

and this new Youth Policy should work out, should find out ways and means by which the right to work should be an effective part of it. If that is done, Madam, I am confident that the youth of this country who have been given the right to vote, from 18 to 21, and who are normally against establishment and who proved their ire against the establishments, may be for a change because they stand for change, will play their rightful role in the developmental process. And taking a clue from what has happened, that they have voted decisively for a change, we have to consider the possibilities of re-orienting the entire approach towards youth so that the change becomes meaningful to them. Thank you.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** We will now take up the discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address—Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal to continue.

**Motion of thanks on the President's Address—Contd.**

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL** (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I said yesterday that the answer to a ticklish question about the formation of the new Government that cropped up, after the election results to face the country, the legal experts, the President and the political analysts was answered with ease by Shri Rajiv Gandhi when, despite the fact that the Congress had emerged as the single largest party, he decided to sit in the Opposition.

2.00 PM

A new Government has taken over the reins and we wish them well. But the very first view of the orientation of the new Government was available from the Prime Minister's first address to the nation. Madam,

Shri V. P. Singh's poetic disposition was at its best but it did give an impression that the real winner was not the Janata Dal but Shri L. K. Advani's Bharatiya Janata Party. Nothing else explains Shri V. P. Singh's distancing himself away from the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi. During the elections a grandson of the Mahatma was brought in to contest the election against Shri Rajiv Gandhi and votes were sought in the name of the Father of the Nation. But after the election, Shri V. P. Singh has agreed to disown the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, which is shared by every free citizen and his relevance today is acknowledged the world over with lavish eulogiums.

Madam, Shri V. P. Singh's performance so far has been the artical and for that matter good. The Central Hall of Parliament was the scene of well-planned show to elect democratically the leader of the Janata Dal Parliamentary Party. What if a senior leader and scores of M.Ps. felt fogged? And what if senior leader of the Janata Dal and an hon. Member of this House had to face the wrath of his own partymen.

Madam, much hullabaloo has been raised about the Government's intention to repeal the Fifty-Ninth Amendment to the constitution. This, in my humble opinion, is nothing but shadow-boxing playing to the gallery. The amendment, as we all know, was brought in for a specified period of two years and would automatically cease to operate with effect from the 30th March, 1990. Its provisions were never invoked by the Congress. The necessity never arose and if ever such a need had arisen, the Congress could not have invoked the provisions arbitrarily. The same had to be backed by the resolutions of two Houses of Parliament passed by two-thirds majority. And for that, as we all know, the support of the parties which now constitute the ruling group was essen-

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tial. Therefore, Madam, any talk of repeal is nothing but a cosmetic but application to the bruised face of Punjab.

Madam, the Government has tried to distort the Congress view on the meeting convened by it only to cover so-called consensus paper at a recent meeting convened by it only to cover its own failure to spell out a clear and a definite stand on the basic issues involved. The need of the hour today is not polemics but a determined effort. And that can be so done only by meaningfully associating all in the process. The outgoing Congress Government set the ball rolling by releasing Mann, Badal, Tohra and others and when we say that their presence is essential at any meeting which we have in future, because of the mandate that those people have now got, fault is found with us. Madam, the need today, as I said, is to get together and try to have a national approach towards the problem which, we have always said, is a national problem. We offer our full co-operation to the endeavours of the Government, to that extent. At the same time, we do hope that bias, prejudices and personal interests of the Deputy Prime Minister would not obstruct such efforts. After all, it was he alone who frustrated the implementation, the full implementation, of the Rajiv Gandhi-Sant Longowal Accord, not in the interests of Harviana, but to subserve his own political interests.

The President's Address expresses the Government's commitment to the restoration of the dignity and vitality of democratic institutions. But in action, they have already made a mockery of the strongest pillar of democracy, namely, the judiciary, by drafting a High Court Judge in talks

with the extremists and anti-national elements. Their actions have already removed the facade of their resolve not to compromise with separatism and not to yield to extremists.

Madam, the President's Address promises introduction of a legislation to grant Constitutional sanction to Panchayati Raj. I welcome this because it would undo the gross injustice which the Janata Dal and other parties did to the people of India by defeating the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Amendment Bills in the last Session only in their zeal to deprive the Congress and Shri Rajiv Gandhi the credit of taking a revolutionary step in conferring power to the people through the panchayats and nagar palikas.

