

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Member; Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 3rd August, 1988".

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 3rd August, 1988."

The motion was adopted

15.32 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE : CENTRE-STATE  
RELATIONS—*Condt.*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now we will take up further discussion on the following Resolution moved by Shri H.M. Patel on the 18th March, 1988 :

"This House express its deep concern over the present Centre-State relations and demands their early restructuring so that federalism underlying our Constitution is made more meaningful."

We have only 26 minutes more.

DR. G.S. RAJHANS (Jhanjhapur) : There should not be any extension because in any case we are going to discuss Sarkaria Commission's Report. Let us finish it within 26 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : So many Members have given their names to participate. The Minister's intervention is there and the Mover's has to reply. I do not think that it will be over within 26 minutes.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): Kindly extend the time. We have no objection over it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Then, is it the pleasure of the House that we extend the time for this Resolution by one hour ?

MANY HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : All right. Mr. Amar Roypradhan.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar) : Sir, before I deal with that of Governor's role with, particular reference to Nagaland wherein rape on Constitution is going on, I would like to start with the three language formula where I had to be stopped in the last session. It is the idea of the three language formula that both southern and eastern Indian States will learn Hindi as one of the three languages compulsorily and on the other hand, the North Indian States will read one of the Southern languages, either Tamil or Telugu or Malayalam or Kannadam. But I am sorry to say that there is only State, i.e., Haryana which started Telugu as the third language.

They started with Telugu as the third language, but after one or two years, they stopped it. There are so many States in the North India where Hindi is the first language, second language as also the third language. I would not like to mention the names of those States.

The main concept of the three-language formula is to create an atmosphere by which as required under Article 351 of the Constitution, we are able to develop Hindi, that is, Hindustani in the entire country for our national interest and national integration. What does the Sarkaria Commission report say at page 526 :

"The Expression Hindusthani has not been defined in the Constitution or in General Clauses Act. But in popular sense it means the language spoken by a very majority of the people. Interestingly, this simple and popular language also advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and experimented in Azad Hind Government by Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, is quite rich in its vocabulary because it has assimilated words from other Indian languages like English, French, Portuguese, Persian and Arabic after making necessary adoptions".

The three-language formula must be of compulsion for all the States and secondly, as I referred earlier, when the Constitution came into force, education was in the State List and then later, it came to the Concurrent List. I would like that the education should again come back to the State List.

Now, I come to Nagaland. The Sema Ministry of Nagaland has now been reduced to minority. Thirteen members of the ruling party, Congress (I), have formed a new party, Regional Congress of Nagaland, which according to the Anti-Defection law is not illegal. Three parties have formed Naga Peoples Council. Their strength is 35 in the House of 60 members. They have been pressing that one member from them should be invited to from the Government, but what is going on. Governor is sometimes away to Manipur and sometimes to Delhi. He has completely abdicated his constitutional duties by staying away from the State. Some says that the Governor of Nagaland has been kidnapped Whatever it may; I do not want to say anything against the Governor, because that is not permissible.

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the Sarkaria Commission's Report, page 118 regarding criticism of the role of the Governor. It says :

"But the manner in which he has performed his dual role has attracted much criticism. The burden of the complaints against the behaviour of Governors in general is that they are unable to shed their political inclinations, predilections and prejudices while dealing with different political parties within the State. As a result, the decisions they take in their discretion appear as partisan and intend to serve the interest of the ruling party in the Union Government".

The Sarkaria Commission has also made observations on page 119 regarding testing majority :

"Governors have employed various wave to determine which party or group is likely to command a majority in the Legislative Assembly . . . . . Further,

when the leader of the Congress Party did not from the Government, the leader of the opposition group was not called upon to do so, instead President's rule was imposed."

This is very much there today in Nagaland. Is it democracy ?

The Sarkaria Commission also recommended that the Governor should be a person who is eminent in some walk of life, he should be a person outside the State he should not be intimately connected with the local politics of the State.

(d) He should be a person who has not taken too great part in politics generally and particularly in recent past.

Obviously, before the Governor's appointment the Chief Minister of the concerned State must be consulted.

I cannot agree with the Sarkaria Commission's recommendation that the Governor should be connected with the politics. I cannot agree with the recommendation (c) and (d) of the Sarkaria Commission because I think the best judge can be the politician. Their interest for the nation's unity and integrity and development of the country would be much more than anybody else. So, I think the Governor must be some politician.

One thing I would like to mention that the political element should not be a partisan element. For thaa, however, the term of the Governor under any circumstances should not be more than one term of full five years. It should not be extended beyond the period of five years. After that he must have to take retirement with pension and other benefits. He should not be allowed to join any political party. He would not be allowed to accept any post of Chairman or Member or any managerial post of any commission or committee. In that case he would be able to give his best judgement.

Article 356 of the Constitution was applied by the Governor so many times in the past. Sir, if Article 356 is there in the Constitution only for misuse, then it is all

[Shri Amar Roypradhan]

right. Otherwise, it is high time to delete it, to withdraw it, to strike it off from the Constitution.

Sir, if you go through the pages from 177 to 179 of the Sarkaria Commission's Report, you will find that within the period 1950-68, *i.e.* in 38 years, 76 times Article 356 was applied. It is in the Report itself that out of 76 times only 26 times it can somehow be justified and rest of the 50 times it was misused.

So, some may doubt that there may be a vacuum in the Constitution. If in the Centre the failure of Government create crisis, why then in the State.

The decision as to who would be the Chief Minister must be decided on the floor of the House and not anywhere else. It should be decided only in the House of the State concerned.

We should not forget the federal nature of our Constitution. If we make Centre strong, it will be no good. Let the State be stronger and only then a strong India can be built up.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIRDHI GHANDER JAIN (Barmer) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Shri H.M. Patel has brought forward a Motion regarding Centre-State relations and I want to express my views thereon. Shri Patel has said it in clear terms that we should have a strong Centre but at the same time, our states should also be strong. He has further stated that the Sarkaria Commission has also mentioned specifically that it is essential to have a strong centre, but it is equally essential to have strong states as well. Now the question that arises is as to how to establish such relations which would ensure a strong centre and equally strong states and a harmonious relationship between the two.

15.46 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the chair*]

It is clear that we have adopted the

Federal structure in our Constitution as well as the Unitary system. The Federal structure of our Constitution has been a complete success. Many obstructions and difficulties have been there but we were able to overcome them. We have also been able to make the federal structure and democratic set up of our constitution successful. When the Janata party was in power for a short period, the elected Governments in the states were dismissed at one stroke.

AN HON. MEMBER : You also did the same in 1980.

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN : At that time our democratic framework and federal structure received a blow, but the people ousted that Government through the ballot box. At present the democratic set up is functioning smoothly. Now let us take the question of the strong centre. Had the centre been not strong enough, the natural calamities of floods and drought faced last year, the like of which has not been witnessed during the last 100 years, could not have been tackled so effectively. Had the Central Government been not strong—I can say particularly about Rajasthan—thousands of people in Barmer and Jaisalmer areas would have died of hunger. The Rajasthan Government would not have been able to combat this situation as it was not capable in anyway to do so. What I mean to say is that whenever this kind of natural calamity befalls, a state Government howsoever strong it may be is not capable of facing the situation created by such calamities, namely drought, floods or storm, of such magnitude. Similar situation is created in case of external aggression. For example, if Pakistan attacks us and our country is not united or our Centre is not strong, then in the present situation, we will not be able to counter them. Pakistan is stock piling weapons and the United States is extending aid in this matter, but we are also strengthening our Defence positions by enhancing our Defence allocation in our annual budgets every year. In case Pakistan or any country threatens us, we are prepared to meet the challenge. So strong we are. What I mean to say is that it is essential to have a strong Centre. If the Centre is

not strong enough, the unity and integrity of our country can be threatened.

