

Assistance from foreign Governments has been availed of by Government of India in developing facilities at Visakhapatnam outer harbour and port. In the same way, it should be sought and used for the Paradip port.

[*Translation*]

(vii) Demand for stringent measures to root out corruption so as to lift the poor above the poverty line.

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Central Government is running Self Employment and several other schemes in the rural areas for the upliftment of the poor and those living below the poverty line. But keeping in view the funds that are spent on these schemes we have achieved success for namsake only. Besides, the people are suffering losses instead of gains from the things they have got through bank loans and are thereby unable to repay back their loans. Corruption is primarily responsible for the failure of these schemes and therefore, I feel that stringent measures should be taken for its eradication.

[*English*]

(viii) Demand for University status to Jamia Millia.

SHRI JITENDRA PRASADA (Shah-jahanpur) : I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards the distressing delay in granting the status of a University to the great historic national educational institution, the Jamia Millia, Delhi, which has, during the last 60 years since its establishment in 1920, stood as a proud symbol of national resurgence and communal amity and harmony.

It may be recalled that this institution was founded at the call of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, during the boycott movement—the most arduous of our national movements. Most of the stalwarts of our freedom struggle like Maulana Mohammed Ali, Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Devdas Gandhi, Jamna Lal Bajaj, Zakir Hussain and others, were at one time or the other associated with this great institution as its functionaries or teachers.

The University Grants Commission has already recommended that this institution should be granted the status of a university. The recommendation has been lying with the Ministry of Human Resource Development for the last several months.

A favourable decision needs to be taken at the earliest to accord Jamia Millia its due place as was acknowledged by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who has said that the Jamia Millia not only raise a strong force of freedom fighters but also serve the nation in many other ways. How can we ever forget its services ?

[*Translation*]

(ix) Demand for a tourist centre at Sewan Gopalganj in Bihar.

SHRI KALI PRASAD PANDEY (Gopalganj) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, pilgrims from all parts of the country and abroad come and visit the famous historical Devi Temple on Sewan Gopalganj Main Road in district Gopalganj in Bihar. The barren land around the temple has been beautified by the Bihar Government at a cost of Rs. 11 lakh by planting trees and construction of ponds. The number of tourists is fast increasing but they are facing great difficulties due to lack of lodging facilities.

Therefore, I would request the Minister of Tourism to set up a tourist centre at Gopalganj in Bihar for the benefit of tourists.

12.23 hrs.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE
 IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—*Contd*

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : Now we will take up the No-Confidence Motion.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Mr. Speaker Sir, by all accounts we have had a tempestuous debate. Passions ran high. Charges mostly at the personal level were

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traded from both the sides. It only remains for the people of India to believe us in what we say about each other and the picture will be complete.

This Motion has come after three years and naturally, one would have expected that certain circumspection, certain vision, certain direction would have been found in the Motion and particularly on the part of the hon. Members who were urging for the Motion to be accepted by the House. I must say that anyone who wanted to look into the debate to find any of these things would have been disappointed but in any case, since we are at the fag end of the debate, we cannot re-enact the whole debate now.

One thing is very significant, that here in the city of Maha Bharat. we have done something which was done in the Mahabharatha times. We have staked positions predicating them on the result of an inquiry just as the kingdoms were staked in Mahabharatha. Something similar has happened here. I am not quite sure whether that was necessary but then this is the tone and tenor which we adopted in the debate yesterday. Not at the initiative of the Prime Minister, at the initiative of those who are involved, at the initiative of those who wanted to get away with certain statements, which could be otherwise called bluff and then all this happened. The result is that we are going to be deprived of the services of a very senior Member of this House.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar) : Is the Minister seeking to prejudice or influence the proceedings of the Committee ?

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you interrupting ? Why are you feeling nervous ? He has not named anybody

[*English*]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : He is a Minister.

[*Translation*]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : He should not have made a reference to the Privileges Committee.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am not only hinting at what happened yesterday but I am also giving the entire details. I believe...

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You should leave the habit of interrupting.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : What I believe, I am trying to tell the House. I have tried, as far as possible, to look into this matter from the policy angle for some time. because some of us had the privilege of working with the great Jawaharlal Nehru, Shastriji and Indiraji and now with Rajiv Gandhi. The thrust of the criticism levelled against the Government yesterday, if I could unravel it from out of the large mass of other things that had been brought in, is that there has been a departure from the established policies, the policies that were first adumbrated by Jawaharlal Nehru, continued by Shastriji and Indiraji. The allegation, to my mind, seems to be that there has been a departure, a perceptible departure, in which the country's interest has been adversely affected. This is what I could understand.

I would like to go into this in a little more detail and see whether I and other colleagues of mine, who had the same experience of having been connected with these matters, matters of the country for three decades, also find this. Do you find this and do I find this, I have been asking myself.

I am now talking as a normal political worker with certain perceptiveness to the extent I am gifted with, but at the same time applying that perceptiveness to events that have taken place during the last thirty years in my own experience. It is not in any other capacity that I am talking, I am only trying to place certain facts before the House for the consideration of the House.

Generally, we in the Congress Party and the Government are in the habit of saying that we are continuing the policies of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indiraji; Shri Rajiv Gandhi is continuing them now. This is true, but this is not wholly true, because there was a variation between Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru; there was a variation between Jawaharlal Nehru and Shastriji and between Shastriji and Indiraji and it is inevitable that there should be a variation between Indiraji and the present Prime Minister. This has to be squarely faced and understood. In other countries also, we have the same example. Stalin was a Leninist, Khrushchev was a Leninist, Brezhnev was a Leninist and now Gorbachev is a Leninist. While we always site Mahatma Gandhi, there has been a variation from time to time, from leader to leader and I am sure, senior leaders like Prof. Ranga would bear me out that this has been so. Whether we make the departure and why do we make the departure from time to time? This is what I want to go into.

Jawaharlal Nehru, as the first Prime Minister, set the tone of the policy in several matters in this country, and he was the father of modern Indian policy in all fields, not just one. Let us see what he stood for and let us see what he gave to the country. After him, again there have been charges against Indiraji that she was departing from her father's policies. Charges have been there, it is not as if everybody agreed that there was no departure. It is not as if there was no departure in detail and in strategies. Therefore, it is not possible for any two Prime Ministers, two leaders, to be absolute carbon copies of each other, follow each other exactly in all details, but we have to see whether the thrust of the policy has been departed from, whether the basics of the policy have been departed from and that is where I would tell this august House that there has been no departure.

Sir, how about Jawahar Lal Nehru? He gave us stability through stature. This I think is agreed on all hands. He not only had the vision but a stature. His stature was such that whether in Parliament or outside the Parliament, there was no one

to question his authority. There were very few people who could question him as a patriot, as a leader and as an established person who could give guidance to the country on all matters.

Then, for the first time he gave us the direction of socialism. Now, there have been Socialist parties and other parties espousing socialism, but within the ruling party, within the Congress Party he was the first person to give the direction of socialism. It is not that everybody became socialist overnight. He was the first leader to give this direction in the hope that this direction will be continued, will be followed by his successors. That is why he gave that direction and that was the second thing that he gave to the country. After all it is said that every country gets the socialism that it deserves. So is not as if he did not know that most of the people in the country may or may not agree with every detail but he wanted to give that direction deliberately and he gave it.

Then, S-r, he gave us the scientific temper. He himself wrote that there are two, three a hundred different things co-existing in this country. The Jet Plane and the Bullock Cart, these are the two examples which he gave in one of his writings. Wherever he went, he told that, "everyone cannot be scientifically perfect or attain the heights of Science which I want this country to attain. At the moment we are backward but it does not mean that we should remain backward for all time." So, he gave us for the first time the idea of a scientific temper.

I understand and I still remember his Address in Hyderabad which he made before the Indian Science Congress. It is still ringing in my ears the way he put humanity and Science, not against each other but to harmonise with each other. I think that was a classic which each one of us should read. So, he gave this balance between humanity and science and the need for a scientific temper which he had occasion to describe many times, to spell out many times thereafter.

Then he gave us Non-alignment. In External Affairs, in international affairs he

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gave us something, he adumbrated something which was considered to be immoral by some in those days. There was a comment from some quarter that non-alignment is immoral. Now, that was the bravery of the person, his courage of the conviction that he said that non-alignment will be the creed of all developing nations and independent nations. He started with 25 and now we have more than hundred. So what he gave to us has snow balled into something tremendous today in the world politics and no one can wish it away including those who called it immoral. These were mainly, four or five things that I have chosen among so many things he gave to us.

Now, I would like to point out, was there any departure from this.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He gave us the public sector also.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Yes, public sector, self-reliance, that way if we really want to make a list, it will become a very long one that is why I have touched only four or five areas. I would like to say that there was no departure at any time since then.

What did Indira Gandhi give to this country? She gave stability, but not the same stability as given by Jawahar Lal Nehru for obvious reasons. 'Stability through Struggle' this is what Jawahar Lal Nehru gave. He had a stature. Indira Gandhi gave. Stability through stature, that is what Jawahar Lal Nehru gave. He had a stature Indira Gandhi had to struggle against the forces opposed to socialism, opposed to the masses, opposed to what she considered right and what the overwhelming majority of the Congress considered right. She had to struggle against those. She had to fight against those. She was a fighter. She was nothing if not a fighter! So, she gave us stability, but stability of a different kind.

She also made the greatest possible effort, the utmost effort to consolidate socialism. Now, we do not say that she was one hundred per cent successful. She

had to sacrifice her own Ministers. She had to sacrifice her own Chief Ministers when she found that they were not able to sustain all the programmes—socialist programmes—that she wanted. Because after all, it depends on what forces are working in this country, So, the consolidation of socialism through governmental programme was the achievement of Indira Gandhi. It might not be a hundred per cent achievement. It cannot be claimed to be a hundred per cent achievement. Nor can anything be claimed as one hundred per cent successful. But nevertheless, a very serious and dedicated effort was made by her and by the Congress under her.

Sir, she gave a boost to science and technology. Panditji gave us the scientific temper. Now from temper to a boost, to the establishment of certain superiority in number and calibre of this country in the scientific field and in the technological field, acknowledged by the whole world—this was her further achievement over what Panditji gave us.

She gave us not only the non-aligned movement, not only consolidated it, but she also gave us the leadership of the non-aligned movement. She assumed the leadership of the non-aligned movement and she gave us the real thrust for disarmament and world peace through the non-aligned movement and through her own personality and effort.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Is it a discourse Sir?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Yes It is a discourse. That is how I look at it. If it does not meet Jaipal Reddy's approval, I cannot really help...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : May I tell you Sir that I agree with him substantially. But it does not refer to the motion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : It is natural that he agrees with me only substantially. He could not agree with me one hundred per cent because he would not have been on the other side in that case.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : She also gave the slogan 'Garibi Hatao'.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO ; That is precisely what I meant by socialism.

Today, the transition from Nehruji to Shastriji and to Indiraji 'could be' considered a kind of natural expected transition.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapoor) : What about Shastriji ? What did he give us ?

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : You interrupt while sitting. Do you have any regard for the Chair ?

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : What is this ?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am not making any charges against anybody. Why are they upset ?

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Jaipal Reddy, if you cannot follow certain things, it is not necessary that you should agitate.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am sorry. If the friends on the other side are expecting charges and counter-charges, I am sorry, I have nothing to say by way of charges and counter-charges. I am on a different wavelength. If possible, this could be appreciated by the House. That is all I want.

There has been, what may be called, a sudden transition. None of us expected it. We were at different places when Indiraji was assassinated. Let us face it, because these are the facts. We expected Indiraji to continue, we expected Indiraji to live and see the party through the next elections in 1984. All our hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground and there was darkness. We did not know what to do. And it is then that the people of India—more than anybody—it had nothing to do with us, nothing to do with you and nothing to do with

anybody who was elected or defeated in the elections—it is the people of India who wanted another leader and they got him. As some members put it, may be through sympathy. Yes, we remember those scenes. We do remember those scenes. We remember those emotion packed scenes where people were doing her *Shraddha* ceremony. In every village of India this *Shraddha* ceremony of Indira Gandhi was performed.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Whatever hon. Minister is saying will only go on record. Nothing else.

(*Interruptions*)**

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Of all people Jaipal Reddy can never expect to exhaust my patience right now !

MR. SPEAKER : Because he has got himself all the impatience.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I would say, he has been a member of my family almost.

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : You have done well by bringing him up.

[*English*]

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : In all humility I take the credit or feeling of guilt whichever way you look at it. That was the background. That was the situation when a new Prime Minister by sheer force of public opinion has been thrown up in this country. Now it is three years since the new Prime Minister has been running the country. It is not just a transition as was between Shastriji and Indiraji ; it was not a transition as between Jawaharlal Nehru and Shastriji, it is qualitatively a different transition. This makes it so important to the country. This is what the people of my age probably cannot understand. I have been asking myself time and again whether I fit into the new milieu. This is what we have to understand instead of finding fault with Rajiv Gandhi. It is a kind of introspection for us rather than him.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Balpur): Are you still searching for an answer?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO: I am searching for an answer. I am only appealing to those who have not started the search to do so. In this transition, the country has to be itself a big follower of a new generation which has steered by a new mode and a new path. We cannot wish this away. If Shri Rajiv Gandhi is different from us; his thinking is different from ours; his methodology is different from ours; his restlessness is different from ours; if he is a little less cynical than most of us, then we should not find fault with him. I think this is a matter of introspection. I would not name the names. I would not say 'x' or 'y'. I would say that a new generation has come into power under circumstances which were not expected. Therefore both these generations—the outgoing and the incoming—would have to understand this very-very qualitative change in the situation.

