

[Sh. Tejnarayan Singh]

to put back all the tube-wells in Buxar in working condition immediately. With all the tubewells in working condition about 50,000 acres of land will come under irrigation.

13. 29 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—*CONTD.*

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we shall take up further discussion on the motion of thanks on the President's Address. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri was on his legs; he may continue.

[*Translation*]

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI (Sonapat): Honourable Deputy Speaker, Sir, while moving the motion of thanks of President's Address, I would first of all like to thank you for giving men an opportunity to move this motion. I consider myself fortunate. Whenever I got an opportunity to speak in the House, you were in the Chair. So, before I speak on the subject, I would like to say that we would have continued in power for five years quite comfortably but some of our friends staged walk out in the House on every issue. Before staging walk out they never thought that once they occupied the same treasury benches, which we are occupying now. We could have gone hand in hand together for some more time. Today, when I see them staging walk out, I feel:

"Doobne wale ki maiyyat par hazaron roney wale thei,

Aur jo zor zor sei rothey thei, vei hi dubaney wale thei."

What more can be said about them!

So I leave this topic here.

Everyday they say that our Government is running on Congress support. We don't deny this fact. We do have Congress support and our friendship is such that:

"Aarambh Gurvi Kshapini Kramein,
ladhvi pura vridhimati cha pashchaat.
din sya poorvardh paraardh bhinna,
chhayeiv maitri khal sajjananaam."

The shadow of a tree is very small in the early morning and lengthens in the forenoon and as the sun rises or the day passes the shadow almost vanishes. In the afternoon, it again starts increasing and by the time of sunset it lengthens so many times and becomes larger than the original size of the tree. Our friendship with Congress is like the shadow in the forenoon and that in the afternoon. Further, I would submit that when Shri Chandra Shekhar took over as Prime Minister the country was passing through great crisis. A civil war was actually going on in the country in the name of Mandal, and it had reached almost every nook and corner of the country. The communal situation was such that the dispute of Ramajanambhoomi has assured serious proportion. There seemed no end to economic crisis. Some States which were being run by the people who claimed of equality were also under the pressure of labour and capitalists. That time most of the problems were automatically solved with the taking over by Shri Chandra Shekhar. The country which had reached on the verge of civil war came out of the crisis. I don't hesitate to say that if any person does not agree, I can't convince him. The present situation is calm as compared to the situation prevailing at that time. I quote Bhartrihari for those who do not understand.

"Patranaiva yada karir vitapey dosho
vasantasya kim,

Nolu koppavalokatey yadi, diva sury-
asya kim dooshanam,
dhara na: patanti chatak mukhey
maghasya kim dooshanam,
yad vidhina lalaata likhitam tanmarjitu
kah kshmah.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it means that the sun has risen in the sky. There is a particular bird which can't see during day-time. Springtime is in full bloom these days. If the Kareer tree is not bearing leaves, it is not the fault of spring. Sky is over cost with dark clouds and it is raining constantly. If no drop of rain water falls into the mouth of 'Chatak' bird, it is not the fault of clouds. If some people do not realise that the strife that prevailed in the country has not subsidised, it is not their fault. I believe that it is due to ill luck that they don't realise it, so I want to give you some details. I believe that a new slogan of social equality is being raised in the country. No person in our country is such who is not in favour of social equality, and social justice. Some questions come to my mind which should be replied to by the intellectuals of this country. May I ask the people who favour social justice, who are raising slogans of sixty per cent, whether they have ever thought that unless there is an equal pattern of education in the country, there won't be any social justice. Some people have monopoly in the affairs of this country and they have got power in their hands and they do not want to let this power go out of their hands.

I would like to say that for the achievement of social justice a uniform education system is necessary. Today it is impossible for a person educated in a village school to think of becoming an I.A.S. officer. In rural areas no teachers are available for imparting proper education. I would like to ask the people who talk of social justice that if they have ever taken steps to redeem this situation. Is it not true that schools in villages do not have proper buildings and an extremely

low teacher—student ratio. Students do not have slates pencils, books etc. and there are no lights in the classrooms. On one hand there are people who spend thousands of rupees on their children's education while on the other hand there are children who have to make do with educational expenditure of 0.05 paise per day. In such a situation, before talking about the social justice we must provide a uniform education system. Unless we change the education system we cannot bring about social equity.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Sir, ours is a nation without any language. I praise my hon. Colleagues who express their views in their mother tongue, be it Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu or Kannada and convey my gratitude for the opportunity given to hon. Members to speak in their mother tongue. A nation which does not have even its Language, can not progress.

I have with me a reply from the U. P. S. C. in response to a letter written to them. The letter dated 1.1.91 states that there were Five thousand and twenty I.A. S. officers in the country as on 5.5.90. Their reply to my question was not satisfactory According to the statistics, among them there are 572 persons who belong to Scheduled Caste and 285 persons who belong to Scheduled Tribe. The quota cannot be filled till U.P.S.C. allows candidates appearing at its examinations to answer the papers in any Indian language of their choice. For the past three years a strike is going on outside the U.P.S.C. premises demanding the recognition to every Indian language as a medium of examinations. Also, English should not be a compulsory qualifying paper a in these examinations. This cannot be done till these is a uniform education system in the country. I want to say this because equality cannot come about until the children of the Prime Minister, the President and the children or the persons who are working in their house study in the same school.

27% reservation has been announced for the backward classes. In this context I had told the hon. Prime Minister Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh that reservation should be given after the reforms in the education system and not on the basis of population of 1930 as has been decided. According to this decision we will have to provide jobs to the people of particular castes on the basis of their population or 80% of the jobs to the rural dwellers and 20% to urban dwellers. A section of people in urban areas have the prize-jobs while the people living in slums can never get such jobs till there is uniformity in the education system. This is necessary because without this we cannot progress. I believe that our Government desires that every citizen of this country should at least be able to sign his or her name. India has the lowest level of literacy in the world. To change this situation it is necessary that every citizen attains a minimum level of education. For this purpose let the students and teachers of universities and colleges visit villages for educating the people living there for a period of one year. In fact to highlight the difference in education system in rural areas and urban areas, students and teachers of village schools should be sent to public schools in cities and students and teachers of public schools should be sent to village schools. This will an opportunity provide to these persons to personally see the difference between the urban and rural people. They will also come to know the difficulties being faced by the children in the rural areas in their studies.

I suggest that the I.A.S. officers who have the reins of administration in their hands, be sent to villagers for 1-2 months to harvest the crop to make them realize the amount of hard work done by the farmers to feed the millions of people of this country. The Government is not affected because it changes after 5 years. But those who have to run the country for 35 years must know the hardship

suffered by people living in villages. These days people talk of a change in the system, but change cannot come by itself.

Sir, there is a very big difference between the pre-independence era and present lines. Preciously there was a slogan that land and money would be divided among people. In case of land, an individual cannot retain more than 17.5 acres of irrigated land in his name but the area of unirrigated land in one's possession could be slightly higher. As far as assets in urban areas are concerned, at the time of Independence Birlas had assets worth Rs.6 crores and today they have assets worth Rs. 6,000 crores. Similar is the case of Tatas. This country has 20 families whose total assets amount to Rs. 32,000 crores. These are official statistics and not figures quoted from private sources. There are crores of people in this country who do not have this much wealth. If this disparity is not removed, the situation will not improve. Sir, I am helpless. If I had my way I would make workers into shareholders of the company in which they work and also make them co-owners of the company. I would make journalists the owners of the newspapers for which they write. This is a question of democracy, not of our rights. The country's structure has become such. Besides this, the rights due to the backward classes should be given to them. This includes 'Telis', 'Dhobis', 'Maniharis', 'Lohars' and 'Barais'. Their rights should be protected. Today, people living in villages migrate to cities. They have lost their means of livelihood with technological advancement, potters and cobblers have had to abandon their traditional means of livelihood. Carpenters and iron-smiths from rural areas have very limited opportunities in urban areas. These days there are no job opportunities in rural areas. Mahatma Gandhi favoured the setting up of cottage industry and Chaudhry Charan Singh also made some efforts in this direction. He used to say that cottage industries should be encouraged.

At present there is no dearth of cottage industries but these units are suffering losses for lack of adequate funds. An industrialist is given a subsidy of Rs. 20 lakhs to Rs.30 lakhs to set up a unit in a backward area but a person from a rural area is not given credit of more than Rs. 1 lakh. This disparity is assuring the dimension of a revolt. Unemployment is the main reason for the growing terrorism in this country. Terrorism cannot be checked until the unemployment problem is solved. There are thousands of unemployed graduates in the country today. The Government said that they would give them the right to work and the hon. Prime Minister had referred to this in his recent speeches...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Shastri, your party has been allotted 1 hour and 8 minutes of which you have taken up 20 minutes. Please conclude quickly.

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI: Sir, I have been asked to speak freely. But I shall obey you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please come to the point. As you said, there should be facilities for education, and everyone should get employment.

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI: Now I shall speak on the Ram Janmabhoomi issue.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH(Aonla): You have already expressed your support for the Ram Janmabhoomi issue... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI: Rest assured that I shall say only what is correct. (*Interruptions*)...

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to refer to the Ram Janam Bhoomi issue. Recently, we, seven Members of Parliament comprising of two BJP, one CPI, two Congress and one Janata Dal had been to Ayodhya. I represented Janta Dal (S). In

view of what we saw there, I can only say:

"Yawat Sthasyanti Giryah, Saritashoh mahi tale

Tawad Ramayan Katha, Lokeshu pracharishyati "

Till rivers and hills are there on the earth, Ram-Katha will be adored. We also saw the masjid which has been the cause of dispute, Idols of Ram have been placed there. Seven of us were Members of the Parliament and five to six were party members, Shri Bhogendra Jha was also with us. In this respect I would like to submit one thing. (*Interruptions*)

First listen to me, only then give your reply. My only submission is that some days back I met Shri I.K. Gujral and discussed the Ramjanam Bhoomi issue. He offered a very good suggestion in this regard, which can enable us to solve the dispute. Gujral ji told when Mughals attacked Spain, they build a mosque there when Christians came there, they wanted to build a church in place of the old mosque. They built it on the roof of it. People from all over the world come to see that mosque-church there. If exactly the same is done here and temple is raised on the roof of the mosque, the dispute can be solved permanently. In this regard I would like to refer to:

Ikshwaku Vanshprabhavo, Ramo naam Janalshruah
Samudriv Gaambhirye, dhairyan himvaniv."

Ram was as profound as the Ocean and as high as Himalayas. Therefore I would like to submit to my friends that if possible the matter should be tackled with patience. There is nothing disputable in it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I don't want to discuss the issues relating to Tamil Nadu, Assam, and Kashmir. I would like to say

[Sh. Kapil Dev Shastri]

something about Punjab problem which is discussed everyday. Punjab problem can also be solved if we wish to do so. Shri Harcharan Singh Brar, Gurcharan Singh Brar, Mahant Sewa Das and other such leaders would not be able to solve this dispute. Those who were born in villages but live in Chandigarh under the police protection can not solve the Punjab problem. Those who were born in villages and live there, should be consulted in this regard. When the Prime Minister invites the villagers for talks, the Members oppose it. They assert that it would be wrong to negotiate with them. My submission is that who else should be consulted, if not they. It is very essential to consult them. The entire issue is related to unemployment. In Haryana alone the total number of unemployed persons is eight lakhs whereas in the whole of the country this figure is about eight crores. Unless the unemployment problem is solved, the problem of terrorism cannot be solved. A boy who has a gun in his hand and 5-10 thousand rupees in his pocket, will not be bothered about the consequences of what he does. Today revolt has spread in the whole of the country. Unemployment should be eradicated. Boys were not even aware of the fact from where the Mandal Commission and Ram Janam Bhoomi dispute originated.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, please conclude it.

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI: After speaking on unemployment I would conclude. Unless the problem of unemployment is solved terrorism cannot be controlled. It is a very important issue. I would like to refer to women. Perhaps women are the most sufferer in this country. Veena Varmaji has moved a motion in Rajya Sabha, and I wish that the same should be moved in Lok Sabha too. The wife should have a right in her husband's property since the day of her

marriage. Sometimes, immediately after marriage many disputes take place. Women are addressed as Greh Lakshmi, Dhatri and Matri.

"Yatra nariastu poojyante, ramante tatra devata.

Yatraiastu na poojyante, sarvah kriya tatrafala.

Today, the tendency is that we are not ready to give respect to women, that is why my submission is that the right thinking citizens of this country will have to unite on some issues. I would like to submit to all the intellectuals that as per the principle of equality, women have a right to get a share in their father's property. But men society is not ready to give share to their wives. It is gross injustice against the women. The only alternative for this is that the Parliament should pass the law enabling a married women to have share in her husband's property.... (Interruptions)....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, please conclude it. Today, you have spoken for 35 minutes. You have already pleaded for women's right in their husband's property....(Interruptions)...

[English]

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Sir, I am on a point of order. There is no quorum in the House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The bell is being rung—

[Translation]

Shastriji, now you speak, quorum, is there now.

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI: My only submission is that ours is an agricultural country. Unless we concentrate on agricul-

tural economy, we cannot make progress in the real sense. Recently, I had been to Bihar. Extreme poverty prevails in that State. Kosi, Gandak and so many other rivers flow there and water is in abundance. I would like to suggest that a National Water Grid Scheme may be formulated, and the water of Brahmaputra, Kosi and Gandak should be brought to Ganga and then the water of Ganga should be diverted to North India. Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh are such States as each of these two States can fulfil the requirements of food-grains for the whole country. Moving the Motion of Thanks on President's Address and before concluding it, I would like to submit that there is neither a problem of land nor water resources. But these are not being utilized properly. We should try to make proper use of our resources. On behalf of the Government I thank the Hon. President. I also hope that the Members would not walk out and they would support the motion.

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI (Domariaganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all I am grateful to you for providing me an opportunity to support the Motion of Thanks on President's Address. Sir, it is really astonishing, rather a matter of discomfort to some of the Members that fifth month has started since the present Government took over as it was said that this Government would not last long. But now the people have started realising that it is a stable and strong Government. It has also been said that it is a weak Government working under pressures. I would not like to speak much in the House, but I would definitely like to draw the attention of the Hon. Members to the fact that the country has got the experience of strong Governments as well as the supported Governments. But the decisions, the behaviour and the policies of the Government decide whether the government is strong or weak or the government is stable or unstable.

Sir, you are aware of the situation of this country. When this Government came to power, everywhere, there was anarchy, violence and the entire country was burning in the flames of hatred. The disruptive, communalist and separatist forces were at their extreme and it appeared that the country would definitely be disintegrated. At such a situation, the present Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar came to power and it was the most difficult task in those circumstances because the country was facing storms of challenges everywhere. I would like to thank this Government for it was able to improve the situation of the country to some extent. This was not a Government of boasters. This was not a Government of 'Laffaj' and Pyprocrites. The Prime Minister did not try to raise any false hopes. He clearly said that....
(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM LAL RAHI (Misrikh): This is an un-parliamentary word.

(Interruptions)

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH (Buxar): I am on a point of order.

"Laffaj" is an un-parliamentary word and it should be withdrawn.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN SINGH KALVI (Barmer): "Laffaj" means one who speaks too much.

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH: The word "Laffaj" is an un-parliamentary word. Therefore, it should be withdrawn. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please continue.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am not sitting here to tell you the meaning of words.

(Interruptions)

[*English*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): There is no seriousness in this Address. There is nothing in the President's Address. *(Interruptions)*

[*Translation*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please continue. I would have checked him if he had spoken some un-parliamentary word.

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI: The Hon. Prime Minister has said that his first and foremost duty is to heal the wounds.

