

*Decisions on Mandal Commission  
Report And Measures for promotion  
of employment for youth in addition  
to Reservations for socially &  
educationally backward classes*

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Yes, yes. I will give you the Bill. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI RAM LAL RAHI (Misrikh):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the discussion on atrocities on women has continually been remained in the agenda for the last so many days but the discussion has not been completed as yet. It is also not certain as to when this discussion shall be completed while as the incidents of atrocities on women, Harijans and tribals etc. are increasing day by day and on the other hand we are not able to complete the discussion on such an important issue. The Delhites are more concerned and anxious for achieving the statehood for Delhi at the cost of other priorities. On the other hand, atrocities are being committed on Harijans and women and they are least concerned with that. I demand that the same discussion which was left incomplete, should again be taken up and completed first.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Yes, all right. Now take your seat please. What are you doing like that? ..... (*Interruptions*).....

**SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM:** What Sir, the foremost need is that of bread, clothing and shelter ..... (*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

**SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum):** Sir, Government is keeping all the sensitive issues without discussion. They want to destabilise the country. The country will be held to ransom without any sense of propriety. We want a Bill. Where is the Bill?... .. (*Interruptions*).....

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** May I request the whips to control your Members who are talking in this fashion—at cross purposes?

[*Translation*]

**SHRI RAM LAL RAHI:** Sir, kindly say something about the discussion that is to be taken up on women's issue. This is the 19th item on the agenda and is yet incomplete after getting place on the agenda for so many days. Kindly tell us as to when you are going to complete that discussion left halfway.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** All right, I am speaking on that. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** After this discussion, if you are prepared to take up the proposed discussion, we will take it also today for discussion.

16-22 hrs. 5-55 11-42

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**\*Decisions on Mandal Commission Report  
And**

**\*Measures for promotion of employment for the youth in addition to reservations for socially and educationally backward classes** (DR 103)

[*English*]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Now the House will take up Items No. 17 and 18, namely, Discussions under Rule 193 regarding decisions on the Mandal Commission Report and measures for promotion of employment for the youth in addition to reservations for socially and educationally backward classes. Mr. Harish Rawat may initiate the debate.

\*Discussed together.

[Translation]

379-03

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to express my heart felt gratitude to you... *(Interruptions)*.....

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** All right, after this, we will complete that discussion also today if the time permits.

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** At the very outset, I would like to express my gratitude to you for granting me permission to initiate the debate on the important issue. Sir, we have a national commitment towards creating a socialistic society and in order to achieve this goal, we want to invite the participation of every section of our society in it through economic resources, social and political activities and through Government employment. The framers of our Constitution incorporated this provision in the Constitution for this very purpose. They made the provision for uniting the centuries old oppressed and suppressed sections of our society, the sections that are economically backward too. Whether it gets reflected by the Article 340 or Articles 40 and 42 of the Constituent Assembly or by the Articles 15(4) and 16(4), Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, whatever the provisions and arrangements have been made under the Constitution for these groups, we whole heartedly support it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we welcome every steps taken to fulfil this object. It is a historical fact that our constitution makers when provided for these people in the constitution they tried to evolve the consensus. They tried to create such an atmosphere that every person should accept

it whole heartedly and they succeeded in their efforts and behind it was the contribution of hundreds of people and not that of one or two.

Sir, on 7th the hon. Prime Minister through an executive order announced 27 per cent job reservation for a section of our society on caste-basis. This is not a new issue. Almost every party in its manifesto has expressed its views on this issue. Even in the last election manifestoes every party, whether it was Congress or CPI or Bhartiya Janta Party and Janta Dal had mention about this issue and resolved to provide for job reservations to the backward class people. But, Sir, we hoped and believed that Prime Minister who knows about the need to achieve consensus among political parties on this issue would try not to disintegrate it. It would have been better if the hon. Prime Minister instead of making this sudden announcement had consulted leaders of all political parties. Respected Advaniji said, "This issue is a major one but this Government is a minority Government. We have no objection if you did not consult the Congress on this issue. But you should have certainly consulted those on whose support your minority Government is running. If you did not like that you should have consulted your party at least. Even if you did not like that, you should have certainly consulted at least those States which were to implement your this decision."

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is surprising that person, who considers himself the representative of the anti-Congress consensus and is occupying the office of Prime Minister on that basis and who says that he will continue to strive for achieving consensus did not consider it necessary to consult even his 80 persons on the

question concerning the sentiments of eighty crores people. Mr. Prime Minister, what compelled you to make this sudden announcement? This sudden announcement not only.....(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please listen to him. An important issue is being discussed. Do not give running commentary. Somebody starts speaking from this side and somebody from that side. It should not be so.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I was asking as to what were the compulsions which forced the Prime Minister to make this sudden announcement on 7th? Did he want to divert the people's attention from his Government's failure in controlling the rising prices. Whether he made this announcement to conceal that his Government do not have any policy to solve Kashmir, Punjab and Assam problems or whether such a situation was created in his own party that he had to make this announcement to control his political opponents within his own party. ....(*Interruptions*) I am not stating this from my own side but I am repeating the words of Shri Ram Vilas Paswan who time and again says that the question is not of the policy but of the intention. Hon. Ram Vilas Paswan ji, you are my friend, please ask the Prime Minister and tell us as to whether he took his party and the Members of his council of Ministers into confidence before making this sudden announcement? The differences over this issue in C.C.P.A. as were reported in the Newspapers obviously shows that there was not unanimity on this issue among the council of Ministers. It should be clarified as to what was the intention of the Prime Minister behind this sudden announcement?

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISWANATH PRATAP SINGH): I refute it. When this issue came up before the cabinet it supported it with one voice.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, the hon. Prime Minister just stated that the cabinet was not divided over this issue. I welcome it but I regret that those Ministers who were against it and whose names appeared in the newspapers in this context did not refute it but the Prime Minister has been making contradictory claims and this strengthened our doubt and confirmed that the council of Ministers was divided over this issue.

Sir, the hon. Prime Minister has announced to implement recommendations of Mandal Commission on caste basis whereas Dr. Lohia's old colleagues are with him and Dr. Lohia always opposed the casteism. It seems that hon. Prime Minister has resolved to spread casteism rather than bringing about unity.