Today I was a little amazed to find Mr. Unnikrishnan saying that even the area in which there is a consensus, namely foreign policy, has been eroded. Has it been eroded, I would like to know?

In foreign policy, we have been interminably talking about Africa, Southern Africa. There is hardly any meeting, either of the non-aligned countries or in the U.N., when we have not held aloft the banner of Africa, South Africa, Southern Africa, and all the problems related to that. But what is it, in concrete terms, that we did before? Here is a Prime Minister, here is a leader of India who thinks in terms of something concrete; and that is the Africa Fund. Who prevented us from doing it earlier, who prevented us from thinking of it earlier? While we contented ourselves with passing resolutions, here is a Prime Minister who thinks that this will not do; something more would have to be done. And in a small way, we started the Africa Fund. It is going to swell.

What about the ever-closer relations with the Soviet Union which he has forged?

Is it against the established policy, or is it in furtherance of the established policy? It is strengthening the established policy. I have no doubt that it is strengthening the established policy.

What about the six-nation initiative? Today we are all clapping, while the two leaders in Washington are signing the documents. But how much effort has gone into it? In our own way we have contributed. Several countries of the world who did not have atomic weapons have gone to great lengths asking for disarmament; and as a result of this pressure mounted from all sides including the non-aligned movement, if something good has happened today, I think we need not be ashamed of what we have done.

So in any sphere—we find that on foreign policy, there has been no slide-back, there has been no deviation, there has been no departure from established policy. Naturally, depending upon the circumstances, depending upon the dynamic situation, our strategy has also to be equally dynamic. That is what has happened,

When Mr. Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister, he had to make certain promises—naturally. We had 3 or 4 areas in which things had come to a grinding halt. How Indira Ji would have tackled them if she had lived, I do not know. Punjab had come to a grinding halt. The President's rule there was working in a manner which was not satisfactory. We had occasions to discuss this in our meetings. In the last Lok Sabha, we had several meetings, all-party meetings. We found that this was an unsatisfactory situation. So was Assam; so was Mizoram. I do not know for how many years the Mizoram negotiations were going on. Nothing concretely came out, because there was an element of being in two minds, an element of inhibition—what would happen if we do something in Punjab, what would, happen if we do something in Assam. We are not really making a virtue of the result of the elections. I would like to take the House into confidence and tell the House that while we were considering Punjab, we were certain that if we went in for elections, our

party would be defeated. It was not a question of taking a leap in the dark. No ; not even a leap in the dark. We went into the elections because this stalemate had to be ended. What had been frozen—the situation which had frozen, had to be de-frozen. We knew these difficulties. We knew that the first casualty was going to be the party which was in power at that time in Punjab. So was the case in Assam ; so was the case in Mizoram. In Mizoram, actually we had to forcibly take the Government from the hands of the Chief Minister of this party and give it to somebody else. If someone thinks that all this happened without our being conscious of it, without the Prime Minister being conscious of it, I think you are being less than fair.

We did it. We knew in 1952 election. Mr. Madhav Reddi will bear me out that in the 1952 ? election we knew that a party other than Congress or the Socialist Party would get a larger number of seats and votes in Telengana in the old Hyderabad State, But we had to do the duty of putting down something which would have become a great menace to the peace in India. We had to do that. Gen. Nanjappa had to do that. We did it with full knowledge that we were going to be completely swept off our feet in the 1952 election when there was Telengana agitation. Again Mr. Madhav Reddi and other friends of Andhra Pradesh and others would bear me out ; who did not know that the Telengana Praja Samiti was going to get away with most of the seats in 1971 election ? In spite of Indiraji being at the height of her popularity in Telengana, because a sub-regional cause was raised, people voted against the Congress. But, then the same people, the same Telengana Praja Samiti got itself dissolved and came into Congress, came into the mainstream later on. So, we had temporary setbacks. I have no doubt that we should be prepared to have those temporary setbacks. So, with our eyes and ears fully open, we went into these elections. What was the spirit ? The spirit was that we had to tackle the problems. There was no question of circumventing them ; there was no question of inaction ; inaction was not going to give us any results. We have to tackle problems however difficult they are, however uphill a task it is we have to tackle it. Yes, you will come across

difficulties later on. You solve those difficulties. But there is no way of sitting quiet ; that is not statesmanship ; that is not what a great country like India should do. Just because electoral fortunes were to be reversed, we would not be trepidated ; and these things were known. What was made out later was that when that when this Congress Party was defeated in Assam and Punjab, we made a virtue of it. We did not make a virtue of it. We were fully aware of what was going to happen. So, this is the spirit of the new regime that we solve problems ; we tackle problems ; in process, we come up face to face with many other problems. That is true ; that is what human life is. You can never expect a problem to be solved without other problem being thrown up. So for the first time, there is an element of boldness, an element of audacity in going about solving problems. (*Interruptions*). This has been the trend ; and whatever has happened in these years, if new difficulties have been thrown up, they have been thrown up because we invited difficulties by trying to solve problems. If we had just kept quiet, maybe so much criticism would not have been there. But the country would have been going down hill today. About the public sector, I am not an authority on economics. My colleagues have already said what they had to say. But can, we imagine a greater misfortune for a country, for the economy of a country than the discovery that to close a factory, to close an industry and pay whatever is to be paid to every worker in the industry is cheaper than running the industry. This is the limit. So, we had to do something about it. (*Interruptions*) I am not going into individual cases ; I am not trading charges. I am saying that the policies adumbrated by Jawaharlal Nehru and continued by Indira Gandhi... (*Interruptions*) The great policies, the most useful policies adumbrated by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi came to a stage where they had to be again looked into ; and this is what I am saying, the policy has not been changed ; it has to be given a face lift ; it has to be given a kind of overhaul now and then ; and that is what has been happening, if I understand economics to the extent I could. This is how I understand the economic situation.

[Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Finally, the Prime Minister would be, of course, telling you much more than what I could. But one thing, something which is connected with me, and I would like to place it squarely before the House.

The programme of the Prime Minister in regard to modernisation is hardly understood, but very often criticised and perhaps pooh-poohed also. When he talked about computers two years ago, three years ago, everybody thought that this country is going to be run only by computers. Now, I would like to say that this is not so. I will give the example of my own department, an experience which we are going through today.

If you go to Shastri Bhavan you have no space to move in the rooms. There are so many people sitting there, cluttering. You cannot find the way to the person you want to talk. The kind of congestion that you have, of files, of persons, of clerks, of typewriters, clicking, clacking all kind of things. Is it necessary?

I will give you the example of the Defence Accounts Department of Allahabad. May be it is a mile long. I really do not know. I was told, when I was in Defence. And every single case of pension would go abegging for three years, before it was tackled before anybody could put his hand to the paper. When they came to us, we used to send them, —as Ministers what else can we do? —a specific case is brought to our notice, we say, "Aare bhai, jaldee kar do". That is the only thing. But what about the hundreds and thousands of cases which never see the light of the day, which never land up in the South Block?

AN HON. MEMBER : Because of corruption.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO ; So, in 1985 a scheme for computerisation of the entire office was taken up. It was taken up in phases. Nobody was retrenched. That was the greatest anxiety of everybody including the Government, that while we are computerising we should not retrench the staff. Today the present Defence Minister will bear me out, that at the touch of a button, you can find out what is

happening in each case, and take action accordingly. In my own department, we had asked the Works and Housing Ministry to give us 30,000 square feet of extra room, because we are having too many people there cluttered. They have given it. I am very happy to say that we have saved about a crore of rupees in rent every year, by not going there, by refusing to go there and computerise the entire functioning, or the data base of the department, in such a way that we do not have to retrench a single person and at the same time making it more efficient.

Now, if the Prime Minister wants the Government to be more efficient, to be mechanised, to the extent of making it more efficient, I do not see any reason why we should cavil at it. There is no justification in saying that there is anything wrong about it. So, this is just one example. You multiply this example to the entire machinery of the Government, Government of India and the State Governments. What is the Andhra Pradesh Government doing today? I think they have devised one of the best data bases on students health. I am prepared to say that. We have taken the book, something like a health book for every child, which they have prepared as a model to ourselves. There is no party matter in this. Everyone is trying to do the same, except that when you do it, I find fault, when I do it, you find fault and people find fault with both of us. There should be a sense of proportion in all these things. Computerisation is being done by the State Governments to the extent they can. The Maharashtra Government is doing it. There are more than a hundred firms in India making computers today. Now, do we think that this is going to create unemployment in this country?

13.00 hrs.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : (Bankura) Yes.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : No. That is what I want to tell you. The figures projected by the Department of Electronics in regard to the requirement of personnel in the computer industry and the Electronics industry at the end of the century is something which we can never meet. In the

next five years you cannot meet, in the next fifteen years you cannot meet. So, far from creating unemployment, it is creating employment—employment of a different kind, mind you. It is a different one. May be the clerk of today will not be able to do it. May be he will. But his son will certainly get employment elsewhere in the Industry of tomorrow. It is a different kind of employment and it has been proved and shown by the Department concerned that the generation of employment will be of an order which we may not be able to cope with. We will now have to start training class is and training institutions. Yesterday I had occasion to answer a question in this House. We posted ten doctors and not even one joins. Because there has been something wrong in medical education in this country. I want to pass that Bill and now it has been said that the Bill should go to a Joint Select Committee. I have no problem, but the problem would be that medical education of the same kind would have to be imparted for another year and whatever changes we want to bring in, will not be able to come in 1989. If that is assured, then I am prepared to go to any extent, whether it is Joint Select Committee or anything. Sir, the point is, we are losing time and we have to do this at the earliest. I would say this is the manner in which we are trying to tackle the problems with a sense of urgency. Take education for instance. Somebody has said about 21st century. Whenever computer, twenty first century—these things are uttered, it is as if something blasphemous has been said. Now, Sir, when did in this country sports ever get Rs. 200 crores? I want to know. The entire outlay in the Sixth Plan for sports was Rs. 13 crores and now it has been raised to Rs 200 crnes. *(Interruptions)* Will you kindly listen? When did Education ever get—It has gone from Rs. 300 crores to Rs. 825 crores. Now, I am not going to agree that this was wrong, because somebody might say 'Yes, I could get an irrigation project within this amount very easily within the next three years'. But, we are not planning only for the next three years. This is what I am trying to submit, because the result of this investment in education and sports is going to be felt and seen only after ten years. If this is not planning for the twenty first century,

then what is? *(Interruptions)* I have said that already.

When I was piloting the New Education Policy I said it in so many words that for the first time we are investing in the human resources of this country in a big way and that investment is tantamount to investment in the children of this country. We have said that the base needs resource development and the base of education will be first looked into. If you see the Budget figures of this year, you will find that a big share has been taken by the Primary Education.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARYA : By Navodaya Vidyalaya.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : We will go to that area very soon. Mr Acharya, I will take you to some Navodaya Vidyalaya and also make you to stand face to face to those who are asking for more of these Vidyalayas. Then you will think. But these are the areas in which we are not really investing for immediate results in the next four or five years. but these investments are essential. Now, someone may ask : 'Are you going to get medals in Olympics?'. How can we get medals in Olympics all of a sudden? We have come to a grinding halt because we have not gone down to grassroots, and that is what SAI is doing and that is what we are doing ; and that will be done by spending Rs. 200 crores in the next Plan. Now this kind of investment which is invisible, whose results will be invisible today, but it will be visible only after ten years and fifteen years.

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM DHAN (Lalganj) : You have removed the chairman of Innian Olympic Association.

(Interruptions)

[*English*]

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I think, the Members are getting restless because I am not really adding any *namak* and *mirch* to the debate.

[Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao]

I would like to say that there has been no change in policy, no departure from basics. But there has to be and there will be a re-orientation of the implementation of those policies as time passes. And, therefore, there is absolutely no justification for any no-confidence motion. No-confidence motion is to be taken as an opportunity to look back, pause, look ahead and proceed. This is how it should be.

SHRI G M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): There are indeed several areas of dissatisfaction as the present exorbitant increase in prices, rampant unemployment, the poor rate of development and so on. However, I have risen to take this opportunity to make a few other important submissions.

It is rather unfortunate and very painful that the Government has adopted a lackadaisical and pusillanimous attitude towards several problems that are today being faced by the minorities.

How many instances am I to quote in this House? For the economic development of the minorities a high-powered panel on minorities was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Gopal Singh. As you know, the panel submitted its report on the 14th of June, 1983. It is now more than four years. The report is lying with Government and is still under consideration. Even in this House, in this very session, when I asked the question about the report of this particular panel, I was told that the report is still under consideration even though four years have elapsed. I was further told in that Unstarred Question that it is not possible to indicate any time limit also by which the report will be placed on the Table of the House. Such is, therefore, the lackadaisical attitude with respect to several problems being faced by the minorities.

