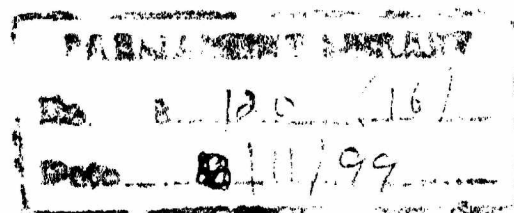


LOK SABHA DEBATES

(English Version)

Fifth Session
(Eleventh Lok Sabha)

**SPECIAL SITTINGS TO COMMEMORATE
THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF
INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE**



(Vol. XVII contains No. 18 to 23)

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NEW DELHI

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PREFACE

The elected representatives of the country met for six days in a special session of the Lok Sabha and made an endeavour to review the performance of the country during the past five decades with respect to five important areas namely, the functioning of our democratic institutions; management of economy; development of basic infrastructures; achievements and potential in the field of science and technology and the state of human development.

Hon. Speaker made history by initiating the discussion himself for the first time. He addressed the House under Rule 360 of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. He gave a call for "second freedom struggle". He was of the view that this time struggle should be for 'freedom from our own contradictions between our prosperity and poverty, between the plenty of our resource endowments and the scarcity of their prudent management, between our culture of peace and tolerance and our current conduct sliding towards violence, intolerance and discrimination'. He invited the members to have free and frank discussion and take stock of the achievements since Independence, introspect on the inadequacies and set an agenda for the country for future.

The House considered the motion moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Leader of Opposition on behalf of leaders of all parties and groups in the Lok Sabha. The motion was moved under Rule 342 of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha.

Lok Sabha Secretariat brought out a comprehensive reference document entitled "Fifty Years of Indian Parliamentary Democracy" on the occasion to facilitate discussion in the House.

The special sittings of the House set several records. It was for the first time that special session of the House was convened to deliberate exclusively on a single motion. The House spent 64 hours and 29 minutes in discussing the motion which is a record in itself. As many as 209 members of the House including the Hon'ble Speaker, the Prime Minister and 9 Ministers spoke on the occasion. However, as the time was not enough to accommodate all the Hon'ble members who wished to speak 103 members including 5 Ministers laid their speeches on the Table of the House. In all 312 Members took part in the Debate which accounts for 57.25 per cent of the total strength (545) of the House. Shri P.C. Chacko, a member of panel of chairmen created history by presiding over the House continuously for 7 hours and 54 minutes from 00.30 hours to 08.24 hours on 31 August, 1997.

The discussions were marked by exemplary cordiality and orderliness.

On this historic occasion the House unanimously passed a resolution constituting an 'Agenda For India'.

Lok Sabha Secretariat has brought out the proceedings of these sittings both in English and Hindi as a separate special volume.

I hope these volumes in English and Hindi versions will serve as reference books for parliamentarians, historians, scholars, researchers and all other interested in the functioning of our Parliamentary democracy.

New Delhi;
October, 1997
Asvina, 1919 (Saka)

S. GOPALAN,
Secretary-General.

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*Written speeches were laid on the Table.

**He also laid on the Table some written portions of his speech.

Wednesday, August 27, 1997/Bhadra 5, 1919 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[English]

OBITUARY REFERENCE

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, I have to inform the House of the sad demise of one of our friends, Shri Babunath Singh.

Shri Babunath Singh was a Member from First to Fifth Lok Sabha representing Surguja Parliamentary constituency of Madhya Pradesh during 1952-77.

An agriculturist by profession, Shri Singh was an active social and political worker. He worked vigorously for more than two decades for the welfare and upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

During his long parliamentary career, he focussed the attention of the House to the problems faced by the under-privileged and the downtrodden.

Shri Babunath Singh passed away on 18th July, 1997 at Surguja at the age of 89 years.

We deeply mourn the loss of this friend and I am sure the House will join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved family.

The House may stand in silence for a short while as a mark of respect to the deceased.

11.02 hrs.

The Members then stood in silence for a short while.

11.03 hrs.

MOTION RE : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY—*Contd.*

MR. SPEAKER : Dr. Vyas to continue. Dr. Vyas, you have already taken ten minutes.

[Translation]

DR. GIRIJA VYAS (Udaipur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday, I discontinued my speech when I was speaking on the achievements made by the country.

We have made remarkable achievements after independence through planned economy and Five Year Plans. Our growth rate has increased from 3.5 per cent to 7 per cent. The investment rate has increased by 25 per cent. G.D.P. growth has gone upto 6-7 per cent. Yesterday, you expressed your concern in the House that we were getting lulled into green revolution complacency. Our seventy per cent population still lives in villages and they are engaged in agriculture. But, still the technology has not reached them. It seems that the dream of Green Revolution has remained half accomplished. Once we become self-sufficient, we do not think ahead of it.

As compared to population growth, agricultural growth is very slow. We should think as to how this growth could be increased by 1.3 per cent. I would also like to submit that Narasimha Rao Government had initiated the concept of liberalisation and we all had greeted this concept with open heart, but I fully agree with Shri George Fernandes that if this idea is implemented unbridled, then our country may lose its very existence. The data being received in this regard give ominous signals, therefore, the Parliament must consider this aspect. The MNCs are not only making our people corrupt but they want to have their full control over them by gradually alienating them. This is why, Pt. Nehru had propounded the concept of mixed economy and Gandhiji had gone further by saying that we would not develop economically, politically or socially without Gram Swaraj. What happened to that dream of Gram Swaraj? This point must be considered now after 50 years of independence.

Sir, one thing which often pained me, Alama Iqbal had said, "Kya Baat Hai Ki Hasti Mitati Nahin Hamari", Although, you had given a slight hint in your speech that we would have to think in regard to intellectuals and their state of affairs also. It appears that what Iqbal had said was in different context. No culture, idea or tradition can survive without heart and mind. Our lives have no meaning without culture. We are knocking at the door of 21st century. India will have the culture of science, art, computer, music, maths, philosophy, technology and literature also. If Gandhi had not been Gandhi, he would not have been a great thinker, writer, creator and social reformer. We all know as to how much we, politicians are remembered by the people. We are like water-bubbles which soon get lost into oblivion. Culturally, we are becoming shallow. I would like to put forth one point before the House. Last year, we did not celebrate the centenary of Gorakhpuri and Nirala. No

Government official ever thought about it. Gujralji is not present in the House at this moment. It is good that the Film Division has produced a film on Satish Gujral. Can we not make films on Ramkumar, Subrahmanyam, Habbar, Swaminathan and Sanyal? Can we not afford to spend some money on these artists and litterateurs. The hon. Prime Minister was to release a postal stamp on Gorakhpuri on 20th but due to his pre-occupations, he could not do so. I do not know when this stamp will be released now. Therefore, unless we preserve our culture and cultural heritage, it cannot last long. Narasimha Rao ji is not sitting here. But when his short stories are published, the concerned Ministry comes out with a proposal that a film should be made on him. Shri Atalji is also a good writer. Whether it is Satishji, V.P. Singh ji or myself, our literature is brought to light when we are in politics. But we do not have time to celebrate the centenaries of those artists and litterateurs who sacrificed a lot for this country. This issue should be considered seriously. I would like to request you to form a Parliamentary Committee like the one formed for women to consider as to how our culture could be preserved.

Sir, a Bill is also required to be brought with a view to sustaining our culture and cultural heritage. We can appreciate the song 'Vande Mataram' sung in pop and disco style but how many school children know about the composer of 'Vande Mataram'? Alas! We have not been able to create such a feeling. I still remember Atalji standing in a peeved, pensive and helpless mood when the Chief Minister of Delhi, Shri Sahib Singh Verma forgot to mention Gandhiji's and Pt. Nehru's name. We may celebrate the Golden Jubilee Celebrations by listening to pop music and dancing in discotheques but we should not forget those freedom fighters who were instrumental in achieving independence for us. If we forget the name of Gandhiji, what will be left with this country? Was he allergic to the name of Pt. Nehru that he could not mention him? I can understand his helplessness. I have seen him many a times facing embarrassing situations for himself. His reformist and modern outlook often gets silenced by the deeds of his party. Sir, it is not only true about him but about many of those who want to do something but cannot do. They have their own limitations. Therefore, if we want to keep this democracy alive, we will have to talk about 'Rashtra Dharma' with a new approach.

Sir, yesterday, Sharad ji was asking as to what type of religious serials were being telecast on T.V.? I would like to submit that we cannot misuse the religion in this country. This country has a unique feature that the definition of religion has changed according to our needs. Today, after 50 years of independence, there is need to evolve a new 'Dharma' i.e. 'Rashtra Dharma'.

Sir, I am aware of the constraint of time but I would like to state that this country would be obliged to you if you propound this new idea of i.e. 'Rashtra Dharma' from here. You have a lot to do. I remember a couplet in this regard—

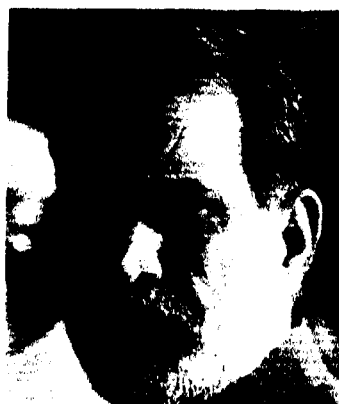
"Abhi to aur bhi raaten safar mein aayengi, chirage shab mere mehboob abhi sambhal ke rakh."

Sir, a new Bill on population and a Bill on women are to be brought here and you will have to make efforts to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of thousands and thousands of people from here. We will have to improve the image of our leaders. Millions of people living in far-off areas are looking forward to us and saying

"Ashna hokar tagaful ashna kyon ho gaye,
Bawafa the tum akhir bewafa kyon ho gaye"

We will have to fulfil it.

Sir, I would like to thank you once again for initiating this debate on this subject which is very apt and appropriate.



SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) . Mr. Speaker, Sir, we got independence 50 years ago. Before independence, we had witnessed and suffered the yoke of slavery and helplessness for 250 years. India was not a poor country. Yesterday, Atalji said that India was one of the richest countries of the world, but we were enslaved. When we got independence after two hundred and fifty years, we were included in the category of the poor countries of the world. We should go through pages of our history and only then we would come to know that our country has an ancient tradition and a glorious history. I would not go into the details of all this. Perhaps this reality has been fading away from our sight.

Sir, India is the only country in the world which was not invaded by any army and no ruler had sent any army to conquer this land. Three hundred and fifty years ago, a company had come here for trading purposes and made their officers as the leaders of their army and our countrymen were recruited as their soldiers and thus we lost our freedom. You would not find any parallel to it in the whole history of the world. When our friends ask about our present condition, we should keep in mind the helplessness of India, the sufferings of this country, the story of this helpless country alongwith the glorious history of India. Mahatma Gandhi

infused a new vigour in this dying country. In doing so, he tried to muster eternal strength of our people. He went from village to village. He felt the pulse of the masses by mixing with them. The freedom struggle waged by him, the programmes brought by him and ideals and objectives set by him before us, were based on our traditions. Every tradition has some good qualities. We do not say that perversion, conservatism and superstition did not creep into the history of thousands of years, but if we try to take our country forward taking into account the eternal strength of the society, the people of the country are prepared to extend their help.

During the period of freedom struggle, we did not have army or police. But Gandhi galvanised this unarmed country. Gandhi was not only a saint but a warrior. He was the Commander who had felt the pulse of the people of this country. Gandhiji gave us a clarion call to fight against injustice, exploitation and all sorts of atrocities committed against the human dignity. It was a new political philosophy in the world. The people who call themselves Gandhian, do not understand Gandhi. Not only in India, there was a trend all over the world that be good yourself, the world would become good. Many great saints and prophets were born. I am not going to browse those pages of history. They tried to make the people good, and it appeared as if the world was becoming good. Whether it was Lord Budha, Christ, Mohammad Sahib, Mahavir Swami all preached goodness and it appeared that the world was changing. But now again the same hatred and jealousy is surfacing before us. Man changed but the society did not change.

Then another experiment started all over the world. Many of our friends participated in it. Many of our young friends were also influenced by it that some how change the society, man would automatically change. We changed the society. An experiment continued in one-third of the world for 70 years, a hope was aroused and a lot of achievements were made. I do not say that it is a forgotten part of the history. In that, humanity learnt the lesson to fight for its dignity. But perversions crept into that also. The people who were united in the freedom struggle, also become enemies of each other. At the same time Mahatama Gandhi gave a new philosophy that if the society is to be changed, first change yourself. You can change the society only by changing yourself. Gandhiji used to say that if you want to change yourself, there is no need of bookish knowledge but there is a need of assimilating yourself with the suffering people and try to understand their sufferings. Go to the huts Mahatama Gandhi explained the constructive work by asking to do the cleaning work with one's own hand. Mahatama Gandhi asked the people to be self-dependent. We should remember that when we were rich,

we did not have big companies, we did not have developed technology. The muslin of Dhaka was famous in the world, the gold lace (zari) of Banaras, utensils of Moradabad, the printing of Rajasthan, the enamelling of Hyderabad, the work of art of the tribal villages of our country were exported and this country had become rich on their strength. Therefore, Mahatama Gandhi had said that the cottage industries and the rural artisans should be assisted. It was not all of a sudden that he said so. Gandhiji had realised the eternal strength and sublime in our traditions.

Mr. Speaker, today we have been forgetting all these things. Gandhiji did not give the slogan of secularism. Gandhiji had said that India is the only country where we believe that truth is one, God is one. Here at the door of this house it is written that truth is one and our sages take different routes to arrive at the truth. Gandhiji said that we should not quarrel over the routes to be adopted for reaching God. It was said not only by Gandhiji, but Lenin had also said so.

[English]

"Religion as an instrument of communion between man and God can be understood but if it enters the social and economic life it becomes a dangerous thing."

[Translation]

Mahatama Gandhi said that everyone should have freedom of worship. Therefore, there should not be any conflict between one religion and other. Equal respect was given to persons of all religions who came to India during these thousands of years and today we can say with pride that India is the only country where the people belonging to different religions can lead a respectful life. I do not want to go into the details. That is why Gandhiji had said, "Ishawar-Allah tere nam sabako sanmati de Bhagwan." All of us should ponder over the fact that whether that 'Sanmati' is there in us or not? We may or may not believe in religion or God, but if we believe in the human feelings and emotions, we should not fight in the name of God. In all our programmes during freedom struggle, he had said that the poor should be saved, when the Sun of freedom would appear, it would first shine over the hut of the poor. But that dream did not materialise, that confidence is nowhere. When Mahatma Gandhi created confidence, the poor thought that freedom would herald new prosperity in our country because the wealth which was being carried away across the seven seas by the Britishers, would be stopped but today after fifty years of independence people are despaired.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, pardon me, if I say a bitter thing. You said that we have to start another struggle for freedom. I

was shocked to hear from you because it gave an impression that we have forgotten our freedom, India is free, the mentality of the people of this country is free. We, who are responsible for making this country, our mentality is not free. Who are not enthusiastic about freedom? Five per cent people, one and a half per cent people who pay income tax, some Government employees, Members of Parliament and some so called educated people are having some apprehension. The crores of people who joined the freedom struggle at the clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi, were illiterate. Gandhiji had showed them the path of non-violence. The sun never set in the British Empire. Despite this Gandhiji made the people of this country stand against the mighty British Empire. Today people are the same and we should keep this in mind. We people have to remember it.

[English]

Nations are not built by ballots and bullets; nations are built by the will power of the people.

[Translation]

Mahatma Gandhi had awakened this will power. In this way, we got independence. The people of this country have changed but the will power has not. The land is the same. The Ganga, Yamuna, Narmada, Ravi, Beas and Kaveri are the same. The highest peak of Himalaya is in its place, Indian ocean and Arabian sea have not left their places. Wind is blowing in the same way.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are sitting here. It seems that we are moribund. We have been reduced to nothing and we have become helpless. After independence when we framed Constitution, we had mentioned all those things in the Directive Principles of the State. I do not want to repeat them before the House. It is enshrined in the Constitution that there will be no illiterate boy or girl in the age group of 14 years. I was listening to Sushmaji and Girijaji. Our veteran hon. Member Geetaji is sitting here. They have vociferously pleaded for 33 per cent reservation for the women in the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies. We have never heard from them that education should be provided to every girl and boy. If education is imparted to the girls, the problem of population would be solved to a certain extent. Why do we not think about these basic questions? We simply want to arouse feelings. Today politics is an irony. One of our colleagues calls politics as an irony but we have created this irony. Politics means to fight against hunger, thirst, illiteracy and unemployment. Politics does not mean to raise slogan, to link it with religion and caste. It has nothing to do with these issues. The biggest distortion in our politics is that instead of fighting against the human problems we are playing with human feelings. We will have to change this

attitude. If we do not change this attitude, we cannot do anything merely by giving speeches and by formulating programmes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, though I had also been in the Government for a short time. But I am not satisfied with the work done by the Governments. I have also criticised it. When anybody says that nothing has been done in 50 years in that case we feel that we have nothing to do with reality. Many countries of third world got independence alongwith us. Asia, Africa, Latin America and other countries had opted for democracy. This system has failed there but India is the only country where democracy is still continuing. Should we forget these traditions? The then Prime Minister and Members of Parliament had made efforts for this democracy. Thereafter, more importance was given to these institutions. Atal ji came here in 1957. I came in 1962. I remember when any issue was raised, Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru used to stand up and say, we are at fault and I beg pardon from the House. Can any Prime Minister of today dare say so? Can this courtesy be shown today? There was no doctrine in the name of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru but today our Prime Minister has a doctrine in his name. I do not know what is that doctrine? Today the result of that doctrine is reflecting on the borders. I am not saying so just for the sake of criticism we should be very careful in the use of the words particularly when we talk about the relations with other countries of the world in order to get praise in that case if we are not be careful, it would create problem for us.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am submitting all these points because mistakes are being committed at many levels. Do we think about poverty? How many times discussion on poverty has been held in the Parliament during the last one year? Geetaji, I would like to submit as you know about yester years that there are lakhs of women in the country who give birth to children who become handicapped as they do not get sufficient food. Many children become blind in the age of six years. There are a large number of illiterates in our country. Should we not discuss these matters?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are inviting foreigners. They will come with latest technology. Where will our crores of people go? Tall claims are made about the achievements that we have made. I admit that we have made many achievements. In 1947 we were on the verge of famine. The world was saying that our people would die of hunger but our farmers worked hard. Our agriculture scientists also worked hard. We made progress in the field of foodgrains. But Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very easy to praise yourself. We are one of these 11 countries where per capita food consumption is the lowest that is 200 kgs. We claim to be self-sufficient in the matter of foodgrains. Recently an institution had

organised a seminar on Food for All. I will not go into the details but we have made progress in this field. Punjab, Haryana, West Bengal and other States have made lot of contribution in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have made all-round development in industrial sector. Today our Finance Minister is not here. Once I had said to the then Finance Minister that I could accept every thing but I could not accept it that Dr. Manmohan Singh and Shri Narasimha Rao were more farsighted than Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and others. I am not able to understand it. We had followed a path but not due to any obstinacy. Today public sector undertakings are criticized. Somnathji, perhaps you might be remembering that when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had gone to U.S.A. with a request to set up a Steel Plant here, the then American President had said that you purchase steel from here, we would supply at lower price, why would you make investment in it unnecessarily. Pt. Nehru had replied—

[English]

"A country of India's size can not depend on foreign sources for capital goods".