Man divided the society in four classes. Now we are facing its consequences. At present the entire society appears to be divided and disintegrated because of this curse of division. Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes had been provided in the constitution to correct this mistake and to remove the discrimination. I am happy that the Congress and its leaders were behind this provision of reservation and we, today also....(*Interruptions*) Even today the Congress party is solidly behind this resolution. We firmly support this measure. (*Interruptions*) Only the Congress men had worked day and night to bring about a social change by building a consensus throughout the country over this

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issue. (*Interruptions*) The present announcement has not only belied the ideology of Lohia but has also disappointed a large number of Ch. Charan Singh's supporters here. Ch. Charan Singh's main political aim was to bring about unity among the peasants. Ch. Charan Singh throughout his life strived to achieve unity among peasants. But I am sorry to point out that politically motivated announcement of the 7th has emotionally disintegrated not only the country but also the peasantry at a large which was the symbol of Charan Singh's resolution. And as a result thereof. (*Interruptions*) ... The reality of the society cannot be overlooked just by making noise here. I am pained to point out that villages are also affected from it. The villagers have always maintained brotherhood among themselves but now they too have come out against one and other. In towns and cities such things happen because of presence of vested interests there. But now brothers are fighting against one and other in the villages. School Children are also fighting against one and other and so the employees of the offices have come out against one another. At this juncture, when our country needed the emotional integrity and unity and when country is passing through a period of crisis such a politically motivated announcement is certainly to affect the national integrity and unity. Though I myself is in favour of reservation for the backward classes and it should be done according to the provisions of the constitution but it should not be done in a way of political blackmailing. It should not be done in a way that one may feel hurt in one's sentiments.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Rawat ji, how much time do you need more?

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, I have just started. I had started at 4.25 and have taken only 10 minutes. There have been interruptions time and again. Do not take that into account. (*Interruptions*)

I will conclude within 10-15 minutes

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you would look to that side you would certainly have the response.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we denounce and condemn the violence taking place outside this House. Whosoever may be behind it.. ....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You may speak later on, please do not speak while sitting.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, we are bold enough to condemn the violence. I would like to humbly and respectfully ask the hon. Prime Minister as to whether he has courage and capacity to control his cabinet colleagues who are openly instigating casteism and are giving a call to the people to come on the streets to fight out the anti-reservationists. His courage is under trial at present as his cabinet colleagues are openly instigating the people for indulging into violence and I can see their political ends and motives behind it.

They are not the benefactors of the backward classes in true sense of the term. They do so just to make their political mileage and drage both the groups into a dual so that both the groups consider them as their *Messiahs*. That is why they are making these types of statements and these should be condemned. Sir, during the last elections, we realised it. Shri Rajiv Gandhi issued an order to the effect that all the backlogs of reserved posts meant for SCs and STs should be filled up..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): No other person has betrayed the SCs/STs as much as Shri Rajiv Gandhi did.....(Interruptions).. ...

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Shri Rajiv Gandhi and his Government firmly implemented the constitutional provisions with due regard to the sentiments of the people of this country. But after the elections we found that some very unknown figures and petty leaders assumed commanding positions in their party. They call Congress Party as a party of reservations. I am glad to hear such a name for our party. I say firmly that we will prefer to face not only one but several electoral debacles in protecting the interests of Harijans and those belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We will heartily accept such defeats but would not tolerate a little bit of harassment to the downtrodden and the oppressed classes. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, please try to understand this small thing and especially I ..(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGA-LAM (Salem): We cannot be silenced. Otherwise, we will not allow a single person from there to speak.....(Interruptions).....

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seat, what I want to say is that Rawat Saheb has already been speaking since long and he is likely to conclude shortly.

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGA-LAM: Sir, he has been silenced.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am talking, you should not interrupt.

[Translation]

Look, I have got a list of 15 Members from the Congress Party, 18 from the Janata Dal, 9 from the B.J.P. and 10-15 from other parties to speak. I would, therefore, like to make a request to all the hon. Members not to repeat their points.....(Interruptions).....

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGA-LAM: Sir, ask them not to interrupt us.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Kumaramangalam, you are interrupting me also.

[Translation]

I would like that if at all you want to contradict the views expressed by a speaker any one of your 18 Members, theirs 15 Members and 10 Members of the other party could do so after the speech is over. Secondly, if some Member rises and starts speaking without the permission of the Chair, he will not go on record.

Rawat ji, you are taking too much time. Since you are the initiator. I would not like to stop you, but please conclude quickly.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it has been the practice that the mover under Rule-193 gets sufficient time. This has been the practice. I shall also take that much time ....(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let there be a battle of wits, but not a battle of vocal chords.....

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He who speaks without my permission will not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a conspiracy against the society and it is being done deliberately. What is this conspiracy? The conspiracy is the announcement made by the Prime Minister on the 7th instant which has created resentment all over the country. Efforts are being made to link that resentment with a general issue of reservation. Some of the senior ministers of the treasury benches are deeply involved in this plan.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the whole country understands this conspiracy. The entire country has wholeheartedly accepted the point of reservation to Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. There is a national consensus over this policy. It has been accepted as a national duty and national belief. But we will not allow anybody if he wants to link the reservation issue with the political announcement of the Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister made this announcement, it created a flutter all over the country. After creating the stir, he is sending rescue teams to assuage the feelings. After making this announcement, he is soliciting our support and support of other parties. In this connection, I would like to point out to the hon. Prime Minister that though we had some differences at the point of time, methods of implementation and intention hidden behind this announcement, we preferred to keep silence in the wider interest of the country and desisted from taking a step which would vitiate the atmosphere. As it is, one should not say a thing which would vitiate the environment and hurt the emotional

integrity of the country. But I am sorry to say that this announcement was first opposed by their student leader, the general secretary of their Bihar Unit. If any Chief Minister opposed this move, it is the Chief Minister of their party alone. They should make self-retrospection and look as to who are the people who are opposing them. It is their people only, their M.Ps and their leaders who called this step of the Prime Minister as imprudent one. If any Member of Parliament called this step as a step leading to country's disintegration, it is their M.P. only. Sir, let me know as to the M.P. of which party gave the threat of resignation on this point. If you cannot identify your own Members, you can take the help of Khurana ji to trace them out. .... (Interruptions)...

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please condense your speech. There are many members who want to speak and two hours are allotted. You have already spoken for 30 minutes.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a very elementary issue. If I do not take my arguments to a logical conclusion, I will be misunderstood. I would, therefore, like to make an earnest request to you not to do so on this sensitive issue lest it should be considered as my political error. I seek your protection for this.....(Interruptions).....

