

ARREST OF MEMBER

16.46 hrs.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the House that the hon. Speaker has received the following communication dated 28th February, 1993 from the Station House Officer, Parliament Street, New Delhi, to-day:

"At about 2.20 p.m., the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh, handed over a letter to the Duty Officer, Police Station, Parliament Street, New Delhi that he was taking Shri Vinaya Katiyar, MP to Central Jail, Naini, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh after arresting him under section 3(2) of the National Security Act. He has taken away Shri Vinaya Katiyar with him after arresting him.

This is for information of the House."

[Translation]

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA (Mandsaur): Today, at the very beginning of the House, the hon. Speaker had stated that it was not proper to arrest a Member in this manner. It is not proper to arrest the hon. Member when the House is in session.... (Interruptions)

16.47 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS- CONTD.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera): Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you I would like to express my views on President's Address. Just as Shri Chandrajit Yadav pointed out short while ago that our opposition to the various aspects in the President's Address is not a disrespect to the Hon. President in any way. We all respect him but the President's Address is a sheer attempt of exaggerating the preceding year's achieve-

ment of the Government. Therefore, when we oppose them, it is not a disrespect to the Hon. President, rather it is an opposition to the Government's policies expressed through President's Address.

The present Government has completed 20 months and if two evaluate the achievements of the Government during this period, we do not find any reason to support the government policies. The Hon. President, in the very first line of his Address has said that

"The most important task before us today is to restore confidence and communal amity which have been shaken by the tragic events of the 6th December last year and what followed thereafter. The basic premise of secularism and the rule of law has been threatened....."

Through you, I would like to submit that the country observes 6th December as a black day. The incident that took place on this day brought disgrace to us not only within the country but also in other countries. We may say with pride that we are Indians but we cannot say that we are secular.

One of my friends is a Professor. He was invited to Australia but he did not go there, because he had to deliver a talk on secularism there. He found it ironical to say that ours is a secular country. We are no more secular. Who is to be blamed for it? Is it only BJP that is to be blamed, or the Government also has some responsibility. Just now, Shri Digvijay Singh was speaking, he related the whole episode how everything happened. At that moment I had pointed out that if any theft is committed then the police officer has also role to play. Is it not so?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, my submission is that for the incident of 6th December for which the Hon. President had to regret in the very beginning of his Address by admitting that the incident of 6th December had brought disgrace to the country Govern-

ment of India is to be blamed. It should have admitted through the President's Address that they have committed a blunder and that they are prepared to feel sorry for it. Many of the hon. Members expressed their views with regard to the incident of 6th December. So far as the rally is concerned, we have been fighting for our fundamental rights. But it hardly matters whether it was the rally of 25th or any other day the question is why a ban was imposed? Yesterday, one of the Members had asked whether we are foreigners? Sometimes I do feel that the British rulers were better in some respects. At least they did not assassinate Gandhiji. Britishers came after the Mughals. But they did not demolish either Babri Masjid or a temple. Recently I had been to Andaman & Nicobar and I visited the Cellular jail there. I was of the view that a large number of persons would have been hanged there. Light and sound programme is organised at 6 P.M. every day there. I was surprised when I was told that only one political prisoner was given the death sentence there. His name was Sher Ali. Why he was hanged? I was told that the jailer was a very cruel man. He used to torture the political prisoners. Everybody opposed it, but Sher Ali was such a daring man that he pounced on him like a tiger and killed him on the spot. The result was that he was given death sentence. However, whenever there is any reference to patriotism, Sher Ali would not be remembered anywhere.

I went to Mau in Uttar Pradesh, the area was under curfew. Brigadier Usman had his residence there. Some of his relatives told me that Brigadier Usman was deputed at border in Kashmir and when he was hit with bullets, he raised the slogan 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai', and died. Bahadur Shah Zafar was fighting against the Britishers. We remember one of his poems even today. The Britishers appealed-

"Dum dume main dum nahin hai, Khair mango jaan ki,

Aiy Zapar ab ho chuki hai, khair hindustan ki."

and Bahadur Shah Zafar replied:-

"Hindiyon mein boo rahegi, jab talk iman ki,

Talkhi london tak chalegi, teg Hindustan ki"

War was going on with Pakistan in 1965. Abdul Hamid died while fighting for the country in that war, and was given Paramvir chakra posthumously. But today the patriots like Abdul Hamid, Brigadier Usman and Sher Ali are considered foreigners while the persons such as Harshad Mehta, who despite being Hindu bungled thousands of crores of rupees, are treated as patriots. Therefore, my submission is.....

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune): Harshad Mehta bungled a large sum of money in the name of Hindu.....

