

12.18 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri V.N. Gadgil and seconded by Shri R.L. Bhatia on the 23rd February, 1989:—

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 21st February, 1989."

Kumari Mamata Banerjee to continue her speech. She has already taken 21 minutes.

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Yesterday, I was speaking on the President address. First of all, what I want to say is that problem of unemployment is the greatest problem in our country. Even in the President address, the problem of unemployment finds a mention. Our Government has also announced a 'Removal of unemployment' programme but no plan of the programme has been chalked out till now. Therefore, I would like to urge upon the Government to implement the programme in a planned way at the earliest to convert the slogan of 'Bakari Hatao' into a reality because in this country the problem of unemployment is a very big problem which could pose a serious to our country, in case it was not solved. In this context, I want to make a mention of a large number of posts lying vacant in many big undertakings of the Central Government such as railways. Simi-

larly, there is banking sector as well as steel sector and the Coal India Ltd. There are many such sectors where recruitments are not being made due to a ban on the fresh recruitments. Two-third of the actual recruitment is only for an eye-wash. Therefore, it is my request that the Government should declare all the notified vacancies as soon as possible and fill all those vacancies at the earliest. It will provide an earlier opportunity of employment to the unemployed youth of this country who are at least one crore in number.

I want to say one thing more that Government has prepared a national perspective plan for making reservations of posts for women. You have made provision for 30 percent political reservation in Panchayat and district elections. But I want that there should be reservation for women in the matter of the economic development. It is evident from the records of employment exchanges that only two percent of women have been provided employment. It is very shocking that even when there is a provision of equal rights for the womenfolk in this country, then why they are not given equal opportunities in the services? Therefore, I want to request the Government to provide reservation for women in the services as they have already provided 30 percent political reservation for them so that ladies may also get an opportunity to work.

One thing I want to say about postal order which are required to be furnished along with the application for the post. Unemployed youth have to attach postal order with their applications which is a great burden on them. The Government have exempted scheduled caste and scheduled tribes from the fee but the general candidates have not been given this benefit. I want to make a particular mention of a fact that there are a large number of unemployed youth in our country who are not in a position to furnish postal orders even of the value of Rs. 25 and hence are deprived of an opportunity of sending their applications. It is a big obstacle for them. I want to request the Government that they should waive the

condition of postal orders for all categories of candidates, it would be a graceful gesture towards the youths to help them to get jobs.

The House is discussing the Bhopal Gas Tragedy. Our Government is helping Bhopal Gas victims on humanitarian grounds and not for any political benefit. It is true that all help to be provided to Bhopal Gas victims, should certainly be provided by the Government. Along with this, I want to raise one more issue in the House. Earlier to 8, I had raised it in the House. The Government is aware of the fact that in Bihala region of my constituency, thousands of people have become paralytic due to their consumption of rapeseed oil. This oil they had obtained from the fair price shops. Due to this they are not in a position to do any work as they have become physically incapable. I also want to make a request to the Government in this House in this regard that they should take care of the thousands of people of Bihala, who have fallen victim to the rapeseed oil which they had purchased from the fair price shops. This is a great problem. In Bhopal Gas Tragedy, Messers Carbide, which is a foreign company, is involved but what is the reason that the people who have become paralysed because of this rapeseed oil in the country are not being given any amount as compensation by the government. In my view, they should also be given compensation. In my State, they have given Rs. 200 and 2 k.g. of rice to each individual for political gains but out of it one K.G. of rice is accounted to the party funds. This should not be done. Any Member who speaks about the Bhopal Gas tragedy in the House, should also make a mention of those thousands of people who have fallen victim in my area. They should also speak about giving compensation to them. I have great respect and high regards for Mr. Madhu Dandavate. I will also request Mr. Dandavate that he should raise this matter in the House. People who become paralysed after consuming edible oil supplied by the Government should be paid due compensation. (*Interruptions*). It is a human problem and not a political one.

The Central Government claims that

kerosene is available in the country in adequate quantities. I do not know what is the position in other states, but it is very shameful and a matter of great regret that the people in the State of West Bengal are facing acute hardship for kerosene. Every day people stand in queues right from 3 O'clock in the morning for kerosene. Why kerosene is so scarce? I have come to know that the Central Government has already allotted the quota to the State Government. The Food Minister of West Bengal has himself admitted it. We are at a loss why it does not reach the consumers. According to a Press report kerosene oil is being smuggled to Bangladesh bordering the State, clandestinely. This is why there is shortage of kerosene in the State. If at all any such instance of theft comes to the notice of the Government, it should pay due attention towards it so as to ensure that commodities are not smuggled out of the country. There is acute hardship with regard to availability of kerosene in the State of West Bengal. It seems one group is involved in this racket. The Government should pay attention in this direction. As such I request the Government to hold an enquiry into the matter so that the people do not face any hardship.

12.26 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I would like to say one more thing. The hon. President has stated in his address that the industrial growth has touched a new high in our country. It is a very good thing.

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please wind up.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: I will take only two minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have taken twenty one minutes yesterday. I have no objection to allow you, but your Party Members will not get sufficient time.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: Sir, it is all right that the industrial growth has shown remarkable improvement but at the same time the Government should bring some change in the industrial policy so that regional imbalance could be removed. There are States where there is no industry at all whereas there are other States which get clearance for setting up a number of industries. One thing that I would like to say is that there is no industry at all in Tripura and new industries need to be set up in West Bengal so as to solve the unemployment problem. New industries should also be set up in Orissa and Bihar. The Government should also change its policy with regard to the sick industries. The Government says that it cannot revive the sick industries as it has to pay subsidy to revive them. But the Government will have to do something for those workers who are rendered jobless, who starve and who commit suicide in frustration. It is not that the Government is required to nationalize each and every industry. The Government should find out the reasons as to why the industries are being closed. Today a similar situation has been created in Maharashtra, West Bengal, Tamilnadu and Bihar as a result of which industries in these States will be closed. How can the industrial growth rise if this happens. Rather, this will not allow our industrial policy to become successful. I am of the view that the Government should set up a Review Committee as it relates to worker's problem. When an industry is closed the management does not face any problem, whereas, the workers face hardship. There is no one to look after them. They are thrown on the roads. I would, therefore, like to request you to set up a Review Committee which could go into this aspect.

One thing more. When we talk of regional imbalances, I would like to take this opportunity to say that the Government should adopt a uniform policy with regard to freight equalisation. In the absence of a

uniform policy on this count the States in the eastern region like Bihar, Orissa, Assam, West Bengal and Tripura are confronting a big problem. No industrialist wants to set up an industry in West Bengal because in the absence of a uniform policy, he does not get subsidy. I, therefore, request the Government to formulate a uniform policy with regard to freight equalisation.

Yesterday, I listened to the speeches of the hon. Members of opposition who were saying a lot of things against the Governor. A new Governor, Shri Rajeshwar, who used to be the Governor of Sikkim has assumed office in West Bengal. The State Government has condemned the posting of the new Governor. I fail to understand as to why the C.P.I. (M) is following a double standard. They say that Prof. Nurul Hasan, is a good Governor whereas for Shri Rajeshwar, they say that he is not good; he is an agent of the Government of India, because he was ex-Director of the Intelligence Bureau. I am at a loss to understand why the C.P.I. (M) is so much frightened of him. There is a saying in our area that aroma of good food satisfies the appetite to a great extent. The C.P.M. knows who is the Governor. They know that he has been ex-Director of the Intelligence Bureau. They also know that there has been lamp scandal, cement scandal and other scandals in the State. They are afraid because they fear that the cat may come out of the bag and they would be exposed. Sir, I want to say that though the Central Government has appointed the Governor but Governor's job is not a political one. (Interruptions)

Sir, the Governor's job is to look after the State and improve the conditions prevailing there. But I do not want to say much in this regard.

The Opposition parties have showered lot of abuses on the Congress. They said a lot of things against the Congress. They have said that the Congress cannot face elections, and it cannot come to power again. In this connection, I must say one thing, that Congress is as clean as the

Ganga. It carries good as well as bad things along with it. The Congress Party has always been part and parcel of this country, it is still there in the country and will continue to remain there. No other party can become a substitute to the Congress.

