

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Madam, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy each (in English and Hindi,) of the following papers;

- I. (i) Thirty-first Annual Report and Accounts of the Indian Law Institute, New Delhi, for the year 1987-88, together with the Audit Report on the Accounts,
- (ii) Statement by Government accepting the above Report.
- (iii) Statement giving reasons for the delay in laying the paper mentioned at (i) above. [Placed in Library. See No. LT— 244/89 for (i) to (iii)].
- II. A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Law and Justice (Legislative Department) Notification S. O. No. 958(E), dated the 17th November, 1989, publishing the Conduct of Election; (Third Amendment) Rules, 1989, under section 169 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951. [Placed in Library. See No. LT— 232/89].
- III. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notification of the Ministry of Steel and Mines (Department of Mines), under sub-section (1) of section 28 of the Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act, 1957: —
 - (i) G. S. R. No. 908(E), dated the 19th October, 1989, publishing the Mineral Concession (Amendment) Rules, 1989.
 - (ii) G. S. R. No. 786(E), dated the 23rd August, 1989, declaring certain minerals to be minor minerals in supersession of the Notification of the Government of India G. S. R. No. 436, dated the 1st June, 1958. [Placed in dated the 1st June, 1958. [Placed in Library. See No. LT— 233/89 for (i) and (ii)]
- Report and Accounts (1988-89) of the Water and Power consultancy. Services (India) Limited, New Delhi and related papers.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (INDEPENDENT CHARGE) OF THE MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES (SHRI MANOBHAI KOTADIA): Madam, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (1) section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956, a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following papers; —

- (i) Twentieth Annual Report and Accounts of the Water and Power. Consultancy Services (India). Limited, New Delhi, for the year. 1988—89, together with the Auditor's Report on the Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India thereon,
- (ii) Review by Government on the working of the Company. [Placed in Library. See No. LT— 61/89].

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SUBORDINATE LEGISLATION

CHOWDHARY RAM SEWAK (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I beg to present the Seventyninth Report (in English and Hindi) of the Committee on Subordinate Legislation.

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

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like the Government to make a statement on the policy of this new Government on Tibet. I say this because the "Times of India" today says that Mr. George Fernandes assured a Tibetan rally and urged them to step up their campaign to make Tibet independent. I would like to know whether the new Government wants Tibet to be made independent because no previous Government has supported it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have given your notice. Let the Govern-

[The Deputy Chairman]

ment take note of it and reply to it. Whatever they say, we will put it before you.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY;
You must direct them to make a statement,

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; The Chair does not direct anybody, *(Interruptions)*. We have got a lot of constraint of time. Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan, what is your problem? Please be brief. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu); I will take not even **one minute**. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY;
This is a matter of great importance.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; I told you, when the Government takes note of it, when it informs us, we will let you know.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY; That is not the...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; That is my ruling.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY; It is not an assurance. But do you admit it is a serious matter?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; It is a very serious matter. If you think so, if the Government think so, they will come back. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN; Madam, I want to raise a very important issue. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra) • Madam, it is directly concerned with the policy on external affairs. Are they going to change it?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Mr. Jadhav, he does not need your help. Please let us have the listed business. We have got a very important business. And there is constraint of time too. Please sit down.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:

Madam, I want to raise a very important issue, I want to request the Government, through you, Madam, to order an investigation into something very serious. *(Interruptions)*. Madam, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, yesterday, threatened the PTI office saying that... *(Interruptions)*... telephone... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu); It is utter-falsehood. *(Interruptions)*,

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry); Madam, he used the word he will 'sack them'.... *(Interruptions)*.... He has threatened the press telling upon free press. Are they threatening the press? This is the attitude of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. An investigation should be ordered. There is crisis in

Tamil Nadu. Madam, this must be investigated. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; You have no right to speak about press freedom. *(Interruptions)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; I do not understand who is speaking really because I am hearing at least half a dozen voices. I do not think I can understand anything that is going on. *(Interruptions)*. Just a minute. There are two issues. If it is Tamil Nadu or Sri Lanka, I hear a number of voices. At least let one person speak so that the Chairman can take note of it.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; Madam, have they been permitted to make a special mention? *(Interruptions)*. It is(utter falsehood.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan, you give notice to the Chairman. *(Interruption)*, Mr. Gopalsamy, let them give notice to the Chairman. Please sit down. Take your seat. Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan, you give notice to the Chairman. If he permits, I will allow you to speak. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG (Gujarat); Madam, I want to raise a very serious matter. Please allow me. *(Interruptions)*.

IHE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How many people can speak at a time? (*Interruptidis*). please listen to the; Chair also. (*Interruption*). Please, Mr. Gopalsamy, take your seat. Mr. Desai please sit down, I have told the Member that if she gives notice to the Chairman and if he allows a discussion, then why the Chair should have an objection. Now let us go ahead with the Motion of Thanks. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: Madam, one minute. I am raising a very serious matter, (*Interruptions*). Madam, it is a very serious matter.....

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के पश्चात् इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य मायब

[... (iqgaTH)...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra) Madam, Mr. Kanshi Ram has made a very serious charge... (*Interruptions*)... and the Home Minister must come out with a statement and with all the facts before this House. We should know the persons who are anti-reservationists... (*Interruptions*)... I think it is the Lok Dal and the BJP... (*Interruptions*)... He has made it very clear. Therefore, I would like the Home Minister to make a statement on this... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU (Tamil Nadu); Only one minute, Madam... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will again request the honourable Members... (*Interruptions*)... Please let me give my ruling... (*Interruptions*)... I will request the honourable Members again to give their writing about whatever they want to speak in the House and then we can have the debate. But now I have to go according to the listed business... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री सीर्जा इशदिबेग : राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के पश्चात् इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य गायब हैं। हमें चिंता है कि वे कहाँ हैं। उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के वक्त कुछ शब्द कहे थे। शायद मुमकिन है कि उनको धमकियाँ

मिलीं हों और वे गायब हैं। इसके लिये हम चिंता व्यक्त करते हैं कि राम अवधेश सिंह जो जो इस सदन के माननीय सदस्य हैं वे गायब हैं। इसकी इन्क्वायरी की जाय कि वे कहाँ गायब हो गये हैं। माननीया उनके बिना यह सदन सूना सूना लगता है इसलिए मानवर इसकी इन्क्वायरी की जाय।

He might have received a threatening letter... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. I will ask the Secretariat to find out about the well being of Mr. Ram Awadesh Singh... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, just one minute only.. (*Interruptions*).

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
माननीय सदस्य बिहार के रहने वाले हैं। बिहार में कांग्रेस की सरकार है। जहाँ-जहाँ कांग्रेस की सरकारें हैं वहाँ पर अपहरण हो रहे हैं। इसलिए यह सचमुच चिंता का विषय है।

श्री सीर्जा इशदिबेग : मैडम, मैं आपकी तबज्जह चाहूँगा।

(Madam, one stranger is here. You better enquire as to how one stranger can come inside the Rajya Sabha Chamber.. (*Interruptions*)... Please enquire about it... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not know which cat has come out of whose bag... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Probab-ly elected by the Janata Dal... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will have to find out... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Nowadays the Black Cat Commandos are there and it may be one... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Madam, many journalists... *(Interruptions)*... were arrested in Delhi when they were protest-ing... *(Interruptions)*... I want the Government to make a statement... *(Interruptions)*... we have been request-ing for a statement and you also kindly ask the Government to make a statement... *(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please... *(Interruptions)*... Now, -Mrs. Bijoya Chakravarty to speak on the Motion of Thanks... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Madam, I rise to support... *(Interruptions)* ■ '.

डा० रत्नाकर पांडेय (उत्तर प्रदेश):
माननीय महादया, मेरी ओर भी ध्यान
दे। उपसभापति महादया, मैं एक बहुत
ही महत्वपूर्ण घटना को ओर आपका
ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ...*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, how can he say all these things?... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, how can at say all these things... *(Interruptions)* ... Is it going on record... *(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. I have not permitted him. It is not going on record... *(Interruptions)*... Only what Mrs. Bijoya Chakravarty speaks is going on record... *(interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Madam I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Yashwant Sinha.. *(Interruptions)*.. ■ Madam, the people are really very happy that the Janata Dal Government has come at the Centre... *(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Some of the Members in the House stated that they have got a majority. I have no objection. But I want to say here

*Not recieved

Address

that mere majority is nothing. The Congress Party in, the other House had 400 Members but 400 Members failed to save their Government. *(Interruptions)*.

Yesterday one Member mentioned about the north-east and south. But she forgot to mention the mainland: U. P., Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and some other States where it was wiped out.

The Address of the President is a comprehensive policy document. The President very deftly pinpoints the core and crux of the problems facing the country over the years. It is true that the Indian electorate have shown political maturity. They desired a change and they got it. They got a new Government.

It is true that the Government is committed to fulfil the mandate given by the people; I quote from the Address:

'My Government pledges itself to fulfil the mandate given to it by the people. The Government will work to restore the dignity of the nation and of the individual. The Government proposes to adopt an alternative model of governance and development based on socialist ideals of economic equality and social justice, federalism and decentralisation, institutional accountability and human rights...

Madam, Punjab is the toughest problem the country is facing today. It is a problem involving emotions and sentiments. Feelings when wounded may sometimes create crisis of confidence. The emotions and sentiments of the Sikh community were 'badly hurt. I hope that our new Government under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, will be able to solve all these prob. terns. It is for the first time that an all-party meet took the resolve. We all feel the sincere approach of the Government towards solving the Punjab problem. The recent visit of the Prime Minister speaks volume about this.

I come from the north-eastern region and we have got our own problems. The country earns a major portion of foreign exchange through Assam through Assam tea. But in return what are we getting? In exchange we are getting nothing. Moreover, there are floods and there is erosion. Till now, no steps have been taken to control the mighty river Brahmaputra. The Brahmaputra Board had been constituted in the year 1981 and it had placed before the Government the Master Plan of Brahmaputra. But the previous Government did nothing to give its financial approval. So I hope that our new Government will see to it that more funds and more money is provided to Assam.

Moreover, there are other problems of Assam. We have got the border problem with our neighbouring States. We have problem of railway lines also. The broad gauge line stops at Guwahati. It never goes beyond Guwahati. Therefore our trains in Assam will move like insects in the 21st century. I hope that the Government will surely take care of this thing.

Agitation for Bodoland is causing grave concern to the people of Assam. Further division of Assam is not advisable politically, nor is it viable economically. Demographically and geographically it is untenable. Doubtless, the BODO people have got their own genuine demands. I have got no doubt about it. But I want to say here that the vested interests in New Delhi have been instigating these people against the Assam Government and some sections of the people. We produced in this House documentary evidence to prove that the previous Government itself was instrumental in creating a grave law and order situation in Assam by instigating a few sections of the people there. I do not like to discuss it more.

Madam, now I want to mention about the communal disturbances. Communal disturbances pose a grave threat to the integrity and security of the nation. There are manifestations of communalism and fundamentalism which have created had blood in our body politics. This is a challenge not to the Government alone, not to

the party alone but to the entire people of the country. We can never allow some people to have small gains by dividing the population of the State.

Regarding the minority community, I can say here and I can claim here that the minority community should also have a sense of security. They are a part and parcel of this country and they should have a sense of belonging. The new Government will surely ensure it.

Regarding our foreign policy I want to mention a few points. We can never assert that till now we had been getting an unqualified praise from all quarters for our foreign policy. During the previous Governments regime, the non-alignment policy became a suspect for reason best known to all of you. Our country, under the present leadership, will surely maintain an equidistance from big powers. (*Time Bell rings*). I am finishing within two minutes. I must point out here that only a strong and resourceful country with strong leadership can pursue a meaningful foreign policy. Sound economy, strong defence and solid national character are the pre-conditions of a successful foreign policy. I am sure under the leadership of our Prime Minister these conditions will be fulfilled properly. Our approach to our neighbours like Nepal and Sri Lanka has not been a pragmatic one. In respect of Nepal, the previous Government behaved more like a big brother than like a best friend. We must appreciate the sentiments of small countries which are closely dependent on us for their vital necessities. I conclude, Madam. I sincerely hope that the Government will surely take stock of the situation and take right steps. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before you start, I must mention that there is a long list of Congress Members and there is very short time at my disposal. Kindly be brief and take not more than 12 minutes.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, the House is discussing a Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Though we

[Shri Anand Sharma]

are grateful to the President for his Address delivered on behalf of a minority Government with a majority support, the minority Government which has been in office for two weeks at the time when this Address was written. The Address is full of platitudes, full of palliatives, full of promises and tall claims. I for one, Madam, am not surprised by the contents of this Address and the claims of the Government because the Government is headed by an individual who is well-known to indulge in exercises of self-praise, of patting himself on the back. So, even before his Government has set rolling, he has started not only making tall claims but also giving an impression that it is truly a great Government, a great leadership which has been installed. Madam, another impression which the President's Address has sought to be created is that the new Government has inherited nothing, that there was no legacy of the previous Government, and if there was ever any legacy, it was all dark, it was all bad. There could not be a greater travesty of truth. Though one would admit that no Government is perfect, no Government is in a position to fulfil all its stated objectives, it is unfortunate, and it is unfair for the present Government to say that it has inherited nothing but darkness, nothing but empty coffers that you have inherited a situation which is not only demoralising for the nation but also an uphill task. Madam, I need not go into the details of what Shri Chavan has said yesterday about the state of economy and the performance of the previous Government. But it appears, Madam, that they have yet not realised that they are now in the Government and they are no more conducting an election campaign. An election campaign which was full of deception, full of falsehoods full of false promises. The previous Government had made commendable achievements in various fields under the most trying circumstances. If I have to cite a few examples the crisis management of the previous Government, the management of the drought of 1987, the state of India's economy the esteem in which India is held all over the world, the state of defence there are the things which should have

Address at least been acknowledged. When the new Government refers to the problem of Punjab, it forgets to mention the efforts to build a national consensus and reconciliation... (Interruptions').

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Madam, they could have also referred to the earlier efforts in building up a national consensus and in promoting national reconciliation as was reflected in the Assam accord, the Mizoram accord, the GNLFF accord, and the TNV accord. Nobody can deny that the conflict was minimised and the people of these States were brought into the mainstream and the democratic process. But one cannot expect any sincere admission of facts from a Government which has come into power only because of a sustained campaign of vilification, sustained through insinuations and innuendos over a period of two and a half years. And now they made a contention that there has been a verdict of change, that there has been a complete rejection of the Congress Party. This claim is most absurd. Yes, change has taken place. The election arithmetic has been very clear to us. But the question is whether people have voted for change and in what respect. When we discuss this, we have to take the nation as a whole, from Kashmir to Kanya-kumari. How have the people voted? What has been the pattern of voting? The Congress Party has suffered setbacks in the North. But it is the Congress Party alone, despite the election results, which has emerged as the only national party...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY
(Andhra Pradesh): Elections are over.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: You don't have to tell me. I am pointing out here what is meant by this 'verdict for change and mandate'. It is only the Congress Party which has emerged as the national party. It is the Congress which has emerged as the largest party. And yet, you have the audacity to claim that there

is a rejection. We have accepted the verdict gracefully because we did not get a majority,

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: There was no alternative.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: All right. No alternative. Conceded. Even if you say that, I would like to point out that we accepted the verdict because we never wanted to compromise on principles. We never wanted to go in for unprincipled alliances as is reflected in what you have done. It is the saffron of the B. J. P., the *khaki* shorts of the B. J. P., the red flag of the C. P. I. (M) and the green of Devi Lai. We never wanted to go in for such unprincipled alliances. We never wanted that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): We are all citizens of this country. Don't forget that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In all democratic countries of Europe, there is coalition Government.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Madam, in the President's Address... I think, the Leader of the House is quite unfair...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are sorting out some problem in regard to allocation of time. You go ahead. I am hearing you.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Madam, the President's Address says that there is a mandate. Mandate for whom? I do concede that we did not get a majority. But who has got the mandate? After the campaign of vilification by this unprincipled alliance, they have managed to only around 140 seats and they claim that they have a mandate. (*Interruptions*) What is the percentage of votes secured by them, all the three put together? The Janata Dal has secured 17 per cent of the votes, the C. P. I. (M) has secured 9.1 per cent and the B. J. P., 11 per cent. These three parties put together have less percentage of votes than the percentage of votes polled by the Congress. Where is the mandate?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: They are all Indians. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Madam, Kindly see how much time they are eating up.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Gopalsamy is the villain of the piece. He does not allow anybody to speak.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He is enjoying the interruptions.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Where is the question of mandate? This is the Government of the second largest party, supported by the third and the fourth largest parties. And this Government promises to perform, perform miracles! May I remind by friends on the other side that to perform as a Government, it requires ideological clarity, 'consensus, unanimity and unity in approach? But here we have a Government which has three different manifestos. If you talk of the verdict of the people, if you talk of rejection, of the people the National Front has folded into a regional front, by decimating the D. M. K. of Shri Gopalsamy and by routing the T. D. P. of Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury. I do not know why you are laughing about. You must be shedding tears for Rama Rao.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA) in the Chair].

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I am shedding tears for you.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: We do not need. The Congress is strong enough to take care of itself. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have to joint the A. I. A. D. M. K. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is the state of the National Front and its Government. Its manifesto is totally opposed to the manifesto of the BJP which calls for scrapping the minority commission, repealing article 370 and differs with KF on various other issues. So, it is a minority Government with the support of two extremes the BJP and the Left and with three manifestoes. It is a peculiar situation.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is really a peculiar situation.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA; Manifesto is one only and on one manifesto, one ideology, one programme the Government can perform, but here the situation is different. As far as they are concerned, their state is of an unfortunate man with weak legs, but that unfortunate man is arrogant enough of claim that he is strong enough to participate in an athletic competition. That individual manages to stand with the help of two crutches, the left crutch and the right crutch, representing two extreme forces in the Indian polity and the moment this person tries to move the crutches move in two different directions and it is bound to fall flat on the face and that too in the mild created by this unprincipled and unholy alliance. That individual is none other than, the Self—eulogising leader of the present Government Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh (*Interruptions*). I said leader of the Present Government Prime Minister of India. I am an Indian, I feel sad that India has Vishwanath Pratap Singh as the Prime Minister.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: As a henchman of Rajiv Gandhi you have to be sad. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ANAND SHARMA; Sir, it is basically a marriage between incompatible parties where the parties to the marriage refuse to consummate the marriage and yet he has promised to give a healthy baby. This is so because the BIP is outside, the CPM is outside. They are parties to the marriage and they are promising to the nation through this President's Address also that they will deliver. How will they deliver when they refuse to consummate the marriage?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Do you want to be the midwife of something...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: That is your job.

The President's Address also calls for restoring the dignity of the nation and the dignity of an individual. I do not

know what had happened to the dignity of the country. I for one thought that India was held in the highest esteem because of its principled stand on international issues because of its sound policies and political stability. I never thought that after India's independence the dignity of the nation had suffered in any respect, but here an impression is being given that this nation has no dignity or had no dignity till Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh became the Prime Minister, that India had lost all its prestige. I strongly object to this reference in the President's Address. It is a matter of shame. We all are Indians, A change of Government does not mean that you denigrate the prestige of the nation. In the past also you questioned the very dignity of the nation and its people— They should have been a bit more careful there. I do not know when the dignity had suffered.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Since 1984.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am reminded of the period when the Janata Government was in power and India which was the leader of the third world was not even referred to at the Havana Summit of the non-aligned countries. It was not even represented by a ministerial-level delegation. Again when the Government of India did not take a principled stand on the US invasion of Panama... that is where the prestige of the country suffers. When you cannot stand up to the diktat of Super Powers, that is where India's; prestige suffers. When you try to castigate the previous Government and allow a situation where the Indian peace-keeping forces in Sri Lanka are: being maligned, that is where you hurt the dignity of the nation your policy on Sri Lanka, wheresoever the withdrawal has taken place, there has been a merciless massacre of the Tamils, that is where the dignity of the nation, suffers. When the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka has the cheek to call the Indian officials and Generals as a pack of liars and the Government of India does not have the spine to take a stand but is busy in maligning the policy of the previous Government, that is where the dignity of the nation suffers.

Sir, I do not have on add much in fact to describe what they have done in such a short tenure to enhance the dignity of the nation! But, Sir, all the promises of this minority Government, including the talk of an alternative model of governance, sound like a naive person claiming to be in a position to carry water in a basket. That is exactly what their claims are.

And, Sir, I will only mention one point which is very important. There is talk of value based politics, politics of principles, politics of convictions. But Sir, if I have to refer to that, I would like to remind Mr. Yashwant Sinha, my good friend and all the supporters of...

SHRI P. K. KUNJACHEN (Kerala):
Can I ask you one question?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Are you yielding?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I will yield, Sir.

SHRI P. K. KUNJACHEN: You are telling about value-based politics. That is why I am asking this question. You are ruling in Tripura with the help of TUJS and you are in alliance with the League in Kerala and you are ruling that. How can you talk of it when you are aligning with communal forces?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am very grateful to the hon. Member. That is why I yielded to him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): You knew what he would ask?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Yes, I knew what he would ask. As far as the leftists are concerned they have lost all moral authority or right even to ask such a question. I am not referring to their earlier alliance with the League. I am referring to their indirect alliance or covert alliance with the Bharatiya Janata Party and through the BJP with that rabid chauvinistic party; called Shiv Sena. You have

lost all moral authority to do so. You cannot talk in terms of secular ideals or progressive ideals.

Sir, I am talking of the value-based politics of Shri V. P. Singh because he is parading as a paragon of virtue and as a crusader. Sir, before the elections, there was a communal build-up and the Janata Dal Leaders were saying, "the left are our natural allies; we will have no truck with the BJP and the fundamentalist forces." But the same gentleman who is the Prime Minister of the country today, later himself being tuned the arrangement with the BJP; he chiselled that agreement of electoral understanding with the Bharatiya Janata Party which was then and is still today hugging the Shiv Sena. Not only that, with amazing ability, he simultaneously worked out another arrangement—the understanding with the left parties. Certainly, he is a very capable person! He can run with the hare and hunt with the hound. If this is called the politics of convictions is, politics of principles, then God help us, because at the time¹ of elections, when he had to corner Muslim vote the minority vote, at the Mathura rally, he refused to share a platform with the BJP. And today he is running a Government with the support of the BJP. This is politics of double dealing with communalism. This is, politics of chicanery. This is politics of cowardice. This is a politics of compromise. It is not politics of principles. And, Sir, it is not only that. After taking over as the Prime Minister, here we have a Prime Minister who does not take the name of Mahatma Gandhi the Father of the Nation, in his first address to the nation. He does not go to Rajghat, but he goes to Shahi Imam. I have no objection there. But I am only trying to explain his conviction. He did not miss Mahatma Gandhi's name by accident. It was a design. It was to appease those forces which have never accepted Gandhi as the Father of the Nation. He had to appease them. He had also made up with Shahi Imam who supported him, after his alliance with

[Shri Anand Sharma]

th© BJP because he has Co run the Government with the BJP support. So, this is value-based politics' In this politics of principles?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) : आपने जितना कहा था उससे पांच मिनट ज्यादा हो गये ।

श्री आनन्द शर्मा : मैं दो मिनट में समाप्त करता हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) : आपके और सदस्य भी बोलने वाले हैं । दो मिनट में समाप्त करिये ।

SHRI ANAND SHARMA Sir, my party will certainly adjust the time.

Sir, I was referring to the value-based politics. Yesterday, Mr. Arif Mohd. Khan was telling us about the principled of his leader, his Government. He was also making the most unwarranted aspersions or remarks against my leader, the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, that he takes one decision in the morning and goes back on that decision in the evening. Our leader has been firm. During the elections his stand was clear that we would have no **truk** with communal forces. After the elections that stand has been kept. We accept the verdict of the people. We never made any effort whatsoever to form a government. We did not make any overtures to any party. Here you have a leader of very firm decision who says something, who sticks it.

In April 1987 Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh had said, "I will never accept any public office in my life. " In April, 1987 he had said after his resignation, "Rajiv Gandhi is my unquestioned leader for life. " Before his expulsion from the Indian National Congress he had said, "I will die as a Congressman. Nobody can snatch away my right to being a Congressman from my hands. " After becoming the President of the Janata Dal he had said, "One man one post. " I am against the principle of anybody holding more than one post. Before becoming the

Address Prime Minister he had criticised the former Prime Minister's security and his resident. He had said, "I will not take that security. " He had also said, 'I will not move to the Race Course Road residence. ' Today you find a situation in which a man who, when asked, "Will you become Prime Minister"—I was watching it on the television, Sir—repeatedly said, "No. When ask; d. If your party consider you, "he replied, No. " It was an abrupt answer, sharp answer, "No. " But today he is the Prims Minister. He said, "One man one post. " Today he; is the Prime Minister of the country. He is the President of the Janata Dal. He is the Convenor of the; National Front. I do not know if any fourth post he has Not only that but T am worried when he says today...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) : अब कृपया समाप्त करिये ।

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am just finishing.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) : आपके और सदस्य बोलने वाले हैं । (व्यवधान)

श्री आनन्द शर्मा : आप मेहरबानी करके सुन लीजिए । आपने औरों को भी सुना है । (व्यवधान)

Sir, this is a debate on the Peresident's Address. Mr. Arif Mohd. Khan was saying all that for 75 minutes yetsterday: Was he speaking on the President's Address? I am confining myself to the President's Address. The Presidents Address is an Address by the Government which is headed by Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh. That is what I am trying to say.

Today when he says, "My Government will follow a policy of vendetta, " I am worried as an Indian. It is a warning to the nation becaus here is a man who goes back on all what he says. He acts exactly the opposite.

His own election, when we talk of value-based politics, was by fraud and deception. It is not what I am saying. His own party colleague, Mr. Chandrashekhar, his

said so, how he was duped, how he was deceived position to tell the nation for how long these Yashwant Sinhaji, of course, can throw some light incompatible parties without the consumption on how the Prime Minister whose own election was of the marriage will stay in marriage, will live by fraud and deception, is trying to dupe the nation together, but I can assure you one thing, they by making these tall claims. As far as corruption part can never deliver. With these words. I thank is concerned I don't have time to say much but the you.

very appointment of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission—he is really the symbol of morality and honesty in the country who has been indicted by various Commissions. I do not have to go into his track record because the Kuldip Singh Commission is still there. The report should come out. So he is there. That is the first act. Who have been included as members of the Planning Commission? Sir, during the ejections there was a well-orchestrated campaign by the so-called "Independent Initiative" to malice the Congress and to malign the former Prime Minister and to dupe the people. Then I had said that this is no "Independent Initiative" but nobody believed it. This was a partisan group.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Now, I am going to call the next speaker.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am concluding. Sir. Please! listen the names.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Please conclude.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am concluding Who were the people? Mr. L. C. Jain has been made a member of the Planning Commission. Mr. Rajni Kothari has been made a member of the Planning Commission. Now at least that mask has been snatched away. These who were masquerading as "Independent Initiative" were partisan. They are the ones who are the new found allies of Mr. Hegde. Sir, I will conclude by saying that this Government would do better to look inwards and to make only those claims which it is in a position to fulfil and to carry out. With the exercise where you are only giving platitudes and false promises. It is in no position to assure that. It is in no

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के लिए जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव आया है उसके समर्थन में मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मेरे लिए इस पार्लियामेंट के जीवन में यह पहला मौका है जब मैं सरकार का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इसके पहले मुझे लगातार विरोधी पक्ष में रहने का मौका मिला। आज कांग्रेस के माननीय सदस्य लगातार यह पूछते हैं कि आप कम्युनिस्ट होकर इस सरकार का कैसे समर्थन करते हैं? ऐसा लगता है कि वे अपनी करनी पर विचार करने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हैं। इतनी बड़ी हार हो गई, लेकिन फिर भी ये उस पर विचार करने के लिए अभी तैयार नहीं हैं। वे साम्प्रदायिकता की बात करते हैं। लेकिन कांग्रेस ब्लड स्टेट्स में सबसे ज्यादा दंगे हुए, पिछले 5-6 वर्षों में लगातार दंगे हुए। ऐसी स्थिति में कैसे समझा जाय कि कम्युनल एलीमेंट्स के साथ आप मिले हुए नहीं थे? कांग्रेस ब्लड स्टेट्स में सबसे ज्यादा हरिजनों की हत्याएँ हुई हैं। कैसे समझा जाय कि आप हरिजनों के पक्षधर हैं? यह तथ्य जो सबके सामने है, उसको आप अभी भी समझने की कोशिश नहीं करते हैं।

(उप-सभापति पीठासीन हुईं) अगर यही हालत रही तो अभी जो आपको 192 सीट्स मिली हैं उनको घटाने के लिए आप तैयार हो जाइये। मैं इस सरकार से मिरकल्स की उम्मीद नहीं करता हूँ। लेकिन आपको भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप 15 दिन की सरकार से मिरकल्स पैदा करने की बात करते हैं तो 42 वर्षों तक आपको लेकर पेन होता रहा, तब भी मिरकल नहीं हो पाया जब आप 15 दिन में मिरकल करने की बात करते हैं तो ताज्जुब लगता है। उस तरफ की लेडो मैम्बर्स भी कहती हैं कि 15 दिन में डिलीवरी हो जाती

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

है। यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है। एक नई बात हुई है इस देश में।

श्री रामचन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : पूत के पांव पालने में ही दीख जाते हैं कि बच्चा कैसे होगा।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मालूम तो जरूर हो जाता है।... (व्यवधान) ...जरा सुनिये। पहले इस बात को ले लीजिए कि इस सरकार ने कुछ काम किया है इस पर जरा विचार कीजिए।... (व्यवधान) ...जरा सुनिये। मैं बता रहा हूँ कि 15 दिन में डिलीवरी कैसे हो सकती है। (व्यवधान)

श्री गुलाम रसूल मट्टू : चीकने चीकने पात।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हां, चीकने चीकने पात। आप लोग जो पार्लियामेंट के मेंबर कांग्रेस पार्टी के हैं आपको अपने प्रधान मंत्री से मिलने में बार बार दिक्कत होती थी। यह ईमानदारी की बात है।... (व्यवधान) ...लेडी मेंबर आप चाहे ना कहिये लेकिन यह सच बात है कि प्रधान मंत्री राजीव जी से हम लोग तो नहीं मिल सकते थे आपके प्रधान मंत्री को लेकिन आप भी नहीं मिल सकते थे। अब एक ऐसा प्रधान मंत्री बना है जिसके पास कोई भी जाकर बात कर सकता है। आप लोग भी बात कर सकते हैं। पहली बार हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति क्या है, आर्थिक नीति क्या होगी यह खुला दस्तावेज सारे राष्ट्र के सामने आया है।... (व्यवधान) ...यह कागज उजला है लाल नहीं है। इसलिए झड़कते क्यों हैं?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Is this the White Paper?