[Translation]

Today we are told that steel is being supplied at lower price. I am not criticizing Steel Plant but there was a system. None of the industrialists was interested to invest in the steel. Even Tata was not interested to invest in the field of power generation. All these efforts were made to make the country self-reliant and to implement the slogan of self-sufficiency raised by Mahatma Gandhi. Today our colleagues of Congress remember Jawahar Lalji but at the same time they praise liberalization from the core of heart. I am glad to know that Girija has different line of thinking. It appears to me that people will understand it gradually.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say that the works done earlier are being forgotten today. Today, there is a need to rethink over these issues. The world is very cruel. Nobody helps that country which is not prepared to help itself. Whom we are looking forward to help us? Do we want to develop this country with the help of those countries which sow seeds of quarrel amongst poor countries and incite blood shedding. I had told big politician of America about this. He had asked me why we were against their policies. I had said that I had been to America only once and I had stayed for two days in New York. I had seen black people with begging bowl at each crossing. The people in power can understand that they could not provide respectful life to 1.5 crores of people, then how would they provide respectable life to 40 crores poor people of this country. I

am not a politician, I am not an economist, I am only human being and a human being learns from experience. That is why I am opposed to it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today these questions must be discussed. It is the question of poverty, hunger and drinking water. I remember when I had returned after 'Padyatra' in 1983, I had issued a statement in Delhi that water problem was the most acute problem. I had urged upon to solve the problem of drinking water and not of irrigation water. A newspaper had written an editorial that Chandrashekhar had walked on foot for six months and he had seen thirsty people on the way. Mr. Speaker, Sir, is it not true that not even a single capital of our States including Delhi, is free from the acute problem of water? We are not able to provide drinking water to people. How many people are dying from malnutrition? It is said that they have not died of hunger but due to diarrhoea. Hunger is not like a bullet which kills somebody spontaneously. The man dies from hunger slowly. Shri Bhakta Charan Dass of Kalahandi always raises the issue of starvation deaths in this House. The Government has failed to define whether they died of hunger or diarrhoea. Today, we will have to think over these questions and if we have to chalk out programmes, the proposal presented by Atalji should be accepted and we should strive for fulfilling the minimum requirements of the people. Every person must get that much of food or fruits which is necessary for his or her survival and good health. Every person must get drinking water and education should be imparted to every child. Leave aside the illiterates, if the persons who will be a part of the history after 20 years, will remain illiterate, then they will have no place in the world. If someone falls ill, he should not be compelled to die helplessly. If we do these three-four works then there will be only one work left. He should be made a healthy citizen and there should not be any discrimination in the name of caste and religion. Everyone has a right to lead a respectable life. This was the message of freedom, these were the basic principles of our freedom, but these questions are not discussed. Yesterday, when speeches were being made our friend and the spokesman of the Congress is not sitting here, it did not seem as if it was the same House, because the atmosphere was changed. There are always speeches on secularism and all that.

The issue of secularism is being over played. Why is there so much of concern for one particular religion and no concern for another? I would like to remind Nirmalji the words of Lenin that "Leave the religion for other people." It is not that if someone has fanaticism for Hindu religion he is labelled wrong and if some other has fanaticism for Muslim religion he is held right. It cannot be there. I know that minorities have their problems, minorities have a psyche. We must try to understand it. All the minority people in the

world convey their feelings bitterly. We must have tolerance for them in hearts and that is why not only in our country but people in the world have said that while dealing with the problems of minority people, we should act with a sense of affection, tolerance and sympathy. They must be heard for their socio-economic rights. It is not like that the House should not sit on Friday at 1.30 p.m. for offering Namaz and on Tuesday to accommodate Bajrang Dal people to offer worship. This sort of question was raised. Is this House constituted for this purpose? Do we feel proud of ourselves when they stand up with one voice? There is need to define secularism once again. The definition is already there but there is need to redefine and modify it. We should not indulge in the politics of untouchability. They say that they have nothing to do with the BJP people but no one asks us. All the progressive people here talk to Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Jaswant Singh daily about the manner in which the Parliament is to be run. Here Sontosh Mohan Dev discusses with them, and outside he calls them untouchables. It is not the way to build the country. We should change it. Secularism says that be it Hindu or Muslim, there should not be any attack on the religious feelings. But this Parliament is not the place for that. When the feelings had been hurt somewhere, some of our friends had vented their anger on the other day and had said that we had ordered for firing. I had said then that government had some responsibilities. If there is attack on any religion I am not talking about Muslims or Christians only but Hindu religion also. It is the responsibility of government to use its powers to control it and bring normalcy. This government is not any orphanage that we should request for each and every issue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a discussion going on in this country in regard to corruption. Everyone speaks about corruption and it is said that we are among the eight corrupt countries of the world. Who has said this? In this country 95 per cent of the people toil day and night and feed their families. The remaining five percent people may be corrupt. There are chances of their being corrupt. Many of them are honest. There are many Members in this House who serve the people honestly. I know the Government employees who are living their life honestly. Our army brothers on the borders are ready to sacrifice their lives honestly. History is full of stories of sacrifices of our police personnel, be they from the BSF or the CRPF. Are these people corrupt? Is this five per cent constitutes the nation? Out of these many are honest people. 95 per cent people of this country are honest. But the President mentions corruption in his Address and the Prime Minister opens a cell for checking corruption. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I don't want to highlight personal issue. But these things deeply hurt me. On 15th August, at about 11 A.M. the Inter-net people came to me and they requested

for my interview. One of them asked a question relating to Independence. The second question was that the Prime Minister and the President of India term the Hindustan as a corrupt country. They requested for my comments in this regard. Another question was asked by an American. I said that the people talking such thing had lost their self-confidence and they had been suffering from some inferiority complex. I further said that 95 per cent people of this country were honest and that India was amongst the most honest countries of the world. The five per cent people do not constitute a nation. 95 per cent people are the nation. The five per cent people have not brought freedom to this country. 95 per cent of the population comprising the poor, farmers, labourers toiling masses and youth fought for the Independence of the country. We pull each other's legs on the issue of corruption, we even cross all the limits and then the people sitting in higher positions say that the entire Parliament and all the politicians are corrupt. A few days back, I read a statement of a political leader. He opined that politics would not do any good. All scholars of politics had conceived the idea of democracy after a lot of thoughtful consideration. But now new thinkers are emerging. No one tells us as to what should be done instead of politics and who should replace the Parliament. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to make any criticism. History bears testimony to the fact that every crime is always exposed. There is no criminal who can escape from the dragnet of laws even for 10 days, 15 days or one or two years. But when the persons holding higher offices encroach upon their jurisdiction it sounds a death knell for the system for years and sometimes for centuries together. Today, the judiciary or for that matter, the media does not see anything except corruption. Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have no concern for 95 per cent population who fought for the Independence of the country and made sacrifices. It is said that laws are there to check corruption. The Prime Minister is a very close friend of mine. He had given a statement in the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and asked the industrialists to inform him if someone from his Cabinet demands bribe. The Hon. Prime Minister does not seem to know that nobody goes to industrialists for bribe. Few industrialists always compete with each other to outdo others, in bribing the Ministers for favours. Now, who will make complaints against whom. If the people occupying high offices work just for the sake of earning a name and fame in newspapers and that too away from reality, this country will not progress. There are laws and police agencies to check corruption. The other day, I had told my friend Mr. Jaswant Singh that I did not want to raise the issue of Bofors because in 1987 when this issue was raised I was not the Member of Parliament. When the journalists asked me about this, I told them that this was the job of the Police Inspectors. Then V.P. Singh Government came to power. At that time also, I had said

the same thing. When I was in the Government, I had said in this House that this was not the job of the Prime Minister and the Police Inspector had investigated the case, no one would interfere in his investigations and if any case had been filed in this regard then the guilty would be punished. Thereafter, Narasimha Rao's and Deve Gowda's Government came to power. During their regime too, the Bofors case continued to hog the limelight. Then there was a hue and cry that documents had been obtained from Switzerland and everyone would be exposed. Shri Jaswant Singh has raised this issue here with great enthusiasm. The discussions continued day long and in the evening, Shri Khalapji said from here that they had received a fax from Switzerland and they had signed a Memorandum of Understanding during V.P. Singh's regime and these documents would be handed over to Police Officials only and if there was any charge against anyone then these documents would be handed over to Court. The entire Parliament was silent after hearing Mr. Khalap's Statement. Then news appeared in newspapers and Editorials were written. Ten day's prior to Shri Khalap's statement a leading Newspaper from Delhi wrote that the Saint of Bhondasi said that this was a Police Inspector's job and he did not think that it was the question of life and death for the country. When I told this thing to Jaswant Singh, everyone was silent? Why? Ten years back, when I had said that this was Police Inspector's job, it was criticised. After ten years, when Switzerland Court informed you, you realised this thing. Now, no statement comes in any newspaper, no one raises this question in the Parliament. Cannot we think even this much, cannot we work with responsibility?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are talking a lot about corruption but what's the way out for checking corruption?(Interruptions) I am not talking about multinationals, they are honest. Wherever they went, they spread a message of honesty. These multinationals have come to our country. Recently, one industrialist offered to give five per cent of their profit for the election fund and also assured of the same from others. Shri Atalji wants the Government to bear the election expenses. There is nothing to be worried. If multinationals come to our country, then many parties will receive the funds. The Government too need not to be concerned about this. It will help build a society of honest people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would say that discussions should be held on this basic question. The people in power and others should confine themselves to limitations when our Prime Minister says—

[English]

'I am ashamed of being a Prime Minister.'

[Translation]

When our Chief Justice says that he is being pressurised, and when you say angrily—

[English]

'I am ashamed of being a Speaker.'

[Translation]

Then it hurts people like me. The situation is not so bad which compell one to say that he or she is helpless. If any person feels ashamed despite holding such an honourable post, then he should quit because it is a right of every person. One should not govern the nation while feeling ashamed. When such things are being said and these appear in the newspapers, it weakens the will power of the country. I do not have any complaints against anyone not even against any Member of Parliament. Whatever we speak it directly affects the minds of the people of the country and also the feelings and will power of the people. There is a need to revive such a will power.

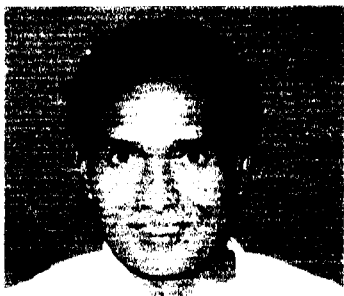
My friend Shri Murli Manohar Joshi daily issues statements against the Multinationals and asks everyone to do something. He daily convenes seminar but he fails to persuade his friends. Some say that we should go in for liberalisation only after due consideration and that it should be limited to some fields. While making such comments they think as if the liberalisation is taking place according to their wishes. It seems that they have not read the documents of W.T.O. wherein it has been said that they did not bother if the people die of starvation but they have freedom to exploit us. The rich people are free to loot the country and the poor people are lured by them to run behind them like a mirage.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, now it is the responsibility of the Members of Parliament to save the society and nation from this evil. If we go on criticizing each other, then we will reach no-where. I do not say that we should unite but cannot we formulate any programme based on two-four basic problems unitedly to fulfil the basic requirements of the people? 40 crores of illiterates, 5 crores high-school and M.A. pass girls and boys are moving from pillar to post in search of jobs. Cannot we provide them with job? 10 crores of our people have the capability to work in the fields and we have millions of acres of land in our country, which can be made cultivable. Cannot we provide this land to those people to make it cultivable. We have to think in this direction. There is a need to tap the country's potentialities.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to congratulate you for one thing, when you had said that a Special Session was being

called. I did not know that same old things would be repeated in this Special Session. Mr. Speaker, Sir, due to personal reasons. I cannot stay in the House till the end but I request you and also the Leader of Opposition and Leader of the House that if we can unite on some basic issues, if we can unite the people of the country, if we can revive the will power of country, as was done by Mahatma Gandhi, if we can awaken the will power of the people of the country and if we can resolve to do some work, then we can achieve much more.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we should not forget that we are not the last person in the history. We may fail but the country will not. This country will always be there. No power on this earth can destroy our country. If we could revive the unfathomed power of the people then I think this House has done its duty.



SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH (Aurangabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Special Session convened at your behest will prove to be quite beneficial for the country. We, too, feel elevated and enlightened by the scholarly debates here in this House. I extend my sincere thanks to you and other leaders for outlining the problems being faced by our country. I, too, would like to put certain things before the House. As has been said in the debate going on here that India is largely a rural country. 74 per cent of its population resides in villages and in the States like Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Tripura, Sikkim and Bihar. 85 per cent people live in the countryside. However, we have done little to translate Gandhiji's dream of 'Gramswarajya' into reality. I am underlining this fact here because if we want to strengthen and develop this country. We will have to fulfil the needs of the villages.

11.50 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, why are we lagging behind on the development front? There are schools and teachers

in the villages. But the appointment of teachers in these village schools are made from capital cities such as Patna and other places. Those people making appointments of teachers have no concern for the villages. Why the village people are not appointed teachers in the village schools. The powers to dismiss and ensure attendance of the teachers should also be vested with the village people. The teacher will not be accountable to the village if the authorities to appoint, supervise, suspend and discharge him are different. Therefore, the village people should be involved in the process of appointment of teachers, village development and in the overall supervision of village schools so as to take the country ahead on the path of development and prosperity.

Secondly, corruption is not the only issue before the country as stated by Shri Chandra Shekharji. Only 5 per cent people are involved in corruption and the rest 95 per cent population is not involved in corruption
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Hon. Members, no talks please.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 95 per cent of our population is not involved in corruption but 5 per cent people involved in corruption have lowered the morale of the rest of 95 per cent people. Why are these 5 per cent people not being checked? Why is not a scheme formulated in this regard? You just pay lip service to it. What kind of message you want to give by constituting a cell to weed out corruption. Why have you not taken concrete measures in this regard? Suppose there are 5 per cent people in the country who are corrupt and dishonest then, why their assets and properties are not assessed. You get a survey conducted on population after 10 years. You should also set up a Commission to carry out a survey of assets and properties of everyone and issue a card containing the details of property and assets. Therefore, bring out a powerful legislation stipulating that if a person is found involved in any corruption, in possession of disproportionate assets in the coming 10 years then, he will be awarded life imprisonment.

Then, who will be corrupt? If you bring out such legislation, why will the people then resort to corruption? The Government should conduct the assessment of the property owned by all whether they are intellectuals, lawyers, leaders, judges, bureaucrats, public functionaries or industrialists and make a declaration that an assessment would again be made after 10 years. You do not penalise anyone today. Whom would you punish today? If you penalise anyone today, then you would not be able to make a law as law maker themselves are involved in it.

You should not prescribe any punishment at present. You should make announcement about the nature of enquiry to be conducted in the coming ten years and the punishment to be given in the tenth year. If somebody has amassed disproportionate property in a particular survey year, he can be sentenced to life imprisonment. We do not favour capital punishment. Give life imprisonment to such person and you will see that corruption will not last any longer. You are not formulating any scheme in this regard. You are simply giving speeches.

Secondly, I would like to spell out the reason for the prevailing corruption or vying with each other for acquiring property or amassing wealth. The reason behind it is that on the one hand there are convent schools, on the other hand there are nursery schools. On the one side there is D.P.S. (Delhi Public School) and on the other donation colleges in which lakhs of rupees are to be paid as donation. Why such private schools are allowed in the country. There should be uniformity in schooling in the country in which children of the people of the entire country can get education. This will obviate the need of amassing wealth illegally. When our children do not have schools for their studies and we want to get them enrolled in good schools, then we have to mobilise funds for that purpose. We have to pay five to ten thousands rupees for their tuition for which we require money. It should be included in the fundamental rights. As Shri Chandra Shekharji was just saying there should be uniform education for all in the country. Why you do not think about it. A legislation should be enacted in this regard and made effective with immediate effect. A uniform and compulsory system of education to all should be implemented. There should be no private schools, no DPSs and no big schools. It should not be that children of high class gentry may join schools of high standard while children hailing from lower strata of the society may have no choice but to join schools of low standard. When a boy getting his education in the countryside says that there is hardly any education in the villages, what is the use of having education. Such type of education only distorts his mind. If you implement uniform education policy in the country, there will be no corruption and dishonesty.

You are talking of economic liberalisation. You think about the future. If you look back, you see that there was no foreign trade in this country when a sheet of Dhaka Malmal was so fine that it could be passed through a ring. There were no foreign industries in the country. This country had highly skilled people and engineers. Look to any temple constructed more than two thousands years ago and its sculpture, you will find how much advanced we were and how much advanced India was.

12.00 hrs.

It shows our mettle. We should ponder over it. You develop technology in the country itself. You are inviting foreign industries and capitalists. Today there is a scramble for liberalisation in the world. An industrialist had come and paved the way for our enslavement. Now that all the industrialists are coming, they will control us. We are seeing that milk is not available but you will get mineral water with foreign label in all offices. Whenever we go to attend any meeting we get mineral water with foreign label there. They say that it is refined and very good in quality. Which type of water is made available to the 99 per cent poor people of the country? Mineral water with foreign label is made available easily as they give commission openly. They have controlled over the entire department by giving commission upto 30-40-50 per cent. You are developing this tendency...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : I will conclude. There are so many problems but population is the most serious problem of the country. The pace of development is very slow while wrong data are presented in this regard. We are not making development in the same proportion as the growth of population. It is a reality and you will have to exercise control over it. If you think that population control is in the interest of the country and it would do good to the country and bring improvement in it, why do you not enact legislation in this regard*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Virendra Kumarji, 10 minutes were given to you but you have taken 14 minutes. Now you conclude.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, some members have spoken for 45 minutes while 10 minutes were given to them. Those who speak in soft tone and rhetorically are allowed to speak, there is no restriction on them. There should be restriction on it also. *(Interruptions)* The people of the country are watching us..... *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Yes, they are watching us. You have taken 14-15 minutes instead of 10 minutes. Now conclude. You need not blame others.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : I will conclude but*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What do you mean?