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Will you teach him? Joshiji, I respect you very much. I had been to Lucknow. There is Begum Hazrat Mehal Park in that city. Has anybody read the life history of Begum Hazrat Mehal who sacrificed her life in the battle. The name of that Begum Hazrat Park has been changed to Urmilla Park. If it is in the capacity of the Government it may change the name of Abdul Hamid Park to Harshad Park.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): There is an amendment. It should be after the name of Bhupen Datal.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, they plead for Hindu nation but they do not have courage to fight against terrorism in Punjab. They would flee from Kashmir and organise rally at Boat Club daily.

They are raising issues in the newspapers and are provoking the sentiments of people in the peaceful areas. There was a Hanuman in Tretayug in Ayodhya who had set Lanka on fire and Hanuman of Kaliyug is going round Ayodhya in a bid to set it on fire. Through you, I would like to say that perhaps nobody has brought as much disrepute to

Hindu religion as the people who plead for the Hindu religion.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, 80 per cent population of Indonesia is Muslim but the name of its airlines is the Garuda Airlines. Ramayan is worshipped these in every house. Ramayana is a national festival there. They people have acted in such a way that Ramayan will no longer celebrated as a national festival there. I would like to say one thing more that this conflict is not Hindus versus Muslims but it is Hindus versus Hindus. We talk of backward classes which constitute 52 per cent of our population, whether the people belonging to these 52 per cent backward classes are not Hindus. On the one side are exploited Hindus and on the other are exploiter Hindus. We talk of 25 per cent people belonging Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes whether these 25 per cent people of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not Hindus. They together account for 77 per cent and there are 16 per cent people belonging to minorities and all these together constitute 93 per cent. If we do not take into account the 5 per cent people belonging to minorities identified by Mandal Commission even then there remain 85 per cent Hindus. We, who are talking of 85 per cent Hindus are the enemies of Hindus and those who are talking of 10 per cent exploiters are patriots and the champions of Hindu's cause. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Government of India did not discharge its duty. For the first time, on 22nd November, the day when the session of Parliament commenced all the Opposition, parties except BJP and the people of entire country had given the mandate and the power to the Prime Minister to deal with the situation in any way to maintain the national integration secularistic character of the country and the Constitution. But with regret, I have to say that the Government and the Prime Minister failed to discharge its duty.

A debate was held on 3rd December. Prior to 6th December, on 3rd December each and every party including some M.Ps of Congress had the warned the Government that such and such incidents could take place. But if one goes through the reply

given by the hon. Home Minister on that day one would find that he had said in his statement that he was conscious of the whole situation and would take suitable take action at appropriate time. Today Government used water cannons. Did the Government have these water canons on that fateful day. These were available on that day, then why did the Government not use them. Does the Government not has the rubber pellets? When Government was determined to apprehend Bhindrawale it ordered the security forces to enter the Golden Temple, security forces in a bid to arrest Bhindrawale not only entered the Golden Temple but caused damage to the building and killed Bhindrawale as well as many people. But Government did not have even rubber pellets to use on that day. Several members of B.J.P. knew that the Government will come forward to take action, it will arrest the people and use the teargas shell to disperse the mob and then they will runaway from there. But the Government deteriorated the situation. The Government had deployed CRPF and B.S.F. there, the same C.R.P.F. and B.S.F. which imposed emergency here in Delhi on 25th February but failed to arrest and make the people flee from the scene of incident. Could the Government not use the tear gas on that day? Therefore, I said that this Government had not political will. On the 3rd December I had said that this congress Government had managed to get the lock of the temple opened, it worked place the statues and perform the shilanyas. This Government helped to construct the chabutra there. And now this Government is working to construct the temple after the demolition of the mosque an all this is being done by this Government.

Government had said in the President's Address that they had referred this issue to the Supreme Court under Article 143 of the Constitution. Ghulam Nabi Azad ji, why under Article 143 and not under Article 138(2). Will the Supreme Court Judge decide as to whether there existed a religious place on that site as long as one thousand year or two thousand year ago ?

17.00 hrs

Therefore, I would like to ask as to what is the intension of the Government? The hon. Prime Minister first made a statement that the mosque would again be constructed there but later he said that not only mosque but temple and mosque both would be constructed. We would like to resolve the issue at the earliest. Today muslim youths are not like shri Ghulam Nabi Azad. Muslim youths of the day are not accepting their old leadership.

