

fied from the place. You have other agencies which are probably more competent and it is for you to coordinate them to get maximum help from them.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolgpur) They don't understand your point (*Interruptions*)

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY I want to know whether you are coordinating all your investigating agencies in the country.

MR SPEAKER You can explain to him later on Now, Shri Kadambur M R Janarthanan (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE He has not replied to his suggestion (*Interruptions*)

16 38 hrs

MOTION OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd

[*English*]

MR SPEAKER We are now taking up discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. Shri Janarthanan

SHRI M R JANARTHANAN (Tirunelveli) Sir, on behalf of the All India Anna DMK I support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address moved by Shri Buta Singh.

Sir, I stand here as a representative of Tamil Nadu. It is a clear mandate of the Tamil Nadu people that the Congress (I) should be the Ruling Party of the Central Government and the All India Anna DMK should be the Ruling Party of Tamil Nadu. Now, I recall what happened in the Ninth Lok Sabha. It was a furious scene, when the Central Government took a decision on anti-national measures and dismissed the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu, our veteran leaders both of the Left and of the National Front were all on their legs criticising the dismissal of the people's elected Government there. And the former Chief Minister respected Karunanidhi, went to the people asking for justice for the dismissal of his Govern-

ment. And we were also moving with the people asking for justice for the injustice done to our party for what all the former Chief Minister, Shri Karunanidhi, has done to us. And I was hearing the socialist leader, Rabi Ray, the BJP leader, Jaswant Singh and our great Somnath Chatterjee and all bombarding the Congress (I) with a bombastic language here. But you must understand your main platform. You have no mandate. I do agree this Government is a minority Government but the people of Tamil Nadu have given 98 per cent of the results in favour of our party in the Assembly election which never happened in the history of India. When our late leader Shrimati Indira was killed, the DMK leader Mr Karunanidhi has said, 'one vote for the dead, one vote for the sick'. Our leader P. V. Narayana Murthy MGR was in New York at that time. Even at that time the DMK got two Members elected here. At that time they ruled in Tamil.

'Savukku oru vottu Novukku oru bottu' Mr Karunanidhi is a great Tamil scholar and a Tamil leader. I am also a staunch follower of Anna from 1949. There is a verse in Tamil Thirukkural which says

Yakavarayinum Nakkakka Kavakkal
Sokappara Sollizhukku Pittu'

However great you may be but you must restrain your tongue. Otherwise, you can never rectify the consequences. That is what Mr Karunanidhi is experiencing now.

Although the people of Tamil Nadu voted in favour of us overwhelmingly with a clear majority we bowed our heads in shame because of the brutal assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu where great leaders like Rajaji, Periyar, Kamaraj and Anna were born. We were afraid of the danger to the life of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and that brutal assassination had occurred. Even today, we are not directly charging the DMK with the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Here, just now so many Members were agitated over a bank robbery. Similarly it is the right of the people of Tamil Nadu who want that a thorough investigation to be made about the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi (*Interruptions*). You should be ashamed

to have had a Chief Minister who brought terrorism and gun culture to Tamil Nadu. We are from Anna DMK; he is the leader of DMK. A Special Investigation Team is functioning at Madras to enquire into the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi; in the print media and in the electronic media they are repeatedly showing the photographs of Sivarasam, the one-eyed man and Subha who are wanted by police in connection with the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. But the people of Tamil Nadu are very much interested to know the political persons behind the conspiracy. Who is the top police officer and who is the IAS officer who saw a trial of bombing a wax model in a forest area of Andhra near Tamil Nadu? They must be brought to book. Who went to Sri Lanka stealthily in an illegal way? It was the generosity of the Congress which had allowed it at that time; now you have paid for it with Rajiv Gandhi. What is the link of that person with LTTE and Mr. Prabhakaran? You were very generous. You were acting in a Gandhian way. After Mahatma Gandhi after Indira Gandhiji we have also lost Rajiv Gandhiji. DMK should never forget the magnanimity of Rajiv Gandhiji, in not taking action against that MP who went to Sri Lanka illegally and stayed there with Prabhakaran. Now LTTE has openly come to say, "We have assassinated Rajiv Gandhi. What is the Central Government, our friends are going to do? You must take immediate steps. Otherwise, the voters who have voted for me will kill me for not taking any action against the LTTE. That is the feeling of the people of Tamil Nadu. On the 22nd and 23rd of June, when I went to the villages, nobody cooked the food. They were condoling the death of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The memory of Rajiv Gandhi is fresh in their minds. The Prime Minister, Rajivji was riding from Madurai to Kanya Kumari in his own car. Every Tamilian used to say, "We have never seen the Prime Minister driving his car". He stopped suddenly at some village without informing the bureaucrats. He would ask the villagers, "How the IRDP and NREP work at the grassroot"? That is how, he would investigate the works of poverty programmes.

I request in this House that the Special Investigation Team must come forward very clearly as to who are the political persons behind this conspiracy. May be, he may be the then DGP or he may be even the then Home Secretary. That is the talk of the city and not talk of the MPs.

I expressed my feelings about the first four paragraphs in the Address delivered by Kamaraj led, Shri R Venkataraman, His Excellency, the President of India.

Coming to the other subject, I want to deal with the textile industry. As a textile man, I must say that the textile industry has not faced sickness so far. It has been in bloom in high profit. Only now because of our National Front, Janata Dal friends, because of the export policy of the former Agricultural Minister, Shri Devi Lal to export cotton, today cotton is being sold at Rs. 14,000 per kandy. My colleague, Shri George Fernandes asked why has the price of 40 counts Dhoti not come down. When the cotton price has gone up so much within these 20 days, how will the price of Dhoti come down? There is scarcity of cotton. Therefore, it is the duty of our Union Government to see very carefully about the position and they should be careful in announcing the cotton export policy. Let us all pray uniformly for good monsoon. I think, in this thing there is no difference of opinion between BJP and National Front. Otherwise it will be a worse year for us.

I want the Central Government to be very careful in announcing the export policy of cotton and they should not stick to some formalities but should see the realities of the situation keeping in view high price of cotton within India.

Now I am coming to the public distribution system as announced by the President in his Address. I want to stress two points. One is about extending the public distribution system to remote hamlet which is far away from the main panchayat, say 2 or 3 kms. away. The people living into remote hamlet are mainly below the poverty line and the public distribution system should reach them. Those

people have to walk two or three kms late in the evening to reach the main Panchayat. By the time they reach the Panchayat, the shop is closed. Therefore, you must work out practical things. The norms and criteria for opening the fair price shop should be reduced from 300 to 200 cardholders so that the hamlet will get the essential commodities and the employment will also be generated.

Coming to labour and unemployment problem, I would say one thing. This is time our comrades, our socialist leaders should think about unorganised labour. The organised labour get their employment. Their job is protected. Their pay is also higher than the pay of the unorganised labour. Unorganised labour are in larger number than organised labour. What have you done for the unorganised labour? The NF Government said that they would bring forward the Right for Work Bill. But they did not bring it. There is only fight for work. There is no right for work.

AN HON MEMBER What have you done in Tamil Nadu?

SHRI M R JANARTHANAN You come and see in Tamil Nadu.

MR SPEAKER You are provoking him.

SHRI M R JANARTHANAN In Tamil Nadu, all the cooperative textile mills are running in profit. All the NTC mills are running in profit. I urge this Government to do something material for the unorganised labour and let us all come to one consensus. Let us not merely talk but let us guarantee work and high pay to all the unorganised workers. As a homage to Shri Rajiv Gandhi, let there be no strike for one year till 21st May next. We may or may not be here. But the political mind is to get going on. But we do not know how political trend would go. As homage to Shri Rajiv Gandhi, all the organised workers should avoid strike as it would be for the welfare of the people. It is my humble request as the representative of the common man.

I want to thank Mr V S Rao, for representing DMK here.

Shri Anna introduced the Rising Sun symbol in 1957 elections. I was one of the candidates. We got 15 MLAs with no support of anybody. In 1962, Anna lost. We were 50 in number in the Assembly. In 1957, when we were not in power, we got two MP seats. Our MCR is no more. I request our socialist and communist leaders not to have links with the DMK as our leader Ms Jayalalata as Bhadrakali has executed the Mahishasura, Karunanidhi. You must realise what is the character of our old friend Shri Karunanidhi.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) You should join this Government.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY I will ask two questions from this gentleman.

MR SPEAKER No. You can ask him later. I request you to meet him and you can ask him please.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY It is a question which affects the country. The place where Shri Rajiv Gandhi was murdered has been officially described as a sterile area and as one of the safest areas in the whole of Madras. There was no frisking, and no metal detectors. Obviously, there was conspiracy by internal elements.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE To whom are you putting the question? The Hon Member has already left the House.