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH: But I would like to make some points ...*(Interruptions)* I suggest that just as we have fixed age limit for employment, in the same way, age limit should also be fixed for the politicians. Politicians

are veterans. They are considered as aged leaders. Such members are very shaky with their body and hands trembling. Their brain having stopped functioning. It is said in the villages that when a man becomes old, his memory gets weak. What is the reason behind it, it is the age of computers when a computer gets saturated, it requires a new software to replace the old one likewise, when the brain of old persons gets saturated it no longer accepts any new thing to store in its memory it becomes incapable of making any contribution to the country. Therefore, age limit should be fixed for the politicians. There should be a restriction in this matter. Age limit should be fixed for all the organs e.g. executive, judiciary and legislature. The brain of an old person does not function properly.....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What is the limit of your Speech? You are talking about the limit for others but there should also be a limit for your Speech. Conclude it now.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am concluding.....(Interruptions) Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir you are pointing me, repeatedly hence I am concluding my Speech. I wanted to make many points.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That is all right but there is a limitation of time.

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : We are certainly bound by the limitations. Before concluding my speech I would like to repeat it again that a definite criteria should be fixed for this limitation. It should not be the practice that a particular member may enjoy the liberty to speak daily, sit in front row, rise at any time to speak anything, and speak whatever and whenever he may like to. If he speaks even a single line, it is covered by the newspapers and media throughout the country prominently. If such persons speak on all days, when we will get opportunity to speak, to express our views and to articulate our feelings or whatever may be exercising our minds?

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. Shri Sunder Lal Patwa.

[Translation]

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, after making a submission I will conclude my Speech. In our present set up, the official machinery is dominating the demos. If you do not put a check on this machinery, the democracy will be in danger. What are the persons belonging to this machinery doing these days? These people are getting public interest petitions filed leading

to the filing of Charge Sheets and in this way they are bent upon to eliminate this democracy. This is nothing but a conspiracy of the official machinery. This machinery must be held in check ... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now you sit down.

[English]

Please sit down.

[Translation]

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SINGH : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you for having given me the opportunity to speak.



SHRI SUNDER LAL PATWA

SHRI SUNDER LAL PATWA (Chhindwara) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this House and the country is grateful to what was stated by the Hon. Speaker while delivering his historic and opening speech and the statement made by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

This occasion has come after fifty years when we should resort to introspection and self contemplation instead of self praise and self satisfaction. We should examine as to what was our goal and how far we have achieved it and if we failed to achieve it what were the lapses. Sir, Hon. Speaker has provided a vast material to us to think over. I start from them itself. Our share in the world export is less than one per cent. I have been instructed to limit my speech to economic condition and I would try to keep myself within it. Mr. Speaker states that the simple meaning of economic reform is to keep oneself within one's own resources. These resources can be generated only by the generation of funds, which in turn, can be generated only when we utilise our resources efficiently.

The Hon. Speaker further states that no doubt we can raise loans from internal and external sources but there should be farsightedness and capacity to generate funds in

our investment policy for repaying interest as well as the debt. It was not being done in the past but we should make special efforts in this regard because our foreign debt service ratio has become 26 per cent of our Gross Domestic Product. Our per capita foreign debt is Rs. 3,286 which is 35 per cent of per capita income worth Rs. 9,321. We are indebted to other countries to the tune of 35 per cent of per capita income. Infact we are entrapped in foreign debt. State Governments also are in an internal debt-trap. The Hon. Speaker further states that in the past we did not pay attention towards the economy of some South-East and East-Asian countries and the export potential to these countries. No doubt, we have made remarkable achievements in the field of export. Our exports in 1951 were to the tune of Rs. 647 crore which touched the figure of Rs. 1 lakh, 8 thousand and 478 crore in 1996. Still our export in eighties was 85 per cent of our total production. Now, the export of manufactured goods is more than 75 per cent of total export. The export of gems and jewellery, readymade garments, cotton fabrics, marine products and medicines is handled by private sector. Meat is exported for earning foreign exchange. Our Government exports meat to earn foreign exchange by destroying our valuable live-stock. The export made by the people is apart from this.

Hon'ble Speaker has drawn our attention towards a new point which is very important. On agricultural lands pesticides to the tune of 61,000 tonnes in addition to chemical fertilisers to the tune of 33 million tonnes are used in one year. The feasibility of continuing intensive agriculture based on non-bioagriculture process for a long time should also be thoroughly examined. This type of agriculture has created several problems regarding the quality of foodgrains, safety of environment and the protection of bio-diversity. It was direction of the Hon. Speaker which was elaborated by Atalji. I hoped that other speakers initiating the debate would maintain the tone and trend set by the Hon. Speaker and Atalji in the House. But when I heard the speech of Shri Madhav Rao Scindia, he is not present in the House today, he is also very handsome, winsome, youthful and young.....(*Interruptions*) but he has not come up to the expectation and while listening to his speech, I did feel that perhaps he failed to discern whether he was standing in a House of Parliament or at the Rajwada Chowk of Gwalior. He invited brothers and sisters to come forward not indicating where and why?(*Interruptions*) Shri Sharad Pawar, in carrying out the job and achieving the target assigned to him(*Interruptions*) I do not criticise him. I only express my disappointment and I am very much disappointed with the youth because he could not deliver the desired good.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Indian Democracy has completed fifty years. Whatever has been stated in it about

the economic condition need to be read between the lines. I do not want to go in to the details. Even after fifty years of our independence, we find ourselves standing on the cross-roads. It is time to think over. Are we not ready to find a way out of it? Where from we started our journey and what was our destination? My colleague, Shri Chandra Shekhar was just now mentioning Gandhiji who said that if we have our own Government, we will have 'Ram Rajya. Where has that Ram Rajya gone? Gandhiji had seen the true India but other authors went on discovering India with which Gandhiji had already acquainted himself. We had firm belief in the socialistic pattern of society, controlled economy, quota, permit, control rule, centralised five year plan and Nehruvian economic structure, Public versus Government sector, monopolistic production, competition and wanted the Government to sell everything including the essential commodities like foodgrains, cloth, edible oil, eggs and cement, iron and wood in the name of so-called planned economy. After fifty years, now when we look back, we suddenly find that we have reached a stage from where it is dangerous to go ahead. The country is on the verge of bankruptcy. Then followed globalisation, multinationalism, open market, competition, automation privatisation and disinvestment. It was compulsion and when International Monetary Fund, American control dictated us to do a particular thing to get loans. Globalisation is the name of compulsion. We are coming out of one trouble just to fall in another one. Earlier it was Communism versus socialism, now it is capitalism versus survival of the fittest. Has India any economic philosophy? Has India any policies of its own? We have got no time to see to it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when we used to say in Jansangh that quota, permit, rule of control should be abolished and opportunity should be given to the hardwork and talent of the people, we were called conservatives and what not. Mahatama Gandhi and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay had said about Swadeshi that it is not a dream, it is a functional need. Today lot is being said about privatisation. Coal, Insurance, Banking, Power generation were in private sector. It was in the hands of the people of the country. Now again to them. From Delhi to Daulatabad and from Daulatabad to Delhi—it was done by a crazy emperor at a time and now it is being done by wise people. Our taxation system was thousands of years old. People used to consider it their duty to pay one sixth of their income as tax. The taxation was only 15-20 per cent and today it is upto 95 per cent. This system has forced the people to evade tax by hiding the true facts about their assets and wealth. As a result a parallel economy of black-money has emerged. It is a serious challenge.

Sir, dictatorship of some people is going on, on the strength of State in the name of communalism, socialism or

socialistic structure or the dictatorship of handful people is going on in the name of capitalism on the power of money. The result of both of them is same, the ways may be different. Exploitation and insensitiveness are posing a threat to the nation. It has been mentioned in an article which I would like to quote:—

[English]

"Indian economy after 50 years of independence stands today at crossroads faced with several serious challenges.

India has been left far behind in its socio-economic development by countries like China and South Korea which were at the same state of development as India in the 1960s.

The extent of human deprivation is staggering.

135 million people do not have access to basic health facilities in India.

226 million lack access to safe drinking water.

Literacy rate is only 52 per cent against 81 per cent in China and 91 per cent in Sri Lanka.

More than one-third of India's population continues to live in abject poverty."

[Translation]

We are at this juncture today. All these things have been mentioned in this document which has been released recently enumerating the achievements of past fifty years. We never thought over economic policy and economic philosophy. I would like to point out to Shri Manmohan Singhji and Shri Chidambaram, the propounders of the philosophy which we are adopting, as to what would be the consequences in future. I would like to quote:—

[English]

"The trends in America show that, under the present Western Model and paradigms, with greater growth, 60 per cent of the growth is monopolised by the top 1 per cent and 20 per cent of the people monopolise all of growth and the real income of 60 per cent of the people is less than it was 20 years ago—(Lester Thurow)—Future of Capitalism."

[Translation]

This is what is happening in those countries which have followed the Western model and we are mad after this model.

[English]

"None of these calculations take into account the decay in social infrastructure like the family and community and environment.

[Translation]

The girls of 12 years of age are becoming mothers.

[English]

Newt Gingrich, the Chairman of the American Senate, asks "when 12 year olds carry babies, 14 year olds kill each other, 16 year olds have HIV positive and 18 years old get diplomas which they cannot read, what kind of civilisation are we building?" It is obvious that any civilisation, like the present US-Centric Western civilisation, which makes the pursuit of Godless materialism as its sole ideal, cannot produce anything else."

[Translation]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is the description of the country, of the civilization which we are eager to initiate. Sir, I quote from a newspaper:

"The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahatir Mohammad said that we are asked to open the doors for trade and commerce, but why should we open them. Should we open them for speculators and agents spreading chaos at the international level. They would force us to bow down before the international agents. Criticising he said that the multinational companies have swallowed the trade and commerce of developing countries, therefore we should be cautious about liberalisation. The 'Swarn Mrig' (golden deer) is roaming around India and India should be cautious of its gimmicks."

It is understood by the Prime Minister of Malasiya, a small country but unfortunately it has not been understood by our Chidambaram Sahib and the propounders of liberalisation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is the meaning of open economy. Due to this policy, today a parallel economy of black money has become a challenge before our country. It is not a challenge only in the economic area, but it is also a challenge in political area. Today this economy is posing a threat to our political democracy by making the way of buying the Members of Parliament. Have the Members of Parliament become a thing for auction? Are they meant for selling like a horse and donkeys? This is the picture of India of today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not say that India has not achieved anything. I cannot say it. But what are the achievements? Yesterday, our friend Scindiaji said in fervour that when America banned PL 480, Indiraji gave a call and we became self-reliant. He forgot that at that time Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Prime Minister, not Indiraji and he called upon the country by observing fast himself. He asked for observing fast one time, but refused to bow before America. You forget to name him in your eagerness for loyalty and performing his duties.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, history of independent India starts from Nehruji, Indiraji, and ends at Rajivji. Now Soniaji is there, it is her outlook. I have nothing to do with that...(Interruptions) I am not criticising...(Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, could we have achieved today that we have without our people? If India is self reliant in the field of foodgrains it is the contribution of lakhs and crores of farmers of India and there is no need to give credit to politicians for this. Today, our satellites are there in orbit, it is not because of the politicians but because of the scientists, engineers. We are indebted to them.

But, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is no need to feel proud of it. We should have been proud of it if the people like us could progress further. I as well as Jaswant Singhji had a hundred rupees each when we started our career. After ten years, today Jaswant Singhji has Rs. one lakh and I have Rs. 1000. There is no need to feel happy because the gap between rich and poor is widening. It is not a matter to be proud of rather a matter of shame. Today where are the small countries like Malaysia, Thailand, Japan and Germany were completely destroyed and subjugated but today they are challenging the economies of the world. How strong Yen and Mark is and what is the value of rupee? The value of rupee dwindles with the political statements of the Prime Minister where as dollar is gaining strength. Same is the case with Yen and Mark. Germany was divided. We must get inspiration from these countries. We should try to learn how they removed the obstacles. We have seen the result of socialism and I have told you about the consequences of capitalism in America today. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have our own philosophy and that is our religion, our Nation and our Rule. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya had not thought about 'Swadeshi' but it was in our tradition. Today also three-fourth employment is generated through our traditional sector. Big pilgrimages and temples have become white elephants today and we are proceeding towards disinvestment today. They have swallowed all our investments. Today foreign investment has become a slogan to the extent of madness. Today, we have lost our national pride and self confidence. It seems that without that we are not able to do anything today.

Fahiyani and Heuntsang came to India and wrote that this was the land where doors were not locked and no thefts were committed. The people of this country take food only after serving food to their guests. Such was our life style and tradition. So far as savings in this country is concerned, in every village of this country there live a family of jewellers and even a small poor farmer of this country purchase one 'tola', ten tola of gold or silver after he reaps the crop. Saving is our tradition, it is in our blood.

Saint Dadu Dayal was a cobbler. Someone asked him that for whom you manufacture such beautiful shoes. He replied that I manufacture this for God. Whomsoever will wear it he is like God to me, man is God. Who has discovered India? It was always there. Now, what is India's economic condition, life style today. Today we are begging from the world. India has to make arrangements in the budget for 68 thousand crores of rupees every year for interest.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when there was influence of 'Thugs and Pindaris' in this country, at that time also diamonds used to go to Surat safely. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have a book of Nani Palkiwala. The title is "Hum Hindustani". I quote :

"There are ample opportunities in India, as has been stated by Li-Quan Yu that Indian Economy is like a sleeping giant. If that giant is awakened, then it will have a great influence on world economy.

The affluence of a country cannot be the criterion for judging the progress and prosperity of a country. History bears testimony that wealthy nations have lost their entity in spite of their wealth but no nation or civilization has lost its entity even after being under tremendous pressure of problems.

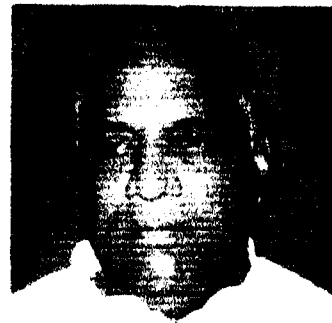
Today, morality of the nation has been eroded and its conscience has fallen down. Like other nations of the world, consumerism has consumed humanity in India also. We will have to adopt those values once again which were the strength of our everlasting heritage."

This is the strength of life. I would like to conclude my point with a quotation from the 11th to 24th August issue of "Business India". A list has been published from page 16 to 20 under the heading, "Fifty years of scams and scandals". Besides, a list each of 48, 49, 51, 56, 58 and 64 has also been given in the magazine. There is a list of 40 scams and scandals in it which involve thousand of crores of rupees of this country. Who took this money? Who has deposited this money in foreign banks? Who gave a chance to

blackmarketeering in the economy? Had this thing not happened, this country which had so much of capacity, would still have continued to be rich even after so much of loot. It will always remain rich.

Just now, Chandra Shekhar ji was saying that there are only 5 per cent such people and 95 per cent people are our hope. If someone can change the political and economic system of this country and if we can pin our hope on somebody, it is on these 95 percent people. Five per cent people who are sitting here control the entire capital of the country. A list of 40 scams and scandals is given here. They are the people who have swallowed the hard earned money of the poor and the labourers of this country otherwise there was no need for us to take loan from abroad and there was no need to follow the foreign model. Had India been discovered, had Gandhiji not been forgotten, had the resoluteness of Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay been there, there would have been no need of communism, socialist pattern of social economy and globalization, and other such issues in the country. India has everything in her. India is the only country in the world where people did not put locks in their houses. This is the country where there was no theft and no tax-evasion. There was prosperity and there were equal opportunities. There should be such a society where no one would interfere with the affairs of others. Economy based on religion, enjoyment of life and achievement of 'Moksha' should be the ideology of life in the society. As long as it is not adopted we will continue to be wandering about. Today also we are wandering, yesterday we wandered in the name of socialism. Today we will wander about in the name of globalization and multinationalization. How many foreign companies came here during the last three years and how much money did they take away? This process is still continuing. The East India Company came here. Mr. Chidambaram goes to London and tells them that. We have opened our gates. He tells them that earlier they ruled for 250 years but this time they will rule for generations. This is not the time to criticize anyone. This is the time to seriously think over it. We should think over as to what is our philosophy of life? Are we paupers so that we adopt the socialistic pattern of society? Should we adopt capitalism or any otherism? There are all incomplete ideologies. It is on trial at present and we have failed in it. We must search our houses and find. We should follow the path our country has shown. The 21st century is knocking at our doors. This 21st century must be India's century. We want India to be prosperous, self-dependent and powerful and become one among the frontline countries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



SHRI SHARAD PAWAR

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR (Baramati) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I welcome the decision taken to convene a Special Session of Parliament to commemorate the Golden Jubilee Year of freedom.

We have done commendable work in many areas during the last 50 years in the country. It is an occasion to make introspection and take some further steps, but to some extent one cannot leave party line. It is an occasion to put forth the views of Hon. President clearly in the House. I am happy that the book,

[English]

'50 Years of India's Parliamentary Democracy'

[Translation]

published by you to provide a helping hand in this discussion, is a very good and right publication. Keeping it in view the Hon. Speaker had putforth his views yesterday. Just after that Atalji putforth a proposal. I hope that we would not be confined to that only and may be that some unanimous decision is taken on some issues to form a policy which would be helpful for the nation. When we are to participate in it I thought that it would not be proper to pay attention to different issues. Various other Hon. Members of my party would participate in it and I have asked them to express their views on separate issues. Please try to confine the speech on that particular topic. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am going to speak on two issues but prior to that I would like to make one point clear before the House that the leader of opposition Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had written a letter to the leaders of all political parties 8-10 days ago to inform them about his views. Atalji had putforth a proposal to maintain the dignity of the House, to maintain the dignity of Parliamentary democracy and what should be the feelings of the countrymen regarding the supreme institute of the country, the House. He gave us three suggestions that at least there can be consensus on these three issues and therefore we should try to accept these suggestions

[English]

- "1. Nobody will go into the well of the House whatever be the circumstances.
2. Question Hour will not be disturbed.
3. Whenever the President addresses the joint sitting of Parliament there shall be no disturbance or interruptions."

[Translation]

I, on behalf of my party, the Congress Party, welcome these three suggestions and accept them. I believe that if this proposal is accepted by all the political parties, it would help us to conduct the business of the House in a proper manner.

I feel that there are some issues in it on which we should have to ponder over. The book given to us contains a chapter on the performance of Parliament. The information given to us regarding performance of Parliament contains some information on which we would have to ponder over seriously.

[English]

"The average duration of business per day has come down from 6.27 to 5.55 hours.

