

**THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE**  
(SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is a slight change in the order of business of the House for tomorrow and the day after.

There will be a discussion on the economic situation at 6 P.M. tomorrow and, on the 29th, we will have a discussion on Bofors.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): You had agreed to have the discussion on Bofors tomorrow. Why have you changed it now?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:  
Because the Prime Minister will be replying at that time.

# **MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—(Contd.)**

श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) : मि.  
वाइस चैयरमैन, मुखर्जी साहब ने अपने  
भाषण में एक बात बहुत इंपोटेंट कही है जो  
कि मैं बाद में कहो है और वह यह कही  
कि परफार्मेंस पर हम देखेंगे, मैं उनकी  
बात मगनना हूं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी उसकी  
कैंटेगराइजेशन ऐसी है जिसमें वह जरूर  
इस बात का ध्यान रखेंगे कि परफार्मेंस  
कैसी है और उनके अनुकूल है और ऐसा  
है जिसमें वह प्रोग्रेसिव व्यूज अपने रखते  
हैं, अर्थात् जो उन्होंने कहा है उस पर  
चलेंगे। मुझे आज बहुत कुछ नहीं कहना  
है, इसलिए कि वह जो प्रेसीडेंट का एड्रेस  
था वह सारे का सारा 15 मिनट में पढ़ा  
गया। मैं प्रेसीडेंट को बहुत इज्जत करता  
हूं। हमारे बहुत पुराने स्वतंत्रता सेनानी  
हैं, फाइन फाइटर रहे हैं, उनकी बहुत  
इज्जत है। लेकिन यह तो वक्तव्य जो  
है जो सरकार ने दिया हुआ है उस  
पर ही वह बोले हैं और 15 मिनट  
में वह खत्म हो गया। उस पर हमारे  
कुछ लोगों ने एतराज किया है  
कि पिछली सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया  
है इसलिए यह बदली है। बदली है तो  
आज सिंगल मैजोरिटी कौन है?  
हम अयोग्यता में बैठे हैं, इसलिए आपको

परफार्मेंस देखने के लिए यह नहीं है  
कि आप 141 हैं और हम 193 हैं। हमने  
कुछ तिकड़मवाजी नहीं की है, वह जो  
किया है वह आपने किया है। 141  
आदमी और दूसरे लोगों को साथ लेकर  
आप बैठे हैं, मैजोरिटी में है, लेकिन  
अपने आप मैजोरिटी नहीं है। आपने  
एकोमोडेट किया है कुछ लोगों को इस  
बात के लिए कि हम और आप मिल कर  
काम करेंगे, कंसेंस लेकर सारे देश को  
लेगे। आज यह कहा गया, मुखर्जी साहब  
ने कहा, ठीक कहा कि हम सारे हिन्दुस्तान  
के लोगों से इस बात को पूछेंगे और वह  
तक पूछेंगे और कितना वक्त उसके लिए  
लगेगा? यह बात कोई पता नहीं है  
कि कितना वक्त लगेगा। मैं यह कहता  
हूं कि क्या यह सच नहीं है कि पिछले  
सालों में कांग्रेसी राज में एग्रीकल्चर  
बढ़ती गई है, फौज को हिस्से बचाया  
अंग्रेज के वक्त का पता है, लाखों लोग  
मर गए थे। लेकिन हमने सभी लोगों को  
बचाया, गाय को बचाया, आदमी को  
बचाया। लोगों पर पैसा खर्च किया है  
है हर जगह पर बात की तब जाकर यह  
बात हुई है। कोई बात ऐसी तो नहीं है,  
पिछली गवर्नमेंट की परफार्मेंस ऐसी तो  
नहीं है कि जिस पर कटाक्ष कर सकें  
और यह कहते रहे। इस के साथ-साथ मैं  
कहना चाहता हूं कि यह कहा गया है कि  
फ्लड्ज आए। उसका भी है इंतजाम  
किया गया है। कई सरकारों ने अपने  
सकल उठाए, पैसा मंगा तो जितना  
उसको चाहिए था उसको उतना दिया  
गया। उसको भी देने में सरकार ने कोई  
हिचकिचाइत नहीं की। यह सब चीजें  
अगर मैं एक-एक आपको बताऊं तो इंडस्ट्री  
में और जो एग्रीकल्चर में शोध रेट हुआ  
है आप उसको नजरअंदाज नहीं कर सकते,  
बावजूद इस बात के कि आज सारा  
चीज जो है वह अपनी कामयाबी को इस  
बात में तबदील करके कहते हैं कि क्योंकि  
आपने कुछ किया नहीं था। सरकार एक  
कंटीन्यूअस है, चेंज आती है। आपको  
यह नहीं है कि 1977 में चेंज आई और  
हम एक तरफ हो गए। लेकिन आपको  
आद नहीं कि एक 1980 में चेंज आई  
और वह लोग जिन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया  
तीन साल सिवाय इंदिरा गांधी के खिलाफ

3.00 P.M.,

मुझमें बचाने के बह सारे के सारे साफ हो गए और एक तरफ कर लिए गए। मुखर्जी साहब ने यह कहा है कि 1984 में यह सिम्पेथी बंट गई, लेकिन सिम्पेथी बोट नहीं था अकेला। वह असेसिनेशन किसने किया? कौन लोब थे उसके पीछे महात्मा गांधी के असेसिनेशन में? कौन लोब थे, जिन्होंने इन्दिरा गांधी का असेसिनेशन किया? मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह वे फोर्सेज नहीं हैं, जिन फोर्सेज के साथ आप बैठ गए हैं। यह फोर्सेज वे हैं, जो कम्युनिज्म में, जो फेरकापरस्ती में पूरी तरह से बकाब रखती है और जब भी कभी पकड़िलज्म टूटता है तो वह हमेशा काज आती है फेरकेदारी को। यह बात सबको पता है। आप भी जानते हैं इस बात को। तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता था कि हमने यह जितना भी काम पीछे किया है, उसको नलिफाई करने के लिए इस एड्रेस में नहीं है, एड्रेस में यह है कि हम क्या करने वाले हैं। आए आपने पोजिटिव बातें कहने के बजाय निगेटिव बातें करने शुरू कीं। अगर मैं कहूँ तो मेरे पास पूरी एक किताब है, जिसको पढ़ना शुरू करेंगे दो घंटे लग जाएंगे। जो कुछ कांग्रेस ने किया है पिछले पांच सालों में, कार्गिलज्म के लिए किया है, दूसरे जोयों के लिए किया है, पार्सिसिपेशन लेकर उसे कैसे की है, इसपर जितना कहें वह कम है। मैं तो एक बात कहता हूँ कि नेशनल फोर्सेज और इंटरनेशनल फोर्सेज में कोई कम काम नहीं हुआ है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं एक बात आपसे पूछता हूँ कि क्या यह माइनोरिटी गवर्नमेंट नहीं है? माइनोरिटी गवर्नमेंट है। दूसरे लोग बाहर से मदद करते हैं, दूसरे अपने बाजू को सामने कहते रखकर कहते हैं कि हमको इसके साथ चलना है और वे अपनी राय देकर साथ चल रहे हैं। वरना यह तो माइनोरिटी गवर्नमेंट है ही। कौन इस बात को नहीं मानता। यह खुद भी मानते हैं, वो पी० सिंह जी ने खुद कहा है—हम माइनोरिटी गवर्नमेंट हैं, हम दूसरे

को मदद ले रहे हैं। यह इनका खुद अपना भाषण भी है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह दोष है, इनका आपस में कैसे मेल होता है? मुझे समझ में नहीं आया। एक बात है वो 0 जे 0 पी 0 जिसके लिए कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा—हमारा कोई समझौता नहीं हो सकता उन लोगों के साथ, जो लोग फेरकापरस्त हैं और जो यह कहते हैं कि गर्व से कहो, हम हिंदू हैं, हमारा उनसे कोई समझौता नहीं है। यह इलेक्शन के दिनों में इन्होंने कहा कि हम उनसे समझौता नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन डायरेक्टली और इन्डायरेक्टली वही बात इन्होंने कर ली। मैं बहुत सों बातों में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को उन बातों को मानता हूँ कई चीजों में मैं उनके साथ हूँ और मैं इससे कोई हैजटेशन भी नहीं करता, लेकिन मैं समझना चाहता हूँ कि ये दो अपोजिट पार्टी आपस में—कैसे मेल खा गई? यह बात ऐसी हुई कि जे० डी० के साथ तो हम हो सकते हैं, लेकिन हम फेरकापरस्तों के साथ नहीं हो सकते, लेकिन फेरकापरस्त जे० डी० के साथ हो सकता है। तो आप कहाँ रहे? आप भी वही चले गए। यह जो फार्मेशन और कार्गिलेशन जितना हुआ है, वह ऐसा मालम होता है कि एक खिचड़ी बन गई है। जो कभी भी अपने आपको पूरे तौर पर अगे ले जायं, पांच साल के लिए, चले जायं, दस साल के लिए चले जायं उससे फर्क नहीं पड़ता। नेक काम करेंगे तो नेकी रहेगी और हम भी उसके साथ होंगे। लेकिन यह पन्द्रह मिनट की स्पीच से आप यह निष्कर्ष निकालें कि जो आपकी कही हुई बात हैं, जितनी बातें आपने कही हैं, वह सब पूरी हो जाएंगी तो आप गलतफहमी में हैं, इससे ज्यादा और कुछ नहीं।

मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह बातें कांफ्लिक्टिंग हैं। यह कहा गया आपका सेकुलरिज्म, नोन-एलाइनमेंट और एंटी-इम्पीरियलिज्म? यह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी कहाँ है, कहाँ चली गई? अगर एंटी-इम्पीरियलिज्म है, तो इसके साथ समझौता कैसा? उन लोगों के साथ समझौता कैसा, जो इम्पीरियलिस्टों से किसी न किसी रास्ते पर मिलकर हिंदुस्तान को जोड़-तोड़ कर

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

इसको खराब करना चाहते हैं। उनका भी ध्यान आपने रखा कभी? बी०जे०पी० ने साफ कहा है—हिंदू राष्ट्र। मैं तो अपने आपको हिंदुस्तानी समझता हूँ। मैं न हिंदू हूँ, न सिख हूँ, मैं तो हिंदुस्तानी हूँ। लेकिन बी०जे०पी० वालों ने यह नहीं कहा कि हम हिंदुस्तानी हैं, बाद में कोई हमारी पार्टी हो सकती है। यह हिंदू राष्ट्र नहीं है, यह हिंदुस्तान है।

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल (उत्तर प्रदेश):  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यहां कोई कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: We do not want a Cabinet Minister here. You are very much here. Don't worry.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: It must be noted.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: There are many people to note it.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Who is the Cabinet Minister, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): The State Minister is there.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: A very important discussion is going on. At least a Cabinet Minister should be there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, no. That is for them to decide...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: It shows how serious they are about the President's Address.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES (SHRI MANOBHAI KOTADIA): I am here. I am taking notes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We are listening to his speech. (Interruptions).

श्री दरबारा सिंह: महोदय, मुझे कुछ शक मालूम होता है कि वहीं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने सेकुलरिज्म को डायल्यूट तो नहीं कर दिया है, इनके साथ रहने के लिए। हमें सेकुलरिज्म को पकड़े रखना है, अगर हम हिंदुस्तान की इंटिग्रिटी चाहते हैं। अगर देश को मजबूत रखना चाहते हो, अगर इसे एक रखना चाहते हो। लेकिन आप ग्राडवाणी जी का बयान पढ़िए जोकि उन्होंने शिमला में दिया है—यह टूट जाना चाहिए, वह टूट जाना चाहिए। यह सूबा टूट जाना चाहिए, वह सूबा टूट जाना चाहिए। इससे क्या निकलता है? यह निकलता है कि जैसा कि हमारा शक रहा है हिंदुस्तान का तोड़ने के लिए बाहर से और अंदर से ताकत लगी हुई है। वे मदद कर रही हैं। इस बयान से साफ जाहिर होता है कि कुछ ऐसी चीज चल रही है जिससे कि आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता देश उस तरफ चला जाए कि देश की इंटिग्रिटी, उसकी सालिडिटी जो है, वह टूट जाए। इसे तोड़ने के लिए लोग लगे हुए हैं। ये लोग हिंदुस्तान के अंदर के भी हैं और बाहर से भी हैं।

महोदय, रोमानिया का आप उदाहरण ले लीजिए। वहां 70 हजार आदिमो कत्ल किए गए। ... (व्यवधान) ... पनामा में जो कुछ हुआ या हो रहा है, वह एक ही बात है लेकिन यहां बोलने वालों में से किसी ने भी अमरीका को इसके लिए कंडेम नहीं किया। यह नहीं कहा कि यह जो कुछ हुआ, गलत बात है। किसी ने यह कंडेम्नेशन नहीं किया कि यह इम्पीरियलिस्ट फोर्सेज को खत्म करना चाहिए, हम इसे कंडेम करते हैं। ऐसा किसी ने भी नहीं कहा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई):  
सी० पी० आई० ने कहा है।

श्री दरबारा सिंह: सी० पी० आई० के हमारे गृप्ता जी हैं जो कुछ-न-कुछ बोलते हैं। उनके अलावा सभी चुपचाप रहे हैं। यहां कोई "चुप" रहने का दिन तो नहीं है। बोलने का दिन है, खलकर बोलने का दिन है। क्यों नहीं बोलते कि

रुमानिया में क्या हुआ है ? क्या हम इंटरनशनली बिल्कुल कट आफ हो गये हैं । विदुस्तान बिल्कुल दूर चला गया है । हमें इस बात पर ध्यान देना चाहिए हमारे यहां नान-एलाइनमेंट पर जितना काम किया गया है, इंदिरा गांधी से लेकर अब तक, वह सब चीजें एक किनारे लगाना चाहते हैं । नान-एलाइनमेंट जो है वह तीसरी ताकत बनी है और तीसरी ताकत इस बात के लिए है कि दुनिया में सारी जगह पर शांति हो, पीस हो, ट्रैन्क्विलिटी हो सके, लोगों की डेवलपमेंट हो सके । जितना रुपया न्यूक्लियर और दूसरे हथियारों पर खर्च किया जाता है, सारे का सारा बंद हो जाए तो 2 साल में जो लोग आज पूंश्चर हैं, गरीब हैं, जिनका मुखर्जी ने हर वक्त नाम लिया है, वे सब के सब 2 साल में अपने पांवों पर ही खड़े नहीं हो सकते बल्कि अमरीका की ताकत जितनी है उसके बराबर के हो सकते हैं । इतना रुपया उस पर खर्च हो रहा है । क्या यह कोई छोटी बात थी जो इन्दिरा गांधी ने और जवाहर लाल ने शुरू की ? हमारे राजीव गांधी ने क्या नहीं किया ? सारे मुल्कों में घूमकर क्या नहीं किया ? क्या अफ्रीका का कण्ड नहीं बनाया क्या लोगों को यह नहीं कहा कि तमाम इकट्ठे होकर जो लोग दबे हुए हैं, उनके साथ हो ? 101 मुल्कों को यहां पर इकट्ठा किया और फिर यू०एस०एस०आर० के सबसे बड़े मसीहा हैं आज । दुनिया में उसने लोगों को इस बात की तरफ लाया है कि हम संसार भर में अमन कायम करेंगे । उस अमन को तोड़ने के लिए यह सारी बातें अमरीका कर रहा है, क्या यह बात समझ में नहीं आती ? यह इम्पॉरियलिस्ट फोर्सेज कौन सी हैं जो हमें तोड़ने की कोशिश कर रही हैं ? इस तरफ ध्यान देने की जरूरत है और खासकर मैं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और दोनों कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियों को कहता हूं कि वे इसकी तरफ खास तौर पर ध्यान दें । यह नहीं कि बहक जाएं, उसकी तरफ चले जाएं जिसकी तरफ जे० डी० जा रही है । मैं जे० डी० की बात नहीं करता JD is not a party. It is a combination of certain breakdown parties.

