

15.10 hrs.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION
Police atrocities in dealing with
Students' agitation against Govern-
ment's decision on Mandal Com-
mission Report and resort to self
immolation by students against
the decision

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we take up Adjournment Motion. Mr. B. Shankaranand.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND (Chikkodi): I beg to move:

"That the House do now adjourn"

I have risen with a very heavy heart to move this Adjournment Motion.

SHRI HARIN PATIL (Ahmedamad): What about 377?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We will take it up after the disposal of this motion.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Today almost the entire northern India is full of tears. There are tears in the eyes of mothers and fathers whose young sons and daughters had laid down their lives against the reservation quota. In such a pathetic condition, we are now discussing this Adjournment Motion. I request the hon. Members to be a little serious about it because it is not a small matter.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): What do you mean by that? Are they not serious?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am requesting the hon. Members including you.....

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: We want you to say something about it but you are not saying anything about it.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Students are self-immolating; they are taking poison. Schools and educational institutions are closed. Parents are simply dithering from sending their children to schools; they are afraid of sending their children to

schools. A large number of buses had been burnt. Property worth crores of rupees had been lost. Everyone is looking at each other with suspicious eyes.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): You also. You are looking at me. I am looking at you.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am not looking at you. Perhaps I will come to that how I look at you. May I say that today there is a danger because the country is emotionally disintegrated. Caste is set up against caste. The society is divided on the caste lines. Immediately after the Prime Minister's sudden declaration expressing sympathy for the backward classes, the whole country had been plunged into darkness.

Before I proceed further, I want to make it very clear to the hon. Members that the reservation for the SC&ST is deliberately mixed up with the reservation for the backward classes by the Government according to the Mandal Commission Report. I would not say about a particular Minister or others, but the government is deliberately mixing up the reservation for the SC&ST with the reservation for the backward classes as reported by the Mandal Commission Report. There is a history on reservation for the SC&ST.

I would like to take a little time of the House about the history of reservations for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes so that the plan and the strategy of the Government in mixing these reservations with the reservations for the backward classes will be clear.

It was in 1932, long before Independence that Dr. Ambedkar represented the untouchables—today they are called the Scheduled Castes—and he represented the untouchables in the Round Table Conference. And then, the British Prime Minister Mr. McDonald gave a plan, which was called the Communal Award. The

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self-determination policy was announced by the British, the right for self-determination given to the religious minorities, the Hindus, the Muslims and the untouchables. The untouchables were given the right for self-determination as it was given to the Muslims and the Hindus.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
That was separate.

SHRI B SHANKARANAND: I
am coming to that.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
That was for different electorates.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I
hope you do not want to hear what
I am saying.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
I cannot understand what you say.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND:
Woe betide the Barrister! He won't
understand what I am saying!
(Interruptions)

I cannot claim to have better
English than you. (Interruptions)

This Communal Award was given on the 17th August, 1932 and as I said, the then untouchables who were represented by Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar in the Round Table Conference, got this right, the right for self-determination by separate electorates. The separate electorate was for this that the untouchables were given the right to elect their own representatives and the Hindus were given the right to elect their own representatives and the Muslims were given the right to elect their own representatives. Along with that, the untouchables were also given a right to elect a representative, a Hindu also. In that way two votes were given to the untouchables.

Gandhiji came back from London and he rejected the proposal. He

immediately wrote to the British Prime Minister and said, "I cannot accept this Communal Award", in Pune. He said, "I am going on a fast unto death unless the British withdrew this." It was a challenge to Dr. Ambedkar also, and the fast started on the 20th September, 1932, in Poona in Yerwada prison. Pressure was brought on Dr. Ambedkar that he should not press for the rights for the untouchables, and that he should agree to the proposal of Gandhiji and save the life of Gandhiji. After four days Dr. Ambedkar said, "The life of Gandhiji is precious, let the Hindus have more chance to reform themselves and look to the untouchables as equals." And he gave the valuable right of separate electorates, to save Gandhiji's life. That happened in 1932.

Thereafter an agreement was brought out between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar and that Pact is called the Pune Pact. With the intervention of some political leaders then, Dr. Ambedkar agreed for a primary election before the election of the representative of the Scheduled Castes—the untouchables. In that primary election, both sides agreed that a panel of four people may be drawn and the rest of the Hindu voters should vote for the election of the leaders, the representatives of the untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar had agreed for that. Some concessions were given to the untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar pursued to that till he brought the proposals before the Constituent Assembly and the reservations for the untouchables were hammered out and made into the provisions of the Constitution. There is a wonderful history about the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The reservations made for the minorities, the Sikhs, the Parsees, the Muslims were withdrawn... (Interruptions) I am talking about the matter before the Independence and before the Constitution was drawn.

There was Minority Committee, in which Dr. Ambedkar was a member. Sardar Vallabhai Patel was also a member. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was also a member. The leaders of the minorities were also there. The leaders of the minorities demanded the withdrawal of their reservation in 1947-48. But Dr. Ambedkar said: "No. I am not going to succumb to this pressure. I stand for the reservation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes were then called the untouchables. That is how, the provisions of reservations under various Articles of the Constitution were brought in. So, this reservation has a history behind it. Thereafter the reservations were not only given in the services but also under the Constitution the seats in both the State Legislatures and the Parliament were also reserved. Political reservations were made. Educational concessions were given. Age for employment was extended. Fees for the posts and fees in educational institutions were reduced. Many concessions were given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I need not go into all these provisions of the Constitution. But there is a history for the reservations of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and they have been enumerated in the Constitution. Now, if I refer it to this context, what were the terms of reference for Mandal Commission? The Mandal Commission does not talk about the reservation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So, let us not mix up these issues and confuse the people of this country. Let there not be any confusion.....(Interruptions) I will tell as to how somebody is confusing. I am coming to that...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Confusion is on that side.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: No. The confusion was created by the speech of the Prime Minister, the statement of the Prime Minister in Parliament on 27th August 1990. There is a serious feeling that this issue of reservation for the backward classes also has something to do with the reservation of the Scheduled Castes..... (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What is the subject of the adjournment motion?... (Interruptions)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: It is creating confusion...(Interruptions) Can we not have saved the country from this confusion? Please do not add to it...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Confusion is on that side. There is no confusion on this side. (Interruptions)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Confusion is whipping up the feeling...(Interruptions) Now this is for the Scheduled Castes of this country, not to be confused with the reservation of the backward classes. The Scheduled Castes people are not opposed to the reservation for the backward class people. The Congress Party is not opposed to the reservation for the backward classes. We are not at all against reservations. We are for reservation for these people... (Interruption)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH): Nice to hear this clear statement from you.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: We are very much for the reservation for backward classes. We do not paint a picture of our party that we are opposed to it.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: We want you to say what is your stand...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Could we not have saved the lives of young boys?

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum): In his three-hour speech your leader opposed it. We know that not all of you share his views, but that is a different matter...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan): Yesterday, the leader of the Congress Party opposed the Mandal Commission. This has come out in *National Herald*.....*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Do not talk to each other. Mr. Shankaranand, may I request you to address the Chair; otherwise, you will get responses that side.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I again emphatically say that we are not opposed to the reservation for the backward classes...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: Your party or you? *(Interruption)*

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: The start to the anti-reservation agitation came from the non-Congress ruled States and not from the Congress ruled States. The Janata Dal ruled States and BJP ruled States are opposed to the reservations. Congress is not opposed to the reservations. Can they deny this? Has your Prime Minister and your party guts to say anything to the Chief Ministers of Orissa and Gujarat.

AN HON. MEMBER: Jyoti Bosu?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Jyoti Bosu is not under him. *(Interruption)*

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This topic was scheduled to be taken up at 2 O'clock and should have been over by 6 O'clock but it could be started finally at 3 O'clock. Many Members are to speak on it. Shankaranandji has already spoken for 20 minutes and he will take some more time. As such if you all wish to speak on it, interruptions should be avoided. You can express your views later on... *(Interruptions)*.....

[English]

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (Calcutta South): Is it not true that on 2nd October when a rally was organised against reservations, the student wing of the Congress Party took an active role in it and particularly NSUI activists had been active throughout the day during the demonstration? Can you deny this that the students wing of the Congress Party did in fact take part?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seat first. I am on my legs. This is not a Question-Answer Hour. You cannot ask the Question and you cannot expect the reply. Now, if you want to make any point you can make your point while you are speaking. Please do not consume the time of the House in this fashion because there are many other Members who want to speak. Please do help and cooperate.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down. By just getting up and talking to other Members, you are disturbing your own Member. Please realise this. You are not helping

your own Member. Please keep quiet. Please sit down.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Let him start speaking on his Adjournment Motion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Shankaranand, may I again request you to please address the Chair only.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I cannot afford to show disrespect to my friends on the other side..... (Interruptions).

Sir, who started the discussion? Who was responsible for the agitation of the students here? I do not think anybody except the Prime Minister? The decision he took on Mandal Commission reservations for the backward classes was so surprising that it was surprising to his own colleagues. Now, I have a copy of text of Shri Devi Lal's resignation letter with me... (Interruptions). He asked how... (Interruptions). The question is that the Prime Minister did not consult his own colleagues. BJP leaders were telling that they were not consulted and the leaders of the CPI and CPI(M) were telling that they were not consulted. We only said that this loss of life and property could have been saved had the Prime Minister taken everybody into confidence, had he tried to bring about a sort of consensus and then done the same thing. He has done the greatest loss to the backward classes, this is my challenge, because everyone in this country, the non-backwards, are looking with antagonistic eyes at the backward classes. The backward classes have lost sympathy from the forward classes. Whether in service or in educational institutions, their interests will be sacrificed. I am warning the leaders of the backward clas-

ses here that they are doing the greatest harm...(Interruptions).

SHRI P. M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep): Why don't you control him, Sir? You are looking only at this side. Whenever they are standing up and disturbing him, you do not say anything to them.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This is unfair and you will not dictate from your seat.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED: It is not dictation, Sir, but you should be fair.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No more of this kind. I have been asking the speaker just to address the Chair. If he is not addressing the Chair, I cannot help it.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura West): These are last two days of the Ninth Lok Sabha. Why are you getting angry, Sir?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Sir, it is because of the style of the functioning of the Prime Minister that he has taken everybody by surprise and created such devastation in the country that everyone in this country is looking at each other with suspicion. The backward classes have lost sympathy of others. I am warning the backward classes' leaders and others that the backward classes have lost sympathy of others. The implementation needs sympathy from the others who are there to implement them. The Constitutional Rights are there but the implementation machinery is not there. You cannot implement them simply by writing in the book or by passing resolutions. You need the sympathy of the persons who are bound to implement them. The word 'backward classes' I should say, was deliberately introduced in articles 15 and 16 by the framers of the Constitution. There are about 3,000 castes. Can you provide these

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3,000 castes jobs in the Government? And what has the Prime Minister given to the backward classes? He is fooling the backward classes. He says: "27 per cent reservation for the 52 per cent backward classes only in Central Government jobs and in public undertakings". He says he has not said anything about the promotions. He says, the States are free to implement their own reservations. He says, he has not touched the educational institutions. Then what have you given to the backward classes? You have given the backward classes the anger of other people who are there to implement the reservations. That is what you have given. You have submitted the backward classes to the mercy of the forward class people who are there to implement the recommendations in every walk of life. Now you have no courage to tell your own Janata Dal ruled States where the schools are burning, the trains are burning, the buses are burning, the students are giving up their lives, are committing suicide. What have you given to the backward classes? And you say they have not understood what you want to say. The Prime Minister says they have not understood what he wants to say. He says, they need not worry about themselves because, after all, what has he given to these people. He says he has not given much to the backward classes, so, let the people not worry about that. On the other hand, he wants to keep the other people happy. He wants to keep the backward classes people happy by saying: "Look, I have given to you so much" and he also wants to keep the other people happy by saying: "I have not given anything to them, so, do not worry". This is what he is saying. This double talk has created more confusion in the country. I warn these backward classes Ministers that they are falling in a trap in the name of reservations. If this had been done with consensus,

sympathy and consultation, they would not have lost anything. Only to fight with Mr. Devi Lal you brought this with the intention of helping backward classes. That every one knows. And Mr. Devi Lal himself said that "this is how you have brought it." I have got a letter here. I will just read two lines of his letter. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Devi Lal has written a letter to Mr. Bommai and here he says:

"The announcement on the acceptance of the recommendations on August 7 was an abortive attempt to scuttle the chances of the success of August 9 rally at Boat Club."

This is what Mr. Devi Lal said. The supporting parties say that they were not consulted. I pity them, I sympathise with them. (*Interruptions*).

DR. SHAILENDRANATH SHRI-VASTAVA (Patna): You say what you want to say, but not what others say. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I could have very well understood that if the Prime Minister had appointed a Scheduled Castes man and given him the whole portfolio. Giving a Social Welfare portfolio—this attracts sympathy. That is what he himself has done in the Government. Who is the backward Classes Minister who is given an important portfolio? Do you think we can close our eyes? Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan is very happy when he is with you, but he is very unhappy outside when he is with a Scheduled Castes man. He says, 'What can I do? I don't have any power.' These are the crocodile tears the Prime Minister is shedding for the backward classes. Let him not think that the weaker sections people are now not enlightened.