SHRI RAM LAL RAHI: The daughter of Shri Soz was kidnapped. Tell about that also. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI: I will say about that also. Sir, this statement of the Prime Minister had a great effect, when he said that he wanted to create an atmosphere of peace and goodwill in the country today and he also said that whenever there was a death whether caused by a bullet fired by a terrorist or a policeman, it was a death and whosoever was killed, whether a sikh, a Kashmiri or a terrorist, he was an Indian. It should be looked from this point of view. Therefore, considering it a shameful matter, he advised to take a political initiative, so that a permanent solution can be found to these problems through discussions. Sir, it has been mentioned in the President's Address that in the present difficult situation we have to keep our promises regarding democracy, secularism and socialism, which are the basic principles of our nationalism and therefore, the Hon. Prime Minister has said that whenever there will be any attack on the unity, integrity and sovereignty of our country, we will fight against it boldly. Sir, due to this reason, we had to dismiss the Govern-

ment of Assam and Tamil Nadu. This was a very unpleasant act, but the Central Government was compelled to fulfil its constitutional duties. The Government of India had such information that the disruptive forces were given a open hand there. When the Home Ministry was already aware of such reports and the previous Government was hesitating to take any strong step due to its vested political interests, the present government, which is called as a weak Government and working under the pressure, took this strong decision in view of the prevailing unhealthy situation there. Not only a decision was taken, but all the facts also, which posed a threat to the unity of our country, were presented before the masses of this country and were laid on the table of the House. So far as the other problems are concerned, this Government has inherited a lot of them. We also know that they are such problems as cannot be solved permanently within 4-5 months. This Government does not have any such magic wand, through which, any problem can be solved within one minute, one day or ten days. But the biggest task before the Government was to normalise the abnormal situation and create an harmonious atmosphere in the country and it has made honest efforts to solve these problems. I agree that the Government was not fully successful in this regard. The biggest problem before our country today is its economic condition about which, the Hon. Finance Minister also has already mentioned, while presenting the Interim Budget. Now the question is how the economic situation became so grave. The reason behind it is that the management, which has been in the country till now, was not so capable and as a consequence of the ineffective policies, the Government's expenditure kept on increasing. During our all the plans, the expenditure on non-development schemes kept on increasing. According to the figures, the non-plan expenditure increased upto 81 percent of the total expenditure, whereas, the plan expenditure kept on decreasing and

came to a low figure of 19 per cent. As a result, the organised sector of the public sector used to usurp the share of the unorganised sector. We all are aware that the non-plan expenditure consists the major part of high salaries, allowances and all such kinds of other facilities. The need of the hour is to frame a new national wage policy and to check the rising expenditure of the Government. Today the revenue receipts of the Government have reduced in comparison of its expenditure. It was pointed out by the Hon. Finance Minister also. According to the figures available, during the year 1980-81, our revenue receipts were Rs. 12,830 crores and it increased to Rs. 55,040 crores during the year 1989-90, but during this period, our expenditure also increased to Rs.90,705 crores from Rs.24,180 crores. How the deficit will be covered when the Government do not have any other means of income and its revenue income is lesser than its expenditure? There are three alternatives to cover up the deficit. One is that the Government should take internal loans from the open market and the second alternative is that it should take loan from other countries and the third one is that the Government should present a deficit Budget. Regarding the debts, the Finance Minister has himself stated in this House that day by day, we are getting trapped in the net of debts. The total internal debt on us is near about 1 lakh and 51 thousand crores of rupees which is near about 82 per cent of the total debt. So far as the foreign debt is concerned, it is near about 32 thousand cores of rupees, which is 18 per cent of the total debt. The need of the hour is that we should get out of this debt trap, otherwise, our deficit Budget will keep on increasing as we have to cut the expenditure on our development schemes in order to pay the interest on that amount. We should avoid such a situation and have to take some solid steps to strengthen our economic situation. Sir, besides this debt trap, the Gulf-war has also added fuel to the fire. It has increased our foreign exchange loan by Rs.7000 crores.

The deficit in our balance of trade is also on the increase. The present deficit in our balance of payment is of Rs.7193 crores, which was Rs.4533 crores during the same corresponding period. Now we should consider about the strong steps which have to be taken in this regard. We have inherited this situation. We had to lessen our import and to curtail the expenditure on petroleum products. Besides this, we have to enhance the production of petrol in our country. Another matter of great concern is the high price-rice. During the 9 months of the previous Government's regime, there has been a rise of 10.5 per cent in wholesale prices and more than 11 per cent rise in the prices of consumer goods. So we have to check this price-rise.

14.16 hrs.

[SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN *In the Chair*]

Sir, despite our grave economic situation, the Government has worked with full self-confidence and its first example is the Government effective handling of the black-marketing in petrol and diesel during the Gulf war, although it was apprehended that there would be a grave scarcity of these items. It was made available to the common people although, some middlemen tried to indulge in balckmarketing.

Moreover, Sir, the Gulf war has nearly come to an end. Government of India tried its best to avoid the war and this House also passed a resolution unanimously in this regard. Our endeavour was to find a mutually acceptable and lasting solution to the problems in West Asia and thus establish peace in that region. We and some other countries tried to find out a peaceful solution to the major problems of the region including Iraq, occupation of Kuwait and the Palestinian problem but in vain and the war took place, taking heavy tool of life and property. Today, the countries across the world have

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nothing but praise for the initiatives taken by India. Some people in our country say that this disarrays war could have been averted, had India taken a more serious initiative. However, I do not agree with this viewpoint. We took initiative at all the levels possible, but Sir, it all turned out to be an futility in exercise as it was more a battle for oil supremacy rather than for a piece of land.

Sir, I still remember that the league of Nations was formed after the first world war, but it miserably failed to take-off due to its internal contradictions. Then came the second world war and the United Nations Organisation was set up. However, that too was not founded on the basis of equality. Even today, its decisions are influenced to a great extent by the permanent Members of the Security Council, who enjoy Veto power. The U.N.O has always been under pressure from these super powers and we have always found it wanting in taking decisive steps, whenever the situation demanded it. We found it shying away from its enormous responsibilities, even when war was knocking at its doors. Today, the various groups across the world are of the opinion that the U.N.O should be re-organized on the basis of equality and no country should have any special privileges. I welcome this demand. However at a time, when the various military blocks and alliances are dissolved and mutual goodwill has replaced mutual rivalry, the fact that some powerful countries like the United States are exerting their power and influence on the United Nations and the Security Council to further their vested interests, is certainly not a welcome development. At this critical juncture, I would like India and other non-aligned and neutral countries to put forward a demand that the United Nations should be re-organised. We believe that the materialization of the vision of a world parliament, the dream of a world Government has become a necessity today. Therefore, it is

essential that we should work towards achieving this goal. Here, I would also like to praise the note played by the Ministry of External Affairs..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: By the way, who is the Minister of External Affairs?

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI: The Government of India had all along voiced its concern over U.S.A's opposition in the Security Council, to a Cease-fire and the imposition of a ban on providing aid on humanitarian grounds to the people of Iraq. Moreover, the Government has always laid emphasis on the need for the re-constitution of the Kuwait and Iraq economics and other related issues. Lastly, I would like to say that there should be complete disarmament. The U.S.—Soviet detente and subsequent moves towards disarmament gave rise to the hope of a weapon-free world declarations to this effect were made earlier also. Through this house, I would like to say that weapons of mass destruction will continue to hold a place of pride, so long as there is injustice and exploitation in this world. Today, we have seen that despite all such declarations and all good intentions, war broke out. After all, what was the main objective behind this war? The issue was who will have control and monopoly over the vast oil resources of West Asia? Today, the countries of Western Europe and other super powers want to exercise their control over the natural resources of Africa and West Asia. Whether it is the question of environment or natural resources or technology or production or even industrial infrastructure, the European and other developed countries of the world want to impose their will on the developing and third world countries. If this situation continues then the concept of world peace will remain a distant dream. If this atmosphere prevails, it would be literally impossible to find lasting solutions of problems. Therefore, if we want to bring about a per-

ceptible change them we should start firmly against injustice and oppression. Today, our foreign policy, our policy of non-alignment has come under question and the question is that, after all, what is the meaning of non-alignment and what is its relevance today. Being non-aligned doesn't mean being a mute spectator to the developments taking place in the world or for that matter, jumping into the bandwagon of any particular camp. It also doesn't mean vehemently opposing anybody, without considering the pros and cons of the issue. Some people believe that opposing America is symbolic of possessing a revolutionary world view, while others associate national honour and pride with opposing the Soviet Union. We consider these as silly arguments. Revolution is not so easy and it cannot be brought by merely raising revolutionary slogans. There is no shortage of such people in our country, who consider themselves revolutionaries by doing such gimmickries. One cannot become a revolutionary by worshipping revolutionaries. To become a revolutionary, one has to have a commitment, a resolve, a deep understanding of issues, practice of revolutionary ethics in better and spirit and a readiness to risk one's life.

Sir, lastly, I would like to say that I belong to Uttar Pradesh. When we look at the present world situation, one thing that becomes crystal clear is that if we want to put an end to injustice and exploitation in the world, then we will have to do away with the disparities between man and man regional imbalance. We will love to put an end to these imbalances. Today, the State of Uttar Pradesh is backward in every respect, whether it be in the power sector, or railway or even Communications. Therefore, in this House through you, I would like to make a suggestion, that the Government, through the planning commission and various Ministries should monitor the development process, the per capita investment, the percentage of availability of resources for infrastruc-

ture and the level of backwardness and on the basis of this information, it is necessary to formulate a Master plan for the development of these backward regions. The law of average will not hold good here. If it is not done, then the backward areas will become more backward and give opportunities to the developed areas to take the lion's Share.

Mr. Speaker, the poorest, the most backward and the most neglected area is Eastern Uttar Pradesh and I represent that area in this House. There was a fertiliser unit in Gorakhpur and it was established there after independence, but unfortunately, today even that unit is closed and there is no industry worth its name in that area. Even some of the extant sugar factories are quite obsolete. As a result, the ever-increasing population is totally dependent on agriculture and there is no other means of livelihood. There are only two options before them i.e. either they should migrate to Lucknow, Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta and lead a hellish life or they should suffer starvation. For them, there is no other option than this. Therefore if that area needs industrial development but it is only possible when a network of roads are laid out, electricity is made available to everyone and the financial outlay for that area is increased. If a sincere endeavour is made in this direction, then the people of this country will definitely get an opportunity to develop themselves. Here, I would like to tell you what has been taking place so far in this direction. The power and influential people at the helm of affairs not only pocketed the funds but also diverted them for the development of their areas. Consequently, uniform development didn't take place as it should have. The problem of unemployment has acquired gigantic tension in our country. Here, I would like to tell the Hon. Members that irrespective of the strength, the Governments at the centre have enjoyed, whether they be 425 or 150, they have all along been lacking in one respect, i.e. Governance, the strength a rul-

[Sh. Brij Bhushan Tiwari]

ing party enjoys won't serve any purpose unless we do not pay attention towards burning issues like unemployment, price-rise corruption, extravagant expenditure, unless we do not change our priorities, develop some kind of maturity in our way of thinking and broader our vision to encompass the whole country. In this regard, I would like to appreciate the Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar, for not taking decisions on the basis of party politics. He has always maintained that these are issues confronting the entire nation, the entire society and that everyone concerned should rise above their party lines and endeavour to resolve them. Thus, from the President's Address and the statements made by the Prime Minister, it has been made crystal clear that despite adverse circumstances including an empty treasury, scarcity of resources, disturbed conditions in the country and the consequent pressure on the Government, the co-operation of the masses, the power of the people is our greatest asset and if we utilise be this untapped power in a proper manner, we would be able to face all the problems facing the nation and solve them. Therefore, the co-operation of the masses is indispensable and this spirit of co-operation, of partnership can be inculcated in the masses only when they are made to realize that the Government is sincere about giving them the rights, which are due to them.

With these words, I support the motion and conclude.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

That an address he presented to the President in the following terms:-

That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this session are deeply

grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 21st February, 1991.' "

Hon. Members present in the House, whose amendments to the Motion of Thanks have been circulated, may, if they desire to move their amendments, send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the amendments they would like to move. Those amendments only will be treated as moved.

A list showing the serial numbers of amendments treated as moved will be put up on the Notice Board shortly. In case any Member finds any discrepancy in the list he may kindly bring it to the notice of the Officer at the Table without delay.

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI (Rewa): I have a problem. Since I am a blind man, it is not possible for me to indicate the number of my amendments right now. Therefore I request you to give me some time to move my amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will arrange somebody to assist you.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH(Aonla): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for dismissal of the U.P. Government keeping in view the recent riots." (17)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the

Address about establishing sugar mills at Aonla, Faridkot, Dataganj and Vinawar in U.P. with the help of Central assistance." (18)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about regular supply of diesel, Kerosene and foodgrains at fixed price and to give more attention towards rural areas." (19)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would provide primary education in rural areas by opening schools in every village." (126)

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would run a train from Chandausi to Farrukhabad via Badauan in Uttar Pradesh." (127)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would connect all the villages of India with metalled roads." (128)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would try to provide job to every person and water to every farm." (129)

That at the end of the motion, the follow-

ing be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would set up electric telephone exchange in Badaun, Dataganj, Vajeerganj, Kunwar-gaon and Vinawar in Uttar Pradesh." (130)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would construct an Air Port for Vayudoot Service in Faridpur Teshil of Bareilly district in Uttar Pradesh." (131)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Government abolishing sales-tax, would levy tax on production." (132)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Government would open degree in all Tehsils in the country." (133)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Government would waive all the loans of all farmers of India." (134)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Government would convert metre gauge line from Bareilly to

[Sh. Rajveer Singh]

Agra into broad gauge line in Uttar Pradesh." (135)

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA
(Mandsaur): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the abnormal deteriorating economic situation of the country." (20)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the inordinate delay in setting up of a gas based power plant in the State of Madhya Pradesh keeping in view the power crisis faced by the country and particularly by the State of Madhya Pradesh." (21)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to contain the instability, anarchy and widespread violence in the country." (22)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's resolve to play an effective role towards creating atmosphere conducive to communal harmony in the country." (23)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken by

the Government to provide necessary assistance to predominantly agricultural and tribal State of Madhya Pradesh for its irrigation projects." (24)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for early establishment of the proposed oil Refinery in Madhya Pradesh." (25)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for taking effective steps for controlling the terrorist and anti-national activities in the States of Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab." (26)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the difficulty being experienced by public due to rising prices, unplanned distribution of essential commodities and inefficiency of the Public Distribution System in the country." (27)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking immediate steps to control the activities of ULFA in Assam." (28)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the development of backward and tribes dominated State of Madhya Pradesh by providing transpor-

tation facilities and connecting it with a new Kota-Neemuch Railway line which has not yet been opened for transportation line and about conversion of Neemuch-Ratlam narrow gauge line into broad gauge line." (29)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about India's reaction towards the discrimination and inhuman treatment being meted out to Indians living abroad particularly in Surinam, Fiji and Nigeria." (30)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regrets that in the Address there is no mention about providing assistance to safeguard the interests of farmers of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, who produce exportable crops in Mandsaur, Ratlam and Ujjain district of Madhya Pradesh and Pratapgarh, and Jhaiawar areas of Rajasthan." (31)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the establishment of industries in the backward States particularly Madhya Pradesh where raw material for various industries is available in abundance." (200)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the necessity to establish gas-based power plants for solving the present power crisis in the country particularly in Madhya Pradesh." (201)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the development of National Highways and conversion of certain State roads into National Highways in the backward regions of the country particularly in Madhya Pradesh." (202)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about connecting Madhya Pradesh by air with other parts of the country as also starting air service in Neemach and Ujjain." (252)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to augment the supply of cooking gas in several towns of Madhya Pradesh and to provide gas connections to consumers in new places such as Shamgarh, Mansa, Garoth, Bhanpura and Sitamau in the district of Mandsaur." (253)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for taking measures to step up the production capacity of Alkaloid factory at Neemuch in Mandsaur district of Madhya Pradesh in order to avoid imports of codeine with a view to save foreign exchange." (254)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to declare the

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road from Nasirabad to Indore on Bombay-Delhi road route via Indore-Neemuch-Nasirabad-Ajmer-Jaipur, as national highway for convenience of transport." (255)

[English]

SHRI PYARELAL KHANDELWAL (Rajgarh): Sir, I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about Government's endeavour to construct a security belt from Kashmir to Kutch with a view to contain terrorist activities." (41)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the time-bound firm steps to be taken by Government to curb unabated terrorist violence in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and other parts of the country." (42)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the firm steps to be taken by Government to restore freedom of press threatened by militants in different parts of the country." (43)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps to be taken by Govt. towards implementation of the Directive Principle regarding protection of cow

and its progeny." (44)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the assurance of Government about time-bound programme for universal primary education." (45)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps to be taken by Government to alleviate the sufferings of farmers as a result of diesel shortage." (46)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention Government's firm steps to be taken in order to improve the performance of public sector undertakings." (47)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the Government's failure to expedite quick disposal of court cases and reduce the arrears in the different High Courts and the Supreme Court." (48)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the Government's apathy to the recent demolition of temples in Kashmir and the plight of Kashmiri migrants." (49)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the failure of Government to extend comprehensive crop insurance scheme to more crops as demanded by farmers in different States." (50)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"But regret that the Address fails to mention the failure of Government to check the rising unemployment in the country." (51)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"But regret that the Address fails to mention the specific and concrete steps proposed to be taken to curb generation and circulation of black money." (52)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the Government's specific plan to boost Indian economy by making Indian goods competitive in international markets." (53)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the Government's resolve for making electoral reforms to curb the menace of money and muscle power in elections." (54)

[*Translation*]

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the setting up of a gas-

based power station in Rajgarh district of Madhya Pradesh." (660)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up of the proposed oil refinery in Khandwa district of Madhya Pradesh." (661)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to set up an Agricultural Science Research Centre at Rajgarh district in Madhya Pradesh, Under the aegis of ICAR ." (662)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to set up a gas cracker plant in Vijaypur, Guna in Madhya Pradesh." (663)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to inter-link National Highways Nos. 3,12 and 26 namely Beawar-Sagar via Lateri-Siroj-Kurwaha and Guna-Sagar via Aaron-Siroj. " (664)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the setting up of industrial centres in Rajgarh Parliamentary Constituency of Madhya Pradesh to solve the unemployment problem." (665)

[English]