Sir, you may be aware that some time back, Shri N.T. Ramarao dissolved his Ministry following a leak in the Budget. After two three days, he constituted a new Ministry of his choice. Why does this thing happen? Some astrologer has told Shri Ramarao that one day he would become the Prime Minister. Same is true of Devi Lal. That Devi Lal who was not able to protect the life of a woman in this own household. There are many other contenders including Devi Lal for Prime Ministership. It is sad that the astrologer didn't say that none of them will become the Prime Minister. The astrologer did not say to which party the Prime Minister would belong. Only the Congress Party can provide a Prime Minister to the country and he can not belong to any opposition party.

I would like to submit one more point. The Sarkaria Commission has made its recommendations about the Centre-State relations. We will also discuss them in this august House. In this connection, I would like to point out one thing that if a State Government wants to say anything against the Central Government or the Central Government wants to say anything against any State, they should do so in the National Development Council. They can raise it there. But I would like to raise another issue here. In West Bengal, the Congress Party has a separate machinery and other parties also maintain their own machineries. But it is unfortunate that the Government machinery was utilised in the State to raise big hoardings against the Central Government. Wide publicity was given to the fact that the Central Government does not do anything for the State Government and it does not give anything to the State Government. These hoardings could have been displayed by a political party. But it is not appropriate for the State machinery to do so. I, therefore, request you to hold an enquiry into it. It is not

at all keeping with the spirit of the Constitution. It is unconstitutional and illegal. This should not happen because it will worsen the Centre-State relation.

I do not want to say much. At present no C.P.M. Member is present in the House. It is so because they were aware that this matter would be raised in the House. They do not listen to others. These days the C.P.M. is speaking against the C.P.I. The C.P.M. attacks the Forward Block and the R.S.P. as well. Even then they stay collectively and I, therefore, congratulate them for this quality. Earlier the party which had no identity of its own, is now levelling wild allegations against the Central Government. Recently, an All India Students Conference was held in the State on which crores of rupees were spent. Milk meant for children was diverted there and it was given illegal electric connections. Is it marxism or mendacity? In West Bengal, the State is not developing, rather it has been thrown to dogs. I, therefore, request the Central Government to pay attention to our State, set up industries, work towards its economic development and pay attention to youth. About West Bengal, Shri Gokhale used to say, "What Bengal does to-day, India does tomorrow." But what is happening under Jyoti Basu's regime. The party has grown bigger, but the people have been thrown on roads. They are dying. Please pay attention towards them. Only people belonging to the C.P.M. do not live in West Bengal. People belonging to the Congress also live there. We want that the State should progress and for this we need your assistance.

With this, I conclude.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Sir, if CPI (M) Members have run away, why she is harassing me unnecessarily?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: She wants you also to go away.

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by Shri V.N. Gadgil, thanking the President for the Address he has delivered to both Houses of Parliament.

Naturally, as usual, it is a fairly comprehensive survey of the performance of the Government during the last year and also indication of certain legislations and policies which the Government is going to undertake during the next year. As this is the last year of this Parliament and it is going to be the election year, it is but natural that not only the survey is taken for one year but attempt has been made to highlight the performance of this Government in the last four years also. Equally it is natural that the Opposition Members are not likely to concede any of the successes of the programmes of this Government, again because it is an election year.

There are several points which have been mentioned in this Address and it is the attempt of the hon. Members of the Opposition to belittle this Government or to say that the Government cannot take credit for all these performances. For example, as far as the world peace and disarmament is concerned, when we say the beginning was made by the Delhi Declaration, then many people are tempted to say that very little pressure has been brought by this Delhi Declaration on the big powers, which ultimately held negotiations as far as disarmament is concerned. I would like to submit that unless this pressure was built by Non-Aligned countries and the peace-loving forces in the world, such as India, and unless initiative was taken by India by way of Delhi Declaration, perhaps further progress in the disarmament negotiations would not have taken place. This is a fact and this has to be admitted. The pressure of democracy always make even the biggest powers to change their views and change their attitudes as far as the world problems as concerned. Many people are also saying that the visits of the Prime Minister to China and Pakistan have not achieved anything and

they ask what he has done. They say that China has not still agreed to solve the border problem, Pakistan is still claiming the territory of Siachen and asking India to withdraw from that and there is also a continuing threat of nuclear bomb from Pakistan and so on and so forth. Now, Sir, I would submit in this case that it is a welcome situation that democracy has been established in Pakistan and we should take full advantage of changing circumstances and to improve our relations. Relations and the contacts are not improved immediately. A beginning has to be made and therefore a right step has to be taken which will ultimately result to good relations and perhaps disappearance of the threats which Pakistan is holding towards India. Similarly, even though China has not still agreed to any solution on the border issue I would say that ice has been broken and perhaps a stage is set for further negotiations as far as these border problems are concerned.

Sir, in the internal problems, the achievements which this Government is claiming, there is also a criticism that no internal problem is also solved. Taken for example, Mizoram. They ask what is solved. But I would strongly submit that the Congress Party and this Government took the greatest risk even in handing over the power to Mr. Laldenga and ultimately in a democratic election, the power has come back to this party again. Now, the problem is not as it was before. Even Mr. Laldenga, as it is reported today, has said in a press conference which I quote:

"Mr. Laldenga, Mizo National Front leader, today emphatically declared before the national press that 'the question of going back to insurgency does not arise. He added, if we ever take up arms again, it will be for the defence of India.'"

He has further referred to his declaration about going to jungle and he had said.

"Expressing his anguish at some press reports and rumours that in the event

of an electoral defeat he would go back to the jungles, he said that nobody should say that either in private or in public."

Therefore, Insurgency in Mizoram has been completely given up by these forces and I would ask whether it is a mean achievement of this Government and those who are saying that nothing has been achieved are putting curtain on their eyes not to see the real facts as far as this is concerned.

Now, Gorkhaland question is also practically solved. Hill Councils have been established and normal life is returning in that territory as far as those agitations are concerned. Of course, Punjab solution is not in sight. But there the problems are stupendous and most of the Opposition parties also have not brought any solution to offer as far as this is concerned. But a very significant fact is that even the Governor of that State has been going round from village to village and creating confidence among the people and the villagers so that ultimately a solution will come out and terrorism in that State will also be wiped out.

Now, as far as Sri Lanka is concerned, there also we cannot belittle the performance of the I.P.K.F. Now, this Force has been able to see that elections were held peacefully, even parliamentary elections, President's elections and elections to the Provincial Government and the North Eastern Provinces have been held and they have been established. They have a democratic set up there and therefore the problem has been practically solved as far as Sri Lanka is concerned.

One of the Ministers of Sri Lanka has said today, and I quote from the *Times of India* of today as follows:

"The Sri Lankan Minister of State for Defence, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne, has said, the Indian Peace Keeping Force will leave the island only when the President, Mr. R. Premadasa, is satisfied that the provincial government in

the north-eastern province is able to build up its own police force."

Therefore, they have got also full confidence in the performance of this IPKF and till the whole thing is completely brought to normal we shall have to perform our duty as far as Sri Lanka is concerned.

So, consider all these performances and the progress as far as the last four years are concerned, and then we will have to admit that even this Force has also done its duty properly.

On the economic front, of course, due to the successive poor monsoons of four years drought situation had arisen and the Government has had great difficulty in going ahead as far as the economic progress is concerned. But even then industrial sector maintained its upward trend and registered a growth rate of 7.7 percent. Then, infrastructural sectors have performed well, particularly thermal electricity generation, railway movement and coal production.

We must compare all these performances with the performances made during the similar drought situations. But I may say that similar drought situation never existed. This was the worst situation which this country had faced. But a little similar situation arose during the time of Janata regime previously also and we will have to compare the performance of that Government with the performance of this Government.

