

LOKSABHA DEBATES

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TENTH LOK SABHA

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

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LOK SABHA DEBATES

LOK SABHA

Thursday, July 11, 1991/Asadha 20,
1913 (Saka)

*The Lok Sabha met at fiftyfive
minutes past twelve of the Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MEMBERS SWORN

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Members who have not already taken the oath or made the affirmation, to do so, sign the Roll of Members and take their seats in the House.

Shri Vijarama Raju (Parvathipuram)
Satrucharia

Shri Paras Ram Bhardwaj (Sarangarh)

Shri Arvind Netam (Kanker)

Shri Chandulal Chandrakar (Durg)

Shri Chandrajeet Yadav (Azamgarh)

13.00 hrs.

SHRI BRIJA KISHORE TRIPATHY (Puri): On a point of order, Sir. I would like to bring to your notice the provisions of articles.....
(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Secretary-General.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the President's Address to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 11th July, 1991.

President's Address

Honourable Members,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this joint session of Parliament. I felicitate the Members of the new Lok Sabha.

2. May 21, 1991 was a nightmare. The heinous assassination of Rajiv Gandhi plunged the country into gloom. His assassination was an inhuman act of the worst kind. He had provided leadership at a moment of grave crisis in the history of our nation. In his death the country has lost a promising leader. Rajiv Gandhi's vision of the future, the optimism which he exuded, his great patriotism, his commitment to the poor, his striving for world peace will continue to inspire the people of India as well as peace loving people the world over.

3. The previous government constituted a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr. Justice J. S. Verma, a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court of India, to inquire into the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Government is of the opinion that the terms

of reference of the Commission should be enlarged and made comprehensive.

4. The people of India have faced this crisis with fortitude and maturity. Forces which tried to subvert democracy and destabilise the country stand frustrated. The recently concluded General Election has once again demonstrated the strength and vitality of the democratic process in India.

5. The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi has brought into sharp focus the need to arrest the growing cult of violence in the country. The law and order situation in the country has been a cause of great concern for sometime now. Violence has continued in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. The situation in Assam, Nagaland and Manipal has continued to cause concern. Extremist activity in some states has also put the law and order machinery under severe pressure.

6. Violence and terrorism in Punjab continued unabated. It is, however, heartening that the people of Punjab have maintained communal harmony in spite of the nefarious tactics of the terrorists who constitute a small fraction of the population. Assisted by the Army in the border areas, security forces have been relentlessly fighting to contain the senseless killings, extortions and kidnappings by the terrorists. To check infiltration from across the border, the work on border fencing and flood lighting in Punjab was expedited and has been completed as planned. Elections to the Legislative Assembly and the Parliamentary Constituencies in Punjab were to be held on 22nd June, 1991. However, the large scale killing of candidates and the atmosphere of the fear and terror created by militants rendered it impossible to ensure a free and fair poll. Polling has, therefore, been postponed to 25th September, 1991. Government will continue to deal firmly with terrorism and secessionism. Government is committed to restore normalcy and to start the democratic process in Punjab at the earliest. However, mili-

tants and secessionists will not be allowed to misuse the elections for their ends. Government stands by the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Negotiations are always possible with those who eschew violence and accept the framework of our Constitution. Government is prepared to take whatever new initiatives are required and will continue to strive for a comprehensive settlement of all outstanding issues in order to have a permanent and peaceful solution in Punjab.

7. The law and order and security situation in Jammu and Kashmir deteriorated fast during the past year and a half. Secessionists and certain fundamentalist elements, aided and abetted from across the border, are carrying out terrorist and subversive activities. The security forces are taking necessary and effective measures to combat secessionism and terrorism. Lately, encouraging signals have been received in the form of surrender of many militants. The relationship between Government and the people needs to be strengthened. People's committees will be constituted at different levels to ensure their participation. At the same time, stern action will be taken against secessionist forces. Special attention will be paid to providing employment for the unemployed youth of Jammu and Kashmir.

8. Elections were held in Assam and people have given a fitting reply to the forces of secession. The people of Assam deserve to be congratulated on the peaceful manner in which elections were conducted. Government will ensure that secessionist elements in Assam are brought back into the mainstream. Genuine grievances of the people will be redressed. Steps will be taken for the rapid economic development of Assam.

9. It is a matter of serious concern that the forces of communalism have been able to vitiate the atmosphere in the country leading to the out-break of serious riots in the last two years. Government are determined to combat such forces and uphold the values

of secularism. Government will not allow the rights and interests of religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities to be compromised. A composite Rapid Action Force will be formed and appropriately equipped and trained to deal with riots and will be made available to the State Governments at very short notice. More Special Courts will be set up as necessary to try offences relating to communal riots. Procedures will be strengthened to enable speedy and adequate compensation to be paid to victims of communal riots. Places of worship must be treated with due respect. We cannot allow communal elements to defile their sanctity by using such places as instruments to generate controversy and discord. Government will make every effort to find a negotiated settlement to the Ram Janma Bhoomi—Babri Masjid issue with due regard to the sentiments of both communities involved. In case of all other places of worship, a Bill will be introduced to maintain the status quo as on 15th August, 1947, in order to foreclose any new controversy. The special cell established in 1988 to gather intelligence in communally sensitive districts will be strengthened with a view to preventing riots. The next-of-kin of those whose lives are lost in communal riots will be rehabilitated by providing suitable employment to them.

10. We are proud of our armed forces. They have risen to the occasion whenever called upon to defend the territorial integrity of our country, assist the civil authorities in the maintenance of law and order and in organising relief and rescue measures. Government will continue to pursue various welfare schemes for the defence services, both for serving and retired personnel. Government will give priority to the upgradation of and self-reliance in defence technologies.

11. Government recognises that the country is in the midst of an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude. It has been living beyond its means and adopting soft options. We have been overtaken by events. We

must act now. No sacrifice is too great to safeguard our economic independence and the country must prepare itself to take hard and unpleasant economic decisions.

12. Government is committed to the macro-economic stabilisation and structural reforms which will unleash the nation's latent energy to bring about accelerated development. The Reserve Bank of India has brought about an adjustment in the exchange rate in order to strengthen competitiveness of our exports, to reduce expenditure on inessential imports, to reduce the incentive for capital flight and stabilise the capital account. We intend to take concerted measures in the areas of trade policy and industrial policy reform further to enhance the competitiveness of our exports. We are committed to ensure that the poor and the underprivileged do not have to bear a disproportionate burden of the adjustment process.

13. Of particular concern is the rise in prices of essential commodities which hurts the weaker sections the most. Government attaches the highest priority to reducing inflation and will adopt necessary measures towards this end. The interest of the weaker sections of society will be kept uppermost in mind, while framing strategies for this purpose. Measures to restrain growth in money supply; economies in Government expenditure; encouragement to small savings; better supply and demand management of sensitive commodities; and provision of incentives for higher production in the medium term will receive priority.

14. Fiscal imbalances continue to be a major concern for the Government. Despite attempts at controlling expenditure and raising additional revenues, the revised estimate of budget deficit for 1990-91 is Rs. 10,772 crores against the budget estimate of Rs. 7,206 crores. Government is committed to observing strict fiscal discipline. The generation of black

money will be checked. Government expenditure will be controlled. While making necessary adjustments, Government would ensure that the burden does not fall on the poor.

15. The balance of payments position, already under severe strain, was further exacerbated by the Gulf crisis, the direct adverse impact of which is estimated at \$ 2.7 billion (over Rs. 4,900 crores). Of this, the additional cost of oil imports alone accounted for \$ 2 billion while the rest was, among others, owing to the loss of exports, evacuation of Indian nationals and reduced inflow of capital. The balance of payments situation has become more critical as the flow of funds from international capital markets did not materialise as anticipated, though several countries did offer help. Significant bilateral assistance has come particularly from Japan as also from Germany, U.K., the Netherlands and Denmark. The management of balance of payments is one of the most crucial tasks before us and Government will not hesitate to take the hard decisions necessary in this behalf.

16. Exports have a vital role in solving the balance of payments problem. During 1990-91, our exports were affected adversely, resulting in a slowdown in the rate of growth. Government has recently announced major structural reforms in trade policy. It is hoped that export trade will get out of the circle of low growth, high cost and stifling controls and once again get on to a high trajectory of growth. Government's ultimate goal is to eliminate all licensing control on the import of capital goods and raw materials except for a small negative list.

17. The Uruguay Round of multilateral negotiations is underway in Geneva. While attaching importance to strengthening the multilateral trading system, Government will endeavour to see that the outcome of the negotiations would be a favourable

trading environment for developing countries.

18. Efforts will be made to step up industrial growth. In 1990-91, the average industrial growth was 8.4% compared to 8.5% during the 7th Plan period. Government is determined to work towards making India internationally competitive. For this purpose, fullest use will be made of modern science and technology. The opportunities provided by increasing internationalisation of the industry and trade will be fully utilised. The development of the small scale sector and khadi and village industries will receive the Government's close attention. Government will work for extensive deregulation and reduction of bureaucratic intervention. To this end, a comprehensive review of policies and procedures has been initiated. In order to raise the competitiveness and quality of Indian industry to global levels, technology imports will be liberalised and facilitated in areas where Indian technology does not measure up to international standards. Changes in procedures are being worked out so that the investment climate is made more conducive for participation by foreign companies and non-resident Indians. Efficiency will be promoted in services required by industrial and other users from financial institutions and banks.

19. Reforms in the functioning of the public sector are being formulated to improve its performance. The management of the public sector will be strengthened through selection of the best talent available. Public Sector managers will be allowed greater autonomy without diluting accountability. A policy is being evolved for disinvestment, including workers' participation in equity and for vacating areas of activity where public sector involvement is not essential and where private and joint sectors have developed capabilities.

20. To provide a boost to the electronics industry and to promote software exports, a number of measures

are being initiated. These would include setting up of technology parks and attracting international leaders in semi-conductors technology to set up facilities in India. High priority will be accorded to expanding the production of crude oil and refining capacity. Government will take special measures to tackle sickness in the textile industry and improve the price competitiveness of Indian textile exports. Immediate attention will be given to problems faced by the food processing industry, which has a critical relevance for the better utilisation and greater value addition of agricultural produce.

21. The development of infrastructure will receive Government's close attention. Power generation will be stepped up. Steps will be taken to make the steel industry more competitive. Modernisation of rail transport and augmentation of capacity will receive attention. Telecom services will receive very high priority. It will be the endeavour of the Government to upgrade telecom and postal services and to ensure that the telephone reaches every village before the end of the decade.

22. Science and technology must be brought to the centre stage in economic planning. It is to the credit of our scientists that we have been able to establish internationally acclaimed competence in several areas. During the current year, two major space events have been scheduled—the launch of the Indian Remote Sensing Satellite and the launch of the Indian National Satellite. These represent our commitment to provide services in areas like communications, telecasting, broadcasting and meteorology and relevant data in the areas of ground water availability, forestry, agriculture, and mineral resources. Significant progress has also been made in the development of various Satellite Launch Vehicles. Our efforts at using atomic energy for our development needs have yielded encouraging results. Members will be happy to learn that in the next few

months Narora-2 power reactor and Kakrapar-1 power station will go critical. Government will take all possible steps to accelerate the pace of progress in science and technology.