वह जो लीडर है, बहुत अच्छे हैं । इन्हें

लीडर हमारे बैठे हैं, उधर वे लीडर हैं जो कहते थे कि हमें उधर जाना चाहिए, चले गए । कोई बात नहीं, अच्छी बात हुई । चेंज इज ऐ नैसेस्टी, लेकिन चेंज हुई है 1977 में भी हुई है, 1980 में भी हुई है, 1984 में भी हुई है, फिर हो जाएगी फिर न कीजिए । ... (व्यवधान).....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :**  
और कितना समय लेंगे आप ?

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** 5, 7 या 10 मिनट ज्यादा से ज्यादा ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :**  
5, 7 मिनट में खत्म कीजिए ।

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** मैं कह रहा था कि पंजाब के बारे में यहां बहुत कुछ कहा गया । पंजाब के बारे में मैंने कहा कि 17 तारीख को एक मीटिंग हुई जिसका यहां जिक्र किया गया । हमारे पहले साहब जो बोले थे, हमारी गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से, उन्होंने कहा कि 17 तारीख को हमने कान्सेंसिज ली है । मैं इस बात से इनकार करता हूं । कान्सेंसिज जब होती है, पहले उस पर डिस्कशन होती है और उसके बाद कोई कान्सेंसिज बन जाए तो ठीक बात है, लेकिन एक ड्राफ्ट हमारे सामने दो बजे रात को भेजकर, साढ़े चार बजे भेजकर, साढ़े बारह बजे हमारे सामने रखकर यह कहा गया कि कहीं यह ठीक है । हम कैसे कह सकते थे । हम पढ़कर, उस पर पूरे तौर पर एक-एक चीज पर हम लिखकर लेकर गए थे कि इन बातों पर हम डिस्कशन करना चाहते हैं । डिस्कशन करने के बाद अगर आपका कोई कान्सेंसिज निकलता है, हम उसके लिए तैयार हैं । हम नान-कोऑपरेटिव नहीं हैं । अगर हम नान-कोऑपरेटिव होते तो हम वहां जाते नहीं । हम गए, वहां जाकर नरसिंह राव जी ने हमारी तरफ से केस जो है बेल वरडिड अल्फाज में पेश किया, लेकिन होम मिनिस्टर यह कहते हैं कि हो गया । यह कोई बात ऐसी तो नहीं है, कबड्डी का खेल तो नहीं है कि हो गया तो हो गया । क्या

**[श्री बरवादास सिंह]**

मसलब है इका ? यह बात मैंने सब कही है कि हम चाहते हैं कि कोई हमें बताए यहां कि हम पहली चीज यह रखना चाहते हैं कि आनन्दपुर रेजोल्यूशन इनको मंजूर है ? जे० डी० को मंजूर है आनन्दपुर रेजोल्यूशन, जिसमें बाफ तौर पर लिखा गया है कि हम ऐसा देश और काल चाहते हैं ... (अवधान)

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** एक बात अगर पूछने की इजाजत द आप तो ... (अवधान)....

**श्री बरबारा सिंह :** इनसे पूछिए आप, मेरा वक्त ख़ाया न कीजिए ।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** अगर आप कहेंगे तभी न ।

**श्री बरबारा सिंह :** हां, जरूर जी ।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** यह बात हो सकती है कि कांग्रेसियल बनाने में आपसे पूरा बिचार नहीं लिया गया हो, इस बात को हम समझ सकते हैं लेकिन एक बात बताइए कि जब नए प्रयास हो रहे थे, सारे राष्ट्र से अपील की जा रही थी तो आरकी पार्टी से उस अपील में क्यों डिम-एसर्सिबल किया ? यह तो समझ सकते हैं कि सरकार में गलती की हो, मंत्र गलती की हो । लेकिन इस राष्ट्रीय सवाल पर पूरी राष्ट्रीय भावना में अलग होकर के अपने अपील होने में क्यों नहीं साथ दिया ?

**श्री बरबारा सिंह :** तब आप वहां बैठे थे या नहीं, मुझे पता नहीं । लेकिन वह झगड़ था, उसमें कहीं अपील नहीं लिखी हुई थी । हमने कहा कि आप झपट लेकर पढ़ लीजिए । वह कहते थे इसको आगे दुरुस्त कर लीजिए । हमने कहा कि आगे हमें कंसल्ट नहीं किया । आपने कंसल्ट किया, दोनों कन्वेंशनस्ट पार्टियों को कंसल्ट किया, बी०जे०पी० को कंसल्ट किया गया, दोनों ऐक्टिव पार्टीज को कंसल्ट किया गया । लेकिन कांग्रेस को कंसल्ट नहीं किया गया । इसको मैं क्लेज

करता हूँ । इसलिए वहाँ बात आई थी तो हमने कहा था कि ये इश्यूज हैं, इनको डिस्कस कर लीजिए । आनन्दपुर साहब रेजोल्यूशन को आप मानते हैं ? उसमें लिखा है कि एक अलाहदा इलाका होगा और उसमें अलग कांस्टीट्यूशन होगा, यह कहा उन्होंने । यहाँ पर कोई मुद्दा तो बचाव देना नहीं, कैम ही कर दिया जाता है । क्या कुछ आज पंजाब में नहीं हो रहा है ? पंजाब के अंदर पिछले 20 दिन में कितने मर्डर हुए हैं, कितने पुलिस के कत्ल हुए हैं, कितना पुलिस वालों को डिनोरेसाइज किया गया है ? बालूट बाजार गरम किया गया है । एक एक आदमी को वहाँ में उठाकर ले जाते हैं और उसका कत्ल कर देते हैं या उसकी ऐज में अपने साथियों को छुड़वाने की कोशिश करते हैं जैसा कि जम्मू काश्मीर में भी हुआ और दूसरी जगहों पर भी हुआ । एक आदमी को ज़िंटी मिल रही है कि आप इतना पैसा दो नहीं तो कत्ल कर दिए जाओगे । कल ही अमृतसर में एक शहरी को उठाकर ले गए । किस बात के लिए ? उनमें पैसा मांगते हैं । उनके साथ आपका जोर हो तो आप क्या जवाब देंगे मई पता नहीं । आपके बड़े बड़े लीडर को, बी० पी० सिंह को यहाँ आकर बोलना चाहिए कि— whether they accept the Anandpur Sahib Resolution or not.

कल मान ने भी यह बात कही है कि हम आनन्दपुर साहब रेजोल्यूशन को मानते हैं, हम ख़ासिस्तान को नहीं मानते ।

I say, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is the starting point for Khalistan. अगर आप आनन्दपुर साहब रेजोल्यूशन को मानते हैं कि उनका सैपरेट इलाका हो, सैपरेट झंडा हो और वहाँ केवल ख़ालसाओं का बोलबाला हो तो बताइए । हिन्दुओं के निकालने के लिए वहाँ क्या कुछ नहीं हो रहा है । वहाँ पर एम०बी०बी०एम० वे, इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज के क्लामेज को कहा जा रहा है कि उठो, वहाँ से अपने घर भागो । वहाँ इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज में वहाँ पर ताले लग रहे हैं । कौन वहाँ पर ताले बोलने के लिए जम्मा ? वहाँ जो

कुछ हो रहा है—वह इतना स्पष्ट है कि जिसके लिए पैसे और पर धन करने की जरूरत है + जम्मू-काश्मीर में 15-15 लोग, 18-18 सप्ताह अकर वहां रहने अमम करते हैं...

श्री सुरेन्द्रजी रैलू अहिमिया :  
उत्तमाश्रय महोदय, श्री महोदय यहाँ अने अहिमिया को फाइल देव रहे हैं और कोई प्वाइंट नोट नहीं कर रहे हैं। यहाँ पर इतने महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दे उठाए जा रहे हैं और सरकार को नै-जवाबदेही देकर कि ये दफ्तर की फाइलें देव रहे हैं। ये किस कीज का जवाब देंगे ?  
... (अवकाश)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: No points have been noted. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I think, the hon. Minister should note... (Interruptions)  
This is a discussion on the President's Address and I think, the hon. Minister also should be very serious about it. (Interruptions)

SHRI MANOBHAI KOTADIA: Sir, whatever the hon. Member, Shri Darbara Singh, is saying, I am taking... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Only one Minister is there. At least, you should note. This is a very serious matter. (Interruptions)

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: I am not concerned with the Minister. There are hundred and the people sitting over there. They will report R. Do not worry. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): We cannot expect more from the minority Government. (Interruptions)

श्री दरबारा सिंह: बहुत पैतकुल बावें हुई है जो मन्त्री जी के साथ हुआ है,

किसी की भी लड़की होती, हमारी भी लड़की है इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। लेकिन जो कुछ वहाँ हुआ है, एक के बदले एक छोड़ने की उसमें ज़रूरत बहुत कुछ हुआ है हम को पता है। हम यहाँ कहना नहीं चाहते। उनसे जब पूछा गया कि कट्टर को कहां से लभ्ये तो कोई जवाब नहीं दिया। यह इलाक़ा-बाद से लेकर गये। उनसे दो-तीन दिन बात की। उनकी मीडिएटर बताया। उनसे यह कहा गया कि आप यह यह काम करें। हमें पता चलते है क्यों उनकी लाया गया? उन्होंने कोई जवाब नहीं दिया। यह उनकी भर्जा है वह जवाब दें या न दें। कौन से जो यह कहा गया कि यह उनकी भर्जा है वह जवाब दें या न दें। वह चुन रहे यह हम इसको कठाना नहीं चाहते। लेकिन यह बात बताना चाहता है कि जम्मू-काश्मीर में जो कुछ हो रहा है उसके लिए वह क्या मदद कर रहे हैं? यह कहता कि हमने उनकी कह दिया कि अपना एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन दुरुस्त करो, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन दुरुस्त करने के लिए कहना क्या यह मदद है? आपने सब को यह कह दिया कि दुरुस्त करो, दुरुस्त करो, दुरुस्त करो। सबसे पहले बोलने वाले सदस्य ने यह कहा है जितनी अपोजिशन की सरकारें हैं उनको वाणिंग दी है कि अगर वह हमारे काम करने के मुनलिक काम नहीं करेंगी तो हम उनको देख लेंगे। क्या देखेंगे? तोड़ेंगे, तोड़ दोजिए हम तैयार हैं इसके लिए। हम इलेक्शन से डरते हैं क्या? हम इलेक्शन में नहीं डरते। हमने इलेक्शन कराया। आप इलेक्शन में डरते हैं। कभी एक मुद्दे में करते हैं कभी दूसरे मुद्दे में करते हैं। आप तोड़ना चाहते हैं तो तोड़िए लेकिन हमें धमकी न दीजिए क्योंकि इन धमकीयों में बाहर निकले हुए है हम। हमने अर्जों की बार-बार खर्च है। हमने बहुत से बहुत कुछ सोचा है। हम अब भी बार-बार पोट खा सकते हैं। आप इसके मुकाबले में कुछ भी नहीं है। इसलिए आप यह बात मत कहिए। पंजाब के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता है कि आप पंजाब दोजिए...