About the Panchayati Raj system, the Prime Minister and this Government are very much serious in establishing it and therefore, steps are being taken. The President has also stated here that revamping of Panchayati Raj institutions and recasting all their powers and functions is a major priority of the Government and the Government intends to bring forward a major legislative programme to devolve power to the people. I do not know how any political party can oppose this move when the power is to devolve to the grassroot of the people. Nobody can oppose this move. It is an irony

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of situation for the State Governments to say that the Central Government would interfere if this legislation is passed. How can it be? It is a federal Government and if you establish Panchayati Raj it will go under the State Governments and therefore, there is no possibility of Central Government interfering at all. The Central Government is making its efforts to strengthen this, to establish this Panchayati Raj system in this country so that the grassroot democracy is established everywhere and there is response from the people, there is planning from the grassroot and it comes to the top level of this country. It is a very healthy sign and it will be a great achievement as far as democracy of this country is concerned if Panchayati Raj system is successfully established and this fear of the State Governments is dispelled. Their power cannot be decreased at all because this goes to the root of the people. If you are opposed to devolving power to the last man in this country, then that is a different matter. Otherwise, every wise person and every political party should welcome this move of the Central Government and support it as far as this is concerned.

Now, I would like to mention two or three things as far as this Presidential Address is concerned, where a little dissatisfaction is there in my mind. Firstly, as far as housing is concerned, a statement has been made here on page 9 that the National Housing Policy has been passed in Parliament. I think, it is an incorrect statement. The national housing policy was discussed in the Upper House but not in this House. It has not been passed in this House. Last time, it was in the list of business but ultimately it did not reach. Therefore, that incorrect statement will have to be corrected. I urge upon the Government to pay more attention to this housing problem. Apart from bread and cloth, the housing should have the greatest priority. We have established a national bank for housing with a fixed capital of Rs. 5 crores. But, I think, the progress in this direction is at the snail's pace. Very prompt and active measures are to be taken to solve

the housing problem in this country, both in urban and rural areas. Now that the national commission on urbanisation has also given its report, the Government will have to take prompt action in considering and accepting those recommendations. A mention has been made in the President's Address that those recommendations are under examination. I would urge upon the Government to take very prompt steps as urbanisation is becoming a great problem and more and more cities are being established. We are facing more and more problems as far as urbanisation of this country is concerned. Therefore, prompt action will have to be taken with respect to those recommendations of this commission.

As far as prices are concerned, the situation is very bad, particularly in the cities. Consumer prices are rising as far as essential commodities are concerned to such an extent that every common citizen, particularly in cities is very much harassed and worried about the rising prices. As a result of this, public distribution system has also collapsed. I may point out here that because of the drastic reduction in the quota of rice and wheat to the States, particularly to Maharashtra, the ration shops in the city of Bombay are facing a great problem and people are not even getting proper ration. They are being harassed; they have to stand in the long queue. I think, that is the position in Delhi also. In urban cities, people are suffering very much due to price rise and due to the shortage of essential commodities such as rice and wheat.

I am sorry to point out that there is no mention in the President's Address regarding labour unrest and unemployment. There is large unemployment which has arisen, particularly due to the implementation of the textile policy. As far as Bombay is concerned, mills after mills are closed and the Government is not taking any steps to prevent the closure of textile mills with the result, every day we are adding so many number to the unemployed labourers in this country, particularly in a city like Bombay. Therefore, again I would urge upon the Government to

review the textile policy and review the boards which are considering viability and non-viability of companies and to take action against the erring Directors or giving funds to the mills for modernisation. All these policies will have to be reviewed because the present policies are resulting in closure of textile mills, resulting in vast unemployment, as far as this country is concerned.

Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to look into this matter and take very drastic steps as far as labour unemployment is concerned. Labour unrest is there because of the new index base of 1982. A lot of dearness allowance is being lost by a number of labourers as far as this dearness allowance is concerned because the linkage is defective and all the Trade Union have protested against this new linkage, the new Index policy. Therefore, Government may immediately take steps so that crores of rupees which are lost by the workers in terms of dearness allowance can be paid to them and justice will be rendered to them. When the prices are already rising, they are getting less and less dearness allowance. That is the irony of the situation. That may have to be corrected. I hope the Government will look to these urgent problems also.

With these words, I support this Motion of Thanks to the President for delivering his Address.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the president's Address is a document which reflects the state of affairs of the nation and it projects the steps that the Government proposes to undertake in the coming year to meet the challenges that it faces. It is quite natural that in the Address, like any other document, the Government will play down its failures and inflate its success. It is more natural, as my friend who preceded me, Shri Sharad Dighe, has said, that in an election year of confrontation, the Government will try to project everything as rosy and the Opposition to some extent will try to highlight the failures of the Government. This is natural out come of the democratic process, which

we must accept. But unfortunately I find that this address by the President is greatly divorced from the reality. It is almost a fictional work. Except for platitudinous recitals, I don't find really the problems being discussed threadbare or any remedies being suggested.

Sir, in the Presidential Address it has been stated that the economy has done exceedingly well, the performance is exceptional, success in almost all fronts are unparalleled there are positive growth and the growth rate achieved is commendable. But may I ask why in spite of all these that the prices are rising? Not only the Members of the Opposition but also the Members of the Ruling Party without exception are making this point that today if there is one issue which is causing some disquiet in this country, it is the issue of inflation. In fact I once told that if the wives of the hon. Members would have had the right to remain present in the House and vote, then the Government would have fallen because no house-wife today will support the Government in the present state of inflationary spiral. Why is it that in spite of all the positive developments where we have greater progress in the fields of industry, agriculture where there has been greater output of food, the balance of payment position is deteriorating? In fact I had a question today regarding this and the hon. Minister in-charge of Finance have had to admit that the foreign exchange reserve has come down by 5044 crores on January 13, this year, which is less by Rs. 832 crores and the decline is 12.5 per cent which is a perceptible decline. Why is it that in spite of all these achievements a person no less than the Chairman of the Finance Commission who happens to be a Member of the Ruling Party, who happens to be a Member of the Upper House, had to caution the Government that the Centre has entered into a danger zone in its resource position and this can lead to a severe crisis and a grinding halt. I don't find in the President's Address any mention, any reference to these aspects. The President's Address virtually deals with the problem of inflation and unemployments by one sentence. As far as the

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question of inflation is concerned, the President's Address doesn't in any way deal with the question nor of the very acute resource position of this country. It is a fact that both in terms of domestic borrowing and our international borrowing, we are almost crossing the danger signal. Whatever we borrow, we have to use it to pay back the interest. Why is it that the unproductive expenditure is growing every year? In spite of every year's President's Address except this one recital by the hon. President's that this unproductive expenditure will be cut down no real effort has been made in this direction. Why is it that in spite of the fact that there has been increase on the agricultural and industrial fronts, unemployment is growing?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can continue after Lunch. We will adjourn for Lunch and re-assemble at 2.00 PM.

13.00 hrs.

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

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch
at seven minutes past fourteen of the
clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

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

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Dinesh Goswami may continue with his speech.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati)
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, just before lunch I was pointing out that the presidential Address though it reflects the state of affairs of the nation has been more or less a fictional

document. The President quite naturally in this election year will magnify the successes of the government and will under-play its failures. But there should be some relationship with the reality.

It has been sought to be emphasised that on the economic front there has been a bloom; that the problems in the country on the political front have been solved but I ask myself and I ask the ruling party why is it that inspite of 3.6 per cent growth on the economic front the prices are rising. There has been an adverse position in the balance of payment to the extent of 12.5 per cent if I compare the corresponding figure of January 1988 with January 1989. Even a person like Mr. N.K.P. Salve, Chairman of the Finance Commission, a member of the ruling party has warned the Central Government about its resource position stating that the resource position of the Central Government is in dangerous zone. Unemployment is mounting in the country. Unproductive expenditure is increasing and in the Presidential Address one does not find a solution to this problem. Even the president's Address has not been drafted with care because I find two serious mistakes there. One has been pointed out by Shri Sharad Dighe that the President in para 30 has stated that the National Housing Policy has been passed by Parliament. Not to speak of its being passed by Parliament, if I am correct, the National Housing Policy has not even been considered by Lok Sabha.

In paragraph 4, the President has said: "As we enter the final year of this Parliament..." The hon. President should have remembered that the Parliament consists of himself, the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. And this is not the final year of the Parliament. This is the final year of the Lok Sabha only. I hope that the President will not translate into action the statement that this is the final year of the Parliament itself. These are not very light omissions. This only shows that the draftsmen who have drafted the President's Address have thought that after all this is not a document which should be carefully drafted.

