

[श्री बापू कालदास]

रही और यह संसद का सारा मानस एक खुली कार्यवाही लोगों के सामने आ जाए इसके संदर्भ में मैंने जो कुछ सुझाव दिए थे, उसके प्रति उन्होंने एक सकारात्मक रवैया, पॉजिटिव एप्रोच मंत्री महोदय ने हम लोगों को दिखाया है और उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि वे उसके लिए कि इस कार्यवाही को किस हद तक, कैसे लोगों के सामने रखें, इसके लिए वे तैयार भी हैं। उनके सामने जो समस्या है, मैं मानता हूँ कि वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण समस्या है कि संसद का अधिकार संसद की समितियों को होता है कि कहां तक हम इस बात को करें और इस दृष्टि से उन्होंने जो इसे मान लिया और इस सदन के संसदीय कार्य मंत्री होने के नाते भी उन्होंने यह कहा है कि जो अपने सदन

*The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

फैसला करेगा उसके मुताबिक इस सदन का कार्यवाही दिखाने के लिए, जो हमारी संसद के सुझाव उनके सामने जाएंगे ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: यह सर्वोच्च संस्था है।  
... (व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You cannot ask him, please.

श्री बापू कालदास: क्योंकि मेरे ही एक दोस्त ने कहा कि इसके बारे में सोचना चाहिए। उनका कहना यह है कि सोच-विचार के लिए अपने पास एक स्वयं अपनी कमेटी है, सदनों की कमेटी है, वे ज्यादा गहराई से इसके बारे में सोच सकते हैं। इसके लिए मुझे लगता है कि जिस प्रकार से उन्होंने हमारी अपेक्षाओं के प्रति प्रतिसाद किया है, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए और यह आग्रह करते हुए कि यह बिल आल पर्वज़ कमेटी में वह ले जाएं मैं इस प्रस्ताव को वापस लेने की सदन से अनुमति मांगता हूँ।

#### RESOLUTION RE. INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAMME

श्री बीजा इश्रादबेग (गुजरात): मान्यवर, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैंने सदन के सामने जो यह संकल्प रखा है, इसको मैं प्रस्तावित करता हूँ। मेरा प्रस्ताव यह है कि देश की सुरक्षा के लिए बढ़ते हुए खतरे, विशेष रूप से पाकिस्तान के शस्त्रोन्मुखी परमाणु कार्यक्रम को दृष्टि में

रखते हुए यह सभा सरकार से आग्रह करती है कि वह अपने परमाणु कार्यक्रम को अवरोधक वैकल्पिक रूप में अविलम्ब प्रयोग करे। ... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, it is already 5 O'clock

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, one minute is still there.

श्री बीजा इश्रादबेग: मान्यवर उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने सदन के सामने यह जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, बड़ा गंभीर विषय है और इस वजह से... (व्यवधान)... मैं इसपर अपने विचारों को यहां पर प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ मुझे आशा थी कि चूंकि दूसरे नंबर पर मेरा प्रस्ताव है, तो अगर मंत्री जी यहां पर उपस्थित होते तो...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Irshadbaig, the time is over. It is already 5.00 P.M.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: Will it be continued?

5.00 P.M.

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

Now, the Prime Minister was to continue his reply on the Motion of Thanks. He is busy in the other House. Therefore, I adjourn the House for fifteen minutes.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock.

The House reassembled at seventeen minutes past five of the clock, Mr. Chairman in the Chair.

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

MR- CHAIRMAN: Yes, Prime Minister.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, I have a point of order. I want a clarification. The List of Business says that at 5.00 P.M. we will take up a discussion on Bofors. That has to be taken up now. I want to know whether again the discussion on Bofors is being suppressed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing is being suppressed. I have said that after this we will take up the other Business.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The agenda papers- clearly say that at 5.00...

MR. CHAIRMAN: But the decision

of the Chair is always final in this respect. The House has agreed.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You announced that the reply will be at 4.00 and after that there has been no announcement at all. There was a total chaos in this House and so the House had to be adjourned for 15 minutes. These are all devices to suppress the discussion on Bofors. Let them be honest in saying that they are not going to have any discussion on Bofors. The Prime Minister should say whether Bofors will be taken up or not because he has already made an announcement about Bofors in the other House. Last time it was the Food Corporation of India and now there is going to be some other reason. I do not know why they are avoiding a discussion on Bofors here. (*Interruptions*).

श्री सभापति: मेरी इजाजत के बिना जो बोलेगा उसका रिकॉर्ड में नहीं जायेगा।

Nothing will go on record.

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश): सभापति महोदय, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि आज मेरी बेइज्जती की गयी है। प्रधान मंत्री के सुरक्षा कर्मियों ने पार्लियामेंट हाऊस की एनेक्सी को पूरी तरह से घेर रखा है। सुरक्षा कर्मियों ने मुझे बाहर नहीं आने दिया। (व्यवधान)

डा० अब्दुल अहमद खान (राजस्थान): एनेक्सी बिल्डिंग को पीएम की सिक्योरिटी ने घेर रखा है। इन महिला को वहां से बाहर नहीं आने दिया गया। यहां पर नाटक किया जाता है कि सुरक्षा हटा दी गयी है। (व्यवधान) एक महिला की बेइज्जती की गयी। (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is a set procedure for everything. Whatever is there, she can make a complaint. She must abide by the procedure. Nobody

can stand up like this and disturb the proceedings of the House. I have requested the Prime Minister to...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What about the announcement?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have decided that the reply will continue and after that we will go ahead with the other proceedings.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: When is the Bofors coming up? I must know when Bofors is going to be taken up, when you are going to take up a discussion on Bofors. I have a right to know when...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot give you any time. Let the proceedings of the House go on.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Then what is the meaning of the agenda paper?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am asking about the agenda.

श्री सभापति: आप लोग क्या चाहते हैं, क्यों डिस्टर्ब कर रहे हैं? प्रोसीडिंग को चलने दीजिये। यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। मैंने कह दिया कि यह होगा, इसके लिए आप शोरगुल करेंगे तो यह कोई मतलब नहीं रखता। जिम्मेदारी के साथ काम कीजिये।

There is a method for every thing. You do it in the proper method. I am not suppressing anything.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: She is a lady Member. She has been humiliated. She has the right to ventilate her complaint.

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन: महोदय, दुर्भाग्य है कि आज भारत का प्रधानमंत्री इतना बुजदिल है। (व्यवधान)।

श्री सभापति: मैंने आपसे कह दिया कि आप, इसके लिए मुझ को लिखकर दीजिये।

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन: जो महिलाओं के सम्मान की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता।... (व्यवधान)।

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot do it at any time. There is a method for everything. And everybody, whether it is a boy or girl, a lady or anybody, has to follow it.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Two days ago, the Prime Minister...

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record. Please sit down. No, no. She should bring it to my notice in the proper form. There is a method for every thing. This is not the way. I have decided. It is not the proper form and don't... That is the decision of the Chair. (Interruptions)

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Mr. Chairman, you have already said... The Member can report to you. You can take any decision you like. What is the trouble, I do not understand. (Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, first I express my apologies. I did not come on time here because the Constitution Amendment Bill was going on in the other House and it had to be passed by division which process took time. At that time voting was going on and in fact we were also closed and could not come.

As you have already said about the complaint of the hon. lady Member, you will receive the complaint. On my part, I assure you that whatever direction you give, and we also on our own, will look into it if there is any disrespect shown to any Member, and particularly when it is a lady Member. It is not our intention to cause any disrespect or inconvenience to anyone... (Interruptions)

Sir, I was referring to hon. Chavanji, P.N. Sukulji and Rameshwar Thakurji also. They are very knowledgeable persons and I respect them. About the state of the economy, there may be some plus points I do not deny that. But I am quoting, Sir, from the Economic Advisory Council document. This is a Council that was made by the previous Government. We have not changed the members. And it is they who have given this document. Their conclusion regarding this year about industrial growth is, provisional data on the index of industrial production for April-August, 1989, indicates a growth of only 3.8% over the corresponding period of the previous

year. I just want to make where **our** benchmark **is**; it is below **4%** of **growth** in industry. Regarding deficit, **the** net **RBI** credit to the Central Government has gone up by Rs. 12,403 crores since the beginning of the financial year **upto** November 17.

"... The Budget deficit even as of now is clearly running at a level very much higher than that projected in **the** Budget Estimates. **The** fiscal imbalance spills over **into the growth** of money **supply which increased by 12 per cent between March 31 and November 17, 1989 as compared to 10.7 per cent during the corresponding** period of the last financial year. **On** balance of payments, **micro-economic** imbalance has clearly spilled over **to** the balance of payments. By 1988-89 the **BOP** was under severe pressure, and significant loss of foreign exchange reserve was being experienced."

Now the reserve is equivalent to two months of our import.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): I seek an information from you. If the hon. Prime Minister is going to respond to the suggestions that I have to make after the speech, I would not like to interrupt. But, if he wants immediate reaction even at this stage I am prepared to react to what he has said. I do not know. It is ultimately for him to say which method he is going to adopt. Immediately if he wants my explanation, certainly I am prepared to give it. Or, if he feels it convenient, after he finishes his speech, thereafter, give me the time. I will be able to react.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: At least there have been plus points, I say, which have been mentioned about the growth figures. I am not making an allegation. What I am saying is that we have jointly to see and manage those areas.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Are you going

to react after your speech?

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** What has been the positive side, that is a plus point. What we are confronted with today, we have to jointly see.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** This is very unfair. Let us be fair to each other. I am merely requesting you.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Sir, I appreciate Chavanji, in spite of these adverse circumstances, when he was working, he has done his best, and in spite of all this, we have the problem. It could not have been better.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** In fact, that is not the point. I am very thankful for the compliment that you have paid me. But the point which the hon. Prime Minister.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Ali right. I think, I will concede it to Chavanji. He is senior leader.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** Immediately if the Prime Minister is prepared to concede this point, I think, it will not be proper for me. But at the same time I would like to react to two or three points which he has mentioned.

The Review is a half-yearly review, and the industrial development is 4 per cent and hence on the basis of annual progress it will come to average rate. In fact, last year, 1988-89, in the background of three consecutive drought years, it was very high. So, on that basis, if it is 4 per cent, in fact, it comes to the average which we have been talking about. That is the first point which I would like the Prime Minister to take into account.

The second point which has been stated here is about the deficit. The amounts which we have been borrowing from R.B.I, to this date is higher than what was shown in the Budget Estimates. Last year also, in 1988-89 exactly similar position was obtaining, and at the end of the year not only could we stick to the budgeted deficit but we went even lower than that. That is an information, and

that can be substantiated from the records available in the Finance Ministry.

Sir, about the third point, I concede the point that the balance of payments has been one of the things which, in fact, has been a matter of concern. But I have persistently been stating not only in the country but also outside when I went for the meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that those difficulties are there, but I still feel quite confident that we will be able to manage, we do not want any kind of special assistance from the IMF.

I am sure the hon. Prime Minister, when he replies, will keep all the three clarifications which I have mentioned.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** I don't want to get into a running debate, because it will cost time. We have to economise on time also. But I may, point out that the deficit was well lubricated from the oil front which was never done earlier. It was to the tune of Rs. 2,000 crores. Quite a substantial amount was taken from that front.

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** That front is still available to you to reduce your Budget deficit.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** It was never done by me. I was tempted by my officers several times to do so Chavan Ji, but I never did it. Perhaps they prevailed upon you.

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** I wish you don't do so hereafter.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** We know the tricks of the trade. Why should we disclose it to everyone? Let it be our professional secret. (*Interruptions*) I am very happy that Chavan Ji is sharing the perception and he has told the country that this is the problem. I think we all have to jointly face the situation with the macro-economic imbalance as clearly spilled over on the balance of payments. By 1988-89, the balance of payment was under severe

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh] pressure and a significant loss of foreign exchange reserves was being experienced. Indeed the reserve losses would have been substantially higher if they had not been bolstered up through expanded programmes of borrowings in various forms. Chavan Ji, I believe, even commercial borrowings were resorted to during this time. It was a very high rate of borrowing. That is what is of concern. **For** repayment of past borrowings we have to resort to commercial borrowings at a much **higher rate of interest. That I think** has **concerned you and** is of concern to **all** of us. **The** net result is while rising trends in **India's external debt and** debt-servicing constitute serious cause for concern, the situation is not one that threatens immediately the solvency, the creditworthiness of the country. The real problem is that the burden of debt service reduces greatly the room for manoeuvre on the developmental front as well as the choice of development in strategy. Here we get bound and our hands are tied. This will call for a national effort if we do not have to get into any economic trap or debt trap or any foreign influence. It may need a joint call to the nation to go through this sacrifice to see that we retain our economic expenditure. There I am ready to share with Chavan Ji and I think he will join me in the call when we have to confront the situation and save the country from any economic slavery or economic compulsion from outside.