Sir, I do not want to say, but one thing definitely I want to say.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH): What is that you do not want to say, let us hear.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: The decision-making of the Prime Minister is what has led this country to such a devastating situation today. Now, Punjab is burning. There they require police forces. I am told that 50 companies have been withdrawn from Punjab and they are now sent for his security arrangements, for educational institutions, specially more in Delhi, and if I can say, some companies were sent for Rath Yatra arrangement there. This is what you are doing. You have neglected Punjab, you have neglected Kashmir, and you have set fire to the emotions of the backward classes where they have taken up cudgels against the so-called upper classes. Can you give sympathy and help the backward classes by dividing the population caste-wise? Harijans are asking this especially. Fortunately this did not happen as far as the Scheduled Castes reservations are concerned. But let not the Scheduled Castes Ministers in your Ministry, in your Government, be provoked. Let us not provoke the Scheduled Castes because the Scheduled Castes reservations are necessary. The reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not at all disturbed. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes need not be provoked as if their reservations are being affected, and that is how some Ministers are doing, trying to create confusion and that is how some students who belong to Scheduled Castes are also committing suicide. In Haryana the entire Scheduled Castes community, I am told, is in the grip of fear. This is because.... (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

KUMARI MAYAWATI (Bijnor): You are defaming the Scheduled Caste community.....(*Interruptions*).....

[*English*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon. Lady Member will not understand it and I sympathise with her.

[*Translation*]

KUMARI MAYAWATI: You should not say wrong things.....(*Interruptions*).... You should properly think before speaking. You are defaming the Scheduled Caste.....(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: We thought that the stay order given by the Supreme Court would give some relief, and it was meant to be a relief to the Prime Minister himself, I understand. But it did not happen because even after the stay order, the self-immolations and suicides are going on in the educational institutions. On October 2nd I was there at Rajghat and I saw the demonstrators who came in buses and trucks and trollies wielding big sticks in their hands as if they are going to attack some people. The Delhi people were so scared of them. Even the police did not do anything; what they did was, they deliberately did something. Only the Prime Minister should reply. There is a total collapse of the law and order machinery. Mr. Prime Minister, why is this happening? What have you done? Is it not because of your doing this is happening? Let him not indulge in this sort of power politics by trying to gain sympathy of the backward classes without doing anything for them. If he had implemented the other recommendations of the Mandal Commission, perhaps the people would have appreciated. He has just closed the doors of the educational institutions and he has not given any reservation in the educational institutions. The Mandal Commission also recommends financial assistance to the backward classes, but he has no plans for this.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): What is your position regarding this?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: We support it. We have done it in Congress-ruled States. There is no agitation in Karnataka; there is no agitation in Andhra Pradesh and there is no agitation in Tamil Nadu. Wherever we have done, the same thing the Prime Minister could have done in northern States and peacefully he would have helped the Backward Classes. We have done that; we have been doing that and we intend to do that. But you have done exactly the opposite. I want to ask one question to the Prime Minister. Will you ask the Chief Minister of Orissa to fall in your line? If that is the policy of your party, will you ask your own party ruled States to help the Backward Classes as it has been done in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu? (*Interruptions*) The States of Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh are out of reach for him and they do not listen to him. They are the back-seat drivers. They are sitting in the back and asking him to drive according to their desire. He has no power to touch them. This is what we know. He simply asked as to what we have done and what we will be doing. You know what we have done because till yesterday you were with us. Please do not behave as if you have not known anything because you were in Congress till yesterday. (*Interruptions*) Now, everyone is asking for his resignation. I thought he would have taken it very seriously and paved the way for smoother implementation of the Mandal Commission Report on reservations for the Backward Classes.

Sir, the Mandal Commission Report does contain many mistakes. It is not that one can fully implement it. But the Backward Classes do deserve reservations and for that we have to sit together and hammer out solutions which are acceptable to all of

us and then help the Backward Classes. Otherwise, you will be further plunging the country into turmoil.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: You said we have to sit regarding the Mandal Commission recommendations. We have sat for the last 10 years. (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

SHRI R. N. RAKESH (Chail): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. While discussing the Mandal Commission issue, the Prime Minister had told in this House when he was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, he was made the Chairman of the backward community on the recommendation of Smt. Indira Gandhi. He has misled this House since he opposed the report of the Commission while he was the Chief Minister and when Shri Shripat Mishra was the Chief Minister...(*Interruptions*).....

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is no point of order.

[*Translation*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seat because Shankaranandji is speaking.

SHRI R. N. RAKESH: Secondly when Shri Shyam Sunder became the judge of.....

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is not yielding.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I will say the last point and then conclude. Because of the Prime Minister's dismal failure to evolve even a semblance of national consensus, his apparent contempt for his senior colleagues, and also for the friendly

parties which are supporting him, his utter disregard for his advisers openly and otherwise, his deliberate intention to gain political mileage even by harming the backward classes, he has lost the legitimacy of ruling this country. May I demand that he should resign immediately and pave the way for a new leader? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: May I ask the hon. Member, Shri Shankaranandji, may I quote his words that this action which the Government has taken, according to his opinion, has harmed the backward classes?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: The way he has taken the decision, the manner in which he is proceeding has definitely harmed the backward classes. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Now you can appoint only Mr. Sharad Yadav as the Prime Minister. Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan has gone. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHABANI SHANKAR HOTA (Sambalpur): You will never be made the Prime Minister of the Congress Party.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I do not want to be (*Interruptions*).

[*English*]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I want a clarification from you. We are in a little bit of difficulty or confusion. Are we expected to speak on the motion which was moved here by Mr. B. Shankaranand as read out by him, are we to speak on that—is that the subject—matter—or are we to speak on his speech which has nothing to do with the motion?

AN HON. MEMBER: That is up to you.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Allow me to say something. The time allotted for this adjournment—motion is 3 hours. The Congress was given 51 minutes out of which 41 minutes were being taken by Mr. Shankaranand. Janata Dal has only 38 minutes; BJP has 22 minutes; CPM has 8 minutes; CPI 4 minutes....

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: What is the timing at your discretion?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will take the decision when I have to use the discretion. I am bringing this to your notice because the mover had to say something and he was allowed time to speak. But rest of the Members from the Opposition parties may use their discretion keeping in mind the time which is allotted. Other Members also may bear this in mind while taking the time and making the points. Shri Samarendra Kundu will now speak.

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU (Bilaspore): Mr. Deputy Speaker, with great interest I was watching my friend Shri B. Shankaranand who is fielded naturally by Shri Rajiv Gandhi to make a massive defence of their tottering case. The case is so bad and that too, the lawyer is a briefless lawyer. So, both added together, finally...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is a compliment to the politicians!

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Finally, he was so confused that he had to agree with the Prime Minister's suggestion. But he perhaps unwittingly fell into the trap that this Mandal Commission will not do good to the weaker sections, to the backward classes. This is exactly what the Congress-I is exposed. However, my dear friend Shri Vasant Sathe goes on fast. For what purpose? Is it fast for only having the discussion? No. Sometimes for long 40 years my friends in the Opposition wanted to completely obliterate the concessions which the

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Constitution has given under Article 340 and which Baba Saheb Ambedkar has given but this minority government—we do not make any fuss about it—had the courage and the determination to implement that.

It would have been in the fitness of things that if they swear in the name of Gandhi, if they really swear in the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, they should come out openly and supported it.

It is sickening that I have to tell them that your leader championed it. It is sickening for me to tell them that that is our commitment in the national freedom movement. The Constitution has not given it today nor is it that we have done it yesterday. It is our commitment in the national freedom movement. It slightly twisted the agreement with Gandhi and other people and slightly twisted the whole object of self-determination. The commitment made to the oppressed people was that when we get power we will give them a fair deal and we give them justice and we give them equality. Having said that, we have been betraying them years after years. Then came a situation when we took up courage and made clear the whole thing. Article 340 said that a Commission should identify the socially backward people. What the Commission has identified now? The essence of the identification of the Commission is that some castes in India are perpetually haves, are perpetually backward and are perpetually oppressed by the haves.

I fail to understand this basic thing. The Leader of the Party, my friend in the Opposition, and here Shri Shankaranand say that "We support. We support it and we support it."

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, how much they are telling: "we support it." Nobody in the world, specifically nobody in India, the poor and the oppressed people of backward classes will believe them now. What did Shri Rajiv Gandhi say during the discussion? Shri Rajiv Gandhi is not here. I was shocked to hear his two interventions. He said that this would perpetuate casteism; the Janata Dal or the Prime Minister is perpetuating a caste war. This is what he said.... (*Interruptions*). You have agreed. If you do not know, open up and do some home-work and find it out. Please read some good books. It has been said that because of casteism the poor people belonging to the backward classes had been subjected to a lot of suffering, depredation both economically, socially and politically. This has been identified by the Mandal Commission. By giving some protection to these people do you think that the Prime Minister is whipping up a caste war? You are coming and supporting it. Then, Shri Rajiv Gandhi said another thing. I was also there at that time when this suggestion was made. Shri Rajiv Gandhi said that protection of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was conceived before he came to politics. He is something different from his mother, from his dead father. Of course, he has the surname of Gandhi. Sometimes, he thinks that he is really the Mahatma Gandhi. But he must try to understand the reality. We have deviated far from the discussion. The discussion was about the suffering, about the people who are agitating and about our young boys, students who are self-immolating themselves. We are extremely sorry for it. They are misled. They are going in a different way. What can we do in this regard? This is a national problem. When we confront this national problem, we must jointly show our concern. I have reports that such students, such youth

have been brought and kerosene put on their bodies. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Ghosi): Do not talk**...(*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No. That word will not go on record. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: I am sorry to say that in this lawless action, the open hand of the Congress (I) Party was there. (*Interruptions*). It is not only that. I have the Press clippings. I do not want to take much of your time. The point is that the monopoly houses and Shri Rajiv Gandhi are together...(*Interruptions*). Mr. Palkhivala, who is representing the Tata House, says that the Mandal Commission Report will perpetuate casteism. You will find that on the theory of casteism. Shri Palkhivala and Shri Rajiv Gandhi go together. The money bag is also helping this agitation. Our friends in the Opposition would not agree. But I will read out the relevant portion. I will read a note. What happened in Bihar?

(*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): Sir, he has made baseless allegations. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: I quote from a press clipping. It says:

"Official sources today claimed that a person whose coal dump licence had been cancelled, a mukhia who had been forced to surrender the earthquake relief money misappropriated by him and a contractor who had been caught using substandard materials had incited violence at Jhanjharpur because they had an axe to grind against the local sub-divisional officer."

Then again it is said:

"...a person caught in a bank dacoity case was leading the agitation in Patna, while a Congress-I MLA was reported to have sent two bus loads of people to Motipur to indulge in arson."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You cannot quote like this.

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: I have a clipping of the newspaper. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Let us not take it casually. Some of our people also must be doing wrong. I do not deny that. Let them enjoy by what Shri Devi Lal says. (*Interruptions*). Do we have a national perspective or not? Do we have an approach or national consensus on such issues or not? We must go towards that direction and try to achieve it. If there is arson, if there is loot, if there is killing, will they join it? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Till that time, you did not know what is happening. The earth under your feet is slipping. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude. You have taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Therefore, I make an appeal to give all your suggestions about how best you want to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are discussing this issue when

[Sh. Madan Lal Khurana]

the situation has become very serious. The situation is explosive and sensitive. It will not be an exaggeration if I say that incidents of self immolation were heard in South India but in the post independence period cases of self immolation in North India have come into focus for the first time. As regards, the elements behind such acts, I shall talk about it later. But I am not prepared to accept that any political party is inciting these acts of self immolation which have claimed the lives of children in the age group of 18, 16 and 14 years. The Government has no proof that any political party is behind these acts of self immolation. I understand that they are immolating themselves because they have developed this pessimistic view in their minds that their future is totally dark. Sir, right from the beginning we have been reiterating that there should have been a discussion on this issue. So that a consensus may be arrived at. If that was done, perhaps the things would have been different... *(Interruptions)*...Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, they should first think before suppressing our voice that our party is an ally of the party in power.

There is definitely some thing wrong which has hurt the psyche of the youth and that is why they are taking such drastic steps. Now it is necessary to find out the ways as to how these youths can be made understand, so that they may withdraw their agitation. It is the duty of a democratic country to provide special facilities for the backward classes. We have demanded it. Sir, like Congress this is not the first time but right from the beginning we are pursuing the same policy. After a very careful consideration, Bharatiya Janata Party has formulated the Reservation Policy and incorporated it in its manifesto. At that time, the leaders of the Congress Party has said that they had mentioned it in their manifesto. I would like to urge upon them if it is so, the Con-

gress should prove it by producing its manifesto in the House.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I shall read it out from the manifesto of Bharatiya Janata Party:

“Reservation Policy—in the opinion of the Bharatiya Janata Party, there must be an unbiased discussion with an open mind on the reservation issue. The Party proposes the following three recommendations for this purpose:—

1. The reservation for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes should be continued as usual.
2. In brief, the reservation for the other backward classes also on the basis of the Mandal Commission Report should be provided but priority should be given to the most backward people among them.
3. Since poverty is an important factor for the backwardness, the reservation for the other castes also on the basis of their economic conditions should be provided.” *(Interruptions)*.

