

(viii) Demand for construction of Fishing Harbours at Gopalpur, Kasafal and Astarang in Orissa during the Seventh Five Year Plan :

SHRI CHINTAMANI JENA (Balasore) : The State of Orissa had requested the Union Government for construction of three small Fishing Harbours at Gopalpur, Kasafal and Astarang for execution in the 7th Plan period. The cost of construction of the Fishing Harbour, at Kasafal is estimated at Rs. 1.17 crores. On receipt of the proposal an Expert Committee of the Union Government had visited Gopalpur and submitted their technical report to the Government.

After construction of these fishing harbours, the socio-economic condition of many thousands of poor fishermen community residing nearby, will improve very significantly. Besides, the country will earn a considerable foreign exchange by exporting processed fish and other marine products. I would, therefore, request the Union Government to include all these three project in the 7th Plan period for their early execution.

14.15 hrs

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESENT'S ADDRESS

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri B. R. Bhagat and seconded by Shri Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi on the 24th February, 1988 :—

“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 House of Parliament Assembled together on the 22nd February, 1988”.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for providing me an opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks on President's Address.

Sir, you must have observed that the President has indicated Government policies and programmes in brief in paragraph 61 of his Address, but I want to quote para 3. It is the most important paragraph. It contains our feelings :—

- where the ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism enshrined in our Constitution, are fully realised;
- where social justice prevails, with equality of opportunity for every human being;
- where science and technology have helped to wipe out poverty and disease;
- where economic development does not exhaust the bounties of nature, but creates wealth in harmony with it;
- where industrialisation and modernization are fused with moral and spiritual values;
- where all religions and cultures flourish in an atmosphere of mutual respect and cooperation.

We want an India whose interaction with the nations of the world is dedicated to peace and international cooperation, and a new world order based on equality, freedom and justice.

The hon. President has enumerated in a single paragraph all those principles, ideals and aims with which the Government of India wants to progress. You can see that how the Government of India under the leadership of hon. Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi is trying to implement all the decision we have taken with complete confidence. It may be the question of fighting Punjab's terrorism or

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endeavour to bring peace in the disturbed areas of Tripura, in all the cases we are marching forward with full confidence. So far as question of economy is concerned, in 1980, when we took over, after Janta regime, it was a completely shattered economy. After the drought of 1979-80, during Janta regime, agricultural production has gone down by 17 per cent and G.N.P. was only 4.7 per cent and not only this, the industries had also shown downward trend. The results of our constant efforts made during these years can be seen I only want to talk about infrastructure. Power generation has increased by 10.2 per cent and coal production by 7.5 per cent. We are marching ahead in case of coal, electricity, iron and petroleum. The hon. Members will be surprised to know that we have produced 3 crore and 36 lakh ton cement and 82 lakh ton iron. We have made alroaad progress in a practically all the industries.

We have honestly taken steps, in accordance with the declared policy, to meet the situation created by the worst ever drought faced in the history of the country this year. The result has been that not a single person has died of starvation. In Bengal famine in 1940 nearly 40 lakh persons died of starvation. Today all of us must join to congratulate the Government of Rajiv Gandhi for tackling the situation effectively. This year at the time of drought we had 23 million tons of foodgrains in buffer stock. Railways have done a commendable job in transporting foodgrains to deficit areas and their earning has gone up by 7.4 per cent and it was increased by 4.4 per cent during the first 9 months of the current year. We are improving the pace of development in all areas and the result is before us.

I want to draw the attention of the hon. Members to the Janta regime when ques used to be formed for Kerosene, Petrol was not available and to the surprise of all of us trains which transport coal were cancelled because of non availability of coal and there was no coal in power houses for power generation. At the time of our coming to power in 1980 economy was in shambles. We have brought the

economy on rails from where it can improve further systematically. We have implemented all our schemes vigorously. We have done good work in all the fields. We have enacted progressive laws for the welfare of women. Only the Government of Rajiv Gandhi has taken steps in this direction. He wants the women of the country to move forward and avail equal opportunities. He knows that if the women are not emancipated then there may not be a balanced development. In addition to all this, mgny committées have been set up for their upliftment.

Similarly, in the Seventh Five Year Plan an outlay of Rs. 14,00 crore has been made by the Hon. Prime Minister for the upliftment of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. In addition to this he is raising the amount as and when necessary. In our plans we fixed a target of ulifting 33 percent people of Sheduled Castes above poverty line. But I can say with pride that we have exceeded the target and have uplifted 41 per cent above poverty line. This is great achievement of our Government.

The number of youths in the country has gone up. Many good steps have been taken by the Government for their welfare. Many youth Centres and Nehru Yuvak Kendras have been opened for them by the Government. A feeling of discipline has developed among them. We have achieved this as a result of our policies and programmes.

Yesterday, hon. Finances Minister mentioned several programmes for the welfare of workers in his Budget speech. These had also been discussed in detail in the Economic Survey as well. This subject has also been discussed in detail in the budget speech by the hon. Finance Minister, although Hon. President had also touched this point in his Address. We have raised the issue of labour participation in industrial field. That day is not far off when crores of Indian workers will actively take part in the development of the country with a feeling of self involvement. The credit for all this goes to our Hon. Prime Minister Rajivji. The opposition side has not at all made any contribution in this respect.

Today the opposition of the country has got only 2.3 points in their mind. They only build castles in the air. They talk a lot about corruption but do not cooperate with the Government in eradicating it. I would like to say that the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Haryana are the most corrupt Governments. In democratic set up, you will never find such corrupt Governments. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and Haryana are openly indulging in nepotism. Even the Court has passed strictures against the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh for indulging in corruption. Today, the opposition groups are not coming under one umbrella to serve the country but to grind their own axe. The people of India will never tolerate the parties and the State Governments which are corrupt and indulge in nepotism and other malpractices. They want to organise Bharat Bandh. They have no right to organise it. What is the issue? The steps, the Government of Rajiv Gandhi has taken are being praised by one and all. The Budget presented yesterday by the hon. Finance Minister touches all the aspects of the economy. He has paid attention to the problems faced by the youth, women, aged persons, workers, journalists etc. in order to help them. They may see our future programmes also. We have brought our economy on sound footing and we can say with pride that no other nation in the world has achieved this much success in solving the food problem. The rate of Inflation had increased to 21 to 22 per cent at the time of drought in Janata regime. The Hon. Prime Minister of the country had stated firmly with courage, that in spite of this unprecedented drought and floods he and the Government will not allow the rate of inflation to touch the double digit as a result of which despite difficulties the rate of inflation is only 9.8 per cent. Yesterday, the hon. Finance Minister presented the Budget with a view to check inflation, rise in prices and increase productivity and employment opportunities. The other nations of the world under the grip of inflation are quite astonished to see the way we have achieved success in curbing inflation.

They talk a lot about balance of payment position, but despite drought, the exports have risen by 24 to 25 per cent and imports by less than 13 per cent as compared to the last year's figure just because of our practical Import-Export Policy. I want to tell the august House that our Export-Import Policy and economic policy have stood test of the time. All the nations of the world except Pakistan have appreciated our foreign policy and signing of Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, which is the interest of Tamils in Sri Lanka as well as Tamils in Tamil Nadu and our country as a whole. We have improved relations with China, Afghanistan, Russia and other countries of South Asia. Our peace efforts have all along been appreciated. Our technological and economic relations are constantly improving and have cultural exchanges with Russia under the Cultural Agreement between the two nations. The relations between Russia and India have improved since the visit of the Hon. Prime Ministers of the two countries.

I want to say that the opposition talk of corruption. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others. Their own shortcomings are very well known. I want to say that the opposition parties of the country should think seriously about their own deeds. CPM has lost its reliability and public support in Bengal. They are trying to win the Panchayat elections through rigging on a large scale. We are not revealing this truth. Three of their own Ministers have given the statement that rigging and corrupt means have been employed on a large scale in Bengal. So today, I want to tell them that they will have to work in a democratic way if you want to strengthen democracy in the country. I want to tell that CPM is a leftist party. They held a big rally in Delhi but what happened in Tripura? They lost the ground. I demand on behalf of the Congress party that if they have guts, let them have elections in Andhra Pradesh or dissolve the Bengal Assembly and then see. They expect Rajivji to be bold and it is quite surprising to note that they try to make an alternative to Congress party. I want to say that Congress is a National Party and its policies are working not only for

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the last forty years but right from the freedom movement. We want the progress of our country by following those policies. I want to ask them that on what basis they demand the resignation of Rajiv Government and claim to make an alternative. If we do not think of making an alternative in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka or West Bengal... (*Interruptions*)... What can they do to make an alternative who belong to different groups... (*Interruptions*)... We do not know what has happened to the Jan-Morcha of Shri Vishwa Nath Pratap Singh... (*Interruptions*)... This is not due to the faulty policy or inability of Shri Rajiv Gandhi but because Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh wants to take the country backward... (*Interruptions*)... They organised a movement in 1974 against Babu Bahl Patel which was accepted by Shrimati Indira Gandhi in view of Shri Morarji Desai. But when Shrimati Gandhi ousted him, Babu Bhai became super human. They made him the Chief Minister of Gujarat. Seventy-five crore population of India are familiar with the faces of opposition. Do not make casties in the air, realise the factual position if you want to save your existence... (*Interruptions*)... We would welcome the comments of the opposition on the Hon. Presidents Address. But they do not say anything in this regard All they have talked has nothing to do with the President's Address. While I have said everything to the point whether it is economic policy, social policy, foreign policy or basic principles. I have not gone beyond the scope of Motion of Thanks on Presidents's Address.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are thankful and feel proud for all the basic things the Hon. President has indicated in his Address, and moreover I appeal to the opposition members to have some introspection and not to indulge in accusing others on baseless charges. Only then democracy can be established in the country. One could observe, how helpless they felt and how they reacted after the presentation of the Budget. when they could not find anything to say they declared it as an election budget. I would say that Shri Rajiv Gandhi will continue to present the budget in accordance with

the aspirations of the people it does not matter, whether they call it an election budget or people's budget. We would continue to bring such budgets and engage ourselves to do the welfare of the poor.

In the end, I thank you and once again support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : I regret that I am not in position to support this Motion of Thanks.

The President's Address for the contents of which I know that he is personally not responsible, is an essay in illusion. And the reason for that is it has glossed over many of the harsh realities of the situation and led also, therefore, to some contradictory formulations in this Address. For example, one contradiction, I must point out, is very glaring in paragraph 59 This Presidents's Address has taken approving notice of what is described a 'substantial progress in our bilateral relations with the United States of America'. Well, we are not against developing friendly relations with other countries. But the first sentence approves of progress in our relations—that means, friendly relations, I take it, not progress in hostile relations—with the USA, and the next sentence of the same paragraph says "we continue to impress upon the United States the seriousness of our concern about the supply of armaments to Pakistan notwithstanding that country's relentless pursuit of nuclear weapons".

So, we are developing our relations substantially with the country which we are at the same time, criticising politely for continuing to supply armaments to Pakistan, despite that country's relentless pursuit for nuclear weapons. What is this? He should explain to us what is meant by this because, for the first time since Independence... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : You are replying to whom ? There is no Cabinet Minister here.

AN HON. MEMBER : Secretaries are there.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : Where is Mr Bindeshwari Dubey, the Law Minister?.. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : What is the point in discussing all these things ? Is this the way they are treating the House, Sir ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Two Ministers are here.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Neither Prime Minister nor a single Cabinet Minister is here.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : It is that two State Ministers make one Cabinet Minister ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They are busy with other more important jobs than to listen to our speeches ..(*Interruptions*) I was saying that for the first time since Independence, India has entered into cooperation with the United States in the sector of defence—a thing which was never countenanced by Pandit Nehru or even by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. But only recently, after his last visit to the U.S., the Prime Minister has informed us that in some vital sectors of defence, where some high technology is required, particularly in the manufacture of our proposed new light combat aircraft and our main battle tank, we are having to go to the Americans and to the West Germeant to incorporate their technology and their designs and their engines into these vital weapons that we propose to manufacture in our country. At the same time, we are saying that USA is the best friend that Pak'istan has got, who is arming it and is allowing it to develop nuclear weaponry. So, Sir, if they are going to allow these powers to enter our defence structure, to enter our laboratories and our workshops and to see our whole defence arrangement coming from the inside, can we depend on them to stand by us if we happen to be involved in hostilities, if a crisis comes from Paki- stan ? Are these people we are going to

depend on ? So, I would say that on these points, Mr. President's Address should have been more carefully drafted because it is absolutely self-contradictory.