The time spent on prime function of the legislation has come down considerably ranging between 22 per cent and 28 per cent as against 49 per cent during the First Lok Sabha.

During the Tenth Lok Sabha, 14 per cent of the time was spent on Zero Hour.

A recent development and a seriously disturbing matter is the recurrence of disorderliness and interruptions. During the Tenth Lok Sabha, ten per cent of the time was lost in such phenomena often forcing adjournments of the House."

[Translation]

Some information has been put forth before the House. We all are responsible Members. All the Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils of the States, while taking some important decision look to the Parliament of India. Day by day, the condition of the Parliament is coming to such pass that it will not put a good impact on the entire Parliamentary Democracy and on Parliamentary institution. I feel that after the experience of 50 years we should try to bring improvement in it. I on my behalf as well as on behalf

of my party would like to assure the House that my party would extend full co-operation to the House to take necessary steps in this direction to enhance the prestige of Parliamentary democracy in the country.

I am to put forth another issue before the House, which has not been discussed much here. Some Hon. Members have made some passing references in this regard and have said a lot about the development process. Some good signals have been received regarding the steps taken to eradicate poverty. Some discussions were held regarding regional imbalance in the country and their impact on the unity of the country. This fact was also brought to the notice of the House. I would not like to go into the details. I had the opportunity to serve in the Government for many years. I feel that there are many important issues here. The House would have to pay attention towards it also, but unless we, the representatives of the people do work as per the trust of the people, be it the field of local Self-Government, Panchayati Raj, Municipal Corporation, Legislative Assembly Government, Parliament or the Union Government, we will have to pay attention to the point that there is an acute shortage of funds for the development in the country. The provisions made for various works should be spent on those works only. If you ponder over it then you will find that the non-plan administrative expenditure has been increasing day by day. I have gone through the budget of six States. Attention has been paid towards 2-3 areas. Now there is one more item and that is soil conservation. The total provision in States for soil conservation is around Rs. 110 crore and the expenditure of the machinery installed to carry out the work of soil conservation is Rs. 230 crore. Another section that I have seen in four States is that of public health. The total provision for administrative expenditure in public health services is Rs. 630 crore and the total provision for medicines and services is Rs. 86 crore. I feel that we are going wrong somewhere. I have studied six corporations of the country. Municipal corporations are there in different States. One thing is clear that to collect Rs. 100 these corporations are spending Rs. 102. The administrative expenditure has been increasing day by day in the local self Governments, State Governments and Union Government. Therefore, my submission is that when we sit together as trust to take some consensus decision and if we cannot manage the money so collected from the people as taxes or through other ways and we even cannot spend it properly, it will have an adverse impact on the entire process of development.

We will have to pay attention towards removing these irregularities. The Planning Commission had not paid attention as it ought to have paid. I think we can set up a

cell of Parliament or a cell consisting of members from outside can be set up. A new guideline can be formulated for bringing financial discipline in the finance of local self Government, State Government and Union Government which, I think will help the entire country a lot and it can contribute a lot in the progress of the country.

I was thinking as to on what topic I should express my views. I have decided that population growth is the most important issue which was raised yesterday by the leader of the opposition and some other friends had also spoken on it. This is such an issue on which much attention has not been paid for the last 50 years and that's why there is a sort of disappointment in this regard. We should encourage the efforts of those who have worked hard and contributed much in different fields. When a state of pessimism prevails in the society then it will not benefit any country. When we look at the economic parameter of progress made during the last 50 years then we will find that we have definitely progressed in several fields. Our country's growth rate was 3.5 per cent during the First Five Year Plan whereas now it is 7 per cent which is an indication of progress. Our GDP growth during 1950-60's was three per cent, now it has come to 6.5 per cent, which is also an indication of progress. In 1950, our foodgrains production was 5 crore tonnes whereas it is 20 crore tonnes at present. As mentioned by Shri Chandra Shekhar, purchasing power of several classes of the society is still very low. As a result of which they cannot purchase the required quantum of foodgrains but it is also a fact that after independence, we were dependent on P.L. – 480 for foodgrains and today we are in a position to export foodgrains the credit of which goes to the farmers and the agricultural scientists of our country.

Moreover, there has been an increase in our industrial production also. In 1950, the share of Industrial production in GDP was about six per cent whereas it is 8 per cent in 1996-97. Intertary sector, our contribution was 3.97 in GDP, whereas now it is 8.0 per cent. During the last 50 years we have done something and achieved progress in all fields even then we cannot overlook the fact because two days back World Bank report was published wherein information regarding various countries living below poverty line had been given and India has been mentioned as the poorest country. India is on the top among the countries living below the poverty line. This is 1996's report. On the one hand while we have achieved progress in several fields, on the other our achievement in basic issues like power has not been satisfactory. Of course, the number of persons living below poverty line has decreased.

13.00 hrs.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, even then our country's name is mentioned among the poor countries of the world. We

will have to pay attention towards it. We will have to work in the economic sector. We will have to bring in changes in our policies. We will have to pay more attention to infrastructure. Yesterday, my friend Sharad Yadav while pointing towards power generation said that we will have to carry water into the fields and generate power from water. We will have to pay more attention towards Hydroelectric sector. We will have to provide drinking water to all. There are more sectors to which we will have to pay attention. While paying attention towards these things, we should not forget that the population is the main cause for such a situation prevailing in the country even though we have made progress.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir 50 years back the population of the country was 34 crore. Today it has reached 96 crores and by 2001 it will be 100 crore and our new generation may overtake China in population. India will become the most populous country in the world. This situation will arise in the coming four years. If we do not pay attention towards this problem, whatever process of development we may adopt, whatever expenditure we may incur, whatever area of barren land we may turn fertile, whatever quantum of water we may provide, all our efforts will go in vain due to increase in population. Hence, population growth is such an issue in regard to which the entire country will have to create an atmosphere where in all religions, classes, print media, electronic media, people's representatives will join hands to fight population growth. Then only we can save the country from a hazardous situation. We are creating new problems before the world. We are required to pay more attention towards this.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, some steps will have been taken to check population. The country's fertility rate was less than that of African and Latin American countries, even then our growth rate is high. During 1971, India's birth rate was 40-45 per thousand persons. Later the fertility rate and the birth rate came down. The birth rate has come down to 29 and fertility rate to 35 per thousand persons. During the last 25 years this rate was less than 40 per thousand persons, even then our population is on increase in comparison to many other countries.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : What are the reasons for this?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : I am coming to that. Every year, our population increases by one crore and 70 lakh. Several states have done a good job in this matter. I would like to mention the names of Kerala and Tamilnadu States which have done well in this matter. When we feel happy over the performance of some States, we should also think about States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh wherein population growth is 42 per cent per year. We will have to think why such a situation arises

and we will also have to think over its likely impact. Today, the country is facing the problems of unemployment, starvation, decline in ground water level, decline in forest area and deforestation. The wild life has been adversely affected due to population growth. I feel that population growth is the major problem being faced by the country. We cannot overlook it. There is a need to pay proper attention to check the growth rate. There is a need to create an atmosphere in the entire country as to what should be the size of the family. Some steps have been taken in this regard in the world. China has adopted one child concept. Some study has been conducted thereon. But after study we have achieved both the good and bad results. As far as the situation prevailing in the country, is concerned, we should not have a family of more than two.

It needs to be limited upto two only. But our problem does not end here as one third of our population is in the age group of 15 years. After 4-5 years when they are married they may add to the population. Therefore, we have to think over whether the minimum age limit prescribed for marriage can be raised further? Shall we revive the minimum marriageable age limit of 18 and 21 years prescribed respectively for male and female with a view to raise it to 25-26 or 27 years. Could we also take care to avert pregnancy soon after marriage? We should also create public awareness to keep a 7-8 year time gap between two children. If we are able to pay attention in the direction it would certainly mitigate our problem to a certain extent.

I feel that we shall be able to create consensus on certain issue. On the issue of population explosion also we will firm consensus. Therefore, we need to formulate a fresh policy on population. We should formulate a comprehensive policy going beyond population control. This should include the aspects of the populace welfare viz. empowerment of women, ill-nutrition, malnutrition, sanitation, improved economic status etc. It should also incorporate the recommendation made by Dr. Swaminathan Committee in this regard and all other issues will also have to be taken care of. I have with me some information on this issue which I would like to share with House. The first and foremost need in this regard is to go in for universalisation of primary education. Special attention has to be paid to this in several States; if we go by the statistics available now and as contained in this book also, we have had a good experience in this regard in Kerala which has made a significant achievements in this respect.

The second issue is of empowerment of women. The Cairo declaration as well as the Swaminathan group report also indicate that empowerment of women is essential to curb growth of population. This empowerment would consist in the right to take decision. They have to be given power in the decision making process in the political, economic and domestic matters. Women should get as many rights

as enjoyed by their male counterparts. We should also change our attitude towards the fair sex. The first girl child is welcome as the advent of goddess Luxmi in our families but the birth of a second girl child in a family still causes a big consternation. I feel we have to change this attitude. We will have to change the psyche of Indian masses that unless a male child is born in their families, their future is not safe.

I am a father of a daughter. I could realise that thirty years ago when a daughter was born in my family, I as well as my wife decided not to go in for the second issue. Being an MLA then, I used to often go to the village people. After 2-4 years people used to ask me as to what will happen in future, as I had daughter only. I always replied that I have a daughter and there is no need for the second child. Then the people would still ask as to who would perform my last rites. It shows that the society thinks that the son has got the right to perform the rites in our society. I plead with the religious leaders to bring about a change in such an attitude. I strongly feel that we should create conditions in which daughters would be given equal rights with the boys in all matters, including the circumstances in which one has to go to the burning quay although I have no faith in 'Shradha' etc, yet if it comes to performing a Shradha. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai-North) : The village priests have already started this practice in Pune.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : I welcome it. We should create such conditions in our society that girls get equal right in all spheres of life. Shri Sharadji wants to interact with us in detail on this issue and it appears that he too is not against the empowerment of women rather he would only like to see that all get equal opportunities. But still there are so many such sections in the society who are against giving any powers to women. They think that they cannot handle things properly. But I have a different experience in this regard. There are 6 Panchayat Committees in my constituency and five out of them are chaired by women incumbents. There is one district board which is also presided by a woman. There are two corporations and two are Mayors of both these corporations. My experience is that in the fields of nutrition, education, sanitation, health and environment which either remained unattended by our male representatives are not being fully attended by our lady representatives and I hope if such a scenarios continues, it will be more beneficial. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI RAJANI PATIL (Beed) : Then give the 33 per cent reservation to them.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : I support this issue.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Sharad ji, since you are speaking on the issue of women, I am not ringing the bell.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : Secondly, we should concentrate on the improvement of health services as mentioned by Shri Chandra Shekharji in his speech. It is true that a lot still needs to be done in the fields of maternal mortality and infant mortality. I want to place here only a single figure in this regard. As per the reports of the World Bank, 25% of total maternal deaths in the world occur in India. The situation is serious enough to warrant our attention.

My third suggestion is that the sterilization programme undertaken in the country is wholly dependent on our women folk. There is vast scope of improvement in it. The diagnostic technology to determine the sex of the foetus, needs to be viewed seriously. I am happy that the Prime Minister in his Independence Day Speech from the rampart of the Red Fort stated that the regulation of misuse of the Prenatal diagnostic technique Act, 1994 will be enforced strictly; and I welcome it.

The Government, as well as this House must pay more attention on several issues. There is a need to ensure that women get equal rights in several Acts and legislations and the Parliamentary Committee on empowerment of Women should devise new methods and place them before the House who should review all relevant related laws in this regard.

I think, there are many such issues to which we have to pay more attention. Issues like education for all, special attention on girl education and people's participation can change the social scenario. I have a last suggestion in this regard. The hon. Minister of State for Health, Smt. Renuka Chaudhary is not present in the House at present. She had convened on all party meeting. It was attended by many leaders and she had moved a proposal in the meeting. Although no final decision was taken in the meeting but it was mentioned in the proposal that from now onwards persons having more than two children will have no right to contest election.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : They should also not get employment. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : Don't worry. There is such a provision in the proposal.

I think we will have to consider it in this regard. Unless the section of the society who leads it does not pay attention towards this side. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI (Shahabad) : Then the person who is a bachelor should have a right to win the election unopposed. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR : No one would pay attention towards this side. I want to tell Renuka ji that we supported her proposal but we wanted some changes in the proposal that this compulsion should apply only to men and not to women. In the present scenario a women has no such right as to how many children are to born by her. Therefore, if we are going to enact any law for people's representatives, women should be spared from this aspect at least for a couple of years and it should be applicable only to male representatives. I believe that it would start new process of reformation in the present condition. As long as we do not pay our attention towards this side, all the developments made and the investment made even from other countries will not help us remove poverty and regional imbalance and we should not succeed in maintaining the nature and environment. With these words I conclude.



SHRIMATI GEETA
MUKHERJEE

[English]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : Hon Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity.

At the outset, let me pay homage to those heroes and heroines who have laid down their lives over centuries for bringing our Independence.

I shall be very brief because I want my other colleagues to speak. But before I could go to those two point—one of which has been covered at length by Shri Sharad Pawar, so I will be brief even in that—I would like to make a proposal.

Sir, this is the 50th anniversary of our Independence but unfortunately in this year, our entire country has been devastated by natural calamities. I would appeal to the members of Parliament to donate whatever allowances they will be getting for this Special Session to the Prime Minister's Natural Calamity Relief Fund. It may not be a very big sum but it will send a message to them that in this year while we

are sitting for a Special Session, we do remember them and we shall try our best to serve them. I hope the Leaders of all the political parties will be consulted and before this Session is over, hon. Speaker will be in a position to so that he agrees with my suggestion.

Now, Sir, I wanted to speak on two subjects only. Firstly, I wanted to speak on the question of population which has been dwelt at length by Shri Sharad Pawar. Therefore that makes my job easier and I shall not go into all the figures that he has quoted. But in relation to this question of population, I would like to tell the House about my experience. I have no children now. I had only one child which died at the age of 11 months. So, we decided not to have any more child because we could not give proper attention to the child. That was the thing which the village women noted and as early as 1953, at the instance of the village women, I had organised the first camp for preventing child birth. I am saying this because it has to be understood, Sir, that though the women do not determine the question of having children in our patriarchal society, yet how eager they are to see to it that they do not have to produce children every now and then thereby ensuring their own health and that of their own children. That is why, it must be understood that in our population policy, the target group must be men and not women because it is not the women who determine it. But unfortunately all the time when we speak about population, the target group is women. why should it be like that? The target group should be men. If you want to do anything serious about it, then that has to be done.

Sir, it is known that our sex ratio is adverse. We have less number of women than men per thousand. This sex ratio has come down because of the lower status of women in our society, low age of marriage, lower literacy, higher fertility and mortality rates during the reproductive ages. About this, some points have been raised by Shri Sharad Pawar. I do support those points. While supporting those points, I would just like to make a few observations.

Sir, Shri Sharad Pawar referred to the International Conference on Population and Development held at Cairo in 1994. That Conference had its programme of action which was adopted or agreed upon by our Government.

What does the Programme of Action in that conference say? It says that the family planning programme in developing countries should not be viewed as policy intervention measures for manipulating fertility levels of the population at the macro level. The Programme of action recommended that the family planning programme should

be viewed as an integral part of the programme aimed at improving women's health, reproductive health and gender equity. It has recommended that women's right with regard to their family size and spacing of children should be respected.

As I said earlier, India is a signatory to this Programme of Action. But are we acting that way? We are not acting according to that programme of action. Our policy is also not in conformity with this action programme. I do demand that if we are really serious about reducing population, which is a very important thing, then let us really act according to this Programme of Action to which we have also become a signatory.

I come to the question of gender equality. In the last 50 years, some advance has been made and more women have been educated; they have gone into different fields of activities. They have also qualified themselves to different types of work. I would not say that no advance has been made. Surely some advance has been made but unfortunately, the situation is worsening in a number of aspects in the last few years. It is not only frustrating but it is a dangerous thing if it is allowed to go on like this. Criminalisation is hitting the women hardest. You see how many cases of rape have taken place? Sometimes women are paraded naked in villages. Such other horrible things are on the increase.

Consumerism has led to such a situation that dowry demands and dowry deaths are becoming an order of the day. In this connection, I would like to appeal to the Members of Parliament on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of our Independence, can we not take a vow that all the members of Parliament will not take dowry while marrying off their boys. They should also make a campaign in their constituencies exhorting people not to demand or take dowry. For that, they will have to make a particular effort. Can we not do that? All the parties together have a large following among the people and if all the parties together decide, "We shall do it", then I am sure, this dowry problem can be brought down and surely the number of dowry deaths can also be brought down. I appeal to all the Members of Parliament to take this vow.

Wherever dowry is being given, we should boycott such marriages. Members of Parliament should not go to such marriages. I do not go to those marriages where dowry is given. I am glad that most of my colleagues have taken it in a very graceful manner and we shall go ahead with it.

Last but not least, the question of development has a close relation with the question of empowerment. In the international arena, the question of women empowerment is being given a top priority.

I am glad that one-third reservation for women in Panchayats have helped us. As Shri Sharad Pawar has said and as I have myself seen that in many of the Panchayats women often are doing much better work than their male counterparts. This is not a rule, but generally speaking this is the case in most of the Panchayats. There may be exceptions also.

If that be so, I believe that this should not only be left to Panchayats alone, but it should be implemented in State Legislatures and the Parliament also. I want to make it a point here that this has not only been supported by women alone but by men also. I have gone from one village to another and found that male voters, from their experience of Panchayats, also want that this Bill be passed. So, both the male and female voters are for the Bill. Therefore, I would, particularly, request that in the next session, this Bill be discussed and placed for vote of the House. Let us see what happens and we would come to know who votes for and who votes against this Bill. I believe that if we take that step, this Bill can be passed.

I hope that in this special Session, all of us will make special effort so that in the next session this Bill is discussed and placed for vote of the House. I am sure it would be passed by two-third majority of the House.

With these words, I thank all my colleagues for giving me this opportunity to participate in this discussion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to meet again at 2.30 pm.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Sir, let it be up to 2.35 p.m.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right, the House stands adjourned till 2.35 p.m.

13.32 hrs.

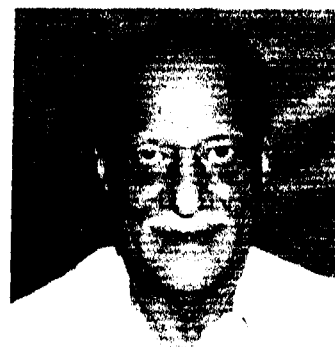
The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Thirty-Five Minutes past Fourteen of the clock.