The Finance Commission was set up under the Federal structure. We have adopted the revised Gadgil Formula which has an important role to play in the Centre-State relations. I am of the firm opinion that there is a need to change this formula. Only the National Development Council or the Finance Commission has the power to change it. 60 per cent of the population has been given more importance. Rajasthan has a vast area but its population is comparatively less. In Madhya Pradesh the population is all right, but the area is vast. What I want to say is that the desert areas, the border areas or the backward areas are not getting any actual benefit from the Gadgil Formula. The position is that we are not able to take up any large scheme. The Rajasthan Canal project was taken up in 1958 but it has not been completed so far. Had the position of our state been stronger and has more funds been allocated to us, we would have been benefited much more. It is also called the Indira Gandhi Canal and it would have been completed in 10 years, had the situation been more conducive. Crores of rupees which were spent in Barmer, Jaisalmer and other drought affected areas could have been saved, and double expenditure could also have been avoided. Not only this, it would also have led to the reclamation of our desert areas and we would have become self-reliant and would have been in a position to supply foodgrains to other areas as well. The border areas which are backward and cover vast areas of land are also important from the point of view of the country. Therefore, under the circumstance it is essential to amend the Gadgil Formula. The Finance Commission has submitted its interim report. When it submits its final report, this matter should be considered. I want to request the hon. Minister that the views which I am presenting should be presented before the Finance Commission also. If the Finance Commission takes my suggestions into consideration, the backward areas will be benefited and they will be able to come at par with others areas. When the chairman of the Finance Commission toured our area, I also accompanied him. He was satisfied with my assessment of the situation. I mean

to say that the Gadgil Formula should be changed in accordance with the situation of the backward areas. Drought and flood have become twin curses for us but sometimes floods become blessing in disguise also. Loomi river in our area is prone to floods. When flood comes, extensive damage is caused but later this curse proves to be a blessing. Because floods help in increasing the fertility, therefore, when flood waters recede, the production of rabi crop is very good. It is true that floods cause heavy damage but this turns into a blessing subsequently. The drought relief given to the states is inadequate. The margin money fixed is low. After fixing the margin money the additional assistance provided by the Centre is extended in the shape of special loans, whereas 75 per cent of the non-plan expenditure for flood affected areas is borne by the Central Government. Whosoever took such a decision, whether they were the Ministers, the officials or the bureaucrats, were not conversant with the drought situation. They belonged to the flood areas. They did not consider the problem of drought prone areas in its proper perspective. Had they hailed from the drought hit areas, they would have seen that drought also makes people suffer equally; people are stricken by diseases and their lives are wasted or in other words, they are living corpses. But the norms have been fixed and who is to change them. Therefore, it is essential to change the norms. The situation of floods and drought should be treated at par. Under our federal framework, the states are getting substantial grants-in-aid from the Centre. Substantial assistance is also provided under various schemes like the N.R.E.P., R.L.E.G.P., I.R.D.P., Desert Development Programme, Hilly Areas Development programme etc. Even under the National Education policy, the Central Government has enhanced the allocations from Rs. 350 crores to Rs. 800 crores. Through various schemes, the Centre is assisting the States and is making efforts to improve the situation in the States. This has led to our development and progress. We want that the various schemes like the R.L.E.G.P., N.R.E.P., I.R.D.P., the 20 Point Programme and other poverty alleviation programmes should be promoted and arrangements for more allocations made

[Shri Virdhi Chander Jain]

for them. This will also help in providing a solution to the unemployment problem. If the Centre wants to improve the position of the States and if it cannot provide direct assistance, then indirect assistance should be given. Centre provides 50 per cent of the funds under NREP in the shape of grants. Under RLEGP, 100 per cent assistance is provided by the Centre. The question is that 50 per cent of the funds under NREP are provided by the Centre and the rest of the 50 per cent is to be mobilised by the States. But in some states, the economic position is very weak. In their case, the Centre should take a decision to provide 75 per cent of the requirements and rest of the 25 per cent should be mobilised by the concerned States. The States should fully utilize the funds allocated under N.R.E.P. Otherwise they cannot get benefits out of it. Therefore it is essential that the backward areas be given certain concessions. Some norms should be fixed for such areas, so that they could get some special benefits. I have been requesting for it continuously for the last three years. The Central Government had also accepted it and prepared the Desert Development Programme, but I regret to say that very small amount of funds has been allocated for this purpose. You can see that Desert Development Programme is a very big programme and its allocations should be enhanced. If Rs. 237 crores have been earmarked today, it should be enhanced to at least Rs. 2000 crores. It will enable us to accomplish several tasks like afforestation and transformation of the deserts into green areas. The tubewell scheme has been successful there and, therefore, we can make arrangements for water supply in these areas as well. The Indira Gandhi Canal can also be utilised for the some purpose and means of irrigation can be made available. Water is required for afforestation purposes also and all this will result in development of this region.

16.00 hrs.

What I mean to say is that by enhancing the allocations of the Desert Development Programme, the desert areas can be afforested very fast which will also contri-

bute in strengthening the position of the States.

Another problem which we have to face is that of the misuse of funds or wilful expenditure. If a certain amount is allocated to a State to be spent for a particular scheme, it is either misused or spent wilfully. This leads to a situation of friction between the Centre and the State. You should make such arrangements which would ensure that the Central funds are spent only for the purpose for which they have been granted and not elsewhere. Only then, this friction can be avoided.

The Opposition Parties have raised a question that no politician should be appointed to the post of the Governor. I want to ask whether all the politicians including ourselves from the Congress Party as well as the Opposition Members are dishonest and corrupt? Why should they not be appointed as Governors? Do you want that only bureaucrats be made Governors? Why do we forget the principles of democracy merely for the sake of opposing? What is the harm if a Member of the Congress Party is appointed as a Governor. Yes, we can certainly say that some code of conduct or guidelines should be evolved for them. No one will disapprove it. Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia held the post of the Governor in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, etc. He took into confidence the public directly and sought advice from the public representatives including the Opposition Members and was therefore appreciated by all saying that no one can become an able and successful Governor like Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia . . . (*Interruptions*)

This was an example that I was giving. If the Sarkaria Commission gives any such recommendation today then that can also not be acceptable. Therefore, instead of opposing the appointment of a politician to the post of the Governor, you should rather say that some code of conduct and guidelines should be evolved for the post of the Governor, and that he should bear a good character. No one can have any objection to that. At the time of Presidential rule, the Governor has to shoulder a big responsibility . . . (*Interruptions*) Of course, we can say so. Therefore the thinking of our

Opposition Members is very narrow. We should think about everything with a wide perspective, only then will we be able to take a right decision.

Ours is a very vast country where different languages are spoken. My submission is that we should implement the three-language formula in the true sense in order to keep our nation united. Unless we do so and give one language the status of a national language, it will not do. We should determine one language which we can adopt as our national language and try to get it recognised at the international forum. Though we have recognised Hindi as our national language but it has not really got that status as yet. Today if we visit China or Russia, we make English as our medium of communication, but what is the need to speak in English? Does any one from China or Russia speak in English on his visit to India? Then why should we not talk in Hindi during our visits to other countries. This will strengthen our country. But today English speaking people are given recognition. No matter what the post is, an English knowing person is appointed to it.

What is this way? We should take out this complex from our mind. If the three-language formula is adopted today, then you will have to work in the national language Hindi. If the people in the South learn Hindi, then we will also learn regional languages and their complaint that we do not learn their regional languages will also be removed.

Another important point that I want to make is regarding the regional parties. The way the regional parties are coming up today is becoming an extremely dangerous thing for our country. Today politicians should understand that if regional parties are formed in every State then the whole country will disintegrate. Then who will be able to save it? Therefore the need of the hour is that if the regional parties want to come into the mainstream of the nation, then the first step which should be taken is that regional parties should be dissolved. If the people belonging to these regional parties want to join the opposition, they may do so and become members of the

SJD. What I mean to say is, that the regional parties should be dissolved. In our country there should be an equally strong opposition to match the Congress party as is the case in America and Britain. There may be two or three parties in the Opposition but their number should not be more than three. If there are more than three parties then the democracy of our country cannot be successful. Irrespective of the fact that whether there is the Leftist Party or the Rightist Party in the opposition, it should, however, not consist of more than three parties. No matter how much effort is made by the regional parties, their perspective will remain very narrow, they cannot in any way think of working in the interest of the nation and if that is the case then the question of our country's progress does not arise. Our country cannot progress and prosper in this way.

While we take pride in the fact that there is unity in diversity in our country, then if the growth of regional parties is allowed, we will have to abandon the slogan of unity in diversity which was given by our great leaders Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. If the unity in diversity is to be truly maintained, then we should dissolve these regional parties immediately. At present I want to say only this much. When the report of the Sarkaria Commission is presented, I will express my views on it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now I want to say something about Punjab. The present situation of Punjab, warrants that all the parties jointly should solve this problem by calling a meeting and holding talks to this effect. Unless a democratic Government is there, the terrorism cannot be rooted out no matter whatever the efforts we make in this direction. Therefore it is very essential today that the hon. Prime Minister should call a meeting of all the Opposition parties to formulate a scheme under which a democratic Government may be formed there. Attempts should also be made to root out the terrorists with full strength. The Government has also rooted out the terrorists and now even the Janta (Public) is lending support in liquidating the terrorists.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE**  
(Rajapur) : Is it the public or the Janata Party which has done so ?

**SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN :**  
I am not talking about the Janata Party but about the public which has liquidated the terrorists there. The Janata Party is responsible for doing in Punjab by playing a worst role there. Shri Fernandes and Shri Subramaniam who went there, did worst things there and did not play a commendable role. These people have harmed the country the most. The Janata Party adopted the most objectionable and obstructive attitude there. The Communist Party played a good role, but Prof. Dandavate, your party's role has not been commendable. Therefore, I requested you to change your heart and work for the progress and unity of the country. By changing heart, you can work for the unity and for making the country strong.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I agree to some of the views expressed by Shri H. M. Patel while presenting the resolution regarding centre-state relations. But to some other views I do not agree at all. With these words I conclude.

[English]

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY** (Midnapore) : Sir, while taking part in this debate, I beg to submit a few points.

India is a multi lingual, multi cultural vast country with so many languages, so many types of cultures, food habits, and also so many types of economy. We have got very advanced capitalist economy in some parts of the country. We have got capitalism and feudalism mixed in some other parts of the country. We have got preponderance of feudal system in a large part of the country. There are certain areas, say north eastern areas, where even we have not reached the stage of feudalism.

Naturally Sir, the very objective inherent in the whole system is that there shall be some differences coming up here and there between the States, between the regions, which need resolution and which can be resolved.

Sir, India is a big country having so many big rivers, which pass through several States. Say, the river Ganges. It passes through three big States. A large amount of water is drawn by U.P. and we in Calcutta do not get water. Take Narmada or Cauvery. These problems require resolutions and they can be resolved. For, that, to the Centre State relations should be set up in a model manner, it can resolve all these problems.

Sir, the quarrels between various States, sometimes with one State and the Centre has been there in previous times also. At present, it has become more active. We are seeing in front of our eyes, in Southern States, there is a quarrel regarding water. There is a quarrel between Maharashtra and Karnataka over Belgaum. They are continuing for months and years. Previously, India was ruled by one party. One party ruled both at the Centre and in the States. At that time also, the differences were there. It was a good luck that the country was ruled by one party. Congress Party ruled the Centre and the States. There had been lively debates in ICC meetings, and ICC was represented by many people. Elected Bodies were there. Memberships were there. Diverse views were debated there and they used to come to certain consensus. The differences were resolved mainly in ICC meetings.

Shri Virdhi Chander Jain said that regional parties are coming up. Whether you like or dislike, regional parties are very much objective. Nobody expected Telugu Desam party would come in Andhra. Nobody expected National Conference party in Kashmir. Regional Parties are coming up because of certain obvious reasons and mainly due to the failure of the Congress Party to do justice to the situation. Had the situation in Andhra been tackled properly in early 80s, Telugu Desam party would have come. Who are in Telugu Desam today ? A large number of Telugu Desam people are veteran Congressmen, who have served the State and the nation for a long number of years. And such was the shabby treatment meted to the Telugu people as a whole through the Governor at that time that the national sentiments of the Telugu took the shape of Telugu Desam.

I must say that they are not secessionists. They are for India; they are for Indian unity. Naturally it is the failure of the national parties which has given birth to regional parties. And they are very much objective. So a new age has come, a new stage of development has come when no single party shall be able to rule all the States and the Centre simultaneously. The Central Government and all other politicians should take note of this objectivity that bygone are those days when one single party, say, the Congress Party or the Janata Party would be ruling the Centre as well as all the States simultaneously. Naturally, a new stage has entered into the body politics of India that India will be ruled in future not by one party both at the Centre and in all the States simultaneously. This should be taken cognisance. This system came up as early as 1957 when the first non-Congress Ministry *i. e.* Communist Party of India Ministry, came into being in Kerala. The Government of India, particularly the Congress Party with its arrogance could not tolerate that Government and they brought that Government down by force, led by late Smt. Indira Gandhi, who was the President of the Congress Party. It was for the first time in the history of independent India that we had given a shake hand with the Muslim League combined with Hindu chauvinist forces, Muslim chauvinist forces and Christian chauvinist forces, under the banner of Congress Party at that time.

Another new situation has developed. India has got many small groups who were down-trodden in the past, say various types of tribals, Harijans and Girijans. They are not down-trodden now. After 40 years of independence, they have got enlightenment. They have gone to schools. They have come to Parliament. They have gone to Assemblies. They have gone to foreign countries. They are coming in touch with modern literature and modern science. They have started understanding their own demands. It is a new feature. Now, sometimes, they are demanding their own State, their own council. And this thing too shall grow in number. An Adivasi tribal has now passed MSc in Science. His grandfather was a tiller. He understands the politics and he wants his share. The people

who have not been given any share in the past, a movement is going to come up. In Utrakand area, people of northern division of UP, demand a state. Don't say it is chauvinism, don't say, it is divisive. They say, they want to develop their own areas.

AN HON. MEMBER : As it is the case of Darjeeling.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : May be, I don't want to bring differences in politics. Newer and newer demands are going to come up-from newer and newer areas. Whatever the Government, be it a State Government or be it the Central Government, in the State it should be ready to face these things. There are many things to come and many things have been mentioned.

Now, the Sarkaria Commission's report is before us and we are going to consider it. Discussions are already there in the Consultative Committee attached to the Home Ministry and they are discussing it clause by clause. I hope that we shall bring those things in this august body and we shall discuss it. But one thing should be given a serious thought of and that is about the role of the Governor and the Article 356 of the Constitution. Some Governors had played many good roles many times and some Governors played very bad roles sometimes and not that the Governors have played those roles but they have been made to play those roles. Who was this poor Shri Ram Lal ? What was he without "instigation" from the Centre ? He could have faced the entire Telugu people of 7 crores. But he could not face them. Ultimately he had to go.

Now, Sir, in Nagaland, what is happening ? We are in majority. Still you don't allow them to form the Government. I am referring to the new party forum in Nagaland which has come out from the Congress-I party and joined them forming a new party against whom you cannot apply the anti-defection law. It is for the Central Government to think how far they are going corrupt the body politics of India by including crores and tonnes and tonnes of rupees just like we go to the market to buy cattle from going pillar to post to buy MLAs and MPs,

[Shri Narayan Choubey]

(Interruptions) What is the price of MLA in Nagaland? Will you please explain?

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars) : Only Rs. 3 crores have been taken.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Naturally this money power being used by the Central Government who vouches for democracy must end and here the question comes. I am in agreement with my Congress friends that it may not be that we are bringing a bar that we don't allow politicians to be Governors. That is not my intention. I don't intend that all the bureaucrats should be the Governors. There are many good bureaucrats and many good politicians and there are bad bureaucrats and also bad politicians. The ruling party should not try to make use of the office of the Governor for perpetrating their own domination. What is flowing naturally in the State should be accepted by the Centre. The natural corollary of Nagaland politicians say that the Congress should go. You accept it with good grace. Why do you manipulate? Why do you send Mr. Rajesh Pilot? Why do you send Mr. Buta Singh? Why should the Union Minister go there? Why Mr. Sangma should be flown from Shillong to Kohima and made to sit there with tonnes and tonnes of money, sitting there and confabulating, etc.? Why? This is my question. So, making use of the Governors should be stopped immediately. Sometimes back our party demanded to abolish the posts of Governors. There is no need for them. The Governor is used in such a manner as if he is the agent of the Central Government in the State to serve the Central Government and not to serve the poor people, the common people there. This idea must vanish from the people's mind. It is very honest course, it is a very noble course and our Haran Mukherjee was there, Padmaja Naidu was there, they were all Congressmen, they were not Communists and we never quarreled with them. Even now, with the present Governor we have no quarrel. But then you sent A.P. Sharma, we quarreled with him. We don't quarrel with all the Congressmen. So, the post of Governor should be so used that people do not think that the post of Governor is being used to serve the

agency of the Central Government to pervert democracy or do some other thing as it is happening today in Nagaland. I hope our Minister will give some answer regarding Nagaland today.

Many things have been to regarding Article 356.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora) : Out of 13, seven have come back.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Sir, he is giving me a good news that out of 13, seven have come back. I would be happier if he can give me the news as to what is the amount he has spent from the coffers. What is the amount they spent to bring these seven men back to Congress fold? What was the cost what was the price?

[Translation]

SHRI D.P. YADAVA (Monghyr) : Whatever has been said by Shri Choubey, has happened.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY . I did not say so. He whispered into my ear and I said it loudly. Shri Yadava, you are also aware that your father was in Kharagpur. We both know each other very well.

[English]

Sir, I beg to submit that the post of Governor has been used. Even in Kashmir it was used, now today you are having a honeymoon with the National Conference, you are in honeymoon with them, but what they faced in Kashmir with the Governor in his post—I think I will repeat the story. At that time you are 'chillaing' along with us.

