

14.15 hrs

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS -CONTINUED

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We shall now take up further discussions on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The time allotted is twelve hours. We have already consumed two hours six minutes and the remaining time is nine hours and fifty-four minutes. Shri Jaswant Singh was on his legs. He can continue his talk.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chitorgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when the House rose last evening, I had just begun to submit to the House my views on the Address of the President to the joint session of Parliament. I will not repeat everything that I, in that brief period, submitted. For the sake however of continuity and for the sake of picking up the thread from where I had left last evening, I do wish to remind the House that yesterday when we rose and the debate adjourned or the subject, we were seized with considering what the Government has asserted in the Address of the President in respect of the North-East, and very briefly it merits reiteration that the Government has claimed in the very first and the opening paragraph that the situation of insurgency in the North-East is improving. I had begun to rebut that assertion of the Government because I do not know to what I should attribute such an assertion that insurgency in the North East is improving. I had begun to rebut that assertion of the Government because I do not know to what I should attribute such an assertion that insurgency in the North-East is improving. It merits again to be repeated what the Governor of Manipur and Nagaland has himself said - I am not going into all the quotations from his report to the President - that "the above state of intense insurgency and internal disorder" - you would observe,

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that he is not talking in the past tense, he is talking of the position as it exists in that part of the country in the month of August to October of 1993 - "Is due to lack of political stability and will, lack of an overall perception and monitoring of the worsening situation by the Government and the security forces over a prolonged period." A more severe indictment of the Government cannot be made by any agency of the Government itself. And if you were to argue that this observation is limited to Manipur and Nagaland, then I had referred yesterday to a release by the army about the state of law and order in Assam. Summing up the insurgency situation in Assam in 1993-94, a formal Press Release of the army had stated - I would not repeat everything but the essential part as follows:

It says:

"The spread of fundamentalism amongst the immigrants is a matter of concern."

It goes on to define why it is a matter of concern and then just as the Governor of Manipur and Nagaland had done, the Army, and Tai Ahom are raising voices for similar autonomy which is contrary referring to the State of Assam says:

"As a sequel of the acceptance of the Kabri Anglong Autonomous Council and Bodo Autonomous Council, other ethnic tribes and minorities in the State of Assam including the Mishings, Lalungs, Rabhas to the overall democratic fibre of the State and will lead to the disintegration of Assam."

I have found it necessary, Sir, to refer to these, because I am not convinced with the words that have been put into the mouth of

the Head of the Republic by the Government. I do not know to what I should attribute that attempt. Is it an attempt by the Government to mislead the nation? Is it an attempt to draw a veil over the reality and the seriousness of the situation that prevails in the North East? Or is it an attempt to denigrate the institution of Parliament and to treat the entire exercise the Address to the Joint Session of the Parliament as a perfunctory exercise, of little importance wherein anything that can be said, anything that the Government wishes to say may be said and that whatever it says, in any case the Parliament will take for granted? It bears reiteration that the situation that we face in the North East is of the most extreme gravity and the most extreme seriousness. I dispute in totality the assertion of the Government that the situation in the entire North East is improving. It is not improving and the sense of complacency about improving that the Government seems to be putting across is a very misplaced sense and it would be extremely damaging to the Republic of the Government continues to hold to this view.

Sir, there are certain characteristics of the North East and very briefly I will touch upon them. We had occasion to say this earless. We have had occasion in the past to say this and no doubt, we will have occasion in the future also to say this. But I am obliged to accent the characteristics of the North East, which unless they are taken note of and unless the Government addresses itself to them, we will cause the Republic very serious damage in our management of the situation in the entire North East. The geographical distance of the North East from the rest of the country has resulted in an emotional distancing of that region from the capital. Unless we begin to lessen, at least metaphorically, that geographical distance, the emotional gap

between the North East and the rest of the country will continue to grow.

Sir, we have witnessed in the past many decades, what I call, a splintering effect in the whole of the North East. The State of Assam has spawned from within itself a number of States. Perhaps when that happened there was a rationale for it and a political necessity for it. But in turn, it has generated a whole uncontrolled turmoil in the tiniest fragment of the society there wishing to assert itself only through separate political recognition. It is necessary, Sir, for the Government to recognise the perils of the splintering effect for if they are carried in an unending chain than and the Government must address itself to the consequences of such a splintering effect in that strategically sensitive border area of the country. Perhaps, one way of countering this splintering effect is the strengthen the North Eastern Development Council and perhaps to strengthen such other organisations as are able to address themselves unitedly and jointly to the totality of the North Eastern States.

The third and a very major problem in the entire North East is that almost all the States that have come there are financially dependent on a dole from the Union dole, something handed out from Delhi.

This in turn has generated a whole climate of unbridled corruption and unless the Union Government addresses itself to the unchecked corruption in the North-East and roots it out, our problems will become more serious.

I have reflected on this and I also hold that one reason why the Union Government finds itself in the difficulties that it does in the North East is that the ruling part, particularly the Congress Party, has itself lined with or

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a party to inter-tribal rivalry in the North-East. The moment you make yourselves a party to inter-tribal rivalry in the North-East. The moment you make yourselves a party to inter-tribal rivalry, you lose the moral authority of the union. Unless therefore you shun this path of petty and narrow political gain of taking sides in inter-tribal rivalry and taking recourse to the short-cut of money, our problems in the North-East will continue to multiply.

One other characteristic of the North-East to which if we do not apply ourselves seriously even now, we will cause a very serious consequence to the whole of the Republic is the silent and the continuing and the extremely damaging demographic invasion of the whole North-East inclusive of Assam. Unless the pressures of population from neighbouring areas are prevented from breaking the social order of the North East, we will have to face multiple difficulties.

I have found it necessary to start with the North-East because we have been in the past used to treating either Punjab or Kashmir as our areas of the internal trouble in the forefront and then stop short there.

I have also found it necessary to highlight the importance of the North-East because of the assertion made by the Government which is a misleading assertion and is an assertion reflective of the kind of complacency that the ruling party has demonstrated.

I will not read what the Government has asserted through the Office of the President of the Republic, or what it has said about the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

14.28 hrs.

[SHRI RAM NAIK *in the Chair*]

I will also not treat this occasion as the debate only of Jammu and Kashmir because I think just tomorrow we have to take up the extension of President's Address and an assertion which suggests that it was the restraint displayed by the Government in the unfortunate incident at Hazratbal which restraint has demonstrated itself in success. Parliament has not yet been authoritatively told as to what actually happened in Hazratbal. You will recollect that when this incident has taken place, there were repeated demands that we must have a fullfledged discussion on what has taken place, what after all happened, in Hazratbal. The Government has not yet come forward with any statement on that. I repeat that demand. We must come to know what exactly transpired in Hazratbal during that period. how did a situation come about that the army was obliged to lay siege to that shrine and what transpired that the siege was subseautently lifted? And what was the arrangement that the Government made with the 70 or 80 people who were inside the shrine.

How is it that those that were inside the shrine, when they surrendered, who did they surrender to? What was the role of the army? And what thereafter happened to those 70 or 80 that surrendered? We do not yet thoroughly know what the correct figure is. Not a single one is now in prison; not a single one is today charged as a serious terrorist meriting the most serious trial. We were told that there are three or four or five - I do not know how many foreign terrorists there - terrorists of foreign nationalities. Where are they now? These are not small issues that the nation can take lightly and

because it happened two months back or a month and a half back or three months back and because the Parliament did not then get an opportunity to discuss it, we simply forget about it. This is a serious lacuna. Either the Leader of the House, the hon. the Prime Minister takes the House into confidence during his reply and informs the House as to what actually happened in Hazarat Bal or explain how the denourment came about, I put it to you that in Hazarat Bal it was India's great good fortune which saved us that this Government made every possible mistake in the handling of the situation that it could have made and that in Hazarat Bal, the seige finally got lifted by those that were inside and surrendered. They did not surrender because of this so-called patience shown by the Government. They surrendered because of circumstances which are entirely outside the Government's making. The so-called patience of the Government was not the patience, it was total inaction, it was incapacity, incapacity to think, incapacity to act. It was a most serious challenge to the nation as such I demand that unless the full facts of Hazarat Bal incident are shared with this House, we will continue to hold, I certainly will continue to hold that in Hazarat Bal, this Government is charged with making every possible mistake that it could have, every possible wrong that it could have for the nation and if the nation still survived, it was not on account of anything that the Government did but it was despite that the Government failed to do.

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (Phulbani): What was the solution in your opinion?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will tell you the solution when you share full facts with me. Till date full facts are not known. And this disarray in decision making on the question of Jammu and Kashmir continues to obtain

till today. It is not a question of disarray simply at the level of Hazarat Bal, it is a disarray that starts from the top here; there is a disarray in decision making in the Union Home Ministry itself. It is open knowledge. We do not know who is dealing with Kashmir. The hon. the Minister for Home makes one statement, makes certain assertions; his Deputy, the hon. the Minister of State makes another assertion; his Excellency the Governor of Kashmir makes a third assertion. The army is left out on a under limb. They make certain suggestions. The security forces are left on a limb, they make another suggestion. This disarray, this total lack of coordination arises not simply in the mechanistic sense, it arises principally in the conceptual sense. What is that this Government is trying today in Kashmir? Do you know where are we headed? I will be happy if I am proven wrong.

Currently, we are going through the phase which is supposed to be a dormant phase of insurgency. dormant both on account of what is asserted as the action taken by the security forces and dormant also because of the pressure of climate. We are told that during winter months, in any case because of the limitations of the land as such insurgency cannot be at more than a certain level.

I charge, Sir, that in these so-called dormant months, there have never been as many incidents of violence as have taken place in the total State of Jammu and Kashmir, as they are currently taking place in these s-called dormant months. And I would demand of the Government to share with us the figures and then to explain to us that if these are dormant months then how are such incidents taking place. I would demand of the Government to share with the House the reality of what is taking place today in the district of Doda, in Kistwar. In

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Bhadwah I demand if the Government to share with us what is taking place today, by this raising of the haed of insurgency in the district of Jammu, in Udhampur. I demand that this the Government owes, not just to the Parliament, this the Government owes to the nation. Unless the Government shares all this with us, in this House, the Government stands charged of neglect, a very great neglect of a very great national priority. There will be other occasions to discuss Jammu and Kashmir. The Government cannot be permitted to continue to take shelter behind their inactivity and firm that inactivity a 'patience'. This euphemistic patience for inactivity will, now in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, not work.

And finally, what about those three hundred thousand Kashmiri pundits who in their own homeland, so many years after the raising of insurgency, are homeless? No one raises a voice for them. This Government raises a voice for Bosnia-Herzegovina; this Government sends troops to Somalia for U.N. action. Still this Government does not have time to even visit the camps to see the pathetic plight of these three hundred thousand pundits for the last three to four years. I charge this Government of the most inhuman neglect only because these three hundred thousand or four hundred thousand pundits belong to a certain faith and subscribe to a certain ritual of worship. This is a most telling example of the blindness of this Government in the face of human misery.

Sir, we had, yesterday, an occasion of the presentation of the Budget. And the seconder of the Motion, Prof. Thomas had utilised a major part of his speech to lauding the economic reform programme and the so-called new economic policy. I accept that an Address to the Joint Session of the

Parliament is not a debate on the Budget. I am not going to even attempt that but because the speech of the President makes a reference to economic reform programme and suggest to the Joint Session that the economic reform programme of this Government is really their answer to all ills that afflict the country, therefore, very briefly, I consider it my obligation to put to you my perception of where the Government has brought the country.

I shared with a good friend of mine - a member of the Government - a thought that his Government had treated the so-called new economic policy or the economic reform programme as the flagship of his Government. There is nothing else that this Government can assert as a new initiative, as a path breaking innovative step. [Interruptions] If you wish to take the Masjid dispute as an innovation of the Government, I will be obliged to agree with you. I will certainly be obliged to agree with you because, had it not been for your inactivity, perhaps, that dispute would not have seen the kind of denouement that it saw. So, if this Government treats this so-called new economic policy or the economic reform programme as their flagship, then, I am afraid, that this flagship, the so-called new economic policy, is now in an imminent danger of being grounded. This flagship is now floundering.

Just look at four or five simple assertions that I will make which are not assertions that I take out of a hat, but these are admission that the hon. Finance Minister has himself made. The GDP has declined. About the fiscal deficit he said it was the yardstick. The Finance Minister continues to talk of the 1991 Government and the 1991 budget. In 1991 one of the principal criticisms against the Government and the principal aim of the new economic policy of this Government

was the containment of fiscal deficit. Fiscal deficit has now gone upto 7.3 per cent. The budgetary deficit, after pulling out Rs.6000 and odd crores through additional pre-Budget impost is left uncovered at Rs.6000 crore. The revenue deficit is the highest that this country has ever seen. You can correct me on the figure because I am not an economist, I do not have the exact figures. But the revenue deficit is in the region of Rs. 32000 to Rs.34000 crore. It is the highest that this land has ever seen. The interest payment has gone upto 51 per cent of the GDP. What after all is debt trap? When the repayment of the interest liability finally becomes one hundred per cent, then you are really sunk in a debt trap. At the present moment it is 51 per cent of the GDP, then inflation has gone up. It is now hovering between 8.5 per cent and 8.7 per cent. Our industrial sector is floundering. The capital goods industry has had a near total collapse.

Let me share a very serious concern with my complacent friends in the Treasury Benches.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA (GUWANATI):
Less cynical friends.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Perhaps less cynical, but certainly less informed. Our foodgrain production is hovering between 180 mt. and 190 mt. It seemed to have plateaued out between 180 mt. This is a very serious matter. Population is increasing by roughly 3 per cent every year. Heavens forbid - truly because you know where I come from: most of you come from very well watered areas - heavens forbid that this monsoon should fail us, truly heavens forbid, with foodgrain stocks roughly plateaued out between 180 and 190 mt.

[Translation]

Ayab Khan Ji, heavens forbid that

monsoon should fail us.

[English]

I cannot even begin to imagine the plight of the nation then. If the monsoon fails with foodgrain production having been plateaued out at 180 mt to 190 mt, there being no surplus grain available anywhere in the world.

If you wish to cite all this as an example of the great success of your new economic policy, certainly we will have more occasions to discuss this in greater detail. But I beseech you because we sit in this assembly, we might be persuaded by different political considerations, but I ask you to please apply the following criteria to the new economic programme. Apply first the criterion of the reform of the economy, what you call the reform of the economy and the citizen. What has it done to the common citizen? I put it to you that this new economic policy is not for the convenience, comfort or the satisfaction of IMF or World Bank. It is not for international conglomerates; it is not for multinational cooperations; it is also in the ultimate not even simply for Indian industry.

In the ultimate, if this economic programme is for anybody, it is for the Indian citizen. How is that Indian citizen benefited? Please ask yourself this question. Does that Indian citizen have greater access to the daily needs that he requires? Is he able to get a cheaper bus ticket in a more comfortable bus? Is he able to have railway travel from one place to another in the comfort that he is entitled to? What difference does it make that if one lakh Indians are able to benefit out of what is called the convertibility of the currency - if rupee is made convertible and Foreign Exchange Regulations Act is removed and about 100,000 Indians, at the most, go freely whenever they want?