14.42 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Forty-Two Minutes past Fourteen of the clock.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED in the Chair]

MOTION RE : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY—Contd.



COL. RAO RAM SINGH

[Translation]

COL. RAO RAM SINGH (Mahendragarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak. Due to shortage of time, I will not go into the background but put my points direct and will try to conclude my speech within the allotted time. Sir, the basis of economy of a country is formed either by agriculture or industry. Some countries are fortunate the economy of which is based on both. We all know that India is an agricultural country, its economy is based on agriculture. After Independence, priority was given to industry instead of agriculture by the Planning Commission as a result of which India was forced to import foodgrains worth crores of rupees over the years together and India fell into trap of ever increasing foreign debt. Had the agriculture sector been given priority at that time, we could have made ourselves self-reliant in foodgrains and this situation may not have arisen. We became independent in 1947 and became self-reliant in agriculture in 1972-73. We could not make up the loss suffered during this period in making ourselves self-reliant and we are being overburdened with foreign debt. Either God or the farmer of the country can rescue us from this situation. Shri Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram cannot rescue us from this situation. We can still come out of this situation if the order of priority is set again and the

first priority is given to agriculture sector and one tenth allocation being spent on Public Sector Undertaking or other industries, is spent on agriculture and research and development.

It is claimed that as far as foodgrains are concerned we are not an exporting country. I do not believe it because planning is not correct. It was stated that we exported foodgrains last year but we had to import foodgrains just after that. What is this planning? It is said that the previous Government had done this. It may be other Government but the bureaucrats are the same and they are still there. When there was a possibility of shortage of foodgrains; on which basis they exported the foodgrains; I presume that commission was taken in the export as well as import of the foodgrains but the ultimate sufferer in this game is the poor.

Respected Scindiaji, in his speech, had stated that there was no need to feel disappointed. The Governments in India during the past fifty years have made remarkable progress and achievements. No doubt, achievements have been made but not due to any Government efforts. I think that these achievements have been made in accordance with the passage of time and as a result of efforts and toil made by our poor farmers. The progress made by the Government, is obvious in the form of corruption, starvation, increasing poverty, terrorism, Hawala and Urea scams.

The humiliation faced by the Indian army, which is an established army of the world and the loss suffered by us in 1962 was due to the wrong policies of the Government in power at that time.

The communal incidents have increased. These are achievements of the Government. We should find out its solution. We should not blame each other for what happened during the past years. It does not suit us. In my opinion its solution is that we should pay more attention towards agriculture. Our farmers are very hardworking and can lead the country to the path of progress. We are endowed with several rivers with soft water and fertile soil. We are very rich in vegetations and forests, but the forests are being mercilessly felled. There is still time to pay attention to those things. The total area of India is 330 million hectare out of which 130 million hectare, i.e. 1/3 area is waste land. The remaining two third fertile area is receding day by day due to increasing encroachments by industries and also partly due to ever increasing population. A farmer cannot acquire land more than 15–20 acres. If any industry is to be set up, one can acquire, 200 acres or 500 acres or even 1000 acres of land. There is no upper ceiling on that. But a farmer cannot keep that much land. Every institution has a craze for acquiring land. If 50 acres land is required for setting up an industry or for some other purpose, 500 acres of land would be acquired. Haryana Government has

proposed to set up Disney land near Delhi. In America Disney land has been set up only in 500 acres of land in Florida. They prepared a scheme to acquire 28 thousand acres of land. The purpose was to release the land gradually in a phased manner and make money thereby after acquiring and occupying it. I am quoting an example of this type and there are thousands of such examples. You can see any Public Sector Undertaking. In case they required 100 acre land, they, infact had acquired 1000 acre of land. The surplus land is lying unused which is very fertile.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Headquarters of NSG was to be set up in Manesar near Gurgaon in my parliamentary constituency.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : It is a matter of pride.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : We tried our best to persuade the government to set up NSG Headquarters in the adjoining area but in vain. The land which was even and fertile and on which a building could be constructed easily, was acquired thereby thousands of farmers were rendered landless. Their is no one to redress their grievances. It is a matter of sorrow that I was the Member of treasury benches at that time.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is no doubt that foodgrain production has increased in India as a result of the Green Revolution. Our Agricultural Scientists prepared new packages and our farmers are hard-working. They toiled hard in the fields due to which production of foodgrains increased. But now it has stopped increasing not only this but graph of per hectare production is also going down. You would be surprised and I also think that the level of production is very good but the book which hon'ble Speaker has got prepared is very useful for reference. We can see in it that the production of rice in Japan is 40 quintal per hectare in America it is 41 quintal per hectare. In China it is 35 quintal per hectare and in India it is only 17 quintal per hectare. We are proud that we are producing so much from our farms. Take the production of wheat. It is 68 quintal per hectare in Germany, 61 quintal per hectare in France, 30 quintal per hectare in China and only 20 quintal per hectare in India. This is a condition in case of fertile land. These figures are of average production. However, I can say that at present the production of wheat ranges from 55 to 60 quintal per hectare in Punjab and Haryana. I do not have much knowledge about production of Rice. I am producing 55 to 60 quintal wheat per hectare from my farms. I am not working hard, instead I am a lazy man but despite that I am receiving that much production. It is possible, but inadequate investment is being made in agriculture sector. The farmer has no money. He does not get remunerative price for his

produce. Agricultural Price Commission do not announce the minimum procurement price at proper time. For Rabi Crop they announce it after the sowing time. They should announce it three months in advance so that the farmers may decide as to what he should grow in his farm whether wheat, rice, mustard seed or any other crop. The price of the imported wheat is Rs. 750 per quintal and our farmer is getting Rs. 475 per quintal. It is no justice. The Agriculture Minister is a quite experienced and star leader of a leftist party and we repeatedly requested him that it should be raised to at least Rs. 525 but he did not agree. He himself, or the Finance Minister might be under compulsions in his regard but it is the right of the farmer of the country to receive at least Rs. 525 per quintal, especially when we are importing wheat at the rate of Rs. 750 per quintal. I know about Haryana. The farmers there have decided to sow wheat in minimum quantity this time in Rabi season. I cannot say about Punjab. Barnala Sahib can tell what is the opinion of the farmers in Punjab in this regard. We exported wheat on subsidized rates. We had used urea, wheat seeds and put our hard work in producing the wheat seeds and put our hard work in producing the wheat. On the other hand we imported wheat market rate. The prevalent market rate of wheat is Rs. 600 per quintal whereas you have fixed minimum procurement rate at Rs. 475. It is injustice to the farmer. The terms of trade are grossly against the interest of farmers. Agricultural Price Commission which prescribes the agricultural prices, does not take into account the labour involved and the price of the land. The reality is that perhaps the Members of Agricultural Price Commission have not even seen any farm. They do not know what is Rabi Crop and what is Kharif Crop. How will they be able to fix the price. I think they are the friends of big zamindars and farmers and these farmers themselves are in the Government. Mulayam Singhji is there. You should do something in this regard. Devendra Prasadji is there. It is a matter of regret that he is not in the cabinet at present. He should have been there.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Colonel Sahib, now you conclude. Time is over.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : I am concluding just now.

[English]

I will go straight to the end now. I will leave out everything in-between.

15.00 hrs.

[Translation]

I would like to have two minutes time for saying something about corruption. Chandra Sekharji is a very senior leader. He said that there is no corruption in India.

95 per cent people are honest. I do agree that the poor people are honest but what is in their hands. The five percent dishonest people control everything. Those 95 per cent honest rural people are hungry. What they would do we should think about it. We all respect a man who becomes a leader or a millionaire by earning money through illegal means. Would we boycott them socially, stop talking to them? No. We can stop talking to a poor man. But every one bows before the man who has money. Every one respects him. This is our condition. There are about 80 Members of Parliament. If each of us introspect and improve oneself, the country would automatically get improved.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would also like to say something about Agriculture and power. Power is a paramount necessity for agriculture. The power situation is worse at present and it is due to dishonesty. Pilferation and corrupt practices are rampant in State Electricity Boards. When Shri Banshi Lal was the Chief Minister of Haryana, only at that time there was surplus power in Haryana and Haryana used to supply 1200 MW, electricity to Delhi.

It was in the time of Bansi Lalji that surplus power was available in any State. Nowadays perhaps Himachal Pradesh may be in the same position because consumption of power is not so much there. But it was confined to that State only. Thereafter the demand of power increased. At present eight hundred MW power is generated in Haryana whereas its consumption is 11 hundred MW. Therefore, there arises a danger for agriculture and industries. I express thanks to hon'ble Prime Minister that yesterday he has laid the foundation of gas-based plant with the capacity of 450 MW in Faridabad. I hope that it will not remain confined to foundation only, but power would be generated from it actually. At present, the country has an installed capacity of 90 thousand MW. It was targeted in the Eighth Five Year Plan that 31 thousand MW Power would be generated during the plan period whereas only 15 thousands MW power was generated. What is the reason behind it? It is Planning Commission which is misleading us. It was telling '31 thousand' only for showing on the papers. 31 thousand should be realistic figure and if it was realistic figure, then only due to their incapability 15 thousand MW Power could be generated. Explanations should be asked in this regard and stern action should be taken against them. But this Government can not take stern action against anybody. This Government do not have courage to take stern action against anybody for the sake of its seat.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : But they are gentlemen. I praise them. All of them are my friends and the words fail me to praise the madam.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not praise, you please conclude.

COL. RAO RAM SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, she is the first Health Minister who reacts to the demand of each M.P. At last, I would like to submit and I suggest that government should accord priority to agriculture. At this time condition can be improved also. Priority should be given to agriculture, agricultural infrastructure, irrigation canal beds, small irrigation projects and power so that farmers can irrigate their crops by tubewells. Priority should also be given to dry land farming. It is necessary that corrupt people are boycotted as the cancer of corruption has penetrated its strings deep into the vitals of Indian politics. Till it is weeded out, country cannot make progress.

At last, I would like to suggest that we should effect improvements in our administration. It is useless to formulate policy till the administrators, the implementers of the Government policies are honest. I suggest that at present recruitment in the Central Services should be stopped. In that place, recruitment should be made in armed forces in Officers' Cadre. Each IAS, IPS and IFS officer should be posted in armed forces for five years so that he can learn discipline and know about the defence of the country by going to Siachen and after rendering five years service there should be an option for them either to remain in the forces or revert to their parent Cadre of IAS or IPS or IFS.

I repeat it again that this Government cannot do so, as it requires a strong government. Only a strong government can do so. Mulayam Singh ji can do it as he is a strong man.

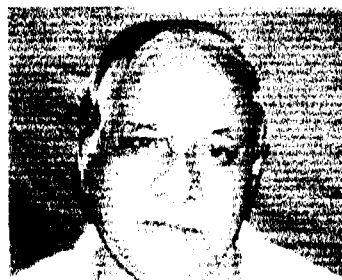
Mr. Chairman, Sir, you ask for CRs of the all IAS officers of Delhi, you will find their CRs as outstanding.

[English]

Every officer's report will be outstanding.

[Translation]

None of the officer's report will be 'very good' or 'good' there is no question of 'poor' report. I request the Hon'ble Speaker that he should ask for CRs of all the officers and see as to why despite their outstanding CRs they are playing with our country's fate. With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak and of course beg your pardon for taking additional time.



SHRI KANSHI RAM

SHRI KANSHI RAM (Hoshiarpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a matter of happiness that we are evaluating in this House, the progress made during the last 50 years after independence and seeing what had happened during this period, what had not happened and what should have had happened. Two-three months back, it did not seem that such type of discussion will be held in this House. Debate will be there in this House in regard to these persons who suffered atrocities and injustice during the last 50 years. That is why our party had chalked out a programme that if such sort of discussion is not there in the House or rulers of this country did not want to have this type of discussion, then we must think about the persons suffered loss during the last 50 years. Under this programme we have started, 'awareness drive' in five sides of the country i.e. Kanyakumari, Kohima, Kargil, Puri and Porbandar from 15 August onwards. It is a matter of happiness that this sort of discussion is going on in this House today and I am getting the opportunity to say something while participating in it.

I understand that this is a special session, therefore it is better if more discussion is taken place in regard to the aim for which this special session has been called. If we continue to indulge in the discussion in the same way as that of an ordinary session, then I am afraid that we won't be able to enact that special agenda which we could not make during the last 50 years. We have been given so many assurances in the last 50 years. Our constitution is full of such assurances. The assurances start from the very preamble of the Constitution. After that most of the time in these 50 years, Congress have ruled the country. From their side, there was no dearth of assurances. Their resolutions also look very good to us. The plans made by them also seems alright. The programmes made are also right but the implementation was not right. Due to that Congress seems in trouble today. Besides Congress, we have seen other parties also. The downtrodden masses of this country have experience of serving with almost all parties. If not at the Centre, it is in the States. Definitely—on the basis of this we can say that there are plenty of best wishes and good resolutions have also been passed and

good things have had come by every party but the promised work has not been done. What are the reasons? If we go into the reasons for this, then I can say that if we had tried to look for reasons during the last 50 years, then perhaps we could have had solved it. But without caring for solution, we continue to march ahead.

I am of the view that the cultural revolt which we were seeing in the country at the time of Britishers, we have not bothered to look for the causes of that revolt during these last 50 years. Instead, we have tried to suppress that revolt. During the last 50 years, efforts were made to suppress that revolt and we are facing the consequences today. Today the results thereof are before us. A cultural revolt was started in Maharashtra in 1848, which continued till 1956 i.e. for 108 years. From 1848 to 1891 under the leadership of Mahatma Jyoti Bhai Phule, from 1892 to 1922 under the guidance of Shahuji Maharaj and from 1922 to 1956 under the guidance of Baba Saheb Bhim Rao Ambedkar.

I understand that if we had noted that, certainly we would have found some solution for that. We have suffered a lot during the last 50 years for suppressing the voice of those people who raised their voice in Maharashtra. Similarly, we see in Southern India that when Periyar Ramaswami Naikar, the then President of Tamil Nadu Congress in 1924, had decided to participate in Vajakam Satyagraha, then Gandhiji had advised him that this is not the agenda of Congress. Untouchability or such type of revolt towards society is not the agenda of Congress. Therefore, you should not do this. He thought over it. In 1925, he left Congress and started self respect movement and due to that self respect movement congress is lagging behind in Tamil Nadu.

In the same way, we see in Bengal that there is communist rule there, for the last 20 years. Before that there was Congress rule there. The revolt of 'Chandals' in nineteenth century in Bengal had been noted by the Britishers but our Government did not take a note of it. Our Government has not noted that thing during the last fifty years. Injustice was done to Chandals at that time, their problems were put forth in front of Britishers. The Britishers used to solve them in this or that way.

The name of *Chandal* appears in the census of 1891. They had requested the Britishers to change this word *Chandal* and it should be called as *Namaha Shudra*. The Britishers acceded to their request and after 1901 they are known as the *Namaha Shudra* instead of *Chandal*. The revolt of *Namaha Shudra*'s against the social and economic set up of this country is visible upto 1946 and not after 1947. Likewise the same sort of revolt took place in every nook and corner of the country upto 1947 but that revolt did not appear after that. The people saying so were

discouraged. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was not allowed to contest Assembly Elections. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was comellsed to go from Mumbai to Jessore and Khulna crossing Calcutta and was elected ultimately to the Constituent-Assembly when the *Chandals* elected him from Jessore and Khulna for Constituent Assembly. ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. ASIM BALA (Navadwip) : What are you talking? They are not called *Chandal*... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KANSHI RAM : Today, they are called *Namaha Shudra*. If they are not called *Chandal* then there is no problem. But the '*Chandalika*' written by Tagore should also be condemned. The story '*Chandalika*' written by Tagore gives us a chance to peep into the History of that era. ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. ASIM BALA : He is not telling the facts. ...*(Interruptions)*

Why is he talking like this. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kanshi Ram ji, please address the chair. Do not look at him. It is creating problems.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : If they have not taken our note then we should take the note of others. If we are saying something bad then we should not do so. I think that had the revolt of this sort been taken into consideration then it could have solved the problem. But we did not think it proper to find out such solutions unless it affected the chair of someone. Today if we rise to do something, the people take note of. I do not think that I will get some more time in this House or the people will listen to me patiently but even after bitterness in my speech our hon. Members are listening to me. I think that it is a must to say this bitter thing and it is a must to make some arrangements in this regard. I do not know my hon. colleague who got pricked by calling *Chandal* ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Asim Bala, you are a senior Member. If you want to speak, he should yield to you. This is not the way.

DR. ASIM BALA : He interrupted me saying as if I was very much angry with the word '*Chandal*'. I am not angry with that word.

MR. CHAIRMAN : If you want to say anything, he should yield to you. That is the established procedure.

[Translation]

SHRI KANSHI RAM : Therefore, I would like to submit that whatever we had said during the British period had we taken a note of that and Gandhiji had also said in 1942 that untouchability is not their agenda then an effort should have been made to improve the lot of the untouchables. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh) : It was Gandhiji who launched agitation against untouchability. Gandhiji went on a padyatra in 1928 in the entire country. ... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Panigrahi, when you get a chance, you can say that.

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh) : It is not good, let Kanshi Ram ji speak. Give the clarification when he get a chance. Let him speak, we would like to listen him.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You can not interrupt like that.

[Translation]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI : Gandhi ji had his own agitation against untouchability. This discussion is not proper in this way. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KANSHI RAM : There are eight seats reserved for scheduled castes in Bengal. We all are well aware that none other can get elected from those seats but when we listen about Bengal, we see Chatterjee or Mukherjee or Mamata ji or then this colleague, perhaps he also hails from Bengal. The eight persons of Scheduled Castes from Bengal have never been seen speaking about Scheduled Castes.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Dr. Asim Bala speaks daily. He belongs to Scheduled Caste. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KANSHI RAM : Anyway, I do not come to Parliament daily. But the fact is that they speak all these things daily but they do not know their history.

Anyway, I come to my point. If Gandhiji had said in 1924 that it was not their agenda. Had we made it our

agenda after 1947 or before 1947? Dr. Ambedkar had achieved separate electorate for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in 1932 but even that was not acceptable to the Congress and Gandhiji and to the people of the country also. Dr. Ambedkar thought that those who would be elected by the votes of the Scheduled Castes would put forth the views of the Scheduled Castes in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies and would safeguard the interests of their people. But those who would be elected by the votes of other would not put forth the views of their people. We got the separate electorate in 1932 but we lost it.

Again he held talks with the Britishers in 1942. The Britishers were the rulers of this country. They were told that if they could not provide us a separate electorate and if they could not send our proper representatives in the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies then we should be provided a separate settlement as it is associated with social as well as economic aspects because we are not at all asking for a separate country like others. The Britishers accepted that request in 1942 and said that after the end of second World War, they would ponder over it and within twenty years a separate settlement would be made for them.