I do find some intrinsic merit in the proposal to grant autonomy to Doordarshan and All-India Radio. But our experience in the last two weeks alone has proved the disparity between the Government's perception and action. People were deprived of the right to know what objections an hon. Member of this House raised to the President's Address. At the crucial juncture, the cameras of Doordarshan were directed towards the dome of the Central Hall of Parliament and not towards the hon. Member. Madam, you just have to switch on to 'Parliament News' to know of the differential treatment that is being meted out to the Members of the Janata Dal and its allies on the one hand and the Members of the Congress on the other. A reference was made to it in the morning and I would only like to say here that the first walk-out in this Session was totally distorted by the electronic media. Understandably, for this reason alone, the President's Address failed to mention the Government's resolve to set up a Joint Parliamentary Committee to review or oversee the functioning of the electronic media.

Government's purported reassurance to the minorities loses significance in the absence of its not committing itself to the Fifteen-Point Programme of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. On the contrary, the Government led by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has been forced to sign a certificate declaring that the B. J. P. is not a communal party because the Government depends upon its critical support to survive in office.

A similar lack of will is discernible in the case of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes. For women, they have only platitudes and there is even no reference to the perspective plan. That is the forte of the youth and students as well.

Madam, there was a glimmer of hope in the President's Address as far as our time-tested foreign policy is concerned. But tragically, our reputation as a leader of the Non Aligned Movement has plummeted fathom deep because of the failure of the Janata Government to take a bold stand on US invasion of Panama. This does raise a reasonable doubt in one's mind about the contents of the discussion that a senior leader of Janata Dal had in USA as representative of Shri V. P. Singh some time back just before Mr. Willy Herger stepped up his anti-India lobby in the States.

To conclude, I would say that one thing stands out distinctly from the President's Address. Finding itself suddenly in the centre of a flood lit stage, the V. P. Singh Government has thrown up many balls in the air, unsure of catching back all because it stands as it does, on two dissimilar crutches which take away its strength to move about with dexterity and alertness that expected of any Government. But, Madam, our concern is that, in the process, if some of those balls—the sensitive ones out of those—fall and break, the loss will be that of the country. Perhaps, as we have seen from the recent events,

such a damage has already been done to the country which is manifested from the various kidnappings for political reasons. But the only reassuring factor is that democracy has taken firm roots in the country and therein lie the future hopes of the country. Thank you, Madam.

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

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I have stood to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Our party has extended support to this Government from outside and we think that this Government should function in such a way that it can continue for the full term of five years. Though the Congress Party is expecting every time that there may be an internal fight and they will take advantage of that and come back again, but the reality has to be understood that it was due to the objective necessity that people raised the demand that the Rajiv Gandhi Government should go. And this objective necessity had been created not simply immediately before the elections, but long before because the Congress has been in power since 1947, minus only 24 years, and the performance of this Congress Government for nearly 40 years has proved that it has totally failed to solve any basic problems of the masses. On the question of poverty, the question of unemployment, the question of unity, the question of democracy—on all issues—more and more it has been proved by their actions that they were leading the whole country to total disaster. We are in the midst of a deepening crisis and this crisis is the result of the policies pursued by the Government of India.

Why this crisis? It is because the Government of India is pursuing a policy for strengthening and developing capitalism. That is why, since the Congress came to power, you

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find that the rich were becoming richer. They were following the Five-Year Plans. Who are gaining through these Five Year Plans? Is the people's economic life being strengthened? Who has gained? I will give you one figure. Earlier also I had placed this figure before this House. Before Independence, the assets of Tatas and Birlas were below Rs. 30 crores. Now the assets of Tatas have reached beyond Rs. 5,000 crores. This is the Government figure. It was in 1972 that I placed this figure of Tata in the Lok Sabha. At that time the assets were Rs. 641 crores. In 1982 the figure became Rs. 2,430 crore. In November 1988 it became Rs. 4,939 crores. Now it has crossed Rs. 5,000 crores. If this is the economic policy pursued by the Congress Government, the rich becoming richer and the capitalists becoming monopolists, then, really, the political party does not rule. The real rulers are the monopolists. They formulate the policies behind this Government and direct the economic policies.