I wanted to tell a few more points to the hon. Prime Minister and I wanted to repeat the points as my charges against him.

MR. SPEAKER: You speak certainly, but be brief.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: In view of your request and my old relations with the hon. Prime Minister I would not like to repeat those charges. I would only like to make a mention of his insistence. 27 per cent reservation is being made only because he is resisting on it.....(Interruptions)..... How can he ensure this. A reservation of 27 per cent will be made for all the backward classes which have been referred in Mandal Commission report. The backward classes will get this reservation on the basis of their population. This thing I do not say of my own, I would like to read out the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.

[English]

It is no doubt, true that the major benefit of reservation, other welfare measures for other backward classes will be cornered by the more advanced among the backward classes.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): It is, no doubt, true. But you read the next sentence also..... (Interruptions).....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think, you must conclude, Mr. Rawat. I cannot give you more time..... (Interruptions).....

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I am not saying this thing. This is what has been said by the Mandal Commission in its recommendations. I would like to make a mention of certain castes viz., Vishwakarma, Bhat, Gadarja, Darji, Dhobi, Lohar and also the Gandharva caste found in my area. I am apprehensive that in the name of

backwardness the benefits of reservation will be cornered by people who are economically strong and educationally advanced. The Commission has not made any mention as to what is the percentage of backwardness in a particular class. We people live in villages. There are uneducated people in every caste and every class. Does the Prime Minister have any yardstick by which he could measure the percentage of eligibility in these castes by sticking to his obstinacy and making the benefits of reservation available to them. It is possible to ascertain the number of uneducated people in a society. For them no reservation is available on the basis of their education. Besides if they are not imparted education, they cannot avail the benefits of reservation. They are poor and backward. Then, how can they avail the benefits of reservation. The whole country wants that the 27 per cent reservation should be made on economic basis and not on caste basis. Our Constitution makers did not speak of castes on the basis of economic in article 15 and 16(4) of the Constitution. They had incorporated the word backward classes so that economically backward people belonging to other religions also could avail of the benefits of reservation. They held the view that these people would also expect that Government is equally taking their care. We had proposed the point of reservation. Now the Prime Minister is talking of providing reservation to minorities also. Shri Advani had also opposed this type of reservation. I would like to know as to what steps the Government is taking in this regard. There are hon. Members of Parliament from Himachal Pradesh and from veterans hailing from hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh are also sitting in the treasury benches at the backside. They are Mr. Mahendra Singh

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Pal and Mr. C. M. Negi. They come from an area which is totally dependent on service. What does the Government think for them. They have no industry, no source of income. A very serious question has raised its head today. It is a matter of regret that their party does not believe in integration. Sometimes they are dividing the country on the basis of religion, on urban versus rural basis, and sometimes on the question of industry and on language basis. Now this is their latest invention. They want to divide the country on caste lines.

[Translation]

Leave alone the Hindu community, he has divided even the minorities into two factions—pro-Mandal and anti-Mandal. Apprehending the wide spread resentment, he assured to convene an all-party meeting. However, he gave no detail in this regard.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude now. I cannot give you any more time. Shri Dinesh Singh is going to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: So far as the matter of convening an all party meeting is concerned, we are prepared to extend our cooperation. The Hon. Prime Minister is like a surgeon who has started performing surgical operation on the society which is rotting in casteism.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please don't be literary, you have already taken much time.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I will conclude within two minutes. He has put the indian society on operation

table and started performing operation on it, then all of a sudden, he realised that he did not know how to operate upon such cases. Then he started searching for other surgeons. Now, he is inviting other political parties. He has two nursing assistants Shri Sharad Yadav and Shri Ram Vilas Paswan ready to help him with the knives of casteism in their hands. They are issuing one statement after the other. On one hand, he talks about convening an all party meet and on the other he asks the backward classes to come on the roads to fight for their rights.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Leaders of the parties are going to speak. You have spoken for 40 minutes out of two hours. Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Whom these statments will help. These provoking statements will neither help the society nor the nation.

Before, I conclude, I would like to urge upon the Hon. Prime Minister to discuss the issue with all the political parties. He should take all the political parties in confidence and solve this delicate issue. Congress Party is also in favour of providing for reservation for economically backward people. Therefore, he does not have any other option except to implement the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee. I would like to urge upon the Hon. Prime Minister and august House to implement the resolution and the suggestions given by Congress Working Committee to save the country from the present turmoil.

With these words, I move my resolution in the House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Dinesh Singh.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI KESHARI LAL (Ghatampur): I have a point of order. You allowed Shri Rawat to speak for 40 minutes, would you allow 40 minutes to other hon. Members also.

17.00 hrs.

[English]

373-205

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to raise this discussion before the House on this very important issue. Really the discussion should have been taken up a month earlier, even two or perhaps even earlier before the Prime Minister came to this House with the statement that he delivered on the 7th of August. That would have been the appropriate time for this House to consider this very important issue. And I should like to say that it is a matter of deep regret that when this House was in session that the Prime Minister did not think it fit to have a discussion to listen to all sections of the House before bringing in such an executive order which has disturbed the normal life all over the country.

Many points have already been made by my colleague who spoke before me. And to save the time of the House it would not be my wish to repeat them. But I would ask a question as to what was the urgency, what was the need, what was the particular astrological date on the 7th August when the Prime Minister brought this executive order.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): You belong to astrological culture.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: If my friend, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, has a better explanation I shall accept that. What has appeared in newspapers is that the date on which the Prime Minister made this statement here had relevance to his dismissing his Deputy Prime Minister. When Deputy Prime Minister was dismissed, he started organising a rally. The kisan rally was to take place on the 9th. From what appears, the intelligence agencies informed the Prime Minister that this kisan rally will be a show of solidarity of the rural communities and that it will be a very big rally, as indeed it was. To prevent that rally, to break the solidarity of the rural people, the Prime Minister perhaps, decided that this was an opportune moment to come forward with such a declaration which will divert the minds of the people from the rally, from the dismissal of the Deputy Prime Minister to something which in our national life today is unparalleled except for the holocaust of the partition of the country.

There have been many social reforms in our country. Great saints, great people have reformed our society. In our living memory and the century perhaps, the biggest reform by our society was conducted by Mahatma Gandhi when he abolished untouchability.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM DHAN (Lalganj): Where has it happened?

[English]

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Since Ram Dhanji has raised this question

[Translation]  
 When it was violated?