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contai) : I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the steps to be taken to include the Nepali Language in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (85)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the steps taken by the Government to implement the Constitutional provision regarding compulsory education to all the children below the age of 14 years." (86)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government has not yet been able to finalise the 8th Five Year Plan." (87)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about providing debt relief to all the Kisans, artisans, fishermen etc., who have already paid their due instalments instead of only the defaulters." (88)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Government to play an effective role as a member of the NAM to avoid the Gulf

war." (89)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret there is no mention in the Address that the Govt. failed to play the part of Leadership of the NAM." (90)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the reinstatement of the dismissed employees of the Railways." (91)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not indicate the problem of forced child labour in our country." (92)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about initiating the process of providing jobs to all the eligible persons." (93)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps taken so far by the Government to do away with the DEVDA SI System in the South." (94)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the Government's bending down before the IMF to have loan on irnominous terms." (95)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address precludes the failure of the Government to resolve the Ram temple and Babri-Masjid tangle." (96)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the Government's failure to tackle the Kashmir problem." (97)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the Government's failure to tackle the ULFA problem in Assam." (98)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the failure of the Government to stop killing of Harijans in the country." (99)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's failure to tackle the shortage of diesel in the country." (100)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the Government's abysmal failure to contain price rise." (101)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention about the failure of the Government to fix up the prices of the essential commodities at just rate and arrange for the distribution of those goods at such rate all over the country." (102)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to preserve the spirit of article 365 of the Constitution while issuing proclamations thereunder." (242)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the present position of investigations into the Bofors deal." (243)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to tackle the Punjab problem at top priority." (244)

[*Translation*]

SHRI R.L.P VERMA (Kodarma): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making the right to work a fundamental right in the interest of crores of educated unemployment persons in the country." (157)

[Sh. R.L.P. Verma]

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to fix prices of essential consumer goods at affordable level over the cost of production, to streamlining the distribution of these goods and for taking steps to evolve a well-planned policy regarding reasonable profits that should accrue to producers." (158)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to appoint a 'Price Commission' to regulate the prices of goods manufactured in Private and Public Sector." (159)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making a statutory provision regarding declaration of the cost of production of goods of Public utility produced in the country." (160)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to make provision for payment, in all cases, of interest on the amount deposited by the registrants for cars, scooters, telephone, LPG and electricity connections etc, till the goods and facilities are made available." (161)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about establishing consumer courts in all districts for enforcing the Consumer Protection Act, 1986." (162)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that in the Address due attention has not been given to take concrete steps to extend the forest area upto 33 per cent and to stop deforestation so as to make the environment better in conformity with the national policy." (163)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about acceding to the long standing demand since 1954 for creation of smaller States by giving Statehood to Jharkhand province or Vanachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal areas for ensuring administrative convenience." (164)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to lay the foundation stone for the proposed ordnance factory at Markachho-Kodarma (Bihar)." (165)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about fulfilling the long standing demand of completing the 294 Km rail line project from Girdih to Ranchi via Kodarma-Hazaribagh Nagar at the estimated cost of Rs.262.74 crores." (166)

That at the end of the motion, the follow-

ing be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to take concrete steps to augment the exploration of oil, coal and natural gas in order to meet fuel shortage." (167)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving the guarantee of implementing 'one family -one Job' scheme and about encouraging people to adopt "small family a happy family" norm for a better Society." (168)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's policy to raise the Income-tax limit upto Rs. 50,000 and fix the maximum rate at 35 per cent. For other income slabs so as to check the tendency of tax evasion, concealment of income and depositing money in foreign banks." (169)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to make the public sector undertakings more productive and profit-earning and their management more efficient by checking the interference of bureaucracy, so as to lessen the burden of deficit on the public." (170)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking steps to completely ban cow slaughter in the country

so that the 77 per cent rural population of the country are not deprived of manure and bio-gas." (171)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making a one or two Km. wide security belt on the border in the states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and deploying ex-servicemen equipped with arms in the security belt with a view to checking infiltration of enemy and settling the ex-servicemen there." (172)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to deport illegal migrants from Bangladesh and Pakistan." (173)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to urgently detect the lakhs of illegal migrants from neighbouring countries and to delete their names from the voters list." (174)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's policy for taking up schemes for providing more opportunities to women and for giving vocational training to them by setting up I.T.I. and Polytechnic institutes exclusively for them." (175)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

[Sh. R.L.P. Verma]

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to undertake programmes on war footing for providing smokeless stoves (Chulhas) to rural women and for setting up of fuel briquette plants at every subdivision so as to check illegal felling of trees." (176)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the Government's policy of evolving a comprehensive plan to protect forests, to improve cooperation between the tribals living in the forests and the officers of the forest department and to implement effectively the policy of reservation of 50 per cent posts of forest guards in favour of tribals." (177)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's policy regarding provision of rural roads, rural electrification, rural health services, supply of drinking water, primary education for all, setting up non-agricultural rural industries, extension of technology of agro-based industries to villages and setting up of offices of social forestry schemes at block level so as to implement the countrywide employment guarantee scheme." (178)

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV
(Azamgarh): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the increasing commu-

nal violence especially in Uttar Pradesh." (179)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the indiscriminate killing of people belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes due to prejudice and terror let loose by the State Police P.A.C. in connivance with the feudal forces and the killing of 13 persons belonging to Scheduled Cast in a fake encounter in Junda Police Station in Pratapgarh district, Uttar Pradesh." (180)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the measures taken by Government to curb the sky-rocketing rise in prices of foodgrains and essential commodities which is causing inconvenience to the poor, particularly to those belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are economically weaker." (181)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the concrete measures taken by the Government to fight the communal forces and religious fanaticism which are endangering secularism, integrity of the nation and peace in the country." (182)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken by Inter-State Council to maintain harmony

and cordial relations between the States and the Centre and also about the effective role of the Council." (183)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps to be taken to check black-marketing and smuggling which is challenging balanced economic development." (184)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps being taken by Government to face the situation arising out of the open sale and consumption of narcotics and intoxicating substances." (185)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about enacting a revolutionary land reform law with a view to entitling land to the tiller." (186)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about taking steps to declare agriculture as industry." (187)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about ensuring guarantee of food, clothing, shelter and education to unorganised labourers including agricultural labourers, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and also about granting them equal opportunities in

political, social, economic and other spheres of life." (188)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about widespread corruption continuing in public and political life and its eradication." (189)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to halt the exploitation of minors, women and others and the need to take steps for their emancipation." (190)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about evolving a broad policy of providing equal opportunities and uniform facilities for education to all." (191)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need of issuing directives to the States to recast the role of the Police and P.A.C. so that the life and property of religious minorities are protected and communal harmony is maintained." (192)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the present and future policies with regard to the Gulf war in view of the fact that India, as a non-aligned country, is considered an Apostle

[Sh. Ram Krishan Yadav]

of peace and had long friendly relations with Iraq." (193)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about checking the influence of money, media and mafia in elections to ensure free and fair elections." (194)

[English]

DR. VENKATESH KABDE (Nanded): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the ways of removing widespread malpractices prevailing in the training of rural youths for self employment under TRYSEM." (290)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address has failed to give an assurance that Statutory Development Board in respect of Konkan along with Marathwada and Vidarbha region of Maharashtra would be established." (291)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address fails to spell out special schemes for generating more employment opportunities particularly through Public Sector Undertakings." (292)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not spell out clearly as to how the steps to be taken by the Government for providing the benefits of Science and technology would reach the common man." (293)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not spell out any comprehensive laws to be enacted for the benefit of unorganised labour." (294)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret to say that the Address does not mention about providing ration cards for the slum dwellers and Jhopadi Jhuggi walas." (295)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret to say that the Address fails to mention the widespread criminal activities and drug trafficking in the border areas of Punjab resulting in danger to the lives of citizens." (296)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the atrocities committed by security personnel on the innocent people of Assam and Government failure to negotiate with the ULFA." (297)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret to say that the Address does not mention about the ways of harnessing the manpower for development of

the nations economy and removal of unemployment."(298)

[*Translation*]

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR GANGWAR (Bareilly): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about immediate implementation of reservation policy in regard to the backward classes in all fields including education." (417)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about giving priority to the economically backward people in the reservation for backward classes." (418)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the allocation of Rs. One thousand crores for development of Bareilly Metropolitan City of Uttar Pradesh as Counter Magnet City under National Capital Region Project in Eight Five Year Plan." (419)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding allocation of funds for ensuring supply of drinking water to all villages in the country on priority basis." (420)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that action would be taken to connect all villages of the country with approach roads on priority basis." (421)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to provide unemployment allowance to all the unemployed youths registered with Employment Exchanges till they get employment." (422)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding exempting the unemployed youths seeking jobs from postal expenditure and Rail/Bus fare." (423)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding determination of prices of agricultural produce on the basis of their inputs." (424)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making available to the farmers, the agricultural equipments, seeds, fertilizers and insecticides at subsidised rates." (425)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding setting up of small scale industries at each Gram Panchayat in the country." (426)

[Sh. Santosh Kumar Gangwar]

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the setting up of food processing industries in rural areas only." (427)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding reservation for women and handicapped persons in jobs." (428)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about ensuring availability of essential commodities by improving distribution system in rural areas." (429)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for making available sugar and other consumer items in equal quantity in rural and urban areas." (430)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the establishment of electronic telephone exchange of ten thousand lines in Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh." (431)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about abolition of child labour

system." (432)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address regarding provisions for equal wages for equal work." (433)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for fixing minimum salary to workers engaged in private organisations." (434)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the need for providing all necessary facilities including construction of sports, stadium, at each district centre with a view to encourage sports." (486)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the need for providing play grounds in all schools in the country." (487)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the fact that Government would make Public Sector Undertakings profitable which are undergoing losses worth crores of rupees." (488)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the

Address about Government's protest against the atrocities being committed on the people of Indian origin in Surinam." (489)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that Address does not mention about the Government's apathy towards solving the Ramjanam Bhoomi issue." (490)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the depletion of foreign exchange reserves and rising prices." (491)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about repealing of Article 370 in vogue in Kashmir." (492)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the proper arrangements to be made for the rehabilitation of migrants from Jammu and Kashmir." (493)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE
(Bolpur): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the failure of the Govt. to uphold the policy of Non-alignment and

peace in resolving the Gulf crisis." (436)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to play effective role as the leader of NAM to bring about a peaceful settlement to the Gulf crisis." (437)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the urgent need to include "Right to Work" as fundamental right in the Constitution." (438)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to accord right to education as fundamental right in the Constitution." (439)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the grave consequences of seeking loans from IMF that would damage Indian National interest." (440)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention that efforts would be taken to enact laws to ensure workers participation in management." (441)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not reiterate the commitment to ensure

Somnath Chatterjee]

social justice and equality and upliftment of Backward Classes." (442)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

but regret that the Address does not mention about the measure to be taken to constitute the National Commission for women with adequate power vested in it." (443)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

but regret that the Address does not mention the need to effectively curb the abetting of, and, atrocities on Harijans, SCs, STs, and downtrodden in the Country." (444)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to reform the judicial system in the country." (445)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the urgent need to enact laws for Electoral reforms." (446)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to check the abnormal rise in prices of essential commodities including edible oils." (447)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for giving powers to the States to levy consignment tax to assist them to face the financial crisis." (448)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing industrial sickness and closures rendering thousands of workers unemployed." (449)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the proper rehabilitation of Kashmiri refugees." (450)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to fulfil the longstanding demands for including Nepali and Manipuri languages in the Eighth Schedule to the constitution." (451)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to implement the National Transport Policy Committee's recommendation in order to gradually phase out the freight equalisation scheme since it has not served the objective of regional development leading to non-optimal location of industries." (452)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely-

"but regret that the Address does not

mention about the tendency of the Govt. to privatise Public Sector enterprises." (453)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely-

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the enforcement of the Prasar Bharati Act (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Act, 1990 regarding autonomy to AIR and Doordarshan." (454)

SHRI VAMANRAO MAHADIK (Bombay South Central): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely-

" but regret that there is no mention about the setting up of statutory development boards for Vidharbha, Marathwada and Konkan and the rest of Maharashtra in spite of heavy public demand." (507)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :-

" but regret that there is no mention of a concrete policy for upliftment of the weaker sections." (508)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :-

" but regret that there is no mention about providing shelters to landless people, pavement and slum dwellers in MUMBAI (Bombay) and other cities of Maharashtra." (509)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely-

but regret that there is no mention about concrete steps to be taken to

control terrorism in various parts of the country." (510)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely-

" but regret that the Address does not mention about the solution of prolonged boundry dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka." (511)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about the development programmes for the Konkan region, namely, West Coast Sea shore especially about passengers ferry services, improvement of fishing industry, coastal highway in Konkan, Konkan railways, employment Gawareanie Scheme and poverty eradication." (512)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about development of Konkan railway particularly between Kolhapur-Karakwalisection in Maharashtra." (513)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about the crop Insurance Scheme for mango, lemon etc. " (514)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the schemes for development of sports in the country. " (515)

That at the end of the motion, the follow

[Sh. Vamanrao Mahadik]

ing be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about oil exploration in West Coast ie. Konkan region in Maharashtra. " (516)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"But regret that the Address fails to mention about the measures to be taken to prevent continuous flaring of natural Gas in off-shore wells around Bombay High and its proper utilisation in the Country." (517)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up high powered TV centre at Konkan's Sindhudurg District in Maharashtra. " (518)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the reduction of unemployment problem in the country." (519)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about measures to be taken for curtailing rising prices of essential commodities." (520)

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI

(Reva): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:

" but regret that the Address fails to give an assurance for inclusion of 'Right to Work' as a fundamental right." (547)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about effective implementation of land reforms laws to provide agricultural land to the landless agricultural labourers " (548)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about effective steps to be taken to check the continuous rise in prices of essential commodities in the country." (549)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about the steps to be taken to put an end to the parallel economy in the country." (550)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about the effective steps to be taken to check the use of money and muscle power in elections." (551)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to

mention about providing old age pension in the country." (552)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about giving financial assistance to State Governments for providing tubewells for irrigation purpose in all the villages in the country." (553)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address does not mention about any assurance to end the practice of paying less than one third or one-fourth of the minimum wages to the labourers employed by the contractors for work in public and private sectors." (554)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to put an end to the practice of engaging child labour." (555)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to mention about giving of pension to agricultural labourers workers, artisans, beedi workers and coal miners of more than 50 years of age." (556)

SHRIBHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): I beg to move:-

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making Centre-State

relations more democratic on the basis of recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission." (574)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about containing the rise in prices by taking measures such as denying loans to private wholesale dealers in essential commodities by the Government financial institution, bringing about parity in the prices of agricultural and industrial products, strengthening the Public Distribution System and checking black marketing." (575)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about immediate implementation of multi-purpose projects of Brah on river Kosi, Sheesha Pani on Kamala, Noonthar on Bagmati and Mahanandi, Karnali and Pancheshwar in the context of Prime Minister's recent visit to Nepal which would be in the interest of both the countries." (576)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about speedy implementation of land ceiling Acts in urban and rural areas and other laws relating to land reforms." (577)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing jobs to all by implementing the policy of 'one man one job' and launching a national move-

[Sh. Yamuna Prasad Shastri]

ment by giving funds and resources to all for productive self employment." (578)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about inclusion of Maithli, Manipuri, Nepali, Santhali, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani, and Konkan languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (579)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making improvement in the environment of country and about increasing the fruit production by planting fruit bearing trees on both sides of the roads, railway tracks and on river banks." (580)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about reopening and modernisation of all sick Industries including Ashok Paper Mills Limited, Madhubani and Darbhanga and Fruit Processing Industry of Aoni." (581)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about ensuring labour participation in management in all the private and public sector establishment." (582)

That at the end of the motion, the follow-

ing be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention at the Address about inclusion of 'Right to Work' and 'Right to Education' in the Fundamental Rights." (583)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about introduction of teaching of Yogasan and Ayurveda in all the schools, colleges and universities." (584)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about recognising all the mother tongues as medium of instruction to ensure successful literacy drive at the earliest." (585)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that the Address fails to criticism the U.S. led Allied forces for destruction of Iraq in the name of freeing Kuwait." (586)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about banning the entry of multinational companies in India, adoption of the policy of industrial self-reliance and providing dominant role to public sector." (587)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

" but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's determination to check prices and to curb

black marketing of diesel, petrol and kerosene." (588)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the determination of the Government to make progressive use of Hindi as official language in place of English and promoting all other Indian languages." (589)

[*Translation*]

SHRI KAILASH MEGHWAL (Jalore):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, Motion of thanks on President's Address has been moved and I rise to oppose this motion.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the President's Address is an important annual event. It indicates the course of action present Government is going to adopt and the programmes that would be launched to strengthen the country and lead the nation on the path of progress. But if one goes through this document which runs into nineteen pages, one will find that it contains nothing but a negative approach and a picture of frustration.