You analyse the taxation policy of the Government. There is exemption in taxes to the richer ones, the bigger ones. Now direct taxation is amounting to 10 per cent whereas indirect taxation is nearly 90 per cent. You know that direct taxation means taxation on the basis of income. Indirect taxation means people are to bear the burden. If this is the taxation policy pursued from 1947 onwards, then the people are bound to suffer because burden of taxation means increase in the prices of all the commodities on which taxes are imposed and people have to purchase them at higher prices. Those who are businessmen or industrialists are selling at higher prices, earning huge profits. This has been the economic policy and this is the process going on since 1947. So, what is the remedy?

You see that the train fare is increasing, petrol price is rising, elec-

tricity charges are rising, diesel price is rising, cost of everything is rising. Naturally, the cost of living is increasing day by day. As a result there is an industrial crisis. Now more than two lakh big medium and small factories have already been closed down and industrial sickness is increasing day by day. There is a serious situation in the textile industry. Thousands and thousands of powerloom workers and handloom workers are out of job. You are talking about *garibi hatao* and *bekari hatao*. But are these slogans really removing *garibi*, really removing *bekari*? No. By using these slogans you get the votes of the poor and then after coming to power you pursue the policy to further exploit them and make the rich richer. That is why there is more inflation, more price rise.

So, it is a question of the policy of Government. We Marxists believe that the policies are related with class interests. Policies are not decided in vacuum. If you represent the toiling masses, you have one policy. If you represent vested interests, you have a different policy. So also the policy on taxation.

Now, take the labour policy. The labour policy of the Rajiv Gandhi Government was that they brought the Industrial Disputes Amendment Bill, the Trade Union Amendment Bill. What is the purpose of that Bill? Virtually to declare strikes, struggles illegal. Similarly the Hospital and Other Institutions Bill. On whose behalf? Who wants that workers' interests should be suppressed? The class character is quite clear. Will the working class support this Government which is going to suppress the trade union movement? Factories are being closed, and workers are being thrown out of job. To defend their interests they have no other remedy than to protest, than to go on strike action. Even that elementary, democratic right which has been enshrined in the Constitution.

right to form association right to strike is being taken away.

So, what should be the attitude of the working class towards this Congress Government? From this you can understand that they will demand that this Government must go. Generally when you go to any trade union field, you find that the demand is nationalisation of factories. This textile-factory nationalisation demand was supported by the INTUC also. But the textile policy pursued by the Government, the new textile policy in 1985 was to give more concession to big factory owners at the cost of the powerloom workers and the handloom workers. The workers demand, we also demand nationalisation. The Government categorically told, "No nationalisation." The policy of the Congress Government was more privatisation. That is why the employees are agitating throughout the country, and the public sector workers went on strike against the policy of privatisation.

SHRI SHABBIT AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): On a point of order. He has to discuss the President's Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, no. Please sit down. There can be no point of order.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I understand his inconvenience.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He is a very senior leader. Please sit down. (Interruptions) No. Please sit down. You can make it clear when you are allowed to speak. I will not allow you now. There can be no point of order.

SHRI SHABBIT AHMAD SALARIA: I can raise a point of order. Why can I not?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): While supporting the Motion

of Thanks on the President's Address we are entitled to criticise the erstwhile Government.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Yes, because the new Government has come...

SHRI SHABBIT AHMAD SALARIA: He should speak on the President's Address, the purpose for which it has been made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down. He can speak whatever he wants provided he speaks on the Address. If he speaks something else, I will stop him. Please don't interrupt him. (Interruptions) You should realise, he is a very senior Member of the House. Please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): The scope of the President's Address is very large.

SHRI SHABBIT AHMAD SALARIA: It is not so large that you can discuss about the history of a political party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He can bring it.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Now, you see in the last elections in 1984, the main issue was Indian unity because Mrs. Gandhi was murdered. She stood for India's unity and the issue of India's unity became the main issue before the last elections. Due to the sympathy wave and due to the sentiments of India's unity, the Congress won the elections in a very big way getting a huge majority. Now, since 1984, till this election, what is the situation regarding Indian unity? The situation had deteriorated day by day. Now, communal riots spread mostly in those States which were being run by the Congress during that period. Though the former Prime Minister talked of secularism repeatedly, but our regular criticism was that the policies