{Sh. Jaswant Singh}

"Ibnemarium hua kare koi, mere dard ki dawa kare koi"

How many can possibly buy Pounds at Rs.50 to a Pound and have foreign holidays? What is this convertibility going to do to those 440 million citizens - my countrymen - who are monsoon-dependent? What is this convertibility going to do? What has your economic reform done to 70 to 80 per cent of India that lives in the villages of India, those villages of India which do not get drinking water, where there is not adequate transportation, there is not adequate power for their fields, there is not adequate medical facility, there is no schooling facility? What has this economic programme done for that 80 per cent of India? It might have done something for the stock exchange of India. But the stock exchange of India is not the totality of India. That is why I am advising you.

SHRI A.CHARLES (Trivandrum): What about the 40 per cent increase for rural development?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I relayly wish and I take seriously Mr.Charles's suggestion that there is a 40 per cent increase in the rural development. Please examine the figures a little more closely. You will find that in agriculture, it actually goes down. This has become a budgetary debate. I do not want to engage in this. Roughly Rs. 3,000 crore have been enhanced in rural development. Out of those Rs. 3,000 crore have been enhanced in rural development. Out of those Rs. 3,000 crore have been enhanced in rural development. Out of those Rs. 3,000 crore, those of us who are sitting here and those who are sitting in the other House take away about Rs. 800 crore because we have got that one crore each to

spend as we suggest it ought to be spent. In real terms, this is under the head of 'Jawahar Rozgar Yojana'. You know what happens in Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. Please take it seriously. I do not mean to belittle everything that is done. It is a very serious concern I have about the economic reform programme.

The second criterion is: please apply the aspect of economic reform programme and the perils of unbridled consumerism. I have no time to go into a more detailed examination of the consequences of consumerism to as traditional a society and people as we are in this land. But however self-satisfied are some of us who have the benefit of being products of metropolis India. I am not for a minute denigrating the metropolitan India. I know that you are a worthy and illustrious representative of a great metropolis of India.

MR.CHAIRMAN : Even in metropolitan cities like Mumbai, 80 per cent of the people live in the same conditions because there are slums.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I know . I caution you about unbridled consumerism. I have no time.[*Interruptions*] I am not as well informed about Bombay as the hon.Chairman is.Chairman is always better informed than any of us whoever be sitting there.

MR.CHAIRMAN: That is the etiquette. We must remember it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I put it to my friends on the Treasury Benches and I put it in all seriousness. I will refer to this in a minute. You cannot have a new economic policy and you cannot have this economic reform programme while the nation is riddled with corruption. You cannot simultaneously ride both on a camel and the horse and you

cannot have your foot on both of them. I need not spend time about the terrible scourge of corruption that our citizens have to face. The tyranny of corruption that our citizens have to face rural India or mofussil India is so degrading but this Government does not even address a word about corruption. I caution you with utmost seriousness. No economic reform programme anywhere in the world has succeeded if it is riding in tandem with corruption and your Government is characterised by its total unconcern for corruption. You are riding in tandem with corruption. You cannot make this economic reform programme succeed. Heed my caution even now. I do not wish to dwell here. We spent many days and my friend, panditji maharaj was also there. We spent many months of hard labour on a report which is now loosely called the JPC report. Not a word of about it is there in the President's Address although it is the labour of 30 honourable Members of Parliament and also a unanimous report with many recommendations. You should surely share my concern about the fate of that report. But not a word of it is there in the President's Address which is a matter of serious concern.

I now move from the economic policy and would like to share two thoughts. We must ponder seriously over the possible societal dislocations that a move from planned to market economy will bring about. I find an absence of that consideration. That is why, I make a mention of this. We must also take heed of the caution that this new economic policy aiming at an unleashing of market forces can survive politically only when it has a very heightened sense of the necessary social agenda of India. I am not reassured in my mind about the consciousness of the Government about that social agenda. Thirdly, we cannot permit,

for the sake of pleasing western theorists or bankers, to leave, in the wake of our so called economic reforms, a mass of human debris or the multiplying miseries of near about half the citizens of my country....[Interruptions]...I also find it necessary to point out that there is a particular lacuna in the Address of the President. I do not know to what I should attribute that lacuna and that lacuna is about information which is a very important subject. I do not know whether to attribute this lacuna to the ignorance of the Government or should I treat this silence about the information policy of the Government to somewhat more ominous reasons. I may briefly tell you why I think information policy is currently so important. We are all victims, some more and some less, of distortion of information routinely demonstrated by All India Radio and Doordarshan. I put it to you that this kind of distortion of information which All India Radio or Doordarshan engages in engenders a kind of moral rot in the nation. I call it a moral rot because far too many people for far too long, for far too petty or partisan reasons begin to invent information. Every day that invented information is thereafter put out either over All India Radio or Doordarshan. This invented information is not even put out with technical efficiency leave alone with linguistic proficiency with the result that in the end no one really believes even this concocted mass of disinformation. That is why this tendency to invent information engenders moral rot in the nation.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF NON-CONVENTIONAL ENERGY SOURCES AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI S. KRISHNA KUMAR): In this electronic media a sizeable amount of time is given to BJP also.[Interruptions]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The Minister has mentioned about the electronic media and he has said, "A sizeable presence of BJP". In doing this, he has underlined what I am saying because he is accepting my admission that All India Radio and Doordarshan are a Congress monopoly. Such has been our assertion at any case.

It again underlines one other aspect which is truly the aspect to which I must draw the attention of the House. And, I say this it is a very serious lacuna in the President's Address. So, what we are witnessing today is, we are caught between two princers- one is the State controlled monopoly of mendacity, inefficiency and total ineffectiveness and the other is an aggression from open skies. I think it is time that the Government addresses itself to at least examining this information aggression, particularly the capacity to penetrate our cultural space with damaging disinformation spread by broadcast or by tape. It is a very serious matter because one of the results of this could be the fragmentation of a common agenda around which broadcasting in every nation and in every society has to be structured. This kind of unchecked cultural invasion of the information will result not just in the fragmentation of the common agenda, but it might lessen even the social cohesion and in consequence - whether in democratic or undemocratic States - a weakening of Governmental control.

Therefore, Sir, there are two simultaneous challenges; a right of freedom from Government's total control over information media and a sense of awakening about this unintended cultural invasion from the so-called open skies. It is a matter of concern to me, Sir, that the Government has not addressed itself in the President's Address to this aspect at all.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA (GUWAHATI): Did the BJP leaders meet Mr. Murdoch? [Interruptions]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I, in fact was neither a party nor one of the organisers of this gentleman's itinerary in India. And, if the hon. Member would enlighten me about who actually made his itinerary. I would certainly answer his question.

15.00 hrs.

Sir, I had mentioned to you earlier about the perils of corruption. I deem it necessary to mention this and after this, I will conclude, though I have points to say about the security and the foreign policy. But, I realise that I do not actually have time to do it. But in conclusion, I certainly wish to share with you. The three points that I wish to cover under the cancer of corruption are Bofors. You might be surprised to re-hear this name again and again. I wish to talk very briefly about the Report of Jolint Parliamentary Committee and I wish to speak briefly about the Ministerial misconduct. I will start with Ministerial misconduct. We had, Sir, an occasion in the last Session of the House wherein a Minister of State in this Government had very serious charges levelled against him in the Press which were repeated in the House. Thereafter, some of us had pointed out this matter by way of documentary evidence etc., to the Speaker. Thereafter, the Speaker advised us and quite rightly so that we should send the documentary evidence to the Minister concerned. I sent the documentary evidence to the Speaker also. For one-and-a-half months, I have not received any response from the Minister. I mentioned to the hon. Speaker, if such is the case, then, what should an MP do? Abiding your directions, if we send all this information to the Minister and the Minister does nothing, what are then we to do? The Speaker said

that it is the MP's obligation to inform the Minister that these are the allegations that are made against him and thereafter the obligation of the MP is over. My obligation to the parliamentary propriety, to the Speaker's directive and to the concerns of the Ministerial propriety of the Minister are over. Hon. Mr. Satish Sharma was charged in the last Session, Sir, with having foreign accounts in Cayman Islands, Channel Islands and with having foreign accounts in Cayman Islands, Channel Islands and with having cases against him registered in the District Courts in New York. Those charges have been repeated now in newspapers. Hon. Mr. Satish Sharma was charged of having misused FERA. He was charged of every possible kind of misconduct unbecoming of a Minister of the Union Government. He continues to be a Minister. He has not answered a single point except a blanket denial. If you were to make serious charges against me then all that I would do will be to stand up and say: "No, I deny what you say. What is the recourse that a Member has then? Therefore, I take this opportunity to charge this Government of taking casually whatever had been said on the floor of the House and which had been corroborated by documents.

You know that JPC has found serious wrongs in at least so many cases.

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are merely repeating the charges that have been levelled here. If you level a fresh charge then notice will have to be given in advance.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have said only what I had sent in writing and nothing else.

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): The Report of the JPC was discussed by extending the time of the House. Regarding the issues that you have raised against Capt. Satish Kumar Sharma, he gave a written statement against them. Just on the basis of the newspaper reports, you have made allegations against him. You should submit fresh allegations against him and allegations raised against him on the basis of newspaper reports. It is not befitting your standard. You always speak on facts so far you are on the track. Now, you are going a bit away from it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I owe it to myself to inform him. About JPC, I will come a minute later. So far as your ministerial colleague is concerned, I respect his sense of propriety and your desire to protect your ministerial colleague. I would do the same thing. I tell you the facts of the case. The facts of the case is that certain charges were made in the House. After the charges were made, the hon. Capt. Satish Kumar Sharma stood up and said, 'I deny all the charges'. Of course, the Speaker, in his wisdom, said, now you cannot ask him any further question. I said, fine, we will not ask him any further question. Can we submit you additional documents? The Speaker said, 'Yes.' I submitted additional documents to the Speaker. The Speaker said, 'You send them to the Minister.' After the Minister denied the charges, I sent the documents to the Minister. What I cited now is post-denial.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Have you asked him?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have asked him.

MR CHAIRMAN : Your point has been made.

[*Translation*]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It is true that we discussed the JPC report. All that I am asking of the Government is that so many Ministers were involved in it. It is upto them to judge how to uphold the views of the JPC or not to hold them in respect; it is entirely the prerogative of the ruling party - I agree and of the Government; but, certainly, one of your own ranks got up and said, 'I am guilty of lesser crime; my other colleagues are guilty of greater crimes. All the time what I am asking the hon. Prime Minister is: Where is the Action Taken Report? Do you intend taking any action? The hon. Finance Minister's Budget speech is totally silent about JPC; nothing is being mentioned. The Prime Minister had not expressed enthusiasm about JPC, when the JPC was constituted. Thereafter, he remained silent.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (DEORIA): We will monitor it.

[*English*]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It was some years ago. I will monitor it. Mr. Mohan Singh is right. He said, 'I will monitor it'. I am asking a simple question about this monitoring by the Prime Minister. Now, we are informed through the newspaper reports that the Cantonal Court of Geneva has finally either released the document or is on the verge of releasing them the document. I would like to know this from the hon. Prime Minister, who has personally been monitoring this on a day to day basis. We ought really to be sufficiently impressed when the Prime Minister says, "I will monitor personally day to day." But if we are not impressed then we are not to be blamed. Surely, something in the Prime Minister's handling of it leaves us dissatisfied.

Certainly, we have a right to know about it; the Parliament has a right to know. After all, a great deal of labour has gone into it. All the time, I am asking about it; I am not reading out the whole Report. Certainly, you will grant me the right to know what the Government is going to do about it?

There is just one thing that I ask from the Prime Minister. Why when the Cantonal Court of Geneva informed the Government, "We are ready to now hand over the documents to you, provided you give us a confirmation of the legal system so as to finally release the document?" This day to day monitoring of Bofors did not allow the Government to give such a confirmation of the legal system so as to finally release the document?" This day to day monitoring of Bofors did not allow the Government to give such a confirmation to Switzerland for almost eight to nine weeks after the Cantonal Court said, "We are ready to give the documents," The Prime Minister's personal monitoring prevented this confirmation from being given to Geneva for at least eight to nine weeks.

Thirdly, I am not starting the entire saga of Bofors, but I would like to inform my good friends from Assam that the ghost of Bofors cannot be laid to rest at least rests like this. I have seen this ghost of Bofors rise just when the Congress Party think they finally buried it. Now an occasion arose when - I cannot call it anything else but to call it Solanki episode - the Solanki episode took place; the hon. Prime Minister was good enough to inform this very House that he would deal with Bofors on day-today basis.

Now that finally and belatedly such a confirmation has been given, I ask you, Sir, and through you the Government, would the Prime Minister now inform the House where do those documents currently reside? Have they finally left Geneva? Have they been handed over to the Central Bureau of Investigation? Have they not left Geneva? If they have not left Geneva, what holds them still in Geneva? If they have not left Geneva, what holds them still in Geneva? If they have reached India, when will he share that information with the Parliament? That process, I wish to know.

I will not dwell either on foreign policy or on securities aspect or on Centre-State relations but I will conclude. I will conclude by sharing a few thoughts, just four or five sentences on what I feel is a commodity, is a subscription, a feeling of which I find an absence in the President's Address.

I speak not in an aggrandized sense, not chauvinistically, I speak with concern and I speak with anguish about of an erosion of the feeling of nationalism in our land.

Sir, nationalism in our land has not only got diluted, nationalism as a word is now uttered, if not exactly, with a sneer then certainly with some unstated mockery.

I leave a thought, through you, with the Government and this is what we are going through as a phase in our land and our country. As States fail to honour their bond with their citizens, as this Government and this State is failing, so the citizens too withdraw their allegiance to the State. "The basic contract of modern nationalism is far more material and far less spiritual than

India is used to. That original concept, subscription of nationalism, in which both the State and the citizen would go to the extreme; the citizen go to the extreme of laying down his life to protect the State; the State go to the extreme to ensure the well being of every citizen of the land, that bond now lies stretched because the State has been appropriated by a party. This is the danger.

India is not, despite many conquests and that last civisection in 1947, simply a product of geography.

India is the geography of a civilization that is at the heart of the cultural and civilizational core of our nationalism.

I leave just one more thought. If this sense of nationalism and subscription, volitional subscription to India be absent, no amount of President's Addresses will suffice. If, in addition to this kind of appropriation of the state, you combine with it, the kind of corruption to which I only briefly referred, then let me warn you in the words of a very great writer: That every society that is founded on dishonesty, and tolerates crime as an aspect of normal behaviour - as we are witnessing all over the land today, every society that is founded on dishonesty and tolerates crime as an aspect of normal behaviour - be that amongst only a handful of the elect by depriving another group, no matter how small, of its honour and its right to life, condemns itself to moral degeneration and ultimately to collapse.

Sir, I cannot say any more than what I have said.