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: This paper is white. I was telling you it is not red. I do not expect miracles. What I was telling you is for the first time an open White Paper has come on economic situation and we invite you to come and join us and solve the national economic-

problems. Have you ever done mat during long rule? (Interruption).

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: No, I want to make it clear, (interruptions)-

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : : क्या कभी आपने अपने 42 वर्ष के इतिहास में ऐसा किया ?... (व्यवधान) ...सुनिये, अहलु-वालिया जी आप गाड़ी चलाने वाले नेता हैं। किसी किसी गाड़ी में जब शार्ट सर्किट हो जाता है तो वह भूँ-भूँ बोलता रहता है। अगर आप लोगों को भी शार्ट सर्किट हो गया है तो फिर भूँ भूँ करते रहिये।... (व्यवधान) ...सुनिये। आपकी पार्टी किसानों के कर्जमाफी का बराबर विरोध करती थी। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसे सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कहा कि हम सीमान्त किसानों के कर्ज माफ करेंगे। अब आपकी जितनी भी राज्य सरकारें हैं, कांग्रेसी राज्य सरकारें हैं, वे अब उठ उठ कर कह रही हैं हम 10 हजार कर्ज नहीं 12 हजार, 15 हजार माफ करेंगे। हमने ऐसा किया जिसके आधार पर अब आप भूँ भूँ करते चल रहे हैं। हमारे अभिभाषण में यह शक्ति है... (व्यवधान) ...हम तो विचार कर ही रहे हैं कि किसानों की कर्जमाफी के लिये कहां से पैसा लायें इस पर विचार कर ही रहे हैं लेकिन आपकी तमाम राज्य सरकारों को मजबूर होकर कहना पड़ रहा है कि हम माफ करेंगे।... (व्यवधान) ...जरा सुनिये... व्यवधान... जगेश देसाई जी, आप सुनिये। एक नया अर्थमैटिक भी समझ लीजिये। हम भी इस अर्थमैटिक को पहले नहीं जानते थे। फर्स्ट टाइम हम इस अर्थमैटिक को समझ रहे हैं। हमको मालूम था उपसभापति महोदया कि संख्या 140 है वह 193 से छोटा होता है। लेकिन अब इस चुनाव के बाद ऐसा हो गया कि 193 उधर बैठते हैं और 140 इधर बैठते हैं यदि 140 नम्बर 193 से ज्यादा। अब अर्थमैटिक बदल गया है। ये लोग बूझते नहीं हैं कि अर्थमैटिक बदल गया है, नया अर्थमैटिक आ गया है। जगेश देसाई जी यह पुराना अर्थमैटिक नहीं है जो हम और आप बचपन में पढ़ते थे। यह एक नयी बात हो गई है। इस सरकार को सदन के बाहर एक विशाल गुडविल है जो इस सरकार की स्ट्रेंथ है और इसी

गुड-विल के कारण आपको वही बोलना पड़ रहा है और जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में है। कई मुद्दों पर अब आपकी राज्य सरकारें लोगों से वही कह रही हैं जो इस सरकार के चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में है। आप कहते हैं कि क्या फर्क है इस अभिभाषण और पहले के अभिभाषण में। फर्क कुछ नहीं है। केवल कथनी और करनी का फर्क है...

(व्यवधान)... यह आप समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं।

इसके पहले आपके 41 अभि-
1. 00 P. M. भाषण हो गये हैं ज्यादातर

खाली बन्दूक भरा भरा निकला (व्यवधान) हमारा पहला शुरु हुआ है और वह असर दिखाना शुरू किया है। अब जरा समझ लीजिये कथनी और करनी का फर्क है। यही सबसे बड़ी बात है। (व्यवधान) पहले यह लोग कहते थे उस वक्त के प्रधान-मंत्री जो कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष थे वह कहते थे कि अपोजीशन यूनाइट हो ही नहीं सकता। इसी मुद्दे पर इन्होंने सारा चुनाव लड़ा। अब जब यूनाइट हो गये तो बाप बाप कर रहे हैं। कुछ समझ में नहीं आता है। अब कहते हैं राइट और लेफ्ट मिल गये हैं। हम मिले गये हैं तो आपको क्या हो रहा है? (व्यवधान) हो क्या रहा है, हम समझ रहे हैं। लालची आदमी किसी को खाते हुए देखता है तो लार टपकने लग जाती है। इनको 15 दिन के अन्दर ही लार टपक रही है। अभी तो होना बाकी है, अभी तो शुरू हुआ है। लार काहे को टपक रहा है। आप अगर इस उम्मीद में हैं (व्यवधान) कि छह महीने वर्ष दिन में यह सरकार टूट जायेगी और आप फिर चले आवेंगे।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It is a Government of compromises.

SHRI CHATURANAN (MISHRA: Wily are¹ you interruption Mr. Narayanasamy? There is a fruit called 'bel'. I do not know much English. I do not know what English word for it is

THE DEPUT YCHAIRMAN: "BelT only.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : : लेकिन बेल होता है। आप लोगों को यह कहते चल रहे हैं कि छः महीने में यह सरकार गिर जाएगी फिर हम चले आएंगे (व्यवधान)

727 RS—8.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया (बिहार) पांच साल के लिए चुना है, आपको पांच साल चलाना पड़ेगा (व्यवधान) बैसाखी टूटेगी तो पेच लगा कर चलाना पड़ेगा (व्यवधान) एक बैसाखी टूटेगी तो दूसरी लगानी पड़ेगी।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम बैसाखी पर भी चल तो रहे हैं। आपको तो लकवा मारा हुआ था। चल भी नहीं रहे थे। हम बैसाखी पर ही चलते हैं लेकिन लकवे वाले पांव से क्या होगा (व्यवधान) मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूं अभी आनन्द शर्मा जी बोल रहे थे कि सरकार टूट जाएगी। तीन पांव पर खड़ी है, दो पांव पर खड़ी है चल ही नहीं सकेगी। यह कह करके अपने लोगों को साथ रखना चाहते हैं (व्यवधान) जागेश देसाई जी, आप उत्तेजित क्यों होते हैं (व्यवधान) मैं आपको यह कह रहा था कि अगर बेल पक जाएगी तो चिड़ियों को क्या मिलेगा। बेल पकने से कौवे को कुछ नहीं मिल सकता है। इस लिए इस उम्मीद पर बैठे हुए हैं आप लोग कि बेल चलेगा हम लॉटेगे वह होने वाला नहीं है। मैं आपको बता देता हूं। पिछली बार वह हो गया था क्योंकि इन्दिरा जी का व्यक्तित्व था। पहले कांग्रेस के लोग उस ढंग के थे और आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ कर के आप आए थे। अब सब समझ गये बोफोर्स में आप चले गये (व्यवधान)... है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया वह क्या हुआ आपका (व्यवधान) सफाया हो गया आपका नेशनल फ्रंट का (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't disturb him. Please conclude now.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : आपने सारे राष्ट्र को कहा था बोफोर्स की तोप खरीदनी बन्द कर देंगे तो पाकिस्तान दखल कर लेगा हमारी सरकार ने कहा है अगर बोफोर्स बिचोलिये का नाम नहीं बतावेंगे तो हम बन्द कर देंगे तो एक नहीं हजार पाकिस्तान या किसी भी आक्रमणकारी को हम दिखला देंगे कि हमारा देश सुरक्षित रहेगा (व्यवधान) हम ने बोफोर्स के सामने घुटने नहीं टेके हैं। आपने बोफोर्स के सामने घुटने टेके थे। यही फर्क हममें और आप में है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपने आतंकवादियों के सामने घुटने टेके (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : अब आप अपना खत्म कीजिये ।
Let him complete. I have got other speakers.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम से ज्यादा तो यही लोग कह रहे हैं (व्यवधान)
Why are you getting disturbed? I did not disturb any of you (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal):
After they lost power, they have lost their sense of humour also.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मैं कांग्रेस पार्टी को आश्वासन देता हूँ कि हमारी पार्टी इस सरकार को कभी नहीं गिरने देगी । अगर ये अपने आप पाप से गिर जाये या दूसरे के पाप से तो अलग बात है । हम उनकी पूरी मदद करेंगे । आपको यह आश्वासन हम दिला देते हैं ताकि आप तुरन्त गद्दी पाने का लोभ त्याग सेवा में लगे । 10-15 रोज हुआ है, जिस पब्लिक को नाराज किया है, जाइये उनसे माफी वगैरह मांगिये । यह सब काम कीजिए इसलिए हम आपको एश्योर कर देते हैं :क हम लोग फर्मेला इनके साथ रहेंगे जब तक ये अपने इलेक्शन मैनी-फैस्टो पर हैं । इसीलिए मैं आपको स्पष्ट ढँग से कहता हूँ...

उपसभापति : चतुरानन जी, मुझे अफसोस है मैं आपको इन्टरप्ट कर रही हूँ पर खाली 8 मिनट आपके थे, आप 10 मिनट बोल दिये हैं ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता था कि राष्ट्र के सामने सचमुच गम्भीर समस्याएँ हैं । मैं इस बात का विश्वास करता हूँ कि आपकी पार्टी, कांग्रेस पार्टी के इस देश में काफी समर्थक हैं । दक्षिण में जैसा आप कहते हैं वैसा ही नहीं, उत्तर में भी है । आपका वोट बताता है कि आपका वोट 40 परसेंट है । हम इससे इकार नहीं करते हैं लेकिन हम आपसे उम्मीद करते हैं कि आप राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के प्रति सकारात्मक रुख अख्तियार कीजिए । हम सब लोग मिल कर तमाम पंजाब के लोगों से खासकर सिखों से अपील कर रहे थे कि यह नयी सरकार आपकी समस्या को हल

करने के लिए तैयार है उस दिन न हम आनन्दपुर साहब रिजोल्यूशन बोल रहे थे न बीती हुई कड़वी घटनाओं पर बोल रहे थे । न कुछ और बोल रहे थे । हम एक जनरल अपील कर रहे थे शांति लाने के लिए । आप उससे हट गये कि पहले इसको कहिए, तब उसको कहिए, माने सबको अभी भी कह दीजिए ताकि अकाली बात न करे । यह कोई तरीका है राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के निदान का ? आपकी जैसी गलत परम्परा थी वैसी ही जनता पार्टी की भी परम्परा थी कि जब लोकसभा चुनाव जीत गये तो तुरन्त राज्य सरकारों को भंग कर दिया । इस सरकार ने तो भंग नहीं किया और बावजूद इसके कि कश्मीर में हमारे अपने गृह मंत्री की लड़की का अपहरण हुआ कश्मीर में ऐसी नालायक सरकार थी । लेकिन इसके बावजूद हम लोगों ने कहा कि नहीं वह रहे, वे राष्ट्रीय शक्ति है, नेशनल कान्फ्रेंस या कांग्रेस जब आप लोग भी वहाँ राष्ट्रीय विचार के लोग हैं और इन्हें जूटाकर इस राष्ट्रीय समस्या पर गम्भीरता से विचार करे अगर दुबारा संसद में लौट कर आना है तो हमारी बातों को गम्भीरता से सुनिये ... (व्यवधान) हम बुला नहीं रहे हैं । अगर आपको आने की इच्छा हो तो सकारात्मक रुख लें । ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहन्वालिया :
(व्यवधान) यही प्रमाणित करना चाहते हैं ... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : यह आप सही कह रहे हैं कि पंजाब में हमारी पार्टी ने सैकड़ों बलिदान किया है । लेकिन क्या हम सबको पंजाब में मार दें ? (व्यवधान) जरा सुनिये सरदार जी । इस आम चुनाव में काश्मीर में मात्र दो परसेंट लोगों ने वोट गिराये हैं । उन्होंने मतदान का वायकाट किया है । यह लज्जाजनक बात आपको नहीं लगती है ? जहाँ, हाँ करते हैं । कुछ विचार तो कीजिए और उस राष्ट्रीय समस्या पर हम आपको बुलायेंगे तो आप हमसे पहले कहियेगा कि पहले बाजपेयी जी को हटाएंगे तब हम आवेंगे । हम भी जानते हैं कि बाजपेयी जी संविधान के अटिकल 370 को हटाने के लिए जो दार आवाज उठा रहे हैं । लेकिन गम्भीर स्थिति को देख

वे भी तो चुप रहे। इन्होंने पहले कह दिया था कि फारूख अब्दुल्ला की सरकार को भंग कर दीजिए लेकिन जब सब बैठे तो इन्होंने भी कहा, नहीं समस्या का समाधान करना चाहिए। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि जो आपको रुख लेना चाहिए वह आपने नहीं लिया।

हमको इस सरकार से अपील करनी है। अपील यह है कि यह तो ठीक किया कि पोस्टल बिल को वापस ले लिया, यह भी ठीक किया कि संविधान का 59वाँ जो अमेंडमेंट था उसको भी वापस ले लिया। लेकिन वैसे ही एक काले बिल ट्रेड यूनियन बिल लम्बित है उसको वापस लीजिये। विचार कीजिए कि आप उस बेबी को हमने क्यों रखा हुआ है, उस बेबी की न आपने डिलीवरी करवायी, न बार्न करवाया, तो आप काहे उसको गोदी में खिला रहे हैं। दूसरी गड़बड़ी यह है कि..

उपसमापति : अब आप समाप्त कर दीजिए। अब आप डिलीवरी कर दीजिए अपने भाषण की।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : बंद कारखानों के बारे में, लार्ज नम्बर आफ क्लोजर्स एण्ड इंडस्ट्रियल सिकनेस के बारे में कोई नीति जल्दी से जल्दी लाइये। मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि आरक्षण (बरोधी आंदोलन जो बाहर देख रहे हैं... (व्यवधान) यह गम्भीर समस्या है बेरोजगारी की...

श्री जगेश देसाई : जैसे जनता दल और बी.जे.पी. कर रहे हैं—कांशी राम ने स्टेटमेंट दिया है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : सुन लीजिए, कोई भी सरकार रहे, अपर कास्ट के अंदर बड़े पैमाने पर शिक्षित लोगों की बेरोजगारी है, बेकारी है। यह हल्ला-गुल्ला मचाते हैं और इसीलिए वह चाहते हैं कि हरिजन का भी हिस्सा काट ले।

यह तो इस सदन ने अच्छा किया है कि हम लोगों ने हरिजन के बारे में सब कोई एकमत होकर कह दिया कि नहीं वह आरक्षण रहेगा। यह काम तो हो गया, लेकिन दूसरा करना होगा कि बेरोजगारी

की समस्या के निदान के लिए क्या करें। अगर हम आप आप नहीं करेंगे, तो सुन लीजिए, यहां से हम किसी को असम भेजना चाहें दिल्ली वाले को, वह कहते हैं कि हम असम में नहीं रहने देंगे, नौकरी नहीं करने देंगे। असम वाला दिल्ली आता है, तो कहते हैं कि नहीं रहने देंगे, भाग जाओ यहां से, महाराष्ट्र जाता है तो वह कहते हैं, भाग जाओ।

यह देश तो टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो रहा है हमारी और आपकी कार्यवाही से चलते हुए। इसलिए हम आपसे अपील करेंगे और सरकार से अपील करेंगे कि इस फेरे में मत रहिए कि सारा संविधान हम संशोधन करेंगे तब जरूरी मसलों को लेंगे। (समय की घंटी) यह हमारे माननीय सदस्य कांग्रेसजन आपका संविधान संशोधन पारित नहीं होने देंगे। कुछ काम जल्द से जल्द आप ऐसा कीजिए, जिसके बारे में राष्ट्र आश्वस्त हो सके, बड़े-बड़े काम बाद में कीजिएगा। प्लानिंग कमीशन को स्टेट्यूअरी रोल दिलाते रहें लेकिन जरूरी मसलों को हल करें।

महंगाई को दूर करने के लिए, बेरोजगारी को, सार्वजनिक लोगों की जो समस्याएं हैं, उनके बारे में एक शार्ट-टर्म प्रोग्राम बना कर तुरंत से तुरंत काम कीजिए और तब आप देखियेगा कि इन लोगों का कांग्रेस पार्टी एक-तिहाई आपके साथ चला जाएगा अभी तक वे एक तिहाई जुट रहे हैं।... (व्यवधान) क्योंकि इनका नेता... (व्यवधान) जन नेता है ही नहीं। आप जाइये न बिना हवाई-जहाज के, भेजिए अपनी लीडर को, पता चल जाएगा... (व्यवधान) यह इन्दिआ जी नहीं हैं कि लोग आयेंगे। अब नहीं आयेंगे, पहले लोग आते थे।

उपसमापति : चतुरानन जी आप प्रोवोक मत होइये।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : इसलिए मैं सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि दृढ़ता से जनहित का काम करें, विशाल जनमत आपके पक्ष में है और उनके फायदे के लिए काम कीजिए, तभी आप निश्चित रह सकियेगा, नहीं तो जो गति एन की सी गति गेन की।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very (happy that I got a chance to speak on the President's Address. Madam, I was much amused when my friend Chaturanan Mishra just now when he was speaking said that a miracle is not expected. And it is not expected actually, I am one with you. Miracles cannot be made within 10—15 days. The entire country was ruled for the last 42 years by the Congress Party, except for two years when there was the Janata Government. Madam Deputy Chair, man, I was really surprise that Shri Yashwant Sinha—he is going out now... (*Interruptions*)

इंटेलिक्चुअल भाई, थोड़ा बेठिये।

मैं जरा आपके लिए हीं यहां बोल रहा हूं।

Yashwant Sinha, actually an intellectual bureaucrat, retired and joined politics.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Resigned and joined not retired.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Resigned and joined politics. Perhaps my friend Vikal is a farmer himself. I do not know now many other farmers are there.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): No other farmers.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You are a cosmetic fanner. (*Interruptions*) Madam [Deputy Chairman, in the villages we have got cows. And I have also got a cow at home and on the farm. When the first calf gets births, because air goes in its cars it starts dancing. Yeshwantji has made a speech. I was here. I was listening to him with interest. I have made a note of only two or three points with which I am really concerned in the long-term interest of this country's development and its democratic stature. Madam here at page 6, paragraph 27, they say:

"The Government will take steps to see that the terms of trade for the agriculture sector are improved and our farmers receive remunerative prices for their produce."

Then they say that the loans upto Rs. 10,000 will be waived for some landless agricultural labour, etc. (*Interruptions*) Whatever it is. They might be given con-

cessions also. I do not know whether in the I. A. S. Mr. Yashwant Sinha has handled the portfolio of agriculture.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No, we don't have portfolios.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: We could not change the terms of trade for the last 42 years and you will not be able to do it for another 50 years even though you might be in power because you are not aware of the terms of trade. The farmers are the sufferers. Dryland farmers and famers below 5 acres are very much harassed by what you call the social structure of this country. This country is a feudal country. It is fragmented by castes and many types of languages. Therefore, the farmer who is concerned with the terms of trade is always at a loss. Only last year I quoted some figures here. At present, the figures for the last two or three months show that 16 per cent is the trade imbalance which is a handicap for the farmer. Thus, 8000 crores of rupees are transferred Per year to the affluent and the elite sections in the urban areas. As my friends are saying these are good intentions. But to get it done you have to touch not only the interests of the elite, but you have to make an operation on the elitist community in this country. Then only you can touch the terms of trade. Otherwise you cannot touch them.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: That is exactly what we want.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: That is exactly what you want. But I do not know whether you can do it. Another problem is about these 10,000 rupees. Prof. Madhu Dandavate is a very honest friend of mine. Being a Professor and by profession being a teacher perhaps he thinks that everything is very nice, good, etc. He spoke to the Janata Dal Party yesterday and said that the States must participate in the waiver operation. I do not understand. The Janata Dal people say that they will wipe out these 10,000 rupees worth of concessions, etc. How do you expect the States to do it? It means that you are now finding means to get out of your commitment.

Please don't do it. Otherwise your position will not be much different. I can speak much I have got figures here to quote. But it 'seems that there is no time for me. I will take another occasion in the Budget Session. Another thing is value-based politics and clean public life. Madam, here at para 11, it is stated that a clean public life is the bedrock of democracy. Nobody is, disputing that, nobody has disputed that. You might have an intention also. But are you aware of the condition of the politics the social status and all the difficulties in creating a n atmosphere whethe clean, public life can be affected. Now the value-based politics and the moral values of the politician have gone down what you call to the lowest level in this country. Nobody believes in a politician that he is honest enough. Nobody believes that Some party might have won there and some party might have won here, but that has nothing 'to do with the value-based politics.

Madam, yesterday, my colleague, Mrs. Alva made her speech and she named some people. I am not interested in naming people. Here also somebody named. It is no using naming people. Madam, the nexus between the big money, the criminals and the politicians has to be broken. And I have written to the new Prime Minister that this was the pledge which you gave to the country and what steps are you proposing to take. Madam In this connection, I draw the attention of the House to a very enlightened article, perhaps, in the 'Onlooker', written by Janardhan Thakur. I am not going to quote it because it is a very long article. But out' of that, you can see the havoc created by Swamis in this country. Are you aware of that? I You may "please read that article."

AN HON. ' MEMBER: ' Are you referring to Subramanian Swamy? SHRI A. G.

KULKARNI: There are many. Swamis; not_ only Subramanian Swamy." This. is one. type of Swamis. There. is Chandra Swami. there is Rajni : Swami and. Swamis. and-Swami are there. this country AK HON.. MEMBER There is Mr. Narayanasamy.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He is not a Swami of that cult who sabotage democracy. The other Swamis sabotage democracy.

AN HON. • MEMBER: What about Deoraha Baba?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not enamoured of Babas. I care two hoots for any Baba or any Swami.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh): Baba Amte?

श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी : बाजपेयी जी, आप टोकिये मत ।

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I am sorry.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Baba Amte is a person who is weighed in gold. I "am coming to that Chandra Swami affair, and the other Swami's nam© is also here, but I do not want to mention it..

AN HON. MEMBER: Why.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Because it is, hot proper for me to name some of our colleagues.

Mr. Sinha, j. stay on a road called Shah, jahan Road; my number is 92 Shahjahan Road. Just five bungalows on the left, there are other Members of the Rajya Sabha. We usually go for a walk in the early morning. Before the elections there were about 500 jeeps standing on that road. I thought that this man must be contesting some election and he might have brought them. The. elections are over. Then I came back on the 27th or on the day the Prime Minister was elected. Then I saw there about 300 box-type (Maruti). When we go for a walk, there is some constraint on the road because it is a very small road an ante-road. I just asked a driver; "Where are you coming from?" He said "from Man Singh Road, Taj Mahal Hotel" Taj Mahal Hotel having 500 Maruti cars! Somethnig fantastic. Then, I read this 'Onlooker'. What does it say? It says "A crestfallen Dhirubhai Ambani lands. -in Delhi and parks himself at 212, Taj Mahal Hotel Here., you have started. Here your value-based, po-titics has started. There is another thing.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Whose house is it, in Shahjahan Road?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I do not know. One has to find out.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I think, it is Mr. Om Prakash Chautala's.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I uphold the convention of this House.

There is another thing. The jetset *tan-trik* can hardly be away when the power is changing hands in the Capital. October has been a busy month for him. His camp address was: Safdarnagar Development Area, the flat of wrestler Dara Singh or whoever it is. This is another Swamy coming in. Then, there is a third Swamy, there is a fourth Swamy and many Swa-mys and capitalists particularly, the Ambani clan.

I would like to ask you. What do you preach and what do you do? If there is a difference, your fate will not be that of a successful Government, but a Government of the Janata type), which was dit-ch'd by the people in the dustbin. Therefore, for heaven's sake, do not talk of value-based politics. *(Interruptions)*.

Madam Deputy Chairman, a clean public life is not an easy thing. It is not an easy thing. It requires personal involvement of the political workers. Otherwise, you cannot ensure a clean public life. Coming in a Maruti or in a Standard car from Madras and attending Parliament; making money outsider and using the forum of Parliament for this purpose. We are not of that type. I request the Prime Minister. He will have to be very careful because power attracts synchophants. Do not be under any illusion. Power attracts synchophants. *(Time bell rings)* Madam, only two or three minutes more.

Here, there is an information which I have read. The ex-Chief Justice of this country who recently retired, Mr. Venkata-ramalah, has complained that, nowadays, High Court and Supreme Court Judges are

attending parties given by politicians and taking drinks. How are you going to ensure value-based politics? This has gone to the judiciary. Here, there is another thing. There is Mr. Chaturvedi. He is the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. This to be pondered over by all politicians.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): What is wrong with Mr. Chaturvedi?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: There is nothing wrong. He is the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. He says that there is lack of a value-based political system in the country. What else you want? If you want, you can read it.

Now, Madam, in regard to value-based politics, these are the difficulties which we should ponder over. I say, as a politician and political worker of 45 years in the Congress, there should be a stable democracy. I want that there should be a two-party system. It does not matter if one party wins and the other loses. There is nothing wrong. But the splinter groups make it very difficult, for democracy to be sustained.

There is another point. This is for the information of Mr. Vajpayee also. It is on page 2, para 9. It says "A secular India is the very basis of our emotional unity and national integration" That is great. Any politician, any political worker whether in the Congress Party or in any other party whether he is a Communist or belongs to any other party, would agree with this because secularism is there in our blood, but I am really surprised when in Maharashtra Justice Bhargava delivered a judgment in case of Mr. Prabhu who was a Shiv Sena MLA stating that Shiv Sena were fighting on a *Hindutva* label. Here you are saying that you want an open information system. Mr. Thakre on 23rd December 1989—Mr. Vajpayee to please take—gives an interview on TV. I can understand that anybody can give an interview on TV but here the use of TV is made by Mr. Thakre for creating a conflict between two communities, I do not

doubt the intention of this Government so far as secularism is concerned. I do not doubt even Mr. Sinha or Mr. V. P. Singh or anybody else here. Most of you have gone from Congress(I):

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Not me.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You may not be there because you are a Bihari! and Biharis have their own brand.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Do you mean to say that there are no Biharis in your Congress?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What I want to say is that these matters of secularism had to be carefully considered by politicians.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the two terms *dharmasata* and *dhansata* have to be segregated from politics and that is the difficulty with the present political behaviour of the new party which you have formed. Madam, I really want it to be done through Shri V. P. Singh if he is really interested in changing the system in the interest of the poor man, changing the system in the interest of a small man. What did the Ambanis come for? The Ambanis helped Congress also. In every political party's pocket they have their hand and we must understand that such people do not believe in democracy, they do not believe in capitalism, they only believe in their own benefits.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I agree with you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Thank you very much. Your Mr. Karunanidhi should be away from bottldggers.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We have broken the empire of bottleggers. Their empire has been submerged.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Should I name that bottlegger king in Madras?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Adayar.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am interested in the change of the system. These

Ambanis, Thapars, Goenkas or Oswals, or J Wadias... (*Interruptions*) You can add Suri also. All these people have) to be taught with a long bamboo. Otherwise, whatever your policy, it will not last for more than six months because psycho-phants will come in and they will see that the image of the Prime Minister is dama-maged.

[THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) in the Chair] Sir,

I would plead with you. I will beg of you to consider the long-term interests of this country. If the democracy has to be sustained, for that purpose, political parties have to adopt certain value-based systems. It is not only for speaking because I can give umpteen instances. But I think the Mover of the Resolution while replying, will take care of our feelings. These are our feelings. So, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr Madan Bhatia. You have to finish within ten minutes.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Sir, I was told I can have 12 minutes. Anyway, Sir, the Mover of this Motion was Mrs. Yashwant Sinha. I always listen to his speech with great respect. He is unsparing to the Opposition. He was unsparing in his speeches to the Government when he was sitting in the Opposition. But I respect his right of democracy to express his views which he holds. I respect him because he always maintained and in his speech on the Presidential Address, he again maintained high norms of political decency, political morality and political dignity. But I must say with distress that I was shocked and appalled at the rock-bottom of political decency, political morality and political dignity which no less a person than a member of the Cabinet struck last night from the floor of this hon'ble House. Since the time is very short, I can deal only one by one with some of the points which he made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Within ten minutes. Not more than that in any case.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I will try my best. First of all, he desired the former Prime Minister for having become the signatory himself to the Punjab Accord. May I ask him, was he not a member of the Council of Ministers when this Accord was signed? Did he protest? Did he resign from the Council of Ministers when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi put his signature to the Punjab Accord? Was not his leader, who is the present Prime Minister of the country a full-fledged member of the Cabinet at the time! when this accord was signed? Did he not remain a member of the Cabinet for almost two years after the signing of this particular Accord? Did this Accord not receive the acclaim of all the political parties, cutting across party lines from both Houses of Parliament? It is convenient, because the former Prime Minister is no longer in power, to stand up and say in an abusive language against all that he did. Sir, it is a matter of history in this country that the Government of India has entered into accords with the political elements within the country itself. There has been the Mizoram Accord, there has been the Assam Accord, there was an accord relating to Gorkha problem in Darjeeling. No doubt those agreements or accords were signed on behalf of the Government of India or high dignitaries or officials of the Government of India. (Nevertheless, those were the accords to which the Government of India was a signatory. When this Accord was signed by the former Prime Minister, he did not sign it in his individual capacity as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi or as the Prime Minister of India. (He signed it as the Prime Minister of India on behalf of the Government of India. Why did he choose to sign this Accord himself? Because of its vital national importance to the entire country, because of his patriotic spirit to "put an end to the agony of the people of Punjab because of the fact that the, other signatory to this Accord happened to be the most illustrious and most respected leader of the most, virile community in India, namely, the Sikhs. Was it a political crime? Or was it an act of patriotism which led him to sign this Accord in total disregard of his personal ego. as the Prime Minister of India?