Then, I ask myself: why in spite of all these achievements in the political and in the economic fields, the Congress Party is losing the elections and losing the popular support? Will, this is a question to which they shall have to apply their own minds.

The Government has said that they are determined to fight terrorism. But it is my charge and which I make with responsibility that the Government has encouraged terrorism for petty political ends.

We are facing a problem of the Bodo population. We know that the tribals not only in Assam but all over India have tremendous problems, problems which have accumulated over the years during the Imperial regime and which in the last 40 years we have not been able to solve. It is not that the AGP Government has created this problem in the three years. These are accumulated problems and the problems need to be solved with consideration and with care. They have 92 demands. But we have made it a point that they are not prepared to discuss one demand, that is the creation of a Union Territory or State within Assam. Assam has been fragmented times without number and we cannot fragment it further. Even the Bodos do not have a viable territory because even in the area of Kokrajhar, where the movement is in its highest momentum, the Bodo population is less than 27 per cent. But we are prepared to discuss and in fact there has been discussions on other problems. So, suddenly we find that they have given up 89 demands out of the 92 demands. They have said, "we will concentrate only on three demands." A decision has been taken on 24th December at a convention that the movement leaders will only take up 3 demands. The demand, from a Union Territory, has been changed to a demand for a State. I ask myself and I ask the Government: Why? Now, one of the important leaders of this movement, Sonaram Burglary, Chief of the Bodo Volunteer Force has been arrested. He has made a statement during interrogation that the Union Home Minister whom he met... (*Interruptions*) He has stated that the

Government of India is not going to consider any further Union Territory. And if you want interference of Government of India, then you must now concentrate on the demand for a separate State because then the Central Government can interfere and will interfere. (*Interruptions*) My good friend, Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev, is here. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order Please.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahabubnagar): Are you asking for order here by the Government of India?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, no, Don't interfere.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: My good friend, Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev, with whom I have the best personal friendship, is here. I am not one who finds pleasure in making a personal allegation. I do not make it. But the fact remains that the Secretary of the All-Cachhar and Karimganj Students Association, who has criticised us bitterly today the AGP Government, has made a statement publicly that Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev in a meeting between the tribals and himself encouraged the tribals to go for violence so that there can be interference in Assam. (*Interruptions*)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Sir, it is not true. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Samar Brahma Choudhury, who is not kindly disposed towards on this issue a Member of Parliament from the Plains Tribal Council of Assam, who has been extremely critical of us, with all his responsibility has made the complaint that Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev has encouraged the Bodos to go for violence.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: No, Sir.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: It is not for you to reply. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order please.

(Interruptions)

MR. DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev will have all opportunity to meet this point.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV): On a point of order. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is raising a point of order. Order please.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have allowed him.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Only yesterday, the Home Ministry has issued a Press note denying this wild allegation against Shri Buta Singh. I myself, in the Press Conference in Assam, challenged the Assam Government to put forward the allegation made against me and I gave 15 days time. But nothing has come. Now, Mr. Goswami has brought forward certain allegations. I would request him to substantiate it and give it. And you can take any action from your side to get it inquired but such a wild allegation proves the bankrupt political thinking of the AGP Government. He does not know how to come up with it.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I have not made the allegation. The allegation is made by the Secretary of the Assam Cachhar Karim Ganj Students Association. I now demand Shri Santosh Mohan Dev to take action and arrest that young man for making false allegation. I challenge Shri Santosh Mohan Dev that if he has the courage to do so, for making this wild allegation against such an important Minister, let him arrest him.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: It is a federal pattern of State. The Chief Minister

should arrest him.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I will put forth whatever has come out in the interrogation and I will ask your permission to deal with it in the House. After all the statements have not been made by our friends—they are critical of us day in and day out. Who can just forget that there was violence in Tripura by TNV just before the election and the moment congress (I) has come to power, TNV has disappeared from the scene? Let us not forget it. You can encourage violence but Assam is not going to have the last say. Tomorrow it will be Jharkhand and day after tomorrow it will be Uttarkhand. If this problem of tribal unrest is not dealt with concerted efforts from both the ruling party and the Opposition, we will be facing a situation which will be extremely difficult to tackle. It will be more difficult and dangerous than even Punjab.

The Prime Minister has stated that north-eastern region has come to the national mainstream. May I ask this from the hon. President and the Prime Minister. They have talked about drought. But what about floods? Was there not a problem of floods? Unprecedented floods of the highest dimension were experienced in the State. People of Assam had to suffer the ravages of floods. Rs. 740 crores were lost. In the President's Address, there has not been a mention of it, not even a word about it. If I complain today that this Government and the Prime Minister and the President do not bother at all about the north-eastern region, what answer can they give me? He has stated that the north-eastern region has come to the national mainstream. We demand certain amounts. We were told to give accounts. When we had a loss of Rs. 740 crores, we were given Rs. 20 crores and in instalments, we got Rs. 62 crores. The Prime Minister went to Jammu and Kashmir inspite of the fact that the flood was of a very short duration. He said: 'I give Rs. 51 crores' and to Punjab he gave Rs. 100 crores. I do not mind his giving Rs. 100 crores and more but I would like to question him as to on what basis and from what resources he can give this amount.

There are two sources from where money flows. One is the Planning Commission and the other is the Finance Commission. What is his personal source? We strongly condemn that today this Government is playing politics with human misery.

The Government has said about Panchayat Raj. We do not mind devolution of power. We accept it and we welcome it. But before you go to panchayats, you should see that the states do get power because the Constitution envisages the three-tier system, the Centre the State, and thereafter the local bodies. Today the attempt of the Central Government has been to over-ride the States and that has been apparent from the appointment of the Governors. What has been done in two States. There is friction between the Governor and the Chief Minister, the Governor is not changed. But there is a State where there is harmonious relationship between the Governor and the Chief Minister which is West Bengal. The Governor is shifted which I take as unconstitutional and a man of the Intelligence Bureau has been put as in charge as the Governor of West Bengal.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: You are afraid.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am not afraid. This House is considering the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations. The Sarkaria Commission have made specific proposals regarding appointment of the Governors. All these recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission regarding appointment of the Governors have been thrown over board by this Government. That only shows that the Sarkaria Commission report has been given a descent burial by this Government even before this has been considered. And that is why we are apprehensive that in the name of the devolution of power to the Panchayats, the Central Government is trying today to control the States from here at Delhi by over-riding the States. That is why we have objected to the constant meetings of the IAS and IPS officers with the Prime Minister. A message has also gone

from here that these officers are not to bother about the state Government as they were under the control of the Centre; they should take steps so that the opposition-ruled States ultimately come under the Central purview.

I would submit that there is dichotomy between what the Government preaches and what it practises. The President's Address is a fictional work which the country is not going to take seriously. Even the House has not taken it seriously. I was waiting from 2.00 to 2.10 p.m. ; the quorum bell was ringing and ringing and the ruling party members, who have greater responsibility to maintain the quorum were not present in adequate numbers to constitute the quorum. This is the seriousness with which the President's Address has been accepted even by the ruling party Members. As it is customary that we must thank the President, we support the Motion of Thanks, but with all these reservations that I have expressed.

SHRI SOMNATH RATH (Aska): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The President has vividly stated about the performance and achievements of the Government and the action going to be taken in the area of implementation of poverty alleviation programme and other schemes to eradicate unemployment.

This Government has full faith in the youth force and that is the reason why the voting age was reduced to 18. A number of steps have been taken to protect the interest of the weaker section. The country is on a growth path despite serious and unprecedented drought and flood. There is growth in the industry sector, agriculture, production, export and the public sector performance has also improved.

A successful dialogue of our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi with Chinese and Pakistani leaders has reduced the tension with our neighbouring countries, specially with regard to the border issues.

[Sh. Somnath Rath]

A proper stress has been laid on science and technology, which has shown good results in the field of development. The balance of trade and import require attention.

Shri Madhav Reddi stated that the President had not mentioned about the areas where the Government should be cautious. The President has certainly made a mention of page, para 28:

"We need to be very vigilant about the balance of payments...Imports have to be carefully monitored with the emphasis on efficient import substitution wherever feasible."

The President has, therefore, mentioned about the areas where the Government should take active steps and those areas are balance of payment and the need to reduce import.

