

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

The motion was adopted

S. BUTA SINGH : Sir, I introduce the Bill.

12.26 hrs.

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

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Jagan Nath Kaushal and seconded by Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad on the 25th February, 1987 :—

"That an Address be 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 23rd February, 1987."

[Translation]

DR. G. S. RAJHANS (Jhanjharpur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not want to repeat those things which have already been said. I want to say that a coin has two sides. It is very necessary to see as to which aspects do we take. Take a glass, half filled with water, the pessimist says that it is half empty, but the optimist would say that it is half filled.

The economic progress which we have made in the last two years is unprecedented. The growth rate for the year has been 5 per cent. Actually, for the last five years it has been 5 per cent and before that it was 3.5 per cent. The western

newspapers which always used to criticize our economic policies as well as the political policies, are praising India for its satisfactory economic development. The famous newspaper of London "The Economist" has written that the important progress and development in the field of agriculture made by the India, is an example for the third world countries. It is not a small achievement for a country like India which used to import foodgrains. Now it has become self-sufficient in the matter of foodgrains and not only this, but it is also exporting foodgrains to other countries. "Times", published from London has also praised the economic progress of India. The "International Herald" has also written on the same lines. I want to state that the Western newspapers which used to criticize us in the past have now praised our economic progress very much.

I do not want to go into other things. I only want to say one or two things in brief. We can say about the Rajiv Government that—

[English]

—It is the Government that works.

[Translation]

Two years ago, in this very House, we had said that the prices of the sugar had skyrocketed and we were spending our valuable foreign exchange on the import of sugar. The Government had taken action on it and paid remunerative prices to the sugarcane growers. As a result of that, the sugarcane growers once again took interest and started growing maximum sugarcane. Not only this, many sugar mills in various States which were previously closed down, started functioning once again and now the situation has improved a lot.

I would like to mention one more thing. Last year, with other Members, I had also participated in the discussion on calling attention motion regarding export and had expressed our concern about the deteriorating condition of the exports. At that time, the Government had promised that it would concentrate

all its powers for the improvement of the exports. This is a remarkable achievement that during the period from April to November, there has been 17 per cent increase in the exports. It is not an ordinary achievement. Very few countries would have made progress by 17 per cent. I want to say a few things in this regard. There are some items which still have enough scope for being exported, like engineering goods. The manufacturers of engineering goods in India have not taken much interest in promoting their exports. Therefore, they must make efforts to promote the export of engineering goods.

Much has been said about the 20-points programme. A lot of progress has been made in this direction, but still much is required to be done regarding its implementation.

Now I would like to draw your attention towards our relations with other countries. For the first time, in the last two years, we have been able to maintain cordial relations with our neighbouring countries. Recently, tension had been built up on the border with Pakistan and had that situation persisted, it would have resulted in a war with Pakistan. But due to the farsightedness of our Hon. Prime Minister, the tension was not only diffused but now there is scope for establishing smooth relations between the two countries. During the SAARC Summit held at Bangalore, the principle of fraternity was adopted by the South Asian countries and now they are implementing the same in the real sense.

We have been having strained relations with Nepal since independence. At present, for the first time, we have very cordial relations with Nepal. Now, the Government of Nepal is prepared to cooperate with us. I would request the Government to make good use of the present atmosphere and try to produce Hydro-Electric power from the rivers flowing from Nepal. It will fulfil the need of electricity of various States of Northern India. It is not a small cooperation, but the Government deserves our congratulation for the progress made in this direction.

The credit for reducing the tension in Afghanistan also goes to India. For the first time, we have shown to the world that we do not have fear of any one. We have shown our sympathy with the people of South Africa without caring for any other country. After Harare Summit, the recent conference on Africa Fund has surprised the entire world. Therefore, I would say that we never had such progress and good atmosphere in the past in the field of foreign relations.

I do not want to go into details of the New Education Policy. I would only like to say that much attention has been paid to the girls education, the good results of which are now visible in the entire country.

For the first time, stern measures have been adopted to curb corruption and the big fishes have been caught. Had it been the period of Government of the opposition parties, they would not have dared to conduct raids on the houses of big businessmen and I.A.S. officers. For the first time, big fishes have been caught for which the Government deserves our congratulations.

Today, a new awareness and a new atmosphere has been created in the country and the people belonging to the Opposition should cooperate with the Government in this new atmosphere. It may be the field of economic development or social development, they should cooperate with the Government.

During the last one year, unprecedented number of laws on social development have been enacted. For the first time, such a respectable status has been given to the women. What I want to say is that the Opposition should have the courage to tell the truth. Mere criticism of the Government for the sake of criticism has no meaning.

Recently you might have seen that tremendous progress has been made by the Indians living in the U.S.A. in the field of technology, education and in some other fields. Therefore, I would like to

[Dr. G. S. Rajhans]

submit that when these Indians can make so much progress in USA, why can they not bring that technology to India and make progress here? I would say that N.R.I. and those Indians who are living abroad and particularly in the U.S.A. and have made tremendous progress in the field of technology, should be given an opportunity to develop their technology in the country itself so that they may make their contribution for the economic development of our country.

In the end, I would like to say only this much that a new awakening has been created in this country. Let us welcome the new morning and hope that they will cooperate with the Government to take the country forward.

[English]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I listened to the speeches delivered by the mover and the seconder of the Resolution and also speeches of the several members of the Treasury Benches on Wednesday. As a matter of fact it was a Congress day because only one opposition leader spoke and all the rest of the members who spoke were Congressmen.

(Interruption)

Now, Sir, the Address was a very long Address for the first time. It took about one hour to deliver and another forty minutes for English translation by the Vice President. It was a very long Address—long in words but short in substance.

Sir, we on this side of the House thought that this Address will contain certain policies and initiatives for the next year to be taken by the Government to solve several problems facing the country but it was only a ritualistic reporting of the doubtful achievements of the year which is passing by and no new policies except the schemes already announced by the Government.

I will not touch the economic issues

which were touched in the Address because the proper occasion for that would be Budget debate. I would only touch the political aspects. The mover of the Resolution, Mr. Jagan Nath Kaushal was very eloquent in support of the Government about the Punjab situation. As you know we are all one with the Government. We are supporting the Government on Punjab and we are supporting Mr. Barnala, the Chief Minister of Punjab who is fighting a very lonely battle in Punjab against the terrorists. Today we acclaim him as a great friend of India, a friend of the Central Government and all the Opposition parties are supporting him and praising him. Certainly he deserves the praise because of the courageous and the bold step that he has taken to separate politics from religion for the first time in Akali politics. It is really a very great achievement. He deserves praise. He is our friend. He is your friend. He is Government's friend today.

[Translation]

But I would like to ask as to what duty of friendship you want to perform? What kind of friendship is this which is only one-sided? Friendship is always from both sides. On the one hand you say that Mr. Barnala is your friend and doing good job and on the other hand you are letting him down. Are you helping him? You are sending BSF and CRPF there. Is it the only help?

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS (Bhilwara) : Are we not helping him?

SHRI C MADHAV REDDI : That is what I am saying that all possible assistance for military fight is being given, but you know that it is political issue and should be fought politically.

[English]

We all say that this issue should be fought on a political plane.

[Translation]

What political weapon in political plane you have given?

[English]

On the 1st of March, we are all going there, the so-called intellectuals of Punjab and the country are gathering at Chandigarh. To do what? What are we going to say in that convention? It is not going to deliver the goods.