[English]  
 it brings to my mind a personal experience which I should normally not have wished to share with this House, but I would like to share it now.

It was back in 1932 or so when the Mahatma did us the honour of visiting Kalakankas. There my father organised a bhoj of all the communities. Apart from the devoted Congressmen and some Arya Samaj leaders very few of the upper caste came to that, very few of the so-called backward classes came too. A number of Scheduled Castes people came. The bhoj took place in the afternoon. And by the evening my father and all of us in the family had been removed from our community, ostracised. It is this, Ram Dhan Ji, which has abolished untouchability, not you and I sitting here today to reap the benefits of what this greatman has done. I would like Ram Dhan Ji to imagine that the Raja of his own place....(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM DHAN (Lalganj): Whether all of you did not listen what Shri K. K. Tiwari said in the House. Where were your honesty at that time...(Interruptions)...

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are talking of a Mahatma and he has brought in Mr. K. K. Tiwari. At least some similarity should be there.

[English]

I would like to remind the House that when Mahatma started his movement against untouchability, it was

some thing peculiar to our society only. Nowhere else in the world had untouchability been practised. Therefore, he received all the more resistance from the society in removing untouchability. But, when he started the movement, it was not merely a slogan to remove untouchability or an invitation to a Bhoj in which you sit and eat together. He started it from the bottom. He started it with education. He gave them the facility to start a living, gave them self-reliance and made them feel that they were equal citizens of this country. Even with a small wage, poor as they were, they did not have the capital, he introduced a Takli. Even with a spoke of a cycle you could make a Takli and become self-reliance. Khaddar became the symbol of self-reliance in this country. It is in this manner that this revolution was carried out without blood shed and without strife. But the Prime Minister's statement has now introduced the same in our society. This tradition of the Mahatma has been kept up by the Congress for example, abolition of Zamindari, integration of princely States, abolition of privy purses etc. In their own times these were social, economic and political revolutions and now we have a Zamindar sitting as Prime Minister. It is in this very manner that these revolutionary changes were brought about that it did not create strife. It brought the society together. It made them understand the necessity of these changes and it made them accept those changes. Even, this reservation that is proposed under Mandal Commission, it is possible because of an amendment to the Constitution moved by a Congress Prime Minister, Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru that we are today talking of reservations for socially and educationally backward classes .. (Interruptions).

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND WELFARE (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN): Why don't you clap now?

SHRI M. J. AKBAR (Kishanganj): But he is not provoking them to come on the road and fight for their rights while you suggest this in spite of being a Minister. It is good to use brains at times....(Interruptions)...

[English]

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, some of my friends will say what did you do with Mandal Commission Report. You had it with you for ten years. Yes, of course, we had it for ten years... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM DHAN: What about Kaka Kalekar's report....(Interruptions)...

[English]

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, my difficulty is that all my friends who were with us during all this period of time, are now finding fault with us for everything we did or did not do at that time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: It is confession with retrospective effect.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, we made every effort to evolve a consensus on this very sensitive issue. Three times the Home Minister held meetings. We discussed it in this House on three occasions I think, and a number of other efforts were made. In this connection, a very positive effort was made by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, when he was the Prime

Minister, in the introduction of Panchayati Raj. I would like to draw your attention to the social aspect of the Panchayati Raj. Take the Panchayati Raj. There will be a Panchayat President in each village. In each village there will be different communities. He will be regarded as the leader of the village. People of other communities will recognise one person of a community—in many cases Backward, in many cases Scheduled Caste—and he will receive the recognition, the acceptance by the village community of leadership. This is how the caste barriers are to be broken. This is how acceptability has to be gained in society for all sections of population, not by strife.

My friend has pointed out that instead of trying to evolve this national consensus which was within the capability of the Prime Minister—I do not under-estimate his capability; he has a very sweet tongue and a persuasive methodology—he could have attempted to evolve a consensus. But that was not his desire. His desire was to come forward—as I said one reason was to check what his colleague, the former Deputy Prime Minister was likely to do....(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): What was that?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I just said. Do you want me to repeat all that again? Secondly, Sir, his desire was to divert the attention of the country from the failures of this Government, their inability to control the price rise, their inability to find a solution, or at least a direction, a policy towards the solution, so far as Kashmir is concerned, Punjab is concerned, Assam is concerned, and now Tamil Nadu is concerned. As you have seen in the newspapers, all these things... (Interruptions)

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Sir, I have got a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Which rule or which article or which convention has been violated, Mr. Roy?

SHRI A. K. ROY: Sir, I cannot say which rule because all the rules are being violated. Sir, item 17 and item 18 are to be taken up together. That means the subject matter of both is slightly different.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Akin to each.

SHRI A. K. ROY: One second, Sir. Mr. Dinesh Singh is a senior Member of the House. He should not misunderstand the implication. Otherwise, it will mean as if two Members from the Opposition are being allowed to speak one after the other in support of Mandal Commission only. He is actually repeating what the earlier Member has said in Hindi. We do not expect that he should simply translate that speech and take the precious time of the House. My point of order is whether a second Member from the same party is allowed to translate what the other Member has said in Hindi, and take the time of the House.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Sir, if you go through all the newspapers, you would see that from the front pages, the headings of 'price rise', 'Kashmir', 'Punjab' and all have disappeared. What we see on the front pages is 'the number of buses burnt', 'the number of students killed', 'the number of bandhs organised', 'the number of trains disrupted', and 'the national life coming to halt in many of the cities in this country.' This, Mr. Prime Minister, has been your achievement. If this was your wish, you have succeeded, but I cannot

imagine that you could have had such a narrow objective in mind as to think in terms of dividing the country in such a manner just for winning a mid-term election that you may have in mind this winter. (Interruptions)

Sir, I have a bunch of newspaper clippings on what people in this country have been feeling about the manner and the content of the two statements that the Prime Minister has made in this House and I am not going to read the long articles. But with your permission, I would like to read some of the headings.

Sir. *The Hindustan Times* of August 28, 1990 says: "Society may split on Caste lines". There is an article from a very senior and very respected journalist, Shri Nikhil Chakravarty. He said: "A Fresh Look at the Mandal Report is needed." Then there is a report from Mr. F. S. Nariman, the heading of which is: "Unmaking of the Indian Union". There is an article by Frank Anthony, the heading of which says: "V. P. Singh: Layest Hostage to Anarchy and Mockery of Secularism." And there is an article by a very senior and respected journalist in this country, Shri Girilal Jain, who says: "V.P. will prove another Jinnah". (Interruptions)

The Ruling Party may try to belittle these articles because they are inconvenient for them. But they must not forget that it is these newspapers which have enabled them to sit where they are sitting today even as a minority government.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: And they also made you sit where you are sitting now.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: And that is why we are now hoping that we will change sides very soon, Madhu.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** (Bolpur): Again through newspapers?

