

14.36 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT
ON ADDRESS - Contd

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we shall take up further discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. As you know, the time allotted was 12 hours and seven hours 55 minutes are properly utilised and the balance time left out is four hours five minutes.

Shri Mohan Rawale to continue. PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur): Some Parties have not utilised the time allotted to them. The other parties should get that time.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay South Central): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, yesterday, I was saying that the communal riots that broke out in 1984 and which were engineered by the Congress Party took lives of about two and a half thousand of our Sikh brethren. Why does the hon. Member Shri Somnath Chatterjee not demand a ban on that political party which was responsible for the killing of a large number of our Sikh brethren, rather he demands a ban on Shiv Sena... (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bhopal): Do you want to kill as many people again as were killed during the riots of 1984... (Interruptions)

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: A cheque of four rupees two lakh has been given to them in Bombay. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the people sitting here today also supported Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Government.

They did not make any such demand at that time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Kashmir has been given a special status under Article 370 of the constitution, due to which no outsider can purchase property or live there. Therefore my demand is that this particular Article should be revoked and the special status given to it be withdrawn. Actually, those people who do not have any faith in Constitution or love for the country have a hold over Kashmir. The amount spent on it during the last 44 years is estimated to be Rs. 70 thousand crore. This amount would have been adequate to win two-three more such territories. Recently, the Muslims have raised their heads in Kashmir, they are being imparted training.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I had asked as to how many innocent persons had been killed by the terrorists during the last four months? I would like to read the reply I have got in this regard in this House.

[English]

"According to available information, 341 terrorists were killed, 308 arrested and 25 surrendered during the period under report. 245 civilians and 40 security men were killed by the terrorists during this period."

[Translation]

In other words such a large number of people have been killed in Kashmir. About 60-70 thousand people have already moved out of the valley but the Government has not made any arrangement for their rehabilitation. Shri Farooq Abdullah had said that Kashmir issue was a disputed matter. How it can be expected from such a person to work in the interest of the country? If the

[Sh. Mohan Rawale]

Government gives so much importance to Shri Farooq Abdullah, a situation may arise when Shri Abdullah may declare oneday that Kashmir is a part of Pakistan. The Government should avoid such a person.

With regard to the riots that broke out in Bombay city, the Maharashtra Government said today that the builders were behind these riots.

The former Chief Minister of Maharashtra Shri Annually has been ailing. He issued a Press statement through the Maharashtra Times. He said that those who were behind these riots in Maharashtra are the persons who are now demanding resignation of the Chief Minister. In other words the riots were the fall out of internal politics. But today the workers of Shiv Sena are being arrested with a view to ban this party. A large number of Muslims are with us today. Shri Anand Dighe was arrested under TADA in the Thane district of Maharashtra and 19 persons have been sitting on fast unto death to get him released. Today their condition is critical I received a phone call to this effect this morning. One of them happens to be a muslim whose name is Shaukat Qureshi.

About 138 persons were attacked in Dongri, Paidhuni, Nagpada, V.P. road police station out of which 37 died. On 7-8th January Radha Bai Chaoal was set on fire. All the persons who were killed in that incident belonged to Hindu community and that particular area happens to be muslim dominated area. Our former Chief Minister declared compensation of rupees two lakhs each to the next of Kin of the victims killed including even those killed in the police firing. It created a feeling in the minds of the people that if they included in communal riots they would get the credit of doing

something for the sake of their religion and if they die in those riots their families would get compensation of rupees two lakhs. This type of feeling has been created by the Government. There was no need to give compensation of rupees two lakhs. The next of kins of those who were killed even in the police firing were also paid compensation.

Today, about 300 families of refugee come to Bombay from outside. But wherefrom do they come and where do they go? It is not known whether they come from Kashmir, Bangladesh or Pakistan. Militants from Sri Lanka have also been sneaking into Bombay. The culprits apprehended during the riots in Imambada were Kashmiri militants whose photographs were published in news papers also. The Government should investigate as to how did they reach there. They have huge stock of arms and ammunition. From where did they get these arms, that should also be investigated. The Government should carry out a search even in the religious places - whether it is a temple or a mosque.

In my constituency there is a five storeyed building-Shivnary building. Fire was opened from there on Mosque. Who opened that fire? The Government should get it investigated and till clearly as to who were behind it- Hindus or Muslims? The Government is giving them undue protection and adopting appeasement policy towards them in the name of minority community as a result of which communal riots have been taking place.

The hon. President has not referred to sending back the Muslims who have crossed our into our country from Bangladesh or Pakistan. TADA should be applied on those who issue ration cards to them. They created problem in Kashmir. About 97 persons

393 *Motion of Thanks on PHALGUNA 13, 1914 (SAKA)the President's Address* 394
have been killed in Assam, 46 in Bengal, 58
in Rajasthan 192 in Uttar Pradesh, 171 in
Madhya Pradesh, 841 in Maharashtra and
369 in Gujarat.

Our friends, who are sitting here thought
and were afraid that their Government may
not also be dissolved as the Rajasthan
Government was dissolved because 58
persons were killed there. That is why, they
started supporting the Congress. Only for
this reason, the Communist Party, which
rules the West Bengal is supporting this
Government.

Partition of our country took
place. Sir Jinnah had said that the muslims
should live in Pakistan and the Hindus
should live in Hindustan. He was aware that
a second partition could take place. But
some of the muslims continued to reside
here, and they instigated the riots. We are
facing the results of that today.

The name of Dr. Ambedkar is men-
tioned here by our friends time and again.
He had drafted the constitution of our coun-
try. During the time of partition he had said
that the muslims living here should be sent
to Pakistan and vice-versa. But the
Government did not listen to him.

SHRI RAJNATH SONKAR SHASTRI
(Saidpur): Which book you are referring to
? Dr. Ambedkar had never said such a thing.

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : The ruling
party disregarded the views of Dr. Ambedkar,
due to which, we have to go through all this
today. We respect those muslims who are
loyal to this country and have faith in "Vande
Matram". A good process was started. In
the morning of 26th of January I heard the
slogan of "Vande Matram" and become
very happy. My neighbors are all muslims.
They also heard the slogan of "Vande

Matram". Several Members here oppose
this slogan. But several muslims are coming
forward and are speaking against the com-
munal muslims. If a muslim utters the word
"Talaq" for three times to his wife, she gets
divorced. In the Shahbano case, when the
Supreme Court gave the verdict that main-
tenance allowance should be paid to her, a
procession was taken out in the Bombay
city, in which not a single woman took part.
The Government which calls us communal,
was also pressurized and it changed the
verdict in this very House. You are
supporting the same Government today,
whose had been communal in its actions.
You are supporting it to save your own
Government

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHARY: The
difference between the two is that they did
not give the maintenance allowance to
Shahbano and you killed them on the roads
of Bombay ...

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: We have not
killed. When Shri Arjun Singh came to
Bombay, he said that Shiv Sena should not
be banned. Shri Sharad Pawar, who was
the Defence Minister at that time, also said
in Bombay that Shiv Sena should not be banned.
No one is ready to take the responsibility for
the killings, in which 841 persons have been
killed. Had there been in power a Govern-
ment of an opposition party you would have
dismissed that Government. I do not know
why you want to impose ban on the Shiv
Sena.

Large scale business of spurious and
sub-standard drugs is taking place in the
country today. Well Known companies are
manufacturing and selling spurious and sub-

[Sh. Mohan Rawale]

standard medicines to earn more money and the Government agencies are helping them in this work. The biggest example are the medical store depots of the Central Government, where spurious and time barred medicines are being supplied to the Government hospitals and dispensaries in the entire country. In this way, they are playing with the health of crores of people of this country. An investigation should be carried out against the high officials of these medical store depots. Recently, such an incident has come to light, where the Glaxo Company was selling spurious Betnasol injections. It is necessary to take strigenth action against those who manufacture spurious drugs.

The unemployment problem in our country is becoming unsurmountable. It is also a challenge to the national health. This country has vast reserves of natural wealth, but it is not being utilised properly. Due to this reason, poverty and unemployment problems are assuring serious proportions. Our education system has raised an army of unempliyeds, which is increasng day by day. Our education system only creats clerks. This education system of macaulay has provided Government jobs to very few people. Most f the youth are running from pillar to post in search of employment. Not much attention is paid to education in our country and very less funds are spent on it. Unemployment problem cannot be solved through Government jobs. Their number is very limited. Such steps should be taken which may encourage the youth to take up self-employment. Unemployment is the main reason behind the youth's taking to destructive and terrorist activities. Proper atmosphere and adequate opportunities have to be build up for using the youth power in the

interest of the country.

On behalf of Shiv Sena, I oppose the President's Address. Thank you for allowing me to speak.

[English]

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Chandigarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Nation building is a complex and challenging task. It calls for ideological framework and a sustained effort, to create and strengthen the supportive institutions. Having spear-headed the Freedom Movement, the Congress has always worked seriously to build a strong Nation based on democratic principles. As in many other developing countries, here also, there have been conflicts of rights and interests between different sections of society. But, we have build for ourselves a system that has provided for their settlement through democratic means, through institutions that are acceptable to the contending groups.

Unfortunately, the B.J.P., is stridently rejecting this and adopting aggressive postures. Spewing the fire of fanaticism they remind us of fascism which has played a havoc with the lives of people elsewhere.

[Translation]

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune): What is fascism ?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL. I will talk to you, whenever you like. Do you know what are your actions ?

[English]

Everybody knows that. You stand exposed. Sir, in response to what Shri Anna Joshi has said, I would like to say that they

gave an expression to their feeling and said that it was only a glimpse of the expression of their intentions when a large number of the activists of the Sangh Parivar, right in the presence of the B J P , top brass demolished the 450 years old mosque at Ayodhya

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR You have sent Shri Sherad Pawar to Maharastra, please say something in that also (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL Sir, the carnage at Ayodhya was followed by a declaration that they would not subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. An hon. Member from the BJP was referring to the former Chief Minister of UP the other day

[Translation]

SHRI ANNA JOSHI Till me the meaning of carnage (Interruptions)

[English]

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER He need not explain as you desire

[Translation]

SHRI ANNA JOSHI What is fascism and carnage - please tell me. How many people were been killed in the carnage (Interruption)

[English]

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL The former Chief Minister of UP went to Calcutta (Interruption)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER You can have a confidential talk outside

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL It is may right to interpret the action because with the fall of the mosque at Ayodhya what really was shattered to pieces was our ethos and what really followed thereafter was a trail of human misery. I am sure Mr. Anna Joshi knows that what I was saying now was that the former Chief Minister of UP after that incident went to Calcutta and there taking pride in that he said it was the "Act of God". This is how they are wanting to lead this country today. The address of the president to the Parliament last week appropriately began with the reference to this tragic event. As I said what has suffered with their well-planned actions in Ayodhya is not just a 450 year old mosque, but the lofty principles of secularism and universal brotherhood. As inheritors of the most ancient civilization in the world, we have been proud of our culture. It is a living force as we always said because it has continued to become richer and deeper by absorbing the best from the outside integrating and assimilating the same over the ages. Unfortunately the outrage at Ayodhya demolished our claim to build from age to age an undefiled heritage of *Satya, Dharma and Ahimsa*. I am sure my friends understand the meaning of these words.

The other day Shri Vajpayeeji, as a very senior statesman of our country, rose above the party line to deprecate communalisation of politics. He made a fervent appeal for devising a means of mutual consultation to arrive at amicable solutions to various vexed problems that face us and that is what I began with. *Dharma* as reckoned in Indian thought perhaps has no equivalent in English language, Mr. Vajpayeeji meant to tell us. I agree with that. *Dharma* is something more than religion. It connotes righteousness, it

[Sh. Pawan Kumar Bansal]

connects nobility; it transcends religion, I must say. But I am sorry that soon thereafter Vajpayeeji also succumbed to the old Jan Sangh propensity of recognising no *Dharma* other than the *Hindu Dharma*. He talked of our roots but not of *Sarva Dharma Samabhav*, the faith that has kept us anchored to our roots, that has kept us anchored to our moorings for over five thousand years.

Today we cannot trifle over an esoteric exercise in semantics of the word religion. We must accept that Hinduism is one of the twelve religions of the World. Hindus live in over a 105 countries one-six of the world population.

But the greatness of Hinduism lies in its ethical principles, spiritual consciousness and practices, in its world view of Vasudava Kutumbakam, in its unifying relationship to nature and tolerance of other philosophies and cosmologies. Hinduism believes in the essential unity of all religions. Today, we find a concerted effort being made by our friends of the BJP to misapply the religious fervour of the people for their narrow political gains. A campaign of disinformation is launched to convey as if the Government is anti-Hindu. This is nothing but an exercise in chicanery. Our sages and saints renounced worldly comforts, retreated to the forests and hills and undertook eternal 'tapasya'; but today the modern sathus are brought into the BJP-fold in pursuit of worldly powers. That is the difference between the ethos that India is proud of and what BJP wants the future to be like.

SHRI ANNA JOSHI: May I remind you of Viday Nanda and Hari Hara Swamy who were Sanyasis. But they become rulers?

It was the need of the time. Now also it is the need of the hour.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: The rulers of the yore bowed to the saints because the saints at that time had the moral courage to tell even the ruler, where he went wrong. But declined to interface in matters of State. Today what we find is before us. It is the result of the conspiracy of those people of Sangh Parivar who put us in shame, the situation that we find ourselves today in.

Sir, I submit that such people go about without compunction with their plans to disturb the equilibrium between the religious identity of the people and the national identity, which is so vital for achieving national integration. National integration can be achieved by cementing our bonds of belongingness to one nation and not by imposing any form of uniformity because unity is not uniformity. Sir, in a country of India's size and diversity, national integration is essential even for the socio-economic development. A theocratic State to which a claim was being made by the hon. Member speaking before me, cannot meet the aspirations and yearnings of teeming millions of this country. It is a secular Government which can address itself squarely to the pressing issues of employment generation, poverty alleviation, eradication of illiteracy and health for all. Yesterday and the day before, many Members here made impassioned references to the hunger that stalks different parts of our country. We have not given really any time to the Parliament to discuss that issue in depth. Why? It is because of our friends from the BJP in particular, made it a point to rush to the Well of the House to ensure that the business of the House was not run unless their writ ran large here. That is what they call democracy.

Congress is committed to pursue their goals relating to the welfare of the commonman vigorously and improve the living conditions of the poorest of the poor. Various economic reforms undertaken just 20 months back, have started yielding results. The growth in the GDP has risen to four percent and the inflation rate has come down from 17 percent to seven percent.