As you know very well, there is a dangerous procrastination in solving the Babri Masjid issue also. The issue is being allowed to drag on to the great detriment to communal harmony and unity. I urge upon the Government to let all controversies about those religious

places come to an end. It can only come to an end by bringing a law to protect the status of the places of religious significance as these status existed on the independence of our country i.e. 15th August, 1947. On 15 August, 1947 we achieved independence. On that day, whatever may be the status—a temple to remain a temple, a mosque to remain a mosque, a church to remain a church. Let us freeze that issue. Let us protect the status that existed on the independence of the country. That is the only way in which we can solve these controversies which are detrimental to communal harmony and unity.

The communal situation has so deteriorated today that in the recent Meerut riots, the Armed Police of the State is alleged to have arrested innocent people, shot them dead and thrown their bodies into the river. We pointed out these things at that time to the Government, to the President, to everybody, but now we have also the Amnesty International Report which further corroborates and confirms all these things. I need not go on at length about this Report. The Report has very clearly said that it had discovered strong evidence that the PAC deliberately killed dozens of unarmed civilians and caused dozen more to disappear. The PAC is alleged to have disposed of some of the bodies of those killed by throwing them into rivers and canals. At least 80 bodies have been found, Amnesty International claims. The Report says that it has the names of 29 known to have been killed and of another 32 listed as 'disappeared'. I will not go into the details of all these, but then the time has come when there must be a positive response from the Government to this particular phenomenon that we are having. The Opposition has been criticising the Government that when the Prime Minister goes, he pulls up the Chief Minister there in the States. I congratulate the Prime Minister for doing that. But at the same time, I must say that the Prime Minister must pull U.P. Chief Minister publicly... (*Interruptions*). But apart from pulling up, U.P. Chief Minister ought to have been sacked, he ought to have gone in the wake of these Reports, Report even by the officers of the Government of U.P. themselves... (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER : You are using all these for one point only.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Sir, we have the Report of the Gian Prakash Panel appointed by the Government...(*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER : Go ahead.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Yes, I will go on to other points also. You need not get restless, Sir. But this Gian Prakash Panel Report also, from such extracts that have appeared in the press, is a serious indictment of the PAC and the Government over there in Uttar Pradesh. Sir, there is need to say all this. Here I asked an Unstarred Question and the reply was that it is for the State Government to take a view on all these matters of various Reports. Sir, here we are saying this. In Punjab, seven persons belonging to one community were dragged out of a bus and were shot dead in broad daylight. Within hours, the Punjab Government was dismissed. A very good thing. But here I have already narrated, and everybody known, the atrocities of even the Armed Policy over there, and not to speak of the dismissal of the U.P. Government, the Prime Minister has not even publicly pulled him up. Even today, as I speak, obstructions are being created even in the medical treatment of the victims of the riots. A consignment of medicines was imported for these victims of riots, for those badly injured. The medicines are accepted and approved by the medical doctors. But the Government does not allow the medicines even to be used for the treatment of these injured and the victims. Sir, these are the matters that must be taken into consideration.

Here, I would like to state that wherever the 15-point programme is to be implemented, there much depends on the State. I am sorry to say that even in States, not to talk about Congress-led States, but even in States where those who are in Opposition here in this House are ruling, in these Opposition parties-led States, the implementation of the 15-Point programme for the minorities is in a pathetic condition. It is in a pathetic condition. Some of the States in which Opposition is ruling, apart from not implementing the programme, they have rejected some of the points of the 15-point Programme. I know that there are so many Members here who are coming

from West Bengal and they are allergic about raising these issues about West Bengal. In the 15-Point Programme, we have an item which says that in Selection Boards there must be at least one member belonging to minority community. But then the Chief Minister there has rejected the suggestion. The suggestion was rejected in Karnataka, the suggestion was rejected in Andhra Pradesh and the suggestion was rejected in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj) : Not in Karnataka.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Partially rejection is there. That is the report that has been published. Then, Sir, Karnataka was told that wherever necessary, room should be made for minority member by having an unofficial member too, which the Karnataka Chief Minister has rejected. So, we find that as far as matters concerning minorities are concerned, even the Opposition where they are ruling have taken a very hard attitude, not a positive attitude. They may shed crocodile tears here, but these facts stand. However, here is a No-confidence Motion against the Government and therefore...(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : There was no riot in West Bengal.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : I will point out to what extent communal riots were there and what the communal situation in West Bengal is (*Interruptions*). About communal situation, in Calcutta itself, we are having economic strangulation, to minorities and there are several facts to prove this. (*Interruptions*) Here it is most unfortunate that our Central Government also has adopted a very lackadaisical attitude, a very pusillanimous attitude to the several problems being faced by the minorities. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government that amends have to be made. I can tell the Government that corrections have to be applied. I must without mincing my words say frankly in this House when the Prime Minister is sitting over here that the confidence of the minorities is badly shaken because of these failures of the Government, in matters of several problems of the minorities. Let therefore amends be made, lot corrections be made before it is too late.

[Shri G M. Banatwalla]

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM NARAIN SINGH (Bhiwani) : I shall plead the cause of the farmers alone. Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister in 1984. He had said then—and this is as often repeated by other Congress Ministers—that justice will be done to farmers and they will be provided assistance. But practically, nothing has been done to improve the lot of farmers although 40 years have passed since we achieved Independence. Even today people in the villages are very poor and their life is miserable. 70 per cent of the people live in the villages today and they are the worst sufferers. Hence, reservation in Government jobs should be provided to the people living in the villages irrespective of their belonging to any caste.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : What are you people doing ? You are a sensible lot.

SHRI RAM NARAIN SINGH : Today corruption is prevalent everywhere in the Government while referring to elections in Haryana. One of the hon. Members said that Ch. Devi Lal had enticed the people with money to get their votes. In this connection I would like to point out that Ch. Devi Lal is fulfilling the promises he made to his election manifesto. He has written of loans to the tune of Rs. 222 crores and provided pension to the old. Had it not been true we would have not won the three byelections. But there is large scale corruption here...

(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : Is he speaking on a vote of no-confidence motion ?

MR. SPEAKER : That is for him to see. He is a new Member and he thinks that the no-confidence motion is against the opposition.

SHRI RAM NARAIN SINGH : Corruption has spread everywhere in India, but no remedial measures have been taken in

this regard. Justice must be done to the farmers.

[*English*]

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU (Madras North) : Sir, on behalf of the D.M.K. Party I support this no-confidence motion.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Let him speak, now don't disturb him.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : The Constitutional expert Mr. Palkhiwala said, 'Progress is the exact opposite word of the Congress.'

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : What are you doing, Mr. Kuppaswamy ?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : Sir, you look at the behaviour of this man.

(*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT) : Hon. Members, no Member may please, I request, disturb any Member. Please keep quiet.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : Sir, the Constitutional expert, Mr. Palkhiwala said, 'Progress is the exact opposite word of the Congress.' The three years' rule of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is another example for it.

Sir, when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was elected as the Prime Minister of India, in fact, he had created a lot of expectations among the people of India. But today, 3 years later, if you take stock of the situation and ask the question what has he achieved during his tenure of 3 years, I am sorry to say, the answer is a big zero. He has belied the hopes of the people,

MR. SPEAKER : Are you reading from it ? You can put it on the Table and I will get it typed !

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Kuppuswamy, kindly resume your seat. *(Interruptions)* Try to follow him.

[*English*]

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : He has belied the hopes of the people who had voted his Party, out of a sympathy wave. Now those people who have voted for his Party are to be sympathised. He is one of the weakest Prime Ministers, India has seen. I can say, he is the weakest Prime Minister. He is so weak that now he cannot even reshuffle his own Cabinet. Even his erst-while colleagues are pointing finger at him and accusing his Government of many serious charges. What about Fair Fax ? What about Bofors scandals ? What about kickbacks in the West German submarine scandals ? There is no satisfactory reply from this Government. Even though Fair Fax and Bofors are difficult foreign names to pronounce, people from Cape Comerin to Kashmir are pronouncing it and discussing it and they have delivered the judgement that this Government is guilty. No Government in the history of India, in such a short time, has been guilty of so many serious charges. You may try to hide things by the fig-leaves of Fair Fax Commission and Bofors Committee but people are not so naive to believe them.

The Congress Party is being grown by the public money. In the famous Loan Melas, crores and crores of rupees were thrown in the street, to enlist the Congress sympathisers. Bank monies are lavishly spent to catch the vote bank. For this, Mrs. Indira Gandhi nationalised the banks?

With regard to the spiralling of prices, this Government is not able to control it. It is on the Everest now. Mr. Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal said that nearly 50,000 mills are closed in the coun-

try after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi came to power. Thousands of industrial units are closed.

We have received overall external assistance. We have received Rs. 38,801 crores up to 1985-86. But we have utilised only Rs. 27.15 crores. The unutilised money is nearly Rs. 1600 crores. *(Interruptions)*. Are you allowing him, Sir ?

MR. SPEAKER: No. I am allowing you. You speak.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU: This is very serious thing.

What is he talking, irrelevant ?

In grants also, we have received Rs. 4990 crores but spent only Rs. 4397 crores. Nearly Rs. 600 crores are utilised. It shows the inefficiency of this Government.

Sir, this Government is preaching the unity of India. But anywhere and everywhere, Hindi is thrust. Hon. Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao mentioned about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. What did Pandit Nehru say—Unity in Diversity. But by your language policy, you want only uniformity. I want to know whether you wish to maintain India or create "Hindia".

Now, we are reeling under severe drought. People themselves are donating to the drought relief fund. But this Government is spending daily Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 5 in Sri Lanka. Our Prime Minister has earned the nick name of "Accord Master". Without knowing pros and cons, he enters into accords. But those accords are destroyed by the onward march of simple commonsense and logic. In the result, it looks like childish. I am sorry to say that I don't call the celebrated accord, the Indo-Sri Lanka accord as such. But I would call it as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Jayewardene accord and that it is signed between two individuals, and it is signed by a young and inexperienced Prime Minister. Mr. Jayewardene has achieved what he wanted to achieve. I am quoting from "The Hindu" of this morning :

"The activities of the IPKF in Sri Lanka are governed by the execu-

[Shri N.V.N. Somu]

tive powers of the President, who is the Commander-in-Chief".

*(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : It does not go on record any longer.

*(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : Take your seat, Mr. Somu. The Hon. Prime Minister.

*(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Somu, take your seat. That is all. Not to go on record. You don't have my permission to speak.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must first thank the Members of the Opposition for bringing about this debate. It has served a very useful purpose. From yesterday afternoon to today, we have seen the total bankruptcy of thinking on the part of the opposition. *(Interruptions)*. Even now they are manifesting the same thing. *(Interruptions)*. Bankruptcy of thinking, bankruptcy of ideas and perhaps most important of all, the total bankruptcy of vision. They have had nothing to say except some petty personal attacks and if that is all that they have, I am thankful to them !

The hon. Member who opened the debate said—his first complaint against the Government and me was that I have not been helping and assisting the Opposition. I must apologise to you, Sir, because it is obvious that they do need our help and assistance ; otherwise, they are always reduced to such a level.

Some Members have asked for a mid-term poll and we should go for election. Let me say very categorically that this Government was elected for five years. We do not get shaken or uncomfortable by street marches and conclaves and contrived campaigns or cabals. No.

*Not recorded.

And if it is a question of holding rallies, we can also hold bigger rallies any time we want, at the drop of the hat. *(Interruptions)*.

In fact, I would like to point out to some of our Members that the rally that Lok Dal held just a little while back was much bigger than the rally that the CPI and the CPM have held.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Where ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : In Delhi.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Do you mean the Nani rally...*(Interruptions)*. There was a Nani rally.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Lok Dal, I said ; not Congress. So, you should sort out your problems first.

Sir, since the last elections, there have been 19 by-elections to the Lok Sabha. Out of the 19 by-elections, we have won 13. I can list them out—the State and the constituency, if you want. The Janata Party won 2 ; the CPM has won 1 ; the SSP has won 1 ; the Lok Dal won 2. But then, I think, one has left them. *(Interruptions)*.

So, the point that has been raised that this Government has lost the confidence of the people is totally wrong. We are supported by the people in the same ratio and proportion, as this House here represents. And that is why I take very strong exception to the statements made by Shri Somnath Chatterjee in this House when he has insulted the entire population of this country and the House should demand an apology from him. Shri Somnath Chatterjee has said that almost 80 per cent of this House has been elected by blackmarketeers and FERA violators.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : When and where I said this ? I never said this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Did you not say that the constituency of the Congress is of blackmarketeers and FERA violators ?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I said in what your Law Minister has said about Judiciary, you substitute the Government for the Judiciary.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : No, Sir, that is a different point. It is a shame that the hon. Member insults the people of India in this manner.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Let him read out.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Let him read it out. He has not been in the House.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Let him answer if he wants to answer.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What I have said, he is deliberately mis-quoting. Where is this sentence in my speech ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Let him make a personal explanation later, if he wants...
(Interruptions) I stand by what I said. Let the hon. Member make a personal clarification.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Let him produce that sentence from my speech.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : What you have said is wrong. Will you apologise to the House ?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have said that different elections * have shown that this House does not any longer represent the views of the people outside. That is what I have said.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : In opening the Motion in proposing the Motion, Shri Madhav Reddi-ji was apologetic in the way he presented his arguments. I thank him for the very high expectations that he had of our Government—in 1985, 1986 and even perhaps in mid-87. It is not my responsibility, like I said, to help and assist the Opposition. Surely, they are old enough to stand on their own feet after 40 years of Independence. *(Interruptions)*. It was almost as if Shri Madhav Reddiji was begging for help from our side to help the Opposition. *(Interruptions)* In that pleading appeal of his, the only two Prime Ministers he forget to mention were those that were non-Congress. So, obviously, the impression that is left on the country is of the Congress Prime Ministers and not of the others. They accused us of having politics of confrontation. Who started the Conclaves ? Who tried to undo the people's mandate ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): Is holding the Conclave a confrontation ?