It looks as if a student has been asked to write an article on the problems, despair and dejection faced by the country. It has nowhere been mentioned in the address that to which direction the Government wants to take the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, this country has a huge population of eighty crores. A point has just been raised as to whether this Government is stable or not. This is a major problem which has nowhere been mentioned in the Address. The greatest problem that the country faces today is the problem of political anarchy, instability and uncertainty and this phase has started after 7th November. I

therefore submit that the congress party which extended its support to the Government at the centre has been indicating that they could withdraw support any moment when difference of opinion may develop. I can say in very unambiguous terms that these were signals to the country about their future course of action. Some of their top ranking leaders were of the view that they would withdraw their support within 15 days while there were others who asserted that the Government will not last beyond seven days. Today when this question was put to the Prime Minister he replied that he has no idea about it but as long as he is there he continues to be the Prime Minister. When the Prime Minister is asked he says he will continue to remain in office for full five years. Thus we are coming across different view points and contradictory statements. It gives the impression that the Government is just like a trolley which cannot run on its own and has to be pushed. Can this kind of Government lead the country to its destination. We cannot have any faith on this kind of a Government. Therefore, I wish to say that the Address has been drafted by the cabinet which is dependent on the support of someone else.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to draw your attention towards a specific issue. In this country the need to have an anti-defection law was felt for the first time in 1967. Assembly elections were held in 1967. The monopoly of Congress in ruling the country came to an end and SVD governments were formed in the entire country. In Uttar Pradesh, SVD government was formed as a result of mass defection and so was the case in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. Thereafter in 1970, the need to enforce the anti-defection law was felt because the process of defection proved to be dangerous in our political process as it had no element of stability. As such it was essential to curb it. After 1977 the need of anti-defection law was discussed at length to improve the political situation of the

[Sh. Kailash Meghwal]

country and this move continued. In order to give this move a concrete shape it is true that in between 1977 and 1980 when the Janata Party was in power and Shri Morarji Desai was the Prime Minister, a move to consider the anti-defection law was made and was under consideration but the same was scuttled at that time. For this I congratulate my friends from the Congress party for bringing the anti-defection law for the first time in 1985 for improving the political situation of the country and for bringing an important amendment since farming of the constitution. With this amendment the question of disqualifying any one has also come to an end. In view of this I submit that article 74 and 75 of the constitution empowers the President to appoint the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister is supposed to appoint the Members of his Council of Minister at his discretion. But after the enforcement of the anti-defection law, it no longer remains the discretion of the President. On the other hand after the enforcement of anti-defection law it has become a question of pure mathematics that to whom the President should invite to form the government because party position of each party, the symbol on the basis of which the member has been elected is fixed, the Member belongs to that party. So the majority of the party would be decided on the basis of record on the table. I kept this thing and definition of anti-defection law and its importance before you to tell the House the situation which developed in the country on 23rd October. On 22nd October the Bharatiya Janata Party withdrew its support from the government and as a result of this Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh lost majority. On 23rd October in such a critical situation, it was the duty of the President to call for his resignation. But Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh claimed to prove his majority on the floor of the House. This point of proving majority in Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies has become a regular feature since

then. I fail to understand this and I want to enlighten myself. I wish the Senior Members who are present in this House to enlighten me about this simple mathematics. I submit that it is an offence and after having committed an offence, situation becomes vague and any one can defect. It is an offence to defect and they wish to run administration of the country on the basis of defection. The objective of the aforesaid law was to bring improvement in the prevailing circumstances and political situation of the country but the people who claimed to run the Government on values and principles and as per the provisions of the constitution gagged those objectives and stated that they would prove their majority on the floor of the House on the 7th November but how could they do so. Was there any change in the situation in between 23rd October and 7th November. It was followed by a move to form a new Government and Shri Chandrashekhar came forward to form the Government. Till date there have been nearly 50 members in each Council of Ministers. During the regime of Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru the number was 56-55-58 Ministers and during the tenure of Shri Rajiv Gandhi it was something between 50-55. I mean to say that it was 50 to 55 on an average but at present there were 32 Ministers in the Council of Ministers out of which 5 have quitted and thus final strength of the council of Minister was 27 and now the situation is such that the party extending its support to the ruling party is unable to tell the name the Minister of External Affairs when asked by Shri Somnath. My intention is not to taunt anyone but I wish to say that experience cannot be replaced. The Janata Dal (S) has formed the Cabinet but they are new. They have constitutional authority to form the Government but they do not have the experience to rule the country and ironically the Prime Minister has high hopes that he will be able to run administration of the country smoothly.

(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, my submission is that in the prevailing circumstances the need of the hour is to have a competent, capable and experienced person. A Council of Ministers with barely 27 Members is functioning in place of 55. Will they be able to rule the country and where will they lead the country to. The reason behind all this is that we are not able to look beyond grabbing power. The sole aim of the politicians has been to grab power by any means and for achieving this they are prepared to stoop any low. Owing to this reason the political situation of the country has deteriorated which is a very unfortunate thing.

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI: You are also a victim of the same.

SHRI KAILASH MEGHWAL: I am not its victim. I was a Member of Jan Sangh right from the beginning and thereafter when B.J.P. was formed became its Member and I am fully devoted to this party. I do not believe in defection. I still have full faith on the manifesto and the principles laid down by my party. I am not a victim of all this but in real terms you are victim as you appear to be claimant of any seat in the council of Ministers and the kind of speech that you delivered today gives a feeling that you will certainly get one.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to submit that in the country two kinds of trends are in vogue. Initially freedom movement was launched in the country and the country attained independence. Thereafter the country was ruled by national politics and politics based on principles. Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are today in this critical situation on account of deterioration in the national politics. Today the country has no national politics and on account of its failure, the country is ruled by regional politics. The uprise of parties like Asam Gana Parishad, Telugu Desam and Sikhistan is gaining momentum in this coun-

try and politics based on caste and creed has taken the place of politics based on principles (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I presume I am the first person, who has stood to speak from my party.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have taken about 15 minutes. What can I do? The total time allotted to your party is one hour and 15 minutes. Even now, eight names are there, they will have to speak. What can I do? And if your party says, I can give you some more time. But that much time will be reduced for others. So, please conclude.

[*Translation*]

SHRI KAILASH MEGHWAL: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will conclude my speech after making my final submission. I want to say that we have not been able to run politics of principles in this country. The politics of castes has taken the place of principles. The prime objectives of our constitution are to eliminate casteism, to keep politics away from casteism, religion and sects. The constitution stipulates that caste, religion and communalism will have no place in the development of the country. But today casteism and communalism are emerging on large scale and if this tendency is not checked, in due course there will be demands for Gujanistan, Ahirstan, Jatistan and Khalistan, This tendency is increasing gradually. References have been to reservation. In this connection I would like to tell a few points to both the sides, the treasury benches as well as the opposition. Reservation is an interim arrangement. Are they prepared to explain on to that does it mean by interim arrangement. Here they taken any help of the Directive Principles of State policy. What does the 45th principle of the Directive Principles of State policy say? It provides that

[Sh. Kailash Maghwal]

children aged upto 14 years will be provided compulsory primary education and this work will be complete within 10 years. Today the limit of 10 years time is still there in the constitution. Nobody felt the need to amend the above provision after the lapse of 10 years' time limit. According to article 25, every child will be protected from exploitation and no child will be allowed to work. Both the above provisions are complementary to each other. With the passage of time, we have not been able to implement the provisions of the Directive Principles of State Policy. Today the percentage of literacy in the country is 30 and of which Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are only 8 percent. I ask the present Government and the politicians to let me know whether there is any legislation which would ensure that nobody in the country would starve. Is there any date beyond which nobody will remain illiterate in the country. Are they able to fix a date by which every one will have a house to live in. Will they be able to can they fix a date by which every one will have to services of doctors and nurses. Is any such date mentioned in the President's Address. It is a document just to complete formality. I thought of speaking a list, but there is not much time. I therefore, conclude.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura West): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I stand to support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address to the joint sitting of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. A section of the national press has termed the President's Address as a 'lame duck' Address and there is a specific reason for this. The main reason is that this is the first time in independent India that some Opposition parties have boycotted the President's Address; not only that, this is the first time in the history of India they have said that they are boycotting the Address of the

President because of the President's activity in certain matters with the present Government. Never in the past, has anybody boycotted any President's Address on this ground. In the past, political parties have boycotted Parliament against the misdeeds of certain Governments which were in power whether it is Congress (I) or others. But the highest chair of the country, the President has been criticised; not only that, one of the political parties, the National Front in a Press note has indicated that the President was a party to the misuse of the 10th Schedule of the Constitution.

Those who have done it have created an unhealthy precedent in the politics of India and I strongly condemn it. I am happy to see that today the leader of the BJP while speaking in this House has amended his Party stand. When he objected to the presentation of the Vote-on-Account, he has mentioned, " We have no disrespect when we boycotted the President's Address. I thank him for this and I feel that should be the attitude.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum): They never said it.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: They said it earlier and I have the Press clippings. All political parties have said that they were boycotting the President's Address because of President's action". Some have said on Tamil Nadu and some have said on something else, allies. Even today Mr. Somnath Chatterjee has said to the Speaker, " You have issued a notice; you have called the Budget Session. Now you are allowing a session which is not a Budget session." Thereby he said that this President's Address was also not President's Address by implication.

The boycott has been done when the President in his Address has said, " set aside

internal differences, petty squabbles to rise as one in the interest of the nation." This is the appeal of the Government. And this was the reaction of the so-called responsible Opposition Parties of the country.

My friend from BJP has spoken and said that the President has not given any direction in this speech.

SHRI KAILASH MEGHWAL: He has not given any direction, according to the Directive Principles of the Constitution.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: You have not read the President's Address. Please refer to page 3, para 2:

"Communal harmony in the country has been vitiated mainly due to the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy." The Address of the President has reflected the attitude of the present Prime Ministers of the country who is always very out-spoken and straight-forward. This is one Address where it has been said that the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy has cost this country hundreds of lives.....

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA (Jadavpur): It has been started by you.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I do not want to enter into argument with a lady Member. I am not saying anything against your Party.

Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid issue has created a religious division in the country.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He is speaking against what his leader has said.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: If I am speaking against my leader, you leave it to me my future. Who knows we may be together very soon! (*Interruptions*)

The hon. Member from BJP has just now said that this Government which is now in power has come in power with the help of a leader who was responsible for passing Anti-Defection Bill and he has complimented our leader for that. Then he said why that leader himself did not object to this and why he supported a minority Government. The communique was issued by the President of India when Mr. Chandra Shekhar was invited to head the Government.

The President himself has said that the country has been divided into caste and religious divisions and, today the country is not prepared to face a mid-term poll and hence Shri Chandra Shekhar has been invited and the majority party has given him support. A political question can be raised as to whether what we have done is right or wrong. I do not know when the next elections would be held when the people of this country will decide the future. I may lose the election. Even if I lose, I have done a good job. Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Advani axis has spoiled the country and plunged it into caste and religious divisions. That is why the country is facing this turmoil today. It is going to be a country-wide one. In order to save the country from this turmoil, Congress has supported this Government with full responsibility. We shall continue to support it till that time that this Government continues to good work.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Is it good work? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: His leader repeatedly say that there is no Government. Whom is he supporting? Can he explain?

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: The President in his Address has touched upon Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and Tamil Nadu. The one common factor in these four States is the terrorist activity and, in his summing up

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all these terrorist activities in the country, he has said that political discussions are going on to solve this problem and, at the same time, Government does not mind to discuss with terrorists, if that discussion is within the Constitution of India.

This is the message he has given to the country. Verry good. But, what are we seeing in Kashmir today? We have seen that Pakistan is directly helping and harboring the terrorists in Kashmir. What have we seen in Punjab? Shri Simranjit Singh Mann, with whom the then Government of Shri V.P. Singh had a very long affair for a certain time and with whom the present Prime Minister also wanted to have discussion, has said " I am giving an ultimatum to the Central Government. If they do not withdraw within 40 to 48 hours the army of para-military forces, we shall be at liberty to take a decision." He hinted that he would declare Khalistan. Not only that.

During the Gulf War, irrespective of difference of opinion of the political parties, the best thing in India is that we always united when international crisis comes and when it affects our country, all parties have said that " We condemn America for what is being done in the Gulf War." Unfortunately, this Mann has not only supported, they even offered to give people to the American army, to fight the battle in the Gulf War.

Now, in Assam the ULFA terrorists in one respect have declared cease fire and, on the other hand, they are killing people. In Assam, 80 Congress people have been killed. ULFA has given an ultimatum that all national parties shall have to resign from their primary membership and there is no relevance of the national parties in Assam. I am glad that all political parties have condemned it and they have said on gunpoint " We are

not going to change our loyalty to our political ism."

Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and Tamil Nadu, everywhere terrorist activity has taken ride.

President's addresses were given previously in February, 1990 and now on 21st February, 1991.

15.00 hrs.

For this period, from November 7 to the date of the President's Address, the present Government is responsible. Regarding the remaining months, they belong to whom? They belong to Shri V.P. Singh; Who was Shri V.P. Singh? His one crutch was the Left Parties and the other crutch was the BJP. But the Left Parties have never withdrawn their support though they said that their support was critical. They said that the people's mandate was against the Congress. I accept it. The people's mandate was against the Congress. At the same time, the people's mandate was for the BJP, the CPM, the CPI, the Janata Dal Party to unite together and give this country a direction for five years. It is you, the BJP, because of your petty *Ram Bhakti*, you have ditched the previous Government. You have ditched the Opposition movement in this country. It has been proved that on both the occasions i.e. in 1977 and now, the Opposition has failed to live up to the expectations of the people's mandate against the Congress. Every time, you fight against each other. Every time, you have changed not one Prime Minister. In the past three Prime Ministers were changed. This time, till now, two Prime Ministers were changed. I do not know what will be the situation in the months to come. The BJP which give sermons to the Congress (I) must search their hearts within. You are cancerous party to this country. This country can never survive with communalism. This is not the character of this country. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI ARIF BEG (Betul): Shri Rajiv Gandhi can go to Ayodhya. He can Moue election propaganda. He can give the slogan of Ramrajya. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: We have come with *Ganga-jal*....(*Interruptions*)

My Dear Mr. Arif Baig you have lost in Ayodhya. The CPM is here. You are crying. You are shouting. These things will not pay you dividends.....(*Interruptions*) They did not pay you dividends.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ARIF BEG: Rajiv Gandhi can make propaganda there. Rajiv Gandhi can start his election campaign for the Lok Sabha elections from Ayodhya. He can give the slogan of 'Ram Rajya'. If he gives the slogan, he is secular and if we give, we are communal. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: There is criticism against Shri Rajiv Gandhi's Government. I want to make it clear. (*Insterruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, please. Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, are you yielding?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: What can I do? please control them. (*Insterruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever he said, will not be recorded. If any Member wants to ask any question, he must stand up and seek

the permission of the Member who is speaking.

(*Interruptions*) ^^

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Sir, I appreciate the feelings of the hon. Members of the Opposition. While Shri Rajiv Gandhi said about *Ram Rajayatve*, it means a Government with ideal activities, honest activities and that was the main theme of the *Ram Rajayatve*. In *Ram Rajayatve* all religions could survive. But in their *Ram Rajayatve*, only the Hindus can survive and the others cannot survive. That is what they mean. What Shri Rajiv Gandhi meant was that all the religions could survive.

Now I come to another point which has been raised in the President's Address and which is a very valid point. This is regarding Jammu & Kashmir. The President has observed : " Government feels that if extraneous assistance to the extremists is eliminated a great deal of subversive activities in Jammu and Kashmir will abate." Last Friday, after the speech of our colleague Prof. Saif-ud-din Soz, he got a message saying that his daughter, who is a married lady, has been kidnapped by certain groups. Now, one particular militant group has owned the responsibility that it has taken that lady into its captivity. This is the second time such a thing has happened. In the past, we know that the then Hon Minister's daughter was also kidnapped. In Assam, we have seen that the General Manager of the Indian Oil Corporation along with his son and the driver was also kidnapped. This is one parameter. I would like to say that I come from an area where I am also figuring in the hit-list of the ULFA.

I got warnings; I got letters. I agree that it is not possible for the Government to protect each and every person. But wher-

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ever such incidents have taken place, it has been observed that there is a slackness on the part of the Government. Recently, one of our General Secretaries Shri Manvendra Sharma has been killed in the upper reach of Guwahati. What happened? With all respects to the Governor of Assam, because he was talking with the ULFA leaders, he withdrew all the para-military forces from all the sensitive area of Assam to give a message to the ULFA that there was condition to talk. Was it proper? As a result, one of our Congress members died in the most worst affected area of Ujjanbazar of Guwahati. About six months back, the brother of Shri Hiteswar Saikia was killed and many other Congress members have been killed. In spite of the fact that the President has mentioned these things, it is happening in various parts of the country. It is high time now that the Government think of deputing one battalion in each State, fully equipped with sophisticated arms to counter terrorism because whether it is West Bengal, whether it is Delhi, whether it is Kashmir, this 303 and the SLR rifle is not an answer to the terrorist activities. As a result of this, terrorist is always taking the upper hand. We always condemn our police. It has happened in one of the encounters in West Bengal when some terrorists were fighting with the West Bengal police, Unfortunately, the West Bengal police took 48 hours to capture those terrorists because they were handicapped due to non-availability of weapons.