Thank you very much.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera): Mr. Chairman, Sur, my learned friend Shri Jaswant Singh has just now expressed his views in detail. Yesterday, Shri Mathur and Shri Thomas expressed their views in regard to policies of the Congress Government. As the President's Address was boycotted by us we could not listen to him in person. But we have gone through each and every line of his Address. Today we are satisfied that time was not wasted by us in attending it because it is a bundle of confusions. We are unable to derive anything from it. The more we read it, the more we got confused. It is true that we do not want to lower the dignity of the office of the President as he is our Constitutional head. As the President's Address contains the policy of the Government, we criticise his Address. It does not mean that we are criticising the President. But we criticise the policies of the Government.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, this Address is totally directionless. It lacks directives and does not indicate the destination where we intend to take the country. The Budget was presented yesterday. As you know, our target for achieving rate of industrial growth was 4 per cent. But the deficit is 7.5 and the rate of industrial growth is 1.5%. The President has opined at page 1,—

"..... a record foodgrains production, unprecedented levels of procurement, very high levels of foodgrains stocks, containment of the rate of inflation at a single digit level, comfortable foreign exchange reserves, considerable reduction in trade gap, buoyancy in exports, improved performance in certain essential areas of the infrastructure sector, and increased

inflow of foreign investment both direct and portfolio. All these have symbolised and justified this emerging optimism."

The Government's rising optimism can be seen therein. If we analyse the performance of last year of the Government we will come to know the fact whether it symbolises rising optimism or pessimism. The first argument that was given in support of the Government that their Government was in minority and now it has gained majority. What a great leap! It means that there is no chance and risk for Shri Narasimha Rao's Government to be toppled.

SHRI VIJAY KUMAR YADAV (Nalanda): Please explain as to how this defection took place and how did they achieve this target.

THE MINISTER OF CHEMICALS AND FERTILISERS (SHRI RAM LAKHAN SINGH YADAV): We are very small people. Why are you citing my example? You have climbed the heights where I cannot reach even.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I was submitting that the Members of the Shiv Sena, Janata Dal, Telugu Desham are involved in the defection. [Interruptions] You can say only after completion of your five years' term.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, they have achieved majority for this Government by way of defection and adopting corrupt practices at a juncture when live discussion on corruption was going on in the House. Shri Ram Lakhan Babu is a very lucky man whereas some of them are repenting. What is to be done for them?

SHRI RAM LAKHAN SINGH YADAV: You please tell me in which category these

people fall. Are they O.B.C. or S.C./S.T.? Whom do you want?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, what difference we could have with him. In Congress, there are several good friends of mine. Shri Wasnik was receiving applause yesterday and boasting of the achievement of his Government. On the other side, Moh. Azharuddin is winning. There is nobody to mention his name. Koapil Dev has established a record in cricket. No reference has been made to him.

I was saying that I have friends in the Congress Party also and personally I have no quarrel with anybody or for that matter with the Prime Minister and the Government. But the way the Government they achieved majority is highly objectionable. Why did they achieve majority through corrupt practices. No mention about the J.P.C. has been made in the President's Address. It is very shameful. The Chairman of the J.P.C. did not belong to the opposition parties. Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha was the Chairman of the J.P.C. and regarding Gold Star he has recommended in his Report to set up an Inquiry Committee. The J.P.C. which is an all-party Committee has recommended to set up an Inquiry Committee to look into the charges made against the Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister is himself in the dock, there will be no use of sacking three-four Ministers. Needle of suspicion goes against all the Ministers. Is it the system of rising optimism? The President has termed it as emerging optimism. Now the Government has accepted GATT, against which we are launching agitations. Today our friends had gone to garland Gandhiji and stage a dhama in front of the statue of Mahatma Gandhi. They were arrested. In this regard, an agitation is being launched throughout the country. The Government tried to suppress the Bofors issue. But the more it was

suppressed the more it became public. Now the people are coming to know the fact whether the Bofors issue was right or wrong. Now, neither Shri V.P. Singh nor we are in the Government. But the issue has been hotting up daily from outside. The Government is also suppressing the GATT issue. But now we begin to feel its consequences. You cannot abandon it. Ceremonial ratification of the GATT treaty will take place on 15th April. The only way out for the Government is that it should not sign GATT proposals. We would like to thank Shri Pranab Mukherjee who admitted that we can not come out of it when there is an outstanding foreign loan of Rs. 2 lakh 40 thousand crore against India. You have mentioned in the Budget that the Government has to make payment of Rs. 46000 crore every year. What can you do under these circumstances? This is your achievement. You have said that only rich people get loans. Then it was mentioned that perhaps China too has taken loans. Giving and taking loan is a separate matter. But we have to examine the terms and conditions on which we are giving and taking loans. China is taking loan on its own terms and conditions. Are you taking loan from the World Bank on your own terms and conditions?

Regarding new economic policy new arguments are being put forth. Earlier there was only one Indian Airlines. But now there are many airlines. We have option to avail of air service of our choice even at lesser fare. One person visited me who wanted to go to London. He got his air ticket booked in Tazik Airlines perhaps for ₹ 330 only. Nothing was told earlier but when all the passengers reached the airport they were informed that the aeroplane was not flying for the last seven days. The condition of Indian Airlines may be bad to any extent but in case of any problem we can ring up the hon. Minister or the Officers. Whom should we contact if it is

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privatized? Later on he got his ticket booked by Indian Airlines. He will come tomorrow. Earning profit is not the only objective before the country. You cannot ask any one to work as a bonded labour.

The process of nationalisation of banks is going to be reversed. Suppose that the bank account of a person is misplaced. Whom will be approach for money in the event of privatisation of banks? Therefore, I would like to know whether we are heading towards optimistic future or pessimistic future.

Take the case of unemployment. The Congressmen do not read their own manifesto but we read it. There is nothing in it which the Government have accomplished. It was promised that prices would be brought down within hundred days. The Government claims that the prices have fallen in 1991 and 1992 as comparison to 1990 and 1991 etc. We are being taught as if we are school going children. In 1977 the price of cooking gas cylinder was Rs. 16 but today it is Rs. 92. This is nothing but jungle law. The condition of the Government is like a man in hilly areas on whose shoulders the luggage is put and when he gets tired some more luggage is added to it and after sometime two kilograms of luggage is removed from his shoulders.

In the securities scam case, when Harshad Mehta was released from custody he was given publicity to such an extent that everyone dreamt of becoming Harshad Mehta. We have developed such a culture. Money earning is easy here. No importance is given to work. The one who works does not have the rights and the one who has rights does not have work. The one who works does not have dignity and the one who is having dignity does not have work. The one who

works less earns more while the one who works more earns less. Everyone wants to be a millionaire overnight. Such big bank scams did not take place earlier. Why the bank scams have been taking place for the last two years. The reason is that the whole system has been shattered. Neither the Minister nor the Officer has any responsibility. Everyone is grinding his own axe. It has not been made clear till date whether the policy of Jawaharlal Nehru was right or whether the policy of Indiraji or Rajivji was right. The leaders of the Bharatiya Janata Party went to America as soon as the new economic policy was introduced and started speaking in its favour. Just now Jaswant Singh ji has said that if their Government comes to power they will continue to pursue the new economic policy.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria): But today they have opposed it.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: That is good. In 1971 Atal ji had said that Indira ji was Devi, Durga and Jai Chandi. It is good, it is no bad to elevate some one to the height of Devi Durga..[*Interruptions*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Please keep quiet. I was saying that the policy of Pandit Nehru was right as he had said that we would make India a welfare State and there would be mixed economy. The Indian Airlines has been handed over to the private hands. A day will come when railways too will be in the private sector. Therefore D.E.S.U. and BHEL too would go in the private sector. Once when I called the hon. Finance Minister as the Secretary of the I.M.F. he felt enlarged. I had called the new economic policy as a slaughter house. Today all the businessmen and wealthy people of our country are surrendering before the multinationals.

When we were in power in 1971, I had

asked a question as to how much debt we owe to foreign countries and the answer to it was Rs. 23 thousand crore. In 1980, when I again raised this question the reply was again Rs. 23 thousand crore. There was Congress Government during 1980-84. During this period, the foreign debt rose to Rs. 45 thousand crore. Between 1984-89, there was Rajiv Gandhi Government and the foreign debt further rose to Rs. 90 thousand crore. When the Narasimha Rao Government came to power, it did nothing except the devaluation of rupee. Today, it is claimed that rupee is at par with dollar. The rupee has been devalued to such an extent that the foreign debt has shot up to Rs. 1 lakh 20 thousand crore from Rs. 90 thousand crore and today if I am not wrong, the burden of debt is Rs. 2,80,000 crore. What the Government is doing with the that much of loan. There are 6 lakh villages in our country and out of those 6 lakh, still there are 2 lakh villages where there is no arrangement for drinking water. The human beings and the animals drink water from the same pond there. The Government is doing nothing with that loan except that during winter the blue-yellow fountains are being run, roads and over bridges are being constructed in Delhi but even today half of the women folk in villages can be seen on both the sides of roads to answer the nature's call. Even after 47 years of our independence we are unable to make arrangements to provide health cards for the newly born babies, so that their blood groups can be ascertained. None amongst us, who are sitting here, knows that his blood group is in case he meets with an accident.

Five lakh children every year, die in our country due to tetanus. Our mothers and sisters in villages do not have a blade even. The umbilical cord is cut by sickle or by spade which results in the death of the child of tetanus. On the one hand this is the

position, whereas on the other hand paradises are being built for some people by taking loan of Rs. 2,80,000 crores.

Last night all of us were viewing T.V. but not a single Member of Parliament was visible. All that was shown was that Mr. Manmohan Singh was talking to some foreigners from Newyork and London. It appeared as if this budget was meant for the people of Newyork or London. Only import duty has been reduced and nothing else has been done in it. What have they done of this money.

"YAWATJEEVAT SUKHAM JEEVAT
RINAM KRITWA GHRITAM PIVAT"

i.e. long as one lives, he should live happily and taken these even by taking loan. Nobody is answerable in this country. After Five Years they will be out of office. The hon. Minister will go, the hon. Minister Minister will go and the future of the country will face the situation.

Take the case of SCs and STs and weaker sections. I would like to know the amount earmarked for them in the budget. This amount is Rs. 918 crore but what is their population. According to the 1991 census the population of SCs and STs has gone up to 24.56 per cent and that of backward classes is 52 per cent. If put together these people constitute 75 per cent of the total population but out of a total budget of Rs. 1,45,000 crore not even 1000 crore has been earmarked for these people. Only a provision of Rs. 918 crore has been made, which is less than even one per cent. However, the Government claims that paradise is going to be built for these people.

Just now our friends have raised the issue of Babri Masjid. Last tie also, I had said about Babri Masjid that we did not have any

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complaint against the BJP since it openly said that they would demolish the Babri Masjid. Yes, we have just one complaint against them. Why do not they demolish the Parliament House since it was constructed by the Britishers? Why do not they demolish the Red Fort, since it was constructed by the Muslims. Go and demolish the Taj Mahal. But we have complaint against the Government, what has it done?...[*Interruptions*] The Central Government has that much of power that no one can demolish anything if its intentions are good.

The birthday of Baba Saheb Ambedkar falls on 14th April but we are being penalised due to these people, since there is permanent ban on holding rallies at Boat-Club. The down trodden Christians had also come a few days ago to demand reservation. What is the intention of the Government? Now the BJP Government is not in power and the secular and minority people demand that the Ayodhya case should be referred to the Supreme Court under Article 138 instead of Article 143. Why the same isn't being done? The Government of Shri Mulayam Singh is in power in the State and here we have the Government of Shri Narasimha Rao....[*Interruptions*] Why do not the Government do that? Is it not a fact that the hon. Prime Minister had said that the Masjid would be constructed at the same site? What has happened now? Why has the promise not been kept? The present Uttar Pradesh Government had also said that the Masjid would be constructed there only. Had a Hindu Temple been demolished, peace in this country would have been shattered....[*Interruptions*] Today if the Muslims do not utter anything, it does not mean that the wound has healed. The Hindus have not given a healing touch to their

wounds. Today they are making hue and cry about the Kashmiri problem...[*Interruptions*] Is it not sufficient to call Kashmiri 9 instead of Kashmiri Pandit? But they had to leave their own houses. Who installed Shri G.M. Shah as the Chief Minister in place of Shri Farooq Abdullah? Later on the Government was dismissed and till day no Government has been formed there. Shri Beant Singh is the Chief Minister of Punjab; I ask as to who replaced Badal to install Bamala as the Chief Minister? Later on his Government was dismissed when he had already mustered majority. We should also consider serious issues, India-Pakistan issue is one of them. Neither Pakistan nor India can completely devastate each other. It is just not possible. Rs. 23 thousand crore has been earmarked for Defence for 1994-95. No doubt, our country should be strong and we should have in possession of sophisticated weapons. I would like to say that Pakistan is not concerned about education. 65 per cent population of India is illiterate and there is no facility of drinking water in 2 lakh villages. The development work is at a standstill. At present our country has no threat from America or England, but we do have a threat from Pakistan and Pakistan also states that it has a threat from India. If the aforesaid amount of Rs. 23 thousand crore is saved then that can be utilised for speedy development of the country. The Government of Pakistan also invests 30-35 per cent of its total budgetary outlay on Defence. If it saves that money, they can also make speedy development. But the Government is required to develop a will to do so. In 1977 I was in the Government and Shri Atalji was the Minister of External Affairs. Jan Sangh Party was in existence. The leader of that party was Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. At that time for the first time the relationship between the two countries became cordial. For the first time passport system between the two-countries

was done away with. Now, why do we not take notice of that? We were one country till a recent past, but now we are two countries which are always on a point of clash. We should find out a way so that cordial relation between two countries could be established. We are also required to consider this thing.

There are four commissions in our country. The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes Commission, the Women Commission, the Minorities Commission and the Backward Classes Commission. When the Human Rights Commission Bill was introduced, I had moved some amendments to it. I had pointed out that the Chairman of the Scheduled Caste Scheduled Tribes Commission, the Women Commission and the Minorities Commission were included in the Human Rights Commission, but the Chairman of the Backward Classes was not included therein. Shri Mathur was telling yesterday that the people of weaker sections were now awakened and that they could no longer be suppressed. If an attempt is made to suppress them, I would like to quote Baba Saheb Ambedkar, He said on 26th January 1950:-

[English]

"We are going to enter into the life of contradiction. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life, we will have inequality.

How in life shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible or else, those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

[Translation]

If we fail to understand his feelings

there will be a revolution. When I was on the treasury benches, I had said that this House consists of 542 Members, this House holds supreme position, but this is not all what our country is. Our country is more than that. After having talks with the Members of the Backward Classes Commission this morning, I am sorry to note that what to talk of providing an office, the Chairman of the Commission has not been provided even residential accomodation. He does not enjoy any status at all. The Chairman of the Commission that was set up much later has, however, been provided both with an office as well as residential accomodation apart from other facilities. On the other hand, the Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission has not been provided with any facility at all. This point should also be considered seriously.

Kesriji, who was present in the House in the morning had said that the Government was considering to provide five years exemption in age limit. When we implemented the report of Mandal Commission, we said that reservation was only the first stage and not the last stage. Today the Government is going ahead with its privatisation policy. It is bent upon mortgaging the interest of the country and at the same time the Government is also mortgaging the interests of the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There is a reservation policy in services of Indian Airlines, but that will not be possible in services of private Airlines. There is a provision of reservation in BHEL, but what will be its prospect when it is handed over to private sector. Public sector alone ensured prvision of reservation in employment, but the Government is doing away with it by privatisation bid. I would like to demand that the Government should either give up the privatisation bid or it should make the prvision of reservation in services of private sector. The Supreme

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Court has set fifty per cent as the maximum limit for reservation. The Government of Tamil Nadu has filed a case in the Supreme Court against its earlier decision. But, what would be the policy when special drive for recruitment is started? I would like to submit that the Government should bring a constitution amendment Bill by taking these three-four subjects into consideration in the interest of the weaker sections. First, the provision of limiting the reservation upto fifty per cent should be removed.