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Please sit down. You will get an opportunity to speak after this.

[*English*]

Who refused cooperation with the Government on matters of national importance ? Who refused to come to the meetings that I called for the opposition ? Do you want me to name the dates ? Is this politics of conciliation or confrontation ? February 1986 you boycotted my meeting on consultations when I called because you said they were rituals.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Definitely.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : They were rituals.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The fact is that these meetings ..(*Interruptions*)...I don't want to argue across the Floor, Sir. The fact is that these meetings were removing the tensions between the Government and the Opposition and the Opposition did not like that. Because then they found it difficult to argue on the Floor of the House. And they have said so to my Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

I called a meeting in November 1986 for general discussions ; again you did not come. I called a meeting for Bofors in August 1987 ; again you did not come. So, who is the one who is having confrontation and who is the one who is trying to have consultation ? The fact is that on every occasion that we have tried to involve the Opposition in the decision making process, they have run away from that. They have refused to come and be involved. And when they have come, they have always wound up the meeting in indecision by not being precise and decisive in their arguments.

And I can quote it on specific meetings that we have had on specific subjects—I can quote it on meetings where a number of subjects have been covered. The fact is that we have tried to involve the Opposition, they have not wanted to get involved, because they have been indecisive and they don't want to face the truth. That is the fact of the matter, Sir.

The Hon. Member who spoke just before me mentioned something about Fairfax. And I did notice that he was reading from a typed speech. Perhaps his speech was typed

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : It is a hand-written speech, you see this.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I am sorry, it is a hand-written speech. (*Interruptions*). I stand corrected. It is a hand-written speech. But I beg to submit that hand-written speech was obviously written before the Thakkar-Natarajan Commission gave their Report. Because if he has read the Report he will see that the Government stands totally vindicated in that Report and it is the Opposition . (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : You did not take any stand at all.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : And it is the Opposition and their friends who stand totally indicted by that Report. Everything that the Opposition said in this House during the last session...

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Your stand is to cover up.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : There is no cover-up in that Report. It is patently clear that the Opposition was totally involved in this attempt to misguide the nation. The report has said that people, who were employees or earlier employees of the CIA, were involved in investigating things for the Government. Who fought for it ? Each one of you. Everyone of you was supporting this six months ago. What happened now ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What did Mr. Brahma Dutt say here ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Everything has been looked at by the Thakkar-Natarajan Commission.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : We wanted a House Committee...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : No, Sir. During that debate, there was a demand for a judicial inquiry and we accepted that demand

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : No.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Your personal demand may not have been. We gave the Bofors to the House Committee. What happened to you there ? The fact is that you are not interested in getting to the truth. You are interested only in making noise,

The point is that now the whole nation knows your motives, the whole nation knows the dangers that have been opened up by this investigation, and the whole nation knows who the enemies of the nation are and who is collaborating with them. It will not help to hide behind procedural and other arguments.

It will not help to run down the judiciary.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : You go to the people.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We don't need to go to the people when the people are with us. The people are not with you. So, you go to the people. And the shameful double standards that you have displayed are embarrassing to the whole nation... (Interruptions)...

Sir, sadly the debate shows that even on ideological point there has been little difference amongst the Opposition. Traditionally, it has been the established right of the Right parties, sitting across the floor, to have a vacuum of thought and ideology and vision. But today I am seeing that they are joined by our friends from the Left in that...

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : You are worried.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Of course, I am worried because I want a good Opposition and I am not getting a good Opposition. That's what is worrying me... (Interruptions)... I want an Opposition which can stand across the floor and argue about policies, which can argue about the future of the nation. An Opposition which is tied up in personal problems cannot help the nation. And I would still request you—I have said so publicly ; I have said so in public meeting ; I have said so in Press conferences—that I would welcome a strong Opposition. I would welcome an Opposition that stands on principles and values ; not an Opposition that has debated like we have debated yesterday and today.

While the whole world is watching the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and China, they are watching the ferment of new ideas, our Left still wallows in the comfort of old cliches. (Interruptions)... With due respect, just for the benefit of our friends from the Left, I would like to read a small quotation from somebody, they might appreciate. Maybe they can guess the name. The quotation is :

“New tasks have to be tackled with no ready-made answers, nor are there such answers today. Social Scientists have not yet offered us anything cohesive. The political economy of socialism is stuck with outdated concepts, and is in no way, in tune with the dialectics of life.”

Perhaps this will open their eyes. (Interruptions).

I will request my minister to give him an entry into the Navodaya Vidyalaya. Perhaps he will learn there.

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI ARJUN SINGH) : Sir, you have mentioned the Right and the Left but you have not mentioned those who are neither Right nor Left.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The fact is that everywhere a change is taking place. Much has been said about the multinationals here. Let's clarify the picture. One rambling speech went on and on about the multinationals but what is happening in the Soviet Union and China with multinationals ? Are they not socialist countries? Are they devoid of socialism in those countries ?... (Interruptions)... Closer to home? What is happening with multinationals in West Bengal ? Obviously, our friends in this House are totally out of touch with what is happening in the world outside. You don't have to go far. You don't have to go to China ; you don't have to go to Soviet Union but at least look at West Bengal. Ask the Chief Minister of West Bengal what he thinks and why he is going in this direction ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is because of you. You are deliberately not co-operating with West Bengal. You want that West Bengal should be an industrial desert. You don't know anything in this country. He is deliberately misleading. He thinks that he is the 'king emperor' of India.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I appreciate very much. I thank the hon. Member for his comment. I appreciate very much that The Chief Minister of West Bengal finds that the ideologies of the CPM do not give progress in Bengal. He is to look to Congress ideologies and leadership from here. Thank You Sir.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Unfortunately, he is the Prime Minister of India. We cannot ignore him. Whatever federal structure was there, he has finished it. He does not answer all those points.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur) : For 45 minutes he spoke without interruption. He cannot tolerate our reply. This is the way of CPM.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Perhaps I could only request the hon. Members to follow in the footsteps of their Chief Minister. Come around to our view of thinking. Open your eyes. Find out what is happening. If you open your eyes, you will find out. Go to West Bengal and find out.

We are dealing with the multinationals, transnationals from a position of strength, without compromising anything of our independence in thought and action at any stage. Let that be very clear. Unfortunately, the Opposition is not prepared to think objectively about the conditions of the economy and of our society. It is not adequate just to make noises here. You have to think objectively and come out with specific alternative programmes and ideas, if you can do so. But so far there has been a total vacuum and that has been seen during this debate also. The Congress is not afraid of change. The Congress knows how to learn from the realities, to learn how to change and make the economy more faster, how social change must be brought about and how the cultural life of the country must be improved. This was Panditji's contribution to the Congress and

to the country. This was the basis of my speech in Bombay. I am glad that Shri Madhav Reddi referred to my speech in Bombay and I would only request, perhaps I should ask them, whether any party in the opposition has the self-confidence to do such introspection and if you have, I would request you to do so...*(Interruptions)*. You had your turn, now let me talk.

Can any of you, do any of you have the guts to look at the changing world and the changing conditions in the country? Do any of you have the guts to self-criticise? Do any of you have the guts to accommodate new ideas? The fact is, no. *(Interruptions)*

My speech in Bombay was based on the values of the Congress as presented by Gandhiji, by Jawaharlal Nehru, and by Indira Gandhi. There was no deviation. We stand by that. And I would like to remind the hon. Members that this is not the first time that the Congress has looked within, there have been a number of occasions when the Congress has cleansed itself.

Much was talked about power brokers and *Satta ke dalals*. The Congress on a number of occasions has ejected these power brokers and has thrown out the *Satta ke dalals*, but where do we find these *dalals* today? Where are these power brokers who have been thrown out of the Congress today? I see them sitting on the benches opposite me*(Interruptions)*

I am not yielding the floor..*(Interruptions)*.

I would request my friends to look within..... ..

*(Interruptions)***

MR. SPEAKER : No interruptions please. Please sit down. This would not form part of the record. Please sit down now. Mr. Ram Dhan, please sit down.....Will you take your seats.

**Not recorded.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. Take your seat. Why are you agitated ?

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, I am very sorry that I have touched the soft point in some hon. Members. That was not my intention. Let me be very clear ; I am not talking of one, two or three individuals, I am going well beyond that ; I am talking of most of the parties which are sitting opposite me today, who have changed their labels a number of times, who changed their flags and symbols a number of times.

I would like them to look within. A little bit of introspection will do no harm. And while you are taking a little time to look within, also look to the left and right to see whom you are co-operating with, and whom you are sitting with. It will help you.

14.00 hrs.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : We know very well.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : We do not need your advice.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The fact is that when the Congress set out upon this path over a hundred years ago, we knew that it was an arduous path. It was not going to be easy. We knew everybody would not work with us. Even during the freedom struggle certain people who were with us left us at the most critical point to help the British ; to sabotage the freedom movement. (*Interruptions*).

Let us not forget the history, Sir, (*Interruptions*).

We knew that the task was going to be arduous and difficult one. We knew that we would have to face challenges from with-

in and outside. We are willing to face those challenges and we will face them head on. We will not shy away from those challenges. (*Interruptions*). Let us just see what has been happening during these years. If we look at the economy, the country has moved ahead at a rate at which it has never done so before. And I do not even want to refer to the three disastrous years of Opposition rule. I am comparing it even to other Congress periods. At no stage has the country moved ahead like it has moved during these years. (*Interruptions*).

Industry has got a new direction and new dimension. We have given a new orientation to the thrust of our anti-poverty programmes. We have harnessed technology for the alleviation of poverty. We have set up a number of technology missions which will take and bring together our Scientists and the people involved at the grass roots level, to look at the problems which matter in the daily life of our people. We have put up technology missions in drinking water, illiteracy, communication and immunisation. There is a basic difference in attitude to development. (*Interruptions*).

I would like to refer back for a minute to what Shri Narasimha Raoji was saying. The fact is that there is a difference in our basic views from across there and here. We see the alleviation of poverty, the progress and development of the country as better utilisation of science and technology in the daily lives of our people. The Opposition on the other hand has a vested interest to see that poverty remains and that is why they are stopping poverty from being removed at every stage. (*Interruptions*).

I talked to a very senior leader from one of the Leftist parties. I do not want to take his name ; he is not here. He complained to me ; a very senior leader of one of the Communist parties complained to me about employment and modernisation. Now, first let me put it right. He said that he is against my policies because I am modernising

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

So, I said, "What is your objection to modernisation? Surely, if our people are to rise and progress and get up above their poverty, we must modernise. What else is modernisation?" He said. "Modernisation will result in a loss of employment". I said, "It does not necessarily have to." But let us, for the moment, separate the argument. Let us not link employment and modernisation. We will discuss employment later. Let us talk modernisation for a minute. I asked him. "Can you tell me if India as an independent nation in the 20th Century can survive without modernisation?" He was silent for almost 60 seconds by the watch and then he said, "But employment will be affected" That was his sole response!

The fact is that there is a total void in the thinking that is taking place amongst the Left in our country today. There is a total void. And this is what is even more disturbing because so far it was only the Right which had this void. At least we had one group of people with whom we could argue on policy and ideology and on basic principles. But today, we have lost even that. Today we have got a total void. I would request you or perhaps beg you to start thinking.

(Interruptions)

Start thinking about how poverty can be removed from this country. You cannot remove poverty if you do not bring better technology at the grassroot village level.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : What happened to land reforms ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : How did we get the Green Revolution in ? It was possible only because the highest level technology was given to the farmer. There is no other way. If some of my hon. friends on the other side had their way and if we had no tractors, no fertilizer, no better seeds and no irrigation, where would the green revolution be and where would our farmers be ? Perhaps ..

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : What about land reforms ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You raise it when your turn comes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD) : Bengal has always opposed that.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : What was that ?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No cross-talking.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We have during these years restructured our industry to face the challenges of the Eighties and and the Nineties. The industrial growth is impressive no matter what you think. The average growth during these three years has been a little under 9 per cent. I am saying 'three years' because one member said to me, "Do not quote one year or do not quote certain times". The industrial growth during the first four months of this year has been 12.6 per cent and the industrial growth in July has been 15.8 per cent. Sir, July is the last month for which figures are available. I challenge any of the members to show me another time in the history of this country when industrial growth has been at this rate. I say any other time. I am not limiting you even to independent India. Go back 2,000 years and tell me.