Second, Sir, he has re-asserted the statement which is contained in this Address by the President. The Address says:

'My Government pledges itself to fulfil the mandate given to it by the people.

He has re-asserted that this Government has received the mandate of the people, the people of India. I am not clear in my mind whether this Government is a Janata Dal Government or a National Front Government.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Why?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Well, I take it that it is the Government of National Front. But, I am not sure, when the President extended the invitation, whether the invitation was extended to the Janata Dal or to the National Front. But it is taken for granted that this is a Government of the National Front.

The National Front put up more than 400 candidates throughout India and went to the people of India seeking the mandate to govern this country for a period of five years. What was the fate of the National Front? The National Front did not get more than 145 seats throughout India. The National Front which was seeking a mandate of the people by means of its majority to rule this country for a period of five years, was rejected by people of India lock, stock and barrel. It is not the Congress (I) which is identifying the people of India with the people of the South; it is the National front and the Janata Dal which are identifying the people of India with the people of the three States from which the Janata Dal alone has been able to garner the majority of 100 seats. The people of Uttar Pradesh, the people of Orissa and the people of Bihar alone do not constitute the people of India. The people of India the people having in 31 States and Union Territories of India.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY:

All are the parts of this country. The country is one. You cannot differentiate between them.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA; I think, my hon. friend understands what I am speaking.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: I understand.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA; This statement that this Government has received the mandate given to it by the people is a statement which is replete with political arrogance and self-deception.

Third, Mr. Arif Mohd. Khan stopped to the level of decrying the Prime Minister for the use of the car which was presented to the Prime Minister of India by a foreign Head of State. In this regard I can only give one precedent to say that when a car is presented to the Head of the Government or the Head of the State, it is meant to be used by the Head of the Government and the Head of the State, I will give one example. Bangladesh presented a car

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): No, you have taken ten tes. Now please conclude.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I have not taken ten minutes, Sir. I have taken only five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): No, you have taken ten minutes.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Kindly give me just five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): So many Congress Members have to speak. That way I will not be able to accommodate.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA; A car was presented by Bangladesh to Mrs. Gandhi. That car was used frequently by Mrs. Gandhi. When Mrs Gandhi ceased to be Prime Minister, that car was used by the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, as well.

Third, he made a reference to one individual who b not a Member of this House on the basis of the report of the Thakkar

Commission. He nas said that a commission headed by a judge of the Supreme Court found that individual guilty of having a hand in the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, If this is the level of responsibility and intelligence displayed by a Member of the Cabinet of this Government God help this Government. If he cannot understand the difference between the expression of suspicion and finding of the guilt, this only shows the level of his intelligence and the level of his bitterness against the particular individual viz, the hon. former Prime Minister just because he rehabilitated him after he was cleared after a thorough investigation which was recommended by the Thakkar Commission. I would like to share an information with this hon. House on the basis of my personal knowledge. In 1987 and in 1988, this very Minister, Mr. Aril Mohd. Khan visited this individual twice first by seeking an appointment and secondly without any appointment by barging into his house. He tried to instigate him against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had tried to persuade him to join hands with him and his comperes against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. He received a rebuff. He was told that till the last breath of his life what ever agony he had gone through at the hands of that particular commission he will remain loyal to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and that he was not a turn-coat. This is the background of the bitterness which has partly contributed to this wild allegation against the report of the Thakkar Commission on the Part of the hon. Minister.

Since the time is short, I would only mention this. The Indian National Congress with its traditions of civilized political behaviour and conduct spreading over a period of more than the last one hundred years and its leader nurtured in the family and political traditions of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi are too lofty to be reached by the vituperous fulminations of the political renegade. But

I submit that so far

as my leader is concerned, his patriotism and his conviction were' displayed only the other day in the other House of Parliament. He lost the power. He squarely put the question to the present Prime Minister —What is your stand on Khalistan? He received no reply. He put the question—

what is your stand on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution? He received no reply. He put the question—what is your stand on the re-emergence of fundamentalism in Punjab? He received no reply. He put the question—what is your stand against the subversive forces operating from across the border giving full encouragement and active support to the terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir? He got no answer. I salute the blazing patriotism of my leader.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He has referred to a member of the other House. I am on a point of order. Sir, I am on a point of order. Can he quote the proceedings of the Other House here?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: This is part of common public knowledge... (Interruptions)... To stand up.. (Interruptions)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): You should not quote what happened in the other House.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: This is part of public knowledge. I am only submitting that my leader....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): Now, please conclude.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I will take only one minute. My leader has stood up and be counted that he is against "Khalistan"—he is against Anandpur Sahib resolution— he is against reemergence of fundamentalism in Punjab—he is against Gurudwaras being turned into sanctuaries for terrorists and for weapons which are to be used for killing innocent people. I wish to convey to this hon. House and to the entire nation that the entire Congress party stands up along with its leader and is willing to be counted that the Congress party is behind its leader and is willing to be counted that it is against Khalistan—it is against Anandpur Sahib resolution—it is against fundamentalism—it is against use of Gurudwaras as a sanctuary for weapons and for terrorists. Lastly, Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): No, please sit down, I

have so much difficulty because there are so many Congress Members and they will not be able to get time.

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं संसद के समक्ष भारत के राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ। महोदय, अभी अभी भारत की मंजूर जनता ने वर्तमान सरकार को जनादेश दिया कि महंगाई से कराहती हुई इस देश की जनता को इस सरकार को उबारना है, भ्रष्टाचार जिसने नीचे तक पूरी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को जकड़ लिया था, उससे इस जनता को राहत दिलानी है। देश की व्यवस्था जिस तरह से चल रही थी उसमें सारे लोगों को घुटन थी, उस व्यवस्था को

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, just half-a-minute. I forgot to add one thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): Now you cannot make further speech. I cannot allow it under the rules.. (Interruptions).. Once the speech is made, I cannot allow it. The rules prohibit it.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: All I want to say was the car was returned on the 29th November by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम : मान्यवर, नयी सरकार को भारत की जनता ने जनादेश दिया, मेरा विश्वास है कि यह नयी सरकार, जनप्रिय नेता माननीय विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के नेतृत्व में जनता की आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप व्यवस्था परिवर्तन में सफल होगी। मान्यवर, महंगाई की मार से कराहता भारत और उसकी जर्जर अर्थव्यवस्था वर्तमान सरकार को बिरासत में मिली है। सरकार के सामने बड़ी चुनौतियाँ हैं। महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में वर्तमान सरकार की नीतियों और कार्यक्रमों की झलक मिलती है। सरकार की आर्थिक, नीति, विदेश नीति और ज्वलंत राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं आदि की ओर सरकार के जिन

Address

प्रयासों का संकेत दिया गया है, उनके लिये वर्तमान सरकार को मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

सरकार के समक्ष जो चुनौतियाँ हैं, मेरी धारणा है, मेरा विश्वास है कि उन चुनौतियों से जनता के विश्वास के अनुरूप जनता की भावनाओं के अनुरूप यह सरकार अपने मंतव्य में सफल होगी। इस सरकार को जनशक्ति देने वाले इस देश के किसान, मजदूर और गरीब लोग जो समय आने पर ही अपने इस वोट के अधिकार का प्रयोग करते हैं और जिन लोगों के हाथ में सत्ता को सौंपते हैं, उसका हिसाब चुकता करते हैं।

मान्यवर, मैं उनके विषय में भी कुछ विद्वानों पर अपने विचार रखना चाहूँगा। वैसे सदन में इस संबंध में, देश के संबंध में, देश की सुरक्षा के संबंध में, देश की अखंडता के संबंध में माननीय सदस्यों ने बहुत विचार किये हैं, बड़े-बड़े विचार विचारकों के आये हैं, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि जो पिछली मर्तबा सत्ता में बैठे हुये लोग थे, आज विपक्ष में बैठे हैं, उनसे जो इस सरकार ने उम्मीद की थी कि उनका रचनात्मक सहयोग, रचनात्मक भूमिका विपक्ष की होगी, लेकिन आज सारे लोग सफाई में लगे हैं कि उनके नेता ने यह नहीं किया, उनके मंत्रियों ने फलां नहीं किया।

आज इसकी जरूरत नहीं है और न ही इससे काम चलने वाला है।

श्री रफीक आलम (बिहार) : आप लोग क्या करने जा रहे हैं ?

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम : विपक्ष की रचनात्मक भूमिका के अनुसार मुझे विश्वास है कि यह परम्परा रही है कि वर्तमान सरकार को देश की जनता के लिये और इस देश के लिये नये नये सुझाव, उनके बारे में अच्छी चीजें सरकार के सामने रखनी चाहिये—मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ।

तो महोदय, मैं समाज के उन कमजोर वर्गों के बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूँ जो आज इस व्यवस्था में आज भी सामाजिक और आर्थिक अन्धकार के शिकार बने हुये

हैं। वर्तमान सरकार उन्हें राष्ट्रीय विकास की मुख्य धारा में लाकर उन्हें आर्थिक और सामाजिक न्याय सुनिश्चित करने के लिये कटिबद्ध है, ताकि वह गरिमा और सम्मान का जीवन बिता सकें। उनके श्रम के शोषण को समाप्त करने के लिये, उनकी जीविका के साधन सुलभ करने होंगे।
(समय की घंटी)

मान्यवर, अभी तो मेने शुरू किया है। भूमिहीनों को पट्टा देकर उनका कच्चा सुनिश्चित करना होगा, जो पिछली सरकार अपने निहित स्वार्थों के कारण नहीं कर पाई थी। वोट के लिये मात्र कानून बना कर के अब तक वह घड़ियाली आसुओं से ही उन्हें बहलाती रही।

इतने लम्बे वर्ष आजादी को बीत गये, देश में आज भी सामाजिक व्यवस्था की जो विडम्बना है कि श्रम में खून-पसीना एक करने वाले लोग जो समाज की सेवा में लगे हैं, अपमान की जिन्दगी जीते हैं और सेवा लेने वाले लोग और उनके श्रम का शोषण करने वाले लोग सम्मान की जिन्दगी जीते हैं। इस सामाजिक व्यवस्था का परिवर्तन मे इस सरकार से उम्मीद करता हूँ। इसे बदलना होगा।

सरकार ने इसके लिये खुले दिल से मन बनाया है, इसके लिये वह बधाई के पात्र हैं।

समाज में आज भी जाति के नाम पर लोग अपमानजनक पेशे के लिये बाध्य किये जाते हैं। इस व्यवस्था को भी समाप्त करने के लिये सरकार को कड़ाई से आगे आना होगा और इन्हें सम्मान की जिन्दगी बहाल करने के लिये, इन्हें सम्मानजनक पेशे अपनाने की आजादी और उनके अवसर सुनिश्चित करने होंगे, ताकि सामाजिक असमानता की खाई पाटी जा सके।

मान्यवर, अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जन-जाति के लोगों की देश की राजनीतिक सत्ता में भागेदारी सुनिश्चित करने के लिये संसद और विधान मंडलों में आरक्षण की अवधि अगले दस वर्षों के लिये बढ़ाने का संविधान संशोधन विधेयक दोनों सदनो ने सर्व-सम्मति से पास कर दिया।

[श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम]

2.00 P.M.

मान्यवर, इसका अर्थ यह है कि उनकी भागीदारी सत्ता में सुनिश्चित करना है। किन्तु व्यावहारिक रूप से देखा जा रहा है कि राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ अनुसूचित जाति व अनुसूचित जनजाति के ऐसे लोगों को टिकिट देकर मैदान में लाती हैं, जो अपने वर्ग के लोगों के प्रति कम और टिकिट देने वालों के प्रति ज्यादा बफादारी निभाते हैं।

कुमारी सईदा खातून (मध्य प्रदेश) :
बहुतों आप भी निभा रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Don't interrupt him now.

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम : यही मैं कह रहा हूँ, उनका सही प्रतिनिधित्व सत्ता में नहीं हो सकता।

मान्यवर, मेरा आपके माध्यम से सरकार से अनुरोध है कि चुनाव कानूनों में सरकार के माध्यम से ऐसा प्रावधान किया जाना चाहिए, जिससे अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के प्रतिनिधि विधान-मंडलों में आ सकें और समाज के कमजोर वर्ग को समाज की मुख्य-धारा में लाया जा सके ताकि अधिक दिनों तक अभी आरक्षण का सहारा न लेना पड़े। उनके लिए पिछली सरकारें उनका वोट लेने के लिए कानून बनाती रहीं, किन्तु उनका पालन न जाने क्यों मन से नहीं करती रहीं? आज भी यह वर्ग ज्यों की त्यों रह गया है।... (समय की घंटी)...

मान्यवर, एक दो मिनट और चाहूंगा आपसे, क्योंकि उनके संबंध में आपको भी सुनना पड़ेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :
ऐसी बात नहीं है। मैं तो सब सुनने को तयार हूँ, मगर मेरी भी मजबूरी है।

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम : मान्यवर, अनुसूचित जाति-जनजाति के आरक्षण को पूरा करने का अहम सवाल आज भी

निहित है। पिछली सरकार के शासनकाल में यह कोटा पूरा नहीं हो सका क्योंकि उनकी नियत साफ नहीं थी। इसलिए वर्तमान सरकार से मेरा अनुरोध है कि सरकारी सेवाओं में जिन अधिकारियों के अधीन यह आरक्षण का कोटा पूरा न हो, उन्हें कानून की दृष्टि से दोषी मानकर दंडित किया जाय और जो अधिकारी कोटा पूरा करें उन्हें प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही जिन आरक्षित स्थानों को साजिश के तहत अनारक्षित किया गया है और समान वर्ग से भरती कर ली गई है, उतने ही नए स्थानों, पदों का सृजन करके अनुसूचित जाति-जनजाति के लोगों को बुलाना चाहिए ... (समय की घंटी)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That is all right. You have taken more than ten minutes.

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम : मान्यवर, एक मिनट और लेना चाहूंगा। सामाजिक और आर्थिक रूप से पिछड़े लोगों का शैक्षणिक स्तर आज भी बराबर नहीं है, इसको भी बराबर करना होगा क्योंकि जब तक कमजोर वर्ग के लोग मुख्यधारा में नहीं आएंगे तब तक आरक्षण के आधार की बात करना बेकार है। शिक्षा का व्यवसाय करने वाली महंगी और बड़ी-बड़ी शिक्षा संस्थाओं को समाप्त करना होगा क्योंकि अगर बड़े आदमी का बेटा बड़े स्कूल में पढ़ेगा और किसान मजदूर, गाँव वाले का बच्चा गाँव के प्राइमरी स्कूल में पढ़ेगा तो हम कैसे उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि गरीब-किसान लोग शिक्षा के मामले में कभी भी ऊँचे उठकर बड़े-बड़े कंपीटीशन में आगे आ पाएंगे? इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से चाहता हूँ कि समान शिक्षा व्यवस्था की और यह सरकार ध्यान दे और इसकी व्यवस्था करे।

मान्यवर, चूंकि मे बहुत अनुशासित सदस्य हूँ, इसलिए इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ जो हमारे सिन्हा साहब ने धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव माननीय सदन में रखा है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ (धन्यवाद)।

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I 'rise to participate in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks moved by Mr. Yashwant Sinha, Members are pondering over the issues that found place in the president's speech. I personally feel that what is more important to ponder over is under what background the speech has been delivered. It has been delivered at a point of time when the slogan for Khalistan has again been raised in the land of Punjab; it has been delivered at a point of time when the minority students have been asked to leave Punjab by the extremists; it has been delivered at a point of time when caste war has begun in the form of anti-reservation stir with the advent of casteist forces as ruling powers of the country; it has been delivered at a point of time when the Vishwa Hindu Parishad has again put forward its demand to go ahead with the construction of the temple in Ayodhya; it has been delivered at a point of time when the extremists are kidnapping the representatives of people every day. While the priority before the nation is to combat extremism, while the priority before the nation is to preserve the integrity and unity of the nation, this Government has staffed its journey... (*Interruptions*).. with' the priority to remove officers from important positions. So, the L. G. Delhi, has been removed; the Vice-Chairman, DDA, has been removed; the Administrator, NDMC has been removed. And that is the priority we have seen in this Government. The honourable Prime Minister, while addressing the other, House, made an appeal to the Leader of the Opposition that it is a newly-born baby, just fifteen days before, and so, the Government should be given time before answers are sought. I appreciate it. I appreciate that it is a newly-born baby. I know that the Government that has come out of the womb of communalism is still in a state of maternity. But when a child is born, the main thing that worries the doctors the most is whether the child cries or not. Unfortunately, this child has not cried although it has been born. It has not cried when the invasion of Panama took place; it has not cried when the Sri Lankan Government maligned the Indian Army. So, there is reason to believe, there

is reason to presume, that the child which has been born may turn out to be a deaf and dumb child, may turn out to be a mentally retarded child. There is a reason to presume that.

Sir, the honourable Member, Shri Yashwant Sinha, was boasting of one fact. He was boasting of the fact that the Prime Minister visited Amritsar in an open jeep. He has visited Amritsar in an open jeep. Leave alone the question of going in an open jeep, even if he goes bare-bodied who is going to kill him? Even if he goes bare-bodied, who would kill him? I am asking this question because he has not fought against extremists. Has he ever fought against extremists? Has he uttered a single word against the extremists in Punjab? Has he taken any vow to fight terrorism in the land of Punjab. It was our leader, the former Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who was busy fighting the terrorists in Punjab while Mr. V. P. Singh was fighting with him to capture power. So, he can go there in an open jeep. Even if he goes bare-bodied nobody would kill him because he never picked up any fight to fight the terrorists in Punjab.

The; President's Speech *has* mentioned—and Mr. Jaswant Sinha has clarified further—that the people have voted for a change. The people have voted for a change and he has also said that it is applicable to the States where we have Opposition-ruled Governments. If this is a fact, I would like to ask one question in relation to another issue, the other day, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta said that West Bengal is a part and parcel of India and it is an integral part of India and it cannot be seen in isolation. I want to know, if the people of India have voted for a change how *come* the people of West Bengal have voted for *status quo*? How come they have not voted for a change? The fact is that the people of West Bengal have voted for a change, but it was not allowed to be reflected in the ballot boxes. Can you imagine that Mr. Priva Ranjan Das Munshi would have lost by 1, 400 votes when it was found behind the Collectorate that about 2, 000 ballot papers stamped on the hand symbol

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were lying? Can you imagine that Ms Mamata Banerjee, who polled four lakh odd votes, was made to lose the election now? Can you believe that Shri Ananda Mohan Biswas, who had polled about 4, 16, 000 votes, has been made to lose the election now? It was a mockery of democracy in Bengal and the people who have buried democracy in West Bengal are posing as champions of democracy on the floor of this House.

I am told that Mr. Samar Mukherjee has said that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Government was promoting capitalism and that the Left Front Government is promoting socialism in West Bengal. And, Sir, to promote socialism, all the eminent socialists of the country have been assembled there! These socialist leaders include Diru-bhai Ambani, they include Viren Shah, they include Singhanian and they include Mittal. All of them have gone there to give co-operation to the jyoti Basu Government to establish socialism in West Bengal and he is having a honeymoon with these 'socialists' there!

The amount of violence that has been unleashed and the amount of torture and persecution that have been unleashed, I would like to tell. I would like to tell those Members there through you that they should be able to read the writing on the wall. They should be able to read the writing on the wall and if they are not able to read the writing on the wall, I would like to tell on this occasion on the floor of this House that there may be another Romania in West Bengal and*

I would like to tell on the floor of this House that in the President's Address, it has been said that the Government will be deciding all the major issues by consensus. All the major issues will be decided by consensus. This is what it says. And, Sir by consensus it was decided that Mr. Devi Lal would be made the Deputy Prime Minister. Yesterday, in an interview, Comrade jyoti Basu has said that the way

Mr. Devi Lal has been appointed the Deputy Prime Minister, they do not agree to that proposition. It has been decided to resolve all the issues by consensus and by consensus Mr. Chautala has been made the Chief Minister of Haryana! I want to know what is your approach towards the problem of Babri Masjid-Ram lanam Bhoomi, when do you like to have a consensus to solve the problem? When do you propose to have an all party meeting to resolve the problem by consensus? When do you propose to call an all party meeting, because the Marxist party has already requested you to call a meeting of all parties to resolve it? I want to know from them. There has been a commitment in the speech that extremism would be fought. Extremism has been fought by the people of this country who will remember two events in political history. On one occasion one Prime Minister sacrificed her life because she did not prefer to prostrate before the extremists. They will remember Shrimati Indira Gandhi. And they will remember another occasion when the Prime Minister decided to prostrate before the extremists because he chose to prostrate before the extremists to rescue Rubiya. The people of India will remember this. There has been a commitment in the speech to punish the culprits connected with 1984 riots. We accept it. You take action. And action has been taken. Two hundred cases have been framed. Twenty people have been punished. You can punish people whoever is responsible for the 1984 riots. I want the Government to take action. But I would like to point out one thing. Since 1983, 10, 000 families have come to Delhi who have been languishing in several camps in Delhi, who have been languishing there. Would you take note of their problems also? Would you take of their plight also? I am from a family which migrated from Bangladesh. I have been told by my parents that we had land there, we had one house, we had a garden there. But what I have been told by my parents would always remain a story because I can never go back to that part of the land because that became a foreign land. And the hapless

*Expur ed as ordered by the Chair.

Address

children of these migrants are also being told the same stories by their aunts and mummies. I would like to know whether their stories will always remain stories or they will have an opportunity of going back to Gurdaspur and Ferozepur to see that they have also their land, their own houses there. I would like to know whether they are going to take note of the plight of these people.

In the speech it is also mentioned that the Government would make efforts to remove corruption from public life. A welcome this proposal. But how can you justify the appointment of a person to the post of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, against whom the Kuldip Singh Commission has been holding an inquiry? I would like to welcome this proposal. I would like to know from them, how can you justify the appointment of a person to a very important position against whom there is a charge of depositing foreign currency in ST. Kills Island. Let them clarify.

I would like to tell you, Sir, that a decision has been taken to give autonomy to Doordarshan. This autonomy has been enjoyed by the public when the episode of Ram Jetmalani was projected. But what is happening under the carpet is that when the former Governor of Punjab wanted his speech to be telecast from the Jalandhar Doordarshan and Jalandhar Doordarshan sought clearance from Delhi, Delhi denied permission to Jalandhar Doordarshan and the speech of the Governor of Punjab was not screened on that particular day. If this is the concept of autonomy, I castigate this concept of autonomy, I deprecate this concept of autonomy. (*Time bell rings*).

This is going to be my last Speech on the floor of this House. Give me little time, because I am retiring.

The speech has also said that the education system would be reformed. That is why 15-20 days have been sought. No competent person has been found to become the Education Minister. People could be located to become Commerce Minister. People could be located to

become Industry Minister, People could be located to become Petroleum Minister. People could be located to become Minister for all the lubricating places. But a person could not be found to become Education Minister.

Only a few days back when the Bill was brought here to extend reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes we stood by this Government. If at all you decide to give right to work as, fundamental right to the younger generation, we still stand by you—the generation whom we have given the right to vote let them get the right to work from you. But why is your Minister speaking in a different language outside? Why is Ram Vilas Paswan saying something else? Why is Soli Sarabjee saying Something else? Something is being said on the floor and something else is being said by the same political party outside. I do not get any answer from them. The speech has also said that the Government will pursue the path of non-alignment. It will stick to the concept of non-alignment. It will adhere to the principles of non-alignment. Sir, I think it was the darkest occasion for the Indian non-alignment movement when the Government failed to react when Panama was invaded. It is the same country which appropriately reacted when Suez Canal episode took place in 1956. It is the same country which reacted appropriately when the Korean war was fought in 1950. It is the same country which reacted appropriately when Madam Binh's Government was to be recognised. It is the same country which reacted appropriately when the question about the recognition of Palestinian Government came. It is the same country which reacted appropriately when the question to give recognition to SWAPO came. And the same country could not speak out a single word when Panama was invaded. It could not even call an invasion an invasion. And they are saying that they will be protecting the concept of non-alignment movement.

At the end, the speech has also said that it has been an historic session. Yes,

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it has been an historic 'session because for the first time in Indian history a Government had to start its journey by seeking a Vote of Confidence from the Members of the House. Why? Because the President was doubtful about the strength of this Government. It is historic because for the first time the leader of the single largest party declined to form the Government and voluntarily requested the President to dissolve the Parliament. Although he could have remained Prime Minister till January, 1990, he declined to form the Government. It is the historic occasion which the President has made a mention. The other day when Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta was speaking, he said that he understood our anguish. I would like to say that we have no anguish. We have no regret, no repentance. We have no demoralisation because we know that even in defeat our stand has been vindicated, because we know that even in defeat our commitment to secularism has not been diluted, because we know that despite the defeat in the elections we have upheld the principles of secularism. We will continue to hold the flag of secularism high because that is our commitment. Government or no government, we will continue to tell the people of this country, we will continue to appeal to the people of this country:

मन्दिर, मस्जिद और गुरुद्वारे में बांट दिया
भगवान को,
धरती बांटी, सागर बांटा, मत बांटो
इंसान को।

The hon. Minister. Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan, said yesterday that the Congress is no longer a party to conjure with. How do you know Congress? You came and you went back. You came, stayed with us for some time and went back. Many Arifs may come and many Arifs may go, but the Congress will go on forever. Because the history of the Indian National Congress is the synonym of the history of the Indian Freedom Struggle. Congress cannot die. Congress cannot get extinguished. Congress has a longer history of struggle than of

ruling the country. It has struggled for independence for 62 years and it has ruled the country for 40 years. Congress cannot die. Congress will continue to exist. So long as the prayers are sung in the temples and mosques of this country, Congress will continue to persist, Congress will continue to exist. So long as the water flows down the rivers of Ganga and Godavari, Congress will continue to persist, Congress will continue to exist. So long as Gurbani is recited in the Gurudwaras of this country, Congress will continue to persist Congress will continue to exist. So long as the ding dong sound of the bells comes from the Churches of this country, Congress will continue to exist Congress will continue to persist. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI SUKOMAL SBN(West Bengal): Sir, I am on a point of order. Sir, when the hon. Member was speaking, I did not intervene considering that it is his farewell speech.. (*Interruptions*) He has made a dangerous comment, a dangerous allusion that. * *

Sir, it is a most dangerous and objectionable comment. I expected that from your side you will intervene...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I will examine it.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: It should be deleted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I will examine this.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Then, Sir, the election that was held.. (*Interruptions*) .. last month was held for Parliament and not for the Assembly. So, the people of West Bengal voted for a change in the Parliament. I want to make it clear.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You may differ with him. Now, Mr. Subramanian Swamy.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Jyoti Basu is also wedded to the Stalinist concept.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

There is an uprising against that concept. It is in that context he said it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: One may/ have a day-dream. We. do not bother about it. *(Interruptions.)*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when you see the events around the world, one is justifiably proud that in India we have had an orderly and constitutional transfer of power. Romania has just been mentioned. And I hope that neither in the Centre nor in any State any political leader has to meet the fate of what the leaders of Romania have met. And indeed it would be a matter of a tribute to the country if such an orderly transfer of power takes place. And the credit naturally goes to the, people of India and all those who have, abided by the verdict of the people. Although the ruling party here has made much of the fact that the Congress Party was voted out of power they also should remember that the President said in the invitation he gave to the Leader of the ruling party to form the Government that since the largest party has declined to form the Government, they are invited to form the Government. And we hope that the Government will serve the people and last. I only recall what Mr. Morarji Desai has said while commenting on the formation of this new Government. He said, 'I hope it will last.' Indeed that is what is on the lips of almost everybody in the country. Will this Government last? I hope the Government will last. And indeed the statements being made; by the various leaders and getting highlighted everyday makes me wonder whether indeed they will be able to pull on. Already a number of statements have been quoted The Deputy Prime Minister. Mr. Devi Lai, is quoted as saying on the 17th December in Chandigarh that Chandigarh would not be transferred to Punjab at any cost. On the one hand, you have a situation where they talk about Punjab solution and on the other, you have the Deputy Prime Minister saying that there will be a solution, but Chandigarh will not be transferred to Punjab and that it will remain a Union Territory. Then, you have another Cabinet Minister telling a rally of

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Tibetans that they should step up their campaign to declare Tibet at an independent State. Today's 'Times of India says:

'Mr. Fernandes is believed to have assured the Tibetans that he would endeavour to influence the policy of the National Front Government in favour of struggle for a free Tibet. Mr. Fernandes explained that the demand for an independent Tibet had assumed relevance in the context of the current surge in eastern Europe against the established communist regimes.'

This is a statement from a Cabinet Minister after having taken the oath of office.

So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not want to take up too much of the time, but I would like to say that the doubts about this Government's future have also been raised by the fact that it came on deception. Mr. Yashwant Sinha moved the Motion of Thanks. I do not know whether it was a deliberate torture on him. I do not know whether it was a deliberately-inflicted torture on him or not. But I would like to tell us whether in his heart of hearts he believes that the Government.. *(Interruption)* that was formed was properly formed and that, he has no complaints. If he has no complaints, he should say that the statement of Mr. Chandra Shekhar that the Government was formed through a trick is something which he does not share. In fact, I know that most of the Members of the Janata Dal privately expressed great consternation over the way it came about. And we see that this is continuing. Deception seems to be the 'Hallmark of the key played of this Government. Even in the case of the selection of the Speaker of Lok Sabha, it was through deception and deception seems to be all around. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: ■ Kindly do not bring in the name of the Speaker. *(Interruptions),*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am not commenting on the proceedings of the other House. I am only talking about the selection.

