

ber of labourers is increasing leading to weakening of country's economy I, therefore, demand that the prices of agricultural inputs and agricultural produce should be fixed in such a manner that the farmers are able to get remunerative price as a result thereof.

12.49 hrs.

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

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House will now take up further consideration of the Motion of Thanks on President's Address moved by Shri B.R. Bhagat on the 24th February, 1988.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): If I start now, can I continue and finish?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You speak upto 1 O'clock. You can continue afterwards.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Then there will be lunch.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You want to finish at 1.05 PM?

SHRI AMAL DATTA: I think I have about 28 minutes or so.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you want to speak after lunch break, you can speak after the next person.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Then I will be much late.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: After lunch break you can continue.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address to the joint session of the two Houses. The Address of the President has become an annual Parliamentary ritual and has become as much stereotyped as it has become irrelevant to the life of the nation. It has become devoid of any understanding of the real political issues before the nation and has therefore, become utterly superficial! Sir, the President's speech catalogues a series of make-belief achievements and these are of no importance to the nation even if they were true. This shows unfortunately that the people who are in charge of the destiny of the nation have no real connection with the people any more. They do not know what are the issues before the nation which have to be highlighted on the annual historic occasion like this. They have no sense of priorities of the issues and problems before the nation and accordingly they have catalogued in the speech only some wishful thinking, some lofty intentions, but no achievements of any nation building activity which may have been undertaken during the last one year. In fact, the possibility is that no such activity has, in fact, been undertaken or no achievements are there for the Central Government to read out during such a speech.

There have been a lot of assertions, some of them even if bonafide, are incorrect and of no importance to the people. They have not said what is being done for those problems which concern the nation primarily today, the problem of secularism, national integration and unity, the problem of socialism and the problem of democracy.

Taking the problem of national integration and unity first, I apprehend that the people who are in charge of the nation's destiny today have no idea as to where to go and how to proceed to promote a sense of Indian consciousness. They do not ask the question to what extent we have progressed

[Sh. Amal Datta]

to form and promote an Indian identity. Do the people think of themselves as Indians or do people think of themselves as Telugu or Hindi-speaking or some regional, linguistic or ethnic group? This has some pathetic consequences which are becoming more and more relevant as days pass. We see around us divisive and fissiparous tendencies. There are lofty intentions which have been recorded in the President's Address like we will struggle and crush fundamentalism etc. and I quote:

"We have unflinching determination to root out communalism, fundamentalism and other fissiparous tendencies."

Very good intentions, but what have you done about it? That is the question. If they have done anything about it, then they should have stated. The fact that nothing has been stated leaves one to believe that not only nothing has been done, but the way things have to be achieved is not even known or considered by the people who are in charge of the Government.

The fact is that the Constitution gave us a National Integration Council. This National Integration Council has been regarded as a sort of fire fighting instrument and not one of permanence which will promote the sense of unity amongst the people and promote a sense of Indianness and identity of the nation as a whole. As a result, four times this National Integration Council has been called only to be sent into oblivion within a short time and even now in 1986, the Council which has been called and sub-Committees have been formed and Advisory Committees have been formed to go into this, but they have become totally inadequate to tackle the task which is before them, because the task is growing more and more difficult. There are two reasons why it is that fissiparous and the divisive forces are coming to the front. One is, as the process of

development progresses people are becoming more conscious of the injustice which they have suffered and are still suffering. This is the real reason behind the divisive and fissiparous tendencies; the objective reason which has to be tackled. But nothing has been done to redress the regional, caste, religious and other imbalances which have become rooted in Indian society over the centuries.

Then, Sir, as education proceeds people become more vocal. Not only they become more conscious of the lack of social justice but they become more vocal, more assertive and more demanding. This is the case where the division comes within the people from inside. No doubt there are outside forces which are trying to take advantage of that but it is the duty of the Government to see that the process of growth and development, the process of education and the spread of culture, education and literacy itself does not give rise to the fissiparous and divisive tendencies. Nothing has been done. It should have been a task which should have been given to a permanent body. The National Integration Council is the constitutionally acknowledged and prescribed institution for that purpose. But, Sir, unfortunately, as I said, this has been regarded by the Government as an instrument, to be invoked into life as and when the Government requires the co-operation from other parties for some emergent problems. Immediately when the problems are solved, or even when they are not solved, as in the Punjab issue, it is again sent into oblivion. This is the problem but there is no understanding of the problem. This is my main contention. There is no understanding as to how to deal with such a problem.

Then, Sir, comes the question of socialism. Where are we going? We are supposed to have an economy based on planned development. Now, where is the planning? It is totally politically controlled. And so much

so the Planning Commission has come into such disrepute and such disgrace that recently the Prime Minister remarked about the Members of the Planning Commission and called them 'a bunch of jokers'. I do not agree with the Prime Minister. I am not saying that the Prime Minister was right or wrong in saying that but the very fact that such a insinuation has been made by a person who heads the same institution, namely the Planning Commission,....

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE (Rajapur): He said that because he is heading the Planning Commission.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Yes, he heads the Planning Commission and called the members of the Planning Commission as "a bunch of jokers". As a nation, what kind of confidence are we to have on such a planning process? Sir, we have seen the results of the planning process. The results show very uneven development, because it has been politically controlled. It has never been informed of the necessity of the national integration and harmonisation to bring about the national reconciliation. If we start from the premise that we have always been a nation and there is no need to promote unity conscientiously then we are going wrong. It is a wrong direction to which we have been progressing so far. There is no indication in the President's speech that the direction will now be changed; that we shall take positive steps to promote harmony within the nation; that we shall do away with the conflicts and schism which come because of the inequality of development in various fields like political, economic and cultural. there is no such indication at all and this is very tragic.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Datta you may continue after lunch. We shall now adjourn for Lunch to reassemble at 14.00 hrs.

13.00 hrs.

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

14.05 hrs.

The Lok Sabha reassembled, after Lunch at five Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now Mr. Amal Datta may continue.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Sir, I was on the subject of socialism. I had just started on that, and I have made some comments about the remarks made about the Planning Commission, and in what esteem the Planning Commission may now be held by the nation. But after all, it is a part and parcel of the bureaucracy. It has no constitutional authority, it is established by a resolution of the Executive; and, therefore, it is influenced by the political decisions of the Executive. It does not, therefore, reflect the wishes of the people through Parliament, as expressed in Parliament; and we have no authority, except to sometimes discuss what the Plan documents or the appraisal reports say. That is all. So, the planning process which is bureaucratic, arbitrary and subject to political dictates of the Executive, has never been a proper instrument for planning, not to speak of socialist planning. But even then, we had something; and now even that is gone. But no mention is made in the President's Address, as to what is going to replace this particular machinery which is now being seen to be obsolete.

[Sh. Amal Datta]

The question which one should ask, if one is really interested in establishing socialism, is whether the disparity between the rich and the poor has narrowed; and what has been the Government's role in it, if it has been narrowed. There is no mention of this, unfortunately, in the President's speech.

There are references to some unrelated programmes like the poverty alleviation programmes. Much pride is taken by the Executive and, accordingly in the President's Address it is reflected, that the poverty alleviation programmes like IRDP, NREP etc. had reached so many millions of people. But really what has been the result of that? That nobody has been able to assess, unfortunately.

At one time, the Prime Minister in his great enthusiasm started a current appraisal of these poverty alleviation programmes, and started sending us very colourful brochures. That lasted for about 4 or 5 months, and then that effort has fizzled out for obvious reasons, because no progress was being made. It would have been better if one gave enough details, and not the aggregate figures like 16 million people had been covered by IRDP- that is the claim about the last Five Year Plan period and now the claim is that in the next two years, another 13 million people have been covered-these are the kind of claims. Nobody, not even the Members of Parliament, no political party can go counting heads to find out whether these people actually have got any benefit, and what is the nature of the benefit: is it of a lasting nature, or is it of a transitory nature; have they got something which they have sold and for the time being been able to eat, or have they got an asset from which they will be getting income year by year? In other words, have they been really, permanently lifted above the poverty line, which is the object of that programme, or not?

There is no monitoring whatsoever of this. In fact, the grim truth has come out from surveys made by bodies other than those appointed by the Executive. The surveys say that most of the money dished out to the people or supposedly given to the people as loan by the Nationalised Banks and subsidised by the States and Central Government is the money which has gone to the middle men, touts and has not really benefited the poor people. A saying goes, the same cow has been sold three times and shown to have benefited three persons.-by only one cow. In India, this is the kind of programme which the government adopts. Then they say that since they have adopted the programme, it is a success and therefore, they have lifted so many people above the poverty line. So, the planning and achievements are made synonymous. Once you plan for something, you say that you have taken up programme and then after sometime you say that you have achieved something. This is the way in which the socialism, the problem of poverty not any programme of socialism, as such is sought to be tackled. I am not going into what the concept of socialism, but only into our government's concept of socialism. The other plan is to have public sector which will, according to the government's own language, assume the commanding height of the economy. What has happened to that public sector? Today, what is the thinking of the government regarding that public sector? Is it their thinking that the public sector will grow from strength to strength? No. The President's Address itself says that it has reached commanding heights. Now, all the industries are to come down from those heights; and that process has already started.

There have been some losses in public sector, there have been losses; there has been inefficiency; there has been corruption because of the neglect of the government. We have stated so many times in Parliament

and outside Parliament also people have shouted that so many of them are headless. There is no Chairman, no MD, no proper and competent person to manage many of the public sector undertakings even today.

~~PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That is not headless, that is topless.~~

~~SHRI AMAL DATTA:~~ This being the situation and then having been neglected for a long time, they have inevitably gone into rut and have been making losses. Even where the Parliamentary Committee has gone into the malaise of a particular public sector undertaking and has made recommendations, they have never been carried out by the government. One example which comes to my mind is this because this is very much in the air. In the case of Scooters India Ltd., which is apparently was sought to be handed over to a private industrialist as some kind of a reward, I would say, to that particular house, because of its friendship with the leaders of the government and Rs. 40 crores worth of assets are being handed over, although the real value of the assets is much more, the written down value of the assets is Rs. 40 crores, but this is being handed over for mere Rs. 5 crores; the rest is to come from the public sector and financial institutions. So, this is the government's pathetic belief; belief or conviction I do not know. But they appeared to have pinned down their belief of faith on privatisation of sickness or even not so sick or even healthy public sector undertakings. If the opposition does not resist and the government is left to carry out its own decision and then it will hand them over to the private sector. That is the entire thinking of the government. One of the main planks of socialism on which the philosophy of the earlier government stood is now being jettisoned. But no mention of that is there; no programme of what is going to happen to the public sector; nothing has been mentioned about it in the President's Address.

Regarding industrial sickness, the government has expressed not only its inability but also lack of political will to tackle the problem of industrial sickness. This is the problem which has arisen not even today but 17-18 years ago. We kept our eyes closed as long as we could. But by 1972 the government even could not keep its eyes closed. They had to bring into existence an institution called the Industrial Rehabilitation Corporation of India which has now been converted into Industrial Rehabilitation Board of India. This is symptomatic of the Government's attitude that now they have got a Board, under an Act passed by this Parliament and yet that Board is still not really functioning. It is there in name only because it is not functioning. Nor is IRBI functioning. Nor any institutions giving loans or any institutions for helping the sick industries to overcome this sickness are functioning. The Government has no policy in that regard and as a result, year after year, more and more industries are becoming sick.

Several years ago we started to quote figures, of course the Government's own figures which we used to trot out in Parliament, about sick industries. It was 88,000, 90,000, 95,000 and so on. Now it is galloping and it has reached a figure of 150,000. How many millions of people have thereby been turned out by employment, there are no statistics for that because the Government is not concerned. Only information that we can get from the Government so far as the sick industries are concerned, in this House is to what extent money has been locked up. The Government is concerned only with how much money of the banks or the financial institutions of the Government has been locked up in these sick and closed industries. That is their only concern. They are at least concerned with how many people have lost their bread and butter because of the sickness and closure of industries. This is the kind of socialist Government we have.

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Now, let us come to the basic question of democracy. What has been happening to this polity? Has it been able to, through a political process, reflect the will of the people in its governance? In other words, are the Parliament and State Legislatures which jointly govern the whole country, so constituted as to faithfully reflect the will of the people through the electoral process. In this House alone, we know that there is a Government which does not have the majority of the votes. But they have about 400 odd members.

~~SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY~~
(Katwa): About 420!

SHRI AMAL DATTA: No, no. That is the IPC provision. I think they have 409 members now. Previously it was more. The point is, we have been talking about, discussing about debating about the electoral reforms of such kind that the will of the people will be properly reflected in the legislatures not only in Parliament but also in the State legislatures, but that has not come. The most recent example is the election in Tripura where in spite of having a majority the Left Front has lost, of course by other means. We will come to that later. In Tripura it is a narrow victory for the Congress. In this House it is a very large victory so far as head counting of the members is concerned in spite of having a minority of the votes.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Outside of the head.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Nobody looks into the inside of anybody's head.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Nobody can see, that is the problem.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Now there are methods.

What the change in the electoral process should have been? I am not saying that the President should have come down in favour of a change in the electoral process and so on. But he should have got his attention in the speech. What is happening to that long debate and discussion we have had? What is happening to the Parliamentary procedures? Is the Parliamentary procedure today adequate to deal with the variegated problems which come before it?

In this Parliament we have taken as our model the British parliament, which is called the Mother of Parliaments, a model which was all right or may be not even so all right in 1947, 1949 or 1950. But we have persisted with that model. We are very good in doing that. Like our Ambassador car, a model which we picked up in 1956 we are still continuing it in 1988. We do not want to change. We do not want to follow the needs of the times. How the felt needs of the people are to be reflected; how they are to be dealt with by Parliament is no concern—never have been—apparently of those who run the Government in this country. This is most objectionable. Sir, the Westminster model itself has changed. Like Ambassador car, we stick to the old model, which is no longer adequate to deal with the problem. Today, in the British Parliament, Select Committees go into the policy making of the Departments, its implementation and are able to hold the bureaucracy to account. We have no such method. In this country, the Parliament discusses the major policies of the Government and sometimes even that is denied. Even when we discuss the major policies, how the policies are implemented is the most important thing. What is the mechanism devised and what kind of guidelines were issued to those who work on the ground are most important, which we can never scrutinise and modify or alter according to the felt needs of the people. Sir, we can never say the Executive has gone wrong here, there, or somewhere excepting in the

case of one or two Parliamentary Committees, which have very little time to deal with that. A major modification in the parliamentary system is needed. But unfortunately, it has not received and is still not receiving the attention of the leaders of the Government. We do not have a Government or a Parliament, which is responsive and is able to reflect the aspirations and the felt needs of the people.

Sir, the other institution of a democratic system is judiciary. Now what has happened to the judiciary? Today somebody goes to court, he will not be able to get justice for ten years, twelve years and sometimes he has to leave the whole thing and go to the other world, and his son or his heirs will have to take it up. There is no question of getting justice any more from the judiciary. This is something which should have attracted the attention of the people, who are in charge of the Government, because the Executive and the legislature together formulate how the judiciary will function, and when once the institutional framework is there, then the judiciary is independent. The institutional framework has to come from here and the fundamental thinking on this question has also to be here. But there is no such Thinking.

On the economic issues Sir, some figures have been charted out. The President says, we have done extremely well on the industrial front because we have a growth rate of more than eight per cent or something. He did not mention that this growth rate is the industrial index has been achieved by completely changing the basis of the index itself, by taking out the old commodities and bringing in the new growing commodities. This should have been explained and then if the comparative charts are given for the old and new tables, then it will be all right. I am not saying, you do not change it. But, when you change it, you explain the change. When you do not explain

the change, you deceive the people.