15.05 hrs

[SHRI NITISH KUMAR *-in the Chair*]

Mr. Indrajit Gupta's assertion the other day that we have given up our goals of self-reliance and socialism and that we have surrendered our economic sovereignty is, in my humble opinion, enfeebled by the winds of change currently blowing across the length and breadth of the country. It is to accelerate our march towards self-reliance and compete with the most advanced countries in the world that we have undertaken the present exercise. In pursuit of that, we refuse to be bogged down by dogmas and theories which have been tried and rejected elsewhere.

As regards socialism, I would say with all the emphasis at my command that our commitment to it remains undiluted. But here again, we cannot be bogged down by the textbook definition of the world. I really find myself at a loss when I find some people comparing the entry of certain multinational concerns to the landing of East India Company in the country. When any person here in our country makes a reference to that alludes to striking political soots by the East India Company in the India of those days, I am sure, he is not aware of the inherent strength and we possess today.

In our planning, in our scheme of things, it is the weaker and the vulnerable sections

of the society which have been given primacy.

Investment on education, though much below the targetted figure of 6 per cent of the GDP, has been raised this year to Rs. 1,310 crores against the last year's allocation of Rs.952 crores - an increase of about 37 per cent. I fervently hope that the bureaucratic wranglings are minimised in education, planning and management so that we can achieve the so far elusive task of universalisation of elementary education at least within this decade.

The progress reported in the campaign for total literacy under National Literacy Mission also needs to be monitored very strictly so that every paisa of our scarce resources is utilised fully.

An unabated rise in population has continued to bedevil and offset the remarkable progress registered by us in different spheres of activity.

Mr. Chairman Please conclude..

(Interruptions)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: An important beginning has been made with regard to our efforts in controlling population by introducing a Constitution (Amendment) Bill in the Parliament to enforce a two-child family norm for the elected representatives. That is a small but a significant step. What is required is a comprehensive legislation providing for much-needed incentives and disincentives to ensure that the population control laws are applicable to each and every citizen of the country. As concerned citizens, we must take all necessary steps in this direction.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Think of your Minister sitting there.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I am urging the Minister for that.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE: It cannot be done retrospectively.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: A period of one year will have to be given.

In order to be brief, I would not have touched on any other issue—even the foreign Affairs. But when some of the hon. Members speaking here have emphasised that India has lost its pride of place in the world.

I do want to mention and remind them that the continued employee of NAM is because of the leadership provided by India. And the visits by a large number of Heads of States was scoffed at of the other day. I again want to remind that this an indicator and a barometer of our standing in the international community today. The various measures taken to reduce the stockpile of armaments and to voluntarily bow out of that mad race is because of the initiatives taken by the Rajive Government and followed now by the present Government.

Before concluding, I just want to refer to the situation that now prevails in Punjab. I do want to take this opportunity to express my feeling of genuine appreciation for the return of normalcy to the State. A year back, nobody could imagine that violence which rocked the state and terrorism that ruled the roost, would cease and be a matter of the past. Today, there is an area of confidence in the minds of the people there. I would not say that war against terrorism is over. But I do want to say that the State of Punjab, under the leadership of the Chief Minister Shri Beant Singh, is engaged in a relentless

war and in doing so perhaps has saved the country from disintegration. We have, in the past, on a number of occasions, said that it was national problem and called for a national solution all that I want to say today is this protracted war during the last twelve years has cost the State enormously. I want the hon. Members of this house to not equate the problems of Punjab, like unemployed or the need to set up more industries, with those of other states and to rise to the occasion to see that at least the amount spent, the expenditure incurred on maintaining the law-keeping forces should be written off. The other day, we heard an announcement on tax holiday for various States. I was just surprised to find that the name of Punjab was missing in that. While I come from Chandigarh, I would also like to take this opportunity to tell my hon. senior colleagues here who often refer to the need to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab that the solution of Punjab issue does not lie in the transfer of Chandigarh. For over 27 years now, Chandigarh has been a UT. It has developed an ethos of its own and you can see that Chandigarh is a mini India today. A new generation has come up and no resident of Chandigarh wants Chandigarh to be transferred to any of the States. Its upkeep cannot be maintained and it could be leading to many other problems. Building up of a new capital for Haryana could lead to uprooting of hundreds of villages and would mean thousands and thousands of crores of rupees which we can ill-afford. At a time when you have small pockets of UT like Pondicherry in other States, there is no reason not to respect the sentiments of the people of Chandigarh. Let it remain as UT and let us address ourselves to the real issues which lead to the solution of Punjab problem so that it will regain its lost pristine glory. With these words, I thank you for giving me time and I feel it my privilege to associate myself with the motion moved by

Shri Digvijaya Singh to thank the President for the Address given by him to the two Houses of Parliament

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) Mr Chairman Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. It is a matter of regret that the good President was required to read out a speech which is restrained in content and approach and is full of clichés and regardless. Sir, the Address is quite in keeping with the lacklustre performance of the Government which is suffering from bankruptcy of ideas and atrophy of action. Sir, it is trying to take this country back to the medieval ages by its weakness and compromise with the forces of fundamentalism and communalism. It seems that this Government has no mind of its own. It is thriving on adhocism.

So far as the basic issue facing this country is concerned, this Government is showing its indecisiveness and procrastination. Today, this has resulted in the country being divided on communal lines and on religious basis, which is more dangerous than a division between 'haves' and 'have-nots'.

Over and above that, the people are becoming concerned about this Government's lack of commitment of the upholding of the democratic principles governing this country as also the constitutional provisions. The very recent instance is the Government's decision to allow the discredited Government of Tripura to continue under its previous Chief Minister, who still remains as the Chief Minister in spite of the fact that the term of the office of the legislature of Tripura has expired and in spite of the very pertinent fact that the Chief Election Commissioner of this country, one of the highest constitutional authorities of India, has passed serious strictures and indictment

against the state Government. And that State Government, which was found to have totally failed to maintain the law and order situation or to create a situation conducive to hold elections in the State, is still allowed to continue. It is amazing that the matter has to be raised again and again in this House as also in the other House to make this Government wake up and take notice of the decision and orders given by the Chief Election Commissioner. And what is the response? We wake them up and they only make a statement here that they are awaiting the Governor's report. When it should have been done by the Central Government itself, and by the Prime Minister himself, it requires considerable efforts on the part of the Members of this house to make the Government even to wake up and think. This is the problem and indeed this is one of the greatest problems facing this country. We have a Government which does not believe in acting. As I said on another occasion, it is only reacting to situations but it is not acting. There is no leadership and the trouble is that the Prime Minister is not leading from the front. The Prime Minister has to lead the country from the front, when the country is facing such serious problems as fundamentalism and challenge to the concepts of unity and integrity of the nation, the concept of secularism which is one of the pillars of our democratic and republican constitution are at stake. We find that there is no initiative, no effort to rouse the people of this country by providing a leadership to declare to the world at large that this country will never countenance any move, whichever quarter it comes from, to divide the nation on the grounds of religious fundamentalism.

That is why, Sir, we find that this address of the President, which is nothing but a product of the Government of the Cabinet, does not advert adequately excepting

[Sh. Somnath Chatterji]

a fleeting reference, to the traumatic events of 6th of December. It has neither analysed the causes responsible for the great national tragedy; nor does it suggest any remedial action. That is why, Sir, the Address fails to enthuse the people of this country to fight against communalism and fundamentalism, which is the biggest menace facing our country now.

Sir, today, the Prime Minister has the distinction of presiding over a country which is now a divided nation; divided on the basis of religion. I sometimes wonder, are we civilized people? Is this a civilized country where innocent children, men and women are killed, butchered only in the name of religion for no fault of theirs? We have Government military, paramilitary forces, police authority, Seva Dals and what not, who were all standing as mute spectators. In front of the international community we have been put to shame, and - we have to hang our head in shame- we have been shunned by the international community who are pitying us. Government has to come and tell them "irrespective of what happened on the 6th December we are committed to the IMF ideologies. Please do not leave us." We have come to this position because of Government's total inaction and total indecisiveness.

[Translation]

PROF PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur) :
Have you discussed the matter of Tripura?

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I think some time the young people should be little more concerned about the country. Sir, this

party is a group of fundamentalists.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has gone these by showing full respect to the chair.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What we find today is that in the name of god, in the name of temple people are butchered. We went to Bombay and witnessed horrible scenes. Young children were burnt alive, women were being butchered and they were being raped. All this has happened in this country in the year 1992-93. Is this the way this country is expected to progress? we found that when there was a conscious and deliberate attempt to create religious fanaticism and frenzy this Government was sitting here like a cringing coward.

We made numerous efforts on our own. we have been visiting Prime Minister on our own. We have gone to meet the Minister on our own. said do not trust their protestation. Because, no responsible political party would have tried together people at Ayodhya for the 6th December ceremony when the Supreme Court prevented any construction work to be carried out and allowed only 'Bhajans' and 'kirtans'. In one of the debates I had said, why did they bring so many people there. If one lakh people sing together the divine peace will get disturbed. Therefore, the object was very clear.

SHRI RAM NAIK (BOMBAY NORTH):
That you said last time also.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Yes, I am repeating it hoping that something will go into your head. But, Sir, this very simple thing was not appreciated, was not understood by the Government. I do not know why so many Ministers are here; what are they doing.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Ponnani): They have closed their eyes and ears.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is the trouble. In this country just like pseudo Hindus, there are some pseudo Ministers. Some are made minister for reasons we know, but we cannot say it here.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

(SHRI P.M. SAYEED): Some are genuine also.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Some are there just to make fun.

SHRI RAM NAIK: This is a wild allegation.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE: They do not mind. Why do you mind? Sir, what I was trying to submit is that they are doing all these things in the name of a particular religion whose biggest asset is that it believes in the principle of tolerance and acceptance of other religions. This is the glory of Hinduism. That taunt at us that now-a-days- the Communists are talking of Vivekananda. But which teaching of Vivekananda, they are following? Where is the tolerance for other religions? Even for saying that on the T.V., I have been receiving a large number of theating letter regularly. Telephone calls are coming. what is the urgency in constructing the temple in this country? Is the Heaven going to fall? Are the Hindus in danger? Are the rights of Hindus taken away or are being threatened to be taken away? Then why Masjid was demolished on the 6th of December, 1992? What is the Answer? There is no answer.

We know them that the stand exposed

The BJP stand exposed. Our charge against this Government is that they are not making any secret of it. Kalyan Singh, the former Chief Minister, had made a solemn Affidavit before the Supreme Court of India, the highest Court, that while occupying one of the Constitutional positions, viz. Head of the Government of a State, like Utter Pradesh, he will do his best and will keep his words that it will never be touched, the mosque will never be touched and he will protect it. He gave a solemn declaration before the National Integration Council and then resigned after the demotion. Then, by going about the country, he was saying look at the speed at which the demolition took place. It was due to the divine inspiration that it could be done. The contractors could not have done it within a month and a half but my divinely inspired kar sivks or Shive sainiks, do not know....

SHRI RAM NAIK: Kar sevaks..

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE: Aided, abetted and inspired by shiv sainiks- these Khaki half pantwallahs- they had done it. The law of jungle is prevailing in this country. Mr. Shankaranand, don't you feel ashamed to remain as a Minister here. We had to remind the Ministers here that the demolition had started, damage had started, what are you doing? You said you were trying to find out. From whom? The main perpetrator of the crime Kalyan Singh said that it is being saved. This is your gullibility and with this approach can you save this country from the hands of the marauders,

Today Mafias had been let loose to demolish the scalar fabric of this country, not for the purpose of feeding the poor not for the purpose of solving the problem of unemployment in this country and not for the sake of self-reliance not for the purpose of removal of poverty but for the sake of so

[Sh. Somnath Chatterji]

called achieving this national ethos or something like that. This is what they say.

I ask my BJP friends what is the danger from which the Hindus are suffering today. What is the problem, specially for Hindus in this country?

SHRI RAM NAIK: No problem.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: The BJP says that they are trying to take credit. This is a simulated arrogance.

I told Mr. Jaswant Singh during the discussion on the T.V. that they are suffering under self-delusion, if you are thinking that you are setting the political agenda of this country. That is what they are claiming. This is all due to the inaction or indecisiveness of this Government. You compromised with them. Just to obtain their support for your anti-people economic policy that you had surrendered to them and also to divide the two offices.

With all my respect for the incumbents to these Offices, just to do that, you had compromised with them. We had seen here. You were voting together. The history is not of the distant past. That day, you were very happily basking upon the assurance or support from Mr. Advani for your economic policy.

And who supported it on the Floor of this House except BJP?

[Translation]

MR CHAIRMAN. Just take care of Shri Santosh Mohan Devji.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He is under trouble.

SHRI RAM NAIK: He is not under trouble.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I think he is fighting his rearguard battle to save his zamindari in a particular area of the country. Of course, he has got my good wiseness, I can assure him.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Are you yielding for a moment?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am not yielding.

SHRI RAM NAIK: You told something about BJP. Can I replay to that?

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: No. No, you sit down please. It is not your turn. There are many members left.

MR CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ram Naik, you still have one hour's time to speak.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Their time is over.

MR CHAIRMAN. They are consuming their own time allotted to them. (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI RAM NAIK: I thought about cut motions I could just reply. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is what we want that in future Lok Sabha,

they will have no time at all.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Let there be early elections so that you are not to suffer. If we have to wait for three more years, it would trouble you.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: No, we will have no trouble. As much as you people are here.

[English]

People will come to know you better and better: they will make up their mind much more easily; and they will cut you to sizes.

What we are really worried and what we are really concerned is—and I am sure every right thinking citizen of this country is concerned that in the name of religion this all is being done; people are being killed in the name of religion. And the real objective behind this is for them to go to that side; and they are fighting them now only to keep themselves on that side. The trouble is that BJP is trying to grab the power and you are trying to retain power; and for that purpose, permutation, combination between them is going on occasionally; and this is the greatest tragedy.