I was reading a book last week on terrorism in the world. In that book, the author, who is a Britisher, has written that nowhere in the world if once terrorism starts, it has completely eliminated. Each State has to prepare itself in a manner so that they can effectively counter the situation. I have seen it in Mizoram; I have seen it in Nagaland. Many of our Congress Ministers who had gone have come back and they feel that

terrorism has not ended. Many of them pay monthly levy to the terrorists in Nagaland, in Mizoram and in certain other places. It is a slur on us. Today what has happened in Darjeeling? Today, Shri Geishing is facing trouble from certain sections of the people. Do you mean to say that the Government is responsible for this? You have given the Hill Council; you have given the programme. Let them participate. Let us be above party lines on this. I want to suggest this because the President has stated, " we have started political discussions and we will come to a decision." One of the main reason for this was the imposition of the President's rule in Tamil Nadu. I do not want to go into details about Tamil Nadu because the Minister of State has already replied about this in this House. We have seen the nexus between ULFA and Tamils. We have seen recently how the Tamils have become powerful. We have seen recently a very very sad death of the Minister of Defence of Sri Lanka. They have not only killed the Minister but 29 others also. Those who say that it was not proper to impose the President's rule, I think, they are under-estimating the situation in Tamil Nadu. I know, the killer of the SP, Dibrugarh was treated in Vellore hospital in Tamil Nadu at the behest of the very important DMK leader of Tamil Nadu. This was the situation.

While discussing about this Government and supporting this Government for the President's Address, we have our reservations about the present price level and the price rise in the country. We have, times without number, said that the present Government should take positive steps. I am glad that the Minister of Civil Supplies is present here. The other day in the House he has replied that they are taking action. I am thankful and grateful to him. But I would like to draw your attention, even the essential commodities which are the controlled things and which are to be supplied by the Centre and to be distributed by the State Governments are not available in Delhi market. This

was the position last week. People go for rice and what and they cannot get them. Why has this position come about? This needs a better monitoring by the Government and I hope the Government will take steps to safeguard the essential commodities distribution and see that the price will come down—the prices which are monitored ones and fixed—in the country in a proper manner.

I was reading a Bengali newspaper the other day. There was a letter written by a Bengali gentleman from Baharain in Ananda Bazar Patrika that Chandra Shekharji and Jyoti Basuji have said that because of the gulf war price rise in there. But I am in Baharain and because of the gulf war there is no price in Baharain. What is this, we are affected by the gulf war and how India is affected by the Gulf war? Whatever be the situation—whether Ram Janambhoomi or Mandal Commission aftermath—the country is facing enormous price rise. It needs better monitoring.

In the President's address he has mentioned about the economic condition of the country. He has also mentioned about the corrective steps the Government is going to take. Today we have heard, our Finance Minister presenting the Vote on Account said that at the present level of taxation there will be a deficit of Rs.9990 crores in the next year's budget. It means that a June—or as he said in his budget, in May—there will be a general budget and in that budget the Government will take corrective steps.

Before this Government came to power, the Government which was there have promised many things. They promised right to work, one-rank-one pension, all the loans below Rs.10000 to all the farmers will be completely wiped out, etc., I don't want to say anything on that. I want to tell them to read the Press statement of Shri Ajit Singh, their leader. What he said is that the declaration of waiving of Rs.10000 agricultural

loans was a hoax by the V.P. Singh Government because by putting conditions to that nothing has been done in reality.

Today the hon. Finance Minister has said that there was no provision in the budget for the writing off that money and he has to make an allocation of another Rs.500 crores to write off that Rs.10000 loans. This is V.P. Singh's style. He promises and gives lofty ideas to the nation. Now before the election is held he has given the verdict that the next Prime Minister of the country will be from amongst the downtrodden people, as if he is controlling all the votes together with Mr. Somnath Chatterjee and Mr. Indrajit Gupta. He has decided as to who will be the next prime minister of the country. Yesterday he has said it. I have given 27%, I will give another 10% for the economically backward classes. Let him not say that. When the Congress Party leaders met him they said that they shall support the amendment of the Constitution provided the economically backward people among the higher status people are included. He did not do it. He does everything after leaving the power. He has given an assurance that 30% women and 50% backward community will be given. This is a very good idea. But what will happen to Mr. Somnath Chatterjee and Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee and some others who are all from the upper caste? They should think of it. CPM has all higher caste Brahmins. They don't believe in going to the backward classes. So everything must be thought of very carefully.

I will not prolong more. Before I conclude I would like to say this much.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He is the champion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes! (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Congress always stood for the religious and linguistic minorities. (*Interruptions*) We have

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proved our commitment in the past; we will prove our commitment in future. But, we would not believe the stand taken by the BJP; we would not believe the stand taken by the Janata Dal. Our policy is clear. We believe that all castes and religions can survive in this country. We will live upto the expectations of the President. President has also appealed that we should forget small differences, small squabbles and we should unite together to stand behind the Government. With this appeal of the Government, of the President, we have stood behind this Government, in spite of the fact that their number is 51. As an hon. Member earlier said, "Number never counts; it is the action that counts". By and large, we support the action which is now being taken by the Government. But, we shall not hesitate to criticism, because, I know the present Prime Minister is not averse to criticism. He expected the constructive criticism and it is there. It has been proved today in this House, when the matter about the action taken by the Haryana Police was raised. He acted very promptly and he assured that action will be taken. (*Interruptions*) Whatever I have said about Punjab, Assam, and Jammu & Kashmir, I believe that immediate action will be taken. (*Interruptions*) Sir, with these words, I support the motion of thanks on the President's Address. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE:
Sir, he now appealed to all of us to forget the small and minor matters and remember about the bigger ones, like we, who are different and big. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI:
Mr. Chairman, Sir, the President's Address to the joint sitting of both the Houses this time is more disappointing than ever before. I had been an M.L.A. of the Madhya Pradesh

Assembly for two terms and in the Lok Sabha also it is my second term. During this period I have heard the Addresses of the Governors and the President several times. There used to be some substance in those Addresses which had the planning programmes & policies of development for the coming year. The addresses used to have all these details. The hon. President read out that the Government decides. He read one the policy of the Government duly prepared by them. This year's Address is a black spot in the political history and the parliamentary history of the country. There is hardly any indication as to what will be done in the country in the coming year and what problems will be solved? Just now one of the former Ministers belonging to the Congress Party was saying that the opposition Parties have insulted the President by boycotting his Address. We did not insult him as much as they did. At the very outset of the Address there is a mention to the effect that.

[*English*]

" I wish you the very best for the successful completion of the budgetary and legislative business before you.

[*Translation*]

This is what the Government has said through the President's Address and also the Budget has not been presented by the Government. If anybody has insulted the President, it is the present Government and its supporting Party, Congress. It is not in the case of Tamil Nadu only, in the very first sentence under this policy, the Government proved itself to be untruthful. It devalued the highest office in the country. What has happened in last 3-4 months in the country? They have devalued the highest office of the country by imposing President's Rule in Tamil Nadu without getting a report from the State's Governor. Similarly, they have devalued the Delhi High court which, is one of the highest

judicial institutions of the country. They submitted an affidavit through the Attorney General stating that the hon. Speaker's rights fail within Articles 32 and 226 of the Constitution. Not only that, they got a stay order issued by the High Court by submitting an affidavit. As a result of that the High court had to change its verdict the next day and the Attorney General had not only to change his affidavit but also had to give in writing that Speaker's powers are unlimited and the court has no right to interfere. They devalued the Speaker's office which is the highest position in this august House. They devalued the position of the office of the person whom all the elected representatives of the country pay their reverence and above whose chair the words "dharma chakra pravarttanaya" have been deficted. They allowed the members who were declared disqualified by the hon. Speaker, to continue as Ministers till one day before the start of the session. Whose devaluation was this? It was the devaluation of the hon. Speaker. It was the devaluation of democracy. In this way they are creating such a situation in the country on which nobody has any confidence. They have ruined the dignity of all the high offices of the country viz. the High courts, the President, the speaker of Lok Sabha and the Constitution. They have destroyed the dignity of all these high offices.

The hon. President said the following in the second para of his Address. that:-

[*English*]

"In these difficult times we must reaffirm our commitment to the basic principles—democracy secularism and socialism—the very pillars of our nationhood."

[*Translation*]

They have said that democracy, secularism and socialism are the best pillars of our nationhood. They tell others to have faith in

democracy, but do they themselves have faith in democracy? File States in the country are under President's Rule at present. These are Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Pondicherry and Tamil Nadu. One after the other, President's Rule has been imposed on all these file States is this their faith in democracy? The States which have a In a democratic system the State Governments enjoy a lot of rights. Ours is a federal structure. Unitary form of Government cannot run the country. Even if it is introduced for a very short period, everybody knows as to what will be its consequences. Today Yugoslavia is disintegrating. Everybody is knows what is happening in the U.S.S.R,- even though they do not have the type of democracy we are having. Ours is a multi-party democracy. They do not have the type of constitution we have. Some years ago there was dictatorship in that country. Some of the States of that country want to become independent. They held a referendum in Lithuania. Ninety per cent of its voters said that they want to secede from the Soviet Union, Voting was also done in Latauan and Istonia also. The President of the U.S.S.R, Gorbachev did not impose President's Rule in these states. Of course, he had said that a need to impose central rule could arise. But he did not impose Central Rule. But in our country the Government has imposed President's Rule in Assam and Tamil Nadu. May I know what had happened there heaven with the result of which Government said that the people of the State were spreading terrorism. In this speech, Shri V.P. Singh exposed it thoroughly. During her tenure as the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi gave Rs. four crores to the LTTE and 38 camps were run to impart training in the use of weapons. All this was done in Tamil Nadu. You sent LTTE cadres from Madras to Sri Lanka and when the Indian Peace keeping Force was engaged in the operation in that Island as many as 3800 Jawans of IPKF were killed in the period operation. At that time also, aid was being given to LTTE from here. But this

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time you invented and excuse because you do not like the State Governments being run by the opposition parties. You have no faith in democracy and that is why you asked the Governor to give a report to the effect that an anarchiac situation prevails in the State. But when the Governor refused to oblige, you imposed the President's Rule without the Governor's report. Such a thing has happened for the first time in the history of independent India. Boycott of President's Address by the opposition is nothing new, out imposition of President's Rule without obtaining Governor's report has taken place for the first time. This is what you mean by democracy...

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI : This has happened 8 times in the past also.

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI: This type of misuse of article 356 without Governor's report has never taken place in the past. What you are referring to was done due to other reasons. The State Assemblies were dissolved following the mandate given by the people in the Lok Sabha elections. That was altogether a different situation as the ground was totally different.

Sir, now I want to take secularism. Are you concerned about secularism in this country? Is the Congress Party is the Government worried about secularism in the country? You say that we shall restore the Babri Masjid—Ramjanambhoomi tangle through talks. There cannot be a better solution to this issue than solving it through talks. But I do not think it is possible because the Vishwa Hindu Parishad has made it clear that they are not going to hold any more talks on the issue. Not only that, they have said that one crore people are going to gherao the Parliament on 4th April. Will secularism in this country survive in such a situation? What is this Government doing (*Interrup-*

tions) This is not democracy. The unity and integrity of this country, the cultural and political character... (*Interruptions*) you can speak later on as right now I am on my legs. From times immemorial, our country has possessed a special cultural character or identity. People belonging to different faiths and ideologies have been adopting their independent ways of worshipping. This is a country where Gautam Buddha had send in Banaras, where cent per cent people are 'Sanatani' as also in Sarnath that God is non-existent and don't go by what Vedas say. But great tolerants as they were, our ancestors did not harm Buddha physically or otherwise nor did they take dig at him. On the contrary, they pronounced him God and accepted him as the twenty third 'Avatar'. The result was the due to that tolerance, we remained united as one nation. Their has not been a single instance of the people of that time threatening to demolish the Buddha Vihars proposed to be constructed by Buddha. They could have raised objections to construction of such Vihar saying that the particular place is a Shiva temple. If you happen to go to Bodhgaya, you will find that Shiva temple Vihar Co-exist there and till date no one has said that Shiva temple above would remain. There or that the Bodha Vihar would be demolished ... (*Interruptions*)... even if it was built after demolishing a temple, though there is a dispute over it, it is a place of worship and we should be tolerant

"Sarvarn Khalvidam brahman"

Our scriptures, our upnishadas and our culture obtain that if someone offers namaz in a mosque, he worships Rama, Similarly, if somebody worships Rama in a temple, in a way, he recites the Ayats of Koran. There is no difference between these two forms of worshipping. The Government says that the dispute should either be settled through mutual talks or through the court of law. I would say that on the face of it, both these solution look all right, but I do not think, a real

solution will come out of it. Rather, it may lead to increased bitterness. Suppose, the court decides that temple once existed on that site. Will the mosque be demolished in that case? If we do that what would happen to the reputation of this country in the world? The only solution to protecting secularism in the country is to enact a legislation under which status-quo of the religious place as existed on 15th August, 1947 should be maintained. The temple will remain a temple, the mosque a mosque and the church a church. There all people who neither go to the temple nor to the mosque there are people who neither go to Gurudwara nor to a church, they have nothing to do with them, but they are not sinners. They have every right to be citizens of this country. Their faith and their sentiments should not be hurt. That is why I say that we have to save secularism from this danger. What would be the situation of one crore people come and gherao Parliament. Ram Rath Yatra which culminated in violence on 30th October and 2nd November resulted in deaths of thousands of people. Innocent people, little children and elderly people have lost their lives. What would happen if one crore people lay a seize around Parliament House? People are bent upon dividing even the younger generation on the basis of religion and caste. The culture of our country is —

"Santi cha kulbirodhai na paragayanti balah"

If children commit a guilt which goes against the family, it is not treated as a guilt. Where are we heading the country towards?

Amum pureb pashyat devadaroom, putri kritaro sau vrishvadhvajain.

It means that lord Shankra adopted Pine tree as his son. What I mean to say is that even tree used to be treated as a son once, whereas attempts are being made now to create discord between man and

man. At the height of it, they say that they will save secularism. If at all we want to save secularism, you will have to ban the organisations which chalk out such programmes. You must ban such programmes if the country is to be saved.

The same is true of socialism. I want to ask this Government whether it believes in socialism? Do the Congressmen really believe in socialism? Just now, Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev was speaking. Does he believe in socialism? The Government had made an announcement yesterday that it is going to hand over all the power stations to the private entrepreneurs. A draft proposal is ready and it finds mention in the President's Address. Will it be socialism. Then the capitalists will say that coal is needed to run the power houses and since coal mines are under the control of the Government, they will not be able to run them unless the control of coal mines is handed over to them. The Government will readily oblige and hand over the coal mines to the capitalists. You want to undo what has been achieved so far by diverting the direction of development. There is no plan in the country worth the name. Approach paper was finalized two years back when Janata Dal Government came to power. The paper gave definite direction to planning so as to achieve the set targets. The last year passed off without any plan. Lump sum allocation was made to the State Governments. Doles amounting to Rs. 20,000 millions to Rs. 30,000 millions were given to the States. There is no account as to how much was spent under which head. I want to say that there is a set size of the Plan for the entire country within which the plans of all the States should be incorporated, so as to give a definite direction to the country. But this is not what is happening today. One year has already passed, another year is set to pass the same way. The states have been given allocation again without any plan.

Nobody knows what is happening on

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the planning front. The country which does not have any planning or lacks in it will remain backward. The condition may deteriorate further. Even today India occupies a place among the poorest countries of the world. We are directionless and nobody knows where to go.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is mentioned in the President's Address that the economic condition of the country is bad and also grave. Many reasons have been given for this poor condition. One of the reasons is deficit financing. Second is inflation and the third is foreign debt. Once again a deficit budget was presented. We have been told about it because we were not present on the day when the interim budget was presented. There is no provision for interim budget in the Constitution. Vote on Account is a part of the entire budget and never before has an interim budget been presented. A deficit of Rs. 9900 crores has been shown in the interim budget and probably when the final budget is presented in May-June, the deficit may go up to Rs.14-15 thousand crores. What would be the value of rupees at that time. I remember when I went to London in 1976 the value of Pound Sterling was Rs. 12. Today it is Rs.37.90 p. You can well imagine the way value of rupee is fast decreasing. If the budget deficit is Rs.14-15 thousand crores the value of rupee would be only 5 paisa, that of Pound Sterling would be Rs. 100 and of Dollar would be Rs.60.

Even today, the value of Dollar is Rs.19 where as it was merely Rs.7 or 8 in 1976. In this way the value of rupee is fast decreasing as compared to the value of foreign currencies. That is why prices are sky rocketing in our country. So far as inflation is concerned, the economic survey says that it has now reached 12.6% i.e. in double digit. It will go on increasing because the deficit will never be covered. The burden of foreign debt is

also increasing. Just now, Shri Brij Bhushan Tewari gave figures relating to the foreign debt. He told that the foreign debt amounted to about Rs.1 lakh crores and the public debt was to the tune of Rs. 1 lakh 32 thousand crores. Even then we are going on for more loans. The members sitting on that side used to say earlier that we should try to free the country from the net of foreign debt. Last year, Rs. 26 thousand crore was paid as interest on this debt. How can we have foreign exchange reserve under these circumstances. But even now we are not satisfied with the debt that we have taken and are asking loan from I.M.F. Rajiv Gandhi says that it is necessary to have a Government at this stage because we would be soon getting loan from I.M.F. Negotiations are in the final stage and if the Government falls and elections are held, we would not get the loan.