I want to make it clear that nobody will object to the economic based reservation, but if it is done on the basis of religion it would not give good result. If the Government would have consulted its ally parties, some amicable solution of this issue could have been found. For example Karpoori Thakur formula could have been adopted. Shri Karpoori Thakur was one of the greatest leaders of the backward classes. When he was Chief Minister of Bihar he prepared a formula. He was of the opinion that priority should be given to the most backward classes among the other backward classes in Bihar. He implemented this formula by giving job-reservation about 8 per cent to the backward classes, 12 per cent to the most backward classes, 14 per cent to

the Scheduled Castes, 10 per cent to the Scheduled Tribes, 3 per cent to the women and 3 per cent to the economically backward classes.

On this basis, a consensus could have been arrived at on this issue. *(Interruptions)*. My party leaders suggested that the issue should be deferred for some time. I do not want to go into the old history. *(Interruptions)*. In such a critical situation one can neither support it nor oppose it. At this moment it is very difficult to choose one way between the two. But there is a mid-way also between the aforesaid two ways. So, in the present circumstances, instead of choosing either way we will have to adopt a mid-way to defend our country from being it disintegrated and disunited over this issue.

Secondly, I would like to comment on the way the agitation was conducted. Even I may name those very persons who took liberty from this agitation. In the beginning, of course, the agitation was purely of frustrated students but afterwards the way the Congress for its political benefit.....*(Interruptions)* I and Shri Advaniji were the first to see a youth in the hospital and what happened with us. The same incident would not have taken place with Shri K. K. Tiwari or other M.Ps. of the Congress whatever happened with us there. As far as the incident of tearing our clothes by agitated youths who were present there is concerned, can be taken as their act of frustration but the incident of breaking my gold-chain from my neck clearly shows that there were some professionals behind the scene.

(Interruptions)

In Delhi the B.J.P. only is made target and we only are asked by them to withdraw our support from the Government. They do not ask the other supporting parties i.e. the C.P.I. and the C.P.M. to withdraw their

support. They gherao and demonstrate against B.J.P. only because in Delhi the Congress has real tussel with B.J.P. only, not with the C.P.I. and the C.P.M. I am not in favour of such demonstrations against one another in the offices. If it is so.....*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE
 (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):
 against C.P.M. in Calcutta.

SHRI PRAKASH KOKO
 BRAHMBHATT (Baroda): And
 against us in Baroda. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN DAL KHUR-
 ANA: Had there been only the innocent students behind all this, they would have demonstrated against all the supporting parties but their constant aiming at B.J.P. only clearly shows.....*(Interruptions)*. It is clearly against the ethics. I want to say that they will not be able to win us by playing such games. We have faced you earlier and we will do so further as well. If you have courage, you should come out to face elections in Delhi.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, an inquiry should be conducted in regard to inflammatory speech delivered by Shri Tikait on 2 October in Delhi.

At last I want to say two things. Firstly, all the violent incidents especially occurred on the 2nd October should be enquired into by a Supreme Court Judge. Secondly, I request the Government to use this stay-period in creating a peaceful atmosphere for calling a Round Table Conference in which the students, youths, vice-chancellors and members of different political parties may participate. I request that the Prime Minister should have direct conversation with them and I hope that the direct talks with the agitating students will certainly make some way in order to solve this problem. They are not the foreigners

[Sh. Madan] Lal Khurana]

they are our own children. Taking full advantage from this golden opportunity provided by the Supreme Court's stay order, you should find some way to solve this problem. As I have already stated that the mid-way is the only alternative to solve the problem. Now I conclude my submission. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SHIKIHO SEMA (Nagaland): Sir, I would like to know what is the BJP's official stand today on this? They should express it now. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, the Government favours the suggestion given by Shri Khurana regarding holding a meeting of the youth, Vice-Chancellors, Social-workers and different parties. We shall implement it very soon. It is correct that all of us should feel our responsibility towards the youths. We cannot ignore our younger generation.

[*English*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I welcome the Prime Minister's statement, made just now, that the Government is eager and will start dialogue with students, teachers, Vice-Chancellors and others concerned to find a way out of the present difficulties that have been faced by the country in the context of the Mandal Commission recommendations.

Sir, I was waiting to hear Mr. Shankaranand's observations about the subject matter of the Adjournment Motion. But he scrupulously avoided that. Probably he had no control. Naturally he had no control over his leader who had subjected us to a three-hour rigmarole the other day and Mr. Shankaranand has taken the

first opportunity of repudiating his leader and expressing his full-throated approval for the Mandal Commission's recommendations. That is why he had to avoid the subject-matter of the adjournment motion.

It is a matter of great anguish and sorrow for us and for everybody, I am sure, in view of the incidents that are taking place. Our young boys are self-immolating themselves. Incidents like that are happening. It seems now even anti-socials are taking advantage of an agitation which had been started by the students. Almost criminalisation of this so-called movement is taking place. And what happened on the 2nd of October in the capital of India should be an eye-opener to everybody. I earnestly appeal to the students and those who are connected with their movement that they should understand and realise how a movement which they had started—may be rightly or wrongly—is being hijacked by anti-social elements and criminal elements. Today, a completely different direction is being given. We wonder how openly in the capital of this country somebody could say: "Gherao the MPs and MLAs who are supporting the Mandal Commission's recommendations. Douse them with kerosene and burn them alive." (*Interruptions*) This is how passions are being sought to be roused deliberately.

So far as my party is concerned, we have supported the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. We have supported the Prime Minister's announcement. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN (Alleppey): Why have you not implemented in West Bengal? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, the Congress Government sat over the report for ten years although the Mandal Commission's recommendations were discussed twice on the floor of the House. No step was

taken by the then Congress Government although assurances had been given by the then Home Ministers that they are looking into it and some action would be taken, (*Interruptions*). We have also expressed some reservations that we have in this regard. We have said, we would have preferred a prior discussion and dialogue in greater detail so that a more acceptable solution could have been found out, so that the interested and designing parties would not have taken advantage of this. Today, it is very clear as to who took part on the 2nd October in these disturbances. (*Interruptions*). Did the students' wing of the Congress Party take part or not? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura West): It is a white lie. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I hope, Sir, the role of these people who are indulging in double standards—the Congress Party, who are indulging in double standards—will be thoroughly exposed by a proper inquiry that should be held into the incidents of 2nd October, 1990. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): Sir, the Congress Party have never advocated violence. (*Interruptions*). We are always against violence. (*Interruptions*). We never took to violence. (*Interruptions*). It is the Marxists who indulge in violence. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Who is Kartar Singh? (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the one-fourth of the members of the student forum of the Mandal Commission belong to the Communist Party of India and the C.P.M.....(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): The members of N.S.U.I. took a decision of committing self-immolation. Would the Congress (I) men be pleased to state as to which party this N.S.U.I. belongs to? Everyone knows that the N.S.U.I. is the National Student Organisation of the Congress Party. They have tried to commit suicide through self-immolating. They made a declaration of self-immolation.....(*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, if the inquiry finds that they are not responsible, they would be exonerated. Why are they worried? I don't know as to why are they afraid of facing an inquiry. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: We are not afraid. You become the Chairman of that Inquiry Committee. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am sure that every section of the House is deeply concerned about this matter. We are really hurt when the life of any student or anybody in this country is lost in the manner that is being done. Naturally, we are very very unhappy and these days, we are in deep anguish. But I would like to know as to whether the students for whom we have the greatest affection, have really ascertained the scope of the Mandal Commission Report and its recommendations or not. I do not know whether even the parents are aware of this or not. I cannot but observe Sir that in this case, the role would have been very usefully played by the media to inform the people of this country to give the picture of both the sides as to what

[Sh. Somnath Chatterjee]

are the recommendations and objections and thus the people could have had a more objective look at the recommendations and could have decided for themselves. I do not know how the passions of a 12 year old boy can be roused to such an extent that he is threatening to commit self-immolation. I find photographs which came out in the newspapers where little boys, school-going children of eight to ten years, deflating the tyres of the buses. What do they realise of the Mandal Commission and its implications unless they have been utilised by some people? I am very sorry to say that but I cannot help observing that. What are the parents, teachers and guardians doing? We do not find anybody trying to counsel patience and to have a talk, dialogue and discussion. We have appealed on the Floor of the House on behalf of our party and others have also done that. We have appealed to the students and the Government to hold dialogues and discussions and nothing can be achieved by confrontation alone and there is nothing that cannot be achieved proper dialogue and discussion. Therefore, Sir, we appeal to the Government and everybody, particularly the students, to be aware of the agent provocateurs. We have to consider this aspect seriously. The country is as much as yours as anybody else's. Therefore, the students, who should take an objective approach to this matter, should respond to the Prime Minister's commitment of today to hold discussions and negotiations. Now, the Supreme Court has passed the stay order and at the moment, until the Supreme Court allows it finally, nothing can be implemented except the identification of the backward classes and listing them. This is the opportune moment when proper discussion, without pre-condition and with an open mind, could be held but certain basic postulates have to be accepted. I have no doubt about that. There are disparities among the people of this country.

There are differences among the people of this country. Only a handful of the people are enjoying in this country. Thanks to the policies and programmes of the Congress Government over the last forty years, they have monopolised all the advantages in this country. That is why a handful of the people have today amassed huge wealth and a large number of people are still below the poverty line. Still seventy-five per cent of our women are illiterates in this country. Don't you feel ashamed? You have been holding power for all these years. You have had so many Plans under you. Don't you, the Congress Party, feel ashamed that after forty years of your uninterrupted rule of this country, this is the position now? Four crores of educated persons in this country are on the registers of the Employment Exchanges. This is the situation. In view of this, we have supported this.

Although the Constitution speaks of a socially and educationally backward classes, we have found that this is the hard reality of this country that certain sections of the people, may be belonging to particular castes, have been at the receiving end for all these years, nearly for forty-four years after independence. They are being discriminated. Even in Class I Central Services, their representation is only to the extent of 4.5 per cent. Why in this country are there reservations for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes? Why the Constitution makers, the founding fathers of our Constitution felt that it was necessary to provide for reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It was because it was felt that without some help, without additional advantages and benefit, it was difficult for them to come up; they have been kept suppressed for years together, for ages together. There are other people who are suffering under serious disadvantages. What was contemplated should have been sufficient namely a period of ten years to do away with the re-

servation of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, but thanks to the policies and programmes of the Congress Party, it has been continued for forty years. Why have they not been able to come up? Why are the reservations still required for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes? In our country it cannot be denied that there are differences, there are disparities, there are disadvantages for a majority of the people. There is no denying of the fact, as I said while taking part in the debate on the Mandal Commission Report, that the Congress Party believed in reservation for the monopolists, reservation for the black-marketeers, reservation for the rich section of the community and also they practised and followed it and such people had all the benefits during their regime for forty years.

I do not wish to go away from the subject of this adjournment motion. It is important that there should be peace. We should appeal unanimously from this House to everybody in this country that there should be peace and there should not be any agitation, violent agitation at least. Everybody has a right to hold agitation, but they should not indulge in violence. This type of heart-rending things should not happen. Our guardians, teachers and everybody have a special responsibility and the social welfare organizations have a special responsibility. They should advise counsel on everybody, specially when the matter cannot be implemented because of the Supreme Court order. This is a period which should be utilized for well-meaning dialogue and discussions. I am sure with goodwill on the side of all, and specially the Prime Minister's announcement today, a solution can be found out of this, which should be acceptable to the largest number of people in spite of the provocation given by the Congress Party.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you

have allotted my party four minutes time. I am still not clear as to what I am to speak on, whether it is Mr. Shankaranand's motion, or the speech that he made here, or the speech which his leader made here for three hours not so long ago.....(*Interruptions*). Naturally, I will decide. You are not going to decide what I will speak.

Mr. Shankaranand's motion, Sir, is concerned with the events of the last few weeks. Now, here once again I find him digressing into the merits and de-merits of the Mandal Commission Reservation recommendation which we have already debated more than once in this House and I do not propose to get digressed into that subject again. If you want to have another fullfledged discussion on the Mandal Commission, let us have it by ourselves. But that is not the purpose, I took it, of Mr. Shankaranand's motion which I totally oppose because in that motion he has referred to certain incidents, certain disturbances and certain what he called break down of law and order and break down of administration and all that. Though he spoke very little about that. His motion does not say what was responsible for that and now in his speech he says that caste has been set against caste by the Government's announcement and that is responsible for all this trouble that has taken place. As though before this declaration of the Government we were living in a caste free society. No caste prejudices were there; no caste discrimination was there; no oppression of one caste or injustice to one caste by other was there and it all started with this historical decision of the Government. This we are expected to swallow living in the society in this country where for the last three thousand years we have known nothing but the caste system.

I don't want to repeat as to what has happened which has led to this unfortunate state of affairs. But, it is

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really agonising to find these young boys and girls going to the limit of taking their own lives for what I don't know. I am quite sure that the overwhelming majority of these young boys and girls do not know what is actually contained either in the Mandal Commission recommendation or in the Government's decision or for that matter in certain articles of the Constitution. If we could sit and talk to them in a peaceful atmosphere we would know how much they have actually been able to understand; what are the implications of this decision and declaration. Nobody has tried to educate them. My main criticism against the Government is that during this period—after they took the decision, the decision which my party whole-heartedly welcomed—they should have used all the means at their disposal, the media, the Press, the Radio, the T.V. Every day they should have tried to explain in detail to the people of the country what exactly is meant by this decision; how much is in it and how much is not in it; what is really there and what is being imagined. It was not done, and that has helped I think in a way to play into the hands of those people who wanted to mislead, instigate and incite these young people. These young people started agitating thinking that something has happened which was actually not there.