I know I have had never any faith in the Congress Party. But sometimes we have to tolerate unavoidable nuisance; that is why we have to do it. Of course, their commitment to democracy and all that we know is very skin-deep. But we should have thought at least, we consider the Congress Party to be a secular party, but some of the elements they have sometimes which embarrass for the purpose of their political necessities or political equations. But, basically, we treat them after all a party of Gandhiji, a party of Nehruji, a party of Indiraji, a party of Rajiv

Gandhiji. At least we admire them. They are never known to have a compromise except Shabhanoo's case; they are not compromising generally with the communal forces. But Shilanyas, of course, is an influence by our Shri Duta Singh's wonderful advice he gave them. (Interruptions) Today a sentiment is being created for the purpose of coming to power; a sentiment is being created which is based on hatred and enmity between the communities in this country. The majority community is being asked to take up a particular position which based on enmity and hatred to the minority in this country. This is the Danger. And that is why we said we have to fight the BJP because they have mixed religion with politics. Religion is a personal matter, whoever follows particular religion, has attachment for a particular religion, he should be permitted to do that. Our constitution guarantees it as a Fundamental Right of the citizen of this country. But by religion you cannot solve any political problem in this country nor even social problems in this country.

We cannot forget what Shri Vilas Paswan said and he was right when he said that after 45 years of independence what is the position in this country. Where is socialism, where is universal literacy, where is the employment, where are the Directive Principles of State Policy, What are you doing with regard to the Fundamental Rights of this country, where is employment forget about full employment, where is employment to the young people of this country. What about living wages what are you doing? what have you done?

Yesterday in this House, did not all of us hang our heads in shame when we were told what was happening in Kalahandi, which is a part of this country. Children are being sold, women are being sold for Rs.20, people are dying of starvation in this coun-

[Sh. Somnath Chatterji]

try. We are steeped in superstition of medieval ages of even prior to that. Now relation is being branded about, as if that is the only solution.

I charge BJP because they think that is their only method with which they can come to power. Wrongly they think. I can assure them that though they are trying to utilise politics and religion for the purpose of their political gain, they will never come to power.

I charge this Government that they are not fighting with all the might that they could have. I charge that the Congress Party has failed to do so and that is why any our Prime Minister has failed.

Uptill now, repeatedly we have asked on the floor of this House and I asked him what did you do from 12 noon to 7 O'clock which you cannot sit on the 6th of December. We asked him, Mr. Prime Minister you said you had faith in Shri Kalyan Singh, a Chief Minister of a State in this country. At 12 noon when the demolition started did you continue to have your faith? No replay has come till today.

I said, we should have asked for a JPC to go into that question, what did you do between 12 noon and 7 O'clock on 6th of December, a day of national tragedy and national scheme.

Sir, instead we find, as said my friends on the BJP are upset, naturally they want to..

SHRI RAM NAIK: We are not upset.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Very well, if you are not upset then I can say that there is no awareness on the part of the

Government of the diabolical crime which was committed that day and they are seeking to commit since then with the BJP. This BJP is nothing but a group of fundamentalists, masquerading as a political party in this country for the purpose of coming to power through the help of pseudo Sadhus and mafias. That is my charge. But the Government of this country not aware of it. The Government of this country is not reacting to this. You are also now compromising India's unity and integrity, Mr. Shankaranand. I hope you have a voice in the Cabinet. I hope you open your mouth there.

Mr. Chairman Sir, the Prime Minister, as I said, by his economic policy, I do not know we have to call it his economic policy but he is only following somebody else's economic policy- IMF, World Bank Policy he is following, pursuing, has according to us obtained the support of BJP for this economic policy where-by our country's financial independence and sovereignty and our self-reliance have been compromised and if not have been given a go by.

For this purpose, in the purpose, we find that the greatest asset of our country, the principles of secularism of this country which boasts of an ancient civilisation and which has preached to the world love and acceptability of other religions, have been compromised, just for the sake of forcing an unpopular economic policy down the throats of the people of this country.

I will ask the hon. Prime Minister- I hope he will answer me - what will he say to the future generations of the country, when they ask him, "Shri Narasimha Rao, what happened to you on the 6th December, that you allowed this national shame to be perpetrated on us? What did you do that the people of this country have been allowed to be divided? What did you do for hours

together when the demolition started? what did you do for 36 hours after the imposition of the President's rule that you could not take charge of that area or what happened to this country?"

What will be his reply? Will it be that he allowed that make-shift thing to be erected there on which he had allowed Darshan as a temple? We demand that the mosque should be re-built as a symbol of national integration in this country to show this country's commitment to principles of secularism. This is not for any fundamentalist approach. Because, that will have proved this country's commitment to principles of secularism.

These are the very serious questions which Shri Narasimha Rao will have to answer. What crime our younger generation had committed, or succeeding generations would have committed, I that they have to be born in a country divided and steeped into fundamentalism, steeped into religious fanaticism and frenzy?

Sir, I call upon the Government, I call upon and request the hon. Prime Minister that there is possibly still time. He show that leadership. As I said, he has to lead a Prime Minister leads from the front. We do not find that firmness of action.

The Government is only just trailing behind events. Where is that commitment that the people of this country are being south to be united? This country has never lagged beyond when its unity and sovereignty had come under danger. There were difficulties, troubles and wars but the country had as a people, as a whole, risen and had stood by the Government. But here we do not find it. A limping Government relying on adhoc decisions, is going into stopper, with total unawareness, and nobody seems

to understand what is happening.

They are only translating, in their own miserable way, in even an ineffective what the IMF diktats. We do not know anything. The Government is only feeding the media that India is going towards economic liberation. There are more and more people who are below the poverty line. The Government has its own media to say that the price level is going down because the prices of some motor cars, television sets and such other things are going down because of the favoritism shown to them, because of economic benefits given to them, which the Government is not going to the poor people, which it is not giving to the Basti people, which are not given to the people who live on the footpath. This is a country, in 1993 after 45 years of independence, where people are being born on the streets, on the pavements, dying on the pavements and are living on the pavements.

But where is the awareness of the people of India? The Finance Minister in his own world of euphoria. He is surrounded by some Harvard economists. They are patting him on his back. The Taj Palace-wallahs - I understand that the IMF officers stay in Taj Place Hotel, if they are in some other hotel please correct me - are patting him. "Oh! You are wonderful person. You have brought about full convertibility of the rupee".

Rice has become cheaper, wheat has become cheaper fish has become cheaper, vegetable has become cheaper because you have full convertability. Wonderful! Jobs are coming galore because you have full convertibility, because some people have made enquiries in this country after two years of so-called liberalisation. Now, people are enquiring about establishing industries in India. Oh! we are making great progress. This is your concept of economic develop-

[Sh. Somnath Chatterji]

ment in this country Today, we are on their knees. You have brought this country to its knees. We can only, survive today- not progress with the charity of, those people, the foreign imperialist agents, financial agents. We have no Economic Policy of our won. We have bartered away our economic sovereignty and independence. It is very good to hear-Mr. Bansal used those phrases, 'we are turning corner, we are making progress. In which area are we making progress?

Therefore, one danger is BJP and another danger is Congress. But at least on the question of secularism, which is the unity of the country, it is very important that we should be able to identify which is the greatest enemy and then we shall have to fight it out (*Interruptions*). I do not want any certificate or comment either a good or bad from the BJP.

Now, I would like the Minister of Health and Family Welfare to pay some attention. I would like to know how the Government is seeking to solve the Ayodhya problem. Now, there was a commitment on the 6th December by the Prime Minister that the mosque will be reconstructed. He has not done it as yet. Now, what is the basis of a reference under Article 143? The Supreme Court is being asked to find out what was the position in the year of 1526. It is an amazing attitude of avoiding your own political obligation, trying to put on the Supreme Court to find out what was happening 500 years back. I have been asking this question. People have misunderstood me. I said, assuming there was a temple-I do not admit- which was demolished, must there be a temple now today? Supposing the Supreme Court says, 'Yes' there was a temple what will be your

action, Shri B. Shankaranand, I would like to know. Then you will perform *Shilanyas* ceremony. Then, you will join Shri Advani with *tilaks* and what not and do your *kar sewa*. If the Supreme Court finds that there was a temple which was demolished, I would like to have an answer on this. What will you do? Therefore, Babar had been wrong and Advani is right. that will be the necessary position of that. Do you take that position? We wholly repudiate that position. I warn you if that will be your response and that is the object of sending it to Supreme Court Under Article 143, the people of this country will never accept it, come what may, that will never be accepted. Therefore, you owe to this country, to explain what was the purpose behind this reference under Article 143 and what will be your reaction to a decision that there was a temple or there was no temple, there was a mosque all the time. What will you do, I would like to know? therefore, we have said that the real solution would have been so many cases are pending, they are still alive to bring all those cases before the Supreme Court. Do not leave to their opinion jurisdiction only-what is called opinion jurisdiction under Article 143, make it a decision of the Supreme Court when the Supreme Court will lay down its entire position, all the suits, appeals and what not, everything will be resolved. But, you do not listen. the Prime Minister's greatest advisors seems to be his very *sadhus* and *mahants*. who is your advisor Shri B. Shankaranand? Whom have you consulted on this? All the secular forces have spoken against you. therefore, these *tantriks*, *sadhus* and *mahants* who are deliberately dividing this nation, you have consulted them and the Prime Minister is very happy. Astrology and congress have become synonymous. that is another trouble for this country. I do not know whether to laugh or cry when I find in the newspapers that the chief Minister of Maharashtra says, 'it is now Makar, it is going to kumbha and

then when it becomes saini, I will resign! In 1993, this is an amazing thing in this country. (*Interruptions*). Do you not know? *Makar, saini or kumbha rasi* on that will depend when a Ministry will be and formed and when a Chief Minister will resign and when the Prime Minister selects a person who will go from here as Defence Minister and land there as a chief Minister. wonderful things. that can only happen in the Congress Party. This is the position in this country. they are encouraging religious fundamentalism, obscurantism in this country.

The land has been acquired. Now, after acquisition of the land what is happening there? *Darshan*. The Prime Minister of this country said: I did not know. The District Magistrate of Faizabad allowed *darshan*, what can I do? do you think that a single person, single citizen of India has believed him? when the President's rule is there and the matter is of such great concern for the people of this country, the Government is quite satisfied. the Prime Minister is not getting information and the district magistrate of Faizabad has the courage and temerity to decide, to allow *darshan* there when the entire country was agitated. then, for this great act of the district Magistrate. I hope at least so far you have not made him the Home Minister. Probably, he is the next candidate for the Home Minister. There is no explanation anywhere, no rational behaviour in this country. Therefore, I am saying that you are encouraging these people, the people who are trying to divide this country.

We had demanded a white Paper on Ayodhya and it has come. except the paper of the cover is white, the real purpose of white paper is not there, though an attempt has been made to white wash. What happened? Shri P. M. Sayeed, you are a Minister now. You please tell us. I hope the Prime Minister is better today. Tell him that he must

tell the country what he did from 12 noon to 8.00 p.m. on that day. there is total absence as to what happened during those hours. Therefore, I think that on this issue the Government must show firmness and they must retrace their steps and should not continue with their attitude of indecision.

So far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, Shrimati Malini Bhattacharya has said that we want a political process to be revived, and that the Government must bring a sense of involvement so far as the people there are concerned. We are happy about the developments that have taken place in Punjab. The situation has improved. We welcome that. Do not keep it alive, do not leave it to Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal. It will never be solved. Rajiv- Longowal agreement has to be implemented. Please solve this problem. Do not keep it for the purpose of your Haryana overland who is there. Do not keep as a burning issue. Do not be guided by Shri Santosh Mohan Dev to solve the Tripura issue. A personality should not decide, principle should decide. The Government must have some attachment to constitution both in letter and spirit, not as construed by Shri Santosh Mohan Dev. Shri Santosh Mohan Dev's edition is the danger us edition, do not follow it.

The other point on which there is hardly any reference is the state of Centre- State relations in this country...(*Interruptions*). We hope they are not following you....(*Interruptions*). Whom are you talking about? What is the comparison you are making? Why do you make it?

Mr Chairman, Sir, the Centre-State relations is of great importance in this country. It is important for our country's overall development and balanced development that all parts of the country should develop. I hope they will ultimately get the money

[Sh. Somnath Chatterji]

because of his new-found love for Assam, having been elected from Assam, after having given a false address somewhere in Assam- I do not know where he had given that address....(Interruptions).

One of the Ministers had given an address in Gujarat, which was a godown. I do not know which address Mr. Manmohan Singh has chosen. Of course, he has got many big tea-garden *walas*. Must be one of them has supplied him an address; (Interruptions). Not tea-garden *walas*, Santosh Mohan Dev's address?

I am happy that special provisions are being made. We welcome them. What is the fault of the people of the North-Eastern India or of Eastern India for that matter that they should not be participating in the development of this country? Why should they be denied the minimum facilities? Why don't you remember this? What are we bragging of in India? Ram Vilas correctly said on the basis of Government statistics that we stand last but one in the list of nations so far as our per capita income is concerned. Last but one! Only Bangladesh has the credit to be after us. This is your achievement. Therefore, we want a balanced development of all parts of the country. It should not be concentrated in one area. I welcome this North-Eastern development. We demand the development of Eastern India. This is not Chauvinism. When we talk of development of Eastern India, this is not chauvinism, because I come from Eastern India. I would fight for the development of Chandigarh if it really requires. I would fight for the development of every nook and corner of this country. That is not chauvinism. But when we find that areas of this country are remaining under darkness, that there is no economic

activity, no special provision is being made, naturally we shall say that area also requires consideration.

What about Public Distribution System for vulnerable sections of the people of this country? You are talking of public distribution system, taking out kerosene from it, taking out other things from it. You are concentrating in some areas...(Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What no business you are doing? What are you doing? You have raised the price of every essential commodity before the budget, and the *Sarkari* economists, *Sarkari* economic editors we find saying it is the greatest budget ever given. They are not talking of the Railway fares rise, they are not talking of the administered price rise- sugar, coal, steel, iron. Rupees ten thousand crores you are realising from them but you are not talking of it...(Interruptions). Naturally you don't like to hear them.

In spite of the Government of India, we have a good band of scientists in this country about whom we are proud. In spite of this attempt to mislead them and misguide them and put difficulties in their way, in spite of attempts to thwart their activities, we have a good band of scientists and technologists in the country, about whom we are proud. But kindly see that ninety percent of them are going out of this country. Your thumping of desks will not solve the problem. Ninety percent are going out of the country. Don't we ask ourselves? Those who can afford, go away. If you had been able to go away, you would have. If I would have been, I would have. But nobody takes me there. I have come to a profession which has no use anywhere. Therefore, these are very basic

issues. Unfortunately, the President's Address is conspicuous by any reference to this. Only two paragraphs are there—one for Ayodhya and one for the economic situation. Others are all mere, as I said, creches. Absolutely baseless things have been said. Do not go by this Manmohanics. This Manmohanics is going to kill the country. It has killed the country, it has killed you. We do not mind your being killed. We shall solemnly perform your burning ceremony there. But you are taking the country with you. This is the trouble. Therefore, there is still time(Interruptions).