Will we have to run the country on loans now? You may be aware of the plight of countries like Brazil, Columbia, Mexico which are in debt. India will also go the same way. Yesterday, the German President was here. We begged for a loan of Rs.500 crore. Whosoever comes here, we beg from him. Adopting such practices, we cannot make the country self reliant. The country will go bankrupt. The President's Address was in fact an address on bankruptcy... (*Interruptions*) ...

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will have to pay the interest on foreign loans in foreign currency. Wherefrom will we bring foreign currency. Today, the balance of payment position is bad. I had asked question number 6 on 22nd of last month regarding Balance of Payment position and the total export and import during 1990-91. The figures that were given in the reply were shocking. The difference between export and import was 54.7 per cent. It was stated in the reply that these figures related to the period after September. Before September, when V.P. Singh's Government was in power, V.P. Singh had

said that we will not take loan from foreign countries even if there is high price rise. He had promised that the burden of loans will not be thrown on the masses. But today, we are once again in the same trap. We are taking loan after loan. We are under heavy debt. A conspiracy is being hatched for getting the new Congress Government into power. Has it ever happened that the Governor of a State has been dismissed. Has any instruction been issued from here that the sitting of the Assembly should not be called. That is the prerogative of the Governor. The Cabinet gives a date and he calls the session. Instructions are not issued from Delhi that the Assembly session should not be convened. He was removed as if he was working on daily wages... (*Interruptions*) ... I would like to say a few words about the economic condition of our country. The President has not mentioned in his Address that the most important reason for the deteriorating economic condition is black money. The World Bank report has mentioned that no other country in the world is generating as much black money as India. 36 percent of the world's black money is generated in India. Unless we unearth this black money the country's economic condition cannot improve. Black money worth Rs.70,000 crores is hidden. Why have we not been able to unearth it? The President has mentioned in his Address that we can take stringent steps to unearth black money. The Finance Minister wants to unearth it but he cannot because his supporters have black money. That is why they did not allow him to present the Budget. The way evil deeds were done in Tamil Nadu and Assam and now in Bihar, similarly, they will not allow you to unearth the black money. Even if you wish you will not be able to do it. You say that Punjab problem would be solved and you will talk to the militants. I am a fan of Prime Minister. He said that he would solve the Punjab problem in consultation with the militants. But the Congressmen will not let you solve the Punjab problem in consultation with the militants.

According to Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev if we provide sophisticated weapons the problem could be solved. Will this measure solve the problem? Tulsidasji has said :-

"Mahima Ghati Samudra ki
Ravan Basa Pados."

The grandeur of Sea faded because Ravana stayed in the neighbourhood. The President said that the Government made efforts to stop the Gulf War. What efforts were made. No efforts were made. When Iraq attacked Kuwait India initiated some steps. The then foreign Minister Shri Gujral was the first foreign Minister to have visited Iraq, Baghdad and Kuwait... (*Interruptions*) ... When war started we could not evacuate five lakh Indians from the war zone. 116 nurses strayed for over three weeks. Nobody knew their whereabouts. They came back to India on their own expenses. There is genocide in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan Government is killing their people there. What is the Government of India doing to check it. Indians are staying there also. Day before yesterday, the Mothers' Front had organised a big procession. Whereabouts of 40,000 children are not known. The Sri Lankan Government is behind this. The Foreign Minister did not go to Sri Lanka in an official capacity because he was disqualified from the membership of this House.

In the end, I would like to say that these problems would not be solved by bullet or oppression but by opening a dialogue and in a democratic way. It has been mentioned somewhere in "Raghuvansh".

"Kshatat Kil Trayat Ityu Draga
Kshatrasya Shabdon Bhuvne shu
Rudha
Rajyen kim Tada Vipreet Vrete
Pranya Rup Krosh Malimkshyarva"

Problems cannot be solved by oppression or killing people. Solutions should be

[Sh. Yamuna Prasad Shastri]

found out through negotiations and even through sacrifices. The need of the hour is to save the country. If we want to save this country the only way out is to dissolve the Lok Sabha and hold fresh elections. This has to be done because neither this Government nor the Congress has got the mandate. Therefore, elections should be held and a fresh mandate should be sought from the people and the new Government irrespective of the party which may come to power should solve these problems.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion moved by Shri Shastri with regard to the President's Address. The President's Address lacks in direction, as it is lackluster. I am not surprised because this Address is the product of a constitutional monstrosity and a political absurdity. There is total lack of any indication of any policy in the whole President's Address. It seems that they have been busy in meeting Mr. Khashtoggi and Mr. Chandraswami than preparing the Budget or even preparing a proper President's Address. This so-called Government is suffering from total atrophy. They have neither any policy nor any programme nor any plan of action far less being majority. We were waiting very fondly to get some inkling of their policy or programme or plan of action through the Budget because that is the most important document which will give direction to the fiscal policy of this country. When economic situation, admittedly, is very-very grave, even in Finance Minister's today's - what is printed, they have to destroy the Budget speech and I am sure they have to print another booklet called the Budget for 1991-92-speech also, we do not find any indication of this Government's fiscal policy, economic policy or programme of action. Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev was very vocal be-

cause he says, this Prime Minister is not averse to the criticism, therefore they are supporting it. I want to make it clear one thing. There was a comment made that why did we boycott the President's Address? We did it consciously this time. We have explained it in a statement issued by our Party, the Left Front Parties as also the National Front. We were not happy to do that. But when we find that the highest office in this country is coming under some shadow when we find that democracy is buried in this country, even the pittance of a democratic set up in this country is not being followed, then we have - as a responsible political party - to express our sense of shock, our sense of opposition, our sense of resistance to this deliberate attempt to dilute important provisions of the Constitution. We find that ten minutes before the actual announcement of the proclamation, the former Prime Minister had gone and met the Rashtrapatiiji and then came back with an assurance that nothing has been done or is being done but within ten minutes the proclamation was issued. Therefore, I can only hope such a situation, in the future, will not arise again. But it was our bounden duty to oppose, in every conceivable manner, the blatant misuse of power that was done in Tamil Nadu.

Now, this is a Government which does not even enjoy a quorum in this House, cannot form a quorum. It is surviving today only because of the gratuitous help-I do not know whether it is gratuitous, or what is the *quid pro quo* for that—that is being given by the Congress (I) under the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

What is that party's attitude towards this Government? Is it on any principles, is it on any policy that the Congress (I), which reminds us today that it is the biggest single party in this House, that it is supporting this Government?

What is the leadership of this party

saying? (*Interruptions*) Probably Ranga Ji has not been kept informed of the leader's ideas, ideas of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I am reading from 'Hindustan Times'. I am sure this is not *non-grata* so far as the Congress is concerned, or this Government is concerned. It says:

"This Congress (I) President Rajiv Gandhi today severely criticised the Chandra Shekhar Government and said that this Government is not rooted in principles, either nationally or internationally. He said that India was in a deep financial crisis only because the Government was weak."

What does he say thereafter? He says:

"The country was passing through a phase of non-governance."

Probably, Mr Sontosh Mohan Dev has not had a *darshan* of his leader recently. He does not know his present thinking. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi says further:

"Mr Gandhi regretted that India had not played the role it could, in the efforts for peace in West Asia. Referring to his recent foreign tour, he said everybody was complaining about this."

Then there is something very significant:

"When asked what the lacuna in India's foreign policy were, Mr Gandhi restored: 'There has to be a policy to criticize. I still have to find a role India is supposed to play in defusing the crisis.' But what else can be expected from a Government which is not rooted in principles and, therefore, cannot see far into the future?"

Therefore, the internal policy, the economic policy is bad or worse because there

is no governance, because this Government is weak; because this Government is not rooted in principle, nothing is happening. With regard to foreign policy, Rajiv Gandhi asks: "Where is the policy?" There is no foreign policy as far as this Government is concerned. (*Interruptions*)...

It is political cancer, if not political chicanery, to bolster up an administration like this, a motley conglomerate of defectors and deserters; and you are taking the country and the House for a ride. What are you going to achieve, then? Just to get rid of one Government, you have entered into all sorts of unprincipled arrangements, for the purpose of somehow staving off the inevitable election, because Congress has not got the political courage to fight the election. We know that the so-called outfit, called JD (S) has no future. Nobody has any doubt about it. No future either in Tamil Nadu or elsewhere in this country. But we want to expose the Congress because it has not got the political courage to face the electorate; and that is why this Government is there, and that is why, though they opposed the re-fuelling of US combat aircraft, they opposed the adjournment motion. And who comes to the rescue of the Government? It is the Congress(I) and the BJP. (*Interruptions*) in the case of Tamil Nadu, who comes to the aid of the ruling party and supports them? It is the Congress (I) and BJP. (*Interruptions*) Today, I find Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev naturally making a laboured attempt to criticise and accuse BJP. How can he do it? Where is his political respectability on this question?

Who has raised the question of the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy? Who has added fuel to the fire? Who has allowed the foundation stone being laid just before the last general elections? You wanted to build up a Hindu vote bank.

Advaniji is the beneficiary, BJP is the

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beneficiary of their dangerous communal game that the Congress (I) has played in this country. That is why today we find communalism is raising its head. We know that BJP is playing the dangerous communal cards; they are trying to divide the people on the basis of communalism. But this Congress is equally responsible for encouraging them. *(Interruptions)* Only some persons who have lost their head can pander to communalism. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: They were having an open alliance with BJP. Now, he is saying like this.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is why we had declared our policy to support the National Front Government so long as they would stick to the implementation of their manifesto. We did not withdraw our support. We had seen under the leadership of Mr. V.P. Singh, the Government fought steadfastly against communalism; they had never made any compromise with Communalism. Mr. V. P. Singh had sacrificed his Government and did not surrender to the communal forces. The very basic postulate of a parliamentary system of government is rule by majority of the people and majority in the House. Now what we are having today is the very negation of the parliamentary system of Government. As I said, less than 10 percent of the Members of the House owe allegiance to the party in power; and this is being bolstered up the name of maintaining democratic principles.

The hon. President said on page 1 of his Address as follows:

"We must set aside internal differences, and petty squabbles, all that is narrow, selfish and divisive and rise as one people in the interest of our nation. In these difficult times we must reaffirm

or commitment to the basic principles—democracy, secularism and socialism—the very pillars of our nationhood."

Under whose leadership? What is their policy, so far as the present Government is concerned or its supporters? What is their programme to take the country out of the present crisis or to set the country on the road to prosperity and progress? Where are they? What are you supporting? This is the misfortune of this country and the people of this country. As you are aware, we know who are the real enemies of the people?

For 42 years you have ruled the country. Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev was very thankful to Mr. Brij Bhushan Tiwari for his speech. Mr. Tiwari said one significant thing: Even with 420 or 425 Members, the Congress (I) could not provide relief to the people. With 150 Members, Mr. V.P. Singh could not do anything for the people. He said, "Mr. Chandra Shekhar with no following, he will be able to do it." Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev said that Mr. Tiwari's speech was excellent.

16.00 hrs.

Because, now they have promised to do something for the people! What something you have not been able to understand. At least we have not been able to understand.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, that is why I have read the Speech, and re-read it. I would like to know what are all the steps that this Government proposes to take, except that they have referred to the Inter-State Council which was set up by Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh. What about the National Commission for Women? Not even one word has been said about it! What else is there in this Speech except gimmicks and rigmarole? Not a single constructive suggestion has been given. If we go through the Speech carefully we shall find that this Government has jettisoned non-aligned foreign policy by

allowing and pursuing a pro-U.S. Gulf policy and approach. It has accepted the IMF conditionalities and is endangering our economic sovereignty. It has made vicious attacks on the democratic set up in our country and attacked the Centre-State relations. It has bungled on important national issues like Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and elsewhere.

Although we had a discussion on Tamil Nadu the other day, one point that was taken here has not even been attempted to be replied. And I challenge the Prime Minister to reply on that point. Why was the Assembly in Tamil Nadu dissolved?

You have to explain that to the people. If there was a temporary disturbance of law and order—assuming it to be so although it is not correct—why was the Assembly dissolved when it had more than three years of its duration? You did not do it in Punjab, you did not do it in Goa; in other places it was not done. There are umpteen instances. It was not done in Tripura also.

SHRIDHARAMPALSHARMA (Udhampur): They did it in Jammu and Kashmir.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Why was it not done elsewhere? Why was this Assembly dissolved?

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): What about Karnataka?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): We denounced it.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Very well, I would like to know it. Then say that Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is your mentor. You want to follow Mr. V. P. Singh in all the matters. Say it! Have the political courage to say that. You are opposing him and you trying to follow him. We did not sell our conscience. We did not sell our principles, to Mr. V. P. Singh. We opposed them. We

opposed his Government's economic policy. We did it. We criticised it. The time they used ESMA we opposed it on the floor of the House.

SHRI A. CHARLES: Even now you have the alliance. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: We opposed him. Their industrial policy we opposed. We did not surrender to them. We did not say that there is no Government, there is no policy, that there is no principle. The leader of the party said it. Just now Shri Yamuna Prasad Shastri has correctly pointed out that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said that "to enable this country to take IMF loan, we must keep up a semblance of a Government". Can you solve any of the basic problems of this country? Can you solve the utter economic crisis that is there? And this Government, cannot even form a Budget and what is the reason which is being given? It says in today's Budget speech—so-called Budget speech—that

"In the difficult set of circumstances, where the uncertainties remain, we shall need some more time to evolve a comprehensive strategy for restoring the health of the economy. In formulating the Budget we want to ensure that such a macro-economic adjustment does not disrupt the rhythm of the growth process and does not place a burden on the poor."

Yes Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, what about his English? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Very nice. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, it is a mockery of the Government. They are in power for more than 3 months. They cannot formulate policies and programmes. Now they will be able to formulate it in the next

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three months. The interim Budget speech says:

"In formulating the Budget, we want to ensure such a macro-economic adjustment does not disrupt the rhythm of the growth process..."

Where is the growth process now? In which direction there is growth—except that there is greater unrest? Corruption has reached monumental heights. Where is the growth? There is growth in the inflation rate, growth in the death rate, growth in the killings rate, growth in the total lack of administration, total lack of Government in Punjab and Kashmir. This is the performance of this Government. For three months, they could not do it. Sir, I again raise this question because the Prime Minister chose not to reply. On the 15th of February, how can he decide that he would be able to prepare a Budget and present it on the 28th? Have a little honesty. You do not think that the people of this country are fools... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: They are not.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, you might have reasons to surrender before this Government. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: He is very unhappy because I have opposed BJP. Now he is attacking me... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Everybody in this country knows that we are already in debt trap. Is there anything in this so-called Budget speech as to how to come out of this debt trap? The Finance Minister himself has said that we are in gravest economic crisis and additional resources will have to be raised to meet this situation. Sir,

what is the last paragraph of this speech? It says:

"The Finance Bill seeks to continue the existing rates of income-tax in the financial year 1991-92. There is no change in the rates of customs and central excise duties."

Otherwise, he will lose your support. With this so-called Budget speech, they are going to solve the gravest economic crisis that this country is facing since independence!

Sir, we are today selling ourselves to IMF. They cannot frame the Budget because IMF loan is in the pipeline. They have to wait for their blessings, they have to wait for their directions and they have to wait for their conditionalities to frame the Budget. Now this thing has become clear from the press statement of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Has anything been done in the last three and a half months to contain the price rise? Double digit inflation in this country is rampant now. Sir, public distribution system has been refined to. But what has been done in the last three and a half months for the purpose of strengthening the public distribution system?

Sir, today the seriousness of the situation has to be realised. This Government—this apology of a Government—how are they going to tackle this situation? They invited the militants, who have laid down conditions that they want to discuss self-determination. You have given legitimacy to a person who has openly said that he will support the U.S. in the Gulf war and invited the U. S. Government to send its planes to Punjab for the purpose of refuelling. He said that he will send troops to Saudi Arabia to support the U. S. Government's aggression on Iraq. And he is being invited for the purpose of talks. This is giving an encouragement to extremists and militants. Wrong signals are being sent.

The administration is totally paralysed there. And the Prime Minister is giving such encouragement and inviting them with open arms on the basis of their conditions. They are saying that their only demand is independence, freedom and Khalistan. Is this the policy by which the Punjab problem can be solved?

What is happening in Kashmir? I do not wish to say anything which may in any way be construed to have any effect on our distinguished Member's daughter. We are very very sorry for that. That shows the seriousness of the situation. We hope that she will be able to come back unhurt. We all certainly wish that and we want that she should come back as early as possible. We share the anguish of our distinguished friend, Prof. Saifuddin Soz.