Mr. Shankaranand says that actually the Prime Minister has given nothing to the backward classes. Then, if nothing has been given to them, why all this hullabaloo and why all this pandemonium by the upper class people? If nothing has been given then why all this commotion has taken place? Crores and crores of public property has been destroyed. Whole rakes of railway trains have been destroyed. Whole rakes not one or two carriages—have been burnt. I don't think that these young boys and girls have done it. Somebody else has done it.

So, Sir, I also feel that principally only one item of Mandal Commission recommendation has been accepted and announced by the Government, and that has led to so much loss of life; so much loss of property. It has created so much frenzy. He says that because of this decision, the backward classes have lost the sympathy of the people. Was there much sympathy before that? Who had sympathy for them? The upper class people who were enjoying all the unspoken, unwritten, undeclared reservation in their own favours all these years had any sympathy for them that I want to know. What sympathy did they have? But one thing only has been accepted and that is that in the Central Government jobs, Central Government services, including the Central Public Sector, there this 27 per cent reservation for the backward classes has been ensured. It is not as though, the whole world has suddenly collapsed, as though all the boys and girls are only to get jobs in the Central Government services. Is it possible in our country? Is it feasible? How many Central Government jobs are vacant every year? I want to know this. Let some data be collected. Let some responsible agency collect the proper data, figures and everything and educate people on that basis. People are behaving as though everybody would have got a Central Government job but for this thing that this wicked Government has done. How many people get jobs in the Central Services now-a-days where recruitment is also stopped for the last four or five years? In Class I and Class II jobs, how many people get jobs every year or can get jobs? But the whole dimension of the thing has been blown out of proportion. The State Government administrative services are not covered. They have got their own formula for reservation and it has been going on for years together. Even from the British days in some cases it is going on. In the case of Kerala and all these places, this reservation policy is going on for long be-

fore even independence. So, they are not affected. The educational institutions have been left out. All the boys who are thinking of engineering colleges and medical colleges, probably still think that now they won't be able to get admissions to these colleges because of the policy declared by the Government. But it is not a fact. They have been excluded. The armed forces have been excluded. All science, technology, nuclear energy, atomic energy institutions have all been excluded. Promotions have been excluded. In that sense, if Mr. Shankaranand wants to say that the Mandal Commission's recommendations should have been accepted and implemented in toto then only he will feel that the backward classes have got justice...

AN HON. MEMBER: We want that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA. You want that. With this little thing, you have burnt so many trains and buses.....

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Who have done that? You have done that. What is this? How can he say that we have burnt them? He has to prove that. A senior Member like him is saying that "We have burnt them". Let him prove it. This is very bad. You are making a mockery of Parliament. Sir, they are killing people in West Bengal. How can he say that we are party to it? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: There is a way of talking. When you say that you have done it, it does not mean 'him'. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: He meant our party. These are the parties which kill people. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: Mr. Indrajit Gupta, our party has not done it.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: They wanted to kill Ms. Mamata

Banerjee. Their goondas have beaten Ms. Mamata Banerjee. At that time, he did not say anything. It all happened in public. They have no right to say so.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us understand that the Members have been expressing their views on the floor of the House. If other Members do not agree or if other Members do not feel that what they are saying is not correct, then in their speeches, they can certainly oppose it.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: There is a limit for sycophancy by that party. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I have got only four minutes. Please sit down. (*Interruptions*) I am not yielding. (*Interruptions*)

PRF. P. J. KURIEN: Allegations should not be made without prior permission. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Not a single speaker here has condemned the Delhi Police. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Some of you can do that now.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We are not discussing Tripura here. I can assure you that I am not going to get provoked by Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev. (*Interruptions*). There is a time-honoured convention in this House that names—Sir, I want you to hear this—that people who are not present in the House should not be named, or should not be accused...(*Interruptions*) Therefore, I am not mentioning names. I could mention names. There are lists of names with us, of

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

people who were seen actively on the streets instigating these boys and girls...

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: What is your Police doing? Why not arrest them?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I mean people who were distributing money, who were distributing food, who were sending lunch packets, preparing lunch packets—shall I name those people—I do not want to break that convention—people who have printed posters, who have printed stickers for putting on the windshields of the motor car saying: 'Don't blame me; I did not vote for V.P. Singh'. Were all these things being printed by these poor students, boys and girls? (*Interruptions*) We know who did all this. I can mention those names, but I will not mention them. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANBARASU ERA: It is BJP; your own people.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am not mentioning any party. It may be BJP; it may be you. (*Interruptions*) All I am saying is that all this rumpus that took place, as we said, was unfortunate. Buses can be replaced, and trains can also be replaced, though at a very big cost to the economy. But those lives cannot be replaced, lives of these young boys and girls, youngsters who have committed suicide in one form or the other. I am reminded only of that time in Tamil Nadu some years ago when there was a big agitation against Hindi (*Interruptions*) and a number of people burnt themselves, immolated themselves. In some other countries, we learn of Buddhist monks pouring petrol on themselves and burning themselves for some protest that they wanted to raise. It is for the first time in our country that we have seen this phenomenon, and I understand very well that any boy who cold-bloodedly can pour petrol on himself and set on fire, must

be suffering from some tremendous emotional provocation. Otherwise he cannot do it, he cannot do a thing like that. It means that actually, they have not understood, or they have deliberately been misled, what is actually meant by the decision the Government has taken, which Mr. Shankaranand has summed up very beautifully, by saying that he has given nothing; nothing has been given to the backward classes. Then why all this pandemonium? (*Interruptions*) Why did you not go and explain that actually, nothing has been given; that they should not get agitated and excited because V.P. Singh is a big fraud, and he has given nothing to them? (*Interruptions*)

So, actually the thing is not that. After so many years, these backward classes people—although it is a small step forward—feel that at last some justice is going to be done to them, and they are going to have some share, however small, in the Administration.

And that is why the other side is so angry because they do not want this to happen. Let me tell my friends that the people of backward classes have begun to ask: are we not Indians? Do we not belong to this country? Are we not part of the Indian people that some concessions are made for us after so many years and immediately this violence is created by burning of buses, burning of trains, looting of shops, shooting and all kinds of things. Why? Are we not part of this country? Are we not entitled also to get some concessions? Are we not entitled to feel that our own people will have a share in the administration? Is it such a big crime we have committed that everybody should come down on us like this? Please be patient; please be reasonable.

Even on the 3rd of September when the first all-party meeting was called and held upstairs here in this building, on that day, everybody said, and

the Prime Minister said and all the leaders of all the parties advised that a dialogue should be started with the students. But whom to talk to? Who is the leader? It is a leaderless movement; a movement which has no identifiable leader, a disorganised movement. Who should be called? Who should be talked to? And then they took a stand through a statement issued in the Press that they were not going to talk at all until this Mandal Commission's decision was withdrawn. It means that the Prime Minister must resign; it means that the Prime Minister should go; it means that the policy decision which he has taken must also go. I know that was the game. So, we can never accept that position. (*Interruptions*) But that does not mean that he must resign and this policy must be withdrawn. Unnecessarily, futilely so much damage has been done. And the climax of the whole thing is, as others have said, that it was going to be a bit longer. Suppose the Supreme Court stay order had not come. They say that it has saved the Prime Minister. Suppose it had not come. We saw on the 2nd October what was going to happen to this movement. It would have been continued for a few days more. Suppose no stay order had come. The agitation would have gone on.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is still going on.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But now it cannot go on in the old way. You saw what had happened on the 2nd October. A movement like this which has no clear idea what they were fighting for, who do not understand what has actually been done, who have no leadership, would have gone into the hands of these people. I do not know who were they. There may be anybody. I do not know who came to Delhi, looted the shops of small shopkeepers who were selling eatables, broke so many windowpanes, panes of houses and vehicles and all

that and set fire even to the water tanker which was sent to the Boat Club to provide them with water; they also extorted money from people. If this movement had gone on for a few days more, I do not know where it would have taken us. It is utter vandalism and criminal behaviour and nothing else. I want that the students should demarcate themselves from this kind of hooliganism. We do not want the students and the youths to fall into the hands of these types of people. Therefore, we appeal to them—we are extremely sorry for what has happened; really we are anguished by these acts of self-immolation—we appeal to the young boys and girls to give up this path. This is not going to solve any problem. Ultimately, if you want to solve this problem, how reservations are to be done and all that, you have to sit down across the table and talk to each other in a civilized way. You cannot go on like this. Therefore, I do hope that the whole atmosphere will now calm down and everybody will cooperate in contributing to that, exerting all their efforts to see that passions are cooled down. The real situation should be explained patiently to everybody. We sit down and talk. There is a plenty of scope for talking, of course, about the modalities. What is that we are complaining: that we have not been consulted: about what? About the policy? About the principle? Not that at all. We said I still feel, that we should have been consulted about the detailed modalities and the procedure with regard to its implementation. But, anyway, the Prime Minister has his own reasons. He said, there is no need for consultation because this is the same thing which has been announced several times. I would have preferred if he had made this announcement after the 30th of October, 1990. You cannot take so many things on to your plate and try to digest all of the simultaneously. There is something going on there. Every day news of new communal outbreaks is coming.

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

It has happened in Ghazipur, it happened in Gonda, it happened in Udaipur, it happened in Pali, it happened in Baroda in Gujarat and it was going to take place in Mahem in Bombay. Somehow it was prevented. Now, every day this will go on, leading up to some climax on the 30th of October. It is a major crisis for the whole country. And at the same time we have to handle that and we handle this also.

I would have preferred it—with all due respect to the Prime Minister—if it has been possible to deal with these problems one at a time, not try to deal with all of them together, specially in a country like ours. I am leaving out of this Kashmir and Punjab and all these things. They are always there.

So, Sir, I would request Mr. Shankaranand to ponder over his Motion and not to insist or press it or anything. It will be defeated in any case, but it is better that he realises that it is a mis-directed Motion altogether. He tries to chide the real point. He says only the superficial things, how many buses were burnt, how many lives were lost, how many bullets were fired—all deplorable things, I agree. But these are the only outward symptoms of something that was happening inside the minds of the people. And those things were misguided, uninformed, ill-informed, out of ignorance people doing things which they imagined, with no reality at all. And it is the duty of all of us. We call ourselves Members of Parliament, we are Members of Parliament; surely it is our job to explain to the people what is the real position and not to do things which only lead them on to more higher levels of frenzy and which is not going to solve any problem.

Therefore, Sir, I do not think that there is any place here at all for Mr. Shankaranand's Motion. It is a totally misdirected thing and either he

should withdraw it or the House will reject it. There is no other way out.

16.58 hrs. [DR. THAMBI DURAI
in the Chair]

SHRI KAMAL NATH (Chhindwara): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have heard with rapt attention Mr. Khurana's speech, Mr. Kundu's speech, honourable Mr. Somnath Chatterjee's speech and Shri Indrajit Gupta's speech.

What is the spectacle we are seeing in the whole country? Sir, what is the spectacle we are seeing in the country across our national landscape? In the last three weeks we have seen immolations, we have seen deaths by police firing, we have seen schools, colleges and roads closed, we have seen Punjab and Kashmir burning, we have seen the North-East in turmoil and now we are seeing communal flare-up as just mentioned by Shri Indrajit Gupta in Gonda, and in Udaipur. This is the spectacle we are seeing in the country.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We have seen it earlier also.

SHRI KAMAL NATH: This Motion which has been brought about by Shri Shankaranand, reflects and echoes the voice of the people and their anguish. There is a volcano which is going to burst and if we do not realise this, this volcano will burst and smash to smithereens the policies of this Government.

We must remember—and at the onset I would like to make it very clear—that we are supporting the reservations for the backward classes. There should be no confusion on this. It appears that there is some misgiving in the minds of the ruling party on this.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, yes, there is.

SHRI KAMAL NATH: It is beyond their comprehension of what has been said. We do not blame them because many things are beyond their comprehension. What we are opposed to is the manner in which this was brought about. Ever since the Prime Minister announced this on the 7th of August, there has been stammering, frothing, jumbling and juggling whenever he meets different cross-sections of the people. This has been his problem and the Prime Minister did this as a populist measure. For us it is the concern of the backward classes. It is a genuine concern, it is not a populist measure. It has been the policy of the Congress Party for the last forty years and I will remind the Prime Minister just now what he himself has said.

17.00 hrs.

Sir, the reservation for backward classes has been the policy of the Congress Government, of the Congress Party for the last forty years. There is nothing new in it. In Southern States, it was brought about by the Congress Party. But we are opposed to the method and the manner in which it was done on 7th of August. This has caused, as Shri Shankaranand has said, a caste-war in the country. We have to look back on the events that took place which led to the 7th August. What was the need and necessity of such haste. When this Prime Minister's Government is surviving with BJP, CPI and CPI-M yet there was no consultation with them. Forget the Congress Party, there was no consultations with them. The Prime Minister is now trying to be the champion of the backward classes. For many years, he tried to be the champion of the Congress Party also. I will just draw the attention of this House to what he had said, not very long ago. The Prime Minister, when he was in the Congress Party, said: "I am proud of my Party. Is there any other Party in the whole world

which has such a glorious history?" These remarks were made by him when he was the champion of the Congress Party, Sir. Now, he is trying to be the champion of the backward classes. It is the Congress Party which has been the champion of the backward classes. And now no matter which hat Mr. V. P. Singh tries to wear, be it the Janata Dal, he cannot be the champion of the backward classes.