[Translation]

All the people say like that. Have you given any political weapon to them to fight the terrorism? They have been requesting for the last one year to do this thing to strengthen their hands. Have you done that? They want two things. The innocent people should be released while the criminals must not be released.

[English]

Why don't you release them? We never said that you release the Army personnel.

[Translation]

They have said that the innocent persons should be released but the Home Minister has said nothing about it while replying to the debate on the Punjab problem. Now nobody says that he is not working well. That is why we expected some positive reply from the Home Minister.

[English]

Barnala will be strengthened if the announcement is going to come from Government of India that, yes, we are going to review the cases and see that all innocent people are released.

[Translation]

Why don't you do that? What kind of friendship you have? The second issue is that of Chandigarh. Chandigarh is not under Haryana, it is a union territory.

[English]

It is a centrally administered city.

[Translation]

We can transfer it to any State. We have made the commitment, but even then we are not transferring it to Punjab. The Centre is still keeping it under it. Secondly,—

[English]

—Chandigarh belongs to Punjab. You have said that it belongs to Punjab.

[Translation]

There are certain conditions for its transfer. It makes no difference whether it may be 40,000 hectares of land or 70,000 hectares, that can be transferred. You transfer Chandigarh to Punjab, they are not running away with it.

[English]

They are going to be in this country. Whatever commission you are going to set up, let that commission go into it. When that commission comes to a conclusion that these are the villages which have to be further transferred to Haryana, certainly we can do so.

[Translation]

You are not going to do that. Some of our colleagues have said that you are not doing that, because your eyes are on the forthcoming elections in Haryana. I do not say so, but it is certainly a foolishness. Do not have such friendship. If you want to have real friendship, do it openly. I would say that it is the right time to strengthen the hands of Mr. Barnala and if you do not do it now, it will be too late. Let him fight the political battle. Whatever he did for the first time, he needs political weapon and not military weapons. My friend Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad has seconded this motion. He has said so many things.

[English]

He was reminiscent about his role in the first Parliament. There are few of us

[Shri C. Madhav Reddi]

who were in the first Parliament and are today sitting in this House.

[Translation]

Three to four such elderly persons are present there. He said that—

[English]

—he had the privilege of moving the motion of Thanks to the President in 1956.

[Translation]

He said with pride that he had worked with great men like Babu Rajendra Prasad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, etc., and he had learnt his lessons from them.

[English]

He has stated that he learnt his lessons from these big people and that he is still imbued with that spirit of 1952. Sir, I know that Mr. Azad who was at one time a stormy petrel of the Congress Parliamentary Party, had been known as a very revolutionary type of man and as a young speaker he always commanded the attention of the House in 1952. His spirit is still not dampened or tamed during the last 30 or 35 years. He is still very much the same man and he speaks in the same tone even today. But I should say that whatever he has learnt from those great men, he has forgotten his lessons. Today, we do not have those great men. But we have the young Prime Minister who is the grandson of that great man. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Today he is occupying the first seat in the Treasury Benches. We are very happy about it. But I should say that he is only the shadow of that substance. Because today we do not see those basic values for which we fought in those days and for which we were prepared to die. We do not find those values in several of our functionings and dealings, in our statecraft and in our behaviour both inside and outside the Government. Where

do we see those values? There is an erosion of those values not only in the public life but also among the politicians. We have a different set of politicians. Well, we are the people who are going to die, our generation is passing away and a new generation has certainly to take over and it has taken over. But we are very sorry to learn that we are not going on the right path, the path that was shown to us by Jawaharlal Nehru and other great leaders.

Sir, coming to the style of functioning of the Government which is a very relevant issue to us today, let us see how are we functioning? I am not going to refer to the shuffles and reshuffles of the Cabinet, though it is very relevant. I do not want to refer to it, because it is the prerogative of the Prime Minister. Well, he can do any number of shuffles and reshuffles. He has already done it about nine times during these two years and he may do it again a dozen times in the next two and a half years. I have no objection. Because after all, mid-term changes were not very uncommon even in the old days of Panditji. He used to do it too. But he used to do it with a purpose and the purpose was to watch the performance of the members and after one or two years to induct those promising people so that they could learn the statecraft and administer the country. Well, I do not see any purpose here. There is a lot of experimentation which goes on and on with people as well as with issues. Only experimentation and no learning! There is no need for you to learn all by yourselves. It is not possible also to learn that way. You have to learn from your predecessors and from others. Now, we are bringing some new people. Portfolios are being changed day in and day out. Suddenly, they are becoming Ministers and finding it hard to handle the new portfolios. I do not mean to say the Ministers are not capable to handle these new portfolios, but, where is the time for them? After working for two months in a portfolio, you change it, and he takes up another portfolio. What would be the situation in that case? He has entirely to depend on the coterie of bureaucrats to learn and perform. We do not have any shadow Cabinet, where you people are

trained, like, in U.K. They are just picked. You require time to learn and by the time you learn, and have a grip over the portfolio, you are changed. What is this style of functioning? This is the basic question which I would like to ask the Prime Minister. What is the purpose of his reshuffling? Why is he doing so often, when he is already over-burdened with several problems of the country? Today, we have the Prime Minister handling a portfolio like Finance which requires a whole time attention of a very-very senior Minister. Where is the time for him to think about the various problems, to lay down the strategies, to work out schemes and to monitor the implementation of the programmes? If the administration suffers, certainly, we will be the losers, the country will be the sufferer.

There are certain Ministers who are inducted only to see that they do some political work. There is no harm in Prime Minister being the President of the National Congress. There could be one exception. But there can't be hundred exceptions. These exceptions could not be made in the case of others. Now, it has become a rule. You have a rule that you should not hold two posts. But you are exempting several others. And one of the Ministers, who is handling a very important portfolio like Industry is in-charge of Congress (I) organisation of a State. He spends more time in his native State than in his office in Udyog Bhavan and in Parliament. I have every objection to this, because, I want him to function here. I have heard his replies when he was giving them on the Floor. This is on record. He has given even wrong replies. It is on record that he has not grasped his subject so far. He does not know what is an industry. Industry portfolio is so important that you have to lay down the policies. He might have been Industry Minister at the State level, where only execution is there. It is nothing, but distribution of licenses and permits and so on. But here, in the Central Government, you have to lay down the basic policies. Every day, you have to be here. You have to be alert. You have to understand the trends in the industrial development and take steps to see that the industrial deve-

lopment does not suffer. You have to go on changing policies. Where is his contribution? I do not see any of his contribution here. I am a Member of the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Industry. I have been seeing his performance. I am very sorry for that. He comes from my State. He is a good man and a man of common sense. But it is not just common sense that helps in matters like these. He requires deep study and understanding of several intricate problems. Does he do that? Where is the time for him? As I said, all the time he is in the State. All the time he is in the State, politicking, abusing people, kicking people. He said—this has appeared in the Press—that he wanted to kick the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, so that he may land in Madras. Well, I do not know, whether, he is able to lift his foot and kick with all his bulk. If he does it, he will kick himself flat on the ground. But is it a proper thing for a Central Minister to go there and say things like this?

Is this the style of functioning? Where are we going? When a Central Minister goes to a State, certainly he is a very distinguished visitor, and a guest of the State; and as a guest of the State, he has to be in touch with the Chief Minister, with the Ministers, and discuss with them problems of common interest, and try to understand the difficulties. But you go on telling, go on accusing the State Government that they are not doing this, doing that, they are misusing funds etc. What is this use of funds and diversion of funds which he talks about day in, day out.