What is happening in Assam? Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev is still shouting. Although he has obtained the President's rule there he has not been able to solve the problem. There are more deaths, more killings. What has happened there? Today Army has been put in difficulty because even the Army's action has not been able to solve the problem there.

Can the serious problem in the country be solved by the sort of government that we have in this country? Those people, that political party, whom the people consciously rejected that they were not fit to govern this country, are running this Government from behind. In 40 years the Congress Party has brought only ruination, privation and misery to the common man of this country. There is wider and wider chasm between different sections of the people. There is more and more disparity among the people, greater and greater burden on the common people and the weaker sections of society in this country. This has been the result of the Congress rule. There have been communal flare-ups. There are demands for

secession. There are riots after riots in Congress-ruled States. There was no riot in the left ruled and Janata Dal Governments. In the Congress and JD(S) ruled States there have been rampant riots. There have been attacks on the Harijans and minorities.

Other important issues will be dealt with by other Members of our Party. I have two more things to say. What about the workers' right? There was a commitment by the V. P. Singh Government and they were proceeding on that line. Discussions had been taking place on the workers' right, right to work as a fundamental right. There is not even a reference to it in the President's Address. Workers' participation in management for which a Bill has been introduced in the House, there is not a word about it in the President's Address.

I am sorry, I cannot support this Address because, as I said, this is product of a set up which has no credibility, no legitimacy, no support, no mandate. And the only mandate of this Government as given by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is to violate the people's mandate. Therefore, it is our bounden duty that we must oppose this Government, we must oppose Congress machinations to bolster up this Government. If these people have any political courage, any democratic principles to cherish, they must immediately go for mid-term polls, dissolve this House and face the people of this country and see what is their reaction.

SHRI K.R. NARAYANAN (Ottapalam):
Sir, the President's Address has referred to the international situation and I would like to say a few words about that.

The President has said that the international situation in which the Cold war has waned, poses new challenges and offers opportunities for our foreign policy. I think it is true that the situation as it has emerged is offering new challenges as well as opportu-

[Sh. K. R. Narayanan]

nities to our foreign policy. But I do not see much in this Address or in the activities of the Government in the way of responding to the new challenges adequately or in the way of taking advantage of the new opportunities presented.

It has been said not so much in the House but very of ten in the country as a whole that the new international situation is facing India with a dilemma, with a problem, in that our established foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence is no longer relevant to the world. I think it is this basic confusion probably in the thinking of most people in India which has rendered our efforts fruitless in the current situation. If alignment has ended or is ending, it is argued that then there is no place for non-alignment. I should like to ask if there is no alignment, what is left. In commonsense and even in plain grammar, only non-alignment is left. The world has moved in the direction in which we and the non-alignment nations wanted to move. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wanted the end of the blocs, the end of the cold war. He wanted the two great super powers to develop understanding, establish contacts and come closer together. He wanted a world of closer cooperation and when that world is actually before us or is drawing before us, many people in India feel as if they have nothing to hold on in the international situation.

16.18 hrs

[SHRI JASWANT SINGH *In the Chair*]

I find it very strange that of all people we should find the new world a strange world because it is precisely for this kind of world that we have been working for ever since our independence.

I would agree that it is one thing to

conceive, to work for a new order in the world and another thing when you are about to get it, to find ways of operating within this world. It may be necessary for us to adopt new methods, new emphasis in order to be effective in a world without alignment. But that is not the same as to say that the basic policy of non-alignment has been rendered irrelevant. I think if only we understand this, it would be possible for us to retrieve our position and to enable us to play some sort of a role in the world as a whole.

At another place in the President's Address, he said he is concerned about hostilities having taken place in the Gulf, in spite of all the efforts that have been made. I should submit that all efforts have not been made. We have not made all efforts necessary and possible to avert this war in the Gulf. The United Nations has not made all efforts that were within its power. The Non-Alignment Movement has not made all efforts that were possible for it to organise in the world, nor have the Arabs made sufficient efforts. We should ask why is it that the world found itself in a paralysed situation in the face of this grave threat which has faced the world.

I think, Sir, there are one or two reasons for it. One is that what happened in the Gulf was a quarrel between one Arab nation and another, between one Islamic nation and another and what happened was aggression. Unless this fact was fully grasped and we, the non-aligned world, and the United Nations tried to reverse this position, to persuade Iraq to withdraw, it would become impossible for us to make any impact at all on the situation. We know that everybody has been trying, but we met a very intransigent President Saddam Hussain, but I feel that if India and the Non-aligned Movement had asserted itself combined with the United Nations and tried to persuade or pressurise Iraq sufficiently, maybe the position would have been slightly different. As it is, all of us,

all the world, made proforma statements without really trying hard to bring pressure or persuasion upon Iraq.

Sir, it is for this reason that we have found ourselves very ineffective in the situation. But as the war developed, the character of the war itself changed. From a war in order to liberate Kuwait, it became a war for overpowering Iraq, for destroying Iraq, for toppling Saddam Hussain and a war for dominating the Gulf. As a non-aligned country, as an anti-colonial country, India had a responsibility to take a new kind of stand without abandoning our basic position that growing aggression in Kuwait should be ended and Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait. Now we find that even after Kuwait has been vacated, even after Kuwait has virtually surrendered, the coalition Forces are remaining in Iraq, we do not have even a formal cease-fire, we do not have even a firm promise that the coalition troops will withdraw from Iraq, we do not have even from the United Nations a declaration of cease-fire. This is the situation which is really frightening not only for the region, but for us and for the world because a new aspect is revealing itself, the aspect of dominating through a great power combination, a region a next door to us and vital for our own security and safety. I have read recently, and I am sure many Members might have read this that the Commander of the American Forces in Europe and also the Supreme Commander had given an interview recently, in which he talked about a role of NATO in the future. His name is General John R. Galon. When asked, 'Will NATO confront military crisis outside Central Europe?', he answered:

"NATO leaders have said that the question of out-of-area operation will have to be looked at, later on."

He further continued:

"We have to come up with a strategy

that does not just prepare for defence, but emphasizes far more the idea of crisis management. This means in a crisis you don't sit on your hands, but you do military things that will bring greater stabilization to the area of crisis."

The meaning of this is that the NATO is saying that the future role of NATO should be to fight crises outside its assigned area in other parts of the world. It is this approach which poses a major danger to the world and to us. This is happening precisely at a time when the Warsaw Pact has decided to wind up its military alliance and has said that even its political alliance would be wound up within a year. At this time, a great military pact headed by the United States saying that they would like to use NATO in order to interfere, influence and manage crises in other parts of the world. I think, unless a country like India understands this evolving situation in the world, we would make many mistakes in our foreign policy, if I may say, like the mistakes we committed in giving an open corridor and refuelling facilities to the United States during the Gulf War. It is symbolic of our inability to understand clearly the issues involved in this conflict and the type of world that is emerging. Even though the NATO and may be some Western powers would like to do all these things, would like to dominate the Gulf, I do not think it is going to take place. They are reading the world rather superficially.

In 1960s, there were a lot of discussions in NATO and especially in the United States, centering on the theme of "the illusion of American omnipotence." Even at that time, there were sensible people who were warning the United States not to believe that it can control the world. If it was so in 1960s, I think in 1990s, it is going to be even more difficult for the United States or NATO to control the world. But, we in India and many in this part of the world seem to have been mesmerized, seem to have been paralysed to some ex-

[Sh. K.R. Narayanan]

tent, by the vision of Pax Americana which is being conjured up in our Press day in and day out. I strongly believe that it is just not possible for the United States or Europe to control the Gulf. Very soon, they will face the reality of situation there. There will be changes, political changes even in the countries in the Gulf which are supporting them and there will be changes of attitude in the rest of the world. Unfortunately, in this crisis, because Iraq was fighting, what one may plainly call, an unjust war conquering a neighbour, another Arab country, another Islamic country, that did not produce the kind of support it would have got from the world, even from the people in the United States if the war was launched for a cause which was justified. Therefore, if there is another attempt to dominate the region, the people in the Arab world, in our own country and I think even in the United States will react very differently because what they are trying to do is something patently and manifestly unjust to create a kind of neo-colonialistic set up to be imposed in this region. It is here that we have to see clearly and act boldly.

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): What is the Congress Party's assessment of the American role in the Gulf policy—whether America is acting as liberator or neo coloniser? Will you clarify?

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN: I have been analysing the situation. There is a liberation aspect which is to liberate Kuwait. I said, secondly, as the war progressed, it became a different war, a war to subdue Iraq and it became a war to take over of oil resources and also to impose some kind of domination over the region. There is no doubt, what our attitude—not only our Party's but the whole country's attitude would be to the question of recent development like this.

SHRI A. K. ROY: Do you accept the

American policemanhip in the world?

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN: I do not. I feel that the Americans will just not be able to do it. There can be nobody who will be a policeman of the world from now on in the world. The power diffusion which has taken place in the world was to some extent covered up by this unfortunate tragic event in the Gulf. But for this adventurous war initiated by President Saddam Hussein, the normal forces, detente would have operated. The normal pull for the diffusion of power would have operated. The world as it is emerging is going to be a world in which the United States, Soviet Union, Germany, Japan, China and I should say, if we manage our affairs properly, India be considerable power factors in the world. It will not be a world dominated by one power, certainly not by the United States of America.

If you understand that, if we organise ourselves, it would be possible for us to deal with the world that is emerging before us. I cannot but use this word that all our efforts in the Gulf situation facing us, were really routine movement. The Ministers, Deputy Ministers, the Secretaries went around the world, met many people but they had no plan or no scheme behind them. In fact, we could have used our Foreign Service more effectively.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (Calcutta South): Why did Mr. Rajiv Gandhi want to go to Moscow and not to United States? Moscow already had initiated the peace proposal. Why did not they go to United States to stop war?

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN: Before saying about visit to Moscow, I would make one point. I think, one of the biggest events which has happened in modern history is that the Soviet Union, a great power is operating as a peace force. It is a very remarkable event and I think, if we had got together with Moscow, got together may-be with Iran

or some other selected Non-aligned countries and worked very strongly and concertedly to prevent this war earlier, may-be we would have been able to make a dent in the situation. Regarding Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Moscow was in this line. He saw a peace force emerging in Moscow. In fact, it has played some part.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Was the timing right?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not permit it to become a precedent. Please do not try to answer those interruptions. You please proceed.

SHRI K. R. NARAYANAN: I would have been glad if CPM has sent somebody to Moscow. I want to make one point in this connection.

Indian National Congress has a tradition of expressing its sympathy with struggles everywhere. Jawaharlal Nehru himself went to Spain during the Republican war; we were not even independent then. Jawaharlal Nehru sent a medical mission to China when the aggression took place during Japan war. It is in this tradition, I would like to believe that the visit took place to express our concern, our sympathy to peace forces in this world.

I think it had probably made an impression. Somebody from India did take a very active role in this tragic war which was not being affected by anybody's efforts. May I add that the Indian National Congress has a tradition in this. During the Spanish Civil war, Jawahar Lal Nehru himself visited the front in Spain and during the Sino-Japanese War, he sent a Medical Mission to China.

I would like to say two things about the United Nations. Our representative in the United Nations. Our representative in the United Nations has been making efforts though it is a very difficult situation. I think

this effort has to be more powerful in order to see that not only the Security Council but the United Nations as a whole is placed in a central position in the picture to effect developments in this area. Peace cannot be left to the so-called multi-national forces only. The establishment of peace and a new order in the Gulf has to be the role of the United Nations and the role of the countries in the region and of the non-alignment movement. We have to assert ourselves powerfully in the situation so that, just as we could not make an impact before the war, we will not be able to make an impact after the war. We have to see that the new peace order which is emerging there is something we would like to establish and in which we have a leading role because, neither the United States, nor the European powers would be able to establish an order in the Gulf. It is in our interest that such an order is established with the efforts of all concerned.

I would like to say one or two things connected with the Gulf War. The president has mentioned in his Address about some of the defence developments, specially the missile development that we have succeeded in making in our country. I am saying this because one of the military persons of the Gulf War, in my opinion, is the new technologies that has come into play. One of the relevant technologies is the missile technology and the anti-missile technology. If we do not take this lesson to heart and try to develop what we have been doing already, our Trisul, Akash and Agni and all that, and go beyond very seriously, we might find ourselves in a very critical position in future. This is a lesson we have to learn from the Gulf War.

Another point I should like to mention about the President's Address is that there is very little said in it about some of the important issues of today like what is going on in the GATT what is being done in the trade-related investment matters, trade-related

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intellectual property rights and upon environment the green house effect, global warming etc. They have already become major international issues affecting the destiny of particular nations. There is nothing in this Address to show that we have devoted attention to these problems. They are very much connected with the power politics of today. We know that in the Uruguay Round or in the so-called trade related investment measures and intellectual property rights as well as on the question of global warming measures, Conference have taken place, and the developed countries have taken positions some of which would be contrary to the interests of developing countries like India. I think those who say that non-alignment has no role today should realise this. It has a role but issues have changed.

New issues have come up. The North-South relationship, South-South Cooperation, Global Warning, Environmental order, Intellectual Property Rights, Trade in services, these are all new instruments which are being used by the developed powers, I should call the neo-imperialist powers, in order to dominate over the Third World, over the developing countries. It is for us to be alert. If the Non-Aligned nations themselves do not understand, do not try to organise themselves against the immense pressures that have been put on the Third World countries in all these fields, naturally it will not be able to make any impact; it will not be able to make Non-Alignment relevant in the world of new issues. Some of the old issues are still there. Old-War is not yet over. It was very clear from the statement by the NATO Chief. It is not entirely over. You can have a reversion to it. But if you want to prevent that, then we have to get together with peace forces of the world, with the Soviet Union, which has, as I said earlier, become a great peace force with China and with Non-Aligned Movement and try hard to concentrate their attention on

these issues so that the interest of the developing countries, non-aligned countries are safeguarded and we can prevent the nightmarish vision of *Pax Americana* or any other such thing which is being advocated today.

MR. CHAIRMAN :I would like to complete the first round of speakers before we go round with the major parties. First, I invite hon. Shri Bhogendra Jha to make his speech.

SHRI BHOGENDR A JHA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, we boycotted President's Address. It was the most peaceful and effective method for us and we did the same in view of the incidents that took place in the country, dismissal of the Government in Tamil Nadu without the recommendations of the Governor, dissolution of the State Assembly and similar other steps taken by the Government. There have been uproars during President's Address several times, but we, the left parties and the National Front unitedly boycotted the Address peacefully. It was a boycott against the Government policy which the Government got it read by the President. The President underlined the need of national unity, but neither the hurdles in the way of national unity nor their solutions have been mentioned. Today, a major part of the country is under President's Rule, Last year the Government of our friendly party, the Janta Dal sent Mr. Jagmohan to Kashmir and forced Mr. Farooq Abdullah to resign and get the State Assembly dissolved in a very unwarranted manner. Adopting the same formula the present Government dissolved the State Assemblies of Assam and Tamil Nadu. Now-a-days reports are appearing in newspapers that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has made a demand to dismiss the Government of Bihar. Through you, I would like to warn the Government that people may tolerate one or two mistakes, but that does not mean that Government have the fundamental right of it should not be so that in the name of President's Rule democratic values should be eroded. If the Bihar Legislative Assembly

is dissolved, I warn that we will not sit silently.

There will be protest not only in the House, but also outside against this more. I do not say that the Government of Bihar is not committing any mistakes. It commits mistakes, but for that dismissal is not the remedy. In a democratic system people get the opportunity to learn lessons and people who have a right to protest should protest. After a mention of national unity, the President's Address is silent above the Sarkaria Commission the report of which has since been received. Is it not the duty of the Government to check the division forces which are raising their heads in the country and let people know as to what the Sarkaria Commission has reported to check these forces. Let the Government state whether the States should be given any special powers so that the subject could be debated upon in the country. The fate of this commission is not yet known. No reference has been made in this regard. I would like that. While replying to the discussion, at least, the Government should clarify stand on the Commission's report and present the same before the country so that the divisive forces present in the country could be checked and especially the honest people in Punjab, Assam and Kashmir who have been misled cancel get some support. There is a scope for giving more rights in the Indian Federal republic for us. It will also strengthen our national unity. In order to strengthen the national unity it is very necessary that all killings, wherever they take place should be checked. Our hon. friend, Prof. Saifuddin Soz is not present here. His daughter has been kidnapped. It is very unfortunate. I have no daughter and as such I may not understand the pains of a father but it is a matter of deep sorrow personally for the hon. Members of the House. Since all of us are sitting together and he is not present at the moment, every effort should be made to free his daughter. In this connection I must give an advice. Last year is mistake should not be repeated this year.

Last year's incident made the then Minister of Home only a beloved father of a darling daughter and he was no more a Home Minister. I do not say that it was his personal mistake. It was such a mistake which proved to be a hindrance in solving the Kashmir problem. That mistake should not be repeated now.