Then, Sir, I am more concerned with some of the disturbing new trends which have emerged on the scene during the last one year. There is a passing reference in this Address, to the communal and divisive forces, and pledge is taken that we are going to combat them with determination and so on. But that is not the experience of the country that these forces are being combatted with determination and energy by this Government. There is not a single mention by the President in his review, of the ghastly communal riots which took place a few months ago. There is not a word of solace for the minorities who suffered in those riots—I am referring to Meerut particularly. The name of Meerut is not even mentioned. It is not deplored. Nothing is said about the cruelties that were perpetrated, not only by communal forces but by the armed police of that State, as everybody knows. I think it is better that Members on the other side, like Mr. Panika, do not accuse us of flirting with BJP. After all, no less a person than Balasaheb Deoras has paid so much tributes to the Congress and said that there is no other alternative and if necessary, we should cooperate with them. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : He is referring to Mr. Dange.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You are putting Mr. Dange and Mr. Desoras on the same footing. You are welcome to do it. Mr. Dange is not our leader. We have expelled him from our party. You can see it. If you like, you can keep Mr. Dange with you. We have no objection. But don't say this thing. We are determined to fight the forces of communalism. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : In Kerala, they are aligning with BJP.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA : They were joining with the Janata Party and BJP also. The country is well aware of this. Not that I alone know of this. The country know about it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : As regards, election which took place recently in Tripura State, the particular point I wish to refer to is because it has been blindly digested by everybody, although it is going to be henceforth the criterion that if any State is disturbed, if there are violent activities and terrorist activities are there, if some people are killed by terrorists, then there is no option to held elections except under the development of the army. That is the thesis which has now been sought to be introduced slowly. I remember that two years ago when elections were held in Punjab, was the situation regarding law and order better than it was in Tripura? We went to Punjab and we saw the Prime Minister addressing meetings from behind the bullet proof screen. Wherever he went, at every platform the bullet proof screen had to be erected. Is it not a fact the whole 'maidan' of the meeting was full of security people? Ordinary people are afraid of going out of their houses after dark. It is still there in Punjab. I will come to that later. The killings had taken place on innocent people everyday. But nobody suggested at that time that the army must be deployed; otherwise elections cannot be held in Punjab. Yes, para-military forces were there. They were in Tripura also—BSF, CRP and all that. But the army was never deployed because there was no question of overthrowing of a leftist Government in Punjab. The electoral contest was with the Akali Party. The Congress Party already decided that it is better that the Akali Government should be formed and they should face the terrorists. But here is a different kettle of fish—in Tripura. Therefore, what will happen there? I am not talking of charges, counter-charges, rigging and counter-rigging and all that. I am talking about what has appeared new on the scene and that is, three days before the polling the whole State was declared to be the disturbed area and the army was deployed, not only in the border areas, bordering Bangladesh from where these terrorists have been coming and goings but even in the capital town of Agartala where no TNV terrorists did anything, but even there the army was deployed three days before, on the 2nd of February it is quite obvious not only that it is the new thing, unusual and abnormal thing which

has happened, not only that it gives an alibi that in future if there is, in the opinion of the Centre, any law and order problem in a State where elections are to be held, then the army can be deployed by declaring it to be a disturbed area. It has never happened before, never happened in any previous elections. But it was a motivated move in order to influence the voters quite obviously. Sir, it is a strange thing that after the polling is over, the election is over left-front Government has been defeated, the Congress has come to power in alliance with a regional group called T.U.J.s whose main political slogan has always been that all those people who have entered Tripura State after 1949 should be driven out. With Such a group, the Congress is going to run Government there. But after the polling is over, you don't hear any more about T.N.V. killings and T.N.V. violence. All disappeared after the polling. (*Interruptions*) Yes, like you have done in the Punjab, like your terrorists' killing in Punjab.

AN HON. MEMBER : That means it is good.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. CHANDRA SHEKHAR TRIPATHI (Khalilabad) : It is said that their life and property is secure. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Therefore, the terrorists have got demoralised and they retreated to Chittagong hill tracts!

Any way, Sir, this a very serious thing that has taken place and the Prime Minister should tell us whether this is a new thesis which is going to be propounded that Army must be deployed, otherwise election cannot be held in disturbed areas. That is the point. If the situation is so bad, election should not be held, it should be postponed or delayed or put off. If the situation is so bad that without the Army you cannot hold election, then kindly think about it when you propose to go in. The other thing I wish to speak about is Punjab. Here I do not know what to say about this paragraph which is written here about the Punjab. It is full of a lot of

bravado and a lot of demagogy, and not a single word here in paragraph 7 to admit that the situation is going from bad to worse. The whole country knows it. Only in November or December for a short period the security forces for some particular reason were able to get a slightly upper hand and it seems that the terrorists were somewhat on the defensive. A considerable number of them were, I believe, apprehended or even killed. But since then, it seems they have regrouped, they have reorganised, they have got new recruits, they have made a new plan, and they have stepped up their rate of killings and they are killing more Sikhs than Hindus now. Every day whole families are being butchered. What is the Government thinking to do in this situation? Here it is said—I charge this Government with a total policy of inaction and drift in the matter of the Punjab. It is not a question of one State, what is going to happen in Punjab tomorrow is going to affect the entire country and so should be taken seriously. Neither we are going in for any mass campaigning which we have always advocated that there should be joint united mass campaigning among the people against the terrorists, against Khalistan by all the parties and forces which really believe in secularism and national unity. It was tried out for a short while when Mr. Barnala was Chief Minister. Then it has been dropped like a hot potato. The Congress Party is not willing to do any joint campaigning after that. Then, the security forces, their efficiency and their capacity to cope with these terrorists is certainly not going up. I do not want to say anything more about this, but nowadays what do we hear? Suggestions are being made that Mr. Riberio should be withdrawn from the Punjab and the Governor is no good and this and that. Maybe that is for you to decide. But certainly the efficacy of the security forces, of the police particularly, in the Punjab is not what it should be. And thirdly, there is no political initiative whatever from the Government. Long ago it was told to this House that the cares of Jodhpur detainees are being reviewed and those who are found among them not connected with the terrorists will be released. That was months ago, I forget how many months ago, it was declared openly

in the Punjab in a public meeting by Mr. Narasimha Rao that within a few days releases will begin. And today that is the biggest ammunition or handle that is being given to the terrorists and the extremists in Punjab. Now, nothing is being done. Here in this paragraph it says: "The foremost task is to crush terrorism." Very good." How will you propose to crush terrorism? Easier said than done. "...and isolate the secessionists." How will you isolate the secessionists, unless you fight them politically? Unless you fight them politically among the people of the Punjab, how do you propose to isolate them? "...the Government stands ready for a dialogue with all those who eschew violence." Who are they? Is it enough to eschew violence? Even if you don't stand for the unity of the country and for the Constitution, will it do just to eschew violence? Your previous formula used to be for those who eschew violence and those who firmly stand for the unity of the country against secessionists. That has been given up now. Now, it is limited to eschewing violence. Whom have you got in mind, I would like to know. This deadlock is continuing making things worse every day. Now, you have come to a stage where the Prime Minister does not even bother to consult other Parties who are represented in this House. Is it a party question or is it a national question? There used to be a time, not long ago, when on occasions, consultations used to be held with all the Parties and some suggestions used to emanate from those meetings which might be considered useful. But this practice has been given up. Our Party has been demanding that the Prime Minister should call an all-Party meeting and have a thoroughgoing consultation. Maybe nothing will come out of it, maybe something will come out of it also. If you put many heads together, some useful suggestions can be found. But the practice has been given up; not necessarily, whatever a particular person considers to be right, that is the only thing which must be done. If the Punjab situation deteriorates and it is deteriorating with alarming implications for the rest of the country—I need not spell those out, you can think of them—it is this Government which is responsible. So, in the interest of the country, I suggest that they should

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pull up their socks and think of some new initiatives and take the trouble of consulting other parties to see whether some consensus can emerge as to the line of action that should be taken.

About Sri Lanka, well it is a delicate situation now and I do not want to speak much on it. We have always supported the Accord. The whole trouble has been its implementation as we know. I do not think, there is anything wrong in saying it. When our IPKF went there first, they did not have adequate knowledge as to what they were up against.

~ 14.57 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHER *in the Chair*]

I find, the commander of the IPKF who is now about to be withdrawn from there and replaced by some other officer, Lt. General Depinder Singh has said publicly that the Intelligence information that our troops were provided with was not adequate; it should have been better. That is a restrained way of saying. But it is quite obvious that they did not know what they were up against. It is not only the question of the efficiency of the LTTE guerillas in carrying out this kind of operation—they seem to be masters, for example, in the technique of mining, laying mines. Every day, we have to read out about casualties caused to our troops by the explosion of land mines and road mines. Any way, on the question of local population, the Tamil population in the North, in Jaffna particularly, it seems to me that if that entire population was really hostile to the LTTE, then our IPKF would have an easier time to go ahead. But obviously that is not so for reasons which should be gone into. But all I would say just now is, the country is very much disturbed, no doubt. We have had to step up our deployment of troops. There are supposed to be as many as 15 brigades now in Sri Lanka. I do not think in any previous military operations ever our country had to send 15 brigades out to another country. Anyway, because it was considered necessary, it has been done

so. President Jeyawardene is not keeping to his part of the bargain. It is the duty of our Government to see this, since our troops have gone there at his request. According to the Accord, they have gone there for a limited purpose. They have not gone there for an unlimited length of time. They cannot also be withdrawn tomorrow, even the Tamils do not want that, for obvious reasons. But President Jeyawardene must keep his part of the bargain. He is not doing so, neither in respect of sending new settlers to colonise the Eastern province, nor regarding the devolution of powers to the provincial councils, nor regarding the holding of elections.

15.00 hrs.

So, I would only submit that our Government must make all possible efforts to see that President Jayewardene sticks to his part of the commitment under the accord and that the elections are held as soon as possible and, after the elections are over, it will be time for the IPKF to come back, to withdraw. If it is not possible to withdraw, even then, you have to consider possibilities of initiating a move to replace the IPKF by a multi-national force. It should not and need not include super-powers contingents. There are other countries, after all, friendly countries non-aligned countries, third world countries and so on. But IPKF is not to remain there for all time to come. It will be something which will be counter-productive in the long run.

Then, there was another election recently to which I have to make a reference that is, in Meghalaya. What is the Congress Party doing in Meghalaya, may I know? They could not get a majority on their own. Now 5 Members of the Hill Peoples Union have violated the mandate given to them by their own party and defected. That means they have voted against their own party's mandate in the election of the Speaker and yesterday or day before yesterday, in the no confidence motion, they have voted against their own party's mandate and supported Mr. Sangma's Ministry. Now, there are altogether 19 Members elected from the Hill

Peoples Union. According to the legislation which we have passed sitting in this House, at least one third of 19 which means 7, must leave their parent party if they want to form a separate party. Here only 5 Members have violated mandate and they have joined with the other side. We need not go into what inducements and all that were offered to them. But I want to know in this House, I am one of the Members of this House who is responsible for the Anti-defection Act having been passed here, it lays down clearly that if even less than one third of people go out, then they are guilty of defection and under the provisions of that law, they have to be disqualified. I want to know what the Government of India proposes to do about this Meghalaya affair. Is it to be allowed? Is it to be tolerated? (*Interruptions*) The Act is passed here, not in Meghalaya. I am raising this question because tomorrow same thing will happen elsewhere also. It is a very important question. It shows that the Congress party, in order to somehow bring about a kind of an artificial majority by which it can maintain its rule in Meghalaya, is prepared, knowing full well that these people are doing something which is violation of the anti-defection law, is willing to wink at that also and to embrace such people. The Government must deeply go into this question and decide what they propose to do. Otherwise, you can repeal the Act. Why not repeat the Act? If you find it cannot work, then repeal the anti-defection Act. You have got a big majority here. You can repeal it. But then it has its own dangers and consequences. You know that. What to do? Either you keep the Act and please implement it. Or you repeal the Act and face the consequences in the country.

None of these problems and none of these issues which are agitating the minds of the people is dealt with in the President's address. Therefore, I say it is an essay in illusion.

I do not want to say much about the economic situation because we will have plenty of time to debate when the Budget is taken up. It is a strange thing that President's Address does not make even

a cursory mention of the fact that when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi came to power, the number of closed industrial units in this country was 93,000 and today, after about three years, it has gone up to 1,47,000. It is your figure, not mine. 1,47,000 Industrial units—large, medium and small—are lying closed in the country. They are not closed by the workers but closed by the employers, the owners. And something like over Rs. 4700 crores of bank credit is tied up with these closed units. There is some talk here about creating new avenues of employment and all that, as usual. But how many people have lost their jobs as a result of these closed units? The Government, I regret to say, does not maintain any record of that nor have they got any policy of finding out how many of these units can be restored, reopened and made functional. All that they have done is to set up a Board, of Industrial Reconstruction or something which has been functioning for about a year and I know that it has done precious little upto now. It will not be able to do anything. This is the phenomenon, big mass phenomenon in our country now. I do not know in how many other countries they keep lakhs of industrial units being closed down like this and the people who are responsible for this being allowed to go scotfree. If the workers go on strike—rightly or wrongly—no occasion is missed for attacking them and accusing them of being anti-national and doing something which is ruining the productive assets of this country and so on. All right, you are welcome to your views. But not a single word has been ever uttered against these fellows who have just eaten up the money, most of it taken from the nationalised banks and the financial institutions, swallowed the money, closed the units, rendered the workers unemployed and they themselves run away. It does not seem to arouse any anger or indignation in the ruling party at all. There is not a word about it. I am just pointing that out. Also, take the textile policy. 133 textile units are lying closed. More than that, I would say, the handloom weavers, lakhs and lakhs of handloom weavers—I am sure you are aware of it in your State—are today rendered unemployed. Their handlooms are idle because no yarn is available. The Finance Minister said some-

[Shri Inderjit Gupta]

thing in his speech yesterday about the plight of handloom weavers and how they are going to be supplied with artificial fibres—the polyester and rayon and something-else. But what is needed is cotton yarn with which they work. The cotton yarn is being exported from our country, lakhs of our handloom workers are starving. What is to be done? In every State, like U.P., Tamil Nadu, Bihar or Madhya Pradesh, wherever you go, lakhs of handloom weavers are beginning to give up all hope of being looked at by the Government so that they may be able to survive. What kind of a textile policy is this? 133 textile mills are lying closed. A big business house of our country, the Birlas, perhaps the biggest has not closed down but locked out, in one case for one year. Just on 15th Feb. it celebrated one year of lock-out. The Keshoram Cotton Mills employ 10000 workers. 99 per cent of them, incidentally, do not come from Bengal but they are people from Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. They are getting a living there. They are working there. That factory is locked out for more than one year now. Another Birla mill, the Gwalior Rayons Mill in Kerala situated in *Mavoor* is now closed down for two years. 19 workers have committed suicide in the course of that lock out. I am not surprised to know that such big capitalist houses do this kind of thing. My point is: what is the Government's attitude? What has the Government proposed to do? Has the Government any intention or capacity to influence or pressurise all such businessmen not to keep their productive units closed in this way when you are talking about shortages and talking about unemployment? Nothing is mentioned. Nothing is done. A lot has been said here about education, about the New Education Policy. I want to point out here that your economic survey says that the number of illiterates in the country has now risen to 400 million. Out of the 700 or 750 million people, 400 million people or more than 400 million are illiterates even now after 40 years of independence. They do not know how to read and write, they do not know how to sign their names. They are, of course, victims of the media propaganda because

even if you are illiterate, you can sit in front of television set or listen to the radio. It becomes very convenient to influence illiterate poor people who cannot read books, who cannot read newspaper or judge for themselves. It is better to keep them illiterate this way and influence them and pressurise them by official propaganda through the visual, the electronic media. Presently, in our country, 40 years after Independence, 400 million people are still illiterate. That is, for all of us I say, a matter of shame. It is a blot on our country. Instead of going in for very high fangled, high-tech methods of education by computers and so on and so forth, let us pay a little more attention to what is happening down below at the grass-root level. Otherwise, this rise in illiteracy would not have been like this. That is necessary. So many primary schools are there in the country in remote parts of the rural areas where there are no teachers, I have been to many tribal areas in Singhbhum in Bihar. In those tribal areas, schools are there, building is there, but there is no teacher. There is no teacher, there is no equipment, blackboard. Nothing. Students are roaming about. So, it is no use creating illusions. We are not living in a high-tech country. We are not citizens of USA or West Germany or England or Japan. We are citizens of a country called India. We are Indians. This country has a specific characteristics and features of its own. Whatever we do in the way of modernisation or anything new, you want to bring technology, but it must be something which is appropriate for the conditions of our country. Something which is appropriate for USA may not be appropriate here. There must be a selective approach. It should not cater only to small sections of society the elitist section. It must be something which will really help uplift the masses. I am afraid that is not the perspective and outlook with which the Government is working. Therefore, this is a short-sighted policy which is expected to bring quick short-term results, but it will not.