AN HON. MEMBER : Honeymoon is going to be over.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Honeymoon is being to be over? Sir, he says that the honeymoon with the National Conference is going to be over. It is in full now.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Don't have private talk with him and you now conclude.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY :** It is three-language formula, Sir. It was a noble formula, it was meant for the best interests of United India, but really speaking—yes, our party and we agree that Hindi should be a language which can be a common language for the whole of the country, there is no doubt about it. 40 per cent of our people speak in Hindi and understand Hindi, there is no animosity against Hindi in the eastern part of India, but Hindi should have been allowed to grow in a most natural course. (*Interruptions*). But some persons, protagonists of Hindi, mad man, wanted to thrust Hindi on the Southern people with applying three-language formula in their region.

[*Translation*]

There is still time, you should kindly adopt the three-language formula, start teaching South Indian languages in upper India, Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana and publicise in the South that we people are learning Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. You have experienced that you cannot impose anything forcibly.

[*English*]

It is very important and very pertinent that three-language formula should be applied for the whole of the country.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA** (Robertsganj) : You should tell it to your Government which does not let us learn Hindi.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY :** It is wrong to say that. Our Government is not anti-Hindi. What are you saying is not correct. There is Hindi in Bihar, U.P. Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana. We know this but if we try to impose our language, it will not be desirable.

**SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA :** What Shri Choubey is speaking is strange. He is speaking against his basic principles.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY :** Let me speak. It is the C.P.M. Member who speaks so. I belong to C.P.I.

[*English*]

The last point is this. This issue should taken up very seriously. In the future days, we shall be facing more and more problems. It is not static and this problem is very much objective in the situation. It is not a problem made by some bad men here and there. These problems were not there these problems have come. Some of them will be solved; new problems will come because India is a developing country. Many regions will develop. The backward region will come up. A tribal man will get education. The Scheduled Caste people will get education. They will know their rights. Naturally more and more demands are to come and they will come mostly from the States because the country is divided into States. In such a situation, the Centre State relations should be properly looked at, in a scientific manner so that there is no final end to it. It should develop so that we can keep harmony and we can keep our performance such that India's unity and integrity can be kept. It is now really in danger, endangered from outside, from countries like Pakistan, from countries like U.S.A. and also from internal dissensions. Naturally, I hope that the Government will take steps to see that our India remains united, in a harmonious manner.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI D. P. YADAVA** (Monghyr) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is no doubt that the topic of today's discussion is quite important. Shri Patel has raised this issue. It is a good topic for discussion. It should not be discussed only in the Parliament but also I want that the Government should get the report of the Sarkaria Commission presented in this session and floated throughout the country. It should be discussed in all schools and colleges as a public issue so that the people can realise that in the new context the Central Government has to be essentially strong. When the report comes before the people, the people will read it and we will come to about their opinion. There is a need for the feeling of nationalism, the nation as a whole puts fourth a demand for the same. The people of this country are not illiterate. They are quite wise. They are not going to

[Shri D.P. Yadava]

forget the extent of powers which should be enjoyed by States *vis-a-vis* the Centre.

So far as I know the Sarkaria Commission has prepared a comprehensive report on the basic issues after holding discussions with various political parties and leaders. Though I have not been able to get the report, but I have come to know about of its portions.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in that Report, three or four points of national importance have been made : One point is "to protect and preserve the independence." It is a national issue. The second is 'integrity and unity of the country'. The third point is "uniform integrated policy on basic issues of national concern".

We will have to determine the State-Centre relations keeping these points in view and only then national unity and integrity can be maintained. In order to see that our unity and integrity is maintained, there is no aggression from outside and our borders are safe, we will have to look at all the national issues which are before us right from agriculture to space science technology in the new perspective. So far as formulation of policy and its implementation is concerned, we will have to work keeping in view the new perspective.

I think that everybody would agree with me on this point. If we are united and strong, if we are not weak from the scientific point of view and if we are equipped with the latest technology, nobody can obstruct our progress. All the developing countries of the world have adopted science. If we look at the extent of science application in 40 years back, we find that there was not a single IIT, But today we have the capacity to produce 30-40 thousand engineering graduates and 1,50,000 Doctors every year. There are more than 150 universities. 13-14 crores of children have been covered under the school system. Nobody can deny the fact that a change has been brought about. Keeping this change in view, we will have to form a new society where a strong Centre is necessary because the Centre has to tackle various problems

arising sometime in Nagaland, sometime in Punjab and sometime in Tamil Nadu. There will be all confusion if every State is allowed to act in its own way. Do you think, we will be able to maintain the integrity of the country if the uniting force is not strong? So a strong Centre and capable leader is essential for the integrity of the country. We are glad that our leader is not only capable but also quite clear in his heart and mind that he will take all those steps which are necessary to maintain unity and integrity of the country. His personal interest comes next to the public interest. He is least worried about his own life, It is definitely a matter of pride for us that keeping in view our glorious history, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has boosted the image of India during his visits to various foreign countries and given useful directions about the science policy. So far as the unity and integrity of the country and a uniform policy on basic issues are concerned, I want to say one thing that in regard to the question of defence of the country, our Hon. Prime Minister has clearly declared in a meeting of our party that our country is quite capable to fight on all fronts simultaneously if a need arises. We do not depend on others for importing armaments. The country which is self-sufficient in the matter of armaments, need not worry or feel humiliated. Though the matter under discussion does not relate to the Defence Ministry, yet I find that whether it is a matter of rockets, pilotless, planes, ammunition or guns, everything is produced within the country. Our Radars, Sonars etc. are based on the latest technology. Our submarines are equipped with such appliances which reveal how much our country has made progress in this field. We possess certain equipments which even our neighbouring countries do not have. And these equipments have been developed within the country itself and not imported from abroad. All the appliances produced in our defence laboratories are assembled and fitted in submarines. Thereby we have achieved better results and this has caused tension in the neighbouring countries, There are some political parties in our country which think unwisely that our country is not fully prepared. The facts about war and love are not revealed always to all. We will, however, give a

befitting reply if anybody dares to attack us. This should be made clear to all. There is no need to humiliate our defence officials by raising the bogey of Bofors, Bofors. The Sarkaria Commission has given such an indication. It has warned against presenting wrong figures and press reports to demoralise the nation. When we are capable, we must reveal it. I have already talked about integrity. We do not say that the party of N. T. Ramarao should not remain there. But it should work within the limits recommended by the Sarkaria Commission. Their Government should distribute the rice which the Central Government supplies at the rate of Re. 1.60 per kg. from the Central godown. They should distribute the rice supplied by the Central Government at subsidised rates, otherwise distribute it free. The entire credit goes to the policy evolved by the Centre. Every citizen of India gets adequate food and cloth. Today there is no hue and cry food and cloth. It has no importance if the food is cheap or dear or N.T.R. supplies a pair of chappals or a dhoti. The number of dhoties being produced in NTC is such at present, that even if the mill is closed for sometime the free supply can continue for a year. How is it? We have not imported any cloth from abroad. Today we are self-sufficient in case polystor, synthetic fibre or any type of cloth, petrol or coal. Whenever the issue of steel is discussed, people raise objection to price-rise. They forget that iron is nowhere selling in black market, There is no shortage of iron for agricultural or industrial use. The most point is whether we should update our technology or do further research in respect of the technology advanced by other countries? No State Government is in a position to update the technology in respect of iron and steel. The Centre can transfer the technology on its own terms and conditions if it is required for updating the steel plants. Our Hon. Prime Minister discussed every aspect concerning steel as well as science and technology during his recent foreign tours. During the negotiations with France, Germany, America, Russia and Japan, the matter of transfer of technology was discussed and the terms and conditions which have been determined are positively in our favour. It is really a matter of great regard that instead of giving credit to the leader who has enabled the

country to become self-sufficient in coal, iron fertilizer, petrol, diesel, etc. he is humiliated by raising small issues relating to payment of Rs. 3 to 4 crores to somebody. We are simply playing with the fate of our country. A law should be formulated to deal with such people who try to mislead the masses by presenting wrong figures. When a discussion takes place on the Report of the Sarkaria Commission, I would demand a separate law to deal with such people.

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kesarganj) :  
Now come to the issue of floods in Bihar.

SHRI D. P. YADAVA : Shri Ranavir is quite worried about floods. He does not utilize the surplus water and we have to bear the consequences. What is our national concern? I want to give an example about agriculture : today we are self-sufficient in agriculture. But super efficiency has not yet been achieved. What is its potentiality? It is because we cannot attain that potentiality so long as the State Government does not want. There are two reasons for it. I have observed in my own State as well as in the neighbouring States like Gujarat and Punjab that the people have not taken agriculture in a scientific perspective, which is quite essential. I was reviewing the situation of my constituency. When I enquired about the number of graduates, post graduates and Doctrate degree holders among the people residing in 20 blocks of the district, I found 140 of them were gazetted officers. What is their impact? When I asked them about their work and potentiality, they were confused.

