

[Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai]

Hindu Parishad, by presenting the holy water of the Ganges....(*Interruptions*).

SHRIL.K.ADVANI: I am not prepared to hear anything about secularism at least from such a Party which had announced in its manifesto in Mizoram that if their Party comes to power and forms the Government in that State it will act on the principles of Bible. It is not the speech of a particular individual but election manifesto of a party. I can show you that and I will bring it next time. When I had showed that manifesto to S. Buta Singh, he said that they had to say so to give some reply to what Shri Laldenga was saying there. Therefore the Congress party had mentioned in its manifesto that if their party comes to power, it will function on the principles of the Bible.(*Interruptions*)

As I said at the very outset that I did not intend to say much except that I welcome this Government. They have given a right direction to this country and have brought in the resolution that in the past the Government institutions have been weakened and degenerated. One such example is that of the Parliament. I remember that during the period of Emergency i.e. between 1975 and 1977, a number of laws had been enacted of which some were against the Press, some against the Opposition parties, and the citizens and a number of them were against the judiciary. But even in those days, not a single law was enacted against the Parliament. However with the introduction of the Commission of Enquiry Amendment Act in the Parliament Rajiv Government took the credit of depriving the Members of Parliament of their rights provided under the Constitution. They just provided it under the act that when the Government will like ...(*Interruptions*)

I am glad to know that a legislation to get the Commission of Enquiry Amendment Act repealed is going to be introduced in the

present mini session. It will add to the dignity of the Parliament. With these words I once again extend my support for the proposal of Shri Satya Pal Malik.

[*English*]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank the Leader of the Opposition for his constructive support, but I have found that perhaps he will take a longer time to assimilate constructive support than critical support and issue based support. The Leader of the Opposition said that there is no mention of the word 'secular' in the Presidential Address. Para 9 says: "A secular India is the very basis of our emotional unity and national integrity." He said, there is no mention of Assam and the North-East. Para 8 says.... (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : No, he did not say that.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : Yes... (*Interruptions*). All right, I concede the point... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: What I said was that during their speeches, some of the Members had talked derogatorily about it.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right, Sir, I will not press that point; he has conceded it. Then he said, there is no mention on Non-Alignment. Para 30 says: "My Government's foreign policy is deeply rooted in the ideals and principles which inspired the freedom struggle. This is reflected in its firm adherence to non-alignment and our struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism...". Then he said, there is no mention of democracy. Para 10 says : "A healthy and vibrant democracy hinges crucially on the sanctity and strength of democratic institutions. The Government is fully committed to the restoration of the dignity

and vitality of institutions which have been weakened in recent years." I could understand the need of jugglery when he is sitting here. I cannot understand the need of jugglery when he is sitting there. These are things which are on record, which are in the Presidential Address. The Leader of the Opposition is as responsible as the Leader of the House. And if he stands in this House and tells to the people, which is documented here, that it does not exist, what credibility will it have?

Much was told about the guts of this Government well, we have heard a lot of mouthing of terrorism on a daily basis, of the iron hand, and all the synonyms thereof. But it was this Government which had the guts to go to Amritsar and meet the people there. So, do not talk of guts. We will go again. Not once, we will go several times to Punjab, we will go to the people of Punjab, and if they share any risk, we will share it as much... (*Interruptions*). Sir, I am not yielding. For there and a half hours, we have had enough... (*Interruptions*). I will yield, but you have at least one-third of the dose you have given. I will yield after one hour.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: One small question on this.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: After one hour.

MR. SPEAKER: After one hour, he says.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, let them also absorb, as I did, for three hours... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI. Sir, can I ask the hon. Prime Minister one question? (*Interruptions*). He has allowed me. Why do you shout? (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I have permitted Shri Rajiv Gandhi to ask.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: How is it that a Prime Minister of India is not threatened by secessionists and terrorists who want to divide our country? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am observing an alternative style of functioning as people shift on that side. And I saw it in hon. Chidambaramji and also in him—an alternative style, more of speech making. If they go on putting questions, yes, we have inherited many things; as Mr. Narasimharaoji said that this Government is not accepting that inheritances of the previous government, we have inherited the Punjab question, we have inherited the Jammu and Kashmir question, we have inherited Bodo question, we have inherited the Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid question, we have inherited the B.O.P. question, we have also inherited Sri Lanka question, we have inherited the Nepal question. There are great inheritances we have! (*Interruptions*). But I appreciate the style. And they stand up and say 'We have created these problems. What is your solution?' (*Interruptions*). They suffer from a psychology, and I have been a student of Psychology and Philosophy, and the psychology is, 'As I have created the problem, who on earth can give a solution?' and therefore, this challenge and the attitude that we have seen of constructive support. (*Interruptions*). Wait for three hours, till Eleven o'Clock. (*Interruptions*).

Narasimharaoji accused this Government of lack of thinking. I cannot accuse Narasimharaoji of lack of thinking. It will be very improper on my part, but I think we do feel that there is lack of doing what he thinks. And if he really did what he thinks, the Congress will change and the politics will change.

AN HON. MEMBER: It was not in that context.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is in the context of what Kamalathiji has said. Please search your heart. He also said, admonished us, 'Please don't paint the Congress black.' Sir, if the Congress is not lily white, it is at least lotus white, if not, at least tulip white. You choose your colour we have no paint to make. And the speeches that we have heard are an enumeration of what all the previous government has done and the strain has been consistent and asking every time, 'Immediately you tell whether you follow it or not, tell me just now.' (*Interruptions*). When we were on the other side for days and days, in fact we had to resign our seats to get some information. But after all, we should not grudge. When a person passes away, we only praise him. A Government has passed away and we should not be uncharitable to criticise it

20.25 hours.

[SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE—*in the Chair*]

It is an elegy on the previous Government. I will not say much. But even if I do not say, the facts will speak for themselves which cannot be hidden from the country. As far as all these arguments they were the same which were mouthed for five years and told to the people and they were not even half-convinced about it; and the results of those arguments are there to see. We do not have to say anything.

About the manifesto, agenda of work, it has been said that it is bland, it does not have content, it is not specific. Sir, at least, we have spelt out a goal. As a first thing, it is necessary to spell out the goal, not the steps. Unless you know your goal, you cannot take proper steps; you cannot know in which direction to go. This is our goal and we will be judge by it. We were not the one who, in the past elections, filed the nominations without a manifesto. We have witnessed the

Prime Minister of our country, now the leader of the largest party in the Opposition...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Largest in the House.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right, largest in the House. Why such a small thing, "in the House"? They are global. A global Party like Congress, its leader and its Prime Minister files his nominations in Amethi without the manifesto, without any specifics. Not only he files the nominations, but he goes on campaigning also without the manifesto. Now he is asking our specifics. Yes, we will give specifics. Not even before the debate is finished on this document, we have taken action on Lok Pal Bill. That is the action. We have brought it. The Bill which was conceived by you for 3 years you could not deliver and finally, it was aborted. We have brought it even before the President's Address debate is finished, and we are going to pass it. On television and radio....

SHRI VASANT SATHE: So, you deliver even before conception. That is the new model !

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Well, trouble with hon. Vasant Satheji is, he conceives and is never able to deliver.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: That is the law of nature. But this, I cannot understand.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, we know why he says this, because there is one difference between our attitude and theirs. For them, success is an event. For us, success is a process. Therefore, when they won last time, they thought, the event is over and they had nothing to do. For us, we know, it is not an event, it is a process and the process has to be continuous. That is why, we will be alert and will stick to our commitment. First I am giving freedom and autonomy to a powerful media like electronic

media, TV and radio. We will do it. We may get the first taste of it. We are ready to commit the government to establish one democratic precedent and norms rather than flout and destroy all democratic norms to sustain and protect one government. That is the difference and that is the alternative style of politics and alternative functioning and model of politics.

He talked of the 59th Amendment. The great Leader of the Opposition picked on it, and said "You are introducing it now and it is going to expire by next session; what is the big thing about it?". The point is, the very thought that right to life can be suspended is a thought which should be killed at the first occasion. Will you commit that if we introduce the Bill tomorrow for the withdrawal of 59th Amendment, you will sit till the night and enable us to pass it tomorrow?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Yes, we will do it.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Okay, it is on record, Mr. Speaker.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We were willing to sit longer in this Session but it was your Party which wanted to cut it short.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : I think this is a great achievement. This is a victory. (*Interruptions*).

Because as citizens, we felt a sense of guilt, that we have a statute passed by this House, the highest legislative body of the country which has taken away the fundamental right of life and one minute of its existence was a national shame to us. I am happy the Leader of the Opposition has recognised it and willing to withdraw it even before it expires.

Regarding the Postal Bill also, soon we are moving the President for its withdrawal. Not only this. It is not a bland agenda. These

are some points of action. We do not have grandiose ideas about ourselves. We come in humility. We never say that what we have done has never been done. The Leader of the Opposition says that the dignity of the country was so high, that it never was so high neither in the time of Jawaharlal Nehru or Indira Gandhi. We do not have such grandiose ideas about ourselves.

On the first of January, this Government, each Department, will spell out the real content and give a time-bound programme for the fulfilment of the items in this. We will not wait for the Budget session. People cannot wait the long. We know it because we are in touch with the people and we are ready to be adjudged by what we say and what action we take.

Regarding labour participation in management, we are calling all the unions and also the parties on 8th January itself for interaction and labour participation in management with secret ballot will be a reality within this year. We will pass the Bill in the Budget Session. I commit myself that it is the content of our action and not plain words.

On the industrial Bill also, we will have inter-action with the labour unions and the opposition parties, and we will correct the anti-labour laws that have been passed and it is a time-bound thing. Regarding electoral reforms, we have gone into action. We propose on the 9th January itself to have an All-Party interaction on the electoral reforms and by the next Budget Session we will bring a proposal on the electoral reforms. That is a time-bound action programme.

On debt relief, the schemes are under process in the Finance Ministry and they will surely be reflected in the Budget.

On land reforms concept, they ask: "Why are you saying you will bring land reforms legislation in the Ninth Schedule?..." They

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ask me: "As Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh what experience did you have?.." I did have experience. That is why I put it here. We were having a drive for distribution of surplus lands. There were a lot of litigations. As Chief Minister, I wanted to legislate in the State. But after this normal litigation process, poor people cannot afford that process of law and I was told: "You cannot bring a law unless it is there in the Ninth Schedule." Therefore, the necessity of a commitment.

[Translation]

SHRI R.N. RAKESH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. 5400 acres of land was surplus with the Dehia Trust. Will the Government restore the lease made to the landless during the Chief Ministership of Shri Bahuguna, which was cancelled later on by you? The Ram Janaki Trust which holds gems and jewels worth Rs. 10000 million

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please order, He has not yielded.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I also commit myself to the content and specifics. These are specifics which I am committing on the Floor of the House. The National Integration Council, we will form within the month of January and we will be calling it at the earliest—may be by the end of January or by the first week of February before the Budget Session.

[Translation]

SHRI R.N. RAKESH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, he has not said anything about the Dahia

Trust in his reply.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Do not worry. I will give a reply to that also... (Interruptions)...

[English]

I am now not giving a bland agenda I am committing myself on the Floor of the House a time bound action programme. Before the Budget Session, we will constitute the Inter-State Council and we will have interaction with the Chief Minister.