One thing is of perception. On that, I think, there is a fundamental difference between our approaches and it causes us more concern. While Chavan Ji takes credit for the figures of overall growth, I say the components of growth are very important. Which sectors have grown? That is the difference in our perception. In our approach when we say development, it is not enough for us. It may be enough for the previous Government. Our concern is where have the fruits' of development gone? For whom are they intended and which sector have they reached. That is

the difference where this Government finds itself. We are very concerned about the way the development has taken place. At the sectoral level, the value added in agriculture grew at around 2 per cent; in manufacturing it grew at around 8 per cent and in the services sector it has grown at around 6 per cent. The value added in agriculture was the lowest. That concerns us. If a sector where 70 per cent of the people live, gets the lowest value **added growth in GDP and the population growth is about 2 per cent, per capita DP growth in agriculture sector is no growth. It is zero growth.**

**So** it is **the** sectoral element of the growth, the quality of the growth which is our concern. More so, what is alarming is gross agricultural product as distinct from value **added in agriculture referred to above, it grew at 6.5 per cent per year in the Sixth Plan.** That was the previous Plan. It has decelerated to a little over 4 per cent per year in the first four years of the Seventh Plan. Now this is very fundamental in our approach. **The** largest population of poor people is in the rural areas and if there is persistence of poverty which is a central **thing** in Indian economy, nobody can close his eyes to its reality. It is in the rural sector, which is a deprived sector that I think necessary corrections are required. For this purpose it is necessary that this sector gets a dose of investment. This is how we have committed the natural resources to rectify this. We have to put 50 per cent of the national savings in the rural sector. Now, our attack on poverty is employment generation in this area and it is to be noted that in the rural sector whenever the population is high, poverty incidence is also high. So agricultural growth in those areas naturally is attack on poverty and providing rapid employment to the working class and the deprived class and also purchasing power. This is just not a benefit we are transferring. We can make this transformation when the reorientation of agriculture will restructure the industry. In what terms? Today, we have our sizeable middle class which can afford

a good market, a sizeable market for consumer goods both durable and nondurable consumer goods and investment can flow there. It can sustain the industry. But if this sector gets full purchasing power, then, the industries will get reorientation to manufacture wage goods and items of mass consumption. It is the demand, in fact, that can make to reorient the industry which will address itself to our more real problems of unemployment and poverty. In this way not only this but job opportunities and non-agricultural job opportunities which we do not have in the rural side will be available. The pressure on cities, drift to urban areas will decrease and pressure on land will be decreased. So this is a task difficult as such and this is the perspective which we have to address the resources to the common man, to the wage goods, items of mass consumption and also the growth pattern which we have adopted will give data and statistics all rights to boast off but it is also a heavy drain on our foreign exchange. Here the growth pattern will relieve our foreign exchange and give the real dose where it is most needed. So agricultural sector, I say, has another role. In the balance of payments, if we see our export growth, many items are highly intensive in import. Import intensive export does not give us the net benefit of foreign exchange earning. It is small. But in the agricultural sector here if we promote exports, which we will, we will give a positive impetus to export on all sectors. But here our net foreign exchange earning is high. The mining sector is another sector where the net foreign exchange earning is high. So this will be our strategy which I want to share with you in our approach. Now about one thing I do want to go on record. As Finance Minister I tried to get an agricultural policy, but failed in two years. I will congratulate Chavanji, perhaps in his time, he could get an agricultural policy. He must have put a tremendous pressure, but it took five years for the previous Government to come with an agricultural

policy. That was a priority, these are the priorities that we want to rebut.

Also in industries though there has been growth which Chavanji stated and I give credit to him but it has failed to generate employment in the industrial sector. In the organised sector, employment has been stagnant. Industrial prosperity cannot be widely shared unless we also generate adequate growth employment and I think it is here that science and technology, comes in. We need not go to pre-agricultural stage or pre-industrial stage of technology but modern technology, for our approach for greater employment generation.

On the balance of payments, I have already expressed myself and to agriculture and to value added exports. We will also have to scrutinise our imports. I think we cannot go without it in the pressures that we have.

**Now coming to one thing. I was looking to all this but I think, I should mention it. Perhaps it has not or it must have got reflected. I could not attend much of the debate. But I think youth is something which we should put first on our list—even in solving the employment problem and not merely people who are seeking employment coming in the morning with their applications but as an active factor of social change and transformation, and involve them into the dynamics of society because any changes that we may envisage and any legislations we may pass here in the House, cannot have their impact unless the social forces also get linked with them. Destinies of nations are not made by legislations. Destinies of nations are made by the social forces coming for change and I know the limitations of the room in which we sit. The mightiest office though it may be it has its limitations when it comes to approach the social forces and mobilising them and it is here that we collectively can look to youth not as fodder to political manoeuvre. They have to be in politics but many times you use them as**

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh] fodder for political parties to involve them in change and for this, I think, at all India level, I propose to call the youth leaders of the whole country, for interaction with them and I think, we all the time think for the younger generations. For once let us see what the younger generation think and let us think along with them and try to solve all those problems facing them.

As regards women, again they are the creative forces of society, whether they are workers, farmers, youth or women.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra): Mr. Prime Minister, you don't have a single women Minister in the Cabinet except one Minister of State and you are talking about women.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: For once let us think beyond the Cabinet. Sir, I used to seek protection when I was on that side. Now, I think, I need protection at least from Ratnakarji. (*Interruptions*).

श्री रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: जवाहर रोजगार योजना के विषय में आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं? मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि पिछली सरकार ने जवाहर रोजगार योजना की शुरुआत की थी उस संबंध में आपकी सरकार क्या करने जा रही है, माननीय सभापति जी, आपके माध्यम से प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह सदन जानना चाहता है?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Also, here, we have a plan in panchayats and local bodies to politically involve them in the management of the country and also, in those departments which are suitable for women, to give them a share in job opportunities. This is connected with another problem, Sir. Job means education, promotion of education among women and promotion of education relates to another problem of population. Lakshmannaji mentioned that. I think this is one thing we are forgetting in our development strategies. We never mentioned this population problem. I think it is time we at least...(*Interruptions*).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: Sir, I am on a point of information. The hon. Prime Minister has just mentioned about women. He said "suitable for women". What does it mean? We would like to know this from him.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Certainly I do not intend putting them in the tanks of the Defence Ministry, in the army tanks of the Defence Ministry. (*Interruptions*).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: Why not? Are they not qualified? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: There are areas where ...(*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Would you specify the areas?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I need not, now. Going into every detail of that is not the purpose of this discussion, Sir. We can have a regular resolution on that and we will come with it. (*Interruptions*).

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: यह रानी झांसी का देश है। यहां औरतें टैंक चला सकती हैं, बंदूकें चला सकती हैं। आप उनको पीछे क्यों रख रहे हैं? रानी झांसी के नाम पर कलंक मत लगाइये। ...(*व्यवधान*)... आप कलंक क्यों लगाते हैं? ...(*व्यवधान*)... यह टैंक की बात कर रहे हैं। ...(*व्यवधान*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY. Sir, it is an insult to women to say ...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: This is insulting Indian womanhood. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: ....the Prime Minister forgot about women in the Lok Sabha. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, they certainly can ...(*Interruptions*). Just one moment. As for Miss Khaparde, *MOT* army she is more fit. She is fit for fighting. (*Interruptions*).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: You can-

not avoid this question as the Prime Minister. This is not the way. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Can you have your seat? Let me **answer**. (*Interruptions*).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: It is dear today ...(*Interruptions*)... Mr. Prime Minister, that you are very much anti-**women**. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: How can I be anti-women, Sir? The point is, there is no disrespect to women. (*Interruptions*). In the present context and with the possibilities I am **exploring** ...(*Interruptions*)... they can certainly take to any profession and do better than us. Women, can do better than men. (*Interruptions*). The point is, 30 per cent reservation means, how much can you draw? What percentage today can you fulfil? I will certainly look forward. Sometimes you cannot fulfil every sector. So the point is: Today what is the capability, what is the condition in which you can reserve it? There is no point in keeping posts vacant. And again and again and again, they can excel men in every sphere. I am not ruling that out. The argument is not that ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Yours is the only Cabinet since our Independence without a women Minister of Cabinet rank ...(*Interruptions*)... Yours is the only Cabinet without a woman Minister of Cabinet rank since Independence ...(*Interruptions*)... Your Cabinet has no woman Minister!

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I was on the subject of reservation ...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, this only proves that nobody can fight with women and win, ...(*Interruptions*)... particularly my friends on the other side ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You have forgotten Renukaji?...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: What

about Mrs. Renuka Chaudhury? ...(*Interruptions*)... Nobody can beat her ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Don't underestimate her ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.K.T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Prime Minister, this is not a place for *tamasha*. You should be more serious ...(*Interruptions*)...

AN HON. MEMBER: There is discrimination against women ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No discrimination . -. (*Interruptions*)... Sir, those who are talking very loudly now were on this side also ...(*Interruptions*)... What did they do? How much of reservation of jobs for women did they allow? ...(*Interruptions*)... Did you do it? It was only the Karnataka Government which did it; it was the Tamil Nadu Government which did it. Don't talk tall ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Don't talk about Karnataka. I come from Karnataka and I know about Karnataka. Before talking about Karnataka, you check up and tell ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It was the Karnataka Government which did it and it was the Tamil Nadu Government which did it ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr. Prime Minister, just a minute.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right. I will yield, because our names are the same—I am Vishwanath and he is Shiv Shanker!

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I must thank you for having made a reference to the Karnataka Government. But what about the Andhra Pradesh Government? The Andhra Government also has done it. I am just complimenting and I am myself saying it. You did not say it, but I am saying it. I am giving you compli-



[Shri P. Shiv Shanker], ment. While I am complimenting them for having introduced 30 per cent reservation for women, their performance was the most dismal performance.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: What? ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: What?

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I meant that they never implemented it ... *(Interruptions)*... They never implemented k.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHA KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): The reservation ... *(Interruptions)*... **wis** challenged in the High Court and the High Court has granted a stay on that. That is why the delay ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: They are talking of women. What happened to Miss Jayalalitha on the floor of the Assembly in Tamil Nadu? ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: You apply some pressure and get it in Rajasthan and Bihar and Gujarat ... *(Interruptions)*...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: What? . ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Reservation of jobs for women. Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu have done it ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Your information is wrong ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am getting information from Shiv Shankerji. I said that Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have done it and he says that Andhra also has done it ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Prime Minister, I am sorry for your poor knowledge ... *(Interruptions)*... Karnataka has done it and not Andhra Pradesh ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP

SINGH: Now, this is about job reservation. O.K.

A point was raised by Ram Awadheshji about the Mandal Commission Report. Our commitment is for the Mandal Commission, the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report on backward classes. I think this is one area where we have jointly passed the reservation Bill and I think this is one section which, not only economically, but also socially, has to be brought into the mainstream. And I think whatever you may do here, whatever changes may be there, if there is any hut where there is no hope the changes have no meaning, it is just a passing show from the top.

One thing which is of the highest importance is emotional integration of the country. The matter was raised this morning, and there is no difference of opinion on this. Integration of the country, the guarantee of it, is its cultural and emotional link. It will be our endeavour to give the highest priority, that it is maintained and strengthened and also there is the minorities' share in the economic development and the fruits of development and they feel secure and do not have any fear in their minds.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI: Can I intervene for one moment only? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I was mentioning about minorities. I cannot deny it to Shri Sibtey Razi.

**श्री सैयद सिबते रज़ी :** प्रधान मंत्री जी मैं आपका बड़ा शुक्रगुजार हूँ आपने नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन, रिलीजियस टॉलरेंस और सौप्रदायिक सौहार्द की बात कही। राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण हुआ, उसमें इस बात को कहा गया है कि हम एक ऐसा समाज बनाएंगे जिसमें अल्पसंख्यक निर्भीक होकर रह सकें और साथ-ही-साथ देश की प्रगति में पूरा-पूरा हिस्सा ले सकें। मैं आपको यह बताना चाहूंगा कि बाबरी मस्जिद रामजन्म भूमि के मामले में अभी स्थिति बहुत खराब है। वहां पर कोर्ट के स्थगन आदेश या कोर्ट की ऐक के बावजूद मंदिर बनना शुरू हो गया है। क्या आप यह आश्वासन करना चाहेंगे

कि इस मामले में कोई इस तरह की बात नहीं होगी जिससे मायनोरिटीज के जो बुनियादी हक हैं, उन पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ेगा। जब तक कोर्ट का कोई आदेश नहीं हो जाएगा बाबरी मस्जिद को पूरी तरह से सुरक्षित रखा जाएगा क्योंकि ... (व्यवधान)... जिस फर्टी के साथ मिलकर आप सरकार चला रहे हैं, उस पार्टी के मेंबरों ने ... (व्यवधान)... किसी भी कीमत पर चाहे कोर्ट आदेश दे या न दे। ऐसी विस्फोटक स्थिति में क्या प्रधान मंत्री जी अल्पसंख्यकों को इस बात का आश्वासन देना चाहेंगे कि उनकी इबादतगाह पूर्ण रूप से सुरक्षित रहेगी और इस सिलसिले में आपकी जो भी पालिसी है या आपने दोनों पक्षों से इस संबंध में बात की है या आपका कोई राष्ट्रीय कन्सेंस बनाने का प्रयास है? तो क्या जिस तरह से आप कहते रहे हैं कि हम सिटीजंस को उसमें इनवाल्व करेंगे तो आखिर क्या होने जा रहा है? क्योंकि जनवरी के तीसरे हफ्ते में या आखिरी हफ्ते में मंदिर का निर्माण होने जा रहा है। यह हमारा एक बड़ा जलता हुआ सवाल है। ... (व्यवधान)...

**कुमारी अलिया (उत्तर प्रदेश):** श्रीमान्, मेरा ताल्लुक उत्तर प्रदेश के फैजाबाद डिस्ट्रिक्ट से है। मैं फैजाबाद से आई हूँ ... (व्यवधान)... फैजाबाद में जहाँ पर शिलान्यास हुआ है वहाँ पर ... (व्यवधान)... पिलर लगा रही है ... (व्यवधान)...

**SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, are you permitting these interruptions in between? What are you doing? (Interruptions) Please do not allow anybody to interrupt hereafter. (Interruptions)

**कुमारी अलिया:** आप मामले पर गौर कीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)... लोहे के सरिफ़ वगैरह लगाकर पिलर बना रहे हैं जबकि हुकूमत का यह आर्डर है कि जब तक कोर्ट का फैसला नहीं हो जाता है, कोई भी कंस्ट्रक्शन का काम नहीं होगा। ... (व्यवधान)...