**SHRI DINESH SINGH:** Sir, it has already been pointed out how the Ruling Party came to be divided on this issue and again I shall not take up the time of the House to repeat that. But may I say, Sir, that while all this goes on—we ask the same question again and again: Why this hurry? Why this 7th of August statement? Why this statement without consultation? My friend, the hon. Member, Mr. Chatterjee may be satisfied that he was not consulted; we don't hope to be consulted because we are in the Opposition. But Advaniji should feel slighted that he was not even consulted, Sir. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, what is this Government trying to achieve? and I ask this not lightly but with all the sincerity at my command. What do you achieve by doing such a thing? What is your objective? Could it not have been done by evolving a consensus in which it would have been possible to make a peaceful declaration? If it is the contention of this Government that they are trying to implement the recommendations of Mandal Commission by this executive order that the Prime Minister has issued, I must say that it is a fraud on the Mandal Commission, a fraud on the backward class people and a fraud on the nation. What have they done by this executive order?

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI MITRASEN YADAV** (Fai-zabad): You have lost your ground, why will you not speak?

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** You think of your own ground...(*Interruptions*)...

**SHRI DINESH SINGH:** Sir, if my hon. friends have the patience to listen, it would not be necessary to make noise. Why do I say it is a fraud? I am saying this for mere reservation of job does not necessarily provide an opportunity to someone to get the job unless he has the requisite qualifications. What has the Government done to prepare these people for attaining the requisite qualifications? I am not talking only in terms of reservation. What is preventing them to set up more institutions to provide training and education to the backward classes so that they can avail the opportunities of the job reservation. As it is, this job reservation will go only to a few more educated and more affluent among the backward classes. (*Interruptions*)

When the Prime Minister realised the folly of his statement that he made on the 7th of August, he came forward with a new statement on the 27th of August. It is again ending with 7th, I do not know whether that also has any astrological implications. Twenty days later, he came forward with a statement in which he is full of gratitude for what his party has done for the backward classes. He talks of the Muslims and other minorities and then he says that we can think, if others agree, to a further reservation of 5 to 10 per cent. He has tried to throw crumps before the students, which they have not picked up. What are the implications of this 5 to 10 per cent reservation? There are certain guidelines which the Supreme Court had set in regard to reservation. If go beyond that 50 per cent, then let us look at the implications that it will have. The Mandal Commission recommended a reservation of 52 per cent, but brought it down to 27 per cent only to contain it within the 50 per cent which they thought would be a permissible limit.

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If you cross this 50 per cent, then what is there to stop people asking for 52 per cent reservation? Now, 52 per cent is added to 22.5 per cent. Then, the Prime Minister is thinking of 10 per cent for the poor. I suppose he will also concede 5 per cent to Muslims and 10 per cent to women. All this add upto 99.5 per cent, leaving only 0.5 per cent for merit. Is this what we are trying to achieve? Is this the implication of the consensus that is being now attempted among the leaders of different parties? Therefore, I say that all Party-meetings are going to be meaningless unless the Prime Minister is willing to rescind this order and think in terms of evolving a consensus as to how best the Mandal Commission report can be implemented and how best the other sections which are to be included - we do not know today what are the other sections that the Prime Minister has in his mind. *(Interruptions)*

Let us have a clear picture. Unless we know the mind of the Prime Minister as to what are the categories of people who are to be given reservation, what is the idea he has in terms of percentage to these people, there is no possibility of a meaningful dialogue or evolving a consensus. There is one other point to which I would wish to refer to. That is about the attempt to change the word "classes" to "castes". The Constitution of India talks of "classes". The Mandal Commission itself talks of "classes". Now the attempt has been made to forget the "classes" but to talk merely in terms of "castes". I would not wish to repeat again the dangers that are inherent in the breaking up of our society on castes. Our Constitution talks of the abolition of castes. We are all pledged to a casteless society. What is going to happen if caste is again going to be a determining factor. Today caste is not

even mentioned in the census. It was given up in 1931. We are going to have census now and why do we not ask the Census Department to include castes? Let us at least know what castes there are and how many of them. If we are going to build a society merely based on castes, at least, let us have accurate figures and let us know what exactly we propose to do. The only manner in which we can implement the Mandal Commission report by evolving consensus is to recognise the reality of the gradation of the backwardness in the scheme of reservation. There are very backward classes which have been identified. There are other weaker sections of society which need equal protection. Therefore, there has to be inclusion of their interest and not merely the interest of the well-to-do and more-affluent among the backward classes.

Then, there has to be a reasonable balance between the facilities that we have to give because of the nature of poverty and backwardness in this country and merit. We cannot deny merit. What will happen is there will be exodus of people with merit who go away from this country. Therefore, the balance has to be achieved between merit and backwardness.

One other matter worries me. Today India is poised to be a major economy. The world itself is undergoing tremendous changes. Sheltered economy and reservations are being given up all over the world. There is competition. There is private initiative. Liberalisation is going on. What is going to be India's position? I refer to it because, as I have said earlier, India is today poised to be major economy. Is there some hand behind that which is pulling us back, giving all these ideas so that we may not

be able to move forward to occupy our rightful position in the international community?

I will end with a short quotation from a letter which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had sent to the Chief Ministers on 27th June, 1961. In that, he said and I quote:—

“The only real way to help a backward group is to give opportunities of good education; this includes technical education which is becoming more and more important. Every thing else is provision of some kind of crutches which do not add to the strength or the health of the body. We have made recently two decisions which are very important; one is universal free elementary education, that is the base; and the second is scholarships on a very wide scale at every grade of education to the bright boys and girls, and this applies not merely to literary education but, much more so, to technical, scientific and medical training. I lay stress on the bright and able boys and girls because it is only they who will raise our standards. I have no doubt that there is a vast reservoir of potential talent in this country if only we can give it an opportunity.”

**SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri):** When will you conclude? Today or tomorrow?

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** This is a very pertinent point and I would go by the advice of the hon. Members in the House. If you ask me to express my own opinion. It may not be possible to complete it today. We would be required to sit tomorrow also. Two hours are allowed. Probably some more time has to be

given and in consultation with the whips, we will fix the time but the debate will spill over to tomorrow.