It is necessary to march towards social and economic justice so as to strengthen the national unity. The President's Address is totally silent over all the issues relating to national unity. If steps are not taken towards social and economic justice for the upliftment of the oppressed people, we cannot strengthen the national unity despite our sincerely wishing for the same. The question of communalism also comes in this context. The question of communalism has been ruining us more for last few years.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, this House was constituted under such a situation that. No party was in a position to form a Government on the basis of majority. The Left Parties extended their support to the Government. The question of demolishing the mosque and "Ram Shila" was an issue of the last elections "Shila" means stone but bricks were transported in the name of stone. The last elections were fought. On the very plank that the mosque would be demolished and a temple would be built in this place with the help of bricks. But we the communists and the Left parties decided not to support the B.J.P. in this move. It was not for the reason that there are bad people in it. We opposed because we knew that it would prove disastrous. Our friends of the Janata Dal, the National Front jumped into the election fray. We could have got more seats. At that time we realised that if we sail on two boat's we would not be able to cross the river. It is a matter of happiness that the National Front chose one. In future also, I am sure, our friends from the National Front will learn lesson from the such situation. If we join hands with communal forces and want to run the country in a secular way, it will not be

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possible. There has been no such reference in the President's Address about the communal situation presently prevailing in the country. There is also no reference in the Address that the country should not be run on communal basis. The communal forces are fully authorised to follow the tenants of their religion, but they have no right to drag the same into policies. It does not matter whether it is a small communal party or a large communal party, it is certain that one affects the other and all of them influence the public and cause damage to the society. What I feel is that there have been a number of riots in Uttar Pradesh as a sequel to the above violence. Though there have been no communal riots in Bihar, yet killings have taken place in the State. Recently 15 people were massacred in Tiskhara. The big landlords do not allow the poor people to rise. People who are rising in the name of uplifting the poor or answering violence with violence. Everywhere there is violence and revenge. You can call it our weakness. This are a falls in Central Bihar in which this massacre took place. I am glad to note that the hon Minister of State for Home visited the site of incident. Shri Rajiv Gandhi also visited the site. But he did not visit the place in the adjacent Pratapgarh district in which 13 innocent Harijans were massacred. None of the Union Ministers has gone there. My hon. friend, Mr. Mishra is also a Minister in the Government of Uttar Pradesh, he also did not find time to go there. (Interruptions) As a result of this people who want to make a political Capital out of these massacres, do not take any opposite stand in this regard. I would, therefore, like to exhort upon the ruling party as well as supporting parties that by doing so they are presenting a wrong picture before the nation. They say that violence is not bad. They think in terms of how to misuse violence. Very recently I returned from Bokaro. Bokaro is the largest steel plant in the Central Sector. There, a trade Union leaders who was also a worker, Shri Rameshwar Giri was murdered.

He was shot at. Two of the assailants have been arrested. The Private contractors working there have given shelter to killer gangs. I apprehend danger from it. I met the General Manager of the plant and apprised him that if this tendency is allowed to grow, a situation like the one that developed in some villages of of North Bihar could emerge. In those villages people get the tenders appeared at gun point. If such a state of affairs is allowed to develop in Bokaro it will be very bad. Because such type of people have been allowed to come up whose only strength is the pistol and it is only they who committed this murder. The Central Government should take stringent action if it comes to know that these incidents take place at the instance of some employees by money power. I fear, if violence is answered by violence in Bokaro, it will go out of our control. But such a situation has not yet arisen. If an immediate action is taken in this direction, it can be checked. There is a danger because of the situation which was created as an aftermath of the hon. Prime Minister's recent visit to Dhanbad. (Interruptions) I would not like to name the persons who are not present here. A person belonging to the place where the hon. Prime Minister had gone, had encroached upon a Government Land. The Government officers had dispossessed him of that land. But the hon. Prime Minister, during his visit to that place, dined in the house of the above person and became his guest. Thereafter, the Government officials became dejected. The land on which the Cinema House is located and where the Coal mine exists was returned to him. The murder took place in that area. The hon. Prime Minister should go personally. Let us leave the case of the Prime Minister, if the Members of Parliament like me make friendship with the Criminals, it will have its effect on the area, police station and the Government officers whether you agree or not. Therefore, he will have to think over it as Prime Minister. It hardly matters whether we as Minister or M.Ps think about it. The ten-

gency of violence has spread to cover these areas of Bihar which were free from this malaise so far.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, mention has been made of Gulf War in the Presidents Address. I should said earlier also that allowing refueling facilities to American Planes was the biggest sin that this Government committed because this step was against our policy, it was against morality and to top it all it was against of our present and future interests. It is indeed heartening to know that the Government had to retrace its steps in the wake of stiff opposition to this move. But the American Planes still continue to use our air space. The present Government says that this facility was extended during the Government of V.P.Singh (*Interruptions*) He committed this glove mistake.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: He has accepted it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: That is what I am saying. I know that it was done during the rule of that Government, but this type of hanky panky deals would not be allowed. They did it on 29th September. The hon. Minister of External Affairs is present in the House. I would like to tell him that we were never taken into confidence over this issue, so much so that the matter was not placed ever before the Advisory Committee. Why does not this Government withdraw this facility even now? The War has not yet come to an end because no formal declaration to this effect has so far been made. Therefore, why should any U.S. Plane be permitted to use our air space as long as peace is not restored? Have we mortgaged our air space? Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like the Government to say it categorically that no U.S. Plane would be permitted to overfly our air space. I do not want to go into the past happening, yet I would say that economic blockade of Iraq still continues. According to the B.B.C, lakhs of people have died there

and many more have been rendered homeless. Even civilians have been killed. Those who were not involved in war or the army personal who had laid down their arms have also been killed. In such a situation, not even medical supplies can be sent there. The hon. Member belonging to the Congress Party who spoke prior to me lightly said that when we were under the British subjugation, Pandit Nehru had gone to Spain to salute the freedom fighters of that country who were fighting for the republic. A contingent from India was also sent for the purpose. Similarly, Dr. Kotnis went to China and laid down his life there. The same type of situation prevails in Iraq today. That is why I say that we must do something not for war but for providing relief. A ship from India with foodgrains and medical supplies should be sent to Iraq and Kuwait. None would stop our supplies to Kuwait, but it is just possible that such supplies are intercepted in Iraq. We should extend our help not for war but on humanitarian grounds. I would like the Government to take initiative in this direction. If that is not possible, let the Government permit the voluntary organisations to go there, and I feel, many of the M.Ps would be ready to offer their services for providing such relief. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I hereby offer my services for this work and I am prepared to go there not in connection with the war but to provide relief to those who are starving to death or are otherwise dying due to non-availability of medicines. Economic blockade of Iraq still continues and medical supplies from outside are not being allowed into Iraq despite the fact that the war has come to an end.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: The people are not getting even drinking water.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: As I said just now, either the Government should take initiative in this regard or it should permit the voluntary organisations to come forward and extend their assistance in this task. We shall count arrest there or will face the situation on it comes. For this purpose I again offer myself for this work as I am prepared to go

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there in the capacity of a Member of Parliament. I am sure many of my colleagues would join me in this endeavour. In conformity to our dignity, we should take steps to send a team of the Members of Parliament to go there as messengers of peace and provide relief on humanitarian grounds and not to take sides in the war. That is why I have mentioned both Kuwait and Iraq. There is no point in maintaining silence over this issue.

16.57 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Industrial Policy also finds mention in the President's Address Last year, when the Industrial Policy was announced by the then Government, the entire Left Front had condemned it saying that the industrial policy announced by the V.P. Singh Government was against the interest of the country. I am glad to say that Shri Chandra Shekhar who was also one of the leading members of the ruling party of that time had also offered that policy. President's Address mentions of no set direction the new industrial policy will take. Similarly, there is no clear indication in the Address as to what specific areas the multinational companies will be allocated. What I mean to say is that it has not been clearly spelt out whether or not the multinationals will be allowed entry into the areas where indigenous capacity exists. There is no hint whether policy of self reliance will be passed or not or whether policy of reviving the sick units will be followed or not. When Sri Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, he had said that public sector was not a hospital where all sick units could be admitted. If public sector is not a hospital, then it is also not proper to let all the small units die of sickness. Therefore, our new industrial policy should be clear cut as to which of the units are to be

revived. But there is no clear indication to this effect in the Address. The most dangerous hint that has been thrown is that power sector would be handed over to the private sector whereas our basic policy since 1956 has been to keep it in public sector. If attempts are made to digress from that policy, and that too by a Government which has come to power following the split in the party and in surviving on the support of another party, I do not think, they have any mandate to do so. I want that during the reply to the discussion on Motion of Thanks on President's Address, the Government should categorically announce in the House that the policy being pursued hitherto would continue to be followed and the power sector would not be handed over to private sector. I say so because electricity is a vital ingredient of our industries. The Government has no authority to digress from that policy and if it does so, we have to oppose it.

17.00 hrs.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, rise in prices has become a severe problem, but there is no mention of it in the President's Address. Prices are rising incessantly, especially so in the past independence period. The Congress Government never took any effective steps to check it. Last year no measure was taken at all to the price rise. The Government did not find time to do so. On the contrary, the Government allowed full liberty to raise prices. The same policy continues to be adopted even today. At least two-three steps could have been taken but this Government failed to do so. We could have imposed a ban on Public Finance Institutions advancing loans to the whole-sale traders let them sum their trade by using black money, let them convert black money into white money, it does not matter much. We do not favour nationalisation of wholesale trade either, because that would be a big burden on the Government. But it would not be proper to say that loan for this purpose should not be stopped. You

have delayed presentation of Budget, but indication to the effect that load for wholesale trade from the Public Finance Institutions would no longer be available can be made in the President's Address because it needs no budgetary sanction. In my view, the wholesale trade should be free from all restrictions and the traders should be told to carry on wholesale trade with their own finance in the private sector. Government finance should be made available to the public Trading Corporations so that the farmers could get remunerative prices for their produce and the consumers could get commodities at reasonable rates. Public Distribution system should be strengthened and price rise should be contained. Otherwise, crores of people are being fleeced by a handful of traders. When there is no shortfall in production, I do not see any reason why prices should rise. Last year, we produced 7.5 lakh tonnes of foodgrains which was a record in itself. This year too, I hope we are going to surpass the previous record in foodgrains production, nature permitting. Why then this price rise? Sugar production during the last season was 5 lakh tonnes which too was a record. Why then the price of sugar went up? Cement production reached such a level that the manufactures had to come out with a statement that there is a glint in the cement market. Why then the rise in price of Cement? This price rise is not attributed to shortfall in production. This price rise is being allowed by giving free hand to the black-marketeers and by giving them financial assistance from the Government sources. This is against the public interest as well as against the interests of the country. But the Government is silent over this vital issue.

Shortage of diesel and kerosene in several areas has created tumultuous situation in the country side. Irrigation water is available, but due to non-availability of diesel, the farmers are not able to operate their pumps. The Government claims that they

have not let the supply fall, yet the black marketing is going on as some officers accept bribe. One can see long queues for diesel and the people have to wait for hours. It is not too late before the Government makes arrangement for adequate supply of at least diesel and kerosene, especially now when the war is over. This could help save damage to crops.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we extended our support to the National Front Government on the basis of their election manifesto which included issues like fundamental right to work and education and participation of workers in the management. The people in the present Government were also a party to that manifesto. But the President's Address says nothing about that. The Government must think in that direction and come out with a clear cut stand whether they stand by that manifesto or not. If they do not find anything wrong in it. Why did they fail to reflect it in the President's Address? I agree that it is a Herculean task, but not an impossible one. Therefore, we have to take steps in that direction.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when I wrote a letter to the former Prime Minister Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh in September, in his reply he said that a meeting of National Development Council was held on 18th October and a sub-committee was formed in this meeting which will give its report on right to work and education. I received this letter. It began functioning after one year of the announcement of its manifesto; so far nothing has been done and perhaps nothing will be done in future also. So I would submit that there is no mention of the youths and unemployed people in the address which should have been there. They feel disappointed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, in the President's address, Land Reform is not mentioned. Punjab is still under the control of Government. Punjab is the only state where the rich

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

are taking the land of the poor under tenancy. In other states poor people take the land of the rich under tenancy unlike Punjab. So there is land ceiling law is being violated openly. The Government has still some control over Punjab. If the Government wants to fight terrorism, it can be done effectively by distribution of land and applying laws regarding land ceiling, tenancy and land reform strictly. The areas of land under the control of Central Government in Punjab, Assam and other states should also come under urban and rural ceilings and the areas which do not come under the purview of the ceiling should be guided by directions in this regard. Presidential Address is totally silent in this regard. We have not to discuss it, there are laws also in this regard so I won't discuss it at length. There is one more apprehension. We need electricity and want to get rid of floods and draught for which we have to bring the rivers under control and use them. But there is opposition in the name of environment. At times Tehri project faces opposition and Narmada also faces the same fate. In Bihar construction work of Koyalkaro project has been stopped. We should not think that country will be converted into a desert, if these projects are established. So, I insist that trees should be planted on both sides of every road and railway line, and on the banks of every canal. No piece of our land will remain unused and the entire country will be green, and we shall have fruits in abundance also. River projects should in no way be stopped, be it Narmada, Tehri or Koyalkaro or any other else. Our Prime Minister had been to Nepal. He had a discussion broadly. But there are five big river projects i.e. Kosi, Kamla, Bagmati, Pancheshwar, Karvati by which there won't be any shortage of electricity in our country and in Nepal also. Nepal is a separate country, but meanwhile it is our brother, nature has made Nepal our brother, so it is in the interest of both of us. Government may expedite it so

that we may get rid of floods, drought and power shortage and it will be a boon for Nepal.....(*Interruptions*)Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I had already insisted upon and I want to do so again regarding the question of financial crisis. It is also mentioned in the Presidential Address. If our Ministers, Members of Parliament, Officers and officers of Public Undertaking stop lodging in five-star hotels, there will be a saving of about Rs. 50 crores. I had asked to sign the papers, but some people ask whether he is related to you, why there will be expenses for us when the crisis is paramount. It can lead to corruption also. I suspect that people are asked to lodge in private sector hotels instead of public sector hotels. I suspect that there is some under-hand transaction also. Under such circumstances an announcement should be made to prevent such corrupt practices happen in future. If Ministers and Parliamentarians take lead it can be applied to officials also. The Government can get a chance to improve the financial situation of the country.

There is crisis in education sector in our country. Two years back the University Grants Commission issued letters to all the universities to prepare their educational calendar and send it to the commission. Teaching work must be at least for 180 days per year, and four hours per day in each and every college and university and holding of examinations and declaration of results should be according to schedule. A state like Bihar is lagging behind by three years. There is no reply from Bihar University yet. There is no mention of it in the Address. I am saying for the entire country. Position in Bihar is worse than other states. Due to not having media of instructions mother tongue the students face a loss of one year. In the Literacy drive, there is a move to remove illiteracy and we can get success in this drive only by having media of instructions mother tongue. We can achieve much within one year by having media of instructions mother tongue. All the same I

would emphasize Hindi as our official Language. Our country is known for its diversity, and there are so many languages older than Hindi. We can go ahead by developing all languages, but the pace of replacing English with Hindi is very slow. The Government should develop all the regional languages of the country, but Hindi should replace English as official language. Unless this problem is taken as a duty, the problem cannot be solved.

Time and again there is a demand to include some languages in the eighth schedule, such as Manipuri and moreover, it is a separate state but the Government has not included it in the eighth schedule. There have been demands for including languages such as Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Santhali, Rajasthani, Dogri and Konkani in the eighth schedule but nothing has been done in this regard. For a big country with a population of 85 crores, inclusion of these languages in the VIII Schedule is not a big thing. Along with the development of different languages we can do something in field of Hindi so that it also acquires a variety. Ours is a country of variety of languages, communities and cultures. Its beauty is made up of this diversity.

Lastly, I would say that in the Hindi version of the President's Address the fundamental principles of democracy, secularism and socialism have rightly been mentioned, but the word 'secular' is not correctly translated as "Dharmanirpekshita" "A person like who is irreligious but not infidel, does not believe in secularism but the harm it has done to religion, democracy, secularism and socialism are given in the Preamble of the constitution and the President has been prompted to speak against the constitution. I think it is a sort of disrespect. Most of the scholars of Hindi consider it their fundamental write to speak incorrect Hindi therefore there cant be a standardization of Language. With these words I conclude my speech.

So the country should not become aimless as is evident from the Presidential address because it does not say anything about the policies. He should have a little courage and take some steps for the good of the people. The prices should be reduced and brought under control. This way he will feel pleased to speak and we will also be delighted when we will speak, and we shall have to support whatever he says, inspite of a lack of will to do so. Such incidents have occurred in the past also whenever there was a minority Government, e.g., when banks were nationalised or privy purse was abolished. People had to support certain issues unwillingly. So, some steps should be taken for the welfare of the people. There seems to be no sense the way the present Government is continuing in spite of taking antipublic steps. The present Government should not continue in office if no steps are to be taken to get rid of these burning problems. With these words I conclude my speech.

17.13 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Dessolution of the Legislative Assem- bly of Pondicherry

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI SUBODH KANT SAHAY): I wish to apprise the Hon'ble Members of this august House on the political developments that took place in the Union territory of Pondicherry, in the recent past.

In December, 1990 there was a split in the Janta Dal unit of the Union territory of