SHRI A CHARLES (Trivandrum) The Hon Member has gone to the Record Office. He would come back.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj) Mr Speaker, Sir, without any disrespect to the President of the Republic and without questioning in any way the legitimacy of the Government which has won a vote of confidence in the House only the other day, I find the President's Address a lifeless document. It lacks human warmth and reads like an office-note written by a bureaucrat. It does not throb up with the ebb and flow of rational life. It does not synchronise with the heart-beat of the nation. It lacks a sense

of urgency and it does not, although he uses the word concern, really measure the depth of our national concerns today, our travail as a nation and as a people and it, therefore, does not inspire us and does not serve as a call to mass action against massive threats that face us today to the very survival of our State and our nation.

Sir, the President's Address is supposed to be a report on the state of the nation and a programme for the year that lies ahead. How can we ever have a proper diagnosis if we remain silent on the direction the ship of the State is taking? It seems to some of us that we have lost our way, if it is silent on the challenges to our democratic system, if it is silent on the upsurge of chauvinism and fundamentalism that is corroding our national life, if it is silent on the persistent threat to the rule of law and the majesty of the legal process, if it is silent on the sufferings and the pain of the nation on the persistent pattern of atrocities against the weaker sections, if it is silent about the growing effectiveness even of the judicial process whose wheels appear to have been clogged and which does not give us legal remedies anymore as urgently as it should, if it is silent on the increasing inefficiency and corruption and pithiness of our administrative structure and our bureaucracy, if it is silent on the multiplicity of our black laws and their blacker application in practice, if it is silent on the growing concentration of wealth in our society and on the widening disparities inter-group and inter-regional and if it is silent on the emergence of what I call two cultures and two nations in our country—the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, the top and bottom who have hardly anything in common in terms of interest/aspiration. Therefore the Address is not adequate to our situation, our perception. The Address shows the insensitivity of our Government perhaps reflecting the insensitivity of our elite, our establishment, to the sorrow and the anguish and the agony that our people suffer day-in-and-day-out.

Our country today is passing through a historic transformation. A structural upheaval is taking place before our very eyes.

Long suppressed sections of our people are demanding a new dispensation, a share in wealth and power, a place in the sun and they shall not be silenced. The Indian society, therefore, today has been transformed into an arena of struggle and what we do, Mr Speaker, inside the Parliament, inside this Hall does not sometimes adequately represent the struggle that is going on outside the portals of this House and which we can ignore only at our peril. This is a titanic struggle between the status quo forces and the anti-status quo forces. The anti-status quo forces today are fighting a last-ditch battle. They are engaging themselves perhaps in their last manoeuvre to return themselves in positions of power.

17 00 hrs

And therefore, I would like to make my first basic point that the communal polarisation that we see today is nothing but the expression of the frustration and the threat and the challenge that the status quo forces are facing today. The communalism that we see today is not directed if I may be permitted to say, against another community, it is directed against the haves and the deprived within the same community.

The communalisation and exploitation of religion for political purposes has reached absurd limits. It is corroding the very foundations of our republic, the very constitutional foundation that we had given ourselves. And we know it that the forces who are opposing the change in our society, who are opposing a radical transformation and those who are preaching communalism and exploiting religion for political purposes are one and the same. It is the same face. It is the same forces which demand demolition of a Masjid to build a Mandir thereon, which also oppose reservation and a share in power for the deprived sections of our people. It is the same forces today who have been challenging the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and wish to substitute the statue of Godse across the land for the statue that we have erected to the revered memory of the Mahatma (*Interruptions*).

It is this force that has to be identified and it should have been identified by the Government clearly and in unmistakable terms if a battle has to be waged for the security and Survival of the secular system And here is where the President's Address fails

It is true that the era of massive majority is over And perhaps the era of minority Governments has set in I would have preferred it to be an era of coalition Governments Perhaps we could have developed a culture of coalition, a culture of political adjustment, a culture of working together in the larger cause at least for the larger national issues that are there before the country Then this polarisation could have been checked Unfortunately nothing has been done, nothing is indicated in the President's Address how we propose to build up this coalition of the healthy forces which shall nurse our democracy back to health

What lies ahead perhaps if I may be permitted to say, is a period of turbulence But we who are sitting inside the Parliament we who have been elected as their representative by the people have the responsibility of steering a ship of a State across somehow We have to ensure that the ship does not founder or does not sink on the Shoals of apathy or insensitivity or, if I may say so of mutual antagonism If the ship sinks we all sink if the country does not survive none of us survives And therefore I feel that the President's Address should have been a call for the country to come together in this hour of peril

Our ancient wisdom impels us to acknowledge that tolerance is a great virtue that hatred does not work that confrontation will not yield results that equality and dignity are values in themselves, that justice is a universal call which cannot be silenced and therefore, somehow we have to take up these new challenges and allow them to transform the society without disrupting the national life I find no such prescription in the President's Address

We are all today in the era of respect for human rights India is signatory to

all the international covenants on human rights We have always upheld human rights wherever they were violated all over the world But today, I find a persistent pattern of violation of human rights which I do not find the Government challenging anywhere in this President's Address

About Punjab, I would like to say one simple word

17 05 hrs

[SHRI S. MILLIKAJUNJAH in the Chair]

The sentence about the Punjab situation in the President's Address seems to have involved the Election Commission of all responsibility It appears to endorse the decision of the Election Commission in postponing the polls at the very last minute History will alone decide whether this was a wise step I fear and I hope that I am proved to be wrong that we have not missed the last bus for restoring democracy in Punjab

About Kashmir I would like to say that I have been there several times I notice a very plain fact that the administration which is responsible for protecting the people does not make any distinction whatsoever between the militants and the masses I do not find it surprising therefore that the President if the Republic does not have even one word of sympathy for the victims of recurring atrocities which alienate the people of Kashmir more and more from the State politics from the rest of the people of the country and make the task of reconciliation, peace normalisation and democratisation increasingly difficult every year

Sir we have to apply the principle on some of these wounds We have got to detach the people from the emotion of the militants We have to instil a sense of confidence in them We have to make it apparent to them that we care for them that the lives are precious that they are Indian citizens that they are entitled to the full protection of the Constitution of India and to the rule of law Until this is done, unless this duty is performed I am sorry we are at the brink of losing the soul of

the people of Kashmir even if we can retain the body under our control.

The communal violence has been touched in the President's Address. I welcome some of the suggestions that have been made therein for action. But about this rapid action force let me say with the former Home Minister present here that the issue is not the rapidity of action, but the impartiality of action. I am sorry, this point has been lost sight of. What have we to do is to ensure that the people have confidence in this force, that all sections of our people have confidence in this force. Otherwise there will be a vicious cycle of challenge and response. We shall reach nowhere. We shall be only adding fuel to the fire, if the people have no confidence in the impartiality and the neutrality of the administration system, of the magistracy and of the security forces. I am sure that the former Home Minister who proposed the vote of thanks will appreciate this point that the confidence of all sections of the people in the ability and in the impartiality and in the neutrality of the administration and particularly the police force has to be reinstated, has to be reaffirmed.

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Jalore) . Mr. Chairman, Sir, precisely this was the point that I made. When I made my speech, I emphasized that it is always the local police which becomes the point of doubt and suspicion by all sections of the society. Therefore every State which is under the grip of communal riots situation tries for the central force because they have a confidence in the central force. That is what I expect that the new force will also carry the same extent of confidence from all sections of the society so that the situation will be diffused because of the presence of such a force I did make that point.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN . As for the compensation, we give a dole as a matter of grace. I believe and I suggest that there should be a statutory provision for the payment of compensation for the loss of life and limb and property because the first essential duty of any civilised Government is to protect the life, limb and property of the citizen and if it fails

to do so, it must compensate the victims. Therefore, I urge upon the Government not only to promise compensation, but to promise bringing in a law for that purpose.

As far as punishment and as far as the Commission of Inquiry are concerned, the less said the better. The other day we read about the Maliana Commission and the Hashimpura Committee. Even the Reports have not come before the people. The former Prime Minister—whose assassination has been a great national tragedy—promised me personally, not once, but several times, that the killers of Hashimpura shall be brought to book. Until today four or five years have elapsed not one person has been brought to book. Does it inspire confidence in our system, in our judicial process, in our Commissions of Inquiry, when the killers of Maliana and Hashimpura are still at large, when the killers of Bhagalpur are still at large? In Bhagalpur, people were not only murdered; and burnt, but they were laid down in a macabre manner in neat rows in fields and then vegetables were planted over them. And the killers are still at large. Something has to be done about it. There is no promise in the President's Address that a sense of urgency has entered the mind of the Government.