About Central funds, the funds which go either for flood relief or famine relief or for whatever purpose, if they are misused, if there is an accusation that they are being diverted for other purposes, and if they are misused, the proper course for the Central Government is to see that a proper enquiry is instituted, by sending a team of officers who will go deep into the matter, who will enquire thoroughly. You are just going to a villager and asking the villager. The villager says: 'I have not received anything.' Then you come

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to the conclusion that funds are misused. Is it the way you function? Even the Prime Minister goes to a village and asks a villager whether he has received any help, the villager will say no, since he expects more help. If I tell to the Prime Minister that I have not received help, perhaps I may get further help for this, or for any other purpose.

SHRI JAGDISH AWASTHI (Bilhour) : When the Prime Minister goes there, if he asks somebody whether he has got money or not, what is wrong in it.

[Translation]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : It is alright if surprise checking is your method to understand things. You can go to any village you like and meet any person to draw the conclusions whether they have got money or not.

(Interruptions)

This running commentary is not right, let me speak. It is not my habit to interfere while other speak. Some people do that, but I do not.

(Interruptions)

[English]

I will never interject, I will never disturb your speech.

[Translation]

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS : The interference in your speech is because you speak so many unnecessary things.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : All right, let me speak. I would say that it is not the right way of enquiry.

[English]

This smacks of some sort of a political motive.

[Translation]

You are doing it with political motive to defame the State Government. What kind of relationships you should have with the State Governments?

[English]

Particularly, with a Government ruled by an Opposition party, as a big brother it is your responsibility to see that you behave like the caesar's wife, above suspicion.

[Translation]

None should suspect that you are discriminating, but you are doing that, why?

[English]

Why is it that you have failed so far to establish good relations with the Governments ruled by Opposition parties? Why is it that you are on the path of confrontation, or near confrontation only with the States which are ruled by Opposition parties? Why are you doing like this? Don't you know that today we have multi-party democracy in this country, and today it is not one party which is ruling? We who are sitting here, many parties sitting here are ruling parties in States, why don't you establish working relations, good relations with the States, particularly those ruled by Opposition parties, so that they may not have any complaint against you?

[Translation]

They are small States, so what complaint they can have against you? Every day they have to come to you for one thing or the other.

[English]

Every day they have to come to you with a begging bowl for funds. Every day they have to come to you for clearing the projects which are pending here.

[Translation]

They do not want enmity, they want friendship with you, but what is your behaviour,—

[English]

Who is the villain of the piece ?

[Translation]

Why it happens ? I do not blame you, but I blame those persons who have their vested interests.

[English]

They do not want that the Centre should have good relations with the States ruled by an Opposition party.

[Translation]

You can understand as to who those people are. Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad can understand as to who are such people who do not want that there should be good relations between the Centre and the States; Who are those people who have vested interests in it. That is why they come here and complain to the Minister that such and such thing is not taking place there and thus they mislead him so that our relations are spoiled and we become prejudiced. They want that in this way the Centre may stop giving assistance to us. I know that many projects are pending here. There are some reasons for it.

[English]

They have got some excuses for that. But you cannot have excuses for two years. After all, the same officers work there and the same officers are sent here and they work here.

[Translation]

There the Chief Secretary and Secretaries all belong to All India Services.

[English]

They are not under our control. We

cannot do anything with them. When they clear a project, when they answer questions, when you go on again putting questions and the answers come, you go on keeping the whole thing pending for two years; and every time you have an excuse that no, no, you have not sent this information; that is why we have not cleared the project.

[Translation]

Who will suffer if the projects are not cleared. The Country and not Andhra Pradesh, will suffer. What I mean to say is that there is some defect in your style of functioning. You should consider it.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : How much time do you require to complete your speech ?

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I will take another 10-15 minutes. How much time you have allotted for my party ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : For your party, 30 minutes have been allotted. It is left upto you whether you want to take 30 minutes or you want to give some time to your other party members. Twenty five minutes have already been exhausted; five minutes are more.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I will continue after the lunch.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) : Let him continue after the lunch.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can continue after the lunch. The House stands adjourned for lunch and will meet at 2 P. M.

13 02 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then
adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen
of the Clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after
Lunch at five minutes past Fourteen
of the Clock*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the chair*]

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

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri C. Madhav Reddi to continue his speech.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I was referring to some of the issues which are very important and which remain unsolved in this country. In this connection I was referring to the style of functioning of this Government and the various Departments.

Day before yesterday, when the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address was moved, the mover, the seconder and many others were talking about the cooperation which was necessary from the opposition parties. In this connection, they said that the Congress did not believe in killing dissent and the opposition parties would be taken into confidence. I know that in the past the opposition was a whipping dog of the Congress. Earlier the confrontationist politics was the order of the day. Since the young Prime Minister took over the reins of the Government, there was some change in this attitude. But even though there is no direct confrontationist politics, there is a subtle move on the parts of the Prime Minister to weaken the opposition parties in several ways.

Well, the Congress invited in the name of unification all the ex-Congress men to join Congress. I have no dispute with that. But Dr. Farooq Abdulla, as long as he was in the opposition, was the enemy of the nation; he was the agent of Pakistan. That is how you described him on the floor of the House. But when he becomes your ally, suddenly he becomes a great patriot. The Congress (S) is broken. You have taken Sharad Pawar into the Congress. We have no dispute with that. But that is certainly killing dissent,

This shows a mentality that the Congress Party does not want any powerful dissent to emerge in this country. Well, it proved that it suits them. Any effort as uniting the opposition forces was always throttled. That is what the records show. In the last two years I have been seeing that the Prime Minister was seemingly anxious to take the cooperation of the opposition parties in this House. He was inviting the leaders of the opposition to meetings to discuss some important issues. But it was very evident that it was intended to be merely a ritual, never intended to be a very serious discussion which really invites participation in the decision making. It looked several times as if decisions had been taken but the Opposition was consulted just for the sake of consultation before the decisions were announced.

The style of functioning at the Government level, from the reports which we have, is also something different. Important decisions are taken in consultation with a group of persons who are around the Prime Minister. Even the advice of the senior Ministers is sometimes being ignored. Decisions are taken which have nothing to do with the notings in the files. The file speaks something else, the noting, the Secretary's opinion, the Minister's opinion is something else, but the decision is something else. I am not referring to the non-performing Ministers. There are a few. I have mentioned one such Minister. The functioning of the Cabinet should be such that it should have a collective sort of thinking on an issue instead of taking an *ad hoc* decision. Now, why *ad hoc* decisions are taken? In this connection, I would like to mention the various Accords signed. What was the exercise made for consultation with the senior Ministers I do not know, but one thing is very clear that these Accords were signed in haste and repented in leisure. There is no doubt about it. Some hon. members, the other day, were telling that the Opposition Parties welcomed the Accords when they were signed but subsequently they criticised the Accords. We never criticised the Accords as such. We have always welcomed the agreements about various policy matters

of national importance which have been executed, whether it is Punjab Accord, whether it is Assam Accord or whether it is Mizoram Accord. But as the time went by, when the Government went back on the Accords, when there was no implementation of the Accords, when there were complaints from the parties who signed the Accords, it is only then that the opposition parties had to point out that this was wrong. We never opposed the Accords.