श्री ईश बल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
आप हम को धमकी दे रहे हैं।

श्री दरबारा सिंह : आपने जो हम को धमकी दी है उसका जिक्र कर रहे हैं। इसको कैथोलिक चर्च वाले कंडम करें, हमारे लोग कंडम करें लेकिन यहां कोई नहीं कहता कि पनामा में क्या हुआ है, फ्लां जगह में क्या हुआ है। हमने इंटरनेशनल तौर पर जो काम किया है, हमारे एक्स प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने जो काम किया है, राजीव गांधी जी ने जो कुछ किया है, कांग्रेस ने जो कुछ किया है आपको भूलना नहीं चाहिए। आप यह सब भूल गए हैं। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी पहले उसकी प्रशंसा किया करते थे लेकिन आज इस बात के लिए चुप हैं, गुम हैं। क्यों? बोलिए जहां आप को ठीक लगता है वहां मदद कीजिए और जहां आपकी पालिसी के खिलाफ काम होता है उसके खिलाफ बोलिए। आपका मुंह वहां क्यों नहीं खुलता? (व्यवधान)।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : जुमां-जुमां आठ रोज हुए हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री दरबारा सिंह : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं। इस एड्रेस में उन लोगों का नाम नहीं है जिन्होंने देश के लिए अपनी जाने दी। महात्मा गांधी का नाम नहीं है, जवाहरलाल जी का नाम नहीं है, इन्दिरा गांधी का नाम नहीं है, और लोगों का नाम नहीं है। जिन लोगों ने इस देश की आजादी के लिए काम किया है, मुल्क को आजाद कराया है, मुल्क को ताकत दी है, मुल्क का डेवलपमेंट किया है, कंस्टीट्यूशन दिया है उनका नाम नहीं है। वहीं कंस्टीट्यूशन दिया है जिसके कारण आप आज उभर बैठे हैं और मंच पर बैठे हैं। उस कंस्टीट्यूशन को ताने वालों ने इस बात का खयाल रखा था। बहुत सी बातें हैं कंस्टीट्यूशन

में। कंस्टीट्यूशन में वोट का अधिकार देने की उम्र 21 साल से घटा कर 18 की है। युवकों को ज्यादा हक दिये हैं और कई अच्छी चीजें की हैं। हमने जवाहर योजना शुरू की थी आपने उस योजना का नखौल उड़ाया। आप जवाहर लाल का नाम नहीं लेना चाहते जो आप आज यहां बैठे हुए हैं उन्हीं के कारण आप बैठे हैं। (व्यवधान) मैं आपकी बात नहीं करता। मैं उन लोगों की बात करता हूं जिन लोगों ने जवाहर लाल जी के नीचे काम सीखा है। जिन लोगों ने महात्मा गांधी के नीचे काम सीखा है। उनका आपने जिक्र तक नहीं किया। ये मुफ्ती और वी० पी० सिंह या अरूण नेहरू कहां से आये हैं, इनको किसने सिखाया है? ये कांग्रेस से गये हैं, इनको ट्रेनिंग हमने दी है। जो लोग आज नहीं हैं, जो सब में बड़े लोग थे, जिन्होंने हमें आजादी दिलाई, महात्मा गांधी, श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, इनका आप लोग नाम तक नहीं लेते हैं, उनका नाम लेने में आपकी शर्म आती है। जिन लोगों ने मुल्क को आजाद करवाया, चमक दी, डेवलपमेंट किया, आगे बढ़ाया, उनका नाम लेने में आपको शर्म आती है। आप कुछ बोलते नहीं, कुछ कहते नहीं, आपका मुंह सिला हुआ है, आपका दिमाग बंद किया हुआ है। आपने इस 15 मिनट के भाषण में कुछ नहीं कहा। लेकिन हम कहना चाहते हैं कि हम बोलेंगे, जब आपका बजट आएगा, उस वक्त सब कुछ कहेंगे कि आपने क्या किया है। अभी तक मैंने किसी फर्द के खिलाफ नहीं कहा, किसी पार्टी के खिलाफ नहीं कहा, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आपने जो यह इधर से या उधर से इकट्ठा किया हुआ है, उसके बारे में सोचिए। इस मुल्क में प्राइम मिनिस्टर जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नीचे आपने काम किया है। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने क्या दिया? क्या उन्होंने बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं किया? क्या श्रीमती को उन्होंने खत्म नहीं किया। ये सारी बातें कही जा सकती हैं, लैण्ड लेजिस्लेशन के बारे में कहीं जा सकती हैं, लेकिन वक्त नहीं है।

इसलिए मैं खींच कर बातें कर रहा हूँ। आखिर में यही बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि हाउस में हम बहुत ही बेलेन्स से बात करेंगे, अपनी बात मजबूती से कहेंगे। हूल्लडवाजी से कोई बात नहीं कहेंगे जिस तरह से आप जब इधर थे करते रहे हैं। हम अपने पाइंट्स को लोजिकली और रेशनल तरीके से कहेंगे, न कि गाली-गलोज देकर कहेंगे। यहाँ जो बेल बना हुआ है, अगर यह असली बेल होता तो आप उसमें गिर जाते, लेकिन आप बेल में जाकर फिर यहाँ खड़े हो जाते थे। कौन-सी गाली आपने हमें नहीं दी, कौन-सा कागज हमारे मुँह पर नहीं फेंका, स्पीकर और चेयरमैन और वाईस-चेयरमैन पर नहीं फेंका। ये बातें करने का अब कोई फायदा नहीं है। हम लोजिकली अपनी बात कहेंगे और लोजिकली जवाब देंगे, आपकी तरह हूल्लडवाजी नहीं करेंगे। इन अलफ्राज के माथ में आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir...Kindly see this. You should deduct the time consumed by these interruptions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I will mark the time taken by you only...Please don't disturb him.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The year 1989 will go down in the history of India as recording a remarkable change in the Delhi Darbar...You please listen to me. You will not understand these things...A topsy-turvy change was brought about in the earlier part of the century in Soviet Russia by the Great October Revolution. The middle of the century witnessed the fall of Nazism and Fascism and the end of colonialism and imperialism and emergence of independent countries, including the Great India. It is a paradox that the end of the 20th century is again witnessing a sea-change in Eastern Europe. Hats off to Mikhail Gorbachov

who opened the floodgates of change. Of course, there was a change in 1977 in India. The previous speaker, Mr. Darbara Singh, made a reference to that. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is a great difference between 1977 and 1989. For the first time in the history of India, regional parties like the DMK, Telugu Desam and Assam Gana Parishad, along with the national party, Janata Dal, have now come forward to hold the reins of the Government. It would be very relevant on my part if I quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru here. In the Constituent Assembly, on 22nd January 1947, when the historic resolution was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he said:

"Wherein the said territories whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom;"

He declared so. Here, in the President's Address, it is stated:

"The Government proposes to adopt an alternative model of governance and development based on federalism and decentralisation. The Government will take steps to establish an Inter-State Council and to accord constitutional status to the Planning Commission."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, my heart is filled with joy and jubilation because Dr. Anna, the founder of the DMK the mentor of my leader, Dr. Kalaignar, and who contributed to Home Rule said in his last essay, before he died, entitled "Hail the



[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

Dawn" wrote something and it would be very proper on my part to quote it now;

"Dear Brother,

...Nor am I happy of being the Chief Minister of our State under a Constitution which on paper is federal but in actual practice tends to get more and more centralised.... True, a sense of determination at the appropriate stage is all important. But this should be preceded by educating the public on federalism itself."

So, this is the appropriate moment.

In the year 1974, when the DMK was ruling, we constituted a Committee, the Rajamannar Committee on Centre-State Relations, and the recommendation made by the Rajamannar Committee was adopted in a resolution by the Tamil Nadu Assembly. The suggestion was also accepted. I quote the suggestion which was adopted in the resolution which was moved by Dr. Kalaignar:

"The Inter-State Council should be constituted consisting of all the Chief Ministers or their nominees, with equal representation for all the States, and the Prime Minister as its Chairman. No other Union Minister should be a Member of the Council

In respect of any action to be taken in any matter relating to defence, foreign affairs, inter-State communication and currency in so far as it affects the Centre-State relations or a State or States, the Inter-State Council should be consulted.

Similarly, the Inter-State Council should have the opportunity to discuss all economic, fiscal, monetary and financial measures undertaken by the Federal Government.

The inter-State Council envisaged by Article 263 of the Constitution will be ineffective and will not serve any purpose.

The recommendation of the Inter-State Council should ordinarily be binding on the Centre and the States. If, for any reason any such recommendation is rejected, the recommendation together with the reasons for its rejection should be laid before the Parliament and the State Legislatures."

This is for loud thinking.

Sir, what he said after moving the resolution is very relevant and it is proper on my part to quote that:

"It is my earnest appeal to the Central Government that they should realise that implementation of these great changes in the Indian Constitution will form the basis for strengthening our country and increasing its prosperity and that it will contribute to develop the languages of the States, to preserve and protect the different cultures, to foster good relations among the States, to promote healthy relationship between the States and the Centre and to improve the economic conditions of our country. I seek your kind cooperation in this great endeavour. Moved by an ardent desire that the fruits of our freedom should be enjoyed fully by the people and keeping their welfare at heart we on behalf of the Government of Tamil Nadu, have kindled this luminous lamp at the Centre of the stage of Indian politics. I beseech the statesman of India to help us to keep this flame alive and assist in preserving its glow."

Sir had Anna been alive today he would have been happy his heart would have filled with joy and jubilation.

Of course, in the year 1984 also in the State of Tamil Nadu, Congress

was victorious. Many Members were elected representing the Congress (I) Party from the State of Tamil Nadu. In this election many Members have come, yes, I agree. But, Sir, for five years since the end of 1984 till the end of November this year there was no representation from Tamil Nadu in the Cabinet, in the Government headed by hon. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. That is why when Mr. Valluiah made a remark about the Minister of State, I want to know from him why, while able and efficient persons were elected from Tamil Nadu, the whole State of Tamil Nadu was not given representation in the Cabinet headed by Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

But now magnanimously, generously, because we are a constituent part of the National Front, the South has been represented, not only Tamil Nadu. Of course, in the elections many of our members have lost.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU (Tamil Nadu): All of you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Please listen There were able men and women in your party, but there was no representation from Tamil Nadu in the Cabinet for five years. What a shame!

SHRI S.K.T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): There were three members in the Council of Ministers.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: There was no member in the Cabinet. Would you contradict this? (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I think your facts are not correct. Mr. Chidambaram was a Minister of State, but he was a Union Minister. Please don't say like that.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: There was no Cabinet Minister.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: He should realise the reality.

(Interruptions) He should not speak such things.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, you are very time-conscious.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Let him speak. Why do you worry?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The disciple of Anna, the leader of the D.M.K. Group, Mr. Murasoli Maran, who contributed a thought-provoking analysis about State autonomy, has been given a berth in the Cabinet. We are happy. So, the point is, even though Tamil Nadu Members were there in the Congress, they were taken for a ride. But things are not like this now. For the first time in the history of India, regional parties have been given responsibility.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): Mr. Gopalsamy, you should also refer to the President appointed in the last five years.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But you don't want to contradict the point I made about the Cabinet. I am happy.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: You are speaking as a Tamilian. Very sorry to say this.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Thangkabaluru has said that we have lost. Of course. But have you got the guts to stand on your own legs? You want to sit on the shoulders of the Anna D. M. K. (Interruptions). Are you ready to accept the challenge? Would you contest the elections on your own without the help of the Anna D M. K., PALANI in Tamil Nadu? You candidates forfeited their deposit money in the Assembly elections, when you had contested on your own without the support of the Anna D.M.K.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down. These are very minor matters. Please don't provoke.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I did not provoke.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): It is the prerogative of the Prime Minister whom he should make Ministers. Please leave this to him.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, you should deduct at least five minutes. How can we carry on when they are interrupting? (Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Sir, Mr. Gopalsamy was already drawing attention of the House that two more vacancies from Tamil Nadu are there. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down. We had enough of this now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We are not mad after any post and we are not mad after any power like you. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Jagesh Desai): Please sit down. These are all minor matters. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You could not contest on your own in Tamil Nadu. You contested with the help of AIADMK. Are you ready to take up the challenge?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): How can we run a House like this?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Darbara Singh was telling that Mr. V.P. Singh and others were from the Congress (I). It was a good point he made. I recall the debate on the Finance Bill in the year 1987 when Mr. V. P. Singh was being attacked by the

members of the Congress Party after he resigned his membership of the Cabinet. These members tried to humiliate him. At that time Mr. L. K. Advani rose and said that Mr. V. P. Singh had taken a Bheeshma Pratignya. Subsequently when I had my turn to speak on the Finance Bill, I narrated that Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh had taken the vow. Pratignya of Vidura. When Vidura was insulted and humiliated by Duryodhana, he said, "This unconquerable bow gifted by Parma Siva will not be utilised in the battlefield for you. So, I do break this bow." And he broke the bow and left. Likewise I say integrity and honesty of Mr. V.P. Singh is the bow of Vidura. Now, you have lost Vidura. So, the fate of Duryodhana you are going to face in the next elections." I said on the floor of this House at that time. That has happened. So, you lost Vidura. (Interruptions).

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Just a moment. Mr. Gopalsamy is speaking very enthusiastically about everything except the President's Address.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: When the Prime Minister visited Amritsar, he was given a tumultuous and emotional welcome, I quote *The Hindu* dated 8th December:

"The whole of holy city of Amritsar came to a stand-still this morning on December 7 to accord a tumultuous welcome to the Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, whose visit marks a new chapter in the recent history of Punjab. The spontaneous response of the people to the first visit of Mr. V. P. Singh shortly after assuming office to the holiest of holy Sikh shrines, the Golden Temple, prompted a senior officer to comment that Amritsar belongs to Mr. V.P. Singh."

He provided a healing touch to the deep wounds of the Sikhs. But when they were butchered in the year 1984

in thousands, massacre took place. Nobody was there to give them a healing touch. On the other hand they tried to add insult to injury justifying the carnage telling that when a big tree falls the earth is bound to shake. That was the reaction from the then Government. After five years i.e. since 1984, till the end of November 1984. The Prime Minister's house was, more or less, a prisoner's house. He could not come out openly. He had bullet-proof cars, bullet-proof cars, bullet-proof arrangements everywhere. Now, after five years, our Prime Minister is coming out openly mingling with the masses without bullet-proof arrangements. For five years he was a prisoner of circumstances. The Prime Minister's house was a prisoner's house. Now, it has become a free home.

Sir, I would like to pay my tributes to Madam Indira Gandhi for pursuing a policy of very balanced approach towards the problem of Sri Lanka. But what went wrong? Where it went wrong? When it went wrong? By whom? These are the questions agitating our mind. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister created his own quagmire on Sri Lankan policy. Sir, I would like to beg of my friends here to lend me their ears. Something went wrong. When? When Mr. Prabhakaran was brought here treacherously and confined in a communicado in the Ashoka Hotel, you rushed to Colombo to sign an accord to satiate the aspirations of Mr. Jayewardene. Then, you tried to thrust that accord on LTTE. Of course, they agreed to a certain extent. But we should not forget unpardonable blunders committed by the Government due to persuasion of certain people. Twelve LTTE commandoes had to commit suicide due to the betrayal of India on the 5th October, 1987 which is the main reason for confrontation between the LTTE and IPKF. Sir, many times Mr. Prabhakaran tried to have a dialogue with this Government. I have

got copies of the letters with dates. On the 10th October 1987 itself he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister. On the 14th October...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Gopalsamy, you have already taken 19 minutes. Your party's time is 21 minutes. Three minutes I am allowing in lieu of interruptions. So within five minutes you complete your speech. Otherwise what will happen is, it will go on.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: For more than five minutes they have interrupted me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I am giving three minutes in lieu of interruptions.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: All right, it happens like this. I would request my hon. friends at least now not to interrupt because time for interruptions will not be compensated. This is a genuine request. (Interruptions) ... I cannot give you understanding.