Now, the question of Babri Masjid and Ram Janambhoomi I would not dilate on it. But I will point out only one thing which is rather alarming. There is no mention in the President's Address of the sanctity of the judicial process, to which the former Governments in succession had committed themselves. I know Shri Buta Singh had tried his very best; I know Shri Chandra Shekhar had tried his very best; and I am still prepared for yet another series of negotiations. But if the negotiations do not produce any result, if the negotiations are not reduced to surrender, under coercion then the law must take its course. A civilised society can only live by rule of law. It cannot decide disputes either by votes or by violence. By force or by threat, issues cannot be resolved. So, the ultimate civilised method is the judicial process. However if negotiations take place I am sure all sections of the House will

come together and desire that the negotiations will bear fruit. (*Interruptions*) If they do not, then the Government is duty bound, — may I say, Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Government is duty bound — by the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, to restore the Majesty of the legal process, to expedite the judicial process and to give the law a chance, to give the law an opportunity to resolve the issue. And then, to make a commitment that whatever be the final verdict—whether it goes against one community or the other—it shall be accepted by everyone; it shall be enforced by the Government. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay-North) : Including Shah Bano case? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN : I can teach you a lesson in law, if you want to bring in Shah Bano case. But, I do not have the time unfortunately. (*Interruptions*) For every point—whether it is Somnath or Shah Bano, I will reply. You don't worry about it. (*Interruptions*) Sir, I have said that the previous Governments had made a commitment; and that commitment must be reiterated on the floor of the House. (*Interruptions*) We are facing a very critical economic situation. I am very happy that the President has acknowledged that it is the cumulative result of our over spending or living beyond our means. So, the crisis is not the result of a few months, it is something which we have inherited over the last 20 years. So, as they say, "Things have come home to roost". Now, we are facing the brunt; we are facing a crisis. I would like to assure that in order to save the country from bankruptcy and ruin, the people of India shall be prepared for any economic sacrifice that is demanded of them. But then the brunt of that sacrifice must be borne by the elite also, by those who have something to give, by those who have something to sacrifice. The burden should not fall on the common masses who have nothing but their sweat and tear and toil to offer for the country.

The price rise is unprecedented. Not only the absolute rise but the very rate of inflation is unprecedented. My wife informs

me, Mr. Chairman, that every week the prices are going up and she does not know how to manage. I am sure, that is the experience of every housewife in the country. Something has to be done about it. I do recall that the Government has made the promise that within 100 days, it will bring the prices down. We shall tie it down to this commitment and would like to see that the Government does bring the prices down, if it cannot be brought down to a level of earlier level, at least there should a tendency that the prices are beginning to fall.

Privatisation of the public sector has been referred to. I am afraid privatisation can have two aspects. Privatisation can mean dispersal of ownership to include the working masses. But privatisation can also mean reinforcement of the monopoly system. From the example that we have before us, the recent sale of the cement factory in Datta to a monopoly house, privatisation, it seems, is going to mean the strengthening of the monopoly system. That is not acceptable to us.

We are aware of the limitations and the haphazard growth of the public sector. We would like it to be reviewed. We would like it to be more efficient. We would like it to be accountable. We would like it to channelise its energy into areas of major national concern. But we would not like that in the name of privatisation, the capitalist system, the monopoly houses enrich themselves at the cost of the nation.

Foreign collaboration has become a major issue. We seem to be opening our doors bit by bit. Perhaps now we are reading the point of open-door policy. I have made a special study of all the schemes of foreign collaboration that had been agreed to by the Government during the year 1989-90. I found that a vast number of the schemes of collaboration that were agreed to, were in the field of consumer products, of footwear, of shirts. That is a betrayal of our people, of our industrial interests. We do not want the multinationals. We do not want a consumer society in our country. We do not want the disparity between the standard of living of the high and the low to widen

further We do not want the beautiful people And we do not want to cater to their gracious requirements of keeping them and their women folk in the latest style or fashion (*Interruptions*) This is precisely what is happening That must be stopped Foreign investment is a necessity But the field must be chosen very carefully a field in which high technology is not available in the country I think a time has come to revise the entire strategy of industrial development in view of the growing unemployment in our country, to make a clear national choice between labour intensive and capital intensive technology

Nothing has been said about how the Government propose either to unearth black money or to somehow make it possible to be used for some social purposes (*Interruptions*) Productive and social purpose is a must When I say social purpose I mean a purpose which help the masses For example it can be a question of mass housing It can be a question of building some roads and bridges for which the Government has no money (*Interruptions*)

AN HON MEMBER They are turning short of funds after the elections

SHRI SYED SHAH ABUDDIN So this is the way If you offer tax incentives you can bring out the money and channelise it into areas of mass utility Perhaps this can be done The educated unemployed today according to our record number 35 million But the real unemployment in this country must be of the order of more than 100 million What are we going about it ? There is just one small sentence, just noting the unemployment problem Is that an adequate response to this massive situation to the frustration of the hopes of our youth who are the future of our country ? And therefore Sir, something more needs to be done

I would like that the welfare programmes should be as universal as possible and not be restrictive Once they are restrictive they lead to corrupt practices and partiality Whatever the Government wishes to do on the question of primary education,

the question of pension for the aged and the handicapped or the widows or the orphans let that be done across the board and for everybody who is indigent circumstances I let there be no pick and choose because the moment there is pick and choose then all the inherent bias and prejudice of our society will come into operation and the deprived will remain deprived and those who do not deserve will get the benefits of the welfare schemes

Sir I would like to say that mandalisation has come to stay Today the Supreme Court was supposed to get an invitation about the stand of the present Government on the question of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report We are not aware as to what the Government has told the Supreme Court or what the Government proposes to tell the Supreme Court But let me say with all the emphasis at my command that today a time has come for every social group to have a share in running the administration and the society And even if it is deprived of it today by the present Government and perhaps by the Supreme Court a day will come when we will have to amend the Constitution in order to make it possible and bring in an equitable system of reservation I would like to have a clear indication from the Government that if the Supreme Court finds on some ground the present scheme of reservation as *ultra vires* the Constitution then the Government shall be prepared to come to the House with a suitable amendment to the Constitution so that equitable sharing by all groups in the spirit of Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution will become possible

Sir I would not like to take more of your time I would like to say one word about the foreign policy I think the Non Aligned Movement is in the throes of an agonising reappraisal It does not know which way to turn Its ground appears to have slipped from under its feet It is trying to find a new mooring It is looking for a new role There was a time, Mr Chairman when India provided the leadership to the Non Aligned Movement I think in this quest for a new role it is

not enough to say that India shall participate. I think India's honour and India's place in the international community demands that we shall give a lead and a new sense of direction to the Non Aligned Movement so that once again we can be a beacon of light for the international community. You can call NAM by any name if you like. Obviously, the emphasis has changed and that is why, it is looking for a new role. There can be no non-alignment between justice and injustice as Jawaharlal Nehru once said between freedom and slavery, between oppression and liberation. It is not a question of being for one country and against another country. But it is always a question of standing for a principle and against any violation of the international order... (*Interruptions*)..

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish that the President's Address was a little more philosophical and gave us an indication of the shape of things to come. As I said, it has not given the direction that a ship of a State should follow in order to reach the shore and avoid floundering on the rocks that lie on the way. Sir, we have a vision and the vision is not new. That vision rises out of our culture, our history, the ethos of our freedom movement, the heritage that we are all proud of. We want a society without violence; we want a society which is based on social justice; we want a society in which every individual is free and holds his head high.

We want a society which is humane, a society which is not brutal in its methods or in its approach, a society which is not insensitive to human travail and human pain, a society indeed without tears and without fear and without want and without hatred. That was Gandhi's dream and that was Tagore's dream and that was the promise of our Freedom Movement. Somewhere, somehow we have lost our way and this office note does not show us the way and does not tell us how to proceed, where to proceed and which way to turn. Therefore, against my wishes, with due respect to the President of the Republic, I have no option but to oppose the Motion of Thanks.

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA (Hassan) : At the outset, I would like to thank you for having given me an opportunity to participate in the debate on the Presidential Address. We all know that the President's Address reflects the policies and programmes of the Government for the coming year. Our country is facing several burning problems and some of our senior members have elaborately dealt with those points. To my misfortune, I was unable to express my views on some of those burning problems because today in one of the leading national daily papers, one important issue pertaining to Karnataka is published—'Centre to notify interim order on Cauvery'.