Similarly, with regard to exports, they have given the figures in Indian rupees. If the figures are given in dollars, then it will be seen that there is no increase in our export earnings. Because the value of rupee has fallen and the Government has allowed it to fall, it is now 24 per cent—wonderful achievement.

Sir, the other thing I should mention before I conclude is Centre-State relations. No thoughts have been given in spite of the fact that there is a Commission's report. Actually we will discuss it. But unfortunately the whole concept of a Commission is a misconception. The Commission can diagnose the ills as Sarkaria Commission has done. It has practically recognised all the complaints which have been made by the States. But it has not been able to give solution because the solution to these problems can come from statesmen, from politicians who can rise to the height of statesmen, and not from the judiciary, certainly not from the bureaucracy. This is the ultimate difficulty with such commissions. They cannot re-structure the whole polity, the whole society, the whole democratic or institutional framework in such a way as to see that the States are able to fulfil the aspirations of the people and sufficient powers, administrative, political and financial, are made available to them. It is not possible for commissions like Sarkaria Commission to do justice to the aspirations of the people by devising and prescribing the proper institutional framework. What has happened is concentration of power in the hands of the Central Government over the years. This has been happening, sapping the very vitals of our originally more democratic Constitution which has become highly undemocratic in the process, highly unitary and the Central Government has used the powers which the Constitution has given and increased these powers from time to time in a most arbitrary

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manner. Thereby, I think, the powers under Article 356 of the Constitution namely, imposition of Governor's rule in the State, have been used more than 75 times in 37 years. And in that context what is now happening? It is happening in my State, West Bengal because the Congress (I) President of the State Congress goes on threatening that he will have the President's rule imposed and have the democratically elected State Government having a huge majority, removed. Unfortunately, this is very tragic that the Head of the Government, the Prime Minister himself has said in this Parliament and also outside he has reiterated it outside that if his Home Ministry thinks that any Government is anti-national, meaning thereby any opposition State Government is anti-national, then irrespective of the majority it has got, he will remove that Government. This is what the Prime Minister has said. Nothing can be more undemocratic; nothing can bring forth manifestations to authoritarian undemocratic trend which is in this Government. This is in the same line as the hammer in which the ruling party headed by the same Prime Minister grabbed power in a small State like Tripura by calling it a disturbed State and sending the Army there. First they create a sense of insecurity. The Tripura Government had been asking for the Border Security Force for years. We have been shouting for this in this House. For years we have been saying that by the side of this State is Bangladesh, the borders have to be guarded by the Border Security Force because guarding of the international borders is the job of the Central Government and not the State Government. This has been denied and encouragement has been given to the terrorists by the Congress aligning itself with the IUUS which is the political arm of TNU thereby giving them encouragement and then the political murders have taken place. I do not know what conspiracy was behind them. And immediately there was the Army rule. We have always been saying that guard

the borders. If the Central Government wanted to do it earlier, we would have no objection. But sending Army two days before the elections is the most undemocratic act of the Government. This has been resorted to only to be able to come to power even in a small State like Tripura to redress the losses which they have suffered during the last whole year of election reverses. If that is the policy and that is the motive and that is the type of conduct of this Government, then where is the hope for this country in any of these matters of national concern. Whether it is national integrity or socialism or democracy. We find that we are going down the hill all the way.

In these circumstances I will ask the House to reject the Motion of Thanks to the President.

SHRIJAGANNATH RAO (Berhampur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. It is customary for the President to address both the Houses of Parliament jointly at the commencement of the first session in every calendar year. This is a Constitutional requirement.

The President in his Address has dealt with at length the achievements of the Government in the last year and also projected the major policies and programmes of the Government for the coming year. He has put his Address in a high key and he has dealt with the national and international problems. Therefore, it is expected that the debate should also be at a higher level and only matters which relate to the national and international politics should be discussed. It should be discussed at a higher level and we should not come down to lower levels.

Sir, the President expressed his concern firstly, about the growing terrorist activities in the country which started more than five years ago in Punjab. Everyday we see killings of innocent people by terrorists. It has

now spread to Tripura. The TNV activities are also on the same lines. Now it has spread to Darjeeling in West Bengal by GNLFF. This naturally causes grave concern and anxiety to everyone of us, every citizen of the country because the unity and the integrity of the country is going to be disturbed. These wanton killings and acts of violence are no solution to the problems that exist between individuals or between groups of individuals or between State and State. Unfortunately, the trend is not going to reverse. In spite of the various steps taken by the Government all these years, in spite of a number of laws having been passed and action having been taken under those laws, the activities of terrorists are still going on. Therefore, it is the duty of all of us, of the whole country to see that unity is maintained and that there is no disintegration in the country. We won our freedom by using the weapon of non-violence against the mighty British Empire but now we are not able to settle our differences or disputes peacefully, by negotiations, by discussions across the table. We are taking resort to violence and killings of innocent people. This is unfortunate. Therefore, the President's concern is very appropriate when he appeals to everyone of us in the country to adopt peaceful means and to give up these violent activities,

Sir, the President has also dealt with the economic scene — the growth of the economy, how it has become resilient and sound. He has said that we are in a position not only to become self-sufficient but we are in a position to meet any natural calamity. In spite of the severe drought that existed last year in several States, we are still in a position to maintain the foodgrains supply to the entire country. If we go back only to 1966 — the year which was the worst year in our history — we had no foodgrains, we had to rely solely on PL 480 supply of wheat from the United States. From that position we have become not only self-sufficient but also surplus. The Green Revolution which came

into existence is confined, according to me, only to Punjab, Haryana and a part of western U.P. It has not spread to the rest of the country. Nor has it spread to the rice production. It is mostly confined to wheat production. Therefore, I have been urging every time I speak in this House, that the Green Revolution should be extended to the rest of the country. In other States, where there is assured irrigation system, where there is delta irrigation, the production is not even doubled, what to talk of trebling it. The two small States of Punjab and Haryana have become the granaries for the whole country. What is the secret of their success? How is it that the farmers in other States, the traditionally rice growing States, are not able to step up their production? It is a matter which the State Governments especially have to see and every State Government should see that it becomes surplus in the matter of foodgrains. Of course, there is increased production even of oil seeds, pulses and so on. But still, much more remains to be done. Sir, though the surpluses are created, another major factor which is responsible for diluting the surpluses, for not making them available to the people, is the growth of population. We are not able to control the growth of population. Therefore whatever surpluses are created, they are getting diluted and nothing remains to be distributed among the people, therefore, the people are not able to derive the desired benefits which they expect they should get them. Therefore, it is the duty of every citizen, and not only of Government, to adopt small family norms and see that the population does not grow at a faster rate than the growth of the economy.

Sir, in the field of agriculture we have done well, but the other States have to catch up with Punjab and Haryana.

Then, Sir, with regard to the growth of industry, in this year also the industry has registered a growth rate of 8 to 9 per cent.

[Sh. Jagannath Rao]

We have also become an industrialised nation in the world and the public sector is doing better than it was doing earlier. The public sector is the sheet-anchor of the industrialised country. If we say the country is industrialised, it should be because of the public sector, that is the infrastructure it offers, and it is the basis on which the industry is built and not the private sector left alone. Therefore, the public sector should not lose the commanding heights of the economy to control all the natural resources in the country and only the private sector to utilise the natural resources for the benefit of the people, but ownership and control should remain with the State. That is the philosophy contained in the Directive Principles of the Constitution and that is being strictly followed by the Government. There is no deviation. The public sector has not abdicated its functions. Only the performance is not satisfactory, but now it has turned the corner and we can hopefully expect that the public sector will deliver the goods as it has begun to do now.

Another greatest achievement of this Government is the new Education Policy which it has adumbrated and has begun to implement. The object of education is three-fold. First is physical, second intellectual and third is moral. 'Physical' means the young student, boy or girl, should be physically fit and know how to be healthy so that the healthy body is helpful for a healthy mind. I am not debating on sports discipline in this connection, I am speaking of the general health of the young child who goes to school. That is the first thing that education should impart because there is general immunisation programme and health care that is being introduced now which will go in that direction. Secondly, at the intellectual level, education should create a sense of craving to know the reason of it, the 'why' of it and not merely get by heart what is contained in the books. Therefore, to raise the intellectual

level, create an interest or creativity and inquisitiveness in the young minds is the second object of education. The third object is to inculcate character, morality and social consciousness. Our moral fibre should be strong. I am sorry to say that the moral values have fallen more steeply than money values. If the moral fibre becomes weak, the nation gets weak. Therefore, the moral attitude of a young child has to be built up. This is the essence of Indian culture and heritage so that the character of the child is built up.

Under the new education policy, the rural and urban divide is also going to be narrowed down and the rural youth will also have the same advantage, privilege and opportunities to study in schools and to know the latest techniques and modern science and technology so that he does not lag behind from the students from the urban areas. There is a mass campaign started by the Government for removal of illiteracy, especially among the women. It is another commendable feature of the performance of the Government. Unless a person is literate, his independence and freedom has no meaning. He should come up from the low level to the intellectual level so that he can appreciate what is happening in a country and what is his role as a respectable citizen of a free country.

I am not going into details because the President has dealt with in minute details of the various aspects of the policies and programmes and their implementation by the Government. There is no need to repeat all that he has said. I would only say that in the international field, our policy of Non-Alignment, which is an extension of the principle of non-violence has won the appreciation of the whole world and practically 3/4th of the world is non-aligned today. We are opposed to nuclear arms race and also arms race in general. We want the world to be free from war. We want the world without borders. We want peace in the world and not

conflict or confrontation. Our efforts are on in this regard, right from the days of Panditji up to our present Prime Minister, and various steps have been taken by the Government in this direction and to a great extent, we have succeeded in seeing the existence of peace. The need for peace is also being realised all over the world, including the Great Powers who are now able to come together, though in a small manner, to begin with. Therefore, the policy of Non-Alignment the policy of peaceful co-existence is a sheet-anchor of our foreign policy and it has given us a pride of place in the comity of nations. The stature and status of a country in the world depends upon the charismatic leadership of the country and fortunately, for our country, we have got a series of charismatic leaders right from Mahatma Gandhi till today. We are therefore able to maintain and follow the high principles and the broad policies laid down by Panditji which are responsible for the development of our economy and earning a great name and reputation which India has got in the world.

In short, I would fully associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the President in his Address and without being repetitive, I fully support the Motion of Thanks moved by my friend, Shri B.R. Bhagat.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN (Barmer): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the motion of thanks on President's address which was moved by Shri B.R. Bhagat and seconded by Shri Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi.

What the President has referred to in Para 3 of his address is praiseworthy and reflects the policies of the Government. He has said 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 have adopted these policies as they are based on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We are progressing along the path of modernisation but our march on moral and spiritual path has slackened and that is posing a challenge to all of us. The modern gadgets like cinema and video films are creating bad effects on our youth and it is a matter of concern for us. We have to think seriously in this direction and formulate a policy which could boost our moral level and enable us to march towards spiritualism. The present day cinema is creating ill effects on the young minds and it does not help in building their character. The serial 'Ramayan' has been liked throughout the country. Similar programmes on 'Mahabharata' 'Koran' and 'Bible' can also be serialised and telecast, so that we can march on path to moral progress by viewing such religious and social programmes. Mahatma Gandhi laid emphasis on khadi and prohibition. Today we no more wear khadi and have totally forgotten about prohibition. We had enforced prohibition when I was a Member of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, but it was withdrawn after I

[Sh. Virdhi Chander Jain]

became Member of Lok Sabha. Today programmes for increasing revenue through liquor are being run there. Thus, we are ignoring what Mahatma Gandhi had specifically said about liquor — that it is the mother of corruption and adultery. The Central Government has decided to compensate 50 per cent of the revenue loss suffered by those State Governments which enforce prohibition. I think the Government should not hesitate in compensating 75 per cent or even 100 per cent revenue loss, in order to move towards prohibition. Liquor is causing moral decline in the youth and they are losing health. Poverty is increasing among the workers due to the same reason. In the light of these facts, we should take up programmes for prohibition and should take strong steps for enforcing it.

Another matter which I want to mention here is that the Government first took up the programme of poverty eradication. Thereafter the programme like Integrated Development, National Rural Employment Scheme and Landless Employment Guarantee Programme were taken up by the Government. These programmes have yielded good results. National Rural Employment Scheme and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programmes have made substantial impact. We have seen in the rural areas that good buildings have been built for schools, cooperatives, godowns and dispensaries in the villages. Buildings of Middle and Secondary schools have also been built. Roads have been constructed under R.L.E.G.P. The headoffices of the Panchayats in our district have been connected by roads. We have made efforts to connect all the villages by roads. In this way, this programme is making progress. 50 per cent subsidy is given to the people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Integrated Rural Development Programme, but it is being grossly misused. The subsidy should be stopped immediately because it is resulting

in a lot of corruption. Officers and public representatives are also misusing it. Government should not charge interest on this 50 per cent subsidy for four to five years in view of prevailing drought situation in our State. This kind of relief would be helpful in the success of I.R.D.P. We have taken up a programme to solve the problem of drinking water during the Sixth Five Year Plan. The Central Government has allotted more money to Rajasthan than Uttar Pradesh in the Sixth Five Year Plan. Allocation in similar proportion has been made in the Seventh Five Year Plan also. In spite of the severe drought for the last four or five years, availability of drinking water in Barmer district is satisfactory. The Central Government extended help when we sought help for this purpose. The problem of drinking water is a complicated one. It should be given top priority in the next two years of the Seventh Five Year Plan. Proper arrangements for the supply of drinking water should be made in the areas facing severe problem and in sparsely populated villages. Strong measures should be taken to solve this problem on war footing. I would like to appreciate the Central Government for allotting an amount of Rs. 452 crores in 1987-88 budget to face the drought situation. In all, the Central Government paid rupees 2000 crores as a relief to the States, which is really unparalleled in the history of Central assistance. Like Rajasthan, Gujarat is also facing the problem of drought. But the situation in Rajasthan is more horrible than Gujarat. Barmer district, which I represent, is facing the worst situation. The Central Government did not fulfil its promise of giving help to the State by treating it 'specially affected area'. However, some relief has been extended for saving the cattle on which our economy is basically dependent. But nothing has been done to save the camels, which is also an important animal for our economy. How will the farmer cultivate without a plough and how will he face this situation? I have repeatedly said and have also written to the Hon.

Prime Minister that our area is facing situation worse than the tribal areas. Therefore, wheat should be provided to us at Rs. 1.55 per kg. from February, 88 to September, 89. Had it been done, it would have provided a lot of relief. The amount provided as drought-relief is inadequate for providing employment to even 10 lakh people whereas we have to cover 30 lakh people. At some places even a single person in a family of ten has not been able to get a job. We want two persons to get job in every family, but this has not been possible due to lack of funds.

As far as drinking water is concerned, Indira Gandhi Canal Project should be completed as early as possible. Schemes for supply of water to Jodhpur, Jaisalmer cities is based on the Indira Gandhi Canal Project. Similar schemes for the urban areas should also be formulated. Because there lies the solution to our problem of irrigation and drinking water. Rs. 105 crores have been provided for the construction of Indira Gandhi Canal. It can be completed within ten years if sum of Rs. 200 crores is allotted to it every year. After the completion of this project, afforestation will take place, irrigation facilities would be available and a permanent solution to the drinking water problem would be found. Then the drought will have very little effect. Therefore, it should be done on priority basis. We are emphasising for the material components for those projects which are going on under the drought relief. Today, the roads are being constructed but not the gravel roads. Whatever, road or dam we may construct, it cannot be useful without the help of material component. Therefore, the material components are must for the construction of useful projects. This must be arranged.