Therefore, since my time is up and so many more points I could have spoken on, but I hope, I have said enough because on political issues as well as economic issues, I find this President's Address

thoroughly disappointing and illusionary and it seeks to only justify whatever the Government is doing. I do not blame Mr. Venkataraman for that. This is not prepared by him, we all know. But certainly, I thoroughly oppose the kind of demagoguery which is being indulged in this document.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): Mr. Chairman, I rise to join my colleagues on this side in supporting the Motion of Thanks to the President for having delivered this Address to the joint session of both the Houses. In a way, the Address has become now a stale matter because after the Address, we have come to know about the Railway budget as well as the Economic Survey and the performance of this Government and yesterday, we had also the Budget before this House. From one point of view, the Address which was presented to the House was general and in that several details have been further filled up by these documents in several fields. As far as last year was concerned, the performance of this Government, their achievements and their future plans have been further highlighted before this House. Every Government is tested by the way in which they deal with the challenges before this country. There were mainly, according to me, two-three challenges during the last year. It is not necessary to repeat submission regarding the first challenge about the wide-spread drought arising out of the natural calamity and the way in which this Government had dealt with that challenging situation.

We have come to know from all the documents which are before the House that 21 out of 35 rainfall sub-divisions received deficient rainfalls and there have been floods also in the north eastern region. The steps that have been taken by this Government are really commendable and from this point of view the mention in the Address and the further details which are provided to this House go to show that no other Government could have done better than what they have done in this field or even as good as what they have achieved as far as the relief to the drought affected and flood affected areas are concerned.

Generally speaking, the drought always transmits its effects to other fields of the Governments also. Accordingly, slowly the industrial performance was also affected. We did not reach the estimated progress but we have already achieved and showed a good performance by showing the increase of 10.2% in this respect.

There are several other matters regarding performance. But, as my earlier speakers have already dealt with them, I would not like to repeat them within the short time available to me. I would point out certain irritants and some of the failings to which our Government should immediately look to and pay their attention.

Firstly, as far as the industry is concerned, even though the performance is good and the achievement has been commendable, certain data were published in the Economic Times which are a little disturbing. They show the very disproportionate large contribution of this industrial growth by a few industrial groups only. It has been further stated that what emerges from the detailed production data is that only 28% of industry accounted for as much as 79% of the growth rate. The bulk of the industrial sector or as much as 60% of it either grew by less than 5% or suffered a rapid decline. Therefore, I would request the Government to look into this matter. I know that they are not complacent about the progress, but if there is imbalance in the growth of the industry and only a few industrial houses are growing and the rest of the industry are not making as much contribution as desired, then it will be a matter for concern.

Many speakers have also referred to the textile policy. The earlier speaker Hon. Shri Indrajit Gupta also referred to it. Everywhere in all the sectors which are affected by this textile policy, they are agitated over the present textile policy. Cotton growers are agitated, handloom industry is agitated, powerloom industry and also the cotton textile mills which are in the urban cities are also complaining that because of this policy more unemployment is perhaps being experienced.

[Shri Sharad Dighe]

It is pointed out that nearly 133 mills have been closed rendering at least 1,66,000 workers jobless. That is the main point of agitation as far as the workers are concerned from the point of view of unemployment. Next Monday, thousands of workers from Bombay are coming to Delhi to demonstrate about the unemployment problem and closure of sick mills in Bombay.

Shri Indrajit Gupta said something about the deployment of military in Tripura. I would not like to join issue with him. He had drawn a parallel between the Punjab elections and the Tripura elections. If we consider the matter carefully, the situation was not bad in Punjab after the death of Shri Longowal and when the elections were declared in Punjab. But in Tripura, the situation was very bad. TNV were butchering the people every day. It was necessary to take steps as far as the Central Government was concerned. Therefore, the Central Government cannot be blamed about the deployment of military at that time. In fact, everybody welcomed it at that time. It was only after the counting started in election that the questions arose whether the deployment of military at that particular stage was correct or not. Looking at it from the national point of view, I agree that, as far as possible, at the time of elections, military should not be deployed so that a feeling is not created among the citizens that there is no freedom for voting. The Disturbed Areas Act was amended only recently and not at the time when Punjab elections were to be held. It came into force recently. The powers under that Act enabled the Government to deploy military at that time. The powers under the Act were used only when the situation demanded.

Regarding Punjab problem, several suggestions are before the Government. It has been made clear in paragraph 7 :

'There can and will be no compromise over the nation's integrity and unity.'

Then, it is also stated :

"In the search for a non-violent political solution of the problem within the framework of the Constitution, Constitution,..."

From that point of view, "the Government is ready for a dialogue with all those who eschew violence." The words "all those who eschew violence" have to be read in the context or in the background of the earlier statement made in that paragraph. We cannot merely separate them from the sentence which hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta, raised before this House.

Several hon. Members referred to the report of the Sarkaria Commission and the appointment of Governors thereafter. Of course, Sarkaria Commission's report is a very valuable and good document. It contains detailed data about the various provisions of the Constitution. It also makes detailed recommendations considering almost all the points of criticism against the Constitution, especially from the point of view of Centre-State relation. That report is still to be discussed in this House. I hope it will be discussed in all the State Assemblies. Finally, a decision can be taken by the Centre. From that point of view, it is no use merely quoting that report from now on. We have still to consider it carefully. Of course, the report, coming from a great Judge, who has considered all the aspects, deserves great respect. Ultimately a decision has to be taken by the Government and only then we can come to particular conclusions. Some remarks were made about the electoral reforms. It is true that in the First President's Speech, the reference of electoral reforms was made. Thereafter, two legislations were passed as far as the funding by the companies and then the anti-defection law. Thereafter, the process has stopped and there is no word about the electoral reforms. I would urge upon the Government to take steps so far as the electoral reforms are concerned because the matter is now becoming more and more urgent. Hence, we have to take steps as far as this is concerned. At least voting machine should be introduced as also the identity cards. These are some of the points which were already

accepted and there is no deference as far as the opposition parties are concerned in this respect. It is becoming more and more a controversial matter that unless the question of funding, etc. is decided the election is not going to be free as far as the money power is concerned. Recently, I read and most of us must have read the remarks made by the ex-President of India. He has said that about Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 crores were offered for that election. If for the election of President, really speaking, who do not go to the people which is practically indirect election without any posters, banners and meetings Rs. 30--Rs. 40 crores was offered, then we must learn something from it. If for the election of President so much money was expected to be spent, and a person is offered support by the opposition parties barring the communists, then it is a very serious matter as far as this country is concerned. This is a very urgent matter. This shows that money power and muscle power are playing a very great role and if that is allowed to continue, then there will be no free elections in this country. It will be difficult to maintain democracy as far as this country is concerned. Therefore, electoral reforms should be urgently taken into consideration, even though no mention has been made in the President's Speech. The promises made off and on made in this House that electoral reforms will be brought and the opposition parties and others will be consulted should be implemented immediately and care should be taken that steps are taken before we come to the next Presidential Address as far as this House is concerned. With these words, I support the Motion.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am sorry that I cannot agree with my friends of the Treasury Benches when they claim that the President's Address has been one which sets new trend in the political system of this country. Last year has been, in many ways, a year of depression for us whether in the political or social or economic field. There is hardly anything to cheer about it. My friend Mr. Panika commented upon the Opposition that the Opposition is doing dis-service to the country by raising the issue of corruption. I have

to point out that if you want to criticise somebody for raising the issue of corruption, I think you should criticise the Prime Minister of this country because in the last three Presidential Addresses, the Cabinet spoke through the President about the purity in public life and assured the House and this country that necessary legislations for electoral reforms would be brought. It is not only in 1985 when it was stated in the President's Address that the Government was going to bring in laws for electoral reforms. Word by word the same very sentence was repeated in 1986 as also in 1987. But nothing was done in 1986 or in 1987 and I find that this time there is no reference of electoral reform at all. Maybe that the hon. Prime Minister, who in his youthful exuberance was thinking of cleansing of public life is now reconciled to the idea that the politics of this country is such that you cannot govern this country if you talk of purity. And I will point out as to how the ruling party has deviated from it.

A reference has been made to Meghalaya. In this House with a lot of fanfare the anti-Defection Law was passed. Even when this Bill was passed, opinions were expressed that the Bill has been passed to prevent defection from the ruling party and not defections to the ruling party. And events have proved that this was the case. What has happened in Meghalaya? In Meghalaya, 19 members were elected from HPU. If the ruling party really thought in clear terms that defection from one party to another is against the fundamental principles of democracy, if they were of the view that this *ayaram gayaram* phenomenon pollute the political atmosphere, a clear mandate should have been given to the Chief Minister of Meghalaya not to include any member of any other political party, elected on another political symbol. But this was not the case. Even technically, out of 19 members if 7 members go away from a political party and create a split and then go in for merger, one can legally avoid the effect of defection but politically such acts cannot be justified. But in Meghalaya five Members H. P. M. joined the ruling party; they were offered Ministership. There have been cases where

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independents have been given chairmanship of Corporation and when declined to support the ruling party, that was taken away from them. It is not what I am saying. Every newspaper of this country and even those newspapers which are at least considered to be, if not biased, in favour of the ruling party and to have independent opinion are talking about the play of money in the Meghalaya politics today and the attempt to purchase members by the ruling party.

How can the Prime Minister bring purity in public life when he does not try to prevent this type of things even in his own party. I have nothing against the Chief Minister of Meghalaya who has been a good friend of mine. In fact, he was doing so well here and I wanted him to continue here rather than go to the murky politics of Meghalaya. But then, I am not at all interested whether Congress (I) is ruling Meghalaya or some other party, my whole concern is that the anti-defection law has become a mockery. I was not in this House, not having been elected at that time, when the anti-defection law was passed. Subsequently, on a number of occasions, I have pointed out that giving power to the Speaker to adjudicate the question of defection will frustrate this very objective of the Act or unfortunately in this country, the Speakers cannot sever their connections from the ruling party. We have not been able to build a convention like England where Speakers are not contested by the major opposition parties and even if there is a change in the Government, the Speaker continues without any hinderance. We have seen one kind of an example in Tamil Nadu where members have been disqualified. I can speculate what will happen in Meghalaya, but the fact that the money power has been given the prime place today in the political life of this country amply proves that the purity of public life concept has been given away by the ruling party. I can point out that if electoral reforms are not introduced, if some sort of cleansing of the political life is not done, the time will not be far away, when the political personalities will have no

place in the political system of this country. We have seen the emergence of kisan power; the person, Tikait, has been able to muster thousands of kisans. He was never a political person. I do not know him at all. But the fact is that today in this country people somehow have become totally sceptical of the political personalities because of aberration of our political life. I come from a State where even during 1977 elections, Congress could win 10 out of the 14 seats. I come from a State where the Congress could dominate power right from the independence till the last elections but the Congress was swept out of the power by the students who have taken from the university to the pedestal of the power, because people have lost confidence in the political personalities and in the political process because of aberration. Sir, here is a warning signal. Unless we try to cleanse the political life of the country, the entire system may at some point of time collapse. Therefore, even today, I will urge upon the Prime Minister and say that the electoral reform cannot be brought by the Opposition but Congress can afford to do it. Even if a Ministry is not formed in Meghalaya, I do not think that the power of Congress will diminish. Congress can take that political risk. I urge upon the Prime Minister that the assurance that he gave in his earlier part of the Prime Ministership and the exuberance that he showed, should not be diminished. Let us hope that some sense will dawn upon the ruling party.

So far as Tripura is concerned, I am not interested either in favour of the Congress or the CPI(M). I have got great differences but even then I cannot and will not support the proclamation of disturbed areas a few days before the elections. I have seen for myself how elections were held in Assam where more than 7000 people were killed for the name of democratic compulsions under virtual military rule. Once the power to induct army before an election is given to the Government, the Government is likely and bound to misuse it and the whole democratic process is going to be a farce. Mr. Deputy Chairmen, I remember that when the Garhwal bye-election was there the Election

Commission put a firm stand and said that the army and the para-military forces could not be allowed from outside to go to Garhwal during the election. The Garhwal election had to be postponed. I would like to know why in this case the consent and concurrence of the Election Commissioner was not taken before the proclamation of disturbed area. I believe that what happened in Tripura should be a lesson and this House should firmly tell the Government that during elections the disturbed areas will not be declared and even if situation so demands such declaration will be made only with the concurrence of the Election Commission.