Coming to the other aspect of the style of functioning the image-building exercise which goes on in this country today, I would like to say that it was never there before. No Prime Minister depended on the image-building exercises in the past. There was no need for Jawaharlal Nehru or even for Indira Ji to depend on the Doordarshan or any other image-building exercise. We are told—we do not know how far it is correct—that there are market research organisations which are engaged by the office of the Prime Minister to make a research all the time and gauge the Prime Minister's image so that the Prime Minister may change his policies and so on. That means, you are prepared to change your policies to suit the image. This is very wrong. This is not the way the Government is run. This is not a private limited company where you have to conduct market research studies for the sale of the product. Where is the need for conducting a market research study about the popularity of the Prime Minister? Why should you do that? Can anybody justify this? Can anybody justify the feeding of these reports into the computer and the computer telling you that Sir, this is the rating of the Prime Minister today and hence you change the policy, and the policy is changed? Is it correct? I do not think.

In the end, I welcome the particular mention in the Presidential Address which deals with curbing communalism in this country. The Opposition is fully with the Government in this particular respect. Communalism, casteism and racialism, all these evils have to be curbed. But what is the scheme which you have mentioned

for curbing this evil? There is no mention of the Babri Masjid and the Ram Janm Bhoomi episode which is bringing up great trouble. Well, we know what happened. My friend Shri Shahabuddin was very vocal about this matter and he exhorted that 26th January celebrations should be boycotted. There are such people in this country who take a very narrow view of such things. We never conceive the idea of converting the whole thing into a sort of national monument. After all, it is a Ram Janam Bhoomi, no doubt. But even if Ram is there now, he would not ask the confrontation with the other section of the people who do not want... (*Interuptions*). Similarly Babri Masjid—some centuries ago some masjid was put up there. Now they are claiming a masjid there.

It is not a matter to be left to the State Government. Every time we ask the Central Government, they say it is the concern of U. P. Government. Is it a matter concerned with only the U. P. Government? It is such a big issue. It is likely to create a great trouble in this country. If it is going to kindle the passions of Hindus, as the passions of Muslims, then God alone must save this country. I suggest that there should be a national monument or international monument there—a big hall be built there to preach secularism in this country, neither Babri Masjid nor Ram's temple, nothing of that sort is required. It may be a temple which is dedicated to the whole nation, to all religions in the world.

We forget, Shri Shahabuddin also forgets, what Iqbal wrote about this subject because it is very convenient for some of the people to forget what was told by some big people though we talk of following them.

He said :—

*'Apno se bair rakhna toone butonse
seekha Jangojadal shikhaya
wai z ko bhi khuda ne Tang aake
maine aakhir dairo dharam chhoda.*

[Translation]

Iqbal said this and he thinks that he

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will become another Iqbal in this country.

[English]

He was fed up and said that he did not want any religion—Hindu, Muslim or any other.

*“Waiz ke waaz chhoda chhode
tere fasane, pather ki moorton
men, samjha hai too khuda hai
Khake watan ka mujh ko har
jarra devata hai”*

This should be the monument for the secular ideals of this country.

SHRI SOMNATH RATH (Aska) : I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. President's Address reviews the performance of the Government of the previous year and outlines the programme of the Government in coming years. It is alleged by some hon. Members that in the President's Address, the policy of the Government is not reflected. But I submit, every sentence in the President's Address breathes of Government policy and Government policy alone, national and international, inside the country and outside the country and concerning economic, political and foreign affairs. The epoch of the Address speaks in detail about the economic policy. The Address mentions the figures, the facts of, growth in every sector in the country. There is a spectacular success achieved by our hon. Prime Minister in national and international affairs. Sir, the hon. Member has mentioned that the Congress Party is responsible for weakening the Opposition Parties. Certainly, the Congress Party will not come to the rescue of the Opposition Parties and it is not their responsibility to see that they grow. They should either fall or stand on their own merits. They cannot blame the National Party, that is, the Congress Party which has emerged as the National Party under the leadership of our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, to lead our country in its right direction and right path. There were splits in Opposition parties and

splits have occurred. But how are we responsible for it? There is an inflow of like minded persons to the Congress Party and why should others be terrified by this? When some political parties in some States fail in their administration, they immediately try to side-track the failure attributing to the inaction of the Central Government. But when there is achievement at the initiative or at the instance of the Central Government, they take the credit that they have done it. This has become the slogan of some States and some political parties. But all said and done, the fact remains that the Congress Party is the only National Party which is leading the country in the right direction under the young and dynamic leadership of our beloved Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. There can be no second opinion about it. The Accords were discussed in this House. It is not that they were signed and therefore they were not to be discussed in this House. It was approved in the House. The Accords paid rich dividends in Longowal Convention, the nation, the people of Punjab, the Sikhs of the country, have boldly come forward to fight with extremists, fundamentalists, communalists and secessionists. Our Prime Minister has stressed more than once that the democratically constituted Government under the leadership of Shri Barnala will not be dismissed. There will not be President's Rule in Punjab. Some political parties wanted President's rule in Punjab.

Sir, the Congress Party respects the Accords in all respects. We all know that there was insurgency in Mizoram. But now it is not there. It does not benefit the Congress Party alone. The Congress Party has given priority to the national interest and not to the interests of the party. It is an open secret that these accords will give rise to the regional parties, and they may succeed in elections for sometime. We are fighting lonely in Punjab against the extremists, The whole country and the opposition parties, the people of Punjab are fighting against the extremists today. They are fighting against communalism, they are fighting against fundamentalism. This is a great achievement.

As for the foreign affairs, the Delhi Declaration made by Mr. Gorbachev and our Prime Minister is a world record. It is for the mankind; it is to wipe out, to eradicate the nuclear arms from the world to save the humanity.

Our relations with Pakistan have been strained. Of course, what all Pakistan says should be taken with a grain of salt we know. Yet, the tension on our borders has been reduced by negotiations.

Regarding our relations with Sri Lanka, the condition of Tamil people in Sri Lanka, their own citizens, is going from bad to worse, and the Indian Government is not a sad spectator. Steps are being taken to see how best those persons who are being killed in large numbers are saved and how best the problem is politically solved.

Similarly, Sir, there are other factors on our border concerning China and Bangladesh and right steps are taken to solve those problems.

India raised the voice, under the leadership of our Prime Minister, against the racist regime in South Africa. A world opinion was created, which is not a small achievement. So, these are the achievements of this Government.

Sir, it is said that the policies of the Government are not clear in the President's Address. With your permission I would say one thing because one hon. Member has criticised that though there is self-sufficiency on the food front, the foodgrains are not utilised for the benefit of the poor. It is not so. These foodgrains are given for food-for-work programmes, and also at a subsidised rate to tribal people. And, regarding the policy of the Government, para 33 on page 10 of the President's Address speaks very clearly as follows :—

“...In allocation of resources high priority was accorded to anti-poverty programmes and to strengthening the core sectors of the economy. A massive in-

crease of 65 per cent was made in the outlay for major anti-poverty programmes.”

This is the policy of the Government in clear terms. Similarly, the Government is not complacent, the Government is aware of some important factors. That is the reason why in paragraph 39 on page 12 of the President's Address it is stated :

“The consumer price index gives cause for concern.”

Steps are going to be taken to see that the prices are under control. Though the inflation is under control, the trade deficit is under control and imports have been reduced, exports increased, yet the rise in prices in respect of consumer goods is certainly a matter of concern and the Government is not callous about it. It has given due attention.