[Translation] 1106-19

**SHRI HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV (Sitamarhi):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that this disease is thousands of years old and it cannot be cured soon. The issue which is being discussed in the House, I would like to submit that it is in fact a disease from which our society has been suffering for thousands of years. It is like a leprosy disease with itching sensation, which is more painful. Caste system in fact is like leprosy and caste coupled with economic disparity is like leprosy with itching pain. Hon. Member Shri Dinesh Singhji and Sh. Harish Rawat and other Members of Congress in their speeches levelled charges against the Prime Minister that he is encouraging casteism by implementing the reservation policy. I would like to ask whether casteism has been encouraged by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. There are 4500 castes and sub-castes in India. Who has created them? This country has Brahminist and capitalist set up. This Brahminism and capitalism jointly undermined the talent by introducing caste system. Who has created this set up? You should think about it seriously. Someone also created the castes, someone else is exploiting on the basis of castes and someone else is discriminating on the basis of castes. When we have taken steps to abolish casteism, you alleged us for spreading casteism. Harish Rawatji, you were talking about Shri Lohiaji. Mr. Lohiaji has said that society is fettered in the chains of casteism and racism. Until the Society is freed from these shackles of castes and race a society based on equality cannot be set up

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in India. You talk about equality in "oodharhin aant na hoi nibahu, kalnemi Jimi Ravan Rahu".

Kalnemi created obstructions in the path of Hanumana in the guise of a saint. Ravana had also kidnapped Sita in the guise of a saint and Rahu also had gone to take 'Amrit' after disguising himself. His head was cut into two parts which are now famous as Rahu and Ketu. Same thing would happen to you. (*Interruptions*) One should not deceive the people by disguising oneself. Either you say clearly that recommendations of the Mandal Commission are incomplete, you were saying that recommendations of the Mandal Commission are incomplete. I also accept that recommendations of Mandal Commission have not been fully implemented but if in first phase Prime Minister has decided to implement a very small part of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, why are you agitating over it. You accept that there are economic, social, political, communal and religious disparities in India. If you have courage then why do not you come forward and remove these disparities. This Government may be a minority Government but you are very much aware that when the government of Shrimati Indira Gandhi was in minority, you had also enacted many progressive laws. It is the history of the Parliament of India whenever there has been a minority government it has worked more for the poor of India. While the leaders of majority government have always neglected the poor and exploited them. You must have seen that when Shrimati Indira Gandhi came to power for few days with the support of left parties she had abolished privy purse and nationalised the banks. Therefore, if ours is a minority Government and leftists are supporting us and we

are taking progressive measures, then why do you feel jealous. I want to clear two things that you have all along been following two courses to bring about change in India. One of jealousy and other of flattery. You always wanted that only that leader who has jealousy or likes flattery should come forward from among the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes in India. If a person having jealousy comes forward he will only spread the fire of jealousy throughout the country and would divide the country into two factions backward and advanced. You will be able to take advantage of such position and it would be rather easier for you to eliminate such leader because you know such tricks and your other trick has also been to bring such leader to the forefront who likes flattery. You have always liked a leader who should obey you and may dance on your tunes. But through the regime of Janata Dal we are ushering into a new era in which there would neither a jealous nor Sycophant leader would be liked. We want talented, brilliant and learned persons from among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to come forward as leaders, who could win the faith of the people. He should not only be capable of providing leadership for bringing about economic, social and political changes but should also be able to create a new India with the active support of the people of India. I want to tell you that whenever fanaticism, Brahminism and capitalism joined hands, this country became weak and poor and was insulted and whenever nexus between fanaticism, Brahminism and capitalism has been broken, and revolution took place against it, country emerged stronger. In which class Rama was born? Where the lord Krishna,

Gautam Budha, Mahavir, Vivekanand and Rama Krishan Paramhansa were born. I want to tell the members sitting in the Parliament that Bhagvan Buddha, had said 'same birth, same caste'. When liberal kshatriyas led the people against the fanatic brahmins then came the golden period of India. Same changes are taking place in history of India today. I am of the opinion that Congress was an alliance of conservatives, brahmins and capitalists. A new power has born to break this nexus in the form of the Janata Dal. You are laughing and you are worried also. Shri Harish Rawat, Shri Vasant Sathe and Shri Dinesh Singh are sitting in first row. Whether you know the feelings of other colleagues of your party who are sitting in back row. Once you allow them to raise their voice then you would come to know as to what are their worries. You are sitting in the front row.....  
*(Interruptions)* Kumaramangalam Saheb, only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. They do not feel who do not suffer. Prime Minister had uttered two words 'poverty' and 'self-respect' in his speech given from the rampart of Red Fort. You took them as only words and did not go into their meaning but Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav goes into their meanings. It is not the question of poverty, it is of self-respect. Four types of people are included in it. One are those who have seen poverty but have not know anything about self-respect. People of Upper castes have seen only poor but not the social insult to which they are subjected to. Other are the people who have realised the social insult but not the poverty. Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav is one of them. I was elected as head of 'Gram Panchayat' thrice, became Member of assembly thrice and now is a third time Member of Parliament. My father, eight uncles and

four cousins had fought against British rule and had gone to jails. I remember that our property was looted. Whenever I visited Darbhanga as M.L.A. I was given food in 'Thali' and that 'Thali' was used to be licked by the dog whole night. Once when Zamindar was walking in his court, my uncle was sitting on a cot that time. My grand father was called immediately and was told that the members of his family do not know even the etiquettes. He dared to sit on a cot while I am standing. Were he sitting on his head. It is a social insult. I am not a poor but I have experienced the social insult. There are some people who have neither experienced poverty nor social insult. They are sitting in the front row. The people who have experienced poverty and social insult are those who belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. They have experienced the both things. In the words of Dr. Lohia, lower castes will come up and upper castes will go down. You would only realise the pinche when you yourself would be subjected to these things. You want to spend a happy life and want others to lead a painful life. Seven hundred candidates were declared successful in Indian Administrative service examination in 1977. Out of which 227 belonged to rural areas and 475 to urban areas. The percentage of rural people was 32.33 and urban people was 67.67 per cent. In 1978 Seven hundred twenty eight candidates were declared successful in Indian Administrative Service examination out of which 525 belonged to urban people and 91 to rural people. The percentage of rural people was 27.18 and urban people was 72.82. Eighty five per cent population of India live in villages but their representation in Indian Administrative Service is only 27 per cent. 15 per cent population of India live in urban areas but their representation in

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Indian Administrative service is 72 per cent. Now you tell us who are the looters and who are the sinners and who are the unjust people. Who has created this disparity, you have created it. We also live in villages. You have given 72 per cent representation in IAS to 15 per cent urban people and 27 per cent representation to 85 per cent population living in rural areas. Whether it is not painful for the people who are living in villages.