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pursued by this Government were only to make opportunist compromises with all the communal and divisive forces. Several times this had been debated and we had given examples. Now, what had happened? The Supreme Court gave a judgment in the Shahbano case granting a compensation to that divorced lady. We upheld that and the Government in the first round supported that Supreme Court judgment. Then the Muslim fundamentalists started crying that it was against Shariat. Their argument was that if the Government did not bring a legislation to cancel that Supreme Court judgment, no Muslim votes would be cast in favour of the Congress. Then we saw that Rajiv Gandhi was not firm in secularism. In the first stage one of the Ministers was put to defend the Supreme Court judgment. He gave all the arguments including quotations from the Shariat in support of the judgment. But subsequently a Bill was brought subverting that Supreme Court judgment and got passed. This was a surrender to Muslim fundamentalists. Now, what confidence the secular forces could have in this Government?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): Can you get that Bill repealed?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): You request them to repeal it.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Let me speak. We will do whatever the situation wants.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Whatever is necessary, that will be done by the new Government. What you could not do during five years, you do not expect to be done during five days.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Then pressure started coming from the Hindu fundamentalists also. They

said in that as you surrendered to the Muslim fundamentalists, so, you would not get Hindu votes in the next Assembly elections. So, immediately concessions were given to the Hindu fundamentalists and the key of the temple was given to the Hindus. Is it secularism? Can this Government stand firm for unity on the basis of secularism? No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): By whom was the key given? I think the court had given.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: That was given by the judge. You know the whole background. That is why people lost confidence in the Government. The feeling was generated among the honest people, those who were interested in the unity of India was that this Government for opportunist interests, it was yielding on one side to the Muslim fundamentalists and to Hindu fundamentalists on the other. So what has happened? The riots are spreading. There was also a report that in the recent riots, a section of the Congressmen took part. You can dispute it. The facts are there and admitted by the Congressmen also.

Now, the Babri Masjid and Ram Janam Bhoomi question came. What stand the Government took? We repeatedly demanded that a meeting of the National Integration Council should be called and all parties should be invited for an amicable settlement of the issue. That was delayed. Personally I talked with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. He had assured me that he would accept my advice. He wrote a note on the 24th July. When I had talks with him, I told him "Before consulting the Opposition leaders, you declare the date of the National Integration Council meeting." He agreed but he did not do so. But there was a private deal both between the Hindus and the Muslims. That was the understanding, the shilanyas will be allowed and there will be no

trouble but what happened? The Allahabad High Court gave the judgement that the place is a disputed place. The *shilanyas* was allowed with the expectation that the mosque will not be demolished on the *shilanyas* day. So *shilanyas* will be allowed so that Congress can get Hindu sympathy and Muslims will be told that we have protected your mosque. Those who are the organisers of Ram mandir, their condition was that mosque should be demolished. Only outer gate foundation stone has been done. When the whole building will be constructed it will be on the basis of demolition of the mosque and those days are coming and they have declared 29th January as the next meeting of the sadhus and organisations. In today's newspaper a news has said openly that "our programme will not be stopped." Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi has made that declaration. So that is the situation. In the whole country the unity is going to be blown up. That is why we demanded that the Congress must go. If the Congress remains in power, there is no future for Indian unity. If Congress remains in power, there will be no solution to Punjab problem. You know that we supported the Rajiv-Longowal agreement but up till now the Punjab situation is more serious. Last year in the joint session of Parliament, in the Rashtrapati's speech so much praise was highlighted about the Barnala Government. It was said that they were secular and were fighting against extremists and all these things. Suddenly before the session concluded the Barnala Government was dismissed. Then, 59th Constitutional amendment came because Haryana elections were to be held. All these things have been discussed in the earlier session of the House. for narrow interests to win Haryana elections for seeking Hindu votes. The Barnala Government was dismissed. The Congress realised that they are losing the ground, their feet are slipping out of the ground and to keep them in power, the 59th Constitutional amendment was brought and

it got passed despite our united opposition. You remember all these things. You have not forgotten all these things. That is why we thought that this Government must go as early as possible. So the demand was made from that time. Then the question of Bofors and the question of other corruption things came. How V. P. Singh through the performance of the Congress Government was made the main man to attract all the Opposition and became the Prime Minister? It was Rajiv's performance because when Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister, he organised some raids on the big houses to collect some black money resource. So, all the big houses got so much angry with him that they went to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and asked, "If this man continues as the Finance Minister, then our black money cannot be freely garnered. So, throw him out." In the past Ministers after Ministers have been transferred on the charge of corruption but here is a case where the Minister was transferred because he tried to check corruption. That is why, the image of Mr. V. P. Singh rose high in the eyes of the public. They thought that he is a man who is fighting corruption. This is the logic. So, the Government, the Prime Minister who throws his own Minister out because that man tries to check corruption means the Prime Minister is protecting corrupt elements and he is the defender of corruption. (Interruption)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Have you checked it up with Mr. V. P. Singh? (Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, the Chair is supposed to be impartial. (Interruptions)...