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Somnathji, it may be their fault but why are you ignoring us.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Therefore, we have to save ourselves from them.

One last sentence I am submitting because I have got another speaker from my party who will speak. Sir, so far as this contrary is concerned, this country has got tremendous potential. What is the biggest asset is the people whose demands are very minimal but who give their best for the country, who are the toiling masses. For hardly a pittance, for a miserable existence, they are fighting, they are producing wealth for the country. But what are they getting in return? A microscopic section of the community in this country articulate their views, are projected in the media. Their views are projected in the press, their views are heard, their voices are heard in the highest echelons of this country. But so far as the teeming millions of this country are concerned, your policy has brought them to wreck and ruin. The President's Address,

which has to give the charter in the coming years' plan of action for this country, does not enthuse the people of this country, does not give us any hope. Even now the Government should retrace its steps, take proper action and be aware of their responsibilities and listen to the voices of reason and not go by temporary political advantages and enter into unprincipled compromises with peoples of division in this country.

16.00 hrs.

[Translation]

SHRI SATYADEO SINGH (Balrampur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Hon. President has at first mentioned about the incidents of 6th December in his Address and even in the House, the incident of 6th December is dominating the proceedings. By mentioning the incidents of 6th December, we cannot draw a complete picture, there have been many incidents which were taking place in the country before the 6th December incidents, ultimately what were the reasons that forced the incidents of 6th December to take place; the President's address does not mention even a single line in this regard.

Sir, you might have remember that a Bill was passed in this House. It was stated in the Bill that status quo should be maintained in respect of the places of worship in such a way as they were at the time of independence. But at the same time, it was also stated that Ayodhya was kept out of the periphery of this Bill. Perhaps the intention for keeping out Ayodhya of the purview of the Bill was that it was a very sensitive issue and the feelings of crores of people are attached to it; so it would not be possible to reach the root cause of this problem or to honour the feelings of crores of people by merely passing a Bill. Today, the President, under rule 143, has asked for the advice of

[Sh. Satya Deo Singh]

the Supreme Court, whether there was any Hindu structure at that place or not. It is the first attempt in right direction. the former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh had also sought a time period for four months and that period of four months totally misused by him. The present Government as well as the present Prime Minister has also asked for a period of 4 months from the saints and have claimed to settle this issue- through negotiations. During this four months period instead of going for a solution to this burning problem, efforts were made to put an obstacle in the construction process of the temple and to discontinue this process.

This Kar seva was not initiated only on 6th December but in fact even in July, when this House was in session, at that time too this kar seva was going on. Thereafter through the efforts of the Prime Minister a period of four months for holding negotiations was secured. This period was totally wasted and nothing fruitful was done during these four months period. Probably, the Government thinks that by that by taking time and putting this issue before the courts it will be able to solve this problem and with the passage of time, this problem will automatically be solved

Sir, today a number of people say after this incident that a new debate is being initiated in the country. I also agree with it. Today it is in the mind of the people that we will have to choose one thing between nationality and so called secularism which is actually 'Panth Nirpeksh'. This word is always being misused for secularism. This national debate is going on in the country. After the incident of 6th December this issue has become vital and the people are com-

pelled to think that on which way we want to lead our country to what will be our path. Probably, the right time has come to make a decision in this regards. What steps were taken by our Government after the incidents of 6th December. The Government started giving statements like a paralytic. The then Chief Minister of U. P. gave his resignation at 6 P. M. but it was not accepted. The Government said, instead of accepting your resignation, we dismiss you. Till that time not a single incident of riot was there but when an announcement was made on Radio and T.V. that B.J. P. ruled Government in U. P. was dismissed, the news or riots started pouring in.

Hon. Somnathji has asked a very good question as to what action was taken by the Government during 12 A. M. to 5 P. M., when the structure was being demolished? But the more important question is, when the power came into your hands after imposing the President's rule in U. P. and in view of the fact that the Government was of the firm opinion that the U.P. Government was the main defaulter for all such happenings what action have you taken to control the situation. Our U.P. Government as well as the Chief Minister has stressed upon one thing that in my condition there would be no firing and lathi charge on kar sevaks and saints. They never concealed this fact. The B. J. P. also did not conceal this fact that they would not oppress the public opinion by using lathis and bullets as you did here on 25th February. After this you dissolved the U. P. Vidhan Sabha. Thereafter on 10th you have banned all such organisations as are national organisations and are assiduous for the unity and integrity of the nation, which are spreading such national feeling in the community and are also fighting against the social evils. This ban is also illegal. You neither served a notice nor had a talk in this

regard. Despite all these exercise what constructive work you have done in this regard. If you believe that they are doing a good job which is being reflected in the address of the President and the countrymen are supporting your action including the dismissal of three states Governments i.e. M. P. Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh Government then why do not you go to the people's court and have a fresh mandate. This is my request and you should agree to it. You are not in a position to hold elections in J&K at present 6 month ago, it was said that the situation of J&K has improved to this extent that we could hold elections there.

The Pad Yatra undertaken by our national President from Kanya Kumari to Kashmir was not merely a pad yatra, but it was a message too for the people of the entire country that still there is a place in our country where we are unable to unfurl our national flag. Will the Government clarify it whether the tricolour was unfurled in All Chowk in Kashmir this year or not? Will the Government tell about the happenings overt there? Our President insisted the hon. Prime Minister that he should go to Lal Chowk and unfurl the tricolour there and see the consequences. But the Prime Minister so this country could not be able to muster the moral strength and courage to do so because he is shying away from the truth. The present situation of J&K is very pitiable. There is no mention at all in the Presidential Address that the issue should be left to Kashmir. I would like to know as to when the government proposes to hold Assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. If the Government has a moral strength, they should come forward and announce the holding of elections. (Interruptions)

The second paragraph deals with terrorism. The Central Government does not deserve commendation for containing terrorism in Punjab. Rather, it is the State administration and the police that deserve every word of appreciation for their valuable contribution to improve the situation there. What is needed to fight out terrorism is political will-power. Only then we can use guns to curb terrorism. The little amount of political will-power shown by Government in Punjab has really helped improve the situation in Punjab. The Government has however overlooked the upsurge of terrorism that was spreading its tentacles in the terai of Uttar Pradesh like it has tackled terrorism in Punjab. Our Government has frequently been objection to the operations being conducted in Punjab. You know the drama of holding elections was enacted in Punjab by applying full strength of the country by deploying maximum armed and military forces there. There after that you succeeded installing a government of your own party there. I would certainly congratulate the Government for that. When Panchayat elections were held, the people of villages came out. I ask as to what did the Government do? Did the Union Government apprise the Government of Uttar Pradesh of the intelligence report that terrorism had established its foothold in the terai region and that the terrorism would spread there. When the Uttar Pradesh Government asked for additional force and financial assistance for this purpose, the Central Government did not fulfil that demand. Can federalism survive in the country if there is no coordination between the States ruled by different parties and the Central government? The Central Government is not willing to solve the problems of terrorism in those States that are ruled by some different other political parties. Terrorism is now an international problem.

16.13 hrs.

[SHRI PETER G. MARBANIANG *in the Chair*]

This is an international problem. Terrorism is not restricted to the boundaries of Punjab and Kashmir. It has its root in Pakistan which is supplying everything including weapons to support terrorism. Pakistan is there behind it. It is habitual for the Government to state that there are foreign hands behind it, but it does not take into account the fact that a section of people have migrated from Kashmir due to terrorism and have become homeless. The citizens of our own country are migrating like refugees in thousands and lakhs and the Government is just a mute spectator to this. The Government did indeed show earnestness in bringing the Indians back home from Kuwait. It is good. It was, of course, our duty to drag out our citizens caught in the Iraq-Kuwait war and that way we performed our duty. Today the Hindu-Sikh Communities of India living in Afghanistan are facing danger to their lives there. They are trying to reach India taking the risk of their lives. I would like to ask as to what has the Government thought for them. Whatever information the Government possesses should have been placed in this House. I think the Government is perhaps totally oblivious of its duty. Shri Somnathji was just telling that lakhs of persons are born on pavements and many of them grow up there itself. If we put them in jhuggis, on streets and on platforms dragging them out of their houses, then our duty would be over. The Government has spent crores of rupees on the scheme of bringing the people above the poverty line. The President's Address had a reference at one place that our defence forces have committed some excesses while fighting out terrorism in Kashmir and that the Government contemplates punishment for the erring

defence personnel. The Government, however, never congratulated them for their dedicated service. They live thousands of kilometres away from their families. They have to face natural calamities. They sacrifice comforts and pleasures and that way that guard the integrity of the country and in doing so if some persons indulge in something nefarious, then all must not be made to suffer because the Government talks of awarding to them. The Government is not ready to realise the difficult circumstances under which our armed forces are having to work. The Government does not speak anything for that.

There was violence throughout the country following the incident of 6th of December. There was loss of lives. It is a different thing as to which faith did those dead persons belonged to. It was, however, the black day in the history of this country when the violence of 1984 claimed numerous lives. This day is not all a black day. Moreover, we can also call the day a black day. When the former Prime Minister of the country had announced that when some big tree falls down the earth shakes. I say that this earth shook only in the places where there was the Government ruled by his very party. Our Sikh brothers were killed only in those places. There was no impact of the fall of the tree anywhere else. Your perception towards things bespeaks of your political thinking only. You make distinction between blood and blood. The Congress party really deserved congratulation for it has achieved perfection in making distinction between the blood of one person and that of another.

The recent violence had one new aspect. Nobody noticed about that new phenomenon. Mr. Rawle Saheb just raised a fundamental question. He said that the victims of police-firing should get five lakh rupees each instead of rupees two lakh

each. But the point is whether the victims were rioters or the innocent general public. If they were general public and were killed by the police deliberately, then they must get rupees five lakh instead of rupees two lakh. Financial help cannot bring the dead to life. It can be only of a little help. And it is our duty to provide that help and the Government must do it. But the point that I raised should also be given a thought. Money should not be given like that.

Personnel of our defence forces were attacked by sophisticated weapons from inside the places of worship. Handgrenades were thrown on them. I ask whether the Government is ready to investigate as to from which country and from whom those weapons were obtained by them. Which are those countries or persons supplying weapons to them. Will the Government inquire as to from where arrangements are being made to train the persons to use those weapons so that they may counter our defence force strongly. Will the Government inquire as to from where money is being made available for those activities. The President's Address does not make any mention of these things at all.

A rally was to be organised on the 25th February. The Government stated that no rally can be allowed to be held at the Boat Club for three-four months to come. The hon. Minister of State is sitting here. I ask as to what difference it would have made, had the rally been organised there. Does he think that we could sow potato on Boat Club. What would we do? Hundreds of rallies have already been organised there and several hundreds will be organised in future. What does the House reflect by banning rally on the 25th? Does it reflect that the Constitution gives us guarantee to peaceful freedom of expression? We were going to organise a rally on the 25th February. Hon. Minister of

State, had the Government posted the similar number of armed forces on the borders of Bangladesh, Kashmir and Punjab, then the integrity of the country would have been protected. But we really fail to understand as to what did you get in Delhi by doing that; we are not able to understand the designs of your advisors who suggest these things.

Today lakhs of persons who have come to Delhi from across Bangladesh are getting ration-cards here and their names are being entered in voter's lists. The same thing is happening in States of Purvanchal. They have got their names entered in voter's lists there and are being settled there. The Government just can't prevent them. The people of this country are not getting sugar and wheat through fair price shops under public distribution system. The hon. Prime Minister has made frequent announcements to improve the public distribution system, but duality is continuing here. Different systems are being adopted for villages and towns. But the people are not really getting the benefits. Lakhs of persons are unemployed in this country and they come to cities in search of jobs to support themselves. But the Government cannot make ration-cards for them. But when the foreigners who are not the citizens of this country and who do not have any attachment and love with the soil of this country, can get ration-cards. Many of us miss our names in the voters' lists, but those persons can enter their names in the voters lists. Due to politics and pressure, names of hundreds of persons may be deleted or added to the voters' lists. But the number of persons who come from across the borders increases rapidly. Did the Government ever think of national register for citizen in Purvanchal? There is still time, the Government may think about it. The Government should drive out those infiltrators. This is a serious cancer that is inflicting the country. I would like to make an appeal that

[Sh. Peter G. Marbaniang]

[Translation]

you should consider the point rising above the party lines. They should not be taken only of vote-banks. The politics of vote-banks cannot run for a longer time. People have now woken up and this is the sign of awakening and vibrant democracy. for this the people of the country deserve congratulation.

Sir, the House could not run yesterday on the issue of Tripura. Now a peculiar situation has emerged in Tripura. The hon Minister of Home Affairs came in the House yesterday and made a statement. I ask, what is the difference in situation now? The election was withheld there during the tenure of the Congress Government. I ask, why? Will the Government further consider as to which situation led to taking such action? Or, will the Government wait for Governor's report for this also? From whom did the Government get reports for dismissal of the Governments of Madhya Pradesh! Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan? The Government has created such a situation that the people of the country and the people around the world are having an impression that our Government is working against the Constitution. Was it not required to dissolve the Assembly of Tripura? It was actually high time for that. Keeping in view the incidents of Tripura, it is now only imperative to bring about through change in rules go that electoral process, election laws and Election Commission itself may be strengthened. Tripura is a glaring example. We know the state of democracy when the election is held in the country.

[English]

'Democracy is being hijacked'.

We know what is happening. Money power is being used, muscle power is being used and irreligious persons very often talk of religion. Those who have faith in God, do not adopt any wrong path.

Sir, unemployment has increased during the period of this Government. The Government proposes to give bonus in a country where unemployment is rampant. When the Government is unable to make timely payment to the employees and where the amount of salary is not commensurate with the needs, why does the Government give bonus then?

At present thousands of youths from villages are migrating to cities in search of job due to unemployment. The number of job seekers on the live registers of Employment Exchanges are on high side and the Government knows it well as to what extent it effects placement.

The issues relating to atrocities on Women are being raised in the House. What should I expect from this Government Hon. Mamataji is not present here, when she was the Minister of State she could not protect her woman and assault was made in Calcutta and there is nobody to speak even a single word about them Will this issue be discussed in this country? Will laws solve their problems? What will be done to meet the menace of atrocities, rape, being committed on women, or the menace of their exploitation and bride-burning in the name of God? What will be the future of those girls remain unmarried on account of dowry? The hon. President has expressed no sentiments on this, therefore, we have been demanding....