My friend referred about the Sarkaria Commission. The Report of the Sarkaria Commission is there. The recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission may be accepted by the Government or they may be rejected. Government has the power to accept it or reject it. But the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission should get respect from the Government. But on the very first day the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations were given a totally partial projection by the media. The AIR and the T.V. focussed that the Sarkaria Commission has recommended for a strong Centre. I would like to know who has asked for a weak Centre. When we ask for a strong State that does not mean that we want a weak Centre and we are of the view that strong Centre and strong State must go together. A weak Centre and strong State will destroy the democratic foundation of the Country. Similarly, a strong State and weak Centre cannot bring healthy political life in this country. There are very many recommendations which ought to have been projected but which were not projected. One of the recommendations was that in the States ruled by the Opposition parties a politician from the ruling party should not be sent as Governor. After consideration Government can ignore these recommendations. But the fact that even before the recommendation was considered, a Member from the ruling party was sent to the State ruled by the Opposition parties shows that the Government has rejected the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations even before consideration and that is the funda-

mental objection that I have got. It shows that you have no trust in the Sarkaria Commission and it was brought into existence to placate the demand for a healthy Centre-State relationship. This is an insult to Mr. Sarkaria also. I appeal to all the Supreme Court and High Court judges that if the Commission's recommendations are treated in this manner, then for self respect no High Court and Supreme Court judge should ever head such Commissions. The ruling party even without consideration has turned the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations. That is the objection that I take. So far as the financial relationships are concerned, a lot has been said about the Budget. But the fact remains that the Government now adays adopts a new strategy. Resources are mobilised not through Budget, resources are mobilised before the Budget and after the Budget. Whereas in the Budget already resource mobilisation has been done to the extent of Rs. 1270 crores, before the Budget through postal hike and the administered price, you have collected Rs. 2800 crores. It makes a mockery of the Budgetary procedure. One of the fundamental principle of Westminster democracy is that the Parliament must have control over finances. If Rs. 3000 crores are collected outside the control of Parliament, then you depart and deviate from the fundamental principles of Westminster democracy. Now apart from it, the fact shows that 30 years ago, two-third of public borrowings went to the States. Today, no State can float public borrowings without the consent of the Central Government. The result has been that today only 10 per cent of the public borrowings go to the States. There have been too many important recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. Another aspect which is causing concern to us is that even when the Legislatures in their sovereignty pass Bills which are not unconstitutional, these Bills are sent for Assent to the President by the Governor and the President's Assent is awaited for years and years. There is no ground shown as to why a sovereign legislation does not get the final assent. I believe all these recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission should be immediately accepted. We talk about the purity of public life. We have seen some days' back a reply

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

was given that Ajitabh Bachchan has become an NRI in this country the spectacle of people running for the country & people running from the country. I am not going to speak anything on that. I am not making any allegation against Bachchan. I hate to make personal allegation against anyone. But may I point out how the Prime Minister can justify his close association with Bachchan when the Inquiry is pending. Do you believe that in this country any officer will dare to make any Independent impartial inquiry against a person if he gets this impression that inner corridor of the Prime Minister is open to the person against whom the inquiry pending at all point of time. I do not know whether Bachchan is guilty or not, but the fact remains that when inquiries are pending against him, if the Prime Minister permits him to accompany him in important journeys, no officer in this country will dare to make proper inquiry. This is something which is not done in a democratic country. Bachchan may be a friend of the Prime Minister but the fact remains that the person who rules this country as the highest Executive Head cannot afford personal relationship to guide him in such matters. The person at the top must remember that he is bound to be a very lonely person and he must remember all these aspects. On the political side, Punjab has been referred to but I will not refer. In Assam we have seen again the upsurge of agitational approach. For one who has suffered for six years in this State, I am one who will not like an agitation to come into the State again because I know what sufferings people shall have to undergo if there is again an agitation. There was recently the blockade of oil. We tried our utmost to dissuade AASU from the oil blockade. I should make it very-very clear that AGP Government tried its utmost to persuade the AASU not to go in for the blockade. But, we could not convince the students. It is because they pointed out that the number of assurances which have been given by the Central Government on the accord remained unfulfilled. We requested the Home Minister to go and convince the AASU because when I am not convinced of the intentions of the Central

Government, how can I convince others. The IM(DT) Amendment Act was introduced in the last Session after a series of parleys and there is no indication up till now when the Amendment is going to be passed. There was no revision of the electoral rolls in Assam. The Election Commission, as far as my information goes have written to the Home Ministry that it is high time that the revision takes place in Assam because in Assam the revision will take more than a year and if it is not started now, it will not be completed even before the next elections. Recently, there was a by-election in Nazira. There was a call for boycott on the ground that the revision of electoral roll is not done. We could persuade those who gave the call to withdraw it. But the next time we will not be able to do it. Now, when the request is there from the Election Commission itself to the Home Minister, why the Home Minister, Chintamani Panigrahi, is keeping the file close to his chest, I do not know. It is, in fact, in the interest of everyone that the revision of electoral rolls should take place.

There is a lot of talk about fencing and about border roads. The Government of Assam have done the survey. No security cover is given for that; no sufficient allocation of money. The refinery issue is kept hanging. In his Budget speech, the Finance Minister yesterday spoke about the long term perspective of a solution to the drought and flood problems. I tried to see from the entire Budget speech, whether he has suggested one long term measure. There is no indication of any long term measure to fight floods or droughts. There are a number of important multi-purpose projects which, if taken into account or performed, will give a lot of relief not only to the people of Assam—which is a flood area but also to a great extent solve the problem of drought. Nobody bothers about it.

There is the question of Nagaland—Assam boundary areas. Central Government's honest assistance is not there—as one could have liked it. A very disturbing news has come, Mr Chairman, that the Arunachal Government has given a

statement that the Adi and Mising tribesmen of Arunachal would be given arms to fight Assam on the border question. If necessary, even arms would be procured from abroad. The Central Government has taken partisan stand in the matter to further party interests. I would like the Home Minister to clarify, and give us an assurance that the Government will take necessary steps against this dangerous situation.

We opposed, and we are one of the parties which opposed the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, because we felt that it was done in haste; and the subsequent events have proved it correct. We were told that the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord would bring peace to Sri Lanka. But what we are seeing today is a peace of the grave in Sri Lanka. The disturbing news has come that the LTTE is now trying to bypass India and talk with Jayewardene, and Jayewardene also is not fulfilling some parts of the Accord, and I do not know where we shall land ourselves.

I have also seen reports that the President of Pakistan was invited for discussion here, on the Afghanistan talks. I can understand India trying to mediate in its own diplomatic way, in the Afghan issue. But we know Pakistan's position on the Afghan issue. We know that Pakistan is linking up the formation of a Government in Kabul with that of withdrawal of the Soviet forces. Do we expect that even if President Zia and Rajiv Gandhi had met, some fruitful purpose would have been served? Even to a laymen it was apparent that Zia was not going to respond to this invitation. Summit talks always take place between heads of State after a lot of preparation at the diplomatic level. Here, like a child, an invitation was sent and it was rejected, and on the next day we also found in the newspapers that our Secretary (Foreign Affairs) was going to Pakistan. Next day the visit was cancelled. I do not think that international diplomacy is carried on in this manner. One day we announce something and the next day we cancel it. International diplomacy must be conducted in a more mature way. Let us not forget that whatever

our differences may be in the internal field, in the external field there is a major consensus among all the parties; let us not do something in a hurry, by which this consensus may be effected. After all, India is a mature country which has made a name for itself in international diplomacy. It is one field which India can be proud of, and let us not, by very short term and hasty measures, really show that we have lost some of this maturity.

Because of all these reasons, I cannot support this President's Address. Let me conclude by hoping that the country will see a better year ahead, than what we had seen in the past.

[Translation]

SHRI NIRMAL KHATTRI (Faizabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Bhagat on the Hon. President's Address in the joint sitting of both the Houses.

Hon. President has placed the Government policies and public feelings before us through his Address. Various aspects of economic development have been discussed. It contains detailed information about our effort to follow the path of democracy, secularism, socialism and description of our development in scientific and technical fields.

Earlier to me Shri Indrajit Gupta expressed his views for about half-an-hour. A word he used in his speech was that what is there in the Address? What should I say? I remember a saying in this regard which will fit in case of our Hon. Member in the opposition. A man was walking with his glance downwards, people criticized him that he does not see what is in front of him. When he walked with his glance upwards, people taunted him to be proud, when he walked with his glances towards sides people said that he moved his eyes too much, when closed his eyes, people blamed him of acting in a thoughtful mood and frustratingly when that man willingly became blind, people said that it was all the fruit of his deeds in previous births.

[Shri Nirmal Khattri]

The hon'ble Members of opposition have nothing to do except criticising and finding fault in every function of the Government. Latest one is Mr. Indrajit Gupta. One should not confine himself upto the President's Address. We can make our view after seeing the development and condition of this country. Rajiv Gandhi is following the path of progress of the country shown by Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indiraji. Everyone thinks and understands this thing. Surely, we cannot ignore this incident but would like to warn the opposition that they should change their ways and should co-operate in the constructive work. If there is anything wrong, they should point it out. Only the Congress Government is making efforts for the progress of the country.

One thing is necessary that whatever the old customs and the conventional items whether they are used in the field of agriculture or in other fields, should be used but side by side, the modern techniques as the use of Computer should also be made in the field of agriculture, education and also in Government offices to reduce the heap of files. There is nothing wrong in using modern techniques. But the tragedy is that the opposition parties have always been opposing every progressive measure. I would like to tell you by quoting the example of Ram Krishna Param Hansji that if in order to reach our destination we have to adopt new means in place of old means, there is no harm in it. A man sits in the boat to cross the river but when he reaches the other side after crossing the river, he does not take that boat with him. He leaves the boat there and take some other conveyance to complete his journey. Now if the country can make progress with the help of computer, there is nothing wrong in it. If the opposition parties find fault in it, it shows their frustration and intention just to criticise the Government.

I would like to say with much emphasis on the President's Address with particular reference to one aspect that the spiritual and moral ideas of people of

this country should be highlighted and developed. Though, in politics, we are not very much experienced but today we as well as the young blood of the country realised that when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took over the charge of ruling party, a voice came out from the Supreme authority that we should give high priority to the moral and spiritual development of the people of this country. Our party realised that there is nothing wrong with the country or the world, but the character of man has touched new low. We can again improve the situation by promoting moral and spiritual values among the youth but I regret that not even a single member of the opposition has appreciated and supported this idea to make it meaningful so that different problems, be it, Punjab and Assam or Mizoram and Darjeeling or any other problems, or problem related to the communal riots could be solved. Nobody heeded to the basic approach and most important point. Nobody has paid any attention to this aspect because the opposition parties have come to the conclusion that every thing has gone wrong in this world and India. The opposition parties are not making any effort to improve the character of man. They do not realise that if this is done, deterioration will stop and status of our country will go up. The bitter experience that we have to undergo will not recur.

I remember one incident. A professor of Geography used to draw maps the whole day and he became so habitual of making maps that on every paper available he used to draw some map. Once he drew a map of the world, his child tore that leaf, he collected those torn pieces of the leaf and tried to join them, but could not succeed. Later on the child told him that he could join them and he come and turned the torn pieces of the paper. He had drawn a picture of a human being on its back and completed that human being's figure by joining the pieces—hand, leg, head and torso and again by turning it, he presented the map of the world before his father. I mentioned this incident to show that by uniting human beings we can unite the country. Today, a similar example has been set before us by Hon. Rajiv Gandhi and consequently the opposition parties

started character assassination of the Prime Minister. A person who is trying to build character of the youth and its countrymen is being asked to stand in witness box, series of charges are being levelled against him in order to confuse him, so that he may do nothing else except answering their questions. He should forget upliftment of the youth and building their character and his mind should be diverted. Such endeavours were made in the previous days and it was misfortune that the people such as some frustrated men of Congress party now linked with the Jan Morcha, gave solid support.

16.00 hrs.

This has also been unfortunate that the persons holding highest office of the country also gave support indirectly. But the people of this country deserve appreciation and congratulation who observed every thing critically, deeply and minutely. The public understands that who are honest and who are really concerned about the welfare of this country and those who do not care about the dignity of the country. They are rather prepared to mortgage the dignity of the country abroad with Hershman. Such people, such leaders have been judged and identified by the people of this country.

16.01 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

While discussing foreign policy Shri Dinesh Goswami and others have mentioned about the policy of sending Indian Peace Keeping Force to Sri Lanka under Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and its role. They have questioned the wisdom of taking this step. When the decision of sending Indian Peace Keeping Force to Sri Lanka was taken I felt that a historical truth in respect of the country is taking shape again. During 'TRETA' age, Lord Rama had gone to Lanka with the army of monkeys to establish Ram Raj and peace in that country. Today the Tamil public living there are the symbol of Sita mata. Indian Peace Keeping Force has moved under the leadership

of Shri Rajiv Gandhi to that country for their upliftment, progress and their betterment. Indian Peace Keeping Force has arrived at Lanka and this Indo-Sri Lanka agreement has brought name and fame to this country. This is great responsibility. It has also inspired the country that it has not only to safeguard its own frontiers but we have to take care of our neighbours as well. We observe what is happening near our borders and we also keep in view the conditions of inhabitants of Indian origin wherever they have settled, how they live and what we can do for their betterment, how can we play our role to maintain peace and prosperity of our neighbouring countries, how can we help to prevent violence and destruction there. We are playing our role with full responsibility.

Election reforms is hot topic of the day. In this connection, I would like to say that a very big revolutionary step in the shape of Anti-Defection Act was taken a couple of years ago. There is need to observe how far we can move forward with regard to election reforms, how can we improve upon the present system and bring amendments in order to organise elections in a still better way. In this connection, whatever suggestions for election reforms are received from time to time or suggested in this august House, our Government, keeps an eye on them and efforts are already being made to give them a concrete shape in a very short time so that all doubts whatsoever in the minds of the people are removed. We shall move forward only by keeping fully the promise which we have made in this connection.

With these words, I fully support Motion of Thanks on Hon. President's Address.

SHRI RAM BHAGAT PASWAN (Rosera) : Mr. Speaker, I stand to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address to the joint sitting of the Parliament. Hon. President has mentioned about the progress of the country made in different spheres during the last forty years after independence. The pledges taken by Mahatma Gandhi,

[Shri Ram Bhagat Paswan]

Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel and Dr. Ambedker that fruit of independence should reach every home, how it has reached every home under the leadership of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and is still reaching under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has been mentioned in the Address as a result of which the public of our country has become optimistic. Hon. President has mentioned in his Address, how our country is moving forward on the path of socialism, democracy and secularism and how it is being kept in high esteem in the world. This has been mentioned in his Address. Hon. President has also stated that there are still many challenges to be faced in our path of progress and in achieving targets. There are internal and external challenges. Hon. President has also mentioned in his Address that we are determined to root out communalism, fanaticism and secessionist activities. He has also indicated that the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who had not obtained economic and social equality, are obtaining economic and social equality through welfare schemes being implemented by our Government and dignity of every class of society is being enhanced. He has also mentioned in his Address that education is reaching the far flung villages and blocks of our country, Navodaya Schools are being opened where children of poor people are also getting education. Forty one percent children enrolled in these schools belong to the poor. This has also been stated in his address. Besides this, he has also discussed about twenty-point programme. He also stated that how we are elevating people above poverty line. People in the rural areas are getting proper employment and similarly women, scheduled castes, educated unemployed and uneducated also get employment. Security of our country has also been strengthened and no one can dare challenge integrity of our country, as it is completely safe today. In spite of all this everyone is aware of the activities of opposition parties. Though opposition members are representatives of the people but they have never thought of national interest and never offered constructive suggestion.