On the 10th October, 1987, 14th October, 1987, again on the 25th October, 1987, 8th November, 1987, 12th January, 1988, 9th March, 1988, communications were sent by Mr. Prabhakaran to the Prime Minister for unconditional talks and for demanding cease-fire. Sir, a cease-fire was declared but Mittu and 156 LTTE people were confined in Madras and Madurai prisons. Though they were brought here in a helicopter for medical treatment, they were confined in the jails and a cease-fire was declared. Then Kittu gave an ultimatum to start fast unto death. They were air-lifted to Sri Lanka. Still they are in the IPKF prisoners' camps, detention camps. This went wrong. You send an emissary in our Indian military helicopter, Mr. Johnny, an able LTTE commander. After meeting Prabhakaran when he was returning back he was shot dead by IPKF. When I asked

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Mr. K. C. Pant, he said : "By mistake he was shot dead." So when you closed the doors, Premadasa asked for negotiations. They were forced to open a dialogue with Sri Lanka Government. So you are responsible for closing the door. These are the blunders we have committed.

Sir, on August 2, this year massacre took place in Velvetiturai. The *London Times* described it as My Lai massacre also the Indian Press. 63 Tamil people were butchered by IPKF Sir, wherever this butchering takes place, we have to condemn it. Therefore, what went wrong because of the short-sighted policy of the then Government of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi? Sir, on 8th December, hundreds of youths who had been abducted and taken by Tamil National Army were released to their parents before the Bishop before the church, hundreds of youth by the LTTE. Now, the areas which have been taken by the LTTE, in those areas, the people are very happy. You have created your own quisling Government and you armed the Tamil National Army because the previous Government, through the IPKF, supplied plane-loads of weapons. Plane-loads of weapons were taken from here. They were equipped. The arms were given. You have created bloodshed. It is high time to withdraw the IPKF. At the same time, this Tamil National Army which was created purposely to create turn-oil and bloodshed in that area—this is my assertion... (Interruptions)... They have got many speakers. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You please do not take his time. Please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, All India Radio is being used for the past two years... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: What is your policy about Sri Lanka?

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

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: All India Radio has been making a systematic disinformation campaign. (Interruption)... through "ANBUVAZH" and VETRIMALAI Programmes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He cannot speak on behalf of the Government. Please sit down. I will not allow. He is not a Minister. Order please. Please sit down. No, I will not allow.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Therefore, Sir, the tallest leader of the Tamil masses, Dr. Kalaignar, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, has been entrusted the job to protect Tamils. He is the man to protect the welfare of the Tamils. The propaganda or disinformation campaign being carried on by All India Radio should be immediately stopped. It is my request. Before I conclude, Sir, I would like to say one thing...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Only one sentence.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, we are withdrawing the Postal Bill, thanks to the President for not giving the assent for the same. At the same time, the pernicious section 28 of the Postal Act, and section 5 of the Telegraph Act should be scrapped.

Sir, with these, I commend this motion, moved by Shri Yashwant Sinha and support it wholeheartedly.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will be very brief and will confine myself to very few points which according to me deserve the attention of the hon. Members of this House on both sides. Sir, I can well understand and appreciate that the National Front Government did not have the time while preparing the President's Address and that is why,

I very well understand that the Ministries, I am sure, did not have the time to examine whatever political pronouncements are being made in the President's Address and if the claim of the Government is that all the pronouncements which have been made, have been thoroughly examined by all the Ministries concerned, then I will be able to put before this hon. House that the financial implications will have to be properly understood before they claim that this is a kind of mandate which they would like to implement. I am not going to blame you because of the fact that you did not have the time. But kindly show the courage to say that this was the kind of political document that they prepared it. Very well. I can well understand your difficulty. It is very difficult to expect that within 15 days or 30 days the whole thing will be thoroughly examined by the Minister concerned and that he will come prepared with all the implications, financial implications specially. If they have been thoroughly examined, certainly, I would like to be enlightened on this subject.

Sir, I would like to put forth one or two more points on this issue. I can well understand their claiming that the people have given a clear verdict in favour of a change. Certainly nobody can quarrel on this issue. But in paragraph 4, when it is said, "My Government pledges itself to fulfil the mandate given to it by the people", is it a statement of fact? I do not think that the Government can possibly claim that they got the mandate from the people. The mandate is for a change. But if this mandate is not properly understood, then, of course, it has its own implications. Without the support of the two parties which claim to support this Government, I do not think that the Government can say 'We are a majority and we have a mandate about this'. Unfortunately or fortunately, the two parties who are supporting this Government have contradictory positions and they have

not hidden the same. I am very happy that it is an open Government which is now functioning. Everybody says it very clearly and it is a very happy situation that instead of hiding anything, they openly come out saying, 'We do not agree with this', I was myself surprised when hon. Member Shri Samar Mukherjee, who is a very senior Member of this House, came forth and said that the right to work had been conceded in the manifesto and the whole thing had been diluted in the President's speech. I would like to tell him about what I had an opportunity to witness. I witnessed the Attorney-General giving his interpretation. I have not been able to understand who he is to give the interpretation of the Government's policy. He says that though the Government has conceded this right, every effort will be made to see that the right to work is being granted to all those who do not have any means of livelihood. Ultimately the whole thing will depend upon the availability of resources. This is what the Attorney-General has said. I do not know whether the Attorney-General has the right to say this. It is, of course, beyond my capacity to understand that. But certainly it is a matter which the Government should take note of. We would like to be enlightened on this as to whether the Government's intention is that this right to work is subject to the condition of the availability of resources. That is why I began by saying that nobody has studied the implications. If the implications had been properly understood, then, of course, everybody is very clear in his conscience that what we are saying is a fact. It is a statement of fact and there is no politics involved in this. Certainly everybody in this House will be very happy if the right to work is granted as a fundamental right without any kind of adjectives or some kind of qualifications which are being added thereafter. Sir, the beginning has been rather unfortunate. As my hon. friend Shri N. K. P. Salve has

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said, we wish them well. We wish that they should complete their full term. Certainly we are not interested in toppling them. But, at the same time, how do you make a beginning of your Government? 4 P.M. It was big drama which we witnessed, that Hon. Mr. Devi Lal was declared as the elected Prime Minister. I saw myself that news item which was circulated and after about half an hour or so that story was killed and he showed the magnanimity, he showed the generosity, of proposing the name of V. P. Singh. It is a very rustic common sense, I must say, that in order to demonstrate to the people that it is no more V. P. Singh who is running the Government, it is Devi Lal who has shown the generosity. If my interpretation is wrong, if the information that I got is wrong, any of the honourable Members, especially the mover who happens to be now here, should be able to tell me what the facts are. If it is an internal we are not interested in what happen in the party. But this was the story which was circulated. There is another very important thing which also had to be killed. I do not know what the facts are. Another story which was circulated and which had to be killed was Mr. Devi Lal was sworn in as a Deputy Prime Minister in spite of the fact that the President was persistently saying that he was to be administered oath only as a Minister. But Mr. Devi Lal went on saying 'No, no...' He used some Hindi words which meant Deputy Prime Minister. There was no such post and that is why when the story was circulated by a news agency it was killed thereafter. So these are the two things, rather inauspicious I should say. The whole thing began with this kind of a drama which, in fact, is not a very good augury...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh). Will you kindly yield for a minute?

AN HON. MEMBER: Why? Are you a Minister?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Is it written anywhere that only Ministers have to speak and that nobody else on the Treasury Benches can speak? I am trying to understand the Constitutional position which has been raised by Mr. S. B. Chavan. It is very clear from the Constitution that it is the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. But there had been occasions when Ministers were sworn in as Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of External Affairs, and so on. Is it not a fact?

AN HON. MEMBER: No, no, not as Deputy Prime Minister. They are sworn in only as Ministers.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I was under the impression that my friend was trying to correct me on facts. I don't think that he is borne out by facts. The facts are totally different from what the honourable Member was saying. What I am saying is that we are interested in seeing a stable Government here. But how can it be a stable Government unless the Prime Minister has the capacity to say I am in full charge of everything? Can he possibly stand up here and say I can definitely implement the programmes which have been announced in the President's Address? That brings me to another point. Mr. Sinha, you should be able to explain to me, clarify what the facts are. If it is an internal matter, I am not concerned with that. But it concerns the nation. I was given to understand that there is a clear understanding between the different parties that you will not try to implement a programme on which there is no unanimity, that only the minimum programme on which there has been agreement, that is the only programme which is to go ahead. This is what we have heard. If that be a fact, certainly we are entitled to know what are the points on

which there has been an agreement and what are the points on which there has been no agreement. It is not your personal property or the property of the party to which you belong. Certainly, the nation is entitled to know as to what the programmes are and whether these programmes represent what has been agreed to. If that be so, then Mr. Samar Mukherjee would not have spoken the way he has spoken here today. That clearly shows that the President's Address is not according to what has been agreed to between the different constituents of this National Government, if I may say so. They do not say that they are their constituents, but they are their supporters. Am I right?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are right.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: They are all not constituents, but supporters.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I have made it very clear that from outside we are supporting.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I don't doubt your intention to support them. I am merely saying that the fundamental right, the right to work, as it was agreed to, has not been put in the President's Address. That is my limited point.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I told you that this demand has been our longstanding demand also.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I do not disagree with you. I only support your point.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: There is no question of agreement because our demand is accepted by them and that is why I am supporting them.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Samar Mukherjee, if you now would like to change the stand sides, certainly. I have no objection to it because you

have got every right to change. But what you have stated in your speech is that what was contained in the manifesto has been diluted in the President's Address and that is my point.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Yes.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: This is what you have stated and now you say, "No, no. The whole thing has been incorporated."

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: But it is there in their manifesto.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He has also pointed out the difference between the statement and the Address... (Interruptions)... He has also pointed out the difference between your statement and your action.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Let there be no confusion at all. This is one part of the story and there is another part of the story.

The other part of the story, to which Mr. Mukherjee himself has referred, is that on the 26th or 27th January, they are going to have the construction started and that the Dharan Sansad, as they call it, is going to meet on the 27th. And, Sir one of the BJP members—I have got the copy of the "Times of India" with me and this has been referred to therein—has said that if any agitation is being started on this Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhomi issue, then the BJP is going to join this kind of an agitation against the Government. These are the two sides of the coin and they are the supporters of this Government! Certainly, you have every right to refute what we are saying. But these are the statements which I have read and these are the parties which are supporting you. On the one side, guarantee is given that the minorities will live without fear. About the minorities, what do they say? The Address says:



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"A secular India is the very basis of our emotional unity and national integrity."

This is one statement, and there is another statement also;

"The Government will spare no efforts to guarantee that the minorities live without fear and as equal partners in this country's progress."

So, these are the two very big statements and, in fact, this is going to be the fundamental issue on which their constituents or supporters, the different supporters of this Government will have to agree. Whether you agree or not is your matter. But the statement as it stands today clearly says that the BJP has taken quite a different kind of stand though on the floor of the House they are stating a completely different thing. If I am wrong, certainly I would be very happy if the BJP Member authoritatively comes forward and says that what is said in the Press is not a statement of fact and that they are not going to do it.

**THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY):** Mr. Chavan, may I just make an interruption? I have been listening to you and you tried to be very very honourable in your speech. But I think you are trying to be very happy with some of the things said about the Opposition parties. But may I tell you that your approach is very machiavellian;

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** At least I don't think that this is becoming of the position of the Leader of the House. That much only I can say. You have still to get acclimatized to that kind of condition. I see that you are still considering that you are sitting on this side now. You have gone to the other side now. You have to be more responsible. That is

why I am still saying that if any of the statements I have made is incorrect you are welcome to contradict me. And I thought that you are going to contradict me. But you don't have that kind of information. You don't have that courage to say: what you are saying is wrong. In fact, these are statements of facts. Both the parties are openly saying this. And they are your supporters. I can understand your difficulty. I can well appreciate that under these circumstances you have to function. You make all kinds of tall promises which are contained in the President's Address.

Sir, yesterday we could see Mr. Samar Mukherjee dissociated himself and also other members of the CPM and CPI making their position absolutely clear on the Panama issue. I can well understand this. This is consistent with the policy which they have been following so far. And I hope they are going to continue with the same kind of policy hereafter also. And in the name of Perestroika, I don't think this kind of ... (Interruptions). 'Perestroika' is the very thing that Mr. Gorbachev is trying to get in the Soviet Union. But I don't think that it would be a correct version of 'Perestroika' as he says.

Another point which I wanted to emphasize is that the right to information is another thing which they have stated emphatically. I was amused yesterday when the Home Minister was making a speech. And ultimately he had no weapon left except to say: No, I cannot give this information. This is how the whole thing, right to information, begins with the statement of the Home Minister saying: I cannot give you this information. This is how they have begun. Sir, I do not have any quarrel about it. Certainly in all these things which have been stated in the President's Address there are a large number of contradictions, and I don't think that I should dwell upon them.

One more thing is the statement which was made in Calcutta by one of the very senior members of the BJP giving expression to his views that if a BJP member had been the Minister in charge how he would have behaved in the case of Dr. Rubiya's kidnap. This is the kind of statement I have read. So that clearly shows that there is a difference of opinion on a number of issues. And that is why I said let the House have entire information as to what are the points on which you have agreed and what are the points on which there is no agreement, because it is not your property now; it is the country as a whole which has every right to know as to what you have been doing in this matter.

Sir, about the attitude which the BJP has adopted or is going to adopt on the 27th of January, 1990, about Ram Shila Pooja and the construction of "Mandir" and its consequences, everyone wants to know, as also what you are going to do about it. Thereafter, the whole thing will be very clear as to what they have in their mind.