I also want to say something about the nation. Some of our friends were saying that military was deployed in Tripura at the time of elections. The then Tripura Government neither opposed it at the time of deployment

nor during the elections. But they began to question the deployment of army the moment the election results started going against them. Why the C.P.I. (M) Government did not oppose it at the time of impartial elections? Therefore, what I want to say is that wherever our party wants to held impartial elections, the State Government creates obstacles in its way and does not want the elections to be held impartially. I know that there was no foul play either in the polling or in the counting. Therefore, it is useless to raise hue and cry over it.

Whatever decision our Government has taken on the issue of Sri Lanka, that is in the interest of the security and the honour of our country. This has increased our prestige in the world. I am sure that our Tamil brethren would cooperate in it to safeguard their own interests. The Indo-Sri Lanka pact is in the interest of both the countries. With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks moved on Hon. President's Address.

15.01 hrs.

[English]

STATEMENT RE: SUCCESSFUL TEST
FIRING OF "PRITHVI", INDIA'S TACTI-
CAL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): I am very glad to inform the House of an important technological achievement of Indian scientists and technologists. It is a notable milestone in our programme to achieve self-reliance in areas of high technology and of considerable significance to our defence preparedness.

The first ever test firing of "Prithvi", India's tactical surface-to-surface missile,

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi] took place at 11.23 in the forenoon today. The House will be glad to know that it was successful, meeting all the specifications. With this successful test firing India joins the select group of 4 nations which have developed this class of surface-to-surface missiles. This missile is based totally on indigenous design and development efforts of the Defence Research and Development Organisation. I would like to stress again that no foreign know-how or collaboration is involved.

"Prithvi" has a range capability of 250 km with different types of large payload warheads which can inflict heavy damage on adversary targets. Compared to other missiles of this class, it has the best warhead-to-weight ratio. Very advanced inertial navigation and guidance systems incorporating on-board computers operating with realtime software are used in the system. After a number of necessary test launches, we plan to induct "Prithvi" in numbers into our Defence Forces.

On behalf of the House, I would like to place on record our congratulations and warm greetings to all the scientists, engineers, technicians and workers of the Defence Research and Development Organisation who have worked tirelessly and with dedication over the years in designing and developing "Prithvi". The nation is justly proud of them.

15.02 hrs.

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

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while speaking on the Motion of Thanks to the

President I have certain inhibitions. When there was a controversy regarding the implementation of Article 78 of the Constitution our Speaker had given the ruling that there should be no reference to the President of India at all in this House. I was thinking to myself whether it was perfectly in order if anyone tries to criticise the speech of the President because it will mean the criticism of the President of India inside the House and whether it would conflict with the ruling that is given by the Speaker. But I presume amplitude of the ruling will not be so wide and there will be occasions on which we will have to refer the President and, therefore, I will take the liberty of criticising certain aspects of the speech of the President. In fact, it is not criticising the President because the speech is drafted by the Government. In fact, from the style of the speech it can very well be seen.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI K.C. PANT): I thought Prof. Dandavate would have a good word to say about the missile.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: I am coming to that. I don't want to mix up President with the scientific progress.

SHRI K.C. PANT: I thought it may have gone over your head.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Generally, missile goes overhead. It has not gone over my head. Sir, I am coming to that aspect.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT): Let us have good words from you about the missile.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Why about missile, about you also, I can, as an exception, have good words today. In fact, I

warmly congratulate right from the beginning up to the end. There is a rare occasion when you can applaud the Prime Minister's statement, but I did it right from the beginning to the end. And I shall say something more about it.

AN HON. MEMBER: Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: No, I am thanking the Prime Minister, not you.

As I was saying that it is the speech which is finalised by the Cabinet, therefore, it is really a brief blueprint of the policy of the Government that they want to follow in the course of the year. At the very outset, since we are in the budget session, let me go on record with certain criticism and also prospective proposals.

For years together, there was certain amount of dignity of the budgetary process. People used to await budget: What will be the new burdens? What will be new allocations? What will be the deficit? What will be the impact on the economy? But now official budget is an insignificant phenomenon and the major resource mobilisation in the country takes place outside the framework of the budget. I do not want to bother the House with the statistics for the last three budgets. But in this budgetary year 1988-89, I want to go on record that till we met on 22nd of February 1988, the resource mobilisation was to the tune of Rs. 2,220 crores. I do not want to refer to the freight and fare increase yesterday because it was a regular increase introduced in the railway budget. But through a statement by one of the Ministers, Rs. 549 crores have been imposed in the way of postal charges, telecommunication charges. The total resource mobilisation before the budget is going to be presented on 29th is Rs. 2,769 crores. There is no sanctity of the budget at all.

Another aspect. The process of guillot-

ining has taken place in this House so frequently. Formerly, I used to identify with Marie Antoinette, but now the word 'guillotine' in the dictionary, in fact, will have to be associated more with the budgetary demands. For the last three consecutive years in terms of the total amount of demands that were guillotined, it was 85 per cent, 86 per cent and last year 87 per cent. That means only 13 per cent of the budgetary demands were scrutinised by the Parliament. Therefore, the entire process of parliamentary accountability has been reduced by this Government to a total farce.

I am one among those who have been insisting for the last several years that the budgetary process should be more accountable to the Parliament and no demand should go unscrutinised. Let there be a standing finance committee consisting of representatives of both the House of this Parliament so that as soon as the budget is presented, the budget is straightaway sent to the joint committee, it scrutinises the entire budget and its demands. The entire original budget and also the report prepared by the joint standing committee can come before the Parliament. Therefore, the rest of the things can also be scrutinised. That standing committee will not be an alternative to Parliament but that will be complementary to the Parliament. That would actually make the accountability in financial matters more meaningful and more effective.

On this occasion, while criticising the existing system and behaviour of the Treasury Benches, I also want to point out to you that this kind of a constructive proposal coming from the Opposition should be accepted by the Treasury Benches so as to ensure better scrutiny and better coordination of the financial processes as far as the Government is concerned. Sir, yesterday in the morning I think when some Members from the Telugu Desam pointed out this aspect, one Member made a brief observa-

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

tion and he said from the Treasury Benches — because you people have been discussing corruption issues and Bofors and all that and that is why we have been losing time. Sir, it is very important that as far as corruption is concerned, it has not to be separated from the process of resource mobilisation. Those of us who raise the question of corruptions and scandals in this House do not raise them merely from our moral angle. In politics even the moral angle and dimensions is important but, from the point of view of finances, what is more important in the involvement of corruption is really the loss of resources, which are a loss to the development of the country, and from that angle, even the question of corruption and various scandals and the actual amount that has been lost due to some commission that is paid to middlemen and the amount of black money that has cropped up is of great importance. From that context, whether it is corruption involved in Bofors or corruption involved in West German Submarine missile or the Fairfax episode, all the aspects are very important, because we feel that whenever there are FERA violations in the country, the black money from the country travels out. It is the national economic situation of the country which suffers. You may recall that the former Finance Minister has gone on record that even the amount of money that is lying in the Switzerland bank due to FERA violations in the country and amassment of black money concerned is of the order of Rs. 1632 crores. This is the amount....

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): When he was the Finance Minister, he did not do anything. He did not even accept either your figures or our figures.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I think it is a very fine question he has raised. I think if he can discuss privately with the Finance Minister, then he will come to know what are the recommendations he made to the Gov-

ernment and which were the proposals that had been rejected by the Government. It is worthwhile having that dialogue. And he will be able to know. For instance, the liberalisation of import — what were the personal views of the former Finance Minister and what was the view of the Prime Minister? I think this is a matter that Prof. Ranga, a veteran Parliamentarian should discuss with Mr. V.P. Singh in that chamber, not in that chamber but in the private chamber.

Sir, on the basis of the report that was laid on the Table of the House, the report of Institute of Public Finance and Policy, we are told that barring smuggling, the amount of black money generated is of the order of Rs. 38000 crores. This is a loss to the developmental activities of the country. I will give an interesting incident as to how the Ministers reply in this House. Once I had asked a written question and the answer was also written. My question was: What is the estimate of the Government about the clandestine gold that is smuggled into the country from different parts of the world? The answer given was: Since smuggled gold comes into the country clandestinely, it is not possible to make any estimate at all. His difficulty was because the smuggled gold comes in the clandestine manner and not in an open way and therefore, no estimate of the clandestine gold can be made. There are a number of financial methods and devices by which you can roughly make an estimate about the amount of smuggled goods that come into the country.

For instance, the synthetic textiles that come into the country are supposed to be of the order of Rs. 3000 crores per year. Even if this loophole is plugged, the entire new textile policy can be discarded and we can rationalise the textile policy in the interest of the organised mill sector, in the interest of the powerloom sector and in the interest of the handloom sector but that is not being done. While I am at this point, I may suggest

that only if this Government with political will would have introduced devices like demonetisation of the higher currency considerable amount of black money would have been dragged out or would have been thrown out of circulation because ultimately even the rise in prices in the country is the direct result of a growing gap between the production on one side and the money circulation on the other. We have a large amount of black money in the country in circulation. Unless that black money is either destroyed or it is brought out and converted into white money and made available for the developmental activities of the country, the inflationary pressure on the country is bound to grow and today it is growing. You will find that even the Economic Group set up by the Government had come to the conclusion that probably a double digit inflation is likely to be there. That creates a disastrous prospect for the economy of the country.

Now, coming to this particular point as to how even the important officials and the Ministers of the Government try to keep the skeletons of corruption hidden in the cupboards, I will give you an instance. I will tell you how they try to misguide this particular House, the sovereign House, the Lok Sabha.

Unfortunately, the Defence Minister has gone out of the House. Of course, he has gone to strengthen the defence preparedness of the country.... (Interruptions)

You might recall that on the 20th April, 1987 in this very House, the Defence Minister had made a written statement and when the debate went on and when Shri Somnath Chatterjee was speaking in this House, the Prime Minister was provoked to intervene and he made certain statements. And I can dare say today that some of the observations which they made with supreme confidence on 20th April, 1987 have been falsified and now it has been established that they tried to

misguide the House. I do not want to anticipate the privilege notice; I have already given that and tomorrow at 12.00 O' Clock I will raise it. (Interruptions). But anyway, I am sorry, I agree there should be no advance publicity outside. According to the rules, we cannot give advance publicity to our motions outside, but I can state in the House.

Sir, as far as the statement of 20th April, 1987 is concerned, he made it absolutely clear that no clandestine payments had been made to middlemen, and that the particular propaganda on the Swedish Radio was malicious, mischievous etc. All that had been said and I have got a copy of that statement. And while the Prime Minister intervened in the midst of Shri Somnath Chatterjee's speech, he said that he wanted to make it explicitly clear.... (Interruptions).

When they speak, I do not tell them what they should speak. I am very rationally arguing my point.... (Interruptions) What is to be done. You have to tolerate me because my voters have elected me.... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No interruptions please.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, I was trying to tell you that in this question what is important is that we are not looking at these issues like Bofors, the West German deal or the Fairfax merely from a moral angle, but from the angle that the resources are better to be made available for the development of the country. That is why in the budget process and in the budget debate, we are more interested on this aspect.

As I was saying, both of them had made a categorical statement, but later on what happened. We find that there are certain statements from the Chief Public Prosecutor of Stockholm and similarly on the 2nd February, certain details have already come out. And you will find that on 2nd February —

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

payments, account number, companies, banks and handlers — all these details were given. In which account the amount was paid, which are the companies to whom the amount was paid....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT): We know all these things.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am sorry, Madam, I know you are feeling disturbed but you have to tolerate me.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS AND WOMEN AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): We are not disturbed. We know the whole story.

SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT: I am not disturbed at all, in fact I am noting down your points.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I know, Ministers sometimes have no work at all.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): Sir, I am on a point of order. My point of order is that when a matter is before the Committee of the House, it cannot be discussed here.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: The former Speaker has misunderstood me, Sir. (*Interruptions*)

You have to tolerate me. It is but natural that he becomes embarrassing. What is to be done. So, there is no question. The matter might be debated before a Parliamentary Committee and so on and I can point out to a hundred issues of which some of the side-aspects of the problem can be brought be-

fore the Committee. I will give a simple incident. What happened about the Amitabh Bachchan's assets? Though an enquiry Committee has been set up and enquiry is going on, you will find that actually that matter was also discussed at some other place. I would not say in Rajya Sabha because I am not permitted to say so.

[*Translation*]

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla): Why you are mentioning the name of a person who is neither present here nor is a Member of this House?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Whom I named?

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI: You are mentioning the name of Amitabh Bachchan, who is not the Member of this House. We are discussing the President's Address and we should talk about that only. How many times you will raise this question?

[*English*]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: There are a number of parallels. For instance on the Question Paper there are questions related to the assets of Amitabh Bachchan and his brother. So, when a specific issue is there names can be taken. There is no question of making allegations. I have not made allegations. I was only saying that even the issues that are referred to some committees for investigation have come up and to give one example I gave that incident. I am not making an allegation. I am only saying or pointing out to you that sometimes even some of the crimes which are alleged to be associated with some people they are being discussed in the House and I will give an illustration. Therefore, Sir, I would utilise this debate to ask the Government to come forward and give a categorical acceptance or denial of the report that has come on 2nd February.

So much amounts have been paid and the total comes to Rs. 64 crores. They have given the names of the companies. They have given the names of the banks, cheque numbers, and the names of the accounts. Therefore, I would like that that particular aspect be gone through.

Sir, as far as the manipulations regarding the foreign assets are concerned and FERA violations are concerned during the Budget Session, when the President addressed the joint Session of the Parliament, we expected that through him the Government will try to spell out as to what concrete measures will be taken to check up FERA violation and see that there is no flight of capital from the country to avoid the development of our country and actually the development of some other countries....

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Try to be brief.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Yes, Sir, I will be brief but only my brevity will be slightly long, that is all.

-All that I was saying is that Amitabh Bachchan's resignation was published on July, 1987, the date on which the proof about the ownership of his apartment in Switzerland was published in the Indian Express. And, you know this involves FERA violation because the amount that was utilised for purchasing the flat by his brother, from where the amount was borne. Whether the Reserve Bank was consulted, whether the FERA violations had taken place, all these aspects were to be gone into. There is coincidence of two dates. Not only that Ajitabh Bachchan, somewhere else, has declared himself as a non-resident Indian — and on which date it was done, it was done on April 3, 1986 the date on which he purchased an apartment at Montraux for 57,000 Swiss Francs in Switzerland. Now, obviously, all these facts which are brought to the notice of

the Government, I wish the Government will take advantage of this debate and clarify the points as to why there is an accidental coincidence of these dates, i.e. the date on which he declared that he is a non-resident Indian, the date on which he resigns, certain important irregularities that have occurred — unless they are able to clarify these points, the country will have a feeling that there are certain skeletons in the cupboard.

Sir, I would like to point out to you another important aspect which the President's Address has not taken cognizance. We want fair and free elections. We want the authority of the Chief Election Commissioner to be properly protected. The Chief Election Commissioner in the country is in charge of conducting free and fair elections. All the State Governments and the Centre are supposed to assist him. I had a detailed correspondence with the Chief Election Commissioner. Since it does not refer to the functioning of the Chief Election Commissioner and his decision, but I have the liberty to point out to you the constitutional provisions.

On December 19, 1981, I had taken up a very important constitutional issue with the Chief Election Commissioner and that has a relevance to what has happened in Tripura. My correspondence with the Chief Election Commissioner through my letter dated December 19, 1981 was that if the General Election or the by-election is taking place in the country or in a State, in that case, what is the statutory provision for consultations and concurrence with the Chief Election Commissioner? I must concede that when I raised that question and the debate in the House also, I found that the Home Minister representing the Government of India's point of view and the viewpoint of the Chief Election Commissioner were quite different.