AN HON. MEMBER: Something has been said about the Lok Sabha Speaker.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: I did not say anything about the Lok Sabha Speaker I only say that their party practised deception in both the House. I do not think I am saying something which is un-parliamentary. So long as I do not say things which are..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI- JAGESH DLSAI): Please do not refer to the other House.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Can't I refer to the other House? Should I assume that the Lok Sabha does not exist?

Sir, this "deception has a long history. Even in the case of the Prime Minister, if you look at his past history, you see a long String of deceptions. I do not know which of them are true and which of them are not real deceptions. For example, some two Sessions ago, the then Home Minister described, on the floor of Parliament, how the present Prime Minister and the then Chief Minister of U. P., was able to obtain lands given away to *Bhoodan*, how he was able to recover it by an affidavit... (*Interruptions*) his is according to the then Home Minister. I do not know whether this is true or not. He has said on the floor of Parliament how the present Prime Minister was able to recover the lands on his wife presenting an affidavit in the Allahabad High Court saying 'My husband is insane' or was insane' and a discharge slip from the Agra Mental Hospital was presented. This is not an allegation. This was said by the then Home Minister on the floor of Parliament; This has to be contradicted and I will tell you why it has to be contradicted. She also said that even after the discharge, he was subjected to "bouts of insanity.

Now, Sir, under article 102 of the Constitution, it is very clearly stated that if a competent court declares, a persons insane, be cannot hold any office. Either the then Home Minister has uttered a falsehood, or, if he has not uttered a falsehood, I must say that the present Prime Minister has no right to hold office under the Constitution, (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA; We cannot discuss personal- rivalries here. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It is not personal. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY; Mr. V. P; Singh has contradicted it. •

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: He should contradict it on the floor of Parliament. (*Interruptions*) In fact, I would urge Mr. Yashwant Sinha, if he gets a chance to reply,... (*Interruptions*)

' SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA; Let them Settle their accounts put-side the House. Why should we...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY; As I said, this was said on the floor of Parliament. I cannot help it. If it had been said outside Parliament, certainly, I would have Said it outside.

Therefore, I would certainly like Mr. Yashwant Sinha, or, somebody else authoritative like- him to contradict it, contradict what is part of the Parliamentary record because this matter may well become a (subject of legal dispute in the future, -

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, coming to the President's Address, you find that the theme in the Address is, decrying the past. They have decried everything that has happened in the past. Well, in that, I am willing to join with them provided the Prime Minister and several of his Ministers make it clear to this House as to what part of the past five years they own up and what part of the past they reject. For example, the economy. Of the five Budgets that were presented by

the previous Government, three were presented by the present Prime Minister. Dose he disown these Budgets?" Does he say that they were presented on, the dictates of the then Prime Minister? Does he say 'I did not have sufficient spine to say that I cannot accept it and I presented the Budgets because I was ordered to do so?' or does he own up? Mr. Arif Mohd. Khan can very well come and decry but he must also say as to what part of the past he is willing to own up and what part he is not willing to own up.

But the most important part" of the Address is in paragraph 11 where he talks of corruption and says that the law will take its own course. We do not know what that- means in Bofors. I hope he does not mean delay because when Mr. K. C. Pant in the last Session said in this House that law will take its own course, almost all the Members of the opposition had said that this was a prevarication, this meant delay. You tell us how you are going to expedite. But let us assume that law has to take its own course. 'In that case, why did they withdraw the Czech Pistol case? Why was this case withdrawn? What about Mr. Ajaya Singh's alleged account, in Sunt Kitts? I do not know whether those are genuine or not. I have moved an amendment that a Parliamentary Committee may be formed which can find out the truth. It could be a forgery and if it is a forgery, it is a serious matter because people should be protected against such forged accounts and the only way to establish this is to appoint a parliamentary committee. In the last Session the then Minister of State for Finance had assured this House that he will tell us what the future investigations reveal. He said that *prima facie* it must be correct. Well, I would like to know from this Government because they have put 'fighting corruption' on such a high pedestal. They say that law will take its own course. Then why have you withdrawn this case against the Prime Minister's son? Why have you transferred officers' who, you suspect, may not be able to say what you want. If they

have nothing to hide, then they should support my Amendment No. 105 where I have asked for a House Committee to be set up in the matter⁴.

Similarly, take the case of Mr. Ramakrishna Hagda about whom everybody has mentioned. He has been appointed Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. I won't go into the propriety of his, holding two portfolios simultaneously, one being an MLA and the other being the vice-president of the Janata Dal because it has always been assumed that the Deputy Chairmanship of Planning Commission is a Government post and you cannot hold any other post even if you do not draw any salary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): The law will take its own course,

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: • Well, I am not going into that, but the fact of the matter is that today we see in the newspaper that the term of the Kuldip Singh Commission which has is- sued a notice to Mr. Hegde under section 8(b) has been extended. The case is in an advanced stage where they say that they are likely to reach a conclusion prejudicial to him, harmful to him, which may go against him and, therefore, he should please come before the Commission. It is a direction, come, before the Commission and defend yourself. Under section 8(b) a notice was issued. And when the case is at such an advanced stage, you have the man as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission who otherwise has got nothing to do with planning, he does not know anything about economics,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He was the Finance Minister.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: He is, however, expert in the planning of commissions. That is what might have been considered, but anyway...

SHRI K. G. THIMME GOWDA (Karnataka): I am on a point of order. He has no business to tell like that in the

[Shri K. G. Thimme Gowda]

House. He cannot question the integrity of a highly placed man. Moreover, he is not a Member of this House and so he cannot defend himself. What makes him to take his name every now and then. Every day, once or twice, he is taking his name.
(Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I am ruling that there is no point of order. Please sit down.

SHRI R. S. NAIK (Karnataka): I have an important point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): There cannot be any point of order. If you don't abide by the Chair, we will not be able to complete the Business. After this there are two Bills to be passed. If you interrupt like this, I do not know what you can do. I do not know what it will lead to.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN (Kerala): You are allowing it because it suits your party.

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

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: I can raise a point of order... My point of order is that the Commission has not come to any conclusion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He has never said like that.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Please permit me to complete. His expression, his speech here about the Commission of Inquiry will influence the commission and what he has stated here in his speech should not be permitted to go on record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): What he is saying is that a notice has been issued to him. There is no point of order. I rule it out. Yes, Mr. Subramanian Swamy.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: There seems to be a misunderstanding. I was condemning the Government for appointing such a person. I was not

advancing*! situation where a *prima facie* saying that the Government has appointed such a person who has been issued a notice under section 8B. This 8B is an advanced situation where a *prima facie* case is established. And in any case, since they are talking so much about corruption, when a man is facing a commission of Inquiry, at least you can wait. You have not only appointed him, but you have even extended the Commission of Inquiry. In fact, I would say, if Mr. Hegde has any sense of value-based politics which he says he has been practising, he himself should resign and go till the Commission comes to a conclusion and exonerates him Yes, I am advising him.

Even, on Bofors question, there have been in the last few days, i. e. day before yesterday, at least 7 or 8 questions, including the unwritten ones. And every answer is so vague. Why is it so? They had said during the election campaign—and I want them to answer this honestly and the Prime Minister avoided it during Question Hour..... You said that in 15 days you will find out the names.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No, he did not avoid it. It is not correct.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You explain it when your time comes. The Prime Minister may explain it.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: In fact, the Chairman ruled that the Question Hour was over. The Prime Minister was in the middle of a sentence but the Chairman did not allow him even to finish that sentence. Now Mr. Swamy is saying that the Prime Minister avoided it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Yes, that is the correct position.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: That is not. I will tell you what happened. I asked a question; do you have a new deadline? And the Prime Minister started reading out what Mr. Arun Singh had said. I knew what he

was, going to read. The previous Government had already negotiated...

' THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, SHRI JA-GESH DESAI): We are going to discuss it tomorrow.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Therefore, it is not correct to say that the Prime Minister rebutted what I said. The Prime Minister did not answer my question on the deadline... Yes, I will. I am here for that purpose. Therefore, indeed, it is not important whether Rs. 64 crores is going to be returned or not. In fact, to my knowledge, this matter had already been concluded as an agreement ■ between the previous Government and the Bofors on October 27 of this year itself. Now this Government can get Rs. 64 crores back as a part of that agreement. But the question is, who took this alleged bribe which they have been raising and the whole country wants to know? We find that they want to move away from the deadline,

I have only one more point to make and that is this. Mr. Yashwant Sinha talked a lot about self-reliance and multinationals. I will conclude what I have to say by reading out from the last Sunday issue of a paper called *Sunday Mail*. This is the latest issue and this is what it says;

The Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh's wife, Mrs. Sita Singh, was recently the talk of the capital when she dared to do something which Mrs. Sonia Gandhi had not done. She invited the wives of the Chief Executives of, the European-based multi-national companies stationed in Delhi. Why has she gone into such a PR exercise? All for her husband, according to grapevine.

The European businessmen had been upset by the way they had been neglected in the previous regime and Mrs. Singh has been going out of the way to give them importance. I do not know whether the story is true. But it is a fact that the Government, on all major issues involving self-reliance, non-align-

ment and so on, has shown weakness. I began, when the question on Panama was raised, that this Government would not be able to stand up to the United States, and indeed we have found that in the Panama case and in a number of other issues. I know it even in the cutting of our, defence expenditure the. United States is putting enormous pressure on us. In fact, this build-up that the coffers are empty, is actually a pretext for cutting the defence expenditure. In fact, Sir, if there is anything in great threat today is this for which I would appeal to the Members of the Janata Dal, many of whom have been my comrades with me, colleagues with me in struggle but who unfortunately made a stupid mistake of accepting the reject material from the Congress' (I) and made him their leaders, that they must revolt at this time. They must revolt because with this Government every indication is that self-reliance is under threat.

Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JA- ' GESH DESAI); Mr. Swaminathan. Only eight minutes as you promised me.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, within the small time available to me, I would like to touch upon some of the points which are of general interest on the Presidential Address.

The first point I would like to take up is with regard to the general election . which has recently concluded. There has been a discussion on this regarding poll reforms, and there is going to be something more also subsequently. But of the only two points in my experience in this election, which are very, important and which I want to express, one is, in this election whatever may be the amount that the Election Commission has stipulated for election to Parliament, the amount that has been spent by the individual candidates has been phenomenal. It has become a normal practice for an M. P- to spend not less Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 20 lakhs for a parliamentary seat. Sir,, coming from Tamil Nadu, I came to understand that in a particular seat nearly

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Rs. 60 lakhs have been spent by a candidate. Perhaps, more also could have been spent by some other Candidates. But this is what has come to my very intimate knowledge because I was working in an adjacent constituency. It has been said that this amount, phenomenal amount has been spent. "

Hon. Prime Minister is now saying, and today morning we have seen in the Press that the new Prime Minister is speaking of curbing black money. With this kind of expenditure for the elections, what people generally think about very • respected Member, Shri Kulkarni, -politicians has also been told by our this morning today. People have been saying that politicians are corrupt ' and that parties are corrupt simply because, they say, even though somebody is corrupt and somebody is being accused in the Government of, being corrupt, people generally in know of things say that no politician can be honest because in a parliamentary election, with so many seats about 540 seats, even faking about Rs. 10 lakhs per seat, you have to spend crores of rupees. So also in the Assembly elections you have to spend so many crores, of rupees. Any party in the Government has to make money so that it can finance" its own political candidates. This is what is being talked of everywhere by knowledgeable. people and anybody who is reading newspapers.

In this kind of a situation, Sir, we have to do something to curb black money in the elections. We should have funding of elections by the Government. There should be auditing of party ac-courts. Party accounts are now completely going free. Nobody is auditing party accounts. Party accounts have be. come something like, overseas accounts in a Swiss bank. Nobody can go near anybody who comes up in the; hierarchy of - a particular party and handles funds worth crores of rupees. • This is the situation we are placed in. I wish to tell the Government that if they are really serious to curb the black money, the first thing that they should do is that they should

take up the electoral reforms very quickly. I, may advise that electoral reforms should be brought before the Assembly elections in February, March because we are going to have Assembly elections Of many important States in the North. If we are going to. leave those elections, most probably elections will come only later. I would strongly advise on this particular point to curb the black money and see that honestly politics should be, played in the country,

The, second point that I may raise regarding the electoral reforms is that there are so many candidates who are not interested really. Uninterested candidates are contesing elections. In a particular constituency I found that there were 65 candidates who were not intentional in seeking election, but for - various reasons they were contesting. In a particular city -in Tamil Nadu, it had been countermanded because one particular individual who was an independent candidate had expired. I also wish the Government to take up this question. If there is an independent and non-serious -candidate and if he expires in a constituency where there are 60 or 65 candidates and many of them old, the whole election should not get countermindeed for no fault of other political candidates; These two points I wish to stress as important as far as election is concerned, because we, are meeting immediately after the elections.

The second point is on the Sri Lankan issue. This issue had been talked about yesterday and I read in the newspapers— I was not here yesterday—that there was a clash between my hon. friend, Mr. Na-rayanasamy of the Congress and Mr. Gopalsamy of the DMK.. Both are very agile on the Sri Lankan issue and , a clash between the two was very natural. (Interruptions) I understand a lot of emotion was there in the House when the Sri Lankan issue was raised.

■ I do not want to touch upon the issue now. I know the Prime Minister has said that he will settle the issue. The main point on which all of us are concerned is that the IPKF should be with drawn as quickly as possible. The Tamil

Nadu Chief Minister is now talking with the, LTTE. I think he should talk with other people as promised by the Prime Minister. In this, connection I would say that the previous Prime Minister used to call all the parties of Tamil Nadu and have a meeting with all the party leaders and apprise them on what is going on in Sri Lanka, I am sorry to say that the present Prime Minister has not found time. Many important things are going on in India amidst the Officers and I also hear the hon. Chief Minister is talking to the LTTE and he is going to talk to Others. Members -of Parliament and leaders belonging to the parties from Tamil-Nadu have not been invited by the Prime Minister. -I hope he will invite us and apprise us on what is actually going on so that it may not be an affair which is conducted only by the Prime Minister's Secretariat or the Officers of the particular Ministry or by the Chief Minister, of Tamil Nadu but other persons also will be informed about these things.

I would like to touch upon one more thing about the Sri Lankan issue, we are having a lot of refugees from Sri Lanka in Tamil Nadu. Not only that we are having many people of the Sri Lankan origin. It is creating a lot of problem for the Tamil community in the Tamil Nadu area, I think, my friend, Mr. Gopalsamy, will not dispute with me when I say that two important things are happening in Tamil Nadu because of the conflict and turbulent situation that is going on in Sri Lanka. You might have read in the papers, and I am personally aware, that a lot of narcotic drugs are being traded in Tamil Nadu, It is not traded between the College students and elsewhere to important people, alone, the trafficking is going on, even in poor and slum areas.. In slum areas in the Madras City, I understand there are hundreds and hundreds of people who are now getting into the drug problem because trafficking is being done by the people of the Sri Lankan origin and who have come over here and settled in Tamil Nadu. They come and go as easily as possible. It is very unfortunate that people from Sri Lanka can

land up in Tamil Nadu, - in Vedaranyam and in Rameshwaram as they like. They are foreign nationals. Maybe they are Tamils and their own people, but there should be some propriety as to who can come and go; I personally feel that the Government of India does not have any information about the number of the people who come and go from Sri Lanka. - The other day it had been said that the (that of an important party leader of a faction of the) Tamil militants from Sri Lanka who came over here was seized and even he went away. This is what is happening. In Muthupet which is near my place five of the custom officers had been taken away by the militants of Sri Lanka. Their whereabouts were not known for a period of about seven days, They were taken from the Indian coast. It was said that they were taken to Sri Lanka. They were imprisoned in Sri Lanka and thereafter they have been brought after the intervention of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and most probably by the hon. Prime Minister's Secretariat, If this is the thing that is going to happen and if the Officers of the Government are going to be hauled up and taken over as prisoners by the Sri Lankan nationals and are going to be taken to Sri Lanka and if the Government is not able to do anything in the matter because of the problems that have been created in Tamil Nadu, I wish to inform you that the problem is not only between the nation, and the action, it is becoming a problem for the people of Tamil Nadu also. The situation is very nebulous and that there is no control over the situation. And nothing is being done and more than that nobody knows what action you are going to take. What kind of policy or step are you going to take? It cannot go on indefinitely Sir..

The third point I may like to raise is..,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That is the last point.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Yes, Sir, the last point. A lot of things were said here about the Planning Commission, I

[Shri G. Swaminathan].

do not want to talk more about the Planning Commission what has already been said here. I do not want to talk about Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde or about the members of the Planning Commission,

That has been talked about by two hon. Members in this House.

Sir, even since Mr. Hegde came and took over as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, he has been saying that he will see to it that the Planning Commission is accorded a status under the Constitution. He says "it will have its own status under the Constitution". Now it is not a Constitutional body and he will make it into a body that will have Constitutional status. He will see to it that the Chief Ministers of other States are made members of the Planning Commission. What actually he intends to do, Sir, is that he wanted to elevate the Planning Commission to a higher level or an important level or a Constitutional level. It was talked over even 30 years ago, I do not want to dispute the matter. But my only grouse is now this matter of Planning Commission or planning from the top is being insisted at a time when other countries from whom we have taken this lesson are thinking the other way about I want the Government to seriously think over the matter because it has been said that during the last, 40 years there is no improvement in this country, that poverty has not been eradicated, that unemployment has been going up instead of coming down. Now, Sir, it is being said that if we have proper planning, if we have centralised planning and if the Planning Commission is given Constitutional status, then, most probably - all the ills of the country, will disappear. This is the position which Mr. Hegde has taken and I do not know whether the policy of making the Planning Commission a Constitutional planning body is important. They want to have a centralised planning. At least planning is being given an important status in this country,'

Sir, on 27. 12. 1989 the *Hindu* has published a very interesting article from which I may like to quote one or two things. He has been saying about a particular person. His name is Mr. Abel Aganbegyan, I am not able to pronounce it properly because it is a Russian name. He is one of Mr. Gorbachev's two top economic advisers. He has published two years ago a book called "The Challenge: Economics of Perestroika". Now he has published a book called "Moving the Mountain", He says; "They do not see the fruits of *perestroika* because there are still queues for housing, shortages of food and consumer goods, the service sector is undeveloped, and so of " Even objective economists, supporters of *perestroika* agree that "when we look at housing, infant mortality rates the development of the service industry, the supply of consumer durables and a number of other indices, we have to admit that we trail behind, somewhere among the last of the top 50 countries."

Sir, the most important point he says is "in tackling these mountainous problems Perestroika's planners knew that they had to demolish central control of the economy." I want this to be underlined. "Again and again throughout the book, he condemns the system of central planning where every decision is made by bureaucrats "in secret and among themselves. -This system, he says, means that customers and their needs or wishes do not matter, prices do not matter, costs and profits are unimportant. All that matters is meeting quantity production targets."

Finally, he says, Sir "It has to be said that the process has turned out to be slower, more difficult and more painful than anticipated. It has been like moving a mountain with » teaspoons, " That is what he is talking about central planning.

Coming to the various other countries, Sir, mostly in China, USSR and other communist countries about whom we are going to discuss, I think, shortly about

Romania where we had a Marxist dictator who had killed nearly 70, 000 people and tried to escape with \$ 1 billion and who had all the family members holding important portfolios, he himself had been the Prime Minister, the President, the party General secretary, his wife as the deputy leader of the party, his son-general commander-in-chief of the army and all that, sir, kindly give me two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) • No no.. Please conclude.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN Then, I will finish in one minute. What is happening in other countries like, Poland where the inflation rate is about 100 per cent; in Yugoslavia, the inflation rate is 118 per cent, in China, the inflation rate is going up to 25 per cent where the employment 5.2 million and 20 people are unemployment due to central planning. Ultimately, I may say yesterday there was argument as to what is socialism. I would like to inform, according to dictionary, socialist organisations advocate community as a whole should own and control the means of production. In Russia, Sir..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Don't go into details. There is no time. You have already taken 14 minutes.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Means of production are being changed. Property rights are being given to individuals. Why I am going to the other countries? Now, I very strongly advocate, what we have been following all these years have been rejected by other countries and it would be wise for the new Government if they are really trying to plan otherwise, not to centralise, not to give the Planning-Commission a higher status and to make it a central way in which to plan the whole country which is coming to naught. Regarding the Cauvery problem, our Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. Karunanidhi and our previous Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran have been advocating for a tribunal for Cauvery. This has been agitating the minds of the Tamilians especially people like us who are coming from -

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the Cauvery delta. We had requested the then Government and today there has been a question for which an answer has been, that it is under consideration. It has been under consideration during the last two-three years and the present Government also says, it is under consideration. Sir the Chief Minister of Karnataka is saying that he is not for a tribunal and he wants discussion to go and our hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is saying, there is nothing wrong in having a tribunal and discussion going on. I would strongly recommend to the present Government that they should take up this matter immediately and expeditiously and should have a tribunal for Cauvery water so that the aspirations of Tamil people especially the people of Cauvery delta are fulfilled.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Mirze Irshad-baig) in the Chair],

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Vice-Chairman, Sir, this year's Presidential Address has been the shortest Address during the last ten years which I have seen. It is the shortest Address and in just 20 minutes it was read out by the President and it was so short because the new Government did not have to tell us much. It has only tried to imitate the previous Government of Rajiv Gandhi. But specifically it has not mentioned anything—what it is going to do in future, next year or year after.

Well, we can appreciate the problem of the National Front and their allies because each party had issued a separate manifesto and I do not know which manifesto this Government is going to implement. The CPT(M) who are supporting: the National Front Government had a different manifesto, the CPI had a different manifesto, the Telugu Desam had a different manifesto, Assam Ganasangram Parishad had a different manifesto and like that and it is because of the multiplicity of the manifestos of the ruling party I should say that they are not in position to specify what actually they propose to do. They themselves do not know what to do. If they

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

do one thing, that may alienage the Communist.. If they do another thing; that may alienage the BJP. So we cauvery well appreciate this situation. The President's Address generally enumerates the achieve- ments of the last year and also gives an indication as to what the 'Government propose to do in the coming year. In this President's Address, there is no enum- ra- tion of any achievement of the last year and as I said, even about the future, it has not given any specific indication as to what this Government is going to -do and that way it has not been a very good Address. It has nothing to convey to the people of the nation. Mr. Dinesh Gos-wami, our present Law 'Minister, was sitt- ing here. Last ytar, while speaking on the President's Address in Lok Sabha, he said,, "it is a fictional 3. 00 p. m work which the nation is not going to take seriously. I am reminded, of his words beoause I too find this Address fictional work which the nation is not going to take seriously. I am even the, parties which are supporting the Government are not going to take it seriously. This Government came into power on the one hand. because; some Congressmen played treachery with their own party, with their own leader, and on the other, becaus; so many parties played treachery with their own principles, with their own ideologies. And ideologies which are polls apart are today to be found there behind the. Government, both the rightist ideologies and the leftist ideologies. Such a Government is, of course, not going to last very long and I am confident that its fall is imminent. (*Interruption*). If you can compromise with your own principles, your own ideologies, then, of course, -you can continue. But, for how long can you play that hoax? In the very constituency from where V. P. Singh has been returned to Parliament their party has written slogans on the walls of the city and villages calling Rajiv- Gandhi 'chor hai: Bofors ■ka yer hai voh hai. They openly said it. And after coming into power, they say that they will look into'it and law will take its own course and those who are ultimately found guilty will be punished

It means you were not yourselves sure who took the commission and still you created a situation, ugly situation. It was a lie. (*Interruption*)*

SHRI K. G. " MAHESHWARAPPA- (Kar- nataka): If you know who took the com_ .. mission, you please reveal it.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: No. You do not know who took the commission.

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA: You should be knowing. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI: MIRZA IRSHAD FAIG): We are dis- cussing Bofors. Don't worry.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: If the Government really wanted that the law should take its own course, why the second chargesheet was withdrawn from the court in the case of the indira Gandhi assassination case? The law' should" have taken its own course and those who were to be found guilty should have. been punished.

„SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): You withdrew it.

*

- SHRI P. N, SUKUL: We withdrew it after the election* results were out.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Your Government withdrew it.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: After the election results were out,

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: You should have left it to 'this Gov- ernment.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: And 'again, as Mr. Swamy was mentioning, the Government is considering whether the -Kuldeep Singh Commission should be withdrawn against' Hegde or not. Yesterday, there was a news item in a newspaper that the Government is seriously considering... (*Interruptions*)-It has been extended. But yesterday it was in the newspaper that the Gov-ernment had referred it to the Attorney-General for, his views. And like this, law does not take, Its own course.

As I. was saying, there have been many many achievements of the Rajiv Gandhi Government and this Govern

- ment did not have anything to mention, in the President's Address. During, the last four years, ' the industrial growth exceeded eight per cent per annum and in the last six months of this year, it has been 9. 5 per -cent and yet, the new Government has not mentioned it, has 'not admitted it. In one year, in 1987-88, exports were up by 26. 4 per cent which was not. mentioned. ' Rajiv Gandhi's Government launched a frontal attack, assault, or poverty in so many ways and those poverty alleviation programmes were not mentioned in the Presidential Address. _ The IRDP alone reached 25 million people half of Whom are Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes. It has not been mentioned. Then there is the million-wells

. scheme launched by that Government. The NREP target was completed under the Indira Awas Yojana. All these achievements have not been mentioned. And, Sir, last year, that is, in 1988-89, the GDP growth was nine per cent and some experts said that it was 11 per cent in real terms. But that has not been mentioned here. But a very chaotic picture has been painted that the coffers are empty and it is like this and that. So, if the Government is going to run on lies and nothing but lies, this nation is going to be disenchanted very soon with this Government. I expect that some of the parties who are there with them like the Communist Parties, at least they will give proper directions to this Government to take up certain programmes for the general good of the people of this country. I do not find in the President's Address what the Government is going to do for the benefit of the working, people the working class, and what benefits they are going to give them. There is no mention of that. There is no mention

- of, a national wage policy. There is no mention as to whether they are going to formulate a national wage policy or a national formula on Dear-

ness Allowance or bonus to all. Nothing.

In para 4 of the Address it has been said that the "Government will work to restore the dignity of the nation and of the individual.

" As if the dignity of the nation has eroded and they are going to restore it! How can a Government led by a man, who associated himself with Mr. Herschman, an old CIA agent, how can stooge of America, restore the dignity of this country. During the last few-days, there has been a talk of programmes and so many things. So, a

. minority Government, as it calls itself, supported by a majority, cannot restore the dignity of the country or of the individual. You see, the* Congress (I) is the single largest part in the Lok Sabha; and here in the Rajya Sabha it has a two-thirds majority.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Yet you lost the Panchayat R-aj Bill here!

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Because you people played treachery on the people of the country. Mr.; Rajiv Gandhi wanted sincerely and earnestly that the powers should percolate to the people at the grass-roots level.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: No. He wanted to bypass the States.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Therefore, in the Rajya Sabha, because of your misdoings, the Bill could not be passed.

Then, in para 9, the Address says:

"The Government seeks the support of the people in its unrelenting efforts to promote national unity and integrity, "

Again, they are talking of national unity and integrity. Nowhere has it been said as to how the Government is going to deal with terrorists, secessionists, and what they are going to do about the Punjab problem. But they are going to work for national

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

unity and integrity... (*Time bell rings*)... 'Once again I ask them, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, how a *can restore the dignity... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, he is making a very serious statement. He says about the Prime Minister of the country that he is a *. ' '. (*Interruptions*)... This should not go on record. A Member is saying this about the Prime Minister of the country and it is a disgrace to this country and it should not be allowed to go on record. A Member of Parliament is saying that the Prime Minister is a *. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, it should not go on record... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in para 12, they have mentioned about the right to information... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, he is calling the Prime Minister of India as a** It should not go on record. Kindly give your ruling... (*Interruptions*)...

DR. (SHRIMATI) SARAJINI MAHISHI (Karnataka): Sir, this should not go on record. To call any body as the * is wrong.

This should not go on record... (*Interruptions*)... It is wrong to call any one** This should not go on record. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please sit down.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: This should not go on record. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is unfair. (*Interruptions*)

*Not recorded.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, अगर बहस में ऐसे शब्दों का प्रयोग किया जायेगा तो ये शब्द केवल एक तरफ से प्रयोग में नहीं लाये जायेंगे।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री सी.जी. इशार्दिबेग) : ये लोग जब यहां बैठते थे तो क्या करते थे ?

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : उस वक्त नहीं लगता था कि इन शब्दों का प्रयोग उचित नहीं।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: It is* not unparliamentary. What is wrong- (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA) श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सुकुल जी को बिठाइये।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री सी.जी. इशार्दिबेग) : सुकुल जी आप जरा बैठ जाइये (व्यवधान) आर्डर प्लीज. (व्यवधान) जगतपाल सिंह जी बैठ जाइये।

सदन की परम्पराओं से आप अच्छी तरह वाकिफ हैं। दोनों तरफ के सदस्यों से मेरा अनुरोध है कि उन्हें कोई ऐसी बात सदन में नहीं कहनी चाहिए जिससे सदन की गरिमा को नुकसान पहुंचे, क्षति पहुंचे। इसके बारे में नियम हमारे सामने मौजूद हैं। इसलिए जब भी मेबरान बोलें वे इस बात का खयाल रखें कि उनकी किसी बात से सदन की गरिमा और कन्वेंशंस को कोई नुकसान न पहुंचे, ऐसी कोई बात न की जाय।

ड० [(श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिशी] : इस साइड में और उस साइड में दोनों गलत है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री सी.जी. इशार्दिबेग) : वही मैं कह रहा हूं। सुकुल जी आ 77 खत्म करिये।

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: One has to call a spade a spade. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will take one minute more.