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria): What will be the future of the man who remains unmarried?

SHRI SATYADEO SINGH: This is also a problem but it has been left to you. that is why, we have emphasised frequently on this that the right to work should be included in the Fundamental Rights so that the Government may become directly responsible to provide job to an unemployed youth if he seeks so. At present persons working in corporate sector are suffering most. The demands of labourers working in organised sector are, however, considered and their voice echoes again and again in the House that their wages should be increased, their allowances and other amenities be increased. While 3/4 of the Labour force is working in unorganised sector. No provision has been made for them

Sir, the problem of child worker continues to grow day by day. Carpet industry in Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh is being maligned that child workers are working there. In foreign countries, it has been warned that if carpets continued be manufactured by child workers, they would not purchase our carpets. There is a provision in our constitution that compulsory free education should be provided to the children up to 14 years of age but the government knows it well as to how many children up to 14 years of age go to school. These children are asset of our country and the Government is wasting it. I have nothing to say about schools because you are well aware of them.

Another great problem is of agriculture. A demand has been raised frequently in the House that agriculture should be given the status of industry because nobody is greater sufferer in the country than farmers. the need of the hour is that the Government should introduce crop planning system. Crop

insurance scheme has been dropped. Uttar Pradesh is the biggest Sugarcane producing state in the country and we are claiming that India will be the biggest sugarcane producing country by the beginning of the next century. Sugarcane grower is the greatest contributor to grow sugarcane - an ingredient for becoming the biggest sugarcane producing country. Sir, you know it well as to what is the condition of the sugarcane cultivators. Keeping in view, the interest of the sugarcane farmers the former Uttar Pradesh Government had introduced computer system so that slips may be given through computer and payment may be made through banks and prevailing problem of underweight can be tackled. After imposition of the President's rule, the Government has given the sugarcane growers this big gift that payment through banks and issuance of slips through computers have been stopped. The hon. Minister of Food is not present here. He has been transferred to this Ministry from the Ministry of power and he is in limelight even there. Sugar prices have been increased over night and that too on the basis of last production of sugarcane. Each sugar mill owner has earned profit worth crores of rupees but they are not ready to pay cane price to farmers.

Another great problem is of drinking water and electricity. We have not given a thought to it. ? The President's Address is also silent over it. Development projects started during the tenure of the Bhartiya Janata party rule have come to half money, that was being released from the Purvanchal Development fund, is not begin paid to them which was part of Legislative grants which cannot be amended. Irrigation is the greatest necessity of the Farmer. Hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent on the Sarayu Canal Project. At present the Government of Uttar Pradesh has not as much funds as can complete it from its own

resources. I would also like to draw your attention to the prices of fertilizers. Persons like Harshad Mehta can take thousands of crores of rupees from these banks and companies but heavens fall if they have to pay some two or four crore rupees to farmers. The increase in the prices of fertilizers a conspiracy to ruin the farmers. Kindly withdraw the enhanced rates immediately.

Sir, the incident of 6th December is not an incident of national shame and sorrow as the starvation deaths in kalahandi district of Orissa and Vananchal region are. There can be no great blot on this civilized society that we are discussing this issue here, sitting in air-conditioned rooms and the Government has done nothing for them during last 24 hours. No food has been airlifted. Has this Government become so incapable that it can not save lives of 5-10 thousand citizens and provide them food?

[English]

SHRI SARAT CHANDRA PATTANAYAK (Bolangir): This is the responsibility of the State Government. That is the State Government doing there?(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYA DEO SINGH: You have washed your hands off. Hats off to you. This is how you behave. This is how you reciprocate to the sentiments of the people...(Interruptions) I am not yielding to you.

[Translation]

These are insensitive people. What do you know what is starvation. There may be an all round development of the people but it is necessary for their development that a separate state comprising of seven districts

of Uttaranchal, who have their own different civilisation, a different culture and different requirements, is formed, for which the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh had sent a proposal. The constitution of hill cadre by Government is no solution. The Resolution that we passed in Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly should be accepted. Sir, until vananchal is formed, hunger and poverty will remain there. You can't understand it because you don't hail from Vananchal region. So, leave it so fate. Take people's participation for solving problems of Vananchal region and ask them to do their work.

Sir, tall claims have been made about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Dr. Ambedkar's birth centenary celebrations are going on. The Government has chalked out a number of schemes. Seminars have been organised films screened. It is my submission to you that the government of Uttar Pradesh had submitted a plan for the establishment of Dr. Ambedkar University in Lucknow. A plot of land had been acquired there. Since, a sum of Rs. 300 crore will have to be spent, the former Chief Minister had written several letters to the Central Government in this connection. It is my submission to the Health Minister in particular whether he would get an announcement made from his government on the occasion of Dr. Ambedkar's birth century that Dr. Ambedkar University, coming up in Lucknow, will be taken over by the Centre as a Central University and its construction work will be started immediately. I hope the Government would pay attention to it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the idea of swadeshi is vanishing from our country. You live in the name of Gandhi, you sleep in the name of Gandhi and you weep in the name of Gandhi, yet, you have renounced the very idea of

Swadeshi. Sir, if the Government thinks that by throwing the doors of consumers goods open to the foreign companies, the nation would make progress, then the government is in a great folly.

I have been raising this issue here for the last two days that the officials of the Forest Department led by the D. R. O., opened fire in two villages Bhagwanpur and Madahwa of Tulsipur Tehsil in Ghonda district on 23rd instant. The reason behind opening fire was force encroachment of village land near the forest by the officials of the Forest Department. the land which was under dispute, had already been given on mortgage deed. But the crop grown on it was cut and burnt down. When the local people opposed it fire was opened on Harijans.

The hon. Minister of Welfare, at present your party is in power there. In Uttar Pradesh you have got the power through back door. Actually, it should not have been happened. It is not in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. But I would like to urge upon the Government to clearly identify the villages which are close to terai areas so that the officials of the Forest Department could not exploit the poor people and framers of those villages.

The hon. President has not said anything about Hindi language in his Address. All though he spoke in Hindi, for which I congratulate him. Our leader, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had made a speech in Hindi in U. N. O. The Government should contemplate as to how Hindi can be given proper recognition in the U. N. O. With these words, I thank you for giving me time to speak and oppose the Motion of Thanks, on the President's Address.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have heard

the views expressed by the hon. Member of BJP. He made a very exciting speech. After hearing his speech I would like to say :

'Kirdare khud per apni Nigah Daliya Hazoor,

Kya Kya Kiya Hai Aapne. Kya Kya Nahin Kiya!

(Interruptions)

I am reminded of a poem by Mr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal-

Sare Jahan Se Achchha Hindustan Hamara,

Hindu Hain Ham, Vatan Hai Hindustan Hamara.!

But on 6th December, our these colleagues said-

'Sare Jahan se Achchha Hindustan Hamara,

Hindu Hain Ham, Vatan Hai Hindustan Hamara.'

These people said 'Hindu' instead of 'Hindi'.

"Aai aab Rode Ganga Waha Din Hai Yad Tujhako,

Utara Tere Kinare Jab Karwan Hamara,

Yunan Mishra Rome Sab Mit Gaye Jahan Se,

Ab Tak Magar Hai Baki, Namo Nishan Hamara.

Kuchh Baat Hai Ki Hasti Mitti Nahin Haman,

[Sh. Chiranji Lal Sharma]

Sadiyon Raha Hai Dushman Daure
Jaman Hamara."

Shri Chatterji Saheb also spoke and he referred to 6th December incidents. After that an hon. Member from the BJP spoke. He also started his speech making reference to incidents of 6th December. The day of 6th December has actually become a blot on the name of India. It is a back spot on the name of India (Interruptions).

Time will tell whether we remain in power or bow out. But our intention of shunting us out of power will never be fulfilled

Mr. Chairman. Sir, a lot has already been said here. A forceful speech was made. But we should not be swayed away by the sentiments and take wrong steps. India is a great country. Out of 88 crore of population of the country if 70-75 crore Hindus in the country feel that they are unsafe and their Hindu religion is in danger then I think it is shameful. What is the danger? What type of danger do they apprehend? On 6th December two or two and a half lakh people assembled there and raised the slogan:

"Ram Nam Ki Loot Hai"

They did not say "Ram Nam Ki Loot Hai," They rather said:

"Ram Nam Se Loot Hai, Looti Jaye to Loot,
Phir Pichhe Pachhtayega, Jab Masjid Jayegi toot."

They aroused the sentiments of the people assembled there. It was preached if anybody lags behind in demolishing the mosque, he will repent later on.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you I would

like to ask them as to when Lord Ram was born? Some historians say that he was born one lakh years ago and some other say that he was born two lakh years ago. Some other are of the opinion that Lord Ram was born in Treta Yug i.e. about eight lakh years ago. Lord Ram took birth in Ayodhya. There was a temple of Lord Ram in Ayodhya. There are a number of Lord Ram in the entire country. I am also a Brahmin and I am proud of being a Brahmin. I am Hindu also. But before being Hindu I am Hindi and Hindustani, first. There is a temple of Lord Ram in my house too. I do worship Lord Ram. But our BJP colleagues claim that Ram belongs to them only and not to anybody else.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur):
No, no, it belongs to you also.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHRAMA: The people are bent upon disturbing the harmony prevailing in the country in the name of Ram. May I ask as to what was need of going round the country by Shri Advaniji for the construction of Ram Temple in Ayodhya? He set out from Dwarika to South India passing through Central India and created disharmony and feeling of hatred of love and affection prevailed earlier. Shri Murli Manohar Joshi, the President of BJP also performed yatra. Two-three lakh of people were assembled to construct the temple. They instigated the sentiments of the people and asked them to bring one brick each. Had these people reached there with bricks?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, they people have no excuse to offer after the incident of 6th December on 7th December the hon. Member of the B. J. P. felt ashamed of their deed. Their leader, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee expressed grief and shock over the incident and regretted it. He also said that nobody in the BJP is prepared to listen a good piece of advice.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what the Government did? See, it is bad to deceive, but not to be deceived by others. The BJP had assured the National Integration Council that no Kar-Sewa would be performed there. Here, the Member of his party, Swamy Chinmayanandji had also said that kar-Sewa did not essentially mean that the temple would be constructed. He also referred to the Kar-Sewa being performed in Gurudwaras in this context. To this effect, an assurance was also given to the Prime Minister. the Chief Minister of that state also filed an affidavit to this effect before the Supreme Court of India, the highest court of the country. this House too was given an assurance. The hon. Prime Minister who is the custodian of democracy believed them and did not dismiss that Government because a Government of majority was there in power. It was a BJP Government there. It was not required in a situation when an assurance had already been given and affidavit had been filed to this effect. It is all before the eyes of the people. After that it was said that the Chief Minister has resigned. It means that their intentions were malafied from the very beginning. After ignoring the fire they were watching it spreading like silent spectators. In our rural areas there is a saying that it is easier to set dry green grass on fire than to extinguish it. Recently when he appeared in the court.

[English]

What was implicit became explicit. The cat was out of the bag.

[Translation]

It was said that their officials were not to be blamed for all this. It were the orders from their Government not to resort to fining and take any stringent action. If these were the orders of that government, what moral right

does it have to remain in power? The Government which could not maintain the law and order situation in the state cannot be termed as Government. Does the law permit to assemble at a particular place in lakhs to demolish a religious place? It was 462 years' old Masjid.

Yesterday, one of my learned colleagues said that the idol of Lord Ram, was there since 1949. When there was the idol of Lord Ram, and it was considered as a temple of Lord Rama then why it was demolished? Do they have any reply to it? There is no reply to it. Please forgive me, the BJP has a character. I would like to explain it. (*Inter-rupts*).

AN. HON. MEMBER: So you agree with it.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA: Yes, I do agree, I would also like to present a true picture of the character today, Shri Jagjivan Ram is not amongst us. He left the Congress party suddenly in 1977 and formed CFD in opposite the congress party. He contested elections after which BJP, CDF and Janata Pary made an alliance and ruled the country. I would not make a wrong statement. Today Shri Jagjivan Ram is not alive.

* One day I went to meet Babu ji. I told him that he had chosen a wrong place, his actual place was in Congress party, I also said that he had passed his youth in the prison and fought against the British rule in the country; he should come back to the Congress party. He said that he had been greatly deceive or cheated. When I enquired as to who had cheated him, he replied that he could trust anyone but not the BJP. I asked how he was cheated? He said that when he left the Congress Party the BJP declared him as a candidate for Prime Ministership. They said they would press for

[Sh. Chiranji Lal Sharma]

an election to elect the leader and he would be the leader if the majority of M.Ps supported him, otherwise any other person would become leader. They gave this assurance to him. The things were to take place likewise. He contested the election against the Congress Party. When that party won, majority of the members demanded for the elections of the leader. But the people refused the suggested to leave the whole matter of choosing leader on Acharya Kriplaniji and Shri Jaiprakash Narain. He said that there was some understanding between them. These are the words of Babu Jagjivan Ram. I may give another example of that time., Chaudhary Charan Singh was nominated the Minister of Home Affairs in the Cabinet of Shri Morarji Desai. After the passage of about 5-7 months BJP members started forcing Shri Morarji Desai to drop Shri Charan Singh from the Cabinet otherwise they would withdraw their support. Shri Morarji Desai dropped him.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL : We had pressed for the inclusion of Shri Charan Singh in the Cabinet.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : This is what I want to say.

[English]

This is what I want to say. You have your finger on my pulse.

[Translation]

After about 5-7 months they started saying Shri Morarji Desai to either take Shri Charan Singh back in the Cabinet or they would withdraw their support to him. Again, Shri Morarji Desai under their pressure took Shri Charan Singh as the Minister of finance

in his Cabinet. This is their account of working. I would like to ask one thing very humbly. If BJP was not at mistake on 6th December, why did the opposition leader Shri Lal. K. Advani- for whom I have a great respect and who is also an able leader resigned as a leader of Opposition? Can he give any reply to it-(*Interruptions*) Yes, he would certainly give some reply to it but, in my opinion there is no reply to it. He simply stated that people went out of their control. This single sentence has proved a disastrous for the whole country. I would also like to ask whether a single BJP, RSS or VHP worker was hit by bullets? Was a single person killed? About two and a half lakh people assembled there-(*Interruptions*)

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA : They have been killed and some of them were also brutally tortured. Their eyes were taken out and hands were chopped off (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA : No such question should be asked here which is difficult to reply. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHRAMA : I am not saying anything unparliamentary. I am quite a senior Parliamentarian I would like to submit to hon. Members that when they say something to others then they should also have patience to hear from others. This is Parliament. Every Member has his own views. I am expressing what I have in my mind. You have right to react to it.