23. The total production of foodgrains in 1990-91 is expected to be 177.2 million tonnes. This will be the third successive year of increased foodgrains production and this has happened for the first time since independence. This is due to the untiring efforts of our farmers and more effective adoption of scientific farm management practices. We will ensure that our farmers get a fair and remunerative price for their produce. Conditions will be created for further increase in agricultural yields. Agricultural research will receive the Government's close attention. Extension services will be strengthened and modern technology will be made available to our farmers in a usable manner. Technology for increasing productivity in rainfed agriculture would be further developed and efforts would be made to ensure that a package of supportive measures to increase the income levels of small and marginal farmers in these areas reaches them. The development of water resources will receive high priority. Government will make every effort to maximise indigenous production of fertilizers and ensure its timely availability to the farmers. At least 90% self sufficiency in nitrogenous fertilizers will be ensured by commissioning the gas based plants at Babrala, Shahjahanpur, Gadepan and Kakinada and doubling the capacities of the plants at Vijaipur, Aonla and Jagdishpur during the 8th Five Year Plan. Animal husbandry will be further developed with emphasis on genetic improvement, animal health and cost effective feed. Particular attention will be paid to remote areas.

24. Given the difficult economic situation facing the country, the formulation of the 8th Five Year Plan assumes added importance. The Planning Commission began formulating

the Plan in 1988. However, due to frequent changes in Government, the Plan document could not be finalised. Government will take necessary steps for the early finalisation of the 8th Plan.

25. India has had a deep commitment to environmental conservation drawn from its ethos. India shares the emerging global concerns in the context of the environmental changes induced by economic and technological activities. We shall take the required initiatives to ensure that our commitment to sustainable development crystallises. Wasteland and water resource development have enormous potential for employment and productivity. A new policy on abatement of pollution is under preparation which aims at promoting environmentally sound and clean technologies to minimise waste and control pollution. A National Forestry Action Programme is being prepared with the involvement of all State Governments. The role of citizen groups will be encouraged.

26. The youth of India represent a large, creative and vibrant resource segment of our society. Investment in their development is an investment in the future of the country. Government will formulate policies for actively involving youth in efforts to nurture the spirit of national integration and pride in our country. Linkage between education, development of youth, sports and physical education will be strengthened. The rapid expansion of opportunities for productive employment will be a major objective of our planning and economic policy.

27. Women and children, particularly those belonging to poor households, are the two most vulnerable groups of our population that need special attention. The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), the largest child development programme in the world, has completed fifteen years of successful implementation. Government is committed to

expand this programme during the 8th Plan to cover all the backward and drought and flood-prone areas as well as areas where there are large concentrations of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Government is committed to the implementation of Indira Mahila Yojana. This integrated programme for the development of women and children was inspired by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and announced in November 1989. The programme aims at developing a new sense of awareness among women, particularly in rural areas, and empower them, so that they become active participants in the process of social transformation and regeneration. The development of the child will be an integral part of this programme. We will take measures to enforce all the legislation for women already on the statute book. As a first step, we will appoint a Commissioner for Women's Rights with powers for taking action required for the effective enforcement of their rights.

28. Government is committed to the socio-economic and educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The composition of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which has been given constitutional status will be finalised shortly. The National Commission will be given all the support it requires to discharge its duties in regard to the implementation of the safeguards and other measures designed for the protection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and their socio-economic development through the planning process. The National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation will be strengthened. Government is committed to special measures in favour of socially and educationally backward classes. In implementing these, preference will be given to their poorer sections among them. Where poorer candidates are not available, the benefit will go to other members of the backward classes. The Government will also ensure that the

benefits of reservation are provided to other economically backward sections who are not covered by the existing schemes. A Backward Classes Development Corporation will be set up.

29. Steps will be initiated for the effective implementation of the 15-Point Programme for the welfare of minorities which seeks to ensure that the minorities are protected and that they are not discriminated against in the matter of employment in public services and benefits from development schemes. All possible assistance will be extended for the educational development of the minorities. The Minorities Commission will be accorded statutory status.

30. Improving the quality of life of the rural poor will receive the Government's closest attention. Efforts will be made to ease the pressure on land by providing alternative avenues of employment. To this end appropriate economic linkages will be established and non-farm employment stepped up. Small, medium and large-scale agro-based and food processing industries will also be established. The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) continues to be a major instrument for creation of self-employment opportunities and will be strengthened. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana will be continued to generate more employment in rural areas. A special crash programme, to be named after Rajiv Gandhi, will be drawn up to provide drinking water to rural areas within five years. Improvements will be made in the primary health care infrastructure in rural areas.

31. The strength of our economy rests, in a very large measure, upon the toil of our working class, including those in the unorganised sector. It will be the endeavour of the Government to protect and promote the interests of the working class. Efforts will be made to foster healthy industrial relations by carrying out reforms

in the machinery for settlement of labour disputes.

32. Health is an essential element in the development process and a crucial input for improving the quality of life. While there has been steady expansion in health care facilities, a great deal still requires to be done. All possible measures will be taken to reduce mortality and morbidity rates which are still high, particularly among children. With a view to further strengthening the health care system, a National Institute of Biologicals is being established to ensure safety of vaccines, kits and reagents. To draw upon the strengths of various systems of medicine, Government are taking measures to promote and develop indigenous systems. Assistance is also being provided to further encourage the study of homeopathy.

33. Today is the World Population Day. This is an occasion to focus attention on a global problem, which is of particular relevance to India. We are at a critical stage of development. A rapidly expanding population is exerting relentless pressure on our scarce resources. Greater emphasis will be placed on limiting population through propagation of the small family norm. A multi-pronged approach will be adopted to this end. Integrated health, nutrition, education and motivational services for the people in general and women in particular will be improved and strengthened. Maternal and child health measures will receive special care.

34. India's greatest resource is its people. The full potential of our human resource has yet to be effectively utilised. High priority will, therefore, be accorded to education. The National Policy on Education formulated in 1986 on the basis of a national consensus contains the framework for our advancement towards a secular, modern, self-reliant and just social order. The uncertainty

created in the last one and a half years about the Policy has caused much harm. We shall now revive the spirit required to implement the Policy with renewed vigour. We must move with confidence and determination, towards the goal of universal literacy and provision of good quality primary education for all children, especially those belonging to the disadvantaged sections. Government believes that equal opportunity in education is crucial to social harmony and progress. This emphasis of the New Education Policy will remain Government's main plank. Particular attention will be paid to the education of women and girls. We shall simultaneously improve the quality of education and bridge the chasm that now exists between the world of work and the world of learning.

35. The highest priority of the Government will be to provide for adequate availability of essential commodities at reasonable prices. As an important part of this effort, the Public Distribution System will be streamlined and more sharply targeted to reach the poorest of the poor, especially those in the rural areas. It will be an integral part of our strategy to fight rural poverty and give the rural poor a better quality of life. This effort would include measures like ensuring timely and adequate deliveries of food-grains used in wage employment and supplementary nutrition programmes. The Essential Commodities Act will be strictly enforced to fight anti-social activities like hoarding, profiteering and blackmarketing of essential commodities. The provisions of the Consumer Protection Act will be used more effectively to provide simple, inexpensive and quick redressal of consumer grievances against sub-standard goods, services and unfair trade practices. An effective machinery will be set up to monitor the entire gamut of these efforts.

36. Government attach great importance to making administration

more efficient and responsive to the needs of the people. Particular attention will be paid to those areas of administration where it interfaces closely and directly with the people. The grievances redressal machinery will also come in for close scrutiny with a view to enhancing its effectiveness. Government will complete the drive for filling the backlog of vacancies meant for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in various Ministries and Departments of the Government of India in a time-bound manner.

37. In foreign policy, we accord the highest priority to strengthening our relations with our neighbours in South Asia on a bilateral basis as well as through the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

38. We welcome the establishment of a democratically elected government in Bangladesh and look forward to working with them in resolving outstanding issues through dialogue and further strengthening our co-operation. We are deeply grieved over the unprecedented devastation caused by the cyclone which recently struck Bangladesh and are contributing to relief operations in a spirit of friendship and good neighbourliness.

39. Our relations with Maldives continue to progress on the basis of mutual trust and cooperation. Maldives too, has been the victim of severe cyclones. India has been participating actively in relief efforts.

40. Our close relations and cooperation with Bhutan will be further consolidated and strengthened.

41. The emergence of multi-party democracy in Nepal will further strengthen our uniquely close ties. Over the past year, high level exchanges of visits have reinforced our political understanding and imparted a shared determination to intensify cooperation in areas of mutual benefit.

42. Government will continue the endeavour to reduce tensions with Pakistan. Agreements have been reached on several confidence building measures, including on providing advance notification of military exercises and prevention of air-space violation by military aircraft. We believe that all differences with Pakistan should be resolved bilaterally and peacefully on the basis of the Simla Agreement. However, Pakistan's support to terrorism in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir is a matter of serious concern and stands in the way of a genuine and sustained improvement in our relationship.

43. We are concerned at the continuing violence in Sri Lanka which has caused unending human suffering and led to nearly two lakh Sri Lankan nationals taking refuge on our soil. It is important that efforts for a lasting and durable solution to the ethnic issue are intensified and conditions created for the return of these refugees at the earliest. The India-Sri Lanka Agreement continues to provide a viable framework for this objective.

44. We have continued to strengthen our traditional ties of friendship and cooperation with our close neighbour, Afghanistan. We are concerned that resumed military activity would cause a setback to the peace process. We hope that peace and normalcy will be restored soon through a political settlement. India will continue to work for a strong, stable, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan.

45. Since the visit of Shri Rajiv Gandhi to China in 1988, there has been a marked improvement in India-China relations and we will seek to strengthen this process. The two countries have reached agreement on re-opening their Consulates in Bombay and Shanghai respectively and also to resume border trade. The scale of scientific and technical exchanges as well as cultural exchanges has been steadily expanded. The outstanding question of the boundary

between the two countries should be settled in a fair and reasonable manner. Better understanding and co-operation between India and China will have a positive impact on peace and stability in our region and the world.

46. The Soviet Union is a major partner with whom we have friendly relations and wide-ranging, mutually beneficial cooperation. We wish the people of the Soviet Union success in their efforts to bring about a transformation in their country. We are confident that our bilateral relations with that great country will continue to develop in an atmosphere of traditional warmth and understanding.

47. We look forward to the further development of our relations with the United States of America. We believe that building a mutually beneficial and mature relationship is a goal shared by both countries. Indo-US cooperation in the commercial, scientific, technical and cultural fields has been steadily intensified.

48. We will continue to monitor closely the post-war developments in the Gulf region, a region with which we have deep-rooted, historic links. We hope that the new security arrangements that are being put in place would be based upon the initiative of the countries of the region and worked out under the overall aegis of the UN.

49. There can be no durable or stable peace in West Asia without a comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem. India has consistently supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people and has recognised Palestine as an independent state. We remain committed to supporting a settlement based on the Palestinian right to self-determination, the vacating of all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the security of all the States in the region.

50. We have traditionally had good relations with all the countries of

Europe. The European community is our major trading partner and a key source of investment and technology. We also recognise its growing potential as a political and economic entity. We will remain in close touch with the Community.

51. Our friendly relations with Germany have been strengthened with the visit of the President of Germany to India. Later this year in September, the Festival of India in Germany will be inaugurated in celebration of the cultural and intellectual interchange that has been a hallmark of Indo-German relations in the past decades.

52. The countries of Eastern Europe have witnessed momentous changes in recent years. India welcomes the success of the democratic movements in these countries and looks forward to strengthening our traditional bonds of friendly relations with them.

53. We desire the strengthening of our relations with Japan, which is already one of our major economic partners. We have engaged in a constructive dialogue with Japan on the entire range of matters of mutual concern. We appreciate the support they have extended to us.

54. Government will continue to maintain close and friendly contacts with all the countries of South East Asia. We will continue to participate in the process of finding a political solution to the Cambodian conflict, consistent with the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and the non-aligned status of Cambodia.

