is trying to remove poverty in his State... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down.... (Interruptions)... Please don't take his time and don't waste my energy... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, they are very much allergic to Calcutta. (Interruptions)...

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Sir, there are occasions when we all enjoy fun and frolic in this House and I also participate in that. But when I am talking of the wretchedness of the people, I am in no mood for fun and frolic.

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** Yes.

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Whether it is in Calcutta or in Bangalore or in Madras or in Lucknow or in Delhi, the kind of wretchedness, the kind of misery, the kind of squalor, in which our people are living is something which should attract the attention of all of us, which should make all of us work together to remove that wretchedness, and then and then alone will what the President has said in his Address be implemented. And, what has the President said? The President has said that he would like to restore the dignity of the nation and the dignity of the individual. Apart from the dignity of the nation and the dignity of the individual has to be restored. After 42 years of Independence, what do we see? Mrs. Margaret Alva and Miss Saroj Khaparde are sitting here. Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan is sitting here. and many other women colleagues are sitting in this House. Our ladies are suffering in the absence of *Sulabh Sauchalayas*. What is this state of affairs? Mr. Fotedar is laughing. It might not be a problem for him. But it certainly is a very serious problem. No dignity of the individual can be assured unless we make provision for these minimum needs. Let us admit that in these 42 years we have done precious little by way of ameliorating the wretched condition of the people of this country. This is what the President has said in his Address. This is what the new Government shall try and do. I hope and wish sincerely that we shall be able to do it. We seek the cooperation of everyone, in this House and outside, in attempting to achieve and in achieving these national goals. With these words I conclude my speech

and recommend that the Motion be passed unanimously.

**श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी (आंध्र प्रदेश) :** वाईस चेयरमैन सर, अभी राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर श्री यशवंत सिन्हा जी ने जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ और जो नई सरकार बनी है और जो नई सरकार का उद्देश्य है, उसके संबंध में ही मैं कुछ कहूँगा। कई सालों के बाद और इंतजार के बाद हिंदुस्तान की जनता एक परिवर्तन लाई है। वह एक नई सरकार को सत्ता में लाए और इन उम्मीदों के साथ कि जनता की जो समस्याएँ हैं, जो मसाल हैं, उनका हल हो और जनता यह तहेदिल से चाहती है कि जो भी सरकार सत्ता में आए, उसे उन समस्याओं को, मसाल को हल करना चाहिए। अगर वह हल नहीं होता है, तो उसका नतीजा क्या होगा, यह वह भी जानते हैं और हम भी जानते हैं।

इसीलिए यह सरकार तहेदिल से और मुसमम इरादे से जो वायदा जनता के सामने उन्होंने अपने मनिफेस्टो में किये हैं, वह उनको पूरा करना चाहती है।

आप जानते हैं कि हिंदुस्तान को आजादी को मिले चालीस साल हो चुके हैं, लेकिन हिंदुस्तान के जो मसाल हैं, और खास करके जो मेहनतकश तबके के मसाल हैं, गरीबों के मसाल हैं, बेरोजगारी का मसाल है, इसका हल नहीं निकला है और जनता दिन-ब-दिन अपने आपको पीड़ित समझती जा रही है क्योंकि कोई सरकार उनकी आवाज को, उनके दिल के दर्द को समझने के लिए तैयार नहीं है।

इसलिए यह सरकार एक निर्णय से आई है, इसने जनता को वायदा किया है कि यह सरकार सत्ता में आने के साथ ही ऐसे कामों को हाथ में लेगी जो जनता को राहत देंगे, जो देश के अंदर गरीबी है, उसको मिटायेगी और जो बेरोजगारी है, उसको मिटायेगी। मैं उन तफसीलों में न जाते हुए सिर्फ जो अहम मुद्दे हैं, उनको

[श्री वी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी]

आपके सामने और सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

सबसे पहला यह है कि राष्ट्रपति अभिभाषण में भी यह कहा गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान एक बहुत बड़ा देश है, जिसके 80 फीसदी लोग किसान, मजदूर काम करने वाले गांवों में रहते हैं। महात्मा गांधी ने यह कहा था कि असल में हिन्दुस्तान गांवों में बसता है।

4.00 P.M.

तो इस सरकार का पहला काम यह होगा कि वह पीड़ित जनता, खास करके खेतिहर मजदूर, छोटे किसान, इनको राहत देना। इसलिए राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह कहा है कि जो किसान खेती करता है, जो जमीन अपने हल से जोतता है, वह उसका मालिक बनेगा और जो किसान खेती करेगा, वह खेत उस किसान का होगा। कितने दिनों से हम देख रहे हैं कि लैंड रिफार्म हम लाये, लेकिन इसका कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है, आम किसान दब रहा। और किसान यह देखते रहे कि कौन सा सरकार है जो हमको मदद दे सकती है, हमको राहत दे सकती है। लेकिन देश के अन्दर जो लैंड रिफार्म हुए हैं सका ज्यादातर उन्हीं लोगों ने फायदा उठाया है जिनके पास जमीन थी और जमीन अभी भी उन्हीं के पास है और वह गरीब लोग जो यह चाहते थे कि उन जमीन का बंटवारा हो जिसका नहीं हो सका, तो अब यह नई सरकार वायदा कर चुकी है कि आम किसानों में जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है, जो खेतिहर मजदूर हैं उनको जमीन का बंटवारा होगा और जरूरत पड़े तो जो मौजूदा कानून है उनमें तरफ़ से भी लायेगा। दूसरी बात, मैं यह आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के हजारों गांव आज भी ऐसे हैं जहां पाने का पानी उपलब्ध नहीं है, राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह साफ-साफ कहा है और नेशनल फ्रंट की सरकार ने जो राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे की सरकार है, ने अपने मैनिफेस्टो में कहा है कि इन गांवों में बसने वालों

के लिए पानी का इंतजाम किया जाएगा। आज तक 40 साल में हम इस काम को नहीं कर सके हैं। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि नई सरकार ने काम से काम इस चोज को महसूस किया और जनता को यह वायदा किया और यह करना चाहती है कि हर गांव में पाने के पानी का इंतजाम किया जाए। तीसरी बात, जो अहम है देश की जनता खास कर पिछड़े जनता और जो कुचलो हुई, दबाई हुई जनता है उसके लिए जनता सरकार के दौरान एक मंडल आयोग नियुक्त हुआ था लेकिन उसको सिफारिशों का अमल में लाने के लिए आज तक सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है, लेकिन इस नई सरकार ने यह एलान किया है कि मंडल कमीशन को जो सिफारिशें हैं उनको तुरन्त अमल में लाया जाएगा और जो बैरबर्द क्लासेज हैं, जो दबे हुए लोग हैं उनको राहत दी जाएगी। वेजा हो जो शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स हैं उनको आरक्षण देने का भी नई सरकार ने वायदा किया है और इस सिलसिले में आप सभी जानते हैं और यह खुशी की बात है कि इस सदन में हाल ही में हमने एक ऐसा कानून बनाया जिससे हमने इन जातियों के लिए आरक्षण और दस साल के लिए बढ़ा दिया है। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि नई सरकार ने यह पहला काम किया है। चौथी चोज, जिसकी ओर इस सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और यह नई सरकार जिसने देश और देश की जनता को जो आश्वासन दिया है उसके संबंध में एक चोज आपको नज़र में लाना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों को रेग्युलरेटिव प्राइस नहीं मिलती। किसान जो अनाज पैदा करते हैं उसका लाभकारी मूल्य उन्हें बराबर नहीं मिलता जिसको इस सदन में हमने कई बार इस समस्या को उठाया है और जो किसानों के प्रतिनिधि हैं खास कर उन्होंने इस समस्या को इस सदन में उठाया है। सरकार के सामने कई बार हमने इसकी मांग की। लेकिन कभी भी सरकार ने इसकी तरफ़ तबज़्जुह नहीं दी। बड़ी खुशी की बात है मुझे यह एलान करते हुए और यह जानकारी

देते हुए कि राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा की नई सरकार इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए वचनबद्ध है और किसान जो पैदावार करेंगे उसका बराबर लाभकारी मूल्य दिया जाएगा। दूसरी चीज यह कि क्राप इश्योरेंस के बारे में भी हमने कई बार इस सदन के अन्दर और सदन के बाहर भी किसानों ने और आम लोगों ने यह मांग की क्योंकि जब कभी भी कोई बाढ़ या कोई तूफान या अनावृष्टि की वजह से जो किसान तबाह हो जाते हैं, उनकी खेती तबाह हो जाती है, उनको रक्षा नहीं मिलती थी। इसीलिए हम यह मांग किया करते थे कि क्राप इश्योरेंस किया जाए तो नई सरकार ने इस संबंध में भी एक कदम आगे बढ़ाया है। दूसरी चीज जितकी और इस पूरे देश का और सरकार का ध्यान हम हमेशा दिलाया करते थे वह यह कि इस देश के अन्दर जो वाटर रिसेर्सेज हैं, खासकर जो बांध, रिजरवायर और प्रोजेक्ट गांव में रहने वालों के लिए ही नहीं बल्कि सारे देश के लिए बहुत ही लाभदायक और जरूरी है और जिनको क्लियरेन्स देने के लिए सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया उनके लिए नई सरकार ने वायदा किया है कि इन तमाम पॉइंट रिजरवायर्स या प्रोजेक्ट्स पर अमल किया जाएगा, इनको कार्यान्वित कराया जाएगा जिससे कि जो इनके बाढ़ से पॉइंट हैं, उनको सुरक्षा मिलेगी और उनको राहत मिलेगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह नई सरकार ने जो एक बहुत ही अहम कदम लिया है, जो सारे देश की जनता को आश्वासन दिया है, वह यह है कि इस मुल्क में मजदूरों को कारखाने चलाने का अधिकार हो लेबर्स पार्टिसिपेशन इन दी मेनेजमेंट हो। यह मांग तो सभी ट्रेड यूनियन्स के नेता किया करते थे हम सभी लोग भी कहते थे, लेकिन इसे सरकार ने कभी नहीं माना। सरकार वायदा करती रही, लेकिन कुछ हुआ नहीं। अब नई सरकार ने इस बात को माना है और इस संबंध में जो भी कानून हो, या कार्यवाही हो, उसे करने के लिए कदम उठाया है।