When our Para-Military forces reached there, they asked them to go back. They obeyed their order. If they had courage why had they not shown their firmness that they would not leave unless the temple is constructed. Is there any clarification to it? When Shri Kalyan Singh was the Chief Minister, he remained active. About two and

a half lakh people gathered there and started demolishing the mosque. But when President's Rule was imposed and Para-Military forces reached the site they bowed to their orders and got ready to leave the place. Within twenty four hours huge crowd of two and a half lakh people vacated the place. This is their valour, this is their character.

Shri Vajpayee has spoken of his heart. He immediately reacted to whatever displeased him. He rightly pointed out that no attention is given to any wise suggestion in BJP. He was displeased on the demolition of the structure, he expressed his displeasure in the House. At this, they alleged that the Congress party has instigated him to make such remarks. This is their character. Shri Vajpayee passed his entire life in the service of BJP, he was also the President for some-time. But if he related the true fact, he was accused. Had Shri Vajpayee been here at the moment, I would have read the following couplet:

"Khoob parda hai ki chillman se lage
baithe hain.

Saaf chhupte bhi nahin, samne aate bhi
nahin."

Yesterday, I heard the speech of Shri Vajpayee. It had adequate profundity. Shri Vajpayee pointed out that the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue cannot be solved through the Supreme Court. Is it not possible to find solution to it amicably? Some of the newspapers have published leading articles on his speech in their today's editions. As you have just now pointed out, he finds himself in a helpless situation, he seems to have no say in the party affairs. No political party—not even the Congress party has left any stone unturned to find out the solution through negotiations. Shri Vajpayee was not there that day. Otherwise God knows

what he would have done. He realised the mistake I also submit that if the matter is solved amicably, no one has any objection. Is it an act of cowardice on the part of the hon. Prime Minister, if he had believed them and acted in a manner to safeguard the principles of democracy?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the bell disturbs the link of thoughts. It has been just ten minutes. The Hon. Speaker who proceeded and took about half—an—hour, the other hon. member Shri Chatterjee had taken 40 minutes. My submission is that they are not the privileged Members. My only submission is that if I am from treasury benches, it should not be my disqualification. I have been elected consecutively for four terms, I am not a new Member and thus it would not be justified to ring the bell after giving me just ten minutes to speak on such a grave matter. As a matter of fact, I will have to obey your order. However my humble submission is that my time should be extended a little more.

It is a matter which would not be solved in this manner. Hindus may worship Lord Ram and the Muslims Rahim but, they mean just one and the same god. One concentrates before the idol in the temple and the other performs 'namaz' in the mosque. If a Muslim waiting for a train at the Railway station finds that there is a time for his namaz then he starts performing the namaz on the station itself. Sikh believe in Guru Granth Sahib, Christians go to church but the aim of all of them is the same. As it was pointed out yesterday that the word Hindu is formed with the alphabet of Urdu 'Hey' and the word Muslims is formed with the alphabet 'Meen' of urdu language which together form Hum (We).

Today it is being asserted that the originally that structure was a temple which

[Sh. Chiranji Lal Sharma]

was demolished later on and a mosque was built. If we accept that Mohammad Ghazani and Mohammad Gauri had done injustice, but will it be justified to repeat the same mistake? When India got freedom from the British rule, it was divided into many small states and Rajwadas Sardar Patel was the person and Congress was the party that stringed the country into one bead. It won't be justified to say that BJP creates communal tension in the name of religion. My humble submission is that it is a matter in which we must apply our patience and wisdom rather than to make it complicated.

The neighbouring countries are upset to see India developing. They do not want India to make progress. They just want to create obstacles in its path of progress and your actions are nothing but a mere attempt to give practical shape to their ill-feelings.

[English]

Shri Chatterjee has said:

"The Prime Minister is dividing and is ruling over India which is divided."

India is not at all divided. India is united and India shall remain united even if Heavens fall.

[Translation]

What to talk of slogans given by B.J.P. what to talk of demolition of mosques, no force on earth, no force of oceans, no force of Heavens can create any obstacle in our path. India is one and will remain one. This thing cannot happen. B.J.P. people are dreaming of ruling India by demolishing mosques and arousing religious sentiments of the masses. Today I predict this in this

House that their dream will never come true...(Interruptions) This is Brahmvani. This is our birthright...(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, most respectfully I submit that this is such an issue for which we should work together and lead the country to the path of progress. This is not the way that if we are in majority, we should raise this issue. I ask nothing from you. Today, there are 12-13 per cent Muslims in India living in every nook and corner of the country. Are they not Indian nationals? Was Abdul Hamid not an Indian, was he a Muslim, did Abdul Hamid not lay down his life while defending India? Can we expel 12-13 per cent Muslims from India and force them to leave India? If not, why then one should play with their religious sentiments. This is not permitted even in our religion. I want to submit that Mandir will be constructed and its foundation stone was laid down by us only. Forty five and a half years' period has elapsed since we attained independence. It was Janata Party's Government from 1977 to 1979 and stalwart leaders of this party like Shri Advani and Atal Bihari Vajpayee were holding offices of Ministers in that Government. They were Minister as well as sharing the power. They were having powers but at that time the issue of Ram-Janambhoomi and Babri Masjid did not arise I would like to tell you that since 1980 I have been a member of this House. Earlier we used to discuss the Punjab problem at a stretch. Nobody raised the question of Babri Masjid, Ram Janambhoomi. When the elections were held in 1977, the Congress was swept clean and they won 95 seats. After that in 1980 they won only two seats and then 7 seats then they were swept clean. In Rajasthan, they used to wear saffron clothes and carry *kdmals* filled with Ganga water and talked of Ram...(Interruptions) I would like to add one more thing. I speak about Punjab. Haryana and Punjab had their shares

in five rivers. I have been an M.L.A. in Punjab Assembly. Punjab's glory was a thing to be mentioned about. Unfortunately since 1982, situation came to such a sorry pass that terrorism emerged there culminating in bloodshed. But I would like to congratulate that Prime Minister for taking courageous and far sighted decision to hold elections in Punjab. Thus, a popular government was formed there and those, who had boycotted the elections repent now. Not only this, my duty will not be fulfilled unless I congratulate Chief Minister Beant Singh for his determination to sweep out terrorism from Punjab and making his Government a popular one.

17.00 hrs.

Punjab is our elder brother. Haryana and Punjab separated 26 years ago. There was some dispute over water. When two brothers are separated, then it is but natural to have a dispute regarding property, jewellery or land. When these two states separated, initially Chandigarh was given to Haryana but thereafter when Fateh Singh threatened to immolate himself by jumping into cauldrons filled with boiling oil on the roof of Darbar Sahib if Chandigarh was given to Haryana. Then Smt. Indira Gandhi reconsidered the matter and decided to give Chandigarh to Punjab in exchange of 107 or 114 villages of Abohar-Fazilka, which are Hindi -Speaking areas to Haryana. We do not have any attachment with Chandigarh but we will give up our right over Chandigarh only when the area of Abohar- Fazilka and its 107 villages which have been awarded to Haryana, are given in exchange of Chandigarh. Then only we will give Chandigarh failing which Chandigarh cannot be separated from Haryana. I once again congratulate Chief Minister Shri Beant Singh, who in his speech on S.Y.L has said that Haryana, should get her share of water.

Sir, 85 per cent work of Sutlej-Yamuna Link canal is complete. Only 10-15 per cent work is left. Shri Badal, who has exchanged his Pagri (turban) with that of Devi Lal as a token of brotherhood has said that if Haryana constructs it, we would create obstacles. The Akalis Committed excesses, instigated terrorists, who later on, went out of control.

Today, for the first time, the Minister has said yesterday in the House that S.Y.L should be completed and Haryana should get its share of water. Mr. Chairman, Sir, for this, I would like to thank the Chief Minister of that State for giving regards to our sentiments. We have made a request to the Government of India to get it constructed since a popular government is there and ultimately it is their job only. When the previous Government expressed inability in this regard, many engineers were killed and the people refused to work. Then it was decided that Border Road Organisation would complete this task. Anyway, it is immaterial as to who constructs it but I, with our permission make a demand from the Central Government to complete the construction work of SYL Canal and give us our due share. This is our one of the demands.

Sir, I would not speak much about J&K as a lot has already been said in this regard. I would take only two minutes' time more. There was a mention in the President's Address about the decision of our nation to concentrate in small scale sector. During 1992-93 119 lakh people were given employment in this sector and its total production is 1,66,400 crore of rupees. Which is 4 per cent higher than that of last year. Like wise, we have made tremendous progress in the field of agriculture. My B.J.P. colleague was speaking about sugar. Today, India is at the top in the field of Sugar production in the world. I feel, the contribution of the Government is much more impor-

[Sh. Chiranjil Lal Sharma]

[English]

tant as it works and provides funds as well. You may see that for the first time, the price of Jeera has been raised by Rs. 40 and that of wheat by Rs. 50. For this purpose Panchayati Raj has been implemented at the grass roots level. It was the dream of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi that the man at the grass roots level should have participation in Government. By making an amendment and by passing the Panchayati Raj Bill, our Government has decided to give it a practical shape.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not want to take much time. I started my speech with a couplet of Maulana Iqbal and wish to conclude it with a couplet of Iqbal. He has said :-

"Sooni Pari Hai Muddat se Dil ki Basti,
Aa Ek Naya Shivala Is Desh Mein Bana de.

Duniya ke Tirthon Se Ooncha Ho Apna Teerth,

Damane Aasman Se Iska Kalash Mila Dein.

Aa Mil Ke Gairiyat Ke Pardon Ko Phir Utha de,

Nakshe do Mita dein, Bichhron Ko Mila dein.

Shikayat Bhi, Shanti Bhi Bhagwan ke Geet Mein Hai,

Dharti ke Basion Ki Mukti Preet Mein Hai.

With these words I support the President's Address."

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : May I remind the Members that time is running short. So , when they speak they should keep in mind that there are other Members from their own party who want to speak.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatnam): Sir, you may please read the list of the names so that we could know when our turn is coming.

17.07 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER IN THE CHAIR]

[Translation]

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Sahasra): There are twenty members from our party. The debate has been going on for last 4 days, but not even a single member of our party did get an opportunity to speak. The list has been given. Please do not do such an injustice. Not a single Member of our party got an opportunity to speak. Everything has been recorded here.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Whips are the proper persons to tell the names of the speakers of the respective parties. If there is any lacuna we will make good of it.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI VIJAYARAJE SCINDIA (Guna): Mr. Deputy Speaker sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to express my views on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Emphasis has been laid on maintaining communal harmony, in the President's Address. No doubt there is a great need of communal harmony

in the country. But it is my experience that the leaders in power do not allow if for their vested interests. It is not enough just to stress the need for communal harmony through speeches. There have been concerted efforts to cause rifts among various communities. If only one side is satisfied and the other side is totally neglected and no attention is paid to its due and justifies demands then I think it results in ill will and creates bitterness and confrontation among the communities.

Harmonious environment can only be created when the administrators frame their policies without prejudice keeping in view the requirements of all the sections of the society. The structure has been called a mosque in the President's Address but Lord Ram is being worshipped there for the last 40 years with the permission of the court and the Government. I do not understand whether we should call it a temple or a mosque where devotees have been visiting for 'darshan'. If it is a mosque why the worshiping of Ram had been permitted there for so many years. And if it is a temple how can the devotees of Ram like it to place the idol of Ram in a dilapidated structure. They wanted that a grand temple should be constructed there and for that it was essential to demolish the structure. I do not think that there was anything wrong in that because it is matter of shame for everyone that Lord Ram should be worshipped in a dilapidated structure. They would have done this with this motive only. I think it was a strong wish of their mind. They have translated it into action. Had an honest effort been made to resolve the issue, the matter could have been resolved much earlier. Archeological remains and evidences are live proofs of it. This matter could have been resolved on the basis of historical evidences present there. But no such effort was made. Whatever had been done was a mere eyewash. Some-

times they asked for 3 months and sometimes 4 month? Like this the matter was stretched unnecessarily. I think it was the basic reason that the power of tolerance of 'Rambhaktis' ran out. In the end they demolished the structure despite our best efforts. It would have been wiser had we solved the dispute in order to maintain communal harmony. Whatever efforts had been made proved to be a mere eyewash as it did not yield any results in resolving the matter. I regret to say that this gave rise to differences and clashes. We should keep this fact in mind that it is not a struggle of this century alone. This has been going on for the last four hundred and fifty years. During Babar's aggression in India, he demolished the Ram temple in Ayodhya and constructed a mosque. The struggle has been going on right from those days. The religious sentiments of the people have been hurt to a large extent. The struggle has been going on right from that time in order to protect their self-respect. In the end the structure had been demolished. I would like to submit that it would have been better had government tried to create a harmonious atmosphere by negotiating with the people. They should have thought twice before making a statement that the mosque would be re-built on that site. I think they get pleasure over this situation of dispute. They want that communal harmony should not be established and such disputes should continue to exist in the country. This type of clashes have all along been taking place in the country. I am at a loss to understand such a psyche. This is only being done to appease the people for the sake of votes. We are astonished because even the President of a Muslim country Saddam Hussain said in a statement that he was amazed to see why such a furore had been created on the demolition of a structure. He further added that many mosques and other structures had been demolished in many Muslim coun-

[Smt. Vijayaraje Scindia]

tries in the course of urban development.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, It is a matter of great distress that even now efforts are being made to keep this dispute alive. The Government is continuing with its attitude even after dismissing Governments in four BJP ruled states, banning organisations which are devoted to the cause of nation-building and arresting the leaders of the BJP and other such organisations on a baseless charges.

Some days back BJP M.P. Shri Vinay Katiyar had been arrested and orders of keeping him like an ordinary prisoner were issued. I don not know how far it is correct? It is also learnt that Uma Shri Bharti, Sadhvi Ritambhara, Shri Ashok Singhal and Shri Giriraj Kishore will again be arrested. It seems totally irrelevant to establish communal harmony by such an oppressive policy

So far as the question of secularism is concerned, there has been a very old tradition of maintaining religious harmony in this great country of ours. There is a need to resurrect it. I would like to emphasize the point that Mahatma Gandhi whom we all call the 'Father of the Nation' had breathed his last by uttering the name of Lord Ram. He had asked us to stop cow slaughter. He followed the path of dharma. He respected Gita. cow and mother India as mother. Could we call him communal? We can have different ways of worshiping but we all follow the same path of humanism. This is what we call 'dharma'. Inscriptions of 'Dharma Chakra Pravartnaya' has been made on our national emblem. The same has been written above the Chair of the Hon. Speaker. even in the Supreme Court it has been written, "Yato Dharmastatos Jaya." This means the makers of our constitution had given priority to it.

there are many sects in our society but the religion of humanism allows everyone to choose freely any form of worship he likes. This has been our tradition. Many of our hon. friends were speaking and they were trying to teach us. I come from former princely state where though we are Hindus, our Guru is a Muslim. Even today we touch his feet. Even though he does not permit it, but it is our Hindu tradition that we should respect the person whom we call Guru. I would like to cite an example.