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: This is the sequence of events. From the Ministry of Finance, he was shifted to the Ministry of Defence. Then

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came the question of Bofors and then his expulsion. When all the Opposition parties demanded the resignation of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on the question of Bofors, he tried to conceal this kickback thing in such a manner so that the people got the impression that there is something between this Bofors and this Government. The press played a very big role in exposing Bofors and other such deals. The press expected that corruption should be exposed thoroughly. But the other hand, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi brought Defamation Bill. Why was it brought forward? It was brought to silence the voice of criticism so that corruption cannot be exposed. Is it democratic? That is why, there was an all-India protest and he had to retreat. He had to withdraw that Bill. Before that the Trade Unions Bill had to be kept pending because of all-out protests. I am not going into the details because the time at my disposal is short. The recent elections have a background because for the last two years, the demand has been raised that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi should resign and there should be mid-term election, not this normal general elections but mid-term elections but he refused to act. Then, there was this Bofors debate and then ultimately the Opposition had to resign. Then they went to the people. Then there was an all-India Bandh and the State machinery was used to suppress that Bandh. That Bandh was a very big success. So the people have already given their judgment before the elections that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has lost the entire moral authority to remain in power. That is why, this victory of the Janata Dal is very very significant because the people want an alternative Government, not simply persons but with alternative policy and this alternative policy is much more important today than the persons. This National Front and the Janata Dal, they have placed their alternative programmes through their election manifesto before the people

and in the speech of the President, in short, major things have been mentioned. Now it has been established that they are firmly sticking to the principles of secularism. That is why yesterday Mr. Salve said, "In case of fighting communalism, we will join hands with you". This shows that despite support from the BJP, the Janata Dal Government is firmly standing on the principles of secularism and Indian unity. This gives them strength. Now, it is not the numbers here inside that matter. Inside numbers are delusive, very delusive. From the very recent experience you can understand. You are sitting now there in the opposition. When you were here, we have seen your temper, voices and all those things. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATA-RAJAN: You would not see how your party had behaved. You were sitting in the well of the House and threatening the Chair. (Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: We are fighting for principles. (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Your leader Mrs Gandhi had sat on the well throughout a night during the Janata rule. You do not know. At that time, you were a 'bachcha'. (Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: What are the differences in the policies? The new Government have declared that for a solution of the Punjab problem, for a solution of the Kashmir problem, for a solution of the Babri Masjid-Ramjanam Bhoomi problem, they will consult the whole nation, they will involve the whole nation. This means seriousness in solving the problems and they are taking some preliminary steps. These things are not so easy to be solved. On the question of democracy, in the Tripura elections.. (Interruptions).



THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You have taken 30 minutes. Your party has 54 minutes. I do not mind if you take all the 54 minutes.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: No. There will be another speaker.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I will have to reply to Mrs. Margaret Alva. So I require some time.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: You know how Tripura elections were conducted. You know how this election was conducted by using muscle power and gangsters. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (JAGESH DESAI): Order. Order. (*Interruptions*).

Shri DIPEN GHOSH: Your men have denigrated the prestige of our country. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down, all of you. You can speak about that when your turn comes. I will allow you to speak.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I am not arguing with them. I am stating only the facts. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: We are also stating the facts only. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I cannot stop him. I will not stop him. You also speak when you get your chance. Please sit down, all of you. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Now, the Panchayat Raj Bill which was brought by the ex-Prime Minister which we opposed was at the cost of federalism. They wanted to take away the power of the States. And the Centre is to directly dominate over the panchayats. That means Government's tendency is more cen-

tralisation, to take away the autonomy of the States and this reflects in the economic growth of monopoly. We the Marxists believe that the tendency towards centralism is not unrelated to economic growth. Growth of monopoly means they want monopoly control of the whole country and of the whole market. That was why more and more the tendency was to take away the rights of the States. That was why we opposed this Panchayat Bill. But this Janata Dal Government, this new Government, have declared that they will give more autonomy to the States, that the Centre-State relations will further improve and that they will decentralise up to the panchayat level involving directly the entire masses in such a way that the masses can themselves formulate the policies and implement their programmes. This is the growth of democracy for which we are fighting long, long before. The Congress policy is just the opposite. On the question of democracy they declared that there should be workers' participation in the management. We demanded repeatedly for years together that in the industries the workers must have their voice in the management. The Congress also accepted that but they never implemented it...