इसके साथ-साथ उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिंदुस्तान के अंदर सबसे बड़ी ताकत नौजवानों की है। इस शक्ति के बारे में डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया हमेशा कहते थे—“भूमि सेना तैयार करो।” जय प्रकाश नारायण जी और आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी का भी संदेश था—भूमि सेना तैयार करो। भूमि-सेना तैयार करने का मतलब यह है कि हजारों-लाखों नौजवान जो तालीम-याफता हों या अन-पढ़ हो, उनको काम में लगाया जाय ताकि हिंदुस्तान को शक्तिशाली, ताकतवर बनाया जाय। जब हम इस ताकत को, इस शक्ति को बेकार छोड़ देंगे तो देश में, समाज में एक किस्म का अनरेस्ट होगा, अशांति होगी और जब हम इस शक्ति का इस्तेमाल करेंगे, उसको ठीक ढाँचे पर, ठीक रास्ते पर डालेंगे तो देश से अशांति मिटेगी और देश मजबूत होगा, एक बहुत बड़ी ताकत हमको मिलेगी। इस शक्ति को उपयोग करने के लिए नई सरकार ने जरूरी इकदामात उठाए हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक दूसरी अहम चीज जो आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, वह यह कि जो काले कानून हैं, जिनका हमने इस सदन में भी और उस सदन में भी विरोध किया, लेकिन फिर भी वे काले कानून, कानून बन गए। तो उन काले कानूनों को, जो जनता के हित में नहीं हैं, वापस लिया जाएगा, हटा दिया जाएगा। यह जो पोस्टल एक्ट बना, और जो 59वां संशोधन अमेंडमेंट बिल आया था, इन तमाम को हटाने के लिए यह नई सरकार वचनबद्ध है और उनको हटा दिया जाएगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसी तरह से दूरदर्शन और ऑल इंडिया रेडियो को खुद-मुख्तियारी दी जाने की बात इसमें कही गई है। इनको खुद-मुख्तियारी देने से सरकार के दबाव में सरकार की मनमानी जैसी कोई चीज इसमें नहीं रहेगी और इस कानून को, बिल को लाने से पहले जनता को पूरा अवसर, पूरा

[श्री बी सत्यनारायण रेड्डी]

मौका दिया जाएगा ! इससे क्या परिणाम होगा, ठीक होगा या नहीं होगा, इस संबंध में चर्चा होगी और इसको तय करने के लिए इस सदन में इसको लाया जाएगा। इसको भी यह नई सरकार कर रही है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दूसरी चीजों पर जाने से पहले दो जरूरी बातें कहना चाहता हूँ, जो पहले भी कही गई हैं, लेकिन फिर भी जो मेरे विचार हैं और जो यह नई सरकार भी करने का सोचती है, उस संबंध में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ इसके पहले मेरे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने कहा कि यह सरकार अहम समस्याओं को जोकि सियासी हैं, उनको सबसे पहले हल करना चाहती है। आज हमारे सामने दो बनिंग प्रोब्लम्स हैं—एक पंजाब की और दूसरी काश्मीर की। इस संबंध में तफ़्सील से चर्चा नहीं हुई है, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि यह सरकार चाहे पंजाब की समस्या हो या काश्मीर की समस्या हो उसे ताकत के जरिए नहीं, बलुटस के जरिए नहीं, हथियार के जरिए नहीं या बंदूक के जरिए नहीं हल करना चाहती है। वह इसे बातचीत से हल करना चाहती है, सब लोगों के सलाह-मशविरे से हल करना चाहती है। क्योंकि देश का कोई आदमी नहीं चाहता और मैं नहीं समझता कि पंजाब का कोई भी आदमी अलग राज्य चाहता हो। वह नहीं चाहते हैं। मैं तो पंजाब में घूमा हूँ और मैंने किसानों और कई लोगों से बातचीत की है। मैंने कई सभाओं में हिस्सा लिया है। उसके बाद मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि कोई पंजाबी या हिंदुस्तान का कोई आदमी यह नहीं चाहता कि पंजाब अलग हो या खालिस्तान बने। ऐसी किसी की मांग नहीं है। हो सकता है अपने कुछ उद्देश्यों को हासिल करने के लिए किसी ने कोई नारा उठाया हो, लेकिन दिल से कोई आदमी खालिस्तान बने या अलग राज्य बने ऐसी कोई बात मेरी नजर में नहीं आई है। इसलिए सरकार यह चाहती है कि इस मसले को सलाह-मशविरे से, बातचीत से हल किया जाएगा। इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसका यह मतलब

नहीं है कि अलगाववाद को प्रोत्साहन देंगे या अलगाववाद के साथ समझौता होगा। ऐसा कभी भी किसी भी सूरत में नहीं होगा और आतंकवादियों या उग्रवादियों के साथ कोई समझौता नहीं होगा। उनके सामने घुटने टेकने का कोई सवाल नहीं है। हमें हर तरह से कोशिश करनी है कि बातचीत से, मशविरे से हरेक से मिलजुलकर इस समस्या को हल करना है। इस संबंध में 17 दिसम्बर को जो ग़ाल पार्टी मीटिंग हुई है, सर्वदलीय सभा हुई है, उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। यह बहुत ही अच्छी शुरुआत है। हर समस्या को हल करने के लिए हमको यही कदम उठाना चाहिए। ऐसा ही काश्मीर के संबंध में भी किया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि मैं नहीं जानता कि काश्मीर की समस्या को और किसी ढंग से हल किया जा सकता है। असल में पहले हमारी गलती हो गयी। पहले जब स्टेट भारत के साथ एक्सोड हुई तो हम उसको रक्षा नहीं कर सके—कबायलीयों को मौका दिया। इनवेड हुआ और कुछ कबायली काश्मीर में घुस आए। उनको तुरंत हटाने के लिए हमारी सेना प्रयत्न कर रही थी तो बीच में उस समय की सरकार ने सेना को आगे बढ़ने से रोका और वह रुक गई। हम को रुकना नहीं चाहिए था और काश्मीर का मसला आज तक बना हुआ है। इस मसले को भी हम बातचीत से हल करेंगे। वहाँ जो काश्मीर में गड़बड़ी हो रही है, जो प्रो-पाकिस्तान एलीमेंट्स हैं, उनके साथ बातचीत करके समस्या को हल करना चाहिए। उनको यह बताना चाहिए कि जम्मू-काश्मीर हिंदुस्तान का एक अटूट हिस्सा है। यह कभी भी हिंदुस्तान से अलग नहीं किया जा सकता और न किसी सूरत में भी पाकिस्तान का हिस्सा नहीं बन सकता। इसलिए उनको यह समझाना पड़ेगा कि काश्मीर हिंदुस्तान का एक हिस्सा है और उन्हें हिंदुस्तान में ही रहना है। इसलिए काश्मीर की जनता को पूरी सहूलियतें दी जाएं। उनको समझाया जाए कि यहीं हमारी तरक्की है। इसलिए सरकार इस समस्या को किसी को दबाव से या डरा-धमका कर हल नहीं करना चाहती है। सरकार इसे बातचीत से सुलझाना चाहती है...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Out of your party's time you have taken 20 minutes.

**श्री श्री० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी :** मैं दो मिनट में समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। नार्थ-ईस्ट स्टेट्स का जहाँ तक संबंध है, उनकी कुछ मसाल है। उन समस्याओं को बातचीत के जरिए से, सलाह-मशविरे से हल किया जा सकता है और किसी भी सरकार को ऐसे कदम नहीं उठाना चाहिए कि आपस में लड़ाकर फायदा उठाए, पहले हुआ है, लोग कहते हैं कि हमको लड़ाया जाता है और फिर बातचीत के लिए बुलाया जाता है। इस नीति को हमको अपना नहीं है और यह नई सरकार ने नई नीति जो बनाई है उसमें वह सलाह-मशविरे करके देश की सभी समस्याओं को शांति के साथ हल करना चाहते हैं ताकि हिन्दुस्तान को ताकतवर, मजबूत और दृढ़ बनाया जाए।

आखिरी बात मैं यह कहूंगा कि हमारे जो संबंध विदेशों से हैं, खासकर हमारे जो पड़ोसी देश हैं, उन सभी के साथ अच्छे संबंध बनाए रखें—वह श्रीलंका हो, चीन हो, नेपाल हो—जितने भी हमारे पड़ोसी देश हैं उनके साथ हमारे संबंध अच्छे बनाए जाएंगे और उसके साथ-साथ हमारे देश के जो मकद है, जो इंटरैस्ट है, उसे कोई खतरा न हो, इसको मद्देनजर रखते हुए हमारे संबंध श्रीलंका से अच्छे हों। श्रीलंका में जो समस्या है उसको हमने गलत तरीके से शुरू किया था और उसको नए तरीके से हमको हल करना है। ऐसा नई सरकार करेगी। ऐसे हों हमारे संबंध चीन के साथ ब रहे हैं और उसको कायम रखते हुए, हमारा जो समस्या सरहद का चीन के साथ है उसको देश के हित को मद्देनजर रखते हुए चीन के साथ हम अच्छे संबंध बनाएंगे। इसी के साथ-साथ सोवियत यूनियन हिन्दुस्तान का बहुत बड़ा मित्र है, समर्थक है और हमारे जो संबंध सोवियत यूनियन के साथ हैं, वे ज्यादा बढ़ेंगे और इसी तरह से दुनिया के जो दूसरे देश हैं, जो हिन्दुस्तान के साथ अच्छे संबंध बनाए रखना चाहते हैं, हम उनके साथ अच्छे संबंध बनाएंगे ताकि हिन्दुस्तान में कोई गलत रास्ता उठ न पाए और

गलत तरीके से हम किसी चीज में उलझ न जाए ताकि हमारा देश, हमारी स्वतंत्रता और हमारा जो दर्जा है, उसे हम ऊंचा ही रख सकें। हम यह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के जो लोग हैं, वे ज्यादा खुश-हाल हों, ज्यादा ताकतवर हों और हमारे केन्द्र और राज्यों के अंदर जो संबंध हैं वह अच्छे बने रहें। केन्द्र, राज्यों के जो अधिकार हैं उनको छीन न पाए। राज्यों के मशविरे से ही केन्द्र हर काम को करे और समस्याओं का हल ठीक तरह से हो।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ और इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Now, there are \*105 amendments to the Motion.

SHRI SHABBIH AHMAD SALARIA (JAMMU AND KASHMIR): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not express any concern over nor any determination to arrive at an amicable and acceptable settlement of the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the large-scale killings due to the communal disturbances in the country and the need to ameliorate the lot of the affected people.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the reasons and circumstances responsible for the situation in Jammu & Kashmir and the remedial steps considered

\* In all, 104 amendments were moved (excluding amendment No. 67 admitted in the name of Shri Subramanian Swamy).



[Shri Shabbir Ahmad]

necessary to improve the same'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any assurance to give the Argavans of Ladakh region in Jammu & Kashmir State the status of Scheduled Tribe nor is there any reference to the recommendation of the State Government to recognise Gujars and Bakarwals in the State as Scheduled Tribes'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the developmental needs of Jammu & Kashmir including the opening up of conventional historical routes between the State and the rest of the country and the outside world'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the Government would ensure the citizens 'Right to Work' by amending the Constitution, as specifically stated in respect of the 'Right to Information' of the Address'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while assuring revision of existing laws to bring about equitable distribution of land and to make the tiller its owner, does not take into account the fact that rights in and over land, land tenures and relationship between the landlord and tenant are within the legislative jurisdiction of the State Legislatures and the Central Government cannot legislate on the same without further

weakening the federal structure of the Indian polity'."

SHRI RAM NARESH YADAV  
(Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound programme to eradicate unemployment from the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to develop rural areas by connecting every village, consisting of at least a hundred families, with the district headquarters, by road'."

8. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to accord agriculture the status of industry'."

9. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to establish training centre and cottage industries in rural areas and provisions for such other facilities to the rural folk as may be necessary for earning their livelihood from sources other than agriculture'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken to formulate a time-bound programme for eradicating illiteracy from the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to formulate a time-bound programme for providing medical facilities to every segment of population in the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the necessity of running the educational and training centres for the all round progress of backward classes of our society'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for a time-bound programme for the development of the tribal and hilly areas of the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to implement schemes effectively for the promotion and propagation of nationalistic feelings among the people to meet the challenge posed by increasing incidents of communalism in the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for a time-bound programme to simplify the existing legal system and procedure and to make it less expensive'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for formulating an effective programme for implementing a

uniform system of education, thereby providing equal opportunities to all throughout the country and ensuring their development as envisaged in the Constitution'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the action to be taken for improving the implementing of the schemes being run for the upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes so that these may be more meaningful and result oriented'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the measures to eliminate the glaring irregularities found in the existing electoral system like booth capturing, impersonation, striking of the names of bonafides voters from electoral rolls, incorporating fictitious names into electoral rolls and for giving Right to Franchise to nonresident Indians'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken to formulate a time bound programme for providing drinking water facilities to all such villages which are faced with drinking water crisis'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about any effective programme to enable women to avail of the opportunities available under the reservations proposed for them'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to have a time bound programme for the implementation of

[Shri Ram Naresh Yadav]

the Report of the Mandal Commission appointed for Backward Classes, under article 340 of the Constitution, for providing social Justice'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about a time frame for amendment of the Constitution for making the "Right to Work" a Fundamental Right'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about any special scheme for the development of Eastern parts of U.P. and backward districts of Bihar'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the prospective programmes for the growth of khadi and village industries'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken to improve the condition of public sector undertakings incurring losses and make them profitable by modernising them and improving their management'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken to improve the condition of rural agricultural labour and urban labour and ensure them wages stipulated by the statute'."

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address

does not mention about the burning Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute and the measures proposed by Government to resolve the issue'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention the need for self-reliant economy and the proposed Governmental measures to achieve it'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the menace of multi-nationals and the Government's policies to protect the indigenous industry from them'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the Siachen issue, the acquisition of highly sophisticated weapons by Pakistan and its pressing ahead with its nuclear-weapons oriented atomic development programme'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention any measures to remove the hardships of Indian citizens and the people of Indian origin residing in Nepal'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to enumerate any measure to ensure implementation of recommendations of the Bachawat Wage Board as accepted by the Government, in view of the fact

that only a few newspaper establishments in the country have implemented them so far.'"

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA  
(Karnataka): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that there is a deliberate omission in the Address to mention about the 20-Point Programme which was a national programme launched with the approval of Parliament'."

36. "The at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not spell out any action plan for the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes'."

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

'but regret that the Address mentions that the people have given verdict for a change without mentioning at the same time that the present Government is a minority Government'."

SHRI RAJNI RANJAN SAHU  
(Bihar): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention about the steps to be taken to avert destabilising State Governments'."

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

'but regret that no mention has been made in the Address to review the existing constitutional provisions relating to the powers of State Governments, the imposition of President's rule and

the extent of, and limitations on, the powers of caretaker Governments.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of interference by the Centre to topple Congress (I) ruled Governments in the States.'"

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

'but regret that there is not even a hint in the Address that there will be any radical structural reform or socio-economic changes without which the problems causing havoc to the lives of the toiling masses can never be solved.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the address to curb unemployment and continuance of Jawahar Rogar Yojana for giving employment to youth and weaker sections of society.'"

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

'but regret that there is no specific and categorical provision to give 30 per cent reservation to women as in the Panchayati Raj/ Nagarpalika Bills committed by the previous Government with a view to improving the plight of the millions of Indian women due to their unequal social and economic status.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to measures to

[Shri Rajni Ranjan Sahu]

restore and strengthen vital institutions so assiduously built during the last 40 years'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the specific steps Government proposes to take to stem the growing erosion of norms and values in public life'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the role played by India in the non-aligned movement and the position acquired by India in the comity of nations during the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not spell out a clear policy to be pursued in regard to the Sri-Lankan situation'."

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Sir I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the Government as a 'Minority Government'."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to reflect the acute agony of the people of Punjab and the fear psychosis prevailing in the State'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the Assam

accord, the Mizoram accord and the GNLF accord which have restored peace and democracy in that region'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about upholding the dignity of Institutions carefully nurtured over the years'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to explain the Government's stand on Anandpur Sahib Resolution which compromises the unity and integrity of the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to make any mention of the Babri-Masjid — Ramjanambhoomi dispute or its settlement through a due process of law'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to state that the Government will amend the Constitution to ensure the 'Right to Work' as a Fundamental Right'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and also fails to specify Government's stand on the question of life and security of the Tamils and the devolution of powers to the North-Eastern Province'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to mention the name of Jawaharlal Nehru and his signal contribution in shaping the foreign policy of India'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the emergence of Namibia as an independent nation and the role played by India to facilitate the same.'"

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any proposal to reserve 20 per cent of jobs for women in government and semi-government offices'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of National Health Policy'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not express Government's concern over the repeated postponement of the International Conference for converting the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to recognise the threat posed by Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme to the security of the region'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the imperative need to promote global peace and disarmament and fails to recognise India's efforts in achieving it'."

59. "That at the end of the the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to introduce workers' participation in management'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not express serious concern over the continued imprisonment of Mr. Nelson Mandela and fails to mention the need to urge upon the racist regime in South Africa for his immediate and unconditional release'."

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the proposed positive measures to stem the growing erosion of norms and values in the public life, particularly to break the nexus between criminals and politicians and to eliminate the influence of black money from the body politics'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not clearly indicate the steps proposed to be taken to improve the terms of trade for the agriculture sector vis-a-vis manufactured products'."

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, I move:

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

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

'but regret that in pursuance of the declaration made in paragraph 11 of the Address, no mention is made therein about the Constitution of a Committee of Members of the Rajya Sabha to investigate into the allegations of illegal foreign bank account maintained by the Prime Minister's son Shri Ajey Singh in St. Kitts Island' "

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the Rajiv-Jayawardene Accord which provided for the security of the life and property of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka and the devolution powers to the North-Eastern provinces.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not express nation's concern over the deteriorating security environment in the region and call for non-interference by external powers.' "

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: (Bihar): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address fails to define the Government's stand on Anandpur Sahib Resolution which compromises the unity and integrity of the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fear

psychosis created in Punjab by the re-entry of terrorists in the religious places and stockpiling of weapons there'."

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Sir, I move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the around progress made in the fields of agriculture, industries and science and technology, during the last ten years'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not affirm Govt's Commitment to implement Indo-Sri Lankan agreement for the safety and security of Tamils in Sri Lanka'."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to refer to Government's commitment to resolve the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about any concrete measures to be taken by Government to solve the Punjab problem'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not affirm mention about the successful foreign policy pursued by the previous Government in the last ten years'."

श्री मीर्जा इरुदिवेग (गुजरात):  
श्रीमान, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ:

77. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में दिसम्बर, 1989 के प्रथम सप्ताह में जित व्यक्तिओं ने खुलमखुला खालिस्तान की मांग की उनके विरुद्ध कार्यवाही करने में सरकार की असफलता के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention about the steps to be taken to avert destabilizing State Governments.'

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:  
Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not take notice of the disturbing trend to involve or seek help the Judges of high Courts in talks with anti national and secessionist forces.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not admit of the Government's game plan of not to present the Budget or take any other definite action till the election to various State Assemblies.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's approach to the 15-point programme on Minorities.'

श्री मीर्जा इरुदिवेग द्वारा: मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ:—

82. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में ये निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में संविधान के अनुच्छेद 370 के जारी रहने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

श्री मुरलीधर वन्प्रकाश शंकरे (महाराष्ट्र): मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ:

83. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में असम समझोते, मिजोरम समझोते टी.एन. वी. समझोते और जी. एन. एल. एफ. समझोते का, जिनसे इन क्षेत्रों में शान्ति बहाल हुई है तथा लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया में विश्वास उत्पन्न हुआ है, कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

84. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में साम्प्रदायिक भावनायें भड़काने वाले लोगों का सक्रिय रूप से मुकाबला किये जाने की आवश्यकता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

85. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकार को एक अल्पमत वाली सरकार नहीं बताया गया है।'

86. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में नामीबिया के एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के रूप में उद्भव में भारत के सहयोग का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'



[श्री मुरलीधर चन्द्रकान्त भंडारे]

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

"but regret that the Address fails to define the Government's stand on Anandpur Sahib Resolution which compromises the unity and integrity of the country."

"प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में एक नागरिक के लिए 'काम पाने के अधिकार' को एक मूल अधिकार के रूप में सुनिश्चित करने हेतु संविधान में संशोधन करने की सरकार की इच्छा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

†89. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to acknowledge the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru to the building-up of our nation-state and for being the architect of India's Foreign Policy."

†90. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and Government's stand as regards the question of security of Tamil and the devolution of powers to the North-East provinces of Sri Lanka, nor does it call for non-interference by external forces in the region."

††91. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to make any mention of the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute or of its settlement by due process of law."

††92. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fear psychosis created in Punjab by the re-entry of terrorists in the religious places and stockpiling of weapons there."

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Pondicherry): Sir, I move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about providing reservation of 30% for women in the State Legislatures and Parliament before the next elections to these bodies."

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: Sir I move:

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

"but regret that the Address chooses to mention some of the disquieting trends in the economy but overlooks the overall successful performance and the buoyancy reflected in the economy and the tremendous progress made by the Government on the

†The amendment Nos 89 and 90 also stood in the names of Sarvashri Mirza Irshadbaig, Vishvjit P. Singh, M. Palaniyandi and Thindivanam K. Ramamurthy.

††The amendments Nos 91 and 92 also stood in the names of Shrimati Margaret Alva and Sarvashri P. N. Sukul, Mirza Irshadbaig, Vishvjit P. Singh and Thindivanam K. Ramamurthy.

economic front during the last 5 years.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address fails to mention any concrete steps proposed to be taken by Government for reducing the prices of essential commodities and appreciate the commendable work done by the public distribution system for reaching such commodities to the vulnerable sections of the society.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address fails to indicate any clear plan or scheme for poverty removal and to mention the commendable steps taken by the Government during the last 5 years in the field of poverty removal, employment generation and for making provision of potable drinking water in the villages through the 20-point programme, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and other similar schemes and to indicate that the number of people below poverty line which had increased to 51 per cent during 1977—79 has been brought down to below 30 per cent during 1980—89.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address merely indicates vaguely that debt relief will be provided on loans below Rs. 10,000/- instead of writing off the same but fails—

(i) to specify any steps proposed to be taken by the Government to help the poor, small and marginal farmers in the rural areas,

(ii) to mention the various facilities provided during the last 5 years to marginal farmers, landless agricultural labour, artisans and weavers and

(iii) to indicate whether the existing facilities will be continued and special facility, if any, will be provided to them for their future growth and development.’”