SHRI M.R. SAIKIA (Nougong) : Which is the base year ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I will come to unions also. Do not worry. Then you will have you turn to shout.

This has come about because we have pursued policies that will develop and strengthen the country and not policies which are aimed at results of political arguments which can be given for the immediate needs. We are investing in the future of this country. We are not looking just for today. We are investing in tomorrow. And one of the problems that we are

having, the reason that such large changes are required—is that I feel very strongly that we have not invested enough in the future in the past. And I am including my own Congress Governments in that criticism. But it is always easier to look back and say, "You should have done that, you could have done that and so on." There were other problems that they were facing. So without trying to criticise, I am trying to put what I see as a problem today. I see that we have not invested enough in the future, much more needs to be done. And if we listen to what you say, there will be no investment in the future for this country.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY :
What about the investment in the past ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We have invested more in the past also. No other Government has gone to such great length to preserve the culture and heritage of this country, as we have. I did not really want to comment on it but I think it does deserve comment because one Member—very unfortunate that he used the word 'Hindu Rate of Growth' Very unfortunate.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : Why unfortunate ? It is an accepted phrase. Hindu Rate of Growth has a definite meaning.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : It has got no meaning on this side of the House ; let me say that very clearly.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : It was an expression coined by late Prof. Raj Krishna. It had been quoted umpteen times.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY :
You say what is the meaning of that ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Obviously. I am not worried about the meaning. I am arguing about the terminology. We do not like such terminology being used. I find it insulting that such terminology is used. I find it insulting to the nation, to the community that is referred in that. I would like to say—you have said was raised here

and there—'Yes' perhaps an economist raised it. But the economist raised it according to what was happening during the Janata period, if you remember. It is sad that that terminology is used by some Members today. *(Interruptions)*

The fact is that it is not only industrial growth, but overall growth which is at an all time high today. Yes, we have had a very drought this year. Only in the last 100 years for which the record is available, there have been only three occasions when there have been two consecutive droughts. This is the third occasion. In spite of that we are getting the industrial growth that I just quoted. In spite of that we are going to have a positive overall growth which has not happened in any bad year before. In 1979 when there was the last drought before this and it was nowhere near the drought that we have had now we had a minus is five per cent overall growth. We had 20 per cent or 22 per cent inflation—I forgot the exact number. So let us just get the perspective right. The fact is that during these years, the country has progressed and developed at a rate at which it has never done so before. For this I would like to thank all those who have been involved, specially the administration, the scientists, the technologists, the managers, the farmers, the most menial workers—I mean it is workers who do the most menial work. It is only because we have been able to get everyone to work together, it is only because we have been able to mobilise all of them together, that we have been able to achieve this. And we are proud of our people that have achieved this. As I said this drought is one of the worst in recorded history. In terms of rainfall it is one of worst. If you want to.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Will you sit down ?
Nothing will go on record.

[Translation]

Ram Dhanji, do you like it ? You are a senior member. Kindly sit down.

[English]

It is very bad. Sit down.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Like I said only on two occasions in this century—and we have statistics only from 1885 onwards—before this, has there been a case of two droughts following consecutively. This time two droughts have followed, two consecutive years of bad monsoon. So, let us be clear of what is happening. In spite of that, we have seen that the infra-structure functions well. Every aspect of the infra-structure is doing well. I am glad that Madhav Reddi Ji contrasted the drought with 1979. I will also contrast the drought with 1979. The drought now is much worse than in 1979 in every measure. What also has to be taken into account, which does not show up in the Met. Department's statistics is the time of the rainfall. If there are so many inches rain or centimetres of rainfall, Met Department says: "Yes; the rainfall is all right." But if they do not fall in July, and they fall in September, it is not all right for the farmer. It is not all right as far as production is concerned. That statistics is not included in the rainfall statistics of the department. I have told them now. They will include such a statistic also. They will factor it to weight it for the farmer. But in spite of that, and this year the rainfall that has fallen, has fallen too late to be productive. So the effect of the drought is much worse than is seen by mere statistics, as they have shown it in the Met Department's files. But in spite of that, we have taken the initiative to tackle the drought from here. Except for Rajasthan and Gujarat which have had very bad years for 3 or 4 years preceding, no other States—and I am saying Congress and Opposition States; unfortunately yesterday when you were talking to me, or when you mentioned only what I said about Opposition Chief Ministers. I wish you had also noted what I had said about our own Chief Ministers. I am absolutely straight. I do not pull any punches, whether they are our Chief Ministers or they are Opposition Chief Ministers. All State Governments must function, and must function within certain disciplines.—no State Government, except Rajasthan and Gujarat, had started any drought relief programme before we initiated it from the Centre. Even after that, we gave them about a month or two months before I visited the States. Even then, there were only *lipai putai* of programmes

on the ground. It had to come from here. We took the initiative. Today, the State Governments, including my own State Governments, are giving me long lists 'We have spent so much money; we have spent that much money.' When we asked them: 'Where have you spent this money? Give us some examples of where Rs. 300 crores or Rs. 400 crores have gone, specially if you spend Rs. 400 crores in a matter of three months', they have not given any answer.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD: Yes; quite right.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Does the country not need any financial discipline? Is the money to be squandered and thrown away? Or does the money belong to the poor people? Should it not be used properly?

The fact is that there has been total unaccountability on financial spending in this country, whether in the Centre, or in the States.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: In the Centre also.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: That is what I have said, and we are putting that right. We are tightening up in every department at the Centre; and the same tightening up will have to be done in the States, if this country is to progress. There is no way around it, there are no excuses. The cost of administration, the cost of implementing our programmes is much too high; and most of that high cost is not in the Centre. Yes; we are correcting it in the Centre. We have faults in the Centre. But it is not in the Centre, because the delivery system is in the States. It is not in the Centre. If the delivery system had been in the Centre, perhaps that would have also been in the Centre. We would have been equally inefficient. We would have squandered equal amounts. But the delivery system happens to be in the States. So, the tightening up must come in the States. During a drought, when the money situation is even tighter, they must be even more disciplined to see that there is no money wastage, and that the money goes down to the people for whom it has been targeted; and we want to see that happen. No matter how much noise you make here about your Opposition

Chief Ministers. I am not going to bend. Unless I am shown the figures of work done, and they are verified, we are not going to release any money at all. And I have made that very clear to the Finance Minister. I have made it very clear to the Cabinet Secretary.

So, let us be very clear about that. As I said in spite of the drought, in spite of all the problems, the infrastructure has performed better than any preceding year. You can contrast that with any other drought year or difficulty year and you will see that the gap is even greater. There is one problem which is very serious and that is the rise in prices; and I would like to highlight it specially because very few of the members from the opposition have highlighted it. (*Interruptions*) He is not from the opposition; he is our member. This is a real worry and what makes me sad is that the opposition does not worry that the prices are going up. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : We have raised discussions.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I am not talking about that; I am talking about this debate. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : You have not gone through the debates. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : You read my speech, I referred to the price rise.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : I do not know whether you have heard us. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : You do not have the time to hear the proceedings. You were in Bhopal.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I was only in Bhopal for three hours. The debate had gone on for the whole afternoon yesterday. I was sitting here from six o'clock to 11.15 or whenever we dispersed last night. Don't talk like that.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati) : Mr. Prime Minister...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You made a good speech.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI : Mr. Prime Minister, in fact, I said that the price rise is such that if the opposition members' wives would have come to vote today, the motion would have been carried. At least, you should have read that. It is not that nobody referred to it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI ; Mr. Goswami, thank you. I appreciate what you have said; and although I was not there for your speech, I was told that yours was perhaps the only speech which carried substance. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI : Your compliments may create problems for me politically.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : It was not a compliment; I was trying to state the truth.

On prices there is a difficult situation. Prices are rising; they must be controlled and the Finance Minister has already spoken on this. I do not want to go into greater depth on this. But whatever measures are required will be taken; even if they are hard and severe, they will be taken. There will be no slackness on this.

Again I would like to emphasise that we must measure drought year with drought year. Today—correct me if I am wrong—our inflation is still below about 10 per cent; it has not gone into double digit yet. Compare that with any other drought year before. I am not asking you to compare it with the two consecutive years of drought, with any other single drought year. What had happened in 1979? 22 per cent. Why? Because the government could not control the system. We have maintained it in a single figure and we will do everything to keep it in those single figures because government is working and running unlike what was happened during the last drought that this country faced.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : It was an year of three governments ; 1979 was an year of three governments. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you speaking unnecessarily ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You were also there ; your party was also there. You remember what you did. You remember how many years it took us to correct the damage that you had done.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : It will require thousand years to correct your mistakes.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I can remind you now. If you want I can remind you. But I do not want to remind the house and take the time of the House on an issue which every one is very knowledgeable about in fact ; but some don't want to face them.

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : I shall ask them to meet you. You can discuss together.

[*English*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I take that as a commitment from the Chair because whenever I invite them to come, and talk they do not come.

MR. SPEAKER : Do you expect me to give a ruling, Sir ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Please.

We have taken every step possible to see that the *Rabi* crop is going to be good, because that is the only real way to put the farmer and the *Khet mazdoor* back on his feet again. No other amount of relief work that we can restore him in that position because it just cannot be done. We have taken every step to see that the *Rabi* crop is going to be good, everything is available and things happen so that the crop is good. The reason that we have been able to cope with the drought, such a severe drought, is that during these past six years

from 1980 to 1986, the Congress has had an opportunity under Indiraji and then more recently under this Government to build and consolidate and it is only because we have strengthened it during these three years that we are able to face this drought today. Otherwise if, God forbid, a second drought had come after the 1979 drought, the country would have been on its knees. That is the difference between on Opposition Government and a Congress Government. (*Interruptions*)

Many members have raised the question of Centre-State relations and I would like to comment on this. Even if I say so, never have the Centre-State relations been as cordial as they have been during these three years.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : Question !

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I will tell you why. How many State Governments have been dismissed by the Centre during these three years ? (*Interruptions*)

No Look at any Government before. (*Interruptions*)

What are Centre-State relations ? Centre-States relations is, working together, the Central Government working together with the State Governments and the Chief Ministers. If you dismiss Chief Ministers that is bad Centre-State relations. If you dismiss nine State Governments within a few months, what could be worse Centre-State relations ? (*Intrruptions*)

Yes, the point is, let me come back to the point from which I started. Let me come back to the point where I started. You never get down to the root of the problem. You only stay at the superficiality. The root of Centre-State relations is being able to work with them without having to dismiss them, which you were not able to do.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Parvathipuram) : What happened in 1980 ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : In 1980, I myself said it was an aberration,—which I

thought was an aberration—but that aberration was there because the dismissals had taken place in 1977. The Governments that were there were not the correct Governments. That is why it had to be done. It was an aberration to correct a wrong action.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Why was N.T. Rama Rao's Government dismissed ?
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : What about Kashmir Government ? What about the Punjab Government in the recent past ?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : What about the Punjab Government ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Only Punjab Government, and I stand by that decision. It was not for political reasons, but it was because the administration had broken down. Let us be very clear. Achariaji, you can keep on arguing, but let us be very clear. The precedent of dismissing Governments was set in 1977 when nine Government were dismissed *en masse*.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : In 1959 an elected Government in Kerala was dismissed. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You have mentioned about Kerala. Let me say, even to day if I find any State Government is going in an anti-national direction, I will dismiss that Government—no matter what majority they have.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Achariaji, kindly sit down.

[*English*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, On Centre State relations, let me ask, has there been one case of discrimination in fund allocation between the Congress run States and the Opposition run States—not one case,

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura):
Hundreds of cases.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Name me one case now.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Tell us what factories you have given to West Bengal in the last ten years. Tell one factory (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I am not talking of factories. I am talking of plan allocations, I said.

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Why don't you stop it ? Why do you keep interrupting...

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : You have turned grey, yet you have no patience.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER ; Please sit down, Sir.

[*English*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : What we are doing Sir...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : What was recommended by the Eighth Finance Commission, that was not given to West Bengal.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Because West Bengal, I believe, I do not remember the exact details, did not meet their part of the thing.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA ; I can tell you,

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We can look at it. (*Interruptions*) Anyway, we can look at that point and if I am right it was handled by the previous Government and not by this Government. So, it does not come into this. It does not come into purview of this. (*Interruptions*) Let it be very clear Sir and if we...(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Kumari Mamata Banerjee, please sit down.

SHRI AJOY BISWAS (Tripura West) : Sir, in the case of Tripura, the per capita allotment in the Seventh Plan is less than the other States of the North Eastern Region. In the case of Nagaland, it is more than 4,000. In the case of Tripura, it is 2200.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, the allocation of Tripura—I do not have the numbers here, I am speaking from memory. It is almost one and a half to double the average allocation of the country.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI AJOY BISWAS : In the case of Tripura it is 2200 and in the case of Nagaland it is 4000.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You are getting double the allocation of the country and you are complaining.