The people, who work in the fields and grow foodgrains do not have land. Those who used to work in the fields in 1947 and grow foodgrains were landless persons. There are many such people. There are around 35 per cent people who are engaged in agriculture and 32 per cent of the people have very little land and two third are landless marginal farmers. Dr. Ambedkar raised this issue in 1942 and suggested that there should be a separate settlement for them. They have not demanded a separate nation. Eighty such points were made on the map of the entire country where they could be settled. There is no shortage of agriculture land in this country. Those who do farming in the fields and grow foodgrains are landless and could be given lands so that they can earn their livelihood.

There are many such vacant lands in this country. Since lot of cultivable land is lying unused in the country and that land has not been provided to the farmers, therefore these people migrated to the cities. Had we provided them the separate settlement of land as suggested by Dr. Ambedkar, they would not have migrated to urban areas. They would have done cultivation in the unused land and grown foodgrains thereon. But they did not get land even during last fifty years. Much had been said about providing land to the landless but landless people did not get land. Because of this they migrated to cities leaving their villages. Such people numbering in lakhs and crores have migrated to cities today and this has created many problems in the cities such as slums, housing and other problems. Why these problems have cropped up? It is because of these

reasons that the agriculture workers working in fields did not get those fields. Even today there is no dearth of agricultural land in the country. It may be so in W. Bengal, the Punjab and Kerala but except for these three States, there is no shortage of cultivable land in the rest of the country. Simultaneously, there is also no shortage of farmers in the country to grow foodgrains in fields. But we could not find a way out to this problem in these fifty years and exactly for this reason they are migrating to urban areas and it has added to the problems of cities. So far as the problems of cities are concerned, we always think of those people who have migrated to the cities and we ignore the rural people.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : If we can not raise our voice here in the House. We will raise it outside the Parliament.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no need to express anger at this. You know that it has been decided to allot fifteen, twenty, twenty five minutes of time to leaders of the small parties and the remaining members are given ten minutes time. This thing was decided in the leaders meeting. I had run the bell to request you to conclude.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : That is right but if we cannot express our views here where would we be heard? We have already made arrangement outside. We will reach this House also with full strength. We are quite sure that we will try to increase our strength in Parliament in the times to come. If we will have more members then naturally our view point would be heard.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Even today your view point is being listened.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : No, it is not being listened to. 'I' therefore, think that in the times to come we shall try to get our more members elected in the Parliament. Why have we come to attend this special session today? If some weaknesses, shortcomings have come to the fore in these fifty years, we should prepare a proper agenda keeping in view them. We should keep social and economic aspects in view while chalking out the agenda for future. The revolt which took place during the British rule against economic situation. ...*[Interruptions]*

SHRI P.N. SIVA (Pudukkottai) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, please regulate the time.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Siva, I am here to regulate the time. Please do not interrupt.

[Translation]

SHRI KANSHI RAM : I come very rarely and even then I do not speak enough. But if you give me an opportunity to speak today, it is well and good and if you do not, there is nobody outside to prevent me from speaking. This has been not the case so far but may be some obstacles might crop up outside also.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : Please, you carry on, we are hearing you.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : No, I am saying this also because I am looking at Atal ji, when I speak or do something or my doing or speaking is not liked by some people. They think that if I stop speaking, it would be better. I was saying that I had talked with Atal ji about Uttar Pradesh six-seven months back from now. Atal ji told me that the election of the President was to be held in the near future. He thought that I should be made President. There would be no party who would oppose. I said to Atal ji that I am working towards a cause and if I would occupy the President's House, who would continue my work? Therefore I should be firm enough on the front. That is why some people do not like what I speak. No matter, if they do not like it, I will speak outside the House. This sort of revolt which had been there previously also, we will have to ponder over that and to understand that today. We should formulate further plan after having much deliberations. If we do so, only then it would be beneficial. If we do not, it would be to no avail. In 1990, when the then Union Government were celebrating centenary celebrations of Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, the Ambedkar Village Development Scheme was formulated. That was not formulated by us. I do not know if this Scheme is being implemented in any State except in Uttar Pradesh where the B.S.P is in power. Members of Parliament who have come herefrom all over the country, they all know, it is only the B.S.P. Government in Uttar Pradesh which has been implementing this scheme. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI (Dumanaqan) : It was also there during the Mulayam Singh Government ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KANSHI RAM : Mulayam Singh ji is not now the Chief Minister of U.P. When he will be Chief Minister, it remains a matter to be seen. We would request him to implement this Scheme. Why the Ambedkar Village Development Scheme was formulated? If it was not to be implemented, then what was the need to formulate it?

Sir, similarly this very Government at the centre enacted Prevention of Atrocities on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Act. This act was passed in this House. It is much

talked about nowadays. I had to speak in this House itself. Therefore, I have asked for facts from the Uttar Pradesh Government in this regard what our Government has been doing? Because this has become a talking point for the last few months that this Prevention of Atrocities on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Act should cease to operate. This was enacted by this House and therefore this House should also abolish it, if it is not required. But people say they will abolish it in the U.P. Assembly. How an Act enacted by the Parliament could be abolished by the U.P. Assembly? Parliament will have to abolish it. If this Act which was introduced in 1989 and passed in 1995 is not required now this House should abolish it. If any Act brought into force is misused, that should also be prevented. I called for facts from the U.P. Government to ascertain the position there in this regard. Since the B.S.P. Government has come in power in U.P. voices are raised against it. In the last three four months since the B.S.P. Government has taken over, 1611 cases have been registered under this Act while during the corresponding period when there was Central rule as many as a 1737 cases were registered under the said Act.

Prior to my speech, one of my colleagues had said that 2767 cases were registered during Mulayam Singh's rule. Another colleague, who is not here at present, told me that this Act has been imposed there on us and requested me to ask Mayawati to repeat it. He also told the same thing to Atalji. I told Kanaujia ji, Member of Parliament, that Mayawati has imposed this Act. Then he said that it was actually imposed during Mulayam Singh's regime but we should repeat it. Therefore, I think that it would be better to check the misuse of the Act but if repealing of this act is a necessity then this issue should be taken up and the Act should be repealed by this House. This Act is not confined to Uttar Pradesh only, but it is to check the atrocities being committed on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes throughout the country. Everyone favours checking of atrocities but when attempts are made in this regard, then people oppose this move. So, I think only those acts should be enacted in this House which we can implement. We should not pass those Acts which we cannot implement. Hence, a lot is said about democracy, that democracy has been in practise in the country for a long time. But I think there is no democracy at all in our country. This is a sort of a game where rich people use money power to hijack the votes of poor people and we call it democracy. Similarly, the former Election Commissioner Mr. Seshan has written a book titled:

[English]

"A heart full of burden". In that book, he has written that democratic culture in India is in an advanced stage of decay.

[Translation]

The former Election Commissioner was forced to say this. In 1951-52, when the democratic process was about to start in the country, Baba Saheb Ambedkar had said that if elections would be contested with the wealth of rich people then these rich people will have full say in the Government and today we are witnessing the same thing. Money, Mafia and Media have played a major role in the democracy of the country. Baba Saheb Ambedkar had quoted from Mahabharata because at that time people knew so much about Mahabharata and Ramayana. While referring to Bhishma Pitamah, he said:

[English]

"I would like you to refer to Mahabharata. During the battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, Bhishma and Drona were on the side of the Kauravas. Pandavas were in the right and Kauravas in the wrong. Bhishma admitted this when some one asked Bhishma as to why he was supporting the Kauravas if he found the Pandavas to be in the right, Bhishma replied in that memorable sentence—"I must be loyal to salt. If I eat the food of the Kauravas, I must take their side even if they might be wrong."

[Translation]

Right since 1951-52, we knew that money power was being used in elections and the irony is that we tell the world at large that we have democracy in our country. Therefore, electoral reforms from 1972 onwards. Several Committees have been constituted till 1990. In 1972 Rao Committee was constituted and similarly in 1974, Tarkunde Committee was constituted. Therefore, several cabinet Committees had been constituted. Since then we had 14 Chief Election Commissioners till date who have submitted their report regarding electoral reforms and recommended about the reforms to be undertaken. But so far, we have not undertaken the reforms about which we were professing all these years because we did not want to do it. During the last fifty years, much has been said about electoral reforms, but we could not do it because we did not want to do it. But, if we want to restore political democracy in a real sense then we would have to go for electoral reforms. If we want to make the political democracy a success then we would have to bring in changes in social and economic front. This has also not proved successful in the country so far and there are no chances of achieving success in the near future. We did not bother to think about this during the last fifty years. After fifty years, we have started thinking in this direction so now we should think about its shortcomings and we should prepare an agenda to remove these shortcomings. The future agenda should be of this nature. With these words, I thank you for giving me ample time to put forth my views.



KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would try to speak in our national language. We are celebrating Golden Jubilee Year of Independence. The special session of this House is being held. I pay tributes to those who laid their lives and sacrificed their everything for the country. I also pay tributes to those leaders and soldiers who have put their lives at stake for protecting the country after independence.

It is very easy to say that no development has taken place in the country during the last 50 years. We do not want to say anything wrong and untrue. It is must to speak the truth in this special session. I believe in this theory.

Our country got independence 50 years back. At that period there were disturbances and communal riots in our country. History is correct when it says that most of us have not witnessed independence struggle. When riots started in the country Gandhiji showed right path to all. He told them, we have to live together in this country irrespective of religions, whether we are Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian. This is the tradition of our country. Thereafter Gandhiji had to sacrifice his life. Like Gandhiji, there were other Leaders and freedom fighters such as Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Baba Saheb Ambedkar, Lal, Bal, Pal and Subhas Chandra Bose who thought that if our country gets independence then only the common man will get his full rights. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of the country. He was called the 'Modern Architect of India'. He worked for the benefit of the country. Then came Lal Bahadur Shastri. He gave us a slogan 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan' which means 'Hail Soldiers, Hail farmers'. He gave us this slogan because the soldier guards and protects the country and the farmers provides us with food to eat. Then Indira Gandhi came on the political scenario. She gave a slogan 'Garibi Hatao' which means "Alleviate Poverty". She thought that if our country wants to achieve something then process of development should be started from grass root level. For that, Indira Gandhi formulated 20-point programme. Indira Gandhi ji had formulated. I.R.D.P., N.R.E.P, R.L.E.G.P., D.R.D.A., Self Employment Scheme and several other programmes under 20 point programme.

Thereafter, she too had to sacrifice her life. Just one day before Indiraji's assassination, a meeting was held in Orissa. She was told by a number of people that her life was in danger. Then Indiraji stated—

[English]

"I do not care whether I live or die. I shall continue to serve till my last breath and if I die, every drop of my blood will strengthen our country and keep united India alive."

[Translation]

But Indiraji had to sacrifice her life.

Then Shri Rajiv Gandhi came into power and raised a slogan "Mera Bharat Mahan". Shri Rajiv Gandhi was criticised very much at that time. It was also politically misused by many sayings that by stating "Mera Bharat Mahan" he wants to say that his family is great But I would like to say with proud that this family is really great where mother Indira Gandhi and son Rajiv Gandhi sacrificed their lives, we salute this family because this family has made sacrifice for the country.

The Chief Minister of Punjab Shri Beant Singh also had to sacrifice his life for the country. General Vaidya also had to sacrifice his life. Many innocent people have lost their lives either in terrorists attack or in communal riots. The Government should have made arrangements during the past 50 years for the families so suffered. The dependents of army men fighting on the borders endangering their lives and who meet their families after months together do not get employment. Is it not the responsibility of the Government to provide employment to atleast one member of the family of the soldiers who fight for our country and protect it. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to quote Gandhiji—

[English]

"Let communalism be our main enemy, let secularism be our main foundation", let nationalism be our main politics, let humanism be our main religion and let patriotism be our main ideal."

[Translation]

I hail from West Bengal which made true contribution in the freedom struggle. The reforms also started in the country from Bengal. What we are going to state today, has already been stated by poet Rabindra Nath Tagore in his poems.

15.54 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

I would like to read out English translation of a poem written by Rabindra Nath Tagore and translated by Mc millan—

[*English*]

“Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

where knowledge is free;

where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

where the words have come out from the depth of truth;

where clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dream desert land of dead habit;

where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

where the mind is led forward by these oh! my father let my country awake.”

[*Translation*]

We want that the tricolour of India—the best country in the world should be unfurled with great respect in all times. The Constitution drafted after independence has, no doubt provided us political freedom but true political freedom has still not been achieved by the country. It is a fact that even today, rigging takes place at many places and people have their names in voter lists of two places and one person casts his vote at five places. It was stated in the report of Election Commission issued much earlier that fifty lakh identity card prepared for the election in the state under the policy of “No identity card—no vote” have no existence at present. If elections are held in such a way, what will happen to our traditions? I would like to state that merely delivering good speeches in this special session will not send any message but instead of it if any constructive work is undertaken or any comprehensive plan of action is prepared then a message will go that any special session was held. Therefore, my suggestion is that the Government should pass Lok Pal Bill in this session as soon as possible and send this message specially. Vohra Commission report was submitted in 1993 and Supreme Court had given its direction on it but so far no achievement has been made in this

regard. Vohra Commission had stated that many politicians have their nexus with Mafia gangsters but we would like to know the name of these politicians, political parties and persons in administration. Even the common man want to know their names but the complete report has not been tabled even after the verdict of Supreme Court. I want that the complete report of Vohra Commission should be tabled so that people should know the truth.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is also true that I want to state to everyone that—

[*English*]

If we wish to build India, we have to build the nation and the people, we will have to lay foundation of a strong, social and economic independence at the grassroot level.

[*Translation*]

We have formulated many schemes but what benefit do grassroot level people get from these schemes. What does a common man thinks of politicians today—

[*English*]

The politicians are losing their credibility. I am not saying that all politicians are corrupt. I am not saying that all politicians have vested interests but the message is very clear. I do not know whether you will appreciate it or not but the truth is, a message has gone to the people that the politics has become a profession. It is just like a business or an art. May I appeal to all the politicians, please do not believe in petty politics. Some plan of action of some stringent action must be thought of so that the politicians do not misuse the black money for their political purposes or for their vested interests. A parallel economy is going on in this country. This parallel economy is being run by the black money hoarders, mafia gangs, underworld people and the politicians.

[*Translation*]

Everyone is not like that but there are many such leaders who are facing criminal charges. The hon. Member of Parliament may also be included in the list. There are persons who can be purchased by industrialists and many persons act according to the wishes of the industrialists. The country cannot be run in such a way. Today, common man feels that young generation should join politics but it feels hesitation because we have nil value base.

[English]

The value base politics has become value less politics. The political pollution has gone sky high.

[Translation]

Today political pollution is very much. It can not be compared with industrial pollution. If there is any pollution in the country that pollution is political pollution. Therefore, I would like to submit that whatever Shri Vajpayeeji has stated about election is true. Funds are essential for election.

16.00 hrs.

But why have we not made provision for State funding in our country? During the last fifty years we have seen that whatever funds are provided by the Central Government for development of the villages, 90 per cent of that has gone into the pockets of political parties and even the remaining 10 percent funds have not been spent in such a situation how can we create our infrastructure?

So far as the question of national highways is concerned, I am glad to see in Maharashtra that concrete roads are being constructed there but I have seen in the other parts of the country that national highways are in bad conditions, they have pits. It is very difficult to move on these roads. Our Communication system had gone worse. The position of Mafia gangs in the matter of tender is so strong that it cannot be curbed. A section of our administration has links with them.

Today the position is so bad that Government interferes into the functioning of C.B.I. Earlier it was not so. It is said here that Congress Government was bad but it had never done so. After Independence when Congress took over the charge of the country at that time even needle was not manufactured in the country but today, We can make aeroplane. During that time irrigation facility was not available for the land in our country while today we are providing irrigation facilities for a large portion of agriculture land. I admit that we could not provide irrigation facility to the entire land but today we grow three crops in a year in our country. Earlier there was nothing in our country but today we have made tremendous progress. At the same time it is not true that congress that done nothing. I am M.P. for three terms. During the regime of Rajivji we never found Government interfering into the functioning of C.B.I. or any other autonomous body. Who can interfere into the functioning of C.B.I?

[English]

The CAG is an autonomous body. They are interfering in the business of the CAG. They are interfering in the CBI matter. The Government is interfering with the judiciary. If this goes on, there is no need of this Government. I do not think, this is a proper thing. Putting political influence on such institutions must be stopped.

Let impartial institutions work smoothly and very impartially. We should not interfere with the working of the impartial institutions. If it is going on, a wrong message is going to the country that because somebody's case is there, somebody is interfering, blackmailing; this is going on.

I think, the Special Session must give a message. Number one, we want electoral reforms. Number two, we want administrative reforms. Number three, we want judicial reforms. Number four, we want social reforms. Number five, we want political reforms. There should be some control or plan of action on the population also. I am grateful to the Prime Minister of his message given on the midnight of 14th August.

[Translation]

I congratulate hon'ble Prime Minister that he had stated in the mid-night programme of 14th August that corruption be weeded out but how is it possible as it is prevailing in the entire country, as such, how would you check it. When 90 percent of funds provided for the development are going into the pockets of few persons, how would we remove corruption? Time bound scheme should be formulated for removing the corruption. all the political parties should chalk out a plan of action for this purpose. If it is not possible, after every two years, elections would be held in our country. How can we bear the expenditure incurred thereon. From where these funds are provided? The industrialists control these elections. It is said about the Government—of the people, by the people and for the people—if we cannot take stern action against corruption, its definition would be— the government by the money power, of the money power and for misuse of money. It would send wrong signal in the country.

Therefore, I would like to put two important suggestions. My first suggestion is that corruption should be weeded out but at the same time unemployment is serious problem of our country so this problem should also be solved. Indira Gandhiji had raised slogan— 'Garibi Hatao.' Rajivji had raised slogan— 'Bharat Mahan Hai.' Lal Bahadur Shastri had give slogan— 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan,' in the same way why can our government not raise slogan— 'Berojgari Hatao, Desh Bachao'. Today unemployment is increasing in the

country, workers are living in pitiable condition. If the rich amasses wealth, the law protects him while worker dies in bad condition. Today the worker has weekend. You are inviting foreign investment. I am not against it but what about our indigenous Mills, small scale industries, cottage industries and co-operative movement. Today, N.T.C. cotton Mill, Bengal founded by Shri Rabindra Nath Tagore has been closed and when we ask question in this regard to textile Minister, no reply is given from his side and if he gives reply that is wrong. Even a single worker is not satisfied with that reply. Mills are lying closed there. The condition of Public Sector is also bad. You see Public Sector. Our colleagues say that how would Government solve the problems when it is itself helpless. The Government has become poor hence it is privatising everything whether it is Life Insurance or Metro rail. It is going to privatise Coal India. There is Tea Board in Calcutta. Government proposes to privatise it. Government is ready to sell all the public sector but it is not ready to do anything for them. It is easy to give speech but we should think about the situation prevailing in the country. Our country has more than three crores registered unemployed youths and there are more than 50 lakhs such youths in West Bengal. If we follow this path, all our mills would be closed and lakhs of workers would be rendered jobless. What will happen with these unemployed people? Will it not contribute to terrorism? It increases terrorism and creates frustration among us. Nothing has been done for one generation. Whichever Government comes into power, it gives a new programme. It is like Lolypop, it is like begging. ...*(Interruptions)* I did not speak anything for a long time. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

So many unemployed youth requested me to express their views in the Parliament. That is why I am concentrating on this especially, so that the unemployed youth get employment. Sir, you know the problem of unemployment. It is growing like cancer and there is no answer to this problem.