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

‘but regret that the Address, while merely confining itself to state that the public sector will be streamlined so that the surpluses generated could be ploughed back for developmental activities completely fails (i) to refer to the role and possible growth and development of medium and large-scale industries, (ii) to mention the increase in the investment made by the previous Government in the public sector from Rs. 37,000/- crores to Rs. 86,000/- crores during the seventh plan and various successful efforts made by the Government in augmenting productivity, efficiency and profitability to ensure achievement of commanding heights and (iii) to specify the plans of the present Government to bring in further investments and strengthen the public sector.’”

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (NOMINATED): Sir, I move:

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

‘but regret that the Address does not mention the sharp re-emergence of fundamentalist forces in Punjab and diabolical threats being uttered to the minority community, particularly Hindu students in educational institutions with the avowed object of causing exodus of Hindus from Punjab and virtually attaining the nationally destructive goal of a Sikh State.’”

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any mention whatsoever of the abject surrender of the Government to the demands of the anti-national secessionist forces in Jammu & Kashmir by releasing the terrorists in December 1989 thereby putting the entire nation and its dignity to ignominious shame'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the security environment of India and the immediate need for her defence preparedness in the face of blatant acts of aggression being committed against her from across the western border through naked incitement, encouragement and active support of the anti-national secessionist and terrorist forces operating in Punjab as well as Jammu & Kashmir for the purpose of securing the nefarious design of dismemberment of India and destruction of her unity'."

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

'but regret that the Address mentions that the Government, which has been formed by a party in hopeless minority and is dependent for its survival on political parties having violently conflicting ideologies, has received the mandate of the people, and that too before it had even obtained the Vote of Confidence in the Lok Sabha.' "

103. "That at the end of the

Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the urgent need for judicial reforms in courts and bring them within the means of the poor.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the manner in which the leader of the ruling party was elected for the office of the Prime Minister affecting the dignity of the Government and the entire nation, being a reflection on the moral fibre of those who were a party to the dubious election process and are claiming to rule the country to restore the dignity of the nation and the individual.' "

The questions were proposed.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (MAHARASHTRA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, as I rise to make my submission on the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Yashwanth Sinha on the Address of the President to the two Houses of Parliament, at the outset I wish to make it absolutely clear that we are conscious, sitting on this side, of the cataclysmic change which has overtaken the political scenario since we met last in the monsoon session. After moving the Motion as Mr. Sinha started his speech, I thought he would refer to several salient features which are mentioned in the Presidential Address and a few of them are very commendable, and speaking on those issues and matters he will raise the level of the debate to a very dignified level, to a higher level. It is unfortunate that he did not choose to do so and soon got embroiled in what I consider very unwarranted political criticism of the past Government. As he started, I thought he was going to make a very mature and serious evaluation of the post-election scenario,

but he sought to analyse very philosophically the meaning of the change, a mandate of which has been given by the electorate. He is not here and I would not like to say anything uncharitable. He is a gentleman otherwise but the voice of maturity and sanity was very short-lived. Very soon he came out with extremely ill-digested and half-baked ideas and started criticising the Rajiv Government. There is only one thing and I want to warn his party and the Government, particularly Leader of the House, that this is the strategy that was followed by the Janta Party in 1977. Having come with a very comfortable majority.. (Interruptions). Prof. Lakshman, you were not here.

**PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh):** I was very much there.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** You were here, I am sorry.

Instead of coming out in a positive manner to seek our cooperation and to take care of the political situation, economic and social situation, the communal situation, day in and day out they unleashed the criticism of Mrs. Gandhi. And what was the result? The beginning was their and the end was their beginning. So, I warn you please do not indulge in these things, please show what you are capable of doing. People have given you a mandate. You have said that it is a clear verdict of change. Now, please prove yourself worthy of it directly and give up this extremely dangerous deleterious and pernicious approach of trying to criticise the previous Government. You may, where absolutely necessary, refer to the performance of the previous Government. No one can stop you from doing so. But please be restrained when you are to do it. I do expect that much of this Government.

Well, he eulogised and waxed eloquent on the commitment of his party to restore dignity of the institutions. I am very happy that there is a mention, an emphatic mention, that this Government is going to do its best to restore the dignity of the various constitutional and democratic institutions and I ardently hope that this is not purely a lip service they are paying to this again because hardly did he finish speaking about the restoration of values and the dignity of the institutions, what did he do the first thing? He gave a very veiled threat to the State Governments run by the Congress that "we are going to dismiss them". I do not need to dilate into very great details so far as this House is concerned on how delicately poised the federal balance under our Constitution is and how necessary it is for the Central Government to be restrained. In fact, we were criticised right, left and centre when we used to sit on that side by the Opposition very vociferously, stridently and loudly of trying to interfere in matters of the States which, in fact, would impinge on the question of the delicate federalism which is implicit in our Constitution.

Mr. Prime Minister, I was referring to what was stated by the Mover of the Motion about restoration of the dignity and respect of the various democratic institution under the Constitution and that we would be very happy if you were to work arduously and sincerely for restoration of the dignity of these institutions and not merely pay lip sympathy because soon after he stated this, what was the next thing he stated? He made a veiled threat on behalf of the Government to the Congress Governments in the States "if we see fiscal profligacy on your part, we are going to dismiss you". I do not know whether he was authorised to do so or not. If he was authorised to do so...

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): May I correct him? I was here when he spoke. He just gave a sort of warning that your State Governments are misusing their power and indulging in all sort of reckless activities and appealed to you...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, no, I was here.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): Mr. Leader of the House, I expect of you to be fair. He never appealed.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: It was an implied appeal and a warning both, and a warning to you not to indulge in reckless activities in the States where you are governing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): This is not correct. The records are quite different.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: He threatened about the dismissal of the Governments.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: It was a threat. He is nobody to do so.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: There was no element of intimidation in his speech.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Leader of the House you are one man we respect immensely. You have not been fair. He used the word... Mr. Gopalsamy, this is a very serious matter. Please listen to this. There is something which is related to...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Order please.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Did I say that he threatened "if you do it. I am going to dismiss you." He could not have done so. Even your Prime Minister would not do that. I used the word "veiled threat". In what context did he have to tell this to us here, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, the Leader of the House? What was the purpose

of his mentioning like this that if your States do not stop fiscal profligacy, well, we warn them? Warn us of what except dismissal? Is there anything else in your hands? And he used the word "intervene".

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I just say it again. I do not want to interrupt you. I respect you. But he was only referring to the philandering activities of your Governments in the States and warning you not to indulge in reckless activities and spend away the re-resources.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: At least, would you concede, Mr. Leader of the House, that it was a wholly unwarranted thing in a Motion of Thanks to the President where our federal balance hangs on such delicate issues in large many matters. And you point out only to Congress Governments because the first Government to go in that case will be the West Bengal Government and the second Government to go will be the Tamil Nadu Government.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: And Kerala—all the three Governments.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, I would like to add something.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: In Tamil Nadu, what is the reason?... (Interruptions)...

AN HON. MEMBER: The reason is rigging.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: It was in U.P. It was in Amethi. In Amethi rigging was done by the then ruling party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That is what he feels.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: What we feel also we have expressed... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: The whole world knows that it was in Amethi...

(Interruptions)...Never before in Indian history did such a thing take place.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the honourable Member has yielded. I may be permitted to say only one thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, I will not allow anybody.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: This is an issue which concerns the entire House, and I want to share my information with this honourable House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, not now... (Interruptions)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sukomal, I did not want to—please understand what I am saying...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I may be permitted—the honourable Member has yielded. On a point of information, I may be permitted to say something. I respectfully submit that in 1977, when the nine Assemblies were sought to be dissolved—and they were challenged by the State Governments before the Supreme Court—this very expression “scorched-earth policy” and this very argument was used on behalf of the Government to justify the dissolution. It is a pre-emptive argument which is sought to be built up here in order to indulge in dissolution of the Assemblies... (Interruptions)... I was a Counsel in that case. I am repeating the words of the Solicitor-General, which have been taken up by the honourable Member to build up an argument for the Government.

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): It was repeated in 1980 also!

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not my intention to get the whole debate drowned in a political controversy at all. But, a few things have been said and, fortunately the Prime Minister is there I want him to know what kind of a

party he is leading, and I want him to realize that, if he is going to work hard, sincerely, to restore the dignity of the institutions, many more things will have to be done. First of all, they will have to be restrained, which restraint he has been exercising, I must say. You must teach your Members to exercise much greater restraint. All that I was submitting, in humility was...

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN (Kerala): You teach your Members first... (Interruptions)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I was only wanting to submit, lest Mr. Sukomal Sen misunderstood me, that allegation of fiscal profligacy is there not only against the Congress States. It is against very many States and, if there anyone who should know about fiscal profligacy, it is I. Unfortunately, I cannot go any further because the report of the Finance Commission has still to be laid on the Table of the House. But if it is on the question of fiscal profligacy that you are going to dismiss a Government belonging to my party, then No. 1 will be West Bengal and No. 2 will be Tamil Nadu. They dare not do that in Kerala because it is on their support that they are sitting here. But what is the use of referring to this matter, unnecessarily? There are very many other things in the Address, which are laudable and commendable, that should have been referred to. And what happened?

While talking of institutions, straightway he comes down to criticize the working of the Election Commission. Mr. Kamal Morarka did try to retrieve the situation by saying that what he meant was but criticism of the intent of the Government rather than the working of the Election Commission. My young friend has tried to draw a distinction without a difference! I wish the Election Commission, at least, had been spared. No insinuations should have been cast no

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motive should have been imputed. That is not the way you are going to build up institutions. There are going to be minuses, there are going to be pluses. You are going to approve working of some institutions, we are going to disapprove the working of some institutions. You are going to disapprove working of some institutions, we are going to approve working of some institutions. That is bound to happen, the system being what it is. But, conscientiously do realize that if you want to build up institutions, merely to criticize the Rajiv Gandhi Government, please do not level irresponsible, unjustified, unwarranted criticism against these Constitutional institutions, at least. I do hope that Mr. Sinha will be duly corrected on these issues.

I do not want to raise many more points from his speech because in that case I will not be able to make submissions which I have to make in the matter.

Sir, on account of the shift in the political power after ten years, having occupied the Treasury Benches for ten years, we are sitting here today. But I assure you, we have gracefully reconciled to sitting here. In fact, I may submit that we are quite comfortable now in these seats. That is why we do not act like upstarts. You also try to reconcile to the new position you have found and show much greater restraint which your leadership is showing. That will help you and will help us to discharge the duty of the Opposition with much greater responsibility and dignity and therefore restore the dignity of the Opposition and restore the dignity of the House which had been very badly mauled during the last few years.

I want to submit, Sir, in all humility, in all sincerity that we entertain no ill-will towards the new Government, we have no ill-will towards the Prime Minister and we have no ill-will towards the Cabinet Ministers. In fact, most of them till yesterday

were with us, and they had joined us in lavishing praise on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi very sincerely. Why should we entertain any against them? In fact, we wish them all the best, we wish them well and we wish them all the luck because I have no doubt in my mind that one thing that they will need in plenty while running the Government is luck. And I do hope that you will not run out of your luck because perhaps your tenure and your duration in the Treasury Benches may be co-extensive with the run of luck itself. Anyway, we wish you very best.