55. We remain totally opposed to the continuing efforts to institutionalise racial discrimination in Fiji.

56. We welcome the measures taken by the South African Government to remove the statutory pillars of apartheid. We fully support the demand of the African National Congress to

implement further measures, which will lead to the irreversible elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

57. In the short period of our current membership of the United Nations Security Council, since January this year, we have endeavoured to project not only our own national policies and aspirations but also serve the cause of maintaining international peace and security, in consonance with our faith in multilateralism.

58. Our foreign policy will take into account the far reaching changes taking place in the international situation while adhering firmly to the principles of Nonalignment. We will continue to work for peace and disarmament and for global cooperation to reduce poverty and improve living standards in the developing nations.

59. Honourable Members, the main task before you will be the adoption of the Budget for 1991-92 and several measures of grave national importance. I am sure that your deliberations will be marked by maturity and wisdom and guided by patriotic and selfless devotion to the cause of the nation.

60. The crisis with which we are confronted today makes this session of Parliament a particularly important one. You must give the lead and set the tone which will instil confidence in our people and enthuse them in the task of nation building. You have before you the historic task of building a strong and prosperous India, a humane India, an India where there is social harmony and communal amity, an India from which poverty has been eradicated, an India based on equality and social justice.

61. I wish you all success.

Jai Hind.

MR. SPEAKER: Papers to be laid on the Table of the House.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRIJA KISHORE TRIPATHY (Puri): Sir, I am on a point of order.....*(Interruptions)*.....

MR. SPEAKER: No, there is no business as such. There is no question of point of order.

SHRI BRIJA KISHORE TRIPATHY: Please listen to me, Sir. I would like to bring to your notice the provisions of articles 74 and 75 of the Constitution of India. We have the Prime Minister who is not an elected Member of this House. He is neither a Member of this House nor a Member of the Upper House. I would like to know whether it is amounting to violation of the provisions of the Constitution or not. This is the first time that undemocratically this has been done in the country. So, I want clarification on this matter.....*(Interruptions)*.....

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. This is not a point of order. Now, Papers to be laid on the Table of the House.

13.02 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

Jammu and Kashmir Criminal Law (Amendment) ordinance, 1991 and Proclamation dt. 6-4-1991 issued under Act. 356 of the constitution by the President in relation to Haryana etc.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI GHU-

LAM NABI AZAD): Sir, on behalf of Shri S.B. Chavan, I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of the Jammu and Kashmir Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991 (No. 1 of 1991) (Hindi and English versions) promulgated by the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir on the 16th June, 1991 under section 91(2) (a) of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir read with clause (c) (iv) of the Proclamation dated the 18th July, 1990 issued by the President in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-3/91]

- (2) (i) A copy of the Proclamation (Hindi and English versions) dated the 6th April, 1991 issued by the President under articles 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Haryana published in Notification No. G.S.R. 208 (E) in Gazette of India dated the 6th April, 1991, under article 356(3) of the Constitution.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-4/91]

- (ii) A copy of the Order (Hindi and English versions) dated the 6th April, 1991 made by the President in pursuance of sub-clause (i) of clause (c) of the above Proclamation published in Notification No. G.S.R. 209 (E) in Gazette of India dated the 6th April, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-5/91]

- (3) A copy of the Report dated the 2nd April, 1991 of the Governor of Haryana to the

President (Hindi and English versions).

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-6/91]

(4) A copy each of the following Proclamations (Hindi and English versions) under article 356(3) of the Constitution:—

(i) Proclamation dated the 23rd June, 1991 issued by the President under clause (2) of article 356 of the Constitution revoking the Proclamation issued by him on the 6th April, 1991 in relation to the State of Haryana, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 315(E) in Gazette of India dated the 23rd June, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-7/91]

(ii) Proclamation dated the 24th June, 1991 issued by the President under clause (2) of article 356 of the Constitution revoking the Proclamation issued by him on the 30th January, 1991 in relation to the State of Tamil Nadu, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 316(E) in Gazette of India dated the 24th June, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-8/91]

(iii) Proclamation dated the 30th June, 1991 issued by the President under clause (2) of article 356 of the Constitution revoking the Proclamation issued by him on the 27th November, 1990 in relation to the State of Assam, published in Notification

No. G.S.R. 323(E) in Gazette of India dated the 30th June, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-9/91]

Delhi Municipal Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991, The Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991, The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Orders (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991 etc.

MINISTER OF STATES IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Ordinances (Hindi and English versions) under article 123 (2)(a) of the Constitution:—

(1) The Delhi Municipal Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991 (No. 1 of 1991) promulgated by the President on the 30th March, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-10/91]

(2) The Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991 (No. 2 of 1991) promulgated by the President on the 18th April, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-11/91]

(3) The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Orders (Amendment) Ordinance 1991 (No. 3 of 1991) promulgated by the President on the 19th April, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-12/91]

(4) The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance,

1991 (No. 4 of 1991) promulgated by the President on the 2nd May, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-13/91]

- (5) The Terrorist and Destructive Activities (Prevention) Amendment Ordinance, 1991 (No. 5 of 1991) promulgated by the President on the 2nd May, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-14/91]

- (6) The Consumer Protection (Amendment) Ordinance, 1991 (No. 6 of 1991) promulgated by the President on the 15th June, 1991.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-15/91]

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have come to know that there is a proposal to further extend the period of supersession of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. There are reports in today's newspapers that about 22 people have been killed in Delhi. (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Please, we have obituary references first.

RESOLUTION REGARDING DEMISE OF SHRI RAJIV GANDHI AND OBITUARY REFERENCES

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, I rise to propose the following Resolution on the sad demise of Shri Rajiv Gandhi on May 21, 1991:

"This House expresses its profound sense of grief at the treacherous and brutal assassination of our former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The cult of violence and the atmosphere of hatred deliberately promoted by senseless elements who have no faith in the democratic process and who are ceaselessly working against the unity and integrity of the nation, have claimed yet another crusader of peace and non-violence who, like this revered mother seven years ago, preferred to risk his life rather than to distance himself from the common masses of the country who loved him so intensely. The passing away of Shri Rajiv Gandhi at such a crucial juncture has deprived the country of the services of a young and charismatic leader on whom the down-trodden masses had pinned their hope and faith for a better and brighter future.

Though a reluctant entrant into politics, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, having taken the crucial decision, never looked back. A man with tremendous courage of conviction, he served the nation in and out of office with a deep sense of commitment, clear vision and youthful vigour. Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the symbol of the nation's youth and his political career was a rapidly rising graph of accomplishments in pursuit of the ideals and aspirations of the younger generation.

His tenure in office as Prime Minister won him international recognition and he came to be respected as one of the foremost leaders of the Third World. His contribution to the cause of disarmament, international understanding, the non-aligned movement, environmental protection and abolition of apartheid will be ever remembered.

A visionary like his illustrious grand-father and a person with strong determination like his mother, Shri Rajiv Gandhi worked

hard to take India into the 21st century as a modern, technologically advanced and forward-looking nation. He gave technology a new and clear mission: to solve the problems of the poor.

The nation stands at the crossroads today. We have to redouble our efforts to rid the country of the dreadful menace of terrorism and to restore the faith of the people in the democratic process. Let us rededicate ourselves to the accomplishment of the tasks which were so dear to Rajiv Gandhi. That would be our real tribute to his cherished memory.

The House sends its condolences to the bereaved family."

MR. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members, Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination on May 21 at the prime age of 47 years in the midst of electioneering not only cut short a very promising career but has dealt a stunning blow to the entire nation. The cruel hands of death have snatched from our midst a personality which has left an indelible mark on almost every walk of our national life. One might have had differences with Shri Rajiv Gandhi on ideological, political or economic issues, but one cannot deny the fact that he made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of national unity and integrity and like his own mother became a martyr in this endeavour.

Born on 20th August, 1944 in an illustrious family of freedom fighters, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the grandson of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, and the elder son of Shri Feroze Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He had indeed the privilege to belong to a family whose contribution to the freedom struggle and later in the making of modern India is unmatched.

Educated at Doon School, Dehradun and Trinity College, Cambridge, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had a course in Mechanical Engineering. As flying

was his first love, he got a Commercial Pilot's Licence after returning from England and joined the Indian Airlines.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi entered the hallowed portals of this House after winning the bye-election from the Amethi Parliamentary constituency of U.P. in 1981 and continuously represented that constituency till the dissolution of the Ninth Lok Sabha on the 13th March 1991. He was again a candidate seeking election from the same constituency during 1991 General Elections and won that seat posthumously by a wide margin.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi took over the reins of the Government and became the Prime Minister at the young age of 40 at a crucial juncture when the nation had been numbered with grief in the wake of the assassination of his beloved mother and the then Prime Minister Srimati Indira Gandhi. Soon thereafter, he led his Party to a landslide victory by winning three fourths of the seats of the House in the historic 1984 General Elections. This was the high water-mark of his political career which gave rise to high hopes and aspirations among the countrymen. Needless to say, he was unanimously re-elected the leader of the Legislative Party and was invited to form the Government.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi had the distinction of being one of the youngest Prime Ministers in the world.

A courteous, usually shy and an unassuming person, Shri Rajiv Gandhi bore the burdens of his office with characteristic ease and poise. Indeed, those who had the privilege of seeing and meeting him in this House or outside, would find it impossible to for get the smile which he always wore on his face.

As successor of a Prime Minister who had herself been the victim of an assassin's bullet, Shri Rajiv Gandhi's

term in office was devoted to making earnest efforts to put an end to the cult of violence and secessionism and to bring the separatist and disgruntled elements into the national mainstream. It was in pursuance of these objectives that he signed the historic Accords on Punjab, Assam and Mizoram. Shri Rajiv Gandhi also played a crucial role in ending insurgency in the North Eastern part of the country and in arriving at an honourable settlement of the GNLFF problem.

It was during his tenure as Prime Minister that Bills of far reaching consequences like the Constitution (Fifty Second) Amendment Bill—popularly known as the Anti-defection law—and the Constitution (Sixty First) Amendment Bill, lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 years, were enacted. His dream of devolution of powers and resources to the local bodies at the grass root level, i.e., the Panchayats, still remains to be fulfilled. In four years time he was responsible for getting new policies formulated in the fields of education, housing, irrigation, agriculture, industry, women's welfare, children's welfare, sports, culture, environment, etc.

A visionary and an idealist, eager to herald a technologically advanced India into the 21st Century, his whole tenure in office was marked by a vigorous drive for modernisation in almost every field of national life. The various Technological Missions that he set up to this end are an eloquent testimony to his earnest desire to modernise the country at the quickest pace possible.

In the international arena, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, was a well known and popular figure who was held in affection and high esteem. His efforts for international peace and disarmament won laurels both for him and the country. He had a profound and lasting commitment to SAARC and played a prominent role in promoting regional cooperation among its members. Shri

Rajiv Gandhi was instrumental in setting up the Group of 15 non-aligned countries to promote South-South cooperation and activate the stalled North-South dialogue.

A staunch environmentalist, Shri Rajiv Gandhi forcefully drew the attention of the world to the growing environmental degradation in the various international fora. He proposed a Planet Protection Fund which was adopted by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Kuala Lumpur.

As an indomitable fighter against apartheid, it was at his initiative that the Africa Fund was set up under his chairmanship to assist the front-line States in their fight against apartheid.

Again, it was under his stewardship that the traditionally close relations between India and the Soviet Union grew to new heights and were further cemented.