I had conducted a survey to find out the exact number of Government employees working there in that district and the nature of their job. While doing the survey I also covered Gujarat, Karnataka, Bihar and our district. As regards my own district, Monghyr, there are 16102 persons in the technical and administrative services, in class I to class IV grades. Teachers, police personnel and judicial employees are not included among them. There are in all 90 class I, 900 Class II, 7500 class III and 7500 class IV employees. The above number is inclusive of Class I and class II officers in the technical and administrative services. When we calculated the total

[Shri D.P. Yadava]

amount being spent on the payment of their salaries, we found that at present we are spending Rs. 24 crores 80 lakhs per annum only on the salaries of the administrative staff. After spending such a huge amount of money on the administrative and technical officers, if we have an output of Rs. 5 or 6 crores only then as per the Sarkaria Commission's report, we shall also have to consider whether in the name of autonomy the State Government can be given that much of liberty to appoint as many officers as it desires. The biggest issue today before the entire country and the states is that the man power planning should be done on the basis of the work load or performance load. That is the most essential point before us . . . (Interruptions) . . . Employment does not mean charity. Shri Paswan, you must be knowing that about the Government employees, there is a general feeling among the masses that they are corrupt and authoritarian. Being it so, will anybody like to increase the number of such corrupt officers, with a liability of payment of their salaries to raise an exploiting structure. At least, I am against it. Whatever be the number of Government officials, but the most important thing is that they should serve the masses in all their humbleness and achieve the results thereby.

In our country if there has been any proliferation, it has been maximum in the States Governments. I do not say that it has been so under the Congress Governments or the non-Congress Governments. But Shri Patel has some experiences as a former finance minister and in view of that I can say that now we shall have to exercise some restraint as per the actual performance and perhaps, Shri Patel will also agree with me on that. That is why our hon. leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi has evolved a new policy in the form of an integrated plan for every district. Till today, we had been formulating state plans or national plans and we had never thought of a district or a Block plan. When there will be district planning and block planning and we will be able to identify the social, political and economic aspirations of the people and there will be more demand about them,

then we shall be able to manage to reduce the manpower and get everything done with it. So what I mean to say is that it is very necessary that we have district planning, block planning and grassroot planning.

If for the implementation of the new theories of district planning and block planning, the State Governments demand more manpower, more money from the Reserve bank or the exchequer and the arbitrary implementation of the schemes at least, it will not do.

[English]

Within their own resources maximum utilisation of the existing man-power for deployment on the proper job for a better output has to be thought of and for which the whole Parliament should in one voice for it.

[Translation]

Just now, I mentioned about agriculture, which has its wide horizons. There are already several programmes like breeding etc. in hand. Many other new issues like the latest technology, bio technology have also been raised here. One day, I was on a visit to the I.A.R.I. institute where I saw the bio-technology laboratory. There some quite new experiments in cellular biology etc. are being made. The propagation theory has been evolved by this very Indian Agriculture Research Institute. Though, we have nearly 7 crore cattle heads including cows, buffaloes and other milk animals, but our average milk production for every 300 days comes to only one and half litres. But to deal with this problem, National Dairy Development Board, Indian Agriculture Research Institute and the veterinary research institute have jointly undertaken a programme on animal biology in bio-technology whereby our scientists have succeeded in breeding one dozen female calves in one year from a cow of good breed. There is no need of long speeches on it and the subject is also not of that type, but I was surprised to see the delicate process of separation of cell and then its planting into the uterus of an animal. Our scientists have succeeded in it. This is not possible with the efforts of only

one State unless a strong centre supports such endeavours and undertakes collaboration programmes with the provision of physical facilities and the equipments for it.

[*English*]

Once, at the national level, this experiment is successful, then propagation and proliferation will be very simple. Hence, the Sarkaria Commission's recommendation for a strong Centre is essential.

[*Translation*]

Now comes the question of forestry. Since long Government of India was making their best possible efforts to promote the afforestation campaign so that essential level of the oxygen in the atmosphere may be retained to counter the increasing effect of carbon dioxide. But these efforts did not make an impact unless and until this Parliament took certain strong measures in this regard like the imposition of ban on felling to trees in forests, afforestation in larger areas, check on the equeeze of forsts, cover and the use of forests for different purposes etc. These measures were taken by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It is the result of her farsightedness that today afforestation movement has assumed such a wide demine-sion in our country. It will take time, to fructify because, ours is a democratic country. We know that the illegal felling of forests trees is going on just because of out ignorance. The people don't know that by cutting one forest, they are inviting a number of diseases and as a result carbon-dioxide also will be increasing and there will be depletion of oxygen due this very factor and we are encouraging it. The people need to be educated about it. Besides, the policy of national forestry is also to be popularised among the masses. This thing cannot be done by one State only. If only Gujarat or Bihar wants to go ahead with this programme, it is not possible.

Now, I come to the point of rural development. I have got my one views on rural development. We should carry science and technology to the villages for the rural development of the country. With a little use of science, we can go ahead with any programme or the experiment of great

significance. It is possible if the things are done in a scientific way. For instance, a potter's wheel, can work better with a ball-bearing fitted to it, its work will become easier. For this sort of development and an integrated approach therefore, We require a strong Government at the centre which will formulate a policy for it.

Mr. Chairman, Sis, now I come to the point of irrigation.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : The time allowed for this resolution is about to expire. Is it the pleasure of the House to extend it by one hour ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

17.00 hrs.

[*Translation*]

SHRI D.P. YADAVA : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Ranbir explained the position of Bihar with regard to irrigation facilities available there. In this connection, I would like to say that yesterday I saw a picture sent by the I.R.S 1-C. in the headquarters of the Geological Survey of India at Calcutta. The above picture had been sent by the Indian Remote Sensing Satellite 1.C. and it relates to the area around Chilka lake.

I was surprised to see the accuracy in it. The picture contains Chilka lake, the sea waves adjacent to it and the entire area around it. The picture reflected the point which the water waves touch and it appeared as if we are standing on the sea-shore. I enquired of the Scientist about the method of receiving the picture and whether there is any camera? In reply to my query he said that they sense it through sensor and convert it into sound and thereafter transfer it into magnetic energy. After all this, they take the picture by converting it into electromagnetic condition and it is controlled after being reflected. Thereafter, it is computerised at Bangalore. What I want to say is that if required, our Scientists can take coloured photoraph of any part of India. It is our Scienticts who have developed all these equipment's at Bangalore. It is in no way a small achievement for us.

[Shri D. P. Yadava]

If required we can know about the level of water rising and the intensity of floods through this process. These are all our achievements. In view of this I honestly feel that a strong Centre is quite essential and the Sarkaria Commission has also recommended it. At the time of a discussion on the Commission's report we will express our views in detail. With these words, I express my thanks for providing me an opportunity to speak.

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I do not see anything wrong in this resolution moved by Shri H.M. Patel. It is quite another thing, whether I come forward to vote for it or not. We have to actually adopt or reject this resolution. So, that is a different thing. But the point is that it must receive your dispassionate attention and consideration. Now, Mr. D.P. Yadav delivered a good speech and he is a very learned speaker and I heard him speak in chaste Hindi. He has voted for a strong Centre. I also vote for a strong Centre but I would tell him that a strong Centre does not mean very weak States. That is not provided in the Constitution of India. The very first sentence of the Constitution of India says that it will be a union of States. From the word 'union' you can derive the word 'unity'. We all vote for that. But the structure of our Constitution is federal. Therefore, while we talk of a strong Centre, we must not believe in the Theory that as the States grow weaker, let the people living in different States cry for whatever amenities they want and that at their cost, we should have a strong Centre. We should understand the dimensions of the word 'strong Centre'. If you go to the history and get back in the realm of your imagination to 1947 and see the partition of the country and also the post-independence period the communal holocaust, the fissiparous tendencies, everyone whether it was Mahatma Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues voted for a strong Centre. Everyone had a clear conception about the strong Centre. India will remain strong and united only if all its limbs would be strong. Some of us stress

the fact that the States should be autonomous; there should be devolution of financial powers. They go to one extreme. There is another category of people who stress the fact that India should have a very strong Centre. But we have to be somewhere in the middle. Yes, we vote for a strong Centre, but simultaneously we vote for—we should be very liberal in that—some kind of autonomy to the States which is guaranteed by the Constitution of India. Autonomy must go to the States and all the States must be financially viable. Let us be in the middle. Let us not go to one extreme or the other extreme. If we stretch federalism too far and say States should be autonomous, and whatever they want to do, should be allowed that cannot be granted. If we decide to make the Centre very strong, and want the States to come to the Centre, strong Centre, all the time with a begging bowl, that kind of ideology is detrimental to the Constitution of India. Therefore, I vote for a strong Centre and I vote for very strong States also. I ask for autonomy for the within the ambit of the Constitution of India; autonomy which is already guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