Now, coming to the Address of the President to the two Houses, Sir, I find that the Address is quite unique and unparalleled at least in one very important and vital aspect which touches the welfare and well-being of the members itself. Sir in twenty three years that I have been in Parliament, never have I heard a Presidential speech which was so short and so brief and that is, perhaps, the greatest merit of this Address that in 50 minutes time....

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: This is a short session. That is why.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: It is a very great merit. If you can understand what I have in my mind, I said that it is purely a merit, a very great merit. You can see my disappointment in the rest of the merits or in the rest of the demerits. Please let it be in a dignified manner if you must say something.

I don't want to say anything against the President, I don't want to be disrespectful to him. It is my friend, Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Government which has written this Address for him. Within 50 minutes' time the whole ritual was over, and we were relieved and we were able to go back to our work. That is one aspect of the matter, perhaps.

The merits do not end up, I must submit. Quite a few things have been mentioned in the Presidential Address.

Para 1 refers to the felicitations to the new Members. The President is only abiding by convention when he felicitates the new Members of Parliament.

In para 2 I find a compliment has been given to the Indian electorate. It says:

"The General Election, just concluded, has demonstrated the maturity of the Indian electorate."

What else will a new Government say, Sir? Immature? How can you say anything else except that they are mature because you have been elected. Further it says:

"The people have given a clear verdict in favour of change."

Well, about the change I will mention a few salient points. But about this maturity of the Indian electorate, I am reminded of what once a very successful and competent and very able and distinguished corporate manager said about aggressive selling, aggressive salesmanship. He was asked: what is aggressive salesmanship? He said, "According to me, aggressive salesmanship is an art to sell a lame horse to a person, and he having purchased the lame horse, praise him for his maturity and judgement, receive price for it until he realises that the mature buyer had purchased a lame horse. This kind of compliment is more a self-compliment by the Government rather than a compliment to the maturity of the electorate itself.

As to the assertion that the people have given a clear verdict in favour of the change, there is a clear verdict. There is no doubt about that. It is in favour of change especially in the South. It was absolutely unequivocal, categorical and unmistakable. They do not want anyone else, but the Congress and they do not want anyone else but Rajiv Gandhi. There was a demand for a change. The majority,

I must submit in fairness, did give a mandate in favour of change, but the manner in which the mandate has been given and the strength of the various political parties being what it is in the Lok Sabha, I really wonder if the majority wanted to give a very lasting and enduring mandate for change or is it only a temporary mandate for change. The game of numbers in Lok Sabha, which I must submit is extremely important in any Lok Sabha is very overwhelmingly dangerous so far as the ruling party is concerned today and they will have to play very skilfully, with great adroitness their game if they do not want to find themselves overthrown overboard sooner than they expect. But I must submit that change, even if temporary, according to me is extremely beneficial to the future of India's democracy at least in one direction. Ours is the single largest party. In the Lok Sabha, the ruling party, the two supporting parties together just make more than the majority. It has been the convention all these years that whenever there is a single party which commands a clear majority in the Lok Sabha, that single largest party is invited by the President to form the Government. That being the convention, there was a voice, though very feeble in our own party, that we should be invited by the President to form a Government. That being the position, our party did raise a voice, though feeble, that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi should stake his claim to form the Government. We are proud today that we did not do so. It is a tribute to the statesmanship and commitment to the ideals of democracy that my party leadership and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi firmly declined to take any efforts to be called to form the Government for that would have been against the verdict of the majority of the electorate. I want to submit in all humility that the decision of Shri Rajiv Gandhi to gracefully accept the verdict of the electorate without talking about conventions or without taking recourse to any technical constitu-



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tional provision has laid down for all times to come a golden precedent of constitutional propriety.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** May I ask my friend, was there any alternative left to him?

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** That is what I said. There was a feeble voice raised in our party itself. It was said that was the convention. Why should we be denied? Has it not happened? Is it not for the first time that the single largest minority party never made any effort to be invited to form the Government? Earlier there had been such situations and what happened? Every party was vying with each other making a bee-line to be invited to form a Government. Yes, we had an alternative. We certainly had an alternative. But we knew that the exercise of that alternative, though that is in accordance with the convention, would not have been in accordance with the mandate of the electorate. That is why we did not do so. (*Interruptions*) Please try to understand what I am saying. What I am saying is that this is a golden precedent of Constitutional propriety laid down for all time to come and the future generations will have to abide by it. What is the golden precedent, So far as our Constitution is concerned, there is only one rule, which rules supreme and that rule is the quest for power is legitimate only if it does not subvert the norms of democracy. That is the golden precedent. I am referring to. The provisions of the Constitution cannot be pressed to negate the verdict of the people. The is what Rajiv Gandhi has established. That is what the leadership of my party has established of which I am very proud. If you are not able to see the very salubrious, the very healthy and a very welcome and of a very far-reaching significance, Constitutional propriety laid down... Mr. Gurupadaswamy, I thought by sitting there you have developed some sort of jaundice. I refer only to political jaundice.

Before coming to some of the salient features referred to by the President in his Address, having gone through the entire report very carefully, very objectively, it strikes me that in a very vital and important area, Government has shown lamentable lack of political maturity and total disregard for pernicious but unavoidable hard political realities. When I go through this entire speech, on an evaluation of the totality of this speech, this is what I come to and for what reason? It is this that the strength of the political parties in Lok Sabha has made the entire political situation in that House extremely precarious. To score a point the Prime Minister may say, we are not worried about the numbers. But we know that democracy is a game of numbers. If the game of numbers ever went against you, God forbid — we do not want that to happen; we are with you; we would like to help you — mind you, on national issues Mr. Prime Minister don't try to depend on communal parties. Mr. Ataji is not here. Please do not compromise with the communal parties. We are there to support you. We will be behind you. You have worked with us and you know what we are. Don't compromise on some of the matters, as we apprehend, you are likely to compromise—you have been very forthright—to retain your Prime Ministership. If it comes to national issues and other issues involving the nation's sovereignty and integrity you will find us rallying behind you like one man. I am not saying this merely for saying sake. You have grown in the same culture in which we have grown. You have built up the same way as we all of us are built up over the years, and only for a few — few years due to some differences you are on the other side. I am glad that amongst all of them, you are one they found to be their leader, one who has been groomed in the Congress culture and it is only the Congress which will be able to provide leadership to the Opposition.

What I submit with respect is there should have been far more caution and far more circumspection in the entire Address, when you are making so many promises. You were making promises of implementing various programmes, various changes in the Constitution, even without a dialogue with the Opposition. We are the single largest majority, I am sorry minority. I apologise. It takes sometime for us to forget about the word "majority". We are the largest minority in Lok Sabha and here in this House I do not need to teach you the numbers. We are twice your number here but that does not matter. On national issues, we will all be with the Government.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Salve, does number mean anything? If it is so, what was the effect of your having more than 400 Members in the last Lok Sabha?

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: He has himself said, it means nothing.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Look, I tell you, number by itself perhaps is no guarantee. (Interruptions) You have asked the question. Please extend me the courtesy of replying. You see number-wise, we are double your number here. What did we witness? You would rush up to the well of the House, you will break the microphone, you will attack the Chair. You will attack the Chair. We could do nothing about it. We will never do anything of this sort. No, since you are saying the numbers will not mean anything, the numbers will mean some day because you are the one who attacked the Government the other day along with us. You were forgetting it. How vehement and how sincere was your attack on the Government? That is only to be carried forward a little and some day, you and I will be voting together against them. Can you rule out that possibility? Please don't because we have worked with the minority Government. Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta,

listen to this. We had worked with the minority Government. I worked with the minority Government from 1969-70 and the CPI played a very faithful B team to us in Lok Sabha. In many matters, we differed but like the true B team, they yielded to us. The Prime Minister, then I think, was a Member of the Cabinet of Shrimati Indira Gandhi when there was a minority Government. I am sorry, I stand corrected. He was in U. P. and later on, he came. Remember, you have played as our B team.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Salve, with age, you are forgetting everything.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Yes, with age, my memory may have gone done. I have no doubt in my mind. But sense and sensibility increases with age only, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta. But don't forget. You cannot deny history. You cannot deny facts that your party played a B team to us, a faithful B team to us.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: We need no certificate from Mr. Salve. (Interruption). No, he is attacking our party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: This is a House of Elders. We cannot be allowed to hold to ransom the dignity of the House.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: No, no. I apologise. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I apologise. I withdraw. It was not my intention. Sir, with age, at least one thing I have not lost and that is my sense of humour. It was in good humour I said that to you Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta and if it has offended you, I apologise to you. Please. It was not my intent. This part is in the lighter vein. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Salve, since so many senior Members are sitting with you, that is why, you are very happy.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Gopal-samy, the whole House is very sorry because you lost by a small majority of 1,50,000 votes in Lok Sabha. If you had won, we would all have been very grateful to the Lord Almighty. Sir, the point I was trying to make was, in the entire address it should have been absolutely clear beyond doubt that it was a Government by a minority party which is supported by party number 3 and 4 and they just formed a majority and also before making promises of any sweeping changes as has been done, which can never be brought about unless the Opposition is taken into confidence, I wish, a glib complacency on this issue has not been shown and I wish, greater circumspection, greater caution, should have been shown in this matter. This is not a Government by a party which can, on its own, achieve all that they have promised. They cannot think of it. Even there is no mention that party no. 3 and 4 have been consulted in spelling out several programmes which have been spelt out. But it is their business. But what I am trying to say is that that the speech in the totality looks a little arrogant. It would have been far more modest, far better, commensurate with realities of things if it had been mentioned, as Mr. Yashwant Sinha has mentioned about several matters that we will try to evolve a national consensus on this, that we will try to discuss with all the parties and then come to this and we are doing this and this is what we intend doing, instead of saying that we will do this, we will do that. They cannot do what three-fourths of the things they have written here on their own. That is what I want to submit, Sir. Forget the discourtesy which is shown to the Congress-I which is the single largest party in the Lok Sabha and which is nearly twice the size of the ruling party and its supporters in the Rajya Sabha, in not holding prior discussions or not even mentioning in the President's Address that they will consult and then only proceed fur-

ther; but what has been done is, the exercise has been carried out without any caution and the Address has promised very sweeping changes without any regard for the fact that on their own they can do mighty little as a Government or in the Lok Sabha or anywhere else. The treasury benches are, as it is, dependent on parties Nos. 3 and 4. We wish them all luck. We do not want an unstable government because an unstable government will be a real, unmitigated curse to the nation. We would not want to destabilise the Government in any manner whatsoever. But they must themselves show that they are worthy of the trust which the electorate has reposed in them, by showing greater courtesy, greater realism, greater consciousness of the hard realities and the probity of the hard realities with which they are confronted and perhaps, they would have gained a point if they had been slightly more modest in this Address than what they have been. An impression is created that single-handed they are going to achieve all the tall promises which he has mentioned in this. Quite a few of them are indeed tall. I would be scared to mention them; angels would be scared to rush to do all these, even if they were controlling the two Houses. But they have done so which they never should have done. Be that as it may, Sir.