In line with the best national interests, Shri Rajiv Gandhi always endeavoured to promote brotherly relations between India and her neighbours. He formalised bilateral treaties with Pakistan and China and came to the rescue of Maldives in 1988 when emergency aid was sought by that country to ward off the threat to its territorial integrity.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi's role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the positive steps taken by him for world peace have earned him a permanent niche in the world community. The presence of prominent world leaders from as many as 63 countries at his funeral bears eloquent testimony to the high esteem in which Shri Rajiv Gandhi was held among world leaders across the globe.

While in Opposition, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was perfectly at ease as the Leader of the Opposition. As a skilled debater, he was heard with attention and respect in the House.

As a leader of the young generation, Shri Rajiv Gandhi gave the much-needed thrust to various sporting activities. He was one of the moving spirits behind the 1982 Asian Games held in New Delhi and numerous other sports and cultural activities.

Honourable Members, the vast multitudes of this country have mourned the loss of this young leader as if one of their family members has been snatched away in the prime of his life. In this hour of trial, we fully share the pangs of agony and grief being silently borne by Shrimati Sonia Gandhiji and her children. How sad and true is the adage that those whom the Gods love, die young? In the annals of history, he stands in line with Jesus Christ, Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, President Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. We do not know when another like of him will be born again.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is impossible for me to speak of Rajiv Gandhi without emotion, without a deep sense of personal loss.

His sudden demise left us in darkness at noon. He was snatched away from us through an inhuman and cowardly act of violence. In his untimely and tragic death, the nation has lost a young and most dynamic leader. He came to the helm of affairs at a difficult hour and steered the country through the most trying times. His vision of India, his concern for the downtrodden, his search for world peace are a source of inspiration not only for us but for the people all over the world. The void created by Rajivji's death will be difficult to fill.

Rajivji had deep love and affection for his countrymen. His vision of India was of a front-ranking nation in the world. He worked indefatigably for the uplift of the deprived and the downtrodden. He took keen

and close interest in our scientific development in order to lift the Indian masses from the morass of poverty and he made it the first and foremost purpose of scientific development. He not only contributed to the material progress of our country but also endeavoured to instill in his people the pride of being Indian, the knowledge that they were inheritors of a great culture, the confidence that they could surmount all obstacles, the certainty that it was in their own hands to build India of tomorrow.

Rajivji gave India a place of prominence in the comity of nations. The world recognised his striving for world peace and disarmament and his unshakable faith in democracy. His dedication to Non-alignment, world peace, disarmament, development and environmental protection won for him a place of prominence in the world scene.

Rajivji's youthful spirit, courage, integrity and faith in the future of our country and her people will remain indelibly etched in our memories. He worked without respite to achieve the goals he had set for himself. He worked single-mindedly to build India of our dreams.

Rajivji is not amongst us today but his spirit lives on. We pledge Mr. Speaker, Sir, to complete his task and live up to all that he stood for.

[*Translation*]

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Gandhi Nagar): On 21st May, when most of us were engaged in election campaign, at night, we got the sad news of brutal assassination of the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi near Madras. When I was attending a public meeting, some one gave me a slip conveying the sad news. I found it difficult to believe. The news invoked a deep feeling in me that if we could not check this type

of politics of violence and murder, we will have to face dire consequences. I remember one incident. In 1985 Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister after winning elections. He invited prominent leaders of all political parties and held separate meetings with them for an hour. I returned with an indelible mark of his personality on my mind that though that young man had entered politics only a few days back and did not have enough knowledge of politics, yet as a person, he was very polite, very cordial and very gentle. I can say that though my party was critical of his politics, yet the impression he left on my mind at the personal level in the first meeting, will continue to remain in my mind for ever. We had been very close to each other and as such I can imagine and realise the loss his family members and the country has suffered due to his sad demise.

There are other name in the list. There is also one name with whom several of the hon. Members might have had personal relations. I know him very closely. He also fell a victim to this politics of violence and murder during the elections. He is Shri Ishwar Chaudhary whom I offer my tributes. I feel that all of us should take necessary steps to bring an end to this politics of violence.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you I pay my condolence to the families of both the leaders.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Fatehpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Rajiv's entry into public life was marked with a hope for the younger generation. Nobody else received such a massive mandate as Rajiv did. He was not only a symbol of the zeal of the youth but a force behind their courage as well. If the younger generation could be defined, it could be defined in the context of its potentialities. Neither we nor this

country known as to how many of these potentialities have been dashed to ground with his assassination. The greatest strength of the younger generation lies in their dreams of the future and, in that sense, Rajiv had a dream of his own—the dream of modern India. He had a dream that India occupied a pivotal position in the world. He was firm in his convictions. We may have some differences of opinion, but I must say that he was a man who never allowed outside pressure to influence his thinking and he never changed his mind unless he was fully convinced himself as to what was right. His determination about his actions, which according to him were in the public interest, was unshakable. This firmness in his determination and conviction ultimately claimed his precious life. The ongoing violence in our country is a matter of concern, but what is more alarming for us all is the fact that outside forces have succeeded in thrusting violence into our public and political life. We have a democratic set up and if there are some differences of opinion, they should be sorted out through people's verdict. But if violence is resorted to settle political scores, the very meaning of democracy will be lost. We share the concern expressed by the Prime Minister and Shri Advaniji and we shall have to unite to find a way out of this predicament. Shri Rajiv Gandhi endeavoured to give a new direction to our economic policy, foreign policy, trade policy and industrial policy. He left an indelible imprint in dealing with the challenges confronting the nation. While we join his family members in sharing this national grief, we also join the bereaved families of Shri S.A. Dange who was a great leader and Shri Dinesh Goswami who had been one of our colleagues. I express my condolences on their demise.

With these words, I pray for the peace of departed souls.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we express our profound shock and grief at the dastardly assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. In the manner of his death, a heinous crime has been committed against our democratic polity. That he has been snatched away in the prime of his life adds to our anguish and poignancy of the situation.

Sir, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has left his own imprint in the political life of this country as the Prime Minister and later on as the Leader of the Opposition. His was a charming personality, a youthful leader with full of promise and he had his own dreams to fulfil. But due to the cult of violence and what we apprehend machinations of imperialist forces, a young leader with great future has had to lay down his life while in the service of the country. It is necessary that we should make all efforts not only to curb and eliminate this cult of violence from our public life but also all efforts should be made to find out the persons or forces which have been responsible for this heinous crime. We consider his assassination as a deliberate attack on the unity and integrity of the country and also the secular character of our country. It is essential that so far as our country is concerned, its unity, integrity as well as the secular character should be maintained and we should see that in future such an occasion does not take place again. In laying down his life Shri Rajiv Gandhi has shown the example how he ignored his own security conditions and came amongst the people. It is essential that there should be no recurrence of such events in future. So, we deeply condole his death and through you, Sir, we express our condolences to the bereaved family.

Sir, we have also lost some other distinguished colleagues in this House. I must mention the name of Com-

rade Chitta Mahata who has been a Member of this House since the Sixth Lok Sabha and he was elected in the last election also with a substantial majority which showed that he continued to have the support and the confidence of the people. He came from a rural constituency and the rural people of this country, the poor people of his area continued to give their instinted support to Comrade Mahata throughout his life serving the downtrodden people, specially the peasants. He was also interested in education and had fought for the upliftment of the educational standard in our country. Sir, I greatly mourn the loss of Comrade Chitta Mahata. I cannot but also mention the untimely passing away in tragic circumstances of our very good friend Shri Dinesh Goswami who has been our colleague for a very long time. He was a person of charming manners. We know he was a very very able Parliamentarian who had also left a great mark during his short tenure as a Minister in the Centre, as the Law Minister, Minister for Steels and Mines. We had also lost Comrade Dange whose contribution cannot be over-emphasised. And he occupied a unique position in the communist movement and also in the trade union field.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also mourn the passing away of Shri Ishwar Chaudhary who was our colleague not only in the last Lok Sabha and I have also known him earlier when he was a Member. I request you and through you, I express my condolence to the members of the bereaved families of all these former colleagues. Thank you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, you yourself have made an extremely comprehensive obituary reference to the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi to which I have hardly anything to add. We share all the sentiments which you have expressed and the Prime Minister has expressed in his remarks. It

is always a tragedy when somebody is cut off in the prime of his life and specially a person who has been occupying such a decisive and important place in the life of a country. And in the circumstances in which he lost his life is still horrifying.

I remember when his mother was assassinated. We felt that because it was a shock that the nation suffered at that time and for the first time in our history the Prime Minister was done to death in her own house. It is not something which we are accustomed to. We are accustomed to bringing about changes through the ballot, not through the bullet. There was an anxiety on all parts of the House and in the society that the conspiracy—we felt that there was a deep conspiracy behind Indrajī's death—should be revealed, should be unmasked, should be exposed—as I feel there has been a conspiracy behind Rajiv's murder also. But I regret to say that whatever conspiracy was there, I am convinced that there was a conspiracy behind Indrajī's death, that conspiracy was unfortunately never revealed despite Commission of Inquiry headed by an eminent Supreme Court Judge and voluminous report produced by him. We were none the wiser at the end as to what were the forces, who were the forces operating behind the man who actually pulled the trigger of the gun. I do not know what is going to happen this time. We are all expressing rightly our feelings on this cult of violence which is growing in the country and has now reached a terrifying proportions. It is something which should be put down firmly and strongly. It is not only the direct assassins who count but it is the conspirators behind them. And personally, I do not have very much great faith in the investigation agencies, perhaps, I am being uncharitable. But I have seen over the years how they have operated in such cases. If they are really able to educate the people and the nation about the type of conspiracies which are operating against these young people who were being

prominent personalities of this country in order to weaken this country itself, then they will be doing a very commanable job. And all of us should try to cooperate and assist in getting at the truth.

As far as Rajivji was concerned, he had of course, most affable and pleasant personality. Everybody knows that. Whoever met him, he always had a very pleasant and charming smile. He was very courteous, very polite always even towards those with whom he had sharp political differences.

As you correctly said, he was one of our few leaders who had the vision of technology as being indispensable for the development of this country. Very few of our leaders really have a commitment to the scientific temper and to technological progress. So, he being a young man and with his vision I think could have done many more things for this country if his life was not cut short in an abominable manner. We had our differences of course; but those differences never could obliterate the fact that he was an outstanding personality whose work for this country in the years that lay ahead of him was full of promise.

I was once with him in his company when we were present during the celebrations of the independence of Namibia in South Africa. On that occasion also I saw that so many African leaders and leaders of the non-aligned world who were present on that occasion greeted him in a manner which showed in what high esteem they held him. On another occasion, a youth delegation from this country—a composite youth delegation consisting of youth organisations which are led by various political parties in this country—was being sent to an international youth festival in Korea. There was a kind of ceremony or function held where I also had the opportunity to be present to greet

[Sh. Indrajai Gupta]

sent out as ambassadors of India. Rajivji spoke to them there and he said that while we are working in our own country, we have many mutual quarrels, we accuse each other, we have conflicts, we hurl accusations and counter-accusations against each of other; but you please remember that when we go out, when we are in a foreign country we must forget all these mutual quarrels and differences. As long as we are there, we have to behave as Indians and as ambassadors of our country. So when you are leaving, he said, please put all your quarrels and differences, lock them up in your suit-cases and leave them here. When you come back you can open the suit-cases again. But while you are there, you must behave like Indians worthy of the dignity of this country. So these small things showed that his approach was the kind of approach that a leader should have and particularly a leader of the youth.