The second thing relates to the issue of promotion. Recently on 26th of last month, Zonal Conference of Syndicate Bank was held which was attended....(Not recorded..... by its Chairman and other officers. It was said during that Conference that it was already stated in Parliament that the provision of reservation would continue in matters of promotion. It was also reaffirmed through a circular. A statement in this regard was made by Kesri during the last session of Parliament and Margaret ji issued a circular thereafter. She, however, clarified that there was no provision of reservation of 1600 posts in Syndicate Bank, and it was further stated that such a provision had been done away with under the Mandal Commission Report. I would ask whether the Government want to create a rift between the people of Scheduled Castes and the people of Backward Classes? I would therefore, like to submit that the Government should continue the provision of reservation in promotion for further five years. It was only the case regarding Mandal Commission that was being heard in the Supreme Court, and it had nothing to do with the provision of reservation for SC, ST. There is a judge..... who belongs to SC category. He has not been included in the bench which is hearing this case. The judgement was pronounced

that according to the provisions of Article 16(4), it will also apply to SCs., STs. I would like to demand that a Constitution Amendment Bill for providing reservation in matters of promotion should be introduced.

At present the population of SCs/STs has gone to 25% and besides, there are several other castes who demand to be included in the list of SC/ST categories. As per the provision of the Constitution the reservation for SC/ST has to be made in proportion of their population. Reservation for them in the services of Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and State Assemblies should be increased. The offices which are not providing reservation to these categories should be forced to do so. We had protested against the provision of creamy layers in the case of Mandal Commission Report. We still protest against that, I would like to submit that the aforesaid provision has created a dispute viz. if the Ministry of Welfare can do it why can other Ministries not follow that. This should be done in every Ministry. Exemption of five years in age must be provided. They should also be allowed to take examinations in the manner the candidates of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes are allowed to appear in examinations.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are proud of having efficient officers working in the country..... I had a Secretary.... working under me at the time when the Report of Mandal Commission was implemented. He was a Brahmin rather than a Scheduled Caste. He implemented that report in the capacity of a Secretary. I would like to thank him for his cooperation, but in spite of all that the issue was referred to the Supreme Court. however, it was not rejected. Our consideration is not based on castes. We had excellent officers like..... when we were on the treasury benches. On the other hand an interview was published on 23

January, 1994 in which a Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs stated....

[English]

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): I am on a point of order. He cannot quote it like this

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I take the responsibility [Interruptions]

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not the question of taking responsibility [Interruptions]

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I have given it in writing.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Even if you have given it in writing, the persons whose names have been mentioned cannot defend themselves here. So you cannot level allegations against them. I have given my ruling.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: If I cannot level allegation, I can at least present the gist thereof.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can present the gist but you should not mention the name of any person.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: The former Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs said that those who are selected under the provision of reservation are corrupt. They do not possess merit and that they are worthless persons. When there was a protest against his statement, he said that he had been associated with the UPSC for two years and so he knew this fact. I am, however, happy to say that a Secretary of the transport Ministry opposed him and said that he did

not agree to this view. He said that he has the same experience as the aforesaid Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs has and I can say that the candidates selected under the provision of reservation are outstanding and are not at all less worthy than any other candidates of other category. I would, therefore, say that in such a situation, none of the policies of the Government will be of any avail. [Interruptions]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Well, you should not disturb like this. The names of the officers which he has mentioned will be expunged from the record.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I was therefore inquisitive to know as to who is responsible to implement Government policies in the country? Authorities concerned are not aware as to what is being done at village level. One of the judges of Allahabad High Court said that the policy of reservation is an absurd thing.

One of the hon. Members from Gujarat has referred to Allahabad High Court Judgement wherein the Judge has said that our law should be based on 'Manusmriti' I would like the Government to pay attention to it. It is not a party matter or caste matter. I demand that if an Officer should not be allowed to attend the meeting of the UPSC Board, if he makes such remarks and should be removed from there. An officer who criticizes the policy of the Government has no moral right to continue there. It is not the question of Congress Government or Janata Dal Government. It is the Government of India and if a Government employee or Officer speaks against the policy of the Government of India he should give up his job and join politics and say whatever he wants. But it is not proper that one in Government service, draws salary from the exchequer and at the same time criticizes

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16.00 hrs.

the policy of the Government.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the plight of Safai Karamcharis. They are most miserable among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Safai Karamcharis who sweep even before the Parliament House are also not permanent. I would like to submit to the Government that when Clerks, Officers and peons are recruited in Banks why are Safai Karamcharis not recruited there? As a result even after rendering 15 or 20 years service, they are not made permanent on the pretext that they have only 2-3 hours work in a day. This was happening in the Railways also previously. But it was Shri Jagjivan Ram who as the Minister of Railways insisted that this practice should not continue. He said that so long as they had work, the Safai Karamcharis would do it and when there was no work, they would be engaged as watermen to provide drinking water to the people. I would like to urge upon the Government to abolish this contract and daily wages system or temporary recruitment system and announce a policy wherein the Safai karamcharis could be treated as class IV employees.

I charge the Government of having undone whatever we had accomplished during our tenure. During our regime we had decided to set up the Ambedkar Foundation. Only Rs. 10 crore has been granted to this foundation whereas Rs. 200 crore has been provided for the Indira Gandhi and the Rajiv Gandhi foundation. The Government should think over it. Baba Saheb Ambedkar Centenary is over but our persistent demand since 1990 to make a film on Ambedkar has not been fulfilled.

The Government abandoned the Ambedkar National Award Scheme. There was a proposal to construct Ambedkar Memorial on 24, Alipur Road but that plan was also shelved. The translation work of Baba Saheb Ambedkar was also stalled. We had made provision to set up Chairs after the name of Baba Saheb Ambedkar in eight Universities. But that too was undone. We had provided Rs. 5 thousand crore to wipe out the practice of carrying nightsoil on head. But that amount has been reduced to Rs. 500 crore. Only Rs. 60 crore has been allocated by the Government during 1993-94 for this purpose and only Rs. 7 crore has been released so far.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was stating that the practice of carrying night soil on head is a matter of shame for our country and the Government have chalked out a five-year programme, whereas we had chalked out a three year programme to wipe out this system. Even if we agree to the 5 - year programme I would like to know what all steps does the Government propose to take to wipe out this practice of carrying night soil on head.

Moreover, the Government have allocated Rs. 40 crore during 1991-92, Rs. 44 crore during 1992-93 and Rs. 26 crore during 1993-94 for the National Financial Development Corporation (NFDC). Does the Government claim to lead the country to an optimistic destination through this very programme. Regarding the Special Assistance Programme I had stated that funds should be earmarked according to the population of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in different States. But nothing has been done. Taking the population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes into consideration I demand that the

Government should earmark 22.5 per cent funds in every Ministry for the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Lastly, I would like to refer the atrocities being committed on this section of society and about which the entire House is agitated. Be it Uttar Pradesh or Karnataka everywhere the same thing is happening. I had gone with a delegation along with Shri Hari Kewal Prasad to Mirzapur. There is thousands of acres of Government land. Some boys belonging to the Dalits at Patarkalan were shouting slogan "Jo jameen sarkari hai wo jameen hamari hai" It implies that the person who has been given land should be provided lease of land. But on the 11th January, Shri Joginder Singh, President of the Dalit Sena; and a boy named Munna alias Mehmood were sent to jail for demanding the lease of the land. Thereafter 500 student came on the 13th as a delegation. Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh was also present there. The delegation headed by Shri Hari Kewal Prasad met Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav and asked him to give away land to the tribal people in pursuance to the policy of the Government. But when they were returning a number of boys were beaten up and the limbs of 50 boys were broken. Some of the boys were put behind the bars in the name of naxalites.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: You are in power there. The Government is enjoying the support of your party in the State.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: That is what I am saying. Be it the Government of the Janata Dal or anyone else, such an arbitray action is being taken there and boys have been sent to prison.

We went there on the 25th. There was huge gathering of nearly 30 to 40 thousand people. The legs and hands of persons

named Kanappa were tied in Karnataka and he was beaten severely merely for Rs. 20. Thereafter he was forced to consume excreta was put on his head. The women are paraded naked. Why is this happening even after 47 years of the Independence? I am distressed to state that there was no mention about these things in the Address of the President. Why is apathy shown in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Backward classes. Why is the right to work not being included as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution. We also had worked it out. The total expenditure was estimated to be Rs. 13 thousand crore a year i.e. it accounted to Rs. 65 thousand crore in 5 years. We had stated that we would not see loans from foreign countries even if we fail to implement it. But I would like to submit to the Government that since they are getting foreign loans to the tune of Rs. 2 lakh 80 thousand crore, some more foreign loans should be made a Fundamental Right under the Constitution and the reservation policy should be put into the 9th Schedule so that nobody approaches Supreme Court or any other Court.

Moreover, the workers participation in management should also be ensured. The labourers of a factory should enjoy rights at par with the owner.

On, May 9, 1990 I had introduced a Bill in the Rajya Sabha in my capacity as a Minister of Labour. Why is it not introduced in the Lok Sabha? I have already stated that unless our course of action and policy is clear, nothing can be done. There is no such thing in the Address of the President. It is merely a bundle of confusion. It, therefore, oppose it and warn the Government that it might have turned from a minority into a majority but the people are yet to accept it. A man falters twitch in life once during childhood and then in old age. The faltering in childhood indicated that the child wants to

{Sh. Ram Vilas Paswan}

16.09 hrs.

run and the faltering in childhood indicated that the child wants to run and the faltering in old age to the grave. But if my party falters, it will run. You may ask as to how your Government is running. The fact is that we never considered your Government to be Government. Therefore, it lasted.

I would like to urge upon the Government that whatever they wish to do, they should do so with pious intentions. An animal on the road who cannot judge in which direction to run, meets an accident and dies. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you and oppose the Address of the President.

[English]

DR. KRUPASINDHU BHOI (SAMBALPUR): Hon. Chairman, Sir with great respect and regard, I wholeheartedly support the views and apprehensions expressed by the hon. President of India in the Presidential Address that touched all the points and from bread to butter by 2000 AD. After hearing the ejaculatory eloquence from Shri Jaswant Singh and the negative approach in his specific dialogue by Shri Paswan, first, I congratulate the President for his effort which he has narrated in his Address. It is like:

[Translation]

Sarvey bhavantu sukhinah:
Sarvey santu niramayah:
Sarvey bhadrani pashyantu
Maa kaschid Dukh Bagh Bhavet.

[English]

Let health and happiness prevail all over. Let sorrow be overcome. Let everyone have the vision of beauty and truth.

(SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*)

In this context, our President is a very talented person, a Gyani and a knowledgeable person. He has narrated all the details of fruit which our country is getting. So, he has given his thought about the implementation of the policies of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Narasimha Rao.

Ayam Nija Paro Vetu
Gunana Laguchetsam
Udaar Charitanam Tu
VASUDEVA KUTAMBAKAM

Narrow minds think in terms of mine and thine but for great minds, the whole universe is a family. Why I am telling this because you should not be unhappy and there is a sloka for you.

"Pushpeshu malli nagre-su Dilli.
Nari su Rambha purusheh su Vishnu
Nruphareshu nitish kabi Kalidas"

[English]

So, let us be relaxed and let us forget the garrulous announcement made by our opposition friend which has got no meaning after hearing the Address of the President. And now our country has been in a stable condition. After three years of economic reforms, our economy is on rails and yesterday's Budget is contributory factor to it.

Mr. Jaswant Singh spoke about our foreign exchange reserves but he has not given any suggestion which would serve our purpose.

About insurgency in the North-East, the condition was bad but after President's

rule in Manipur, the condition in Nagaland and Assam has improved and I think we should not be so much afraid. In this regard, the highest person in our democratic set up will reply in his speech.

As regards Jammu and Kashmir, an answer has been given by Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan. He was repeatedly telling about Kashmiri pandits and answered the point. About the economic aspect, he was mentioning foreign exchange reserve and the deficit of about Rs. 22000 crore but he could not substantiate as to how it will be harmful to our country and in which stage we are. As our present reserves of foreign exchange are more than 12 million dollars and the current deficit is 0.5 per cent of the GDP, we are in a very good condition. While I am definitely supporting the President's Address, I would say that when Rs. 7000 crore have been given for rural development this year, but I have got some doubts in my mind. Here, I would give some suggestions. In rural development work, 56 per cent is allocated for the rural poor. There are various schemes like the IRDP, DRDA, Mahila Samrudhi Yojana, Employment Insurance Scheme, weaving community scheme, scheme for the unemployed educated youth which are prevailing. Though these schemes are being monitored under the federal structure of the States, due to the bureaucratic norms, no concrete administrative reforms have taken place. Still the bureaucrats are identifying areas under various schemes like the schemes which I have just now mentioned. Representatives of people like the MPs and MLAs are not there in the Selection Committees due to which implementation of these schemes is in a very bad position.

My next point is this. Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan also criticised and I also criticise that more than two lakh villages are not

getting drinking water. For this purpose and also for family planning, population, development of environment and health, there are suggestions from different committees and commissions.

We should commit ourselves to spend more than 10 per cent at present. Various kinds of communicable diseases are prevailing in our country. Whatever economic reforms Mr. Manmohan Singh may bring in, if we are not going to adopt strictly the population control programme, it will not be fruitful. I have brought forward this matter in the form of Private Member's Resolution a number of times. The whole idea is to recognize the family welfare programme as a national imperative; evolve a national consensus for accepting one child norm per couple; raise the level of education of women; provide adequate care to women and children; lay down a Uniform Civil Code - of course, BJP is doing one good thing by laying stress on this - for all citizens, especially with regard to marriage and family welfare and set up a National Population Commission to suggest measures to achieve the target of zero per cent population growth by the turn of the century.

If there is a thermonuclear explosion like Chernobyl in USSR, many people will die. The few survivors who remain behind will suffer from radiation hazards. The only cure is Bone Marrow transplantation. But, the demographic proportion of growth in our country cannot be contained until and unless we adopt one child norm. This is a big challenge before our people. Indonesia, Malaysia and even Pakistan are adopting this norm. Whatever economic reforms we may introduce, if we do not adopt this one child norm the results will be disastrous.

Is it possible to create additional 130 million tonnes of food grains; 1008 million

(Sh. Karupasinghu Bhoi)

metre of additional cloth; construct 12.6 lakh additional schools; accommodate 175 million school going children; create additional teaching staff of nearly 3 lakh teachers to impart education and to build additional 1.75 million houses? And, by the turn of century we will have to create employment potential for additional 47.5 million people. I feel that until and unless we adopt one child norm, as is being adopted in a Communist country like China, we will not be able to achieve anything.