We had gone to Lucknow to attend a meeting convened by Ali Mia I saw the Muslim Youth full of rage and anger. Today the Government is facing the Kashmir problem and trying to bring about peace in Punjab. Now, I would like to warn you that Muslim youth is not coming on the road, and expressing its resentment in the confines of their houses. But police did not spare them there too. It opened fore on them. What do you want to show? What would have happened in the country if Kashi Vishwanath Temple would have been demolished? Has anybody thought about it? But today if a Muslim protests even in his houses, demand is made to impose the curfew. Earlier curfew was imposed in each street. Fire was opened in Teen mahal. What will be the situation if the youth loses faith in law and order situation in the country. Sikhs were confined to a particular area i.e. only in Punjab. But Hindus and Muslims are there in every nook and corner of the country. The foreign powers are working to disintegrate the country and the Government is always talking about the terrorism. If that terrorism spreads all over the country then will the Government send army in every village? Who will be responsible for it?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, therefore, through you I would like to say that history will never forgive Narasimha Rao Government even if it gives assurances. We also have dialogue with the members of Congress. They too, have started accepting that Congress is no more a secular party. Earlier our charge or allegation was that the Prime Minister of the

country is not a secular now our charge is that since they people have started to support the hon. Prime Minister, so the whole Congress party has deviated from the path of secularism. Today you are doing over work to prove that.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a ban has been imposed on communal organisations. I had visited Allahabad on 27th as well as Yesterday. I would like to ask as now B.J.P. is not in power as to who was the administrator, who invited Ashok Singhal to hoist flag in the University on 26th January. When Shri Anugrah Narayan Singh the ex-M.L.A. tried to oppose it then the police resorted to lathi charged there. 15 persons were hospitalised. Anugrah Narayan Singh,, M.L.A. was man handled and physically assaulted by the police. Is there a B.J.P. Government in U.P.? A meeting of 13 political parties was scheduled to be held in Varansi under the national integration mission. Our three programmes were conceled by the district magistrate of Varansi, who belongs to R.S.S. He imposed ban on our meeting. Can you not transfer him?

Recently, I have been to Betul. Aonla is situated near Betul. Dr. Sunilam, the national General Secretary of Youth Janata Dal requested in black and white on 12th to the district administration to allow them convene a meeting but he was not allowed. We urged that we would take part in the social justice convention being held near the statue of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. When we were returning from the meeting we were stoned. All the wind screen of the car were broken. We have given all this in writing to the hon. Speaker as it was our personal matter I did not want to raise it in the House. Is there a B.J.P. Government there? Both of you are the two sides of the same coin. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that the intention of the Government of India is malafied and is not clear. When Atal Bihari Vajpayee sat on hunger strike on that day, it seemed as if on the next day that an earthquake had hit the country. When section 144 is in force then the person found responsible for violating it, is either arrested or he suspends his programme.

After the 6th of December incident a very explosive situation was created in the entire country and section 144 was imposed in Delhi. The police officers were requesting either to ban the Talkatora rally or to permit them to arrest the rallyists. Shri Vajpayee said that he will sit on fast. Shri V.P. Singh went to the Shiv Sena stronghold and went on fast there. His life was in danger due to kidney and liver disorder. But there was no reaction from the Government. When Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee went on fast, it occupied the headlines of next day's newspapers and the Home Minister immediately went to meet him leaving behind the Parliament session. If they make one demand, the Government fulfills three demands. The country cannot run in this way. If you want to follow secularism, you have to differentiate between secular and communal forces. Either you ban communal forces or our party. But if you put a ban on communal forces and also on our party, it will not do. Ban was imposed on the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Bajrang Dal and the RSS, but what was its result. You are making them heroes. One of our friends said about Shri Vinay Katiyar. They are getting much publicity. The Government should have got them arrested at 4 O' Clock in the morning. But when this is done during day time, their photos came out in the newspapers and T.V. and in this way, their purpose was solved.. (Interruptions)

Shri Vinay Katiyar comes from eastern Uttar Pradesh and belongs to a backward class. The Bajrang Dal is there to fight and Shri Vajpayee and Shri Advani are there to rule. (Interruptions)

SHRI ANNA JOSHI: We have the highest number of Harijans and Adivasis as Members. What are you saying? (Interruptions) Are you speaking seriously?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I am speaking seriously. (Interruptions) who are the leaders of Vishwa Hindu Parishad. One is Shri Ashok Singhal and the other is Shri Dalmia. Is it not a party of businessmen? One collects funds, the other fights and the third governs. The R.S.S. is behind all this. (Interruptions) The Harijans have nothing to

do with the temple. We do not want to get our thumbs severed by going for Ram Rajya. (Interruptions)

The thumb of Eklavya and the neck of Sambuk were severed. Who can survive after one's neck has been severed. (Interruptions) would have asked this from Shri Lal K. Advani, the leader of the opposition, he had been here. While sitting in the Parliament, they say that they have no faith in the Parliament, but in the 'Dharma-Sansad'. You take oath by the Constitution will have to be charged.... (Interruptions)

They say that they would not abide by the constitution. (Interruptions) It seems as if the heaven will fall, if the Muslim Organisations boycott 26th January celebrations. But no action is taken against this Dharma Sansad which says that it does not accept this Constitution. (Interruptions)

In the press-conference, Ritambharaji said that Shri Atal is a Congress agent (Interruptions)

I will show it to you. You can read it in the newspapers.