I don't want to take more time. I also share your grief at the way his wife his widow, his son and daughter have been cruelly bereaved at this hour. Everybody I think irrespective of other considerations will praise the kind of courage and dignity and composure which they have all shown at this time of trial. I join on behalf of my party in sending our condolences to them and deeply grieve the loss of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

All the other colleagues whose names are listed here were more or less known to me during these years—not all of them very intimately perhaps. I grieve the passing away of all of them.

The latest was the death of Comrade Chitta Mahata who was only five days ago here and we had a talk with him. He was quite normal, healthy—a young man laughing and joking. Then within two days we heard that he was dead, struck down by the terrible malady of meningitis which gives nobody a chance to recover. He was working in one of

the most backward areas of the country, that is Purulia District of West Bengal. For several years, he had dedicated himself to the service of downtrodden rural people of that area. I also extend sympathy on that account to my friend here, Mr. Chitta Basu of the Forward Block to which Party comrade Mahata belonged.

Comrade Dange, my former leader, whose life spanned almost the whole of the century, died at the age of 93. He was a pioneer; he must be remembered in our history as a pioneer; he was a pioneer of the communist movement; he was a pioneer of the labour movement. Even those who disagreed violently with his views recognised him as an erudite scholar, as a brilliant speaker, writer and as a man who had acquired international status. So, I mourn his death at the ripe old age.

I also mourn the death of Shri Dinesh Goswami who was with us here only the other day, who had also gone in the prime of his life. He was a brilliant speaker in this Parliament and those who have heard him will recall that. He did an excellent job as Minister in the last Government of Shri V. P. Singh. As Law and Justice Minister, as Minister for Steel, he distinguished himself within a very short space of time.

All these friends have left us and all of us have to go some time or the other. So, the best thing we can do is to respect their memories and to pledge that we will live upto the causes for which they have worked all through their lives.

SHRI B. VIJAYAKUMAR RAJU (Narsapur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, former Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination was a brutal act and we all feel very sad about it. He belonged to a great freedom fighter's family. He was a grand son of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and son of Madam Indira Gandhi. Once upon a time I was

also a follower of Madam Indira Gandhi. In 1984 when I was elected as a Member of Lok Sabha for the first time, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was also here as the Prime Minister. Then, I wondered as to how this young man showed his capability as a Member at the first instance and then as Prime Minister. I never expected that such a young person would show such a great capacity. He exhibited his capacity very well in running the Government. He was being praised not only in India but in the entire world. His external affairs dealings were all very cordial and he got good reputation all over the world.

Unfortunately, he was brutally assassinated at the young age. This type of assassination should not happen in future and the Government should take care of all the VVIPs, since this country cannot afford to lose such great leaders. I am expressing my condolences, through you, Sir, to his family members.

SHRI P. G. NARAYANAN (Gobichettipalayam): Sir, the death of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi through a gruesome bomb blast on 21st May has given a great shock to all of us. It was a great blow for the unity and integrity of India. It is the duty of the nation to pay a homage to the departed leader by joining hands to defeat separatist and anti-national and anti-social elements.

His ambition was to lead India into the 21st century with pride. During his tenure as Prime Minister, he did many things for the progress of India. He advocated the cause of peace in India and abroad. The people of India still remember the help that was extended by Rajiv Gandhi to our beloved great Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, MGR, when he fell ill in the year 1984. Rajiv Gandhi put forth secular, integrated and united India. The gruesome murder of Rajiv Gandhi has given a great setback for secular

and united and integrated India. He had to pay the price to keep the country intact. When we condemn the tragic death of this kind, all the political parties should stand united to find out ways and means to stop murders of political leaders like him at least in future in the interest of the country.

The tragedy is too serious for the family of Rajiv Gandhi. The family of Rajiv Gandhi lost three members in the last one decade. In 1980, Sanjay Gandhi died in a plane crash. In 1984, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was shot dead by the separatist forces. Now, Rajiv Gandhi lost his life. We have lost a great leader and a man of values. It is a great loss to our country.

On behalf of AIADMK, I convey my deepest condolences to the bereaved family and to the Congress Party.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHIBU SOREN (Dumka): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi had created a stir not only in our country but in the world as a whole. This sad news came to us when we were in the midst of our electioneering and it left every countrymen shocked as in which direction our country was heading. No amount of sorrow would suffice to condole his death. I alongwith the members of my party join you in expressing our heart-felt grief on this occasion. We pray to the Almighty to give strength to the members of bereaved family to bear this grief.

We have lost other colleagues too. Shri Chitta Mahata who represented Purulia Constituency was one of our close friends. We were in Delhi when the shocking news of his death came to us in the early morning. Through you, I express my condolences on the demise of all these colleagues.

[English]

SHRI NANI BHATTACHARYA (Berhampore): Sir, I express my grief on the death of our ex-Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. I share the feelings and shock of my colleagues on the gruesome killing of which Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the victim. I am in full agreement with the obituary reference which you have made. I do not want to repeat it and take the time of the House. While we mourn his death, we, on behalf of our party, convey our condolences to Mrs. Gandhi and his children.

Then again, we also mourn the death of our colleague, Shri Chitta Mahata. Only the other day, we met him here and suddenly, he fell a victim to meningitis and passed away. We also condole the fate of Shri Dinesh Goswami with whom I was also personally and intimately involved.

With these words, I again express our grief at the demise of all these colleagues.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Sir, I join you and the Prime Minister and other distinguished colleagues here in expressing grief, agony and shock over the gruesome killing of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the President of the Congress (I) and our former Prime Minister. Sir, the assassination of the two Indian Prime Ministers, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi gives credence to the widespread apprehension that dark and evil forces across the border of the country, inspired by the imperialists which are inimical to the stability of the country and prosperity of this country, are involved in a conspiracy in bringing about balkanisation and destabilisation of our great country. Unfortunately, this aspect of our suspicion was raised immediately after the assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi. The country expects that this international conspiracy should be seen through and the people of our country should be educated above the conspiracy and its after effect. But this

has not been done by the earlier Government. The assassination of our former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi also leads one to believe that a nexus exists between international reaction and domestic reaction in our country. And Shri Rajiv Gandhi fell a victim to this conspiracy in our country. This also portends an evil omen on the stability and democratic polity of our country. It is not a matter of one person being killed but it matters much more than that. It is an assault on the way of our living, the way of our democratic polity and future unity and integrity of our country.

Sir, it is true that we had certain differences with Shri Rajiv Gandhi who pursued a policy of his own and of his party. On certain issues, we had certain reservations. But these differences Sir, I want to assure this House, were honest differences as political parties should and must have. These differences were not the product of any personal animosity or any personal disrespect either for Shrimati Gandhi or for Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Our differences with him were only differences in assessment, ideological differences and differences in philosophy and so on.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi, as a Prime Minister of this country and as a president of the largest party in our country, viz. the Congress (I), was a leader of the masses in his own right. He had his own vision; he had his own ideas; he had his own philosophy; and he had his own views on economy and technology. We agreed on certain issues. We did not agree on certain other issues. But those were all honest differences, differences between political activists and political personalities. Sir, the loss that the country suffered due to the sad and sudden demise of Shri Rajiv Gandhi at the prime of his life is a great loss. And that loss is irreparable. On behalf of my party, I offer my respectful homage to Shri Rajiv Gandhi and my heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.

Sir, I am emotionally distressed over the death of a very close comrade. Comrade Chitta Mahata died only on the 7th of this month. He had been a member of my Party right from his young days. He had been working for years together in a most backward area of West Bengal among the Adiwasis, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He was a youth leader and as a youth leader, he joined many international symposia and also took a very active part in leading the Youth Movement in our country. He struggled hard for the emancipation of the downtrodden people of our country, particularly the landless labourers, poor peasantry and the share croppers in his area. He was very highly respected by the people of his constituency, which is proved by the fact that he had been returned to this House consecutively on four occasions, with a huge margin exceeding over a lakh of votes.

His sudden death is unbearable for us who have been associated with him as party and political activists for a long time.

On this occasion, I also mourn the death of Shri Dinesh Goswami.

I mourn the death of Shri Ishwar Chaudhary who also fell a victim to the cult of violence.

Lastly—of course, last but not least, I am just following the order of priority as found in the list given here. I pay my homage to Comrade Dange.

Comrade Dange was the pioneer of the Communist Movement in our country. His was a great personality and it was he who popularised Marxism Leninism in our country through his endless writings. He was a well-known author and an erudite scholar. He was also a very able organiser in his younger days.

I express my sympathies to the families of the bereaved and I request you to convey our sense of

condolence to all those whose names are mentioned here in the list.

14.00 hrs.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Ponnani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the very outset let me express my very deep and profound shock, agony and grief at the assassination—ruthless assassination, cruel assassination, inhuman assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi on 21st May of this year. I consider 21st May, 1991 as the blackest day in the history of independent India because it was on that day the great son of India was assassinated and because of this the entire nation suffered a great loss. I must say he was the best flower in the garden of India. He was the bloom of a fullfledged flower. As it is said:

“Bagwane gulshane hasti yeh kya
kiya.

Jaane Chaman tha gul jo, wahi
tune chun liya.”

This is how I would describe the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the loss of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. I would say, what was the fault of Shri Gandhi to be assassinated in such a ruthless manner. Is it because he stood to protect the integrity of the country and he stood to protect the solidarity of the country? He stood to protect a secular country but he was assassinated. He was assassinated by disruptive forces; the forces of disintegration who want to destabilise the country. This was on their part a deep conspiracy. Government has to be alert on this occasion and must see that these forces of disintegration and disruption are put down with a heavy hand so that we can have peace in this country and we can live with peace.

I must say that Shri Rajiv Gandhi was a friend of minorities. He had an understanding of our problems

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

and he was sympathetic towards our problems. I can say that Rajiv Gandhi of 1991 was not the Rajiv Gandhi of 1984. He gained maturity because of experience and developed the ability to understand the problem of down-trodden and minority community.

Our Prime Minister is sitting here. I recall that in the month of April along with my colleague Mr. Banatwalla, we had long discussion with Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the presence of our present Prime Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao. How cheerful, brave, and courteous he was and how he understood our problem is a fact which I can never forget. His smiling face, courtesy, behaviour, attitude and mentality all this added to his stature. All his assurances are today embodied in the election manifesto of Congress Party which was released later. We hope that the Prime Minister will take stand as per the assurances given in the election manifesto.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi was not only loved by us but by the entire world. He was a person who fought for global peace, therefore, it is all the more a great loss for the world. As the Speaker himself mentioned, his funeral was attended by the representatives from 66 countries. That is the testimony to the great man. He was a great man, a great personality whom we cannot forget. The void created by his assassination cannot be filled. It is an irreparable loss. It can be said:

"Mat sahali se jano, phirta hai
falaq barson.

Tab khaq ke parde se, insaan
nikalta hai."

[*Translation*]

He was one of those men who came to the scene after several years.

[*English*]

We cannot forget such a person, such a personality for decades together. We should dedicate ourselves to the values for which he stood. I have nothing more to say.

I want to convey my deep grief to the entire nation, to the House, to the Congress Party whose President he was. At the same time, I wish to convey my sympathy to Shrimati Sonia Gandhi for the loss of her great husband; to Priyanka and Rahul for the loss of their affectionate father. I pray that God may give them strength to bear this loss. I pay my tributes to this great personality.

[*Translation*]

SHRIMATI DIL KUMARI BHANDARI (Sikkim): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to pay my tributes to the great, courageous and young leader late Shri Rajiv Gandhi who has been snatched away from us by the cruel hands of death in a most unfortunate manner. Shri Rajiv Gandhi was not only a former Prime Minister but also an ideal for the youth of the country. He was considered an Ambassador of peace in the international world. There was no corner in the world where the cold blooded assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi was not received with shock and the people were left stunned. We can judge the popularity of Rajiv Gandhi through this. No amount of condemnation of cowardly assassination of Rajiv Gandhi would suffice. The loss and pain that the untimely death of Rajiv Gandhi had caused to the nation is obvious. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I agree with the sentiments expressed by you. I want to pay tributes on behalf of Sikkim Sangram Parishad and on my own behalf to the great leader and also my condolences to the bereaved family. Besides, I want to pay my homage to all those former Members who figure in this list and condolences to the bereaved families.