Sir, this Address of the President is certainly not a slogan, it is based on facts and figures, the growth that has taken place in industrial agricultural and other sectors and is going to continue. I hope that my hon. friends on the other side will cooperate with the Government and come forward with concrete suggestions. They should not complain that the Prime Minister should not go to any part of the country; should not talk with people and should not contact people and our Prime Minister should sit in Delhi and rule the country. Our Prime Minister goes to the interior part of the country, talks with the people, the poor people, the harijans, adivasis and he is keen about the implementation of the programmes. While the Prime Minister is keen about the alleviation of the problems, in some of the States some political parties want to divert the funds meant for the upliftment of these adivasis, harijans and the poor people. They should not get terrified themselves. They should correct themselves. We should see that the funds meant for the poor people are spent for them and not misutilised.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now,

[Mr. Deputy Speaker]

the hon. Minister Shri P. Shiv Shanker will intervene.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, having heard one of the hon. Members on the other side, I thought that I should raise a very basic question as to what is the pith and substance of the Presidential Address and how do you assess its work, because what was said by the speaker referred to was that it is a ritualistic assessment on the doubtful achievements. One of the hon. Members on the other side has gone on record to say that it is a sugar-coated Address. It is perfectly all-right to use general invectives and broadsides. But then what is the substance that they have supplied to strengthen this generalised expression which has been used about the Presidential Address itself. It is in this background I thought that I should raise this question and try to answer it. It is very easy for persons who are not that responsible to just talk and get away. But then, they do neither service to the society nor to the country. The position is that before I go into what exactly is the Address that talks about the performance of the Government, I would like that we should take into consideration the composition of our society. We are a diversified people, diversified in many respects—in respect of religion, language, region and way of life, perhaps the like of which you will never find in any country in the world—such a diversification which tend to develop socio-politico tension which had been prevailing in this country and last year it had been one of the worst years, where socio-politico tensions that had developed because of the diversity has created problems. We had to face the external pressures which also tried to create problems internally. When one speaks of external pressures, they could be political as well as economic. While the political imperialism has become the matter of the past, economic imperialism has become the order of the day. Economically strong countries would like to pressurise the developing countries to see that their goods have a better market in these countries and for that purpose, they would like to pressurise the countries.

Now, in the process of pressurisation, political problems arise and economic pressures weaken the very Government. It is in this background one will have to judge as to what has been achieved by the Government last year.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : They tried to eradicate terrorism.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : I am not going into the details. I just broadly give the parameter by which the whole performance of the Government will have to be judged.

Now, if you look at it in this background, what we have achieved socially, politically and economically, is phenomenal. I was trying to go through the speech of one of the Members on the other side and have also tried to listen with dismay the speech that was rendered by the hon. Member from Adilabad. He has gone on record to say that "I have nothing to say on the economic policies. I would not like to touch the subject". But then how do you judge? In spite of problems, on the economic sphere the Government has done exceedingly well, The GNP growth is likely to be 5% this year, as compared to last year. Notwithstanding the fact that there had been monsoon failures in many parts of the country and there had also been very bad cyclonic effects, we have foodgrain stocks of 23 million tonnes in our godowns. The foodgrain production is likely to be in the range of 151 to 152 million tonnes. It is undoubtedly a great achievement.

To whom do you ascribe these achievements? It is definitely to the policies of the Government, the way the Government has conducted itself in the process of economic growth and the way the Government has managed the economy of the country. We are getting the results. In spite of that, we have to face the odds.

Look to the industrial infrastructure, power, coal, steel, hot metal and fertilisers. President's address itself gives the growth-rate. I would not like to go into it. But the fact remains that industrial infrastruc-

ture has done exceedingly well. We can say with our heads aloft that we have really succeeded in turning the economy to the betterment of the common man in this country. What is the fault that they find with us? If you also go into the question of industrial production, as the Address itself says, this year there is likely to be 7 to 8 per cent, growth in industrial production and a very sensitive area like electronics has had a quantum jump of 40% increase in its production and the same was the percentage of increase last year.

I am grateful to some of the hon. Members who have been pleased to make the observation that exports this year have gone up by 17.3% up to the end of December. As I have said, more than once, we will certainly reach our targets.

Now if this is the broad growth or growth-rate that we have been able to achieve, to whom do you ascribe it? Where is the failure of the Government? If the production is growing, if the economy has been properly managed, where is it that you would like to hit us below the belt? If you would like to go into the side issues from the Presidential Address, into the lanes and bylanes and speak of the style of functioning, about which I am coming later, is this the speech that we expect when one is on the debate on the Presidential Address? I would have appreciated if the hon. Members on the other side have to say that "Look, this figure is wrong and this is the basis for it" or "What are you saying? The trend is not correct. The trend is drifting". One could appreciate and understand it. But then instead of that what is being said? Very broad adjectives are being used. May be that if you would like to indulge in a political jingoism one cannot avoid it. I would leave it there. But then you must give some substantial reasons. You would not like to discuss; you would not like to say anything about the economic performance. You would just jump on some side issues and the side issues also do not have any basis. Then, you say that this is how you would not like to support the Resolution on the Presidential Address. I am only sorry to say that the attitude

that has been taken is not at all constructive attitude. It is an attitude of a political opportunism. It is an attitude about which they themselves say that there should not be a confrontationist approach except that what it is. You are trying to hit below the belt. There are some rules of the game which I expect, a part of the rules of the game that you should expect to play in a debate of a very serious nature on the Presidential Address. It is there, Mr. Deputy Speaker, where I was trying to say that if you look at what we have done about the economic emancipation of the country—it is true, I agree, that we are not going too fast but given the situation, given the circumstances given the atmosphere, you could not have done better. I am sorry to say this. I am saying this with a little bit of responsibility. Ours is a democracy. In a democracy, Right, Left or the Centre, anybody can talk anything. The Government of the day has also to be necessarily sensitive to the public opinion. What you have said is by itself an indication as to how far you can go to speak out untruths, lies and falsehoods. It is in this background that the Government of the day has got to work and based on the clear principles of democracy, the wheels of progress are bound to be slow. In a democracy this had been an accepted concept. In free democracy, the growth had been a little slow but what I am concerned is whether we are sure or not. If you are sure, then you should give us the necessary facts which we require so that we could give a better performance for the next year. On the contrary, what is it that you are choosing,

The Presidential Address is full of the figures, the economic growth that has taken place; how the socio-political tensions were sought to be defeated; what steps were taken. In the end, it also makes the position clear as to what exactly is the policy that the Government of the day would like to pursue in the coming years. What more you want? What else you would have added? I do not see you say that aspect. You would have certainly appreciated that but unfortunately that part of it does not come at all.

[Shri P. Shiv Shanker]

I was trying to say something about the economic growth in the country and the results that have been achieved over the years. I would also like to say something on the question of the Public Sector Undertaking. The Government of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I must say that we are proud to say this—in the field of Public Sector Undertakings, continue to pursue the policy of mixed economy which had been evolved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, structured strongly by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The same principle of mixed economy we are pursuing. There is no deviation from that. On the contrary, the Prime Minister has gone ahead, to make more autonomous, to make them more efficient, so that they become the backbone and they continue to be the strong backbone of our economy.

The tardy type of criticism sometimes is sought to be conveyed saying that there is a drift. But, supposing the public sector undertakings are made strong, does it mean to say that you are deviating from the policy? Sir, I for one would believe that it is not absolutely necessary for every public sector undertaking to make profit. The public sector undertakings have a role to play. They have also to achieve profits, I don't say that they need not. But once it is ensured that their efficiency is upto the mark, they are serving the society, then notwithstanding the fact that they are suffering a little loss, we should say hats off to them.