**श्री सभापति:** अब आप जवाब सुनिए।

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Sir, I said it is for all of us how we conduct ourselves in this House. It is the responsibility of all. On my part I will contribute my mite whatever I can. And that is why I am not raising technical objections. But in this process many points will remain unanswered. But I am

ready to bear with you even if it goes up to midnight or tomorrow morning. If you bear with me, I am ready for it. (Interruptions) Now what to do about Bofors? He is firing his guns though the ammunition is short range.

6.00 P.M.

On this matter also I would say that it is again an issue of national reconciliation as to how to bridge the gap. We will make all efforts to bridge the gap. We will make efforts for an amicable solution. At the same time, the process of law is there. The High Court is there. At the same time, we will make our best efforts to find an amicable solution and I am hopeful that some solution will come.

Shri Chavanji made another point about Super 301 and said that the present Government is succumbing to it. May I assure you that we are very clear that the present Government will not surrender its economic independence? We will not succumb to threats of intervention in our economy, whatever may be the reason. May I remind you that I was the leader of the delegation of the country and not of the party in Punta del Este Navrada where there was a tremendous pressure to put services in the GATT? When I left here, there was almost no hope that the pressure could be resisted. 54 developing countries had lined up on the other side. We were left with a bunch of people. Brazil and a few other countries were with us. But we fought our way and at least in those negotiations we got the negotiating part of the services outside GATT. Then, of course, there will be another decision. But we could buy time and save it. When we came to the Intellectual Property Rights, I remember that we had put several conditions into it, that of developmental need, of technological objectives and public interest. We qualified it in "such a manner that we could open the window only where we wanted to. But I am very sorry that in Geneva, in April, these have been taken away. In Geneva the Government did agree to negotiate on the establishment

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

of new norms and standards of intellectual property in spite of the fact that it had no mandate to change India's patent laws. In Geneva, the Government of India also agreed to drop the idea of discussing Intellectual Property Rights in the international forums of WIPO and UNCTAD. I remember, I have attended various forums such as UNCTAD, World Bank and IMF meetings. In fact, I could deadlock the World Bank meet for seven hours. When everyone was on one side, I said that India reserved its position. It was like a brick from heaven. In the note, they would have to write that India reserved its position. For two minutes there was silence. I was putting out my neck. If others had not supported, then coming to Delhi I would have been charged that I had isolated the country. But the support started trickling in one by one, first from Argentina, then from Brazil and from Africa. Even China supported. Then the U.S. Delegate said: "All right, we are ready to do it."

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: You were the representative of the Government of India.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Let us not make it small. We all share it. Whether it is this side or that side, whichever side we sit, on this we are on one side. Then, whenever this problem of Services was there, I said, there are proper forums of WIPO and UNCTAD where these could be discussed. That has been dropped. I think, from Uruguay and Punta del Este to Geneva, there has been a setback on national interest, and I will not say anything. We will try to retrieve what we can from now.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: You have the kind of assessment which US Ambassador has given. He has given his assessment to his Government that this Government is more amenable for the kind of pressure ...*(Interruptions)* The retiring Ambassador has given his assessment about the new Government that this new Government of Mr. Vishwanath

Pratap Singh seems to be more amenable for this kind of a thing. That is the kind of assessment he has given. I am happy that you are going to resist it. But this should have been denied before.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Well, this Mr. Hubbard, I am told, is a former Ambassador. He has got many things in his 'cupboard', it seems. And one of the things he has also said, I am told—I did not see the news in which paper and what had come—because you drew the attention...

AN HON. MEMBER: It was in 'India Abroad'.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, 'India Abroad'. Chavanji, he has also said that the protestation of the previous Government on Super 301 of Shri Rajiv Gandhi was a mere political stance. Mr. Hubbard has said it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Will you please look at it again?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am not saying it. *(Interruptions)* So, let us not go into all this.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Just on a point of information. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Let me hear my friend, Mr. Fotedar.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: What has appeared in the press is that the ex-Ambassador of the US in India, I am told, was here during the last general elections. He went back to Washington with a message and has created an impression in the country that the new Government' headed by Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh will be amenable to the American pressure or otherwise. And this has appeared in a number of papers in India and abroad. What the Prime Minister says now is this. Uptill this time when it was brought either in the Lok Sabha or here, the Government did not consider it necessary to dispel this impression either

in the country or abroad. I am happy that he is trying to dispel. But he will be watched in the years to come, not in the years, but in the weeks to come. There is one more question. What he says now has not appeared in any press so far. It is for his information.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Well, I am happy my old friend, hon. Fotedar is trying to dispel the impression that he is not interested in serious subjects. He has taken up a serious subject.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr. Prime Minister, I must welcome what you have said about the Intellectual Property. You and me had...*(Interruptions)* I thought this very important. I am not joining issue, I am supporting him. But I want to express myself so that the Prime Minister may react. Mr. Prime Minister, you are aware that throughout in the GATT India has opposed the Services, the Intellectual Property, and Investments being included. We have fought like anything. Opinions might differ. We had a discussion. But opinions might differ. But it is my feeling...*(Interruptions)* I am just saying...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have the same right of what you do to me when you speak.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I am not denying you that right. What I am saying is that opinions might differ. This had been my personal firm view that it was in Punta del Este, the formulation that had developed had given room for the purposes of the discussions in Geneva on the question of the Services. I would only like to submit that if we submit to what the United States and the developing European countries had been throughout saying that these items must be brought within the sweep of the GATT, then in my humble view it will be a case of economic imperialism ...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have fought all these struggles.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: ...which will totally sweep this country. I would only request you that kindly see that services, intellectual property and investment in any form is not brought...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is no information. I am not given to such preaching. I am the one who fought it out. *(Interruptions)*. There is no question. They briefed their Prime Minister. And I tell you his brief was and his greatest adviser then was...

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I had differences with you in New York. *(Interruptions)*, You may take refuge under the umbrella of the former Prime Minister but that is where you have committed the mistake.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Is it not a fact that in Geneva the same government retreated from the earlier position taken by you and, therefore, the Joint Secretary, Mr. Verma, was taken to task? Is it not a fact, I want to know.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, at that time I was told as a brief that even in services, if there is no gross retaliation, you can agree to it in GATT.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Not at all. I cannot deny it. Mr. Shiv Shanker can deny it. But it is not correct.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: You know many things. But you are not privy to this.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I deny it emphatically. But you know it better that that was not the brief.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: And when I could get it out of the GATT, there was a special mention in the Cabinet by the Prime Minister and in the Parliamentary Party for this achievement. And the various conditions and barriers that were removed in Geneva in April, that is a let down of country's interests and that is what I charge you with. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Who was acting under the American pressure?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is true what Chaturananji is saying, that those officers who resisted this pressure, find out where they are.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: You can place on the Table all these papers for a proper discussion of the issue. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, because I allow and listen does not mean that I will give up my positions.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, can I seek the indulgence of the Prime Minister to share with us what transpired in the Geneva meeting by laying on the Table all the relevant papers. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I am not yielding. I have to finish my speech. Otherwise, it will never come to an end.

Darbara Singhji mentioned...

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Do not misquote facts.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Darbara Singhji mentioned about Panama and the stand of the Government. The Government fully share the Non-Aligned Statement of condemning the U.S. invasion. *(Interruptions)*. And well do not forget that when there was an attack on Libya, the tail was between the legs. *(Interruptions)*. The word 'condemn' was not used. Shri B.R. Bhagat ...*(Interruptions)*

श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): पहले यह सरकार आपस में तय कर ले कि कौन सी बात कहनी है। इनके विदेश मंत्री एक बयान देते हैं और कहते हैं कि उसने इंटरवीन किया है। अब प्रधान मंत्री का बयान आता है। यह सरकार अपनी बात क्यों खारिज है? विरोध

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: The then Foreign Minister had to resign. When it came to the question

of Grenada, when there was invasion by the U.S.A., what did these brave heroes do? What was the word used? Not even 'deplore'. The words used were 'views with concern'. *(Interruptions)*

This was 'concern' they expressed.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: क्या आप भी उसी रास्ते पर चलेंगे?

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: नहीं चलेंगे, हमारा रास्ता साफ है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ...*(व्यवधान)*

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: अभी अभी आये हैं और अभी से शुरू कर दिया है। वह विषय हो चुका है, अब हम आगे के विषय पर हैं।

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. On a point of information. If you permit me ...*(Interruptions)* Point of information, Sir.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, this cannot go on. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Fotedar, the Prime Minister is not yielding.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Sir, I am just saying...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I beg of you not to permit this kind of interruption.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: The matter is one which is of national importance. That is why, I want to raise it.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am not yielding.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Please do not permit this kind of interruption.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have said. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am not going to interrupt unless the Prime Minister yields.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have not yielded. (*Interruptions*)

**श्री रामचन्द्र विकल्प:** बार-बार नेता सदन में छड़े होकर धमकी देते हैं। क्या आपको याद नहीं है कि जब आप सदन को एडजर्न करा देते थे और यह काम आपने सैकड़ों बार किया? दस-दस मिनट के लिए सदन को एडजर्न करा देते थे। अब हमें उपदेश देते हैं ... (*व्यवधान*)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: As far as the foreign policy is concerned, it is not the policy of one party alone. It is the policy of the entire country. On a point of information, I want this clarification. If he yields, well and good. If he does not, let him not.

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA: He is not yielding. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am very happy that Fotedarji is getting interested in foreign policy, from the inner-circle policy.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: For your information, you were also a part of it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: What Fotedarji has said is right. In regard to the foreign policy ... (*Interruptions*)

**डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय:** माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी, कृतज्ञता की सीमा होनी चाहिए।

**श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह:** रत्नाकर जी, जब आप मांग रहे थे वह दिन भी याद रखे।

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I did not belong to that inner-circle which called Mr. Rajiv Gandhi 'Lord Krishna'.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He only calls him 'Lord'.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Don't forget that you accepted him as your leader.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Well, the Swedish Audit Report did not come then.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Where is it now? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Now you will bring it. (*Interruptions*). I give credit at least for once to Fotedarji when he has said one correct sentence on foreign policy that it is not a private property of a party. It is true. Foreign policy is dictated by the geopolitical concerns of a country. It evolves in a historical process through national consensus, and our policy of non-alignment, of our solidarity with developing countries, our opposition of apartheid, our commitment to the Palestinian cause, our commitment to neighbourly relations are part of our national foreign policy and I think there is no difference across the board on these matters. We will continue this policy keeping national interest in view and on top and continue in the framework of peace, disarmament and progress.

Shri Gopalsamy mentioned about Sri Lanka. I want to assure you, we are fully concerned with the safety of the Tamils. It was tragic that in the last few years blood of Indian origin has flown from both the sides.

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

It was a sad state of affairs and this internecine fighting among all sections of Sri Lanka was there. I do not say of only Tamil sections but Tamil sections do concern us deeply. Now we have inherited a position in which two Tamil sections are\* fully armed, they are in conflict. How can we get out of this position? And also the other sections of Sri Lanka—we want peace there. We also want ... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): If he does not yield, I will not allow.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: So, we want a dialogue to develop between the Sri Lankan Government and all these sections of the Tamil group and at the same time their democratic aspirations also have to be fulfilled and the safety of the Tamils to be en-

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh] sured. We are committed to withdrawal of the IPKF with honour and dignity and we have had interaction with the Sri Lankan Government. Their Foreign Minister had come. I have requested him to see if Sri Lankan Government could jointly work out the process of deinduction so that with his cooperation we could do it that faster. This will be our thrust and concern in Sri Lanka.

Nepal has had always very unique traditional relations not only at Government to Government level, but also at people to people level. I think this great asset between our relations should be preserved. This can be preserved by sensitivities on both sides. Nepal has to be sensitive in our security interest. Certainly this is one interest which no country can give up. At the same time we also appreciate that Nepal is a land-locked country and has got several problems. I think within these parameters some solution can come and there was a letter from the King of Nepal that either our Foreign Minister should go or their Foreign Minister could come here. We have invited their Foreign Minister and he is coming. We will continue a dialogue on these lines.

Improving relations with China will be a priority on our agenda and initiatives compatible with our national interest will be taken to arrive at a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What about Tibet?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Tibet is an autonomous region of China. That is our stand ...*(Interruptions)* What the Government says, I am saying.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Again, on a point of information ...*(Interruptions)* Because there is a contradiction between one of the Ministers of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister. I would like to know whether it is the Prime Minister's opinion, or it is the opinion of

the Cabinet. In case, it is Cabinet opinion, then why is Mr. George Fernandes in the Cabinet?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right. Sir, on Pakistan..... I have expressed the position of the Government and that is the collective opinion of every member of the Cabinet. *(Interruptions)* I have expressed myself on this point. Now the Simla Agreement .....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please sit down. No, no, if the Prime Minister does not yield, I will not allow anybody. No, I cannot allow.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: On Pakistan, the Simla Agreement will be the basis of dialogue and process of mutual confidence building. In this respect there are problems and what concerns us" is the news about the nuclear development in Pakistan. I think Pakistan should clarify its position on that because it deeply concerns our security. But certainly in other areas where improvement can be made, our initiatives will be there in areas of trade and others and whatever minor irritants may be there between us, as a process of building mutual confidence, we will continue those initiatives.

On South Africa, I have already stated that we are committed against apartheid.

General party issues on Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab were raised in the House and Kailashpati raised the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. I think this is another area which on non-partisan basis is of concern to all of us. In this respect what concerns us is the escalation of violence. In 1988, the total number of violent incidents was 390; in 1989, 2080. Number of deaths in 1988 was 31; in 1989, 90. Number of explosions in 1988 was 24; in 1989, 476. Armed attacks by terrorists in 1988 were 7; in 1989, 117. Police violence in 1988; 51; in 1989, 270. I do not want to put blames because in this area. I just want to share the situation. I am ready to go to every door, if it

is Jammu and Kashmir, for cooperation. And I am ready even to come to you, if it comes to Jammu and Kashmir. For the country, I am ready to come to anyone who is ready to stand for the country-....(*Interruptions*) On this matter, ....