Sir, this motion talks about the inaptitude of the Prime Minister, really in essence it talks about that. The events which led to the sad state of affairs of the country are because of his inaptitude. Can we really expect anything from him?..... (Interruptions). Can we really expect anything from the leader of the House, the leader of the Ruling Party, who has on various occasions made various statements? When he resigned as Defence Minister, he said: "I will never contest any elections." Then he said, "I will never contest for an elected post." Then he said, "I will not be Prime Minister and I shall be a disaster." In his first Press conference, when he was asked this question, he said: "That is a danger or a risk this country has got to take." Now we are being subjected to that danger and to that risk. He had prophesied that he will be a disaster. He has already been a disaster.....(Interruptions).

We have to ask ourselves as to why this situation has come about in the country. Mr. Samarendra Kundu, who spoke first on this, did not mention anything about Orissa. What is the stand of his own party, which is the ruling party there, on reservation for backward classes in Orissa? He has the guts to say that immolation is instigated and somebody came and poured petrol or kerosene on the students. This is an insult, I think, to the sentiments of those who tried to immolate themselves out of misguided emotional direction. Mr. Samarendra

[Sh. Kamal Nath]

Kundu, Mr. Khurana and Mr. Somnath Chatterjee talked about the Congress hand on the 2nd of October incident. Sir, the Delhi Police has said that armed people were brought in from Haryana. Which is the ruling party in Haryana? There are photographs in the newspapers..... (*Interruptions*). Which is the ruling party in Haryana? And the Congress is charged with this. Wherever anything is going wrong in the country it is the Congress hand that they can only see. That is true because they will see the Congress hand only in the next election.

Mr. Khurana—unfortunately he is not here—has talked of Congress instigation in his own constituency. Let us not forget that there are only two Congress MPs from Delhi. The rest are MPs from BJP. He is aspiring to be the Chief Minister of Delhi. But that is a different story. But when he goes to his own constituency, a constituency which he claims to be the champion of and where he proclaims all the people are with him, then he talks of a contest in the maidan. We will see him in the maidan and see what he is doing in the maidan. This time his shirt was pulled out. Next time, his pant will be pulled down.

This charge which is made consistently on the Congress is minimising the current situation. It is an attempt to deflect us from the situation which is prevailing outside.

We talk of the manner in which it was implemented. We also talk that the students can be misguided. But the Government had the media with them. But first the Prime Minister took the stand that he would not talk to anybody. Immediately on announcement, it could have been anticipated that there would be some misgivings and people would be misguided. The media could have played a very constructive role on it. The

Prime Minister could have immediately opened a dialogue on the 9th of August itself or a week later. It was only when the situation went out of hand, when emotions were surcharged, when the people were on the streets, when self-immolations were taking place, that he decided to invite the students for talks and they refused. After firing, what role did the Government media play in this? For the first fortnight there was no role. The Government media has a major role to play in this over the radio and television by telling the students that they are being misguided and that their apprehensions are incorrect. So this was total failure of the Government. Now when the situation has gone out of hand, the Prime Minister has chosen to talk to the students. Rather he deputed the President of his Party. He devised a nice buffer and everything is referred to the President of the Party. So this unfortunate trend has come about and now the country is faced in a very major and serious problem concerning the youth of the country.

I would not like to take much of your time. But I would just like to draw the attention to what Mr. Somnath Chatterjee and Mr. Indrajit Gupta have said. Both of them are very senior parliamentarians. I myself have seen them here for the last 11 years. But ever since, I think, the Prime Minister has been inviting them for dinner, they have been losing their sense of perception and their sense of judgment. I am sorry about it that just because they are invited by the Prime Minister for dinner, their support is coming when even not asked for. The CPM is jumping sometimes even when the ruling party is not objecting. This motion reflects the voice, echoes and sentiments of the people. I know the Prime Minister will not vote for the adjournment motion. But he must remember that his own wife when he was the Finance Minister, had criticised him for the rise in prices. I am

sure that if she had to vote on the state of affairs in the country, she would vote for this motion. She would not vote against him. I am not saying that she would vote against her husband, but she would certainly vote against this Government. So I appeal to this House to use their conscience to understand what is going on in the country, to see how this volcano is going to erupt and support this motion of adjournment.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): I rise to oppose the Adjournment Motion moved by Shri B. Shankaranand. Before entering this subject, I also like to express my deep sorrow, anguish and grave concern over the tragic events which have led to the loss of several valuable lives. We also deplore the tragic events which have led to self-immolation by several young men and women from our country. I think the entire House will join me while I express our great sorrow and anguish for them.

Coming to the issue of the Adjournment Motion, I think the issue is not justification or otherwise of the Mandal Commission's Report. We have expressed our views clearly that we are in agreement with the Mandal Commission's Report, and the reservations if any, relates only to the question of the modalities in the implementation of that.

I do also take this opportunity to remind some people outside and some people here also that the Constitution enjoins upon us to render justice to the socially and educationally backward classes. It is the constitutional provision and we cannot just ignore that. My charge against the Congress (I) is that they did not give effect to the Constitution obligation during the last twelve years. What is the explanation? Some people feel that this reservation of twenty-seven per cent for the backward classes is some kind of a concession. I want to make

my position clear that this reservation is merely a step towards the minimisation of injustice which had been heaped upon a large segment of our society for ages together. This reservation—to speak the truth—is to ensure that no community in our country and in our society is deprived of its rightful place in the participative democracy and administration. It is not concession. It is not concession because it is a compensatory device to negate the disability imposed by the caste system in our country. Why should a section of the people unnecessarily take a view as if this will lead to a caste war, as Mr. Vansant Sathe in this House was pleased to express. Castes were there. Castes are there. Castes hated is there. But, because of these decisions the caste hatred has automatically or instantly born. This means the opposition for a particular section of society exclusively prove the caste hatred and it is also the duty of all of us to remove and eradicate it.

I am grateful to Shri B. Shankaranand that he has sought to make the Congress (I)'s position clear. He says, as far as I could understand it, that the Congress Party is in favour of implementation of the Mandal Commission's Report. Is it so? They are not even clear. I only want to quote a letter written by Mr. Hanumanthappa, a Member of the Congress (I) in the other House. He writes a letter to the Congress President, the leader of the Opposition. I quote from the letter. I quote from the letter Mr. Hanumanthappa wrote:

“Common man's understanding is that the National Front Government wants the reservation for the backward classes but Congress and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi are opposed to it.”

This is what has been written by Mr. K. Hanumanthappa. So, this confusion you have created. It is one of your

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

Members who has written to the Leader of the party that the Congress Party does not want the reservation for the backward classes whereas the National Front Government wants it. And he holds Mr. Rajiv Gandhi responsible, and we are all witness that he was filibustering for more than three hours. Some good sense should prevail on you now. I thank Mr. Shankaranand that he has candidly said that he and his party—I do not know about his party but he has said it—are for the implementation of Mandal Commission's Report. I hope that your party will be persuaded by him for the proper implementation of the Mandal Commission's Report.

I have got one point by way of criticism of the Government and that is about the role of the media. You will be astonished to learn that some time back I received an invitation from the Television to give my views about the Mandal Commission's Report. They came and told me that I must finish my words within two minutes. As a matter of fact, I said that this was an issue on which I should give my views to the people. It was two minutes twenty-five seconds and they said I had to be recorded again because I had exceeded the time by twenty-five seconds. Is it the way to utilise the most important media of our country which should educate our people? Therefore, I think the Prime Minister should take a note of it. What was the harm if various points of view were telecast for a longer period of time through T.V.? Then the people might have understood what is there in the Government's notification, what is there in the Mandal Commission's Report, what ought to be done and what has not yet been done. Instead of that, that kind of attitude was shown to a person like me, to a Member of Parliament belonging to a party. And it is expected that the party should give its views in a proper form, in a proper way, in an educative manner.

Lastly, I also want to say to the Government that in a fit of frenzy, the students in our country—I do not know who they are, who their leaders are—might have said that they are not prepared to discuss with the Government, with the Prime Minister, unless some conditions are fulfilled. I think they might have said so in a fit of frenzy. But as I told earlier in the All-party meeting, it is the responsibility of all of us to persuade, to convince, to educate the younger generation of our country. Therefore, I think there should be a fresh attempt for commencing the dialogue.

We should also make it clear to those who are opposing the reservation that it is necessary for us to remove the injustice. We cannot afford to see that the social injustice continues for any more time. And to remove the social injustice, there should be a change of social attitude. I am sorry that many of those who are instigating the anti-reservation movement, have not changed their social attitude. By the phrase 'social attitude' I mean that this age-old injustice cannot be removed by having a *status quoist* attitude. This reservation should not be taken as a concession. It should be rather accepted as a preferential discrimination, in order to enable a larger segment of our society to take part in the administration, to take part in the decision-making process, to take part in the governance of the country. It is not merely the question of 27,000 out of a lakh Central Government jobs to be given to a certain segment of society. It is a question of belonging to the Government, it is a sense of belonging through the participative democracy, it is a sense of belonging to Administration. From that point of view, we should say that time has come when we should do justice to those who have been neglected for ages together and I hope that Mr. Shankaranand will understand and

will be persuaded by the wise counsel in the House and will be pleased to withdraw this adjournment motion which means censuring of the Government. The Government does not deserve any censure on this issue. The Government deserves the support of the entire House, not only of the entire House, but the entire people outside and I would appeal to the National Front Government that it is the number which counts here, it is the countless people outside on whose faith and support you may be in power or you may not be in power. Therefore, you may rely on the countless people outside rather than on the number of Members here.

[Translation]

*SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN (Tirunelveli): Hon. Chairman, Sir, I rise to the adjournment motion moved by the Hon. Member Shri B. Shankaranand on behalf of the All India Anna DMK party.

This reservation issue which the whole country is seized of today has been long back known to the people of Tamil Nadu during the times of Periyar, Perarignar (The Enlightened) Anna and Puratchi Thalaivar (Leader Revolutionary) MGR.

It was as old as the year 1927, even 2 years before I was born. Now I am 61.

Tamil Nadu where Periyar, and Perarignar (The Enlightened) Anna who endeavoured along with Mahatma Gandhi to uplift the oppressed and the suppressed of the society has seen 50% of reservation for backward classes during the time of Dr. MGR. This issue of reservation is, therefore, not a new one to us. Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu are aware of reservations since 1927.

Therefore, this provision for reservation is further encouraging to us. With this kind of historical background, of reservations dating back to 1927, we are proud that we are the forerunners of this concept of reservations.

Sir, this motion brought by the Hon. Member Shri Shankaranand is not against any political party. It is not against the Janata Dal, or against the BJP or the CPI(M).

Sir, look at the gory happenings around. 13 lives (Atmas) have gone, died. Who is responsible for this? A few Ministers in the Cabinet have by their speeches sought to divide the society into 'Anti-Mandal' and 'Pro-Mandal'. Was it correct? Such speeches have not only divided the society but have also poisoned the youth. It is poisoning the minds of youngsters. The minds of the youngsters have been poisoned.

Hon. Member who just spoke before me rightly pointed out that such self-immolation deaths were very common in Tamil Nadu during the days of Hindi agitation. For defending the honour of the Tamil language, several party workers, not commonmen, sacrificed their lives by self-immolation. That was for a cause. When Shri Anna was pained at this, he gave a call that 'I withdraw the agitation'. The agitation and self-immolation deaths stopped immediately. We come from such a tradition.

Sir, on September 14, I think, on the birth anniversary of Perarignar Anna, Hon. Prime Minister Shri V. P. Singh came to Madras and participated in the so called 'Pentafest'. That function was to commemorate the birth anniversary day of Bharatidasan, Ambedkar, Perarignar Anna, Periyar and also to celebrate the victory of the implementation of the Mandal

[Sh. M. R. Janardhanan]

Commission recommendations. This was arranged by the Chief Minister to reap political dividends.

I submit to the Prime Minister, when Northern India is burning against the Mandal Commission report, you are coming there to celebrate it. It may be proper for the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, but it will not be proper for the Prime Minister of India. That is my humble submission.

Why I say this? During the President's Address this year, a member rose to intervene his address and shouted that there was no mention in the Address of the Government's intention to implement the Mandal Commission's recommendations. It is customary that the President is heard without interruption. That time the Government was not concerned about the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations. But today, when Kashmir, Punjab and Assam are burning, you have brought it now. Is it the right time? You have not prepared the country, the ground. You have not educated the people through the media.

For example, let me tell you. I come from a backward constituency. Who represented this constituency in 1967? A harijan christian by name Xavier. In 1971, a communist by name Muruganandhan, a Hindu, was returned. During 1976-77, a Nadar by name Aruna was there. Since 1984, I am here. This proves that Tamil Nadu is above castes, above religions. This is due to hardwork by Periyar and Anna.

The purpose of this debate is not to accuse each other. When Shri Indrajit Gupta spoke he was indirectly hitting at you. He said that you have not prepared the country. You have not prepared the people to take it. You have not educated the masses through the media. That was his contention. He, thus, blamed the Government.

Two responsible persons occupy high offices in your Government and they gave a call for a caste war which has gradually led to this kind of situation. They have hurt the psyche of the youth by their provocative speeches. People especially the parents of the poor children have started asked to whom they have voted. They have been pushed to this condition of conducting the post mortem of their voting pattern. Who created this kind of situation?