Now, apart from this, there are two or three points which I want to refer. And I am extremely happy that the Prime Minister has graced this House. He is listening to this debate. We would want him to listen to our views on these matters. And the first of them is Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. (Interruptions). Kindly listen. Please. If you interrupt it is not very fair. Reference is made to Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab in paragraphs 6 and 7. Sir, we, on this side of the House, are exceedingly happy that the Prime

Minister undertook the visit to the Golden Temple and to the city of Amritsar. We are very happy that people welcomed him. We are happier that he saw in the welcome that he received some sort of a change of heart. If it was really true and honest, nobody would congratulate him more than what we would like to because that is a national issue. We do not have to pick any quarrel with him on the Punjab issue. If you can find a solution to the Punjab issue quickly, expeditiously, in some manner other than what we have tried, well all the luck to you, all the best of luck to you. But, Mr. Prime Minister, kindly don't take this as a game of upmanship. Kindly take it as a game, an issue, in which vital national interests are involved. Mr. Yashwant Sinha referred to this matter as though he was trying to talk of a great hero and what he did not say was, "Look at all this as against what your Prime Minister did". But that is not the way; that is not the correct approach. We tried our level best. I can tell you one thing. Our Prime Minister was no less concerned than what the present Prime Minister might be. And the anxious moments he spent trying to do his very best with consultations of different parties are a tribute to the manner in which he tried to solve the issue. That he did not solve..... (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): What is the meaning of 'our Prime Minister'? Do we have different Prime Ministers?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He means the ex-Prime Minister.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He means the then Prime Minister.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Dipen I refer to the present Prime Minister and the past Prime Minister. When I say 'my Prime Minister' I mean the past Prime Minister. When I say, 'your Prime Minister', I mean the

present Prime Minister. (Interruptions). I only want you to realise one thing, Dipen, that it is a conceptual difference, it is not purely a difference of two persons...

5.00 P.M.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Loyalty is a good thing but not such unbridled loyalty.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Not at all, and I will be very unhappy to be uncharitable but the very manner, the way you are behaving, it appears that you are more loyal to them now than to your own party...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I know my party better than you do.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Then I know better than you...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: They also know you better than me because they were in your company and they have left your company after having known you.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: What I was trying to say was while we welcome the initial efforts and endeavours which have been made so far to tackle this problem of the Punjab, and to be able to bridge this gulf which is unnecessarily created, there is one thing which we tried ourselves, we tried to build the bridge as much as one could, whatever was humanly possible, whatever human ingenuity could conceive of Rajiv Gandhi tried to do that. He discussed with so many people, so many of us. If you can do better, we will congratulate you not once a hundred times and the nation will be grateful to you, Mr. Prime Minister, because we cannot allow the Sikhs to be estranged from the mainstream of the nation's life, we cannot allow that community to be alienated. The great service which the Sikhs as a community have rendered — I do not need to eulogise the great sacrifices, the great services, they have rendered — to the cause of the motherland will always be written in golden letters. The situation today is to be evaluated

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a little more realistically. There is talk of Khalistan and Khalistan in the sense of secession is an extremely mindless demand — at any rate, the killings which are still going on despite a very successful visit. What I am trying to say is so far as extremists are concerned, they are not the ones involved in that sort of welcome that you received in Amritsar. I wish it were a manifestation of change of heart by the extremists. If you are going to think that it is a manifestation of change of heart by the extremists, Mr Prime Minister, God help you. It is not so. If it was so, not a single day passed after your visit without people, innocent people, having been killed. Whether a Hindu is killed or a Sikh is killed or a Muslim is killed it is an Indian who is killed there. And these killings are going on and this is what worries me. And I do not want to lay an unjust and unfair accusation because you have just taken over and it will be unfair to judge you so early. But please don't allow an impression to be created, for God's sake don't allow an impression to be created, that you will be blackmailed into appeasement with the extremists or the terrorists...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Nobody will blackmail. You refuse to acknowledge the unprecedented welcome we received there.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Are you a Minister, Mr. Gopalsamy? Am I addressing you?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Not necessarily.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Please realise you are not sitting in that position where you are all one. Today you are only one of the supporting parties. (Interruption) All right you are so much a part of the Government though you are not a part of the Lok Sabha at all. Without being a part of the Lok Sabha you are a part of the Government. It is certainly a tribute to his generosity and

magnanimity. On his mercy you are there. We know on his mercy you are there. In that sense there is a difference between you and Dipen. Dipen is more honourable. Dipen, you dare not deny this.

What I was submitting was — I would be happy if I am completely wrong, I hope I am completely wrong — that an impression is being created that this Government is going out of its way to take steps and show gestures which might be misconstrued as some sort of appeasement. I have no doubt in my mind that no Government worth its salt would ever want to accept that position. But such an impression also is bad enough. I read the statement today of Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, the erstwhile Governor of Punjab. He has made a very alarming statement and he has said that the Golden Temple precincts are all in a shambles and it has to be restored to the same dignity in which it was before the "Operation Black Thunder". I would want someone to reply to this because you referred to Punjab and you know and all of us know and the nation knows to what level, to what level of indignity to what decent level, the entire Golden Temple had been reduced. I only want to say that, whatever may happen, the Golden Temple is a very sacred place of worship, not only for the Sikhs, but also for all those who believe in God, and whoever went there, whoever went there and paid obeisance there, was blessed. It is such a sacred precinct and nothing must be done to profane the sacred precincts of the Golden Temple. And, when Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray refers to that and says that its dignity in which it was before the "Operation Black Thunder" should be restored, I would not rule it out as something which is political or something which can be ignored.

Today, we had a debate on Kashmir. I would like to make one thing absolutely clear, because a reference was made by our Home Minister,

Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, to the kidnapping of his daughter, and in an emotional way, in a voice choked with emotion, he referred to her kidnapping. We on our side wish to make one thing absolutely clear — and in this there is not even one word of exaggeration — that Dr. Rubiya Sayeed is not only the daughter of the Home Minister, Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, but she is also the daughter of Mother India and her honour and her existence were the honour and existence of Mother India and all of us wanted her release in a very honourable and in a very dignified manner. All that we were objecting to was the way in which it was done. It is no use, Mr. Prime Minister—I was greatly disturbed over this—blaming one another and it is no use the Home Minister trying to blame us and our trying to blame him. That is not the issue at all. The real issue is something else. I can tell one thing, Sir. It is the question of the sovereignty of the country and fairly the Prime Minister will be answerable to the nation if anything happens to the sovereignty or the integrity of the nation as a whole. Whether it is the State Government or the Central Government, they can sort it out between themselves, whatever they want. But nothing must be done to compromise on an issue which involves the sovereignty and the integrity of this country and, therefore, for the sake of the child some steps had to be taken, and well, they have to take. We leave it to the expediency and the wisdom and the judicious approach of the two Governments as such. But there is one thing in the whole process. Has not a clear impression been created that the entire Kashmir Valley is full of people who are anti-Indian, with the jubilation that was there and the cheering that was done on the release of the five extremists and the terrorists and not a tear was shed for the poor girl, the poor daughter of Kashmir, who was kidnapped? Not a tear was shed! Is it not a terrible situation? Is it enough to say that

Mr. Abdullah has done this, that the Chief Secretary has done this? One thing, Sir, he did not answer at all and I am compelling about it. A question was asked of him. A Judge intervened in the matter and it was asked why they had to make use of a Judge of the Allahabad High Court for negotiating with the extremists. You have efficient agencies and you have talented men and agencies and you could have used them. Never mind the release. What we did mind is that in the whole process you have created an impression that you have surrendered to the wishes of the extremists and that against the extremists you will not be able to act. It is not purely a point that I am wanting to make. But it is a very disconcerting situation on which you will have to think and you have will have to take appropriate steps in the matter and that is what I was disturbed about. I was reading in the newspapers that the Pakistani papers have started writing that the best way to bring India to the negotiating table for annexing the Kashmir Valley with Pakistan is to make the terrorists infiltrate into Punjab and send the secessionists and send the militants into the Valley of Kashmir and disturb the entire work in Kashmir and Punjab and then the Government will be forced to come to the negotiating table to barter away the Valley of Kashmir to Pakistan. Sir, it is necessary — Mr. Prime Minister, it is necessary — that you give a befitting reply to this kind of propaganda that is going on in Pakistan and tell them that it is only because of democratic norms which we are adhering to that we are not resorting to leonine violence; otherwise if you take resort to such violence the whole thing could be settled in two days' time. We have never done this, and you will never do so. It is only certain built-in norms of decency and dignity, certain respect which is given to human life which is preventing India from doing this. Two hundred

[Sh. N. K. P. Salve]

terrorists—not more than two hundred extremists—are there in Punjab. And if you hunt them across the border, who come and who go back, if violence was restored to, they will be blown off, and the entire propaganda, the bluff of their propaganda, will be called. But certainly we are not wanting to do so. I do hope that the Government of India will spare no pains to make it absolutely clear to Pakistan that if they are going to tinker with us in this manner and if they feel that as a result of this we are going to give them either the Valley of Kashmir on a platter or Punjab, Khalistan would be given to Punjab, they are tragically mistaken; that would only be given on the dead body of this whole nation, I want to submit. It cannot be given otherwise.

Sir, on reservation, para 14 makes a very platitudinous statement: Government will take appropriate steps to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. Now, Sir, I have heard that absolutely dangerous statement many a time—I do not know in how many Presidential Addresses; once more it has come. I wish that in reply to the debate on the Presidential Address, Sir, a categorical statement will be given about the programme. And here on the floor of this House I wish to say that about the reservations a very unfair and dangerous approach was taken by some parties. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee is not here. Members of his party in Maharashtra talk with one voice about the reservations and they talk with a different voice here while they take up the Reservation Bill. It is my charge against them that they, together with Shiv Sena say: we will get rid of reservations. And when they talk of getting rid of reservations it was not extension under article 334. But when they talk of getting rid of reservations, which are protested, under article 15(4)....

**श्री कलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) :** महोदय, ये बेशर्त का भारतीय जनता पार्टी पर आरोप लगा रहे हैं...

**श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे :** आप महाराष्ट्र में आए थे? आपको मालूम है महाराष्ट्र कहां है? महाराष्ट्र के बाल ठाकरे की गोद में आप बैठे हैं। चुल्लू भर पानी में डूब भर जाइए। अगर जरा सी भी गैरत हो तो चुल्लू भर पानी में डूब मरिए। ठाकरे को अपना बप बनाकर रखा है। यहां गैर जिम्मेदारी की बातें करते हो। हाउस में दूसरी बात करते हो, मीटिंग में दूसरी बात करते हो। लानत है आपको। खामोश रहिए आप.... (व्यवधान)

**श्री कलाश पति मिश्र :** चमगीदड़ की तरह रंग बदलते रहते हैं, भारतीय जनता पार्टी पर आरोप लगाते रहते हैं। अनर्गल आरोप लगाते रहते हैं.... (व्यवधान)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I want to repeat that on the issue of reservations the BJP has been speaking with double voices, two voices. Sir, you come from Maharashtra. You know what they have been talking. They have been talking absolute untruths. I am speaking with the highest responsibility here. They do not talk of extension by 10 years. They talk of dispensing with reservations under article 15(4) and... (Interruptions) Mr. Vajpayee the other day—what had he to say: I would like to go and address these rallies of anti-reservationists: these are our brethren, on them, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** आपकी पार्टी का रवैया है...