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL (Nominated): Why don't you say something on Punjab?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have not yet come to Punjab.

I am coming to Punjab. Out of context how can I say?

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): I want to have an information from you.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No, Sir, I am not yielding.

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

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Article 370 is the result of a historical process, and we view it that Article 370 is there. I don't think you have a debate on Article 370.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: We know that Article 370 is there. Will it continue or do you propose to abrogate it?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It will continue.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: You might face some problem.

[**The Deputy Chairman** in the Chair]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sorry. This is not the way. I Will come to all suggestions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: On a serious debate like this on J. & K., they are making small points here and there. In this respect we will have to do both things. One, if there is an act of violence, certainly we have to deal with it firmly. But, at the same time, the developmental needs, the aspi-

rations of the youth and the living conditions in the remote areas have also to be attended to. I went to one of the villages a year back. There was a *kutch* road, and in the village there is a pool of muddy water. They said, "This is what we have to drink. We cannot raise our voice." I think, somewhere there also a remedy has to be applied, a healing touch has to be applied. While we deal firmly on the one side, on the other side the real problems of the people of Kashmir, the youth of Kashmir will have to be attended to along with it.

On Punjab we have made it very clear that we will not compromise on the territory of this country, we will not compromise on the Constitution of this country, we will not compromise with violence. (*Interruptions*) I will reply to everything, you think yourself. Is this fair? (*Interruptions*) Is this sort of interjection fair? I have also sat there. I have participated in the debate. I have also been a Member of Parliament, and sitting like this I have heard Ministers. But this is not the way, sitting and making noise flippantly making a question. Sir, this jack-in-the-box question-reaction should be stopped. (*Interruptions*) Yes, you have a right to know. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: Mr. Prime Minister,.....

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: What has your Government done when the slogan of Khalistan was raised? What has your Government done to deal with terrorists?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Member, please take your seat. The Prime Minister is speaking on this. We have got some amendments. A lot of business is there.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Let me answer Sat Paulji. For protection of any life there—in the hostels also the student problem has come—we have given instructions to give fullest protection and forces wherever it is necessary to see that migration is not



[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh] done, that there is safety and that lives are protected.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: You come out with figures. What is the rate of migration? you will know it yourself.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, now I know this. Many questions will be asked: What about Punjab? What about J. & K.? What about Bodo? What about the BOP? What about districts? What about Jharkhand?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Bofors also.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, they have a style, "We have created these questions. What is your solution now you tell us." It is a very good style!

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Mr. Prime Minister, do you want us to believe that you are *not*.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, they suffer from one psychological factor. For some time I have studied their psychology and philosophy also. Their psychology is this. They say this is the problem that they have created and how can there be anyone in the world to give a solution to it. They suffer from this psychology.

SHRI S.K.T. RAMACHANDRAN: You were also with us when this problem cropped up. So you also have the responsibility.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलवालिया: उपसभापति जी, सुबह मैंने आपसे गुजारिश की थी कि जगदेव सिंह खुड्डियां फरीदकोट से एम०पी० का पता लगाने के लिए और आपने हमें वचन दिया था कि आपके गृह मंत्री एक स्टेटमेंट देंगे। पर बारह घंटे होने जा रहे हैं, पर स्टेटमेंट का कोई पता नहीं है। ....*(व्यवधान)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Whenever the time is given he will make a statement on it.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, if he yields for a second, in one

sentence I will tell the origin of the problem in Punjab and Kashmir.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. He is not yielding.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab): Madam I am not interfering in his speech. The hon. Prime Minister is making a speech. I am only reminding him that in this House in his absence I made out a case on Punjab as to what is happening there for the last forty days and how people from the village side whether they are good farmers or small men belonging to a particular community residing there have to shift to cities or towns so that the police gives them protection. What is happening there today is that with a design the terrorists are asking them to close down the institutions or one community should get away from that place. What is being done against this?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Darbara Singh Ji, you are a very senior Member of this House and I am sure what you have spoken, the Prime Minister must have made a note of it. He is still continuing with his speech. I am sure he will satisfy you. Let him finish his speech.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: I am only reminding him.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Having said this that the challenge to the Constitution in whatever name and whatever form will be met, any threat to the territory of the country will be met, any threat to the life of the persons will be met, I may point out at the same time, don't think that the Punjab solution can come only by police action. It cannot. That is the mistake the previous Government did. Let us understand the people also. *(Interruptions)* In spite of the daily chanting of Anandpur Sahib, chanting of Khalistan, chanting of terrorism, chanting of iron hand, we had the guts to go to Amritsar, not you.

I am going again. We are going to have

an all-party meeting. I invite each of you and also your leader to come to that meeting on 11th in Ludhiana, Punjab. Let us come along... *(Interruptions)*..

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: For your information, Mr. Prime Minister, 8 months back, I went to Amritsar, Har-mandir Sahib. I also visited Durgiana temple.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Shiv Shankerji that is why we have rapport with each other.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: You said that nobody has gone that side... *(Interruptions)*...

**श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया:** प्रधान मंत्री महोदय, आप जो गर्व से कह रहे हैं कि आप स्वर्ण मंदिर गए थे, कृपया आप बतायेंगे... *(व्यवधान)*  
You cannot cow me down.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Honourable Members, if" they Prime Minister is not yielding, please don't interrupt. Let him finish his speech.

**श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया:** यह स्वर्ण मंदिर की बात कर रहे हैं। सिखों की बात कर रहे हैं। एक सिख बोल रहा है।... *(व्यवधान)*... इतनी अवल सीखो, प्रधान मंत्री महोदय, आप स्वर्ण मंदिर गए। He is talking about Sikhs. I am a Sikh... *(Interruptions)*...

**उप सभापति:** आप बात तो पूरी सुनिए Please take your seat.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: How can he speak without permission, Madam? Have they come to disturb the proceedings of the House or what?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: When he is talking about Sikhs... *(Interruptions)*... I am a Sikh Member. I want to ask some questions.

**आप स्वर्ण मंदिर गए, आपने बड़ी बात कही... *(व्यवधान)***

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय:** महोदय, आपने क्या इजाजत दी है, क्या आपने इनको अनुमति दी है?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seats.

If the Prime Minister yields, it is

okay but if he is not yielding what can I do?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, they are becoming reckless. It cannot be tolerated.

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकल्प:** उप सभापति जी, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है और वह यह है कि जब चेयर खड़ी होती है, आप खड़ी होती हैं तब प्राइम मिनिस्टर को बैठ जाना चाहिए, लेकिन वह तब भी खड़े रहते हैं?

**उप सभापति:** जब मैं खड़ी हूँ तो सभी को बैठ जाना चाहिए। जब मैं खड़ी हूँ तो सब को बैठ जाना चाहिए और उनको भी बैठ जाना चाहिए। ठीक है, चलिए, आप कंटीन्यू करिए।

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: The purpose is very clear. They want to be reckless and disturb the proceedings of the House.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: He should withdraw these words. He should not talk like this. He should not say that we are reckless. He is reckless.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Could it be said about the Members that they are reckless. Either it should be withdrawn or it must be expunged. This is a very reckless statement. It is very unfortunate that the Leader of the House has brought down the House by saying this.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I appeal to you to control your Members.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I appreciate what is going on but should you say that as the Leader of the House?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: What are they doing?... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: It is unparliamentary and that should be expunged.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Please control your Members (oqcjUR)

**उपसभापति:** अगर आप मेरी बात सुनेंगे तो ही मेरी समझ में आएगा आप क्या कह रहे हैं। उन्होंने

[उपसभापति]

कहा—रेकलेस.

I request Mr. Gurupadaswamy, who is the Leader of the House, and all of you who are the Members of the House, please in the name of Indian democracy, listen. (*Interruptions*). Now,

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय: रेकलेस का मन्थन क्या है?

उपसभापति: मुझे भी नहीं मालूम है। मैं डिक्लररी में देखूंगी। मैं आप सब लोगों से प्रार्थना करती हूँ, लीडर साहब ने कहा, वह नहीं कहेंगे। ... (व्यवधान) ...

what are you doing? Please sit down

He is a very sober person when he was sitting on the other side. He is very sober now also when he is sitting on this side. I will request him. (*Interruptions*). You do not even listen to the Chair what to speak of any other person. This is the tragedy. Your own Member just now said listen to the Chair. I am requesting the hon. Members, if you have any clarification, you can ask. But do not interrupt his speech because by interruption, you will not get any answer. Let him finish his speech. If you are still not satisfied, he is prepared to answer. Why do you want to disturb him? (*Interruptions*). Let the Leader of the Opposition speak. Let me understand what he wants to say.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I have always had very great respect for the Leader of the House, whether he had been sitting here or that side. He has used a very strong word. I would make an earnest appeal to his to withdraw this word.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, I have got great respect for my friend, Shri Shiv Shanker, and I did not mean anything wrong when I made that statement. But if it has hurt the feelings of my colleague opposite, I am prepared to withdraw my word reckless.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. (*Interruptions*).

Now that the Leader of the House has withdrawn his word, I will please request

everybody—you can ask questions but not in between. Let him finish and you can ask the questions.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Madam, he is yielding. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Let him make his point. (*Interruptions*).

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: अरे, वह यील्ड कर रहे हैं। उपसभापति महोदय, प्रधानमंत्री महोदय ने बड़े गर्व से अपने स्वर्ण-मंदिर दौर की बात की है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: महोदय, यह क्या हो रहा है?

उप सभापति: मैं रिक्वेस्ट कर रही हूँ। मुझे मालूम नहीं क्या हो रहा है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने स्वर्ण-मंदिर जाने की बात बड़े गर्व से कही। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उनके साथ जो सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की गई थी, यहाँ लिखित सवाल का जवाब दिया है कि वह सिक्कोरिटी रीजन के कारण डिसक्लोज नहीं की जा सकती, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे हीलिंग टच मिशन से गए थे तो एस०जी०पी०सी० के प्रेसिडेंट उसी चेम्बर में रहते हुए भी अमृतसर में उपस्थित नहीं थे ... (व्यवधान) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would tell the hon. Member, when the Prime Minister finishes his speech, you can ask him. Ask him when he finishes his speech. You can ask him. I am sure he will reply. Please have patience. Let us listen. We have got much more business to conduct. If you are going to continue like this, we will not be able to finish any business. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, ... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not disturb him.

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: मैडम, मैं कोई गर्व से नहीं कह रहा हूँ मैं तो माथा टेकने गया था, इसलिए गर्व की बात नहीं थी। दुर्गिचना मंदिर भी गया था। जलियाँवाला बाग भी गया था क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि ये स्थान कोई राजनीतिक नहीं हैं बल्कि ऐसे स्थान हैं जो

हम को जोड़ सकते हैं। मैं अपनी श्रद्धा अर्पित करने वहां गया था। ... (व्यवधान) ... मुझको अपने पर गर्व नहीं है। मुझको पंजाबी लोगों पर गर्व है, अपने पर नहीं है। यह तो उनकी मुहब्बत और प्यार था कि मैं उस तरफ जा सका। तो यह नहीं कि एक इंसीडेंट को लेकर कहा जाय और न मैं उसको कहना चाहता हूं या उस को इस तरह से प्रोजेक्ट करना चाहता हूं। वह कोई हल नहीं है।

कहने की बात यह है कि आखिर पंजाब के बारे में जहां पर ये सारी चीजें कहते हैं, एक अदद विश्वास भी चाहिए। मैंने वहां एहसास किया कि वह विश्वास आपस में पैदा किया जा सकता है। इसी चुनाव में आडवाणी जी के चुनाव में वह खाई कैसे पटी जो बन गयी थी उसका एक रास्ता है। मैं जानता हूं वह अकेले मेरा मान नहीं है, यह तो हम सब का है और इसलिए सभी दलों की हम लोगों ने एक कांग्रेस की थी। उसमें मान लीजिए आप समझते हों कि कोई चीज ठीक नहीं है तो हम आगे भी प्रयास करने को तैयार हैं। मैं वहीं छोड़ देने वाला नहीं हूं। अभी हम जा रहे हैं, उसमें हम और पार्टियों की भी सुविधा देख लेंगे लेकिन हम चलें, लोगों के बीच में चलें। सब एक मंच पर खड़े हों। आप भी आएं और वहां पंजाब के लोगों को तो एडजस्ट करें। एक को एक रंग में रंग देना, सब को एक ही तरह से डील करने से पंजाब का मसला हल नहीं होगा। तमाम लोग हैं, गांवों में रहते हैं, एक दूसरे पर विश्वास करते हैं। पंजाब के लोग हैं, उनको तो गले लगाइए। जहां तक एक अपनी धरती का सवाल है, अपना सवाल है वह अपनी जगह है। लेकिन जब तक फर्मिस और फेअरनेस दोनों नहीं होंगी तब तक पंजाब के मसले का हल नहीं निकलेगा।

सन् 1984 के जिन परिवारों के दिल शोक से डूबे हुए हैं, भरे हुए हैं जिन्हें 5 साल तक न्याय नहीं मिल पाया और हम सोचें कि हम पंजाब के मसले को हल कर लेंगे तो वह नहीं होगा। आज अपने दिल को टटोलना है। इसलिए हम ने तय किया है कि स्पेशल कोर्ट्स बनाएंगे। यह नहीं कि किसी एक कोर्ट में दे दिया और वह चल रहा है, चाहे वहां फैसला हो या नहीं हो। किसी को फंसाने की बात नहीं है, लेकिन न्याय तो हो जिस परिवार का गया है उसके साथ। वह विश्वास का सूत पैदा होना चाहिए।

आज कुछ बात हुई 59वें एमेंडमेंट की। एक चीज खटकती थी, पंजाब के सभी लोगों को खटकती थी। लेकिन आज हम लोगों ने मिलकर एक बड़ी अच्छी बात की। मिलाकर 59वें एमेंडमेंट को करना हम समझते हैं

कि बहुत अच्छा सिग्नल गया है पंजाब और हरियाणा में। सतपाल मित्तल जी जैसे कह रहे थे, यही रास्ता है जो आप कह रहे हैं जिसे निकलने की हम लोग कोशिश करेंगे और यही हम लोगों का प्रयास है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल: प्रधान मंत्री जी, अभी जो लोग चुनकर आए हैं, उन्होंने शपथ नहीं ली क्योंकि आपने कृपाण लेकर आने की इजाजत नहीं दी है। तो फिर वह अपनी बात कैसे कह सकेंगे?