[*English*]

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI (Autonomous District): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we fully share the sentiments and grief expressed by my senior colleagues in this august House about the sad demise of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

My contact with Shri Rajiv Gandhi was when I was leading a delegation from the remote corner of Assam and the two hill districts. We came here and tried to meet so many Central Ministers, but we could not meet them. We waited for one full month. We had no money also at that time. Even we had to skip one meal to save some money so that we could manage our stay here and meet the Central Ministers. At that juncture, surprisingly, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, gave us time. We met him; he listened to us. This kind of personal gesture created a goodwill in spite of so many sincere differences; may be honest differences. On behalf of my party I must say that this kind of gesture has created a goodwill in a very large section in the north-eastern region.

While passing this obituary motion, I would like to draw your attention to this fact that we fully agree that there may be conspirators by external agencies, but we also feel that this will be a right moment, that this will be a right opportunity to re-assess the intrinsic deficiencies in our policies, defects inherent in our polity, which are primarily responsible for creating a situation where outside agencies can operate and where individual terrorism can raise its ugly head.

So, here, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think we should all re-assess our existing intrinsic defects in the polity as well as in our policy.

I express my deep condolences to the bereaved family and also to the

families of our Comrade Dange, Comrade Mahata and also of our erstwhile colleagues.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ASHOKRAO ANANDRAO DESHMUKH (Parbhani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I am speaking on behalf of Shiv Sena. My colleagues in all other parties have expressed grief over the assassination. I have wept only four times in my life. The first time when I lost my mother. Second when I read in the history about the cold blooded murder of Sambhaji Maharaj, Son of Chhatrapati. Third time on atrocities in the country and last time on Rajivji's death, irrespective of my party affiliation. I respected him. When I was elected to Parliament for the first time, I heard him and also Raja Saheb. I also heard the friendly exchanges between the two which was repartee of very high standard. Rajivji had entered politics after the assassination of Indiraji. He remained in politics for barely seven years when the cruel hands of death snatched him away from us. We are really sad. Our countrymen including children, old person and women are grief stricken. I pray that even an enemy should not meet the fate that Rajivji met i.e. the way he was assassinated. Rajivji's assassination was gruesome. I pray to goddess Bhawani that his soul may rest in peace. Rajivji's smiling face comes before us even today. He always used to smile. He was an apostle of peace, full of compassion, bold and a man of action. Anybody can become a ruler in a democracy and any party can come to power. While discharging his duties and serving the nation any ruler is bound to take hard decisions. But this does not mean that he should be assassinated like this. I thank the Government for awarding Bharat Ratna to Shri Rajiv Gandhi posthumously. There are many leaders in Parliament like—Shri Advani, Shri

[Sh. Ashokrao Anandrao Deshmukh]

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Shri Sharad Pawar, Shri Uppokrishnan, Shri Somnath, Shri Nani Bhattacharya and Shri Sulaiman Sait, leaders of all the parties are unanimous that such assassinations should not recur in future. The present Government should identify these forces and punish the culprits. I would remind those who are in power today that they have been elected because of his sacrifice. I am sure that they would certainly fulfil the promises made by him. I offer heartfelt condolences to the family of Shri Rajiv Gandhi on behalf of Shiv Sena, in particular to Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, Priyanka and Rahul.

[English]

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated—Anglo-Indian): Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you very much for calling me. I could make a long speech but I do not intend to.

I had the good fortune to lead a long political-cum-legal life. As it happens, I came to know the Nehru family, rather well, from the time of Jawaharlal Nehru, when he selected me at the age of 34 to be one of the full members of our first delegation to the United Nations. I knew Rajiv very well. I knew every member of the family, some better than others. He was a compendium of certain main qualities of the Nehru family. He was one of the nature's gentlemen. He was educated at the Doon School, which happens to be a school affiliated to a Board, of which I have been the Chairman since its inception. And because of that he attracted to himself certain qualities as one of the nature's gentlemen. I became later and still I am a life trustee of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Rajiv was the head of it. His widow is now the Head of that Memorial Fund.

I do not think that enough has been said about Shrimati Sonia. What

impressed me most was that during the Amethi campaign, the papers played up—they not only played it up but also played up the facts that she was his living fighting colleague. I sent them a telegram, addressed to both of them, the day before his foul murder. I said: "With all God's blessings in your fight to save the nation." They were fighting to save the nation. The previous fifteen months was a period of disruption of India which it had never seen before—lawlessness, secession and terrorism, which emphasise what the present Prime Minister is facing. India is not in a sense a country; it is a sub-continent. When I moved the Resolution that English be put into the Eighth Schedule, and because of my knowledge of law, I argued that it is an utter fallacy that these fourteen languages are national languages, nothing of that sort. I had to go to Bombay to spend a month and to argue the case to strike down what the then Chief Minister, Shri Desai, did. He tried to destroy English. He said that only the Anglo-Indians could study through the medium of English being a microscopic minority of the same size as the Parsis. They, however, could not maintain more than five schools, but I was the Chairman of a body that had over six hundred schools. So, I went to Bombay and argued the case before Chief Justice Chagla and he handed down judgement in the Bombay Education Society case. He said: Speaking Constitutionally English is more an Indian language, than most of the languages in the Eighth Schedule because it is a language of the Constitution, it is the language of the Supreme Court. For three hundred years, it has entered in the blood and bones of India. Then, I had to fight the whole position at home. I went to the South, the South turned out in lakhs because of the chauvinism that had suddenly emerged. Then, Rajaji came to the meeting which I addressed and Rajaji said: English is Saraswati's gift to India. Let it be there. I asked Jawaharlal to put it into the Eighth Schedule etc. He said, "I can't do it, but

I will give you an assurance that English will be the associate/alternate language for the South non-Hindi speaking people, as long as the non-Hindi speaking people so desired. He did that and that is the position today.

But, I want to say that so far as Sonia is concerned, she continued to support Rajiv Gandhi. I defended Indiraji for 2½ years. I used to visit her regularly. She used to visit my wife at the hospital regularly when she was ill. When she used to visit my wife, my wife asked, "Do you find it difficult to have European daughter-in-law? She said that no Hindu mother could have a better daughter-in-law and no Hindu husband could ever have a better wife than Sonia". That put a verdict on Sonia.

Sir, what happened was this. When Sanjay Gandhi died, Indira was not emotional. But, she confided in people that she has tremendous affection for Varun and I remember she told my wife that she loved Varun as much as she loved Sanjay. And Varun used to be there regularly but he was stopped from going to see her. What I am trying to say is that they lived their own life. It was a life between a very devoted husband and a wife. Indira wanted somebody; she made Rajiv the General Secretary. Only after her foul murder that he became automatically the leader of the Congress Party and led it as probably nobody else could have. He had no natural inclination for politics. But, after his mother's foul murder, he immersed himself into the life and blood of the Congress Party. I remember Indira telling me that she used to spend 22 hours a day in Electioneering; Rajiv exactly did the same thing.

May I just finish by saying that Rajiv, because of what I have done, gave me the honour in August, 1989 of placing me among the five leading senior advocates of this country and

he presented me with a beautiful silver tray with the inscription of my contribution. And when I remember this, I was the only one of the five senior advocates who was not a member of the Congress Party. That was his tribute to secularism and that was the epitaph that I want to place before you that he was committed not only to democracy, he was committed to democracy conditioned by secularism.

SHRI SHRAVAN KUMAR PATEL (Jabalpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with a heavy heart that I stand to make my maiden speech at the highest citadel of democracy in our country, the Lok Sabha, to pay my homage to one of the greatest leaders of the country who was abruptly snatched away from amongst us by the cruel hands of destiny at the pinnacle of his brilliant career. I would like to submit a *sher* in urdu:

"Ye Baat to Khair Mussalam Hai
Jo Phool Khilega Sukhega
Jo Phool Abhi Murjhaya Hai
Tader Na Gulshan Bhulega"

Sir, we grieve the loss of our late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi who served the teeming millions of our countrymen. When he took up the onerous task of Prime Ministership, the first job for him was of quelling the mutual animosity and communal hatred at the time when his sense of personal loss and anguish knew no bounds. His mother, the late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi Ji's untimely assassination had sparked off violence throughout the length and breadth of the country and forgetting all personal grief, he paid attention to that and within a short time brought communal harmony and peace. This showed his deep love for the country and his capacity to bear the shaft of misfortune with almost stoic indifference. He thus proved to the country and its people that he could rise to the occasion if the situation so demanded. As

[Sh. Shravan Kumar Patel]

the Prime Minister, he brought peace to various regions of the nation where there was turmoil. To curtail corruption, he brought about the Fifty-second Constitutional Amendment and gave respect to the status of Members of Parliament. He started many schemes and programmes to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and the down-trodden. This was the most important task upon which he worked ceaselessly.

His economic policies were aimed at making India as a self-reliant country. He was at his best in international relations and strived hard like his grand-father Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to make this world a better place to live in. He was a great champion of nuclear disarmament and organised many seminars and conferences to attain this objective. He gave slogan to give power to the people and tried to give a new dimension to the Panchayati Raj Movement.

Like Pandit Nehru, he was a devote secular being and with this conviction guarded democracy and secularism in India.

In the end, I would like to express my deepest sympathies to the bereaved family, particularly to Shrimati Soniaji, Rahul and Priyankaji.

I would like to end my speech with a few lines which the famous poet Oscar Wild had written:

To meet to know to love
And then to part
Is the sad tale
Of many a human heart.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN
OWAISI** (Hyderabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, birth of a human being is itself a prologue to one's death, but the people who make a mark during their

life-time are always remembered by the people. Works of Rajiv Gandhi will not only find a place in our hearts but will also remain ever immortal in the pages of history for the way in which that family made supreme sacrifice in the cause of secularism and for upholding principles. They have earned a permanent place in the history of India. I would not like to deliver a speech but the services rendered by Rajiv Gandhi for India will always be remembered. Moreover, he fought against the forces which wanted to ruin the country. He sacrificed his life, and especially the family to which he belonged guarded secularism and always worked for protecting the interests of the minorities, which will always be remembered. I wanted only say.

"Jane wale kabhi Nahin aate,
Jaane wale ki Yad aati hai".

[*English*]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, for all the six years that I know Rajiv Gandhi, he worked in the shadow of death and I worked in his shadow. Now, death has taken him away and I am just in his shadows. What I remember most often is that he never allowed the fear of death to stand in the way of taking the decision that he thought was right. He believed that it is the duty of every human being to fulfil himself to the maximum and if in the process of doing that there was danger, then danger was to be faced and not to be run away from. He is a man of eminent courage, he was a brave man, he was a compassionate man. He had a deep love for human beings, he had a particular place in his heart always to those who are particularly oppressed, to all those who are particularly suppressed. He believed deeply in our democracy, he believed that democracies that now exist are flooded because there is a suprastructure

without a sound base and he toiled towards establishing that sound foundation for our democracy. He believed deeply in our socialism, not perhaps the socialism of the well-known text-books, but a socialism based upon compassion for the common man, a socialism based upon using the gifts of knowledge of science and technology for the advancement of the humblest and the poorest.