In other areas, foreign affairs and internal affairs also, the President's Address is very clear. The President has stated the achievements that were going to be made by the Government and the steps that are going to be taken by the Government.

In spite of signs of improvement of relations with Pakistan, the acquisition of technology and material by Pakistan to manufacture nuclear weapons is a matter of concern for us. The non-alignment policy of India has always been to reduce the tension in the world and to maintain peace, stop violence and put an end to nuclear warfare.

Steps have been taken to delink politics from religion as stated by the President. But what is needed is that we should delink politics from crime. In many States, MLAs and other leaders have been murdered. This is an important factor which requires consideration.

In India, the political scenario is very clear. The divergent theory came to the

forefront after the formation of the National Front and the Janta Dal. The Leftist parties are treating the Rightist parties as untouchables. There is no common programme and ideology among the opposition parties and there cannot be at any time. No other political party in India today is able to offer a viable alternative to rule the country; it is only the Congress Party which is in a position to rule the country in right perspective and lead the country. Today, it has come in the newspapers that the Janta Dal leader, Shri V.P. Singh has stated that the States will make adjustments at the time of elections. It is very clear that there is no policy as far as the national level is concerned. They want to get to power somehow or the other in the States as also at the Centre. There is no ideology, no programme. Their only aim is that Shri Rajiv Gandhi should go from the Centre and in the States they should get power by muscle power, casteism or by any other means.

One thing about which the Government should take a note of is that there exist serious lapses between the policy making and its implementation which requires serious immediate attention and the loopholes are to be plugged. More stress is to be given about proper management. The middleman is exploiting the poor people through the poverty alleviation schemes while implementing. Our Prime Minister has also stated that to see that one rupee reaches to the beneficiaries, six rupees are to be spent by way of administration.

The Prime Minister has given thrust on the Commend area Development. In the Ganjam district Orissa though Rushikulya Commed Area Development project is an on-going project, at the Central level it has been stated that it is a new project and it is not being implemented. I would suggest the Finance Minister and also the Planning Commission that Rushikulya Commend Area Development Scheme in Ganjam district, in Orissa, should be implemented in the 8th Five Year Plan.

Stress has been given about the

Kisans. During the discussion on the Direct Tax (Amendment) Bill, yesterday and day before yesterday, the Finance Minister has stated as regards Income tax on agricultural income. Agriculture is the State subject and it has to be decided by the State Government. Therefore, the matter should be taken at the State Government level. The income tax is not decided at the State level and it is the agriculture tax that is decided at that level. The income tax if at all to be levied on agriculturists is levied at the Central level only. The agricultural tax is levied at the State level.

Our marginal and nominal cultivators have worked very hard. The agriculturists have produced to such an extent that we are almost self sufficient. The Planning Commission has stated that after the turn of century we will require 240 million tonnes of foodgrains but now our production is about 160 to 170 million tonnes. So, it will be a Herculean task for us to reach to this target. As such, at this juncture, income tax should not be levied on the agriculturists. When the agriculturists require encouragement, we should not discourage them by charging income tax. I suggest the Finance Minister to think about this when the Budget will be placed before the House on 28th of this month.

Mr. Goswami has referred that the President's Address was not written correctly when it said about entering the final year of Parliament. It is correct in the sense that this is the last year of the term of the Lok Sabha, and he was addressing both the Houses. So, certainly this is the last year for addressing both the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha as the term of this Lok Sabha will expire this year. So, much ado should not be made out of nothing.

Stress has been given about the distribution system. I would request the Government to see that this distribution system is run through the cooperatives and not by individual, as it is done now.

SHRI TARUN KANTI GHOSH (Ba-

rasat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Before I dwell upon that, I would like to say a few words.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars): Sir, there is no quorum in the House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Bill is being rung. Now, there is quorum. Shri Ghosh may continue.

SHRI TARUN KANTI GHOSH: Before I go into the President's speech, I would like to say a few words on what Shri Goswami has stated here. I would like to tell Shri Goswami that he should carry the impression that all of us belonging to the Congress Party have the greatest love, affection and admiration for the State and people of Assam. It is not correct to say that the Union government has taken a different stand on the question of floods and drought.

I had the opportunity to accompany Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi when he visited Assam during the floods. I had seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears how Prime Minister was deeply affected by seeing the people of Assam badly affected because of the floods. You may criticise Shri Rajiv Gandhi on other matters, but not on this count. The way he fought the floods and drought and the manner in which he went almost everywhere to stand by the people in distress to redress their suffering is almost unprecedented. I have seen Indiraji. There is no doubt about it that she was a great leader. I also had an opportunity to see Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a great leader of the world. Even then, I would like to say that I have never seen any Prime Minister doing as much as Shri Rajiv Gandhi has done during the worst drought that India had to face during the last 50 years.

Now, I come to Panchayat Raj. I cannot understand the apprehensions of Shri Goswami. The Prime Minister wants to see that real power goes to the people in the villages and not to the State Capitals, to the Chief Ministers and obviously not to the

[Sh. Tarun Kanti Ghosh]

Prime Minister. What is wrong in this? He wants that the Panchayats should be dealt with by the people of the village. What is your objection to it?

Now, I would like to say a few words about the Governors. Shri Nurul Hasan was a very respected Governor in West Bengal. He will be a very respected Governor in Orissa also. I really do not understand why you are afraid of any change of Governors. There should not be any apprehensions in this regard. Uptill now, nothing has been done to disturb any of the Opposition-ruled States.

I do not want to go into this question any further. But I would like to repeat one thing. Shri Goswami knows me personally. I consider him as my own younger brother. The entire Congress (I) all the members in Congress(I) have the greatest love and respect for Assam which is a wonderful State with wonderful people. We want nothing but progress and prosperity for the people of Assam along with the people of whole of India.

Sir, I want to thank the President. He has uttered two very beautiful lines in his speech:

"We shall eradicate poverty and banish unemployment."

"We shall persist and persevere till terrorism is rooted out."

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I would like to tell my friends here through you that unemployment is the biggest problem in India today and in particular among the educated youth. If we cannot solve this problem, the future of the country cannot be as bright as we want it to be. This line will certainly create a wave among the youth and they will feel assured that Government of India is determined to do something for them.

That is why, in this connection I would

like to make a request to our Prime Minister. There are several very important ministers present here. Our Finance Minister, Parliamentary affairs Minister and the Labour Minister are here. I would like to request the Prime Minister that a line "Right to work and responsibility" be put in our Constitution. There are more than 70 democratic countries in the world, including even in the West, having this sentence in their Constitutions, Everybody has a right to work. If we insert this line into our Constitution, the youth of our country will feel assured that the Government means what it says. It proves that the Government wants to do it. So, this is my humble request to our prime Minister and to the Ministry. Let our Constitution be changed and let this line 'Right to work for everyone in this country' be put into it. As a matter of fact 30 per cent reservation for one category and 20 per cent reservation for another category will evaporate if everybody knows that everybody is going to get job. These reservations will only divide our country and it will not unite our country. But as long as there are weaker sections or as long as there are sections which are deprived of their lawful rights, these reservations will only help them. That is why I would suggest that let there be a call that everybody will be employed and for that you should take steps from now on.

You see how Punjab is suffering from terrorism. It is a most wonderful state. I would say, it is not Punjab which is suffering but it is whole of India which is suffering. If we can really eradicate terrorism from our country, then that would be the biggest day for us. I would like to remind the opposition who have been criticising our Prime Minister that—this is the fifth year of his Prime Ministership, this is the fifth Budget which his finance Minister is going to present, it is a matter of record that under his leadership we have achieved an unprecedented growth in industry and in agriculture which was never there in the past. Even during the drought year, India's growth rate was 3.5 per cent and the average growth of industry has achieved more than nine per cent which is more than that of America, Germany, Eng-

land and Japan. This we should all remember. Rather I would say, as Indians we should be proud of the achievements. We have a wonderful Prime Minister. I have got complete confidence in his leadership. I am quite sure that in the manner in which we are trying to boost our industry and agriculture, one day India is going to be one of the four major powers in the world. There is no doubt about it. America, China, Russia and India will be commanding the world scenario within another 20 or 25 years. I may not be here. But many of you will be here. At least our Indian people will be here to see that we have achieved that goal. We are going towards that goal very strongly.