They talk of right of information. And although our Members wanted the details of the abduction of Miss Rubiya but these details have not been furnished. What right of information can they ensure? They are talking of right of work. Can they give unemployment allowance to everyone in the country who is unemployed? It is all fraud that they want to play on the nation. They cannot fulfil any of their promises. That is why I say. Sir, that this President's Address- is nothing but fictional and the nation is not going to take it seriously.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I welcome the President's Address, and fully support it. We fervently wished for a change and are so happy that it has come* about- The new Government's actions and intentions augur well for the country and its people. A Government which could not give justice to the victims of November 1984 killings, which had little respect for human rights and which lacked basic political morality had to go and we are very happy to see that we are rid of it

Owing to the limited time allotted to me, I shall concentrate on Paragraph 6 of the Address and deal with the Punjab situation at some length. For Punjabis it has been a deliverance from the oppressive, dictatorial, unjust and violent rule, of nearly three years! No wonder that in spite of use of every strategem 'trick' and manipulation, the Congress suffered a humiliating defeat in the State.

The Punjab problem has defied solution so far because the previous Government 'was never sincere or serious about it. Moreover, it tried to solve it by brute force and sheer terror. This has made it more intract-

able. On top of it, the last Governor has deliberately left it in shambles. Apart from the humiliating defeat that the Congress has suffered at the hands of Punjabis, they have given a positive verdict in favour of Akali Dal (Mann Group). Akali Dal (Mann Group) has won six seats by landslide victories "and the three candidates it supported have also won landslide victories. This verdict of the voters should not be misread or misconstrued. It is being said that it was because of the fear complex that people were made to vote for the Mann Group. I would like to read a paragraph from the Tribune, which is published from Chandigarh, dated November 29. The paper says:

"It will be wrong and even dangerous to conclude that fear was the key to the election result; The high percentage of polling and the orderliness visible on polling day testify to the absence of fear. After all, a high voter turnout cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, go with an atmosphere of panic. Incidentally, the UAD (Mann) can-, didates and also those supported " by it campaigned on the slogan of Hindu-Sikh unity. There can be no other reason which can explain the over three-lakh and over four-lakh margins of victory for Mrs. Bimal Khalsa and Mr. S. S. Mann. "

I would, therefore, like to say that. this is the verdict of the voters and it should not be misread and misconstrued. Let us be realists and accept that this is a sympathy vote and a vote for the younger people of shoulder responsibility and leadership. This also shows that the people were rather disappointed with the older leaders.

The elected members of the, - Mann Group have sworn their fidelity to the integrity of the country. Why should we doubt them? I plead humbly that faith begets faith- Let us build on people's verdict and do not hesitate.

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora] Three years of president's rule has only complicated and worsened the situation. Prevarication will create doubts in their minds that you do not trust them or you are not sincere about solving, or should I say salvaging the situation. I think if we are to solve this problem, we have to accept that Mann Group should be encouraged and should be fully trusted. As you know, that Mann group has stated that they are not for Khalistan. And, therefore, I feel that it is the only group that can bring the young people into the mainstream. Support this group as voters have supported it. Do not negate their vote. •.

I do appreciate and understand the apprehension of the people about the continuing killings and other threats. For this, we need to analyse the pre-sen' structure of violence and surcharged emotional atmosphere. There are four types of terrorists involved in Punjab today. The first group is those whom you can call Khalistanis, who have been embittered to such an extent that they believe that the Sikhs can only survive and flourish if Punjab ceases to be a part of India. These are very few and many can be persuaded to change once the conditions change in the State. Then there is the second group, and they are professional smugglers, dacoit, gun-runners and drug traffickers, fishing in troubled waters, and there are also people who are being manipulated from across the border. These have to be dealt with severely under the law of the land. There is a third group of unemployed youth, specially coming from weaker sections of the community from the villages who find that there is no job but they can make a quick buck by anti-social and illegal activities. These can also be reformed. Lastly, and possibly the most dangerous group today is the specially raised vigilante squads of the police for killing terrorists, who more often than not indulge in extortion of money and killing of innocent people

in fake encounters. In these, you can also add some segments" of the police who have been given *care bdanche* and have indulged in all types of netarious activities to enrich themselves or to satisfy their sadistic instincts. *(Time bell rings)* I will take just two more minutes.

No emerging leadership can eradicate this violence in a short time without being in power. "My request, therefore, is, do not stall the democratic processes. Hold the election to the State Assembly as - soon as you can, if not simultaneously, then in a fortnight or so later to ensure adequate security arrangements. Be courageous and give the youngsters a chance to come into the mainstream.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please conclude now.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I am finishing.

And to create conditions conducive to holding of elections, accept some of the demands which have been voiced by practically all sections of the Sikh leadership, -that is moderates and extremists. They are: together with the Fifty-Ninth Amendment, withdraw all black laws; dismantle the state oppressive apparatus at least by transferring Some of the officials who have been associated with the last Governor; gradually, by stages, withdraw CRP and BSF back to the barracks. After election, you may be able to thin them out of Punjab by stages. *(Time Bell rings)* Eventually, a general, amnesty should be declared. But this may be done by the State Government when it is elected and formed after the elections. This should not prevent the release of such innocent people who have been incarcerated at the whims and fancies of some police authorities.

Before concluding, I would like to strike a note of warning and this is very important. Do not ignore the threat of active intervention by Pakistan in the Jammu and Kashmir

affair. The Pakistan Army is smarting under the decisive defeat it suffered in Bangladesh at the hands of the Indian Army in 1971. The political situation in Jammu and Kashmir is fraught with greater danger than that in Punjab. You have an opportunity now to improve the situation in Punjab and do not hesitate. A firm base in Punjab—I would like, to underline this—images our strategic position vis-a-vis Pakistan's threat in Jammu and Kashmir and in Punjab unassailable.

I end by wholeheartedly supporting the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address and wish the National Front Government the best of luck in its endeavours to infuse a new spirit in the country, of genuine reconciliation and mutual faith and trust. Thank you.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I was talking about the general situation. I was not talking about the individuals who are laying down preconditions which", to my

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, हम आपके भाषण के लिए बहुत शुक्रगुजार हैं, लेकिन मान साहब ने कहा है कि हम बड़ा-बड़ा कृपाण लेकर हाऊस में आयेंगे और कोई कहता है कि हम विशूल लेकर आयेंगे और कोई कहता है कि धनुष लेकर आयेंगे, तो हम यह पूछना चाहते हैं...

श्री जगेश बैताई : वह तो आपको सोचना है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : यह प्राबल्य तो सब का है।

श्री सुरेशजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : वह हम लोगों ने अली नहीं किया।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : एलाऊ तो किसी ने नहीं किया है। कहने तो दीजिए। तो हम कह रहे हैं कि जरा इस पर भी साफ कर दें जनरल साहब कि हम छोटा-मोटा कृपाण लेकर आयें, तो ठीक है, लेकिन बड़ा लेकर आयेंगे तो कहीं चल गया, तो क्या होगा।

mind, are very

minor and which should not really detract from the main course of action. (Interruptions)...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: When all minor weapons come in, they become major weapons. (Interruptions)

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): I would like to inform hon. Members that earlier, Mr. Sukul used the word *. I find that this word is unparliamentary. It will not go on record. Shri Ramesh-war Thakur.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Address by the hon. President of India to both Houses of Parliament on the 20th December, 1989, deals with economic aspects in paragraph 21.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Mr. Thakur, please conclude within ten minutes.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: • But I regret to say that the various aspect have been touched upon in general terms and is full of platitudes. The earlier Addresses used to contain more specifically the Government's policies and programmes and the details thereof. But this Address lacks clarity, direction and there is no specific plan of action in regard to the Government's policies.

I have heard with rapt attention my friend, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, and other Members from the treasury benches. They have been good enough to mention that nothing has been achieved during the last 42 years, that the economy is in shambles, that long-term damage has been done and so on. In this connection, I would like to say that we should make an objective assessment of the achievements made and should not be biased on that score. Through Plan after Plan, and more particularly during the last five years, there has been a tremendous progress allround so far as the economic front is concerned. The economic growth has been of the order of 5 per cent in the Sixth and Seventh Five-year Plans

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

against 1 to 2 per cent between 1901 and 1947. There is a record agricultural production of 172 million tonnes. The industrial growth is 8. 6 per cent. In the case exports, it is more than 50 per cent in the last two years, cumulative. Similarly, In other areas we have achieved massive success. We should take into consideration the growth rate right from the First Plan. The growth rate envisaged in the First Plan was 3. 6 per cent, in the Second Plan 4. 0 per cent, in the Third Plan 2. 2 per cent, in the Fourth Plan 3. 4 per cent, in the Fifth Plan and Sixth Plan 5. 2 per cent and in the Seventh plan we expected the growth rate of 5. 5 per cent.

In the various sectors we find there has been a tremendous achievement during the Seventh Plan. The Plan outlay for agriculture was Rs. 4007 crores. It has reached to actual Rs. 5049 crores ■ and percentage wise it is 126 per cent. Similarly, the percentage for rural development would be 166, for irrigation 107, for energy 132 for industry 137, for transport 143, for communications 184 and for environment 128 per cent.

श्री सुरेश जीत सिंह ब्राह्मणवासीयाः
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इतने ग्रहण मुद्दे
पर यह आंकड़े दिए जा रहे हैं, न तो
आपके कोई मंत्री महोदय नोट कर रहे
हैं और न ही आपका भी ध्यान रहता
है, कम से कम यह बिजनेस का काम
जो है यह अंदर बैठकर भी कर सकते
हैं।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Maran is here.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: You are wrong. See whether notes are being taken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Mr. Maran is here and he is listening to all your speeches.

SHRI JEGESH DESAI: But he ' not taking notes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Is it obligatory on the Part of the Minister to take down notes?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Do not defend like this.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: you cannot dictate to the Minister to take down notes, you can demand the Minister's presence, hut not taking down notes by him.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: The percentage for general, economic services would be 160, for social services 112, for General services 261. The

remarkable thing to note is that in place of a total outlay of Rs. 95, 534 crores, we are going to spend Rs. 1, 30, 379 crores which will be 136 per cent. This is the achievement we have got and then to say that there has been no achievement- is very very unfortunate. Secondly, it Has also been said. that nothing has been achieved from

the First plan to the Seventh plan. I will give bare minimum data for the information of the House. This Is the increase from First plan to the Seventh plan. Food production increased by 3. 5 times, coal by 5-5 times, import by 11. 0 times, cement by 14 times, export by 33 times, import, by 43 times, electricity by 42 times, fertiliser consumption since 1955—56 by 141 times, crude oil production by 1464 times. This is the increase from First plan to the Seventh plan. And in spite of that if our Members say that nothing has been done, nothing has been done, nothing has been achieved, been achieved, it is the most unfortunate and unrealistic statement. Such statement should not be made by hon. respectable colleagues of mine.

Then I would like to mention that this is the achievement not only of the plan, not only of the Government but of the millions and millions of our farmers, artisans, -workers, scientists, engineers professionals and others who have contributed to the growth. It is not a national approach when you undermine the efforts of those people -who have contributed to the development of the nation.

In this connection, I would like to mention that not only this growth has been there, but revenue has also increased. The Total revenue of the centre and the State Government during the last five years is given below. In 1985—86, 43, 267; 1986—87 49, 540; in 1987—88, it went up to 56, 976; in 1988-89. 65, 443 and in 1989—90 it is expected to be 76, 041. There has been such a massive Increase in the revenue income. How can it be ignored to say that nothing has been achieved?

Similarly, in other areas, we have achieved success and development. Even on deficit financing, I would like to say briefly that it has been mentioned that Rs. 14, 000 crores was expected to be our deficit, but the deficit is likely to be, according to the latest report of the Reserve Bank of India, Rs. 33. 110 crores. But we must take into consideration the total expenditure. The total expenditure in the plan is of the order of Rs. 3, 58, 080 crores, in which the deficit will be Rs. 33, 110 crores, which means only 9. 2%. Now 9. 2% by any international economic or expert standards is a manageable figure. Therefore, the deficit which is said to be very high, is not a fair proposition.

Similary, in other areas also, our achievement has been very very laudable. From what records are they saying that nothing has been achieved. If we see the latest Reserve Bank of India report (1988—89) or the mid— term plan Appraisal of the planning commission, or other reports of the financial institutions like IDBI, or of the Asian Development Bank or World Bank or an independent body like the Institute for Economic Growth, we will find that the achievement has been there.

, Therefore. I would urge my friends opposite that they, should not undermine the achievements. There is scope for further improvement, no doubt, and we should try to achieve more during the Eighth plan or which we should make all efforts. 727 RS-10,

Since the time is short, I would only like to seek some clarifications from the hon. Minister. Many of these paragraphs are very short and nothing has been clarified. So the first clarification I would like to have is whether the Government believes in planned economy, and if so, whether the Eighth Plan will commence on schedule, i. e. on 1st April, 1990 and there will be no delay or a rolling plan.

Two, whether the growth rate envisaged for the Eight plan, i. e. a minimum of 6% of the plan outlay of over Rs. 8 lakh crores would be maintained and will no be slashed down.

Three, whether the Government believes in a mixed economy.

Four, whether apart from small and cottage industries, the Government will give full consideration and support to the medium and large industries, and

Five, whether the Government will recognise, protect and enhance the commanding position of the public sector and shall not weaken that position in any manner.

Six, whether the investment in the public sector undertakings in the coming years will be maintained in the Eighth plan and will not be less than that reached in the Seventh plan.

Seven, whether the Government will continue to implement, without or with modifications, the plans and schemes for poverty removal and employment generation like the 20-point programme, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and other existing schemes and will provide adequate funds for these during the coming years.

'Eight, whether the on-going schemes and projects of the Central Government and those initiated by the State Governments would continue to be included in the Eighth plan.

Nine, what steps the Government proposes to take to effectively bring the. people below the poverty line to

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

arpuled 5% during the Eighth plan and Ninth plan, which has been brought down from 51 in 1978-79 to below 31% during 1989 and what specific steps is the Government planning to take in relation to debt relief on loans below Rs. 10, 000? I would like to know whether the Government's intention is to write off the said debts in full and that the banks and other financial institutions would be reimbursed for the advances made by them as part of their normal lending business so that they do not become sick or red, whether in the process of decentralisation and providing an important role to the cottage, village and small and consumer durable industries, the cottage and village industries founded by the father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, would continue to (receive the place of pride and that substantial funds would be provided for the same.

Lastly, I want to know whether in the process of giving priority and a dominating role to the cottage and small-scale industries, the role of science and technology, latest technology in industry will not be diluted.

Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Prof. Lakshmananna.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): I think there are lot of people from this side. I am not objecting to Prof. Lakshmananna speaking now. He is a very good friend of mine. I am pointing out the convention. Only after finishing the first round of speakers, are the second round of speakers called to speak. Now I find that you have gone to the second-round speakers of the Telugu Desam. You may call some more speakers from here, and then you can give Prof. Lakshmananna a chance to speak. Since you have called him now, I have no objection, I cannot object to his speaking.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please try to conclude your speech within five minutes.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I shall try to be as brief as possible.

In the first instance I would like to refer to the Presidential Address in four parts". The first is with regard to the commitment of the new Government. The second is with regard to the political, economic and social aspects about the programme of action that has to be initiated by the new Government which has come into existence.

In this connection, Sir, the President has paid tributes to the maturity of the Indian electorate because they stood for change. Sir, in this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the entire House including the Opposition parties that the National Front as a party was committed to it even in its manifesto—it was the first to issue the manifesto—and the wordings were such that what has subsequently come about is only reinforcing what has been stated in the manifesto. The manifesto has stated:

"Burdened by the price rise, hurt by violence, fractured by communalism and ashamed by corruption at the top, the nation longs for relief. At last The hour of change has struck. "

Sir, the hour of change did strike. Therefore, today we have got the Government which is a new Government and which is standing for change.

Sir, having stated this, I would like to go to the second aspect. What did the President say? The President said

very clearly, and that has to be noted carefully -.

■'In this Address I am confining myself to the broad issues that the Government propose to tackle. "

Then he goes on to state what are those problems. Therefore, Sir, this was an Address for the Government which is starting and for the year, perhaps, 1990-91—we have to treat it that way—or for the years to come, the next five years. If that is the case, the Presidential Address does mention what the immediate tasks are that are before the Government and before the people to be tackled. In that process, if they only confine to that, I see no reason why the Opposition here should be so worried about something not having been mentioned.

Sir, before I come to the political and social aspects where the healing touch has to be given, I will come to the economic aspects first.

Sir, Shri Chavan is a very elderly person, a mature person, person with great administrative and political experience, and he had been the Finance Minister. If somebody says that the coffers are empty, he took it literally. He started asking, "Can the coffers be empty?" Who says? The whole thing has to be taken euphemistically. Sir, I would only like to point out that about 30 economists met in the month of August. They are not necessarily economists of the National Front. There may be a few among those who are now supporting the National Front. They said the Indian economy is facing a serious crisis. "The manifestations are the burgeoning external debt estimated at more than one lakh crores of rupees. The fiscal crisis reflected in the mounting excess of the Government expenditure over its income financed by deficit financing and internal borrowing, a phenomenal growth in consumption that aggravates the social divide and leaves labour and equipment unutilised in many sectors. A return; to, a rapid rate's of price increase, the

Serious strains in an already inadequate public distribution system as a result of the inability of the Government to procure adequate stocks and, finally, a sharp increase in unemployment. " This is the verdict given by 30 to 40 economists who assembled in the month of August to review the economic situation.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Which paper are you reading?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am reading The People's Front.

AN HON MEMBER: Not the National Front?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I don't know.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Who are the economists? Whose paper is this? This is very important. When the contents of what he is reading are going on record let the House know who are the economists and to which political party this paper belongs. It is a propaganda paper.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I don't mind reading out the names provided the Vice-Chairman does not count this time against mine. I am prepared to read out. Prof. H. K. Paranjpe, K. S. Krishnaswamy, Balwant Reddy, Krishna Raj, Deepak Nair, Pushpa Patnaik, B. S. Barua, Atul Sharma, Nirmal Chandra, Krishna Bhardwaj. Ashim Das Gupta...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Prof. he is asking the name of that paper.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I said it is People's Front.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): That is all right.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am not worried to which party it belongs. I am here to make a statement given by thirty odd great economist of the country whose names have been illustrious in the field of economics. Nothing more.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Will he also explain the people's verdict against his supremo, Mr. Rama Rao?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: If it had been Andhra Pradesh Assembly and if I was a member there, I would have been dutybound to explain. In the Parliament I am talking...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Don't bother about that, your time is being taken up. Already it is seven minutes now.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I can understand your heart burn, but that will not solve the problem.

The second thing is about the Economic Advisory Council. Again you will ask who they are? You know the names. I would quote only two pertinent things. "Yet the pattern of growth, methods of financing employed both internal as well as external have been such that at the end of the decade it would appear that this strategy of growth pursued especially over the last five years needs some crucial modifications, if growth with self-reliance and equity remains the central focus of the Government policies."

Again I would quote the Economic Advisory Council.

"The Economic Advisory Council had drawn attention to many of these problem areas in its earlier reports. The report on the current economic situation highlights the structural imbalances that underline current problems and tries to indicate priority areas for action for removing imbalances?"

Therefore, I would only cite one more example.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please conclude within one minute.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: If you say, I will sit down with this. I think I have not done justice to the topic that I have taken up."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): We have to look to the time also.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: The third point to which I would like to draw the attention of the former Finance Minister and respected Chavanji is this. The balance of payments position for the first six months is at Rs. 5, 400 crores whereas for the corresponding period during the previous year it was Rs. 6, 800 crores. That means there has been a fall Rs. 1, 400 crores. If this is not called off empty coffers, euphemistically speaking, what else is it?

Sir, the same report has also shown our foreign exchange balances falling down to as much as Rs. 5, 505 crores. If this is not moving towards empty coffers, then, what else is it?

Finally, Sir, I will touch upon only two important points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Now you conclude.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am giving suggestions for our own Government. For instance,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): I am giving only one minute.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: He has already exceeded the time-limit from the Government side. The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has assured that they will not take away our allotted time. What is this?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I want to impress upon the Government that we have not touched upon two important areas. You will agree with me. The population problem has been creating a lot of tension in the country. It has been offsetting the development which, we are trying to achieve. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to kindly look into this

population growth problem, and come forward with measures to contain it. *(Time bell rings)* I am concluding, Sir. We have committed ourselves to universal and primary education. I hope the new Government will move in this direction and try to bring about universalisation of education in real earnestness unlike what was attempted by the previous Government which was only a hazardous thing. Thank you.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in para 2. of the President's Address it has been stated "The people have given a clear verdict in favour of change." I am sorry to say that the present 'National Front Government gave this Address to the President to read it like that. The National Front Government came into existence because of the magnanimity of my leader, the Congress President, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. He did not stake his claim to form the Government. *(Interruptions)*... You don't understand the reality of the situation. The democratic values of this nation have been upheld by the Congress party from Panditji, Indiraji and Rajivji. The transfer of power took place in 1977 when Indiraji was the Prime Minister. I know about the constituents of the National Front Government. What is happening in the communist world? The people are struggling for the human right, and many people have been killed there. Here nothing of that sort is happening. The Congress leadership has given away the power very smoothly. Please do not underestimate this.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You are undermining the people.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: We are giving maximum respect to the people. The people of India still voted for the Congress party and we are the single largest majority party in the country. If you see the percentage of votes polled, " it is very clear. The people voted for the Congress party and its leader, Shri' Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: In one way you are correct. See the dismal performance of Rajiv Gandhi in" the last five years we registered an impressive growth. You can take and field and verify.. The National Front Government has to take effective steps to curb terrorism. The National Front Government, (TDP) was also there in the State of Andhra. Even today a number of MLAs are Being kidnapped. The State Government headed by Shri N: T. Rama. Rao encouraged these Naxalites and that is why the Naxalites. are doing it. There has been no mention of these things in the President's Address. Sir, our party is committed to helping the, weaker sections of society. Our party is all for reservation for the weaker sections of society, our great leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had advocated reservation for the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes. In our manifesto also, we have mentioned this thing very clearly and our party is one with the Government on this issue. But the National Front Government has not clarified its position in this respect. The other day, the hon. Minister, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, did not clarify the position while replying to the debate. I would like that the Prime Minister as well as Shri Ram Vilas Paswan should clarify the stand of the National Front Government with regard to the reservation policy. Today a statement has been made by Shri Kanshi Ram wherein he has categorically stated that the National Front Government is responsible for the current anti-reservation campaign Which is going on in the country. There Is no reaction from the Government to that statement. The Government must come un with a clear cut policy on reservation. Our party is committed to this issue. Your Deputy Prime Minister is saying something. Mr. Chandrashekhar is* saying another thing and Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan is keeping- quite. *(Interruptions)*. You have already spoken. Now. you ask the Prime Minister to reply.

Sir, they want to make everything open. They say Doordarshan and All..

[Shri Dipen Ghosh] India Radio would be given autonomy to ensure free flow of information. The hon. Minister, Shri Murasoli Maran, is here. Shri V. Gopalsamy is also sitting here. I am very happy. The other day, on the eve of the second anniversary of Dr. M. G. Ranw-chandran, there was a procession which was organised both by the DMK as well as the AIADMK people but only the DMK Chief Minister, Shri Karunanidhi was shown on the TV and not the AIADMK leader Miss Jayaialitha and her group. They are partisan. I do not know what the Prime Minister is going to say on this issue. Yesterday even own hon. Minister for Information and Broad-casting, Shri P. Upendra admitted that he has not given Instructions to any of the officials. To that, or leader shri Shivshanker said, "that means the Minister does not have control over them." But the hon. Minister did not agree with that. We know they are deliberately propagating their own ideas. We have no objection to that. But they should not have mentioned about free flow of information in the President's Address. *(Interruptions)*

Sir, our hon. Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Devi Lal, made a statement in Madras that the three-language policy would be pursued by the National Front Government. Shri Murasoli Maran is also a Minister in Centre. He represents the D. M. K. party. This party is still saying in Tamil Nadu that they are committed to the two-language formula. I have no quarrel with them. But what I would like to know from the Government is what policy they are going to pursue in this respect. The National Front Government wants to pursue the three-language formula. That means they are going to forego the two-language formula in Tamil Nadu. *(Interruption)*, No, you are in the Ministry. You must clarify this fact. People want to know about it. And this doublestandard will not 4 P. M. go long. That is why I am asking you. - *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is the double-standard of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who went to Kayalpattinam, a Muslim area, to address in Hindi, in Tamil Nadu. This is the double-standard Mr Rajiv Gandhi practised. Because the area has Muslim population, he started in Hindi. They did not understand because they did not know Hindi. This is the double-standard practised. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Mr. Gopalsamy, you may not know. I was with the then Prime Minister at that time. It is the people who asked him to speak in Hindi before he spoke. You do riot know that. And I know about that. *(Interruption)*.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Your Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister were taking oath in Hindi and you were keeping quiet. You are-compromising on your language policy because you are given a berth in the Ministry. That is your policy. You had been shouting when our people spoke in Hindi. But when the Prime Minister took oath in Hindi you were keeping quite. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Then, Sir, the National Front Government has announced, in the Presidential Address that they are going to waive the loans taken by farmers to the tune of Rs. 10, 000 each farmer. *(Interruption)*. It has announced waiver or relief. Now, the Congress Governments in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar Rajasthan and other States have come forward and announced to waiver of loans to the tune of Rs. 15, 000. But, in Tamil Nadu, agriculturists' organisation and political parties have demanded the immediate waiver of loans taken by small and medium fanners, weavers and small artisans. To our surprise, our State Government i in Tamil Nadu, led by Mr. Karunani-dhi, has not come forward to announce that like Kerala and West Bengal,

What Is their real policy? They announce some policy and they are not implementing it whereas the Congress Government was implementing what it announced. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: After coming into power, we waived loans to the tune of Rs. 107 crores.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please do not interrupt all the time. Let him conclude.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: That is only interest. You are under confusion. Your leaders are under confusion. Yesterday, he was telling that he would waive... *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please conclude now. Kindly don't interrupt him.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: It is our policy. What is your policy? You have said you are going to give relief to farmers. Are you giving it in the States? It was cheap popularity. We are giving. But you are not giving *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): Let me understand what Mr. Gopalsamy says. Kindly repeat it.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: While answering a question, you said, on the waiver of loans, waiving loans would not help. The Government was not committed to waiving loans because the Reserve Bank was objecting to it. That was the answer. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Whatever it is, you have said in the manifesto, but you are not implementing it.

Sir, my last point is with regard to Sri Lanka. After the National Front came to power, the situation in Sri Lanka is becoming worse and worse every day. Every day, hundreds of people are being chered, killed and murdered. The magnitude of the inflow

of the refugees is known well to everybody. Our friends, particularly Mr. Gopalsamy, know well about it. Now, today, this Government, according to he, has given a clean chit even to , Sri Lanka and the Sinhalese army along with certain vested interests in that area. Innocent Tamils are being killed. Of course, our Chief Minister has been assigned by the Prime Minister to discuss the problems of Tamils with the various groups. But, according to us, he has discussed it with only one group. It was the policy of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi which brought about the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: To butcher the Tamils there... *(Interruption*)*.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: We save the Tamils... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: To butcher the Tamils by sending our Army there... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: You please sit down. I am not yielding... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Please conclude now.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: It is not correct... *(interruptions)*... Mr. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, after talking to the LTTE leadership, has said that now the ball is in the court of the Central Government. I do not know where the ball is now. Sir, repeated requests are coming from various organizations in Sri Lanka. We are not supporting this group or that group. We are for a settlement and for peace in that area. But that is a question mark today. Now, one group is attacking another group and in the process, innocent Tamils are being killed. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The previous Government, your Government, did all that to butcher the Tamils... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. M JACOB: Have you the monopoly to threaten everybody?...

(Interruptions')... Have you the Monopoly to threaten everybody in this House?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You should advise your colleagues first... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Mr. Thangka-balu, please conclude now.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I am coming to my point now... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Do not quarrel among yourselves... (Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. - JACOB: Has Mr. Gopalsamy the monopoly to threaten everybody?... (Interruptions)... They have also the right to speak here... (Interruptions)... They have got a right to speak here... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Whenever they spoke, I did not interrupt and I kept quiet... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Now, please conclude

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Just in two minutes. Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): No, in half-a-minute.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Sir, I request the Government of India to come forward with a suitable solution and to help the Tamils in Sri Lanka to have a peaceful life in that area.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG): Thank you.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Unless and until peace is restored, the Government should not withdraw the IPKF. As long as the IPKF was there, the people were very happy. That was the mood of the people. We should respect the sentiments of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, not only of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, but also of the people in India. Mr. Gopalsamy was talking about Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and was saying that the Tamils were butchered.

It is Mr. Rajiv Gandhi only who saved your life... (Interruptions)... It is because of Rajiv Gandhi that you are sitting today. Do not forget that. I will tell you. You have violated all the norms, and you being a Member of Parliament you went to Sri Lanka without prior permission of both Governments. Your leader, Karunani-dhi, did not approve of it. He said: I do not know what happened to him. (Interruptions) It is the Prime Minister of India... (Interruptions) It is the Congress Party and Rajiv Gandhi who brought you to India safely. (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: On a point of order. Just now my learned friend Mr. Thangkabalu referred to Mr. Gopalsamy's alleged going to Sri Lanka and Rajiv Gandhi's reported helping him to come out of Sri Lanka. It was never referred to, though he was a Member of this House, which was an obligation on the part of the erstwhile Government. It was never referred to, though he was a Member of this House. This cannot go on record.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Nothing is unparliamentary in this.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I do not owe my life or anything to Rajiv Gandhi. I was not saved by anybody from the Indian side or the IPKF. Rather I was attacked by the IPKF. I was saved by LTTE in that island.

(Interruptions).