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: मण्डल कमीशन के बारे में आप कुछ बोलिए। ... (व्यवधान) ...

उप सभापति: राम अवधेश जी, आप बैठ जाइए।

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: हमने कहा भी, आपको नाम याद किया और रिकार्ड पर भी आपका नाम चला गया ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: नाम से क्या मतलब है, आपके काम से मतलब है। आप कब तक उस काम को करेंगे, यह जनता जाने। ... (व्यवधान) ... आप बताइए कि क्या काम करना चाहते हैं? ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: मण्डल कमीशन के बारे में हम कह चुके हैं और अंत में मैं ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल: मेरा यह कहना है कि जो पंजाब के ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: प्रधान मंत्री जी, आप कृपा करके बोलिए कि कब तक लगू होगा? ... (व्यवधान) ... उप सभा पति महोदय, यह बहुत अहम सवाल है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल: चुनाव लड़ा, उनको सरकार कब तक इजाजत दे रही है तबकि वह सदन के अंदर आकर अपनी बात कह सके। ... (व्यवधान) ...

उप सभापति: जो लोक सभा के एम्पी० आए हैं और शपथ ग्रहण नहीं कर पाए हैं, वे कब तक कर पाएंगे?

श्री दरबारा सिंह: जो वह लोग कहते हैं कि 3 फुट की कृपाण लेकर हम शपथ लेने आएंगे, वरना नहीं आएंगे। गवर्नमेंट किस हक में है? ... (व्यवधान) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. You know and I know that Ram Awadheshji was doing this when he was here oh this side. He is doing it there now.

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: सदन के अंदर सरकार की हुकूमत नहीं चलती है, चेयर की चलती है। जो फैसला चेयर का होगा, सोचते हैं कि वह सबको मानना है। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल: हरजिन्दर पाल सिंह को चेयर ने छोड़ना है, सरकार ने छोड़ना है? ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: और एक जमाने में सारी आटो-मैटिक राइफल्स हर तरफ लगी रहती थीं, यह सब कारीडोरस में और अगल-बगल में ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: कमाण्डो की जगह आर्मी कमाण्डो लगा दिया, फर्क क्या है? वर्दियां बदल गई हैं और कुछ नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल: अगर हमने गलती की है और हम यहां बैठे हुए हैं, क्या आप उस गलती को कांटेन्यू करना चाहते हैं? क्यों नहीं आपने हरजिन्दर पाल सिंह को अभी तक छोड़ा? उस पर कोई चेयर ने फैसला नहीं करना है, उस पर सरकार ने फैसला करना है। उसको आप छोड़िए, उनकी एक शर्त तो पूरी हो जाएगी। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: ठीक है, आपकी भावनाओं को मैंने नोट कर लिया है। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: मैं यही जानना चाहता हूँ कि कब तक ... (व्यवधान) ... आप टाइम दीजिए न। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: मैं अंत में धन्यवाद देता हूँ जिन माननीय सदस्यों ने अपना योगदान दिया और जो राष्ट्रपति जी ने अभिभाषण दिया ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री भंवर लाल पंवार (राजस्थान): यह सरकार जाएगी, उस समय भी विचार ही करती रहेगी। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह: उन सब सदस्यों को मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ। ... (व्यवधान)...

उप सभापति: राम अवधेश जी, मैं आपको कितने सालों में सुन रही हूँ, सब लोग सुन रहे हैं। आप चाहे इधर बैठें या उधर बैठें, आप एक ही बात बोलते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अगर मण्डल कमिशन के बारे में बोल दिया तो आप कृपया रिकार्ड पढ़ लेना और अगर आपको उसमें कोई कमी लगे तो चिट्ठी भेज देना आपको जवाब आ जाएगा। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: इनको कहना चाहिए कि कब तक लागू होगा? ... (व्यवधान)...

उप सभापति: आप उस समय हाऊस में थे नहीं। कृपया रिकार्ड पढ़ लीजिए। सुबह पढ़ लेना और चिट्ठी लिख देना। अब आप बैठ जाइए। ... (व्यवधान)...

मेरे सामने अमेंडमेंट्स रखे हैं, अमेंडमेंट मुझे मूव करना है, उनको पास करना है, उसके बाद मोशन है, फिर उसके बाद बोफोर्स है, स्टेटमेंट है। बहुत काम है, कृपया बैठ जाइए। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: कैटोर्गारिकल जवाब नहीं देने के कारण और जनता के साथ विश्वासघात करने के कारण मैं सदन का बहिष्कार करता हूँ।

[इसके बाद माननीय सदस्य सदन से उठकर चले गए]

7.00 P.M.

श्री रामचन्द्र विक्रम: उप सभापति महोदय, आपने स्वयं कहा कि स्पष्टीकरण भाषण के बाद होंगे। हम कभी बीच में व्यवधान नहीं करते हैं। मैंने लिखकर दिया आपको और आपने कहा कि बाद में मांगना। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से कुछ स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूँ।

उप सभापति: अच्छा एक मिनट बोलिए ... (व्यवधान) I allowed him because he is an elderly Member and I respect him.

श्री रामचन्द्र विक्रम: मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक आप इस सदन के नेता रहे और वित्त मंत्री और रक्षा मंत्री रहे, तब तक हमारी सरकार की गलतियों में आप शरीक हैं या नहीं?

दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आरक्षण के सवाल पर प्रधान मंत्री जी और उप-प्रधान मंत्री जी का विवाद है, तो सही विवाद क्या है? एक तो आरक्षण मानते हैं आर्थिक आधार पर और प्रधान मंत्री जी मानते हैं कास्ट के आधार पर। तो आईदा आप दोनों में से किसकी बात को जनता सही माने?

तीसरी बात मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि पनामा पर विदेश मंत्री का वक्तव्य और आपका वक्तव्य अलग अलग है, दोनों में फर्क है और तिब्बत के सवाल पर भी आपका मत भेद है, आपके मंत्रिमंडल में मतभेद है तो वह क्या है?

आखिरी सवाल मेरा यह है कि किसानों के अनाज की कीमतें गिरी हैं, उड़द, मूंग, अरहर की कीमतें घटी हैं

[श्री रामचन्द्र विकल]

और यूरिया की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री इनका स्पष्टीकरण करें।

**उप सभापति:** अब कृपया अपना स्थान ग्रहण कीजिए। I shall now put these amendments to vote.

**श्री रामचन्द्र विकल:** प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जवाब नहीं दिया ... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभापति:** आपको बुलवाने की जिम्मेदारी मेरी थी, जवाब देने की जिम्मेदारी मेरी नहीं है।

**श्री रामचन्द्र विकल:** आपकी रूलिंग है। मैं कोई हवा में बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। प्रधान मंत्री जी मेरे सवालों का जवाब दें ... (व्यवधान)

**उप सभापति:** मेरी कोई खलिंग नहीं है।

I shall now put Amendment nos. 1 to 5 and 27 and 28 by Shri Shabbir Ahmad Salaria to vote.

*Amendment Nos. 1 to 5 and 27 and 28 were negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put Amendment Nos. 6 to 26 by Shri Ram Naresh Yadav to vote.

**श्री रामनरेश यादव:** उपसभापति महोदया, मैं अपने संशोधनों पर कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। माननीय, राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण जो है उसमें जिन समस्याओं की तरफ जरा भी उल्लेख नहीं है उन कमियों के बारे में हमने संशोधन दिया है। उसमें पहली बात यह है कि पूरा भाषण पढ़ने के बाद जहाँ पर सारे विकास की बात कही जाती है, कमरूतों की बात कही जाती है, वहीं पर इस देश के स्वास्थ्य के बारे में एक भी शब्द राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में नहीं कहा गया है। इसीलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की स्वास्थ्य के बारे में क्या नीति है, यह तो अभिभाषण में होना चाहिए था। दूसरी बात यह है कि इन्होंने कहा है मंडल कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को लागू करने के लिए हम समुचित उपाय करेंगे तो मैं यह जानना चाहूँगा, डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर इस समय सदन में नहीं हैं इन्होंने कई बार आर्थिक आधार पर माना है और उसके बाद पूरे प्रदेशों में जिस तरह से एक आंदोलन की आंच फैल रही है वह बहुत खतरनाक चीज है अगर इस तरह से न कहा गया होता सरकार की ओर से, उप प्रधान मंत्री की ओर से तो शायद इस तरह की आंच न फैली होती, इसलिए मैंने यह कहा है कि सरकार जब इस तरह की बात करती है, वैसे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने बयान में

कहा है कि हम उसे लागू करेंगे लेकिन प्रश्न यह खड़ा होता है कि 52 फोर्सों जो लोग हैं चुनाव में उनके वोट खींचने के लिए पूरे देश में मंडल कमिशन की रिपोर्ट लागू करने की बात पत्र में कही गयी है:

"The report of the Mandal Commission will be implemented forthwith."

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ यह कब लागू होगी, कितने महीनों के बाद लागू होगी और क्या कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं। क्योंकि यह बात इसमें नहीं है इसलिए मैंने यह चाहा है कि इसको समयबद्ध आधार पर किया जाए।

कृषि के क्षेत्र में भी जरूरी बात यह है कि कृषि को कौन सा दर्जा दिया जा रहा है, कौन सी प्राथमिकता दे रहे हैं? महात्मा गांधी का नाम कहीं नहीं लिया है सिर्फ एक जगह कि गांधी के देश में हिंसा का कोई स्थान नहीं है। अगर कृषि को प्राथमिकता नहीं दी जायेगी तो किस को प्राथमिकता दी जायेगी। इसमें कितने ही लोग लगे हुए हैं। पर इसकी चर्चा इसमें नहीं है। कौन सी व्यवस्था करेंगे कृषि को प्राथमिकता दिलाने के लिए?

एक और जरूरी बात है कि हमारा लोकतंत्र का आधार है नागरिक के अधिकार। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इलिटरेसी को कितने दिनों में खत्म करेंगे? क्योंकि शिक्षा के बारे में भी इसमें कुछ नहीं है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा की नीति क्या होगी? क्या जो पुरानी शिक्षा नीति चल रही है वही चलती रहेगी या कोई नयी शिक्षा नीति चलायेंगे इस बारे में इसमें कहीं नहीं है। इन शब्दों के साथ मेरे जो अमेन्डमेंट हैं उनको मैंने आपके सामने रखा था। मैं समझता हूँ सरकार इन पर ध्यान देगी इसलिए मैं अपने सारे अमेन्डमेंट वापस लेता हूँ।

*Amendment Nos. 6 to 26 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up Amendment nos. 29 to 34 by Shri Kapil Verma.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Madam, I want to press Amendment No. 29 and withdraw the remaining amendments up to 34. The Ram Janam bhoomi-Babri Mosque controversy had great impact on the elections. Certain parties used it. I expected the Prime Minister to please clarify his stand and to clearly state his view. He has not done so. I am also dissatisfied because he has not spelt out

the steps he is going to take about this burning problem which is burning issue in the whole of North. I am pressing this Amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

(29) That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

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

*The motion was adopted.*

***Amendment Nos. 30 to 34 were, by leave, withdrawn***

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we shall take Amendment nos. 35 to 37 by Shri H. Hanumanthappa.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Madam, I want to mention just one thing. I was hearing the reply of the hon. Prime Minister about the poverty alleviation programme. He was very much concerned particularly about the rural folk, agricultural folk, agricultural labourers and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Madam, my Amendment No. 35 deals with the 20 Point Programme. Many of the programmes are connected with the amelioration of the conditions of the rural poor, the agriculturists, the agricultural labour, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, and this is a Programme launched with the concurrence of the Parliament. Parliament has passed that and that has been a National Programme. My Amendment says that unfortunately the President's Address does not mention about the 20 Point Programme. This is about Amendment No. 35. Regarding Amendment No. 36, right now the Prime Minister also mentioned about the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes that we have passed the Constitution Amendment. To that extent, it is all right. When the Welfare Minister was replying, he said that the reservation in

jobs and other things is a separate thing and that it will continue and that they were passing this Constitutional Amendment to give provision for reservation in the Parliament and Assemblies. But I saw the Deputy Prime Minister saying that the reservation is for one man from each family whereas more than 40 people are in power from the Deputy Prime Minister's family, and he wants to restrict the reservation to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to one man from each family. There is a contradiction. So far this clarification has not come. Even though from the Deputy Prime Minister's family, nearly 40 people are in power, he wants to restrict in the case of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes ...*(Interruptions)* I am sorry. I stand corrected. It is his relatives. So, this point has not been clarified as to what will be the policy of the Government regarding reservations. And about the third one, of course, the Prime Minister himself has agreed that his is a minority Government with the majority support. Having mentioned these things and since other Amendments are coming from our Party, I withdraw my Amendments.

***Amendment Nos. 35 to 37 were, by leave, withdrawn.***

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now Amendment Nos. 38 to 43 and 68 to 71 by Shri Rajni Ranjan Sahu. Mr. Sahu, do you want to speak?