I would like to ask the Hon. Prime Minister a question. Why this agitation at all? You started the agitation and you must attempt to stop it. In such a situation, you have started telecasting appeals to the students. Your appeals are really melting the minds. But by this time you must have understood the minds of the students. If you had understood the minds of the students, there is no other go except to give way. You must abdicate the leadership in favour of somebody. That is the first task before the Prime Minister. That would only resolve the present crisis the country is faced with.

Let me lastly reiterate the commitment of my party, the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, to the recommendations of the Mandal Commission and other steps towards the upliftment of the poor and the down-trodden.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this serious issue. I also thank Shri Shankaranand for raising this serious issue before the House and urging the House to listen to him attentively.

So far as other hon. Members are concerned, all are sitting here to listen to him carefully and the Hon. Prime

Minister and most of the senior Cabinet Ministers are also present here, but I am surprised that the leader of his own party is not present here to listen to his speech. It clearly shows how much importance his own party and his party leader attach to his speech on this issue. I was also thinking as to why the Congress-I has selected Shri Shankaranand to undertake this job? I was surprised, because if one is supporting the idea of providing social justice to the backward classes and providing encouragement and special opportunities to them. Shri Shankaranand was not the appropriate person to convey the views of his party leader, who is creating a lot of confusion in the entire country. I know his views and I respect him. I was also thinking as to why Shri Shankaranand is selected everytime.....(*Interruptions*)... Sometime ago, the Serials Mahabharat and Ramayana were telecast on the Doordarshan. I saw that a king always remembered Lord Shankara, whenever he found himself in trouble perhaps same is the case with the leader of Congress-(I) party. The leader of that party always remembers Shri Shankaranand whenever he had to face some trouble like the Bofors or the Mandal Commission Report. They remembered him to take the Chairmanship of Joint Select Committee or for any other work in which they have committed something wrong. A process has been started in the country to provide social justice to the backward classes. There can be difference of opinion about its modus operandi but everyone agrees that the backward classes should be provided social justice and should get special opportunities. The party leader of Shri Shankaranand may not agree with the views of Shri Shankaranand but he should not use him as a tool as it was done with a character of Mahabharata, whose name I will not like to take, as I respect Shri Shankaranand. But he should not be made to play the part of Shikhandi. I was thinking why everytime, in the context of Mandal Commission Re-

port, the issue is being raised to ask resignation of the Hon. Prime Minister. May I know whether the common man cannot aspire to become the Prime Minister of this country? Why violence is erupting again and again in the country in the name of Mandal Commission, who is instigating all this violence? Had you forgotten happenings of 1984? All sorts of things happened when Shri Rajiv Gandhi came to power. I remember that time, when the then Home Minister Shri Narasimha Rao, for whom I have great regard, announced on the doordarshan after 3 days that enough has been done. Was the riots in this city for 3 days were not enough? Thousands of people were killed and people were burnt alive, but even then Shri Gandhi, who was some how installed as the Prime Minister no such thing had occurred at that time. Today, the process of social justice has just been started and now they are demanding the resignation of Hon. Prime Minister. As Shri Indirajit said that again the same people are instrumental behind all this violence. I would also like to abide by the convention and therefore, I will not mention the name. Let a Supreme Court judge or the Solicitor General or a Member of Parliament enquire into this matter—no one can even think that the residents of Shakarpur Basti will agitate against the recommendations of Mandal Commission. Only those people can think of such a thing, who always indulge in undesirable activities. I would like to know whether people living in resettlement colonies can be against the Mandal Commission Report, will they go and take part in the incidents of arson? Do they not want to implement the recommendations of Mandal Commission? They want them to be implemented more than us. It should be very clear as to why such things are happening.

Why such situation arises, whenever the process of social justice gains momentum?

[Sh. Hari Kishore Singh]

Today, on the suggestion of Shri Khurana, the Hon. Prime Minister has agreed to discuss the Mandal Commission Report. This is not for the first time, but earlier also, he had given call to discuss this issue, What will be left in the democracy, if the process of discussion is stopped? There are lot of people, who only give or take orders but discussions are invited to keep the democratic process alive. How the democracy can work, if on the invitation for discussion, the other party says that it will not take part in the discussion. Today, we are discussing the issue, it provides us support and some way would be found out to solve the problem and this process of social justice will take a concrete shape. The tension created in this respect would also be removed.

I am sorry that some of our children and brothers had to bear sufferings owing to some wrong and right conclusions. They have resorted to self immolation. We sympathize with them and it is the foremost duty of this House to give a unanimous call to the country that no tension or agitation should be launched in regard to the Mandal Commission and a decision will be taken through discussion. With these words, I urge my hon. friend Shri Shankaranand to respect the small step taken by the Hon. Prime Minister in regard to the process of social justice in the country through Mandal Commission and to withdraw his motion.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: May I request the hon. Members to be very brief because already we decided that this debate should conclude at 6 O'Clock? I, therefore, request the hon. Members to cooperate and to take only a few minutes to make their points.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Voting will be at 6 O'Clock sharp.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is why I request the hon. Members to be very brief and I want to take the sense of the House.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: Many hon. Members want to speak. So, I would like the time to be extended so that all those who want to speak can be allowed to speak.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you are all not agreeing, I request the hon. Members to take one or two minutes to put forth your points because the Prime Minister has also to reply and after his intervention, Shri B. Shankaranand has also to finally reply. Therefore, I humbly request all the hon. Members to be brief and to cooperate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Why do you want to spoil the case by more speeches?

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): All the Members of the House have expressed their views. Please listen to the hon. Minister, now. ... (Interruptions)...

[English]

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: We want to speak. That is the point. I appeal to the Leader of the House. ... (Interruptions)...

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM (SHRI SATYA PAL MAJIK): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this issue had been discussed earlier also. Except for the Prime Minister, no one

else would speak from this side. The time can be extended for half-an-hour, if some more Members of the Opposition want to say something.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shall we extend for Half-an-Hour?..... All right, we will extend the time for half-an-hour. The House will go on upto 6.30 p.m. today.

.....(Interruptions).....

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No.

.....(Interruptions).....

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: All the hon. Members of this House have spoken on this issue. Everything would become clear after the speech of the Hon. Prime Minister. I think that there is no justification now to extend the time. All the hon. Members of the Congress have expressed their views.....(Interruptions)...

SHRI SATYA PAL MALIK: Mr. Chairman, Sir, three-line whip has been issued and the Members are sitting since morning, so the time should not be extended by more than half-an-hour.

.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI RAM LAL RAHI (Misrikh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on point of order. My name was also there in the list. Although, the resolution was moved by Shri Shankaranand, we should also be given an opportunity to express our views. So, I request that the time of the House should be extended by one hour.....(Interruptions).....

AN HON. MEMBER: The time should not be extended and voting should be done at 6 O'clock.(Interruptions).....

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please listen to me. Please take your seats. What I am telling is, as the Parliamentary Affairs Minister has suggested, we will extend the time by half-an-hour.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MANDHATA SINGH (Lucknow): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. When the Deputy-Speaker has already announced minute-wise time allocation for all the political groups represented here and when that time has been profitably used, the extension of the time for a debate can only be made with the general consensus of the House. So, my point of order is: Where is the need for wasting every single minute now? We, therefore, request you to call on the Prime Minister to reply to the debate. (Interruptions).

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Faridabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, earlier it was announced by the Deputy Speaker in the House that discussion on this issue will be held from 2 P.M. to 6 P.M. and the voting will be done at 6 O'clock. So a total of 4 hours were given for the discussion. But the total time of 4 hours has not been completed yet. Therefore, the time of the House should be extended for one hour.(Interruptions).....

17.45 hrs. [MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER
in the Chair]

[English]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, you remember, when the time allocation for this subject was being considered, the proposal initially was for three to five hours. (Interruptions). Then the demand was

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

made from the benches opposite that more time was needed. Then the Chair was pleased to extend the time from 2 O' clock to 6 O' clock. Now on one side, there is a demand for extension by one hour or more. On the other side, the demand is that there should be no more extension. The Chair has said about half an hour's extension. I think, we can agree to half an hour's extension. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): May I have the attention of the Prime Minister? From 2 O' clock to 6 O' clock in the very words of the Prime Minister is four hours. At least give us four hours promise. Otherwise, what is the purpose of moving the Adjournment Motion. If we are not even going to be heard in this House, how will we be heard outside this House? *(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have heard the feelings expressed on both sides. We will try to respect both sides as far as possible.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am not giving any ruling.

Now Shri Jagpal Singh to speak

[*Translation*]

SHRI JAG PAL SINGH (Hardwar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the post-independence period, the caste rivalry has never been so intense as it is during the tenure of this Government. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI UDAY PRATAP SINGH (Mainpuri): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order.

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What procedure has been violated? Already time is very short.

[*Translation*]

SHRI UDAY PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my point of order is that when time has been allotted party-wise and the sitting of the House has been extended by 30 minutes, this extended time of 30 minutes should also be divided party-wise. It will not be proper if they continue to speak. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI JAG PAL SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the administration of entire Northern India came to a standstill after 7th September. Railway, bus and other services were disrupted, educational institutions were closed so much so that even the administration of one All India Radio Stations was brought to a grinding halt by the anti-reservation students. The Government became the mute spectator of the activities of the anti-reservationists.

I want to say that my party leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi and myself are not against reservation. We are in favour of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. It is the history of the Congress Party for the last 32 years that it has neither opposed reservations nor it will do so in future, whether it is the case of the Harijans or the backward classes. But I oppose the way in which the Government placed in the House the recommendations of the Mandal Commission for implementation.

After sacking Shri Devi Lal from the post of Deputy Prime Minister, the hon. Prime Minister ran into problems as majority of the existing M.Ps of his party belonged to backward classes. Two of his cabinet Ministers suggested that if he wanted to save his chair... *(Interruptions)* and wants to isolate Shri Devi Lal, he should implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. This will deter the M.Ps belonging to the backward classes from supporting Shri Devi Lal. Therefore, the recommendations of the Mandal

Commission were placed before the House on the 7th because Shri Devi Lal had given a call for the farmer's rally at Boat Club on the 9th. The Prime Minister also thought that after the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations, the rally organised by Shri Devi Lal at Boat Club would flop. So, without consulting the report with his allied parties and the Congress, the hon. Prime Minister placed it before the House. The Government says that it is based on consensus, but it implemented the recommendations of the Mandal Commission without any consensus. As a result, after 9th the allied parties started inciting the students against the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.

In the rally that was held on 2nd the members of Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena. (*Interruptions*)... marched in Delhi holding saffron flags and created a tense situation by shouting slogans. Was the Government not aware that these agitators were armed with sticks, lances and spears when they boarded the tempos, trucks and buses? Where from these agitators came... (*Interruptions*) I allege that Shri Devi Lal sent a large number of antisocial elements from Haryana against this Government. I would like to tell the hon. Prime Minister that whether it is the issue of New Industrial Policy, Ram Janmabhoomi or the Budget, his allied parties do not support his policy. Why is he taking support of such parties? Just to save his own post, he is putting the country on flames by taking such support. These anti-reservationists constitute only 15 per cent of the total population and since 1947, they are occupying 85 per cent jobs in the country. The rest 85 per cent population gets only 4.7 per cent of jobs. If a question is raised tomorrow that those 15 per cent people should be given reservation according to their population. Where will these anti-reservationists go? (*Interruptions*)... It is like depriving a sleeping man of his house

by a person who is awake. The agitationists are doing the same thing. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to draw your attention to what I am going to say. A person, who called himself a saint, incited such fanaticism and communalism, in the name of Khalistan in Punjab to such an extent that we are still facing its consequences. In the same way, the leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party, Shri L.K. Advani is touring Maharashtra and Gujarat and the Hindu youths are putting 'tilak' on their foreheads with their blood. (*Interruptions*).

Shri Advani has repeatedly said that come what may, they will construct a temple after demolishing the mosque... (*Interruptions*) I would also like to ask that if this country is converted into a Hindu rashtra, where the people belonging to other religions will go? He is playing with the sentiments of the people and thus trying to disintegrate the country..... (*Interruptions*).

I am concluding. Slogans of Hinduism and Hindu rashtra were raised right from Maharashtra to Gujarat. This is dangerous for our country. Tridents, axes, spears, lances and different types of arms are being presented there to Shri Advani. I would like to submit to the hon. Prime Minister that he should not associate with such a party, which do not respect his suggestion that the Babri Masjid issue should be solved through discussion or which does not accept the decision of the Court. Under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, we, the Members of the Congress Party promise to fight terrorism, communalism and Parocialism wherever it spreads.

KUMARI MAYAWATI (Bijnor): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I oppose the adjournment motion moved by the Congress party in regard to the Mandal Commission. I would like to tell this House through you that on behalf of the Bahujan Samaj Party, we

[Kum. Mayawati]

went through a long struggle from 10th of August, 1985 to 31st of May, 1990 to complete the reservation quota meant for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to implement the Mandal Commission Report. It is a matter of pleasure that on 7th August, 1990, the National Front Government decided to implement some of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission for the welfare of the backward classes. The Bahujan Samaj Party thanks the Government for this. Besides, I would also like to submit that some narrow-minded people oppose the recommendations of Mandal Commission on the ground that the reservation should be given on economic basis instead of caste basis. Some narrow-minded people are opposing it by saying that casteism is being encouraged on the basis of reservation in the country. I would like to tell such people that casteism has not been created in the country today, but it was encouraged by those people a long time ago, who encouraged Brahminism in the country. Had casteism not been encouraged in our country, Baba Saheb Ambedkar would not have to support reservation for the welfare of down-trodden. I would like to say that reservation has not given birth to casteism, but casteism has given birth to reservation. I would also like to pin-point as to who is behind this anti-reservation stir that has been launched all over the country. I am very straight forward in my approach. I do not want to criticise or condemn anyone. It is a fact that the agitations launched by the youths and students against the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations were not initiated by them. In fact the students were incited by the Congress and the Bharatiya

18.00 hrs.