(*Interruptions*)*

MR. SPEAKER : Not allowed. I am not allowing these interruptions.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI ; Eastern Region has also Mizoram, Sikkim. (*Interruptions*). Yes, there are opposition run States also. You cannot separate it like that. There is also Assam. But there is one thing that we must be very careful about, and I want to get back to that, that is the financial discipline in the States—the diversion of plan fund for non-plan activities, we

*Not recorded.

cannot go on in this manner. The country just is not rich enough to squander the poor people's money, it must be invested for the future. (*Interruptions*) I do not want to quote. I can quote from West Bengal also: What happened to your Sixth Plan ? (*Interruptions*)

One particular State, my Members will not be aware of this, I visited—I do not want to take the name of the State, perhaps by the guilty feelings you will find out which State it is—one particular State I visited, I talked with the Chief Minister. We looked at the plan performance. On every single sector, they were below target and not just one per cent, two per cent, —fifty per cent, sixty per cent, seventy per cent below the target, in essential sectors like Power, Energy and Agriculture. Only on, sector, they have spent more than the target fifty per cent more than the target and that was...

AN HON. MEMBER : Publicity.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : And that was publicity.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Even then you have lost the last Assembly elections.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Thank you Achariaji. You have told our Members which State it is.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The people have rejected them. If he has the courage, let him go to the elections. (*Interruptions*)

He tried his best. He indulged in repeated untruth, but the people rejected them.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Kindly sit down now. Bairagiji, do you want to say something ? Have you recollected some urdu couplet ?

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur):
Sir, I would like to the hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi to sum up the matter in the following manner :

*"Isse zyada ayena inko mat dikhla-
yiye,*

*Vaise hi badshakla hein, benoor hei,
daar jayenge,*

*Aiyne ko tor dena zid hai inke husna
ki,*

*Is mashakkat mein bichare khud ba
khud mar jayenge".*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I will make every effort to seek the advice of the hon. Member.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Ram Dhan, do you also want to quote an urdu couplet ?

SHRI RAM DHAN : Mr. Speaker,

*"You to hum jante hein, jannat ki
hakikat,*

*Lekin dil ke bahalane ko Galib yeh
khayal acchha hai".*

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD : Bairagi ji had asked them to see their face in the mirror.

(Interruptions)

14.38 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will try not to show them the mirror, but if they themselves want to look into it, I cannot stop them.

[*English*]

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we would like very strong and good relations with the State Governments because we know and realise that the task of development and nation building is not something that can be handled only from the Centre or for that matter only from the States. It has to be a joint exercise by both the States and the Centre. And that is why, at every stage

we have tried to build this bridge and we will continue this effort even if we have difficulties. There are difficulties not only with the opposition States but there are even difficulties with our own States, because there are set things and you have to break out of them. But the efforts must continue and we will continue those efforts. We have to see that there is an equal commitment in the States at nurturing and conserving our natural resources. This, unfortunately, is not realised adequately enough at the State level and perhaps even lower at the district level. This awareness must be brought about.

Sir, we are completely and totally for the freedom of the Press. We uphold that freedom...*(Interruptions)*, just like we uphold all our basic democratic rights. There is no difference. Freedom of the Press is part of that right. Indeed, what is infact needed today is not just freedom of the press but also freedom for the Press from their overlords. This too needs to be established, One is not adequate. I am talking seriously. I am not trying to make a point. This has to be done as well. Nobody can be set apart from the process of the law, no matter how high or low or well-connected. I have said so on the floor of this House, I have said so on a number of occasions. Yesterday Unnikrishnan Ji made a remark. I will say that now. Nobody is above the law in this country, no matter how well-connected, no matter how high-up, no matter if they belong to the Press. The law acts on the press as well. There is no separate law for the Press. If they violate the law, they will be punished according to the law. Let us be clear about that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : What about the National Herald, Sir ? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : National Herald has been found guilty by the Government, of having sublet major portion of the building in blatant contravention of the lease agreement. Are you aware of it, Mr. Prime Minister ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I have said that wherever the law is violated, it will take its course. There will be no shielding or protection for anybody. I cannot make that any plainer for you, and even if we

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

send you back to your school, you would not have it blatant...*(Interruptions)*. Sir, this Government has complete faith in the Constitution, in the judiciary, in the law of the land and in Parliament, and we lay ourselves open to all the institutions. We have not shirked away at any time from facing them, but unfortunately, the same cannot be said of many who are sitting across the House. I would request them also, instead of taking to the street, to submit themselves to the institutions as well.

Sir, only a few people touched upon foreign policy. I was a little sad; about that because our internal policy is as closely linked with foreign policy as it is with each part of our internal domestic policy. Unfortunately, many in the Opposition have not realised that. It has been said that we have changed our foreign policy. Somebody said that initiatives have not been taken. I cannot categorically state that so many initiatives have been taken in so many months during this Government, and compare with an equivalent number of months during Pandit Ji's time, or Indira Ji's time, or Shastri Ji's time.

[*Translation*]

I do not want to show them the mirror of our achievements because I feel that there is no such need. *(Interruptions)*

[*English*]

But the number of initiatives that this Government have taken I think few other Governments have taken especially in the time-frame that we are talking about and you can talk about any area, whether it is South Africa, whether it is ANC, whether it is SWAPO, whether it is Frontline States, whether it is the Non-Aligned Movement, the African Fund, the Commonwealth, Eminent Persons Group, whether it is 6-Nation five continental initiative, whether it is on environment, whether it is on disarmament and development—I can go on whether it is on SAARC, it is an endless list, much longer than perhaps any other administration, certainly in the time-frame of three years.

The Sri Lanka Accord has come into some criticism in the House. I reiterate that it is historic accord. It has been internationally acclaimed and it answers all legitimate Tamil aspirations. In fact, it goes beyond...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU (Madras North) : No, Sir. Definitely not. *(Interruptions)*

14 46 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER (*in the Chair*)]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Will you hear me out? When I finish talking, you can comment.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Somu sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, I am not yielding.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Somu, you have to seek my permission. Sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : Sir, here it is said, IPKF is under the command of Mr. Jayawardene. I want to know whether the Commander of the Indian Army is our President or Sri Lankan President. *(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Somu, please sit down. *(Interruptions)*

[*Translation*]

Why are you making noise? Mr. Somu, please sit down.

(Interruptions)

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : He will answer that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I will give you an opportunity.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : He wants to know whether Mr. Jayawardene is its Commander-in-Chief.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I was just wanting to ask him when he is quoting from a document or a newspaper, is the hon. Member willing to swear by the authenticity of what has been said in that ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : Yes, Sir. It has been said by the Minister, Mr. Vincent Perera in Sri Lankan Parliament. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Somu, you must realise that yesterday we had a stiff time on this point. You have to authenticate and take full responsibility for what you are saying, when you are putting on the Table of the House. You have to do it. I am just warning you.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : I fully rely upon the Hindu Paper. It is said in Sri Lankan Parliament. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It is a press report of what has been said in the Sri Lankan Parliament. Where is the question of vouching for its authenticity and all that ? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : It is reported in Hindu by P.T.I.

MR. SPEAKER : I have heard you. Sit down now.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I have not allowed any Member to speak.

*(Interruptions)**

*Not recorded

MR. SPEAKER : What I say is it is a press report. Now, listen to me.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : It is said in Sri Lankan Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Somu, please listen to me. Certain things are distorted and also mis-reported at certain times. That is what he is saying. Now, that is all right. Sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : Let him deny it. Let the Prime Minister deny it.

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : I fail to understand why you are shouting.

[*English*]

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Why does not he deny it ?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : What is happening with you all ? I will name you, don't behave like that.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, we are all Indians.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : First I am a Tamilian, next Indian.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, this is precisely the sad part of what is happening in the Opposition. First they are Tamilians and Andhraites and Bengalis and what not.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : No that is not our view. It is his personal view.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, Let us be clear. *(Interruptions)*. Sir, let this House at least resolve that everybody who is sitting in this House is an Indian first, Sir,

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

I would like to hear from the hon. Members from the Opposition that they are first Indians and then anything else. Yes, Sir. (*Interruptions*). One Member is saying 'No'. (*Interruptions*). Let him say he is an Indian first.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : By language I am a Tamilian, but by nationality I am an Indian.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER . What is your point of order ?

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Now sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : They don't even know what they are doing. In 30 seconds he switches from here to there and back again. Perhaps by the time I finish speaking, he will be back to be a Tamilian again.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What is this, Sir ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI Sir, in the Non-aligned...(*Interruptions*). All right, I will avoid it.

In the Non-aligned India has played a role...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Sir, let him answer this point first.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : He is coming. Listen now.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I will answer that. I am not aware of precisely what has been said in the Sri Lankan Parliament. I cannot...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : In the *Hindu* it is mentioned here.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : *The Hindu* is not the record of the Sri Lankan Parliament even if you wave the paper around.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It is true that our Party has supported the accord, but never we were informed that the IPKF would be not under the command of our own commanders, but under President Jayewardene's command.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The IPKF is under the command of our commanders. I am not aware of what has been said in the Sri Lankan Parliament and I will not comment on something I am not aware of. (*Interruptions*). The *Hindu* is not the record of the Sri Lankan Parliament.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Jaipal Reddy, can you be tamed at any time ? Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, under India's chairmanship the Non-aligned Movement gathered a strength which it has seldom had before and which it had lost in the intervening period. In SAARC, it is under India's leadership that the Organisation has really taken root and become strong. Like I said earlier, at the Commonwealth, at the UN India has played a very positive role in every aspect. With

China we have moved forward. Tensions have been diffused, openings have been made and perhaps I could contrast this to what happened with China during the Janata period when the nation was humiliated by China attacking Vietnam while our Foreign Minister was in China. That is the difference between the foreign policy that you ran and the foreign policy that we are running. On Kampuchea India has played a key role in the getting together of the two leaders. On South Africa like I said India has done a lot with the USSR and here I think a special word for our friends, because while we have been improving relations with the U.S. and other western countries, and our friends have got very agitated about the progress that we have made, they have not bothered to see what has been happening with the U.S.S.R. during this period also. Perhaps they are not really interested because if they were, they would know the real thing. Never before have we had such a high number of high level visits between the two countries—never before. Never before has there been such inter-action at high level and at lower levels between the Soviet Union and India on international issues—never before on bilateral issues. The Delhi Declaration was a path breaking declaration where for the first time, perhaps ever a major power has come on the line of non-violence and signed a document, that is based on non-violence. Is this not diplomatic initiative? Even the language of the papers of the Washington Summit derives from our thoughts and our philosophy.

I would humbly submit that although the INF agreement has been signed today, it is not something that has happened overnight. It has happened because Panditji in the face of grave odds called for nuclear disarmament, because Gandhiji the day after the bomb was exploded in Hiroshima said that the system must be changed, if the world has to survive. For 40 years, India has fought for this. During these last three years, the efforts that we have put in are perhaps more than what have been put in any such period in the preceding years.

SHRI S JAIPAL REDDY : You are not referring to your own contribution?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Unfortunately, what Narasimha Raoji said is so true. You

have grown so cynical that all you see is yourself, unfortunately. And that is the sad part.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I am happy that you are sad.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Unfortunately, in this world, things cannot be switched on and switched off, specially where major policy issues are involved.

MR. SPEAKER: Whom should I blame—Narasimha Rao Ji or...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Narasimha Rao Ji only showed the mirror.

MR. SPEAKER : Jaipal Reddy Ji to be blamed !

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The only thing we can blame Narasimha Rao Ji, for is that he knew where to point it, with his past experience. Nobody is so naive as to think that major policy decisions take place overnight. It is after years, decades of work that the ground-work is done, when the atmosphere is right and when things suddenly click. And it is because of the decades of work that Pandit Ji did, that Indira Ji did, that India has done. It is the decades of espousing Gandhiji's ideals, that has led to this. Don't belittle India's role in this. Be proud of India's role. There are sometimes, some occasions come in one's life when one has to rise above petty differences for the nation's interest. Sometimes, occassionally, please do so.

Sir, with the Soviet Union, we have organised the first ever Soviet Festival outside the Soviet Union and it has been held in India. It is a mark of the friendship of the people of the Soviet Union and the people of India, going beyond just the Government.

In technology, the agreement that we have signed with the Soviet Union is unprecedented in its scope, in its content, in the access to hi tech that it gives us. We have set a target of increasing our trade 2 1/2 times by 1992 and we aim to achieve this and I would like to just inform the hon. Members that in the cooperation that we have signed with the Soviet Union, the

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

cumulative cooperation that has been signed from independence to 1985, when compared with what we have signed from 1985 to 1987, in these three years, we have signed between 1 1/2 to twice the number that we have signed in all the years from independence to now. I am giving a broad band of 1 1/2 to 2, because the exchange rate fluctuated depending on how you do the exchange rate it comes to a minimum 1 1/2 and maximum around 2.

Is this not improving relations? Is this not diplomatic activity?

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Indiraji's statue has been raised in Moscow, no other statue of any other country's leader.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Thank you, Rangaji. Rangaji is right Sir.