Opposition parties are misleading people of the country by inciting communalism, casteism and by raising different slogans but people of India are cautious. Our colleagues of opposition talk about clean politics. I would like to ask them that why had they released all the profiteers, black marketeers, hoarders and different types of economic offenders when they were in power, they sold gold of the country. At that time nobody talked of clean politics. As a result of their performance, we have gone 50 years back in relation to the development. The people can themselves see our prestige restored in the world under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. They cannot conceal their mistakes with their utterances.

Mr. Speaker. Sir, our party functions with a firm policy keeping in view problems of the country. These opposition parties are maintaining their existence on the basis of casteism, vested interests and communalism. Someone organised one party, other organised a Morcha. These former rulers have been exploiting people for centuries. They organised Jan-Morcha when they were unable to achieve their selfish ends. Everyone is aware of the fact that Vishwa Nath Pratap Singh belongs to a royal family. He raised the Bofors gun issue to show his existence in politics. We also inquired of Bofors gun. This very ruler has amassed huge wealth of Dahia-Trust and Ram Janki-Trust. They do not bother about it. They have got a selfish motive behind this Bofors gun issue. They cannot mislead people of India with the Bofors gun issue. You should know that people of India are quite intelligent. People of India are aware with the exploitation done by the former rulers for centuries and huge wealth amassed by them. They exploited the people of India and now they want to mislead them by raising the slogan of socialism from the roof tops. But it would not be possible to mislead the public. Opposition parties also come here as representatives of people. They are also the representatives of people. They should think of the interests of people and security of the nation at least for some time. They should go through their past history. They have been opposing every developmental work.

They opposed abolition of 'Zamindari' system. They opposed nationalisation of banks also. Now they say that the problem of unemployment has become grave. At the same time they oppose the measures and very good plans adopted by Government for removing unemployment. When banks were nationalised they opposed it. They should give suggestions for the betterment of the poor and the country as a whole.

Our colleagues in the opposition ask that Prime Minister neither consults them nor invites them for discussions. They blame Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi although they themselves cannot unite and form any constructive policy. He has been inviting the opposition for discussion on every issue. All these eight or ten opposition parties are unable to form consensus after consultations among themselves. They cannot give any functional and constructive suggestions but they blame Shri Rajiv Gandhi. At least they should have consensus in so far as national problems are concerned. They talk of Punjab and Assam problems but they themselves could never evolve any consensus. They can suggest some way out to deal with these problems but instead of doing so, they mislead the people. They do not have public interest in their mind. If they themselves cannot take a decision, what sort of advice they can give to others.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, now I would like to say something about planning. Hon. President has emphasised the importance of planning for the development of the country. Many measures have been taken to remove regional imbalances. It is true that planning is utmost necessary for the development in our democracy. But Government entrusts everything to bureaucracy after planning. Many of our programmes fail because of this thing. The planners should chalk out plans keeping in view our democratic set up. They should keep in view the prevailing situation of every place. For example our Bihar is prone to floods. A huge amount was invested to construct big dams to prevent them. Kamal Balan dam, Kosi dam, Gandak—canal—scheme come into being but they have not been successful owing

to bureaucracy. The bureaucrats have not taken proper view and therefore they have not been successful. While billions of rupees have been spent for flood control measures but the sufferings of the people have not been mitigated. The Officers should chalk out plans on the spot so that maximum number of people could be benefited in the real sense.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I also want to say something about regional imbalances. Although much development has taken place in the country, but there are some places where fast train passes every one or two hours but there are some places where one train passes in morning and one in the evening. Similarly there are regions where many industries have been set up but some regions have no industry at all. Though Government desires to develop every region equally, but it is not being done because of bureaucracy.

Similarly, a permanent scheme should be chalked out for flood control in North Bihar. Industries should also be set up there in sufficient number. Some industries which have been shut-down should also be reopened soon.

As far as development is concerned, only elite get its advantages. As Government has provided electricity in villages and it is Government's policy to make available electricity to villages and scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, but if they don't have houses where electric connection could be installed. So only affluent class get advantage of such schemes. So I request the Government to get such houses constructed—out of relief provided for house-buildings in flood-affected areas which may sustain the fury of floods and people may take advantage of electricity. I would like to say that nature has provided us water hundred times more than our requirements for irrigation purposes. Recently flood water was flowing through our doors but after just two months, the same drought situation has again arisen. In this area, there are rivers at every two or three miles, but they dry up soon. If their depth is increased, then both the problems of floods and drought can be solved. This can prove to be a permanent solution to these problems. Therefore I request that this plan should be

[Shri Ram Bhagat Paswan]

implemented in order to solve the problems of flood, drought, as well as excess and scanty rainfall in Northern Bihar. For this officials should be given guidelines to make on the spot studies for formulating any plan in consultation with the people there so that the plan may prove useful.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. President has referred to the development of the nation in his Address and the people are hopeful that in future too, poverty will be eradicated under our programmes and the people will be helped to rise above poverty line. The Indian people are very vigilant and they know in whose hands are our country's independence, unity and integrity secured. The people feel the pang of poverty, but they are also aware as to who can solve these problems; who can maintain the integrity and independence of the country; who can make the country strong; and who can enhance the prestige of the country, and it is only under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi that we can achieve all these things.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA (Vidisha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address is being discussed in the House at present. While supporting the Motion I want to present some points before the House,

The President's Address made before both the Houses reflects the achievements made and priorities accorded by our Government during last year. The achievements of our Government during the past three years are there before the people. Irrespective of the natural calamities like drought or flood, the political crisis created by certain selfish elements, some other different problems or the efforts of some of our own colleagues to create hindrance in the functioning of the Government, we can certainly say that under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, we have implemented all the programmes which we had promised to the people. It is an undebatable truth that our Government has worked successfully on every front, whe-

ther it is industrial development, agricultural production, electricity and power generation, implementation of 20-point programme or the rapid development in the country, by making use of science and technology. We have fulfilled all our promises which were made to the people during the elections. For this, whatever credit is given to our leader for his achievements is insufficient. But on the other hand, when our irresponsible opposition members deny our achievements and try to undermine the democratic set-up by virtue of which we have entered this House, we are really very much surprised. The reason behind this is that irrespective of any kind of problem, our leader has given the first priority to the nation's unity and integrity. In Punjab, we signed an accord, in Assam too, a Government elected through democratic system was constituted, in Mizoram the problem going on since many years was solved, in Meghalaya and Tripura also, new Governments were constituted all these things reflect our strong determination. No matter what you say, but the achievement of this government cannot be denied. In the political field too, we have to face challenges. Attempts are made to degrade us by spreading rumours or else certain vested interests try to create hurdles in our way, but our country's people fully support our Prime Minister and have full faith in him and despite passing through crisis after crisis the Prime Minister has come out unscathed. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the morale of our leader is high and has stood the test of the time. Our opposition colleagues have neither any programme nor any policy. They are directionless. In spite of that they say that the hon. Prime Minister does not take the opposition members into confidence and does not call them for consultation. But I clearly remember that the Prime Minister has been calling the opposition leaders on various important occasions, has been giving due importance to their suggestions and has been taking them into confidence on matters of national importance. On the other hand, our colleagues of opposition have not stopped their irresponsible activities and have boycotted such meetings on various occasions, and today they blame the Government for not inviting

them for consultation. I was quite surprised on hearing this. The severe conditions and natural calamities which our country had to face during the past three years are not hidden from anyone and even during the current year the severe drought condition through which our country is passing and due to which more than 250 districts have been badly affected, has brought an extra burden on our economy. In spite of all this, we can proudly say that we will be able to pass through this crisis of drought also due to our incredible success in the field of agriculture, irrigation, and power generation.

The efforts of our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi have only consolidated our economy to a greater extent. This is the reason why the rate of Inflation, which had increased to 21% in 1979-80, has stabilized at 9.8% today despite all difficulties. Some prices did rise but the Administration made some efforts and brought the prices under control. The price of oil fell. Diesel, Kerosene oil and other consumer items are available today at fixed prices to people all over the country. Even in these difficult circumstances our Government has succeeded in marching forward.

I would certainly like to say something about the 20—Point Programme. In the budget for the current financial year, 30% of the total allocation has been made for various schemes under the 20—point programme. All this has been done through the efforts made by our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The benefits in this respect are not meant for any particular individual or a political party, but, are directed towards small farmers and the poor of our country. Through the I.R. D P. an effort has been made to assist nearly 2.5 crore people living under the poverty line. The N.R.E.P. and R.L.E.G.P. are such programmes which provide employment to people in villages. Under these programmes, a village is provided with an asset. This asset may be in the form of a pond, a community center, a dam or a road. An Action-Plan is drawn up after considering the needs of the rural population. Then we proceed towards the implementation of these schemes.

Under the R.L.E.G.P. workers are assured of a minimum of 100 days' work out of a total of 365 days. In the past three years, crores of people have been provided with employment under these schemes. A lot of constructive work has been done in our villages which the people in villages had been lacking all these years.

Now I would like to say something about the field of science and technology. The foundation of scientific and technological plans in our country was laid by our national hero Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and our late Srimati Indira Gandhi gave priority to these plans so that our country could become self-dependent. Our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi has accordingly shown a special interest in the effective implementation of these plans.

Today our country is progressing towards self-sufficiency in the field of energy. A bright future for India depends on the highly important sectors of petroleum and natural gas. Today we are not dependent on others so far as these sectors are concerned. On the contrary, we are exploiting our own resources. For the agricultural production we need natural gas and important fertilizers. For this purpose we are using technology to prepare good quality urea and other fertilizers. Of all the benefits derived from science and technology the most important have been in the agricultural sector where we have made rapid progress.

I would also like to submit about the field of nuclear energy. Scientists and engineers of our country have invited a fast-breeder reactor, in which such type of fuel is used, the supply of which never ends and which is renewal source of energy. It is a matter of great achievement that we have been able to develop this source of energy in the nuclear energy sector. Our Government have pledged to increase the capacity of the nuclear sector to 10,000 Megawatt by the year 2001. In order to realise this target we have developed the fast-breeder technology within our own country. It is a matter of great pride that today India is counted among the selected 4-5 countries of the world

[Shri Pratap Bhanu Sharma]

possessing this technology. The fuel which is used in this is not derived from uranium or any other mineral. It is obtained within our own country from an element called thorium present in sand. To convert thorium into uranium or plutonium our country's scientists and engineers have designed reactors with capacities upto 500 Megawatt each. Leading us on in this endeavour and giving direction to this Ministry is our young Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

Just now I referred to the sources of energy in our country. We have not remained dependent on only coal, petroleum and other such sources for our energy needs but have also developed non-conventional sources of energy like bio-gas solar energy and other sources.

Our hon. President has referred to the subject of meteorology in his Address. Attempts are being made to keep our country's farmers posted with up-to-date weather reports through the medium of television and meteorological laboratories and observatories. Availability of such information would help them sow their kharif and rabi crops at the right time. The farmers would also know the amount of rainfall expected in their area and thus would derive maximum benefits out of their land. It cannot be denied that meteorology has contributed in a large measure towards the success of rainfall-based agriculture.

Our colleague Shri Gupta said that there are 40 crore illiterate people in our country. Our Government is definitely concerned about this problem. Among the technology missions functioning in our country, we have also a technology mission to remove illiteracy. We have provided for Rs. 800 crores in the field of education. With this we hope to give practical shape to the pledge taken by our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Our leader dreams of a literate nation. We have to fulfill the promises made to the masses by the country's leaders at the time of Independence.

I want to elaborate on the subject of

technology mission also. There are 5 important areas that of production of oil-seeds, improving tele-communication facilities, quicker implementation of the literacy movement and availability of drinking water facility. Our Government stands for a work ethos wherein encouragement is given to new technology and fresh ideas to solve the problems of the masses. And we, as part of that Government, are making concerted efforts towards that end.

In the end I would like to refer to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord which is the greatest historical peace treaty of the century. It is a historical document through which the Government has made an attempt to implement its foreign policy which is based on peaceful co-existence and international brotherhood. This Indo Sri Lanka Accord has been acclaimed not only in India, Sri Lanka and our continent but also in the territories of the Super Powers because through it we have rendered help to our neighbouring country which could have otherwise disintegrated due to ethnic problem or could have become another Diegogarcia in this region of the world. It cannot be denied that our leader entered into this accord in time through which an attempt has been made to find out a permanent peaceful solution of the ethnic problem faced by that country.

Whenever some historically important work is done or an accord is signed, then definitely some contributions have to be made or loss suffered to make it successful. The good work courageously done by the Peace Keeping Force there to establish peace, to control terrorist groups in the most difficult circumstances to safeguard the life and property of the citizens and to generate a feeling of unity and self-confidence in the people, is highly praiseworthy. We would definitely like to honour the valiant soldiers who have laid down their lives for the sake of the country.

In addition to this I would like to congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi for the achievements he has made and the steps he has taken for strengthening the democratic institutions

and for the priorities mentioned in the Presidential Address. Even such difficult circumstances he has not allowed the disintegration of our democratic institutions. All the external and internal attempts made to destabilise the country and the conspiracies hatched to overthrow the elected Government have been foiled under the strong leadership and with the support of the masses. A strong Government is running the country in conformity with the wishes of the people.

With these words I support the Motion of Thanks moved on the President's Address.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to refer to the first five points mentioned on page three of the Presidential Address. I would like to refer to these points because the Hon. President has raised and accepted many important points, I will mainly speak on these points. The Hon. President has said :

[English]

"The foremost task is to crush terrorism and isolate secessionists."

[Translation]

I am expressing the views of my Party in this august House, I am saying this while fully supporting it.