His was a profound belief in secularism. The secularism as he saw it, was a celebration of all that was great in India and what he saw as great in India was not simply the political entity which we today call the Union of India, but an idea, a concept of celebration of diversity. That is why he gloried in all the different fruits of India, in all the different languages of India, in all the different cultures of India, in all the different religions of India, in all the different trends of thought and schools of opinion that existed in this country. And it was this celebration of diversity, this belief that India could not be India unless every part of India, however minor it might be in numbers, was celebrated as an integral part of this great country that he saw it as absolutely necessary for every minority, religious, linguistic, cultural or even in terms of opinion and schools of thought to belong to this larger entity. At the moment when fate decreed that he was to die, he saw in some ways the vision of Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru being fulfilled with the two great Super Powers coming to an understanding among themselves. But he recognised as perhaps no other Indian did that the period of detente made non-alignment more relevant than it has ever been because the ultimate purpose of non-alignment is to put an end to the quest for dominance and that quest for dominance has not ended merely because there is a detente between the two Super Powers. When he integrated all these into the vision of India, it was a holistic vision which did not merely look to see what

India's place was in today's contemporary world, but was sought to see what was India's place in the history of world civilisation and when we look back to the beginnings of time to eight thousand, nine thousand or Ten thousand years ago when human civilisation first came upon our planet, he saw that India's civilisation was not perhaps the oldest in the world, not perhaps would it be the only one that was continuous: it was certainly the only civilisation in the world that had learnt to come to terms with heterogeneity and in this if the world is to survive it is necessary that the whole world imbibe the essential values of the Indian civilisation which has the capacity to live with diversity, which has the capacity to tolerate diversity, which has, above all, the capacity to celebrate diversity and if we are able to live up to that vision of India, then it is only the body of Shri Rajiv Gandhi that would have died, the soul of Shri Rajiv Gandhi which was the soul of India, the soul of India which has animated human civilisation everywhere upon this planet will continue to live.

I had the privilege of interacting perhaps more closely with him than any other human being at the intellectual level because we would spend hours discussing his speeches, writings and articles and in the course of this, I came to see a human being whose inspiration, particularly his dedication to non-violence came straight out of Mahatma's school of thought, whose idiom was that of Jawaharlal Nehru and whose glory in the spiritual legacy of India came straight out of Swami Vivekananda. That great soul is no more with us: he has gone. The last gift that he gave me was the seat upon which I sit. I approached this seat in the same spirit in which Bharata approached his seat when Rama went into vanvas. But Rama, we knew, had gone into vanvas only for 14 years. I approached this seat knowing that Shri Rajiv Gandhi will not return from the vanvas into which terrorism and violence have crept in.

[*Translation*]

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR): Honourable Speaker, Sir, I remember a couplet:—

“Taarikh ne dekhi hain chand aisi
bhi ghadiyan

Lamhon ne khata ki thi sadiyon
ne saza payi.”

And the same applies to the passing away of Rajivji. People die, everybody has to quit this world, but the principles and deeds of the departed are always remembered.

On the night of 21st, we were plunged into pitch darkness—the consequence would have been the same even if it was daytime. This darkness engulfed the humanity because Rajivji was symbol of humanity, compassion and endurance. He was an embodiment of love and virtue. He was such a patriot about whom we can say that he was not only a patriot but also fearless. He was a man who could fight for his principles and in fact died for those. He lived for his principles and did not hesitate to sacrifice his life. He belonged to a family which has a history of sacrifices. Motilalji, Jawaharji, Kamalji, Indiraji and now Rajivji were of the same feather, whatever they inherited from their kin, they passed it on to others. They would share all their love with one and all. I have seen his ever smiling face, which is still fresh in my heart, from the chair, which you are now occupying. I observed that he was such a noble man that he would radiate light into the House. Any person who would once meet him would be his fan and would never shed his image from his mind. There could be differences of opinion while exchanging ideas but he never allowed conflict between the souls. He wanted to live for his country. He wanted to live for this world; because at times he would refer to our culture

during the course of a talk and he would quote something and say that we believe in:

“udaar charitanam tu vasudhaiv
kutumbakam”

The whole universe is one for a noble minded and open-hearted person. Not only this, he further used to say:

“Yatra vishwaiyak needam”

Where the whole universe is reduced to a nest, human being does not remain human being. He believed in this high ideals. He never acted under compulsion, but with a sense of service. Quite often we exchanged views, and I would tell him that his proposed line of action would harm our interest, but he would say, Balramji, country is important not the Government, nor the power, self-interest is not supreme and anything can be sacrificed for the country. Punjab problem was there. I knew that we will be out of power, and it happened. Then there was Assam Accord and I knew what was going to happen and the same fate awaited us in regard to the Mizoram problem. But he had no regrets. He would say that we had read Ramayana, its every chapter but what have we learnt from it. In Ramayana, the father lost his life in the process of keeping his word and the son went into exile for 14 years without a whimper to uphold the word of his father, and in turn his younger brother did not accept the kingdom offered to him on a plotter, another brother went into exile with his elder brother because he loved his brother, they were the idols of renunciation. Renunciation has got some meaning but now-a-days the spirit of renunciation is dead. If the feeling of sacrifice is there the country can rise. Today also if we follow the path shown by Rajivji, the country can make progress. I am quite sure about it. I have seen it closely. This I have not seen only in India but outside also

because when I was the Speaker of the House I travelled abroad. My colleagues also used to go with me.

On our trips abroad, we came to know the image, reputation and status enjoyed by our country in foreign countries. We got to know all this while talking to people there. They could see that there was a political leader who had committed himself to the upliftment of this country. He used to work hard, upto 2.00 a.m. I was at a loss as to when he got the time to sleep. Perhaps his days were of 25 hours. He was a patriot who believed in selfless service. Not only this, he had warm feelings for everyone and wanted to take the country into the 21st century. He was a man of farsightedness. As someone has said that if the heart lacks passion and the eyes are devoid of benevolence, relationship among humans is not possible. He had the qualities of openness, passion, love and was considerate towards others. He was like the sacred Ganges because everyone who came in contact with him realised the importance of humaneness. Such was the personality of Rajiv Gandhi. Parties may have different ideologies, their own dreams but he never considered the opposition an opposing force. To him they were just people with a different viewpoint.

He firmly believed that democracy is something that needs to be preserved. He recognised the fact that this country became independent due to the sacrifices of the freedom fighters. Democracy is their gift to the people of India and this gift has to be preserved and protected. We have to continue the work initiated by the late Rajiv Gandhi to whom we shall remain indebted forever.

“Hazon baras apni benuri pe
 roti hai
 chaman mein paida hota hai
 didawar koi.”

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Sir,

“Hazon baras Nargis apni benuri
 pe roti hai

Bad mushkil se hota hai chaman
 mein deedarw paida”

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Rightly said. Being an elderly person he has rightly corrected the verse. I was quite right in saying that such a flower is rarely found in a garden. People may pass away but their ideas remain forever. Friends of Rajiv Gandhi whichever party they may belong to always remember him. The untimely demise of Rajiv Gandhi made everyone feel that a patriot and a bright star had passed away.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI ARJUN SINGH): Sir, I appreciate and respect the sentiments of love and grief expressed by the hon. Prime Minister, yourself and other hon. Members. This is not the time for long speeches, rather it is time for self-introspection. This is the time to understand some fundamental issues and make some firm resolutions. Shri Rajiv Gandhi left his impression on each one of us. This is our legacy and it is our sacred duty to preserve it. But this legacy belongs to the entire nation and not to any particular individual. There is a need to know more about and protect this legacy. On 15th August when India emerged as a new independent nation, the entire world realized that the event signified emergence of new forces on the international scene. These forces help in removing the obstacles which come in the way of progress and establishing self-respect. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru symbolised these forces and Mahatma Gandhi supported them. It is no secret that there have always been efforts to resist these forces. After remaining in the shackles of imperialism for hundreds of years India under the stewardship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shastriji, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi tried to set high standards of personal freedom, social awareness, political awareness and

[Sh. Arjun Singh]

economic awareness. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has left behind the same legacy and it is the sacred duty of all the hon. Member of this august House to protect and preserve this legacy least it is forgotten. History is testimony that if we are not watchful, if we are not vigilant and if we tend to overlook the historical fact of preserving this legacy and involve ourselves in petty squabbles and disputes, then we are not worthy of inheriting such legacies. Destiny has played a cruel joke on all of us. Will we remain silent spectators to all this? If so, we forfeit the right of paying homage to Shri Rajiv Gandhi. We have to accomplish the goals that he set not only for the crores of people of the country but also for the future generations and these goals have now in fact become national goals.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are all small men, but as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once said that howsoever small a man may be, no sooner does he associate himself with great tasks, he also acquires one or the other quality of greatness. Today all of us can definitely claim of possessing one or the other quality of greatness only by virtue of being associated with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. All I would like to submit today is that Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, Ms. Priyanka Gandhi and Mr. Rahul Gandhi are not just the kin of Shri Rajiv Gandhi but are the national assets and so their security and well-being is the duty of all of us.

It is the time to take inspiration from the greatness and to resolve once again to lay down our lives and make sacrifices even in the face of umpteen grave challenges and threats to the nation by the reactionary and imperialistic forces. This would be the best tribute to the great man who today is not amongst us. Even though Shri Rajiv Gandhi is not amongst us mortally but his reminiscences are there in every nook and corner of the country he visited. So all of us must resolve to tread along the path shown by Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

To my mind there is no need to highlight the achievements of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, as the future will itself glorify his accomplishments.

With these words I would like to pay my tributes to the departed soul.

We would also like to pay homage to other departed leaders S/Shri Dange, Nagina Rai, Uma Shankar Dikshit and Chitta Mahata figuring in the list.

Through this august House we would also like to convey condolences to the bereaved families of the departed leaders figuring in the list.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: We are passing a Resolution on the sad demise of Shri Rajiv Gandhi as well as we are making an Obituary Reference to his death. I would request the hon. Members to stand up in silence for a short while and then sit and then indicate that the Resolution is passed. We will make Obituary Reference to the other Members also.

*The Members then stood in silence
for a short while*

MR. SPEAKER: I take it that the Resolution is passed unanimously. The copy of the Resolution will be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(The Resolution was then adopted)

14.55 hrs.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: We are making obituary reference to other Members also. I have also to inform the House with a deep sense of sorrow to the passing away of several of our

esteemed friends during the past few months—Sarvashri Chitta Mahata, C.K. Chakrapani, Nagina Rai, Shrimati B. Radhabai Ananda Rao, Sarvashri Gauri Shankar Rai, Jageswar Yadav, Ishwar Chaudhary, S. A. Dange, Uma Shankar Dikshit, Dinesh Goswami, Prabhu Dayal Himitsangka and Bhai Shaminder Singh.

Shri Chitta Mahata was elected to Lok Sabha from Purulia constituency of West Bengal for five successive terms since 1977. Earlier he had been a Member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly during 1967-68.

Shri Chitta Mahata began his political career as a trusted follower of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and actively participated in several peasant movements in Purulia district since his student days.

A well known educationist, he was associated with various social and cultural organisations.

He took keen interest in the proceedings of the House.

Shri Mahata passed away on 7th July, 1991 at Ranchi Hospital at young age of 54 years.

Shri C.K. Chakrapani was a Member of the Fourth Lok Sabha during 1967-70 representing Ponnani constituency of Kerala.

A well known journalist he served on the editorial boards of "Navayugom", "Communist" and "Deshabhimani".

An able parliamentarian, Shri Chakrapani never missed any opportunity to focus the attention of the House to the problems faced by the working class.

He expired on 1st March, 1991 at Trichur at the young age of 57.