In addition to abolishing poverty, unemployment and terrorism, I would also request the Government that we should try to fight out communalism. It is so unfortunate that in our country even after 40 years of independence, sometimes we see or hear about communalism. That should be completely rooted out. There is no doubt that Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and such other people are still very backward. We have to bring them up so that they can march along with the rest of the country for achieving a goal for better India and better future.

I would also like to say here that the development that has taken place in our country is not equal in every region. I am proud of Maharashtra. It has gone ahead very well. I am proud of Gujarat. It is also going ahead. But do you know about U.P. and about the entire Eastern India? They are running behind. I am not only an MP from Bengal but I am an MP from India. When I see the unfortunate conditions of U.P., Bihar, west Bengal, Orissa, Assam, and other North-Eastern States, I feel very unhappy. I feel very sorry. What I want to say is that when development is taking place in one part of the country, it should also take place in each and every part of the country, so that we can march together. I do not want to take more time but I want to say that India is the first developing country which has achieved food production to the extent where we have not only solved food deficien-

cies but also we are in a position to export food. No other developing country in the world has achieved this within such a short period of time. Thanks to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and to the farmers of our country who have made it possible.

But, at the same time, foodgrains production is not the only thing, we have to see that the agriculturists get the required help that they want to increase the production; and they can do it; I am sure about it, if the banks are more liberal towards them, if the government helps them in time, I am sure, we can raise our foodgrains production much more.

As a matter of fact, during drought, the price increase was not there, because we had so much stock of foodgrains in our country; and we can keep excess stock of foodgrains all the time if we increase our foodgrains production.

In this context, I would like to say that we should improve or scientific education, education on technology in future. Until and unless we make a big thrust on that side, India will lag behind. As a matter of fact, today, India does not lag behind in population, in brain, in technology and in know-how. But in future if we do not go ahead in improving our technology, scientific knowledge and education in other fields, then we shall be lagging behind. So, I request the government through you to lay more stress on this subject.

Anyway, I do not want to take more time of the House. I would like to thank the President for his wonderful Address, particularly the way in which he has asked us to reach our goal.

[*Translation*]

SHRI KALI PRASAD PANDEY (Gopalganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President Address moved by the hon. Member, Shri Gadgil.

[Sh. Kali Prasad Pandey]

65 per cent population of our country which lives in villages cannot raise its demands or meet a leader to express its grievances because of poverty. In his Address, hon. President has emphasised the need of strengthening the Panchayat raj system for which he deserves to be thanked.

Some hon. Members have referred to the foreign policy of India. Shri Dinkar has said that:

Prem nahin kartawya marg se nar ko kabhi girata hai.

Prem sudha peekar hi manav, sheesh daan kar jata hai.

What I mean to say is that we are confronted with the problems with China since long time; we are having no trade relations. If the Government held talks with China to improve relations with her, or visited Pakistan and held talks with the democratically elected Government's Prime Minister, Shri-mati Benajir Bhutto, or if we foiled the coup attempt in Maldives by sending forces there, then all this goes to prove that the Government is sincerely following its policy and will assist every country accordingly. If hostile relations with China had continued and the Government had not held any talks with her, then it was not possible to find out a solution by sitting at home only. No problem is ever solved by merely raising it in the House. The Government has taken steps in the direction of improving relations. You may agree or not, the masses of the country realise that it was essential in the interest of both the countries to establish relations with China.

Similarly, you will find that in President's address concern has been expressed on the increasing extremism in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. I hail from Bihar and I know the conditions prevailing there. As regards Bihar, I can say that so long as unemployment problem is there, extremism will go on increasing.

Today, the conditions in Bihar are not

good. Take any district, you will find indiscipline and lawlessness every where. Just now an hon. Member said that the Government's industrial policy will not succeed unless the Government assure work to every land. Unless job is given to every individual, there cannot be any solution to problem of extremism whether it is Punjab or Bihar. We cannot solve these problems by sitting here in the House. Therefore, it is essential that the backward States should be uplifted by taking assistance from the World Bank or some other banks.

Sir, in the 31st point of his address, hon. President has mentioned that considerable improvement has been made this year in the implementation of the National Education Policy. In the country, 40 per cent blocks have already been covered under Operation Black Board. By covering only 40 per cent blocks under this programme in a country with such a large population we cannot bring radical changes in education. In President's Address a mention has also been made about the Navodaya Vidyalayas. I would like to say something about my district in this regard. constituency is Gopalganj in Bihar, which is adjacent to Nepal border. The people of my constituency demanded that a Navodaya Vidyalaya should be started there and the people in Meerganj region wilfully donated 30 acres of land for the purpose. If Navodaya Vidyalayas are not opened there, what will be the relevance of the Education Policy? The Government should open Navodaya Vidyalayas there in order to encourage the people there.

Sir, my submission is that if the teachers who are to teach under this new Education Policy are asked about teaching under this policy, you will be surprised to know that most of them are ignorant about it. They do not know as to what is to be taught. When the Government introduced this new Education Policy in the House and passed it here, it should also certainly make provision to impart training properly. How can the teachers teach the students unless they themselves know what to teach and how to teach.

Sir, I expected that the hon. President will surely mention the condition of schools in his Address but to my utter disappointment nothing has been said in this regard. Today, the condition whether it is Bihar or Uttar Pradesh is such that there are no proper school's buildings there. If the buildings are there, they do not have the roofs and if the roofs are there, then proper windows and doors, are missing. Unless, we improve our basic education, we cannot improve the educational standard in our country. Shri Rajesh Pilot had made an announcement in the House about the national highway in connection with transport and I was very happy to learn it. The same way, for improvement and growth of education in the country, it is essential for the Government to take steps to improve the condition of the middle lower and upper primary schools. Unless we do it, the new Education Policy cannot prove a success, no matter how much assurance we give to the people about it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is right that population is increasing but keeping the increasing population in view the Government should encourage the small-scale and large-scale industries so that our educated unemployed youth, who are termed as extremists, may get employment there.

You will find that in the President's Address, a mention has been made about reducing the voting age from 21 to 18 years. It was demanded both by the Members of the Ruling Party as well as of the Opposition.

Today, the members of every party, may be out of the selfish motive of getting votes, request the youths to help them. The same youth in India was deprived of his right to vote since ages. We thank the Government and the hon. President for having reduced the voting age to 18 years. Now the youths of India will be able to exercise their franchise.

The constituency from where I come is adjacent to the Nepal. The area laying across the river of my constituency is repre-

sented by Shri Manoj Pandey and the area adjacent to my constituency is represented by Shri Ghafoor. We find that due to embankment erosion of Burhi Gandak river more than half of the population is affected. I would first of all request the Government that they should release the flood relief fund at the right time and give directions to every state that the amount should be spent on flood controlling measures and to ensure that the area has been protected against the possible flood disaster.

As regards, my own constituency-Gopalganj, I would like to request the Government that Gopalganj-Siwan, Eastern and Western Champaran areas of the State are dacoit-infested. Champaran itself was the place where Gandhiji had started his disobedience movement against the Britishers. What I want to say is that there is no industry worth the name in any of the blocks of these districts. I would, in this background, like to request that steps should be taken to set up industries in the districts where there are no industries. This will certainly divert our youths, who are now indulging in extremist activities, to other fields and they will then surely get busy in the development of the nation.

With these words, I welcome the President's Address.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM (Gaya): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks moved on the President's Address in the House. I am supporting it because the direction given to the country in the policy document is conducive to the prevailing situation.

The current year is being celebrated as the Jawaharlal Nehru centenary year. So, I thank that this Nehru Centenary Year should be a symbol of socio-economic revolution and a campaign should be launched against communalism which we still harbour in some corners of our minds. It is unfortunate that in spite of the 40 years of Independence, we have not been able to create our identity as Indians. At some places, our identity is

[Sh. Ramswaroop Ram]

based on community, at some places it is on religion and at other places, it is based on language and region. This is a wound which will cause immense harm to our democracy.

15.00 hrs.

The fundamental principles of this country are democracy secularism, socialism and non-alignment. We have adopted them in principle but we have not been able to put them into practice. I do not understand as to whom should we narrate our tale of woe.