SHRI N.G. RANGA : We have raised Lenin's statue also.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : With Pakistan, we want to cooperate, we want friendship and we want relations to improve. We have taken many initiatives, I do not remember the exact number now. But if my memory serves me right, when I was in Kathmandu and I spoke to their Prime Minister, I pointed out about 14 initiatives that we have taken which are lying pending on their side where no movement is taking place on their side. There is no shortage of initiatives from our side. We seek closer people to people relationship with the people of Pakistan, through culture, through tourism, through trade, through economic cooperation, and we would like to build on this. Unfortunately, the Government of Pakistan is highly uncooperative, whether it comes to such exchanges at people level, or it comes to their activities including their nuclear weapon programme which compromise all our other initiatives. Let me reiterate that India, during these years, has not deviated an iota from the basic postulates and principles of Gandhiji and Panditji. That is the basis on which we have developed. That is the basis on which Indiraji developed her programme and it is on that same road that we have been functioning and we have been successful only because we have gone on that road. Let me

remind our hon. Member, specially in the operation who have very little experience in foreign policy and the little experience that they have is embarrassing in the nations. So I do not want to bring that out, whether it was in China or in Cuba or in Tanzania, it has been an embarrassing period. The fact is that diplomatic activity good diplomatic activity, is that which takes place behind the scenes and it is not shouted out from every corner and every street corner. That is what you have got to understand. When you understand that perhaps, if you understand that, then we will get some constructive contribution on the foreign policy issue.

One more canard has been raised on self-reliance. It has been said that we are giving it up. Nothing could be farther from the truth. India is more self-reliant and stronger today than it has ever been in the past. (*Interruptions*). Obviously, they appreciate our self-reliance. You don't. What do you expect? You want to see the nation weakened.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I am asking Shri Kumaramangalam to clap.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : All our policies in industry, in agriculture, in developing technologies—are related to this goal of self-reliance. India can only be strong and independent, if we are strong in every field and self-reliant in every aspect. That is the road that we are taking. We are absolutely clear that India will in no way get trapped into the debt trap or get trapped by some of the obsolete technologies that we are being asked to do by some of our friends from across the room. We must upgrade technology. We must liberalise and recognise the complexities that are involved in the process of becoming self-reliant. We will not become self-reliant if we remain tied to old ideas. When I talked of the 21st century, I was not talking of the machines. I was talking of the mind. Your mind must be ready for the 21st century. That means, thinking about your problems in new ways—not finding ready-made solutions; not running to your Mecca and then finding that Mecca

has changed and they have got new ideas. Those ideologies will not work. You have to think new. Even in...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Which Mecca are you referring to ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Our friends from the Left understand which Mecca I am referring to.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : What is your Mecca ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Delhi. Our Mecca is Delhi, unlike yours which is outside India. For self-reliance, there must be flexibility in our planning. We must see problems as they come and find solutions for them; find solutions within the framework of our ideology ; within the basis of our thinking of Gandhiji and Indiraji. But the solutions have to be ours. They did not have the same problem. They could not have solution to these problems. But they have given us direction which will give us the solutions. So, we must take that direction and find our solutions. That is what is necessary today. And that is what we are doing. I do not want to go into the details. Our industry cannot be self-reliant ; our agriculture cannot be self-reliant it is not efficient. This must be realised. Efficiency does not mean unemployment. In fact, efficiency will mean more employment which will be generated. The same is true in the farmer's field and the same is true on the factory-floor. The same is true in offices and service industries. And this must be realised by us. This was the vision that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had given to India. Let us not mistake it. Many in the country opposed him very strongly when he talked of industrialisation, 35 years ago. Let us not forget that. He had to fight that. We will fight it in everyway. The Congress will fight it like the Congress fought it earlier. We will see that India develops even if some of our friends do not want it to do so. One of the Members in a very long, rambling speech shed tears for Public Sector. More has been done for Public Sector during these 3 years than

and ever before. Let me give you some numbers. I will not go to the rolling plan days when everything was rolled out. I will only quote from Indiraji's time because that is the last the highest investments that were more. In 1980-81, approximately, Rs. 21000 crores was invested in the Public Sector. In 1984-85 it was Rs. 47,500 crores and by 1987-88 expect that to go up to Rs. 83,500 crores. This is the type of investment we are making in the public sector. We have put between 1984 and 1985...(Interruptions).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Speak in percentages, not in absolute figures.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Shall we have to send you to school to learn that ? (Interruptions) O.K. we shall teach these things in our Navodaya schools.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What is the drop in the value of the rupee during these five years ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Let me just emphasize again. The investment in the public sector in 1980-81 was Rs. 21,000 crores. Between 1984 and 1987, we have put in Rs. 36,000 crores...

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : In real terms ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : In two years ; this is the comparison. Let us not shed crocodile tears for the public sector because a public sector that is inefficient, a public sector that is a drain on the people of the country is not the public sector that we want. We want a public sector that works for the people of the country...

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Sathe's theory.

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI VASANT SATHE : People's theory.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Anybody who drags down the public sector by trying to limit the productivity and the efficiency of the public sector is not speaking for the public sector but is speaking to kill the public sector for ever, is an enemy of the public sector. The survival of the public sector depends...

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : But you are doing just the opposite in the NPCC...(Interruptions).

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : How many more pages do you have ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You had nothing to say. I have got plenty to say. That is why I thank you for this opportunity—because we have done so much in three years that I want to tell you about and which you are ignorant of. (Interruptions).

[Translation]

Please sit down. You can speak later. (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Choubey is not even ashamed of his grey hair.

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : In these three years, the implementation of the Plan has been the highest in any three years of any other Plan. A number of new projects have been taken up in the Plan this year. Our commitment to the public sector is complete and there is no going back on that commitment. The public sector is a cardinal principle of our philosophy of planning, and we are not changing it. We have kept the public sector at the commanding heights of our economy and that is where it is going to stay ; and that is the only way.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : What about the private sector ? How much was the investment in the private sector ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If the public sector investment is doubted, we have to double the private sector investment also. We want development. We do not want

yo stifle it. Investment in the private sector is not ours. Government investment is in the public sector.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : This is our socialism !

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : The private sector investment has become more for the first time (Interruptions).

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : Don't interrupt. Kindly sit down. Do you want to gag someone's voice, why are you doing so ?

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : In the agricultural sector, for the first time the green revolution is spreading eastwards. We are working at increasing production specially through the small and marginal farmers. We have paid special attention to their needs through the IRDP and NREP and other income—and employment-generating programmes.

Lastly, I would like to come to the point of corruptions. No Government has done more to fight corruption than this Government.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : You have done the most to cover up corruption.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Let me finish. Then you can comment. Sir, the issue of Fairfax was raised in this House. I have already commented on it. The Commission has vindicated our position completely. And what comes out from that Report is that the opposition mixed up with one group of industrialists was trying to take advantage. Is that not corruption ?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Opposition ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Yes, the opposition. The opposition raised an issue without understanding the issue of caring

to go into the issue. If you had bothered to look into it, we would not have had to give it to the commission to give the answer. The answer was there.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : You have diverted it.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : We have diverted it to get the truth. Of course, it has been diverted towards truth. It was going towards complete falsehood. (*Interruptions*).

I have no doubt that every single issue that has been raised in this House, the Government will be cleared on every single count I know it. The Government has not done anything wrong. There is no way that the Government is involved. (*Interruptions*).

The commitment to truth was demonstrated when we set up the JPC. That was the commitment to truth. Those that wanted to get to the truth joined the JPC. Those that were afraid of the truth, stayed away.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Those who wanted to cover up the truth joined the JPC.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I have not finished on corruption. Sir, let me say that at every point where any act of omission or commission or corruption is pointed out, this Government has taken action. When the PAC, I think, subject to correction, gave a Report against one of my ministers, the same day, I made him resign. When there was a question about my Chief Minister in two States, I made them resign. Did any opposition Chief Minister who is charged with corruption resign ? (*Interruptions*).

What is happening in Andhra ? What has happened in Karnataka ? What is happening in Bengal ?

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY (Nalgonda) : You resign first.**

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Sit down. Nothing goes on record.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sit down for a minute. Let me finish. I will answer everything you say. On this count, we are very clean. (*Interruptions*). There is no Congress Chief Minister who has a Supreme Court or High Court indictment today. There are opposition Chief Ministers who have.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You are talking of corruption, have you read the judgment of the High Court ?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : What action have you taken against your Orissa Chief Minister ?

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Nobody is allowed.

(*Interruptions*)**

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Let me reiterate. There is no High Court or Supreme Court decision against any Congress Chief Minister. There is against two Opposition Chief Ministers and they are still in Government. Let them resign. (*Interruptions*)... Let me see the commitment to clean political life coming from the Opposition for a change. Let us see you act also, not just talk on corruption. We have acted... (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Order, please. Please sit down.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : We are prepared for a judgement of the people. Are you prepared ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : There are many ways to dodge High Court Pronouncements. (*Interruptions*)

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

I have said that, I am repeating it. The High Court has stayed it.

Let me conclude. What we need in the country is a strong Opposition, but an Opposition that is not tied to their dogmas. When will they come together? When will they work together for a better and more prosperous India?

I put to this House...Sir, one point I missed. I am sorry. I just saw Unnikrishnanji, he reminded me. Yesterday an Hon. Member said that this Opposition is not the Loyal Opposition as in England. Let me just understand that phrase. In England there is Her Majesty's Government and there is Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition. The loyalty is to the country, the loyalty is not to individuals. Sir. In England..(Interruptions)...Please, Unnikrishnanji, if you please listen, you will understand what I am trying to say.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : If I have to learn from you it is not worth learning.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI Unfortunately I gave that up very long time ago.

In England, there is Her Majesty's Government and there is Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition which means the Opposition is loyal to the nation. Yesterday the Hon. Member said this is not a Loyal Opposition. Perhaps, on some other occasion he would like to clarify who he is not loyal to. Is he not loyal to the nation? Sometimes I do think that.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : If you are not capable of understanding me, I cannot help you...(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Unnikrishnanji, you better clarify quickly.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : I was referring to the concept of Parliamentary Democracy with monarchy and without monarchy. You are treating yourself as a monarch.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I would request the Hon. Member to make this clarification

in this session because he may not be here in the next session.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRIISHNAN : I am prepared to do it tomorrow.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I put to this House and I submit that this Motion be rejected

Thank you Sir.

[Translation]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, now it is my turn to show them the mirror. (Interruptions)

[English]

I start by saying that we are the President's loyal opposition. (Interruptions)

Mr Prime-Minister, please listen first. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Either you leave the House or sit with dignity This is not the way to stand here and there and talk.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Order, order.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): Mr Speaker, Sir, I declare that we are the President's loyal Opposition. Please understand this. We are not His Excellency's loyal Opposition; we are the President's loyal Opposition. We are loyal to the nation.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : Are you loyal to the President who was defeated in the elections.

(Interruptions)

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : You please sit down if you cannot understand. (Interruptions)

Now, it is my turn to show you the mirror, you may see how beautiful and good looking you are and how much you have changed.

I have heard the speeches of hon. Members from treasury benches and the other side attentively, yesterday as well as to day.

[English]

Today, we heard two speeches, one from Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao and another from the Minister. After I heard the speech of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, I expected that the Prime Minister would rise to the occasion and speak at a high plane and try to reply to the various issues which we had raised in the proper perspective. But I was very sorry to listen to the Prime Minister who indulged in political gimmicks, political rhetorics.

Now, I would like to touch upon the various issues which he had raised subsequently. I would also like to revert to some of the remarks which he had made. Before I go to Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao's speech—I must say that his speech was at a very high plane. He tried to explain in the proper perspective, in the historic context, the various issues before the nation. He is a very veteran parliamentarian and a great administrator, man of great ability, culture and learning. I have great respect for him. I know with the experience he had as a Chief Minister and as a Minister here, he has earned distinction and his advice would have been of value. But is he being consulted? I would like to clarify certain points raised by the Hon'ble Prime Minister.

First of all, he said that it is not his duty to come to the rescue of the Opposition. We never asked for his help. What I mentioned yesterday was that when I got up to move the motion, I was prevented practically by shouting from the other benches and the Prime Minister was sitting in the corner of seat and was laughing. Sir, it is his duty to control his... (Interruptions) Members When I was discharging my constitutional responsibility of moving the Motion, he was allowing his Members to obstruct my speech... (Interruptions)... At that time I did not utter a single word: The moment I got up, you started obstructing.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, I do not mean to interrupt but I just want to say that perhaps, there were a few interruptions but let me reassure the Member that nothing relevant he said was lost.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is again a personal attack.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : There is nothing wrong in hitting the people politically but don't hit them below the belt. He was referring to the opposition meetings which he had been conducting for consulting the opposition leader. I attended my party in almost all the meetings which he had convened the meeting if opposition leaders during the last two years. I am not mentioning about the first year. In the meetings there was just passing of the information to us and not consultation with us. You take a decision and then you are going to announce it in the Floor of the House after 15 minutes and you call a meeting of the opposition leaders. Is it a consultation? Is it not a ritual?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is a personal attack against the opposition.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : He said something about the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister which he should not have mentioned because the matter is in the High Court. It is subjudice.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : All I said was that there are strictures against two Chief Ministers... (Interruptions)... There are, there are...