MR. Chairman, Sir, it has been written in the Preamble of the Constitution that

[English]

"We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sove/- reign, socialist, secular, democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens; justice, social, economic and political;....."

[Translation]

We have not been able to achieve any of these things. Are we a sovereign country? This is the plight of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes and this is the condition of social justice in our country. I would like to congratulate Shri Wasnik for his becoming a Minister. The day before yesterday we had dinner at his house to celebrate the occasion. The convener of our forum, Shri Arvind Netam has also become a Min-

ister. All the officers of the forum have become Ministers.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): What happened to Shri Buta Singh?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I don't know about Shri Buta Singh. I would like to tell you that there had been two incidents. We had moved a resolution in that regard. You may remember that there had been an incident at chundur and the other at Kumher. Not a single person has been arrested in this connection till now. The men of the Congress party and the Bhartiya Janta Party were behind both these incidents. If this is denied, I can get it proved by my friend Shri Kalka Das who is sitting here. So please do not make a noise. Fourteen districts of Andhra Pradesh are affected with naxalite problem today. Have you ever thought who these people are 99% of them are down-trodden trebles, poor and are from backward classes. Have you ever tried to find out why these people have become naxalites? Why Phoolan Devi became a dacoit? I would like to warn you that whenever any down-trodden youth loses his faith in the law and order situation, the will take to guns. The minorities are not saying anything at present, because they do not have such feelings yet. If they leave the path of non-violence, it will create an explosive situation in the country. I have a request in regard to social justice. You reach Kashmir by air.

17.13 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit through you that he has just now said about Ambedkar Centenary. In this regard we had chalked out a 45 point programme, but out of them 40 points have been dropped and only 5 points have been taken up. We had made an allocation of Rs. 5000 crores for removing scavenging system. But on 15th of August this Government announced that Rs. 500 crores have been provided for the scavengers. On 31st of March, 1992, Rs. 500 crores were released from it. How such a huge amount could be spent in a

day? Their intentions are not clear. We had provided Rs 130 crores for the training centres, but this Government has cut it down to Rs. 10 crores only.

We had given consent to reinstate 101 officers in the centenary year of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Out of them only 3 officers have been taken.

The people of all the political parties alongwith Shri Buta Singh of the Congress party had said that there are serious charges against the M.D. of the scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Financial Corporation. Not only one or two but more than one dozen officers belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were sacked and Kesriji, who does not have any record and is least concerned with anything, stated that action is being taken in this regard. This process of taking action had been going on for the last one and a half year but actually no action has since been taken. Therefore the social justice of which they often talk, is merely hypocrisy. You tried to create every sort of hinderances in the way of the 52% backwards of the country, who were to get some benefit through implementation of the Mandal Commission report. You had inserted a clause to the effect that the people belonging to the upper castes should also get 10% reservation which has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has upheld the concept of Shri V.P. Singh in toto in this regard. It did not contain the element of creamy layer. Time and again it was said that the economic criteria should be the basis of reservation. Now the element of the creamy layer had also been included and everything had been finalised. Then why it had not been implemented. The report of the Mandal Commission was kept. pending for one and a half year in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court gave its verdict. The last date for submitting applications for the I.A.S. and I.P.S. examinations was 22nd February. Even that date has expired but no clause regarding other Backward Classes was added to it. No efforts were made or orders issued to include this clause. What the Government have to say in this regard?

More than five thousand gazetted posts were likely to go to the Backward Class youths but you have delayed their chances. Mandal Commission had never advocated to include Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in it but your officers created hindrances and raised an issue that the reservation facilities should not be made available in case of promotion with a view to raise a dispute between the people belonging to other backward classes and the Scheduled Castes. When the issue of reservation in promotion was raised, Shri Sitaram Kesri stated on 22nd that it will not be discontinued.

No letter was written after 22nd. Only one letter has been written and that by the hon. Prime Minister. The Welfare Ministry has said that it will not be applicable to the Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes but the hon. Prime Minister had made a correction in it and has said in one sentence implement Mandal Commission. No letter was sent by the hon. Welfare Minister. The letter is sent at the time of the meeting of the Ambedkar centenary committee and I raised this issue in that meeting. We were told at that time that the letter has been sent. When we asked about the date, it was not told to us. Later on we came to know that on the same day in the evening, the letter was sent.

Had Ram Vilas Paswan been the Minister of Welfare, such an action would not have taken place. No officer could have done so and none could have dared to do so. Therefore here it is the question of political will and the intention of the Government.