You talk about many things, You talk about education. Mr. Harish Rawatji, on one side you have built magnificent schools in Delhi where children of only high class people get education and Rs. 3000 per month is spent on each of them. On the other side are the children of rural people who get education in the schools which have no roofs and sit on the floor. You want to put both of them on same footing in competitions. The true philosophy of education is that there should be same education for the son of a king or for a son of scheduled caste. If you, have courage accept it. Put locks on all the private schools and let the son of Shri Rajiv Gandhi study in the same school where the son of a poor studies. If you have courage, implement it. It is our philosophy you talk about economic criteria "In Agriculture, services and trade, one man one job." You would be the owner of 1,000 bigha of land, you would be the owner of factories, you would be having bus and truck permits. You would become M.P. and M.L.A. When father and son both are brokers the bullock will be sold at 12 Aana. You do not see this. You dominate the industries, you dominate the services and yet you talk of social equality and social change. You should accept the formula 'one man one job' in Agriculture, services and trade. Do

not give Government jobs to the people owning factories and lands. If you have courage, you frame a rule that only those people will be given Government jobs and reservation facilities who have no means of earning. It is no use shedding crocodile tears.

You were talking of breaking caste barriers. Eating together does not break caste barriers. Caste lines have disappeared from the society today so far as eating together is concerned. We all colleagues sit in the Parliament and eat food together, but we do not ask one mother's caste, but when it comes to the marriage of our daughters, we look for suitable match within our own community. I belong to the Janata Dal but if I am not able to get a suitable match for my daughter in my caste within Janata Dal, then I would prefer a boy of my caste in the Bhartiya Janata Party. I want to say that caste system has disappeared in so far as eating together is concerned but caste barriers are still there when it comes to the marriage of the daughter. Inter-caste marriage should be made compulsory for getting Government jobs. Only those persons should be given Government jobs who go for inter-caste marriage. If you have the courage, amend the rules in this regard, otherwise there is no use of merely talking. You only want to blame the Government to show that it is a weak Government. If that is so, you must come forward to bring about a change, but you will not do that because you are not the ones who want a society based on equality. You are a privileged class. You want to safeguard your privileges whereas our fight is against these privileges. There are a large number of poor and backward people in the society. You say that the well off people from amongst the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backwards

should be kept out of the ambit of reservation. You mention the name of Late Jagjivan Ram in this regard. If a boy from a scheduled caste or scheduled tribe, whether he is the son of Jagjivan Ram, Ram Vilas Paswan, B. P. Mauyra or Ram Dhan, receives education in a good school and rises in the society, he has every right to do so. But you want that even four per cent reservation which the people belonging to down-trodden classes manage to get, should not be given to them and they should not be allowed to compete at all. This is the mentality of upper castes. They want to loot the country. The well-off people belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes are able to send their children to good schools and they get only some percentage in the name of reservation. But today you want to snatch even this much. This is nothing but cunningness or cruelty. The people who say that it is not a correct policy are either cunning or cruel. They have no sympathy for human beings. Shri Harish Rawat was saying that there were some well-off castes among the backward classes who alone would grab these opportunities. Of course, when the movement for these changes was sweeping across North India under the leadership of Shri Vishwanath Pratab Singh, land owning communities among the backward classes lent their support to it. The polarisation that has taken place among Kshatriyas, backward classes and farmers in North India has hit hard the capitalistic set up but they want this social polarisation in North India to break apart. Social polarisation has originated from the plains of Ganga and Yamuna rivers and Janata Dal came into being as a result thereof. Let the strength of this social polarisation grow. You should not be unnecessarily worried about it. In the end, I want to urge the Members of Par-

liament who are sitting here that they should think over it seriously. Suppose one of your family Members is ill at home and the doctor has advised him to take ghee, milk, fruits and vitamins but the well off brothers insist on taking the food according to their share and say why anybody should take away their share? Is such a person, a brother or a cruel man? You talk of universal philosophy. After all what is universal philosophy? You talk of qualifications and competition for getting jobs. This is like telling a person to learn swimming before he is allowed to jump into the swimming pool. If that is so, where will he learn swimming? Shall we learn swimming at boat club or India Gate? You want us to first learn cycling then hold the handle of the cycle of first learn driving a car, then hold is steering wheel. Dr. Lohia's philosophy was that whether such a person is competent or not, first he should be given a job. In due course of time, he will become competent for holding such a job. Let them first swim in a pond having shallow water and run the risk of sinking and then only will they learn swimming. The people belonging to upper castes, have behind them thousands years' old 'Sanskaras'. We have got no such 'Sanskaras'. The philosophy of Dr. Lohia was 'one man and one job' whether it is agriculture, government services or trade. 60 out of 100 seats in Government services, politics, trade and armed forces should be given to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities, women and people belonging to backward classes. Preference should be given to them in all the four fields. If you want to take the country towards liberalisation, then you yourself have to become liberal. Not doing so will invite agitations and then you will blame Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and

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Shri Sharad Yadav for inciting the people to take to the streets. Yes, this is the difference between the dual character of upper castes and that of a person belonging to a backward class. My demerit is my merit whereas your merit is your demerit. This you must understand. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Sharad Yadav will not hide anything in their hearts. That is why they openly invited the people to take to streets for their rights. They are not like you who support the Mandal Commission recommendations inside Parliament, but incite the people for arson outside .. (Interruptions)... Hukum Deo Narayan Yadav would not do such a thing. Whatever Shri Hukum Deo Narayan, Shri Sharad Yadav or Shri Ram Vilas speak inside the House, they stick to that outside the House as well. Whatever is in our mind, the same is in our heart as our heart and mind are one. We want to create a new society. Just now, Raja Dinesh Singh was speaking. He was telling an old time story. What was the inspiration behind it? During the lifetime of Mahatma Gandhi, the people of community of Raja Sahib had outcaste him, but he accepted it for the sake of the country. I hope that if Shri Dinesh Singh belongs to that family, he should come forward and support the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. He should not bother about being out caste from his community, but whatever was done at the time of Mahatma Gandhi ... (Interruptions)... He should not tarnish the image and ideals of his family in the House, he should try to protect and maintain the tradition and dignity of his family. I want to say only this much that this is the ultimate human pursuit. Therefore, I want to urge the people belonging to upper castes, whether they come from Brahmin, Thakur, Bania or any