Regarding Judicial reforms and Panchayati Raj, we will bring in the next Budget Session legislation giving power to the people. Also Official Secrets Act and right to know—these are the fundamental things on our agenda. Our Planning Committee will have much more power than it has today. This is an agenda, a time-bound agenda and by the end of the Budget Session it will be here as a reality in the country. (Interruptions).

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): What about right to work?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Right to work also. Right to work, If you cooperate, we will put it in the Constitution. (Interruptions).

The Leader of the Opposition and his colleagues are saying: "We are handing over a magnificent economy to you, with a very high growth rate." I am quoting from this document i.e. the Economic Advisory Council document. The Members of this Council were not nominated by us. They were nominated most probably, with the consent of the Leader of the Opposition. We have not change that Council. This is what it has to say "Industrial production for April—August 1989.." This is what we are getting. " .. indicates growth of only 3.8%". It is not even

touching 4%. Where are the growth rates?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: 3% in four months.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No, no. Rate of percentage. (*Interruptions*).

Hon. Members, now you can understand my difficulty as Finance Minister when I had to work with him. (*Interruptions*).

About the deficit ratio figures that they have been quoting when I was the Finance Minister.. (*Interruptions*) .. And I see in the newspapers that Rs. 1000 crores has been given away to some State. Rs.1000 crores was given to J&K because the election was near, when election was near it was given to Haryana, when election was near it was given to West Bengal.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Not given *bhai* but promised!

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes. I was asked, Vishwanathji you must be very worried by seeing this announcement. I said, I am because there is no money. Now I could not hunt those thousand crores and I think even Forooq has not been able to hunt out even a hundred crores.

And the same Economic Advisory Council says, "The net RBI credit to the Central Government has gone up by Rs. 12,403 crores since the beginning of the financial year, upto November 17" It is now for months. "The budget deficit even as of now is clearly running at a level very much higher than the projected in the Budget Estimates. The fiscal imbalance spills over into the growth of money supply which increased by 12% between March 31 and November 17. " This is the grand economy we are getting.

On balance of payment, "The macro

economic imbalance has clearly spilled over on to the balance of payments. By 1988-89 the BOP was under severe pressure and significant loss of foreign exchange reserves was being experienced. Indeed reserves losses would have been substantially higher if they had not been bolstered through expanded programmes of borrowings." And that too commercial borrowings.

The same document I want to share, you may please bear with me.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY : Is it a new thing?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, this is what is new.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: When you were there, it was the same thing.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It was not the same thing. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: The debt service ratio was not this. Poojaryji was my colleague.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: That is why I am raising this.. (*Interruptions*). Madam Chairperson, when he was the Finance Minister, inside this House and in the other House also he had been telling that "We have never been the defaulter, our credibility is so high." This is the word he had used. This is not the first time this is happening. He has been praising our leader day in and day out; today he is telling so many things. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, one good thing Shri Rajiv Gandhi did was to remove him from the Finance Ministry.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH : Madam, I am not telling; it is the Economic Advisory Council, appointed by the Leader

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of the Opposition, when he was in power, that is telling and not me. What is tells?

"Thus, while rising trends in India's external debt and debt service constitute serious concern, the situation is not one that threatens immediately and solvency or credit-worthiness of the country".

That is all about it.

"The real problem is that the burden of debt service reduce greatly, the room for manoeuvre on the developmental front as well as the choice of development strategies".

We have no manoeuvre. That is why, I say the treasury is empty. There is no manoeuvre and this is the document of the body appointed by them. One great thing. The Leader of the Opposition, on figures—I do not know—he must have got a lot of courage to tell the House, something which is on record, as something otherwise... (*Interruptions*).

About the agricultural production, he has praised its performance but this is what the document says:

"The record of aggregate economic growth during the current decade has been strong and GDP, at constant prices, grew at about 5 per cent per year on average upto 1987-88. At the sectoral level, value added in agriculture grew at around 2 per cent"

This is the crunch. That is the difference between your perception and mine. The growth in agricultural sector is only two per cent and while in order sectors, it is five per cent. We are concerned with this sector. It is just equal to the rate of growth of population;

the per capita GDP in agriculture remains nil. That is the point. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The agricultural production was two per cent? Then, there is something seriously wrong, there. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is value added growth which was around two per cent. (*Interruptions*)

They understand not. It is relevant. It is the GDP value added. If this growth is equal to the population rate, per capita growth is hardly anything. It goes on to say:

"On the other hand, gross agricultural production (as distinct from value added in agriculture, referred to above) which grew at 6.5 per cent year in the Sixth Plan period has decelerated to a little over four per cent per year in the first four years of the Seventh Plan."

It has decelerated. Now let us see how they achieved the target. Grand total is not the percentage growth. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, I rise on a point of order under Rule 355 which says:

"When for the purpose of explanation during discussion or for any other sufficient reason, any Member has occasion to ask a question of another Member on any matter than under the consideration of the House, he shall ask the question through the Speaker."

Now I am asking through you...

MR. CHAIRMAN: It also says: Provided the Speaker agrees

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am on my legs. Please take your seat. Your point of order is not in order. It is the discretion of the Speaker. The Prime Minister may continue with this speech.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: This is how they achieved the target.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: May I read the same part to you, Sir? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: After three hours is there something left?

[Translation]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am pointing out to you the jugglery

[English]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Please let me have my say

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: This document says 20 per cent agricultural growth, not 2%

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am also quoting the same document. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Please read para 4.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have read it.

(Interruptions)

The target for the Seventh Plan was earlier set at 178-183 million tonnes. It was revised downward in the mid-term review to 175 million tonnes. So they have revised their target downward and achieved it.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I rise on a point of order under Direction 115. This is not fair. I have been repeatedly saying that the House should not be mis-informed on this important matter. He is reading from this document. I just want to quote para 4 from this document. *(Interruptions)*. Please allow me. *(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sathe, will you please listen to me? Direction 115 issued by the Speaker says:

"A member wishing to point out any mistake or inaccuracy in a statement made by a Minister or any other member shall, before referring to the matter in the House, write to the Speaker pointing out the particulars of the mistake or inaccuracy and seek his permission to raise the matter in the House.