For instance, in a very categorical reply that was given to me and to which I have

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate] referred to in the past during the debate on Electoral Reforms, which I had initiated in this House on the occasion of the Garhwal elections, I pointed out that the Chief Election Commissioner was firmly of the view that the amplitude of Article 324 (c) is extremely wide. He has come to the conclusion through the letter that he had sent to us that this particular Article 324 (c) in the Constitution is so wide that it really creates the condition for a prior consultation of the Government — Centre as well as the States — with the Chief Election Commissioner.

As far as Tripura Elections are concerned, I am not going into the merits of victory and defeat. I am not much concerned about it. But I am concerned about one aspect that whether today in Tripura or tomorrow in Maharashtra or Punjab, if certain provisions of the Constitution are violated by the Government, it will be a very bad precedent.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I will take a little more time. I told you beforehand that the moment you ring the bell I will sit down within 15 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Then I will not ring the bell. If I go on ringing the bell, everytime you will add 15 minutes! That is the problem.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, I am making a very relevant point. In the next debate I will take less time.

I was pointing out to you, this particular aspect of the Chief Election Commissioner which was communicated to me through the letter that was addressed to me by Secretary (Election Commission) Shri Ganesan on 21.12.81 which makes it very clear and he

says, "I am directed to refer to your letter dated 19 December, 1981 on the above subject and to say that it has been the practice that either the Election Commission is being consulted or the Election Commission consults the Central Government." So they had taken an absolutely clear stand. I fully agree with them. I want this constitutional provision should be implemented. I must say with some astonishment and pain that as far as Tripura is concerned — on the eve of the Tripura Election — without taking the concurrence of the Chief Election Commissioner, without taking the concurrence of the Chief Minister of Tripura, the entire Tripura State was declared as disturbed area. The Army was already stationed there in Tripura State when the election was conducted.

I do not want to make any irresponsible allegations regarding rigging and all that. But I say that even the Army standing in the State where elections were going on — just on the eve of the elections without the concurrence of the Chief Election Commissioner and without the concurrence of the Chief Minister of Tripura State is highly undemocratic and highly unconstitutional. Therefore, this must not become the precedent in the future. In fact, this aspect also must be debated. Through you I will request the Speaker that some time should be found by this House to discuss the constitutionality of that action that had been taken in Tripura. There is a precedent in that context — that is what I am saying. I was one of the Members who repeatedly stood up in this House in connection with the Garhwal elections. And I said that without even consulting the Chief Election Commissioner, if the Centre tries to take away the para-military from neighbouring States and tries to overawe the voters in that particular constituency, in that case, the vote of the electorate was likely to be affected. They were not accepting my contention. But when actually the Garhwal election had started and it was found that a large number

of para-military people were sent into Garhwal, the Chief Election Commissioner sent his own observer to the constituency, and he telegraphically communicated to the Chief Election Commissioner that a large number of them had come into Garhwal and, therefore, they were likely to overawe the electorate, and therefore the election was not likely to be fair and free. And, therefore, the Chief Election Commissioner said: 'I am postponing the election.' And the election was postponed further. And at a later stage, of course, the Congress lost that election. That is different. On that there may be two opinions.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: He should have done the same thing, if he had felt that way.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That was not done; that is my complaint. His concurrence was not obtained. The Chief Minister was also involved. His concurrence was also not obtained. Therefore, I would like to point out that such precedents will have to be avoided.

Only a word about the textile policy, in passing, because you will have to give the reply. The entire textile policy is such a jumble, that it has given equitable injustice to all sections connected with textiles. Because they have put a premium on man-made fibre, the cotton growers have suffered. Secondly, because they had talked of a high degree of modernization, importing certain looms into this country which will displace a large number of labour, unemployment will grow. On the admission of Government, three crores of people are already on the list of employment exchanges. Those who have registered number three crores. Unemployment is growing.

As far as powerloom is concerned, the Chief Minister of my State has already written to the Centre pointing out that because

the powerloom and the composite mills are kept on par, as a result of that, in the matter of excise duty, in the matter of financial concessions and in the matter of availability of cheap yarn, the powerloom owners have suffered a lot and, therefore, at a number of places, more than 50% of the powerlooms have been closed down.

Coming to handlooms, for which Prof. Ranga and I have got great sympathy, we find that they have been entrusted with the responsibility of Janata cloth. We welcome that. But at that time also, the handloom-owners had said: 'It is beyond our capacity, with our present technology and the present type of inputs that we have got. Therefore, more assistance from the Centre must be given.' They are given a subsidy of Rs. 2 per metre. Most of the States have demanded — Congress-governed States and non-Congress Government States have unanimously demanded — that the subsidy should be increased from Rs. 2 per metre to at least Rs. 3 per metre. No cheap yarn is available. As a result of that, the powerlooms are suffering. The handlooms are suffering. Enough staple is not available. The excise duty burden cannot be borne; and as a result of that, there is a total mess. Fifty per cent of the powerlooms are getting completely closed.

Self-reliance is being defeated. As far as Maruti is concerned, we were not supposed to have the licence of the manufacturing firms which are going to manufacture private cars, and not public transport. But the moment Sanjay Gandhi made an application, the policy was changed, and actually the Maruti car was allowed to come. The Maruti people were told: 'You must be 100% indigenous.' And as I said on one occasion, if you go and see the Maruti-Suzuki car, the only indigenous component in the Maruti-Suzuki car is the air inside the tyre of the car. Otherwise, everything else was to be imported. That is the tragedy.

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

As far as self-reliance is concerned, do you know there is a very dangerous proposition? Suzuki is demanding that their equity in the multi-national should be increased from 26% to 40%; and if that increase from 26% to 40% is allowed, their shares in profit will increase. This is the degree of self-sufficiency we are having.

Then there is a Pepsi Cola Company. Both opposition and the Congress members raised this question the other day about it, the multi-national being given a contract here — of course, the fruit juice technology and other things. We insisted by backdoor do not allow it to penetrate into India. There are enough manufacturing firms. In 1985, in this very Parliament, the Industry Minister gave a solemn assurance that as far as non-priority sector is concerned, no multinational would be permitted. But, today, no definite assurance of that type is being given.

As far as Bills are concerned, they are hurriedly gone through. I will give you one example. In the Direct Tax Law (Amendment) Bill, how many clauses were there — 189? How many pages were there — 214? In how many minutes it was passed? It was passed in 45 minutes. Many experts in the country have said that such an important legislation having 189 clauses and 214 pages has been passed in 45 minutes which will affect a large section of the people. At the last stage, the Parliament has able to dispose of this Bill within 45 minutes which will affect a large section of the people. Therefore, for scrutiny all such Bills, Money Bills should be straightway sent to a Select Committee and there they should be scrutinised.

I congratulate all those scientists who have indulged in a remarkable feat and as a result we had a statement from the Prime Minister. I join all members of this House in congratulating them because I myself be-

longed to the fraternity of students and teachers of science and my specialised subject was also nuclear physics. Therefore, as the Defence Minister said that the subject had not gone above my head, fortunately, the co-efficient of penetration of my head is not very bad. Therefore, this particular scientific achievement I grasp. I congratulate the scientists for that. I hope and trust that the scientists will be taken into confidence more and more so that self-reliance can be introduced even in the field of defence where last year we spent Rs. 12,500 crores on defence mainly because of the fact that large components of our sophisticated machinery had to be imported. If we spend from our defence budget more on research and development and production activities and give more scope to the scientists in this country, our scientists will be a match for scientists in any part of the world and India can become self-reliant in the defence sophisticated items. I hope and trust that will be done.

In order that there should be a thrust in the policy of the government, in order that the government should function effectively, I can tell you from my own personal experience that when Ministers hold portfolios, they can become effective, they can be innovative, when there is no Damocles' sword hanging over their heads — on Monday he is a Minister of Railway; on the next Monday he is likely to be a Minister in charge of some other portfolio. If that kind of uncertainty will be there, no Minister will take a long term perspective of planning of his Ministry and have innovation. Unfortunately, this is the 39th time when big or small changes in the Ministries have taken place. And the worst is — no disrespect for any particular Minister — that a very dangerous precedent is being set up by this government. Those who are not wanted at the State level for various reasons are kicked upstairs. I do not want to use a phrase. But one writer had said formerly the wastepaper basket used to be kept below the table and now it is

kept above the table. It should never happen. I do not mean anything for any individual. All of them are good friends and we have to function as colleagues. But I say, as an institute, whom you don't like — and even in the past it had happened — and therefore it is necessary that when you have to put competent persons at the Centre, you take them if you feel that their services are useful and straightway induct them without allowing them to go to the pipeline of the State Ministry. But that is not happening. Whenever someone is wanted more, you shift them upstairs; but that is not proper and as a result you find efficiency, effectiveness and also credibility suffer; as a result the economy is also ruined. As a result the economy is ruined, unemployment is growing, poverty is growing, and we find that there is a mess in all the accords. We find that the assaults on institutions are also increasing in the country. If in the old regime we had a declared emergency, I am afraid, we might be having an undeclared emergency. Emergency may be declared or undeclared. But the products and the fruits of the Emergency are the same.

So, I warn the Government not to indulge in this type of gimmicks by which the freedom will be actually threatened

The democratic base of the country had to be widened. Unfortunately under the present Government that has collapsed and therefore, I cannot join, with all my respect for the honesty and the integrity of the President as an individual, because he has put forward a document, which is not a reflection of the President of India, but a reflection of the President of the Indian National Congress. I cannot join hands with my friend Mr. Bhagat in joining him for supporting this Motion of Thanks and, therefore, I criticise it and I demand that all these policies and aberrations, to which I have referred, should be corrected and some sound policies have to be formulated. I thank you for the indul-

gence, once again.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Somnath Rath.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Professor Saheb has taken the period of full 45 minutes.

[*English*]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: In the college I used to take two consecutive periods. Shall I take one more, Sir?

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

15.42 hrs.

SHRI SOMNATH RATH (Aska): I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address to Parliament.

The President's Address inspires hope, confidence and courage in the minds of the people. It contains a review of the activities and the achievements of the Government during the previous year and its policies with regard to the important and current internal and international affairs. It has emphasised national values and the need to reach the country's main goal. It reveals the determination of the Government to curb terrorism and to isolate the Secessionists.

On the Punjab issue it is seeking a non-violent political solution within the framework of the Constitution. It reveals the determination of the Government to root out communalism, and fundamentalism. It is the duty of all the political parties and public to rise to the occasion and not to compromise with evil.

The emancipation of women from all forms of prejudice, discrimination, abuse, and oppression has been mentioned in the

[Sh. Somnath Rath]

Address. And in fact in the last session we had legislation against the glorification of Sati.

The Government is also determined to solve the problem of backward and weaker sections. Stress has been laid on the Twenty Point Programme and to eradicate poverty along the rural poor. Economic policies and foreign relations are promising. The non-alignment policy of our country has stood the test of time. The Sri Lanka agreement is being implemented. It will not only solve the ethnic Tamilians problem but it will also give security to our country and the region. Our Prime Minister has been applauded all over the world in this connection and for trying to solve the problem in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Sir, Pakistan is aiding the terrorists in India, acquiring nuclear capability by clandestine means and creating stumbling blocks in solving the problem of Afghanistan for the simple reason that if the problem in Afghanistan is solved, then Pakistan may not get sophisticated arms and ammunition from America cheaply and merely for a song.

Under the leadership of our Prime Minister, necessary steps have been taken to face the unprecedented drought in the country and the world is waiting for it. Rupees two hundred crores are required to meet the situation. A huge amount is also required for defence as our neighbouring countries are investing huge amount for defence. So, we will have to sacrifice for political and economical independence. In spite of the acute drought, our economic front achievements are no less; the industrial sector performance are commendable and there was a growth rate of more than eight per cent; public sector has performed very well; inflation has not touched two digits; power went up by 7.6 per cent; coal production went up by 10.2 per cent and the handling of railway freight by 5.4 per cent.

Our target was to produce 175 million tonnes of foodgrains by the end of the Seventh Plan. We have got only two years. The President's address reveals that the target can be achieved within two years. I think it is ambitious. Subsidy is being given to the farmers for inputs such as fertilizers, seeds, electricity, etc. but our production is stagnant. The Government should seriously think how best the production can be increased. We are giving credit loans to the cultivators, but it never reaches them in time. So also quality seeds should be given and the important factors are irrigation and water management. We have got a Minister for Water Resources. But in India as yet we are not able to connect all the rivers so that irrigation facilities can be availed of and havoc created by floods can be controlled.

Government has given thrust to science and technology. We are proud of our scientists. The Prime Minister has announced in the House the achievement of our scientists in regard to production of the surface to surface missiles.

Another sector which requires immediate attention is that we invest huge amounts on irrigation projects, industries and other schemes but they are not completed in time. With the result, there is price escalation and we are not getting the dividend. So stress should be given on the time bound programme.

In the Address there is a mention of National Housing Policy, to give shelter to homeless. It raises high hopes in the minds of the people. But what is needed today is to see that there should not be population explosion. This is the time to control birth-rate. The progress in socio-economic field will be negative if there is rapid increase in population. It must be arrested without any loss of time.

Huge amounts have been given to dif-

ferent States to meet the drought conditions and for labour intensive works. But I am sorry to say that in some States these funds are being mis-utilised. As per the report of the Auditor General, these funds are being diverted for other purposes. Though there is a circular from the Central Government that the amount should be used on labour intensive works like irrigation projects or tanks meant for drinking water, the funds are being spent otherwise. There should be a monitoring and supervision agency from the Centre. In some States like Orissa the MPs are made Chairman of the Drought Review Committees in different blocks. But it is not implemented in other States as it ought to be. So steps should be taken in this regard also.

Much has been spoken about Tripura elections, and why Tripura was declared as a disturbed area just on the eve of elections. We have passed the Bill in this House and there is nothing unconstitutional about it. What were the state of affairs before the elections? Were there no killings of innocent persons? Since the State was declared as a disturbed area, people could go and vote because confidence was inspired in their minds. If anybody is interested in rigging I have nothing to say. We have been on the T.V., the Press and others have said that there were free and fair elections in Meghalaya, Tripura and Nagaland, and they have also argued that such type of free and fair elections should be conducted in the country in future also. We must give respect to the verdict of the people. If we are defeated, we must admit our defeat.

So, I would say that under the leadership of our esteemed Prime Minister, the country is progressing in the right direction. I would conclude only by quoting a passage from the Address of the President. I quote:

"In the last 40 years we have progressed along this path, illumined by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal

Nehru. We shall adhere to it, come what may, with the determination and courage instilled in us by Indira Gandhi."

[Translation]

SHRI SHRIPATI MISHRA (Machhlisahr): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am expressing my view on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The President's Address in a way hints towards the Governments' policies in the coming year, namely, what work has been done so far, what will be the course of action in the future, what are the achievements and what is proposed to be achieved. If we see cursorily from this point of view, then it becomes clear that the President's address touches almost all problems faced by this country and hints towards the efforts made to solve them. My thanks are due to the Hon. President because he has kept all the problems in his view and have tried to solve them.

The country has been facing problems in the past, some of them continue to elude solutions and it is natural that a few will remain in the future also as complete solution to all problems is just not possible. But the main thing in the President's Address which is praiseworthy for the Government and the Prime Minister is that our Prime Minister has faced all problems with full courage and has taken some steps for finding solution to these problems. Whether it is the problem of violent atmosphere in Punjab or in the North-Eastern States or in our neighbouring country, Sri Lanka; however complicated these problems may be he has taken steps for their solutions and has implemented the policies of the Government in spite of the disturbances in Punjab, other eastern States, Tripura and also in Sri Lanka. I extend my thanks to Hon. President that his Government has endeavoured to find solution to these problems.