We should praise their role because if public sector undertakings also have a view to making money, then what is the difference between them and the private undertakings. Public sector undertakings have got to make profit, I don't deny that as I have already said. But there are certain research institutions which cater to the needs of the industries and the society as a whole. Supposing they are indulging in some activities which activities naturally do not yield profits, would you say that the public sector undertaking is a failure? You must judge it from the point of view of its efficiency, from the point of view of its service to the nation and the society.

It is this angle which is more important rather than everytime saying that have you earned money or not, how much money you have earned, if you have earned money I will give you a pat otherwise you are a bad boy. That is not the correct approach.

It is precisely for this reason and to achieve this objective the Prime Minister time and again has been trying to regulate the policies to see that they become more autonomous, they become more efficient, more service oriented and their usefulness to the society is increased day after day so that we achieve our objectives in the ultimate analysis. The policy that you adumbrate today need not necessarily give results tomorrow, it takes a little time.

Yet another aspect where I would like to stress is the aspect which the Presidential Address has gone on record and has stressed to a great extent; viz., the secular and democratic structure which the nation has got to sustain. The Presidential Address also goes back to 1947 to receive the sustenance from the resolution of the Constituent Assembly where they had pin-pointed the cancerous effects of communalism and the necessity to fight it out. In fact, as I said, ours is a very complex society and the constitutional document of ours takes care of every segment of our society. The socio-political-economical aspirations of every segment have been taken care of by the Constitution, though often it is said that it is a voluminous document. But, I should say that we must be very grateful to the genius of the framers of the Constitution who have accommodated every shade of opinion, every shade of the view that could be expressed by the different segments of our society. Secularism is the backbone of our Constitution. It is one of the principles which has been stressed in Preamble of the Constitution itself. That in my submission is the basic structure of the Constitution.

It is unfortunate that inspite of 40 years of our freedom we had been drifting—drifting towards the cancerous effect of communalism. But, Sir, speaking for myself I personally feel that the more

danger to secularism is the communal growth in the majority community. I for one very strongly believe that any growth of communalism in the majority community is bound to have its effect on the minorities and that would totter the very basic ethos and values of our Constitutional concepts.

I must in the context in which the President's Address has gone on record heartily congratulate—notwithstanding the fact that I myself am part of the Government—that particular para which has stressed that this cancer if it is not tackled it will burrow the very strength of our society. It is in this context that the recent developments in Punjab have got to be viewed.

All of us are congratulating Mr. Barnala for standing up to a situation which situation could have created multiple complications. He is trying to stand up and face the challenge. He does require the support. Of course, one of the hon. Member who spoke perhaps does not know that a strong support is being extended by the Prime Minister himself. Very peculiarly what was sought to be said in a bald manner was that what support you are giving. How about the political support. Everything is known. I would not like to go into those details. But the fact remains that the Government of India and the people of India stand strongly behind Mr. Barnala for tackling the present problem which is confronting in Punjab. Now the cancerous effect of communalism has got to be tackled equally. It is rather unfortunate that the communal frictions have arisen in different parts of the country as well. While the hon. Member from Adilabad has quoted Iqbal he forget to recite the one significant and most significant couplet of Iqbal in the very same recital where he said—

*Mazhab Nahin Sikhata,
aspas main bair rakhna,
Hind hain ham, watan hai
Hindustan hamara.*

That is the concept which has got to be forged. That is the concept which has been preached by all those great leaders

who fought for the freedom movement and who gave us this freedom and wanted to see us united from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. Now it is this, Sir, which the Government had been trying to tackle by its curbing communalism. Various steps are being taken. In fact, I would also like to thank the hon. Members on the other side who have jointly agreed to proceed to Punjab, and try to make an effort to bring in peace.

Sir, yet another aspect which creates certain problems sometimes is because of the external pressures—economic or political. They create tensions within the country and, in fact, the Presidential address makes a reference to what had happened on our borders. Unless the country is strong socially, politically and economically, we cannot face the challenges from outside. It is a matter of immense gratification. It is also a matter of pride for us that the policy of non-alignment, which was adumbrated by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and which has seen the test of time over the years, is consistently followed in this country and the Prime Minister is dedicated to that concept. He has taken every step be it in the international forum or be it regional forums of the world, where he tried to put forth the concept in its concrete form so that peace dawns over this hemisphere. Our policies there have yielded the results about which the Presidential Address itself makes a reference. I need not go into it.

Sir, one aspect where I would like to refer not very happily is the unfortunate observations that have been made by the hon'ble Member from Adilabad—the gentleman who spoke some time back and left. He devoted quite a long time on the Prime Minister and I must say that his speech is not in good taste. I would not like to make a mention more than that. In fact the best way to answer such speeches is to ignore them. I never thought he would hit below the belt. One aspect only which I will refer is he was trying to say on the image-building exercise of the Prime Minister. Perhaps he is the leader of the better personality who knows what image-building means, and those who live in the glass houses should not throw stones at others.

SHRI G. S. BASAVARAJU (Tumkur :
Change the belt.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : Sir, I would not like to go into it. I just thought that I should make a mention, I would not like to go into the details of the other matter. Then I could have answered.

Having said this, I would like only to make an observation that the Presidential document also refers about the future policy, the future policy of tackling the poverty in this country, the anti-poverty programmes which we have been pursuing. It has not only referred to what had been done in the past but also holds out that they will be pursued and they will be pursued vigorously so that the social Justice in this country becomes a reality and no more remains a fiction. It also says that the thrust of the Government policy is to improve the welfare of economically and socially weaker sections. The Government has a clear direction. Government would like to pursue the policies which in the ultimate analysis emancipate the poverty in this country.

There is no magic wand by which the status of the people could be changed even after 40 years. I would like to refer very plainly the way of country had been confronting with the problem from time to time, over the years; the way there had been the explosion in the population in this country, and to formulate Government's policies to conform to their needs, I am sure if the population of the country were to remain what it was in 1947, perhaps we would have achieved tremendous results by now.

But, we have already increased three times.

15.00 hrs.

Then, a country which was importing foodgrains even at that time has now become self-sufficient in spite of the fact that the population has gone up three times. Is it not an achievement? Do you not look at it from that point of view? It is

true that, we have not achieved what we have to achieve; what we expected to achieve, but then, you must also take into consideration the various handicaps, the drawbacks, the infirmities and then assess the results that have been achieved. It is in this perspective, Sir, that the Presidential Address is not only a document which is stock-taking, but also provides hopes for the teeming millions of the country and it is here that I commend the resolution of the mover on the President's Address.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM BAHADUR SINGH (Chapra) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when some problem creates a sense of desperation, it becomes necessary that a solution to that must be found out without any delay. If it is not done, we will have to face its consequences. The problem of Punjab is no different. Due to this problem, a sense of desperation has overtaken the people of the country. But there seems to be no improvement in the situation.

Now the question is what is the solution to the Punjab problem? Is solution to the problem lies in bullet for bullet or there is some other solution. The reason is that the use of police force is proving ineffective there and a crisis of confidence has been created for the para-military forces. There is a demand from the people of the country to send army to Punjab, but our past experience shows that we have not been able to solve any problem through the use of Army nor there is any possibility to do so in future. The results of sending Army to States are before all of us. No problem, whether it is the problem of Nagaland or that of Mizoram, has been solved by sending Army to the concerned State. The then Home Minister late Govind Ballabh Pant had ordered in this very House in 1956 to send Army to Nagaland for a period of six months, but we all know that even after 3 years, our Army continues to be posted there and has not been withdrawn and the problem has been solved fully there. Therefore, it has been our experience that it is not possible to solve any problem with the strength of an Army and the Punjab problem is no

different. The people whom we call terrorists are not alien. If we treat them as such, take it for granted that we would never be able to solve the problem of Punjab.