Just now our friend was speaking on the 15 point programme. But the fact is that none of the officers of your Ministry knows as to what this 15 point programme is? When we started implementing this 15 point programme in our Ministry, the officers remarked on the very first day that the communal riots will take place due to it. I said that it was not my programme but it was the programme of the hon. Prime Minister. Had that 15 point programme been implemented the percentage of minorities in Government Services would not have been only one

percent. It would have been at least 10%. I urge upon this House that the Government should bring a Bill in this House providing reservation facilities to the minorities and the Government will have to do so. The people belonging to the minority communities are not the second grade citizens of the country. Those who are 16% of the total population are not even 1% in the Government jobs. Therefore, you should provide 10% reservation for the minorities. The constitution may be amended, if need be. Fear in the name of Hindu Rashtra will not serve your purpose. On one hand we have the people belonging to Backward Classes in the country and on the other hand we have Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people yet there are people like Maliniji, Somnath Chatterjee, V.P. Singh who do not belong to the upper castes..... (*Interruptions*)

It is good that you do not believe in caste system and whatever you have said is correct. Malini Bhattcharayaji had said that she did not believe in caste system but the fact is that caste is such a thing in this country which is ever lasting. "Jat" in Hindi language means, a thing which is going but it survives till death. There are such people even.

Therefore, I would like to urge upon you to unite all these forces. Try to bring a new system in the country and we all should extend our support in this work. I would like to say one more thing that do not talk about social justice or secularism since there is a caste in the high castes even, which is taking the share of all other castes. The Rajputs are not even in the Government services. The number of Kayaths, Bhoomihars and Marathis have also decreased. The number of Jats has also come down by 1%. When the reservation issue will come up, the Backwards and the Forwards will be made to fight. Therefore, this Government has failed. This Government has failed to give social justice and to protect secularism in the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the budget was presented here by the Government. Apparently it appears good. During one

year you have raised the prices of sugar by 60% have raised the price of steel too. The railway fare has been increased by 12% and even then it is claimed that the prices have come down, these have come at the level of 7% you have raised the prices of all the commodities and have reduced the price of the lip-stic. We are making imports. Our country is in debt of Rs. 2 lakh thousand crores. We are so much indebted to the foreign countries that even the child in the mother's womb is under a debt of 3 thousand crores.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, during the last session, we had asked the per-capita income. You will be surprised to know the answer that only Bangala Desh is below us. All the other neighbouring countries are ahead of us. Our per-capita income is 6 thousand rupees while that of Switzerland, it is 6 lakh rupees. Pakistan, Shrilanka and China are wealthier than us, but our Government claims that we have made progress. What kind of progress we have made the height of the 40 or 25 year's old youth, which should have been 6 feet has come down to 3 feet only. Now they can claim that instead of one feet he has grown upto 3 feet and this is the progress but I do not call it a progress.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I charge the Government with raising prices in the present Budget. It will again raise the prices when we assemble in the next session after three months. In a statement on the Budget it has been stated that L.P.G. cylinder costs Government Rs. 150/- but the Government supplies it at as Rs. 84/- only. It means that in future the Government will supply a cylinder at price of Rs. 150/- per cylinder. Today one can purchase 5 kilograms of gold and can convert his black money into white by selling it. The Government has provided an opportunity to rich people to covert up their black money. Therefore, my submission is that we are gradually becoming slave from economic point of view.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is a question of health. I remember when I had come as an M.P. the Government had given a slogan-Health for All by 2000. But we do

not hear that slogan now a days. Today 2 crore people are suffering from T.B. About two crore people are blind in our country. In our country 10 lakh children die just after their birth. They close their eyes even before seeing the light for a day. The Government has not so far been able to issue health card to every individual detailing one's blood group, the disease from which one is suffering or disease which one can contract etc. It has failed to conduct a survey for this purpose as yet. Out of 6 lakh village 2 lakh villages do not have drinking water facility. The condition is such in the tribal areas of the country that human beings and the animals drink the water from a common source. If you go to Bastar you will find that there are worms in the water. when a person drinks this water, the worm comes out of him causing damage to the body after six months or so and the man dies. We have not been able to provide irrigation facilities to the villages so far. As regards irrigation, the condition of the country is very miserable.

Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in our country there is a law barbing begging. A person can be arrested for committing the crime of begging. If any body is to be sent for jail for committing the crime of begging, it is the Prime Minister who should be sent to jail first of all in view of the quantum of alms begged by the Prime Minister from other countries. He has taken alms of 2 lakh thousand crore rupees. The Government has failed on every front. It has totally failed in protecting the fabric of secularism and social justice in the country. It has failed to safeguard secularism and social justice in the country. It has not been able to give social justice to people so far.