[Sh. Shripati Mishra]

Not only this, so many things have been mentioned about the External Affairs. In the field of external affairs, our Prime Minister has acted in consonance with our foreign policy. At every stage he has adhered to the same truth, facts and principles which were enunciated by the leaders of our country. Prime Minister has demonstrated enough courage in dealing with things and in taking certain steps. In this process, he has met with successes also in some cases. However, the desired success in some other fields has not been achieved. For this he can be criticised. He was criticised and continues to be criticised. But to take steps to perform the task and to get engaged for its solution is the most praiseworthy and courageous thing.

16.00 hrs.

[SHRI N. VENKATA RATNAM *in the Chair*]

Steps were taken for the development and modernisation of the country, for creating employment opportunities and for the progress in the education field. We have also achieved some success in it. Our leader and the Government should pay attention to what I say. The first thing towards which the Hon. President has hinted in his Address is that ours is a secular country and we would run the country in a secular and socialistic manner. In this regard, I want to say that we are moving in the right direction and for getting enough success if not full. We should take care of three things. The secular state guarantees such an atmosphere in the country where there is no ill will among people on account of religion, caste, region and other similar factors.

When such an atmosphere is created, then only democracy will flourish. In the absence of secularism, democracy which is based on regionalism, religious fundamen-

talism, caste and sub-caste affiliations will not be a true democracy because it will be based on wrong notions. If the democratic system is not based on fundamental principles, its end result—socialism-through which good things can be done for the country, will be difficult to adopt in that form. I would like to submit that in the present day conditions, all attempts are being made to weaken secularism and if I say that secularism has slumped to its lowest level, it will not be wrong. Now-a-days, religious fundamentalism is raising its head in various forms. Government is taking steps to check communal, casteist and regional tendencies which are on the rise. I feel that more strong measures are needed to be taken in this direction, otherwise democracy cannot function in its true form.

Earlier, political parties were ideology-based. When we entered politics in the beginning, we used to talk about the ideology-based political parties. Whenever we talked about nationalism, our thinking was considered to be narrow. We used to talk on international level and were not confined to the country. But now-a-days, nobody talks about the country. Most of the time, the talk whether in or outside the House is confined to the State. The hon. Members raise matters about states, and that too eastern or western part thereof. Sometimes, they come to district and even constituency level. Therefore, Government should take steps to promote national feelings, otherwise division will be harmful for the country and the democracy. I would like to submit through you, sir, that the parties that are coming up are no more based on principles. Parties are formed on the names of individuals, regions and religion. Earlier, the party in power used to work for the unity of the country. But now-a-days parties do not promote unity as different parties are in power in different States. Regional parties have come up in all parts of the country. Under these conditions, unity is difficult to promote.

In democracy, elections are of paramount importance. The hon. Members can imagine what impression the people who elect us to this House carry about us when bogus votes are cast during the elections in far flung villages. Now-a-days, 80 to 90 per cent votes are cast in the elections, while in the beginning this percentage never exceeded 40 to 45 per cent mark even after rigorous campaigning. What impressions do the people who elect us carry? To remedy this, steps should be taken to prevent such malpractices, otherwise democracy will get distorted and in that case, socialism will not come in our country. Therefore I would like to draw the attention of this August House particularly towards this. Government is requested to take steps to promote feeling of nationalism, unity and secularism and bring about electoral reforms to prevent bogus voting. Many Government officials may be doing good work in Delhi, Lucknow and various State capitals. Their performance, good or bad, do not affect us, but it does have a bearing on the masses who come in direct contact with them. Junior Officers, Thanedars, Tehsildars, S.D.Ms., and officials working in the public distribution system are not responsive to the needs of the people and do not listen to their grievances. They do not work in the desired manner. Away from the reality and aspirations of the people, they ignore the people and are unaware of the difficulties faced by them. This results in wastage of funds and non-completion of projects. We must exercise some control at the gross root level officers coming daily in contact with masses in order to ensure that they work properly. Things are not going to change merely by submitting good proposals from Delhi and Lucknow, unless the officials working at lower levels change their attitudes. I want to refer to an organisation whom people used to respect a lot for its honesty. Some people may say about a Thanedar to be an honest man, but the people in general hesitate in saying the same about bank officials who give loan to

the people and are thus involved in the entire development process. Therefore, effective controls should be exercised on them. Otherwise our good schemes, programmes and efforts which are quite appreciated and for which the Hon. Prime Minister is also being thanked, will never be successful. Today they are not proving to be successful and as a result the country, the State as also the Ruling Party are suffering because of their failure. We are not able to properly implement the good programmes we are formulating.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks.

SHRI RAM NARAIN SINGH (Bhiwani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, some of the Hon. Members who spoke before me, made a passing reference to the farmers and their grievances. There was no reference in the Presidential Address to the problem and difficulties faced by the farmers. Therefore, I would like to submit that the Hon. President should have referred in his Address to the farmers and labourers who constitute 70 to 80 % of the total population.

Reference has been made about the drought which has hit all parts of the country but no reference has been made about the programmes that are going on to tackle it. You can see that the problems faced by the farmers have not been solved. Two lakh farmers sat on Dharna for 25 days at Meerut for the solution of their problems. They resorted to Dharna as they have genuine difficulties. Many people died there due to exposure to cold but the Government did not take any notice.

At this happened because the price of sugarcane in Haryana is Rs.32 per quintal while in U.P. it is Rs. 22 per quintal. On this side of river Yamuna, farmers get increased price while the farmers living across Yamuna get a lower price. Therefore, these

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farmers feel agitated and think that their humiliation will never stop. This is their grievances.

Maximum drought affected areas are in Rajasthan. Haryana has a large common border with Rajasthan. In Haryana, labourers are paid at the rate of Rs. 19.25 per day whereas in Rajasthan they are paid @ Rs. 11 per day. Rajasthan has received Rs. 320 crores as relief whereas Haryana has got only Rs. 36 crores. Even then, rural labourers are paid at the rate of Rs. 19.25 per day in Haryana whereas in adjoining districts of Rajasthan labourers are paid Rs. 11 per day.

The price of fodder in Haryana is Rs. 26 per maund, whereas in Rajasthan, it is Rs. 50 per maund. This variation in price is noticeable in adjoining districts. This has led to resentment among the farmers as they are not getting justice and are in distress. Shri Mishra was telling just now that the Central Government allocates funds to banks to be given to the farmers as loan and subsidy, but the farmers do not get that money. Everywhere it is pocketed by bank employees. When Rural Bank Bill came before this House, everyone was of the opinion that there should be a type of vigilance board attached to it. Proper treatment is not given to the farmers and poor rural labourers, but it is not so in the case of literate people of cities. When the farmer does not get his amount of subsidy, his problems aggravate further.

The Government should fix maximum credit limit for farmers also as has been in the case of industrialists. He should be given loan according to his land holding. After the assessment of his land through pass book, he should be given loan upto Rupees four, five or six thousand straight away. Out of a sanctioned loan of Rupees six thousand, the bank officials give him only rupees four thousand. He is suffering a lot on this account.

You may remember that the last time when the country was hit by famine, substantial quantity of wheat was imported from outside. Today, Punjab and Haryana have more electricity and water than other States and as a result thereof they produced so much of foodgrains that we shall not have to import them. We have enough stock of grains. This has been possible also because some canals of undivided Punjab flow through Punjab and Haryana. Punjab has plenty of water as compared to Haryana. If dams are built on all the rivers of India, it will result in the saving of millions of rupees that are spent on famine every year. Crores of rupees are spent on famine which go waste. If the work on Thein dam in Punjab is completed early, then Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan will benefit from it and crop production can also be enhanced. In Rajasthan, the work on Indira Gandhi canal is going on for the last ten years, but the work is nowhere near completion. Money is wasted on many useless works. Attention should be paid on increasing crop production by stopping such wasteful expenditure. The foremost need is to provide food, cloth and house, entertainment and other things come afterwards. A hungry person does not like all these things such as radio, television, festival of India which is held sometimes in France and sometimes in U.S.A. or elsewhere. Crores of rupees are spent on this and on the other hand, just imagine the condition of a farmer who keeps his family alive on Rs. 11. He has children and wife to support and his condition is pitiable. But this wasteful expenditure is going on. Therefore, attention should be paid to the farmers.

It is true that Defence should be given topmost attention. If we have to live in the world and have to maintain our country's unity and integrity, their first attention should be given to Defence, Then come agriculture, energy and water resources. In an agricultural country, such things should be paid more attention so that the farmers could

make the country self dependent by growing more foodgrains and the Government will not have to spend and famine relief works. We have seen that the drought has hit successively for three, four years. If two or three more State could cast themselves in the mould of Punjab and Haryana, the condition of our country would change for the better. If the work on Indira Gandhi Canal is completed, Rajasthan alone can feed the whole country. Thus, the farmer's condition is so bad today that one can speak on it for hours.

The Government claims that so people were given loans and so many persons have been lifted above the poverty line. The fact is that none is going above the poverty line. It is all right in the cities because the people are living in comfort there. Good work has been done in the cities but go to the villages, in Rajasthan or in Gujarat. You will find that the condition of the farmer and the labourer is worse there. You say that there are rich farmers. But they constitute only two per cent of the total farming community and they will be the ones whose sons have gone to Canada or America or have become officers in the Army. All the hon. Members of the House are sympathetic towards farmers and speak in their favour but when the Budget comes, water resources, electricity and agriculture are given low priority. These sectors should be given more attention, so that our country can prosper. If the farmer and the labourer in our country gets enough food to eat, there will be no shortage of any kind. Other things are not of much importance. Mr. Chairman, Sir, justice should be done to the farmer and labourer of India. They live in villages if proper treatment is given to them, their condition can be improved. If two things—water and electricity—are made available to the farmer, he doesn't need any thing more. He does not need seeds or subsidy, nothing of the sort. Subsidy is pocketed by high-ups. You can see that there is plenty of water in Punjab

and that is why they are prosperous. Haryana too has sufficient water and it occupies number two position. Where there is scarcity of water and electricity, there is no prosperity. Our country has so many rivers and there is so much water in them that floods cause damage worth crores of rupees every year. If dams are built on those rivers, the poverty of the people will be removed and you will not have to waste money on famine reliefs.

The second thing that I want to mention is about prices. The price of everything is on the increase due to which poor and middle class people are badly affected. This has added to their woes. No attention has been paid to them by the Government. Every year the Government raises the prices. The prices of necessities of daily life are also raised.

The names of crores of people are registered with the employment exchange. A person holding a degree of M.A. cannot become a clerk and a graduate is prepared to accept the post of a peon. The poor people used to join the army, but there is a tough competition there also. Condition of a class IV employee of the city is better than a farmer who owns 20 acres of land. A class IV employee uses toilet soap in the bath and take good. Many of our brothers coming from villages have settled in cities. Government should also pay attention to the wasteful expenditure it incurs. For example, Festival of India cost rupees two hundred crores. Had this amount been spent in a district it could have brought substantial progress. There is a lot of black money and corruption in India. You are well aware of its magnitude. Poor people are suffering much due to corruption. An hon. Member from U.P. was stating that wherever you may go whether it is a tehsil or a bank, there is corruption every where. It affects the poor people. He is least concerned about Bofors or Fairfax. His subsidy is pocketed by the bank staff itself. Therefore, there should be some arrangements

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stop this corruption. Under these circumstances. I cannot support the Motion of Thanks.

[English]

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri) : Sir I have gone through the President's Address between the lines. I feel inspired and encouraged that the President has confirmed the ideal of the nation and has enumerated specifically the objectives for which the nation should for. It has also enumerated our secular commitment that is enshrined in the Constitution.

The President's Address says that the 8th Plan must provide for even faster growth and maximisation of employment opportunities and reduction of regional disparities this is a matter about which I feel encouraged. But let us examine the factual position. Let us see what has happened during the last 40 years, whether the regional imbalance has been reduced/removed or whether it is growing. I am placing before you the latest figure that is available. You will find that in the year 1960-61, according to the per capita State Domestic Product at current prices, Orissa's position was 17 and Bihar's position was 18. Orissa's income was 216 and Bihar's income was 215. Now in the year 1980-81 the position is that Orissa remains at 17th position and Bihar also remains at 18th position. There is no change. The chariot of progress has not passed over these regions.

The tragedy of the situation is that Madhya Pradesh which was 13 in ranking in 1961 has now been reduced to number 16. That is why I say the present strategy which we are following for removing regional imbalances or backwardness is of no use. We have to change it radically and this fact must be noted by the Planning Commission and all the Ministries of the Government so that all the Ministries may work together and

bring a radical change in strategy for removing regional disparity.

Now I come to the Presidential address. The President says.

"We have pursued growth within the framework of two crucial parameters; the freedom of our country and the freedom of our people."

This is a noble idea. The essence of freedom is that you should have the strength to preserve the freedom. If we do not have the strength to preserve freedom then freedom becomes meaningless. We should not forget this aspect of the matter. Now what is happening is that regional imbalance and insecurity in this region is being created. So far as Pakistan is concerned they have acquired submarine launched harpoons and all the Defence analysis show that regional imbalance has been created. Pakistan is clandestinely manufacturing nuclear bombs and weaponry. Why are they so much interested in nuclear bomb! It is not to be used against Soviet Union or Afghanistan but against India. Now Pakistan is attempting to acquire AWACS. Pakistan is in a difficulty to get it from USA. They are attempting to get it in the name that they want to see Id moon and, as such, it is necessary for them. They also say we will not sign the Afghanistan accord if AWACS are not given to us. This is the situation.

Recently in Rawalpindi the Pakistan Intelligence Agency held a meeting where all the known terrorists and Khalistan protagonists were present and after that only the Punjab killings have stepped up. Who does not know it! Not only there are repeated attacks on our position in Siachen but the Siachen stand has also been changed. Once upon a time Zia had declared that Siachen is no-man's land. Now they say it is Pakistan territory and it is being attacked by India and we have to vacate the aggression.

Why there are repeated attacks on Siachen? It is because they have acquired new equipment because of which they are bold enough to attack Siachen.

The have been raising the question of Kashmir. They have been violating the Simla Agreement and if you look into the totality of the picture we should not forget the security risk of this country. Whatever is happening in Punjab has been initiated and assisted by Pakistanis. Who does not know it? We know Pakistan says something and does something else. We have had this experience when Kashmir was attacked. Pakistani soldiers attacked Jammu & Kashmir in the guise of tribals. We know all that. We should be very careful about it.

Further, we should remember that a new axis is being created. It is not only Pakistan-China-USA but also Pakistan-China and Iran. Iran has been the greatest purchaser of weaponry from China and Pakistan. Now 10,000 Pakistani soldiers have been released from Saudi Arabia. Naturally, we should be very careful about our security and take note of it.

About friendship and cooperation with Pakistan, President has also said :

"My Government still believe that reason and good sense will prevail and the Pakistan Government will make a fresh assessment of its policy towards India "

I am happy about it. But let Pakistan be persuaded to come to terms of friendship. Let our cordial relationship grow with them. But one thing we should remember. It is difficult for the present regime in Pakistan, not for the people of Pakistan. We should cultivate friendship with the people of that country. The present regime there is surviving on two aspects: one, anti-India policy and the other is Islamisation in Pakistan. We should not expect much of friendship from

Pakistan. However, we must be careful about it.

Now about China. No doubt we should cultivate friendship with them. But the fact remains about the 1962 episode which disturbed us. Recently, they occupied a part of Arunachal Pradesh. That does not establish a sense of friendship on the part of the Chinese. However, we have to reach some sort of an agreement or an accord with China. We should cultivate friendship with them.