I have a great regard for my colleague, hon. Prof. Madhu Dandavate. Shri Devi Lal who works with him has said in many public meetings that the "Janata Dal" which has emerged as a national alternative is a party of the "Ajar;" In this term, 'A' stands for Ahirs, 'J' for Jat, 'G' for Gujars and 'R' for Rajputs. Today the people who envisage their party to the national alternative want to run the country on casteist lines. I want to know from them as to what will be the fate of those people who have adopted socialism and have advocated that religion should be separated from politics. Although our Hon. President has hinted towards the separation of religion from politics, it is regretful that the opposition wants the politics of this country to be based on religion and community. We should all condemn it. Persons like Prof. Madhu Dandavate keep silent even after hearing such things. In this context, I am reminded of the episode about the insult of Draupadi in 'Mahabharat'. When Draupadi was being insulted, Dronacharya and Bhishma Pitamaha were present on the scene. They pleaded to the people to protect her. But they replied that they could not speak against Duryodhana—their benefactor. In a situation where democracy is being slaughtered, persons like Prof. Madhu Dandavate who are the 'Dronacharyas' of the Opposition are not protesting. I think that is very wrong.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Ra-

japur): Do not worry, no one is going to touch Draupadi.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM: I am equating Democracy with Draupadi. I want to thank the Hon. Prime Minister for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 years. The youth alone can bring change in this country whether in the social or the economic sphere. Our young people have played an important role in every sphere.

I want to submit that there are still some areas in the country where booths are captured even after 40 years of Independence, there are areas where people have not seen the ballot papers. Sir, booths are captured and people belonging to the weaker sections are prevented from reaching the polling booths. We have seen such cases in Haryana and other States. People have themselves come to us complaining that they have not seen the ballot paper. Our achievement after 40 years of Independence is that people have not seen even the ballot papers. Various measures have been taken in this regard but I would suggest that if you truly want people belonging to the weaker sections to take decisions on their own, then polling booths should be set up in each Mohallah comprising 200-300 votes. Only then, I think that they can vote fearlessly and independently.

I hail from that region of Bihar, a mention of which has been made by the Hon. President in his Address. This is the area of Central Bihar. In his speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort, the Hon. Prime Minister too had expressed concern about the fact that Jahanabad, Gaya and Aurangabad have been declared as terrorist affected areas. So far I have not been able to understand as to why extremist elements are active in these 3-4 districts. The underlying reason is the lack of sensitive administration and maximum exploitation taking place in these areas. Due to the social exploitation and lack of sensitivity, extremism is spreading to every village. I think that the struggle there is on a social issue. The weaker sections have come together to protest

against social exploitation. They do not belong to any particular class or community. The Hon. President has himself mentioned this in his Address. In the last paragraph of his Address, the President has said and I quote: "Ahead of us lie exacting challenges and exciting opportunities. You are the repositories of the people's will. In you vests the responsibility of realising the people's dream. We are launched upon one of the greatest essays in social transformation ever undertaken in the history of humankind. The task is so great, and sometimes so daunting, that we are often overwhelmed by how much more needs to be done." Therefore, those poor people have not been able to liberate themselves, so far from the administration supported exploitation which is taking place there. Arrangements for the supply of drinking water have not been made, schools have not been opened and medical facilities have not been provided in their villages. The administration sets up not one but two schools in each village inhabited by the high castes. I want to request the Government to send a team to take stock of the situation there. Development work is undertaken on caste considerations. In the villages belonging to the upper castes, facilities like power supply, drinking water, schools and health centres have been provided but in Central Bihar, neither schools have been opened nor drinking water facilities have been provided in the villages inhabited by the weaker sections. Under such circumstances, the poor man is caught in a dilemma as to where to appeal for the solution of this problem. Today, when the youths of these weaker sections try to get united to demand for the setting up of schools in their villages, they are branded as naxalities.

The step taken for the implementation of the 'Operation Siddhartha' under the direction of the Central Government is welcome as it has provided some succour to the villages but here again those very villages have been selected which are already developed and our underdeveloped villages have been left out. In this way, I think that 'Operation Siddhartha' will also prove to be farce. I want to request that it is necessary

to pay special attention to the concern which has been expressed by the Hon. President for bringing economic and social transformation in those areas, so that the poor may also think that there are people to look after their interests. Even today, the poor people in the villages have faith in the Government and in Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi, but the situation is such that the directions of the Hon. Prime Minister are at variance with the directions of the State Government and the directions of the District Magistrates are different from both and as a result, the middlemen mar the ambitious and constructive schemes. Today the Hon. Prime Minister called a meeting of the representatives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the whole country at Vigyan Bhawan and expressed his concern over the fact that in spite of our best efforts, we find the results to be zero at the grassroot level. This is the sort of concern which our Government and Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi are having for the weaker sections. Therefore, it is my request that the Government should take up special schemes.

I want to submit one point concerning the farmers and the agricultural labourers. India is a country of villages and its soul resides in the rural areas. There are 5 lakhs villages in the country and unless we develop the villages, our country cannot progress. The Planning Commission should set up Measurement Boards to determine the schemes to be taken up in different villages. 80 per cent of the people engaged in agricultural occupations are farmers and agricultural labourers. 43 per cent of them are agricultural labourers who live in the villages are employed by the farmers. Unfortunately, they are able to get employment only for three months in a year and for the rest of the 9 months, they have no means of livelihood. In the absence of any means of living, they migrate to other places. In order to illustrate my point, I can cite the example of the 75 thousand agricultural labourers working in Punjab and Haryana who are being exploited. Therefore, there should be some planning for them. It is a matter of happiness that out of total bank loans to be given, 17 per

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cent of it has been earmarked for the farmers. Under the definition of agriculturist, not only farmers but agricultural labourers, who constitute 43% should also be taken into account and programmes are required to be made for them also so that they could be provided employment there itself. In order to achieve this end, small-scale industries and cottage industries units should be set up. In order to solve the problem of livelihood of those people locally, the Planning Commission should start some viable schemes. I would like to make yet another submission regarding land reforms. Hon. Shri Dubeyji is present here. While he was the Chief Minister of Bihar, he got 35 thousand acres of land distributed on 14th November, on the occasion of birthday of Panditji. At that time, I expressed doubt and slightly hinted him that it was easy to distribute land but very difficult to enable the people to get the possession of the land. Statistical data can be furnished in support of the fact that so much of land has been given to the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes but on physical verification, you will find that even 10 per cent of them have not in fact got the possession of land. Allowed to them. (Interruptions)

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN: It means that your State Government is not doing anything.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM: I am not making any comment on anyone what can the Government do in this matter? I would like to say one thing. On being expressed doubt by me, Shri Dubey told me with confidence that he would see that possession of the distributed land was ensured. But when I go to the block level and ascertain the actual position in respect of possession of the land as compared to the pattas distributed, the situation is found to be very alarming. Again, the present Government has announced its intention to distribute one and a half lakh acres of land. I again told the Chief Minister that I had the same apprehen-

sion, which I used to have at the time of Shri Dubey... (Interruptions)

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN: Is it so be that the land is in possession of other persons?

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM: If at all it is in illegal possession of some one, it is the duty of the Government to evict such persons from illegal possession of land. I, therefore, request the Government to send a central team to Bihar to verify the facts and figures submitted by the Government of Bihar in respect of distribution of. The situation there is very alarming.

With these words, while supporting the Motion of Thanks, I would like to submit that this centenary year of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru should be celebrated as year of revolution.