I think a legislation with regard to adopting one child norm should be passed by the parliament. In case the child dies the eligible couple should be given permission to have their second child so that they have security in the old age. Suppose, the couple has already undergone Tubectomy or Vasectomy and their only child dies, in Allopathy we have a system of recanalisation of tube or vas deferens. But, this is successful only in 30 per cent of cases and 70 per cent people will still suffer. We always criticise the Allopathic system of medicine which is the legacy of Britishers or developed countries. Now, we are talking of the Indian system of medicine. In nagpur, the Prime Minister recently announced setting up of an Ayurvedic Directorate in the Secretariat. This should have been implemented by now.

So again my suggestion will be that 10 per cent budgetary support for population control and family welfare programme should be given.

Lastly, every speaker who spoke before me have expressed their anguish regarding the growth of population. It is right time that we should look forward to control population with an iron hand. For this purpose,

all the Parties should come together and a special Department of population control under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister should be formed wherein the Members of Parliament from all the Parties should be included in order to advise the Department.

Then, Sir, I would like to say something about the regional imbalances in our country. Time and again, there are demands of setting up of North-Eastern Council, Bodo Development Council and so on. Darjeeling Hill Council had already been established. But, there are some lacunae in that. As far as Darjeeling Council is concerned, whatever money being given by the Centre, is percolating through the State and always, the Chairman of the Darjeeling Council complains that the money is being struck up with Mr. Jyoti Basu. He is not giving money. So, for streamlining that, a separate Development Council should be formed.

I had time and again echoed on the floor of the House and outside that in Western Orissa, which comprises Bolangir, Sambalpur, Phulbani, Keonjhar, Kalahandi and Sundergarh a Development Council has to be formed by which the miseries of people who were earlier colonised by the British and now by the Orissa Government, can be solved. For concretising that, I had brought forward a non-official Resolution. I had given a Memorandum. At the time of replying to the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, I urge upon the Government to reply to my points.

Last but not least, Mr. Chairman, I want to mention a most important point here. We had talked about economic reforms. I have spoken about the control of population explosion just like the Chernobyl disaster. My main point is that we have inherited so many things generally from men and women. The cream of the society viz. intelligence

men and women, go in for medical and engineering courses. After, they pursued their courses, they join the service but they are overtaken by the bureaucrats which you had inherited from the British. The Britishers and the developing countries have undergone administrative reforms. All the Head of States and all the heads of different faculties in developed countries are manned by professional expertise. Generally, the technocrats create a permanent asset for the country. Medicos save the lives of the human beings. In this context I would suggest that the economists and the professionals should have their own faculty in India. Unless and until, the system of Indian Administrative Service is wiped out and replaced by different services of different professional expertise, the bureaucratic red tapism will continue to be there whatever money you spend.

These are the two most important points viz. Administrative reforms and control of population.

With this Sir, I would say:

- “(1)Ganga Shatudra
Yamuna dinadhya,
- (2) Yasuar Prashutip,
Pariyavayante,
- (3)Yuvram site charam,
Prasoota
- (4)Samaypiyo Bharat,
Bhavya Desha.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN (CHIRAYINKIL): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am shocked and grieved to read this President's address which is considered as an evaluation of the previous performance of the Government and the policy statement for the future."

Yesterday, Prof.K.V.Thomas was telling us that we should not have boycotted

the President's Address. We should have some norms to sit together and discuss these things. But I am asking him: Is it applicable only for the President's Address or for other occasions also? Why, actually did we abstain from it? We could have created some noise and at the time of President's Address. But since we have some respect for the President, we abstained from participating in it.

Government has already put Rs. 6000 crores on the people by bypassing Parliament. No mention about it is made in the President's Address. you are prepared to sit with us, then you have to see that these things are brought before Parliament and we should have our say in discussing all these things, but nothing of that sort, Rs. 6000 crores increased the rates of the essential items.

What is the impact of that on the people of the country? We have no say in that. Then what is national in asking us to discuss with you those things where we have no say in the matter. Is it actually being implemented?

For example, at the time of formation of the Standing Committees we were told that the time of the Session will not be curtailed, But what has happened after that? Now, we have got only 36 days; in those 36 days, some days are taken as holiday and the days are further reduced. How are we losing the days of the Session of Parliament? Is it actually the assurance given to the Parliament by the Government and to the Opposition Parties? You are trying to take away the rights of the Members of Parliament. Then what is the use of telling that we could have participated in the President's Address. My contention is that they could have a discussion about all these

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things before the President's Address started.

The realisation about the problems of the country actually is not there with the ruling party. The President's Address does not contain any of these things; they have no knowledge about the ground realities of the country.

We have heard about three worlds swarg, patal and bhoomi. But this is a quite different worlds. The fourth world where the ruling party is living. They have no knowledge about the realities of the country. Actually, when the country is passing through great industrial crisis, increased inflation, unprecedented unemployment, closure of factories, lay-offs, retrenchment, including so-called Golden Hand. Shake, falling of prices of agricultural commodities when the inputs prices are increasing, the agricultural workers are losing employment, atrocities on women and children are increasing, communal and caste conflicts are still alive, crimes are increasing and corruption is on a commanding height not on the public sector but in corruption. This is the situation in the country.

SHRI UMARAO SINGH (JALANDHAR): What about Calcutta?

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: Here, in Delhi itself, the JPC Report has brought before us how many Ministers are involved in this corruption.

SHRI SUSEELA GOPALAN: But Calcutta also. I belong to the party which is ruling Calcutta. But, still, we are prepared to take every action against corruption. But what do you intend to do about the JPC Report? Even the promise given by the

Prime Minister that follow up action would be taken is not being fulfilled. What is being done about the Ministers against whom specific charges are there?

Nothing was done. The pre Budget Session of Parliament, in every year, has become a nightmare for the vast section of the people in the country. Every housewife in the country is dreaded to think about the dracula, i.e, the pre-budget hike.

The question of hikes in the prices of LPG, levy sugar, PDS, price of wheat, price of petrol and diesel, not merely the quantum of increase, but the justification provided by the Government in the official release, accompanying the announcement of hikes, actually has no basis.

What is the position? For example, the price of LPG cylinders for domestic uses was hiked at a time when price of petroleum products including LPG is coming down in the international market. It is as if to make a clear statement on the preferences of the Government, the customs duty for this was brought down from 85 per cent to 25 per cent. Further oil economy budget of 1993-94 was finalised. It was estimated that the price of crude oil in the international market will be 17 to 18 dollars per barrel. But in reality it was hardly around 14 dollars per barrel.

The fact is that the Government has conveniently diverted the cess of development of the oil sector and used the plea that the oil pool account is in deficit. This is to pursue the twin objective of hiking the prices and advancing the wholesale privatisation of the oil sector. All this again is totally contrary to the Government's assertion that market movement alone will determine the price. There is no validity for your management's because you yourself are

taking steps to control the prices in the sectors where you want it. The justification offered by the Government on the hike of food items has been more cynical.

The Government's argument that the price hike is necessitated by the rise in support price for the procurement falls flat in the light of actual ground reality. The increase in the support price of wheat, ordinary and superior rice has been Rs. 55, Rs. 45 and Rs. 60 per quintal respectively. The corresponding rise in the new issue prices has been, however, disproportionately larger, that is Rs. 72, Rs. 100 and Rs. 120 per quintal respectively.

These figures themselves underline the Government's sham argument. The slash in subsidies, fertilizers, irrigation, power, etc. still go up in the procurement prices and in the coming days it will steeply rise to offset the losses of the farm lobby. This will result in increase in the prices of essential commodities disproportionately.

Now I think, there is no use of talking about the PDS because there is no margin between the PDS price and the open market price. Yesterday it was argued here that this is one of the benefits of the new economic policy. What has actually been done? You wanted to withdraw the PDS but the Chief Ministers were strongly against it. So you could not pursue the point, instead you have hiked the prices of essential commodities exorbitantly. How there is no difference between these two. So what is the use of having a PDS that itself actually is undermined. So this is the condition. The poor will be the hard hit and the PDS will be the casualty. Starvation deaths which we witnessed in Kalahandi, Thane, Amravati, Waynad and Tripura will be repeated in our country. The poverty alleviation programmes are not reaching them.

No purchasing capacity is there, even for buying through the PDS. Is there any ration shop near about Kalahandi? We have received reports from the Women's Forum Movements that each ration shop is six to seven kilometres away from their residences.

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (PHULBANI): We have a strong PDS.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: I will come to that.

Actually what is happening there? Those people have no money and they are starving. And even if they are having a little money they have to go seven kilometres away. I asked our Minister, Shri A.K. Antony about it. He said, "What can we do? The State Government is not doing anything." This is the plea taken! The sufferings of the tribal people are increasing. Your programmes are not reaching them. That is the position.

According to this Address, which the ruling party has put into the mouth of the President, "there is unprecedented growth and all round progress in the country". What is the reality? According to them - we can analyse that - the foreign exchange reserves have grown up to 13 billion dollars compared to one billion dollars in 1991. The trade deficit is one million dollars, compared to 9.4 in 1990-91. Account deficit in the balance of payments is half of the GDP this year. This is less than one-fifth of the level in 1991. This improvement, they claim, is due to the impressive showings on both exports as well as imports. Exports during April-November this year are 19.4 per cent over the comparative period of the previous year, while our imports, in spite of the liberalisation are 2.2 per cent lower. That is their claim.

For the year as a whole the inflows of

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foreign investment, which are supposed to be non-debt creating, are expected to be of the order of 13 billion dollars. "Is it not an achievement?" — that is what the ruling party is asking.

Let us examine the foreign exchange reserve as a convenient starting point. The bulk of the addition to reserves has been in the nature of 'hot money' which has come to the country because our interest rates are much higher than those prevailing internationally.

With no immediate prospects of any significant depreciation of the rupee on account of the very inflow of hot money, and also because of the rates of return to be earned in some avenues are even higher than the interest rates. Out of this total inflow of 1.05 billion dollar between April and November, direct foreign investments were only 400 million dollars. The remaining 650 million dollars was portfolio investment by foreign institutional investors. This money can fly out as easily as it flies in. In fact, the very concept of non-debt creating inflows becomes meaningless when such inflows are essentially of 'hot money'.

In fact, one can conveniently argue the opposite cases, namely such stock market booms are more generally conditions which stimulate speculative inflow of foreign exchange and actually dampen the level of domestic economic activity. The reason is obvious. The high interest rate, or more generally the high rates of return from speculation discourages productive investment where the rates of return are comparatively much lower. As a result we have the remarkable spectacle of foreign exchange reserves piling up and yet

domestic industrial production remaining virtually stagnant.

The claim that there has been a fundamental improvement in the trade deficit turns out to be equally hollow.

The bulk of the improvement in exports have been on account of cotton garment and primary commodities. Exports of engineer goods have remained virtually stagnant compared to the corresponding period of the last year. Improvement of our exports in cotton garment was continuing for the last few years and has nothing to do with this New Economic Policy. An increase in the trend of exports of primary commodities does not indicate any dynamism instead it shows the system of economic retrogression. It can reduce domestic availability and especially of the agricultural goods and cause hardships for the people and accentuate poverty.

The Agriculture Minister has claimed that the increase in agriculture exports was 43.37 per cent during the period from April to November than the corresponding period of the previous year. This accounts for a quarter of the increase in the exports of this year. Investment in agriculture and irrigation has been declining for the last few years.

On the import side, decline in imports is due to increase in the price of petroleum products, which amounts to 30 per cent, which clearly reduced our import bill. Second is the continuing industrial stagnation, which reduced the import bill.

Such irrefutable fact disproves the claim made by the Government that our economy is growing faster. The available production figures for 1993-94 shows many disturbing features. During the first six

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much time will you take?

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: I will take ten more minutes.

During the first six months of 1993 the general index for industrial production index shows a rise of 1.6 per cent. The manufacturing sector has improved only by 0.6 per cent, which is the lowest in the last forty years. Mining has declined. Electricity generation went up. A special notice has to be taken that capital production has shown a decline of 8 per cent compared to the last year. The crude oil production has come down to 3.8 per cent. Fertiliser production came down to 1.7 per cent. The growth of agricultural production is expected to grow by 2.3 per cent for the year 1993-94 while it was five per cent last year.

As per the quick estimation of the Central Statistical Organisation, the GDP for the year 1993-94 will be 3.8 per cent while the last year's figure was four per cent. Therefore, the last three years, period of the so-called New Economic Policy did not help to improve the economic situation. And instead it had adverse impact on our economy.

According to Prof. Goyal of the Delhi Institute for Study of Industrial Development, the economic activities even in the United States have grown under protection only. Only after a strong foundation for economic activities were established, these countries opened their doors. Even now, they are continuing their protection for their economic activities. Due to the emergence of multinationals to the Indian economic activities, the domestic companies are under pressure or even compelled to change-over their ownership to the multinationals. This

will create a grave situation in the long run. In other words, in the long run, there will be an economic aggression by the multinationals and the Indian companies will not be able to withstand this aggression. With the result, a pre-independence situation would arise.

What is the treatment meted out to the public sector? The national priority of giving public sector, the commanding height of the economy has been reversed. That is what I said. Instead, corruption has been given this commanding height.

The world Bank has given a direction that out of the 244 public sector undertakings, 82 should be closed and 92 have been identified as sick and out of which, 58 are seriously sick. Eight lakh workers, who are employed in these companies face a threat retrenchment.

According to FCCI estimate, 60 lakh workers and employees will lose their jobs as part of restructuring and getting rid of surplus labour both in the public and private sector. National Renewal Fund is created to implement the exit policy. The first clause in the N.R.F. is retraining and redeployment. But the pity is that you have thrown out 54000 people in the name of Golden Handshake. Not a single paise is spent on retraining and redeployment. So, your concern is only to send out people. You ask Shrimati Pratibha Patil, who had a survey of those people who have been thrown out of employment. What or repaired their homes is the result? They have already lost their money, married their girls or repaired their homes in one lakh or one and a half lakh which has been offered to them, Their families are under poverty and women have to work very hard even for giving a day's meal to their family. You are keeping more money for National Renewal Fund and this will be used only for sending out these people. You to

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implement the dictates of the World Bank and the IMF, which you are doing faithfully.

The Finance Minister himself admitted in his Budget Speech that the ONGC has so far been given a step-motherly treatment. ONGC is producing one tonne of oil at the cost of Rs. 1200 so far. Now, a slight increase is there. We are importing crude oil for Rs. 4500 per tonne. If half of the price of the imported oil is given to the ONGC, it could have produced so much profit; they could have produced more oil and our import bill could have been reduced to a considerable extent. There is no necessity to import oil from abroad. Now, what is the situation? ONGC produced 38 million tonnes three years back and now it has come down to 26 million tonnes. So, how much we are losing for buying the crude oil. Actually, the money which is meant for developing the oil sector, you are spending it otherwise. So, this is the situation.

What is happening to BHEL? You have given orders only to the tune of one-third of their production. You are buying the things from the multinationals. We have got enough opportunities within the country. But, actually, you are not utilising them.

In the power sector what is happening. The Government is guaranteeing 16 per cent return on the investment to the multinationals. Electricity tariff will go up by three or four folds. The market forces are not going to determine the prices, but the Government is the force to decide about the tariff.

We want 65 ships for the coming three years. The Government has declared in this House that we are going to ask for Global tender. You have declared that you are

giving 30 per cent subsidy to our shipyards. On the contrary, South Korea is giving 40 per cent subsidy to the ships. The Cochin shipyard is ship building yard. But, it is now working as a repairing yard.