Janata Party. Why am I saying such a thing? You should listen to me patiently because B.J.P.'s attempts

have reminded me of the speech delivered by Baba Saheb Ambedkar. When Baba Saheb framed the Constitution of India and submitted it to the first President of this country, he had said that howsoever excellently drafted a country's constitution may be and whatsoever care the constitution makers may take to watch the interest of the poor and oppressed, it cannot prove to be beneficial for the poor and oppressed unless the intention of the people who would implement them is clear.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while highlighting the manifesto of his party a senior leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party Shri Madan Lal Khurana, who spoke before me, said that his party's manifesto spoke at length about the implementation of Mandal Commission's recommendations. But the question is that of implementation of the recommendations and not simply mentioning them in the manifesto. I also want to say that even if a manifesto contains all ideal points, the poor and the oppressed cannot be benefited by it unless the ideology of Brahminism is changed. The country is facing two serious problems at present. The Punjab and Jammu-Kashmir problems are already there but another serious problem is being created by the narrow ideology of the people who are inciting the anti-social elements against reservation issue and are thus, damaging the public property. Secondly 30th October is fast approaching. On one hand, we want to curb communal violence which has erupted owing to the Ram Janmabhoomi Babri Masjid issue but on the other hand, the narrow-minded people of secular India are not prepared to wait for the decision of the court. It is a matter of great regret that they are not waiting for the verdict of the court. As such the move of the senior leader of Bharatiya Janata Party, Shri Advani to march towards Ayodhya for the construction of Ram temple without waiting for the verdict of the Supreme Court.....

(*Interruptions*) The Muslims are also the citizens of this country and they too want justice. (*Interruptions*) If you cannot wait for the court's verdict then I say with authority that the Bharatiya Janata Party's attitude towards the Muslims... (*Interruptions*) If you are bent upon ignoring the court's verdict and want to go ahead with the construction of the temple, then the Muslims are also keen to get justice and we are with the Muslims. (*Interruptions*) I can say with a challenge that the Muslims will also construct mosque. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude quickly.

KUMARI MAYAWATI: If the Bharatiya Janata Party does not wait for the court's verdict, I would like to tell the hon. Prime Minister....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please conclude.

KUMARI MAYAWATI: The hon. Prime Minister is worried about it and he is in a dilemma as to how this problem should be solved. The Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister is also worried about it but the number of elected members of the Bharatiya Janata Party is so large that they are dominating the Janata Dal

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please conclude now.

KUMARI MAYAWATI: You are depriving the oppressed people of justice but I want to tell you that the total number of oppressed, backward and minorities in the country is 85 per cent. If a handful of people who subscribe to ideology of Brahminism and whose number is only 15 per cent, claim to be the followers of the principles of Mahatma Gandhi and talk about making the country strong.....(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mayawati you please take your seat and conclude.

KUMARI MAYAWATI: If 85 per cent of the people who are the followers of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, Ramaswamy Naicker, Sahuji Maharaj and Mahatma Jyoti Phule stand for their rights, the handful of people cannot thrust their will on them. Therefore, I request you, Sir to let my points go on record because if you expunge them from the proceedings, it will not be in your own interest. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mayawati you please take your seat and you shall not speak after this.

KUMARI MAYAWATI: You expunge them from the proceedings, you stop it from being shown on T.V. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are moving towards an entirely different subject. You please stop here.

KUMARI MAYAWATI: I request the members of the House not to suppress the voice of the poor. You should not be cowed down by the pressurising tactics of the people opposed to the recommendations. Whatever you have done for the cause of the poor and oppressed by giving reservation to the people belonging to the backward communities is a step in the right direction. With this I thank you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Uday Pratap Singhji, you take only 2 to 3 minutes to make your submission.

SHRI UDAY PRATAP SINGH (Mainpuri): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the entire House, through you to the subject under discussion. During the freedom struggle some people told Mahatma Gandhi that they would try

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to extend their cooperation in freedom struggle if he denounced emancipation of Harijans. I would like to tell the entire country through this House what Gandhiji had said in very clear terms. He had said that we would not even touch that freedom which deters the emancipation of Harijans. Sir, if we go through the old issues of "Harijans" and "Young India" we find that these people who get votes in Gandhiji's name and come to this House, are the bogus followers of Gandhiji. I would like to tell you in very clear terms that in "Harijan" and "Young India" Gandhiji wrote about Independence that:

[English]

"It is not an end in itself. It is a means to a greater end." What was that greater end? That greater end was social justice

[Translation]

The social injustice like inequalities and disparities should be removed. Sir, it is a matter of regret that even after 40 years of independence, we have not paid any attention towards the objective of our independence. No effort was made to remove the inequalities and no agitation was launched in protest against social injustice. For the first time after independence, when an attempt was made in this direction, it was foiled at the very outset by inciting violence by the people who claim to be the followers of Gandhiji. Let me explain it through an Urdu couplet: "Kuch Gard Urti Hi Hai Jab Karwan Chalta Hai." When a move to eradicate the inequalities and social injustice existing in the society is initiated, it affects the people who have become habitual to these comforts. I was taken aback to find that people themselves did not dare to come to the forefront. Instead, they misled their children and

prompted them for agitation. Thus I want to say that those who move such motions do so with the sole intention of inciting violence and disrupting peace. You please look into it. As such I would request the House not to be misled by the words of such people, because they do not have any other aim than to incite violence. With these words I thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: After this speech, the hon. Prime Minister will speak and with that the discussion will come to a close. Shri D. D. Khanoria.. ..

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Faridabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I may also be given time to express my views, as I have many points on this issue... (Interruptions).

SHRI D. D KHANORIA (Kangra): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, many hon. Members have expressed their views on the reservation issue in this House. I think, none of the hon. Members belonging to any party except the Congress Party has opposed this reservation. As far as our party, the Bharatiya Janata Party's opinion about reservation is concerned, we are not against it, rather we favour it. But there are some points which need serious consideration. We are of the view that reservation in the jobs should be given to the poor only and not to the rich, whatever caste they may belong to. There is no justification giving reservation to the big land-lords, industrialists, I.A.S. or I.P.S. officers etc. as it goes against the welfare of the poor of the country. I want to quote the example of Himachal Pradesh where our Government has started Antyodaya programme. Through this programme we have come to know about the number of families which are living below the poverty line in the state. In the

same way, we can find out the number of families in the country living below the poverty line, if we adopt the same norms for our reservation policy. The planning in the country should be directed at removing poverty and that should be our first and foremost goal also. Therefore, reservation should be given on the basis of poverty. The Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh has shown his firm determination in implementing the Antodaya programme in the State. Each family covered under this scheme in the State is getting essential commodities such as wheat, rice, salt etc. at subsidised rates w.e.f. the 15th August. This was the promise we made to the people of Himachal Pradesh during the election. The poor people in that state are being benefited under this scheme, without any discrimination of caste and creed. There is no question of caste in it because it is our conviction that reservation should not be caste-based, it should be based on 'Karma'. The poor, irrespective of caste should be helped through reservation in this country. In our view, giving reservation on the basis of caste will serve the interest of none...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: This being the maiden speech of the hon. Member, he should not be disturbed. Please be quiet... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI D. D. KHANORIA: By citing the example of Himachal Pradesh, I would say that reservation should be based on poverty and not on caste. Poverty eradication programme for the upliftment of the poor should be formulated. Besides, the family which avails of the benefits of reservation once should not be given this benefit again. The persons belonging to the high income group should be excluded from the purview of reservation irrespective of caste they belong to. We are not against reservation. The Bharatiya Janata

Party has extended its full cooperation to the Janata Dal Government. But I must say that we should centre our attention on the poverty eradication programmes and take steps in that direction. For this purpose, reservation may be given to the poor. With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to express my views. . . .*(Interruptions)*.....

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Sir, we all share the deep anguish...

SEV. HON. MEMBERS: Hindi, Hindi.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Well, he can speak in both the languages.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, I can but not simultaneously half sentence in Hindi and half in English.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There may be a demand for speech in English also.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, it is certainly a matter of deep anguish that so many young lives have been lost. We all share this agony and I also want to put on record my personal anguish.

18.16 hrs. [MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We can imagine the grief of the parents who have lost their children. I don't want to go into any argument. Arguments and debates go on and it has been well put here by hon. Members. But I do want to make an appeal and I feel that on this point I do reflect the feeling of the House. I would like to appeal to the younger generation that they should not resort to the ultimate sacrifice of giving up their lives. Even if they have to fight or if they are just to carry on the struggle, they should live to

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carry on that struggle rather than give up their lives. In a democratic system there are agreements and there are disagreements and the way to carry on a debate is not by giving up one's life. This is something for which I want to appeal to the younger generation.

We owe to the next generation that they have a sense of fulfilment, a sense of achievement, a sense of sharing and not of despondency and despair. Whoever, he may be, there should be a hope in the life of the younger generation.

May I also say at the same time that we had given stricter instructions to the police. The Home Minister had given instructions not to exercise any excessive force. Only when their lives are threatened they should take action, otherwise if there is a loss of property, we may accept the loss of property. As Shri Indrajit Gupta said, property can be replaced but lives cannot be replaced. I would also like to give my appreciation that they observed restraint as much as possible—as was seen on the 2nd of October.

In this House one thing was quite encouraging. Whatever the Government may be criticised for, the first sentence does come even from the hon. Members of the Opposition...

AN HON. MEMBER: What do you mean by that?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: If you listen to me, you will know what I mean.

They do endorse reservation for backward sections of the society. It is a matter of great encouragement that so far as the direction is concerned, there is a general consensus seen in this House in spite of all these things that the backward sections of the society must be given a place and even the specific endorsement of reservation to jobs.

Various points have been made, how it has been done, what has been done, but at least on this point, there is no difference of opinion. And this is no small thing. Because when we have to try to change the mould of the social or economic or political structure, it is much more gigantic job than making any legislation regarding the government or even change of Government. The system accepts change of governments but does not accept change of itself. When you try to change the system, the system stands upto fight.

And in so far as there is a perception by the whole House that something has to be done for the deprived sections of the society, it is a matter of great hope for the oppressed and those who have not had a share in the affairs of the country. So, that is one thing which is very encouraging in today's debate on this issue. I quite agree with the suggestions made by the friendly parties, the BJP, the CPM, the CPI that a dialogue should be initiated. Sir, when the all-Party meeting first time took place, even at that time, an appeal was made to the students and I had repeated it several times later. But though it has not taken place, I have not lost hope. We cannot lose hope with the younger generation. We cannot afford to lose hope with them whatever it may be. We will pursue to open a dialogue and very rightly it has been suggested that the Vice-Chancellors, the teachers, other people who are in close contact with the students and the youth should be involved and we would make sincere efforts in this direction as has been suggested by the friendly parties.

Really so, we have given thought, the Government has already given thought as to what should be our approach to the youth. Certainly one of the problems that does come and face the young generation is of employment. But it is not only employment, if we see to the whole

youth, merely as job seekers, we are not recognising the full potential of the youth, their capacity to sacrifice for the nation, their emotional force that can transform the nation. This is something which we have not tapped yet. There is need to tap it. When the integrity of the country is challenged, when the security of the country is challenged, there is on one side youth which crosses the snow-bound mountains, comes across to lay down his life for whatever he believes in. May be, a misguided youth does lay down his life for Khalistan, there is need to tap the national patriotic chord in the youth and they do not lack it. If there is any lack, the lack is in us—to give them the leadership in the required direction. It is not in the youth that something is lacking. I have the fullest faith when it comes to the integrity and security of the country they will come upto it. It is for us to show them the path. The Government has decided that it will be initiating steps in this direction, involving the youth, not by Government officers declaring a scheme but through the National Youth Council—to involve them into the debate. They will come up with proposals and we will take those initiatives.

Regarding employment, it is one of the main problems. Certainly, we have said that for those who have qualified in medicine or engineering or various professions, we have come up with a scheme to provide loans to the extent of Rs. 120 crores in this very year, so that they are on their own feet. Similarly, for the economically weaker sections of the youth, another package has been given, wherein they will be given loan for higher education, so that they can benefit from higher education, even if they are poor.

The other point that has arisen out of this debate is: what will happen to merit, and to those who are economically poor? We have given thought

to it in one aspect, viz. we have many largesses which are given by the Government—petrol pumps, gas agencies, fertilizer agencies—a hundred and one things. They are by and large cornered by people who have influence, or those who have some other means to influence decisions. We have decided that these benefits will flow to the talented youth who are economically weak; and with this, there will be objective criteria also—talent which is based on marks or otherwise, and the economic criterion wherein income tax etc. can be seen; and on these criteria, in fact, regional distribution will take place. Even a boy from Assam, Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan or Gujarat from all over the country can partake in this vast largesse that is given by the Government. And it will be supplemented by a bank loan. After all, how many IAS recruitments do we make in one year? About 150 in the IAS. If we take Class I posts in the Central Government, it will be a thousand—plus or minus 200 i.e. this way or that. By this method, we will be making the boys self-reliant, stand on their own legs, not under the orders of others, but on their own feet, in their own right. Along with this, we are also discussing the modes and practical ways of how to enforce the right to work. Certainly, it has to be within the constraints of our resources, because there is no point having anything that way, if it is not going to be backed with resources. And a much deeper action would be necessary, which we are doing; but certainly, that is the direction that we are going to take.