This is the rule. Therefore, there is no point of order

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Is he challenging your ruling?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am not challenging.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sathe, this again requires the permission of the Speaker.

(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Sathe, Shall I take it that this is misrule ?

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not the way.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister has yielded now. One of you can take my permission and speak. All of you cannot do so. Yes, Mr Sathe.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am reading from para 4:

"In 1988-89, the economy rebounded sharply.." (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, it is already quite late. Will all of you kindly take your seats? Be quite and speak one by one.

(*Interruptions*)

21.00 Hrs.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : Madam, you have to control them.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why are you shouting now. Please sit down.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : I am reading from the same report of the Economic Advisory Council on the Current Economic Situation, which the Prime Minister referred to. Page 1, para 4 reads:

"In 1988-89, the economy rebounded sharply from the setback of the countrywide drought experienced in the previous year. GDP is estimated to have increased by 9 per cent or higher in real terms, with agricultural production increasing sharply by 20 per cent or so and industrial production recording a growth of 8.8 per cent. In the current year, though Monsoon rains have been close to normal, it is unlikely that the agricultural production will raise markedly from the high base attained last year."

It will, therefore, be seen that 20 per cent is the increase in agricultural production. ..(*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: No interruptions please.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: There is no point of order. But you have been rightly indulgent to the Congress Party and I will appeal to my colleagues on this side also to be indulgent towards them, because it is impossible for them to reconcile to the humiliating defeat that they have faced...(*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. May I request the hon. Members to cooperate. It is very late in the night. Both the sides should cooperate when the Prime Minister speaks.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I thought that hon. Shri Vasant Sathe would have done better and he has brought this great fact that agricultural production in one year went up by 20 per cent. When? After the drought year. Had the drought been more severe, his performance would have gone to hundred per cent...(*Interruptions*).

I will not take more time of the House of figures and statistics....(*Interruptions*). It is precisely here that we too are concerned about the agricultural sector....(*Interruptions*). 70 per cent of India's population does live in the rural sector, and this happens to be the fact that while we are concerned about it, you are not. This is the difference in our approach. There is, in this area, persistence of poverty. The population which live there is about 72 per cent. The labour force is growing. So, employment will be our central theme and it will be the focal point of our development.

Not pure development alone but where this development reaches. Equity will be the

central focus in our development and not pure development. We have seen that the more populous an area is, like agricultural area the more poverty is there. Our strategy will be to increase agricultural production in these populous areas. This agricultural growth will lead to a different type of industrial growth as well. By reorienting agriculture, there will be a reorientation of industry also. (*Interruptions*).

Just hold one please. This is a serious matter and I want a debate.

In the present strategy of elitist consumption, the demand is on durable consumer goods. There is enough market to deploy all our resources.

When we create employment opportunities in the rural sector and increase production, the buying capacity of the people living there will increase. But their demand will be different from elitist demands. Their demand will be for wage goods. Once this demand is generated, industry will be recast. That will be our strategy and that is the basic difference in our approach. This will not only restructure industry, but also provide non-agricultural job opportunities in the rural area itself and reduce the pressure on urban drift and pressure on land. That is the basic difference of approach that we have regarding agricultural and industrial development.

Queries were asked by the leader of the opposition on national security and on defence. I have already stated why we were bringing supplementary demands. I want to make it clear that many a time our Defence Budget has to respond to threats across the border, and we will not compromise with the security of the country. But I want to point out to what is now lacking. I think the leader of the opposition must also be sharing my view. On matters of Defence, I do not draw party distinctions and he must have noted it. It is a

matter of national concern. But there remains no memory reservoir of long term strategy planning on defence matters. Ministers change, officers change, chiefs change. It is not as if every day it is erased. But we do feel that there need be some sort of continuous national thinking on it. Security is not only a question of weapons system. Of course it has to be there. Defence preparedness has to be there, but it has to be coupled with foreign policy initiatives, international security measures, and economic measures in the industrial sector. Now security and smuggling have also got connected with the issues of security threat and other agencies have also come into play. To have an integrated view and to have a stable basis for the security of our country, this Government is going to come up with a National Security Council. We will bring it before the Budget.

AN HON. MEMBER: We are waiting.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: And about the nuclear responses, it is for Pakistan to provide whether it is going nuclear or not, but our commitment is to peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We are following that path, but if Pakistan does go nuclear, I think it will have a profound effect on our Defence thinking and security thinking and we will have to have a second look.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: May I ask a question?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I never asked any question when he was speaking.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is a very important issue. You have spoken about Pakistan's nuclear programme. It is not something to be taken lightly. I am not asking a frivolous question.

Am I to understand that you have doubts in your mind about Pakistan's nuclear programme?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, one thing I will suggest. There is something like equity and fairness. I withstood three hours without questioning. I think the Leader of the Opposition understands fairly very well the delicacy of this question. It is for Pakistan to prove its credentials that is not going nuclear.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is your stand? *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have given my assessment. There is no question on Agni and our missile development programme. I have expressed myself as clearly as I can.

AN HON. MEMBER: You have closed your eyes.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: We are not closing our eyes. I think you just do not understand the language. And on our missile programme, I think, no country can dictate us. In the interests of the security whatever will be needed for this country will be done.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: You have to be a little more specific.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I do not think without action. That is the difference. When I think I act. I have said it.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Not categorical! *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No. We will go ahead with our missile programme. What do you want? Agni is finished?