This is a burning problem for nearly one crore population who are residing in the Cauvery Basin. This is a problem which is being considered for more than one hundred years. I know the ins and outs of the Cauvery Basin problem. Unfortunately all Governments have let down Karnataka from the beginning. This is my grouse.

Today I do not want to take much of the time for the issues that have now been pending before the Cauvery Tribunal for final adjudication. But I am going to deal with the interim order only which has been pronounced on 24th June 1991. The implications of the interim order should have been known to the Government of India before taking any hasty step.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai) : Sir, I am on a point of order. Is it in order for a member to devote, as he threatens to do, his entire speech to a subject which has not been mentioned in the President's Address?

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA : The Presidential Address makes a mention about development of irrigation. I do not want to mention about the item under which I am going to raise this particular issue. Though I am a new member to this House, I know that anything can be discussed during the debate on Presidential Address, within the ambit of the rules framed by this very House. I know my limitations. Though I am a new entrant to this House, being a member in the State Legislature for more

than twenty years, I know my limitations. That is why I am very cautious. Since last week, I am watching the proceedings of this House. I am a new member. Therefore, I do not want to elaborate on that point.

Sir, the interim order says that 205 TMC of water should be released from Karnataka to Tamil Nadu in a crop year starting from June to May. Sir, I want to caution the Government of India, particularly about the implications of the order that has been made by the Tribunal. If you go through the release of water that is going to come from each project, i.e. what is called the inflow in the Cauvery basin during these months, you will understand the implications the tribunal has categorically mentioned, "We direct the State Government to release the water from its reservoir in Karnataka so as to ensure 205 TMC of water in a crop year commencing from June to May. I wanted to draw the attention of the Government to the availability of water in the bad year. This is a moot point for the consideration of the Government before taking any step in this direction. In the month of July release in bad year ranges from 2.4 TMC to 2.4 TMC. The lowest reservoir in the Cauvery basin are KRS and Kabini. Hemavati Harangi are the two major reservoirs above KRS which are under construction, why I am only taking into consideration the release that is going to be made by Kabini and KRS is worthy to be noted by the Government of India. If we are going to honour the verdict given by the tribunal to release 42.76 TMC of water in July that means the water that is going to be impounded in the reservoir has to be depleted at the cost of the Karnataka farmers. Total water that is going to be stored or impounded will come to about 95 TMC in all the four reservoirs that we have constructed in Karnataka including the KRS. KRS is a reservoir constructed about 50 years back. If you take into account that reservoir also the total storage in all the four reservoirs, i.e. Kabini, Harangi, Hemavati and KRS, comes to about 95 TMC. You can understand the predicament of Karnataka Government. In case they are going to honour the verdict, Karnataka have to deplete nearly 30

TMC of water in a bad year that they have stored in the reservoir. So, this was for the month of July.

For the month of August they are asked to release 54 TMC of water. Unfortunately, in a bad year the outgoing water from KRS and Kabini ranges from 5.9 TMC to 31 TMC if you take release of 5-6 years. If we want to honour the tribunal verdict, we have to again allow our farmers to suffer and release the water from our storage as per the direction of the tribunal. I don't know whether it is possible for the Karnataka Government to allow the water at the cost of its farmers.

Sir, let us further examine the another direction given by the tribunal. Another direction is that we should not develop more than 112 lakh acres of land. We have already developed 112 lakh acres in the month of May, 1990. They have taken the cut off date as May, 1990. Subsequently, for the areas that have been brought under irrigation by the Karnataka Government, they have not taken into account the last one year's figure. Sir, I want to highlight some of the points because our counterpart, the Tamil Nadu has tried to create an impression in the minds of the general public that Karnataka has taken an unreasonable stand. Outside Tamil Nadu, or Karnataka, in other parts of the country reasonably thinking people are under the impression that Karnataka is taking an unreasonable stand so far as the Cauvery water dispute is concerned.

In a nutshell, I would like to say that this is not based on facts. It was unfortunate that the successive Governments of Karnataka had not taken proper care to remove this sort of impression from the minds of the people.

Karnataka is contributing nearly 425 TMC of water out of the total field, whereas Tamil Nadu is contributing hardly 225 TMC of water and Kerala is contributing about 130 TMC of water in the basin. When such is the case, what is the total water that has been used by Karnataka and Tamil Nadu? If you compare this, Tamil Nadu has developed more than 28

lakh acres whereas Karnataka—unfortunately because of our political blunders—was able to develop only 112 lakh acres. Out of the 112 lakh acres, I would like to make it clear that we are not growing paddy in all the new projects. It is only in KRS and in some of the old avacuts, we are raising only one crop that is paddy and in some areas we are raising only sugarcane. Except the new projects that are pending before the Government of India—whether it is Haranga or whether it is Hemawati only dry-cum-wet crop is growing—because of the objection that was raised by Tamil Nadu, all these projects have been constructed by the resources of the State itself. We have spent nearly Rs 800 crores on these major projects but unfortunately today, on account of this Interim Order, our projects are going to become reserves for storing water for Tamil Nadu without using it for the benefit of our farmers. It is as good as balancing reservoirs for the sake of Tamil Nadu. This is the position that we have come to today because of the Interim Order of the Tribunal.

I do not want to cast aspersions on the Tribunal or on the Supreme Court. I know how the whole matter was dealt with.

Sir, in this country, there are various inter-State river water disputes. Several Tribunals have been constituted and to my knowledge no Tribunal has passed an Interim Order. When the Tribunal was constituted Tamil Nadu went with some civil miscellaneous petition before the Tribunal for an Interim Order for staying the on-going projects that are going to come up in Karnataka and also to pass an order for the specific quantum of water to be released whether in a good year or in a bad year. The Tribunal, in its wisdom has taken a decision that they cannot go into the merits and demerits at the stage of the civil miscellaneous petition. But unfortunately, the matter was turned down by the Supreme Court. That is why I said that I do not want to cast aspersions at this stage. To my knowledge when in the whole country, such an issue was raised and the matter regarding distribution of inter-State River Water came up before the Tribunal, no Tribunal passed such an

Interim Order. It is the misfortune today that because of the directions of the Supreme Court the Tribunal had taken an advantage and had passed this Interim Order.

I would like to mention here, how Tamil Nadu had behaved in the past. I would like to draw the attention of this House and through this House, the attention of the general public why Karnataka had taken an unreasonable stand—because the Karnataka Assembly had passed a Resolution—to boycott the Tribunal and also not to implement or to honour the Tribunal's Interim Order. This is not for the first time that such things have occurred. I would also like to quote the previous events. This matter cropped up about 100 years back when the old Mysore State was ruled by the then Maharaja and Tamil Nadu was ruled by the Britishers. I am going to quote some of the relevant points because these are very relevant in the present context.

How did the Tamil Nadu Government try to flout the decision of the arbitration which was being made in those days? I am going to give in chronological order how the events took place.

In 1870 a serious controversy was reported to have arisen between Mysore and Madras about adverse effects on claims of Madras by ryots irrigating lands down the river. By extension of irrigation in Mysore Madras claimed that International Law was not applicable to a dual State like Mysore in its delimited paramount power. After this issue was cropped up the Government of India had appointed Mr H D Griffiths as the Arbitrator and Mr M Nethersol, Inspector-General of Irrigation in India as an Assessor. After this Tribunal was appointed, the Arbitrator, Mr H D Griffiths had given an award in 1914. That award was not honoured by the Tamil Nadu Government in those days. In 1915 they made an appeal to the Government of India against the award. Even then the award was ratified. The Government of India did not take note of the objection made by the Tamil Nadu Government at that time but the Government of India in its wisdom,

had ratified the award made by the Arbitrator. The ratification was made in the year 1916. After the ratification was made by the Government of India in 1916, an appeal was made to the Secretary of the State for India. What was their political power, what was their strength and all that, any one can understand. Then the Secretary of State issued a directive for fresh arbitration. The arbitration award was rejected by Tamil Nadu in the inception itself, because did not help them. At that time, it was Mysore, a tiny State which was under the rule of then Maharaja; he was not powerful to influence the Government of India or the Secretary-General in those days. I went back to the history to tell the people of this Country about Karnataka having been taken unreasonable time on the interim award given by the Tribunal. We do not want to create any conflict.

While replying to the Motion of No-Confidence, the Prime Minister was kind enough to say that an era of confrontation was over. He wants cooperation to solve some of the major problems.