There are some points that I wanted to raise at this time, about which we have to think much deeper. In the matter of our intake from our education into the administrative services, there is a certain concept of merit. But what we have in education is merit, or scholastic merit in certain subjects. And that pertains to the individual—individual merit.

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But the basic lacuna, as I see it, in the education system which gets reflected in the administrative system, is: what about the social merit of a person? Not how much knowledgeable he is, but how he relates to the other human beings. That is the social merit of our administration, because what is the criticism about the administration or bureaucracy today? Not that it is not knowledgeable or that it is mediocre. The criticism against the present administration is that it does not care. A mother is a mother, not because she is an intellectual. A mother is a mother because she cares; and that is what people look for, in the administration. And if that be so, we will have to re-define what is administrative merit. We will have to put a social content into it, social connection into it. And, therefore, those who have gone through suffering, those who know the pinch, if they are in the administration, they will be more responsive—when the oppressed and the weaker sections are in the bureaucracy.

So, it is not against anyone; it is relating to the power structure, the bureaucracy, to the reality, Indian reality, and relating it to people who are the oppressed and deprived.

Now, a point has been made that this is divisive, and it will divide the country and its integrity, emotional integrity. Perhaps by the Press and the media we are looking to one aspect of it; may be it is valid; I do not challenge it or question it. I am not today in a mood of argumentation. But I want to relate to you a story of young boys of the backward classes who had come to me. It touched my heart. They said: "Sir, we are not agitating or taking recourse to all this, because we know the Government is standing by us; but when it is mentioned about youth, about students, it seems as if we are not the youth, we are not the students, we

are not sons of this soil, as if we do not exist, and as if our inspirations have no place on the agenda." And they said that even what little that this Government has given, it seems that it has given it to some one who is a foreigner. Is this all not given to the children of this very soil? Is there not somewhere a heart to recognise this. So, these boys and these sections who feel hurt by the implementation of the Mandal Commission or given something to the backward classes of the society, should not take it that it has been carved out of their share; certainly it is sometimes carved out, but more so in the sense that they have their brethren, they have their sisters; and we owe something to them. So, let it be in the spirit of understanding and love, our sacrifice to enrich our less deprived brothers and sisters, rather than of trying to pull at each other's share. I think that is the spirit that will go to greater unity and greater security of the country so that the injustice is corrected. It will not lead to disintegration of the country; it will lead to greater integration because a family runs not by counting how much share of wealth has gone to each—when you start counting, it starts getting divided—but it runs by a sense of affection and fairness; and it is the element of fairness that unites the country; and this is the element of fairness that we want to bring.

A point is made: "well, you will be reminded of caste, and you will have to remember caste and this is what will hurt the psyche of the whole country. Well, in our homes, we have never forgotten caste, whenever it comes to marriage. Anybody who goes outside his caste to marry, if a family member, a young boy who goes outside his caste to marry, even those boys who are agitating, if they were to marry outside their caste, they will face greater oppression in their own homes. But that is beside the point. I will not say that.

The present social order by making a correction in it, the way the whole power or other things are shared by the present social order by making a corrective measure, we are trying to make it more socially equitable. So, this may be a weapon; the Mandal Commission can be a weapon to break the caste system; and if that system is broken, the weapon can be broken; because no one can. I assure you, say that it is going to be there for ever.

Because, no one, and I assure you, no one says that it is going to be for ever. That is not the case. If it is going to be for ever, that means the injustice, is to be perpetrated. That is what we want to look to. But if the caste system is weakened, if there is more equitable social and economic order, there will be no need of it. And I said it is the last time. Let housing, and clothing and food be equitable; there is no need for reservations. So, as these sections come up, and we have said after ten years we will review it, there can be a mechanism and we can think of it how we can get out of it and a more equitable social order comes. But today even before giving anything, if you say, "Well, you are going to consume this much", I think there is no intention of giving anything. Let them have something. After that we can look into it if we have overserved or they have eaten too much. But today this justice is required.

Basically, one thing, the focal solution, what I want to make is, the present Government, the National Front Government wants to bring the debate of equity back in the focus of national debate. It has gone into the background. We talk only of development. But equity which was once in national debate has gone into the background and no system can be stable, if you put this under the carpet: it will explode one day and hit

us, and we will not be aware where it has hit and how it has hit. It is hitting us. The various manifestations that we see, if we trace them, there is somewhere some inequity which we have refused to recognise, which we have refused to correct. That is showing up into various forms that we are seeing today.

Therefore, if I can say, if there is one word to describe the present Government and its goal, if I was asked, I will say 'equity'— and from this our whole programme can be linked up: Equity political, equity social, equity economic; and political equity is our decentralisation, Inter-State Councils, the federal structure, reforms like the judicial reforms, availability of autonomy for TV and Radio, these are all measures of our political equity. At the same time, our measures of economic equity are fifty per cent of the resources to the rural side, labour participation in management, our commitment to agro-industries, small scale industries—these are various measures of our economic equity that we have in mind.

Of social equity, urban ceiling, the various reforms, I am not elaborating. I am just telling you examples of thrust from one word, one philosophy. These are all not disjointed programmes. With social equity certainly we have extended the reservations to SC, ST. Then, the SC ST Commission, the Women's Commission and for the backward classes and backward sections. Implementation, I admit, it is a small fraction of the implementation of the Mandal Commission.

I would be very happy, Shankarandji, and from your Party if you had criticised me, that it is a very little portion of Mandal Commission and we should go ahead, you have not the courage to say it. Sometimes it is forward, sometimes it is backward and you did not know in which direction your Motion was going. It

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

seemed to be a very loose one. (*Interruptions*).

We are for social equity and to commemorate the memory of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, we have sincerely taken these measures. It has fulfilled the dreams of the great Periyar, Dr. Lohia, Chowdhary Charan Singhji. (*Interruptions*)

Yes, he did stand for it.....(*Interruptions*)

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He stood for the Mandal Commission. (*Interruptions*) Now repeatedly from the benches opposite my resignation has been demanded. I think, that has become the first sentence of every debate. May I say, you cannot make me resign from the commitments of the National Front ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Your people are demanding it.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is not personal. I know it is not personal. (*Interruptions*)

All right, it is personal. You keep that aside. (*Interruptions*) I know these forces very well. I tried to touch the system a little in the Finance Ministry. I know what these forces did. I know what will happen when anybody tries to touch the system and those who are entrenched in it will react. This is nothing new. When we try to take some bold action in this direction, we should be ready to accept any consequences in that direction and we are ready to accept it. At the same time, I thank the hon. Members for the suggestions made and the point that they made that the backward sections must get a place on the reservation.

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: We know that MPs from each Party and

Ministers have made representations to include certain castes as backward class. Is he going to admit them?... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: I have only to make a submission.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Order please. I am not allowing him to speak. He wants to make a submission.

(*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: I do not think that anybody in this House will dispute the importance of the subject that we are discussing.....(*Interruptions*) Many of our young lives have been lost. It is a serious issue. You have a long list with you. I request to the good sense of the friends on the other side, through you, Sir, to extend the time of the sitting of the House.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: We sat in this House upto 10.30 p.m. to pass the Prasar Bharati Bill. Why cannot we sit late today?.....(*Interruptions*)

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I take your point Mr. Kurien. You please take your seat.....

(*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: They wanted our co-operation today, for passing the Punjab Bill. We have extended our co-operation.

(*Interruptions*)

Will you not allow Members to speak on this important issue? (*Interruption*)

MR. SPEAKER: You will recall that in the morning hours. I myself fixed 6 p.m. as the time. But the

Deputy Speaker extended for half-an-hour and he did a good thing. The point is that after the Prime Minister's intervention, I think, it will be proper to call the mover of the Motion to reply.....

(Interruptions)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: What is your ruling? *(Interruption)*

MR. SPEAKER: There is no question of ruling on this.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Let me hear your Chief Whip. Please take your seats ..

(Interruptions)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: There are a number of precedents where we sat beyond 7.30 and upto 10.30 and even late in the night. *(Interruptions)* It is a very important issue. Many of our Members want to speak. I request you that time may be extended so that all our Members who want to speak, can be accommodated. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: There should be consensus in the House.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: I request that the time of the House may be extended.

MR. SPEAKER: I would like that there should be consensus for extension of the time. Without extending the time how can I do it?

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this item was scheduled to be taken up at 2 O' Clock and the discussion was to conclude by 6 O' Clock. But since it was taken up at 3.00 p.m. and the hon. Deputy Speaker had extended the time by 30 minutes, this discussion should be wound up by 7.30 p.m*(Interruptions)*.....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Somnath Chatterjee.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: What is your ruling?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no question of ruling.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, we can understand their anxiety.*(Interruptions)*. The time may be extended by half an hour.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: No, Sir, if you are not extending the time, we are walking out.

At this stage, Prof. P. J. Kurien and some other hon. Members left the House

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, why are you standing? Please be seated.

[English]

Please take your seat. I am interested to ask Mr. B. Shankaranand to reply to the Debate. But, he is not here.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): One question I want to ask. We have not walked out. We are here. We are co-operating.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, what is your point?

[English]

I am prepared to allow you if the hon. Prime Minister wants to reply to your question. I do not know what the question is.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Let me follow the correct procedure. Before that if

you want to put a question, yes; put a question.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Order please...

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have given the ruling that voting would take place at 6.00 p.m. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: The House was adjourned for lunch at 1.45 p.m. instead of 1.00 p.m.

(Interruptions)

[*English*]

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Sir, while there is deep anguish at the loss of lives, we all express our grief and our anguish. But I have to draw the attention of the Prime Minister that in all this controversy, the poor Muslims have been forgotten, the minority has been forgotten. It is necessary*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER: Order please. What is this? He is putting a question.....

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: I have allowed him to ask the question, please be seated.

[*English*]

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: I, therefore, say that I will not take the time of the House in giving all the detailed statistics, but if there is at present any section that deserves reservation the most, it is the Muslims of India.....*(Interruptions)*. But then, Sir, the Muslims as Muslims and the

minorities as minorities have not been granted any reservation...*(Interruptions)*. We have umpteen times brought this matter to the attention of the Government and we have again and again reiterated the demand for a separate reservation for Muslims. Again and again we have reiterated this and brought it. But, unfortunately, the injustice continues. You talk of equity. Why are we being denied that equity?

MR. SPEAKER: Banatwallaji, please conclude.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: I will not abuse the time of the House, Sir. I did not even speak in the debate. That must also be realised. So co-operative I was. Nor have I walked out. I am here for the purpose of proper and fruitful discussion. Sir, the Prime Minister talks of equity. Why we, the poor Muslims, be denied this equity? That is what I ask. Now we are told that among the so-called castes that are in the Backward Classes, Muslims also fall. But that is a fraud that has been played on the Muslims*(Interruptions)*. There was such inclusion in the States all these years but it did not lead to the improvement of the position of the Muslims. Therefore, I say that you at least do not say that when all the parties agree, then you will give the necessary reservation. You have had the courage to come forward with the reservation for backward classes without waiting for the support of all parties, why don't you have the same courage in order to do justice to the Muslims? Sir, I want a categorical assurance to the Muslim Community through the Prime Minister. If there is no response from his side, I will have to walk out of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: The mover of the Resolution, Shri Shankaranand is not here. Yes, Mr. Prime Minister.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, the Mandal Commission

itself has identified people who are socially, educationally and economically backward. One misnomer about the Mandal Commission is that it has not taken economic factor. It has taken four factors: those whose assets are 25 per cent below the State average, those who live in *kucha* houses, mud houses 25 per cent above the State average, those who are dependent on manual labour. About all these economic factors a heading has been given in the Mandal Commission Report which has been taken into consideration.

19.00 hrs.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum): Those have not been given to the M.Ps. even!

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: And they are going this way in every State. Out of the Muslims, the Mandal Commission has identified those who, under the criteria, qualify for reservation.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: But still the position remains the same. That is not the solution. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: In fact, through the Mandal Commission the various sections of the Muslim community have derived benefits. It is for the first time that the benefit is being derived and the Mandal Commission has given that benefit. Now, to the wider question that you have put, it is something which cannot be off-the-cuff said and certainly a consensus will have to be evolved regarding the wider question that you have raised here.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: But here you are proceeding on consensus, and on other matters you have thrown the consensus to the winds.

Sir, I walk out. It is an unsatisfactory reply that is being given.

Shri G. M. Banatwalla then left the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Since the mover of the Resolution, Shri Shankaranandaji, is not here to reply.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, this is another irresponsible conduct on the part of the Opposition—the way they bring an adjournment motion on a very important issue, they do not stay here for the purpose of giving a reply. *(Interruptions)*. Sir, I know the reason. They had to walk out, they could not afford Shankaranandaji to give a reply to the debate. *(Interruptions)*.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: You called his name after the hon. Prime Minister. He stood up, spoke only one sentence and resumed his seat. That way, he has replied to the debate and hence voting will take place.....*(Interruptions)*.....

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:This is the *tamasha* by the Opposition.

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to put the motion to the vote of the House.

The question is:

“That the House do now adjourn.”

The motion was negatived.