Thousands of youngsters will get employment. The Government has no intention to do all this. Everything is being privatised. They are going to privatise Telecom. There was a review of the functioning of the Mahangar Telephone Nigam Limited in Delhi and Bombay. Will they place it before the Parliament and discuss it and then see whether they should do so in for privatisation or not? The result is very bad. Our Dot centres are functioning much better than in Delhi and Bombay. This is the situation. They are now trying to form four corporations without having a review of the previous thing.

What about the Postal Wing? The Social Audit Panel in the Telecom has already commented that the Finance Ministry is taking a step-motherly attitude towards the Postal Department. The agency services are not properly paid. This is a common man's service. The E.D. workers who constitute over fifty per cent of the postal employees, are paid meagerly. I am not going into the details since the time is short. It is no wonder that you are not able to withstand the pressure of U.S. imperialism. The Government is very mild in dealing with the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's repeated statements about Jammu and Kashmir. To him, Kashmir is a disputed territory. In his speech before the U.S. Assembly, he did not keep it a secret. He did not contain his anger against India for not signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They are very much concerned about the infringement of the human rights. I am not going into the details of their support to Chiang-kai-Sheikh, Marcos and so on. What was happening there? They are very much concerned about human

rights but even Mrs. Bhutto who pledges to fight till Kashmir becomes a part of Pakistan, thought it wise to remain tight-lipped on Punjab. But Mr. Bill Clinton could not control himself. The U.S. multi-mafia has an ulterior motive against India and China, the Asian gainsts, coming together which will be a formidable force in the world. They want to establish an independent Kashmir. Government of India is not seeing the real intention of the US Imperailism. We should catergorically tell them that we are not going to be cowed-down and that Kashmir is a part and parcel of India. But the Kashmir question will have to be solved. It is not a law and order question, it is a political issue and, as such, the Government has to tackle it and solve it. But that is not being done. They are caliming that Punjab is now very peaceful. I agree that it is peaceful at present, but will this peace last for a long time? The Rajiv-Longowal Agreement will have to be implemented, otherwise in due course again, things will go. worse. The Government should have the prudence to settle those issues. That is not actually being done. So, on what front has the Government actually solved the problems? Now they have put into the mouth of the President that they find comfort in referring the Ayodhya issue to the Supreme Court..(interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Madam, please conclude now. Your party has been allotted only forty-five minutes and you have already taken thrity minutes. Your party has give a list of three Members. If those three Members have to participate in the debate, then you should conclude now.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN: Is shall conclude within five minutes.

SHRINIRMALKANTHI CHATTERJEE: Sir, I need tell you that time, like universe, is ever expanding.

SHRIMATI SUSSELA GOPALAN: So, sir the Ayodhya issue is referred to the Supreme Court under article 143 of the Constitution and is awaiting their verdict. So, they are complacent about it. But is the decision of the Supreme Court a binding on any body?

I do not know. It could have been referred to the Supreme Court under Article 138 of the Constitution. But that has not been done. The issue is still buning and the Government pretends to be unaware of it. We are actually against both majority and minority communalism. But we consider that majority communalism is more dangerous and more harmful to the country . Minority communalism is harmful to the minorities themselves and to the country, since this gives a handle to the majorities to develop their own communal feelings. But we cannot ignore 165 million minorities in this country and we have to safeguard their interests. Actually, this majority communalism has been helped and abetted byt he Congress party only all the way right from the time of Shri Rajiv Gandhi when the foundatuion stone was laid in Aydohya at the disputed site before 1989 election and started jaths from the disputed site. At that time, he said that it is not on the disputed site. But what is the truth hapeening now? So, the Congress Party has one everthing to help these reactionaries in this country. You have done all these things and even now the Governemnt is not taking a forthight stand on this issue. Actually, our Prime Minister is responsible for the demolition of-the Babri Masjid. Even after the demilition of the Babari Masjid, no lesson is learnt and you are not prepared to take any steps to solve this issue and you are not prepared to act with a stong hand. You want their help, because on economic policies both of you are together. And that is why, you are very much hesitant to take any action agaisnt

[Smt. Susheela Gopalan]

them. Actually, these communal elements in the country are helped, encouraged and developed by the Ruling Party. That has to be stopped.

Now, I will come to the subject of corruption. Corruption in all levels has increased in the country. How have they tackled the Bofors issue? There was a joint Parliamentary Committee on the Bofors issue and it said that there was nothing wrong. But what had happened afterwards? Now, everything is coming out and within a few days we are going to hear everything. In the joint Parliamentary Committee on the Securities Scam, actually the Opposition has compromised on many things, but still an almost unanimous report was brought out. Did you take any action on that report? The joint Parliamentary Committees are becoming meaningless in this country, because you are not taking any action on those reports. What is the use of having the joint Parliamentary Committee if no action is taken on its report, you will never take action and you will try to actually protect the corrupt people.

Likewise, as far as election reforms are concerned, the Goswami Committee Report is not implemented. Actually, election reforms have to be discussed with the opposition parties and we have to come to certain agreements on the Goswami Committee Report. But instead, you do not want any action or are not taking steps.

The Government says that because of our economic policies it has become strong. You say that you were a minority party and now you have become a majority party in the Lok Sabha. But, how did you get that majority? You are encouraging defection and by doing that you have made your party

strong. You are defeating the very purpose of Anti-Defection Law. So, what is the use of it? Corruption in this country is encouraged by the Congress Party and no action is being taken. Now you are encouraging defection and you have spent many crores for encouraging defection. This is the state of affairs.

The President is silent over all these issues. Do not be under the impression that there is no alternative. There is an alternative. In U.P., it has been found. But in other places, because there was danger of BJP area communalists who are harmful to the country, they have noted for Congress. You are asking everybody to support you as if there is no alternative. But the alternative is emerging. The people who are fighting for their rights are emerging. The force is emerging against your economic policy, against your action in the agricultural field. Small peasantry and agricultural workers are losing their jobs. The new agricultural policy is going to harm them. There is export-oriented agricultural policy. What is going to happen in the country. Horticulture is given a very big boost and you are giving more money in that field. What will happen? The cropping pattern of our country is going to be determined by the multinationals and trying to grow a variety of food vegetables, flowers which they want to export to their countries. They cannot grow those vegetables in their countries because of the climatic conditions. What will happen? Wheat and rice will be the casualty. Agricultural workers will lose employment. I am not going into the details because the time is limited.

About land reforms, why did you not do it? Whatever action you do, the benefit is going to the landlords and the rich farmers and not to the poor people and the agricultural workers. You promised a comprehensive legislation for the agricultural workers in the

'80s. Why did not you do it? You have no intention to have a comprehensive programme for the agricultural workers. Some States have done it. You have not taken any step in that direction. Coming to poorer sections, promises will remain as empty promises and those will never be implemented. But those made to the richer people will be implemented by you. This is the policy being pursued by you. We are seeing the danger of unemployment. A lot of people are going to be thrown out of employment and the people will be in great difficulty. But the people will not tolerate. They will fight for their rights and an alternative force will emerge. The Congress Party will be thrown out of power. The democratic forces in the country will unite. The democratic, Left forces will come to power. I have no doubt about that. That is emerging throughout the country.

With these words, I oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address which is far away from the realities.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Smaller Parties always complain that they do not get the chance. But when they are given a chance, they are absent.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: That is true. You also know and you also desire that there should be extension of time for this discussion.

SHRI M. R. KADAMBUR JANARTHANAN (Tirunelveli): Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Motion Thanks to the President's Address.

On behalf of AIADMK, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. But that does not mean that I am

supporting the price rise. We support the President's Address.

I would like to remind this august House that in 1963, when our Anna came out of the jail, he said "We will strengthen the hands of Nehru". Such a feeling has come in 1963. We must remember that.

As rightly mentioned by our President in his Address, 1993 certainly ended on a note of optimism. But this optimism must come true. For this purpose, our Central Government needs great caution in every step that it is going to take henceforward.

As Shri Shiv Vharan Mathurji, who moved the Motion rightly said we must be determined and stubborn about the part India has played in Kashmir right from 1947.

At this point, I must recall to this august House how our political mentor and founder of Anna DMK used to sing in a movie in 1960s that Kashmir is good. He sang in glory of Kashmir and describing how it crowns this ancient land of India. He showed the picture of India to all people in the Southernmost parts of India and told them that Kashmir is the terminus of India. He educated people about Kashmir through the film media. Therefore, we did not come to power all of a sudden, but we used the films media in this poor country through right means and we have come to power. He educated the people through the film media by showing all natural beauties and significant position of Kashmir on the map of India.

As has been mentioned by our President, the grave crisis that arose in Hazratbal shrine was handled by the administration and by the security forces with the cooperation of the people. I underline these words "with the cooperation of the people." The Central Government must be

[Sh. M.R. Kadambur Janarthanam]

aware that without the cooperation of the people living in that area, whatever may be the force, whatever may be the military, whatever may be the law which is built into your hands, we cannot achieve our aims.

Shri Saifuddin Choudhury is not here. Shri Saifuddin Choudhury was on the Kashmir Committee in the Ninth Lok Sabha. He mentioned the same fact in his speech in this House. The Kashmir problem cannot be solved unless the heart of Kashmir people is changed. Kashmir problem can be solved only with the cooperation of the people of Kashmir. It would be the main aim of India.

To show to the world our honesty regarding human rights, we have set up a National Commission on Human Rights with a former Chief Justice as its Chairman. The team includes one former Supreme Court Judge and one former Chief Justice of a High Court. Even after this, if any one in the world, however big he may be, blames us on the pretext of human rights, we should ignore that because the unity of our country and respecting the Indian Constitution is the duty of every Indian living here. Any one who goes against the above two cannot be considered as India. Therefore, regarding human rights, whatever the highest body in the world may say about us, we should not care for it but we should only care for the unity of our country and for the Indian Constitution.

Regarding to Para 30, I congratulate the Central Government, for communication will be further extended in the rural areas. I want to put on record in this House that in the panchayat, there are disputes between the Scheduled Castes and the upper castes. Therefore, the Ministry must take care to see the telephones are placed in Post Offices or panchayats so that even ordinary people can use them. There is trouble in my

Constituency, there is rebellion, as it were, about this. Therefore, I must congratulate the Government for coming forward to give these facilities. But, at the same time, facilities should be given for the poor also.

Regarding agricultural export policy, I have but to refer in this place that though our export policy has increased yet cotton export and import policy has tumbled within one month. We announced about the export of cotton in the month of December and in the month of January we announced about the import of cotton. It leads us to speculation and spoils both the industry and growers. Therefore, there must be coordination between the Cotton Advisory Board and the Cotton Textiles industry in estimating the cotton crop. The old method of estimating cotton crop in the month of September will be a totally wrong thing. Therefore, the first estimation about the acreage should be done in September and the yield of Kapas or Cotton should be again estimated in the month of November. Then Only we can get the actual figures of how much acreage of cotton India can produce. If we merely take the September estimate and calculate the acreage, it will be like counting the chicken before it is hatched. I put my idea that our Government has tumbled a lot in respect of cotton export and import policy. Price has gone up to the highest peak and in the month of June July, the cloth price will be double as compared to what it was in 1993. That is the position. Therefore, the Government must take proper care about this.

Coming to para 15, it says:

Global investors have shown growing confidence in the Indian market."

Well and good. It is further stated:

"Direct Foreign Investment approved since the inception of the new Industrial Policy till the end of 1993 is now

approximately Rs. 13,000 crores in terms of equity. The total investment in these projects is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 65,000 crores. The significant point of this investment is that the bulk of this, is proposed in sectors like power...."

I want to know from this Government there were 73 proposals - how many proposals have been cleared. So far, not even a single proposal has been cleared. Day before yesterday, in the Sunday Times of India dated 27th February, there was a news item based on the World's Council Study saying:

"Asia-Pacific region will increase the hunger for energy. Energy will be a major factor in the geo-political changes in the coming years. Dr. Gerard Ott, Chairman of the Council observed speaking in the seminar, "Long range vision for energy management". Confederation of Indian Industry that country would account for 70 per cent."

What has his Government done for the energy? Our Chief Minister has done work in Jayagundam and Neyveli projects. I thank the hon. Minister Shri Thangkabalu for supporting that. But what about Jayagundam project? Why has the Central Government not cleared it? Tamil Nadu Government is leading in passing every project. About the energy production, we have no hydal resources, no coal resources. In spite of that we have started the Neveli project which your Government supported. About the Basin Bridge we are going to take the position. We are putting so many plants about energy. It is very nice to read about it. But the significant point is that the bulk of this proposal is in the sector of power. But in 1994 you have not cleared even a single project. Then how are you going to meet the target by 2000? I do not know about it.

Regarding para 37, I must tell the sugust House one thing. Paswanji is not here. It is started here:

"The work relating to the publication of the works of Baba Sahab Ambedkar in regional languages was taken forward and two volumes each were brought out in Hindi, Tamil and Gujarati, with the work in the other languages proceeding well."

I am glad to find these lines in the Presidential Address. But at the same time, this august House must know that the name of Dr. Ambedkar is ringing in the areas of Tamil Nadu people by naming the district and transport corporation in his name.

There is Admbedkar Transport Corporation running in three districts of Tamil Nadu, Ambedkar statues are there in Tamil Nadu, in Maharashtra, my friends are sitting here, the same thing is not being done and recently there was a fight over the renaming of an University. The Tamilians have done it because of Periyar, Anna and MGR. We are secular and there is a casteless society in Tamil Nadu. I am really pleased to read these few lines from the President's Address.

With regard to employment, it was stated in the President Address that 'to provide sustained employment to the educated urban youth in micro enterprises, a Rozgar Yojana has been launched. "The statistics were given there. Only in our country, there are educated unemployed. Even after graduating with M.A. M.Phil for M.S., degrees, they are unemployed. So, employment should follow simultaneously when one completes one's education. Educated youth are running from pillar to pillar for employment. It is a crawling disease which will poison the minds of our youth. You are trying to provide employment to about 20,000 educated unemployed by giving some

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assistance from the Prime Minister's special funds. But that is not useful. Our education system should be such that after finishing the education, our youth must be able to create employment and such knowledge should be imparted to the youngsters and then only this country will prosper. By merely giving a few lakhs of rupees to a few people for employment, this country will not prosper. Therefore, our education system should be such that after finishing the education, the youth should be able to create employment and they must be able to live by themselves. That kind of a new education system should be there in our country.

Lastly, I will come to the foreign policy. It has stated in the President's Address that our relations with Sri Lanka recorded a good progress and they are cordial. What is this? We are very sorry to say that Tamil Nadu fishermen are dying on alternate days. What is the meaning of their saying in this Address that we have cordial relations with Sri Lanka? What about those Tamilians who are fishing in the sea for their daily food and who are dying on alternate days in the shooting carried out by the Lankan Navy or somebody else? Our Chief Minister is making continuous plea to the Prime Minister, but here they remain on paper only. Several lives are being lost there. It is worst than Punjab situation; it is worst than Kashmir situation. If you do not pay attention to the matter concerning Palk Strait, it will become a dangerous thing for India. [Interruptions]

I am talking about the Tamilian people. I do not know whether the Tamilians who are dying are Congressmen or Communists.