Sir, about the economic policy, the Mover of the Resolution was interested in casting aspersions on the erstwhile Government. It was a scorched-earth policy which was followed by the previous Government. This is one statement that he has made. Another statement which he made was that the coffers are empty. The third thing he said is that the whole economy is in shambles. These are the three very serious statements that they have made. I would like to understand one thing. Do you mean to suggest—I don't think that the hon. Member has this kind of a point in view—that the Congress Government was itself satisfied that it is going to lose the elections and that is why whatever damage was possible they should try to do to the economy. If that be a fact, certainly I would like to say that let us have the details. No Government for that matter has a

right to follow a kind of scorched-earth policy. This is a phrase which is normally used when while losing a battle they try to destroy everything so that the conqueror should not get anything. Do you consider that you are a conqueror, on this land you have conquered something and there was something which was destroyed by the previous Government? I am sorry to say this. I think you were an officer previously who has resigned and joined politics, if I understand it correctly. If a senior officer of the Government does not know as to what exactly is the meaning of coffers being empty and coffers being full, I can't help him. What do you mean by it? Coasters are neither empty nor full. It is a continuous process. There is an incoming income which accrues to the Government and there are expenditures which have to be booked. Ultimately, at the end of the year you know whether it is plus or minus. Now he wants the country to believe and especially this House to believe that while handing over the coffers were empty. Is it a statement of fact, Sir? I can say without any fear of contradiction and with all the emphasis at my command that this is not a correct statement?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: How much further amount you have drawn from the Reserve Bank of India through short-term treasury bills before you handed over charge of the Government of India? You were the Finance Minister. You owe an explanation to the House.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am going to touch all these points. Please have some patience. Mr. Dipen Ghosh, first of all, do you agree with this statement that the coffers are neither empty nor full? So, what you stated about coffers being empty is not correct. You have to agree to that first. The coffers can never be empty and the coffers can never be full. It is a continuous process which goes on. At the end of the year you come to know whether you

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have been able to show the surplus or deficit. Till then, I can show the rate at which all our revenues were increasing. You have a right to find out from the Government whether in our Income-Tax, Excise Duty and all other things including Customs Duty and other taxes, there is an increase or not. That we have shown.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: And the deficit was also increasing. That is also true.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Tomorrow you can make your point. Let him speak whatever he wants to speak.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: They came looking for a khazana to appropriate it and found that it was not there.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Dipen Ghosh, you are certainly a witness of the fact that in the year 1988-89... we have not only stuck to the Budget deficit as it was shown, but it was even reduced. In 1989-90 also, our deficit is about Rs. 7,000 crores and odd. And in spite of the fact that huge amounts were also taken from the Reserve Bank of India, I can say without any fear of contradiction that this year we were proposing to end with the same kind of deficit. And I have every faith in all the officers who are working there that they will see that the deficit does not exceed that. But these are fluctuations which are always found there. When the incomes are less, you have to borrow from somewhere, and at the end of the year you see that those borrowings have been returned and you stick to the deficit which was there. So, there was nothing wrong. There was no doubt about it. Certainly, I agree that there was a structural imbalance, and this was pointed out to us, by the same Committee which was appointed by this Government in order to find out as to what the facts are. And after going through the Report, I will again request you to kindly go through this Report of the Economic Advisory Committee which, in fact,

consists of specialists and experts in the field. And they have not said anything which, in fact, is against the previous Government. On the other hand, if the economy was in a shambles, how is it that we have been able to achieve all the targets? The food production has increased from 145 million tonnes to almost 175 million tonnes, and the rate is almost 3.8 per cent while the rate of growth of population is just 2 per cent. So, these are the statements which you can verify yourself. In the industrial field also, we have been able to increase the industrial production to almost 8.6 per cent compared to the Sixth Plan. The rate of inflation has also been brought down. Now we are handing over this to you. Now let me understand, let me see. By saying that economy is in a shambles, is it a fact that you are trying to create conditions so that you should be in a position to put some taxes in order to show that this was the state of the economy and that is why you had to tax? By all means, every Government has to do it. But why try to hide yourselves under this plea? Come forth. With the infrastructure behaving well, I can say without any fear of contradiction—the Report itself contains it—in every sector, we have shown a tremendous amount of progress. And I don't think that anyone can possibly say with the infra-structure behaving in such an excellent manner, getting the full benefits out of it, our public sector undertakings also in some areas have done very well and in some areas we have been able to turn the corner and their losses have been reduced to some extent.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): It is 6 per cent.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: But that 6 per cent is pre-tax. That is why there is no doubt about it. In fact, these were the things against which we were also fighting in order to finance the Plan which certainly is

a very disquieting feature; there is no doubt about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shankarraoji, I would like to seek one clarification from you. This 8 per cent pre-tax is both on loan and capital or only capital? I think that it is on both.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I will have to find out. I am not sure on that ground.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): The companies are judged on the rate of the turn-over, not on the capital employed. Capital employed has no meaning. There are ~~crises~~ of turn-over and it may work out to 'zero point so much'.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Anyway, those are the points on which when the hon. Members speak, they would be able to deal because I do not have the details. But surely I can say that there is nothing of the type which the hon. Member has said. All the three points, I say, are not facts. And if that is the position what is the basis on which you have announced your very big plans, very tall claims? Right to work, you are trying to give. Pensions, you are trying to give. You are trying to waive interest and also the principal and all kinds of things you have stated. These are matters on which the financial implication, will have to be properly understand. If the economy is in a shambles, how dare you come before the House and say that though the economy is in a shambles, still you would like to pursue this kind of a programme. That clearly shows that there is an obvious contradiction in what you are saying and what the facts are. The facts are that in fact there are certain things on which you have to be cautious, imbalances have to be removed. Mr. Salve has submitted his report. Certainly I do not have access to that report. But with

the kind of devolution that you have to face, you will have to transfer resources to the State Governments and thereafter you are promising all kinds of things in this President's Address. That is why I said that this is something on which you will have to apply your mind rather seriously. These are just platitudes which the Government is announcing in a light manner without assessing the financial implications. The approach itself is wrong. And that is why, I think, the hon. Prime Minister had to come to the rescue of our friend, who was making a wrong statement on the floor of the House. This report itself shows that the decline in the price trend started from October 1989. Why do you want to hide all these facts? (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir,

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

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: My question is do you...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, no, he is not yielding. Are you yielding, Mr Chavan.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: No, I am not yielding.

This is your Government's note. This note was circulated by your Government. So your Government...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is your Government also.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Yes, yes; I am prepared to correct myself. But this is your Government's note in the sense that the document was prepared not by me, but by your Government, to which you owe the support.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: My party is not....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please do not interrupt.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I can understand your difficulty. Your embarrassment... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You do not listen to him. You say whatever you want to say. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: There is one more point and I have done.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The thing is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, no, I am not allowing you. Please sit down. Mr. Chavan, if you are yielding, I will allow; otherwise not.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: No, I am no, yielding.

Sir, there is one more point and I have done. These are things on which I can well understand the embarrassment of Mr. Dipen Ghosh, that this is something which in fact he never expected.

Sir, there is one more disturbing feature which has come to my notice. This is a report in 'India abroad.' Super-301, the kind of law which the U.S. Government has passed and about which the Ambassador who had gone back to America, he has stated. He says this. This is Washington dated 8th December. The outgoing U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. John Hubbard, is hopeful that the Bush Administration would remove India from the trade hit list under Super-301, since the new Government of India is now likely to adopt a less intransigent posture in GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. "In a wide-ranging interview... (Interruptions)... with I.N.S. Mr. Hebbard said that the new Prime

Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, himself will advocate a less intransigent, more co-operative and compromising position in GATT vis-a-vis the U.S.A." (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Shall I quote what President Bush has said about Rajiv Gandhi? (Interruptions) Shall I quote what the ex-U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Moynihan has said about... (Interruptions).

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Dipen Ghosh, why are you getting upset? This is a statement... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Dipen Ghosh, you cannot get up on each and every sentence. (Interruptions) Mr. Chavan, are you yielding? (Interruptions) He is not yielding. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I have said on the floor of the House... (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Shall I quote what President Bush has said about Rajiv Gandhi? (Interruptions)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: The Prime Minister will have an opportunity, while replying to the debate, to contradict what the U.S. Ambassador has said about him. Is this the position, is this the posture, the new Government is going to adopt in relation to the U.S. Government? (Interruptions)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Chavan, will you yield for a minute? (Interruptions)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: You will have your say in the end. (Interruptions) When the Prime Minister replies, certainly, he can contradict... (Interruptions).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He has not yielded. I cannot help. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I have quoted from 'India Abroad'. You can get a copy of it. This no less a person than the Ambassador who was in India. Have you got a copy of it? If that be so, you contradict that this is not a statement of fact. We would like the Government to clarify the position that what he said is not correct. If you are going to compromise the position of the Government of India. I think, you are doing the greatest mistake and the people will never spare you. You please be aware of the fact that if you are going to compromise India's sovereignty, if the sovereignty of this country is going to be compromised by this Government, certainly, you will face the consequences very soon. I do not think that this can be... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: You are playing to the gallery. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Sinha, the Minister is going to intervene. He will reply to it. (*Interruptions*) He has every right to make his points. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Sinha, why are you getting up? You are not a Minister. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, when I was speaking, they all shouted. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Sinha, the hon. Minister, Mr. Arif Mohd. Khan, is going to intervene. He can reply. (*Interruptions*) Mr. Shiv Shanker wanted to speak but the Minister did and yield. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. V. CHAVAN: I am playing to the gallery. But I do not think you would like that the Press should not publish it. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He has a right to speak. (*Interruptions*) I will not allow. That precedent has been created by your leader by not allowing the Leader of the Opposition when he wanted to interrupt. (*Interruptions*). Except the speaker I will not allow anybody to speak in any circumstances, whenever I am in the Chair.

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Will Mr. Sinha please be a mature parliamentarian to allow a senior Member like Mr. Chavan, to make a remark? And why is he offended? (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Moreover, here he is speaking as a Member of the House and not as a Minister.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: He used my background against me. This is what he has done. I am not using his background or background of any Member. He cannot use my background by saying...

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please cool down, please sit down.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: In fact, Madam, I have brought this to the notice of the House so that the Prime Minister could come in the House and tell us whether what the U.S. Ambassador has stated about him is incorrect. Let him say that. But without that if Mr. Sinha were to rise in his seat and say that I am playing to the gallery, I think that is not correct. You have promised freedom of press. You have promised that you are giving autonomy to AIR and Door-

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

darshan. I wish this thing is broadcast by them. Let the TV say that this is the kind of interview which the US Ambassador has given and then I will accept that your conscious is very clear in saying that you like to give freedom, you like to give autonomy. In fact, merely by shouting you cannot cow me down. (Interruptions) I do not think this is the correct time. Actually, we have been fighting for the Super-301. India has been fighting with USA that we will never compromise on this issue, come what may. In spite of that, if the present Government were to have this kind of stance that they would like to be more compromising with the US Government, less intransigence and thereafter more cooperative with the US Government and then they would like to withdraw, it is something sinister which we see in this. That is why I have mentioned this on the floor of this House so that the Prime Minister could come forward with a statement of facts. I do not believe that such a kind of thing can even happen, but the very fact that such an important person like the Ambassador of US Government is saying in an interview that the present Prime Minister is more amenable to US Government is something which, in fact, we do not agree. We do not expect that Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh will ever try to compromise on an issue like this. Let him come forth and say on the floor of the House whether what he has stated is correct or incorrect. If he has said before him that he is going to be more compromising on this issue, then God help you, I cannot say anything more. I can merely say that this is not a very good beginning that you have made. Somehow this has come to my notice.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Tamil Nadu): After Panama you still have doubts.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I will request the Prime Minister to kindly clarify the position as to how things stand. We hope that we will try to pursue the same policy in GATT. Let us not compromise the issue of all the developing countries. All the developing countries are looking to India that we could give lead in the matter and if our Prime Minister were going to show a weak kneed policy in this matter, then of course, we are on a totally different path. I do not think that the kind of constructive cooperation that we have promised you can be there. If it is proved, certainly you cannot expect any kind of cooperation from the Congress people. Congress people are prepared to give you all the cooperation that you require, provided you do not barter away the interests of India and try to compromise on the basis fundamentals which, in fact, I have stated on the floor of the House. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Kailash Pati Mishra.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): There is a little misunderstanding on the part of the Mover of the Resolution. I would only like to clarify that my hon. friend, Mr. Chavan, while using the background of Mr. Sinha, has not tried to condemn him. If it were so, we would have apologised. That background was used for the purpose of praising your policy. That is all I thought I should say.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am grateful for this clarification which you have offered on behalf of Mr. Chavan.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I thought we owe a clarification.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I would be happy to believe you, but I would have been happier if Mr. Chavan had said this.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** Certainly I agree with my Leader. Certainly I do not mean any ill-will against him. That background of his was used in order to show that the coffers are neither empty nor full. The officers at least are supposed to know this position and you yourself stated on the floor of the House. That is why I reminded you. I did not mean any disrespect. If it has hurt your feelings, I certainly apologise.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Are you satisfied? Can we go ahead?  
(Interruptions)

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:** He only conveyed his feelings that you will understand it more correctly with your background. Only in that sense he said it. I do not think he meant anything else.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Order, please. Shri Kailash Pati Mishra. You can take ten minutes. And no interruptions, please.