SHRI RAJNI RANJAN SAHU: Madam, I want to press my Amendment No. 38 and withdraw the other Amendments, Nos. 39 to 43 and 68 to 71.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I am putting Amendment No. 38 to vote.

The question is:

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

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

*The motion was adopted.*

*Amendment Nos. 39 to 43 and 68 to 71 were, by leave withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now Amendment Nos. 44 to 60 by Shri Anand Sharma. Do you want to speak?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Madam, I will be very brief. Madam, I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the President's Address presents a very wrong picture about the state of the Nation so far and also about the problems confronting the nation today. An attempt has been made to paint a dark picture of the last five years. And when the President's Address mentions about promoting national reconciliation, it fails to take into account the positive efforts of the previous Government which minimised the conflict in the North Eastern region and brought the people of those States into the national mainstream and the democratic process. Madam, this President's Address also fails to mention any commitment on behalf of the Government for the reservation for women and also the backward classes. Madam, this Address of the President, while talking of restoring the dignity of the institutions, fails to mention that the dignity of the institutions is very much in order, and only mentioned about upholding the dignity of these institutions. However, Madam, I seek to press only two amendments—Amendment Nos. 50 and 51. I want to first press my Amendment No. 50.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have got so many amendments, please be brief.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I promise I will be very brief. Today in the morning and in the afternoon the hon. Prime Minister himself was mentioning that the youth and women are the two creative assets in the society. I distinctly remember that before the elections and after the elections the Prime Minister and his party have always been giving this assurance to the younger generation that they will enshrine the right to work as a

fundamental right in the Constitution and this will be one of their first acts ... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not disturb Mr. Vishvjit Singh.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Madam Deputy Chairman, the manifesto of the National Front on page 16 says that the National Front believes that every citizen has a right to productive and gainful work and it further says that the National Front will be geared to the realisation of the right to work of every citizen of India. I am, therefore, first pressing Amendment No. 50 to vote. It is about the right to work.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What about Amendment No. 51?

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, Amendment No. 50 is about a Constitution amendment. Let it be taken up separately.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is not a Constitution amendment. Let him speak on Amendment No. 51 also then we will put both to vote. (*Interruptions*).

All/Right, I will first put Amendment No. 50 to vote.

The question is:

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

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

I think the Ayes have it, the Ayes have it....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Division.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN., the amendment is adopted.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam, we want division, how can anyone oppose such an amendment?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: With regard to Amendment No. 50 I



have got to say something. (*Interruptions*) .

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I want a division because I want to know who is going to vote against it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has already been put to vote. It has already been adopted.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Let the people of this country know who is voting against it. The nation has a right to know who is opposing this amendment. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: The Prime Minister has given a healing touch to Kashmir.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This amendment is not about Kashmir.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I am emboldened by the manifesto of the National Front. At page 6 it is stated that the right to work will be included in the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. (*Interruptions*). Now, listen to me, Madam. In this connection, the Prime Minister was pleased to appreciate the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, the situation experienced by the youth in Jammu and Kashmir. Now, if it is done only by voice vote, it would construe that only the Congress Party ...(*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy, it is a very bad practice. You ask for your right. Do not interrupt a Member. I am telling every one.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am a small man from a small part of the country and I was neither in the ruling party previously nor I am in the ruling party now. But I am emboldened by the Prime Minister's assertion. (*Interruptions*). Kindly bear with me. When you put it to vote, the party from this side have voted for it, by voice vote. I did not vote, the party in whose manifesto this has been mentioned has opposed it. This is an assurance to the younger genera-

tion that the right to work will be included in the Fundamental Rights and guaranteed by the Constitution. (*Interruptions*). Madam, I want a Division. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY. Madam, on a point of order. You have already announced that this amendment has been adopted. Now, we cannot go back on it. That is my point. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I announced 'It is adopted'. If somebody challenges it, I will ask for Division. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I challenged it. I did challenge it. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. It is a technical matter. Let me find out. At the time when I put it to voice-vote, you should have challenged it.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I challenged it. You see the record. You ask for the tape to be played. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, after you announced 'It is adopted', it cannot be reopened.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He challenged it. Mr. Subramanian Swamy says, he challenged it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Never before has it happened. (*Interruptions*). Once it has been adopted, it cannot be reopened.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: We should know who voted 'for' and who voted 'against', in concrete terms. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, I have your permission and I would like to make this submission. The House functions under the directions of the Chair. The Chair is a high office and we respect the office. From the Chair itself, Madam, you declared 'The amendment is carried'. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, I would like to draw your attention to rule 252(3).. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: After your ruling. Madam, that the amendment has been carried, there cannot be any voting. This has been done deliberately to block the proceedings of the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: We have a right to ask for Division. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request hon. Members. Have patience for a minute. Let me check up the rule. Let me ascertain myself as to what is the procedure and then I will give my ruling. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: You have already ruled. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P.K. KUNJACHEN (Kerala): Madam, you put amendment number 50 to vote and declared 'It is adopted'. Then, Mr. Anand Sharma started speaking on amendment number 51. Therefore, you cannot go back now to amendment number 50. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: We want division. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, please bear with me, bear with the Chair. I got a voice vote. If a Member wants to challenge, and Shri Subramanian Swamy challenged it, he is not a Congress (I) Member, he is an independent Member — I am sorry, he is a Janata Party Member — we have a division.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are setting a very bad precedent. The rule is very clear.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not putting any bad precedent. The Member challenged it. I have to go by what everybody says. My ears heard that there are more ayes, so I said, "Ayes have it". If he says, no, then he can ask for division. It is Member's right. (*Inter-*

*ruptions*). I have permitted him. I request the Members please not to clap. I am not doing any favour to you. Please do not clap. I am doing entirely my duty as a presiding officer. Please do not clap.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Can there be a debate on your ruling?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow the Members to speak.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will make a submission and then you decide. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I humbly request you to take your seat. Mr. Sibtey Razi, you should not challenge my ruling. He is speaking with my permission and if he is taking my permission, I have to decide. He is speaking and let him speak. Why should you mind it?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is very clear that if the opinion declared under clause (b) of sub-rule (4) of rule 252 is challenged, then a division could be permitted. Opinion means when you say "Ayes have it", that is the opinion. At that time if it is challenged then there can be division, but once the amendment is adopted, once you have given a final verdict, it cannot be questioned. The rule 253 is very clear. (*Interruptions*). After adoption it cannot be challenged. This is the practice in both the Houses. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Hon. Members, it is a technical matter. Please sit down. It is not a political matter, it is absolutely a matter in which I said, "Ayes have it". If somebody challenges it, he has a right to challenge it. That is what I am saying. He has challenged it.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Madam, our party stands by the commitment that the right to work should be a fundamental right, but because we are opposed to putting any negative vote against this Motion of Thanks, that is why .....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt a very senior Member. I

[The Deputy Chairman] would request you to give him a patient hearing.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE:....We cannot give our support for a division. We are not opposed to a division. But we do not want to make any record against the Motion supporting the President's Address here. That is why we will vote according to that.

SHRI P.N. SUKUL: Don't try to have the best of both the worlds. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dipen Chosh, your leader has expressed your party's opinion. I heard him. I respect him.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: महोदया, राष्ट्रपति ने जो अभिभाषण दिया है, उस पर एक धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव लाया गया है। अब उस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव में संशोधन लाकर यह प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है कि हम राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद तो दें, मगर खेद प्रकट करते हुए धन्यवाद दें। ... (व्यवधान) इस प्रक्रिया में हम लोग शामिल नहीं हो सकते।

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल: श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी ने यह किया था।

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: 1980 में यह आडवाणी जी ने किया था। आप भूल गये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: इस सदन का जो स्वरूप है, वह हम जानते हैं। वह सारा देश जानता है। आम चुनाव में लोक सभा बदली है, अभी राज्य सभा नहीं बदली है। वह अप्रैल में बदलेगी और इसलिए ... (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य: 1980 में आप इस सदन में नहीं थे। ... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request the hon. Members to take their seats, please. The Chair is requesting you. He is a senior member of the House. Let him have his say. Please sit down. Take your seat ..... I consider him senior. You may not, but I do.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: महोदया, काम के अधिकारों को मूलभूत अधिकारों में शामिल किया जाए, यह हमारे घोषणा-पत्र का हिस्सा है। इस वचन से

सरकार बंधी हुई है। होना तो यह चाहिए था कि इस सवाल पर मत-विभाजन की मांग न की जाती, मगर आप सस्ती राजनीति करना चाहती हैं, तो हम लोग ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति: प्रधान मंत्री कुछ कहने जा रहे हैं। आप उन्हें बोलने दीजिए।

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, that right to work be a fundamental right is a part of the National Front's commitment. We do not deviate from that. But in the President's Address, as it is said that it will ensure this in appropriate form, that includes also constitutional amendment. Therefore, there is no need of this amendment. I, therefore, appeal to hon. Shiv Shank-erji, when we say that we stand by our Commitment of putting right to work as a fundamental right, at this time let us not have a precedent to amend it.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You should appeal to me. I have challenged it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Chaturanan Mishra.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam, I got up first with the Rule Book and you have not permitted me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow you.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: हम लोगों ने तो सुना था कि आपने कहा है कि यह "अडाप्टेड" हो गया। यह आपकी खुशी है, अगर आपने ऐसा नहीं कहा था ... (व्यवधान) जरा सुन तो लीजिए। हो सकता है कि हमारा यह गलत हो। ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति: इस तरह से कमेंट्स मत पास करिए। उनकी बात सुनिये। उनको बोलने का हक है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: जहां तक चैलेंज करने का समय होता है, तो वह बीत गया।

हम लोगों ने सुना कि आपने कहा "अडाप्ट" हो गया। अगर आप समझती हैं कि आपने ऐसा नहीं कहा, तो जरूर वोट होना चाहिए। इसमें कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है कि नहीं हो। यह आपके ऊपर निर्भर है।

दूसरी बात, जहां तक इसकी मेरिट का प्रश्न है, तो

आप जानते हैं कि हम लोगों के चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में यह संविधान में काम का अधिकार घोषित करने की बात है। कांग्रेस लोगों का नहीं। तो उन्होंने अभी यह दिखलाना शुरू किया है कि पहले हम नहीं लिखते थे, अब हम इसको लिखना चाहते हैं।

तो यह भी उनको आजादी है, वह ऐसा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन यहां यह जो मोशन है, यह मोशन होगा एक सेंसरशिप का, गवर्नमेंट को सेंसर करने का। उनका अगर मकसद "राइट टू वर्क" को संविधान में शामिल करने का रहता तो उनको इसको करने के लिए 42 वर्ष काफी थे ... (व्यवधान) ... जरा सुन लीजिए ... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am allowing everybody because it is a disputed matter.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: महोदया, तो इसीलिए उस वक्त नहीं किया, घोषणा-पत्र के वक्त भी नहीं किया। अभी भी अगर सदबुद्धि आ गई है तो हमको एतराज नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं कि यह सदबुद्धि उस दिन भी रहे जिस दिन यहां से ... (व्यवधान) बोलने नहीं दे रहे हैं, क्या किया जाए।

उपसभापति: बोलने दीजिए।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: तो हमारा इनसे सिर्फ इतना ही निवेदन है कि अगर आपका हृदय परिवर्तन हुआ है या सदबुद्धि आई है तो जब हमारी सरकार संविधान को संशोधन करने का प्रस्ताव लाए तो उस दिन भी इस सदबुद्धि को रखिएगा और इधर से उधर मत होइएगा। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री देब प्रसाद राय (पश्चिम बंगाल): यह टैक्रिकल इश्यू है, टैक्रिकैलिटी की ही बात करिए उन्होंने भाषण देना शुरू कर दिया।

उपसभापति: आप बैठिए। मैं निवेदन कर रही हूँ कि आप बैठ जाइये। ... (व्यवधान) उनको बोलने दीजिए।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: मैंने यह कहा कि जिस दिन सरकार की तरफ से यहां से संविधान संशोधित करने का प्रस्ताव आए तो हम चाहेंगे कि उस दिन भी उनकी यह सदबुद्धि बस्कार रहे। वैसे हमको पूर्ण सहानुभूति है कि सत्ता के ... (व्यवधान) ... तो हमको क्या मिला ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति: संक्षेप में बोलिए।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: उप सभापति जी, मैं कन्कलुड

कर रहा हूँ, देखिए, मैं यह समझता हूँ कि सत्ता हाथ से निकल जाने के कारण इनको बहुत दर्द है, सहानुभूति तो हो सकती है लेकिन ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMI: I raised a technical objection. I must get a minute.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let Mr. Sinha speak.

श्री सतपाल मिश्र: मैडम, उधर ही टाइम दिया जा रहा है और इधर कोई टाइम नहीं है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He was the first to ask.

आप को चेयर पर भरोसा नहीं है तो बोल दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)

If you don't trust the Chair, it is O.K. You say so.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am not going to waste the time of this House by discussing the merit or the demerit of the amendment or its implications. I am only concerned with the Rules and the traditions and the procedure of the House. It is my concern that if we make a compromise with regard to the Rules of Procedure of this House, then we are setting up a tradition which we can ill afford to have in this House. In that respect, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would most respectfully draw your attention to the rules on this subject which my friends, Mr. Gopalsamy and Mr. Chaturanan Mishra, have already brought to your notice.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Which rule?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: The Rules are. Rule 252 relating to Division, Rule 252(1), Rule 252(2), Rule 252(3) and Rule 252(4), (a), (b) and (c). Now you read these Rules very carefully. I am very sorry to say that Dr. Subramanian Swamy, the hon. Member of this house, raised the point about division later than your ruling on the amendment.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR:  
No. (Interruptions)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It is an invalid point. I cannot challenge unless.....

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Dr. Swamy, you will get your chance. Let me have my say. I have not interrupted anyone. I don't know why I should be interrupted. I didn't interrupt anybody.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You interrupted me.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No, I did not interrupt anybody.