Even after 45 years of Independence, the Government could not fulfill the 15 per cent quota reserved for the youths belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. We has announced in 1990 to clear all the backlogs by April 14, 1991 and failing which the officer responsible for it will be awarded punishment of imprisonment for 6 months. Our Bihar Government has enacted a law in this regard. Can we not do so here in the centre. Everytime in the

beginning of the session of Parliament Shri Sitaram Kesri advises us not to make hue and cry and assures us that a Bill will be introduced soon about it. But this Bill has not been introduced till date. Therefore, I demand that the backlog of the quota reserved for the persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be cleared and a law should be enacted by Government in this regard. At present all this is done under an order of the Government and not under any law. I demand the Government to introduce a Bill during this very session and enact a law providing for a punishment of six months jail to the officer violating this law.

Secondly, the reservation polity for the Scheduled Castes or the Backward classes should be included in the ninth Schedule of the Constitution, so that nobody dare go to court against these provisions.

Shri Pilot has now assumed the office of Minister of Internal security. He has been emphasising on security. I demand the Government to raise an Anti-Communal Force. Persons belonging to every caste, every religion may be recruited to it. Otherwise, personnel of existing police force belonging to each caste, backward class, religion such as Christians, Sikhs etc. should be included to make a composite force and it should be sent to riot affected areas. What happens during communal riots now a days? The Muslims are not afraid of Hindus, but they are very scared of the P.A.C. The 90 percent of people killed in police firing belonged to minority communities. This force should be constituted immediately and an inquiry commission headed by sitting judge of the Supreme Court should be appointed to probe into the riots which took place after the incident of 6th December. The guilty whoever they may be should be punished those responsible especially, for the Bombay riots. That day they said that they had no relation with the Shiv Sena and Shri Bal Thackarey. Are people afraid of Shri Bal Thackarey? I have never heard anything against Bal Thackarey from the hon. Prime Minister. Is he the real king of Bombay? He is not killing only Muslims but Biharis also.

He is killing those who have from Uttar Pradesh. He is openly threatening every outsiders to flee from there. Earlier he was asking people from South to flee from there.

The Government of India is the hotch-potch of heterogeneous elements. If it is at all a Government, it should function like a Government. What for the Government has been provided with force? It has been provided to maintain law and order situation. If the Government has taken prompt action on the 6th December, no untoward action would have come to pass. We had gone there. We saw the entire incident on a cassette on television. Had the Government thrown even through pipes and fired plastic pellets the persons trying to demolish mosque would have fled from there. The police were made merely silent spectator and the Government said that it had confidence on them but has been betrayed. In whom did the Government confide? It did not express faith in us nor did it has in the congress, the Left Front. It had confided in those who always betray.

Without taking much time, I have told in the very beginning that we have full regard for the President. But referring to the policy of the Government presented by the President in his address, be it social justice or secularism, I would like to say that the Government has failed on every front. Moreover, the Government has tarnished the image of India in foreign countries during last one year through its acts. It should amend itself in future.

I would like to warn the Government that if it fails in protecting the minorities and resolving the problems of the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and Adivasis, it must remember that though the people of the old generation have endured or tolerated the atrocities but the new generation is not prepared to lead a life of slavery. They want to lead a life of honour and respect. They want to break the chains of slavery. I hope that the Government which claims to secular, will take measures in this direction and if required it will certainly take ever the most stringent steps. We have supported the

Government for taking every good step. If it takes any good step in future we will support it.

The Government has presented its policy through the President's Address. There is nothing which deserves our support. Therefore, we oppose it.

With these words, I express my thanks for giving me time to speak here.

[English]

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY (Jagatsinghpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the President's Address is not actually the President's Address. Rather, it is the policy of the Government. So, when we say certain things about the Address, it is no reflection on the President.

This year when the President has made his address, our nation faces the worst ever crisis. Not only is our Constitution and secularism challenged, but thousands of people died because of communal hatred. The common man is suffering but the President's Address do not reflect his suffering at all. As a matter of fact, it reflects not a single aspect of the problems faced by our nation.

Sir, I say so because of what had happened at Ayodhya. Sixth of December was the darkest day in our post-Independent India. And this was not an accident in itself. This has been the process started by a particular political party and this has been working in this country for so many years.

The other day, the Prime Minister has stated that he was betrayed. By whom was he betrayed? He was betrayed by those forces, by that particular political party responsible for the death of the Mahatma. The Prime Minister was not betrayed. I would rather prefer to say that he has betrayed the nation. He has betrayed the nation because of his desire to stay in power. He has betrayed the nation by continuing his economic policies that are contrary to the Directive Principles enshrined in our Constitution. If the BJP is guilty of tearing the secular

fabric of our society, the present Congress Party is also responsible for betraying our nation by acting against the Directive Principles of the Constitution.