15.03 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

You will have to treat the terrorists of Punjab as the sons of this motherland. Unless you treat them as such, it is not possible to solve the Punjab problem. It is a fact of history that the forefathers of these terrorists sacrificed their lives fighting shoulder to shoulder with others in the freedom struggle of the country. The history tells us that about 2400 or 2500 people were sentenced to transportation for life in the cellular Jail. Out of those 2400 or 2500 persons, about 2000 were Sikhs and out of 125 persons who were sentenced to death by hanging, 90 martyrs were Sikhs. The blood of those ancestors runs in the veins of these terrorists. Therefore, we will have to think as to what are the reasons that the sons of those forefathers like Sardar Bhagat Singh, Udham Singh and Dhillon who had sacrificed their lives and went to the gallows smilingly have become terrorists. For this we will have to go through the historical facts. I think the problem of Punjab is a problem of distrust towards the Central Government. Therefore, the Central Government will have to find ways to solve the crisis of distrust.

We are extending all our support to the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Barnala. We are giving him political support. We are giving him support by sending Central forces there. But there is a section of the people in Punjab who have no trust in Shri Barnala. You cannot solve the problem of Punjab by having dialogue with Shri Barnala only and excluding that section of the people. Therefore, you will not only have to take into confidence Shri Barnalji but you will have to take into confidence other section of the Sikh community and Sikh youths as well.

The General Secretary of the Badal faction, Shri Sukhdev Singh says that there

is nothing objectionable in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution except that a demand for decentralised administration has been made therein. You will have to take the Anandpur Sahib Resolution into consideration. Then only some concrete solution can be found out.

In addition to it, you have to do something for the youths of entire country. But, at present, you have to take some concrete steps for the youths of Punjab who are having uncertain future before them, otherwise the communal elements will get an opportunity to play openly with their sentiments.

Therefore, I repeatedly request you that if you want any solution to the Punjab problem, you should give up obstinacy, strengthen your will and adopt a flexible approach towards it. Only then its solution will be possible. If you do not give up obstinacy and stick to your rigid stand, the Punjab problem cannot be solved. The prestige of your seat and your Government is nothing against the prestige of the Nation. If the country is saved, then only the other things are possible. The Governments will come and go, sometimes you will be in power and sometimes others will be in power. Therefore, for the prestige of the Nation, you will have to give up your obstinacy, strengthen your will and adopt a flexible approach.

In the President's Address, much has been said about the Education Policy. The real object of the education is the physical, mental and spiritual development of the individual and to make him responsible towards himself, his society and towards his motherland. It tells him as to what are his responsibilities and how to carry them out. But just contrary to this, the education policy propounded by the Britishers during their 150 years' of rule was aimed at creating an elite class which could derive all facilities to serve their interests and could also assist the Britishers in perpetuating their rule in India.

Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders who had played a leading role in the

[Shri Ram Bahadur]

freedom struggle had realised this thing. That was why Gandhiji talked about the basic education. But what to speak of the basic education, our education policy has been moving within the circumference of experimentation. When the Government of Shri Rajiv Gandhi came to power, there was much hue and cry about the education policy. People thought that it would be a new policy, but there is nothing new in it. The Doon School was the symbol of the education policy propounded by the Britishers and similarly Navodya Vidyalaya is the symbol of the education policy propounded by this Government. Rs. one crore will be spent on the Navodya Vidyalayas and one hundred students from 6th to 8th class will get admission there, but where would crores of other children of the poor go, who do not get even two square meals a day? They all will go to those schools which are roofless, without walls, having no mats to sit on and only one teacher for hundred students. On the one hand, the children of handful rich people will go to Navodya Schools which will have all the modern facilities on the pattern of Doon School like dunlop seats, cane chairs, splendid buildings with electric fans and bulbs, different uniforms for dining, for morning walk, for school and for sleeping, but on the other hand, crores of children who do not have even clothes to cover their bodies and meal to fill their bellies will go to those schools where there is only one teacher for hundred students, which are closed during cold season, hot summer and heavy rains. It will not do. It is a matter of great shame that even after forty years of independence, we could not bring uniformity in our primary education. We will have to bring uniformity in it and will have to give practical shape to the slogan given by Late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia :

*Brahmin ya bhangika heta ya
Rashrapati ki ho Sanaan
Sab ki shiksha ek samaan*

(Equal education to all whether one belongs to a higher caste or lower caste or one might even be a son of President of India.)

A conspiracy is going on in the country through primary education. In some private institutions the medium of instruction is English whereas in the Government schools the medium of instruction is Hindi. The children of ten per cent people study through English medium and the children of crores of poor people study through Hindi medium. And all the official work of the Government throughout the country is being done in English. As a result of this education policy, the son of a Minister will become a Minister, a collector's son will become a collector, son of a judge will become a judge a capitalist's son will become a capitalist and the son of an industrialist will become an industrialist. This is the conspiracy which is going on in the country through this education policy. Therefore, I oppose this education policy, because it will create such an elite section in the society as will have monopoly over the industry, politics and trade of the country.

In the end, I would like to say about irrigation. Much has been talked about irrigation and it has also been mentioned in President's Address. In Bihar, an irrigation project named Gandak Project has been under construction for the last 30 to 31 years and not even a single penny has been allocated for this project during the last three to four years. Is it not the neglect of Bihar? Since independence, the Bihar State has been continuously neglected and as a result of that, the Bihar State is still a poor State in spite of having maximum natural resources in the country. Therefore, I would request the Government to allocate sufficient funds for the completion of the Gandak Project to remove the backwardness of the people and to provide irrigation facilities to the farmers, otherwise it will be a confirmed fact that there is a wide gap between the professions and practices of the Government.

The issue of adult franchise has been mentioned in the President's address. It is a fact that the success of democratic set up depends upon adult franchise. But after viewing the scene of by-election in Banka constituency, any person who has slightest sympathy for the democracy, will

say that the Government of Bihar have outraged the democracy, otherwise there was no reason for the collector of Bhagalpur, the S. P. of Bhagalpur, the Collector of Munger and the S. P. of Munger who were fully armed, to indulge in booth capturing themselves and allow hooligans to capture the booths. It has been done by the Government of Bihar. I myself was present there and my colleagues were arrested in my presence. Janata Party workers were arrested at the polling centres and the collectors and S.Ps. were wandering about at every polling booth with their parties to cast the votes in favour of a particular candidate. If anyone opposed them, they used to threaten him to teach a lesson. At a polling booth under Kachodla Police Station, they started abusing a B. S. F. jawan. The Government of Bihar should be ashamed of this behaviour. The S.P. asked him as to whether he had a sense of discipline or not...

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not criticise the State Government here.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM BAHADUR SINGH : I am talking about the incident of infringement of Fundamental Rights. One S.P. on duty even started abusing one B. S. F. jawan because the S. P. wanted his help to cast some votes in favour of the Congress Party, but the B. S. F. jawan on duty opposed him. The S. P. told him that it was a matter of discipline to obey him. On this the B. S. F. jawan loudly protested that if he obeyed his i. e. S.P.'s. orders then country would have to be handed over to Pakistan. If such persons will be engaged to protect the democracy, it cannot be protected. Therefore, I want that such incidents should not be repeated. The democracy in the country will prosper only through adult franchise. The Government must try to avoid recurrence of such Banka type incidents to make the democracy a success in the country.