Now I come to fundamentalism, communalism and fissiparous tendencies. This is the most urgent problem. We must be careful that the message of communalism is coming from outside India. The inspiration for communalism is coming from across our borders. Recent newspapers reports indicate that Pakistan is having more powerful TV system and they are jamming our TV broadcasts in the border areas of Jammu and Kashmir, etc. A message is coming about Islamisation in Pakistan. Bangladesh is also taking the path of fundamentalism. The message of communalism is coming from those countries. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc. get inspiration. We must guard against it. We must inculcate secularism in the minds of our people.

Now I come to democratic policy and its strength. Prof. Madhu Dandavate said that the Election Commission should have been consulted for widening the security belt in Tripura. What is the urgent problem—the lives, property and security of the citizens of India or elections? You know the CPM lost elections in Tripura. The reason is that the then Chief Minister of Tripura said that the security belt should be widened only after the elections. It is not that they opposed it. They wanted it. The Chief Minister said that it should have been done but after the elections. So, the people could know and the people of Tripura could understand that how

[Sh. Brajamohan Mohanty]

the security of the citizens is being bargained for political purposes. Prof. Dandavate said about corruption and all that. You know that the Government of India have taken appropriate steps not only in each matter that has been raised, but some investigation was rightly done by the Government of India.

May I invite the attention of the House about what is happening in Hyderabad? The judiciary was being attacked. I am quoting from 'New Age':

"N. T. Rama Rao, anticipating the present judgement, tried his best to black-mail the high court itself. He had threatened that a judgement against him would be deemed as a judgement against six crores of Andhra people."

Does it strengthen democracy? The CPI(M) lost in Tripura because of the blind anti-congressism. One could be against Congress, not in all matters not in the matter of corruption. What is the observation of Sh. Rajeshwara Rao, Secretary of the Communist Party of India. He says:

"This policy of blind support to the TDP Government has cost a lot for the CPI(M) in terms of public support."

He also observed:

"The role played by the state unit of the CPI(M) is disruptive and suicidal. CPI(M) has all along been supporting the TDP misrule in the name of preventing Congress (I) from staging a come-back. In the bargain it got some seats in the election to the local bodies and cooperatives."

So, the people of Tripura had very much reacted against the blind anti-congressism policies of CPI(M)-

My submission would be that we must have a national outlook. Our soldiers in Sri Lanka are trying their best to restore peace but here commotion and criticism was so much that it has gone to the extent of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Sh. Sundarji saying not to criticise too much the army in Sri Lanka as they need moral support. What about the political leadership?... (*Interruptions*)... I won't yield. (You sit down.) The problem is that our utterances should not be responsible with regard to the criticism of the army. Recently, there had been a discussion in the press whether the reputed journalist, Sh. S. Mulgaokar has corrected the former President's draft and whether the corrected draft was used or the original draft was used. Does it indicate the health of our political system? There has been changes all round the world but unfortunately, the Left Parties are not changing. They require time. My submission would be that they have a decade behind the communist movement of the world. The time has come to have a positive outlook so that this republic can be strengthened.

[*Translation*]

SHRI UMAKANT MISHRA (Mirzapur):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the Hon. President's Address. The President has mentioned about the achievements of the Government headed by the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and have also indicated about the steps to be taken in the near future by this strong and firm-determined Government. In spite of economic depression in the world last year and most severe drought of this century, Government of Shri Rajiv Gandhi has maintained the tempo of economic development in the country and have inspired self-confidence in the hearts of the people of the country. Our country has moved forward in all directions. In spite of severe drought, Government was determined that nobody would be allowed to die of hunger and thirst,

and this has come true. Firm and determined steps have been taken to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country. The accord with Sri Lanka, is a big achievement of the history. Due to this accord, interests of Sri Lanka, India and other South Asian countries have been safeguarded. Had this accord not been reached, such powers would have come to the scene in Sri Lanka which might have proved dangerous to India, Sri Lanka as also to all South Asian countries. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has made a big diplomatic and political achievement through Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. In this way, Rajiv Gandhi's Government has achieved successes both in internal and international politics for which the Government deserves to be congratulated. In spite of these difficult situations, the Government headed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi has safeguarded the honour, prestige, unity and integrity of the country and have maintained the pace of economic development. The hints given by the Hon. President in this direction are appropriate. The Government of Rajiv Gandhi has taken decisions in accordance with the constitution of India and they are in consonance with the policies and programmes laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. As a result of their policies, the country will move forward on the path of socialism, and communalism can be wiped out from this country. This will also remove class-discrimination, casteism and poverty from this country.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had linked the independence of India with the independence of the world. Shrimati Indira Gandhi had linked Indian peace with the world peace and Shri Rajiv Gandhi has linked the poverty eradication programme of India with the world's poverty eradication programme. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has endeavoured to inter-link science and technology with poverty eradication and increased production. What is the use of that science and technology which cannot be helpful in eradication of

poverty in this country? Shri Rajiv Gandhi is determined to remove poverty from this country as well as from the world. What the Hon. President has said in this regard, is very correct.

Hon. President has also said that efforts from outside as well as inside are being made to weaken and to harm our democratic political system, but the awakened opinion of the public of our country has always thwarted all such attempts. Such abominable and mean attacks were made on the democratic set up of this country last year that it is hard to find such examples in the history of the world. There are four wings of democracy. One is Judiciary, the second is Legislature or Parliament, thirdly, the Executive or the Government and fourthly, the Defence Forces or the Army. The people belonging to the Opposition hatched a conspiracy and unleashed such a sordid attack on these four which has no parallel.

Sir, Supreme Court had decided in the Shahbano case that no women should be left helpless on divorce. Court had given this judgement which should have been accepted. If judgement was not acceptable, there were so many ways to seek relief. But in Shahbano case, the Court was criticised and abused. Contempt was shown to it and judiciary was denigrated. Who did it? This was the handiwork of opposition parties and the people who are communal, undemocratic and cannot see the democracy and the country prosper.

Sir, Parliament is the Sanctum Sanctorum of the democracy of this country. In the last session, the Opposition did not allow Parliament to function for a week. Contempt was shown to the Parliament and its forum was misused. Parliament was used as a tool for character assassination and its rules were disobeyed. In my opinion, it was a savage assault on the democracy of this country. Parliament is the symbol and dignity of democracy. If Parliament is dis-

[Sh. Umakant Mishra]

obeyed, dishonoured and its dignity is undermined, it would be a direct assault on the democracy. But this is exactly what the Opposition of this country has done. The Opposition members have thrown to winds the dignity of the Parliament as you have witnessed in the last session. This Government has been elected by the people of this country, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has secured largest majority in the Lok Sabha since 1952. The Government headed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi is a strong Government with huge majority. The people belonging to the opposition of this country and some outside forces have tried to malign this Government and to murder the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. This was a terrible conspiracy and a horrible assault on democracy. The attempt at character assassination of a leader who is heading a strong Government with huge majority in Parliament-600 M.Ps. including 400 of the Lok Sabha standing solidly behind-must be deemed as an assault on the democracy. The Opposition of this country, the Press and few capitalists as also some international conspiracies are responsible for it. It is an assault on democracy. Sir, opposition members including some ruling party members had stated in this House that engagement of Fairfax Agency was against national interests. But when two judges held enquiry into it and they stated in their report that the then Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh had acted against national interests by engaging Fairfax Agency, statements criticizing the judges and denigrating the judiciary were issued. This was a massive assault on democracy. You just look at another interesting feature. When Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh was in the ruling party, the opposition termed it as an act against national interests. But now when Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has crossed over to other side, the same people of the opposition started saying that Thakkar Commission's report on Fairfax was a farce. This was an unprecedented and abominable attack on

the democracy of this country by the Opposition....(Interruptions).... Sir, baseless allegations were levelled throughout and it was said that Bofors gun was not upto the mark. How Shri Dandavate can pass judgement about the quality of Bofors gun?

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have never raised doubts about their effectiveness.

SHRI UMAKANT MISHRA: You did not say so; I thank you for it. Many hon. Members have raised doubts about the quality of Bofors gun....(Interruptions).... Some people say that Bofors gun is useless. It is like advising someone on a subject about which the adviser himself knows nothing. They do not even know how to handle the barrel of a gun, but dare to say that Bofors guns are substandard. Only those who are expert in the subject can pass judgement about their quality. Field Marshall General Manekshaw has said that Bofors guns are best guns of the world. Those who know nothing about Bofors guns are indulging in baseless and nonsense talks with the sole aim of maligning the Government and putting Shri Rajiv Gandhi to disrepute. It is said that commission was taken in Bofors gun deal. The Chairman of Bofors company has said that no one was given bribe. Prosecuting officer has said that there is no evidence to this effect. But some people here raise hue and cry saying that commission was taken in Bofors deal. Such type of baseless allegations have been levelled which are harmful for democracy. So many vague allegations were levelled but none of them could be proved. Shri Rajiv Gandhi faced these abominable attacks with courage, intelligence and patience and has sifted truth from falsehood thereby tiding over the storm. Even then, some leaders keep on vociferately propagating about it outside the Parliament. Shri V.P. Singh and some of his follow-

ers who have left the Congress are indulging in such acts. But sensible people have understood that these allegations were false and baseless and were aimed at vilifying democracy and the leader of this country. The people are sensible and they understand that these are senseless talks. Attempt was made to lower the morale of the army. One of the leaders went to the extent of saying before Garhwal Regiment of the Army that public would ask the Government to account for every army men being killed in Sri Lanka. Army of this country has a glorious post. It has glorious history of its sacrifices. Our army has defended the frontiers of the country as and when occasion arose. Some old and some not so old politicians belonging to the Opposition are sparing no effort to lower the morale of our Armed Forces, weaken the democratic set up and for that matter weaken the country, but in spite of all this, the Government under the leadership of Shri Gandhi has faced such things determinedly.

Now a demand is being made to dissolve the Lok Sabha and hold fresh elections. It sounds quite funny. What sort of love is this for democracy! The Government was elected for five years after millions of rupees were spent on elections. We are facing drought and famine in the country which require a lot of money to be spent to combat these natural calamities. Why should there be election after two years when the Government enjoys majority, 500-600 Members are solidly behind Rajiv Gandhi and Government is functioning smoothly? The people want work and work is being done. What a funny demand is this to hold elections after two years! Elections were held recently in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura, where the opposition parties have tested their strength. The election will be held after five years, but mind you, you will not get an opportunity to sit on this side of the House. You may launch any number of agitations, hatch any number of conspiracies and enact

any type of drama, but by now the people of this country understand that only Rajiv Gandhi and his party can run this country and none else is capable of governing the country. Only Rajiv Gandhi can maintain the unity and safeguard the sovereignty of the country and can provide relief to all sections of the people. He has received support from the farmers, the workers and all other sections of the people in the country.

I want to say one more thing in the end. A lot has been done for the farmers and for agriculture in the country. The backwards areas of the country which did not have roads, electricity have now been provided with these facilities. A number of developmental works have been undertaken for the progress of the backward areas and still a lot is required to be done for the farmers and the people in these backward areas.

I am glad to know that while addressing a gathering of 10 lakh farmers in Lucknow, the Hon. Prime Minister had announced that backward areas of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh would be provided with the facilities of irrigation and electricity, etc. The agitations that have been started for the farmers are politically motivated. They will not be of any benefit to the farmers. Such demands are being raised in these agitations which are not possible to be met. Our Government has done a lot for the farmers. I want that more facilities should be provided to the farmers for their welfare and progress.

[English]

16.56 hrs.

DR. A. KALANIDHI (Madras Central): Mr. Chairman: At the outset, I must thank you for having permitted me to speak on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. But I rise to oppose this Motion because the President's speech neither re-

[Dr. A. Kalanidhi]

flects the need for growth nor effective measures to control the price rise, nor any constructive policies by the Government.

In fact, I am quite happy to note that the President has given a floral tribute to the late Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran. But you have crowned him by conferring 'Bharat Ratna' and at the same time dissolved his Government, headed by Mrs. Janaki MGR. On the death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi i.e. on 30.1.1988, you have defaced him, and stabbed his party on the back. It is not a surprise for me, because this is the culture adopted by the Congress from the period of Jawaharlal Nehru.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam): The DMK had alliance with the Congress in 1980.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: No controversy. No discussion.

DR. A.KALANIDHI: The President has mentioned in his speech that our vision of India is of a land whose unity and integrity are invulnerable to external threats and internal weaknesses. (Interruptions) Mr. Kolandaivelu, you must know that we had never asked for the dissolution. (Interruptions) I hope you are not the mouth-piece of Congress (I).

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: I am not their mouth-piece.

DR. A. KALANIDHI: Mr. Kolandaivelu was a Minister at that time.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: In 1980, I was not a Minister, Dr. Kalanidhi.

DR. A. KALANIDHI: The President has mentioned in his speech that our vision of India is of a land whose unity and integrity

are invulnerable to external threats and internal weakness. But it is only the weakness of Congress (I), and not the weakness of the people. This is the usual slogan which the people of India have been hearing from the time of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Whenever there is a crisis in Congress (I), suddenly the external threats and internal weaknesses blossom. Please change your attitude. Try to think about the people, and not about yourself.

The President has also mentioned about the social justice prevailing in this country. Probably, the President is not aware of the mass rape that has occurred in the State of Bihar. You may try to explain that not an individual is raped, but that the rape was en masse. Probably, this is the type of social justice and equality prevailing in our country.

The President has mentioned about the economic development in this country. I am very sorry to say that the economy of this country is in a chaotic state and on the edge of breaking down. Both black money and white money co-exist in this country, probably for the prosperity and welfare of the Congress (I) people.

You are talking too much about industrialization and modernization. The more you talk, I think the more the industries are becoming sick.

It is really funny to note that the President has mentioned that in the last 40 years, we are progressing along the path illumined by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. I am very sorry to say that you have a good-bye long back to the Gandhian principles and philosophies. You have totally deviated from the socialistic path.

You have mentioned about the economic restrictions: I wonder why the same restrictions have not been imposed on the

expenditure of the Prime Minister. When there is a severe drought existing in the country, what made the Prime Minister to go to Lakshadweep and enjoy himself, at the cost of Government funds? Probably, he would have saved the whales; but one thing he should understand, viz. that he has failed to save the people of this country from poverty and also from illiteracy.

17.00 hrs.

The President has mentioned that failure of the monsoon and the rain has tested the resilience of our economy. A shrewd administrator should understand and expect severe drought and flood havocs because both are the natural calamities. So you don't have a long term perception and long term policies. That is the reason why we always insist rivers like Ganga and Cauvery should be linked so that the problem of drought and flood havocs can be avoided and our country can produce green revolution. You don't have heart and mind to think about this. Your aim is that there should be always Congress I rule from Kanyakumari to Kashmir.

The President has mentioned about determination of this government in combating terrorism. There is no second opinion about this. We, the people of DMK, always condemn violence and we don't believe in violence also. About combating terrorism, I can say, before the period of the President's Rule, about 1240 people were killed - approximately 3 people per day. After the President's Rule in Punjab, now it has gone to 5 people per day. Even after the President's Rule you are not able to combat terrorism in Punjab. One should understand what is the reason for this terrorism. It is due to frustration and failure to understand their grievances and failure to respect the sentiments of the minority. Hence I request the Hon'ble Prime Minister should come forward to have a dialogue with the terrorists. He may

try to say that he can have a dialogue only when the terrorists drop their activities. On the other hand, the people from the terrorists side may say that they will be able to leave their terrorist activities only after the negotiation and dialogue. So this is a vicious circle. Hence I request the Hon'ble Prime Minister not to float on false prestige. Please try to come down and try to have a dialogue with terrorists.