(Interruptions)

We should not forget our ex-Servicemen. *(Interruptions)* Please do not make

noise. *(Interruptions)* I will appeal to you, Madam, Chairman. This is not the way. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. members, if you go on shouting like this you will all be thirsty. Therefore, I will appeal to you not be thirsty and not to shout.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Do not be impatient. *(Interruptions)* They should show the same patience as we did when the ordeal was being inflicted on this side for three hours.

We should not forget our ex-Servicemen and we will fulfill our commitment of one rank and one pension. There will be no doubt.

Jaswant Singhji raised many a question on Bofors, and he has made many suggestions what to do, to make a formal request to the Government of Sweden to divulge all information and Switzerland and all these suggestions he has made. I want to make it clear. No options are closed for us and we have taken stern action, and we have made the decision to debar Bofors from further contracts till it explains its conduct regarding this 155 millimeter Howitzer guns and the conduct includes the willingness to give the names and their willingness to return the money. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I would just like to say, Madam... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He did not mention Bofors once. So, I am not going to yield... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: That is why I would like to say... *(Interruptions)* We would like you to find the people who have taken money because we know when you find the people, all the accusations that you have

made during these years will turn out to be false... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Mr. Jaswant Singh asked whether the previous Attorney General or his office had given any opinion on this matter of Bofors. The Attorney General had given an opinion, legal opinion—I am told by the office—and here is a copy on this matter.

Bofors entering into the contract, it was made explicit to AB Bofors that the Government of India would disqualify a firm if it came to its notice that its agent has been appointed by a foreign firm; that this was a condition insisted upon by the Government of India and agreed to by AB Bofors. It is clear from their correspondence. Therefore, in the present case, if AB Bofors have engaged an Indian agent, it is contrary to the condition precedent to the contract and the Government of India has an option either to treat them as breach and sue them for damages or keep alive the contract and sue them for the breach of warranty.. (*Interruptions*) This is the advice given by the Attorney General as far back as 4th of July 1987 and the Government was aware of this advice and could have acted there and then. This was very clear. The Attorney General gave the advice that there has been a breach by AB Bofors and the Government can take action. But then what happens in the next para?

The comments by the Prime Minister are taken into consideration by the Attorney General; etc. legal consideration is coming into it... (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Please read.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I will read everything. As you read everything for three hours, I will also read.

I recollect, as to whether the contract should be terminated or not has to be decided not merely on legal consideration—legal advice is given, it can be done—but also on political consideration. (*Interruptions*) in view of the political turn which the case has

taken. I recollect now, this is impinging on the mind of the Attorney General, who as a professional, has already given his opinion. I recollect that a statement appeared in the newspapers said to have been made by the Prime Minister that he did not propose to terminate the contract and deprive the Army of the Gun.

The last recommendation in it... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I think you have been grossly unfair. If you read my notings, my notings relate very clearly to the security perception, the cost of cancellation. About 7 or 8 points have been made. Those records are still in your office. They are not available to me. Please read my notings to this House... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, I will read it. Tomorrow I am coming with a full statement including your notings.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): I am on a point of order. I would like to remind the Chair that it is outside the etiquettes and against the rules to look to the press while speaking.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It was the Leader of the Opposition who was not only looking at the press but he was smiling at the press. The whole House is witness to it... (*Interruptions*)

I am responding to a specific question which Jaswant Singhji had raised. He asked a very specific question: Did Attorney-General give any opinion? I am answering to him to this very question. And in conclusion this is what he says:

"On the material I indicate the following aspects for the consideration of the Government when taking a decision:

(1) Clause 17(1) of the contract at page 45 clearly stipulates that this contract shall be governed and interpreted according to the laws of India. As Bofors

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clearly admitted the insistence of the Government of India as a condition precedent that Bofors should not utilise middlemen for the purpose of winning the contract, this condition precedent through the entering into the contract can be enforced in law. Such a condition precedent though not expressly written into the contract can be proved under the provisions (2) and (3) to section 92 of the Evidence Act."

(Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am on a point of order under rule 368. I want to know which document the hon. Prime Minister is reading because if you see the rule it says:

"If a Minister quotes in the House a despatch or other State paper which has not been presented to the House, he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table:

Provided that this rule shall not apply to any documents which are stated by the Minister to be of such a nature that their production would be inconsistent with public interest:

Provided further that where a Minister gives in his own words a summary or gist of such despatch or State paper it shall not be necessary to lay the relevant papers on the Table."

Rule 369:

"A paper or document to be laid on the Table shall be duly authenticated by the member presenting it."

I would like to know from where the Prime Minister is reading. If he is reading from the documents which are available with you, from the Government files, then it would be best that you lay them on the Table of the House.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I would also request the Prime Minister to lay on the Table of this House all the documents of the Prime Minister's office on Bofors...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am reading this document which is a part and...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I had allowed both the Leader of the Opposition and Shri Vasant Sathe to place their viewpoints. And after that the Prime Minister was replying. In all fairness you must listen to the reply. Therefore, please take you seats.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: This document is a part of the file in the Defence Ministry, to be the opinion of the Attorney General. As told by my officials, this is the opinion that was given by the Attorney General and is part of...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Are you ready to place all the Prime Minister's office files on the Table of the House, Sir?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please let him finish.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Will you place it on the Table of the House or not, under rule 368?...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, after questioning, I should be allowed to answer also...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has been put a question, now he is answering to that question...

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, I am ready to place the document on the Table of the House. As regards, what the Opposition Leader said, all the notings of the

Prime Minister... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: All the P.M.'s office files, not just the notings.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right. The problem will be... (*Interruptions*). I am asked a question and then not allowed to answer.

21.27 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, regarding these files, I found they are stored and distributed at various places. Even the Principal Secretary did not have knowledge of all these files. Some are with some, some are with some. That is why time is consumed in collecting them and getting the true picture... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: None are with us.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I know what you have. If you help us as to where you have placed them all, it will be easier to collect them.