A queen of our Scindia dynasty had been faced with a great problem. Her husband Shri Mehad ji Scindia was lost in the third battle of Panipat. In those days there was an accomplished Muslim saint. The queen went to his hermit. She begged the life of her husband. The saint blessed her and asked her not to feel worried. He blessed her that her husband would come back alive and would rule the country. Her husband come back, won the battle and ruled the state. Then both of them went to the saint and requested him to pay a visit to their state and become their Guru. But the saint had no wishes. He was a Fakir. He declined the offer and said that if they wished, they could take his son. In this way his son become their Guru and even today they are known as Shri Saheb. Even today his 'Shradha' is performed in our family temple.

Similarly we have been giving proper respect to our Guru (teacher). so, I would like to say as to what they can teach us? This has been our ancient tradition. I am a Hindu and you too are a Hindu. Therefore, I am saying that the same blood runs in the veins of the Muslims, Christians and all the brethren of the country. They are all our brothers. Definitely we do not want that they should suffer but if the Government starts the suppressive policy then how the harmonious atmosphere can be created. It will definitely

be a wrong way and the results of it will also be bad.

Sir, tell me the name of any religion which does not accept truth. Tell me the name of any religion which advises to follow violence without any reasons and to kick away non-violence. Today, these are so many great religions all the religions teach the same fundamental thing. I have already said that the national symbol directs that not only the administration but the judiciary also should remain under the control of religion. If we look in the right perspective then we find that the salvation of humanity lies only in it. As far as I think, India is the only country where the people belonging to different religions have full freedom in their religious matters. There is unrestricted freedom for the followers of different religions for the development of their sects and community. One can see that throughout the world in the countries like Bosnia and Somalia, the people are being massacred mercilessly. Iran-Iraq war can never be faded from the screen of our majority. There are various countries throughout the world where disturbance is prevailing. Therefore, I would like to say that the Muslims are more secure in our country than they are anywhere in the world, and the only reasons for this safety is being the majority of Hindus in India. I would like to say it firmly that Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are the equal citizens of this country. But the politics of votes has been spoiling the Cordial atmosphere of the country since long, and that is why the Government is adopting the discriminatory policies. Thousands of Hindu temples have been demolished before and after the structure of Ayodhya was demolished. When a temple is demolished we feel hurt but even then we tolerate such things to avoid the communal disturbances. Following this policy of tolerance for a long time Hindus were feeling themselves as dead like. They had lost their

pride and dignity due to the slavery of hundreds of years and moreover they had lost their identity. so, today, it has become essential that Hindus should awake and recognise their identity. If the Hindus are strong then they will be able to provide security to all and if they are powerful then they will protect the Muslim, Christian etc. and can keep united the country and only then the peace will prevail throughout the country.

I would like to invite you all to make this country a heaven by respecting the feelings of each other and by following the policy of friendship and harmony. We should not at all forget that on 6th December, when the structure was demolished, a number of temples had also been demolished but I would like to say that we should forget all this. today, we are standing on the cross road, and from there we will have to go in the right direction and to create an atmosphere of peace and harmony so that we can lead the path of development. Otherwise we will continue to march ahead towards the point of destruction as we had been doing so far the last 4 decades despite having eight five year plans and spending thousands of crores of rupees. The people are dying of hunger. Even the mother has to sell her child to get food and also for the safety of the child. None will sell her child willingly and knowingly but she thinks that if someone buys the child for 20-25 rupees then he will at least feed the child and if the child lives with her then he will also die of hunger. Therefore, the mother sells the child with a heavy heart. Today the country has reached to such a pitiable condition.

The Government, which is unable to provide employment to the people, which is unable to save the people from hunger and which can not provide them security, does not have any right to be in the power.

[Smt. Vijayaraje Scindia]

Kashmir has been referred to in the President's Address while the economic and commercial problems have been mentioned, nothing has been said about those migrants who have to leave their homes, whose women have been subjected to assault and molestation, who are running from pillar to post for shelter and livelihood. They are facing lot of hardships throughout the country particularly in the capital. Is it not the duty of the Government to solve their problems and to rehabilitate them? While the names of thousands and lakhs of infiltrators and intruders are being included in the voters list, why these poor unfortunate migrants are being neglected. It is the irony of the fate that these Kashmir people, even though they are Indian citizens, are being called as refugees even in their own country. It is very much shameful on our part. It is the need of the hour to abolish Article 370 and treat Kashmir at par with the other Indian states and initiate the work of construction and development of new Kashmiri.

As far as the law and order situation is concerned, the position is that the police force deployed for the protection of the people, is being used to commit atrocities on the peaceful people. On one hand we are to safeguard ourselves from the unsocial elements and disruptive forces and on the other hand we are to face the blows of the Government. Even when we use our democratic right in a peaceful manner through holding peaceful demonstration, we feel entirely insecure because of police excess. It is obvious from the recent incidents in which our party president was assaulted and the leader of the opposition Shri Advaniji had also been seriously attacked, which was faced by two of our party workers and the result was that one of them had lost his one eye and the other had to loose his

fingers. In this way, by the grace of God, Advaniji was saved but Joshiji was injured. If he had not been saved by Dr. Jain and our other dedicated workers than any mishap could have taken place.

Likewise many hon. Members, leaders and workers were seriously injured. In this way, the Government was playing the role of predators instead of providing us protection. Though the hon. speaker has assured us that the incidents will be enquired into and it is hoped that the offenders will be punished but still we doubt it because the glaring example of such incidents in the past is that of the heinous massacre of and atrocities committed on the Sikhs after the brutal assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. After this incident no enquiry was set up and if at all it was set up then it bore no fruits since neither the sufferers were paid any compensation nor the guilty people were punished, perhaps because there were some Congressmen involved in it.

Today the main reason of the unprecedented downfall of our national character appears to be the weakness of the Government. The primary duty and responsibility of the Government is to present a high ideal before the people so that the people may adopt the same in their lives but the Government has failed to do so and still is not trying for it. I would like to specify in this regard that our experience is totally opposite to it. For example, the incidents like Bofors Case and Share Scam have become a common thing. In fact, when the national character is lost then how the elected represent be different lot. Therefore, we will have to ponder over as to what can be done to solve this basic and complex problem.

Basically, mother is the builder of the nation; she nourishes it and gives it strength. But, today the mother is a highly neglected

[Smt. Vijayaraje Scindia]

lot in our country and she is being treated as a second grade citizen. Due to centuries old slavery. The women are being neglected even today in the society. Secondly the lack of education among them and their own ignorance are the vital factors of their such status in the society. That is why they are being exploited and tortured. In these circumstances how the nation can be healthy and prosperous. We have to think over it. Therefore the need of the hour is that the condition of the women should be improved.

There is a mention of setting up of a "National Women Fund" in the President's Address but I am a little bit afraid that this fund also may not fall into the wrong hands and become a subject of misuse as is happening in case of other welfare funds.

Although the Government had passed a number of laws like Sharda Act, Anti Dowry Act etc. to bring to an end the Atrocities being committed on women, but these have not been implemented with whole heartedly. As a result of it, we are still witnessing child margins and several other evils relating to it in the society. Thousands of baby girls and boys are tied in the nuptial knots and a number of brides are being sacrificed on the alter of dowry and a number of them are committing suicide on this account.

Shri Maithili Sharan Gupta had rightly written:

"Abla Jeevan Haay Tomahari Yehi Kahani,

Anchal mein Hai Doodh Aur Ankhon mein Pani"

(Interruptions)

Excuse me, if these lines are written by Shri Maithili Sharan Gupta then I would like to repeat his lines. Today there is a need to make the woman capable and strong through religious and spiritual during.

It is necessary to awaken her self-confidence, so that she can become aware of her energy and become self-reliant. But in this present age, she has only become a thing of enjoyment. She is being exploited from every side. She has to be saved from economic and social exploitation. She is being deprived of education. Steps should have to be taken on war-footing to protect her from such types of exploitation and to provide her with all the facilities.

In the President's Address, It has been mentioned that there will be hundred per cent literacy in the country. If this literacy drive becomes a success, most of the problems can be solved. Moreover, there is a great need to train the teachers, to create a feeling of responsibility among them and to change their professional mentality. To achieve this goal, the teachers should be given social regard and their salaries etc. should not be less than the salaries etc. of administrative officers. Only then, they will be able to make a place for themselves in the society.

The plight of the children in our country is secret. Due to economic constraints, the parents send their children to work. So, the problem of child labour has also become acute. When the children of tender age will toil 12 to 18 hours a day, how they can become healthy citizens? In this address, the Hon. President has mentioned about providing free and compulsory education to all the children upto 14 years of age. This target should have been achieved within 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, but it is still a dream. So it is

[Smt. Vijayaraje Scindia]

doubtful whether any concrete step will be taken in this regard in future. Although, there is a prohibitory law regarding child labour, yet we all know how much of it is being implemented.

In the end, we draw this conclusion that today the man has become very greedy and selfish and has become a victim of a tendency of accumulating more and more wealth for his own luxurise. In this process, he is not at all concerned about ignoring the interests of others and this tendency of human being is creating social pollution. On one hand we have become conscious about environmental pollution and both the Government and the public are making any attention to the social pollution which is casusing injuries to the society. So it is very much essential to control this pollution too, which is having its place in the minds and hearts of the people. It is creating several severe deformities in the society and the nation. Due to this, the man is aheading toward a vast destruction.

I find only one solution of the problem and it is that an education system based on indian philosophy, culture and spiritualism should be initiated in the country. This should be based on natural and moral values. We not only hope but are also assured that we will ward off our national, social and personal weaknesses and will move from darkness to light. Our future is bright. Bharat mata ki jai.

SHRI ANADI CHARAN DAS (Jajpur):
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was waiting for the last two days to speak in this House. Although, I wanted to speak in Hindi, but the Hindi-speaking Members say why there is so much dispute about Hindi. so, I will speak

in my mother tongue. I know Hindi as well as all the languages of my neighboring states. I can speak as well as read them. I can also speak Bangla and Telugn, but today, I will speak in Oriya.

*SHRI ANADI CHARAN DAS (jajpur):
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today I would like to speak in my mother tongue Oriya. I have been authorised by my party to participate in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks for the Address of the President to the Members of both Houses of Parliament. At the out set, I would like to make it very clear that I use to speak in Hindi and know Hindi very well. I do not like the pressure of anybody for speaking in Hindi only. So, I deliberately like to speak in my mother-tongue Oriya.

Sir, while speaking on the Motion of Thanks, I do not like to concentrate on the religion. I also do not want to repeat the points made by my colleagues. I do not like to enter into any argument or controversy by giving importance to religion. Ours is a secular State. So, I want to rise above the religion. Those who justify the demolition of Babri Mosque and those who justify the construction of the Temple are not going on the nght direction. I heard with rept attention the speeches made by the Hon'ble Members of B.J.P. Hon'ble President has expressed his deep anguish in his Address for the aftermath of Ayodhya. This perhaps tempted by my friends from BJP to refer in their speech to the incidents and to the birth place of Ram Janmabhoomi. In their opinion the mosque as built on the premises of a Temple. So, the birth place of Ram must be protected. But, why the people did not preserve the graveyard of Lord Ram after his death. A group of people say that Lord Ram vanished after his death. Saying something is very easy than preserving a memory. If people could not do so why then the ques-

tion of the birth place or the construction of temple.

Several rules have invaded India. When they came to India particularly the Muslims, they settled down here. Some kings or Muslim invaders may have come with their family or may have come alone, but they had not brought with them all the soldiers which they had here. Some of the rulers may have married to the daughters and sisters of Hindus. Naturally their children have been this become Muslims. I came to know this when I met some people in our areas. We find Contd.. several Hindu families converted themselves into Muslims. There are several Muslims of Hindu origin in so many communities in my area. Here is Delhi also we will find Muslims in differentiations. Once I had gone to a salocan for heir cutting in 1971 when I came to Delhi. The barber in that Hair cutting saloonm said that he is a Muslim. That barber may be a Muslim of Hindu origin. Who can say? So, Hindu, Muslim, the caste should not be given so much importance. All Indians should be teated equally. This will only lead to controversy. When on e thinks of removing the Muslims from India or demolition of mosque or the temple, he must relaise its after effect. Demolition of Babri Masjid has played havoc with the Muslim psuche. They feel that their identity is threaten so, the secular character of the nation has been first diminishing. We are discredited both in India and outside for what has happened in Ayodhya. In what direction we are taking the country? We are going towards destruction. The very survival of the nation has become doubtful. Eery right thinking man is worried today for the future of the nation. Whom are we trying to drive out from the country? They are our Muslims brothers, the Indian Muslims. This act of our fundamentalist Hindu brothers will lead the nation to the partition days. The country may again be divided. sub-divided.

fragmented into small States. Some Muslims had united this nation whereas they are being driven out from this country. How far is it fare for them to go against the Muslims? They may one day say that if we demolish Taj Mahal we may find the dead body of Lord Ram Nothing is impossible for them. They may say whatever they like. I am not against Lord Ram. In fact every member o of m y family worship Lord Ram. But, I am not a disciple of Ram. In fact, I have belief in every religions. So, I do not want to enter into any controversy.

Sir, many Hon'ble Members have expressed their views on the subject under village. So., I would like to speak on the problems of the real people. As you know, Sir, opur's is a country of villages. Majority of the population live in the villages. Their standard of living life style and condition differ from the living condition of the people of the urban areas. Since the majority of the population in our.

Country live in the villages, the welfare and immediate problems and prospect of the people of rural India should have been reflected in the President's Address. While speaking on the Motion of Thanks. I shall speak about the poor famrmers, the articultural workers, the schedule Castes, I shall try to highlight one problems of those rural people. When is the fact of the down-trodden people? What are their living conditions? I may not be given more time to explain their difficulties. Still then I shall very briefly try to bring to the notice of the Govt. about the plight of those people. The rural artisans are passing their days with great misery. Why village life is becoming bitter day by dau? why unrest has been prevailing among the villages? So long so the rural massess are not improved how there can be improvemance in the country.