Sir, during Nehru's time, there was a danger from China; there is another danger from Pakistan. And there is this third danger

in Palk Strait, near Tamil Nadu. Our fishermen are dying daily. Please do not take it easily. Please do not put it in this Address that our relations with Sri Lanka are cordial.

As a Member of Parliament of Tamil Nadu, as a student of M.G.R. and Puratchi Thalaivi, I am saying that the Government must pay full attention to it and it should be stopped immediately. The voice of our Chief Minister should not go in waste or in the air.

We, on behalf of the AIADMK, support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Address delivered by the hon. President of India to the Parliament on 21st February in his great oratorical style was the most unlively one in the history of the Parliament. The Government in the Address covered its achievements. I was thinking a few announcements will be made through it. It is really painful that in the Address no mention has been made of the Motion passed two and a half years ago by the Uttar Pradesh Government headed by Shri Kalyan Singh regarding the formation of a separate Uttaranchal State. Therefore, I cannot support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address because the people's aspirations have not been reflected in this Address.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to highlight the deeds of this incompetent Government regarding Jammu and Kashmir. At the time of the elections to the five Assemblies the Hazzatbal Mosque drama was daily given wide coverage. Newspapers were daily reporting that in the face of the siege of Hazratbal Mosque by the Army and cutting off of ration and water supplies the beneagured militants were willing to

surrender. However, the incompetent Government at the Centre instead of appreciating the good work done by the Army, sent to the militants Biryani and restored water and power supplies to demoralise the Army. As a result of this the foreign based militants started frequenting the country and a nexus developed between the militants with in the country and the infiltrators. Subsequently the conditions started deteriorating in Kashmir.

17.23 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the chair.

The most unfortunate part is that the militants and intruders who were to be punished and put behind the bars were given warm send off from the country. On the one hand, the militants were supplied 'Biryani' and on the other hand lakhs of Hindus and some Muslims were forced to leave the Kashmir valley as they could not live with honour there. Lakhs of Hindus, known as Kashmiri Pandits, are living as refugees here. These refugees did not have clothes for protection from the vagaries of the nature nor food to eat and the Government employees from Kashmir even did not get salaries. These refugees did not get timely ration against the ration cards nor firewood. Only God knows how these refugees are leading their lives? Their plight is beyond description but the Government is not concerned about it. The policy of the Government is to supply 'Biryani' to the militants and to starve the patriotic persons.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Army should be given a free hand but instead the security forces are being demoralised. Earlier the Minister of Home Affairs was looking after Kashmir Affairs but then the hon. Prime Minister thought that probably he has become too old and therefore appointed a young dynamic pilot to look after Kashmir.

The hon. Prime Minister might have thought that the Pilot will cool down the whole situation with sheer zeal. Thus, Shri Rajesh Pilot was appointed as Minister of State in the Home Ministry with special charge of Kashmir Affairs. However, the situation has deteriorated further since Shri Pilot took over the charge. During each visit of Shri Pilot there have been Skirmishes between the security forces and the militants and there have been heavy casualties among security forces. Militants fired upon his entourage every time and security personnel continued to lay down their lives. However, when attempts were made by the security forces to apprehend the traitors and militants then in the name of the human rights the whole exercise was suspended. For whom are these human rights? There is no punishment for the people killing the patriots and those who are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the country. However, these so-called secularists and human rights activists never talk about the human rights of the people who were forced to leave their home and hearth, whose temples were destroyed and whose women were outraged. They only talk about the human rights of the traitors and the militants. Can the foreigners help these people in getting their human rights? This Government is totally incompetent and its policies are also totally wrong. That's why we cannot appreciate such a poor Address and nor can we support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address.

Sir, I would like to make one more submission. The cardinal reason for the Kashmir problem is the nexus between the Congress Party and the National Conference. This nexus gave birth to militancy and anti-nationalism. That is making matters worse. Earlier the Governments in Kashmir were dislodged frequently. In place of Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Shri G.M. Shah was installed as the Chief

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Minister. Democracy was massacred by these people and the Governor was forced to misutilise his powers. However, the Governor was honest and he proclaimed to fight the militants, provide security to the citizens and also to work within the framework of law. Therefore, the then Governor was criticised and replaced. Now the present Governor is also being criticised and will be replaced. How long will these experiments continue in Kashmir? Kashmir is an integral part of India. Kashmir is the crown of India and is a holy place for us. The holy shrine of Amarnath in Kashmir is no less than the Mecca-Madina for the Hindus. For how long will Kashmir problem remain unresolved and the State continue to be neglected? The Hon. Prime Minister is not present in the House but the other Ministers are present here. Parliament has conferred upon the Government unbridled powers and therefore let these Ministers muster enough courage and say that they can now free the Pak-occupied Kashmir. Let the Government on 15th August announce that the Pak-occupied Kashmir has been freed and the Indian Flag has been hoisted in the whole of Kashmir. However, I do not think the Government has got guts. The BJP leaders flew into the valley and hoisted the Indians Flag there, but the Hon. Prime Minister cannot think of hoisting the flag even in his dream. The day the Government is able to hoist the Tricolour in the valley fearlessly, things will start improving in the country. Alright, dream tonight itself.

Sir, all these problems could be solved. Soon after Independence the then Prime Minister who is repeatedly quoted, in this very House had stated that 'Article 370' is a temporary provision, and it will be repealed at an opportune time. I would like to know when this opportune time will come? Though 45 years have elapsed since the constitution

came into force yet that opportune time is nowhere in sight even when the country is continuously drifting towards destruction. Therefore, I would like to urge upon the Government to develop will power to repeal Article 370. Unless Article 370 is repealed the country will not prosper.

Although assurances given here time and again, yet army cantonment has not been made at Bhadravash in Jammu and Kashmir inspite of the fact that the scheme to this effect had been chalked out a long time ago. Unless army cantonment is made there, it would not be easy to control the terrorists. My submission to you is that this scheme should be implemented at the earliest. Hired soldiers will never deliver the goods as they never fight with true spirit. Only those soldiers fight with true spirit who have love and respect for their country. Pakistan is sending these militants and it must be given an appropriate reply. Once Banazir Bhutto had said that Pakistan is incomplete without Srinagar. I would like you to tell her that India's map is incomplete without Lahore, Karachi and the whole Pakistan. You must have the courage to do so. It appears that the hon. Minister is perhaps thinking about sugar, therefore I would like to express my views in this regard.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, policy of liberalization is being adopted with regard to sugar and that is why it has become sour from the day the hon. Minister assumed the charge of this department. [Interruptions] It is not my observation; an hon. Member of his own party has said that sugar has turned sour because of molasses. My submission is that if the Government want the country to become self-reliant in sugar and attain a situation whereby the country can export sugar, then the condition of getting license for agricultural products will have to be fitted. What is happening today? The Government

has laid a condition of getting licence for setting up a sugar mill. If a person wants to set up a sugar mill, he cannot do so without bowing his head before the Government, because otherwise he won't get a licence. But the worst part of it is that we have to import the oil required for running the machine as also their spare parts. How ironical it is that car has been de-licenced whereas licence system is very much there with regard to agricultural products. What type of liberalisation policy is it? Why sugarcane mills are not de-licenced? There is not the question of capacity only, permission must be given for setting up a sugar mill wherever it is required and useful. President's Address is silent about this.

After going through and listening to the Budget speech yesterday it appeared as if the industry would be finished in this country. Custom duty has been reduced on a large number of items due to which commodities will be imported at large scale and the indigenous industries would be closed, thus giving rise to more and more unemployment. When people are unemployed, idle and have no food to eat, they may take up weapons and damage even this Parliament. Therefore, those who are unemployed should be given employment. Setting up multinationals in the country would not provide employment. In these companies, 100 or 3000 people at the most, may get employment. This country has population of 80 crores and several crores of them are unemployed. Instead of giving employment to them, the Government is rather snatching employment from them. So much so that even the small and medium fertilizer industries are on the verge of closure.

There is an IFFCO industrial unit in my constituency. I had approached the unit to provide employment to land losers. But the concerned MD pointed out that another

system was being followed there. A multinational company was proposed to be opened near somewhere in which about 300 workers would be sufficient. Therefore the Board of Directors had decided to retrench 500 people. After all who is to look into all these matters?

The Government is helpless because it has decided to sign the Dunkel Proposals. But if they do so, they will have to bow before them because they have to repay the debt. Members from this said say that Dunkel Draft is very dangerous and that the Government should not sign it. Even the congressmen when meet personally say that it is very dangerous and that we should not sign it.

A few days ago the hon. Minister of agriculture had also said that he would oppose Dunkel Proposals with all his might. I enquired him about it because the draft is proposed to be signed on the 15th April. People ask me whether there are persons in the Congress Party who have been unable to understand the impact of Dunkel Proposals. I tell them that they did understand everything but their condition was similar to that of a debtor who goes to bring medicine for his son and his master from whom he has taken loan wants himself to be served first and threatens him that if he did not do so, he will have to return the money by the same evening. Ultimately the debtor has to serve his master first. Similar is condition of the congress party. They have already taken so much loan that they cannot question the World Bank because in that condition the World Bank will ask for the payment of Rs. 2 Lakh 80 thousand crores or else sign the document. Let the people of this country suffer, it does not matter, because they are the master. Since the Government cannot pay the loan, they are willing to let Indians die....[Interruptions]

[Sh. Rajvir Singh]

SHRI UMRAO SINGH: How do you say this?

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: Our friends have wrong notions about Dunkel Proposals. We are unfortunate that Dunkel Proposals are proposed to be implemented in this country, whereas agricultural policy has yet not been formulated. We are still at the stage of preparing its draft. Today, Dunkel Proposals are causing problem in the formulation of agricultural policy.

I am one of the members of the Agricultural standing committee. A debate is going on there that Dunkel Proposals are a hindrance in many respects. Proper agricultural policy is not being formulated. It is the bad luck of the country that industrial policy has been formulated but not the agricultural policy. Unless a balanced agricultural policy is formulated, welfare of the country would not be possible. Unless welfare of farmer is done, welfare of the country would not be possible.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA : Are you satisfied with the industrial policy?

Shri Rajveer: Whether it is good or bad, at least a policy is there. But here we have nothing. About two years ago an announcement was made in the President's Address for the expansion of IFFCO. Almost three years have passed since then. This matter has been hanging in fire in one committee or the other. Recently the proposal has been given green signal. However, the work to this effect has not started so far. We are thinking of importing fertilizers and not increasing the capacity of the industries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would take very little time. Now I would like to discuss Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. Funds for this purpose have been curtailed. Yesterday, I

listened to the complete Budget speech. Thereafter I read it at home also. I had expected that farmers will be given some benefits, but they have given nothing. Multinationals have certainly got a lot of concessions. Customs duty has been reduced.

SHRI UMRAO SINGH: Subsidy has been given on fertilizers.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: The hon. Member is not aware.....[Interruptions] .. When he gets his turn he may speak in favour of Dunkel Proposals. I would have no objection in this regard. But he should first listen to me. He does not understand the correct thing I am speaking.....[Interruptions]...If we come to that side, it would not be due to his blessing.

Now I would like to draw the attention of the august House to a serious matter. The President referred to in his Address and the hon. Prime Minister announced from the rampart of the Red fort that a sum of Rs. 1 lakh would be allocated for the implementation of self employment scheme. I would like to read out a few lines from the speech.

An employment scheme has been implemented to provide permanent employment to the educated urban youth in the small scale industries. Up till now, about 1 lakh 95 thousand applications have been received from the youth from various states out of which 41,275 applications have been considered so far.

Out of the total 1 lakh 95 thousand applications, 41 thousand 275 have been considered. What is more shameful is that loan for only two thousand applicants has been recommended but it has not been provided to them so far. What type of joke is this? Have elections been announced? They

have not been given loan because they are poor and have no money to pay commission fee to the concerned bank manager. Now, the hon. Minister won't understand because it concerns the commission fee. About 5 crore people are unemployed and if two thousand people on an average are given employment every year, unemployment would not be eradicated by the 21st century because unemployment would also increase at the same rate. What the Government is doing? It is nothing but a mockery of the people. They are distributing a sum of one lakh rupees, but for what purpose? Is it for helping them to set up self employment? Which industry can be set up with a meagre amount of one lakh rupees...[Interruptions] They are saying that it is to help them pay commission fee. The problem is that since the present Government came in power there have been scams everywhere - Bofors at one place and bank scam at the other.

They have announced to spread a net work of communication system all over the country and telephone connection will be given in every village. They have talked of giving telephone connections to the village-heads. They have set up poles, antennas but neither battery nor machines have been provided. Thousands of rupees have been wasted without any result. The communications Minister says that all the villages will be linked by telephones but nothing has been done so far.

They have talked of education but we were very disappointed with their speech because it does not say that a primary school would be constructed in each village. It is distressing that even after 45 years of independence the rural children in rural areas are illiterate, there is no arrangement for education of children in villages and schools have not been provided in all villages. We cannot expect more than that

from this Government. It is very shameful.

A mention of china has been made in this context. I do not want to say much about it because we are very friendly with China these days but I would like to say one thing that there is no mention in the President Address that we will take back the areas occupied by China during war in 1962. There is no mention of Sia-Chen whether we will recapture it or take it back. I would like to tell the Government through you that our areas which have been occupied by other countries should be taken back.

Lastly, I would like to draw your attention to another danger. We are having a cultural assault in this country through the electronic media. Mr. Murdock who recently visited India said during one of his talks that he did not let his children watch the programmes that they made for the TV. This is what he has said. He does not let his children watch those programmes but he is showing absence scenes to our children. You cannot see the programmes of Zee TV or Star TV with your families. I am pained to say that not to talk of a foreign TV Channel, unfortunately we cannot even watch the programmes being shown on Doordarshan and Metro TV channel the way they have been showing English movies and programmes. This is a cultural invasion. We are having political invasion, cultural invasion and economic invasion but our good-for-nothing government is unable to stop such invasion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I urge upon you to prevail upon the Government to make sure that either they improve the situation or tender their resignation and free our country. They are in a very typical situation. It is like this:

"Yavatjivetsukham jeevet, rinam kritwa ghitam peevet,

{Sh. Rajvir Singh}

Bhasmi bhootasya dehasya
punragamano kutah"

They will live luxuriously till the last and afford luxuries by the virtue of borrowings. This is what they say:

"Karana hai to kuchch kar ja aur karja lekar mar ja"

They will die but we will have to pay back their loans taken by them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with these words, I thank you for giving me time to speak and conclude.

[English]

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (CHANDIGARH): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address besides giving a fair account of milestones covered by the Government in various fields manifests the Government's determination to carry forward relentlessly numerous measures adopted to improve the quality of life of an average Indian. Sir, in an ambience of widely prevalent chaos and lack of self-confidence that permeated the national thought when the present Government took over it was a daunting task, particularly as a minority Government to rebuild brick by brick institutions that lay shattered, rejuvenate the economy that was in a shambles and regain the prestige in the comity of nations that was at its lowest ebb then.

It was sheer determination and strong will of the Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao that he set about to face the task that destiny cast on him, answering and unruffled by innumerable impediments, both natural and contrived and the spate of No-

Confidence or Adjournment Motions in Parliament intended to demoralize the Government.