So, it cannot be denied that they are two aspects of the same coin. When the Government says that communalism is really a dangerous thing, we feel is the Government serious about it? If the Government is really serious about it, it would have advanced certain proposals to meet this communal situation. But there is no indication of it.

Under Article 143 when the Government referred the Ayodhya issue to court to decide as to whether there was a *mandir* or a *masjid*, our Communist friends warned the Government that by doing this it will open a Pandora's box. We said that it is a matter of history; what would happen if some incident takes place there. At that time we asked the Government, is it seriously thinking about the steps to be taken to meet the communal challenge. But I think the reference to Article 143 was more to appease BJP than to really fight communalism.

We know, Sir, under what historical circumstances these communal forces grew. These forces grew when there is confusion; when there is alienation and when there is suffering of the masses. This is the base from which these forces take their strength. Our effort should be to see that this base should not be allowed to grow. It is not a one-sided battle.

Regarding the Economic Policy which this Government is pursuing, I would like to know in what direction the Government is taking the economy of this country. Government is saying that our economy is booming. I would like to know is it in the field of export or in the field of industry. Government says that our agricultural production is very much on the increase. But if you compare it with China where the cultivable land is less - it produces 447 million tonnes of foodgrains whereas we produce only 176 million tonnes of foodgrains.

Our agricultural production was on the increase mainly due to the application of new technology. The application of fertilizers is one important factor. But, as per your new Fertilizer Policy, you have not only withdrawn subsidy on the fertilizers but you have made certain category of fertilizers costlier. So, your policy is going to ruin the fertilizer industry. Have you taken that into consideration?

That means, the agricultural production will be thrown into the laps of the foreign monopolists and the outcome will be, instead of bringing self-sufficiency in food, we will be importing food. If that is the direction in which you are going to take our economy and also by importing these things and making them cheaper, you are going to create trouble for indigenous industries also. How many indigenous industries have been closed? How many will be closed? What will happen to those industries which import components from outside? When will the convertibility of the rupee come? Has the Government considered it? The Government has considered it in the interest of a few. That is why I am saying that the problems of the common man are not reflected in the President's Address.

I want to bring to the notice of the House, the problems being faced in Kalahandi and three other districts of Orissa. There, people are suffering due to drought. Women are being sold at Rs. 30/- . It is a national shame. We went and represented to the Prime Minister also. The hon. Member from Bolangir gave documents in proof of this particular incident.

So, what are you going to do for those people? What impetus you are going to give to the agricultural production? That is not still clear and concretised.

They are bad slogans. Unemployment problem has increased. How are you going to solve the unemployment problem? No indication has been given. If unemployment grows; the suffering of the people grows and if the country's economy faces a crisis, then this will be a breeding ground of fascism and

you cannot fight it. For fighting fascism and for protecting secularism in democracy you need courage. They are inter linked as one problem. You cannot separate one from the other.

Today, my friend has said that the Left, the NF and Congress can come together. If the requirement is there and if the time demands, for saving the nation; the Constitution, it can be done. It is a historical necessity now. How can this historical necessity come about? How can the forces unite? Whenever the Government thinks that fascism should not be allowed to pass over, then it is the responsibility of the Government to take steps. No doubt, the Congress Party has a rich heritage. Its economic concepts, the international concepts and so on were framed with certain values. Now, there is a gap. Unless you represent and bring a harmonious relationship with different sections of our society, how can the unity come? How can you save the country? Is it not a problem to ponder over? Can you fight communalism by this way? So, naturally, if you want sincerely to unite the secular forces, it is the need of the hour that all the forces must come together. You will have to introspect.

You will have to draw a conclusion for such a unity; you will have to create a base for such a unity. Without creating such a base, such an appeal is superfluous. Then your realisation of the gravity of the situation is not there. This has not only happened now, but this will continue to happen in future also.

Therefore, I plead here that now it is the responsibility of the Congress Party to create a condition for the secular parties to come together; and this is possible only if the policy that will be taken up represents the interests of different sections of the society; and there is a harmony and there is no discrimination. Without this being the basis, defeating the communal forces will only be a dream. So, I would say that while we have come to this conclusion to have communal harmony, it would be better if the Government realises its responsibility; the Govern-

ment should introspect; the Government should realise the situation that has been brought here. And the picture that is dominating the country today, as far as political parties are concerned, a political party which is having a democratic set up can continue democracy in the country. The Congress party is not fully democratic.

I remember when Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared emergency. I had different views with my party. I said, a party in which there is no democracy, how can we expect that party will protect democracy; and that happened. Today, unless the Congress Party is fully democratised, they cannot be a weapon, they cannot be a real successor of Gandhiji and Nehruji. That is also another task before the Parliament. So, when the necessity of unity has become a historical fact, there should be introspection not only in you but in other parties also. Previously, the political parties were guided by the national heritage, national values; and they were determining their policies in linked with the values and objectives. Today, that has vanished; today, the political parties take up positions for their political gains where to go and where not to go; that is the main consideration. So, this also requires to again establish our faith on the values that give impetus to our national movement and rouse crores of people. So, that is another requirement today.