other community that there are some people in the country who only create obstructions when any changes are brought about. Did these forces not take the case of bank nationalisation to the court when this radical step was taken in the country? Did not the big landlords take the case to the Supreme Court when legislation regarding land reforms was enacted? Therefore, the forces who want to oppose all good works in the society are bound to create hurdles, but it is for the Government not to allow these forces to have a field day. Those in the Government should not bother whether they remain in power or not. If we are to build the country, these obstructionist forces in the society are to be fought squarely. If we are to take the country towards progress, the poor, oppressed, down-trodden and exploited people of the society who have been exploited socially, economically, politically and religiously for centuries must be uplifted. I want to tell you that there has always been a nexus between the king, the capitalist and the priest. The connivance of the three has made it possible for the rulers to rule over the country. The nexus between the king and the capitalist, the nexus between the capitalist and the priest and the nexus between the priest and the king has been going on for a long time to perpetrate their rule. If you have lost hope in the Babri Masjid-Ramjanna-bhoomi case, why are you instigating the people for arsoning under the cover of reservation issue. I want to call upon crores of people of this country through this House to just remember Mahatma, Buddha, Mahavir, Ram Krishna Paramhans and Swami Dayanand and their teachings. Although, they were born in the 'Brahmin' and 'Kshatriyas' families, yet they wished to bring revolutionary changes in this country.

They wanted to bring about a transformation in the life-style of the farmers of this country. I summon all those people today to come forward. We have to build India of the dreams of people who had visualised of it. Do not let their dreams break down. We will have to offer a stiff resistance to the people who in India want to continue with their fundamentalism and Brahminism today. If it amounts to sacrificing some lives in order to achieve this end, care least for that, guide the downtrodden people and push them forward. If such people make advances, if the exploited and the oppressed people rise up, they will crush the demon of Brahminism and capitalism. We are under the leadership of Shri V.P. Singh today because we belong to the dynasty of Krishna and Kissan, the farmer. The second important thing is that we want to crush that devil, Jarasandh, with the help of Bhima because this devil has left India worthless. These Brahminism and capitalism have always thrown India to flames.

We want to throw capitalism away into the Bay of Bengal and Brahminism across Himalayas. Capitalism and Brahminism have always hindered the process of restructuring a new social order in India. We are bent upon creating a new social order today. We want to create this new order in the huts, in the fields, among the oppressed and the exploited. I would like to invite you all to extend a helping hand for the fulfilment of this objective, to balance your heart and mind and come and look at the streets outside but do not follow the crazy people dancing there. We have to build a new India. It is the job of a leader to transform the society, to lead the society. It is not the job of a leader to follow the mad people.

One who does so is not entitled to be called as a leader but he too shall rather be called as a mad person. Therefore, it is our duty to advise them. Extend your help and cooperation to implement the recommendations of Mandal Commission in toto, strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister, strengthen this institution of Parliament, call on the nation to do so and see for yourself how this agitation come to a standstill only tomorrow. All the disputes will come to an end by themselves. We are today discussing the statement made by the Hon. Prime Minister in this very House with regard to the Mandal Commission report. I wish that the Mandal Commission report should be discussed on Radio and Doordarshan as well. One English speaking person and one Hindi speaking person should be chosen from every party and ten minutes be allotted to each of them to speak on Radio and on Television. Shri Rajiv Gandhi may speak in English and another person of his party in Hindi. Every party should get an opportunity to express its views on the subject and it should be made public in the whole country that the leaders of every party will express their view points in Hindi as well as in English on Mandal Commission recommendations and about the social transformation on such and such date. Let the people hear them and let these leaders speak out their minds. At the end, our Hon. Prime Minister should conclude that discussion on behalf of the Government and then it should be left to the people of the country to take a decision. The people's final verdict should be agreeable to all. I am sure that the people of the country will be able to have a deep perception of the character of Shri Rajiv Gandhi once this referendum is taken up on Radio and Television. His character will get ex-

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 posed before everybody. The people of Karnataka will also be able to know the reality as to how the Congressmen speak a different language here today while as they supported proposal of 40 per cent reservation in Karnataka. Why are you hesitating to support the 27 per cent reservation policy here if you are in favour of 40 per cent reservations in Karnataka? Why do you want to favour the capitalist system? You welcome any step taken in consonance with the capitalist system but you oppose every move made in the interest of the poor, the exploited and the oppressed people of the country. What type of justice it is? Why do you want to take everything according to your sweet will? We are confident that the country can no more tolerate the capitalistic system now. We will fight against that in this House and outside, on the Earth and in the sky and if need be, we will not hesitate to lay down our lives for this cause. This is what I wanted to say.

**18.00 hrs.**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Look, two hours time had been allotted for these two subjects. One hour and forty minutes have been utilized. What more time would you like to take on it now? This should be made clear and this too whether you would like to carry on with it tomorrow also or finish it today?

[English]

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): It has already been agreed that this will be taken up tomorrow at 4 O' clock. We had a meeting with Shri Satya Pal Malik

[Translction]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER

OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM (SHRI SATYA PAL MALIK): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we can sit tomorrow after 4 p.m. after finishing with the legislative business but we would like to finish it tomorrow itself.

[English]

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur): Sir, it is a very important subject and all of us are concerned about it. I request you that further debate on this may be continued tomorrow immediately after the Question Hour.

SHRI SATYA PAL MALIK: No, after Legislative Business only.

DR. THAMBI DURAI: And, you need not fix any time limit also. All of us want to participate in this discussion. We should take it up immediately after the Question Hour.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We will take up further discussion on these two items tomorrow at 4 O' clock and it will continue until we will decide about the time tomorrow. For today, we decide that it will continue up to 6 O' clock. If need be, we can extend the time also.

There was one more point raised by one of the hon. Members that item 19 should be discussed today. Is it the wish of the House that we discuss it today?

MANY HON. MEMBERS: No.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow, 5th September, 1990 at 11 A.M.

**18.03 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, September 5, 1990/Bhadra 14, 1912 (Saka)*