**श्री कलाश पति मिश्र :** अनर्गल बातें कह रहे हैं। वाजपेयी जी ने कहा है वही भारतीय जनता पार्टी का स्टैंड....

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am talking with great responsibility. We

have so many people here from Maharashtra. We have senior leaders sitting here from Maharashtra. Ask them. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): I know what they have been saying there.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: What is the use? These are the double standards of traders in politics and politicians. Is there any justification for the BJP to go and shake hands with Mr. Bal Thakre of Shiv Sena who openly says: "I don't care for this Constitution and if this Constitution is not going to allow me to get votes in the name of hinduism, I will burn this this Constitution in the square"?

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : वाजपेयी जी ने जो कहा है वही हमारी भारतीय जनता पार्टी का स्टैंड है। (व्यवधान)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: That they have got 86 seats is good luck to them. But the real reason is something else.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Shiv Sena contested elections. One of the conditions was that they have to submit their constitution to the Election Commission. I would like to know whether the Shiv Sena has submitted its constitution to the Election Commission or not (*Interruptions*) Can't you sit down for the minute?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am not the Election Commission.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: There is a limit to everything. I am not talking about Maharashtra. I am talking about India.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: What is the position of Telugu Desam? You first talk about it and then you talk about Maharashtra.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am submitting to you that under the existing Constitution every political party has to submit its constitution and in giving its Constitution, it has to swear by four things. (*Interruptions*) I would like to go by what has been submitted by them to a body like the Election Commission. I am not to go by what has been stated elsewhere. It is not correct on the part of anybody to accuse BJP.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): It is not a point of order. I rule it out.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: You have dismissed it. It is one thing. With your permission, I would like to take cognizance of it and reply to only one thing. I have respect for his white hair. He is a very mature person. Prof. Lakshmanna, only do one thing. Come with me to Bombay and meet your own brethren from Andhra Pradesh. Show them the Constitution and ask them how much of this Constitution is being followed by Shiv Sena in Bombay with your brethren. You say: "I will go by the Constitution and not by what they are doing." You are not being true to your own people. People from Tamil Nadu are coming, people from Andhra Pradesh are coming and people from Kerala are coming to Bombay. Their life has been made simply miserable and hell by the extortion that is done by Shiv Sena. All that I am saying is that a party of the stature of BJP should not have an alliance with Shiv Sena. They should have been absolutely isolated. They should have been treated like labourers in the national interest and in the interest of preserving the integrity and unity of this country. You are talking about minority. You are talking of preservation of the rights of the minority. What safeguard and what sense of security is there for the people?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : यह उनका व्यू है. . . (व्यवधान)



श्री कैलाश पाले दिव्य : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, भारतीय जनता पार्टी शिव सेना के साथ समझौता करता है तो बड़ा भारी अपराध कर दिया और कांग्रेस पार्टी जिन्दगी भर मुस्लिम लीग के साथ समझौता करता रहा तो वह उचित है। (व्यवधान)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I would really like to take this opportunity to invite Prof. Lakshmananna to come with me and be my guest in Bombay. Then he will have a completely different view. Then he will realise the seriousness of the accusations that we are making here. I am not saying it just to make a point. Prof. Lakshmananna, take my word for it. We are having a grim battle in Bombay to save Maharashtra from a political mafia taking over Bombay and Maharashtra. Do you know the havoc it will have at the national level if Shiv Sena were able to come to power in Maharashtra? You and people from Tamil Nadu will be the biggest sufferers. I still have Marathi as my mother tongue. Maybe I will be spared though I abuse them. But your own fault is that your mother tongue is Telugu and Mr. Gopalsamy's only fault in Bombay is that his mother tongue is Tamil. Sir, you, come from Bombay. You know the things so well. Sir, Mr. Y. B. Chavan was the Chief Minister, and an election was fought in Ville Parle, and you know the sort of things that they did, the sort of threats that they exerted...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I was beaten.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: And, Sir, you were beaten. Sir, you know the sort of threats that they exerted on the minorities that, "be careful, if you go to the polls, vote for Dr. Prabhu or otherwise stay at home; otherwise what will happen with your wives and your daughters is something for which you alone will be responsible."

So, for our political differences, please do not encourage a party which is an anti-national party, which is a party of goons, which is a party of political mafia. And it is wanting to gain power in Maharashtra. We shall not allow it to do so.

Sir, there is only one more point and I am done. I am referring to Shiv Sena. I am sure, Kamalji, you will agree with me. If there is nobody else, ask Mr. Kamal Morarka...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: If you yield for a minute, Sir, most of us may agree with a lot of things you say. But Sir, Shiv Sena is a political party very much in existence, and they are not represented here. Only one fact I would like to bring to your notice for whatever it is worth. It was the late Mr. Y. B. Chavan who inaugurated the Shiv Sena in Bombay. BJP may be sitting in their lap today. But it was inaugurated by the late Mr. Y. B. Chavan for whatever it is worth.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: It is totally false. He is making false charges against Mr. Y. B. Chavan. He always opposed these communal forces of Shiv Sena. (Interruptions)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I want to submit one thing. Mr. Morarka says that that party is not here to defend itself. Is Mr. Y. B. Chavan here to defend himself?

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I think this should not be a part of the proceedings, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): This should not be a part...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I am not casting aspersions on Mr. Chavan.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: His name should not be mentioned.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Why his name should not be mentioned? Many names are mentioned in this House. The fact is that he had inaugurated this organisation. He might have become the victim of this organisation. He never knew that this organisation will turn out to be like this.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Are you trying to suggest that Mr. Y. B. Chavan was a communalist?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: No, no.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Thank you. That is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): One minute, I think, it is better if you can withdraw this because...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: No, Sir. Can you erase history by withdrawing what I am saying?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I have no idea. But, I think that if it is not correct...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Shri Y. B. Chavan was the greatest champion of secularism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): In which year, has he done it?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: In 1966.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, what I suggest in all fairness is that since he says that Y. B. Chavan was a symbol of secularism...

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Mr. Y. B. Chavan's name should be deleted from the proceedings?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: You want to delete that Y. B. Chavan was a symbol of secularism? I insist that it should be on record.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, in view of his explanation and categorical statement that Y. B. Chavan was a dauntless secularist...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Of course.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: ...a great nationalist and a great patriot, and that he would never have aligned himself if he had known that this was going to be the ultimate fate...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Certainly he would not have done it.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: But I want to refer to one thing. I was not trying to attack Shiv Sena as much as I was trying to attack BJP because BJP is represented here. That Party has some semblance of respectability, and we are entitled to tell our indignation. Our disappointment. Our political differences may go on.

आपका और हमारा जो राजनैतिक फर्क है, वह चलता रहेगा, उसको चलने दीजिये। मेरी यह अर्ज है, दरखास्त है, सुन लीजिये, आपका और हमारा नजरिया धर्मनिरपेक्षता के उभूलों की तरफ, सर्व धर्म सम भाव की तरफ, उसमें जो फर्क है वह तो है, मगर हमने यह तो कभी नहीं कहा कि आप एन्टी नेशनल पार्टी हैं, हमने यह तो कभी नहीं कहा कि आपने संविधान को फाड़कर चोराहे पर फेंकने की बात कही है, हमने यह तो कभी नहीं कहा कि आपके गुन्स हैं, हमने यह तो कभी नहीं कहा कि आपने किसी से एक्सटोरशन की मांग की है। हमने यह तो कभी नहीं कहा कि आप चोरी चपाटी के भरोसे जीते हो। यह तो आज तक नहीं कहा। इसके खिलाफ कह रहा हूँ तो क्यों कह रहा हूँ? दिल से ऐसी बात निकल रही है। ऐसे लोगों को आप रिस्पेक्टबिलिटी दे दें और अगर हम आपसे शिकायत करें तो आप बुरा न मानियेगा। हमारी भावनाओं की इज्जत करके देखिये और इस बात को तय कर लीजिये कि आपको एक भी सीट मिले या न मिले लेकिन शिव सेना के साथ बैठकर वहाँ हम-विस्तर न रहियेगा।

श्री कलश पति मिश्र : महोदय भारतीय जनता पार्टी भारत के किसी भी

[ श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र ]

नागरिक का अपमान सहन नहीं कर सकती है। महाराष्ट्र हो या बंगाल हो, भारत के किसी भी कोने में अगर कोई किसी भी नागरिक को ताड़ना देगा तो उसकी रक्षा करने के लिये भारतीय जनता पार्टी सदैव आगे आयेगी।

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am on the question of guarantee to minorities and communalism. Sir, very tall statements and claims have been made about protecting the interests of minorities and taking care of communal interests. I have only one question to ask. Fortunately, the Home Minister who has earlier made some reference to you, unfortunately you were not here then, is present here and then I had said that Dr. Rubiya is not only your daughter, she is the daughter of Mother India. Her honour, her life, her safety is the honour and life of Mother India as such. That was in some different context. Now I am talking to you something very important. You are wanting to save minorities. You are serious about communalism entering politics through the backdoor. Now there is one question I want to ask and it is this, this very election, Ville Parle election. It was challenged in a court of law and Bombay High Court has given a decision, Mr. Home Minister that since Shiv Sena asked for votes on the basis of Hindut

हिन्दुत्व की भावना को आगे बढ़ाकर उन्हें मतदान माँगा है।

they have violated the election law and they have committed a corrupt practice in terms of section 123(3) (a). I want to ask of this Government, if you are true to your professions, what is your view on the decision? Are you going to support this decision in the Supreme Court? That is my first question. My second question is, God forbid, if the Supreme Court were not to accept this decision, are you willing to change the election law to ensure that people are not allowed to seek and canvass votes on the basis

of caste and religion? If you are really serious about putting a curb on casteism and on this sort of communalism, the first thing you must take care of is that you must not allow election process to be abused and rebuked and parties allowed to ask votes and canvass support on the basis of religion. If that is done, you can take it that it is not only subversion of our secular values, but it will be a total subversion of our Constitution, which will be subversion of democracy. I do hope that you will consider this matter seriously when you reply to us.

Thank you very much.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy) in the Chair.]

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was trying to listen with rapt attention to Mr. N. K. P. Salve, the Deputy Leader of the Congress (I) Party. But my attention got constantly diverted because of the interaction which various provocative comments resulted in. One particular point that was sought to be made out was that this President's Address prepared by a minority Government smacks of arrogance and immodesty. It requires some power of observation to make such a comment by the Deputy Leader of a party which has offered constructive cooperation to the party and the Government. During this entire Session, the specimen of constructive co-operation that has evinced has been further strengthened by the remarks of Mr. Salve. He said that this Government which talks of accomplishing this, that and other things, in a very immodest manner, without any awareness of its minority status, would not be able to implement many of the promises made in the speech. Mr. Salve would have done well to spell out the specific points on which his Party has objection.