The Tribunal itself in their earlier order has mentioned that "the Central Government has made rules under Section 13 of the Act viz. Inter-State Water Dispute Rules, 1959. Under Section 13 of the Act. Rules have been framed but no power has been granted to give any interim relief. In the circumstances, this is also indicative of the fact that the Tribunal has no power to grant any interim relief of the nature asked for. In case the intention of the Parliament was that the Tribunal may be able to grant an interim relief without the dispute being referred to the Tribunal it would have either provided such power in the Act itself or in the rules framed under the Act, but this has not been done." This is an observation made by the Tribunal itself in the interim order while rejecting the plea of Tamil Nadu on the civil petition in January, 1991.

I do not want to waste the time of this august House. I know the value of time. Normally—You know my previous background—I never, never try to indulge in unnecessary speeches. This is very relevant

and it is the life and death question of Karnataka. Fortunately, you are in the Chair. Please do not try to curtail my speech. This is such a grave issue. Sir, why I am stating the observation made by the same tribunal in orders in the month of January is this.

Again, the Supreme Court, while turning down the orders of the Tribunal on the civil miscellaneous petition they have also observed :

"In view of the above circumstances I think it is not necessary for us to go into the larger question whether the Tribunal constituted under the Water Disputes Act has any power or not to grant any interim relief."

Sir, when such is the case, I do not know how a direction was issued by the Supreme Court and the Tribunal has based on that direction, the Tribunal had passed this interim order.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : May I ask the hon. member a question? Does he or does he not accept that the Supreme Court is the final authority on the law of the land?

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA : I really want to compliment my friend. This is an Inter-State Disputes Act. A Tribunal has been constituted under Sections 3 and 4 of this Act, which has been framed by this very same House, though I was not a member in those days. I am just a new entrant and I would like to draw your attention to Section 11 of the Inter-State Disputes Act, which says :

"Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law neither the Supreme Court nor any other court shall have or exercise jurisdiction in respect of any water dispute which is referred to a tribunal under this Act."

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : I am sorry. But the Act refers to the substance of the issue. The point at issue under the law was whether the Tribunal should or should not, under the law of the land, give an interim order. The Supreme Court

of India has directed them to issue this order. So, what we have got in the order is an order from the Supreme Court, the highest court of the land, plus an Award given by a judicial body. Karnataka is in double jeopardy in not accepting that Award.

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA : I do not want to cast aspersions on the judiciary.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARISINGH CHAVDA (Banaskantha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, what is going on between the two hon. Members ?

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : One is from Karnataka and the other is from Tamil Nadu.

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA : In this very House a matter relating to a Supreme Court Judge is pending for impeachment. I do not want to comment on it.

SHRI D. K. Naikar (Dharwad, North) : The question before the Tribunal was about use and distribution. These are the words used : "The use and distribution and channelling". This Tribunal took an application, an interim application and decided on the ground that no reference had been made by the Central Government to give an order on this. The reference was to the main dispute, "Use and distribution of water". Therefore, on the ground of want of jurisdiction they dismissed the petition. Now the petition for interim stay came. Against this dismissal order the parties went to the Supreme Court and there the learned Judges of the Supreme Court took a view that it was not the use and distribution point only, but that they were considering it on merits. It is only the question of power, whether Tribunal has got it or not, to dismiss this interim petition. Power and limitation and jurisdiction all these are questions of law. But that was entertained by the Supreme Court and a verdict was given to the Tribunal to decide the matter even in respect of interim applications also. But at the

time when the Tribunal was giving the order they have taken into account the capacity of Karnataka State also, because Karnataka has got a capacity for impounding of 100 TMC ft. One hundred TMCft. The direction of the Tribunal was to give 205 TMC ft. Even the Karnataka Government has got storage capacity of 95 TMC ft. in all the four reservoirs, namely, Kabini, Harangi, Hemawati and K. R. Sagar. The Tribunal did not have any practical idea to pass such an order. The matter was decided in such an illegal and impracticable way that it cannot be implemented by the Karnataka Government... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani) : Can they not settle the dispute at our expense ? We can donate the required water to them from North Bihar as much as they like... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA : The interim order passed by the Tribunal should be reviewed again by the Government of India. The Government of India has got the powers, including the State Government, to do so. Under Section 5(3) they can ask the Tribunal to re-examine the whole issue and refer the matter within three months.

Sir, today's *Indian Express* says that it is mandatory on the part of the Government of India to publish this report within one month. I do not want to cast any aspersions on anybody.

I would like to make another four, five points. Please allow me another five minutes... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : Before he moves to the other points, I would like to ask one clarification... (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : When you speak you can mention it... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay-North) : Sir, I am on a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is your point of order ?

SHRI RAM NAIK : The Hon. Member, Shri Aiyar, is just getting up and interrupting the other Member's speech. Unless

he rises on a point of order, he cannot just disturb like this. Once in a while, he can do it. But this is the fourth time he is disturbing him. (Interruptions)

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA : I am only drawing the attention of the Central Government through you, Sir, to Section 5(3). Under this Section, either the State Government or the Central Government can ask for reconsideration of the whole issue on a revision petition. The Government can also give a direction. This is the most point that I wanted to impress upon.

I would like to point out as to how the Karnataka State has been deprived of. Since 25 years, four major projects are pending for clearance. Contrary to 1924 agreement Tamil Nadu had developed six lakhs acres of land even though the Karnataka Government raised objections to it. Unfortunately the Government of India did not take into cognisance the objections raised by the Karnataka Government. Sir, a similar treatment was given in the past also when we submitted three projects, namely, Harangi, Kabini and Hemawati, to the Central Water Commission for its clearance. They are not cleared and they are pending before the Government of India from 1965. That is why, I am a little bit afraid about the attitude of the Central Government. I know as to how even the Janata Dal Government handled this matter at the time of the constitution of the Tribunal. I do not want to elaborate this at this stage. If we are going to honour the Tribunal's Interim Order stopping the further development of irrigation, it is going to incur heavy financial loss because of the contractual obligation already fixed. As the works are already going on at various stages and the contracts were already fixed for distribution system, if they are going to be stopped, there will be lot of financial implications and heavy burden on the State Government. If the Interim Order is going to be notified by the Government of India, it will be a great damage to the farmers and the Cauvery basin.

Tamil Nadu has developed 28 lakh acres and they are growing three paddy crops

namely, Samba, Tuladi and Kurvai whereas Karnataka is growing only dry-cum-wet crop in all the new projects. Even if you complete all the on-going projects it will irrigate only 23 lakh acres that too dry-cum-wet. The seasonal condition as per the Irrigation Commission Report of 1972 is that 27 Talukas in Karnataka and 17 Talukas in Tamil Nadu will be affected by drought. I am saying this point for the consideration by the Government of India. Even now I request the Tamil Nadu counterpart to solve this problem by mutual discussions, negotiations and bilateral talks without adhering to a rigid stand. This matter is unsolved for the last 100 years. If the Karnataka people are going to be deprived of the rightful share, it is not so easy to digest. I want to cite the comments made by the National Commission on Agriculture. Water is a scarce commodity. It has to be utilised very cautiously. I am just mentioning one of the comments made by the National Commission on Agriculture :

"In view of the inadequacy by water resources to meet the future agricultural and other requirements in many parts of the country it has become a matter of great national importance to conserve and utilise them most judiciously and economically."

The C.C. Patel Committee and also UNDP Report says nearly 340 TMC water can be saved if we use the groundwater by adopting a new technology. If you want to conserve and utilise most judiciously and economically, there are various modern technologies which can be adopted. The political power will now come into the picture who will be mightier whether in Tamil Nadu or Karnataka. I want to warn the Government of India and the Congress Party, the people of Karnataka stood with Congress from the very beginning whether it is undivided Congress (I) or divided Congress (I). During Shrimati Indira Gandhi's bad days they stood with Congress. *It should not be forgotten. Hungry stomach knows no law, no constitution. He will die to fill his belly. This should be remembered. With these words, I conclude.*

18.00 hrs

These are the two points which I wanted to raise because it is going to help to solve this problem by further discussion and bilateral talks. *(In interruption)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Deve Gowda, the time allotted to you is over. You have spoken for 35 minutes. The House is in an agitated mood now.

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA: Sir, we know who is mightier. That is the issue before us. We know what politics is and who is mightier who can handle this situation in the present political atmosphere. Now political power is going to prevail.

The Central Government now being ruled by Congress would not forget that the Karnataka people stood with the Congress from the beginning. Whether it is the divided Congress or the undivided Congress, Karnataka people always stood with them. If the reward which is going to be given is that the Karnataka people are going to suffer on account of the hurried decision about the ratification going to be issued by the Government of India, then the people of Karnataka will not pardon the Congress and the Central Government.