[English]

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in a democratic set up like ours the President's Address before the Joint Session of both the Houses more often than not, and I would say invariably, is considered a policy statement of the Government regarding the solution of the problems which are facing the nation, problems of all kinds—social, economic and also political. Following the said Address it is usually the budgetary provisions. Which spell out and give an idea of the priorities of the Government and the extent of determination of the Government to solve and settle these problems. It is perhaps because of these reasons that the budgetary provisions are discussed and debated in almost all the democracies of the world only after the Vote of Thanks to the President or the Head of the State. But here in India, the President's Address, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, has become almost a ritual of certain slogans and also a ritual of certain false promises I should say, and baseless boasts to the nation. It has become like this; for the last several years I have been observing it. And all those promises are made, slogans are raised in this Address knowing full well that the condition

of the nation is not that good and knowing that they were not going to fulfil these promises. Yet they are incorporated in the President's Address. The result is that these slogans which are usually coined and manufactured I would say in high sounding words by the bureaucrats, highly paid bureaucrats, keeping an eye on the votes of the teeming millions, poor people of India, who have been constantly misled and are being misled at the time of their voting through these empty slogans and black money power, have led to the exploitation of the poor. Ours is the largest democracy of the world but, I sometimes hesitate to call it a democracy because of certain reasons. We have no doubt adopted the basic principles of democracy, but in practice the democracy is a casualty here. It is here, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, that the fundamental principles of democracy are flouted and the ethics of democracy and the norms of democracy are kept at bay. The poverty and ignorance of the people are exploited for perpetuation of dynastic rule. It is here, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that the rule of law and justice has been reduced to a mere mockery. It was in November, 1984 here in Delhi and elsewhere thousands of persons belonging to one minority community, Sikh community, even before the eyes of the Home Ministry, were maimed mutilated and reduced to nothing by mass murders gang rape, in human atrocities, arson and loot. But in spite of all this, it was handled so callously by the Government. Although from all sections of the society in India and abroad, from all sections of sikhs and even intelligensia and organisations like PUDR, PUCL, retired judges, retired Generals and everybody demanded that the culprits should be brought to book, this Government did not budge an inch for a period of 4 years. The guilty people have not been brought to book so far. It is here that the sacred book, the Constitution of India has been several times marred, twisted and mutilated by reckless amendments, sometimes simply to keep a disqualified Prime Minister in power and at other time to give vast powers to the Prime Minister to impose emergency even in the normal situation and to suspend the right to life, liberty and prop-

erty and other fundamental rights. It is again here that the judiciary which is the most important leg of the democracy has been subjugated to the whims of the Executive by arbitrary appointments, promotions and transfers of judge. It is again here that at the time of promotion to the Chief Justiceship of the highest judicial forum, some of the senior-most judges, of whom the nation has got reason to be proud of were ignored simply because their interpretation of the Constitution was not to the liking of certain persons in power. We have been reading in the papers that people are kept detained for months together without having recourse to law, without any formal arrest, without getting the police remand from the judicial authorities. They are grilled through the grueling, tortuous, inhuman investigating mechanisation till some of them are reduced to mere pulp and the others are silenced for ever.

Therefore, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I beg, through you, of my countrymen to excuse me for using the harsh terminology but these are the hard facts and stark realities which are compelling me to use this terminology and also to quote those instances which are taking place.

In the President's Address, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been referred to. I thank, India should be proud of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. What he has done is really a matter of pride for all of us. Now I shall have a little bit glance of the history. I was submitting that empty slogans were disturbing the fabric of democracy. Soon after India became republic, People of India voted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Congress to power, because partly they wanted to reward the Congress for their sacrifices as the champion of the freedom struggle and they also wanted Ram Rajya of Mahatma Gandhi's conception and dreams to be ushered in. It is because people were given some ideas, some picture of that. It was to this reason that people backed Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru wholeheartedly was done. But unfortunately, very shortly thereafter some tremors started coming in the form of mur-

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muring criticism from the people from the public places, from the buses, from the train-coaches, from the platforms, from the bus-stands and shopping centres and such other places that the British Raj was better than the Congress rule. These were the shouts which were being heard in those days. Immediately those shouts started coming not only from the platforms, buses, jhuggis and jhopris but also from slums from the rural bastis dusty domains from all these places these tremors started coming down. These very ideas came out from the mouth of the persons who were working in the fields, in the industries and factories who were, I should say bare-footed and bare-breasted and also, from people with empty-stomach who were trying very hard to save the lives of their sons and daughters, rickety sons and daughters who were also undernourished, half-fed, balloon bellied children. They were struggling hard to save their lives. But unfortunately they could not get nothing in the long queues in the shopping Centres. They could not get kerosene; they could not get ration; they could not get sugar and all those things which are called bare necessities. Therefore, those murmurs started coming. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru very easily understood the pulse of India. He immediately came forward and gave a new slogan saying that although we have won the political freedom economic freedom has still to be won. He gave a slogan. That slogan was the socialistic pattern of society although he know that it was neither fish nor flesh nor a fowl. It was based on this very slogan that the entire nation again rallied round the Congress. Under that slogan they wanted that there should be no poor; there should be no rich. They wanted that there should be one egalitarian community. That was the concept of Mahatma Gandhi. That was the concept of Rama Rajya around which they rallied. Soon after that the propaganda guns were opened and the entire India reverberated right from the Himalayas to downwards that there would be one egalitarian society. They wanted *Raja Rankh Barabari*. That was being sung in the Himalayas and again

in the Jamuna-Ganga rivers it was being sung in Urdu as Na Koi Banda rahe, Na Koi Banda Nawaz. That means equality. In Punjab also, we heard such ideas as:

Banawange asi saki jaga do is pyase
nu,
Surahi milke chumegi meri mitti de kase
nu,
Khamoshi jan chhale di to hath dekh
mehra da,
Sinhasan hil utega jamane da amiran
da,
Banwange nawi rekha meri takdir
tote,
Jamana kahen ke nachhe meri zanjir de
tote,
Chug ke kakh kaliyan de nawi kashti
banwange,
Te us kishti nu phir tufan de sir to
nawawange.

These were simple songs. These were the songs which started coming out. It was at that stage a shot was fired from across the Himalayas. It was the Chinese aggression. The Chinese aggression dealt a blow not only to the Panchsheel and the *Hindi-Chini Bai Bai* but also it was the beginning of the end of the era i.e. the era of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. When we remember pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I must point out here, that whatever he stood for is not present here at this time neither in the Congress nor in the Government. He stood for certain principles the democratic principles. It is good to remember him but it would be better if we had followed him, if we had remembered him all these years. But we have not done so, Again the new slogan were given by Shrimati Indira Gandhi i.e. the slogan "Garibi Hatao, hamare hath majbut karo" Another slogan was given this time the country was in danger who lives of India dies". Now a new slogan is coming forward wherein they say that poverty and unemployment by giving power to the Panchayats. This is a new slogan for the coming elections. This new slogan is again an empty slogan like other slogans. People who fought through thick and thin should have been encouraged. Not that this should give an idea that 'Indira is India'. It is

the people who matter. But they want to consume power and then want to have a rule for another five years. Under these circumstances, I am compelled by custom to thank the President. Otherwise, the situation has been brought to such an extent that it is really unfortunate that even after forty years we are standing at the same place where we started from. With these words, I thank you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now we take up Private Members' Legislative Business.

15.31 hrs

FAIR PRICE SHOPS (REGULATION)
BILL*

[English]

SHRI G.S. BASAVARAJU (Tumkur): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to regulate the functioning of fair price shops and for matters connected therewith.

MR. DEPUTY -SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to regulate the functioning of fair price shops and for matters connected therewith."

The motion was adopted

SHRI G.S. BASAVARAJU: I introduce the Bill.

15.31/1/2 hrs.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE PRICES
FIXATION BILL

[English]

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD (Hingoli): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to estab-

lish a Commission to fix reasonable remunerative prices of the agricultural produce and for matters connected therewith.

DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to establish a Commission to fix reasonable remunerative prices of the agricultural produce and for matters connected therewith."

The motion was adopted

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD: I introduce the Bill.

15.32 hrs.

UNORGANISED LABOUR WELFARE
FUND BILL —CONTD.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we take up further consideration of the Bill moved by Shri Balasaheb Vikhe Patil on the 25th November, 1988. Shri Ram Pyare Panika to continue his speech.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my hon. friend deserves to be congratulated for moving the Unorganised Labour Welfare Bill, 1985. Sir, you might be remembering that during the last financial year, with the permission of the Hon. Prime Minister, the then Finance Minister stated that a commission would be set up for the unorganised labour in the country. In pursuance of that assurance, a National Commission of Rural Labour was set up last year and to my good luck, I was also made one of its members by the Hon. Prime Minister. The commission will go into the details of the problems concerning unorganised labourer. But the need of the hour is to effect radical reforms in the