At this point of time what is happening in our country? I will give an example from my State. This is not the time to delve deeper and explain the background of the existence of the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission has created some distortions. We have a lot of respect for the members of the Planning Commission; they are very learned people. But it has got powers that were not designed by the framers of the Planning Commission. Anyway, it has become an institution and it will stay. Every year it will have so many meetings; whatever resources are available, it will consider their distribution. All the Chief Ministers and their officers will come to Delhi and they will try to get more resources allocated. Next day there will be a headline in the newspapers that such and such Chief Minister had a very good battle and he was supported by bureaucrats and they had a very tough time and they got additional resources. But gradually, an impression has been created that the States will have to fight for resources for Plan and non-Plan sectors

and all the time there is a struggle going on. The Planning Commission does not have time to appreciate matters which are relevant to our existence. It should understand the questions of India's unity and integrity. You say there should be a very strong Centre; I also say that, but I simultaneously say that there should be very good States also, financially and economically viable States, but much more important is the question of India's unity and integrity. There should be no fissiparous tendencies and there should be no simmering discontent in any part of the country. It may be North-East, it may be other hilly States like Jammu and Kashmir; do not leave any room for a simmering discontent. Yet, there are areas which are not studied by the Planning Commission. We should be very careful while choosing the members of the Planning Commission. After all, the Planning Commission is there; it cannot be wound up.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT : There is no Member in the Planning Commission who is from the hill area.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Yes, no member is there in the Planning Commission who is from the hill area. So, we have to be very cautious in selecting the Members of the Planning Commission. If they are only the ones who like to sit comfortably in the chair, then they will not be doing justice to their seats. In fact, such persons should not accept the membership of the Planning Commission. Shri D.P. Yadava was saying that planning should start at Block and district levels and was referring to our leader, Sher-e-Kashmir-Shiek Mohammad Abdullah, who gave us the Single Line Administration. I have explained it before the Prime Minister and he took very good notice of it. We have a District Planning Board and we plan our resources at the district level. That can be a model for the entire country. It appeared in the Press recently that the Government of India is considering to adopt this system. Anyway, this system has given us very good dividend.

What I wish to say is that the members of the Planning Commission should have the knowledge about the conditions at the

grass root level. We do not want top level bureaucrats in the Planning Commission of conditions at the grass root level. They must have the thorough knowledge. Recently, I was accompanying the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in his four of the backward areas the helicopter. We went to the far flung areas of the Jammu and Kashmir, like the Machil, Keren and Karnah. The Chief Minister took a very good decision to take the State Planning Commission also along with him because he wanted to get the idea of the extent of the damage caused by the floods so that he would announce relief on the spot. He wanted the Planning Commission or to give him the correct picture so that he could announce the relief measures. The Planning Commission or said that this was the first experience of the kind. He and other had never been to Machil; and Keren and they had never been to Karnah. You cannot plan just on the basis of some figures. Most of the time I find that the figures which are quoted are not correct. For example, we do census. So many people raise so many questions but we have to test whether our machinery is good enough to give the correct figures. You cannot sit in a cosy warm room and plan your development. We have taken our officers to the interior of the Jammu and Kashmir State and told them to understand the situation. I mean to say that the Members of Planning Commission will have to move throughout the length and breadth of the country; they have to go to every nook and corner of the country, understand India and its problems and then only they can sit and draft the plan.

I will give you one example. I do not want to raise a controversy. I am telling you what the Planning Commission is doing. My State is a hilly State and we deserve as much attention as other hilly States. We have been fighting the battle with the Planning Commission for more than a decade. Our senior Congress (I) leader, Shri Girdhari Lal Dogra—may his Soul rest in peace—fought a battle. I fought a battle along with him. We tried to make the Planning Commission understand that they were giving 90 per cent as grant and 10 per cent as loan to other hilly States whereas to the State of Jammu

[Prof. Safuddin Soz]

Kashmir they were giving 70 per cent is loan and 30 per cent as grant which as objectionable.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DAV) : Which you never returned.

[*Translation*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Sometimes we may speak in Urdu. What is there in it. The entire country is one. Everything is all right. It makes no difference to you whether grant is given or loan is given.

[*English*]

Why? The Planning Commission must study the problem dispassionately and resolve it. Previously, when Shri Shiv Shankar was in the Chair and our Hon. Minister of State, Shri Engiti and Shri Sukh Ram were also there, none of the three Ministers could tell me that I was wrong. We were there all M.Ps from the Jammu and Kashmir State and M.Ps from other hilly areas. So, we made a strong plea with the Planning Commission that we must get, if not 90 per cent as grant, at least 70 per cent as grant and 30 per cent as loan. Why is there this disparity in allocation of financial resources? I want to tell you one thing. Planning Commission should be bold to assert the truth. They should not act like political sycophants. Planning Commission should comprise people who can honestly state what the truth is. They should be in a position to go to the Prime Minister and say that the demand of the J and K state is correct and it should be accepted. If they feel that it is not correct, then also they should be bold enough to say so and ask the Prime Minister to reject the demand. But they should not talk and decide things in the corridors and to continue with some easy options and postpone hard decisions for the future. This should not be their attitude.

Sir, I have explained the position with the help of some supporting factors also.

Let me clarify here that I do not subscribe to the theory that nothing has been done for the development of Jammu and Kashmir. I must place it on record that tremendous efforts have been made to promote the economy of Jammu and Kashmir. Recently, our Prime Minister gave a lot of attention for the development of tourism, aviation, etc. in the State.

But I would like to state certain things for your information. I am quoting a figure to explain the point. This figure which I am going to submit was given to me by a former Finance Minister once in response to my question. The total investment in the public sector is about Rs. 30,000 crores. Out of this Rs. 30,000 crores, the share of Jammu and Kashmir stands at 0.07 per cent. We have only one HMT unit in the public sector and the investment in HMT is only Rs. 7 crores and that constitutes 0.07 per cent of the total investment. The figure was given to me by the former Finance Minister in response to my question. Now, my point is this. If you could not give us big industries, you could revive our mulberry culture, you could revive our silk industry, you could give a fillip to our handicrafts and you could improve our ecology. You can also pump money into tourism, you can save our Dal Lake from the worst kind of pollution, and so on.

The Minister must take stock of what is being done by the Planning Commission. What is their planning? They would see what was allotted to any state in the previous year and decide to add two or three or four per cent to that amount. Is that planning? Planning Commission, to my mind, has not been doing a good job at all. An officer who retires from service becomes a member of the Planning Commission because of his clout. Never has there been an exercise to decide as to what type of people are required. People working in the Planning Commission must be very bold, as I said earlier. First of all, they must be dedicated to the cause of unity and integrity of this country. They must have a liberal, nationalist and secular outlook. They must have very fertile mind. They must be very bold when they serve their term in the Planning Commission and they must have

knowledge of what is happening of the grass root level.

Why have we been given only 0.07 per cent? The total investment in Public Sector. There is no answer? Why should we get 70 per cent as loan and only 30 per cent as grant? Again, there is no answer. Sir, I would urge that this sort of disparity should not be there, because this disparity promotes fissiparous tendencies.

In this context, I would like to say one thing about the Sarkaria Commission. After voting for India's unity and integrity, after giving full support to the concept of a very strong Centre and simultaneously saying that we should have very viable States, I would say very sincerely that the Sarkaria Commission's report must be studied thoroughly. I should not gather dust. Sir, I had the privilege of going through its recommendations. I have found to my utter surprise that this Commission has done a very good job. I must admit that earlier I never had that much faith in the Commission's Report. But, when I saw the recommendations, I felt very happy. It has given very balanced recommendations. When the Report was presented to the Central Government, the electronic and other media also stated that it was a very good report. I must congratulate Justice Sarkaria and others for presenting this kind of a report.

Sir, the Sarkaria Commission has given some other suggestions also. For instance, they talked about liberal application of Article 268, appointment of the Governor and so on. I would not like to go deep into it. But the Sarkaria Commission gives a good recommendation for the appointment of the Governor. It has mentioned about the qualification of the Governor. The major recommendation is that the Governor will be appointed in consultation with the Chief Minister. It is a very good suggestion. There are so many other suggestions. The Sarkaria Commission has rejected the demand of the BJP that the Article 370 should be abrogated. Both Congress and the National Conference of the Jammu and Kashmir State are of the opinion that Article 370 is a bridge with the Union of India. It will continue. But

Sarkaria Commission had dealt with it depth. It understood the reality of life and made recommendations. What I want to say is that while the Sarkaria Commission has voted for a strong Centre, it has also said that the States have to be viable economically and financially. It has suggested areas where we need to have a rethinking or where we need to have a review of things and particularly on the appointment of a Governor. If we institutionalise reform it will be better for the country's it should not be done on an ad hoc basis. We must by way of Resolution or Bill institutionalise reform and try to give further health to our economy and also try to create a kind of harmony of various interests. That kind of harmony and peace will strengthen the unity and integrity of India and above everything else is the question of unity and integrity of India. I stand wholeheartedly for India's unity and integrity.