With this warning I would like to make myself clear that the people will not pardon the Congress. The people of Karnataka will not give help to the Congress that they have given during the time of late Madam Gandhi. They should not forget this. *(In interruption)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all, Deve Gowda. Now Shri Rangarajan Kumaramangalam. *(Inter-uptions)*

SHRI H. D. DEVEGOWDA: Lastly, Sir, I would like to make one point. I have already made it clear that the hungry stomach will not. *(In interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, that is over now. I have called Mr. Rangarajan Kumaramangalam.

18 3 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE FIRST REPORT

(In English)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri R. Kumaramangalam.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM): Sir, I beg to present the First Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

In terms of the recommendations by the Business Advisory Committee, may I request the House to agree to sit up to 7 p.m.?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is it the desire of the House to sit up to 7 o'clock?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Amgarh): Sir, this is not the way. Already the time of the House is over. *(In interruptions)* Why do you propose at the very end of the sitting? If the Business Advisory Committee's Report has to come, it should have come earlier. This is not the way to extend the time of the House.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARAMANGALAM: Sir, the Hon. Member should know that the Business Advisory Committee's meeting took place at 3 o'clock and it is always placed on the Table of the House on the same day at 6 o'clock. *(In interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: That is all right but not after 6 o'clock.

(In interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Probably the Minister does not want us to agree.... That is why he is arguing.

SHRI RANGARAJAN KUMARA-MANGALAM : Normally this is called before six o'clock. But because the Hon. Member we thought would continue for a little more time, that is why it is being called now. I hope the House will agree because the BAC has together agreed.

SHRI RAM NAIK : As a special case we are agreeing today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : So, the House agrees to sit up to 7 o'clock.

Now Shri P. K. Bansal — Absent

Shri Manoranjan Bhakta — Absent

Shri Sriballav Panigrahi.

18.04 hrs.

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

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have the pleasure to support this Motion of Thanks for the Presidential Address. No doubt, it is an annual exercise and it is an annual ritual. This is a very valuable document containing the policies and programmes of the Government to be pursued during the year to come. Although this is an annual exercise, this year's Presidential Address and this debate assumes great importance in the sense that this is the first occasion provided to the Government after the Tenth Lok Sabha Elections to come before the House, to come before the Parliament with its programmes and policies.

Sir, enough has been said in the course of the last 3-4 days about the mandate people have given in the last Lok Sabha election. People being the supreme masters in a sovereign democratic State, we bow down to the verdict they have given to us. But, Sir, I feel that judging the seriousness of the situation we are facing in our country, it would have been better had this verdict been more decisive, had it

been more clear and decisive because, Sir, this is the time when firmness is required on the part of the Government to tackle the situation that is threatening even our unity and integrity. Sir, there is a lot of violence taking place everywhere, the law and order situation in some parts of the country is awful, is very bad, and in a sense violence is overtaking us. Sir, it is unfortunate that in this land of Buddha, Asoka, Gandhi and Jawaharlal who used to send the message of peace and non-violence to the world, violence is overtaking us. Sir, this is the largest democracy of the world and we are proud of being the largest democracy in the world. But, Sir, our heads also hang in shame when we find that this largest democratic country has turned out to be a place where three great national leaders—the Father of the Nation and thereafter, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our beloved late lamented Prime Minister and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our popular young leader and former Prime Minister—were assassinated.

1907 hrs.

[**SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA**
in the Chair]

So, the mandate as I said, is a people's mandate and we accept it with all humility. But this mandate is clear in one sense. This verdict is definitely against casteism, against communalism, whatever those groups who promote casteism and communalism may say. This people's verdict is definitely and positively a verdict against casteism and communalism and it is a mandate for the Congress Party to form the Government, to run the affairs of the State when things are in a mess, of course with the cooperation of the Opposition Parties on the basis of consensus on national issues. Is there anybody to dispute it? Whatever they might say, I think many hon. Members from that side who participated in the debate yesterday and even day before and also on other occasions like the debate on the Confidence Motion, they are not here but they have become unduly critical, they have become uncharitably critical of Mr. Narasimha Rao's Government. Is there any time for

the Government to start its activities, to start its work ? Its performance should be analysed, it should be tested and thereafter observations can be made, references can be made and also this criticism can be brought about. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee was all the time asking the hon. Members from this side, when they asked for cooperation, 'what for cooperation and on the basis of what ?' He again said in the course of his speech yesterday that this Address lacks in hopes and inspiration for the people.

I have both the copies of the President's Address, the one which was delivered on the 11th July, 1991 and also the one which was delivered on the 20th December, 1989 when Shri V. P. Singh formed the Government. At that time it was said that the Government was formed with the committed support of the Left parties and also with the support of the BJP. What is the difference between the two Addresses ? What hopes and aspirations were there in that Address ? Even in West Bengal where Mr. Jyoti Basu is the Chief Minister, they have not spelt out the details in the Governor's Address; policies are there, indications are there, but they have not spelt out the details. If you are spelling out even the details in the President's Address, then I am afraid Shri Chatterjee might complain that what was the head for consideration. When details have already been spelled out in the Address. So, today the situation demands that a different type of atmosphere should prevail in our country. The Opposition should not run with the hare and hunt with the hound. Therefore, I would say that it is time for a new era as the hon. Prime Minister has aptly stated.

SHRI PIYUS TIRKEY (Alipurdwar) :
Madam, I am on a point of order. There is no quorum in the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The bell is being rung—

There is quorum. The hon. Member Shri Sriballav Panigrahi, may continue.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI :
Madam, I was referring to the verdict of

the people which is in favour of the Congress Party to run the affairs of the country, to form the Government and get the cooperation of the Opposition on the basis of issues and on the basis of consensus on national issues. The Prime Minister has also rightly said on the floor of this House that there could be a national agenda prepared and it is time for all of us, particularly for the party leaders to apply their mind, to sit together and work out details. Otherwise, the people will not tolerate another election now. During the last 18 months, we have gone to the people twice and if we go again, it is against the national interest; people will not relish that.

Of course, earlier we were not accustomed to this type of situation. This type of situation is prevailing outside India, in many foreign countries and we have to get accustomed to it, since twice the people have given this type of mandate where no single party, no party on its own could form a Government. Naturally that requires adjustment amongst ourselves. The situation demands adjustment between the political leaders, political parties among themselves to run the affairs of the country.

This Government has started some work in right earnest. As you know, things were in a mess and this Government is required to clear the mess created by the previous Governments. I do not like to blame anybody for this. But the outcome of what they have done during the last 18 months is, the coffer is empty and we have to mortgage our gold. This was required to salvage the national prestige, the prestige of the nation. Naturally devaluation of rupee took place. You may call it adjustment of rupee against foreign currency.

It is not charitable on the part of the Opposition to criticise in such a way the Election Commission. The Chief Election Commissioner is not an individual. The Election Commission is an independent institution, an autonomous institution and some of its decision may not be to our liking. Madam, I would like to remind the Opposition who are critical of the role of

the Election Commission. When the Punjab election date was deferred, they were critical of the Election Commission. But I welcome that decision of the Election Commission to postpone the date till 25th of September. If the elections were held or allowed to be held in Punjab on the earlier day, would that have been free and fair elections, especially when 24 candidates were already killed and many candidates were taking shelter in the police stations? Who would have turned up as voters in the polling stations and how many real voters would have come?

As Sardar Buta Singh while moving the Motion said, the militants declared that it was a referendum for them to go for Khalistan. What would have happened when the militants in that process formed the Government at the State? I apprehend that had the elections been held as scheduled, the militants would have gone for the resolution being passed on the floor of the Assembly for Khalistan.

The Opposition are talking about the postponement of Punjab elections. But I would say, after the tragic assassination of Shri Rajivji, the elections were unilaterally deferred to 12th to 15th of June. The advancement of the election dates was demanded by the Congress-I but it was not headed by the Election Commission. But we do not entertain any grievance against the Election Commission.

When the symbol case of BJP friends came for freezing of that symbol as demanded rightly by all of us, as it should be the endeavour of all of us to separate religion from politics, what did the BJP friends do? When the Election Commission wanted to freeze the election symbol of BJP, the BJP friends who claim to be very much democratic, went to the streets. They took the issue to the streets. Was it not a fact?

What happened in Bihar? We know about the rigging take place in large scale, booth capturing in large scale. One gentleman was running the show. He has mastered the art of rigging election.

2602 ISS/91—19

The Chief Minister of Bihar has mastered the art of rigging the election and the outcome of such rigging. (*Interruptions*) I want to go on record. I do not want to be shouted down. I know my point. I said it. I want to go on record. Because of only large-scale rigging, we saw the type of result that has come in Bihar. Regardless of voting, the Returning Officers and the Collectors were instructed to declare the candidates, of only one political party as elected. Was it not a fact? Did he not say it?