As for example, Punjab, The speech says that the Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act would be abrogated, Abrogation for the simple reason that

it provides for Emergency and takes away the right to life because of the promulgation of Emergency; right to life of the people of Punjab. Does he object to it? Does his Party object to the abrogation of the Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act? He ought to have spelt it out. The other speakers from his Party should spell it out. What are their objections and what is their stand?

The Address says that action on the report of the Ranganath Mishra Commission of Inquiry would be expeditiously completed. There is nothing in this matter. On this issue, they repeatedly tried to mislead the House. But now, do they propose to launch a movement in support of the leaders of the riots of November, 1984, in Delhi, leading to the massacre of the Sikhs here? Will they object to this thing? Do they take an exception to this resolve? Do they consider that this promise has been made very immodestly, very arrogantly? It is, after all, the President's speech. I do not know whether the use of the word 'arrogant' in relation to the President's speech is very much in good taste. Let Mr. Salve or his leader in the House, Shri Shiv Shanker, or his President, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, say 'We are against this thing; we do oppose this thing and you should desist from doing this thing', namely, bringing the offenders to book, in respect of the riots in November, 1984. If that is their demand, they should spell it out in very clear terms. Mr. Salve has been boasting of the strength of his party in this House and even in the other House, as a single majority party, but the fact is that they are not in the majority in the Lok Sabha. If that were so, they should have formed the Government. People have debarred them from forming the Government. Had they been so sure of the minority of this Government, what prevented them to press for a division during the confidence motion in the Lok Sabha? That would have established whether the majority was behind this Government or not. They talk of not destabilising the Government as if that is a

matter of mercy on the part of the Congress (I) Party, as if even now this party is the deliverer of goods. This only reveals the ruling power mentality which during this short span of time they have not been able to reconcile with. They perhaps considered the power to be divinely ordained on them by the rule of dynasty succession, (*Interruptions*). There are others but such a long list of dynastic rule cannot be presented by any other party and perhaps that is the virtue of the Congress (I). Then, the way Mr. Salve was threatening showed the intention of the Congress (I) Party in its true colours. To me the Speech seemed to be prepared with circumspection. It was not said that Congress (I) was overthrown from power only because the people's verdict was in favour of its change and nothing more. Subtleties are there in every speech. Is the circumspect, approach very impressive? Only a party which has been emerged in the power syndrome could view it in the fashion in which Mr. Salve saw it. It is not maintained that the speech covers everything or the speech deals with various problems confronting the nation in a very clear-cut manner, in a very elaborate manner. It is not possible to do so even for a Government which has been there for a long time because the President's speech cannot be a five-year plan book. It is usually a moderate-sized brochure. Therefore it cannot be expected that it will contain every thing. That point has been made out practically at the beginning that it deals with broad issues. That is what it claims and nothing more.

While doing that, the questions of Punjab and Kashmir have received the utmost importance. About Punjab what has been said is that beside repealing the 59th Amendment and sending for trial those responsible for the November, 1984 killing in Delhi. It would be the endeavour of the Government to make an approach through a national dialogue, as a first step to which an all-party meeting was convened, as is known and as has been mentioned

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

here, on the 17th of December. We all know the constructive cooperation offered by the Congress (I) during that meeting! It tried to undermine it. By all means that was the "constructive cooperation on the part of the erstwhile ruling party of the country, a party which is responsible for what has transpired in the country during all these years. Mr. Salve and his Leader raised such issues as, what is the attitude of the Government to Khalistan. What was the attitude of the Rajiv Gandhi Government?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: We condemned it.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: You condemned and at the same time you colluded. That was the position. Therefore this double-speak gave rise to this situation.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You are not even condemning it.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: It has been condemned in unmistakable terms by saying that national integrity and solidarity will be upheld and separatist and secessionist elements will be put down at all costs. It is there in clear and unmistakable terms. But we know who propped up Bhindranwale. Only perhaps two months before the Operation Bluestar, the former Prime Minister and the then General Secretary of the Congress went to meet Mr. Bhindranwale and came back to certify that he was a true man of religion and to criticise him for other things was unjust. That was his considered verdict. The records are there. The records may be gone into even by the Congress members if they like to see the facts for themselves, if they are not to be just blind supporters to be led along a blind alley. So these questions are there. A government which came to power 26 days back, and if you take away the day of oath-taking by the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister only 25 days back, cannot be

held responsible for all the ills accumulated over the years. Punjab and Kashmir have been brought to this pass by the Congress (I) Government by their policy of compromise with extremist elements in order to subserve their own partisan interests. I had occasion repeatedly to tell in this House, in the course of debates on Punjab, that the Congress (I) Government held negotiations in order to receive assistance from those accused of conspiracy for the murder of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. That was never controverted. Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann, now an honourable Member of the other House, had been kept in detention for five years and tortured like anything. He is suffering from hypertension now. But, while keeping him like that, negotiations were conducted through him to secure his help in subverting the existing Akali Party. This partisan utilization on the very sensitive situation obtaining in Punjab has brought us to this pass, and this Government is faced with the sin of the Congress (I) Government. Would the Congress (I) at one for the sin without trying to be self-righteous? You are repeatedly questioning whether we oppose Khalistan. Why did not the Congress (I) representatives at the all-party meeting put that question to the Prime Minister himself who was there?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: They did.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: If they did, then they ought to have said. What was his reply? There was a total reply. The difficulty is that during these 26 days, a Government which has just come into being is sought to be held blame-worthy for everything under the sun, and those conducting the affairs of the country for 40 years since Independence are putting up a haughty face. Is it that they are innocent of whatever had happened or whatever has been happening all these days? This is an attitude which would take us nowhere, and if they really mean what they say regarding national interest, it would be meet and proper on their

part to come with some humility, to come with some modesty that Mr. Salve advised the Prime Minister to assume.

So far as the Address is concerned, practically all the problems have been inherited from the past Government. But it is as it should be. Still, they cannot take away the country with them or the problems with them. But it is well understood where the blame lies for the state of affairs that is existing in the country.

So far as this Address is concerned, it is noteworthy that it takes note of many problems, as, for example, the colossal problem of unemployment facing the country. Almost 100 million people are unemployed today. There is the problem of the huge deficit, colossal deficit financing leading to inflation and rise in prices. It has assured that necessary steps would be taken in all these matters. Naturally, this cannot be easily done without tough decisions and very definite steps.

The price rise reduced the people to a very sorry state of affairs, particularly the rise in prices which occurred during the Congress (I) regime, particularly in the closing years, and the scandals that occurred with the price of sugar during the closing days of its rule. This mess has to be cleared.

The industrial expansion of the country in keeping with the requirement of the country, should be labour-intensive and not capital-intensive. This point was clearly been made out here that industrial expansion would be sought to be made with an eye on creation of more and more employment opportunities.

Regarding right to work, there has been some hesitancy. It has been the demand of all of us that right to work should be given a constitutional guarantee, should be made a part of the Fundamental Rights of the people so that it becomes justiceable and the state comes under obligation to provide jobs to the youth. But here there is only a question of striving

for it. It is short of recognising the right to work to be included within the Fundamental Rights. This position, I hope, will be clarified in courts of the reply to the debate that the Government's resolve has not changed. At least the National Front and the Janata Dal, not to speak of the left parties and even the B.J.P., all were unanimous on this point, granting the right to work as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution. So, on that question there should not be any hesitancy or any dilly-dallying. This also does not take note of the closures and lock-outs of more than one and a half lakhs of factories throughout the country involving more than ten million workers. What does the Government think of it and how is it going to tackle it? But while the 'right to work committee' has been formed by the Cabinet, on this issue how they want to proceed, it seems to be quite blank.

On the question of education also, reforming the education has been its main plank. The education policy introduced by the Congress (I) Government was opposed by us all as being elitist and undemocratic. Regarding that education policy we have to emphasise that a complete change of approach and outlook is necessary. People should not be forced to pay for the education through their nose and illiteracy should not be allowed to spread further as happened during the Congress (I) rule of one decade, which was a continuous one. Earlier there was some break. We should not allow that system of education to be perpetuated. So, on these points, I would like to draw the attention of the Government and I would expect them to say what they have got to say. With the consideration of these points, I support the motion moved in this House by Shri Yashwant Sinha and seconded by Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the last

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]  
 general election has ushered in a phase hitherto unknown in our Parliamentary history. A party with a little more than 25 per cent of the seats in the Lok Sabha has taken over the reins of the Government. The election results with no party attaining an absolute majority posed a sort of conundrum. There was a big question-mark on the faces of political analysts and legal experts. The right and the most popular answer however, was provided by Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The Congress (I)'s emergence as the single largest party notwithstanding, he chose to sit in the Opposition and offered constructive cooperation to the Government, scotching all rumours which were set afloat by different people with different intentions and idiosyncrasies. This fact, as also the fact that the new Government is in office with the support of two parties professing diametrically opposite and mutually incompatible ideologies has not found mention in the President's Address, which otherwise promises to the countrymen a sort of unique model Government. Incidentally, the assertion in the President's Address about the Government's decision to give an alternative model of Government raises some doubts in the minds of the people. It leaves us at sea as to what is up in the mind of the government; whether they wish to bring about a change in the basic structure of the Constitution, distinct from the Parliamentary democracy that we have today.

Sir, it is the prerogative of any Government to set its priorities and formulate policies for running the affairs of the Government.

6.00 P.M.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY):** Mr. Bansal, you can continue your speech tomorrow. Now, Shri Arif Mohd. Khan will make a statement.

## STATEMENT BY MINISTER

### Accident involving Pawan Hans Helicopter near Patna

**THE MINISTER OF ENERGY WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI ARIF MOHD. KHAN):** Sir, a Dauphin helicopter VT-ELO belonging to Pawan Hans Ltd., while operating ONGC chartered flight from Calcutta to Patna on 15-12-1989 crashed into the river Ganga about six miles from Patna airport. All seven occupants on board are feared dead. The helicopter took off from Calcutta at 16.24 hrs. (IST) and was scheduled to arrive at Patna at 18.40 hrs. The last contact of the helicopter with Patna control was at 18.28 hrs. Both pilots were very experienced and were holding current commercial helicopter pilot licence. Both were also Instrument Rated and night qualified. The Commander Capt. Ahluwalia had 5892 hours of total flying experience and 2168 hours experience on Dauphin helicopter. Major R. K. Baruah had 3244 hours of total flying experience and 1241 hours experience on Dauphin helicopter.

A report was received by Air Traffic Control Patna that an aircraft had crashed into the river Ganga about 10 miles from the airport. Airport officials immediately rushed to the site and a police guard was immediately posted. Salvage operation was organised thereafter. Next morning a team of Naval divers commenced salvage operation. Air Force helicopter and ONGC facilities were also pressed into service immediately to rescue the survivors and recover the wreckage of the helicopter. DGCA, Managing Director, Pawan Hans Ltd. and ONGC officials also reached the spot on the morning of 16th December, 1989 to coordinate the operations.

The depth of the water at the site was 20 feet. Further, local authorities, Navy, Air Force, Indian Inland