The Attorney General has said: "Such a condition precedent, though not expressly written in this contract, can be proved under provisions (2) and (3) of Section 92 of the Evidence Act. (*Interruptions*)"

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, you have not given the ruling. My hon. friend, the hon. Prime Minister has not yet told whether under rules 368, 369 and 370, he will place this document, to which he is referring, on the Table of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: He has already said so.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, I will. "When this was the clear understanding", this is the Attorney General,

"between both the parties Bofors has no right to claim that the company has to maintain secrecy of utmost importance, specially within Defence area. If this plea is tenable, they can violate the condition precedent insisted upon by the Government of India and agreed to by them, to the effect that there should be no middlemen. They can, with impunity, enter into a contract with the middlemen and, on the pretext of secrecy, can refuse to divulge particulars. This cannot be the true position because if the matter goes to the arbitration or court, as it is the Indian law which governs, they will be bound to disclose the particulars of the alleged middlemen and the payments made to them. The onus of proof will be on them as it is a matter within their exclusive knowledge. If their present stand is permitted, it will enable them to defeat the very stipulation in that they can have middlemen and payment of commission, and claim secrecy for disclosure. Just as they claim that they have a duty to honour the contract with the middlemen on the question of secrecy and for the very same reasoning they have a duty to honour the contract with the Government of India of not having the middlemen. Since commissions are alleged to have been paid in the context of the Indian contract, they have a duty to disclose the particulars to the Indian Government. If there were already contracts with middlemen in existence, when negotiating the Indian contract which they claim require to be now wound up by payment of compensation, it was their duty to have disclosed that to the Indian Government at the time the contract was entered into, specially when the Indian Government stipulated that there should be no middlemen. Bofors, on 10-3-1986, confirmed in writing, which was before the date of signing the contract by both parties that they had no agents specially employed in India in this project and that however for administrative services using the local firm, A.B. Corporation. They have further confirmed in the telex on 26-4-1987 that for this administrative service, they had stipulated to pay to them one lakh per month, commencing from January 1986. On this admission, in relation to this contract, there should be no other agreement for payment except this

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agreement to pay one lakh per month. Therefore, there can be no other payment which they could legitimately make for winding up of any alleged agency agreement, as nothing of that sort was disclosed to the Government of India except the service contract on payment of one lakh. So, it goes on. I can read the whole thing.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Is there not a separate noting where I have categorically asked what the cost of cancellation will be, cost in terms of security, keeping in mind the security environment at that time, cost in terms of money loss which has already been paid, cost in terms of a new weapons that had to be bought? And if you look at that note, you will find that the cost was much more than the Rs. 64 crores that you were getting back. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: There is also the letter of Sundarji there. I can read it out.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am requesting you to lay all the files on the Table of the House.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I will bring it tomorrow. I will lay it tomorrow on the Table of the House. Tomorrow itself, not much delay. *(Interruptions)*

Now, much has been mentioned about succumbing to foreign pressures, and the question of 301 was raised. In April, 1989, in Geneva, the Government of India agreed to negotiate the establishment of new norms and standards of intellectual property rights, in spite of the fact that it had no mandate to change the Indian Patent Law. This is the protection that the previous Government had given to our laws. *(Interruptions)*. I know it is painful for hon'ble Dinesh.

In Geneva the Government of India agreed to drop...*(Interruptions)*. Please, let there be noise only from that side, lest the

task becomes more difficult.

In Geneva the Government of India agreed to drop the idea of balancing the need to protect Intellectual Property Rights with the development and technological objectives and public interest. And in Geneva the Government of India also agreed to drop the idea of discussing the IPRs (Intellectual Property Rights) in the international forums of WIPO and UNCTAD to which the subject belongs and I remember this is the stand which I always took when it came to all these various services and others. I could scuttle services out of GATT while referring to WIPO and UNCTAD etc. Thus indirectly India has to agree to discuss IPRs (Intellectual Property Rights) in GATT only. That has been the net result, and I think the basic national interests have been bartered away.

SHRIDINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Prime Minister had...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What is your problem?

(Interruptions)

SHRI DINESH SINGH: All that I am saying, Sir, is that the hon. Prime Minister, and I am very sorry to say, is misrepresenting the facts. I would request him to read the statement that was made by our representative in Geneva in the Commission and then he will see that not only our position as regards the WIPO and others was protected, but also it was made quite clear that the development dimensions of the developing countries would be borne in mind in any discussion regarding the Intellectual Property. In fact, although our leader has paid him compliments for his performance in Punta Del este, I am sorry to contradict him to say that it was he, as the leader in Punta Del este, who agreed to include Intellectual Property in these discussions. When he had taken out Services on a separate track, that was the time to keep Intellectual Property also on a separate track, he did not keep it on a separate track, he made it obligatory that it

would be discussed in the Uruguay round under the normal procedure. It was he who let down, not our leader... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: If I may make the record straight on this issue, in fact the plea that was given was, at that time Shri L.K. Jha, who was the Economic Adviser, he is not here, I will not comment, was told that 'you get it accelerated and agree to the US stand'. That is why we could not get much more out of that and even then there was stipulation that...

SHRI DINESH SINGH: We should have a discussion on this. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: It is not a Question Hour.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: The development and technological objectives and public interest, which has been given the go-by, will be there now. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Don't mislead the House.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: And of the team, the Leader of the Opposition was saying, "The team that performed very well in Punta Del este, I am proud of those officers that were there." But would you just consider where were they placed after that? It is the outside pressure, because they resisted pressure. (*Interruptions*). I do not want to bring them in. Now, out of the cupboard he brought our Hubbard. I don't know who is this Hubbard. I am told he is an ex-Ambassador living in the University of California, I have never seen his face. I do not know what more is in his cupboard. But you know, he was saying that the previous Prime Minister was making all this tall-talking, as an election stance. Well...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Have you denied what he said?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: There is no question of it. I have already said

it. There is no question of acceding to this. We will fight it.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Speaker, can't that be undone now by this Government, about the intellectual property right?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: We will try to safeguard and try to protect it as much as we can. What they have done we will try to undo.