**श्री कलाशपति मिश्र (बिहार) :**  
उप-सभापति जी, सदन में जरा गर्मी ज्यादा पैदा हो गई है, इसलिए मेरे समय के ऊपर कृपया बाँड़ी सीपा करिएगा।

**उपसभापति :** आपका समय अभी से काउन्ट कर रही हूँ, क्योंकि आप लोगों का इस मिनट से ज्यादा समय नहीं है।

**श्री कलाशपति मिश्र :** महोदय, जिस विषय के ऊपर बहस चल रही है, मुझे भारत की जनता जो मतदाता है, उसके विवेक के ऊपर पूरा भरोसा है और अभी-अभी चुनाव समाप्त हुआ, नई सरकार बनी है। नई सरकार बनने के बाद अभी इस सरकार को कितने दिन काम करने का अवसर मिला है, इस सब इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं।

महोदय, जिन बातों को लेकर अभी सरकार पर आक्षेप किया जाता है या ताना दिया जाता है, उससे मुझे बड़ी हंसी आती

है। 1984 में लोक सभा का चुनाव हुआ और शायद 42 वर्षों के भारत के इतिहास में 1984 के लोक सभा चुनाव में एक पार्टी को जितना प्रबल बहुमत मिला था, उसके पहले मिला और मे समझता हूँ कि शायद भविष्य में भी उतना बहुमत किसी को नहीं मिलेगा। फिर पूरे पांच साल काम करने को कार्यकाल मिला। पांच साल का कार्यकाल पूरा करने के बाद अभी लोक सभा का चुनाव सामने आया। प्रचार के जितने तरीके थे और आधुनिकतम तंत्र जो आज प्रचार के उपयोग में किये जा रहे हैं, चाहे वह टेलीविजन हो या रेडियो हो उस पर कितना खर्च था, कितने खर्चे में वह सब हुआ था, यह सारी दुनिया को बता है। लेकिन धन्य है भारत के मतदाता। सब के धन्य हैं जो अभी चर्चा करते रहते हैं, अपनी-अपनी कलहवाजी का हम प्रकटीकरण करते रहते हैं और और शायद हमारे विमान में रहता है कि भारत की जनता, जो संसद से दूर बैठे हुए हैं उसको इसका ज्ञान नहीं है। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी संसद, हमारा इस प्रकार का समझना वह एक भारी भूल है। चुनाव में भारत के मतदाता ने जो निष्पक्ष प्रकट किया है, मैं समझता हूँ कि जो निष्पक्ष आज विरोधी पक्ष में जाकर बैठे हैं उनको इससे फाड़ पड़ना चाहिए, उनको इससे सबक लेना चाहिए और जरा धैर्य के साथ, जरा सोचरहटी के साथ उनको इस प्रकार का व्यवहार करना चाहिए। महोदय, नई सरकार अभी कभी है लेकिन पहले समय जो कदम इसने उठाया है क्या उसकी प्रशंसा नहीं करनी चाहिए? काम के अधिकार को मौखिक अधिकार में बदलना, इस पर ठोस कार्रवाई करने के लिए नई सरकार ने अभी जो व्यवस्था की है यह सदन उससे परिचित है। बॉर्डर को स्वायत्तता देना इस सरकार ने स्वीकार कर लिया है। महोदय, भारत के किसानों का कर्ज एक सीमा तक माफ करने के लिए वह कबम भी इस सरकार ने उठा लिया है। यह आधार के ऊपर यह सरकार सब प्रकार से व्यवहार कर रही है। महोदय, मैं भी इस सदन में बहुत वर्षों से हूँ, साढ़े पांच वर्ष से ज्यादा हो रहे हैं, जिस समय पहले पहल बोफोर्स का प्रश्न इस सदन में उठा था और



[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र :]

लगातार चलता रहा, अंत तक उस समय की सरकार ने ऐसा उतर नहीं दिया, इस प्रकार का व्यवहार नहीं किया कि भारत की जनता को संतोष हो और एक बड़ा भारी धपला या, भारी घोटाला जहाँ चोटी पर बैठे हुए लोगों के बारे में शक-संदेह पैदा हो गया है वह घण्टाचार में लिप्त है तो उसका समाधान सरकार नहीं कर सकती। लेकिन मैं इस सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि अभी बैठते ही मंत्रियों ने अभी-अभी विभाग संभाला है शायद विभाग को पूरा समझने का भी अवसर नहीं मिला है लेकिन सरकार ने जो क़दम निर्णय लिया आज समाचार-पत्रों में इस संबंध में जो समाचार छपे हैं, नई सरकार को शत बार बधाई देनी चाहिए कि उसने भारत की जनता की समोभावना के अनुरूप कदम उठाया है। किसी के मन में यह संदेह नहीं हो सकता कि यह सरकार मीडिया को स्वातंत्र्य देने पर उत्साह है, यह सरकार चरित्र के कितानों के कर्ज माफ करने पर इटी हुई है, यह सरकार युवकों की आँखों के सामने जो अंधेरा धिरा हुआ था उनके जीवन में उजाला लाने के लिए, उनकी शक्ति, उनकी जवानी, उनके खून की उमंगों को उसका आँकलन करके "राइट टू वर्क" प्रयोग करने के लिए उतार दिखाई दे रही है और इस दिशा में यह सरकार बढ़ रही है। महोदया, सरकार के काम की छानबीन तो तब होनी चाहिए जब उसे काम करने के लिए एक अवसर मिल जाए। अभी दो महीने भी सरकार को काम करते नहीं हुए, क्या 6 महीने पहले, साल भर पहले, सरकार के कामों की जांच हो सकती है, उस पर कोई टिप्पणी हो सकती है? मैं विरोधी पक्ष के मित्रों को कहना चाहता हूँ कि जरा आप इस पर ध्यान रखिए। लेकिन महोदया, मैं इस सरकार को कुछ बातों के लिए सावधान भी करना चाहता हूँ। लोक सभा का चनाव समाप्त हुआ। अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में कांग्रेस बुरी तरह से हार गई। नई सरकार गठित हुई तो कांग्रेस के भाला कमान ने क्या करना शुरू किया? खटाखट एक-एक प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्रियों को बदलना शुरू किया। पता नहीं, यह परंपरा किस लोकतंत्र के आधार पर बैठी हुई है कि चुने हुए विधायक, राज्यों के विधायक अपना नेता निर्वाचन करने का अधिकार उनको नहीं है। दिल्ली से चलता

है कमान कि आप वापस आइये, इनको बैठाइये और जो भी बैठे हैं, महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस नई सरकार को कुछ बिंदुओं के ऊपर सावधान करना चाहता हूँ। हर एक को पता है कि पांडेचरी सहित देश के अंदर दस राज्य ऐसे हैं, जहाँ मार्च के अंत के पहले-पहले विधान सभा चुनाव होने जा रहे हैं... (समय की घंटी)...

उपसभापति : आपके आठ मिनट हो गए।

श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र : नहीं, ऐसा करेंगे तो कैसे चलेगा ?

उपसभापति : क्या हुआ कि आपने चार मंम्बर वहां भेज दिए, तो टाइम तो कम हो ही जाएगा।

श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र : महोदया, दया कीजिए, जरा बोलने दें। बहुत से कण्ठ भी किए गए हैं, जरा उस पर सुन लीजिए।

उपसभापति : यह आपके दूसरे लोग भी ब लेंगे न। इसलिए आप सब टाइम कैसे ले लेंगे। अदर्स का एक घण्टा बारह मिनट का समय है, इसलिए आप कम बोलिए।

श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र : महोदया, थोड़ा टाइम दीजिए। नए बने हुए मुख्यमंत्रीजी, अचानक घोषणा हो गई कि पन्द्रह हजार रूपए तक किसानों के कर्ज माफ जो आज मुख्यमंत्री बैठे हैं, उन्हींकी एक परंपरा चलाई हुई थी कि कालेजों को मान्यता दे दो और वित्त रहित मान्यता दे दो, लेकिन तीन सौ के लगभग बिहार में महाविद्यालय; जो वित्त-रहित चल रहे थे अचानक यह वित्त-रहित वित्त-सहित बन गए। महोदया, आपको सुनकर आश्चर्य लगेगा कि छह नए विश्वविद्यालय, नई यूनिवर्सिटी स्थापित करने की घोषणा हो गई, बिजली की बकाया माफ बिजली-कर माफ, सिचाई-कर माफ। मैंने जाकर पता लगाने की कोशिश की कि यह जो घोषणाएं हुई हैं, क्या सरकार की किसी फाइल पर, किसी कागज के टुकड़े पर कार्यान्वित करने के लिए कोई कदम उठाया गया है तो सचिवालय को पता नहीं है, फाइनेन्स डिपार्टमेंट को पता नहीं है, कॉमिनेट सेक्रेटरीएट के

सेक्रेटरी को कुछ पता नहीं है और घोषणाएं कैबिनेट के नाम पर होती चली आ रही हैं।

मैं वर्तमान सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि नए गए कुछ सिपहसालार, उनके विभाग में बंटा है कि डेढ़ महीने, दो महीने के बाद जो विधायक के चुनाव होने वाले हैं, वहां से भी कांग्रेस को सरकार जाने वाली तो है ही, लेकिन बन्ने वाली सरकार, आने वाला नया मुख्यमंत्री पहले दिन से उसके विरोध में इतना भयंकर आंदोलन सब प्रकार का शुरू हो जाय कि उसका काम करना कठिन हो जाय। यहां आदरणीय चव्हाण साहब बैठे हुए हैं, शिवशंकर जी नहीं दिखाई दे रहे और लोग बैठे हैं, मैं यह तथ्य दाखिल के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि कितनी घोषणाएं बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री ने कर दी हैं और लगातार करते चले जा रहे हैं, फाइनेंसियल घोषणाएं करते चले जा रहे हैं, जबकि बिजनेस आफ क्लस में लिखा हुआ है, हम से ज्यादा आपको पता है, कि कोई भी सरकार जब एक पैसों का भी नया फाइनेंसियल बर्देन उठाना चाहती है तो एग्जामिनेशन बाई दी फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट इज मरट। कैबिनेट ओवर-कलब कर सकती है, कैबिनेट को यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट की रिक्मण्डेशन माने ही... (व्यवधान)...

**श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण :** इसको आपने एग्जामिन किया था, प्रेसिडेंट एंड मैं के पहले आपने एग्जामिन किया था।

**श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र :** चव्हाण जी, मैं बहुत धैर्य से आपका भाषण सुनता रहा और जो मैं कह रहा हूँ वह बहुत गंभीर है, आप इसको जरा धैर्य से सुनिए।

महोदया, इतनी घोषणाएं, जिनमें हर घोषणा में फाइनेंसियल इम्पलीकेशन है, बिहार सरकार का फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट एग्जामिन नहीं कर रहा, कैबिनेट के अंदर कोई प्रस्ताव नहीं है और घोषणाएं होती चली जा रही हैं। तो मैं नई सरकार को आगाह करना चाहता हूँ कि राज्य-सरकारें एक-दो महीने के अंदर अगर इस प्रकार का व्यवहार करने वाली है तो उन राज्यों की स्थिति कल क्या होने जा रही है, देश के सामने और राज्यों

के सामने कौन-कौन सी समस्याएं पैदा होने वाली हैं? यह एक चेतावनी है, जिस पर नई सरकार को तुरंत कदम उठाना चाहिए।

महोदय, यह मेरे कांग्रेस के मित्र घोषणाएं तो बहुत करते हैं और घोषणाएं ऐसी घोषणाएं हैं, पिछले पांच वर्षों में चुनाव-सुधार संबंधी दोनों सदनों में कितनी बार चर्चा हुई, मैं आंकड़े आपके सामने देना चाहता हूँ। राज्य सभा में 4-12-86 को एक बार हुआ, फिर राज्य सभा में 6-3-87 को हुआ, फिर लोक सभा में 27-4-87 को हुआ और फिर लोक सभा में 26-4-88 को हुआ इतनी बार इलेक्टोरल रिफार्म्स 5 साल तक आप करते रहे, लेकिन कौन से इलेक्टोरल रिफार्म्स बने? एक मुद्दा भी चुनाव सुधार के लिए नहीं लाए। मैं नयी सरकार से आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि जो परिपाटी या जो इतिहास इस बारे में कांग्रेस सरकार का रहा है, वंसा नहीं होना चाहिए। यदि रबिंद्र देश के अंदर पनपने वाली अत्याचार की अगर कोई जननी है तो वर्तमान चुनाव प्रणाली है। यह इतने प्रकार के दुर्गुणों से भर गयी है कि इसमें परिवर्तन की आज आवश्यकता दिखायी देती है। इसलिए नयी सरकार शीघ्रतिथी में चुनाव कानून में सुधार करने के लिए कदम उठाए। इसमें ज्यादा विलम्ब न हो जैसा कि पिछली सरकार ने किया है...

**उपसभापति :** मिश्र जी अब समाप्त कीजिए।

**श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र :** थोड़ी देर और बोलने दीजिए।

**उपसभापति :** मिश्र जी, आपको मालूम है अभी जल्दी खत्म करने हैं। मंत्रीजी भी बोलने वाले हैं।

**श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र :** मुझे केवल दो बिंदुओं पर और बोलना है।

**उपसभापति :** अब आपका समय खत्म हो गया है।

**श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र :** महोदया, जम्मू-कश्मीर की चर्चा यहां पर हुई है। कुछ पढ़कर भी सुनाया गया है। मैं व्यक्तिगतः महसूस

[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र]

करता हूँ कि जम्मू-कश्मीर में आज जो स्थिति पैदा हो गयी है, जो पिछले 15-20 दिनों में घटना घटी है, उससे मैं भी अनुभव कर रहा हूँ कि अभी तक जम्मू-कश्मीर में कोई ठोस दिशा-निर्देशन नहीं हो गया है। वहाँ दिशा-हीनता की स्थिति बनी हुई है। मैं सरकार को सावधान करना चाहता हूँ कि वह ऐसी एक निश्चित दिशा में कदम उठाए जिससे कि देश को संतोष हो कि जम्मू-काश्मीर भारत का अंग आज है, कल रहेगा और उल्लेख्य जम्मू-काश्मीर नहीं रहेगा, शांत रहेगा। इसके लिए कोई निश्चित कदम उठाएं।

महोदया, बार-बार राम जन्मभूमि और राम मिला पुण्य का उल्लेख किया गया है। भले ही उसका प्रसंग हो या नहीं, बी.जे.पी. का उल्लेख किया जाता है। मैं यहाँ खासकर अपने कांग्रेस के मित्रों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह तात्वा किसने खुलवाया ? ... (अवधान) ...

उर्जा मंत्री, साथ में नागर विमानन मंत्रालय का प्रतिनिधित्व प्रचार (श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खान)—फोतेदार जी से पूछिए, अगर वह आपके सहमत हो तो।

श्रीमती मारग्रेट आल्वा : श्री प्ररुण नेहरू से पूछ लीजिए, होम मिनिस्टर थे।

श्री सखन लाल फोतेदार (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अरिफ साहब जगदा वाकिफ हैं कि तात्वा किसने खोला ?