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Now we support you.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Now you support us, good. But you have already missed the bus.

Then, recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot which the Congress opposed all along. They opposed it. Their theory was the check-up system, only verification. By manipulation they want to remain as the recognised union by showing bogus membership which we always opposed. No this Government has declared that recognition of the unions should be on the basis of secret ballot, on the basis of votes of the workers. There are various features

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and I do not have the time to go into. For the policies which the new Government have declared, though we may not agree with them on all their programmes, but generally on the new policies which they have declared, we want the success of those policies.

On the question of employment, they have declared that right to work should be a fundamental right in the Constitution. Even the BJP have also declared that right to work should be a fundamental right in the Constitution. This was our long standing demand. Before the election when on 30th August an all-India bandh was observed this was one of the key demands and they accepted that demand, though we know to create an economic basis for that it requires a fundamental change in the present economic policy. And we are very much interested that this present Government should remain in power for five years so that they will take all necessary economic measures for curbing the control of monopolists and make our economy self-reliant and take up schemes where jobs can be provided and they will incorporate the right to work as a fundamental right in the Constitution, though I have some criticism regarding their programmes on this and on which the Presidential speech has slightly changed. I think this will create confusion. They must make it clear. They have dropped that word.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): What do you mean by saying that they have made a change?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I am reading it out. Don't be impatient. That is why I am criticising.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He has got the guts to criticise which he did not have when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was there in power... (Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:  
Why should we?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Now, I am showing this to you which is their manifesto in which they have written like this and I am quoting from page 16:

"The National Front believes that every citizen has the right to productive and gainful work in order to live meaningfully and with dignity. The social and economic policies of the National Front will be geared to the realisation of the right to work as a fundamental right of the citizens of India."

In the Presidential Address, it is written like this, and the difference you can easily understand:

"The Government will give priority to the expansion of productive employment opportunities in the economy. It will strive..."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): It says, "It will strive..." only.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE:

"...to ensure appropriately to all citizens the right to work, to enable them to participate in the nation-building process."

This fundamental right has been dropped from here. I think this will create loopholes. But we are vigilant enough to see that no loopholes are there. It will take time, no doubt. There is no doubt that it will take time you cannot do it without creating the economic basis for it.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Yes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There is no point of order....(Interruptions).... What is the point of order, Sir? They have got five or six speakers and they can raise the point then.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He has a point of information.. (Interruptions)....Are you yielding, Mr. Mukherjee?..... (Interruptions)....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There is no point of order now....(Interruptions)

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: Sir, I am only strengthening the stand that Mr. Mukherjee is taking. I am bringing to his notice ... (Interruptions)....One development. On the television, the Attorney-General and the Labour Minister....(Interruption)...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): This is no point of order, Sir. ... (Interruptions)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): This is a point of information...(Interruptions)... Are you yielding, Mr. Mukherjee?.... (Interruptions)....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Under the garb of a point of order, one cannot make a speech.. (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I asked him whether he is yielding.. (Interruptions)...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: It is a point of disorder and not a point of order.. (Interruptions)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He has not raised a point of order.. (Interruptions)....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, his party has got seven hours at its disposal for taking part in this debate and they have as many as nine or ten Members and they can speak then.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You see, I asked Mr. Mukherjee whether he was yielding and then only I allowed him....(Interruptions).....

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: No question of yielding. I am not yielding. Now, I was saying that still we support this Government because they are putting in their energy to come to this position. This is a good thing. And, Sir, if the people know that this Government is honestly trying to implement the programmes which they have announced, they will be happy. They should honestly try to implement their programmes which they have announced, not like the earlier Governments which made tall talks at the time of the election time and gave all sorts of promises and forgot about them after the elections. Now, that stage has gone and the people are very vigilant and they are not in the same mood as they were previously. They are angry and if they do not get the results, they themselves will revolt and there is no doubt about it. That is why I say that the stability of this Government will depend on its performance, not simply on its assurances. But we hope that they will stabilize their position and more and more they will approach the masses directly and, with further support from bigger and bigger masses, they will be able to fulfil their promises.

With these words, I support this Motion. Thank you, Sir.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING CHANGE IN THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DASAI): There is a change in the business of the House and the Leader of the House, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, will make the announcement.