[Translation]

SHRI SHANKAR LAL (Pali) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, while considering the resolution brought forward by Shri H.M. Patel on Centre-State relations, we have to see actually as to how to protect the unity and integrity of the country under the prevailing circumstances when there is a threat from external forces. The Secessionists, whether they are in Punjab or in any other part of the country, are bent upon ruining the unity and integrity of the country. It is a serious problem. We will have to consider it in this perspective.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all we will have to see as to what is the constitutional position of the centre *vis-a-vis* the States. In this connection if we say that ours is a federal system, we can never reach any conclusion. Ours is neither a federal nor a unitary system. It is a special system comprising both of them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this regard the Report of Sarkaria Commission has already been received. I would like to quote the words of Dr. Ambedkar.

[English]

"While discussing the Nature of Indian Union on Page 8, Sarkaria

[Shri Shankar Lal]

quoted the Constitution as it emerged from the Constituent Assembly in 1949 has important federal features but it cannot be called 'federal' in the classical sense. It cannot be called 'unitary' either. It envisages special type. According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly it is unitary in extraordinary situations such as war or emergency and federal in normal times we can 'quasi-federal'.

A special aspect of the Indian Union is that Union is indestructible but not so the states—their identity can be altered."

[Translation]

We cannot adopt the federal system fully in the centre and the States as it is in the U.S.A. Dr. Ambedkar further says—

[English]

The position is that the federation is a Union because it is indestructible. Though the country and the people can be divided into different States for convenience of administration, the country is one integral whole, its people a single people living under a single imperium, derived from a single source.

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is not advisable to adopt complete federal system in our country. That is why we follow quasi-federal system. Article 3 of the Constitution empowers to expand, diminish or abolish any State. Therefore, States do not enjoy any separate entity Article 3 provides that.

[English]

Parliament may, by law, . . . increase the area of any States; diminish the area of any State; alter the boundaries of any State; alter the name of any State.'

[Translation]

There is no need to amend the constitution for the purpose. Rather the Parliament

has been empowered to determine the size of the States and to decide whether to increase or diminish the area of a particular State, whether to abolish a particular State or to create a new State. The States are, therefore, not wholly independent in this regard. Similarly, we have single citizenship. We are Indians. Though we belong to different States, but our citizenship is one for the whole country. Similarly Article 11 envisages that Parliament has power to regulate citizenship. If the people of any particular State, as we see the situation prevailing in Punjab, pose any threat to the unity and integrity of the country, the Parliament is fully empowered to cancel their citizenship. I would, therefore, like to submit that the Government should cancel the citizenship of such people, groups who pose a threat to the unity and integrity of the country. They are not the citizens of our country, they may be aliens.

Similarly, the rights provided for the States by the constitution are of different nature and unlike these is U.S.A. Of course, the Centre-State relations should be improved. No one can deny this thing. At present there are some States in our country which are very big and their representation in the Parliament is more. There are some States which are very small in size and their representation in the Parliament is less. In this way smaller States have a feeling that their views are suppressed. I would, therefore, like to suggest that we should now think about re-structuring the States when so many years have elapsed since the achievement of independence. The size of the population may differ. But so far as the area is concerned, there should not be such a wide difference between two States. It poses an obstacle in the centre-state relations and there can be no uniformity. We should, therefore, think of restructuring the States. I am sure that the Government of India will take this aspect into consideration. One more irony is that some States follow uni-cameral legislature and others bi-cameral legislature. There is only one House in Rajasthan. There are two legislatures in many States as in the case of Uttar Pradesh. How can we expect conformity in a democracy? We may follow either of the system. We may

introduce either uni-cameral legislature or bi-cameral legislature in all the States. There can be no conformity if we follow uni-cameral legislature in one State and bi-cameral legislature in the other. We, therefore, face hurdles in our democratic structure, in centre-state relations. Our constitution does not provide that the party ruling at the centre should also rule the States. The Janta Party made this deviation when they came to power in 1977. They dissolved the Assemblies in 9 States on the plea that the people have lost confidence in them. Now I would like to ask the mover of this resolution as to why the question of centre-state relations was not taken up at that time. The Janta Party wanted to establish their hold in all the States and that is why they took that step. Our then President, Shri Jatti was pressurised to dissolve the Legislative Assemblies. At that time I was an M.L.A. in Rajasthan. I was astonished and I wanted to know that in which constitution it has been provided that once some other party comes to power at the centre, the Assemblies of States where opposite parties enjoy majority should be dissolved. The constitution was not referred to at that time. Now it makes me feel happy that the proposal of decentralisation has been initiated at the instance of our party leader. The process of decentralisation will be developed under centre-state relations and it will be further made applicable at the district level and thereafter at the Panchayat Samiti and Panchayat levels. I am of the view that it will help us strengthening our relations in so far as development is concerned. Article 40 of our constitution envisages Panchayat Raj. There should be uniform Panchayat Raj system in all the States. The Panchayat Samitis or the District Samitis may be that of two tier or three tier system, but the structure of Panchayats should be uniform in the whole country. The Parliament should be empowered to make laws for these Samitis. Article 40 envisages that the Parliament can make laws for the Panchayat Samities and Zila Parishads. The second point was about economic relations between the Centre and the States. It is true that the States are being provided assistance on the basis of Finance Commission's report. The Finance Commission's report should be based on different require-

ments of the various States. I come from Rajasthan which faces famine every year. Rajasthan is a desert and backward area. If the Finance Commission follows only one basis then every state and backward state like Rajasthan will never get economic assistance on the basis of that formula according to their entitlement. The report submitted by the Finance commission should be studied in the context of prevailing situation in different States keeping in view their requirements. I will like to speak about the relations between my State and the Centre. I have already referred to Article 11 in this connection. As we all are citizens of India, there should be no discrimination between the State services and the Central services. The retirement age in the Central services is 58 years while in some States it is 55 years. The Central Government should direct the State Governments to bring parity in services with regard to facilities, amenities and emoluments as provided in Article 256 and 257. There is heart burning among the State Government employees that the Central Government employees are given more facilities but they are denied the same. What sort of equality is this. Since we are citizens of the same country and the unity and integrity of India has to be maintained and keeping this thing in view there should be uniformity in the rules governing the Government employees at all levels. A point has also been raised as to how the Centre-State disputes and the inter-state disputes could be resolved. What will you do about it. It has been provided in Article 263 of our constitution very clearly and the Sarkaria Commission has also stressed an Article 263 that if inter-state council will be constituted, it will try to solve the inter-state or centre-state disputes. I will take to submit to the Central Government through you to constitute inter-state council under article 263 without fail so that it may help in solving the centre-state disputes and improving centre-state relations. One of the objections raised by the members of the opposition pertain to the appointment of Governor. It has clearly been stated in Article 155 of the Constitution that there should be harmonious relations between the Governor and the Chief Minister of the State. I have no objection to accept this thing and the Central Govern-

[Shri Shankar Lal]

went also will see to it. But they say that the Governor should be non-political figure. The political party whether it is yours or ours, you are undermining the both. Do you want that only people from the services should be appointed as Governors and the people who belong to political parties, who are honest, who made sacrifices for the country, who work for the unity and integrity of the country, who have been in the forefront during the struggle for freedom of India should not be considered for their appointment as Governor? He may belong to any political party. In case a person belongs to a political party, that should not stand in the way of his appointment as Governor. A point has been raised here about the mass media. It is alleged that Central Government have been controlling. Television and All India Radio. The people of our State say that no coverage is given to them and they are dominated by the centre. It is not correct. We take television and radio as mass media and the States are duly represented in the programmes. The way we all are sitting here and the translation of speeches can be heard simultaneously in Hindi or English, similarly the facilities for translation of speeches in all the regional languages should also be made so that the members knowing those languages are also benefited.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, somea obscene scenes are exhibited and absurd postures are shown on the T.V. now-a-days which have a bad effect on the minds of our future generation. Telecast of such scenes should be prohibited forthwith. We desire that our new generation should bear good character. The country in which we live has a broad based culture. We acclaim Gandhiji, truth and non-violence, Lord Budha and Mahavir while on the other hand we telecast obscene scenes, full of sex on televisions to our students and children. Nobody can tolerate this. This perverts their mind. Sometimes we ourselves switch off the television. Therefore, I will like to submit to Central Government through you that we should use mass media like television and radio for spreading moral education and to teach the lesson of unity and integrity of the country.