Today the biggest problem before the nation is the Punjab Problem. There many people are being killed. All our efforts to overcome this situation have led to its further worsening. The situation there has gone from bad to worst and from sad to saddest. Some newspapers have reported and the people of the State have also admitted that last eight months were bloody months and for the last seven months the Governor of Punjab, Shri Ray Sahab has also been commenting that no perfect formula has come to their mind to tackle the terrorist menace. The people there are disappointed and have become tired of the assurances of the Government. There terrorists, instead

of getting isolated, are consolidating their position. I am one of the well-wishers of the nation. I will tell in the end how to get out of this difficult situation. The Hon. President has dwelt on the solution of the problem and has also discussed how to evolve a solution of the problem. I don't want to discuss who created the problem. In this august House I only want to speak on the solution of the problem. By the way all of us know who are the people behind this problem? In my views both the opposition side as well as the ruling side have contributed their bit towards the creation of this problem. At that time the President's Rule was welcomed by the U.A.D. party there. But they have also now realised the reality and are now opposing the President's Rule. In a statement, Shri Riberio has stated today that :

[English]

"I am doing my job, other is to be done by the Prime Minister."

[Translation]

There was a news-item in the Hindustan Times of 4th February that :

[English]

"Punjab Congress-I men for political initiative. They say, normalcy cannot return to Punjab without political solution of the problem."

[Translation]

I do not want to take much time. I just want to put forward 5-7 suggestions. After referring to page three, I now want to refer to page 14, where the Hon. President has said:

[English]

"They (Pakistan) also continue to assist terrorists and secessionist elements in India."

[Translation]

But may I ask whether this issue

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

which the Government has been raising for the last 6 years, has been taken up with Pakistan at diplomatic levels and if so, what was the reaction of the Government of Pakistan thereto? Why it is not being disclosed in the House? It is not a treasure which should be concealed. If there is anything in it, then why it is being concealed? But nothing is being done in this connection. I want to say that first of all we should evolve some political and economical and emotional solutions of this problem, only then the extremists would be isolated. I would like to say through you that a feeling has been spread that whoever from the Akalis tries to prevent confrontation and adopts conciliatory attitude instead of joining issue with the Government. The Government instead of encouraging, oppressed him. This thing should be stopped.

Shri Longowal laid down his life for the sake of this country. What to speak of giving Chandigarh or water to him, he has not even been awarded any title for his courage. That has too been awarded to somebody else. Shri Barnala, who tried to bring about unity in the country, was thrown out of power without any hesitation. Similarly, now nobody knows about the whereabouts of Shri Darshan Singh Ragi who also tried to bring about normalcy in the State. What I mean to say is that such people who come forward in finding out some solution should be encouraged. This problem will not be solved by sending C.R.P. and by spending on it 120 crores of rupees. The C.P.I. (M), C.P.I., U.A.D. and even the Congress men have also opined that only a political solution can work. Recently, 1500 Punjabi writers, who staged a *dharna* throughout Punjab, are also demanding a political solution. What I want to say is that we can bring normalcy in Punjab through a political solution and not through bullets. A healthy atmosphere may be created by setting free Shri Tohra, Shri Simranjit Singh Man, the Jodhpur detenus and innocent persons detained in different prisons in Punjab. Shri Badal and Shri Barnala have presented a seven-point formula but no one is ready to consider it. It is therefore, necessary that there should be a political solution,

Sir, the Punjab Accord between Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Longowal was and is a political solution. Even today, the same Accord has been approved by the House. We want to know how much of it has been implemented, what are the reasons for its non-implementation and what are the obstacles which are delaying its implementation? I very seriously want to say that there is a feeling among Akalis that whenever there is a split among Akalis it is instigated by the Centre. I do not say that we do not fight, we do fight. Now there will be split in A.G.P. and then in A.D.M.K. I want to urge that the Centre should not try to split regional parties. Such activities on the part of the ruling party should be stopped otherwise it will rise to more complications which will be harmful for our country. If they cannot unite us then they should not incite us to quarrel among ourselves. The Press, Radio and Television give wide coverage to negative steps on the Punjab issue but do not give due coverage to positive steps. This practice should be stopped. A feeling has spread among Sikhs that the Press, Radio and T.V. are branding every Sikh as an extremist. This type of publicity should be stopped because extremists have no religion at all.

Sir, I would like to suggest to the Government through you that a special programme like 'Ramayana' should be televised by which the wrong impression about Sikhs can be removed from the minds of general public. The public should be told that the number of extremists is very small and rest of the Sikhs are patriots and in future a patriot will be called a patriot. I want to say that the Government should admit its fault. When the President's Rule was imposed in Punjab, then 79 persons were killed. In this very House, I have argued that it is true that the ruling party has a majority of 400 Members and on their strength they can get anything done but the number of deaths should not be made a basis for over-throwing the Barnala Government. But the Government dismissed it. Now two hundred persons are being killed every month. The number of Police Officers who have been killed in the last two months, is 97. If the Government

do not want to dismiss the Governor, at least he should be called back.

The next thing which I want to say is that there is a general feeling among Punjabis that they will not get justice through Commissions. The Mathew Commission was constituted, but in its report the Mathew Commission recommended that Fazilka belongs to Punjab because the continuity could not be broken under the Accord and at the same time it stated that it could not give a judgement, therefore, a new commission might be constituted. The new commission recommended that it could not find out the Hindi-speaking areas but 70 thousands acres of land should be given to Haryana. The Commission did not mention any base for such a recommendation. It said that a new Commission should find out the land. The new Commission constituted for the purpose had been asked to give its report in just 12 hours. This should be stopped.

In my view fake cases are being instituted in Punjab. Recently, Shri Ranjit Singh, son of Shri Jagdev Singh Talwandi of course, a leader of the other faction of Akali Dal—who came from Canada and against whom five prosecutions have been launched in the courts, has been persuading these cases for the last one year and now he cannot go back. When contacted, the concerned officers admitted that the boy is not at all guilty but he has been detained because they have political differences with his father.

I want to say that Shri Bhajan Lal has talked about Greater Punjab, it is good but our brethren from Himachal Pradesh are here... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI K. D. SULTANPURI (Shimla): we do not want it.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : That is why I have said, I am very serious. When the issue of Greater Punjab was in the air the people of Himachal Pradesh burst out that they don't need Greater Punjab. The people of Himachal Pradesh numbering 48 lakhs

or so and also of Kashmir can live in their provinces remaining faithful to this country but not the Punjabis. I allege that the suggestion about Greater Punjab has either been made in anger or without any seriousness because this is a senseless suggestion.

The third point I would like to raise is that there is a rumour that the Punjab Assembly is being dissolved. I, however, caution the Government against taking such a step which will be very harmful as it will be another blot on our face. The people may be assured that if the commissions failed, justice would be done to them. I want full justice plus weightage for Punjab. This can only satisfy the people to some extent.

Unemployment is also a very important problem in Punjab. I want that the entire Punjab state should industrially be declared as belonging to category-A so that several unemployed persons there are also able to play their role.

I will finish my speech after submitting one point more. So long as the Government does not solve this problem it will have to go on facing this allegation that it is deliberately not solving the Punjab problem probably due to its political considerations. The Barnala Government had been thrown out for the sake of Haryana, but there they could win only five seats. If they had not done so, they might have won 15-20 seats. So, while expressing my views on the President's Address, I would say with full seriousness that if we want to solve the Punjab problem, we will have to find out a political solution as there is no other alternative. I finish my speech with these words asserting that if these things had been done we would have supported this Motion but now it is difficult.

SHRI KUNWAR RAM (Nawada) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I extend my hearty congratulation to the Hon. President for his accurate expression of Governments objectives, ideals and achievements. The hon. President has expressed reality about the country in para 3 of his Address. Our Prime Minister is determined to provide social justice to the people in true

[Shri Kunwar Ram]

sense. He is also determined to defend the unity and integrity of the country. He is eager to secure a topmost place for India in the galaxy of nations of the world. He is bent upon removing poverty and unemployment by making extensive use of science and technology.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the problem being faced by Punjab has just now been highlighted because the hon. President has also expressed his worry about it. The hon. Member who has just spoken has also expressed his anxiety in this regard. But there is no question of succumbing to the terrorism and extremism which have raised a storm and created instability in Punjab. We will have to combat that situation at all costs. We have always been anxious to have an accord and we have accordingly been working but the way the terrorists, extremists are being encouraged, it becomes very difficult to kneel down before the terrorists. If we go to other states of the country, we are asked what is happening in Punjab, what are the reasons for the situation created by terrorists and whether the Central Government would be able to contain terrorism or not. They are very much annoyed over the situation. They are anxiously waiting for a solution. We are representatives of the people. When, I go to my region or to their region or elsewhere in the country, I have to face this very question and I can't answer it. Urgency for a political solution has been emphasised. It is true that this problem could be solved only through a political solution, but it is not allowed to be solved. Allegations may be levelled about it but I would like to urge upon the opposition parties to just peep into their inner selves. Some actions on their part don't let the problem be solved. They do not want to allow the Rajiv Government to run peacefully. They are always conspiring to grab power somehow or the other. They are not really interested to find out a solution for the Punjab problem. They are simply after power. I think we can solve this problem if we rise above politics of grabbing power. Most of the people of India have full faith in Rajiv Gandhi's leadership and the work is going on according to that. We want that blood shed of Shrimati Indira Gandhi,

should not go waste. The Hon. President has opined that the Government is prepared to talk to anybody who refrains from violence. We are prepared for talks but where are the leaders of terrorists? The terrorists and their protectors are not prepared for talks. They say that they do not support terrorism. But the question is whether their support is without any reservations. They are actually not ready to share the concern which has been expressed by the hon. President. Today we find that the whole world is against extremism. What happened in Sri Lanka? Our Prime Minister took an initiative to fight extremism in Sri Lanka and send our Army there to restore peace. We have thus proved to the world that we are prepared to pay every price and to make every sacrifice to eliminate extremism.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that we will have to go on following the present policies in this country if we have to bring about economic improvement. The hon. President has also expressed some concern in this regard. I particularly want to draw attention to two points which are basic questions. We have to defend independence of the country and also to protect the liberty of the people in general. We have so far been working in accordance with the provisions made in the constitution. During the last 40 years, under the leadership of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and under the leadership of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and now under the strong leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, we have been working in accordance with the policies and the social principles as enshrined in our Constitution. Today, when some elements want to weaken the country from inside and want to endanger the democratic set up in the country, the Government is determined to face this challenge and lead the country to march forward on the path of progress.

But so far as our economy is concerned, all the policies in this connection have also been laid down. We have enacted a law to provide for a ceiling in respect of urban property too. In spite of this, the property of Urban people is on the increase and this is also affecting the

rural areas. We find that all development work is carried on in the urban areas only, we have not been able to complete the targets fixed for the rural areas with the result that the poor are becoming poorer.

The hon. President has mentioned that poverty is the greatest enemy of our country. It is correct to say that we have been striving to eradicate poverty but we have not been able to achieve any significant success. What is the reason for this? We want to go into these reasons because we represent the people. We come to this House to highlight public grievances and place them before our Government. We are a link between the people and the administration. It is our duty to see that the administration remains alert, works with responsibility and removes the difficulties of the public.

We lay down policies and enact laws in this august House. We too give our approval to huge sums of money for big plans but so far as their execution is concerned, this is to be done by the administration, by the Government. If our administrative machinery fails to implement the plan with honesty and responsibility, we are unable to achieve our purpose. The Members belonging to the opposition have never drawn the attention of the Government towards this aspect. I have the least hesitation to say that I have not heard a word in the whole Address that we would activate the administrative machinery too. If this is also added to the Address of the hon. President, I think, it will give a big boost to our policies, to our developmental works and to our measures to strengthen the country both at national as well as international levels. The addition of this aspect of activating the Government machinery will be very useful.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now I want to submit some other points also. I want to suggest that it is very vital to unearth black money. Some efforts have already been made in this connection. Apart from keeping an eye on big industrialists there is also a need to keep an eye on *Sadhus* and *Swamis* like Chandraswami. When his premises were raided, property worth crores of rupees was discovered. There is need to bring out black money in possess-

ion of such people. The people can remain beware of businessmen but such men loot the people through religious mesmerism and, collect crores of rupees and evade taxes. They enjoy all sorts of luxuries and indulge in misdeeds, we should remain beware of such people. The Land attached to 'Mathas' should be taken over and distributed among labourers and the land of those given to luxury should be distributed among the poor people.

17.00 hrs.

Top-most priority should be given to irrigation schemes. There was no justification for keeping the Kosi Project which was started in the first plan, pending till now. Similarly, an agreement should be concluded with the Nepal Government at all costs to control and make use the waters of rivers flowing from Nepal. The Rajasthan Canal should be completed soon. The projects of Tilaya-Dhadhar Koyal Karo and Upper Sakri etc. of Bihar should be implemented soon. By putting restriction on sale-purchase of urban land, house-building industry should be nationalised so that the source of black money is blocked effectively. A Housing Bank should be set up soon. At least one member of each Harijan and Advasi family should be provided with a Government job. Firstly all posts of fourth class services should exclusively be reserved for them. Decentralisation of power should be brought about. Due to increase in urban population, the condition of transport, housing and environment is deteriorating day by day and as such Government offices in Delhi and in the capitals of the states should be shifted to other places. Every such technology which deprives the people of employment should be discarded. What is the justification for introducing such a technology which deprives the people of their means of living. If there is any proposal with the Government to make use of such a technology, I suggest, it should not be implemented. Employment exchanges should be computerised. Railway services should be extended to backward areas. Just now, an hon. Member was telling that at some places fast trains pass after every hour or so while at other places if a train leaves in the evening, the next arrives only next morning. This is not a

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good system, definitely not in line with socialism. Development works specially railway development works should be carried on vigorously.

There are some demands about Bihar too. These demands are at national level. The Patna university should be converted into a Central University. The Nalanda Pali Institution and the Prakrit Institution of Vaishali should be granted the status of a University. The area comprising Patna-Gaya-Nawada-Vaishali and Nalanda should be developed as a National tourist area. In order to make use of the residual material of oil refinery in Baroni, the proposed petro-complex should be set up there which is lying pending. Adequate amount should be earmarked to establish Thermal Power Station at Kahalgaon of Bhagalpur. Bridges on the Ganges should be constructed at Bhagalpur and Munger. Also arrangements for irrigation in the areas along with the banks of the Ganges should be made. The Nalanda Open University should be activated. Double railway line should be laid between Patna and Gaya for extension of suburban railway service. The Gaya Kiul line should be converted into double line and developed as an alternate line for the movement of fast trains. The line from Gaya to Kiul via Nalanda should also be converted into double line. The royalty from Bihar mines should be increased to strengthen the economy of Bihar. In Bihar sick industries, particularly jute, cement, paper, sugar and cloth industries should be revived. The traditional control on the forest by Adivasis should be maintained.