The only point to my mind is whether you put the amendment to vote or not, and when you heard the Ayes and the Noes, whether or not you said that you thought that the 'Ayes have it'; and whether you said that 'the amendment is adopted'. If you said 'the amendment is adopted' and Dr. Subramanian Swamy challenged or asked for a division after you said that the amendment has been adopted, then he does not have the right to ask for a division after this has been said. So, the simple point I am making is that you must verify the record before you give your ruling and see whether you had said that the amendment had been adopted. And if you said that the amendment has been adopted, then we cannot go against the rules of this House and press for a division. This is what I wanted to say.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Madam, two issues are involved. At the outset I want to submit in great humility for the benefit of Mr. Vajpayee, whom all of us esteem a great deal, that in voting for these amendments we are not showing any disrespect. We do not want to show any disrespect. We do not repeat, not want, to show any disrespect to the exalted office of the President. Let that be clear. This Presidential Address is a document in which broad policy matters of the Government are brought out. So many matters have been referred to which involve amendment of the constitution. All of them have been referred to. We have never said in our manifesto that right to work will be made fundamental right.

because we know the implications involved. Some reckless promises have been made. Now that the ruling party is in power, it is their solemn obligation to make it clear in the first document itself, that it will be incorporated as one of the most vital fundamental rights. During the elections they said that it will be a fundamental right and people can go to the court of law and enforce their right and the ballot papers went in their favour. My respectful submission is it is in protest against not mentioning it in the address that we have brought this amendment. Let it be clear to Chaturanan Ji as to what is our approach on this.

Lastly as to the division, there is only one

...(व्यवधान)... पंडित जी, हमें अकल rule.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISRA: He referred to me.

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे: अब मैं योल्ड नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैडम, मेरा निवेदन यह था कि हमारी जो भूमिका रही है, उसके मातहत हमने काम किया है। अब उनकी जो भूमिका अपने आप में जो उन्होंने ली है, उसके मातहत काम करना चाहिए। यहां ऑपोजीशन में बैठते हुए यह हमारा अधिकार है कि देखें वह काम ठीक करते हैं?

मैडम, अंत में मैं एक ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।  
...(व्यवधान).....

only one thing I want to submit to you is that sub-rule 3 is perhaps the only rule in the entire Rules of Procedure and conduct of Business when we are entitled to challenge your decision on a question of Ayes or Noes. Firstly I submit that immediately you put Ayes or Noes, Mr. Subramanian as a matter of fact rose and challenged it. (*Interruptions*)

But the second limb of my argument, is if you don't give such an opportunity to challenge, whose fault is it? I put a very fundamental question. (*Interruptions*) Please bear with me. Madam. You don't understand I am talking of law. (*Interruptions*) You listen to my argument, then you can rebut Mr. Sinha.

The second limb of my argument is: is

not a Member entitled to challenge your decision?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is a matter of opinion. You read it.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: If a member is entitled to challenge your decision, it is absolutely imperative to ensure that a Member is not denied a right to challenge. I submit as a fact he challenged in time and therefore, your ruling that division by vote will be taken, I submit with great respect, is the only decision that can be taken in view of the provisions of the rules.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is about the opinion, not the decision. It is clearly mentioned here. What is the decision? It is clearly mentioned here. It is about the opinion whether the "Ayes" have it ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me hear the person who is the cause of all this confusion.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: There is no confusion. I am putting them on test on everything, whether it is Bofors or this. Madam, all I have quoted is rule number 252 but not read it. It says in para 4, "If the opinion of the Chairman as to the decision of a question is challenged and he does not adopt the course provided for in sub-rule (3)" which you know making the people stand, "he shall order a 'Division' to be held." It stands to reason that challenge can be made only after you have given a decision. It says so ...*(Interruptions)*... Let me complete ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Madam, two decision are involved. The first decision is "Ayes" have it and the second is the "Noes" have it ...*(Interruptions)*... Madam, may I submit there are two decisions ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: So the question is from the very beginning I have been saying division, division. You want to take a voice vote on

that also. Their embarrassment, I can understand ...*(Interruptions)*... Then, vote for it.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: At that time, you should have challenged but not after the amendment is adopted. That is the final decision and after that nobody can challenge it. When you said "I am of the opinion that the 'Ayes' have it" at that time they should have raised it. After you have said that the amendment is adopted, that is a final ruling. After giving the final ruling that can never be challenged. It never happened before.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH (Gujarat): Mr. Gopalsamy, you can read it.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: There were two points made by Shri Yashwant Sinha. One I don't challenge. The other I do challenge. From the beginning I have been saying and the rule also says very clearly that once you put the question and a decision is given and there is a challenge, you have to order division. Secondly, he talks about propriety. In 1980 we in the Opposition moved an amendment and it was carried, so here is something which the Member has given which is to their heart and which is in their manifesto. I do not know why they are embarrassed by it. On Bofors, they are embarrassed and on this they are embarrassed. If you are so embarrassed, you resign and go and ask for a fresh mandate.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You said that he is not a Congress Member ...*(Interruptions)*... when he objected ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, I would request you to look into records because there is a doubt expressed by certain Members about your decision. I heard, Madam, that you said "it was adopted." So doubts have been expressed. I would request you to look into records. When once you

[Shri Gurupadaswamy), have said, it has been adopted, you cannot go back on that ...*(Interruptions)*... That is why I am requesting you to see the records ...*(Interruptions)*... Please see the records first. Please do not set a wrong precedent. Please look into records.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When I am putting the amendment to vote by saying "Ayes" have it or "Noes" have it, my heed is down. If somebody in this noise or din says that he is challenging ...*(Interruptions)*... If the hon. Members are going to interrupt me, this is how it happened. The confusion is created because the Members are interrupting all the time. I am not a supernatural person to identify each and every sound. So that is the reason how this confusion from the Right, the Left and the front is. When I am asking Ayes have it and Noes have it, if Mr. Subramanian Swamy challenged it, when everybody is speaking, how can I understand it? How can I hear it as to who is challenging it? I am a human being. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Had Mr. Subramanian Swamy challenged it, as for argument sake, according to your argument, when you have recorded your decision once, that cannot be reopened. *(Interruptions)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Subramanian Swamy challenged it, but how can I hear it in this noise? How can I hear him when all of you are speaking together? Even you are interrupting. You realise what can happen when you interrupt. If you interrupt like this, you can realise what can happen to you. You should realise now when I say to every Member, please keep quiet, you should listen to me at that moment. *(Interruptions)*. Now, I respectfully and very humbly beg everybody, please, when I am disposing of other amendments, kindly have pin-drop silence. I do not want any confusion, anybody challenging anything. If you want to challenge anything, do it at the appropriate time. In this noise and

din, it is impossible even for anyone of you to function. Next time be careful. This is my warning. Now Division.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: मैडम, मे ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभापति: आपको क्या तकलीफ हो गई? अब आप बैठ जाइए। ...*(व्यवधान)*... राम अवधेश जी, आप इस हाऊस के मैम्बर कब से हैं? आपको नहीं मालूम कि डिविजन का क्या मतलब होता है? मैं पहले वायस वोट करूँगी और फिर डिविजन होगा जो प्रोसेस है। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: मैंने कहा कि वायस वोट फिर कराया जाए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभापति: मैं वायस वोट से भी करूँगी।

I am going to follow it. I want to be very sure that nobody should raise any objection or cast aspersion on the Chair. I want to be very honest while I am presiding over here. It is my humble request to the hon. Members that it is a very serious matter. We are passing amendments on the President's Address. Please be serious. *(Interruptions)*. I said, please be serious. I am very sorry that the Members do not understand the meaning of seriousness.

I shall now put amendment No. 50, moved by Shri Anand Sharma to vote.

The question is:

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

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

*The House divided.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

Ayes	105
Noes	NIL
AYES — 105	

Ahluwalia, Shri S.S. Alia,  
Kumari Alva, Shrimati  
Margaret Amla, Shri Tirath  
Ram Anand Sharma, Shri

Bagrodia, Shri Santosh  
 Bansal, Shri Pawan Kumar  
 Barongpa, Shri Sushil  
 Bekal Utsahi, Shri  
 Bhardwaj, Shri Hansraj  
 Bhatia, Shri Madan  
 Battacharjee, Shri Kamalendu  
 Birla, Shri Krishna Kumar  
 Chavan, Shri S.B.  
 Chowdhry, Ram Sewak  
 Chowdhry, Hari Singh  
 Darbara Singh, Shri  
 Deori, Shrimati Omem Moyong  
 Desai, Shri Jagesh  
 Dhusiya, Shri Sohan Lal  
 Faguni Ram, Dr.  
 Fotedar, Shri Makhan Lal  
 Ganeshwar Kusum, Shri  
 Gupta, Shri Vishwa Bandhu  
 Hanspal, Shri Harvendra Singh  
 Hanumanthappa, Shri H.  
 Jacob, Shri M.M.  
 Jadhav, Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao  
 Jamuda, Shri Durga Prasad  
 Jani, Shri Jagadish  
 Joshi, Shrimati Sudha Vijay  
 Kailashpati, Shrimati  
 Kakodkar, Shri Purushottam  
 Kalita, Shri Bhubaneswar  
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram  
 Khan, Dr. Abrar Ahmed  
 Khaparde, Miss Saroj  
 Khatun, Kumari Sayeeda  
 Kidwai, Dr. Mohd. Hashim  
 Lenka, Shri Kahnu Charan  
 Lotha, Shri Khyomo  
 Mahendra Prasad, Shri  
 Mahto, Shri Bandhu  
 Malaviya, Shri Radhakishan  
 Malik, Shri Mukhtiar Singh  
 Manhar, Shri Bhagatram  
 Mathur, Shri Manmohan  
 Matto, Shri Ghulam Rasool  
 Meena, Shri Dhuleshwar  
 Mirza Irshadbaig, Shri  
 Mishra, Shri Sheo Kumar  
 Mishra, Shri Shiv Pratap  
 Mittal, Shri Sat Paul

Mohammad Yunus, Shri  
 Mohapatra, Shri Basudeb  
 Naik, Shri G. Swamy  
 Narayanasamy, Shri V.  
 Natarajan, Shrimati Jayanthi  
 Pachouri, Shri Suresh  
 Palaniyandi, Shri M.  
 Pande, Shri Bishambhar Nath  
 Pandey, Shrimati Manorama  
 Pandey, Dr. Ratnakar  
 Panwar, Shri B.L.  
 Parmar, Shri Rajubhai A.  
 Patel, Shri Chhotubhai  
 Patel, Shri Vithalbhai M.  
 Patil, Shrimati Pratibha Devisingh  
 Patil, Shrimati Suryakanta Jayawantrao  
 Puglia, Shri Naresh C.  
 Rafique Alam, Shri  
 Ramamurthy, Shri Thindivanam K.  
 Ratan Kumari, Shrimati  
 Rathwa, Shri Ramsinh  
 Ray, Shri Deba, Prasad  
 Razi, Shri Syed Sibtey  
 Sahu, Shri Baikuntha Nath  
 Sahu, Shri Rajni Ranjan  
 Sahu, Shri Santosh Kumar  
 Salve, Shri N.K.P.  
 Satya Bahin, Shrimati  
 Sharma, Shri Chandan  
 Sharma, Shri Satish Kumar  
 Shiv Shanker, Shri P.  
 Singh, Shri Bir Bhadra Pratap  
 Singh, Shrimati Pratibha  
 Singh, Shri Ram Awadhesh  
 Singh, Dr. Rudra Pratap  
 Singh, Shri Surender  
 Singh Shri Vishvjit P.  
 Sukul, Shri P. N.  
 Swamy, Shri Subramanian  
 Taimur, Shrimati Syeda Anwara  
 Tariang, Shri Jerlie E.  
 Thakur, Prof. Chandresh P.  
 Thakur, Shri Rameshwar  
 Thakur, Shri Surendra Singh  
 Thangkabalu, Shri K.V.  
 Tiria, Kumari Sushila  
 Tyagi, Shri Shanti  
 Valiullah, Shri Raoof  
 Verma, Shri Kapil  
 Verma, Shrimati Veena



Vikal, Shri Ram Chandra Yadav. Shri Ram Naresh NOES — NIL *The motion was adopted.*

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the matter is over. Let us take up the rest of the amendments.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am rising on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am referring to rule 253 which casts an obligation on a Member sitting in the House to exercise his vote. He cannot have the option not to exercise vote. He has to vote either for or against or he has to remain 'abstained'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no such rule. There is no compulsion. No.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, just listen to me. You may overrule me. I will read the relevant portion. Rule 253 says: "..... he shall direct...". 'he' means the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman or the Vice-Chairperson, "direct that the votes be recorded. Now Division..." and thereupon the automatic vote recorder will be put into operation."

8.00 PM.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. We have very little time. I tell you, Mr. Fotedar, you please take your seat. We do not have enough time for all these rules. I have already given my ruling. The Members have the right to use the machine, not to use the machine, and it is entirely up to them. I cannot force anybody to vote or not to vote, to abstain or not to abstain. It is their right. The Chair has nothing to do with it. I cannot compel...*(Interruptions)*.. Now, amendment No. 51 by Shri Anand Sharma.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:

Since those Members are present and have not voted and there is neither a 'No' nor an 'Abstention', it is to be treated as unanimous. *...(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anand Sharma, you want to withdraw?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: No, I have to speak on that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I ask you to speak, I have to inform you that the Leader of the House has informed that dinner will be served at 8 o'clock in Room No. 70 and all the Members are requested to go, and the Pressmen are also invited to the dinner by the Leader of the House.