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have gone through the Address and I have found in the Address how this Government works. They have said regarding the right of information. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the right of information means concealment of information, distortion of information or to mislead the people. Yesterday only during the Question Hour when the discussion on the price rise was going on, Mr. Mirdha, the Minister, stated that after they came into power the prices were going down. I told them: you are telling an untruth and misleading the House, that the prices are

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[Shri. Jagesh Desai] coming down from the month of October 1989 when this Government was not in power, and that has been borne out by the paper, the Economic Council paper, given to us. Yesterday Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, the Minister for Home Affairs, when he was asked a certain question, in the name of secrecy, in the name of security, he did not disclose the place where Dr. Rubiya was confined was it so Secret? Is this kind of information hot to be given to the Members of Parliament? Therefore, I would like to emphasise that this Government wants to say something and act in some other manner. What was the performance of some of the members of this Government when they were in the Congress or during the Janata regime? I would like to give some figures. They say that we have emptied the coffers. They talk. They want to teach us how the economy should be run. I would give some facts and figures for this Government's consumption. Please don't forget the period from 1977 to 1980 when because of your rolling plan you had shattered the whole economy of the country. It was completely in a mess. We inherited such an economy that it took four years for our Government to put it again on the rails. What was your performance? In the year 1979-80, your growth rate was minus 4.7 per cent. In the earlier years, the growth rate was 5 per cent. At that time, some of your members, including Mr. Vajpayee, were in power. I can understand that at that time Telugu Desam and D. M. K. were not in the Government. Now the BJP says that they will see that this Government runs. They were partners in the Government then. And what was the picture then? The dismal picture was minus 4.7 per cent growth rate. Every kind of production went down. The agricultural production went down by 15.2 per cent. The foodgrains production was less by 16.2 per cent. What was the wholesale price index? I will upto tell you what was the role of some of the members of this Government when they were on this tide.

The wholesale price index had gone up by 21.4 per cent. This was their performance. Why? Because they had no policy, because they had a different kind of interest in the Government. The same thing is going to happen this time. I would not like to say that the BJP is a right reactionary party. Now they have the Left Parties. There are so many elements in it. Even the Shiv Sena which is with the BJP is now supporting this Government. If you are going to do it with the support of these parties, then I am sure you will not be able to implement your manifesto. Therefore, I would like to emphasise that if you want to govern this country, then you have to implement your manifesto. I will say that even in the Address of your Prime Minister, he did not *men-tiofi* the names of Panditji or Gandhiji. I would like to know *on* whose behest it was done.

Sir, there is talk about money supply. Our Prime Minister has said that the economy of this country is shattered because of money supply. What was the picture when Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister? The highest money supply in this country was in the year 1984-85. It was 18.9 per cent. Today also it is 17.7 per cent. Do you want to say that if this Prime Minister when he was the Finance Minister at that time could not control the money supply, he will be able to control the money supply now?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Because he was not the Prime Minister at that time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: What about the public sector? 70,000 crores of rupees have been given to the public sector in the last five years. And Arif Mohammad Khan has got the guts to say that Rajiv Gandhi was against the public sector. As you know, the fiscal concessions by way of permitting interest-free loans to the public sector on the money deposited in the public sector were given by this Government when Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister. At that time, Rajiv Gandhi had given all types of help to the pub-

lie sector because he wanted that the public sector should be run efficiently. What is the picture now? After these efforts, in the 28 public sector enterprises the production has gone up by 20 per cent in the month of August, the production has gone up by 20 per cent when compared to last August. In the last six months, the production has gone up by 22 per cent, and this is because of the efforts made by Rajiv Gandhi and telling them that 'you have to increase your efficiency, and by that you have to produce more, and the productivity has been achieved in the public sector. Earlier, there were losses. But -last year, Shakarraoji—if I am wrong, I may be corrected—my recollection is that the public sector has been given Rs. 70, 000 crores. Out of that Rs. 30, 000 crores was by way of equity, and the remaining is by way of loans. After giving the interest on loan, the public sector has earned in the years 1987-88 about Rs. 3, 000 crores because our Prime Minister had personally taken it upon himself to see that the public sector works efficiently. And this is the result. And he had the guts to say that the previous Prime Minister was against the public sector. I think, such kind of remarks by a member of the Cabinet are unwarranted, and I would like that he should again check up why this has happened. And I know, and I do not want to say about my personal talks with Mr. V. P. Singh or my friend, Mr. Dinesh Goswami. I have got that status. But I know the story of what had happened at that time. But I am not going to tell anything which was told to me privately. And as regards; the export and import trade... (Interruption) I am saying this because in the President's Address, they are saying that the whole economy is shattered. And what has happened? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to give one or two figures on this aspect. As regards the price rise, I have already said. Sir, in 1985*6, when Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister, the imports were to the tune of Rs. 19657 crores. And they had gone up by 14. 7 per cent. And the exports for the

first time in 1985-86, have gone down by 7. 2 per cent. Never have I seen this kind of a picture. So far, I said, we will see the performance of the past Government, and this Government. The performance of some of the persons who have gone from this side to that side is also not good. The exports have gone down by 8. 2 per cent. Mr. Dipen Ghosh, never had it happened ... (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Was it an individual's performance or the Government's performance?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I am saying this because Mr. Samar Mukherjee has said about this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is the - collective responsibility of the Cabinet. For all the evils, you blame the then Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, and for all the gains, you appreciate Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Mr. Dipen Ghosh, why I am saying this is because it is said that Mr. V. P. Singh had to collect revenue by way of raids... (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Desai, I can quote from your speech rendered in this House when Mr. V. P. Singh presented his Budget. We criticised it and you supported his Budget. I can quote from your speech.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I was the first person to oppose the abolition of the Estate Duty. You are Leftists now... (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: All of you have supported Mr. V. P. Singh's Budget. We opposed.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I have told him... (Interruptions) IF you want to help the feudals; yoti have got large estates. I told him.

(Interruptions)

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श्री दीपेन घोष : श्री पी. सिंह
को आपने वित्त मंत्री बनाया । आपने
उनका समर्थन किया था । हम ने
उनको वित्त मंत्री नहीं बनाया था ।
... (व्यवधान)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: As a Member of this House, I am speaking. I have my own views. Mr. Samar Mukherjee is saying that because of raids, he was able to collect the revenue, by way of taxation. Mr. Samar Mukherjee said that because of raids, Mr. V. P. Singh was able to collect revenue. But what is the picture?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is a fact.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Your paper -says something different please. *(Interruptions)*

In the case of G. D. P., earlier, it was 2. 1 per cent. But when Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister, it went down to 2 per cent. Again, it went up. But I must say this. It was in our election manifesto; about unearth, ing black money. Mr. V. P. Singh did some good work. *(Time bell rings)*. It was the collective wisdom of the Government. *(Interruptions)*

Another thing is, you have not provided any funds here for slum improvement. I do not find a single word in the Address regarding provision of funds for slum improvement. Nothing has been mentioned about housing for these people. Earlier, we were giving grants to the State Governments for slum improvement. It is these people who live in slums who produce the various goods. For improving their condition, we provided, our Government provided, funds. But your Government has not provided any funds for this purpose and the Address is completely silent on it. Of course, we have given time to you. You stick to your programmes. If your policies are progressive, we will support you. But you cannot solve the problems. You cannot do it because you: have to compromise with the B. J. P., on the one hand, which is a reactionary party, I believe, and

Communists on the other. You cannot do it. *(Interruptions)*

-Then, about the right to work. You said that you would give the right to work. On that basis, you got the votes. You got the votes from the younger generation in the name of giving them employment. But what have you done? The youth will organise themselves. They will arise. Earlier, they did not have this as a Fundamental Right and, therefore, they did not understand the implications. But you said you would give it. In his. speech on the television, your Prime Minister said...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Our Prime Minister.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Yes. Our Prime Minister.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Admit it,

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The Prime Minister said in his television speech that they would give this right. He has said this after assuming the office of the Prime Minister. Therefore, it is the policy of the Government. But now they say that they will try to do it. People are not going to be hoodwinked by this. Let us know from where you are going to find the re-sources.

With these words, I oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I have given notice of some amendments and I will speak at that time. Thank you.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank them that they are applauding the thumping desks while I rise to speak.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: You are mistaken.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We thumped the desks for Mr. Jagesh Desai's speech. Don't think that it was for yourself.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: - There is an expression in English 'pot calling the kettle black'. If one has to understand the meaning- and the implication of

this expression, one has just to go through the speeches made by my learned colleagues from the other side, belonging to the Congress (I).

Whatever they have criticised, whatever they have said and whatever they have suggested as a modification to the President's Address by way of amendments, whether it is in regard to Jammu and Kashmir or Punjab or the *Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid* controversy, it is all the legacy of the past which the new Government has inherited. Even Mr. S. B. Chavan will agree with me. He was the Home Minister at the Centre when the Punjab situation started worsening. Therefore, I say, whether it is the Punjab problem or the Jammu and Kashmir issue or the *Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid* controversy, it did not happen in a day or two. Surer ly, the Congress (I), as the ruling party at that time, has to admit that its policies were faulty.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya) in the Chair

Before criticising or before demanding any plan of action from the new Government. What they could not do during the last five years, they now want the same thing to be done by the new Government in five days. That is why I said that a pot calls the kettle black. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the most hallmark of this Address is the Government's promise to restore the hitherto throttled democratic institutions and the rights of the people by the erstwhile Government. Sir, you are aware that many a time in the past when the question of minority or majority of a ruling Government came, we in the opposition always wanted the majority of the ruling party to be assessed and determined on the floor of the Parliament or on the floor of the Legislature. Instead, it was being determined in the Chambers of the Governors or in the Rash-trapati Bhawan. Sir, for the first time

in the history of India's parliamentary democracy that principle, that demand of the opposition has been upheld by both the President of India and the Prime Minister of the new Government. For the first time, it was the President of India who called Shri V. P. Singh to form the Government and asked him to prove his majority on the floor of Parliament within 30 days. It was for the first time that our Prime Minister had sought the confidence vote on the floor of Lok Sabha and secured the confidence of the entire Lok Sabha. It is unfortunate on the part of the Indian parliamentary democracy that the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha could neither oppose nor accept that vote of confidence, it could neither vote against nor in favour. Of course, I know, having lost the power they have been reduced to a hung party, not 'hung parliament'. So, Sir, what I wanted to impress upon you is that if one is to find out the watershed in the President's Speech this year, he will have to find it out in paragraph 12. This Government have started, doing its work, upholding, the democratic principle by seeking vote of confidence on the floor of Parliament. So, in paragraph 12, rightly to the profess.... (*Interruptions*). I am not reading. They are going to repeal the 59th Amendment to the Constitution which had taken away even the right to life, not simply other fundamental rights. They have promised to repeal the Postal Bill by which the erstwhile Government had sought to intervene into the privacy of individual's life. Sir, I am not going to waste my time over what they have promised, but I must thank the new Government on behalf of my party that they have promised to restore the hitherto throttled democratic institutions and rights of the people taken away by the erstwhile Government. But here I want to point out and surely the Minister will take note of it...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN; He is not taking notes at all.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: They will be taking notes. You know, you had been the Minister. Who takes the notes and on whose behalf you speak and through whose write-ups you spoke. I know that.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: On whose behalf? The bureaucracy?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Naturally. You need not provoke me. I can tell you who takes the notes and on whose noting you give the reply, or make the speeches. Okay- Had I not seen some of your party members taking even the briefs from the officers from the gallery, then I would not have stated all these things.

SHRI M. M. JACOB:... I had statement. Even at that time when he mentioned it...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is on record, Mr. Jacob, you had to express regret for that.

SHRI M. M. JACOB... I had said that they came to see me and not any officer, if you are referring to some incident which happened.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I would like to draw your kind attention to this particular aspect which has been mentioned by my learned colleague, Mr. Chaturanan Mishra, that the previous Government had introduced a Bill in the Rajya Sabha—i. e. the Industrial Disputes and Trade Union Amendment Bill—with the intention of taking away the trade union rights of the working class of our country and making the workers of our country obsequious to the employers. I would urge upon the Government, while they have already promised to restore the hitherto throttled democratic institutions and the democratic rights of the people and they have also promised to repeal some of the Acts passed by the erstwhile Government, that they should withdraw that Bill—i. e. the Industrial Disputes and Trade Union Amendment Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA)- I

want to make a request to you. Kindly conclude at quarter to five.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Okay, thank you. You are very generous to.

Sir, at the same time, I would like to point out that here in paragraph 12, it has been mentioned that the amendment to the Commissions of Inquiry Act which sought to permit withholding of vital information from; the people and Parliament will be removed from the Statute Book. You know the context in which it came— in order to withhold the Thakkar Commission's Report from Parliament and from the people. For that purpose, the previous Government had amended that Act. But when some excerpts were published by some newspapers and we in the Opposition insisted on the publication of the entire report, though initially they denied and said that what was published in the newspaper report was not correct, but afterwards they had to lay it on the Table. But they did not lay on the Table the entire Thakkar Commission's Report. They suppressed that part of the report wherein Justice Thakkar had indicated the existence of the hand of the foreign agencies in the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and also their connection with some officials in the Prime Minister's office and-in Government of India in the Ministry of Defence. I would request the new Government to lay on the Table that suppressed part of the Thakkar Commission's Report so that the people and Parliament can come to know the foreign agencies which were behind the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi and the officials there at that time in the Ministry of Defence, or Government of India or in the Prime Minister's Office who had complicity with those foreign agencies.

Sir, now I want to say a few words about my senior colleague, Mr. S. B. Chavan's remarks made yesterday and my another senior colleague, Mr. Jagesh Desai's remarks made just now.

Mr. Chavan obviously owed an explanation to this House as ex-Finance Minister while taking part in this debate, rebutting some of the reported remarks made by some of the Ministers outside Parliament about the economic condition of our country. On the eve of the election he was the Finance Minister. After some hours we are going to discuss the economic note also. So, naturally, I do not want to waste much time by discussing that aspect. But only I want to say one thing. Mr. S. B. Chavan has stated that there was continuity, that no coffers remained anywhere at any time empty. It is true. There is continuity. But continuity by what? Continuity by growing indebtedness. You had kept the coffers full or rather half-full or quarter-full. You had not allowed the coffers to be empty. By what? By increasing indebtedness. People outside do not understand it. When a commercial firm runs short of liquidity, that firm goes to the bank and draws an overdraft. That commercial firm has to pay back. But what happens in the case of Central Government? It draws a short-term treasury bill on the Reserve Bank of India. When the question of paying back that treasury bill comes, then, it draws another short-term treasury bill. This way the continuity goes on. That apart, there is commercial borrowings. With the continuity the indebtedness of the Government increases. So, according to the OBCD report, the internal and external debts together constitute Rs. 1, 96, 000 crores just when Mr. S. B. Chavan was the Finance Minister.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: What about the asset created?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I can tell you that according to the last Budget presented by Mr. Chavan the total asset was short, was less by Rs. 59, 000 crores than the total liability. You check up that Budget. I am not going to waste time on that. That is why, -whatever strength you wanted to portray the Indian economy that way

—I am not in full agreement with what that note suggests because that note also ultimately had to suggest a rosy picture—that rosy picture is not a rosy picture really. What has contributed to that higher growth rate?, The services and then the consumer goods, not the wage goods, consumer durables.

So, the necessity is for a shift in the economic policy, a shift from the previous policy which I expect from the new Government. There are some hard options, and those options have to be accepted. There must be a cut on import. There must be a restraint, if not total opposition to the multinational corporations' entry into our country. There must be an effective effort to reduce indebtedness, to reduce dependence on debt.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Why is Mr. Gorbachev inviting multinationals?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: To that I will reply after the House adjourns. You come to my house. I will explain what Mr. Gorbachev has stated, and what my stand is,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Over a cup of tea.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Over a cup of tea, of course.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Please give me.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sure. You are invited to my place.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You are a communist, I know.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: So, Sir, I am going to complete my speech. I would like to have a specific clarification from the new Government. It has not been that way very much specifically mentioned. That is what Mr. Yashwant Sinha mentioned while moving the motion. You know, Sir, including you, when you were in the Opposition, that we had opposed Pepsies coming to our

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

country. We opposed not because the Pepsi was a bad product, but because of the priorities and emphasis to be given to which sector—this sector or that sector.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Do you want to go back on international commitments?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: No, I don't want to go back on international commitments, but my friend does not know the agreement which the Punjab Agro-Industries and the Pepsi had entered into with Voltas, now, that Pepsi is trying to back on their agreement. Now they are saying that according to that agreement they cannot export, according to the agreement they cannot produce these things. So, they wanted to bend the rules. That I have already pointed out to the new Prime Minister. I know he ins and outs of that agreement and the activities of Pepsi going on in India. I have already written to the Prime Minister. So, I would request our Leader of the House when the Prime Minister replies, I would be happy to know his reaction about this.

Finally, Sir, yesterday Mr. Chavan had pointed out about Super-301. You know my party's position. When *the* previous Government led by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was here. It was I who raised this issue on the floor of this House. Rajiv Gandhi also did not clarify though he might have clarified to Jagesh Desai.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: No. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I know what is the relationship between Rajiv Gandhi and President Bush and when President Bush came how a personal letter was exchanged between Rajiv Gandhi and President Bush and Lady Rajiv Gandhi and Lady Bush, (*interruptions*) I know that. That is why I started with the English saying pot calls the kettle black'. That w. Ry they

have no cheek to criticise this Government on this issue because whatever American intervention has taken place in the Indian economy and in its political affairs, that has taken place during the last thirtynine and a half years ruled by the Congress party.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: And what about the two and a half years of Janata rule?

AN HON. MEMBER: Coca Cola was kicked out then.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I can quote from Rajiv Gandhi's speech, what he said in the Rajya Sabha here after his last visit to the United States: "Now the USA is a greater partner in our trade." He said so on the floor of this House. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we want a clarification from the Prime Minister of the new Government on the reported news in *India Abroad* about Super 301.

While concluding I want to say that we stand by the non-alignment policy of our country. We stand by the policy of peace against war and against intervention by the imperialists, but we want to tell them—we have already told you—that the policy of non-alignment was not the policy of any particular individual Prime Minister, whether it was Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi or Rajiv Gandhi. It was the policy of the people of India. And no Government in India could dare oppose that policy because it was the policy of the people of India. So, in conclusion I would say because this new Government has been installed by the people's mandate and the stability of this Government lies in the fulfilment of the promises given to the people, I have full faith and confidence in the new leadership and the new Government that it would fulfil the promises it has given to the people. The President's Address is very short but very specific. It is indicative of their forthrightness of the promises made to the people. It is also indicative of their sincerity to

fulfil the promises made to the people. I hope with the support of the people, they will fulfil these promises. I support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Shri Syed Sibtey Razi. Please take 5-6 minutes.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh): Why this discrimination?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Because there are many speakers from your party.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The Janata Dal has taken more time than the allotted time.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI: At least give me ten minutes.

महोदय, मैं आपका शुक्रगुजार हूँ जो आपने मुझे इस मिनट बोलने का मौका दिया। मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। खासतौर पर जो इस अभिभाषण के अंदर पैराग्राफ 16 और 4 में जो बातें कही गई हैं उन्हीं पर मैं अपने इस वक्तव्य को केंद्रित करने की कोशिश करूंगा।

पैराग्राफ 16 में कहा गया है कि सरकार इस बात की पूरी गारंटी देगी कि अल्पसंख्यक निर्भय होकर जीवन-व्यतीत करें और राष्ट्र की प्रगति में समान भागीदार बनें। आज यह राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे की सरकार जिन लोगों के साथ मिलकर सत्ता के तख्त पर बैठी हुई है उसमें एक घटक ऐसा है जिसने अपने मैनीफेस्टो के अंदर, अपने चुनाव घोषणापत्र के अंदर कुछ ऐसी बातें स्पष्टरूप से कहीं हैं जिनसे इस देश में रहने वाले अल्पसंख्यकों के दिल में एक डर की भावना आ गई है। इस मैनीफेस्टो को देखते हुए राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जो उनसे कहलाने का प्रयास कराया गया है वह इस सरकार के विरोधाभास का पूर्णरूप से द्योतक है। क्या निर्भय उस हैसियत से रहना होगा जिस प्रकार से एक नम्बर दो का नागरिक किसी

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देश में रहता है? निर्भय क्या हमें उस सूरत में रहना चाहिये जब हमारे पर्सनल ला को समाप्त कर दिया जायेगा? यदि पर्सनल ला को समाप्त नहीं किया जाएगा तो निर्भय होने की गारंटी क्या हम से छीन ली जायेगी? क्या अल्पसंख्यकों की भाषा, उनकी संस्कृति, उनका सखावत, उनकी तहजीब पूर्णरूप से सुरक्षित रहेगी या नहीं? भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने अपने मैनीफेस्टो के अंदर पर्सनल ला के सिलसिले में, माइनारिटी कमीशन के सिलसिले में और आर्टिकल 370 के सिलसिले में बहुत सारी ऐसी बातें कही हैं। खासतौर पर उन्होंने अपने चुनाव घोषणापत्र में पाजिटिव सेकुलरिज्म की बात कही है। पाजिटिव सेकुलरिज्म क्या है, इसके बारे में वे अपने कई अधिवेशनों में इंगित कर चुके हैं। उनके कई सदस्यों ने टेलीविजन पर और चुनाव के बाद और चुनाव के पहले चुनाव सभाओं में एक खास धर्म की तरफ लोगों का ध्यान आकर्षित करने का प्रयास किया है। आज इस देश के अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा चाहिये, उन्हें निर्भय होने का, रहने का हक इस देश के अंदर है, समान नागरिक होने के अधिकार के आधार पर, इस देश के संविधान के आधार पर। लेकिन निर्भय होने की चिट हम कभी भी इस आधार पर लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं कि हमारे जो व्यक्तिगत सखावत हैं, जो तहजीब है, जो तब्वदुम हैं, हमारा जो कल्चर है उस पर किसी तरह की आंच आये। सवाल इस बात का है कि क्या हमारी इबादतगाहें महफूज रहेंगी या नहीं। सवाल इस बात का है कि क्या हमारी दरगाहें चलेंगी या नहीं? सवाल इस बात का है कि क्या हम अपने मजहबी अरकान को आजादी के साथ अदा कर पायेंगे या नहीं? हम शुक्रगुजार हैं पिछले चालीस सालों से कांग्रेस रूल के, कांग्रेस हुकूमत के और कांग्रेस आंदोलन के जिसने हिन्दू और मुसलमानों को बराबरी पर खड़ा किया। आजादी के बाद जब उसने हमारा संविधान बनाया तो बराबर का हक दिया। दिरों में अगर भगवान

[श्री सैयद सित्ते रज़ी]

की स्तुति का हक होगा तो मस्जिदों में अल्ला-हो-अकबर के नारे भी बुलंद होंगे जहाँ ? बिरिजाचरों में ईसा मसीह की स्तुति होगी वहीं गुरु का नारा गुरुद्वारों में बुलंद होगा। आज इस प्रकार का एक भय पैदा हो रहा है कि शायद हमारे अल्पसंख्यकों के जो बहुत से अधिकार हैं वे छिन सकते हैं। आज मैं सवाल करना चाहूँगा हमारे विश्व हिन्दू परिषद् के नेताओं ने कहा है कि जनवरी के आखरी सप्ताह में मन्दिर का निर्माण किसी भी सूरत में शुरू कर देंगे चाहे कोर्ट का फैसला आए या न आए। अगर कोर्ट का फैसला पक्ष में आएगा तो ठीक है अगर विरुद्ध आएगा तो भी कोर्ट का फैसला नहीं मानेंगे। मैं जानना चाहूँगा सरकार से जो पिछले 15-20 दिनों की सरकार है क्या उसने इस सिलसिले में कोई इनिशियेटिव लिया है क्या विश्व हिन्दू परिषद् को बुला कर या बाबरी ऐक्शन कमेटी के सदस्यों को बुला कर या दूसरे सिटिजन्स को बुला कर क्या कोई कन्सेंसस पैदा करने की कोशिश की है ताकि इस तरह से इबादतगारों को तबाह होने से बचाया जा सके क्योंकि यह सरकार एक राष्ट्रीय कन्सेंसस की बात करती है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस सिलसिले में कोई शुरूआत की गई है या नहीं ? आज दुनिया के कई हिस्सों में हलचल है और इस हलचल में जब हम अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीतिक मंच पर नजर उठा कर देखते हैं तो भारत का स्थान खाली खाली नजर आता है। यह इसलिए है कि जब भी किसी ताकत ने चाहे वह कितनी बड़ी ताकत क्यों न हो किसी भी देश पर हमला किया है मिलिटरी एग्जेशन किया है तो भारत के प्रधान मंत्री ने, भारत की सरकार ने उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठाई है। आज पानामा के अन्दर कुछ दिन पहले और आज भी जो ताकत और शक्ति का नंगा नाच नाचा जा रहा है उसके खिलाफ किस तरह से झिझकते हुए हमने स्टेटमेंट दिया है। उसका गवाह हमारा यह हाउस है। (समय की घंटी) मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि एक वो वक्त था आज दुनिया के लोग भारत के नेतृत्व को याद कर रहे हैं। एक वक्त वो था जब सारी दुनिया के लोगों को हम रास्ता दिखाते थे, गुट निरपेक्ष आन्दोलन को हम सही रास्ते पर ले जा रहे थे। आज

गुटनिरपेक्ष आन्दोलन में कुछ कमजोरी आती हुई नजर आ रही है। आज सत्ता उन लोगों के हाथ में पहुँच गई है जो सही मायने में पूर्ण रूप से सारी दुनिया के नक्शों को पहचानते भी नहीं हैं, तो जो लोग भारत के नक्शों को न पहचानते हो जो यह कहें कि सेंटर एक मिथ है यदि सेंटर मिथ है तो भारत भी मिथ है तो फिर हम कहाँ पर हैं ? ऐसे अदूरदर्शी लोगों की सरकार को इस बात के बारे में सोचना चाहिये कि दुनिया के लोगों के बारे में क्या सोच रहे हैं। 301 और सुपर 301 की बात कही। राजीव गांधी जब प्रधानमंत्री थे तो उन्होंने उस समय डट कर यह कहा कि हम किसी भी बाहरी कानून के तहत किसी भी मुल्क से चाहे वह कितना शक्तिशाली भूतद्भ्य, अमीर और ताकतवर क्यों न हो बात नहीं करेंगे और हम किसी भी मुल्क के सामने झुकेंगे नहीं। अगर कोई मुल्क हमें अपनी टर्म्स ब्रिक्लेट करेगा तो हम उनकी मानेंगे नहीं। अंत में मैं कहना चाहूँगा पिछले पांच साल हमारे गौरव के साल थे भारत को प्रतिष्ठा मिली भारत को इज्जत मिली यूनाइटेड नेशंस और दूसरे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मंचों के ऊपर हमारी आवाज पर ध्यान दिया गया। अफसोस इस बात का है कि हमारे खिलाफ पूरी साजिश रची गई। पिछले पांच सालों के अन्दर हमारे नेता हमारी सरकार के महत्वपूर्ण नेतागण जो हैं उनका किस तरह से करेक्टर असेसिनेशन किया जा सकता है। कसूर इस बात का था कि हम आत्मनिर्भरता के रास्ते पर चल रहे थे, अपने साथ विकासशील देशों को ले कर चल रहे थे।

[उपसमापति पीठासीन हुई]

कसूर इस बात का था कि हमने विकासशील देशों के लिए आवाज उठाई, हमने अग्नि का कामयाब तज़रबा किया हालाँकि यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स हम पर पूरा दबाव डाल रहा था कि हम किसी तरह से यह तज़ुबा न करें। आज हम को अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हुआ देख कर अपनी सोवरेटी की रक्षा करने के हम काबिल हैं, किसी फौजी मुहाजिद के अन्दर दाखिल नहीं हुए हैं (समय की घंटी) बहुत सी ताकतें इस बात पर उलझन खड़ी कर रही हैं। मैं आखीर में कहना चाहूँगा यह ट्रेड हमारे खिलाफ जो चल रहा था वह बहुत पुराना है। मैं यह भी याद दिलाता चाहूँगा रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के एक मंत्री बली हरगर

जो कैलिफोर्निया के हैं उन्होंने कांग्रेस के अन्दर कोशिश की कि 25 मिलियन डॉलर जो भारत के विकास के लिए दिये जा रहे हैं उसमें कटौती कर दी जाए और वहाना यह बनाया गया कि पंजाब में हथुमेन राइट्स का इश्यु है, वहाना यह बनाया गया कि भारत अफगानिस्तान की मौजूदा हकूमत को सपोर्ट कर रहा है, वहाना यह बनाया गया कि भारत नान-प्रोलिफ़ेशन ट्रीटी पर दस्तखत नहीं कर रहा है, वहाना यह बनाया गया कि भारत अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा नियमों का पालन नहीं कर रहा है। इन बातों को सामने रखते हुए दुनिया का सब से बड़ा जनतंत्र जब भी किसी लोकतान्त्रिक देश पर मुसीबत आई है जब भी मासूमों के खिलाफ़ ज़ारहाना कार्यवाहियाँ की गईं चाहे वह फिलिस्तिन का मामला रहा हो, चाहे वह लेबनान का मामला रहा हो, चाहे वह मालदीव का मामला रहा हो मालदीव में हमारी फौजें गयीं, हमने एक अच्छे पड़ोसी का हक़ अदा किया।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I understand you have a very good speech. But I have many speakers from the Congress party.