With these words I support the Motion of Thanks.

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI (Satna) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. First of all, I wish to thank the President for making a reference to the Sarhadi Gandhi Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in para 2 of his Address. I think simply paying tributes to him is not sufficient. History is a witness that after

the partition of the country, we had thrown him to the wolves. So this is very essential that a national monument should be erected in the memory of Sarhadi Gandhi and through it the public should be inspired to face the communal forces and those elements creating terror in the country. In this connection, I want to suggest that a university should be established in Delhi in the memory of Sarhadi Gandhi. But it would be a most appropriate tribute to him if Delhi University is renamed as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan University. I would rather suggest that a chair after his name should be established in each of the universities in Aligarh, Banaras, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Mysore and Hyderabad and also the students should be awarded scholarships on merit-cum-means basis for doing national integration work for propagating his views throughout the country for which Badshah Khan struggled throughout his life. With it, a national award for understanding should be established in the memory of Badshah Khan in our country as has been done in case of other leaders. The main buildings and roads in Delhi and other big cities should be renamed after the name of Badshah Khan so that it could be a real tribute to him. Besides, in order to perpetuate his memory his name should be associated with cultural programmes and educational institutions. Like portraits of other leaders his portrait should also find a place inside the Parliament House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now I would like to refer to para 3 of the President's Address in which, he has drawn a picture of New India which is going to emerge in future. In para 4, he has referred to the poverty and disparities prevalent in India for the eradication of which we will have to make efforts. The contents of para 3 and 4 give us a glimpse of the Preamble of the Constitution. We have guaranteed fundamental rights to every citizen in the Constitution. Every citizen of India is entitled to these rights as freedom of thought, expression, belief, worship and faith. We are enjoying these rights with full freedom and without any discrimination.

17.11 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We have guaranteed social justice, political justice, equality of status and equal opportunities in the Preamble to all the citizens. Of course, they are enjoying political justice but we have not been able to provide them social justice to the desired extent. Today, there are so many weaker sections in our society which need our attention so that they may feel that they are also getting social and political justice and are entitled to equal rights as available to other citizens. They should enjoy those rights. We will have to create that condition in the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, now I would like to talk about the criticism which has been made by some Hon. Members in respect of Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Among other things, the Members of Opposition want to know as to the why Peace-Keeping Force has been sent to Sri Lanka. Either they are not aware of the facts or they have not paid full attention towards this issue. If our friends go through the pages of History, they will find that the Indian forces had also taken part in the first and second world wars. This is a different issue whether they went there voluntarily or were sent there against their wishes. But whenever the question to put an end to the fascist powers arose in the world, the Indian forces played a significant role on every occasion. The Indian soldiers displayed their valour every time. This is quite another thing that these fascist powers overnight converted it into people's war. When Pakistan attacked Kashmir and the Maharaja of Kashmir sought our help the Indian forces were sent to Kashmir for the first time, of course, with the consent of Mahatma Gandhi. They were sent there to protect the rights of the people of Kashmir. Similarly the Suez Canal was nationalised and U.N. Forces were deployed there in the wake of attack launched by Britain, Israel and France against Egypt and when the President Nasir did not allow the Pakistan Forces to land there, then at that time, the Indian forces were sent there to settle the

Suez Canal dispute, to restore peace and to protect the rights of the people there. Thereafter the role of Indian army in the Korean war cannot be forgotten. The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission had been constituted at that time and it was no other than our valiant general Thimmaya of Maharashtra who headed that Commission. It was under his leadership that the rights of the people could be protected and other arrangements made. The Indian army also played a very important role in Congo. At the time of deputing the army there our Government had decided that the army, if necessary, might use arms there. It has been a very old tradition of our army to protect the rights of the people. I would like to know from my colleagues as to why they have now become indifferent to this aspect. They should be aware that the Israel army was already there in Sri Lanka before our army landed there. They were imparting para-military commando training to the people of Sri Lanka. The imperialist powers like U.S.A. were also active in that island. Had the Indian army not gone there, the armies of U.S.A., Israel and Pakistan would have come there and an impending danger would have been hovering above our heads. I would, therefore, like to ask those people who want to take advantage of this issue by giving it a political colour to look at this problem in this perspective sincerely. The history of the world will always remember the Accord which has been signed by our Government, by our Prime Minister with the Government of Sri Lanka. In this way our Government have saved the Indian Ocean from a great danger. It did not allow it to become a base of the Super Powers. In order to implement their Accord, we will pay every price, make every sacrifice, even if we are not prepared for that. We will continue to do every thing possible to honour our commitment. The entire country will support the Prime Minister in this task. It is our decision and the allegations of the opposition are not going to affect it in any way.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to express my views on para 14 dealing with the National Education Policy. It gives me pleasure that the number of

[Shri Aziz Qureshi]

Navodaya Vidyalayas in the country has gone up to 206. I am also pleased to know that 41 per cent students selected for these institutions during 1986 belonged to families living below the poverty line. Similarly 77 per cent students of these institutions came from villages. I commend the Government and the administration and also congratulate them for showing a ray of hope in the midst of darkness spread everywhere. But, I would like to refer to the commitment made by the Government under article 45 of the Constitution 40 years ago that primary education will be made compulsory for all children in the country. This commitment continues to be an unfulfilled dream till today. The people of the country demand that the above commitment made by our leaders like Pandit Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and by the Government should be fulfilled now.

While making a reference to the National Education Policy, I would like to take up the case of an important and historical university known as the Aligarh Muslim University. Everybody in the country is aware of this university and its history. Our late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who was closely associated with this university, a special law was passed in the Parliament keeping in view the sentiments of the people and thereby declared it an institution belonging to minorities. In accordance with the law passed by the Parliament the University was empowered to set up a court to decide its own cases. Six M.Ps from the Lok Sabha and 4 M.Ps from the Rajya Sabha are taken in this court. But it is unfortunate that though the court has been set up, the principles as laid down under the law passed by the parliament, are totally being neglected by the present Vice Chancellor.** And whatever Shrimati Indira Gandhi had given to the minorities and the Muslims of this country that**. This has given rise to discontentment among all the Muslims in the country.

I would like that the Government and

the Prime Minister should see that**. It may be recalled that the representatives of those people who do not accept Kashmir as a part of India and are of the opinion that merger of Kashmir has not yet been completed, were invited to the University and honoured and were allowed to openly criticise our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Constitution. They were honoured under the protection of the authorities.

I would like that the Government should look into it as to why this Act which was passed by the Lok Sabha and the Parliament, is not being implemented fully. Perhaps, we are thinking that Aligarh Muslim institution is a Private institution. If this attitude continues to be there it will bring a great disaster to the country and its responsibility will be put squarely on those Officers sitting in the Ministry of Education who are supporting the Vice-Chancellor in a wrong way. I would like that the Hon. Prime Minister should look into it and take suitable action to preserve peace in the country,

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, your bell is ringing again and again. Therefore, with these words I support the Motion.

[English]

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I seek your permission to expose the stale, stagnant, empty and ritualistic approach of the Central Government towards the burning problems of the nation. which have been mirrored in the Presidential Address before both the Houses of Parliament.

I have the highest regard for the Office of the President and his person. But the drafters of this Address has conveyed the impression to the people that the Bharats Nero was fiddling with his flute while every bit of Bharat soul was burning in pain. This out-of-order tune and out-of-place tune has rather suppressed very important voices which have to be heard and which have to be taken consideration of the shrieks of the widowed-daughters of

** Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

this country, the cries of the orphaned toddler sons of India and also the bleeding wails of those aging mothers who have been rendered sonless and childless before their eyes by the bullets which were, unfortunately, manufactured in the ordnance of India.

Now, unfortunately, with the ever-increasing rise in graph of the prices of consumer goods and commodities and ever increasing bone-breaking burden on the life of the people, they have given an impression to the people that this Government led by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, is determined to eliminate all the classes in this country excepting two classes—one multi-millionaires and the other poor labourers, pennyless labourers. These are the two classes. If the things are going in this manner, ultimately we are heading towards this. It appears that the concept of this Government is that the classless society of tomorrow of India would be like this. Under these circumstances, what has happened in the last year and all these years? We have to take into consideration our economic conditions and our social and political conditions everywhere. It is a tragedy, I should say, of the national dimension that Rashtrapati has to remind the nation of their goal, which is enshrined in the Preamble of the Constitution, that the people have taken a solemn resolve to constitute India into sovereign, democratic and socialistic republic, even after 40 years of Congress rule. This shows that we have not been able to move even one step in this direction during these forty years. That is why it has been repeated in the Presidential Address after 40 years. This is a tragedy. On the contrary, we seem to have traversed some steps backward from the cherished goals set by the framers of the Constitution, and I have no doubt that the souls of those framers of the Constitution must be restless, wherever they are. After forty years, this situation is there. After all what kind of socialism is our goal. It was there when the constitution was framed, it was there when we got the independence, and it is now being repeated after 40 years. On the other hand, I would say that socialism in India is a thing of the past and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is going to lay it at

rest in the galleries of the National Archives. About two months ago he made a public statement in Madras that India cannot afford socialism. Also, in various public statements in Madras, he said that the public undertakings are exhausting the resources of the nation, and actually they are not generating any resources. In this Address itself and in the Budget also, there two things are stressed over and again. This is just the repetition of our goals which I feel this Government will never achieve. I am reminded of an Urdu couplet :

“Nazar unki zaban unki, mein kisko maut par samjhoou, Nazar kutchh aur kahati hai, zaban kutchh aur kahati hai, Bataya ja raha hai kafila manzil pe Aa pahuucha, magar is kafile ki dastan kutchh aur kahati hai.”

This is how we are passing through all these situations. Now we can see for ourselves that on the one hand the skyscrapers are rising day in and day out, and underneath those mansions, those air-conditioned palaces, the poor people, with empty stomachs, empty breasts, bare-footed, without any shelter, are lying on the foot-paths, and their number is increasing day by day. Is this the socialism we are thinking of? On the other hand we see the dining tables of the rich people full of sumptuous meals, foreign drinks and all sorts of fruits. We have got reports from Orissa that because of under-nourishment, starvation deaths are taking place in Kalahandi and Koraput districts. Is it not the tragedy of India that even after forty years, with all the wealth in the country, with all the stocks that we have got—we claim that we have got the stores full of foodgrains—there are starvation-deaths? This is not the only example, there are hundreds of such examples. Is this what we are heading for? And we are claiming that our goal is socialism. I think these are all empty slogans and we are just repeating them. Unless we stick honestly to this goal, all these empty slogans are leading this nation astray, I would say.

Again, Sir, we have certain figures

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with us. We claim to be aiming for socialism. There are other countries also in this word which claim socialism as their goal. But do you know what is the difference between the highest and the lowest income in those countries? In some countries it is 1:3, and in some other countries it is 1:7. That is the maximum. But here in India there is a yawning gap between the poor and the rich, and I would not hesitate to say that the gap is 1:1000. Still we are claiming that we are heading towards socialism. This tragedy is not going to stop unless we try to realise and think over the matter.

Then, Sir, the black money in this country is creating havoc. It is increasing in geometrical figures. I think, in 1951, it was only to the tune of 200 crores of rupees and in 1966 it was to the tune of Rs. 1216 crores. In 1979, it rose to Rs. 8600 crores and in 1986, it reached Rs. 37,000 crores and I can daresay that by this time, it would have crossed Rs. 40,000 crores and all that scandalous money of Bofors and Fair fax which is lying in the foreign banks is taken into account, it would be more than Rs. 41,000 crores. If this black money circulation continues in our country, we cannot achieve socialism, nor we can claim of democratic systems here nor we can claim other things. There are at present 34 million unemployed and by 1995, the economists say that the number of the unemployed will be 75 million. If this is the situation we cannot have any other idea except that we have to think over and over again.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have only to say that neither we have achieved nor we are going to achieve socialism and we are talking of democracy. Unfortunately, this Government has persistently and consistently eroded the democratic institution and democratic values of life. In regard to the most important and most powerful pillar of democracy, that is, the Supreme Court or the Courts of justice, I would point out what havoc has been played in the appointment of judges and transfer of judges? What is happening everyday? Everyday, Commissions of Enquiry are appointed and crores of

rupees are spent on the Commissions and ultimately they do not act upon the recommendations or the findings of the Commissions of Inquiry. There is an Inquiry Commission Amendment Act whereby secrecy is kept without disclosing it even to the Parliament although it is claimed to be a sovereign body. We do not know what our position is. This should be told to the Parliament. But on the other hand some times Election Commission is being bulldozed and some times it is by-passed. If these things are continued, the democracy cannot survive.

Sir, my colleagues have already spoken about Punjab and others on Tripura. These are the facts. The law and order situation is such that whatever there is law in the courts, there is no order for years together and wherever there is order in the South Block, there is no law. The other day, the Home Minister made a statement when asked by one of his colleagues about the law and order situation of the country. He said that law is the concern of Mr. Shiv Shankar and the orders are issued from 5, Race Course. I received a letter yesterday from a widow of Gurdaspur District. She has narrated in her letter about the tragic story that her husband was kidnapped and later on disposed of by the para-military forces. She filed a complaint of murder and in the Court of law an evidence was produced. In the court some officers were summoned but they did not appear. Then the Court issued non-bailable warrant. But even up-till-date, after a period of one year, they have not appeared before the court. Instead they have issued threatening letters to the widow. The Police and the Executive have got scantest regard for the court of law and justice, one of the pillars of democracy. Nobody is taking care of it. After all we have to think over these things seriously. This is one incident. I have other incidents also in Punjab to narrate. Mr. Tohra has been given a charge-sheet after a period of three years and nine months. The Cr.P.C. does not permit such procedure of law. He has been given this charge sheet now. He was released, and after some time he was

arrested again in this case. Here the legal procedures have been violated. Unless we have the regard for law, we cannot claim any democracy in the country.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please wind up.

SHRI M. S. GILL : I am going to wind up very shortly.