PROF. NIRMALA KUMARI SHAKTAWAT (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

There is no doubt that we have been faced by the internal and external problems during the last two years. We have so many burning internal problems like those of Punjab, Assam and Mizoram. Our Government, particularly our Prime Minister, has solved these problems without indulging in party politics and rising above party politics. That is why in Mizoram, where bullets were fanning the flames for the last two decades, the peaceful elections could be held. Similarly, with regard to the Punjab problem, Sant Longowal and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the two apostles of peace came forward and tried to solve the problem. But some terrorists who are receiving aid from some foreign powers are trying to misuse the religious places. Mr. Barnala has done an admirable work in this regard. He called an All Party Convention and took the public into confidence. It has proved that the Sikhs and other people of Punjab are peace-loving and they do not want any disturbance. Recently, a resolution regarding Sikh Common-Wealth presented before UNO, was also not accepted. For this I would like to thank all those countries who also extended their support to solve this problem.

Similarly, the situation on our borders is very dangerous and the clouds of war are hovering over there. There is no secret about Pakistan's attitude, but our Government deserves congratulation for the bilateral talks held between the two countries to ease the tension at the Indo-Pak borders. But we have to be very cautious about the tricks of General Zia's cricket based politics. Today, we can say on the basis of Washington Post Report that Pakistan has manufactured Atom Bomb and, in addition to that, it is getting *AWACS plane* from the U. S. A. Therefore, we need to be much cautious about it. Sir, similarly China has frowned upon the granting of statehood to Arunachal Pradesh. China has protested against it ignoring all internal diplomatic norms. We all strongly condemn this action.

[Prof. Nirmala Kumari Shaktawat]

Arunachal Pradesh has always been and still is an integral part of our country from historical, economic and social point of view and it will remain integral part of our country in future as well. In this regard, we need to be much vigilant so that China may not repeat the history of 1962. For this purpose, it is necessary that we must have strong military power. It is apparent from the recent war exercise our military forces have undertaken along the borders that our military power is not less than any other country in any way.

Today, the common man of our country wants the Government to work successfully and they have also realised its good results. Black money is like cancer in our social structure. The Government have conducted raids on industrial houses, traders and bureaucrats and the general public have now realised that this Government is competent enough to work honestly. Similarly, our Hon. Prime Minister himself visited the villages to assess the development work being done there under various national schemes and to enquire whether the funds being incurred on rural development are actually being utilised properly or not. Just now one of our Opposition Member Shri Reddy was saying that it was being done by the Prime Minister only to build up his political image. I would like to ask him whether the understanding of common man's problems and cooperating with the general public are the acts aimed at building up of political image? If he thinks so, then he is wrong. At present our population is 75 crores with multiplicity of problems. Our Hon. Prime Minister has reached at the root of our problems for which we would like to congratulate him. Our achievements in the field of economic growth and technology are also known to one and all. We have become self-reliant in the field of nuclear power. Other nations are jealous of our progress. We have successfully experimented our nuclear know-how at Kalpakkam, Kota, Narora and Tarapur. By the turn of this century, we shall be able to generate 10,000 MWs of power with the help of atomic energy. We have

chosen the right way to make proper utilisation of atomic energy. Even then, I would like to say that we still need to increase our power generation capacity. Some experiments have been done in the field of solar energy, wind energy and generation of electricity through these processes, but we have yet to do much more in this direction. It is possible that we should make experiment of power generation in the joint sector so that we may be able to solve this problem.

The poverty and unemployment are the main problems of the country. Our two years old Government have tried to solve these problems. For the removal of poverty, our Government have formulated schemes like the new 20 Point Programme, NREP and IRDP. These programmes have brought about drastic changes in our rural life. In spite of all these things 36 per cent of our people still live below the poverty line. In this regard, I would like to submit that for poverty alleviation, provision of more irrigation facilities to our farmers is very necessary. Till now only 25 per cent area has been brought under irrigation and by the turn of this century, if all irrigation projects undertaken by the Government are completed, we shall be able to bring 40 percent of our area under irrigation. Therefore, it is necessary that more funds are allocated in the Budget for this purpose. The State like Rajasthan, due to lack of irrigation facilities, is continuously grappling with the drought problem. Indira Gandhi Canal is like Bhagirathi of Rajasthan, but the funds allocated for the construction of this Canal are like a drop in the ocean. I would like to request the Government to allocate more funds for the construction of this Canal and this project should be accorded the status of a national project. Similarly, the water of Ravi and Beas rivers is not the property of any particular State. On the one hand, the heavy flow of surplus water damages our fertile land and on the other hand a child of Rajasthan pines for a drop of water. This situation must not be allowed to continue. Therefore, I would like to request the Government that Rajasthan must get water from Ravi and Beas rivers.

I would also like to say that the structure of our political freedom is based on economic self-reliance. In this direction we have done enough work, but we have not been able to properly balance our international trade, because we have taken loans from foreign and international institutions and 20 per cent of our export earnings go towards the repayment of these loans. That is why some imbalance is there. But I think if our exports are further increased, we shall be able to achieve the target of removing this imbalance. Similarly, our Public Sector has also not worked satisfactorily and I think that some improvements should be made in our Public Sector units which are running in loss. I would also like to point out that some sick units of the Private Sector run in loss and the Government have to take over such units for rehabilitation. But, I think, some managements deliberately make their units sick. Therefore, the Government should not take over such units.

Similarly, today the trend of urbanisation is increasing very fast. The rural people want to settle in the cities, because more facilities are available there. Therefore, I would like to suggest that the Government should provide more facilities in the rural areas, for example Navodaya Schools should be opened in the villages, television facility should be provided in the rural areas and new industries should be set up there. Only this way, the trend of migration to cities can be checked. You are spending a huge amount on education. Just now one of our colleagues was criticising Navodaya Schools. But I would like to submit that Navodaya School is a symbol of our national unity. The Three language Formula which has been adopted will promote our national unity. Similarly, 'Operation Block Board' has created new hopes. Education facilities will be provided to the poor through Indira Open University. I also would like to suggest that our education should be job-oriented.

I would also like to say a few words about the women. Our present Government have enacted a number of new laws for the welfare of the women, which had

never been enacted earlier. It has provided protection to the women, but their condition in our man-dominated society is still deplorable. Their condition cannot be improved merely by enacting laws, but the attitude of the society towards women needs to be changed. The law has been enacted, but equal wage for equal work is not paid to them. The law is there that a person having a living spouse cannot marry again, but even then so many women are being subjected to torture. So many brides are burnt alive. Therefore, I would suggest to the Government that so long as family courts are not set up, these enacted laws will have no meaning. Such courts should be set up in every State and such courts should hear cases in every district. Women should get legal protection and free legal advice should be made available to them. Only then, we can take them forward. 50 per cent population of our country is still oppressed. Therefore, our Government should pay attention towards their problems.

In the end, I would conclude by saying that our Government have shown that it has the capacity to work honestly and efficiently.

Our Prime Minister has three attributes : honesty, efficiency and the capacity to show results. These three attributes will definitely convert our developing nation into a developed nation in the 21st century. And it is only possible if 75 crore people of our country join hands with our Hon Prime Minister. We all, including the opposition parties, should learn to appreciate good works.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Further discussion on the President's Address will continue on Monday.

Now we proceed with the Private Members Business.