To come to that, to re-establish our link with our values and heritage, the Congress Party first will have to make an exercise and go through it and accept their mistakes and acts of omission and commission thereby creating a base for the country's unity and unity of the secular forces and safeguarding the Constitution and the national heritage and national freedom.

In this regard, I will say one thing about the new economic policy. I know the new economic policy. Our conviction is that the new economic policy will destroy what we have so far achieved.

We have made some achievements in this country. We have made some progress and our strategy will be to protect these

achievements. The world has undergone a change. So, naturally there is a need to have a fresh thinking. Our main strategy will be to consolidate the gains we have made and also to have a new approach to the problems where we are not advanced or have failed. So that requires a thinking and I want to say another thing in this regard.

I have already said about the fertilizer question. I have said that States are agitated over the relationship between the centre and the States. People of many States feel that they are discriminated. This aspect is not reflected in the President's Address.

What new changes in orientation you want to bring in the Centre State relations, that is another area which requires to be looked into for the unity and strengthening of secular democracy. That area has not been touched, nor the Government's mind is there. The Government's mind is not there when the rise in prices is hitting the common man.

No, doubt, the Government says that they will give something to education and health. What is there? How far it will mitigate that position?

So it requires another approach not by money, but to mobilise the nation, the youth in the new changing world. If Gandhiji could mobilise the youth for freedom struggle why could not we also mobilise our people for national construction?

What is wrong? The people today have no relationship with administration. Our hon. friend Shri Yadav was speaking about our bureaucracy. Today our bureaucracy is most unresponsive to the people's sufferings. Do you realise it? Why it is so? Our bureaucracy was originated from East India Company and Lord Hastings who was very corrupt was the father who crated the basis of Indian bureaucracy.

After independence we have made necessary reforms there. Even the recruitments are supposed to be on merit. Merit is

something which has to be shown to the society and the society needs the education which alienates a man from the society. A man who has the merit is an alienated man, that has to be considered. So there should be drastic changes in recruitment rules. The sufferings undergone by those people who have suffered during their student career will from another part of merit. If 50 per cent is given to merit then they will be given the rest of the 50 per cent. I think, by that alone you can reorientate the bureaucracy.

What is happening in the Panchayat Raj which you have given to the States now?

In the Panchayat Raj system the Collector or the Sub-Divisional Magistrate can supersede. That is the freedom you are giving to Panchayat Raj in practice. I know that it is happening in many areas.

I want to draw the attention of the House and the Government to areas which are chronically affected by drought and cyclones. They should be identified in the country, where there is a consistent suffering of the people. A specific plan, a central plan should be devised to mitigate the suffering in those areas. If that is not done the economy of those areas will always remain backward, and women will be sold for Rs. 40.

Therefore, while ending my speech, I want to say one thing which is agitating all of us, to save the country, to save its Constitution, to save its democracy to show that the Directive Principles of State Policy are a part of the Constitution.

Is your economic policy consistent with the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Constitution? I think, they are not. They are not.

If the BJP is responsible for attacking secularism, you are also responsible for attacking them. This needs a correction and unless that is corrected, you cannot save the country.

The second point that I want to say is

that some efforts should be made to solve the problems of the people. The problems of the people will not be solved by the Government's grants alone. But they should be met in cooperation with the people, by mobilising the people, not by bureaucratic administration only. If this is done, then only the nation's resolve to protect its democratic and secular character will be possible. If this is not done, you cannot protect and history will not forgive you, those who are now in the Congress and who are in Government. We may be in the Opposition but the Congress should come to a position that the permit of view of the Opposition has also to be met. If it does not come to that position, then it will be helping the BJP's fascism to come to power in India.

I know Shri Lal K. Advani Shri Narasimha Rao said that he was betrayed. When India was not independent, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru refused to meet Hitler, though he was invited to meet him. He refused to meet Mussolini also. That was Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. He refused to meet them. Now you like to meet Shri Advani and take his counsel for the solution of the problems and to continue in power. Thereby you are throwing the whole country, its Constitution and the peoples to the winds.

17.58 hrs

[English]

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

(Tripura)

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): The duration of the existing Tripura Legislative Assembly expired on 28th February, 1993. Earlier, the Election Commission had called for General Elections in terms of the provisions of the Representation of People Act, 1951 for constituting a new Legislative Assembly for the State of Tripura. For the above purpose, general election were scheduled to be held on 15th February, 1993 in all the 60 Assembly constituencies in the State of Tripura.