श्री संयद सिद्धे रज़ी : श्रीलंका के अन्दर हम गए उनकी सरकार के बुलाने पर और जयवर्धने साहब जो वहां के राष्ट्रपति थे, रिकार्ड के ऊपर उनका स्टेटमेंट है कि भारत हमारी मदद के लिए नहीं आता तो श्रीलंका खत्म हो जाता . . . (व्यवधान)

आखिर में, मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इस अभिभाषण के अन्दर पैराग्राफ 4 के अंदर कहा गया है "मेरी सरकार जनादेश को पूरा करने के लिए वचनबद्ध है। सरकार राष्ट्र एवं व्यक्ति की गरिमा को पुनः स्थापित करने के लिए कार्य करेगी" पिछले 5 सालों में राष्ट्र की गरिमा बढ़ी है। इस तरह से राष्ट्र को भ्रमित करने का प्रयास किया गया है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

उपसभापति : डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह। कृपया आप पांच मिनट लें, मेरे ऊपर बहुत आपका करम होगा।

डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभापति महोदया, मैं प्रयास करूंगा कि मैं अपनी बात 4 मिनट में पूरी करूं।

आपका मैं हृदय से आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझको राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर प्रदान किया है। महोदया, साधारण निर्वाचन से उत्तर भारत की जनता ने कांग्रेस "आई" को लोकसभा में बहुमत / नहीं प्रदान किया। इस पर नाना प्रकार की बातें कही गयीं हैं। कहा गया है कि भारत की जनता ने राजीव जी के नेतृत्व के विरुद्ध मतदान किया है, कहा गया है कि कांग्रेस "आई" के विपक्ष में मतदान किया है, कहा गया है कि श्री वी० पी० सिंह के नेतृत्व के पक्ष में मतदान किया है और यह भी कहा गया है कि जनता दल और राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे के पक्ष में मत किया गया है आदि, आदि। महोदया, यह सब वास्तविक नहीं है। वास्तविकता यह है कि भारत की अखंडता, प्रभुसत्ता, लोक तन्त्र, समाजवाद, धर्म-निरपेक्षता के लिए गरीबी, बेकारी, बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिए, अनुसूचित जातियों, जनजातियों अल्पसंख्यकों, कृषकों और श्रमिकों, महिलाओं तथा युवकों के लिए परम आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने प्रधान मंत्री के रूप में अपने 5 वर्षों के कार्य काल में जितना कार्य किया, वह भारत के स्वाधीनता के इतिहास में कभी नहीं हुआ और इन 5 वर्षों का उनका कार्यकाल भारत के स्वाधान इतिहास में स्वर्ण अक्षरों से लिखा जाएगा। जनता ने उत्तर भारत में कांग्रेस को बहुमत नहीं प्रदान किया है, उसका एक मात्र कारण राम जन्म भूमि और बाबरी मस्जिद का प्रश्न था। महोदया, माननीय सदन को यह ज्ञात है कि कांग्रेस "आई" एक धर्म-निरपेक्ष दल है, उसके लिए हिन्दू और मुस्लिम में अन्तर कर पाना कठिन है। कांग्रेस "आई" ने सदा ही हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई सबको बराबर सनझा है और इस बात के लिए वह प्रतिबद्ध है, वचनबद्ध है कि भविष्य में भी जब तक कांग्रेस

[डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह]

का अस्तित्व है, तब तक वह हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख और ईसाई में न अन्तर किया है और न करेगी और जिससे आशा होती है, उसी से अप्रसन्नता होती है तथा शिकायत अपनों से ही होती है। परिणाम यह हुआ कि भारत की जो महान जनता थी, हिन्दू जनता और मुस्लिम जनता—हमने इस बात का प्रयास किया कि हम दोनों को साथ लेकर चलें—हमें दोनों की अप्रसन्नता का सामना करना पड़ा और इसी का परिणाम यह हुआ कि देश में जिस दल को सबसे अधिक मत प्राप्त हुए, उसको बहुमत प्राप्त न हो सका। महोदया, निर्धारित समय की सीमा बहुत कम होने के कारण अधिक कहना संभव नहीं है। मेरी शुभ कामना है कि वर्तमान सरकार अपने घोषणा पत्र के अनुसार जनता की सेवा करे। परम आदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने रचनात्मक सहयोग का आश्वासन दिया है। मैं विश्वास करता हूँ कि वे अपने वचन का पालन करेंगे। मैं अन्त में भारत की महान जनता ने जो आपको यह महान उत्तरदायित्व सौंपा है, आशा करता हूँ कि उसको पूरा करते समय आप मेरी एक बात का ध्यान रखेंगे कि किसी की लकीर को छोटा करने की बजाए आप इस बात का प्रयास करें कि आप अपनी लकीर को लम्बी बनायें, बजाये इसके कि कांग्रेस की लकीर को छोटी करें, आप अपनी लकीर को लम्बी करने का प्रयास करें, तो यह अच्छी बात होगी।

अन्त में, मैं भारत की महान जनता के प्रति एक शेर पढ़ कर अपनी बात को समाप्त करूँगा।

जिन्हें हकीर समझ कर बुझा दिया तुमने,

वही चिराग जलेंगे, तो रोशनी होगी।

श्री (नौनावा) अखिल मदनो (उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनाब नायब सदर साहिब, मैं सदर साहब के ख़ुतबे पर बोलने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

मुझको अफसोस है कि इस ख़ुतबे में पिछले महोनों में मुल्क के अन्दर जो जबरदस्त कतलो-गारतगिरी और बरबादी हुई है, मुनुज्जम तौर पर मुनुज्जम ताकतों की तरफ से, पार्टियों और आर्गनाइजेशंस की तरफ से, उस सिलसिले में इस ख़ुतबे में बिल्कुल खामोशी अख्तियार की गई है।

खास तौर पर सरकार मशीनरी इस मामले में पूरी तरह इनवाल्व है, मुद्दई होकर कतलो-गारतगिरी लट-मार सबसे शरीक रही है और मुजरिमों को पनाह दी है और किसी किस्म का इन्तदाम नहीं किया। 17 अगस्त को सासाराम, 16 सितम्बर को कोटा, 29 को बदायूँ, 30 को अलीगढ़, 5 अक्टूबर को पालनपुर, खेड़ा के देहात, 13 को इन्डौर, 22 को सीतामढ़ी, 23 को सोबोर बाजार भागलपुर, 24 को भागलपुर में आम हंगामा और कतलो-गारतगिरी, 25 को मुंगेर, 25 अक्टूबर को जमशेद पुर, नवम्बर में फैजाबाद, 21 को रामपुर, 21 को ही बनारस, 13 को शिमोगा, 15 को हुबली, 27 को हैदराबाद, जयपुर 16 सितम्बर लाडनू, रतलाम, मऊ, खरगौन, बगरह, वगैरह।

भागलपुर में जो लिस्ट मख्तुलीन की हमें दी गयी, 911 से ज्यादा हमारे पास है और हमने उसको चीफ मिनिस्टर को दिया है। शहर में मुतास्सिर देहात 114, देहात में जले, लूटे मकानात 3,651, देहात की टूटी हुई मस्जिदें 33, भागलपुर शहर के मुतास्सिर मुहल्ले 37 मकानात 751, दुकानें 344, शहर की मस्जिदें 14 तथा 114 देहात लूटे गये और जलाये गये, जिनमें 33 मस्जिदें और 3651 मकानात हैं।

जगदीशपुर थाने के सब-इन्स्पेक्टर ने फसादियों के साथ मिल कर लोगाईन में 116 से ज्यादा कतल किये, उनकी लाशों को कुएँ में डाला, फिर निकाला, फिर एक जगह दफना दिया, फिर दूसरी जगह दफन किया और कोई रिपोर्ट

अफसरों को सरकारी तौर पर नहीं की। वह सब में शरीक रहा। जो ढांचे लाशों के निकले हैं—एक ब्राह्मण के बताने पर—तो एक जगह से 51, दूसरी जगह से 42 या 43, तीसरी जगह से 15। इस तरीके से महीने के बाद, जिससे दो दिन पहले मैं वहां जा चुका था और यह इल्म हो गया कि अब देख लिया है और अब बात आगे चलेगी, तो यह निकला है।

इसी तरीके से चंदेरी में बांडर सेक्यूरिटी फोर्स ने औरतों, बच्चों बूढ़े मरदों को एक मकान में डल करके पुलिस को कहा कि इनकी हिफाजत करो। पुलिस छोड़ कर चली गयी, गुंडों के हाथ पर—उन्होंने कहा कि राजपुर लेकर चलते हैं और रास्ते में उन पर कतलेआम किया और लोगों की प्रेस के अन्दर एक सौ की तादाद आई है, हमारे पास फेहरिस्त कम है, लेकिन बहरहाल इस तरीके से पूरे चंदेरी में मकानात जले, लूटे और लाशों का ढेर वहां कर दिया।

इसी तरीके से बड़ेरी में पुलिस ने लुटवाया, जलवाया चालीस मकान और सात कतल।

इसी तरह मकरमपुर में पुलिस ने राईफल दिखा कर लोगों से कहा कि तुम डिफेंस भी नहीं कर सकते, खाली करके छोड़ कर चले जाओ और इशारे करके बलवाइयों को गांव में इस तरीके से बी०एम०पी० और पुलिस ने पूरा हिस्सा लिया और फिसादात करवाये हैं।

27 नवम्बर को जयपुर में बी०जे० पी० का जलूस निकला—फतेह का जलूस और यह मुसल्ला था, सैकड़ों टैम्पों, पैट्रोल और आतिशगीर मददे इन सब के साथ मुसल्ला था और पचास हजार जलूस के साथ चन्द सिपाही, कोई इन्तजाम नहीं था। यह निहायत ही इश्तेयालअग्गेज मुगल्लज गालियां, गैरत दिखाने वाली इस किस्म की चीजें तो की जा रही थीं, कैटेड बजा रहे थे ताकि मुश्तईल करवाया जाये, आवाजें बच्चों की,

औरतों की फरजी कहीं से लाकर के उसमें भरी गयी थीं और चार किलोमीटर तक लोग वर्दाश्त करते रहे। अब जब औरतों पर उन्होंने छेड़-छाड़ शुरू की, तो कुछ नौजवान आए और शहर में बवाल खड़ा हो गया और शाम से लेकर दो बजे रात तक किसी किस्म का कोई कर्फ्यू तक नहीं लगाया गया।

उपसभापति : एक मिनट रुकिये वह कुछ कह रहे हैं। सुन लीजिए क्या कह रहे हैं ?

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : माननीय सदस्य ने अपने भाषण में, जहां तक मैंने स्वयं सुना, एक बार जे०पी० का नाम नहीं लिया है, अगर बी०जे०पी० पर आरोप लगा, तो मैं जरा नियम जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या स्पष्टीकरण करने के लिए अबसर मिले या सपाट किसी का नाम लेकर किंग को उकसा दिया जाएगा ?

श्री (मौलाना) असद मदनी : वह बी०जे०पी० इलेक्शन में जीती थी, उसी फतेह का जलूस था ... (व्यवधान) ... वह जलूस जो बी०जे०पी० के जीतने के नतीजे में निकला, उसको किसकी तरफ कहे। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री नरेश सो० पुगलिया (महाराष्ट्र) : जो कह रहे हैं, वह सही बात है।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : महोदया, मैं फिर एक बार पूछ रहा हूं।

श्री (मौलाना) असद मदनी : पहले मैं अपनी बात पूरी कर लूं, तब आप अपनी बात कहे।

उपसभापति : अभी वह बोलेंगे, फिर मैं आपको बोलने दूंगी।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : इनको मैं रुकने के लिये नहीं कह रहा हूं।

श्री (सौलाना) असद मदनी : ठीक है। उन्होंने कह दिया कि आपको बोलने का मौका देगी, अभी आप तथरीफ रखिए।

उप सभापति : बाद में आप स्पष्टीकरण कर दीजिएगा

श्री (सौलाना) असद मदनी : इसी तरीके से आनन-फानन तमाम शहर में और शाम से दो बजे रात तक कर्फ्यू नहीं लगाया गया और तमाम बाजारों में तकरीबन इसमें चांदपोल में 14 दुकानें, त्रिपोलिया बाजार में 5 दुकानें, जौहरी बाजार में 4 दुकानें, रामगंज में 8 दुकानें, सूरत में की पोल में 16 दुकानें, एम०आई० रोड पर एक दुकान, बलदावपुर में 28 मकान, सीतारामपुरी में 3 मकान, शामपुरी में 13 मकान थे, लूट कर जला कर खत्म कर दिये गये और इस तरीके से कर्फ्यू में भी लूट मार आतिशजनी जारी रही और उल्टे 600 अकलियती अफराद को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और फसादियों को सिर्फ 96, जिन लोगों के खिलाफ कल की रिपोर्ट है, उनको तो गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया, जिनसे लूट-मार का माल निकला, उनको गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया। यह सूरत-ए-हाल चल रही है। इसी तरीके से लाडनू में एक हफ्ते पहले से इक्का-दुक्का बाक्यात हो रहे थे। रास्ते में आने-जाने वालों को पुलिस से बार-बार कहा गया मगर कोई तवज्जह इन्तजाम नहीं किया गया। 16 दिसम्बर को दो बजे अमन कमेटी का इजलास हो रहा था और शहर के अन्दर फसाद शुरू हुआ। लाल चन्द सब-इन्स्पेक्टर उसने फसादियों की पूरी तरह सरपरस्ती की गांधी नहर चौक में दो हिन्दुओं में हलवाई की दुकान में झगड़ा हुआ। लेकिन उसका उल्टी अफवाह उड़ा करके और बस स्टैंड पर दो नौजवानों का कल हो गया। 50 के करीब जखमी हुए। दुकानें जला दी गयीं। अली मोहम्मद व्यापारी के मकान को जला दिया गया, जिसमें खुद अली मोहम्मद और उसका एक पोता जल कर खत्म हो गया। नामजद रिपोर्ट होने के

बावजूद गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया, सिर्फ दो गिरफ्तारियां उनमें से हुई और सैकड़ों को छोड़ रखा है। इसी तरीके से अकलियती अफराद के पास जो हथियार थे, हालांकि इकतरफा नुकसान है, लेकिन उन सब को सील कर दिया गया और गोबधन लाल को उसी हालत में लाइसेंस दिया गया। चीफ मिनिस्टर गए और बदकिस्मती से उन्होंने किसी अकलियती आदमी से मिलना गवारा नहीं किया। सोजानगढ़ में मकानों में इबादतगाहों में हथियार निकले, बम निकले। ये तमाम फसादात विश्व हिन्दू परिषद्, आर० एस० एस० बजरंग दल, शिव सेना जगह-जगह करा रही है और महीनों से फिजा को खराब कर रखा है और तमाम चीजें हथियारों के साथ खुल्लम-खुल्ला हो रही है। बम्बई में शिव सेना ने जो दरगाह में उर्स हो रहा था और संदल का लूस कुछ लोग ले जा रहे थे, उन पर पथराव किया। जब अमीन खंडवानी वगैरह गये और जाकर कहा कि भाई क्या हो रहा है, तो कहने लगे कि तमाम उर्स वालों को फौरन मुत्तशिर करो। सैकड़ों आदमी पुरअमन, कोई झगड़ा नहीं, सिर्फ शिव सेना वालों ने पथराव किया था, लेकिन उनकी मौजूदगी में फौरन वायरलेस से हुक्म दिया कि उर्स वालों पर लाठी चार्ज कर दो। बिना किसी वजह के लाठी चार्ज करवाया, गोली चलवाई, दो आदमी मरे और अमीन खंडवानी जैसे मौजिज आदमी को पुलिस ने वहीं बुरी तरीके से मारा और सब कपड़ा फाड़ दिये। यह सूरत-ए-हाल मुल्क की चल रही है। अगर पुलिस इस तरीके से फसादियों का, चोरों का, डाकुओं का, कात्तिलों का रोल अदा करेगी, कानून और इंसफ को बाकी नहीं रखा जायेगा और कोई इन्तजाम नहीं होगा, न अकलियतों को उसमें लिया जायगा, न उनकी ट्रेनिंग होगी, न जान-माल का पूरी तरह मुआवजा दिया जाता है, न मुजरिमों को सजा दी जाती है, तो आखिर कैसे होगा? बिहार में, यह बहुत खूबी की बात है कि जगन्नाथ मिश्र साहब जब से आए हैं, तो वह मुआवजे भी, जान के भी और आवादकारी और

रिलीफ इसकी तरफ तबज्जह कर रहे हैं और उम्मीद करते हैं कि वह मुजरिमों को गिरफ्तार करवायेंगे। उन अफसरों को तमाम हंगामों की जिम्मेदारी जिन पर है, उनसे करारदात करवाएंगे और बाकई सजा दिलवायेंगे और अगर ऐसा हुआ तो मुल्क के लिए बहुत अच्छी अलामत होगी। गवर्नमेंट का यह फर्ज है कि इतनी बड़ी आग में, तूफान में, सरकारी मशीनरी की खराबी में उस तरह की पूरी तबज्जह होनी चाहिए थी, प्रेसिडेंट एड्रेस में उसका जिक्र आना चाहिए था और उस सिलसिले में एकदामात तजवीज होनी चाहिए थी कि इन पर आगे काम होने चाहिए। हमारे लाखों आदमी इस तरीके से तबाह हो जायें और सदर साहब उसको बेकार चीज समझें, कोई तस्करा न करें अपने एड्रेस में, तो यह मुल्क और मुल्क वालों की तरफ से अदाए-फर्ज नहीं है बल्कि गफलत और इगमोज है, जो हरगिज नहीं होना चाहिए। हुकूमत का फर्ज है कि वह अपने हरेक शहरी की जानमाल, इज्जत-आबरू, दीन और मजहब की हिफाजत करे। इस सिलसिले में जो रोड़े अटकते हैं, उन्हें दूर करे।

मैं यह भी साथ में कहना चाहता हूँ कि असम में अब तक वोटर-लिस्ट से तकरीबन पांच लाख नाम छूटे हुए हैं। इस सिलसिले में इलेक्शन कमीशन ने अपना फर्ज अदा नहीं किया और जो कानून था, अब तक है कि जब तक वोटर-लिस्ट मुकम्मल न हो जाय तब तक इलेक्शन न कराए जायें। उसको बाकी रखना चाहिए, उसको खतम करके इस नाफिज वोटर-लिस्ट में इलेक्शन नहीं

होने चाहिए। लाखों आदमी अपने शहरी हुक्क से महरूम हो जाएंगे, वे वोट नहीं दे सकेंगे और उनको तरह-तरह से गैर-कानूनी तरीके से परेशान किया जा सकता है। एक-एक आदमी सात-सात, छह-छह हजार आदमियों के खिलाफ एतराज दाखिल कर रहा है और कोई कानून की पैरवी नहीं करता, गुंडागर्दी की जा रही है, अभी से हरेसमेंट फैलाया जा रहा है और यह कहा जा रहा है कि अगर ए०जी०पी० को वोट दोगे, इसकी गारन्टी दो तो हम तुम्हारा नाम बोटर-लिस्ट में शामिल करवा देंगे, एतराज खतम करवा देंगे। तो इस तरीके से हरेसमेंट किया जा रहा है, लालच दिया जा रहा है और तरह-तरह की नाजायज कार्यवाहियों की जा रही हैं। इसलिए मे चाहूंगा कि जब तक यह इंसफ न हो, वोटर-लिस्ट मुकम्मल न हो, तब तक असम में इलेक्शन नहीं होने चाहिए और इस संबंध में जो आगे बिल आ रहा है, उसकी भी मैं मुखालफत करता हूँ कि उसे मंजूर न किया जाय।

श्री कैलाशशक्ति मिश्र : महोदय,...

उपसभापति : आप एकाध मिनट में स्पष्टीकरण करेंगे क्या ? क्योंकि आपकी पार्टी का टाइम तो है नहीं, आरोप के लिए ही मैं आपको एलाऊ कर रही हूँ।

श्री कैलाशशक्ति मिश्र : मैंने आपकी आज्ञा लेकर आपकी आज्ञा स्वीकार की है।

[شری (مولانا) اسد مدنی]

”اوپر دیکھیں:“ جناب نائب صدر صاحبہ - میں صدر صاحب کے خطاب پر بولنے کیلئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں - مجھے افسوس ہے کہ اس خطاب میں پچھلے مہینوں میں ملک کے اندر جو زبردست قتل و غارتگری اور بربادی ہوئی ہے - ملظم طور پر ملظم طاقتوں کی طرف سے پارٹیوں اور آرگنائزیشنز کی طرف سے اس سلسلے میں اس خطبہ میں بالکل خاموش اختیار کی گئی ہے -

خاص طور پر سرکاری مشینری اس معاملے میں پوری طرح انوالوڈ ہے - مدھی ہو کر قتل - غارتگری لوٹ مار سب میں شریک رہی ہے اور مجرموں کو پنا دی ہے اور کسی قسم کا اقدام نہیں کیا - ۱ - اگست کو سہرام - ۱۶ ستمبر کو کوتا - ۲۹ کو بدایوں - ۲۰ کو علیگڑھ - ۵ اکتوبر کو پاللیپور - کھڑا کے دیہات ۱۳ کو اندور - ۲۲ کو سیٹا موہی - ۲۳ کو سدور بازار بھاگلپور - ۲۴ کو بھاگلپور میں عام ہلکاء اور قتل و غارتگری - ۲۵ کو مونگیر - ۲۵ اکتوبر جمشید پور - نومبر میں فیض آباد - ۲۱ کو رامپور - ۲۱ کو ہی بنارس - ۱۳ کو شموگا - ۱۵ کو ہیلی - ۲ کو

جھڑا آباد چپور ۱۶ ستمبر لاٹو - رتلام - مویتو - گھنگون وغیرہ وغیرہ -

بھاگلپور میں جو لسٹ مقتولین کی ہمیں ملی ہے - ۹۱۱ سے زیادہ ہمارے پاس ہے اور ہم نے اسکو چیف منسٹر کو دیا ہے - شہر میں متاثر دیہات ۱۱۴ دیہات میں ۴۴۵۱ دیہات کی توٹی ہوئی مسجدیں ۴۳۳ بھاگل پور شہر کے متاثر محلے ۳۰۵۱ مکانات ۵۱ دکانیں ۳۳۴ شہر کی مسجدیں ۱۲ اور ۱۱۴ دیہات لوٹے اور جلائے گئے ہیں چند ۳۳ مسجدیں اور تین ہزار چھ سو مکانات ہیں -

جگدیشپور تھانے کے سب انسپکٹر نے فسادوں کے ساتھ مل کر لوکشن ۱۱۶ سے زیادہ قتل کئے - انکی لاشوں کو کنویں میں ڈالا - پھر نکالا - پھر ایک جگہ دفن کیا - پھر دوسری جگہ دفن کیا - اور کوئی رپورٹ افسروں کو سرکاری طور پر نہیں کی - وہ سب میں شریک رہا - جو قہانچے لاشوں کے نکلے ہیں - ایک برہمن کے بتانے پر - تو ایک جگہ سے ۵۱ دوسری جگہ سے ۴۲ یا ۴۳ - دوسری جگہ سے ۱۵ اس طریقے سے مہدے کے بعد جس سے دو دن پہلے میں وہاں جا چکا تھا اور یہ علم ہوگیا کہ اب دیکھ لیا ہے اور اب بات آگے چلے گی - تو یہ نکلا ہے -

اس طریقے سے چند ہی دنوں میں
بار بار سیکورٹی فورسز نے عورتوں -
بچوں - بڑے مردوں کو ایک مکان
میں جمع کر کے پولیس کو کہا کہ
ان کی حفاظت کرو - پولیس چھوڑ
کر چلی گئی فلتوں کے ہاتھ پر -
انہوں نے کہا کہ راجپوت نے چلتے ہیں -
اور راستے میں ان کا قتل عام کیا ان
لوگوں کی پریس کے اندر ایک سو
کی تعداد آئی ہے - ہمارے پاس
فہرست کم ہے - لیکن بہرحال اس
طریقے سے پورے چند ہی دنوں میں
چلے - لقمے اور لاشوں کا ڈھیر کر دیا -
اسی طریقے سے بڑیوں میں
پولیس نے لٹوایا - جلویا چالیس
مکان اور سات قتل -

اسی طرح مکرم پور میں پولیس
نے رائفل دکھا کر لوگوں سے کہا کہ تم
قہنس بھی نہیں کر سکتے - خالی
کر کے چھوڑ کر چلے جاؤ اور اشارے
کر کے بلوائیوں کو ہر گزوں میں اس
طریقے سے بی - ایم - پی - اور پولیس
نے پورا حصہ لیا فسادات کروائے
ہیں -

۲ نومبر کو چیمبر میں بھی -
چیمبر - پی - کا جلوس نکلا - فتح کا
جلوس اور یہ مسلح تھا - سہیلکروں
تمیرو - پیگروں اور آتشگیر مادے -
ان سب سے مسلح تھا اور پچاس
ہزار کے جلوس کے ساتھ چند سپاہی -
کوئی انتظام نہیں تھا - یہ نہایت

ہی اشتعال انگیز - مسلح گلیاں -
غیرت دلانے والی - اس قسم کی
چیزیں کی جا رہی تھی - کھسکت
بجھا رہے تھے - تاکہ مشتمل کروایا
جائے - آوازیں بچوں کی - عورتوں
کی فرضی کہیں - لاکر کے اس میں
بہیں گئی تھیں - اور چار کلو میٹر
تک لوگ برداشت کرتے رہے - جب
عورتوں سے انہوں نے چھوڑ چھاڑ شروع
کی - تو کچھ نوجوان سامنے آئے
اور شہر میں دھماکا ہوا ہو گیا اور
شام سے لیکر دو بجے رات تک کسی
قسم کا کوئی کرفیو نہیں لگایا گیا -
اپ سبھا پتی : ایک ملت رلئے
وہ کچھ کہہ رہے ہیں - سن لیجئے
کہا کہہ رہے ہیں -

شری کیلاش پتی مشر بہار : سانیئے
سندھیہ نے اپنے بھاشن میں جہاں تک
میں نے سویم سنا ہے ایک بار
بی - جے - پی کا نام لیا ہے - اگر
بی - جے - پی پر آرہا تھا تو میں
ذرا نیم چانڈا چاہونگا - کہ کیا
سہشتہکون کرنے کیلئے اوسر ملے گا -
یا سپاہ کسی کا نام لیکر کسی کو
اکسا دیا جائے گا -

شری مولانا اسد مدنی : وہ بی -
جے - پی - ایمکشن میں جیتی
تھی - اسی کا فتح کا جلوس تھا -
مدخلات : وہ جلوس بی - جے - پی -
کے جیتنے کے نتیجے میں نکلا اسکو
کس کی طرف کہیں -
مدخلات :

[شری (مولانا) اسعد مدنی]
شرعی برہمن سنی پکلیا (مہاراشٹر):
 جو کہہ رہے تھے وہ صحیح بات ہے -
شری کھلہ پتلی مشر: مہود یہ
 میں پھر ایک بار بوجھ رہا ہوں -
شری (مولانا) اسعد مدنی: پہلے
 میں اپنی بات پوری کر لوں - پھر
 آپ اپنی بات کہیں -
اپ سبھا پتلی: ابھی وہ بولیں گے -
 پھر میں آپ کو ہر لے دوں گی -
شری کھلہ پتلی مشر: انکو
 میں روکنے کھلے نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں -
شری (مولانا) اسعد مدنی: ٹھیک
 ہے - انہوں نے کہہ دیا کہ آپ کو
 بولنے کا موقع دیں گی - ابھی آپ
 تعریف رکھئے -
اپ سبھا پتلی: بعد میں آپ
 سرشیکر کر دیجئے گا -
شری (مولانا) اسعد مدنی: اسی
 طریقے - آج فانا تمام شہر میں اور
 شام سے دو بجے رات تک کرفیو نہیں
 لگایا گیا - اور تمام بازاروں میں
 تقریباً اس میں چاند پور میں ۱۳
 دکانیں - تھوڑا سا بازار میں ۵ دکانیں -
 چوہدری بازار میں ۳ دکانیں -
 رام گلیج میں ۸ دکانیں - سورت کی
 پول میں ۱۶ دکانیں ایم - آئی -
 روتہ پر ایک دوکان - ہڈلہ پور میں
 ۲۸ مکان - بیتا رام پوری میں ۳
 مکان - شام پندی میں ۱۳ مکان -

یہ لوٹ کر چل کر ختم کر دیئے گئے -
 اور اس طریقے سے کرفیو میں بھی
 لوٹ مار آتشزدہی جاری رہی اور آج
 ۶۰۰ لاکھ لٹریٹر کے افراد کو گرفتار
 کر لیا گیا - اور فسادوں کو صرف
 ۹۷ - جی لوگوں کے خلاف قتل کی
 رپورٹیں ہیں انکو تو گرفتار نہیں کیا
 گیا - جن سے لوٹ مار کا مال نکلا
 انکو گرفتار نہیں کیا - یہ صورتحال
 چل رہی ہے - اسی طریقے سے لاکھوں
 میں ایک ہفتے پہلے سے اکا دکا
 واقعات ہو رہے تھے - راستے میں
 آنے جانے والوں کو بولہوس
 سے بار بار کہا گیا - مگر
 کوئی توجہ انتظام نہیں کیا گیا -
 ۱۹ دسمبر کو دو بجے اسن کمیٹی کا
 اجلاس ہو رہا تھا - اور شہر کے اندر
 نساہ شروع ہو گیا - لال چند
 سب انسپکٹر نے فسادوں کی پوری
 طرح سے سرپرستی کی - گانڈھی ٹکر
 چوک میں دو ہلدوؤں میں حلوائی
 کی دکان میں جھگڑا ہوا - لیکن اسکا
 الٹی افراہ آ کر دیکھ بس اسٹینڈ پر
 دو نوجوانوں کا قتل ہو گیا - ۵۰ کے
 قویہ لوگ زخمی ہوئے - دکانیں
 جلا دو گئیں - علی محمد بدویاری
 کے مکان کو جلا دیا گیا - جس میں
 علی محمد خود اور اسکا ایک بہتا
 جل کر ختم ہو گیا - نامود رپورٹیں
 ہونے کے باوجود گرفتار نہیں کیا گیا -
 صرف دو گرفتاریاں انہیں سے ہوئیں
 اور سہنکڑوں کو چھوڑ رکھا ہے -