We have given a strong expression on Panama. We stand by it. But let us remember, when the Leader of the Opposition was in office, and there was invasion of Libya, then the tail was between the legs. You did not condemn it. Did you use the word "condemn"? You did not.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We did. We had a Non-aligned meeting in Delhi and we made a very strong statement at the Non-aligned meeting. It was on the same day.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: U.S. invasion in Grenada—what was the word used, when there was U.S. invasion on Grenada. You said, "India views with grave concern". That was the end of it; and Grenada gone! There is not even a word used like "deplore", "strongly deplore". No "condemn". So, please do not stand and try to project another image.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: You go through my statements on Libya also.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I shall certainly go through those also and it is not long that we will be able to read between the lines.

[*English*]

Now, much has been said on foreign policy. I will answer each thing because everything has been raised—foreign policy, Punjab, Nepal and everything. Up to 11 O'clock, I have got my time.

In Panama also, we have been a party to the Non-aligned statement condemning the U.S. invasion.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: In spite of your stand? (*Interruptions*). On the Libya statement, we had given a long explanation as to why it had happened and what had happened.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: You did not condemn it.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa): Mr. B.R. Bhagat was removed for strongly condemning U.S. aggression on Libya.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He was snut down.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: On his statement about the U.S. aggression on Libya, he lost his job.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He paid the price for that statement.

Now for quite an hour, I think, half of the time was devoted to foreign policy—rather 2/3rds time. Now, we very well know, when it comes to foreign policy, it is not partisan consideration that is there. Many a time, we will agree because foreign policy is not the private property of a single Party.

Our foreign policy is the product of the freedom movement. It got its foundation in the freedom movement. Yes, Jawaharlal Nehru was a great architect of our foreign policy. I do acknowledge it. We all acknowledge it. There is no question on that. (*Interruptions*)

I request the Leader of the Opposition, we are discussing a serious question and non-serious comments do not have a place.

The foreign policy is dictated by the geopolitical considerations of the country. It has evolved through a process of history and the consensus of the nation is there, and the

non-alignment policy that we have evolved is a process of national consensus. We all contribute to it; to our solidarity with the developing countries, our opposition to apartheid, our commitment to the Palestinian cause and their inalienable right to Statehood, strengthening our relations with neighbours and strengthening South-South cooperation,—these are national policies and the Leader of the Opposition knew on this there will not be much opposition. So, every time he asks "What is your position?" because he knows our position is that there cannot be any opposition to these policies.

[*Translation*]

SHRI L.K. ADVANI (New Delhi): That is why both Shri Narsimharao and he were quoting Shri Vajpayee.

[*English*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: On Sri Lanka, we are for peace and amity among the Tamil groups, for their democratic aspirations being fulfilled through devolution, to help that process. At the same time, the problem we have inherited is, we are confronted with other groups which are fully armed and in battle and in clash. Somehow we have to get out of this situation and the de-induction of our army has to be with respect but let us also think of the sacrifice which our army has done, what national cause was served all this time. It is a great army. We are proud of our army. It is the last resort and last sacrifice, for what? It was only for a national cause.

With Nepal, we have taken initiative. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M.P. JANARTHANAN (Trunelvell): There is no security for Tamils. We are suffering being killed. What have you done? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have concern for Tamil lives. It was during this previous government that is now sitting in the Opposition that Tamil lives have been

lost on both sides. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M.R. JANARTHANAN: For over two weeks, refugees have been coming there.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: The Leader of the Opposition sitting there, when he went to Tamil Nadu, he talked of Dravidian culture of Tamil Nadu. Now that very Dravidian culture of the South has at least saved his party. (*Interruptions*)

On Nepal, initiative has already been taken and their External Affairs Minister is coming. We have invited him. He is coming. The security and national interest will be taken care of. There is no question of neglecting our security concern and I think Nepal should also appreciate it. But at the same time, we also appreciate Nepal has a problem. We have very special relations and it is also a land-locked country and we should be sensitive to that. There has to be sensitivity on both the sides. That will be our approach. Then regarding China—Yes, we do have it on our agenda—high on our agenda—to improve relations with China. We have been taking full care of our national interest and it is in this context we will pursue these initiatives and those meetings that the Leader of the Opposition mentioned, those meetings we will be holding soon. There is no question of putting hurdles. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

AN HON. MEMBER: What is your stand on Tibet?

[*English*]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Tibet is an autonomous region of China. That is our stand.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: What is the view of your Railway Minister? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: When I am saying, I am speaking on behalf of the whole Government.

Sir, much has been said about Jammu & Kashmir. In fact if anything has saddened our hearts most on assumption of office, it is

the situation of Jammu & Kashmir which we have gloriously inherited. About the Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, much has been said. I know his agony. I know at the last moment he said: "I am not going to compromise, whatever the Jammu & Kashmir Government does and on my behalf I am not going in for a compromise." This is what he said. I know this much about it.