I am responsible for my staff, the staff of the Rajya Sabha. So, I inform the staff members also that the dinner is for them also *...(Interruptions)...* Everbody will be served provided you allow the people to eat. Now, Mr. Anand Sharma. Please be brief.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA. Madam, the President's Address does not refer to the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement and the Government's stand on Sri Lanka is not clear. Ever since this Government has come, there have been talks with only one faction which is responsible for the massacre of the innocent Tamils and the President's Address does not give any guarantee for the life and security of the Tamils in Sri Lanka *...(Interruptions)...* and also about the autonomy for the North-Eastern Province for the simple reason that this Government is indifferent to the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, to their life and security. Therefore, I press this amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Which amendment are you pressing?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Amendment No. 51.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I am putting amendment No. 51 to vote, the question is:

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

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

*The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What about the rest of your amendments? You would like to withdraw them?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I want to withdraw them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All of them?

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Yes.

*Amendments Nos. 44 to 49 and Nos. 52 to 60, were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I will put amendments, No. 63 and No. 64, to vote. Mr. Kulkarni is not here.

The question is:

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

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

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

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

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

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now,

amendment No. 105 by Shri Subramanian Swamy.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: What about amendment No. 105?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Alva, the order in which the amendments were moved, in the same order they will be put to vote and we do not go by their serial numbers.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: What about amendment Number. Four Two Zero? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When we reach that number, I will identify who that person is!

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam, I will only take a minute. This amendment deals with the issue of St. Kitts allegation which was raised in this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Withdraw, withdraw.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I will say something. It was raised in this House. The Minister of State for Finance said that there was a *prima facie* case. However, a fair number of people also said that these documents were forgeries. I think in either case the matter is serious. If it is forgery, I would like to know and also protect individuals in future who might be victims of such forgery. Or if it is true, we would also like to know. I myself do not know what is the correct position. Unless you help me go to St. Kitts and find out, I will not be able to know the exact position. *(Time bell rings)* Therefore, I have urged the Government which has come to power to fight corruption to set an example. Therefore, if they assure me that they will support my amendment, then I will press it. Otherwise I will not press it. *(Interruptions)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing it?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I find from their side they are totally shocked.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not look at the Members. Look at the Chair.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If the Prime Minister says that they will support it then I will press it. (*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Madam Deputy Chairman, it has not been withdrawn. Investigation continues.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Then I withdraw the amendment.

*The Amendment No. 105 was by leave withdrawn.*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Thank you, Prof., Dandavate.

TOE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will now put amendment Nos. 61 and 62 of Shri Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi to vote.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment Nos. 65 and 66 by Prof. Chandresh P. Thakur.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR (Bihar): Madam, I am withdrawing Amendment No. 66 but pressing Amendment No. 65. Let me make a very brief submission, Madam.

This amendment relates to Government's stand in the President's Address on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. We appreciate the concern of the Prime Minister and the new Government with regard to what is happening in Punjab and we have noted the initiatives. But the real question is what is the basic stand of the Government. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution is the genesis of a lot of problems. And even today certain sections in Punjab—and they include elected Members of the Lok Sabha—have taken the position that the beginning of any negotiations with the Government is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. It is a non-negotiable position for certain sections which have a lot of clout and they can hold the society to some difficulty. So in that context to the extent the Government stand seems ambivalent or less firm than what it should be we have doubt,

and we would like to see that beyond the efforts towards the efforts towards national reconciliation what is the government's final solution with regard to fundamentalism, with regard to terrorism. And as a token of seriousness we would have liked that the Government should have made its stand clearer than it has against the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. So far, it is not clear from the President's Address.

I am putting this amendment and pressing for its division.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put Amendment No. 65 to vote. The question is:

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

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

*The motion was adopted.*

*Amendment No. 66 was by leave withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment Nos. 72 to 76 and 93 by Shri V. Narayanasamy.

Please do not speak.

SHRI V. NARAYNASAMY: Madam, I have a right to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sometimes don't use all your rights.

SHRI V. NARAYNASAMY: Madam, I will take only two minutes. I was hearing the Prime Minister with rapt attention about his policy on Sri Lanka. He said that the two Tamil Groups were fighting with weapons. He further stated that this Government is taking all possible steps to settle the Indo-Sri Lankan problem. Madam, I would like to say that when the present Prime Minister took over office, the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka was here and he had a meeting with him. After that, the Indian Ambassador was given instructions and a letter

from the present Prime Minister to meet him and have further discussions with him on the Sri Lankan problem and also about the withdrawal of IPKF. Madam, it is quite unfortunate that India's dignity has been lowered by the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister who did not give appointed to the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Malhotra. It is a shame on the part of this Government here. It is a shame on our foreign policy. Our Government has no guts to challenge it. The Sri Lankan Foreign Minister refused to meet the Indian High Commissioner. He wanted everything to be given to him in writing. Moreover, he said that he did not want to talk to any cheap bureaucrats of India and moreover the Generals of Indian Defence Forces. That being the case, the Prime Minister should come out openly as to what is his policy to solve the Indo-Sri Lankan issue. Madam, the vital issue is that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is also negotiating with the L.T.T.E.

SHRI T.R. BALU (Tamil Nadu): What is wrong in it?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I submit that the other militant group which had been fighting for the cause of the Tamils has been ignored. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is the known supporter of LTTE. That is quite clear. How can the Tamil people of Sri Lanka get justice from him? Apart from that, the Janata Government has not taken any initiative to hold any talks for the withdrawal of IPKF in a phased manner for the safety and security of the Sri Lankan Tamils which is a very vital thing. I would like to say that the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement which was entered into between our former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi .....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request you not to make a speech. Already you have made your point. I think for the last 6 days you are speaking the same thing.

Madam, I will finish within half a minute. I would like to know the stand of the Government about the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement that was signed between the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the former President of Sri Lanka, Mr. Jayawardene. What is the stand of this Government? Are they going to implement it or not? They have not given any statement before this House. What kind of talks or discussions are going on? Therefore, I would like to say that this Government has not taken any initiative to solve the Sri Lankan issue. It is a big problem there. This is one of the amendments which I have brought. Since a similar type of amendment was brought by Mr. Anand Sharma and adopted, I withdraw all my amendments.

*Amendment Nos. 72 to 76 and 93 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up Amendment Nos. 77 and 82 by Mirza Irshadbaig.

**उपसभापति:** आप बोलेंगे?

**श्री मीर्जा इशार्दबेग (गुजरात):** मुझे बोलना है।

**उप सभापति:** वोटिंग करा लीजिये।

**श्री मीर्जा इशार्दबेग:** मैं दो मिनट लूंगा। मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा।

**उपसभापति:** कभी तो चेयर को खुश कर दिया करें। एक मिनट बस।

**श्री मीर्जा इशार्दबेग:** उपसभापति महोदया, संशोधन क्रमांक 77 को मैंने यहां पर रखा था उसको मैं विद्वद्ध करता हूँ लेकिन संशोधन क्रमांक 82 मेरा जो है वह धारा 370 के लिए है। यह उचित होगा, प्रधानमंत्री जी यहां पर मौजूद हैं और उन्होंने रिप्लाय में भी इशारा किया। यदि वह यह कह दें कि वह उस पर फर्म हैं धारा 370 पर तो मैं ... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभापति:** वह हां कह चुके हैं। आप ना कहलाना चाहते हैं? (व्यवधान) He said it.

**श्री मीर्जा इशार्दबेग:** मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जम्मू कश्मीर की जनता का बड़ा हित इसके साथ बंधा हुआ है। इसकी बड़ी ऐतिहासिक भूमिका रही है। राष्ट्र के नेताओं ने, राष्ट्र के संविधान ने उनको यह वचन दिया है। इसलिए मैं संतुष्ट होता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस बात को

[श्री योर्जा इरादबेग]

कहा है कि उस पर बने रहेंगे उसमें कोई दखल नहीं करेंगे। इसलिए मैं अपना संशोधन वापिस लेता हूँ।

*Amendment Nos. 77 and 82 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment No. 78 by Shri Deba Prasad Ray. He is not here. I am putting Amendment No. 78 to vote.

*Amendment No. 78 was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment Nos. 79 to 81 by Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, I withdraw these Amendments with a fervent hope that the Government would, in fact, take steps, and not only claim that, they are going to restore the dignity and the vitality of the institutions because a shattering blow has already been inflicted to the judiciary in Jammu and Kashmir.

I hope they would show what they said in the President's Address in their action and really take steps to strengthen the institutions of the country and also work for the minorities.

With these words, Madam, I withdraw my Amendments.

*Amendments Nos. 79 to 81 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment Nos. 83 to 92 by Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare. He is not here. I am now putting Amendment Nos. 83 to 92 to vote.

*Amendment Nos. 83 to 92 were negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment Nos. 94 to 98 by Shri Rameshwar Thakur.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR (Bihar): Madam, I have only to say one word. These Amendments relate to Paragraphs 21 to 28 of the President's Address relating to economic matters. The Prime Minister, this morning, was good enough to answer some of the aspects. I

want to mention only one point. He was good enough to mention about this Economic Advisory Committee's report. The first line of the 1st para says: "The decade of 80s has seen a period of relatively higher growth in the Gross Domestic Product at around 5 per cent per annum which compares relatively favourable with that recorded by most of the developing countries." madam, I had the privilege of seeking 11 clarifications in relation to the 8th Plan and possibly for want of time, the hon. Prime Minister could not clarify them specifically. But in view of his assurance that he will seek the co-operation of all the Members in solving the country's economic problems, I withdraw my Amendment Nos. 94 to 98.

*Amendment Nos. 94 to 98 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendment Nos. 99 to 104 by Shri Madan Bhatia.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Madam, I am pressing one Amendment. But I am seeking only two minutes because every member has been given two minutes and there is no reason why I should not be given two minutes. I respectfully submit that I am pressing Amendment No. 100 because it is a matter of serious national concern that there has been abject surrender of the Government of India to the demands of the anti-national secessionist forces in Jammu and Kashmir for release of terrorists in December 1989 there by putting the nation and its dignity to ignominious shame. An attempt has been made by the Government of India from the floor of this Hon. House and its representatives to pass on this responsibility of the release of the terrorists on the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The disingenuousness of this attempt stands exposed not only by the refusal on the part of the Government of India to disclose any details whatsoever in regard to the negotiations in regard to the kidnapping of Dr. Rubiya, in regard to the circumstances in which she was kept in detention, in regard to whether what con-

tact and who made any contact with Dr. Rubiya when she was in detention, but much more serious which exposes the blatant disingenuousness of this attempt is the naked untruth which was uttered by the hon. Home Minister from the floor of this Hon. House on the 26th of December, when he made the statement from the floor of this House: Yes, my colleagues Mr. I.K. Gujral and Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan did indeed go to Srinagar, but that was on the morning of the day Dr. Rubiya was released. The State authorities had by then finalised the details of the release. But what does Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan who went there say from the floor of this House: According to Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan the negotiations had totally broken down and that is why the two Central Ministers flew to Srinagar. According to the Home Minister the two Ministers flew to Srinagar when the negotiations had been finalised for the release of Dr. Rubiya. This, I respectfully submit, is an affront to the dignity and the majesty of this Hon. House and an utter breach of privilege of this Hon. House. On that matter I will deal separately. I respectfully submit, Madam, and I am submitting only one sentence that this abject surrender is not only an affront to the dignity of the nation but it exposes that this Government is as weak-kneed as the Government of Uttar Pradesh was under the Chief Ministership of Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh who failed to grapple with the handful of dacoits but resigned his post and looked to safer pastures in New Delhi only to pursue his political fortunes. Therefore, I press this motion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now

I will put amendment No. 100 to vote. The question is:

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

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

*The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing Amendment Nos. 99, 101, 102, 103 & 104.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Yes, I am withdrawing these amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Has he the leave of the House to withdraw these amendments?

*Amendments Nos. 99, 101, 102, 103 and 104 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion, as amended to vote.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Before you put the motion I just want to say one thing that it is not in the spirit of bravado or in the spirit of *sasti rajniti*, though unfortunately it has been put that way, that we have pressed for certain amendments. We have the highest respect for the President of India. But we were more concerned over certain issues. That is why, we pressed for some amendments. Some of them concern national issues. But most of them concern issues which the National Front itself had put in its election manifesto. That is why, we felt that we should press for them since the President's Address did not make a mention about these things. Beyond that, it was not our intention to either create

[Shri P. Shiv Shanker]

confusion or confrontation or show disrespect to the hon. President of India in any form.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I shall put the Motion, in the amended form, to vote. The question is:

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

'That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th December, 1989.'

but regret that the Address does not mention about the burning

Ram Janambhoomi—Babri Masjid dispute and the measures proposed by Government to resolve the issue;

that the Address does not make any mention about the steps to be taken to avert destabilising State Governments;

that the Address fails to state that the Government will amend the Constitution to ensure the 'Right to Work' as a Fundamental Right;

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

that the Address fails to define the Government's stand on Anandpur, Sahab Resolution which compromises the unity and integrity of the country;

that the Address does not contain any mention whatsoever of the abject surrender of the Government to the demands of the anti-national, secessionist forces in

Jammu and Kashmir by releasing the terrorists in December, 1989, thereby putting the entire nation and its dignity to ignominious shame." *The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, there is a Message from the Lok Sabha Secretary-General. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, you should have said 'passed, as amended, unanimously.'

### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA Constitution (Sixty-Third Amendment) BUI, 1989

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

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Constitution (Sixty-third Amendment) Bill, 1989, which has been passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 29th December, 1989, in accordance with the provisions of article 368 of the Constitution of India."

Madam, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Fotedar, you said something earlier. Do not put words into the Chair's mouth. Please do not do that.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): Do not mention my name. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot challenge me. I can name you if you behave like this. When I am speaking, you cannot interrupt me. You are no more a Minister that you can bulldoze the Chair. (*Interruptions*).

श्री वीरेंद्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश): इन्हें गलतफहमी है कि यह अभी भी मिनिस्टर है।