ایسی طریقے سے اقلیتی فوجی کے افراد کے پاس جو ہتھیار تھے۔ حالانکہ ایک طرفہ نقصان ہوا ہے۔ لیکن ان سب کو سیز کر لیا گیا۔ اور گورنمنٹ لال کو اسی حالت میں لائسنس دیا گیا۔ چیف منسٹر کئے اور بدقسمتی سے انہوں نے کسی اقلیتی آدمیوں سے ملنا گوارہ نہیں کیا۔ سوجانگرہ میں مکانوں عمارت گاہوں میں ہتھیار نکلے۔ ہم نکلے۔ یہ تمام فسادات رشو دندو، رشید، آر۔ ایس۔ ایس۔ بھونگال، شہو سہنا جگہ جگہ کر رہی ہے۔ اور مہتموں سے فضا کو خراب کر رکھا ہے۔ اور تمام ہتھیاروں کے ساتھ کھلم کھلا ہو رہی ہیں۔ بمبئی میں شہو سہنا نے جو درگا، میں عرس ہو رہا تھا اور صفوں کا چلوں کچھ لوگ لے جا رہے تھے۔ ان پر پتھراؤ کیا۔ جب اس میں کھنڈرانی وغیرہ کئے۔ اور جا کر کہا کہ بھائی کیا ہو رہا ہے تو کہنے لگے کہ تمام عرس واؤں کو فوراً منتشر کرو۔ سونکڑوں آدمی پر اس کوئی جھکوا نہیں صرف شہو سہنا والوں نے پتھراؤ کیا۔ لیکن انکی موجودگی میں وائلیس سے حکم دیا گیا کہ عرس والوں پر لاقہی چارج کر دو۔ بننا کسی وجہ کے لاقہی چارج کر دیا گواہی چلوائی دو آدمی مرے اور اس میں کھنڈرانی جیسے معزز آدمی کو پوائیس نے وہیں بری طریقے سے مارا اور صب

کپڑے بہار دیئے۔ یہ صورتحال ملک کی چل رہی ہے۔ اگر پولیس اس طریقے سے فسادوں کا۔ چوروں کا۔ قاتلوں کا۔ رول ادا کرے گی۔ قانون اور انصاف کو باقی نہیں رکھا جائے گا۔ اور کوئی انتظام نہیں ہوگا۔ نہ اقلیتوں کو اس میں لیا جائے گا۔ نہ انکی ٹریڈنگ ہوگی۔ نہ جان مال کی پوری طرح معاوضہ دیا جاتا ہے۔ نہ مجرموں کو سزا دی جاتی ہے نو آخر کھسے ہوگا۔ بہار میں بہت خوشی کی بات ہے جگناتھ مشرا صاحب جب سے آئے ہیں۔ تو وہ معاوضہ بھی۔ جان کے بھی اور آبداری اور دلہن اسکی طرف توجہ کر رہے ہیں۔ اور امید کرتے ہیں کہ وہ مجرموں کو گرفتار کر لیں گے۔ ان انیسروں کو تمام ہتھیار کی ذمہ داری چن [پر ہے ان سے قرارداد واقعی سوا دلوامہ کے اور اگر ایسا ہوا تو ملک کھلے بہت اچھی علامت ہوگی ؟

گورنمنٹ کا یہ فیصلہ ہے کہ اقلیتی برقی آگ میں طوفان میں۔ سرکاری مشینوں کی خرابی میں اس طرح کی پوری توجہ دینی چاہئے تھی۔ پریسٹنٹ انڈریس میں اسکا ذکر آنا چاہئے تھا۔ اور اس سلسلے میں اقدامات کی توجہ دینی چاہئے تھی۔ کہ ان پر آگے کام ہو پنا چاہئے۔ ہمارے لاکھوں آدمی اس طریقے سے

[شری (مولانا) اسد مہدی]

تہا ہوا جائیں اور صدر صاحب اسکو
پکار لایمینی جیو سمجھیں کوئی تذکرہ
نہ کریں - ایسے ایڈریس میں - تو
یہ ملک اور ملک والوں کی طرف
سے ادائیگی فرض نہیں ہے - بلکہ غفلت
اور اعجاز ہے - جو ہرگز نہیں ہونا
چاہئے - حکومت کا فرض ہے کہ وہ
ایک ہر ایک شہری کی جان و مال -
عزت آبرو دین اور مذہب کی
حفاظت کرے - اس سلسلے میں
جو روئے آئے ہیں - انہیں دور
کریں -

میں یہ بھی سناہ میں کہنا
جانتا ہوں کہ آسام میں اب تک
ووٹر لسٹ سے تقریباً پانچ لاکھ نام
چھوٹے ہوئے ہیں - اس سلسلے میں
الیکشن کمیشن نے ایسا فرض ادا
نہیں کیا ہے - اور جو قانون تھا اب
تک ہے کہ جب تک ووٹر لسٹ
مکمل نہ ہو جائے تب تک الیکشن
نہ کرائے جائیں - اسکو باقی رکھنا
چاہئے - اسکو ختم کر کے اس ناقص
ووٹر لسٹ میں الیکشن نہیں ہونا
چاہئے - لاکھوں آدمی ایک شہری
حقوق سے محروم رہ جائیں گے - وہ
ووٹ نہیں دے سکیں گے - اور انکو
طرح طرح سے غلط قانونی طریقے سے
پریشان کیا جا سکتا ہے - ایک ایک
آدمی سات سات - چھ چھ ہزار
آدمیوں کے خلاف اعتراض داخل
کر رہا ہے - اور کوئی قانونی

پہرہ نہیں کرتا - غلطی کوئی کی
جا رہی ہے - ابھی سے ہریسمنٹ
پھیلا جا رہا ہے - اور یہ کہا
جا رہا ہے - کہ اگر اے - جی - بی -
کو ووٹ دئے تو اسکی گارنٹی دو تو
ہم تمہارا نام ووٹر لسٹ میں شامل
کروا دیں گے - اعتراض ختم کروا دیں گے -
تو اس طریقے سے ہریسمنٹ کیا
جا رہا ہے اور طرح طرح کی ناجائز
کارروائیاں کی جا رہی ہیں - اسلئے
میں کہنا چاہوں گا کہ جب تک یہ
انصاف نہ ہو - ووٹر لسٹ مکمل نہ
ہو - تب تک آسام میں الیکشن
نہیں ہونے چاہئے - اور اس سلسلے
میں جو آگے بل آ رہا ہے اسکی
بھی میں مخالفت کرتا ہوں اور
اسے مظلور نہ کیا جائے -

उपसभापति : हमारी आज्ञा आप
स्वीकार करते हैं, इसके लिए धन्यवाद ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : महोदया, जिस
प्रकार का भाषण हुआ है, उसके बारे
में मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ ।
एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितने
स्थानों पर दंगे हुए, जिन स्थानों का
उल्लेख किया गया है, वहाँ सब की
सब राज्य सरकारें आज कांग्रेस के
अधीन काम कर रही हैं । भारतीय
जनता पार्टी को अर्थ में ही धसीटा
जा रहा है । मैं आग्रह करना चाहता
हूँ कि हर जगह के दंगे की जाँच सभी
राज्य सरकारें ठीक-ठिकाने से करवाएँ,
उसकी रिपोर्ट आएँ और उस रिपोर्ट
के आधार पर संसद के अंदर चर्चा
हो । ... (समय की घंटों) ... आप
सुन लीजिए ।

उपसभापति : आपने अपना स्पष्टी-
करण कर दिया है ।

Address

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : महोदया, मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। यहाँ भागलपुर की चर्चा हुई, सासाराम की चर्चा हुई, सीतामढ़ी की चर्चा हुई। मेरा सीधा आरोप है कि सब जगह के दंगों में कांग्रेस का हाथ है। आप जांच करवाइए, वहाँ कांग्रेस की सरकार काम कर रही है। भागलपुर के दंगे की चर्चा भी गई है, जिस दंग से चर्चा की गई है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : कैलाशपति जी, मैंने आपको स्पष्टीकरण की अनुमति दी, हो गया। अब आप बैठ जाइए।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : भाषण नहीं कर रहा हूँ। कुछ तथ्य रख रहा हूँ। माननीय सदस्य ने चार गांवों या घरों का उल्लेख किया ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री नुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया : महोदया, कांग्रेस का नाम लिया जा रहा है तो कांग्रेस को भी स्पष्टीकरण के लिए टाइम दीजिए।

उपसभापति : हाँ, मैं दे रही हूँ। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : जहाँ से यह फैला है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उसकी भी चर्चा करना न्यायसंगत होता। इसलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ कि सब जगह कांग्रेस की सरकारें काम कर रही हैं, आप जूडिशियल इन्क्वायरी करा लें और उसकी रिपोर्ट माननीय सदन के सामने लाएं।

श्री (मौलाना) अतद मदन : यहाँ इंसानियत, अमन और कानून का मसला है, सबकी जिम्मेदारी है कि इसको ठीक करें।

†[شری مولانا اسد مدنی : یہ انسانیت امن اور قانون کا مسئلہ ہے اور سب کے ذمہ دار ہر کے لئے ہے۔
t [] Transliteration in Arabic script.
تھوٹ ہوگی۔

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : सबकी जिम्मेदारी है, मानता हूँ। अगर इस घरती पर किसी के खून की एक बूंद भी गिरती है, चाहे हिंदू की हो या मुसलमान की हो, भारतमाता का आंचल उससे कलंकित होता है, मैं इस विश्वास का पालन करने वाले व्यक्तियों में से हूँ। इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि कठोरता से इसकी जांच हो, निर्ममता से जांच हो। मैं कांग्रेस सरकारों को चुनौती दे रहा हूँ।

श्री श्रीजॉइ इशाद बेग : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर अपना वक्तव्य देने के लिए आपने मुझे समय दिया इसके लिए आपका आभारी हूँ।

लोकतांत्रिक ढाँचे से नयी सरकार का आगमन हुआ है, मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि सरकार चलाने के लिए देश की जनता ने बहुमत की जगह पर अल्पमत दिया है। इसी वजह से दो बैसाखियों के सहारे ये सरकार खड़ी है। हमारी शुभकामनाएं हैं कि महात्मा गांधी के रास्ते पर ... (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Madam Deputy Chairman, I have to bring to your kind notice that now the Leader of the House is not here, and we have allotted business of four to five hours. Is he aware that the House will have to sit late willy-nilly to transact the business? There are two Bills, one Short Duration Discussion and one Statement. Is he aware that the House has to sit late? Has he made arrangements for the Members for sitting up to 11 o'clock?

श्री सैयद सिद्दिके रज्जी : खाने का मतलब है, क्या व्यवस्था है आपकी ?

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE: MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I will convey the message to the Leader of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will convey the message to the Leader of the House.

आपके खाने का प्रबंध हो जाएगा ।
... (व्यवधान) ... आपसे कुछ मंत्र
कह रहे हैं कि खाली कन्वे मत कीजिए
बल्कि खाना कन्वे करवाइएगा ।

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: If he can take notes on behalf of the Minister, he can arrange it also.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: But the coffers are empty, according to them. Where from do they get money?

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: We will borrow from Mr. Subramanian Swamy. I know he has enough to give us.

श्री मीर्जा इश्राफ बेग : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि हम स्वागत करते हैं इस जनतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया का जिसने ये परिणाम दिए हैं । अब फ्रंट गवर्नमेंट कह रही है कि लोगों ने परिवर्तन के बारे में मत दिया है, अब समय ही बता पाएगा कि परिवर्तन आता है या एक अस्थिरता आती है ।

मान्यवर, आडवाणी जी ने जो इस सदन के भी सदस्य रह चुके हैं, उन्होंने उस सदन में कुछ बातें बतायीं थीं मेरे नेता राजीव गांधी के बारे में । उन्होंने कहा कि विश्व के इतिहास में यह एक ऐसा दृष्टांत है कि पहली बार इतने कम समय में इतने उत्तम शिखर पर कोई व्यक्ति गया हो और कम समय में वह तब तक पहुंच गया हो । मैं इसका खण्डन करता हूं और मैं सिर्फ आंकड़ों से उन्हें यह बताना चाहता हूं कि इसके साथ में उसको सम्बद्ध करें और देखें कि क्या स्थिति है ? मान्यवर, इस जनतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया और चुनाव में कांग्रेस (आई) को कुल वैध मतों के 40.9 प्रतिशत वोट मिले । जनता दल जोकि सरकार में है उसे 17.9 प्रतिशत, भा०जा०पा० को 11 और कम्युनिष्ट पार्टी को 9 प्रतिशत

वोट मिले । अब इसी तरह हिंदी भाषी क्षेत्रों में जनता दल को 30 प्रतिशत, भा०जा०पा० को 19 प्रतिशत और कांग्रेस को 34 प्रतिशत वोट मिले हैं । दक्षिण के नतीजे तो आपके सामने हैं । तेलंग देशम पार्टी जोकि वहां शासन में थी उसको सिर्फ 3.4 प्रतिशत मत मिले और बाकी के मत, मैं इस सदन को यह बतलाना चाहूंगा, राजीव गांधी की कांग्रेस पार्टी को मिले ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We must welcome Mr. Ram Awdhesh Singh.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We were worried about his whereabouts.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: The credit goes to me; this is because of me only.

श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, सदन चिंतित था इनके बारे में । इन्हें बधाई देना चाहिए ।

श्री मीर्जा इश्राफ बेग : महोदया, मैं आभारी हूं कि हमारे एक गुमशुदा मंत्री को ढुंढवा कर फिर से स्थापित कर दिया गया है । मान्यवर, मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि दक्षिण के नतीजे आपके सामने हैं इसलिए यह कहना हकीकत से अपना मुंह छिपाना है कि राजीव गांधी का कोई फाल हुआ है या राजीव गांधी कोई गत में चले गए हैं । आज भी वे लोगों के बीच में हैं और भारी समर्थन के साथ इस सदन में भी बैठे हैं और उस सदन में भी बैठे हैं । मान्यवर, देख लीजिए कि देश का एक दक्षिण का हिस्सा जो है, नार्थ-ईस्ट का हिस्सा जो है, इसमें एक भी पार्टी को जन-समर्थन कहीं नहीं दिया है ।

मान्यवर, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में सरकार ने महिलाओं के बारे में कुछ बात कही है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब आप महिला उत्कर्ष की बात करते हैं, तब आपके सामने दृष्टांत

मौजूद हैं। जनता दल ने 240 सीटें लड़ीं लोक सभा के लिए और कितनी महिलाओं को टिकट दिया—सिर्फ पांच। भा०ज०पा० ने 205 सीटें लड़ीं और सिर्फ 8 महिलाओं को उसने प्रतिनिधित्व दिया। मार्क्सिस्ट पार्टी 66 सीटों पर लड़ी और उसने सिर्फ 4 महिलाओं को प्रतिनिधित्व दिया और मान्यवर, आप इस आसन पर बैठी हैं, इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि कांग्रेस ने 508 सीटें लड़ीं और 53 महिलाओं को अपना प्रत्याशी लोगों के बीच में घोषित किया और मान्यवर, मैं पूछ रहा हूँ, यह तो प्रक्रिया है आपको भी वाद में पता चल जाएगा। यहां पर सती का बिल हमने पास किया था। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ जनता दल की गवर्नमेंट से कि सती का समर्थन करने वाले लोग आपने इस पार्टी के अंदर बैठाए हैं, हम क्या समझें? देश में भ्रान्ति पैदा हो रही है। किस प्रकार से हम यह मान लें कि आप महिलाओं की कल्याणकारी योजनाओं को आगे लेकर बढ़ेंगे? आपके पास और भी लोग मौजूद थे, यह मंत्रि-मण्डल में भी देखा गया है कि सिर्फ एक महिला प्रतिनिधि है और वह भी कैबिनेट की नहीं है और मैं आपसे, मान्यवर, निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ जब मेरी पार्टी की सरकार बैठी थी तब कितनी महिलाओं को प्रतिनिधित्व हमने दिया?

अभी मेरे दोस्त शिवने रजौ बता रहे थे कि राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण है उसका अनुच्छेद 16 कहता है कि 'सरकार इस बात की पूरी गारण्टी देगी कि अल्पसंख्यक निर्भय होकर जीवन व्यतीत करें और राष्ट्र की प्रगति में समान भागीदार बनें'। मान्यवर, अभी तो गारण्टी देगी, यह शब्द का प्रावधान हुआ है यहां पर। गारण्टी दी नहीं है, गारण्टी देगी। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप जिसके समर्थन से बैठे हैं, भारतीय जनता पार्टी, इस भारतीय जनता पार्टी के महासचिव क्या कहते हैं? मान्यवर, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के महासचिव यह कहते हैं कि, उनका नाम मैं आज यहां कोट करना चाहूंगा—

श्री केदार नाथ साहनी, उन्होंने यह कहा है कि हम अल्पसंख्यकों का विरोध इसलिए करने हैं कि यह राष्ट्रवाद के विरुद्ध है। इसका मतलब यह है कि आप चेयर पर बैठी हैं, आप राष्ट्रवाद के विरुद्ध हैं? आरिफ मोहम्मद खान कल यहां पर बैठे थे, वे राष्ट्रवाद के विरुद्ध हैं? इशादबैंग, मीर्जा, जो लोगों का चुनाव हुआ, जन-प्रतिनिधि हैं, वे राष्ट्रवाद के विरुद्ध हैं? ये किस प्रकार की नीति लेकर के चलते हैं? वहीं आडवाणी जी को मैं कोट करके कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी, यह कहते हैं इनसे जब पूछा सैक्यूलरिज्म के बारे में, तब सैक्यूलरिज्म के बारे में इन्होंने जो ट्रांसलेशन किया वह यह है कि "मेरा विश्वास सैक्यूलरिज्म में है, लेकिन यह सैक्यूलरिज्म मैं नहीं, पोजिटिव सैक्यूलरिज्म में"। मान्यवर, मैं तो नहीं समझ सकता हूँ कि सैक्यूलरिज्म पोजिटिव कैसे होता है और निगेटिव कैसे होता है? एक मां अगर यह कहती है कि उसे अपने बच्चे से प्यार है, तो प्यार का मतलब सिर्फ प्यार होता है। यह पोजिटिव प्यार क्या होता है और निगेटिव प्यार क्या होता है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है? इसलिए देश में जो एक भ्रम फैलाने की बात कर रही है बी०जे०पी० देश में टकराव की जो बात कर रही है बी०जे०पी०, मैं इससे मेरे साथियों को सावधान करता हूँ जो सरकार में बैठे हैं कि कहीं ऐसा समर्थन लेकर के मत जाइए कि आगे चलकर के देश के हित को ही नुकसान हो, देश में बैठे हुए कुछ लोगों के दिलों को धक्का पहुंचे। मान्यवर, ऐसा मैं उनसे आग्रह करता हूँ, उनसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ। मान्यवर, जिनका समर्थन सरकार को मिला है वह पार्टी आगे चलकर के क्या कहती है। आगे चलकर के, मान्यवर, सैक्यूलरिज्म की इन्होंने यह व्याख्या की है, इनके महा सचिव का भाषण यह है और मान्यवर, उन्होंने यह कहा है कि माइनॉरिटी गवर्नमेंट, उसको आप भंग कर दीजिए। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि संविधान में दी गई जो बात है, क्या उसके विरुद्ध कोई

[श्री मीर्जा इशार्द बेग]

बात पिछली सरकार ने की है ? 15 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम सरकार जब लाई, मैं फिर से याद कराना चाहता हूँ इस सदन को कि आडवाणी जी ने बार-बार इस बात को दोहराया था, जो एक रिसपासिबल व्यक्ति है इस देश के एक राजनीति में बैठ हुए व्यक्ति है। उन्होंने यह कहा था और मैंने उसका जवाब दिया था। उन्होंने यह कहा था कि पाकिस्तान और बंगलादेश में माइनोरिटी के साथ जो सलूक हो रहा है वही सलूक हिन्दुस्तान में माइनोरिटी के साथ होना चाहिए। यह कह कर वह मुकर गये कि यह मैं नहीं समझता हूँ, मेरे किसी एक मित्र ने मुझ को कहा था। उन्होंने दो बार इस वाक्य को दोहराया था। क्या यही पोजिटिव सैक्यूलरिज्म है, अगर यही पोजिटिव सैक्यूलरिज्म की बात है अगर यहाँ व्याख्याएँ पोजिटिव सैक्यूलरिज्म की बात है तो मैं कहता हूँ संविधान के खिलाफ बात करने की व्याख्या है। संविधान को तोड़ने की बात है। हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े करने की बात है। देश की जन भावनाओं को ठेस लगाने की बात है। आगाह करता हूँ जनता दल की सरकार को, मेहरबानी करके बड़े यत्न से इस देश को हमने बनाया था, बड़ी कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं हमने, यहाँ हिन्दु, मुसलमान का विवेक कभी इस देश में नहीं रहा था जब आजादी का संग्राम लड़ते थे। यही हिन्दुस्तान की धरती प्रभावित हुई थी उस रंगीन खून से जो खून हिन्दुओं का साथ में बहा था, मुसलमानों का साथ में बहा था, सिखों का साथ में बहा था, ईसाई का साथ में बहा था। इस खून को अलग करने की चेष्टा क्यों कर रहे हो।

श्री बी० सत्यन रायण रेड्डी : हमदर्दी है हमें।

श्री मीर्जा इशार्द बेग : क्या हमदर्दी है, आप तो उन्हीं लोगों के साथ बैठ हुए हैं। आगाह करता हूँ कि आप चलिए उन लोगों से जो इस देश में साम्प्रदायिक भावनाएँ फैलाकर इस देश को खंडित करना चाहते हैं। मैं पूछना

चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने जब चार्ज जनता सरकार से लिया था तब कैसा राष्ट्र था? एक संकटग्रस्त राष्ट्र था। आर्थिक व्यवस्था छिन्न-भिन्न थी। आज यह कहते हैं कि उन्होंने अनुच्छेद 26 में यह कहा था कि राष्ट्र अभी भी गरीबी और बेरोजगारी से जूझ रहा है। पिछले कुछ वर्षों में आर्थिक असमानताएँ बढ़ी हैं। (समय की घंटा) थोड़ा समय और दे दीजिए।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं कोई आर्थिक वेत्ता नहीं हूँ। 5 प्रतिशत की ग्रोथ रेट क्या हमने मैनेज नहीं की है? 9 प्रतिशत के करीब इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ रेट पर एनम जो था क्या उसको मैनेज नहीं किया? मुद्रास्फीति की दर जो 6 परसेंट थी क्या उसको नहीं बनाए रखा है? क्या हमने 50 परसेंट निर्धनता में बढ़ोतरी पिछले पांच वर्षों में नहीं की है? स्टील अथोरिटी की बात करता हूँ तो रोजाना एक करोड़ रुपये का जो घाटा करती थी उसको हमने मुनाफे में परिवर्तित नहीं किया है? मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो नुकसान था उस समय क्या मुनाफे की परिस्थिति में देश को नहीं लाकर रखा है? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ और इस आंकड़ों से बताना चाहता हूँ कि गरीबी रेखा के नीचे जीने वालों की परसेंटज 51 जो जनता राज दिया था, विरासत में हम को 5ने परसेंट मिला था उसे कांग्रेस ने घटा कर 30 परसेंट नहीं किया है? हमारी कल्याकारी योजनाओं से हमने इसको बनाया है।

किसानों के बारे में बात करते हैं। किसानों को हमने दिया है और भी देना चाहते हैं। जब किसानों की बात आयेंगी तो हमारा समर्थन आपके साथ होगा। हमारा सहयोग आपके साथ होगा। किसानों को ब्याज पर दी दी गयी रकम पर रेट आफ इंटररेस्ट घटा कर 2.5 किया। 1987-88 में 4400 करोड़ रु० सहकारी बैंक से हमने बांटा है। आज की तारीख में इस प्लान के अंत तक 5,773 करोड़ तक उसको हमने पहुँचाया है। हमने जो कार्यक्रम चलाये हैं क्या विश्व बाजार

में उससे आपका सम्मान नहीं बढ़ा है। विश्व बाजार में क्या आपकी साख को बढ़ावा नहीं दिया है। यह भूल जाते हैं अगर कुछ घाटा आता है तो। माफ करें मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बार-बार दोष दे रहे हैं। मैं कोई बड़ा आर्थिक जानकार इंसान नहीं हूँ। लेकिन डवलपिंग कंटरीज में मुद्रास्फीति का थोड़ा बहुत रहना कोई बहुत बड़ी बात नहीं है। यह हर जगह चलता रहता है लेकिन क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि पिछले वर्षों में इस देश में उपभोक्ता का जो वर्ग था वह कितना बढ़ा था जो तुम्हारे समूचे विकास को खाये जा रहा है। उसकी कटौती करने की बात हमने कभी नहीं सोची है। 10 करोड़ से अधिक की संख्या उपभोक्ताओं की बढ़ी है। इसी कारण से आर्थिक असमानताएं थोड़ी बहुत दिखाई देती हैं। टाइम मैगजीन जो हमारी मैगजीन नहीं है उसमें पुष्ट फलक में छपा है। विश्व बैंक ने भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा की है कि इस सरकार की कि जिस ढंग से इस सरकार ने पीछे भयंकर सूखे का सामना किया, उस सूखे का सामना जिस ढंग से राजीव गांधी की सरकार ने किया उससे पूरे देश ने ही नहीं बल्कि समग्र विश्व बैंक ने उसकी भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा की है। इस देश के तमाम आर्थिकविदों ने भी इसकी भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा की है... (समय की घंटी) महोदया, मैं दो मिनट में अपनी बात कह कर खत्म कर रहा हूँ। आरिफ साहब यहां पर नहीं हैं, उन्होंने यहां पर कई बातें कही। उन्होंने थोड़ा बहुत रामायण और महाभारत का भी जिक्र किया। इसलिए उनको देखकर एक बात याद आ रही है जो दुर्योधन ने कही थी। जब दुर्योधन से कहा गया कि ऐसी अनीति की बातें क्यों करते हो, धर्म की बातें क्यों नहीं करते हो तो दुर्योधन ने जवाब दिया कि जनामि धर्म न च प्रवृत्ति, जनामि अधर्म न च निवृत्ति। यह आरिफ साहब के काबिल है, वे इसको देख लें। मुझे याद दिलाने की जरूरत नहीं है। भारद्वाज जी ने सही कहा था कि कांच के सहल में बैठकर दूसरों पर पत्थर नहीं उछाला करते हैं। मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि ग्रीलीगढ़ यूनीवर्सिटी के प्रांगण में तिरंगे झण्डे को जलाने वाले कौन लोग थे, इसका वे इस सदन की धरती पर जवाब दें। आज अल्पसंख्यकों की बात करते हैं, माइनोरिटी की बात करते हैं, माइना-रिटीज के विकास की बात करते हैं, जूतों का

हार किसको पहनाया गया था? मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि दूसरों पर कीचड़ उछालना छोड़ दें, जरा अपने गिरेबान में झुककर देखें कि वह लोग क्या हैं।

माननीया, मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूँ। इस मौके पर मुझे एक माकूल शेर याद आ रहा है —

कितने कमजफ हैं ये गुब्बारे,
कि चन्द सांसें में ही फूल जाते हैं,
और जरा बुलन्दी पाते ही,
अपनी औकात भी भूल जाते हैं।

उपसभापति : सलारिया जी, आप दो मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म करें, हमारे पास समय नहीं है। आप लोग डेढ़ घंटा बोल चुके हैं। सिर्फ दो मिनट बोलिये, मैं काउन्ट कर रही हूँ।

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): Hon. Deputy Chairman, in the debate on the President's Address, it has been said that certain improvements will be made and certain laws will be amended. We welcome that. But we feel that so far as the question of removing certain draconian laws is concerned, it has not engaged the attention of the President. Moreover the question of the removal of the Trade Union Act has also not engaged his attention.

So far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the question has arisen as to the conditions prevailing there. I would submit that the conditions in the State can be set right if it is taken into consideration that the erosion of article 370 by bringing in article 249 and making it applicable to the State has to be removed. If the people of the State are allowed employment in the Central Government departments, if the various roads, the historic approaches which the State of J&K has had in the past with the rest of the country and with

[Shri Shabbir Ahmed Salaria] the rest of the world, such as the Uri road and the Suchetgarh road, are opened for the people of Kashmir and if electricity and other needs of the people of the State are met, the conditions in the State can be improved. The fact that there have been large scale communal disturbances in India has obviously affected many States in the country. They have affected the secular stature of the country and secular structure of the country. In Jammu and Kashmir, where there is a Muslim majority, the people had acceded to a country which enshrined the principles of secularism and socialism, as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. But in actual practice, what happened is that Mahatma Gandhi, that great leader, himself tell a prey to the bullets of communalism. India has been wrought by so many communal riots that the faith of the people in the existence of the socialist and secular structure in India has been shaken. If the turmoil in Punjab and the turmoil which is there in Kashmir is to be arrested, we should arrest the forces of communalism which are spreading throughout, the country. Mr. Asad Madni has clearly pointed out the present conditions in the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: Unless and until these conditions are remedied, how can the confidence of the people be restored? If that is to be restored, this thing will have to be checked.

Moreover, in the Address it has been said that the land laws would be reformed and that land would be given to the tiller. That is a statement made by the Central Government, whereas it is not within the power of the Central Government to do all that. Similarly, when you say that the right to work shall be given, it was said in the manifesto, but that does not find place in the Address of the President. That means, to that extent the manifesto was overly done. In the

circumstances, therefore, I would submit...
(Time bell rings) Madam Deputy Chairman, please give me a minutes.

I would submit that in the circumstances, in order to bring about conditions which will enable the country to progress...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: ... it is necessary that not only the communal tangle and the communal disturbances should be undone but also we should do one thing that we should restore those rights of the people throughout the country including¹ the State of Jammu and Kashmir with greater stress on the restoration of democracy, on the restoration of the status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir so that the present situation is avoided.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you. We shall now take up the Representation of the people (Amendment) Bill, 1989.

SHRI ISH DATT YADAV: What about Mr. Ram Awadhesh Singh?

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH (Bihar): Madam Deputy Chairman...

I won't allow. That is closed. I declare that that debate is closed, and the reply will be after the Question Hour tomorrow. Finish.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE (AMENDMENT) BILL 1989

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Madam, I beg to move... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't disturb the House when the Minister is

on his legs. I don't allow you. I have given my ruling.