This is what we have got. The total number of violent incidents in 1988 was 390; in 1989 it is 2080. Number of deaths in 1988 was 31; in 1989 it is 90. Number of explosions in 1988 was 24; in 1989—476. I know they will have a tendency to say all has happened in 15 days... (*Interruptions*) Armed attacks by terrorists—7 in 1988 and 117 in 1989, Police firing in 1988 was 51; in 1989 it is 270. If the people there and the extremist elements have been emboldened, it is because the previous regime was so incapacitated, all round drift was there. There was virtually no law and order situation. This is what we have inherited. Then we are asked: "What are you doing about things we have done?" I think let us not make it a debating point. So far as Jammu & Kashmir is concerned, I am ready to knock at every door, every party including that of the Leader of the Opposition to save the country. We have to be one on Jammu & Kashmir. We have to be one on Punjab. We have to be one. It is not a question of prestige on these issues. People have laid down their lives for the defence of this country. This is one issue where no party consideration comes anywhere. So, for the integrity of the country, I am ready to cooperate with him and take his help.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: What about kidnapping?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I tell you what I have said. Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed as Home Minister has shown great courage, as father of Dr. Rubiya. When it came to his duty, he never compromised his duty. I can vouch for it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I understand that you don't contradict anything that I have said, which I said was hearsay and I was not sure about.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:

The great prophetic words that have been said by the hon. Leader of the Opposition have been for three hours it was difficult to keep track of all that he has said. I have to read what he has said now, in document.

On Punjab I want to make it clear that there is no question of compromise with secessionist forces. There is no question of compromise with the Constitution of India and in whatever descriptions and forms the challenge may come, we will face it. There is no question on these cardinal points of unity and integrity of the country and the Constitution of India—descriptions and names apart.

Regarding protection of boys in the hostel, we have given instructions and we will stand by them anyone who is threatened, because the security is prime for any citizen, any person in Punjab. And on this, let there not be a confused signal. Any exodus or any fear is something which we feel with great concern. We will do best to see that does not happen. So there is no mincing of words on these issues.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: And collecting of arms in Gurudwara will not be allowed.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Whatever it is, these things about misuse of temples or religious places. But let us remember, beyond this you did not take any initiative.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You do.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Yes, we will take it. The bridging of the gap about which as Advaniji said and as Somnathji said, this new initiative that has come, let us not lose it in the administrative cobwebs. We will go to the people, we will talk to the people, we will try to build confidence. And we will go again and try to build this confidence. Other measures are also there—action on Mishra Commission Report, 59th Amendment and other actions which are there. These are parts of the same process.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I think you are not going to allow swords to be carried into the chamber.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: For some people sword may pose a danger while for others it may not be so. During the regime of your government gunmen used to hang around in the corridors here. You did not feel scared then. This is for the Chair to decide. We will abide by the ruling from the Chair. We are not the masters of the House.

[*English*]

In the end, in all this debate what I feel is at one important aspect has been missed. I expected it from the Leader of the Opposition because he belongs to the younger generation—the mention of youth. The youth has played a very dominant part of this. For four, five years he was from the younger generation—the young Prime Minister, that was his description. But the young Prime Minister did not remember the youth, for involving them in the shaping of the country. It is when we gave the threat that we will have all-India agitation, that the voting age was reduced to 18 years. It was on our agenda, never on their agenda.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Sir, it is a misrepresentation. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Employment is the cardinal principal of our education policy—not the elitist policy that was followed. Now, we have got three educational policies, three educational schemes. One for the poor who get educated under the tree without a roof. Then, there is an educational policy for the middle-class who go to private schools and Government schools.

22.00 hrs.

Then, there is an educational policy for the rich, who go in convents and elitist institutions. After this distinction, then, you say, all

compete together. And, I think, there has to be equity and justice in this. *(Interruptions)* We will, in January itself,—I assure you,—call the youth leaders of the country, all the youth leaders of the country and share with them, interact with them, involve with them, to have a policy for them and I think the country needs a youth movement for changing and transferring the society in a more credible way.

About the communalism and riots, we have made it clear and on this, there is no difference of opinion, that is, secular India is the India that will be strong and united. We stand for the emotional integrity of the country and we will not allow it to be divided in any fashion and communal harmony will be our cardinal principle there is no question but to involve the minorities, not only give them security, but to involve them in its economic development and wherever they are handicapped, to see that they share in the fruits of development and they feel, they are part of the great country. So, this will be our main thrust on Bhagalpur. From the Centre, I assure you, we will contribute our mite to the relief of Bhagalpur and there again, on third, even before I started the campaign—I did not start my political campaign—I went to Bhagalpur and my commitment still stands for bringing amity. And with these words, I think—there may still be many questions, but, Sir, I think I tried my best to do justice—the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: With the permission of the Chair and the Prime Minister, I would like to ask—about women, at least, you should say something. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: For women? I think, it is part of our developmental strategy—30 per cent reservation in local bodies. Then, they should have a share in the Departments and whatever jobs are suited for women, they should get a place in them. It is a part of our strategy. One more thing. About the problem of population growth, it is a subject which was not touched, I think,

if we are to approach the problem of population growth, education of women is the most essential thing and if we link it to jobs, education is automatically given a thrust. And with these words...*(Interruptions)*

AN. HON. MEMBER: What about the reservation? You make the policy clear.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: We could pass it. There was no objection, but certainly procedural obstruction was there. But in spite of it, a Constitutional Amendment Bill on the reservation for SC, ST has been passed. I think, if we are to test what we do here, we should keep the lowest strata of people in the economic ladder and the social ladder in mind and then test what we are doing here, how it affects their lives. I think, that is the acid test for what we do here. Thank you. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: No more questions.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: A number of amendments have been moved by the Members to the Motion of Thanks. May I put the amendments to the vote of the House together? If any hon. Member wants a particular amendment to be put separately, he may say so.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, with great respect, may I make a submission?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, Mr. Chidambaram.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, there are a large number of amendments. Now, you know the composition of this House. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee just now said, "say something about women". There is an amendment on women. Now, I do not think, it can be assumed that all the amendments will be either voted in or voted out. You would have to ask us—you asked us, I think two days ago—to give a slip on the amendments we are pressing. I think, the Chairman in the