(Interruptions)

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : There were four writ petitions. Two writ petitions were rejected and the other two which were filed by none else than your own State Secretary are Pending adjudication. These petitions are politically motivated and they are before the High Court. I do not want to make any comment about them. It is wrong to say that High Court has passed any strictures. No stricture have been passed. I challenge that. If there are any

[Shri C. Madhav Reddi]

strictures the Chief Minister would have resigned. In spite of this since the allegations have come he has appointed a commission. He has subjected himself to be scrutinised by the commission.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The Commission has been appointed in such a broad base manner that it cannot give any proper answer. (*Interruptions*)... The terms of reference of the Fairfax Commission were drafted by Mr. V.P. Singh. Let me tell you that.

(*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : Jyoti Basu appointed a fantastic commission.

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY : He was also a Minister under you.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : The Prime Minister said that during the last year 19 bye-elections were held and Congress got 13. I admit that. But what is going to happen today ? Are you going to hold bye-elections in U.P. now and claim that they are going to be won ? Let us face the situation as it is today.

(*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : We will win the bye-elections as and when they come. We have won bye-elections in Andhra Pradesh.

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you talking of a matter about which there is no dispute. They are all in all and can do any thing at will. Neither you nor they want it now.

[*English*]

AN HON. MEMBER : Mr. Buta Singh had gone to Rajasthan for election.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Yesterday, Shri Arif Mohammad Khan commented that Shri Buta Singh had gone to Rajasthan for election. I would like to say that we consider the country one ; we do not care where we put them ; Congress is strong enough, the support for the Congress is strong enough to make anybody win from anywhere. We do not have to have parochial, communal, regional and other chauvinistic attitudes to win the elections which some parties do.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I am very happy that the Prime Minister says that the country is one. Here, in the speech of Shri Buta Singh, he says : Why this fellow, that is, the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister goes to Nagaland.

S. BUTA SINGH : If you permit me, I would state that there was a full-dress debate on this subject in the other House. If they want here too, they are welcome to bring it and I would explain.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : They are raising the subject today ; let us have a separate debate on this issue.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : O.K., we have no objection.

The Prime Minister said that he welcomes very strong opposition. I am very happy to know that, but you will be happy if the opposition is divided. Yesterday, my friend Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad was commenting very interestingly.

[*Translation*]

"*Khin ka Eint, kahin ka roda, Bhanumati ne kunba jora.*" You never want the unity of opposition because in that case you will be out of power.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : Do you think we will be out of power ? I advise you to remain in one group. You may unite but one group cannot dislodge us.

[English]

I am right ; I still hold that.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : I think it is still premature to say anything.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : You have also formed your party in the same way. If you belong to Bihar, the other is from Rajasthan and in this way the party has come into existence. (*Interruptions*) We have formed our party and it will remain united in future as well. We are collecting men and material from everywhere. You need not bother about us, but do not to destory that family.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : You should try to understand the proverb. It means that the heterogenous elements can never be combined because of their queer nature. What you are trying to make will never come into existence. You try to understand the proverb properly.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : You belong to Maharashtra and still you do not know the proverb exactly. (*Interruptions*) I know Hindi better than you. I can teach you Hindi. You leave it at that.

MR. SPEAKER : Madhavji knows good Hindi.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : No doubt, diverse elements shall come together and unite but I apprehend that this unity will be short-lived because there are people who are jealous of such unity. The fire which can reduce the entire lot to ashes can start from within as well as without. This has happened once in our country and the entire party was reduced to ashes.

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, I am not sure whether the motion for no-confidence was against the Government or it was no-confidence against the opposition. What is the hon. Member saying ?

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : You were not here when Shri Bhagwat Jha said this. I am replying to him.

[Translation]

It does not take long for diverse elements to unite.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : But I was commenting on the fire which has erupted from within. If it has erupted from within, then the no-confidence motion should have been brought against the opposition because you have ignited this fire.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : The fire shall not be sparked from within but outside. The fire will start from outside.

[English]

Sir, a mention was made here about the rally which was organised here two days ago. And it was said that we can bring not 10 lakhs but 20 lakhs.

[Translation]

Who has prevented you ? You certainly bring them. When a rally was organised by you in May last, we saw that there were as many trucks and lorries as there were people in the rally. Yesterday I did not find even a single lorry. It appeared as if...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : Did the people come on foot all the way from Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal ?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT) : You are not right. You are not speaking the truth. You have not seen the rally. The people in the rally... (*Interruptions*)...I do not expect this from a person of your calibre. Is this all that you want to say...(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : You have been a Congressman throughout your life.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : What do you expect from me ? If we speak, you have problem and if we don't speak, even then you have problem. You will go on speaking whereas we should not speak at all. You want that you should go on speaking whatever you wish and we should not resist it or reply back.

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT : I expect good behaviour from you. [I want you to speak politely.]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : You have yourself observed that it is all due to the effect of the company that we keep. We have gone wayward.

(Interruptions)

[*English*]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : Sir, a mention as about the economic situation in the country. Every speaker said that the economic situation is very bright. There is a lot of progress and industrial production has gone up to 9.5 per cent. Prime Minister put it at 16 or 17 per cent. I do not know where he got the figures from but your own figures show that the industrial production has gone up by 9½ per cent. But what is the production this year and what is the growth rate ? When I said Hindu growth rate, you were trying to make a point out of this giving it a communal angle. This is unfortunate. I have not said it. It is the economist who said :

[*Translation*]

Hindu society is static, and not dynamic. It has been static for thousands of years. Similarly, our growth rate has been static at 3.5 per cent. It has not gone beyond that. That is what is meant by Hindu growth rate.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : That is what I was emphasising.

[*English*]

You are using a derogatory term for a major community in the country and I object to that. That is what I have said.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I am not using it ; it is already there in all the textbooks

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You have not only used it yesterday, you again used it today and it is on the record of the House as to who has used it.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : You did not understand Mr. Prime Minister. I have not coined the word. The word is already used by all the economists.

[*Translation*]

You can ask anybody. You can ask about it from Shri Jha, who is your economic advisor. He will explain it to you,

[*English*]

Coming to the question of deficit financing, the Prime Minister made a solemn promise last year while presenting the Budget. As a Finance Minister he presented the Budget. He made a very solemn promise that the deficit will not increase. He said that the deficit will not increase and that he would not like the deficit to go beyond what is projected. What was projected ? It was projected Rs. 5,688 crores. He made a solemn assurance to this House that the figure will not go up. But what is the deficit today ? I am not talking of the projections. I will ask the Finance Minister to tell me what is the deficit today, as on date. Your RDI credit to the Government of India is the actual deficit and I would like to know what is it ? The figure shows that already there is a deficit of Rs. 8,637 crores, notwithstanding the supplementary demands that we have passed only a few days ago.

This is the actual position. Sir, many hon. members from that side spoke of destabilisation. The argument was that this motion was brought with a view to destabilise the Government. Does that mean that the motion to express lack of confidence is going to destabilise the nation ? Why are you afraid of it ? A 'no confidence' motion is an accepted genuine weapon in the hands of the Opposition. There is no question

of destabilisation of the country ; defeating the Government is not destabilising the nation. You feel that if the Congress is not there, there will be chaos in the country because the alternative or opposition to Congress is not there. That was how the English people used to say that once they left India, there would be chaos.

[*Translation*]

There was a French Emperor who used to say :

[*English*]

“After me, deluge.”

[*Translation*]

There is a similar proverb in Telugu also which carries the same meaning.

[*English*]

Why do you think that there is no alternative to Congress. We would be in a position to unite once there is scope and once there is an opportunity for us to do so in no time as we had done before.

Shri Pant has said that the Prime Minister has got a right to criticise the Chief Minister.

[*Translation*]

We never said that he should not criticise. The Prime Minister criticises the Chief Ministers and the Chief Ministers also criticise. It is a regular feature at the political level. There is nothing wrong about it.

[*English*]

But the campaign of disinformation which is being carried out by the Central Government is very wrong. That is what I want to say.

[*Translation*]

Shri Shiv Shanker told this House that the Government of Andhra Pradesh did

not give any account since 1983 till date. It is wrong. As far as I know accounts pertaining to the last 4 to 5 months i.e. from April-May till date are not available with you but the accounts for the remaining period have been already sent to you. In spite of that you say that the accounts do not reach you from the State Government. Who told you that the States do not send the accounts? I think there is nothing wrong in asking for the details of the drought relief that is spent. But this does not mean that you continue to insist on the accounts even from those States which have already furnished it to you. That is not fair. What do your Ministers do when they visit Andhra Pradesh? What does for instance, Shri Shiv Shanker or other Ministers or the Party Chief in the State do there? How much time do they spend in Andhra Pradesh? Shri Narayan Datt Tewari had also gone there recently. He is a gentleman. He went there, addressed a meeting and came back. But what these people do there Have they been given Ministerial berths only to look after Andhra Pradesh and de-stabilise the Government there? I am sure that these people go there for this purpose alone, otherwise they have nothing to do there. They go there every second or third day. What do they do there? Do they have and official work there? They go there on Government expense but the only work that they do there is to propagate against the State Government. They do not have any other work there.

[*English*]

It is said that this Government has been signing various accords and it is a great achievement. And I am happy that they have signed the Accords to solve the most difficult problems. Even though these Accords have been signed with all the good intentions, they have been signed in haste, I must say. You have signed these Accords in haste and you are now repenting in leisure.

[*Translation*]

Which of the Accords are you implementing honestly? ..(*Interruptions*).

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT : Which is that Accord which you did not welcome in the House.

[English]

You name one which you did not unanimously welcome

[Translation]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I have welcomed all the Accords.

SARI H.K.L. BHAGAT : You have welcomed the Punjab Accord, the Mizoram Accord and all other Accords.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I welcome them even today. I have been welcoming every Accord. What I meant to say is that you sign the Accords but you do not implement them.

[English]

You repent it in leisure.

[Translation]

You do it in a haste. You are in a hurry that something should be done.

[English]

Ultimately you land yourself in difficulties.

[Translation]

You mentioned about Sri Lanka.

[English]

You land yourself in difficulties.

[English]

What nappeded in Sri Lanka ? Today you have committed the nation to the extent of about 10 to 15 crores of rupees per month in expenditure. We do not know when that expenditure is going to go. I would warn you that like the Syrian Army in Lebanon which came from Syria to keep peace you have to be there for many-many years. You have committed a nation to such a huge expenditure when people are dying here due to drought and famine.

[Translation]

You never thought at that time that you are taking a wrong step. You had to reach an accord and you did so, but now you are in a dilemma as to what should be done.

[English]

You are not able to extricate yourself.

[Translation]

Now I want to say something about corruption. We never said that you indulged in corruption. You have yourself laid in the House that neither you nor any of your family members ever indulged in corruption. It is good that everyone is you have admitted it. We believe that everyone is honest

[English]

I think that everybody is honest unless the contrary is proved.

[Translation]

We never said that you are corrupt. But we have surely said, and say it even now, and will continue to say that people have starting suspeing you because all kinds of tales are going round and there is circumstantial evidence against you. People feel that there is something fishy .. (Interruptions)...Why ? Because they have been told by the people from Sweden who are here these days, that there are three such companies which have received money amounting to Rs 82 crores or Rs. 62 crores Which are those companies ? Are those foreign companies ? They also told the names of those companies

[English]

These names are with you. Yesterday, Mr. Pant pointed out that how do you know that these names have not been passed on to the Committee.

[Translation]

May be you have passed on the names to the Committee.

[English]

I do not dispute that. We do not know about it. How do you know? He was telling that

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI K.C. PANT) : You can know by joining the Committee.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : This is too late in the day now. I can say that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : It is not too late. If you want, we can bring another resolution, increase the size of the Committee and you can join.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : I want to inform you that this Committee will serve no purpose.

[Translation]

I want to submit that it is a useless Committee. We have always said that it is a farce, it is a mere eye-wash and it will not serve any purpose. There is nothing in it. What shall the Committee enquire into? The only thing which you have to do is to get the names of those three companies and those behind it. This information is already with you. What can an enquiry or a Committee do? You can get this information. Why did you not get it? These are bogus companies. Nobody has ever heard their name. These are bogus companies managed by those people who have received money and passed it on to some one here. We do not know to whom they have passed it on. You are not bothered to tell or to find it out. Why do not you enquire about it? Instead of enquiring you have handed it over to the Committee. What will the Committee do and what will we do by knowing about it? Had we been in the Committee...(Interruptions).

SHRI K.C. PANT : You had asked that the investigating agencies should help the Committee. We have provided them the investigating agencies on your recommendation only..(Interruptions).

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT : If you remember, the demand for setting up the

Committee came from the opposition (Interruptions)...

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : The terms and conditions of the Committee are such that it has become useless and can not function at all. Nor can we people join and work in it. Therefore I submit

[English]

before the bar of this House, before the bar of the people, this Government stands accused, its failure proved, and there is no reason for me to withdraw the Motion which we have given notice of; and I want that this should be taken up for the vote of the House.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

“That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers ”

The motion was negatived

MR. SPEAKER : The House now stands adjourned till 4.30 p.m.

15.57 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned till

Thirty Minutes past Sixteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled at thirty-six minutes past Sixteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now we take up the Private Members' Business. Shrimati Usha Rani Tomar.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE
MEMBERS' BILLS AND
RESOLUTIONS

Forty fifth Report

[Translation]

SHRIMATI USHA RANI TOMAR (Aligarh) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move :—