The President has mentioned that this government is going to implement the 15 point programme for the welfare of the minority people and the backward community. But, at the same time, you don't like to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. So only you are shedding crocodile tears.

The President has mentioned about the IRDP, NREP, RLEGP. These programmes are meant only for filling the pockets of Congress people in the rural areas. It is not a surprise for me that Article 356 of the Constitution is invoked in Tamil Nadu on the day of the death anniversary of the Father of the Nation. Prime Minister has said that horse trading is the main reason for withdrawing support. I can tell him whether it has resulted in some confusion in dissolving the Government of Tamil Nadu. Horse trading and horse riding are the expert activities of the Congress I. Once you did on us; later on AIADMK; now you are trying for a filly ride. For invoking 356, there should be (a) official bankruptcy; (b) Constitutional break down; (c) and law and order crisis. No such thing has occurred like in Punjab, Tripura and Meghalaya. All that happened is little chaos in Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly. The main culprits are Congress I and AIADMK of J.2 Group. (*Interruptions*) I know you are restless because you are out of power since 22 years. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: No interruption will go on record.

*(Interruptions)***

DR. A. KALANIDHI: The then Governor of Tamil Nadu has stated in a Press meet, that a simple majority is sufficient to prove the confidence. Eight people have voted against the motion and 98 have supported the Government. It is also a surprise that the Hon. Prime Minister of India has mentioned that he will support the undivided MGR legacy. If they are undivided why should they ask for your support? Why should they ask the Congress (I) support. They themselves will be able to run the Government with the MLAs they have. I do not know why this simple calculation is forgotten by the Hon. Prime Minister of India. It is high time for him to change his advisors so that he can be guided well in future. As you cannot expect a water stream in Sahara Desert, so also you cannot imagine national-stream in Tamil Nadu.

I want to discuss much about the Centre-State relationship and the report submitted by the Sarkaria Commission. I feel that more powers are vested in the Centre. I strongly condemn this and stress the need for decentralisation. The very fact that the Prime Minister is unable to continue his Cabinet continuously and consistently and has changed it more than 20 times clearly shows that the time has come for the Prime Minister to dilute the powers so that the States can have equal share of the powers.

The President has mentioned about the new educational policy and has given a picture that this police is going to take the country to the Twenty first Century. I can only say that it is a colossal waste of money. There are thousands of schools without shelter, without black-boards, without chalk-pieces, without writing materials, toilets, and teaching staff, and even drinking water. If

you permit me to give the statistics, 40 per cent of schools are without black-boards, 70 per cent are without library facilities, 53 per cent are without play-grounds, 59 per cent without drinking water, 88 per cent without toilets and urinals and 53 per cent without buildings. And you are spending only two per cent of the budgetary allocation of Education. Instead of wasting money on Navodaya schools, I think you should try to spend money for improving schools. You teach the students about the length and breadth of the Mississippi and Missouri and do not teach about Krishna, Godavari or Cauvery. When you ask the students about Mahatma Gandhi they are showing about the picture of Attenborough. This is the state of affairs existing in this country on the educational side.

It is a surprise that the President has mentioned about the barbaric incident at Deorala and praised much the Commission of the Sati Act, 1987. It is a pity that the Congress wants to have an alliance with a glamour lady who has contemplated to perform Sati on the demise of Mr. M.G.R. The contemplation or commission are criminal offences. I think the Congress (I) wants to have alliance with criminals only.

Regarding the NCC and other organisations I only suggest the Government should bring a legislation that a student after completion of school final or graduation should participate compulsorily for one year in army services so that we can inculcate good discipline among the youth of our country.

The Address has mentioned that the Ganga Action Plan has caught the Nation's imagination. I can only say that it is the Government's imagination and not the people's imagination. Even there also the Government thinks about the Ganga and not about the Cauvery or the Cooum. There

** Not recorded.

also mention is made about the Northern States and not the Southern States. I can only advise the Prime Minister, "Please clean your hands before cleaning the Ganga. Caesar's wife should be above suspicion."

As rightly pointed by Mr. Shakhder, former Secretary General of the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister should submit himself before the Bofors Commission so that he can prove to this country that he has got a clean image.

The President has mentioned about the drug menace and drug policies and narcotics. It totally lies with the Central Government; due to the wrong policy, too many formulations have been floated in this country and there is no point in accusing the youth resorting to the narcotics and other drug habits because the drug formulation are totally wrong.

Government should consult experts, physicians and surgeons in other fields and the Government should have an open dialogue so that at least the drug menace can be brought down. Only an effective drug policy and effective drug control can solve the problem.

About the new technological transfers, I do not have any objection in welcoming this. But I cannot accept that this alone is going to remove poverty, particularly in the rural areas. Both indigenous and new technology should be implemented whenever and wherever necessary.

The President's address mentions that 20 million pregnant women were immunised and 18 million infants were vaccinated. As a doctor I welcome this but this alone is not going to solve the problem. The Government should try to improve the living conditions of the people of this country.

I am quite happy that we are reaching a stage of self-sufficiency in oil, for which I congratulate you. But I cannot understand what made you to increase the price of fuel before Budget. The explanation given is to cut down the local consumption. I can humbly submit to our Prime Minister, other Ministers and bureaucrats to cut down their tours, I think half of our oil consumption can be reduced. I request the Government of India to take more effective steps to have more and more oil exploration at Cauveri Delta.

About the Industry, one thing I can proudly say that while Dr. Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, we occupied the third position in the industrial map of India. Unfortunately, now it has gone to the thirteenth position. Probably due to the faulty administration of the previous A.I.A.D.M.K Government and probably due to the refusal of the Government of India to give licences, subsidies and incentives to develop infrastructure. Without water and energy, no industry can prosper. Hence, I request the Government of India to set up more Thermal Plants to generate more power and adequate water supply from the neighbouring States so that Tamil Nadu can regain its lost position in the industrial area. Please do not think about the Tamil Nadu only during the Elections. Don't give chance for us to talk North flourishes and South deteriorates. I request the Government of India to allocate at least Rs. 15 crores of rapid transit system for Madras city and a minimum of Rs. 10 crores for Karur-Dindugal broad gauge project.

I welcome your non-alignment policy and disarmament movement. But you should not have partisan attitude for recognising the Liberation movements. You have a soft corner for Namibia movement and give a red carpet reception for P.L.O. but at the same time you do not like to accept or

[Dr. A. Kalanidhi]
recognise the Liberation forces of Eelam Tigers.

The President has mentioned that a historic Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement has been made in July 1987. I can only say that is an utter blunder because you are not the person to sign the agreement. It should be only between the Sri Lanka Government and the Sri Lanka Tamil and not between India and Sri Lanka. In this context I would like to quote a small example given by my leader Dr. Kalaingar M. Karunanidhi during an interview to the Tamil News Weekly. A bride and a bridegroom goes to the Registrar Office for registering their wedding; the bride has affixed her signature in the register, instead of the bridegroom signing the register, the Registrar has himself affixed the signature. You know what will happen. Now India has signed in the place of the Registrar and leaving the bride there. In what context they have done, I do not know, they only should explain. So, the agreement should be only between the Sri Lankan Government and the Sri Lankan Tamils and not between India and Sri Lanka. It has been rightly pointed out by the former External Affairs Secretary Mr. A.P. Venkateswaran that you are putting the cart before the bullock.

You are spending nearly three to five crores of rupees per day in a foreign soil without obtaining permission from the Parliament or without any budgetary allocation. I have very high opinion about our Indian Army personnel. I do not have any second opinion on that. In fact I congratulated them in my previous speeches about their heroic deeds during the Bangladesh Liberation but at the same time I cannot hide the atrocities done by the Indian Army personnel since about six months or so. You can see the atrocities committed by them. In the daily 'Telegraph' dated Nov. 3rd, 4th and 5th, and

in the various journals like 'Veerakesari', it has been clearly quoted that women were raped, butchered and murdered. So many atrocities have been clearly pointed out in the various journals. I do not want to narrate it. I leave it to the judgement of the House.

The President in his Address has said in conclusion that the supreme sacrifice of the Army shall not be in vain. I can repeat the same to you that the supreme sacrifice of LTTE is not going to be in vain. Whether you like it or not; whether you accept it or not, Tamil Eelam is going to be liberated soon, because that is their birth right. Yourself and myself are going to witness the scenario soon.

I thank the Chair for having permitted me to participate in the motion of thanks and I oppose this motion tooth and nail.

[Translation]

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH (Rajgarh):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, three years' time is sufficient to assess the performance of any Government. The Government headed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi has achieved success on all basic issues whether it is internal law and order problem, foreign policy, industrial production, agricultural production, price control, public-welfare policies or education. If we go through hon. President's Address, all these things find mention therein, which is an indication of Hon. Rajiv's success and the success of our Government.

17.16 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

Hon. Shri Dandavate is a very fierce and learned leader of the Opposition and in his speech he covered all subjects and touched all points, but he made no mention of issues and achievements that have been mentioned in the Address. He has nothing to do

with all these things. He does not want to touch these points which relate to the achievements made by the Government. He has to politicise every issue and that is why he has delivered a stereo-typed speech once again in the House. The subjects like Bofors, Submarine, Fairfax, etc. have been discussed in the House time and again and in deference to the views of the Opposition, Hon. Rajiv Gandhi has also taken action on all points. When the Fairfax issue cropped up, the enquiry was entrusted to two judges of the Supreme Court. Later on, when a demand was made as to why the enquiry was entrusted to the Supreme Court judges and why a Parliamentary Committee was not constituted and when Bofors issue was raised, hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi constituted a Parliamentary Committee and handed over the work relating to the enquiry to it. That too did not satisfy the opposition and they wanted that it should be headed by an opposition Member. When the people have given the Congress Party their mandate and have elected it to the House with a majority, there is no question of giving them majority representation in the committee. It seems, the objective of the opposition is to make a misleading propaganda in the whole country and to malign the leadership. They have nothing to do with the nation-building and have no interest in public welfare programmes.

Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we take the issue of internal security, there were several disputes going on in Punjab, Mizoram and Assam when the Prime Minister assumed charge. The Constitution was being subjected to insult and its copies were being burnt there. The Constitution was being negated, but Shri Rajiv Gandhi signed accords and solved all those problems. Today, elected Governments are in power in Meghalaya and Assam and after having taken oath under the constitution, they are running programmes of public welfare. Our Accord would have been successful in

Punjab also but after the murder of Sant Longowal, there is no leadership among the Sikhs of Punjab who could implement the Accord and face the terrorists with courage.

What is needed for solving the Punjab problem and to implement the Punjab Accord is that the Central Government should strengthen all those forces which could face the terrorists squarely and could cross swords with communal forces while remaining within the framework of our Constitution. Today, there is a lack of such leadership in Punjab and as long as such a leadership among Sikhs does not emerge, the solution to Punjab problem seems to be difficult.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Hon. Rajiv Gandhi has achieved great success in the foreign policy. Whether it is the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord or the problems of poor countries, whether it is the question of raising voice against the countries practising apartheid, in whatever part of the world they may be, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has firmly stood by the oppressed and has earned a distinct place for the country in the world.

Similarly, there has been a continuous increase of 8 to 10 per cent in the Industrial production in spite of all odds. Power generation, mineral production and freight-carrying capacity of the Railways have also increased. In spite of the severe drought, the fall in Agricultural production has not been as much as the people had apprehended. When famine used to hit fifty to sixty years ago, lakhs of people would die of hunger the right steps but taken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the consistent and just policies of the Congress has made us capable of facing these natural calamities in their stride.

They talk of price control. The Wholesale-Price-Index has never registered an increase of more than seven to nine per cent during the reign of the Congress Party. Shri Dandavate himself was the member of that

[Sh. Digvijaya Singh]

Cabinet under whose stewardship inflation rose as high as 21 per cent. But in spite of the drought, our Government kept prices under check.

Public-welfare policies, whether they are related to the welfare of tribals and Scheduled Castes, whether it is a matter of helping villagers and the poor through schemes, such as, IRDP, NREP and RLEGP, whether it is the question of Housing Schemes such as Indira Awas Yojana or Urban housing schemes, or whether it is a matter of drinking water, the Congress Government headed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi has formulated all these schemes and they are being firmly implemented.

Technology has been utilized in the field of education, drinking water, communication, health, and for increasing the production of oilseeds and pulses. Emphasis has been laid on the qualitative improvement in education. Navodaya Vidyalayas have been opened. What I mean to say is that Government headed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi has been successful at every point and in every field during the last few years. We do not want to join issue with those who do not want to see our achievements. Their only motive is to raise a hue and cry and make misleading propaganda. But the people of India have proved that they are very well aware of the fact that this Government works for the poor, workers, farmers, Harijans and minorities.

Today, attempts are being made to spread communalism in the country. The need of the hour is to fight against it boldly. I would request the Hon. Prime Minister that efforts should be made to solve the dispute over Babri Masjid and Ram Janam Bhoomi expeditiously. At the same time, we should highlight the instances of communal harmony in towns and cities and give suitable rewards to those who have made fruitful contribution in this regards so that their

number may increase in the society. Some cash incentive should be announced for them in order to have a check over the communal riots. To keep the communal organisations under complete control is the need of the hour. Organisations like RSS and Jamait-e-Islami and similar other organisations which spread communalism, hatred among religions and run political activities at religions places should be banned.

I would like to give you a suggestion. We have introduced Rural Employment Scheme but we have not been able to provide help to those rural labourers for whom this scheme was originally started. We should make arrangements to conduct a survey of and provide identity cards to every unemployed family living in the rural areas to enable them to get employment for at least 300 days in a year. They should also be provided foodgrains, sugar and edible oil at cheap rates from fair price shops. Special arrangements should be made to provide these things from the fair price shops to those who are living below the poverty line and are hardly able to make their both ends meet.

Holding elections of autonomous bodies is necessary, whether it is a Municipal Committee or Panchayat. We cannot set up a true secularism in this country until we make provisions for holding regular elections to such bodies. Mahatma Gandhi dreamt of each village to be an independent Republic in free India. Decentralisation of power in true sense cannot be done unless we hold Panchayat elections regularly and provide sufficient powers to Panchayats through the Constitution. Therefore, I would suggest that discussions should be held and consultations made to decide what provisions could be made in the Constitution for autonomous organisations.

Similar discussions will have to be made regarding judiciary also. Efforts have

been made to provide low cost justice through legal aid. Likewise, efforts have been made to dispose of old and complicated cases through Lok-Adalats. However, I consider these measures insufficient in the light of present circumstances. Improvements are needed to be made in the judiciary. Any person can file appeal at six levels on any case I can say firmly that the present provisions for justice are not in favour of the poor people. We shall have to think about the way through which we can bring about changes in the judicial system to make it useful for the poor.

I have read the statement of the Minister of law on Nyaya Panchayats. It will be a good beginning to set up maximum number of such Panchayats and to give them judicial powers. Sensitive administration constitutes the 20th point of the 20 Point Programme of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. In spite of the best schemes and programmes formulated by the Government, the benefits will not reach those who need these benefits unless they are properly implemented. We come across variety of complaints about corruption. A sensitive administration is required to redress these grievances. We must think about the way as to how we can make our administration people-oriented, how we can keep a check over it and tighten it and how the bureaucrats can be made answerable and taken to task for their misdeeds.