After all, in which direction we are

going? We should not copy any country of the world. Our India has always been guiding other countries in the spiritual field. Greatman like Vivakanand has born in our country. We have achieved great success in Antartica expedition. We should telecast such programmes through our mass-media. We should telecast the lives our greatmen.

Mr. Chairman. Sir, I know that you are going to ask me to wind up. Although the topic is very exhaustive, yet I shall speak in detail when a discussion on the report submitted by the Sarkaria Commission will take place in this House. But I would like to reiterate one thing that so far as the Centre and the State relations are concerned, no matter whether we sit on this side or the opposite side, we will have to keep in our mind that we are citizens of great India and there is one citizenship for all. We should keep it in tact. As I have already stated that our federal system is different from that of America. Our federal system operates in accordance with the provisions of our constitution which are quite clear. The Centre has been made supreme and we will have to consider all these things keeping in view the provisions incorporated the constitutions. I hope the words which I have spoken are very clear and you will agree with me.

SHRI MANOJ PANDEY (Bettiah) :  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, there has been detailed discussion on the Resolution on the Centre-State relations moved by hon. Member Shri Patel. Many of our colleagues have given impressive speeches. I feel that there are two or three points which need detailed discussion in this House. We are grateful to this House that we can express our views on Private Members Bill or Resolutions through it.

Many important points have been raised in connection with Sarkaria Commission. Sarkaria Commission was constituted in 1983 consisting of justice R.S. Sarkaria, Justice V. Shivraman and Justice S.R. Sen and was entrusted with the work of examining centre-state relations in detail and was asked to submit its report to the Government after examining all the aspects.

The report of the Commission which

has been placed before us include many important issues which should have also been discussed. According to my view, the report submitted by such learned people should have provided some additional information on one or two topics. For example the political system which exists in India and the comments made by the Sarkaria Commission about political system seem to be wholly correct in certain cases but do not prove to be correct if we adopt a practical approach towards them.

Respected Sir, while preparing the report efforts have been made to strike a balance between the powers of the State as well as the Centre. The essence of what has been said in the report is that there should be a strong centre and along with the strong centre, autonomy of the state should also be maintained. The main conclusion of the report according to my view is that there should be a strong centre. More stress has been laid on the strong centre in the report and this is also very practical that the autonomy of State should be maintained to great extent. As stated by the hon'ble Member speaking prior to me, our federal structure is based on autonomy of States as provided in our Constitution. But at certain places they have held a different view on the concept of federal structure. Whatever it is, I do not know much about the constitution but I understand this much that no one can say that the State has no autonomy in practical way whether one belongs to ruling party or opposition party. The political system in our country sometimes give less weight to the State autonomy and some times more. I mean to say that when the States are to be run by political parties and the Centre is also to be run by a political party, the autonomy of states should not be increased or decreased at convenience. We should adopt a practical approach and should not be guided by political considerations.

Sir, during the past few weeks, you must have observed that the Chief Ministers of the opposition-ruled states are blaming the Centre for eroding the autonomy of the States. This being a political issue, if we think over it from the political angle, there can be truth in it but there are also chances of this charge being untrue. The Sarkaria Commission has not dwelt on this matter. Therefore, I feel that we should discuss the

Sarkaria Commission Report in detail in this august House. There is need to highlight many other aspects. But at the same time, I would like to appeal to my colleagues in the opposition that they should not make political capital out of it. I have gone through the report. I would like to cite an example. While going through the clipping of one of our reports, I came across a statement in which Shri Namboodripad has stated that the Sarkaria Commission is guided by the Congress.

Sir, this is the basis. If we look at a report from a political angle, we would be able to see only politics in it and nothing else. This can in no way be in the interest of the country.

There is no doubt about the fact that making use of the State Governments resources in the best interests of the country is in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This is practicable also. Shri Soz has also pointed out that India is a Union of States and this is enshrined in our constitution. I agree to it. State Governments constitute the Union of India and the Union is guided by the Central Government. The States and the Centre are complementary to each other. If one party tries to weaken the other party by making it a target, it would become a political issue and then there will be no end to it. About the augmentation of resources to States it merely says "Enlargement of financial resources to States." The Sarkaria Commission has gone into this question. The Central Government has never stopped the State Governments from augmenting their resources. The Central Government has to involve itself in one way or the other in harnessing natural resources like minerals, mines and forests, etc. in the States. Shri Yadav has also pointed out that in this era of scientific development, will the State Governments be able to develop the resources on their own? Autonomy means utilising these resources to the optimum level. If these resources could be utilised for the progress and development of the country it would be very good. I feel that to consider these resources as waste is not in the interest of the country. This is what is happening today. Shri D.P. Yadava has also pointed out that our resources are lying waste and the State

[Shri Manoj Pandey]

Governments are not fully utilising them. When the Central Government proposes to utilise those resources through the Planning Commission, the State Governments say that their autonomy is being eroded. On the other hand, the State Governments demand funds for development and then blame the Centre that adequate funds are not given.

Only today, we were discussing an issue concerning West Bengal Government. A mention has been made in the concurrent list :

[English]

“The state can enact laws on subjects in the concurrent list.”

[Translation]

This too finds mention in it. Floods, irrigation, PWD and other engineering departments fall under the concurrent list. I think that the main issue is of management of these resources. If the State Governments are not able to put these resources to optimum use and instead blame the Centre for eroding the autonomy of the State, I think, it is not good and it is also not in the country's interest. They are being influenced by political considerations. They have a lot of time to play politics, but they should not say that the autonomy is being eroded, merely to hide their weaknesses. This is not in the country's interest. We can have difference of opinion on this subject. We can have Chief Ministers in the States with different ideologies because it is envisaged in our Constitution. But it is not proper for the opposition ruled states to say that the autonomy is being eroded. We have to look into it.

So far as the utilisation of resources is concerned, the Centre draws its economic power from the States and *vice-versa*. Both the Centre and the State are complementary to each other. One fails to understand why this question is raised time and again. This has been a recent phenomenon. This issue is being raised ever since the opposition parties came to power in many States. In 1967, when Sanyukta Vidhyak Dal was

formed, the Congress Party was in the Opposition in many States but nobody raised this question of Centre-State relationship during those five years, *i.e.* 1967-1971, I would like to remind you of those days. At that time also, half the States were being ruled by the Opposition. I would like to go into the reasons of this controversy — the Centre-State relationship. The Sarkaria Commission was set up in 1983 to go into the question of Centre-State relations though even before 1983 there were many states which had a difference of opinion with the Centre. But after all how did this issue of Centre-State relations rake up? There is politics behind it and the discussion on this subject is full of politics. Time and again the Hon Prime Minister is accused of eroding the autonomy of a particular State. They are trying to find political reasons for it which is very bad. There is not much weight in the discussions because they think...

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : One minute. The time allotted for this Resolution is now over. Some more Members have given their names. So, shall we extend the time further.

SHRI MANOJ PANDEY : It can be extended by an hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right, one hour. So, the time is extended by another one hour.

[Translation]

SHRI MANOJ PANDEY : Secondly, I would like to submit that the commission has highlighted many other aspects. We talk of socio-economic development. It is the backbone of the country and every State is an equal partner in it. This is enshrined in our Constitution and every citizen is also a partner in this development process. I would like to say that the progress and development of the country would be possible only when we cast aside narrow political considerations, particularly when we talk of socio-economic progress. You must have observed that a few days back, there were atrocities on Harijans in Bihar.

Similarly, we held discussion in the House on health care. Due to adulteration in rapeseed oil in Calcutta, 400 people had to be hospitalised and many of them were even paralysed. If we discuss these things here, the hon. Members say that we are transgressing into the State's jurisdiction. We cannot discuss State subjects here. But when masses are in misery—irrespective of the State they belong to—this august House has every right to discuss it and there is a rule too for taking up such discussions. That is why the Calling Attention Motion came up for discussion today.

If atrocities are committed against even one citizen of the country, the Centre is duty bound to discuss it here. We feel that it is the question of humanity. If we do not discuss it here, all of us who have been elected to this House would be betraying the electorate. Mention has been made to

enact laws in this regard. It has been pointed out here that the Centre or Parliament should have no right to amend the laws passed by the State Legislatures. What I mean to say is. . .

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Manoj Pandey, you can continue your speech the next day when the Resolution is again taken up for discussion.

Now, the House stands adjourned to re-assemble on Monday, the 8th August, 1988 at 11.00 a.m.

18.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till  
Eleven of the Clock on Monday,  
August 8, 1988/ Sravana 17,  
1910 (Saka).*