[Sh. Anadi Charan Das]

Sir the President's Address is just a rural. I have been listening to the President's Address for the last several years. I would like to quote a few line from the Address of the then President in 1983.

"when a vast segment of our work force have organised themselves to secure and safeguard their rights, the overwhelming majority of our working people are unorganised and there fore exploited. Data about their condition of work is inadequate and action to ameliorate their lot is unsatisfactory. Wee committed to improvement of their condition. We have therefore appointed a Commission on Rural labour. We have therefore appointed a Commission on Rural Labour. We have also formed a National Policy on Child Labour. Voluntary agencies can be associated in the rehabilitation of Child Labour and bonded lanour".

To quote, this is about 1980. then a Commission was set up under the Chairmanship of Dinmubhai. After that Hanumanthia Rao was appointed as the Chairman of that Commission.. The Commission toured the entire country since 1980 an tonally submitted a report in 1991 which was also presented in the House on 3rd, September, 1991. The report is available in the Parliament library. After that there is no mention about the rural masses in the President's Address. Perhaps the govt. felt that condition of the rural labors has improved. The poor people's plight are no more. They are the unorganise work force who make a major contribution to the agricultural production. So, there should have been time to time review of the condition of those people. Govt. should take all possible steps to provide benefits to them. it is regret-

table that there is no mention about the steps taken or propound to be taken to improve the living condition of these people. The Commission has made a number of recocmmedation to improve the lot of the backward and rural people. But, there is no mention about them in the President's Address. What is the President Address? The President Address contains the achievements of the Govt. during the previous year and the plan and programmes of the Govt for the next year. The Foreign Policy, the economic policy, the policy proposed to be adopted for the rural laboures agricultural workers, weaker setions, all these matters are generally higher lighted in the President Address. How the steps propose to be taken by the Govt. will help building the nation generally occuopy important place in the President's Address. I am sorry that these matters have not been mentioned in the President's Address.

Sir, the President has referred in his Address about \$250 million of foreign equity components likely to be received by the Govt. to implement some projects in the priority sector, The total value of those projects are Rs. 7500 crores but I would like to tell you that the country cannot make progress with such assistance. They have been importing valuable minerals from our country. we feel proud for exporting those minerals. But we do not think of the future requirement of those raw materials by our country. We are not getting proper returen of the ruch minerals which we are exporting to different countries. We are establishing collaboration with different countries for expanding our trade. But, in each agreement and collaboration we should carefully evaluate our share and what retun actually we are getting. We should not rejoice for the foreign assistance and dollers which we have been getting in the form of loan. We have seen the destruction of several coun-

tries where the economy is controlled by foreign powers. The foreign aid may save you from crisis temporarily, but not for-over. so Religion and Foreign aid are not in the interest of the nation. What we have done to stand on our own fact, what have we done to make our people self-dependent. What are the schemes we proposed to draw for the welfare of the masses. all these issues should have been found place in President's Address.

Now a trend has been developed to use import item. Even the farmers have not able to grow good quality seeds. The seeds come from foreign countries are branded as certified seeds and there is great demand for such seeds. The fertiliser we use in the field are also imported. How long we carry on our agricultural activities with imported seeds and fertilisers. The imported food packets and processed foods are also seen sold in the market. Is it the result of the dollar which we receive as aid? Is it our foreign policy? Is it our economic policy?

When the country become independent, it was stated that priority areas would be identified and steps would be taken for the development of Agriculture. The condition of the farmers would be improved, but it is regrettable that the farmers are still in misery. Then, emphasis was laid on the growth of Industry. A lot of things were said to help the workers. By the workers are still living in the same dirty surroundings. When Mr. Debar was the President of Congress, he raised the slogan of socialism. The constitution was amended accordingly. Socialistic pattern of society has not been established so far. The people could not enjoy equal status in the society. The influence of capitalists are prevailing in the society. Capitalism has its effects in every walk of life. The poor people remained poor.

Now it is capitalist pattern of socialism. Publicity is being given by the Govt. to give pension to unemployed. and the old man and women. But the amount of pension is very low. with the meagre amount of pension one cannot earn his livelihood. When the capitalist countries could give security to every citizen of their countries why not we provide security to our people if we are adopting capitalist pattern of socialism. As I had said earlier the capitalist countries have made collaboration with our country in the field of trade and industry. They have done so to derive profit and to ruin us. We will be loser in the long run. They have in fact created cold war in our country. We should not underestimate our people. Cold war has already started. Our people in the villages are very much agitated as the Govt. is not protecting their interests. They cannot keep quiet for long. They are united in the remote areas. When one Adivasi is raising his voice, you are branding him as naxalite. What happened in Padun areas of Koraput district? The Adivasis were asked to stand in a queue and then the police shot them. The S.T. students were appearing in the Test. The police forced them to vacate the examination hall. If atrocities committed in this manner how can the S.T. students continue their studies? How will the govt. be able to check the drop out rate? The privileged people feel that they should continue to enjoy the privileges and they should also exploit the tribals. There is no harm if injustice is repeated on the tribals. There is no harm if injustice is repeated on the tribals. It has become the order of the day.

Sir, taken the case of our Agricultural policy. The Agricultural policy has not been able to protect the interest of the farmers. The development of agriculture is not possible with the existing Agricultural Policy. The agricultural policy cannot protect the interest of the agricultural workers. So, there

[Sh. Anadi Charan Das]

is a need to introduce a comprehensive Agricultural Policy. It is regrettable that nothing has been mentioned in the President's Address on the need to rectify the Agricultural Policy. Sir, Smt. Indira Gandhi laid emphasis on Land Reforms when she was the Prime Minister. I was a Member of Parliament from Congress Party at that time. We were very much hopeful that land reform measures would be adopted and socialism would be established in our country. The villagers have a ray of hope. But it is regrettable that the socialism remained as a slogan of the Congress party. Forget about land reform, the land records have not been updated so far. By the Govt. of West Bengal could achieve success in land reforms. The farmers, the share croppers and the agricultural workers got justice in that State. That is why the Communists are in power in that State for a long time. By the Govt. of India forgot the land reform?

I was listening to the speech of Rajmataji. She was rightly saying that there poverty stricken people can commit any crime. It is unfortunate that property has not been ameliorated from the society. The women are not being given due prestige. They are still tortured, raped and molested. Atrocities are committed on women and weaker section. Plans are formulated for the Adivasants' development. Nobody thinks about tribal women. The women in the so called civilized society are getting maternity benefit, but the disadvantaged pregnant women are allowed to work even at the advanced stage. They are delivering babies in the forest while they go in search of work. The poor S.C. & S.T. women are not given nutritious food when they are pregnant. They are not given any health care and medicines. Is it not the duty of the nation to give them minimum health care. The govt. is laying emphasis on

"Health for all". Schemes are drawn up accordingly and funds earmarked for the purpose. But it is not implemented in the field. Why a group of people will get all benefit where as other group who are poor and down-trodden will be discriminated in every matter? While I was the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on S.C. & S.T. I had visited the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh. I inquired from some people in a large number of tribal villages where I came to know that not a single tribal got maternity benefit. On the other hand the Govt. report says that the scheme was being effectively implemented in that area. I visited some other tribal villages where I came to know that cases recommended by MLAs and Ministers for maternity benefit have only been considered. In each such case only a sum of Rs. 500/- has been given. For getting this Rs. 500/- some people have spent even Rs. 600/-. The BJP govt. was in power at that time in that state.. A sum of Rs. 4 Crores was earmarked in the Budget for providing maternity benefit to the landless labourers and SC & ST women. But I found that the maternity benefit has not been given to the tribal women and the women from landless families. This I found when I examined a tribal district in Madhya Pradesh. As you know, Sir, Special Fund provision is made for the tribal sub-plan areas. By the fund is either misutilised, misappropriated or not at all utilised. This has happened in every five year plan period. Right from the Sixth Five Year Plan till today we found we found that a sum of Rs. 1972066/- crores have been spent on the tribal sub-plan areas. under the State Plan.

Similarly Rs. 2177/- crores of rupees of Central assistance has been spent on the tribal subplan areas. Altogether a sum of Rs. 2125051/- lakh has been spent in the tribal subplan areas. Has every tribal been given Rs. 1000/- each the per capita income of those

people would have gone up by now. they could have crossed the below poverty line by now. The Govt. have no sympathy for them. It is a tragedy that most of the S.C. & S.T. and Backward people in this country have no land, they are not getting proper education. to them regularly. It is also inadequate. Reservation policy is not strictly obsessed in the matter of employ and promotion. Reservation order is not strictly followed by Govt. of Orissa. The S.C. & S.T. in Orissa are 38% of the total population of the State. But, in the matter of admission in Schools and colleges only 20% of seats have been reserved for them. The tribals are 23% of the total population of Orissa. They have been given 12% of seats. The S.C. population is 15%, but they have been given 8% of the total seats in the educational institutions. There have been growing unrest among the S.C. & S.T. There were strikes in Orissa on reservation issue. Finally, the present Chief Minister of Orissa had spend 17 lakhs to organise a meeting where he made a compromise and only 20% of seats have been reserved for S.C. & S.T. The Central Govt. is sitting as silent spectator. The Supreme Court has passed a judgment to give promotion on completion of five years of service. But, the Govt. of Orissa was the first State Govt. to defy this order. Now, Orissa Govt. has declared that no promotion will be given to as S.C. & S.T. in Govt. service on the basis of reservation. How can they improve in their service period? They will only work at the low level. They cannot be promoted to the higher post.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Govt. of India had declared that the schemes would be implemented for welfare of Scheduled Caste. The Govt. laid stress on the liberation of scavengers. The scheme has not been implemented effectively. This evil systems is still containing. The scavenges are still carrying night soil on their head. They should

be liberated soon. Fund has been allocated for them, but not implemented so far, the Govt. have decided to set up a National Commission for them. But it has not been done so far. I have been a Member of the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Welfare. I have been raising the problems of Scheduled Castes and laying stress on the liberation of scavengers. I had also been saying about the need to set up a National Commission. Now it should be immediately set up.

Sir, the Scheduled Caste Finance Development Corporation and other financial institutions have not been able to help in improving the living condition of S.C. We have to give steps on Education and Service. All possible steps should be taken to educate every S.C. & S.T. student. They should then be provided with Govt. Service. This will help them become self-dependent. The Govt. is providing fund to S.C. & S.T. to set up industries. How can they achieve success if they are not well trained in the industrial management? Sir, unemployment problem is mounting in the rural areas. so, the people are migrating to the urban areas. Here also, there is no avenues for them. In Delhi, I have seen many unemployed boys moving near my house. The Govt. has issued a circular in which it was stated that the contractors will give job to the unemployed people in their establishments. I have never seen any contractor giving them job. There are several slum dwellers in Delhi. There are many people living in the tent in the backside of All India Radio. Nobody is paying attention to them. Nobody is asking them from where they have come and how they can be given employment? Some workers and S.C. houses were burnt by the contractors in my constituency. When I was fighting the election for Lok Sabha some people sent by the contractors burnt the huts of those poor people. Some of our

[Sh. Anadi Charan Das]

friends are shedding crocodile tears for the poor and downroden but actually they are not doing anything for them. The schemes drawn up for the rehabilitation of bonded laborers, child laborers and street children are not implemented effectively. The fund earmarked under these schemes are not being utilised by the State Govt.

Sir, I have been urging the Govt. to provide one job for one family. One family should be given one house. Ceiling should be fixed on property. I have been pleading before the Govt. to adopt the children norm. Everybody, completed 20 years of service should be asked to retire. He should be given benefit for 30 years and should be asked to leave the job. In the process, job avenues can be created for the new generation. But all my suggestions to the govt. have turned down. This is because the Govt. has invited capitalist system in our country. In this capitalist form of socialistic society we will pay security and pension to everybody. What is the amount of pension? This Rs. 50/- or Rs. 100/- of old age pension is not able to help them. This pension is to be given out of consolidated Fund of India. In Orissa the old age pension has not been paid for the last 9 months. I do not know why you call it a pension. This is just a mercy shown to the old people. An account should be opened in the name of every old man and woman. Every month they should be allowed to submit the bill and draw the pension. Otherwise these delays for 9 months will not help the old men and women.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Anadi Charan Das, how much time do you need? Will you take five minutes?

MR. ANADI CHANRAN DAS: I will

take five more minutes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shall we sit for another five minutes and finish it? Is it the pleasure of the House to sit for another five minutes?

SOME HON. MEMBER: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, we extend the time of the House by five more minutes.

SHRI ANADI CHARAN DAS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, all the old system prevailing in the society and should be abolished. I am sorry there is no mention in the President's Address on the abolition of all the evil system prevailing in the society. However, I am glad that the Hon'ble President has announced in his speech to create Ambedkar Chair. Mention has been made on the constitution of Ambedkar foundation under which national award and overseas fellowships would be given to the S.C. students. Many more things should have been done in the memory of Babu Saheb Ambedkar. The State Govt. who are not doing anything in this direction should have been asked to do so.

Finally Sir, I would like to speak a word on tribal Sub Plan and Special Component Plan. These two programmes were started at the time of Smt. Indira Gandhi. At that time it was decided that every public undertaking should make provision of some fund for spending in the tribal sub-plan and in the special component plan. But the public sector undertakings have not been doing so. Suppose a road has gone to the factory of Public Sector Undertaking near a Harijan village or if the electric poles have been installed nearby that village for the electrification of the factory the public sector undertaking is submitting report saying that fund

has been provided for laying road and electrification of that particular Harijan village. No department, no PUC is making budget provisions exclusively for the tribals sub plan or special component plan area. If a canal is going near the Harijan village the irrigation department is showing it in their file saying that the canal has been contracted for that village. We do not want such type of component Plan. What is meaning of the special component plan? It means individual benefit schemes. The central Govt. and State Govt. both should allocate fund for implementing special component plan. Except one State or two nobody even the Central Govt. has not quantified fund in their Head of account for special component plan.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the suggestion has not been incorporated in the Ad-

dress of the Hon'ble President. However, I again extend my whole-hearted thanks to the President for the reference made to Ambedkar foundation. With these words, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak and conclude my speech.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Thank you, Mr. Das.

Now the House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow the 5th March, 1993, at 11.00 a.m.

18.05 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the
Clock on Friday, March 5, 1993/Phalguna
14, 1914 (Saka)*