In June 1991, there was a frightening question mark mocking at us about the future of India. A resolute endeavour was steadily transforming it into a ray of hope when suddenly, a cataclysmic event on 6th December, 1992 threw the nation in the throes of communal frenzy and turmoli; that was the time when a mob of rampaging anti-socials masquerading as religious kar sewaks demolished a centuries old mosque at Ayodhya. With the fall of the mosque, dangers of equating democracy with the tyranny of groups asserting or claiming to act on behalf of religious majorities became real. By perpetrating an outrage in the name of religion, the self-professed conscience keepers of our nation, outraged the very Hindu dharma, they swear by.

This cast a telling impact not only on India's honour but also on economy. Clouds of uncertainty suddenly hovered over the economic reforms that had been initiated assiduously by the present Government. Foreign investors grew doubtful about the advisability of investing in a country which was in the whirlpool of communal unrest.

It was with this uncertain and unflattering prospects what we entered the year under review. But, today, if we look back to the past one year, if we look back to the achievements of the Government; we can do legitimately with a sense of genuine satisfaction.

The deliberate and concerted action of forces from within and across the borders to destabilize the country, only strengthened the resolve of the Prime Minister to fight back with greater vigour. The people also extended support in ample measure. The Congress returned to power in Madhya

Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh and improved the position perceptibly in Rajasthan. The verdict of the people in those elections ratified the dismissal of BJP, Government that had supported the communal orgy at Ayodhya.

When an unprincipled and desperate attempt was made in the Lok Sabha to dislodge the Government unmindful of the baneful consequences that such a move could reap on the nation, a good number of our friends on the other side saw hope in the country's future only with the Congress assigned the responsibility of running the Government. They decided to join it in its resolve to fight communal forces and to rejuvenate the economy.

I was not surprised when I found Shri Jaswant Singh and various other hon. Members of this House jeering at this development, because it is my belief and it is the common knowledge of the people of this country that it has frustrated their overflowing ambition to capture power, a mirage of which had made his fellow travellers in BJP overbearing in their public conduct.

Sir, smugly, taking the people for granted, slogans had been coined announcing and heralding their victory march to Delhi. That victory march has proved an illusion for them. But in the process, we all know, they earned a the wrath of Lord Rama himself because they dragged Him from the holy temples to their political rath yatras.

When many Members of this House, seeing ominous portents in the games which the BJP chose to play and the state of terminal atrophy which then gripped the non-BJP Opposition, joined the Congress by rising to the occasion and pledging to fight communalism and bigotry. They saw the

only hope for launching that struggle from the Congress turf. This bold decision understandably makes our friends jittery on the other side.

The law relating to defection, I would urge the House to recollect, was passed and incorporated in the Constitution after a rare unanimity demonstrated by all sections of Members in this House and shades of public opinion outside. There was a unanimity about the details thereof and certain provisions which were objected to by various leaders from opposition were deleted by our Leader late Shri Rajiv Gandhi. To accept the basic difference of opinion as the essence of democracy, withdrawal of members equivalent to one-third of the total membership of that particular political party in that Parliament or the State Legislature was accepted as a split in the party and was taken beyond the scope of defection.

It is amusing today that those who advocated immunity for splits as an essential safeguard against the possible tyranny of party-leaderships are today invoking choicest expressions to denigrate a constitutionally just and legitimate political development. Needless for me to say that while BJP's megalomania is ruptured, the emaciated Janata Dal which owes its present existence to a politically meretricious relationship faces total extinction and the Left melange finds itself lost in dark woods with its source of sustenance drying up completely.

Today, with Congress attaining majority in this House, these reckless moves which we have witnessed over the last two and a half years and which gave our friends on the other side some false hopes, have been given a befitting burial and subsequent events have started yielding results.

The Prime Minister's recent visit to

[Sh. Pawan Kumar Bansal]

Germany and Davos in Switzerland was a resounding success. With the brightening up of the investment climate in our country, offers for economic tie-ups are pouring the faster than ever before. The Government on its part has made it abundantly clear that the changes underway do not and will not tinker with the basic postulates of a mixed economy and that none in the country would be adversely affected thereby.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: How long will you take?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I will take ten minutes more.

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (MURSHIDABAD): Let him complete his speech.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: O.K. you may please complete your speech.

18.00 hrs.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: The fears expressed on behalf of the workers by some leaders seem to be only simulated for political purposes. All measures are rather intended to create greater opportunities for the people to improve their living conditions.

The Budget for the year 1994-95 presented yesterday to Parliament is yet another expression of the determination to revitalise the economy. It has proved wrong the prophets of doom and imparted a new vitality to the people's confidence in the future.

Shri Rajveer Singh was referring to certain figures to point out or to rather make

a mockery of the various schemes launched recently to improve the living conditions of the people to make the benefits of independence available to the poorest of the poor in the country and some figures were being doled out to allege that enough has not been done. I would only urge him to once again go through the Economic Survey, go through the budgetary proposals, go through the allocations made for those schemes and see for himself how things are moving. That, I am sure, would give him a sort of feeling that what in fact he alleged here, for the sake of trying to find something wrong with the Government has no substance, has no base.

A natural outcome of the sober and mature leadership provided to the country by Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao, has been that our stock has risen in the international community. Our position that Kashmir is an integral part of India is once again appreciated by a very large number of countries and Pakistan's efforts to take up the matter at every international meet have been tactfully stymied and defeated.

The President has unequivocally expressed our feelings on the issue as also our determination to safeguard the integrity of the nation and our preparedness to meet any challenge. When we say so, we, at the same time, do wish to express a feeling of a most cordial relations with the people of Pakistan, with whom we have shared centuries of oneness, with whom we have much in common and I do want to differ with Shri Rajveer Singh when he wants our Government to tell Shrimati Benazir Bhutto that India is incomplete without Lahore. We, a preponderant majority of the people in the country have accepted the partition as a matter of fact and it is from there that we want to begin by building bridges of friendship and if at all we keep raking up issues like the one Shri Rajveer Singh rakes up today, I am

afraid, our stock will not be what it is in the comity of nations today and we will be on the verge of a perpetual war with Pakistan which none in our country can afford, which we cannot afford, for the ultimate good of the people of this country. For, ultimately raising the standard of the people of our country and providing them the basic needs, when they suffer from illiteracy, disease and from hunger. These are our national priorities and our priority is not to rake up a war with Pakistan.

I hope our friends on the BJP side would know what our priorities are. Shri Rajveer Singh was referring to China. Perhaps he was ridiculing our efforts to build up bridges with China, forgetting very much that when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as the External Affairs Minister of India visited China what treatment was meted out to him. I am sure he would remember it. I do not know whether Shri Rajveer Singh knows of it. But I am sure that Shri Vajpayee remembers that.

In today's world, the USA is seen to be acting as an international policeman. When many Third World countries have succumbed to its pressures and arm-twisting, we here have successfully thwarted their designs to browbeat this country. We held our ground firmly on issues like Kashmir, Non-proliferation Treaty and the need to expand the United Nations Security Council.

America's decadence is clearly reflected by the drug trafficking accepted to play a havoc with the lives of the people elsewhere. Their scant respect for morality in international behaviour is gauged from the fact that one day Pakistan is being threatened to be declared as a terrorist State and the next day, the case of Pakistan is being espoused by the United States as a champion of human rights in our country.

Sir, as a true inheritor of Indian ethos and human values, our Government attaches the highest importance to human rights. I do not know what Shri Rajveer Singh read into the setting up of Human Rights Commission by the Central Government, which has retired Chief Justice as its member
[Interruptions]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (HAMIRPUR): He has not mentioned about that
(Interruptions)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: You have not remembered what he has said.

[Translation]

You may remember he had said that outsiders will come and reach us about human rights. He was referring to what was happening in Kashmir. He does not know about the proposals and policies of the Government in regard to Kashmir. It seems he was opposing for the sake of opposition.

[English]

So, that is precisely what I was saying
[Interruptions]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: He was pointing out the same point, which you are rising, that USA is acting like a policeman today. That is what he was objecting to.
(Interruptions)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: He was just oblivious of the steps taken by the Government in meeting the situation that arose (Interruptions)

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: He was not. You are preoccupied with his mind
(Interruptions)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
Please go through it again.

With the utmost humility at my command, I would say that the compulsive and inexorable critics revel in their game of cavil and the diatribe goes on.

Sir, duplicity seems to be fast catching up with some of us. And, unfortunately, this seems to be the hallmark of the BJP. Clinging to the husk of religion, the BJP and their allied organisations have inflicted a severe blow to the country's cultural heritage and timeless pluralistic tradition. Yet, they continued to proclaim themselves as a champion of such values. Sir, this is the irony of democracy. But the people have begun to see that.

Terrorism and challenge of secessionism have been met remarkably in Punjab and the Government is determined to fight it resolutely in any part of the country. The President has rightly mentioned the situation in Manipur. Shri Jaswant Singhji picked up a statement from the President's Address to cast doubts about the situation improving there. Sir, intervening in the debate today, he referred to the emotional gap between the people of the North East and the rest of the country. But, at the same time, he forgot, and perhaps wants us to forget, that it is the continuous insistence on the communal ideology of the BJP which has injected a sort of fear and apprehension in the minds of the people of the North East. If honestly we were to go in for some sort of introspection and to also ensure that the people of the North East continue always to have a feeling of oneness with the rest of the country, it is such feelings, it is such ideologies that we have to give up. With the uttermost respect, I want to say that.

Sir, both Shri Jaswant Singh and Shri Rajveer Singh often made references to the situation in Kashmir and the Hazratbal incident. Donning the robes of a prosecutor, Shri Jaswant Singh has charged the Government - he was emphatic on using the word 'charge' again and again - for not raiding the Hazratbal shrine.

The tact and patience with which the Government dealt with the issue has been applauded all over the world and who can deny the perceptible improvement in the situation thereafter. But it causes agony to our friends there - I am sorry to say that most of them are not here in the House today - it causes agony to our friends in the BJP because it has deprived them of an opportunity to bake its political cake on the fires of communal frenzy. Shri Jaswant Singh finds an enormous damage being done to the polity because of the Hazratbal incident. He charges the Government with the offence of maintaining and preserving secrecy about the essential matters concerning the issue. I am a votary of strengthening Parliamentary control over the functioning of Government. I am for bringing about a transparency in the functioning of the Government. But, this cannot and must not be extended beyond a point. That would harm the ultimate interest of the nation itself. It is not for scoring a debating point that I wish to again refer to what Shri Rajbir Singh has said about hoisting of the national flag at Srinagar. But I do want to remind him that it was with abundant fanfare that his leader, Shri M.M. Joshi, then undertook a yatra to Srinagar to hoist a national flag there saying that the Government had failed to do so and he would perform the function which was in fact a governmental function. From here to Jammu they did proceed. At Jammu, they knew that they could not proceed further.

But, it was the Government of Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao which felt that if a leader of a Opposition Party wishes to go to any part of the country to unfurl the national flag, all the facilities, all the security arrangements have got to be made for them. It was in a helicopter that he along with only a few friends went to Srinagar. If you see the photograph of his unfurling the flag at Srinagar you will find it is not that he looks upto the flag. His eyes are wandering around to see as if there is no gun pointing at him. That is the bravery of the BJP which they want to instil here.

[Translation]

SHRI VIRENDRA SINGH (MIRZAPUR): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it was a matter of courage of their part that they went there. Whether Government can provide security to any leader or citizen? The question is not that Mr. Joshi was looking around to see that there was no gun. It would have given a good message if you had talked of unity and integrity and had visited Jammu. You said that Joshiji was looking around to see if there was a gun. It is a weakness on your part that a citizen had to see around if there was a gun. Had the facts been known to you, you would not have raised this question.

[English]

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, a reference is often made and a demand is often raised to repeal Article 370 of the Constitution of India. Sir, we all know the circumstances that prevailed; the situation that engulfed the country when the tribals raided Kashmir and help came from India and the Treaty of Accession was signed. I do not claim to have any special knowledge of law. But, I wish our friends on the other side to really go into the archives to go into the

records. I am sure that they would come to an honest conclusion that it is Article 370, in fact, which is keeping Kashmir as a part of India.

Sir, I do not mean it to cast aspersions on anybody, but when I hear my friends raising that question again and again, I rather get some doubt in my mind whether they are really sincere to ensure that Kashmir remains an integral part of India or it is only that they want to score a debating point. Their ambition to rule about is as I said earlier, of course a mirage. It is confined to the Hindi heartland and they could not take careless for rest of the country. That is the charge which I level against the Members of the B.J.P. today. They do not really wish to see India as it is today and it is precisely for this that they are making those inflammatory remarks and uttering those words which would only help in provoking others to say things assume things against us.

Sir, to conclude, I would again refer to what Shri Rajvirji has said and Shri Dhurnal may correct me if I am mistaken. He referred to the cultural invasion. I agree with him to that extent the latest advancement in science and technology and the latest innovations in the field of communications have, in fact, made the world shrink. It was precisely to ensure that we continue to provide programmes for the succeeding generations for the youngsters of impressionable minds which aim at opening a window for them to our hoary past. It was precisely for that purpose that a Bill to regulate the cable networks in the country was brought before this House. I would not refer in detail to the proceedings of the Standing Committee on the subject. It was our friends on the B.J.P. who raised all sorts of objections against the various provisions of the Bill. Is it not the duplicity which I was referring to earlier?

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. Is it correct to make references to what had happened inside the Standing Committee in this manner?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, before you reply to that, I would, with all humility, only repeat what I once said about my learned senior colleague. His intellectual power is great. I acknowledge that. But his opinion of himself is greater and sometimes that tends to overtake the former. I did not quote from the proceedings at all. I said, "if you go through the proceedings, you will find that our friends on the B.J.P. side who raised all sorts of objections to the various provisions in the Bill." Now, those proceedings are the property of the House, having been reduced in the form of a report duly presented to this House.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: Sir, I thank him very much for the kind of complimentary and non-complimentary references to me. The point is, he is referring to partywise functioning inside the Standing Committee and that is what he is bringing before the House. Is that permitted? And I also want to know whether the proceedings or the minutes are in that form.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, I, with your permission, would show him the proceedings.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please leave the point.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir,

today we have charted a course which is intended to take India to the forefront of international community and our confidence, our faith in doing so emanates from our meeting change with continuity. We are proud of our past and have implicit faith in the future. We believe in honouring difference of opinion. We believe that national issues should be addressed to a spirit of understanding and cooperation.

Sir, if it is narrow political considerations which dominate our thinking on every score, I am afraid certain goals which we wish to achieve may not become unachievable, but our struggle in achieving those could become a little arduous one.

If it becomes arduous, the Government headed by Shri Narasimha Rao Ji would remain undeterred, would remain unflinching in its determination to achieve those goals. But I would only request our hon. friends that we have many occasions when those differences of opinion could be expressed. But there are certain issues like the issue of Kashmir on which we have to have a sort of unanimity. If we charge the Government of not leaking out secret vital to the defence of the country, secret vital for carrying out investigation into the matter, I am sure, we will not be doing service to the country, irrespective of what would be the outcome of that exercise.

With this appeal to the Opposition, I do feel it my privilege to support the Motion moved by Shri Mathurji to thank the President of India for his Address to both the Houses of Parliament.