Whenever efforts were made to bring about changes in the country, the policy of the Government was opposed. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was opposed when he tried to introduce socialist pattern of society in the country. There were conservatives who represented the vested interests of a particular group and they were not willing to accept any change. History testifies the fact that such people opposed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but such was his personality and leadership that they could do him no harm. Later, when Shrimati Indira Gandhi tried to

bring about changes in the economic system of this country, the same conservative forces started opposing her. Today, the same forces are at work once again. May be, the faces, the masks or the persons have changed, but they represent the same vested interests. Shri Rajiv Gandhi had challenged them in his address at the Congress Party session. Those vested interests in this country are trying to create hindrances in his way. The people of this country have elected Shri Rajiv Gandhi and his Government to lead the country. They have demanded changes in the basic structure of the country. The changes sought are in political and administrative fields and in the judiciary. The people of this country have demanded changes in these fields and our Hon. Prime Minister in endeavouring to bring changes in these areas.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi is a capable leader and India is looking towards him. I am fully confident that the beginning which he has made and the debate on nation-building which he has initiated will be taken to its logical end. After that the fundamental changes which this country needs in the fields of economy, administration, judiciary and politics, will be brought about. We have to fulfil all the promises which we made to our people at the time of elections. I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA (Hosangabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the Hon. President's Address to the joint session of Parliament. The most important point which the Hon. President has said this and rightly too because it is the opposition leaders who have been committing the most serious social crime, of late, in the country. Some vested interests are also involved in this sordid attempt. Attempts are being made today to shake the confidence of the people, disturb the communal harmony, and jeopardize unity, integrity and democratic values

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of this country. They are trying to demolish the pillars upon which our democracy rests. That is why the Hon. President in his Address mentioned, first of all, to raise the morale of the people of our country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, through you I want to say that our friends in the opposition have been misleading the people for the last few days by making false propoganda. Today also, one opposition Member uttered some wrong things in this House. They are always raising doubts while speaking. They talk of having faith in democracy but they do not trust the Government elected by the people and enjoying majority in democracy. They oppose the decisions of the Government. Similarly they talk of having faith in the judiciary, but when two Supreme Court judges, named Thakkar-Natarajan, gave their report they were not prepared to accept it and instead talked of throwing it into the dust bin. In this view, all employees are incompetent and corrupt. You can imagine the type of the opposition this country has. By speaking a foreign language, they are trying to lower the morale of the people of this country and are trying to jeopardize the communal harmony and secularism. Whenever an unjust agitation is launched, they give their full support to it.

Shri Subramaniam Swamy, an ex M.P., was heard saying recently that no treasonous activities were being run inside the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Later on, this MP had to change his statement. We have listened to the speeches of the leaders of the Opposition parties so many times very attentively in this Parliament. They always deliver inflammatory speeches so that the young could be enraged, public could be instigated and an anarchic situation could be created throughout the country. I have never heard them speaking that confidence should be restored in the people of the country so that we could stand firmly.

A most sordid attempt was made recently to lower the morale of the army of our country. They talked of Bofors, Fairfax, substandard guns and also said that our army should not have been sent in Sri Lanka. Thereby lowering the morale of the army. A top ranking military personnel who was returning from Colombo met me in the train, and I asked him to give his opinion as a responsible citizen of the country-politics apart-on the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. What has been the performance of our Army which is working as a peace-keeping force? He replied that if I was a responsible citizen of this country I must believe that Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was aimed at safeguarding the security of our country. Shri Jayewardhene wanted in Sri Lanka.... (*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

DR. A KALANIDHI (Madras Central): One objection to that. Do you mean to say that we are irresponsible citizens?

(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: You have expressed your point of view when you spoke. Please sit down.

DR. A. KALANIDHI: Don't say that. We are better than you. We have more faith on our Army.... (*Interruptions*).... Do you mean to say that we are irresponsible citizens?.... (*Interruptions*) We will not keep quiet. Don't say that we are irresponsible. We are more responsible than you. We are not involved in Bofors scandal.... (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I don't allow any arguments.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA: I

have nothing to say about responsible citizens talking in an irresponsible manner. You may consider yourself a responsible citizen. The whole world knows about the strategic importance of Sri Lanka. Mr. Jayewardhane needed help in Sri Lanka. Had he not taken help from India, Pakistan, China and America would have come forward for help. In that case the forces which want India to be disintegrated would have started helping Sri Lanka and firing missiles on India. Perhaps you would have liked that situation... (*Interruptions*)....

[*English*]

DR. A. KALANIDHI: That is why we say don't waste your Army in Sri Lanka.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Kalanidhi, don't interrupt. He is not yielding.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. A. KALANIDHI: What we say is that instead of keeping it there, if you keep it on the borders of Pakistan, it will be much more useful. That is what we are telling. We are more bothered about our country than you.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. A. KALANIDHI: The massive mandate was given to you before the Accord and not now. Let you have the elections now. You will come to zero. In U.P. you got zero in 1977. Don't forget that.

AN HON. MEMBER: We will face that you talk of Tamil Nadu.

DR. A. KALANIDHI: For 22 years, you are out of stream, out of power in Tamil Nadu.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU (Madras North): We have given Bangladesh but we have not given Tamil Eelam. This is double standard for Congress.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA: The Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, who are elected by the people of India, know better where to deploy the Army. They have to decide priorities.... (*Interruptions*).... Deputy Speaker, Sir, link gets discontinued owing to interruptions made by our friends.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): You too interrupt.

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA: I never interrupt. I always pay attention to what you speak.... (*Interruptions*)....

These people may say anything, but the sacrifices made by the Congress Party to safeguard the unity, integrity and secularism of this country are unparalleled, whether these sacrifices were made by Mahatma Gandhi or Indira Gandhi.

Our Prime Minister dared to visit Sri Lanka for signing the accord in spite of knowing the fact that the Prime Minister and the Army was not cooperating with the President of Sri Lanka. He went there and signed the accord in spite of his life being at stake. Although he had to face deadly attack, yet he reached accord for the unit and integrity of the country. These people may say anything, but very few of them can imagine how much he does for the unity and integrity of this country. I have noticed that when Babari Masjid-Ram Janam Bhoomi issue flared up recently, the Members of Parliament supported both the warring camps. They join their processions and instigate them. They never talk of national unity and integrity. Sometimes they talk of supporting Khalistan

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and some other time they try to instigate Sikhs and another communities. They take it ill when Prime Minister calls for unity and integrity of this country. They say that the Government has not acted firmly. What type of firmness do they want? In which field do they want to judge the firmness? In every field the work has been done firmly.

I work at grass root level. I have seen how speedily the poverty eradication programme for which 30 percent of the total budget has been allocated is being implemented. When I visit the villages, I inquire about the implementation of I.R.D.P. I find that through subsidy and other means, 23 million families of our country have been able to be self-dependent. When I go to the village, I ask the farmers what else help should we render to them. To this they reply that if I want to help them, settle the families of labourers in their village, because labourers of their village have been rejuvenated with the help of money provided by the Government through banks. In this way, I.R.D.P. has brought about a big social and economic revolution in this country. But this does not come to their vision.

When funds under 20 Point Programme are allocated to various State Governments run by opposition parties, whether it is C.P.M. Government in Kerala and elsewhere or the Janata Government in Karnataka, these Governments draw the money and implement the anti-poverty programmes in their respective States. In their meetings, they make claims to the effect that they did a very good work. In this connection, I would like to point out that had those 30 per cent funds not been allocated by the Centre, the funds would not have reached them and they would not have been in a position to the anti-poverty programmes.

[English]

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South

Central): It is not your money.

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA: But this money has been allotted by the Congress Government.

[Translation]

This money has been allotted by the Congress Government. It is due the policies of the Congress Government that the money is reaching there. But they cannot make this thing public. If they do so, it is possible that their Governments may not be able to continue in the States concerned. They cannot accept this fact in the public due to political compulsion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the country has done a lot in the field of education. All parties and people belonging to all sections of the society unanimously accept the fact that the system of education prevalent in the country in the post-independence period had been introduced by Lord Macaulay. It is a system which produces clerks and gives rise to capitalism. People from all walks of life whether he is a teacher or a student or anybody belonging to the Opposition, spoke against this education system. Although nobody favoured it, examinations are being held in March and April every year under the system. In order to bring about a change in the above system, a new plan of action concerning the Education Policy was taken up during the last three years. It was sent to various institutions and State Governments and their views were obtained in the matter. Thereafter it was passed by the Parliament and the New Education Policy was introduced in the country. 206 Navodaya Vidyalayas have been opened under the new system. The various shortcomings found in the schools of the country have been removed through "operation black-board" under this system. In this connection, I would like to state that two Navodaya Vidyalayas have been opened in my Parliamentary Constituency. I visited one of these

schools on its opening day. I found there a poor man dressed in tattered clothes standing at a distance from his son who had been selected for admission in that school. He was feeling shy of standing there with the fear that anybody could recognise him to be the father of one of the students. It has been clearly indicated that 71 per cent of children belonging to rural areas are studying in the Navodaya Vidyalayas. Out of these, 41 per cent come from those families who live below the poverty line. Could a poor man have ever dreamt of his child studying in a public school like the Navodaya Vidyalaya where children of only rich people undertook their studies by residing in the hostels? It is Rajiv Gandhi's Government which brought about a revolutionary change in the field of education through this education policy.....

(Interruptions)

Though these people do not realise this thing, yet I know very well that internally they have faith in this system. Presently there are Governments run by opposition parties in 7-8 States. They could have refused the setting up of Navodaya Vidyalayas in their States. They could have refused to draw the funds meant for 'operation black board'. They draw the funds, set up the institutions but at the same time also oppose them. If they do not oppose, people will wipe out their political identity.....*(Interruptions)*.

This year the country experienced the most terrible drought of the century. But the poor people did not feel the impact of the drought situation. They have been supplied essential commodities in a proper way and the morale of the farmers has been held high. The Prime Minister himself visited the States and enquired about the difficulties of the poor people. He asked the Chief Ministers, particularly, of the Congress ruled States to make proper use of the funds being allocated for drought. Each and every State have been provided the funds as per their

demand. No discrimination has been made against any State even if it is ruled by the Opposition. There cannot be a better example of political impartiality than this. It is not possible to imagine with urban psyche as to what type of assistance is being provided to the farmers. Every effort is being made to make the farmers self-reliant, whether he is a marginal farmer or a small farmer, by providing them assistance for the purchase of fertilisers and seeds and by giving subsidy for digging wells, getting electricity connection, purchasing tractors etc. It is only due to the policies of this Government that we find today that large stocks of foodgrains are available for domestic consumption as well as for export. All that I would like to say is that the farmers should be provided a little more assistance because the farmer purchases various commodities from the market at a higher price but his foodgrains do not fetch an equally higher price. Hence he finds it difficult to maintain himself and his machinery such as tractors, etc. If the farmer is provided a little more assistance, it will facilitate him to lead a normal life. Our farmers are very sincere and honest at their work and they put a hard labour. If they are provided facilities, they can double the production of food-grains thereby making the country in a position to export.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while extending my support to the motion of thanks on the President's Address to both Houses of Parliament, I would like to submit one more point. Presently a limit has been fixed in regard to the self-employment scheme. I want that this limit should be raised. There is a provision to provide loan assistance to 150 to 200 people in each district under this scheme. I want that this number should be doubled or increased even further and the limit may be done away with. All the eligible people may be provided loans under the self-employment scheme so that they may become self-reliant and capable. I must say that lawyers should also be included among

[Sh. Rameshwar Neekhra]

the people considered eligible under the self-employment scheme. Because, after completing the studies a lawyer intends to set up his own office and library. He wants to purchase type-writer etc. But those days the prices of these articles have gone up and under these circumstances he cannot maintain his office. If he is provided a sum of Rs 35,000 under the self-employment scheme, he can make all these arrangements and serve the judiciary in a better way.

With these words, I once again support the motion of thanks on the President's Address.

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, there are many areas which our esteemed President did not touch in his Address, but I will come to those areas later. Through you, I convey my appreciation and thanks to the esteemed President for the Address to both the House of Parliament.

Shri, I tried to hear the esteemed President with utmost attention and from the long Address that the President delivered I could select a couple of things for which he deserves in my opinion our gratefulness and appreciation. He rightly touched the question of terrorism and an atmosphere of violence in this country. In fact, when we rise in the morning and touch any newspaper the first thing our eyes catch is the killings of innocent people not only in Punjab but also in the North-Eastern side of our country. Therefore, the esteemed President expressed his concern for the growing terrorism in the country and expressed a desire that the people of India should rise against this atmosphere of violence and find a lasting solution to this problem.

The second thing which I appreciated in

the address is that the President cautioned the nation through its chosen representatives that they should sustain their urge, interest and concern for the unity and integrity of the country. There are elements—you refer to them as fundamentalists, chauvinists, terrorists and secessionists—and all these elements the President had in view and, therefore he cautioned the countrymen that they should be concerned and ever-alert on the question of unity and integrity of the country.

Then President appreciated Government's efforts directed towards the provision of relief to the drought stricken people in various parts of the country. I have a marginal difference of opinion on this issue because we have a rotten system of public distribution and, therefore, much of the aid and relief does not reach the man who really suffers but that is a different issue. The President deserves thanks that he could feel concerned about the people who suffered through this unprecedented drought.

Another point which I want to bring on record is the President's concern for the emancipation of women. Women in this country are receiving a raw deal and I feel in my opinion there is urgent need to amend the Constitution of India to make a specific provision not only making women equal to men in various fields but we have also to commit ourselves to total emancipation of women be it in the field of economics, politics or social justice. We saw how Home Minister assured this House on the question of an obnoxious situation that had taken place in Bihar. I feel Government of Bihar has received the concern of this House through the Home Minister. But the question is whether women will really be emancipated. In my opinion, I don't feel convinced that we have a solution available right now. It is for that that I want amendment in the Constitution of India to organise a better deal for women. In this connection, President mentioned about

Sati. He expressed happiness over the law that was enacted in both Houses of Parliament. Now it is an act with us. This obnoxious drama of immolation in the name of religion will be eradicated. These and some other areas received pointed attention of the esteemed President. I fully appreciate this Address and I express my gratefulness to the esteemed President through you.

As I informed this House earlier, there are so many areas which the President has not chosen to discuss in the Address or the President came to touch these areas. But he did not get into details. For instance, the esteemed President felt concerned about communalism. But he did not delve a little deeper and enlighten us as to how we can eradicate communalism from this country. We have to be very bold. It may be through the amendment of the Constitution. It may be through other laws. It may be by producing an Act by itself. The first condition for eradicating communalism is that we have to be very very bold. We have to be above party politics.

Now my friend from that side just before me mentioned that dispute, called Babri Mosque-Ram Janambhoomi dispute. In my opinion, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Babri Mosque is no dispute. It belongs to Muslims. It is historically proved fact. But there is a dispute. I have studied the historically proved fact. But there is a dispute. I have studied the Historical documents. The Muslims of this country have a rightful claim on that mosque.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM (Gaya): It would be better if you do not take up this issue.

[*English*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: You will see, I will come to the right conclusion.. But there is a dispute and this dispute continues. It is not resolved. I don't raise objection to people saying it Ram Janambhoomi. But somewhere this dispute has to be solved. When Meerut situation cropped up, some people said that it was because of Babri Mosque dispute. Maybe it is because of that. But you have to delve deeper. You have to go to the root and then you have to solve. You can't avoid it. You have not to solve it for the election. But you have to solve for the amity between Hindus and Muslims. You have to solve it for the communal harmony. That is the essence of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. That is the essence of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. That is the essence of the whole working of Jawaharlal Nehru's philosophy-when he spoke to us-and so many luminaries. You can't avoid it. You have to solve it. If I were to be consulted on it, I would say: Give it to the Archives Department. It will neither belong to Muslims nor to Hindus. But this solution has to come up before a forum. Muslim may not agree and the Hindus may not agree but you have to work out a solution where the Muslims and Hindus accept the solution and resolve it. So...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You can continue tomorrow. Now the House stands adjourned to reassemble tomorrow at 11 A.M.

18.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then Adjourned Till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 26, 1988/ Phalguna 7, 1909 (Saka)