[Translation]

Therefore, I want that a message should be conveyed from this special session. There should be a comprehensive plan of action for our unemployed youths. Government cannot provide employment to each person. The vacancies for SCs and STs have not been filled. Shri Kanshi Ramji said a lot of things just now but he did not said that SC and ST quota has not been filled.

SHRI KANSHI RAM : It has been filled in Parliament.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : You are speaking about the leaders in Parliament and I am talking about workers. The quota for SC and ST is not filled. It is misused. The Mandal Commission had mentioned 77 castes in other Backward communities. Commission has been constituted in each state and only 52-60 castes have been included, but that is also of no use. It means that they don't get intended advantages. We abuse the minorities. You see, how many members belonging to minorities are in the House.

[English]

Minorities are also a factor.

[Translation]

We are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence but I am constrained to say that the number of minorities should be increased. There is no need to bring bill in this regard. There should be will of the party. We all say that they commit riots.

[English]

Sir, do you know the ratio of unemployment of minorities as compared to others? Only one per cent people among the minorities are having employment and only two per cent of women in the country are employed. Where would these people go?

[Translation]

You don't provide education. There is no place for SC and ST people in hospitals. How our common people would lead their lives. If you don't pay heed to the real thing, all the political parties would remain but in drawing room only and the common public, the grass root people would certainly fight for their rights. Without providing the benefits of agriculture crops to the grass-root people, nothing can be done.

[English]

So, the message should go to the people at the grass-roots level that we are doing something for them.

There is one another thing. It involves each and everybody. You cannot deny the fact. ...*(Interruptions)* He is intervening.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think now you can conclude.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : I want only two minutes. It is also my allegation. There are some conventions. Some foreign delegates come to our country

and our Parliamentary delegations go to those countries. It is our decorum. It is our system. How many politicians including the Chief Ministers, the Prime Minister and all the VVIPs have gone abroad? I am not talking about the LLIPs. LLIPs means less, less important persons. They do not have any value in this country. How many times have they gone abroad? Instead of investing Indian money in India, it is being sent abroad. Politicians, all sections of bureaucrats and administrative people are keeping their money through the underground world in different banks. May I name them? They are Swiss and other banks. I would like to know whether the Government have any record or not? First, you recover your money, our hard-earned money and then you can ask the NRIs to invest their money in our country. I think this is a great loss for the country.

Sir, I am grateful to you that you have given me the time. I have only two more points.

One of them is, this is the birth centenary year of Shri Netaji Subas Chandra Bose. It is reported in the Press. The HRD Minister and the Defence Minister made a statement that they were going to bring his ashes from Japan. I want to know whether the Government has the documents or evidence that this is Netaji Subas Chandra Bose's ashes. This is not. This is not proper. I think this year, you should not mislead the country. It is because after 1942, one delegation from Asiatic Society went to Russia. They have collected some information that after 1942, Netaji was alive and he was in Russia. That is why, until and unless it is proved, you cannot bring the ashes of another person only to satisfy you.

My second point is, Shri Bankim Chandra Chattopdhyay wrote national songs. Even we also play those songs. But, Sir, I have written so many letters to our earlier Speakers also. I raised this issue in this House so many times. There is no place to keep a photo of Shri Bankim Chandra Chattopdhyay. This is the 50th year of our Independence. We are celebrating the Golden Jubilee year of our Independence. There is no place for Shri Bankim Chandra Chattopdhyay. Is it fair on the Government side also? I think the hon. Chair can take a decision. I have written two or three letters. For record, I am telling you. This year, please put up one photo of Shri Bankim Chandra Chattopdhyay to respect him at least. He wrote our National Song. With these words, I would only like to say:

"Raha Gulshan To Phool Khilenge
Rahi Zindagi To Phir Milenge"



SHRI N.V.N. SOMU

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI N.V.N. SOMU) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to express my views on the Motion moved by the Leaders of all the parties, including my DMK party Leader, Shri Murasoli Maran.

This is truly a historic moment. It is a historic moment for the people of India and also for the Indian Parliament which is the embodiment of the will of the people of India. We have completed fifty years of Independence. During the last fifty years, we have scaled many a mountain, converted many a valley, overcome many a challenge and weathered many a storm. On balance, we can rightly be proud about the blossoming of our democratic institutions. Democracy in our country, today, has truly become a people's agenda. The idea of freedom has been well entrenched in the minds of our people. The gains of freedom have percolated all levels in the society. During the past fifty years, we have give shape to the concept of democratic India

Our achievements in the field of economy, human development and science and technology have also been considerable. Our experience of half a century of our pursuance of our economic policies has given us significant insight into the economic situation of our country. The time, therefore, is right to take stock of the situation, to look back the path we have traversed and to introspect on our past policies and actions, so that our future actions enable the nation to march ahead with even more pride and with even more pace in the years to come. It is for these reasons that today is also a historic moment in the history of our Parliament. For the next few days, the mission of the Parliament will be to provide an opportunity to all of us to create a bold new vision for India.

During the last five decades, India can rightly be proud to have safeguarded and enlarged the gains of freedom. We have provided flesh and blood to the constitutional edifice

bequeathed to us by the founding fathers of the Constitution. Our Constitution has given us the framework for a strong nation based on the principle that strong States constitute strong Centre. The Dravida Munetra Kazhagam, which I am proud to be belonging to, has always been championing the cause of establishing a true and genuine federalist government in our country. Dr. Annadurai, the founder leader of DMK was the pioneer in this cause. In a country of vast geographical, linguistic, cultural and ethnic dimensions like India, strengthening of States is the only solution. I am indeed proud that DMK has always been in the forefront in fighting for a system of genuine and wholesome federalism in our country. The DMK Government in Tamil Nadu, under the Chief Ministership of Dr. M. Kalaingar Karunanidhi, appointed the Rajamannar Commission to go into this matter as early as in 1971. Dr. Kalaingar, addressing the National Development Council in 1972, made it very clear that decentralisation should be understood "as a request for more efficient management of the country's resources, as a means to enable the Centre to be strong in areas of vital national concern, as a method of enabling the minimum demands of our people to be met in the quickest time and in the most efficient matter". It is the policy of DMK that this concept should be further enriched and enlarged.

The Common Minimum Programme of the United Front contains several measures to strengthen the Centre-State relations. The United Front has committed itself to pursue the two track policy. On the first track, the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, on which there is already a broad consensus, will be implemented through legislation and administrative action. On the second track, a high level Committee will be appointed to review and update the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. This Committee is also to look into the vital question of devolution of financial powers from the Central Government to the State Governments. There commitments need to be fulfilled without any further delay.

The operation of article 356 has always been an impediment in the smooth Centre-State relationships. It is fresh in our memory that the fears expressed in the constituent Assembly by persons like H.V. Kamath, Kazi Sayed Karimuddin, P.S. Deshmukh and Kunzru, turned out to be true in the subsequent working of the Constitution relating to article 356. Time has, therefore, come to do away with this provision because nowhere in the world a country which calls itself federal has a similar draconian provision which extinguishes democracy in a State in an arbitrary manner.

Sir, upliftment of backward communities which suffered for ages under the suppressive and stifling social system is also an equally important task. Here again, the pioneering

work was done in Tamil Nadu, with the Justice Party succeeding in securing reservation for these communities in Government jobs through the first communal G.O. of 1921. In 1950, when the policy of reservation for the backward classes was struck down by the Supreme Court, it was the Dravidian Movement which led to a movement which resulted in the first amendment to the Constitution legitimising the policy. But now once again the decision of the Supreme Court that total reservations should not exceed 50 per cent level has the effect of putting the clock back as far as States like Tamil Nadu are concerned. The D.M.K. considers that it is necessary to resolve this problem through legal and constitutional ways urgently to safeguard and secure the benefits the backward communities have been enjoying. The States must be vested with the powers through constitutional amendment, to decide on the extent of reservation considered necessary.

Our experience in the working of the Panchayati Raj institutions has convinced us that the present system is full of defects. The two-tier system which was in existence in Tamil Nadu, instead of the three-tier system laid down by the Constitution, will be more beneficial, more economical without in any way, diluting the concept of Panchayati Raj. It is, therefore, necessary to amend the provisions of the Constitution in this regard to give the States the flexibility to adopt the system that is most appropriate to suit the local conditions.

In a vast country like ours, the regional aspirations of people must find proper accommodation, as otherwise this will manifest in the form of breach of societal peace. For instance, the language is still a very sensitive issue and there is no reason why all our national languages should not be given the status of official language. Sir, Tamil, which is the most ancient language of India, should be accorded the status of official language immediately as a first step in this direction.

Ours is a country which is richly endowed with human resources. Human resources should be seen as an asset and not as a liability. Human resources, however, will turn into an asset only if we are willing to invest in people.

As the great eastern philosopher K'uan Tzu, who lived 500 years before the Christ, said and I quote :

"If you plan for a year, plant a seed. If for ten years, plant a tree. If for a hundred years, teach the people. When you sow a seed, you will reap a single harvest. When you teach the people, you will reap a hundred harvest".

Investing in people is the basic requirement for laying a sound foundation of economic growth. Countries, like

individuals, cannot utilise their full potential without knowledge and skills, otherwise known as human capital. The importance of investing in human resource has become much clearer now because of the mounting evidence on the extent to which such investment and its links with other factors in development act as an engine of change.

We have made spectacular progress in nuclear and space research as well as in biotechnology and electronics. But the fact remains that success has accrued only to a few. Very large sections of the population remain in conditions no different from those of their forefathers.

The World Bank and the I.M.F. may have lauded the country as the fifth largest economy. But our rank, according to the U.N.D.P.'s Human Development Index (HDI) 1994, is a lowly 138. True, the HDI is not a precise tool for international comparisons. But it still constitutes a good enough pointer to the lop-sided progress we have made in the last fifty years.

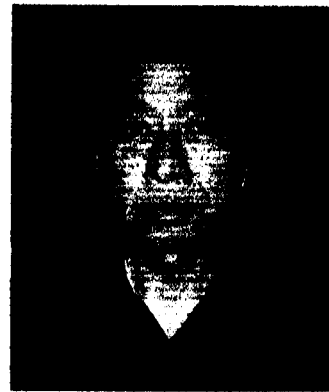
With nearly 16 per cent of the world's populations, India has a third of world's poor, a half of all those who have no access to the written word and a half of all child labour. Even if we chose not to view our problems in relative terms, rising living standards remains a clear imperative.

As the hon. Speaker has said, eradication of poverty is the first task. For that we should aim of seven to eight per cent G.D.P. growth rate per year.

Alvin Tofler in his book 'Power Shift' pointed out that the world will no longer be divided between the rich and the poor countries but between the fast and the slow countries.

Let us look at the eight super stars—Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. Thirty years ago, two-fifth of the population in the East Asian countries lives below the poverty line. Now, the figure is negligible. Several of them, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan are now among the world's richest countries. Each of the eight countries of the East Asian miracle does things in its own and different way. We, in India, have traditionally been slow. Unless, we move faster and have consensus on key economic policy matters, we can never dream of catching up with our Asian brothers. I once again repeat—let us look east and learn their best practices, let us have China mentality which has made coastal China as the world's number three economic power. Then only, we can eradicate poverty of our millions.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as the Speaker has said in his speech, there is a need for second freedom struggle. That freedom struggle should be for freeing the common man from poverty, for establishing a genuine and wholesome federalism and a vibrant democracy and a just society which social justice free from corruption and violence.



SHRI G.G. SWELL

SHRI G.G. SWELL (Shillong) : Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

When the Special Session was called, I and many others had expected that it would be an occasion for collective introspection, cutting across party lines. The Speaker in his speech that he read out yesterday had outlined some of the problems facing our country which need our attention. I am happy that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is here. He also began on that note in his speech. There was no mention of any party. There was no point of finger on the failures of anybody. He was not partisan. He only call for an exemplary behaviour by us in this House, in this Parliament because it is this Parliament that holds the country together. I fully reciprocate the ideas of the Leader of the Opposition. Fifty years have gone by. I think, this is an occasion for us to look back these 50 years—what we have achieved and what we have failed to achieve. We have to look to the present, where we are and we have to look to the future where we are going. The problems in the country are multifarious. If we start discussing them, there will be no end to it. I do not think that this is the purpose of this Special Session. For these problems, one has to look separately in a proper manner.

Now, with regard to our achievements, I think that the greatest achievement that India has made is to hold this country together, this vast, variegated, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic country together. We have done that in a democratic manner under a parliamentary system. When the British left India, they made a pronouncement that India was ungovernable. We have proved them wrong. In their assessment, they thought that a country like Pakistan, which has the cohesion of one religion, had a better chance.

But we have seen what has happened. Pakistan has split up and even today, we do not know who is really in charge in Pakistan. While there is a sporadic camaraderie between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan, suddenly two days after the Prime Minister had visited Sinagar and made an optimistic assessment of the situation that peace would be coming back to Kashmir and

people would live a good life, a peaceful life, there was an outbreak of firing between the two countries, the most serious for a long long time which is still continuing. Now, the Government of Pakistan speaks in one voice, but the behaviour of the Army and the I.S.I. is different. Therefore, we do not know who is in-charge and with whom we are going to do business. Then, sectarian violence goes on taking place in Pakistan and therefore, I think, following of parliamentary democracy is the greatest achievement of our country.

Sir, if we look across the world, I think, there are only half-a-dozen countries which are really democratic and which follows the parliamentary system. Those are the countries that have been free for centuries and which have the advantage of one religion and one language. When you consider what India is, what India was—so vast, so full of contradiction—through it sometimes breaks out or erupts into violence or into a kind of strife between different groups, yet we are able to hold this country together. During the last 50 years we had had so many elections, national elections to this Parliament and elections to different Legislative Assemblies of the States. These elections have been, by all standards, fair and free. There have been changes, but there has been peaceful transfer of power which cannot be said of many countries and therefore, I think, this is the greatest achievement and from here we have to proceed onward. There has to be a spirit of give and take, there has to be a spirit of listening to each other, there has to be a spirit of understanding and there has to be a spirit of cooperation. The only aim that we should have is to lift this country and take it forward.

Now, we have also made progress in many other areas. We have made very great progress in infrastructure, whether it is on the surface or in the air or in electronics. There is much more road mileage in India today than there was, there are more trains running than there were and our communications have improved. We are operating them and we have allowed also the private parties in India to make use of our air space. We have sent satellites up which have been manufactured by ourselves, albeit through the launching pads like Arians, of a foreign country. In the fields of electronics and telecommunications, there have been revolutionary changes and revolutionary improvements. We are self-sufficient in many other areas. In food, from being a net food importing country, we are now self-sufficient and we are a net food exporting country.

These are not mean achievements. They are achievements by the people of India. These are achievements by the political system. But having said this, I would like to look to the present and examine the problems that are before us.

The biggest problem that is before us is the problem of population. From 360 million people in 1947, we have today 960 million people, a threefold increment in the last 50 years. According to the United Nations projections, by the next decennial census, the population in India would overtake the population in China. This is something that is worrisome. There are so many more mouths to feed, which means that we have to produce more food and we have to double the food production. We will have to look into agriculture and the means of doing it. There would be so much more houses to be built in order to afford them accommodation. There has been a lot of discussion as to how to control the population. But I would like to say that there is nothing better to control population than the motivation of the people themselves. I do not think that there is a lack of motivation, but there are no facilities. The majority of our people live in hovels. They do not have a place to sleep, a proper place to eat, there is absolutely no family privacy and, therefore, the process goes on in that way. There is absolutely no opportunity to practice family planning, and the population goes on increasing. There are more people to be educated in view of the fact that we have taken some kind of a decision, it has been talked about, that all children up to the age of 14 will have to get compulsory free education. Are we able to do these things? These are the questions.

Mr. Chairman, I know that the time at my disposal is limited. When we talk of the progress we have made, when we talk of the problems that we face, when we look into the future, we cannot do that in isolation. We have also to look around us. Of course, we can compare ourselves with some of the smaller neighbouring countries. It is all right. We take pride in that. But we have a fall out also in an enlightened foreign policy, that is, being a large country, we can afford to be large hearted and to be generous. We have dealt in that manner with Bangladesh and, therefore, there is a better atmosphere with Bangladesh. We have dealt in that manner with Nepal and there is a better cooperation between us and Nepal. The question of Pakistan is a little different, and the question of Sri Lanka is a little different. At the moment, we have opened up towards the South East, to ASEAN, and we are now a full dialogue partner with ASEAN, which has made phenomenal economic progress in the last few years. That is a good thing. We will have bilateral dealings with ASEAN countries, many of which are prosperous, and from there we go on to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, which will bring us in touch with Japan, China, America and all that. There is a great possibility. This is a great thing, and this is an achievement.

I would only like to draw your attention, Mr. Chairman, to one of the most immediate neighbours to our country,

that is, Myanmar. Apart from China, we have the longest land and sea boundary with Myanmar. We have problems with Myanmar in the land boundary because of the problems of insurgency and because of the problem of drugs. I am not going into that.

But what I would like to point out is that there is going to be a very great problem in our maritime relations. There are lots of oil and gas in Myanmar. At one time, Myanmar was an oil exporting country as it was a rice exporting country and, according to the United Nations, it also has the capacity to be the largest rice exporting country in the world. The military junta in Myanmar has appointed a multinational—I think the name is TOTAL, a French Company—to explore oil in the Myanmar offshore. That is taking place and the pace will quicken. One does not know what really is there under the seabed. There is a reservoir of oil and gas. How much is it? It is quite possible that the reservoir of oil and gas under the seabed may be struggling, the continental shelves may be struggling, the way they struggle the economic zones of the two countries. We have to do business with Myanmar, may be in the next five or ten years. Our problem in Myanmar today is political because there is a military *junta* there. We would like democracy to come to Myanmar. But how it will come, I do not know. Let us wait for some time.