Shri Nagina Rai was a Member of the Seventh Lok Sabha during 1980-84 representing Gopalganj constituency of Bihar. Earlier he had been a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly during 1967-80 and also a Minister in the State Government for several years.

A widely travelled person and an able parliamentarian, Shri Nagina Rai lost no opportunity to focus the attention of the House to the problems faced by farmers. He had also served on the Committee on Petitions of the House.

An active political and social worker, he took leading role in the spread of education. He was associated with several educational, social, political and sports organisations in various capacities.

Shri Nagina Rai lost his life in tragic circumstances on 10th April, 1991 at the age of 67 years. His death at the hands of some criminal elements deserves strongest condemnation.

Shrimati B. Radhabai Ananda Rao represented Bhadrachalam constituency of the State of Andhra Pradesh continuously for four terms during Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Lok Sabha between 1967 and 1984.

An able parliamentarian, Shrimati Rao rose from panchayat level to the highest parliamentary forum and successfully drew the attention of the House to the problems faced by women and tribal people. She served as a Member of the Committee on Government Assurances.

15.00 hrs.

Shrimati Rao took active part in propagating family planning schemes in Singareni Collieries and other tribal areas and worked tirelessly for welfare of tribal people. Besides

being associated with various social and sports organisations, she was a member of Indian National Trade Union Congress during 1962-64.

A widely travelled person, she was a member of several parliamentary delegations to various countries abroad.

Shrimati B. Radhabai Ananda Rao passed away on 17th April, 1991 at Hyderabad at the age of 61.

Shri Gauri Shankar Rai was a member of the Sixth Lok Sabha during 1977-79 representing Ghazipur constituency of Uttar Pradesh. Earlier he had been member of the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly (1957-62) and Legislative Council (1967-76). He served as the Leader of Opposition in Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council.

A veteran freedom fighter, Shri Rai actively participated in the freedom struggle and suffered imprisonment in 1942.

An agriculturist by profession, Shri Rai took keen interest in focussing the attention of the House to agrarian problems and issues regarding rural development.

He served as a member of the Public Accounts Committee.

Shri Gauri Shankar Rai passed away at Ballia in U. P. on 2nd May, 1991 at the age of 67.

Shri Jageshwar Yadav was a member of the Fourth Lok Sabha during 1967-70 representing Banda constituency of Uttar Pradesh.

A veteran freedom fighter, he took active part in the 'Quit India Movement' in 1942 and suffered rigorous imprisonment for two years.

An agriculturist and a well known social worker, Shri Yadav took keen interest in the welfare of farmers and working class. Besides being convener of Kisan Mazdoor Sammelan held in Banda, he was associated with several educational institutions in various capacities.

Shri Jageshwar Yadav passed away on 14th May, 1991 at the age of 74.

Shri Ishwar Chaudhary was a member of Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Lok Sabha during 1971-79 and 1989-91 representing Gaya constituency of Bihar.

A well known social and political worker, he devoted his life for the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society. He took active part in the proceedings of the House, which bear a testimony of his concern for the toiling masses of the country. He served on the Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He was also associated with the consultative Committee of the Ministry of Labour and Welfare.

Shri Ishwar Chaudhary, who was a candidate for election to the Tenth Lok Sabha, fell to an assassin's bullet on 15th May, 1991. He was only 52 years old.

Shri Shripad Amrit Dange was a multi-faceted personality. His valuable contributions as a freedom fighter, trade unionist, writer, parliamentarian and least but not the last as leader of the working class, stand testimony to his vision, determination and enormous courage in his pursuit for creating a socialistic pattern of society in the country.

Born in 1899, Shri Dange came into contact with the working class while doing relief work in the mill areas in Bombay. Shri Dange took his first baptism into politics in the ferment of national movement against the British rule in India.

An intrepid freedom fighter, Shri Dange was greatly inspired by the leading lights of our freedom struggle like, Lok Manya Tilak and Father of the Nation. He joined the Non-Co-operation Movement in 1920 while he was still a student and gave up his studies. Thereafter he never looked back. He spent about sixteen long years in jail for participating in the freedom struggle particularly Kanpur conspiracy case (1924-27), Meerut conspiracy case (1929-35), anti-war activities (1939-43) and so on.

Shri Dange remained a dominant figure in the Trade Union Movement in the country for about six decades. He was in fact the founder member of the All India Trade Union Congress. He was elected as Vice-President of the Worth Federation of Trade Union several times.

In recognition of his unique participation in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, Shri Dange was awarded the 'Order of Lenin', the highest decoration of Soviet Union.

Shri Dange was a man of letters. He authored a number of books on several subjects, best known among them are 'Gandhi vs. Lenin', 'Literature and People' and 'From Primitive Communism to Slavery'. Shri Dange took keen interest in journalism and started the country's first communist journal—'The Socialist' and also edited the Marathi weekly 'Kranti'.

Shri Dange was elected to the Second Lok Sabha in 1957 from Bombay City (Central) Constituency of the erstwhile State of Bombay and again to Fourth Lok Sabha in 1967 representing the same Constituency which then formed part of Maharashtra. Earlier he had been a Member of the then Bombay Legislative Assembly during 1946-51. He played a crucial role in the formation of Maharashtra State.

A noted parliamentarian, he lost no opportunity to focus the attention of the House to the problems faced by the working class. The debates of Lok Sabha bear witness to the valuable contributions made by Shri Dange during his tenure as a Member. Irrespective of ideological differences, all sections of the House respected and heard him in silence.

In his death, we have lost not only a former colleague but a true patriot and an invaluable link with our glorious struggle for freedom. Shri Dange expired on 22 May, 1991 at Bombay at the age of about 92 after a prolonged illness.

Shri Uma Shankar Dixit, a former Union Minister and a Member of Rajya Sabha for about fifteen long years passed away at New Delhi on 30th May, 1991 after a prolonged illness at the age of 90 years.

A veteran freedom fighter, Shri Dixit discontinued his studies and plunged into freedom movement at the call of the Father of the Nation in 1920 at the young age of 19. He ably conducted the satyagraha and underground movements and actively participated in the 'Quit India' movement. He was awarded imprisonment for several years.

Shri Dixit started his parliamentary career in 1961 when he was first elected to Rajya Sabha. He was re-elected to that House in 1964 and again in 1970. He continued to be a Member of that House till 10 January, 1976.

A renowned parliamentarian and able administrator Shri Dixit served as the Leader of the House in Rajya Sabha besides being Member of the Union Council of Ministers between 1971 and 1975 when he held with distinction various important portfolios namely, Works and Housing, Health and Family Planning, Home Affairs and Shipping & Transport.

Later he served as Governor of Karnataka and West Bengal for several years. He also served as the custodian of Evacuee property for about four years from 1948 and displayed his organising skill.

Shri Dixit took keen interest in the promotion of Hindi and was associated with several educational and cultural organisations.

Besides his political activities, Shri Dixit was deeply interested in the development of healthy journalism. In fact, he started his career as a journalist and was Managing Director of Associated Journals Limited—the publishers of 'National Herald', 'Navjivan' and 'Qaumi Awaz'. He was also associated with various institutions connected with the Press including PTI and the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society in various capacities.

The invaluable services of Shri Dixit to the country will always be remembered and he will ever remain a source of inspiration to the future generations.

Shri Dinesh Goswami was a Member of the Fifth and Eighth Lok Sabha during 1971-77 and again from December 1985 to July 1989, representing Guwahati Constituency of Assam. He was a Member of the Rajya Sabha during 1978-84 and again from April 1990 till the fateful day of his tragic death in a road accident on 2-6-1991 at the young age of just 56 years.

A brilliant debator during his student days, Shri Goswami won many a debating championship. A man of varied interests, he chose the legal profession and started practice at the Guwahati High Court. His legal acumen and clarity of mind soon came to be highly acclaimed. As a member of the Executive Council of the Assam Bar Council and as the Joint Secretary of the National Forum of

Lawyers and Legal Aid, Shri Goswami rendered yeoman's service to the legal profession.

Recognised as one of the finest parliamentarians in the country, Shri Goswami's contributions to the proceedings of the two Houses, particularly those relating to judicial and electoral reforms, will be long remembered. Besides serving on the Panel of Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen in both the Houses, Shri Goswami made a very useful contribution to the work of several parliamentary committees, particularly the Committee of Privileges and the Committee on Public Undertakings. During 9th Lok Sabha, he was inducted into the Union Council of Ministers and held the portfolios of Steel & Mines and Law & Justice during 1989-90. His short tenure as Minister of Law & Justice was marked by the introduction of several important legislative measures, particularly those relating to electoral reforms.

Shri Goswami took keen interest in promoting cultural activities in his home state of Assam. A lover of sports and games, he was particularly fond of football and was a much sought-after radio commentator of football and cricket matches both in English and Assamese.

A widely travelled person, Shri Goswami represented India in various international conferences. He was a member of the Indian Parliamentary Delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in London in 1973 and the Inter-Parliamentary Union Meet at Venezuela (Caracus) in 1979.

A man of letters, Shri Goswami had many works to his credit like 'Kuhelika'—a collection of short stories and 'Chinaki Prithibi'—a travelogue in Assamese. He also took part in a number of radio dramas broadcast from AIR, Guwahati.

In his untimely death, the country has lost a dedicated political worker and an ardent nationalist.

Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka started his parliamentary career as early as in 1926 when he was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council. Thereafter, he was a Member of Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1937-39, Assam Legislative Assembly, December 1946—February, 1948, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, February, 1948—June, 1948, Constituent Assembly (Legislative), 1948-50, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Rajya Sabha, 1956-62 and of Third and Fourth Lok Sabha during 1962 to 1970. He was also a Councillor and Alderman of Calcutta Corporation for several years.

Shri Himatsingka was not only an eminent parliamentarian but also a leading solicitor and advocate of the Calcutta High Court and the Supreme Court of India.

A well known political worker, Shri Himatsingka was imprisoned several times for his political activities during the freedom struggle and also externed from Bengal in 1916.

An ardent champion of the deprived and neglected sections of the society, he worked ceaselessly for eradication of leprosy and spread of education among the women. He was also connected with the scouting activities and functioned as the State Chief Commissioner—Bharat Scouts and Guides during 1952-53. Shri Himatsingka was also associated with several charitable, social and educational organisations in various capacities.

Shri Himatsingka passed away on 2 June, 1991 at the ripe age of 102. He was awarded title of 'Grand Old Man' during the tercentenary celebration of Calcutta City.

Bhai Shaminder Singh was a Member of the Eighth Lok Sabha from September 1985 to August 1989 representing Faridkot constituency of Punjab.

An agriculturist by profession, he was associated with various organisations connected with the development of agriculture in the State of Punjab.

He was an active social and political worker. He worked relentlessly for the welfare of the down-trodden sections of the society and spread of education amongst women. He was Vice-Chairman of Guru Nanak College for Women, Muktsar.

He was a vigilant parliamentarian and availed of every opportunity to highlight the problems faced by the people in Punjab in the proceedings of the House.

Bhai Shaminder Singh, who was a candidate for election to the Tenth Lok Sabha lost his life in the midst of the election campaign in a bomb blast at Muktsar on 18 June, 1991 at the young age of 45 years. His assassination is a setback to the endeavours being made to bring normalcy in Punjab.

We deeply mourn the loss of these friends and I am sure the House will join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved families.

The House may now stand in silence for a short while as a mark of respect to the deceased.

(The Members then stood in silence for a short while.)

15.17 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned to meet again at 11 AM on Friday, the 12 July, 1991.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, July 12, 1991/Asadha 21, 1913 (Saka).