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खान : मैं अभी बताने देता हूँ थोड़ी देर में।

श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र : सिंह द्वार की अनुमति किसने दी ? उस समय विध्वंसक प्रताप सिंह जी प्रधान मंत्री थे या राजीव गांधी प्रधान मंत्री थे ? सिंह द्वार का बलात्कार मेरे कुछ मित्र नहीं समझते हैं बतनेवाले मंदिर के फाटक के शिलान्यास की अनुमति किसने दी ? तो क्या आपने केवल फाटक काटने की अनुमति दी ? फाटक को नहीं काटने की अनुमति दी ? फाटक काटने से तो फाटक होना और घर बनेगा तो फाटक होगा ; फाटक के शिलान्यास

की अनुमति का अर्थ ही है कि आपने वहाँ राम मंदिर बनाने की अनुमति दी है। महोदया, भारत की श्रद्धालु जनता के मन में और मेरे मन में यह शक नहीं है कि या यह शक नहीं है कि राम कहाँ जन्मे ? मैं जानता हूँ कि प्रभु राम का जन्म अयोध्या में ही हुआ है और पूछें वह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि भारत का यह कर्त्तव्य है कि वह प्रभु राम का सम्मान करें। लेकिन मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने किस मंदिर के शिलान्यास की अनुमति दी ?

उपसभापति मिश्र : जी, कृपया अपना भाषण समाप्त करिए।

श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र : आप अपने आचरण पर विचार कीजिए। अगर आप समझते हैं कि भारत की श्रद्धालु जनता के अनुकूल आपका आचरण है तो आपको उस पर हिम्मत के साथ खड़े रहना चाहिए।

महोदया, इन्हीं जगहों के साथ मैं सरकार को एक बार फिर से जर्जर देना चाहता हूँ कि इतने कम समय में एक सूठ के रूप में और देश की क्या-क्या आवश्यकता है, देश की भूख आज किन-किन बातों की है, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में आपने उन बिंदुओं का उल्लेख किया है। इसके लिए वर्तमान सरकार को बधाई।

5 P.M.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam Deputy Chair-person, The Congress is out of power, yes, but if one could listen to the speeches in the House over the last few days starting with the Mover of the Resolution itself, it is obvious that they are still obsessed with the importance of the Congress party. They cannot get over it because everyone who spoke on the President's Address instead of speaking about what they wanted to do, what they thought must be done, were busy talking about what the Congress had done or not done or should have done. Whether it is the CPM, whether it is the BJP or whether it is the Members of the so-called National Front, I will explain what

is national about it, a little later; but the point is that still ...

**SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam):** Madam, what did she mean by so-called National Front?

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:** What is your problem? You are not obsessed with the Congress party, I am very glad, please sit down. I am saying not one of them could avoid the temptation of talking about the Congress party from beginning to end. It shows that they still realise that the Congress party is a force to be reckoned with, that this might be a temporary phase and unless they keep up their campaign of maligning, of falsehood, of misleading the nation, their days will be numbered. Madam, I come to the statement which they have repeatedly made and I was here right through most of the speeches, including that of Mr. Yeshwant Sinha whom I did not disturb though I disagreed with many, many points. I would like to answer him. He started by saying that the Congress must admit that this was an overwhelming vote for a change. Madam, I would like to ask the hon. Member on the other side, was it a vote for change? Was it a vote for stability or did the people of this country in their maturity give a vote for instability? I would like to give the voting figures here and the way they say that the whole country has voted against the Congress, Rajiv Gandhi and for change. I am as much an Indian and a part of this country and I come from the South and in the South, Madam, where they made a hero of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde who in my State could win one seat out of 28 seats. Here is the DMK which talks so much, could it win one seat? The Member is not here. He lost by 1112 lakhs votes when he contested. The talks here everyday. And there you got the Congress (S), one Member party, one Cabinet rank. All right. What is the other Member of the National Front Government

which they are talking about? Madam, I am asking you what happened to the Telugu Desam party? We call him the great Drama Rao, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao, in the South. What happened to his party? Two Members got elected to the other House. They are talking about overwhelming vote for change... (Interruptions)...

**SHRI R. S. NAIK (Karnataka):** It is not because of the Congress efforts.

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:** All right. Nobody could come back this time. The Janata Dal will not get a single seat anywhere from Karnataka.

Madam, I would like to go further and talk about the percentage of votes. I would tell you, the National Front, the four groups which formed the National Front, polled down 21.75 per cent. of the votes cast. I would like to tell them, on the other hand, the Congress and its allies polled 42.65 per cent of the votes cast, exactly double the votes the National Front polled and it has now turned out to be a three-legged stool because the BJP has got 11.63 per cent of the votes. As long as it suits them they will prop them up. The Left Front has got altogether 10.48 per cent of the votes. What is all this big talk about change? The overwhelming number of the people who voted have still voted for the Congress all over the country.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal):** But you are not here.

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:** That is because of the numbers game which you have played. The CPM can sit with its mouth shut for the present. I would like to see them sit permanently with their mouth shut. I know what you talk in the lobby what you talk in the Central Hall. You have come to a stage where you don't talk on 'Panama' in the House but have to issue a press statement outside so that the people of this country may understand your stand. To clarify your position. You do it be

[Shrimati Margaret Alva]

cause here you cannot do it. You have now got to go to the press and say that this is the stand of the CPI and the CPI (M). We call it an invasion. You do not call it an invasion.

I call it an invasion, But you have to oppose me. It suits you. Then you go and address the press conference. ... (Interruptions) ... Madam, but I am rather confused with the stand of my friends of the Left. We do not know whether they are following the Romanian line, the Chinese line, the Moscow line or the East European line. We are very confused. I realise how confused they are. But at the moment, the only line they are following is the National Front — BJP line and they seem to be very happy with it. I wish them luck. (Interruption) Because you are obsessed with the Congress, I am not obsessed with you. You are supporting them. (Interruption). I am saying, you are happy doing it. So, say, yes, you are happy. Why are you contradicting it? As long as you are happy, I am happy, Madam, none of these parties have got any seat from the North-East. All the seats from the North-East have come to the Congress. (Interruptions) ...

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Election in Assam could not be held.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am saying that every seat which was contested in the North-East, has gone to the Congress. When we have elections in Assam, then you can say something. That is a different matter. Madam, the way they are going, they will go the Telugu Desam way. So, just watch. I would like to say that the Congress today has emerged as the only national party in this country with MPs from every State except, of course, Rajasthan, where we have lost. We are the only one party from Jammu and Kashmir to Kerala, from

Arunachal to Kutch, we have got MPs representing people which none of you can do. You are a conglomeration of regional parties put together where the leaders of each one of these national parties have been discredited and I am talking of the National Front. I am not talking of you. You are not yet in the Government. So please sit down. I am talking of the National Front parties. There are four of them and not one of them has been able to maintain its credibility. Madam, I would like to quote from the President's Address here and I come to the second part of it, where they are talking about presenting an alternative model of governance and development. Are you planning to change the basic features of the Constitution? Are you planning a new system? You can, of course, change the bureaucrats. You can bring in more and send out more. You can bring more people into the Planning Commission once it does not suit you. The Planning Commission — I will come to it later. Madam, has been taken over by 'Independent Initiative' and how independent that initiative was, I will tell you in a couple of minutes. But the point is what we have before us as the Government, is what was called the other day, much to their anger, but I would like to repeat it, "a two-headed three legged monster. You have got a Prime Minister and a Deputy Prime Minister. In fact, in the new model of governance which we saw emerging Madam, we had the oath-taking postponed twice on the national network after people were told that they were going to have their oath-taking ceremony. The Deputy Prime Minister was so afraid that the Prime Minister might change his mind later that he insisted on taking the oath as a Deputy Prime Minister. He was afraid that when the Prime Minister went out of Rashtrapati Bhavan, he might change his mind. Mr. Yashwanth Sinha, one of our respected Members, had to walk out of the oath

taking ceremony because he was slighted. His name was announced. I was watching and he did not turn up.

Madam, what has been happening? Unfortunately, Mr. Ram Jethmalani is not there. In the whole process, the poor man got beaten up outside the house of one of their senior leaders... (Interruptions)...

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:**  
He was not beaten up but his shirt was torn.

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:** I saw much more than that.

**SHRI DIPEN GHOSH:** What is the meaning of saw more than that?

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:**  
What we saw on the TV because of what you call the open policy. We certainly saw more than his shirt being torn.

Madam, this is the new Government that he has brought in. I would like just to mention two or three points on that. The contradictions have already begun to emerge. They are talking about a Government by consensus. I am calling it a Government of compromises and a Government of contradictions. I would like to ask here, Madam, since the Minister says he is going to intervene and speak, whether he subscribes to all these points of view which have been publicly expressed by different leaders of the different parties over the last few days. Mr. Advani has, the day before yesterday, said that all the larger States must be divided into small States. This is his demand. The next thing he said is: "We want immediately the introduction of a common civil code". Would you please tell us if this is going to be your policy also? Madam, now comes the third point. Today it was clarified in the House by the leader of the CPM that they do not agree with the formulation that has

been put up as far as the right to work is concerned. He clarified here that they do not subscribe to that formulation. They wanted it as a fundamental right in the Constitution and the Janata Dal has gone back on its election manifesto. It was claimed that they have gone back on the commitment made in the manifesto. Even the Prime Minister has made this commitment in his first message to the nation about the Constitutional right to work.

Madam, then comes the question of the Planning Commission and its role. We have been listening to debates on the TV. I would like to know whether the CPM subscribes to all that the Planning Commission is claiming as its new role. Then comes, Madam, the great statement by the Chairman of the National Front. In his frustration he says, "The Centre is a myth. It does not exist." Mr. N.T. Rama Rao has made a statement that the Centre as a concept is a myth; it does not exist; it has no territories; its territories are the territories of the States and the Centre has no territories of its own; it is only a conglomeration of the States; so the Centre as a concept is a myth." Do they subscribe to this? He is their Chairman, still the Chairman of the National Front. Madam, then comes the statement which a very few people have taken note of and they are, of course, supporting their Government. Bimal Khalsa has made a statement the other day saying "Why Khalistan? Khalistan is where the Khalsa is." In other words, where Khalsa is today is also Khalistan as far as they are concerned and she says that there is no need for them to fight and they are already there. These are the statements which are coming out, Madam, and they are talking of an alternative model of Government and we have seen it in action in the last three weeks. Born of deceit, we saw what happened following that, how the Prime Minister was elected and who said what.

[Smt. Margaret Alva]

Ultimately, it was the Tauji who nominated the Prime Minister. And Madam, when his son becomes the Chief Minister, oath-taking is in Delhi because they were in such a hurry to swear him in before they changed their mind. And the Chief Justice had to be to Delhi... (Interruptions). I am very sorry. The Governor had to be brought to Delhi to administer the oath in Haryana Bhawan in Delhi for the new Chief Minister who happened to be the son of the Deputy Prime Minister whom they have installed. This is the family tradition that is being followed. I don't need to say more about it.

Madam, I would like here just to say something about the new model of the Planning Commission. We have heard a debate the other day. We have heard about various things. Here are the people who are talking about corruption-free life, about new standards in public life, about morality. But here is a man who has literally left the coffers of Karnataka empty, if I may use this term for Mr. Yashwant Sinha in return for his compliments.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: You don't believe what Mr. Chavan says.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: No. I am believing what you said. Madam, since he talked about the coffers being empty, I said I would use the same expression. And the man who has been facing so many charges before commissions of inquiry—I do not want to name anybody—charges of corruption, court orders, gets promoted as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. He gets promoted as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission! ... (Interruptions)... Having ruined Karnataka... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You must admit that he is an expert

in planning for commissions... (Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Yes, that is the story. Thank you for the clarification. Madam, perhaps he is an expert in planning for commissions and that is why he has been brought... (Interruptions)... But I am telling you today one thing. I come from Karnataka and I have the greatest respect for my state leader who has been elected from Karnataka. I have never attacked anybody unless I have differences on policies. I will say one thing. Here is a man who appointed a think-tank with Mr. L.C. Jain. Their leader appointed a think-tank and, Madam, the moment they came to power—you can look into the records and the Leader of the House will bear me out—you know what the job was that was given to it? A notification was issued to review and recast the policies of the previous Congress(I) Government in Karnataka! They meddled, they tampered, they changed, they recast, and they left a mess behind. After six years, the people have told them, "Go home." Now, this Mr. Hegde and Mr. L. C. Jain have been brought into the Planning Commission and you know where they will take the whole country... (Interruptions)... Who is Mr. Rajni Kothari? I am not saying any word about anybody personally. But you look into the history of the last eight or ten years and see how many of them have been involved in what kind of inquiries and before which commissions. And you are talking about a clean public life and you are teaching us that you are bringing about a new model of governance! Look into the background and then tell me, with your hand on your heart. I am not saying this to anybody else, but I am saying this to the Leader of the House because he knows the whole history. Tell me, Sir, if you are not convinced that what they did in Karnataka they will do for the whole country... (Interruptions)... If it were not so, I will

congratulate you in advance. But look into what has happened in Karnataka. In the name of what is called the Gandhian economy, in the name of Gandhiji, they ruined the institutions and, today, they are going to play with the Planning Commission and they want to make sure that they have Constitutional justification for their action... (Interruptions)...

SHRI R. S. NAIK: Is it fair on your part to say all this? ..(Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You don't get agitated... (Interruptions)... Please sit down... (Interruptions).... Why are you getting agitated? You don't teach me anything about Karnataka. Please sit down.

Now, so much has been talked about violence during the elections and so much has been talked about the violence in Amethi. Yesterday, you were all saying something and I am asking you one thing now. There is an outfit called, the Independent Initiative. Why was that Independent Initiative only present and was sitting in Amethi only and why did it not go to other constituencies?... (Interruptions)... Why did they not have their representatives in Mamata Banerjee's constituency or in Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi's constituency or in some other constituencies to see what was happening? Or, why were they not there in Punjab to see what was happening during the elections? Were they there? No. They were there in Amethi to protect Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi. Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, I know, has the great name of a family which I respect and honour. But is it or is it not a fact that this Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi—I would like to ask my friends in the CPI(M) and in the CPI whether they know or not—was the international representative of the MRA, that is, Moral Rearmament Movement, which was banned in this country, which was identified as a CIA outfit and which was banned from operation in

this country? ... (Interruptions)... I as a University student was told that MRA was banned in this country. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA (Karnataka): You are talking about Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi... (Interruptions)... Should I say something about your leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi? (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You sit down... (Interruptions)... You please sit down... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): How can you say that? You are in the Chair?... (Interruptions)... You are not in the Chair and you cannot say that... (Interruptions)... You are not the Deputy Chairman... (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I will repeat what I have said... (Interruptions)... I will repeat what I have said... (Interruptions)... I am not yielding. In case you have not heard me, I will repeat that he has been hundred per cent associated with MRA and if you do not know it, have a look at what the MRA was and why it was banned in India. This is the man who was behind the MRA and, today, we are told that he is a Gandhian here!... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA: Can I say something about your leader?... (Interruptions)... Can I say something about your leader when he was staying in England?... (Interruptions)... Can I tell a story about your leader?... (Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I will not yield... (Interruptions)... I am not yielding... (Interruptions)... I do not yield to him. It is my time. (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will request hon. Members not to interrupt. Every party has got its time. Let every Member put their views. Let the people decide. You cannot



[The Deputy Chairman]

interrupt. Your party has got time. Please speak what you like. I will not allow anybody to interrupt. Whoever is on legs, please let him speak. Let us keep the dignity of the House. (*Interruptions*). Please sit down. Do not argue with the Chair. Otherwise you know what I will do to you.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, if I have said anything unparliamentary, you may expunge it. I know what I am talking. I will produce documents... (*Interruptions*).