Then, the secular aspect has been mentioned in the President's Address. Unfortunately, as has been pointed out by other speakers, there are various incidents like the Meerut incident, the Maulana incident, the incident of Delhi carnage and some other incidents in Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozepur districts in Punjab. These incidents show that we also do not have regard for the word 'secularism' which is enshrined in the Constitution. We actually never bothered to think that this is such a pious word that we have to stick to it to move on and to take the nation ahead. Reports say that Muslims are discouraged from enrolment in the police, para-military forces and in the military. This is the report of Mr. Justice Mishra—131 gurudwaras were burnt in Delhi, not a single man was charge-sheeted or punished. These things are going on. Can you claim the State to be secular? So, I would submit, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that these slogans have absolutely no meaning.

Then, I would say that so far as Punjab is concerned, we have to sit and think over it. The Prime Minister says, 'I have no time to think about Punjab'. This is a double tragedy when the Prime Minister of a country says such a thing, (*Interruptions*). Kindly use your good offices. Through this Parliament I would like to appeal to the people of the country, and I pray that we must sit together and find out a solution for Punjab which has been burning for the last four or five years. Whosoever is at fault and whosoever has done it is a secondary question. The primary question is the solution of the Punjab problem.

With these words, Mr. Deputy

Speaker, I oppose the Motion of Thanks to the President.

[*Translation*]

SHRI AKHTAR HASAN (Kairana) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to you for providing me an opportunity to express my views regarding the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I fully agree to the Address given by the President before both the Houses of the Parliament. It has given me much pleasure and satisfaction that the President has made a commitment to root out communalism and secessionism. The President has also promised to fully implement the 15-point programme in the interest of the minorities. This has provided a sigh of relief to the minority communities in the country. In this connection I can say, with full confidence, that peace can be preserved in the country only when hearts of the minorities are won.

The President has outlined the policy of the Government on Indo-Pak relations before the House. I cannot help but praise it. In fact India believes in maintaining friendly relations with its neighbours. It is a matter of great concern that there is a lot of difference between the words and the actions of the Government of Pakistan. It has not only been making clandestine efforts to acquire atomic weapons but also helping the secessionist forces in our country. I request the Government to give due thought to this aspect and remain cautious about the diplomatic tactics of Pakistan.

[*English*]

SHRI C.P. THAKUR (Patna) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir I thank you for giving me this time. This Address by the President is well-drafted, well-documented and well-intentioned. It is not a hazy illusion but rather a document in reality. What is the thinking of the Government, what is the Government doing, they are contained in this Address. Our Prime Minister wants to transform this country into a strong, educated and modern country. With this aim in view, he wants to

[Shri C.P. Thakur]

harness science and technology and other techniques.

Now, some of the Members from the Opposition said, what is the need of repeating the words 'socialism and secularism etc.' If you have to practise all good things, you have to repeat them. A Hindu goes to Mandir so many times; a Muslim repeats Namaz 5 times a day; and the Christian goes to the church. The reason is that he will do those good things. So, with that in view, we have to remind the people about the socialism, about the secularism. Now, the vision of this Government was the vision of Mahatma Gandhi, vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and of late Shrimati Indira Gandhi. We want to continue on the same path shown by these great leaders.

Now, some of the Members from the Opposition—learned Member, Mr. Indrajit Gupta—pointed out, there is a contradiction in our foreign policy Statement regarding United States of America. Actually, there is no contradiction. We are a Non-Aligned nation and we have to maintain a balance. If we want to be very friendly with one bloc, we have to be friendly with other bloc also. No doubt, we value the friendship with Soviet Russia and there is a long paragraph on that. Since we are the leader of the Non-Aligned nations, we also have to improve relations with United States. But we are not an ally of any power and, therefore, we have pointed out where the United States is committing mistakes—when they are arming Pakistan—we say that America is doing a wrong thing and not a right thing.

Now, on the Afghanistan issue, one of the hon. Members, Dr. Dinesh Goswami has pointed out that it is a childish sort of suggestion, made by India. But he does not realise that in the political game of Afghanistan, there were, only two powers, two super powers Russia and America, as America is playing the chess through Pakistan. It is to the credit of our Government, to the credit of our Prime Minister, that when Russia announced return of army from Afghanistan, they conveyed that to India and also

the American deputy Foreign Minister has come to consult with our Prime Minister, to find the real, good and permanent solution to Afghanistan issue. By that, India has gained in the world politics.

Regarding Sri Lanka issue, some Members pointed out that we have done the same. But actually there was no other alternative left for us. That was the best option for India. At that time, there was a vacuum in Sri Lanka and this vacuum would have been filled either by any superpower or by Israel or by any other power and, in that case, what would have been the political and strategic position of India? Therefore we sent the Indian forces to Sri Lanka not to conquer but to bring normalcy and order in the framework of the constitution of that country and for that also, for the first time, the Tamilians were given their right to vote and everything required in the normal life of the Sri Lanka Government. It was a right move at that time. The person who takes initiative in any matter would meet with some resistance in the beginning but I think the Sri Lankan policy of the Government of India will succeed and peace and normalcy will come to Sri Lanka.

Coming to the internal policy, this Government of our Prime Minister has stood through two grim trim tests. One is forced by nature and another is hatched by conspirators. The first is the drought and floods. The country has passed through the unprecedented drought and floods this time and, instead of wasting time on non-issues, our Prime Minister tackled the floods and drought situation with all the might of the Government and everything was mobilised and nobody was allowed to die due to hunger and all help was given to the needy.

The second is the conspiracy to topple this Government, the conspiracy to actually defame the Prime Minister. In India all the political parties move round the political leaders, whether it is the Congress party, Anna DMK, DMK, NTR party or any party. The conspirators think that "If you defame the Prime Minister, then naturally, the whole party will be later on defamed." They

thought that they will succeed in the game. But the credit goes to the people of this country. The credit goes to the MPs of the Congress party that they understood this game and they did not allow these conspirators to succeed.

The people have said that we are not socialists and that we are forgetting socialism. But in the Address, we have given all prominence to the public sector and to the development of the poor, of the down-trodden. This is the goal of our Government. There might be some faults in the public sector. I think everywhere in the world, the public sector is not being properly manned in the socialist countries and everybody is realising that there is some fault in the management. If the management improves, the public sector will also improve and, therefore, there should be a special cadre of public sector and this Government is not forgetting the path of socialism.

I must say that in the Address, importance has been given to farmers, for the agricultural sector and in this sector, the role of the water management has been highlighted. Bihar this year has suffered from unprecedented floods. So, I suggest that measures should be taken to prevent floods in Bihar. Further, I would like to point out that the Sone canal was built 110 years ago and because of breaches etc. that has been ruined. There should be some renovation of the Sone canal. Then the Tal area in Patna District and Mungir etc. if they are properly maintained they can feed pulses to the whole of this country. Therefore, these are some of the areas where attention has to be bestowed. Such provinces of Bihar should be given preference.

With these words, as the time is up, I thank you for giving me this time and I support the Motion of Thanks.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Bhagat. The President's Address is essentially an overview of the state of the

Nation containing and summing up the performance of the Government and giving his advice as the Head of the Nation. Sir, as you know, the President has not only highlighted the performance of this Government during the last year but also he has referred to the challenging situation the nation is facing and dealt as to how we should meet this challenge with his advice. He has also outlined the programme of the Government ahead of the year. The outgoing year was a very difficult year and a challenging year. These challenges came not only from outside but also from within. As you know, Sir, the rain-God was unfavourable and unkind. We had also to face the serious challenge i.e. the failure of crops. During the last year, we had the worst drought of the century. Also, there were conflicts and dispute along both the borders—the Pakistan border and the China border. But still then, in spite of all these things like the serious drought, border dispute and the growing terrorism, the achievements that this Government had done under the young Prime Minister's able guidance are quite spectacular. They have been well reflected in the President's Address and the Government deserves congratulations. In spite of all these adverse effects, our economy, which has been based on strong foundations, has stood the test of time and in spite of all such things our economy has recorded a positive growth and this GNP growth rate will be at least one or two per cent. Whereas in 1979-80 when the Janata people were at the helm of affairs, they were ruling this country with lesser impact of drought. The magnitude of drought at that time was lesser. In spite of that, GNP recorded minus 4.7 per cent. Coming to my point, in the industrial sector, the growth rate will be about 10 per cent over what it was during the corresponding period of last year. Further, the inflation will not touch the two-digits whereas it was 21 per cent during the Janata period. Why did it happen so? Despite the unfavourable situation, the Government has managed the situation appreciably. In all the fronts, they managed the situation very well.

Coming to my next point, I would like to say something about the SS Missile that was successfully tested last week. Of

[Shri Sriballav Panigrahi]

course, that was done after the President delivered his Address here. This is something about which the entire nation is proud of. The S.S. Missiles will now be inducted into Army. I wonder at the attitude of opposition Members. I do not know why they are making allegations against the ruling party—against the Rajiv Gandhi Government. What do they say? I am reminded of a story of seven blind persons who were looking at an elephant. They were giving their description at the appearance of the elephant. Whatever portion they came across—every one of them thought that the elephant had the appearance of what they felt. I do not know why they are trying to be blind. Why they are not looking at the progress which the country has been making, with their eyes open. And they are also not having a comprehensive picture before them. I do not know why they are intentionally trying to present a gloomy picture. Is it the time to do so when the country is reeling under severe drought? They are trying to go to every nook and corner of the country and are telling about the fantastic stories—the stories based on untruth. These are all only figment of imagination. Take for example, Bofors, Fairfax etc. They should be ashamed of their conduct. They are now preparing for a Bharat Bandh on 23rd March. They are also, day in and day out, publicly and through the press, inside and outside the House, demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. They are demanding repolls. They are demanding fresh elections. What for are they demanding all these things? Where is the justification? In Tripura, as you know, recently elections were held. Panchayat elections were held in Kerala and at different places. There is a story about rigging. There is the news report that three Cabinet Ministers of the Jyoti Basu Government are making allegations about rigging. Now these people are saying that Rajiv Gandhi Government has disregard for democratic institutions. This is like devil preaching scriptures. They forget for a moment that they are inside a glass house and they try to throw stones at others—at Congress Government.

Sir, what happened to NTR? What

is the judgment of the Court against him? Has he got any regard for judiciary? He is still continuing under one plea or another. What happened in the by-election at Nazira in Assam? It is only because Congress has utmost regard for democracy Democracy is surviving in this country. Democracy is not only surviving but it has taken deep roots and nobody can do any damage to it and to other democratic institutions.

Again, these people are giving a call for general strike in factories and everywhere on 13th and 14th. They are going to organise Bharat Bandh. I am reminded of one thing. Can they not look at the article in the 'Time' magazine published in America? In that, they have categorically and emphatically stated that there is no alternative to Rajiv Gandhi's Government in India. When there is no alternative to this Government and when it is doing well despite very unfavourable and hostile situation, what for are they trying to create anarchy in this country? Naturally, people's opinion also was reflected in polls in Tripura and Meghalaya and at other places and Panchayat and municipal elections in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. I would say that we have got many types of problems. Our Government and for that matter our President is not complacent. They also say that there are several other problems. We have to look at these problems seriously. We have to solve these problems. You take for example, problem regarding terrorism. About terrorism, *Rashtrapati ji* has rightly said and I quote :

“The foremost task is to crush terrorism and isolate secessionists...”

18.00 hrs.

In clear terms he has given topmost priority to this menacing problem of terrorism being faced. He has said that there can and will be no compromise over the nation's integrity and unity. In the search for a non-violent political solution of the problem within the framework of the Constitution, Government stands ready for a dialogue with all those who eschew violence. Mr. Indrajit Gupta, who is not here

just now, while referring to this deliberately missed this point. When he referred to this, he said only about violence. There can and will be dialogue with those people if they eschew violence; but at the same time the foregoing sentence is about the unity and integrity.

The nation's economic performance is a tribute to the soundest of our development strategy. Naturally, the President also is not contended. We have miles to go ahead. We have achieved a lot; but that is not complete in itself and he is also not contended. He has advised that the 8th Plan must provide for even faster growth, the mechanisation of employment opportunities and the reduction of regional disparities. We need both a higher rate of growth and a composition of growth that matches the basic needs of the people and the evolving needs of the economy and the society.

He has advised the Government that regional disparities will have to be eradicated and unless regional disparities are reduced gradually, the unity and integrity it is apprehended will be endangered.

Overall we have made a lot of achievement in the fields of technology, agriculture, industry, etc. In respect of technology, we are the third greatest power or country in the world. At the same time our foreign policy is quite laudable. In this year also we have played a very leading role in the international affairs with regard to South Africa, with regard to apartheid programme and also with regard to the six nations initiative which has provided the base and impetus for the accord that is being reached between the two great powers—America and Soviet Union. They are also bringing in a ray of hope for the whole of the world as far as world peace and disarmament are concerned.

There are other problems; they are also highlighted in the Address. One of the problems is mixing of politics with religion. Rightly, we have to fight out terrorism. In the last year's speech also there was a reference to separation of politics from religion. The law should be enacted. We should have the right type

of secularism should be enacted. It is high time we separated politics from religion. Those who violate this, action should be taken against them and in addition they should be debarred from contesting elections.

About the administrative reforms a lot has been said here. I would say about the District Collectors' conference. It shows how our Prime Minister is sincere and serious. He said that there should be administrative responsiveness and accountability. There are allegations that the Government of India is releasing adequate funds and massive grants to the States; but the schemes are not being implemented properly. That is why the Prime Minister is having a direct dialogue with the District Collectors in different conferences. But even this is not tolerated by some of the Opposition Governments. Why is it so?

About the public sector undertakings and high technology there is a reference here. There is also reference to how to eradicate illiteracy, how to go in for a massive plantation programme and small family and put an end to dowry, bride burning and regional imbalance. About the irrigation I would say that without irrigation we cannot think of agricultural advancement. So we should go in for irrigation on a large scale. Further, we have to give priority in the field of energy.

Orissa which is a backward State is very much hit by drought this year and enough funds should be given to the State. Also a lot of irrigation projects—RLEGP projects—are pending here for clearance. I request the Government to give priority to these long-pending things as Orissa is a backward State.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to meet again at 11.00 a.m. on 2nd March, 1988.

18.06 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March 2, 1988/ Phalgun 12, 1909 (Saka).