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) : I am on a point of order. The hon. Member said that the Chief Minister of Bihar has master-minded the rigging in the last election. Will it go on record?

MR CHAIRMAN : Yes. It will go on record.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Why? Are we discussing about the elections in Bihar? Are we discussing about the character of Mr. Mishra? This is wrong.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI : I said it. There is no secret about it.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani) : This afternoon I have submitted that seven persons have been killed in my Constituency, five of them Muslims and two Scheduled Caste people. All have been killed unfortunately by my friend, the Leader of the Bihar Congress Party, Dr. Jagannath Mishra. They could not arrest the people.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI : Newspaper reports suggest it. It is common knowledge as to who did what in Bihar during elections. O.K.

Regarding Punjab elections, I was saying that not only the elections should not be held in Punjab as long as normalcy is not restored. Together with the restoration of normalcy, the relevant laws should be amended. What is the amendment? Anybody who advocates secession and becomes a party to it should be prohibited from contesting in the elections. Nobody can go to the extent of demanding secession in

Assembly or in the Legislature. As a matter of abundant precaution for future, unless the relevant laws, the Representation of People Act, is amended properly, we should not go for election there. Not only Congress but some other Parties also were thinking in terms of boycotting the elections in the prevailing situation there. When Congress boycotted, some other Parties also decided to boycott. This election process that is going on should be cancelled. Election process should start afresh in Punjab. (*Interruptions*).

As regards economic reforms, as I said, everywhere, in the socialist countries also, rigorous economic reforms are now going on and, therefore, we should also go in for economic reforms and liberalise our economy. At the same time, we have to keep in our mind the national objective of growth with social justice. We have our objective of democratic socialism, which does not permit accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals. It is also not a healthy trend to permit certain provinces to advance and others to lag behind. There should be healthy and balanced development of all regions and of all sections of the society. They should stand to gain. They should all benefit by our planning and our development schemes.

As regards public sector, there is a reference of the reforms to be brought about in our public sector. That is the need of the hour. Unless the Public Sector prospers, our very objective of socialism will get defeated, will be defeated. Of course, Shri Rabi Ray ji is not here. I agree with him when he was expressing anxiety. He was feeling concerned with the growth, about the phenomenal, growth of monopoly houses. But at the same time I would like to say that when mixed economy is our economic policy, they will grow. We have gone for mixed economy. At the same time, we have to ensure the very basis of Gandhian economic policy based on trusteeship to operate.

MR. CHAIRMAN : May I request the Hon. Member to wind up now ?

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI : I am trying to wind up. Please give me

some time. Actually, in letter and spirit, we should give a look at the Gandhian economic philosophy which is based on trusteeship. We should observe this at least in respect of the monopoly houses. Of course, there are changes taking place. If the Opposition friends hurl accusations at the Congress, what is the use ? Of course, the Congress was ruling the country for four decades. Has not enough development taken place in the country ? At the time of Independence, India was just not capable of producing a pen, a blade. That India today does enjoy the reputation of being one among the ten most industrially advanced countries in the world. Is it not a tribute to India, to the progress we have made so far under the Congress regime ?

Sir, our agricultural production has gone manifold, more than three times, 300 percentage. Is it not a tribute to our peasantry, to our farmers that too during the period of Congress administration ? Therefore, they should not undermine everything that we have made. We have our limitations. At the same time our population also has grown manifold. That is our main problem. It has increased more than double. Therefore, I will say pinpointedly that wasteful expenditure has to be curtailed, economy has to be observed. Then, public sector accountability has to be fixed. While appointing the managers, care should be taken. I am constrained to observe that today many of our managers in public sector are behaving like princes. We have done away with the princely States. But they are replaced by these people, some of the IAS officers, some of the senior bureaucrats as also these industrial managers in the public sector. Therefore, accountability has to be fixed. More freedom be given to them. Workers participation has to be ensured. Thus, a new work culture in our public sector has to be evolved. There should be a new work culture, new political culture. By new political culture I mean judging the situation of today as to what is required now. We should adjust among ourselves. We should become realistic in our approach. We should become more practical and approach this problem in that light. Madam, I will finish in a few minutes. About

communal harmony and Mandal Commission I would like to give my opinion. Communal harmony should be maintained. Regarding Babri Masjid, right type of approach has been reflected in the President's Address. The other day I was hearing Hon. Member Shri Dixit. He was saying that his party, right from the beginning, abides by the court decision. As far as this issue is concerned, there should be an attempt to settle this matter through a negotiated settlement, through mutual discussion. (Interruptions). I wish it should succeed. If that fails, would the court decision is to be honoured. The matter is now pending in the Division Bench of the Allahabad High Court. Everybody should abide by the court decision including the BJP. What is the harm? I heard with rapt attention when Shri Dixit spoke. He said there are other court judgements and they are abiding by that. If they are abiding by the court decision till today, why not they abide by it as far as the last one is concerned.

Shri Rabi Ray was speaking yesterday about the Mandal Commission, about the economic criteria. Things are changing. He is opposed to caste-based politics, casteism as such. I feel personally that we should do away with casteism, the caste system. We are all committed to fight out backwardness, we are all committed to fight out poverty. Where is the problem? Reservation should be ensured for socially and economically backward people. Is it not a fact some of the communities, some of the castes which are today the richest in the society find a place in the list of OBC according to Mandal Commission's Report? Should every benefit go to them without any consideration? Is it a justice? Is it a right type of justice, social justice? In the interest of justice, in the interest of progress, let us not take the country backward. Let us take the country forward and the economic criteria as suggested in the Presidential Address should be rigorously followed.

I have told you about the regional imbalance. I welcome this particular sentence 'steps will be taken for the rapid economic development of Assam'. I welcome this

because you know about the discontentment which grew in Assam and also the culminating effect of it—how it finds expression in different unpleasant forms and in several other parts including Orissa. Such situation may arise unless remedial measures are taken right from now. Now let us read the writings on the wall. Let us evolve a system so that no area, no State, no region should be left backward.

While coming to Orissa, I emphatically say that the Western Orissa is being discriminated politically and economically very much in the matter of economic development. That is why I request to invoke the constitutional provision under Article 371 and an autonomous regional development council should be set up for Western Orissa. (Interruptions). Yes, there should be a regional development council for Kalahandi, Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Bolangir etc. If you talk of consensus we can sit together and decide about each area. We will not allow the coastal domination in Orissa. In Shri Biju Patnaik's Cabinet there are 36 or 37 Ministers and out of that, representation from the Western district is just four or five. And that too, they are not senior ministers. They have got minor portfolios. This is the type of treatment meted out to Western Orissa. That is why, in the national interest, in the larger national interest of unity and integrity what is required is to fight out regional imbalance to ensure healthy development of all regions and also to see that property and assets do not get accumulated in a few hands and they should be spread over.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) : There should be one Central Minister from Western Orissa. If you recommend to the Prime Minister that there should be a representation from the Western Orissa, there should be a representation to the coastal area also. (Interruptions).

MR CHAIRMAN : Don't you want other Members from your party also to speak? There is a long list before me. (Interruptions).

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI : There is one very welcome feature in the

President's Address (*Interruptions*) Generally when we have a Madam Chairman in the Chair, we feel inspired and also we get very kind support from the Chair. I believe you will not disturb me till I close.

Now there is a mention about the drinking water scheme, which is very much needed every where, dedicated to the memory of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

I welcome this. I hope this will work well keeping the true spirit of this scheme.

Madam, I now close with one or two sentences. There should be one national energy policy and a national wage policy. The Government should apply its mind to the formulation of a national energy policy and a national wage policy. It is a matter of great concern. I think everybody is concerned that till today many parts of our country have not had sufficient rains. The rain God is not favourable. It is not kind enough to all the parts. Therefore right from now the Government should have a vigil over the situation, take stock of the situation and also take precautionary measures. I think there is enough time for the rains to come and the situation to improve. But failing that the situation should not overtake us, we should remain well prepared right from now so that no impending drought threatens us.

I express my gratitude to the Parliamentary Affairs Minister who has given me this opportunity to speak on this occasion. I am grateful to you Madam for having given me sufficient time to express myself. Madam, it is time for the whole country and as the representatives of the people for us to feel exercised over the future of our democracy, over the future of our economy, over the future of our young generations and also about the political uncertainty. That is why to tackle the situation that lies ahead of all of us according to the verdict of the people—we should go into the verdict of the people in right perspective without nailing abuses against each other—we should build up a national consensus. We should see that this Government runs with their cooperation from the opposition and this Government

gets adequate opportunity to implement its manifesto.