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): On a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No point of order.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am not yielding my time. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow you after she finishes. (*Interruptions*). What is your point of order?

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Is it permissible to pass scurrilous remarks about people who are not present in the House? That is what I want to know. If you think it is right, it is okay.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If there is anything which is unparliamentary I will be responsible, if there is anything unparliamentary, I will not allow it. You don't interrupt the House.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: If I said anything false, I will withdraw it. I will produce evidence. I have got documents, including their writings.

Madam, they have talked about amendments to the Commissions of Inquiry Act and permission for withholding information from people and from Parliament. They have also

spoken about amending the Official Secrets Act. Madam, I suppose it is not something new, when secrets of Cabinet meetings, of decisions, became a talk of the market; when certain people who gave up their oath of secrecy which they solemnly took on the Constitution, in Rashtrapati Bhavan, claimed that they are putting public life right, having broken the joint responsibility concept of Cabinet Government; and who were made heroes by the Opposition simply because they betrayed faith and confidence which had been placed in them as members of the joint team. But, Madam, I would ask you what has been asked before; why did the Home Minister yesterday refuse to answer a single question on the issue of the kidnapping of his daughter by saying that these matters he cannot disclose for security reasons. When it comes to answering questions, he said: "for strategic reasons I cannot disclose." He was not prepared to answer a simple question about how a Judge of Allahabad was allowed to come and negotiate with terrorists, with so called anti-national elements, whom you call anti-national, for the release of his daughter. Can a sitting judge of the High Court of another State, on his own, without being called, without being cleared, start negotiating with an international terrorist gang in Jammu and Kashmir for the release of the girl? Who authorised it? He made a statement which is on record. He said that only one person was authorised to negotiate and that was the Chief Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir. How was that Judge authorised? I will ask the hon. Minister, since he is going to speak. Madam, is it or is it not a fact that there were three letters written to the Central Government by the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir, Mr. Jagmohan, saying that this man is dabbling in underground terrorist politics and he must be removed from Jammu and Kashmir, and these letters are on the files of the Home Ministry? You ask Mr. Mufti to place them here in the House. Is it not a fact that on

the basis of these letters the Central Government had transferred him out of Jammu and Kashmir to Allahabad? Today you take the same man and make him negotiate with them, which means that you are a party... (Interruptions). You took him back. He was sent out of Jammu and Kashmir because Jagmohan had asked that he be transferred out. When we came to know about it, he was transferred. Why then did you get this man knowing his background and why did you involve him in these negotiations and gave him respectability and gave him a chance to go back and show that he is a great hero? Who authorised him? Your Home Minister says that they did not authorise anybody. Then how did this man go and how were the special planes used to fly these people up and down? Who paid for them? Who provided them? How did they go up and down? I would like this Government, this open Government, to tell us about it. The Home Minister said that he could not give this information for strategic reasons. And this is the open Government which is going to amend the Official Secrets Act and Commissions of Inquiry Act. They said that all information must come before Parliament. Bring it. Let us see how from now onwards you will say that this, in the national interest, cannot be disclosed. Bring it all before us. When it suits you, you say that you don't want Commissions of Inquiry and let the law take its course knowing that the law takes ten years in the normal course to go to the top and in the meantime two elections can be fought with this vilification campaign

कोर्ट में चल रहा है। सभी से कुछ हो रहा है।

स्वीडन में हो रहा है।

You have tried it. You have done it for two years. I will ask you one thing today. You were harping on your so-called big disclosures in the Hindu day in and day out

हिन्दू ने यह कहा, हिन्दू ने डिक्लेयर किया, स्वीडन में गया।

Every there was the Hindu being

quoted. And I will tell you today that the only newspaper in the South which which people read is the Hindu. Every home in the South reads Hindu. And everyday Ram and Hindu appeared on the front page. Rajiv, scandals, everything, Sonla, Italy.

पूरे इन्डिया का उस में लिखा :  
People took it and put it in the waste paper basket and voted Rajiv Gandhi and voted Congress. Let me tell you that Hindu is not read in U.P. or in Bihar or in Punjab or in Orissa. The Hindu is read in the South. It is a newspaper of the South. Even Mr. Gopalsamy will agree with me.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: It is published from Poona also.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your argument is malicious. The poor people voted against you.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Everything that was written in Hindu was supposed to damage Rajiv Gandhi and the whole South made him a lion. They have been suggesting in the South that Ram should now go and settle down in Switzerland or elsewhere because that is where his sources lie and probably that is where his support comes from. Not from the South and not from the thinking educated people of the South. You may be a part of it or you may not be a part of it, Mr. Gopalsamy. But that is the truth. (Interruptions).

Madam, I do not want to take more time I am coming to only two points. One is about H.R.D. which was raised just now. The Ministry of Human Resource Development was created. It had a tremendous task before it to really go into the aspect of development of the people of this country. They have been talking about individual dignity, bringing people to the fore and so on and so forth. But they have not found a full-time Minister to look after H.R.D., education and women and children. I know what they are going to do with the Women's Department We have

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already read that they are transferring it back to Welfare. Madam, this will be a reversal of the 15 years of battle of the women's movement and saying good bye to development for Women and reverting to welfare of women. We have reached a stage where women have to be a part of the developmental process in all countries. India used to be hailed as being in the lead as far as the developmental programmes for women were concerned. (*Interruptions*). I know that you won't certainly like me to talk about them, though I know what you would like to do about them.

Madam, I just want to say one thing. If you are going back on this concept, I would certainly like to know what their intentions about the Department of Women are. You are talking about Seoul, I am coming to it. I will tell you that we had inherited a Department where there was absolutely nothing. It was Rajiv Gandhi who raised our budget for sports from 13 crores of rupees to 200 crores of rupees in 1985 in this Plan. It was Rs. 200 crores for the first time.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are accusing Madam Gandhi's Government.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am saying that these are the facts which you cannot hide that no Government had given the type of importance to sports development which the Rajiv Gandhi Government gave. From Rs. 13 crores, it was increased to Rs. 200 crores... (*Interruptions*). Madam, you do not know anything about sports.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I am a sports woman myself...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: May be 20 years back. It has changed since then. Let me tell you one thing that sports today is not a pastime. It competitive sports is a full-time competitive sports is a full-time

scientific training system and you cannot do it by not having this introduced from the primary school stage which we for the first time have done through our New Education Policy and our national sports policy...

SHRI DIPEN GOSH: That is why you took more officials than sports boys and girls to Seoul.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You don't know. You wanted your son to go. Don't you talk like that. You came to me with your son. Now you are talking about the non-officials going. Don't you provoke me to talk like that.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I say that is why you took more officials than sports boys and girls to Seoul. (*Interruptions*). The number of officials are more than the number of sports girls and boys.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: That is what you do not know. That is how ignorant you are. Madam, I want to tell you that all the results of the last six months have shown that our plans have started taking shape. For the first time in archery, we have defeated even China and we have come out even with a Gold Cup. In athletics, we have won the highest number of medals. We have come to the top in rowing, in yachting. We have even defeated China this time and Korea about which they used to talk...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What about Olympics?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: We have not yet come to the Olympic standards. It will take another 10 years to reach Olympic standards at the present stage of standards. I will tell you that much. You will have to wait... (*Interruptions*) So, please do not be little what we have achieved. We have achieved a little. Madam I do not want to go into the details because, as I said, I am not going to give answers like the Minister.

Finally, I want to know what your intentions are about the New Educa-

tion Policy. They want to give a good-bye to the Navodaya School system which was the only hope for the rural child, for the poor children in the rural side, for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and the underprivileged child getting an opportunity. They want to give a good-bye to it.

Madam, on foreign policy, a point I was to make has been mentioned—this interview by the U.S. Ambassador. We have seen the statement on Panama. We have seen the stand they have begun to take. Therefore, I would like to plead: Don't let compromise also become a part of your foreign policy. You will have to compromise at home with various forces, various parties, various opinions because otherwise you cannot survive; you have no choice. But on foreign policy, there has been a national consensus. We have always agreed on our basic principles—on the Non-alignment movement, the leadership of the Non-aligned world, anti-apartheid. And we have stood for India's independence in the international world. I hope you will have the courage and the strength to stand by what India has stood for over all these years.

Madam, one point was made and I was waiting and I was hoping that the leader of the CPM would come back. He said that all that we did during the Rajiv Gandhi days was to build capitalism. Madam, I do not know whether they read or they do not want to read. But I hope they are aware from the Budget documents and from all the documents available that the highest investment in the public sector ever made was made by the Rajiv Gandhi Government which was the highest achievement of the public sector. And I would like the Government to make a commitment that the 'Independent Initiative' which is taking over the Planning Commission will increase or at least maintain the tempo of growth of the public sector which was done during this time. We rationalised; we economised in the public sector; we im-

proved efficiency. And yet, at time, we had to be tough to make them be able to compete internationally and prove their worth as economically viable units. Steps were taken for this and no Government at any time can ever ignore this. And I want therefore to say don't be obsessed with the Congress all the time. We are a party with a history. We are not a pack of cards which changes colours with every election or changes its name.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You also changed sides.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: So did you. We know how many times you have changed. Once you were with the Congress. Then you were with the Janata Party and now with the Janata Dal alliance. We know your alliances.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is different. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Let us see how long your present alliance will last.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Do not rub on the wrong side.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, finally, I would certainly like to thank the President for his Address. After all, he is a person whom we all respect. We have great affection for him. But I would certainly also say that he had to read something which the Government had produced and I am quite certain that he could not have agreed with most of what he read in this Address. But that is a different question altogether. I do hope that this Government, as I said, will have the courage to stand by all the pronouncements it has made, though they forgot, the Prime Minister forgot, to mention Mahatma Gandhi, while he had time for many other leaders in his first address to the Nation. The President put the record straight by mentioning the Father of the Nation at least in his Address and I am very grateful for

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that and I am sure he must have insisted on this on his own.

Madam, I would finally only read one sentence from the Address of the Prime Minister to the Nation when he with great affection told the people, "we do not promise you heaven, but we will be with you in helping you live in a hut." Madam, if this is their concept of development, that they will help the people of India to continue to live in a hut, I say, God save the people. (Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They are now living on platforms and foot-paths. They do not even have huts. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Thank you, madam.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Appropriation (No. 6) Bill, 1989

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Appropriation (No. 6) Bill, 1989, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 26th December, 1989.

The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS  
(Contd)

श्री बारिक मोहम्मद खान : माननीय उपसभापति जी, अभी विश्व की तरफ श्री शंकरराव चव्हाण जी बोल रहे थे। जब मैं यहाँ पहुँचा तो मैंने श्रीमती मारग्रेट आल्वा को सुना।

यह मेरा सौभाग्य है कि मुझे श्री शंकरराव चव्हाण जी और उनके साथ गाल्वे साहब, जो उनके पाले बले, उनके साथ मुझे काम करने का मौका मिला है। मैंने उनका बहुत सीखा है। मेरे दिल में उनके लिए बहुत सम्मान है और घमसंगत की मेरी स्थिति है और वह इसलिए कि यह न केवल बरिष्ठता नहीं है, बल्कि जैसा कि मैंने कहा मैंने इनका सीखा है। तो इनकी गुरु की स्थिति है, लेकिन भारतीय परम्परा में यह 'हनी' तक नहीं हो रहा है। इसमें पहले भी हुआ है।

महाभारत की लड़ाई अब शुरू हुई, तो अर्जुन ने कहा—मामने भीष्म पितामह मेरे गुरु हैं, मैं कैसे तीर चलाऊँ। और उस किकर्तव्य विमूढ़ता की स्थिति में जैसा कि अर्जुन ने अपने आपको पाता था, गीता के पूरे अठारह अध्याय उस किकर्तव्य विमूढ़ता की स्थिति निकलने के लिए ही... यहाँ गुरु का मोह छोड़कर, रिश्तेदारी का मोह छोड़कर, अपने मन का मोह छोड़कर आदमी को कर्तव्य का बोध कराया जाता है। माननीया उपसभापति जी, मैंने जो कुछ यहाँ सुना तो हमारे गांवों में छंटी सी मिला देते हैं कि कोई पटवारी जो मोन का हिाब-किलाब रखता है, बरात के दिनों में अपने परिवार के साथ चला। न नदी पार करनी थी उसने किसी से पूछा कि नदी कितनी गहरी है। उसे बताया गया, जो भी बताया गया कि 14 या 15 फुट गहरी है। उसने हिसाब लगाया कि मेरी लंबाई इतनी मेरी पत्नी की लंबाई इतनी मेरे बच्चों की लंबाई इतनी, कुल मिलाकर 20 फुट की हमारी लंबाई है। इसलिए हम नदी पार कर जायेंगे। वह नदी में उतर गया। सब बह गये। किसी तरह हाथ मार कर किनारे पर पहुँचा और वह दूसरे किनारे पर पहुँच गये ठीक मारग्रेट अल्वाजी की तरह उसने कहा कि हिसाब ज्यों का त्यों कुतबा डबा क्यों? बिल्कुल ठीक उसी तरह कि हिसाब तो बिल्कुल ठीक है मारग्रेट अल्वा जी ने... (व्यवधान) अभी जरा बोलने दीजिए। थोड़ा सा सुन लीए आप जरा दया कर बैठो, मेरी बारी आई... (व्यवधान) मैं अभी बताता हूँ कि आपका साथ छोड़ने पर क्यों मैं बुर