[*Translation*]

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU (Secundrabad) I rise to oppose the motion of Thanks on President's Address because the Address has failed to reflect at length the various problems confronted by the country at present, whether they are political or economic. This Address has failed to make a detailed mention of the problems of unemployment, price rise and the problems faced by the industries. It has also failed to mention the steps proposed to be taken to overcome these problems. When Shri Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated during electioneering, all the political parties in the election fray suspended their election campaigns as all of us were grief-stricken. I represent the Secundrabad constituency of Andhra Pradesh. Riots took place in Andhra Pradesh after the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and people were instigated to indulge in violence. Some thing happened in Tamil Nadu.

I can give you an instance. You have heard about the character of Dushshashin of Mahabharata and we have also heard about Kainsi. Shri Buti Singh is not present in the House now. He says that the Congress culture is the culture of the nation. I want to tell him as to what happened on 22nd May in Wiymsai Mandal Mulipadu village of Khimmun district of Andhra Pradesh to which former Union Minister Shri J. Venkatarao belongs. A mother and her daughter were running a shop there. They were asked to close down their shop in the wake of assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. That woman closed her shop at that moment but the Congress workers repeated that very act with her which Dushshashin had done in Mahabharata. They stripped the young lady and made a scar mark on her foot.

Similarly, what was done with the one and a half year old daughter of Shri Ram Mohan Rao who is a worker of Telugu Desam Party? How was she concerned with the Rajiv Gandhi's assassination? Those workers threw the child on the road.

What was her fault ? What had the child done ? I would like to mention another incident relating to the four year old child of Vijayawada. (*Interruptions*). Not only this, the child died immediately. Andhra Pradesh suffered a loss of property to the tune of Rs. 70 crores. Shops and factories belonging to B.J.P., T.D., C.P.M. and C.P.I. people were looted in the presence of police. I would ask the Government as to how all this happened ? I gave a memorandum to the Governor and met the Director General of Police in person but riots and looting continued unabated on the 22nd.

I would like to bring to your notice another incident. A wine shop was looted on 21st. Some *goondas* were involved in the looting spree and it was done at the instance of the Congress Party. I would like to ask whether this is the Congress culture ? When the B. J. P. leader Shri Deen Dayal Upadhyay was assassinated, we protested peacefully to express our grief, but so far as burning of hotels in Tamil Nadu and in my own constituency is concerned, it was the handiwork of Congress workers. Therefore, I would like to point out that such incidents which took place in the country, especially in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere find no mention in the President's Address which is very distressing. Besides, the Government has neither appointed any Supreme Court Judge to go into this matter nor any report has so far been received from any inquiry committee so as to enable the affected parties get justice. Not only that, even the Police office in whose presence the dacoity was committed, has not so far been suspended. No action has been taken against him. Therefore, I express my resentment over the failure to mention this thing in the President's Address.

At the same time, there is no mention about the unemployed people in the President's Address. The number of unemployed people registered with the employment exchange in the country is 32.077 millions. Previously when the Congress Party was in power, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana was announced and it was said that an alloca-

tion of Rs. 2100 crore would be made under this scheme to provide employment to educated unemployed. Another scheme to provide jobs to the urban unemployed people was announced with an outlay of Rs. 467.14 crore. But no loan under this scheme has so far been given to any Corporation in Andhra Pradesh including the Hyderabad Corporation. Therefore, I would like to say that this announcement was made only to get publicity. I have got the figures with me. An allocation of Rs. 2567 crore was made under the Self Employment Scheme for the unemployed youth, but this amount was grossly misused. I demand that a committee should be appointed to look into it. Coming to sky-rocketting prices, I would say that the Congress Party had promised in its election manifesto to bring down the prices of essential commodities to the 1990 level. The item that were included in their manifesto under the list of essential commodities were diesel, kerosene, salt, edible oils, bicycles, scooters, dhotis, sarees, newsprint, post card and inland letter. But I am distressed to point out that kerosene is not available in villages and supply of electricity is very erratic. The price of kerosene has risen by 22.4 per cent. The wholesale price index has registered an increase of 24.2 per cent during the period April, 1990 to April 1991. Salt is an ordinary commodity. It used to be distributed free, but its price also has risen by 12.7 per cent. Similarly the prices of edible oils, have registered an increase of 16.7 per cent and that of cotton sarees by 9 per cent. The prices of post card and envelopes which are used common man have gone up by 33.3 per cent. No concrete suggestion has been given in this regard in the President's Address.

Friends, some of my colleagues have referred to communalism. The issue of communalism and Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid is being debated here. Yesterday, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan was saying something. He said that minorities are not being given their due share. I want to ask him as to who is the Election Commissioner, Shri Seshan ? Who is the President ? To what community the Captain of the Indian Cricket Team, Ajharuddin

belongs to? Was not Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed the President of the country? I want to say that a race has begun between the national front and the Congress Party to the voters belonging to the minorities. By doing so, they want to create a fear psychosis in the minds of the minorities in the countries. They had been doing so in the past also. I am from Hyderabad. Riots took place recently in old city of Hyderabad. Atrocities were committed there on Hindus.

[English]

Thirty four persons were murdered in cold blood.

[Translation]

Nobody talks of minorities there. No political party is ready to take about 25 lakh refugees, who have been forced to leave Kashmir, are now living on the foot paths of Delhi. What type of communalism is it?

[English]

Minorities are minorities whether they are Hindus or Muslims. (Interruptions)

(Translation)

The Hon Prime Minister spoke about the Industrial policy and a lot has been said about industrialisation in the country here in the House. In my constituency Secunderabad there is an IDPI factory which has been suffering a loss of Rs 50 crore every year. There are about 5000 employees in that factory. The position today is that for last two months the management does not even have enough funds to pay salary to its employees. If the Government is suffering a loss of Rs 50 crore from one factory alone it can be well imagined the amount of loss it must be suffering in respect of the rest of the Public Sector Undertaking. That must be the tune of thousands of crores. Crores of rupees are being wasted on this account and desired results are not being achieved. There is no accountability. Therefore there is a need to have a fresh look at the Industrial Policy in this context. Even after spending crores of rupees

drinking water is not available in the villages of the country. You can find many such villages in Rayalseema and Telangana regions where drinking water is not available. People are dying because chlorine treated water is not available. I am distressed to say that about 480 people have died in Andhra Pradesh because of drinking polluted water and most of them are women. But nobody has bothered to pay attention to it. A very untoward situation in the State has been created because of water and air pollution. But there is no mention of it in the President's Address. (Interruptions) The same is the position in regard to elections. The news papers have discussed a lot about the way elections were held in Bihar. You must have also read about it. I would not like to repeat here as to what happened in Bihar during the elections. There was large scale rigging and use of muscle power in the State. Innocent people were not allowed to cast their votes. I have read in the newspapers that this was done in UP also particularly in the Chief Ministers constituency where he entered the polling booths with a revolver. He had said that he would not allow holding of elections for the next six years. Similarly every body is aware of the way Shri Ishwar Choudhary was assassinated in Bihar. He was a candidate of the BJP. A report making startling revelations has been received but I do not feel it necessary to make a special mention of it here. There has been more than 90 per cent poll in 180 polling booths in Hyderabad Constituency in Andhra Pradesh. In some of them there has been even 106 to 107 per cent poll. A photograph published in the local daily 'Eradu' shows a 10 year old boy casting his vote. In the photograph eight year old boys have been shown standing in a queue for last votes. There has been large scale rigging and we registered our complaint with the Election Commission in this regard but in vain. Election has not been counted in any where. Even though more than 90 per cent votes had been cast in more than 180 polling booths a certain person was declared elected without looking into the complaints. What type of justice is this? It is a matter of great regret that the

~~NNNN, 1/18.55/17.7.91/GK~~

Shri P.C.Chacko(Trichur): Hon.Chair Person, I stand before this august House to support the motion of thanks to the Address of His Excellency the President, moved by Shri Buta Singh and seconded by my young friend, Shri Chennithala. Madam, I do it with great pleasure because the citizens - the electorate - of this country expect that every member of this House, whether he belongs to this party or that party, should be grateful to the President of India for his Address because he has kept the democratic process of the country on the move.

✓ Madam, in the last few days, we have seen in this House a Government which against all heavy odds is trying to go ahead to fulfil the aspirations of the people of this country. However tough is the task ahead, however difficult is the situation politically and economically, the determination of the Government is well expressed in this House. And we have also seen the Opposition. Veterans of the Opposition Parties, people like Shri Indrajit Gupta could not conceal their confusion and they were admitting that they were opposing this Government merely for the sake of opposition. It is unfortunate that we have now landed in such a sad plight. I wish that the veteran and experienced leaders of the opposition should give this