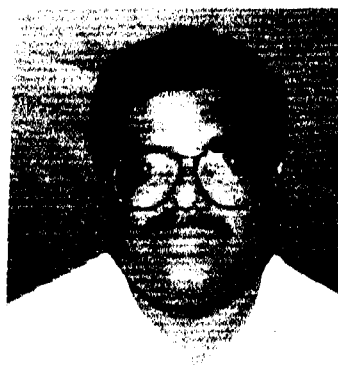
But the country with which we have to compare ourselves is China. Well, China is not a democratic country. It is a one party country and, therefore, it is not a parliamentary democracy. But China has made such phenomenal improvements that it is going towards becoming a superpower. It is the one country in the world that stands against America on its own. Many a time China and America have stood eye ball to eye ball against each other on the problem of human rights. Many times, America has threatened to take action or to impose sanctions on China, but they do not dare to do it because the investment by the American industries and American multinationals in China is such that if they are going to do it, there will be a revolt within America itself. In many ways, not only China is a nuclear power country, it is able and it is prosperous. But already I read that China has been able to launch its own satellite into space and it has built a cosmodrome, a launching pad of its own and put a satellite into the geo-stationary orbit, something which we tried to do a few years ago. We tried to get the cryogenic engines from Russia. Russia has promised to give us the cryogenic technology, but on account of the combination of a few powerful countries under the so-called satellite technology control regime, we were not able to get it and America put its influence on that we do not know when we will be able to do that. In every way, we are far behind China. Why? We have to look into all this.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 17 minutes. Please conclude.

SHRI G.G. SWELL : I will finish. I am a very rule-abiding Member of this House. I do not create trouble. I do not do any such thing.

Therefore, we have to look into these problems. Number one is the problem of population. Unless we give the people a proper education, unless we give the people proper accommodation, we cannot make progress. Many times, people say here that the responsibility for increasing the numbers of the family is not of man, but of woman because she has to bring up children. We have to do it. How to do it? There was a talk that we should impose restrictions on members of Parliament that anybody who has more than two children should not come here and should not get Government jobs.

It is all easier said than done. Then, how do we do it? These are the few problems. I think that we should approach these problems in that spirit, a spirit of give and take, a spirit of cooperation and I am sorry to say that we have not been able to keep up that atmosphere of this Special Session. There have been speeches which converted this forum into a forum of their own political parties. There have been charges and counter-charges. There will be no end to these things. But if we have the will and the mind to do it, we can really proceed and go in that way.



DR. M. JAGANNATH

DR. M. JAGANNATH (Nagarkurnool) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Telugu Desam Party.

Sir, the National Commemoration Committee on our Golden Jubilee Celebrations has rightly envisaged the idea of having a Special Session to introspect ourselves about the achievements and the deficiencies of the past fifty years. It is the right occasion for introspection so that we may rekindle the spirit of sacrifice that marked our freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi's vision of a free India was to

wipe every tear from every eye. At the historical moment of the transfer of power, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke of our tryst with destiny. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar dreamed of the Dalits getting into the mainstream of the society.

Fifty years is time enough to take stock of our achievements and failures and find out how far the tears have been wiped and who are the beneficiaries of the tryst with destiny.

It is a rare opportunity when we speak our minds objectively, raising above the partisan considerations, and reflecting the feelings of the common man on the state of the nation so that appropriate future programmes may be designed to set our social, economic and political institutions in order.

Who can deny that there are tears and violence all around and the tryst with destiny has benefited only a chosen few? A vast majority still continues to be stepped in poverty and the gap between the rich and the poor has further widened. The number of people living below the poverty line today is one and a half times the total population that India had at the time of freedom. Two more Indias have been added to our population of 330 million in 1947 and the next twenty years are going to witness the addition of yet another India, a pointer to our utter failure on the population front. The Constitution of India envisaged universal primary education by 1960. But even in 1997, the country has a large number of illiterates than it had at the time of independence. While we boast of having the third largest scientific force in the world, an international rating of 45 developing countries last year ranked India 42 in terms of skills and quality of manpower. As a percentage, our share in the world trade has gone down since Independence. Every individual in the country carries on his head a debt burden of about Rs. 8000/- Newer and more heinous crimes are being committed on the people, particularly on women and the people belonging to the weaker sections. The evils of aborting the female foetus, the killing of the girl child, committing rape, including child rape, dowry harassment, murder etc. have grown menacingly. The values that our great leaders cherished and left for us exist no more. We may proudly talk of many attainments during the last half a century, but analysts have pointed out in no uncertain terms that even if half of the colossal investments made during the last fifty years were put to an honest and efficient use, we could have attained a great deal more.

Our introspection, therefore, should find an answer as to why it has happened, where the nation's money has gone and which path we have to charter out for the future. The perception of the common man is that corruption is the main cause of the present state of affairs. There is a nexus among the politicians, the bureaucrats and the businessmen.

All parties must give serious consideration to the aspect of criminalisation of politics. I think, we need a national debate over this subject. No political parties should entertain any criminals to enter in their parties. Political parties should not give any ticket to them to contest. There is a lurking fear or frustration in the minds of the public that the system may collapse if things are not put in order. I totally agree with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji when he said that unless we all sit and devise ways to curb corruption and show it in our actions, people will have no confidence in the system of governance. The fact is that the democratic system in the present context has failed to deliver the goods.

It has even been recognised by the distinguished Members of National Commemoration Committee as is evident from an important recommendation given by the Committee that all public men jurists etc. may meet to suggest to restructuring of National Institutions.

Much has been said about social justice and equality. If we introspect as to what we gained after fifty years of our Independence, the achievement is very very miserable. The atrocities on *Dalits* across the country are going on unchecked. This is all because of the apathy shown by the governmental side as well as by the bureaucracy. For example, the Constitution (Seventy-seventh Amendment) Bill was passed two years back which provided for reservations to the SC and ST officers at the top levels. Even after two years, no action is forthcoming from the side of the Government to implement this. Even bureaucrats are also not taking any interest in the implementation of the reservation policy. There is a discriminatory treatment meted out to the SC and ST officers in awarding punishment etc. These things can be overcome only when we create a confidence in the minds of these people. For example, the State Government of Andhra Pradesh has come out with a novel and innovative method for the people living in villages called 'PRAJALAVDDDAKUPALANA *Janmabhoomi*'. The concept is that we must pay back something to the place where we have taken birth, and by taking the Government to the people by knowing the difficulties of the people and solving them then and there itself.

About science and technology, though our scientists have done quite a bit of good job, yet there is a big gap between the laboratories and factories and fields. We are adopting obsolete technology sold out by foreign countries resulting in the present situation of PSUs in the country. We are not earmarking enough funds for R&D. Unless you design yourself and own it as your own, it is very difficult to compete with the hi-tech technology of the other countries. The nation's development is directly in proportion to its population because the resources have to be distributed amongst them. You have to provide education, you have to

provide clothing, you have to give transport and all facilities. Unless population is curbed and unless we put a stop on unwanted children, this cannot be achieved.

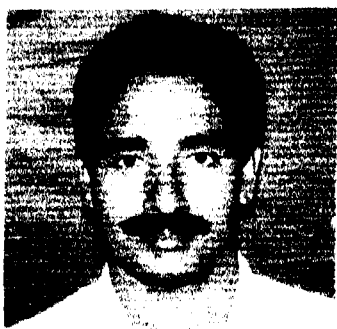
This Special Session is called for introspection and to take some special measures. For this, some concrete steps have to be taken. Now, the time has come for us to move forward rapidly. Take for example, our neighbouring country, China. It was the most populous country. It was at the top of the world in regard to population. Now, enormous developments have taken place there and they have sharply reduce the rate of their population growth compared to our country. We should also move fast in this direction.

Sir, on the economy side, our position is not satisfactory, though the present United Front Government cannot be blamed for this as it is the cumulative effect of the policies followed in the past. One of our biggest mistakes has been that we had envisaged so many major projects which would be difficult to complete in time. The projects undertaken have never been executed in time and thus caused cost overruns. This has also been the bane of our PSUs. So, the time and cost overruns are big impediments in our development.

With these few words, I conclude my speech. Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak.

16.57 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]



SHRI N.K. PREMCHANDRAN

SHRI N.K. PREMCHANDRAN (Quilon) : Thank you very much, Sir, I am very proud and very much privileged to be here to address the Special Session of Parliament in commemoration of the 50th Year of Indian Independence. And I also take this opportunity to congratulate the hon. Speaker for convening such a Special Session in connection with the 50th Year of Independence so as to have a debate on the issues of national importance.

Sir, first of all, on behalf of my party, RSP and on behalf of myself, I pay homage and tributes to our martyrs and to the freedom fighters who have sacrificed their lives for the Freedom Movement, for the freedom of Mother India during the freedom struggle.

Pre-Independent India was an era of Freedom struggle and we are having a glorious history of freedom struggle. There were two movements which were major parallels. As we all know that one was a movement of the Indian National Congress which was a common platform for the freedom movement and the freedom struggle; and at the same time, there was also the Revolutionary Movement which took place during the freedom struggle.

Sir, when we are celebrating the 50th Year of our Independence, we can never ignore the vital role played by the Revolutionary Movement and the revolutionists in getting freedom for our country. Why I am saying this is that nowadays, a deliberate move is going on to ignore the role played by the revolutionists in the freedom struggle. If we ignore them, if we ignore that Movement, then there is no doubt that history will never forgive us. We are celebrating the 50th Year of Independence. I am very proud to say, much more that we are celebrating the 50th Year of our Parliamentary Democracy. The biggest achievement in the post-Independent India is nothing but the survival, protection and preservation of Indian Parliamentary Democracy.

In our sight, there are so many countries which got independence along with India, before India and after India but they could not survive the system of Parliamentary democracy. With my short Parliamentary experience, I could see, within 10 months, three Governments changing from one Government to another Government smoothly and peacefully. So, what does it show? It shows the commitment of the people of India in Parliamentary democracy.

Sir, when we celebrate this Golden Jubilee Year, it is the right time for us to discuss about the achievements and goals which we have achieved during the last 50 years. Whether we are able to achieve the goals and aims, and objectives of the people who have fought for the freedom of India, that is to be discussed in detail.

17.00 hrs.

I do admit that we have achieved a lot but we have to achieve more, for which we know the peculiar conditions, and the salient features of the Indian human society. Everybody agrees that it is a multi-religious, multilingual country. We are having 18 official languages. It is stated that more than 1652 unofficial languages are in existence. There are so many religions, castes, etc. For the last so

many decades, we have a complex human society in India. We believe in 'Unity in diversity'. What we feel in unity is a sense of nationhood, a sense or a feeling of patriotism.

What has happened to the present India? When we are celebrating the fiftieth year of our independence—the Golden Jubilee Celebrations—what is the real picture of our India? There is secessionism and terrorism in almost all parts of our country. I would like to say that for the last five decades we have failed to fulfil the democratic aspirations of the people of this country. We have failed to keep a balance between the various regions, between the various States in the development and growth of our country. Also, I would like to say that, to the extent, we have surrendered our national interest. We have sacrificed our national interest for the temporary political gains. There are so many instances which I can cite. But I am not going to state all those examples now. As a result of this, the country is facing terrorism, secessionism, communalism and casteism. It is a very grave threat to Indian democracy. How do we solve it?

I would like to refer to a heart provoking report which appeared in *The Indian Express* day before yesterday. It is a report by Shrimati Chitra Subramanian. What does that report indicate? The caption is: 'Secessionists from India in the UN Human Rights jamboree'. It says, 'More than 28 delegates from India who have assembled in Geneva in the UN Human Rights Subcommittee are campaigning against India on the basis of human rights'. I would like to say that the world imperialist forces are now trying to dominate the democratic processes of developing countries like India in many ways, through economic measures, in the name of human rights and in the name of environment. Even the sovereign right of India and the economic freedom of India are under threat from various imperialist forces. I do admit that human rights should be protected. The Government should ensure that human rights are protected. Environment should be protected. There is no doubt about it. But behind it, at the back of these environment and human rights issues, the unity and integrity of India are under threat. They cannot be sacrificed; they cannot be compromised with these communal and secessionist forces. Secessionism and terrorism should be dealt with seriously. They should be dealt with ruthlessly and we cannot compromise on them.

At the same time, I would like to suggest to the Government of India that at this time we should hear the legitimate demands of the people who are making these allegations in various ways. If they are genuine and legitimate, we should evolve a mechanism to solve those problems, especially unemployment as well as economic

development of the various regions of our country. So, the Government of India should come out with such a mechanism to solve the legitimate and genuine demands. If they are making illegitimate demands, if they are playing into the hands of the world imperialist forces and if they are aided by foreign agencies—the special report very clearly and specifically states how they are financed, how they are aided, how they are getting funds to go to Geneva to attend the Conference, use the fax and other modes and equipments; the report is very clear, the Government of India should take stringent steps to fight out the secessionist forces. But at the same time, they should try to solve the genuine and democratic needs of the people also.

The next point which I would like to mention is about meaningful democracy. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi had told us that meaningful democracy could be achieved only through decentralisation of power. I would like to highlight this point and stress upon it. Power should go to the people. The people of our country should have the feeling that they are participating in the democratic processes of this country, that they are a part and parcel in the governance of this country. Such a feeling should come into the minds of the people. The only they will be having a patriotic feeling, a nationalistic feeling. I do admit that the Seventy-third and the Seventy-fourth Amendments which had come into force two or three years ago were great achievements and remarkable steps in the cause of decentralisation of power. There is no doubt about it. But it is not enough. I admit that many powers which have been entrusted to the State Governments have been transferred to the local bodies through the Panchayats and the Nagarpalika Act but what about the transfer of powers and devolution of powers from the Centre to the States?

Nothing has been transferred. Still the Centre is holding much of powers. So much of the powers have been entrusted with the Centre. Even after these Seventy-Third and Seventh-Fourth Amendments came into force, no power has been transferred to the States from the Centre. At this juncture, I would like to suggest that some realistic mechanism should be worked out to devolve economic powers to the State from the Centre. We have to keep that in mind.

Regarding the developmental activities, why should the Centre hold the authority over several schemes like Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Indira Awas Yojana and Employment Assurance Scheme? Let it go to the States. Let the guidelines be issued by the States. What is the purpose behind deciding everything from Delhi? Decentralisation does not mean sending money from the Centre to the local bodies.

Decentralisation does not mean sending money from the Centre to the local bodies. Decentralisation should start from the top; it should start from Delhi; and it should start from the Union Government. It should be transferred to the States and the States should transfer it to the local bodies. That is the actual decentralisation. The Seventy-Third and Seventy-Fourth Amendments did a lot in devolving powers from the State to the local bodies.

I would like to give some suggestions to strengthen the democratic system of India. They are regarding decentralised planning and people's participation in the planning. I am very proud to represent the State of Kerala. In the Ninth Plan we are trying to do an experiment which is decentralised planning with people's participation. I think it is a great success in our State. We had Eight Five Year Plans and we are at the door of the Ninth Five Year Plan. The first Annual Plan is coming. There were so many goals and aims in all these Eight Five Year Plans. We have to analyse and we have to examine critically. Whether we have achieved those goals and aims during those Eight Five Years Plans. I do agree that there were a lot of achievements. But at the same time there were a lot of defects due to unscientific planning. What is unscientific planning? There is no people's participation in the planning. The economic experts, the financial experts and the planning experts who are sitting in Delhi decide what the needs and demands of the people in the East, West, South and other parts of the country are. So, I would like to suggest that planning should start from the grass-roots level. It should start from *Gram Sabha*, then it should go to the *Gram Panchayat*, then to the block *panchayat*, then to the district *panchayat*, then to the State Planning Board and then to the Central Planning Commission, but not from the top to the bottom. If you pour water at the top of a pyramid, it will not go to the bottom. So, it will not go to the grass-roots level. That is what has happened during the last Eight Five Year Plans. So, immediate steps should be taken in order to have decentralized planning with the participation of the people so that the people of our country will have a feeling that they are also participating in the development of the country. They will have a feeling that they are participating not only in planning but also in the implementation of the plans.

More powers should be given to the *panchayats*. Let the local bodies be local self-Governments. That is what is meant by *Gram Swaraj* which was stated by Mahatma Gandhi. *Gram Swaraj* means local self-Government. The departments like education, health care, irrigation, drinking water, public works should be entrusted to the *panchayats*. Let them start schools. Let them manage and administer those schools. Let them appoint the teachers. Let the State and the Centre be the monitoring agencies.

My next point is about strengthening the democratic process. The fruits of democracy can be enjoyed only when there is actual participation of the people in the democratic process of the country. We know very well that is happening in our country. More than fifty per cent of the people are out of the election process. They are not going to the polling booths to cast their votes. So, actual participation is not there. Awareness regarding the democratic rights and duties should be created.

What about empowerment of women? During the last so many parliamentary elections, statistical data show that participation of women in the decision making process has never crossed ten per cent. According to the statistics, at the best it was only 7.2 per cent. What does it show? It shows that they are out of the decision making process. So, empower women should become a programme and should become a part of the parliamentary process in order to strengthen the parliamentary system. I hope that the United Front Government will come out with this Bill. Let the people know who is for whom. Let it be decided by a vote. I am not afraid that it would be defeated if it comes to the House for voting. Definitely, each and every party will issue a whip and the Bill would be passed.

So, the Government should show the will power and present the Bill for voting. If it is put to vote, definitely the Bill would be passed and the goal would be achieved.

The next point which I would like to say is what almost all the speakers have already cited, about the three main diseases of the human society or the political society of India—criminalisation, corruption and communalism. The Vohra Committee has made some revelations. I would not go into the details of it. The Election Commission has recently made a statement. The Prime Minister also has made a statement in the All India Whips Conference which was held in Srinagar recently. All these statements are regarding criminalisation of politics which are shocking and shameful, as far as the country is concerned.

Electoral reforms are required and there is no doubt about it. My question is whether electoral reforms alone would satisfy the needs; and my answer would be 'no'. Accountability and commitment of the political parties to the people are the most important things. If the political party to which I belong to has the will power to say that it would not field a candidate who is having a criminal background, that is enough and that is the main thing. Similarly, if other political parties should come forward and say that their parties' candidates would not have a criminal background,

then, that would be the better thing than electoral reforms. I would say that electoral reforms are required, but much more than this, we want accountability and commitment which depend upon each and every political party.

In every Session of Parliament, we speak about corruption. During the midnight Session of August 14, His Excellence our hon. President has said, 'fight against corruption'. The next day morning, after hoisting the national flag at the Red Fort, our Prime Minister has declared a 'fight against corruption' by way of a *satyagraha*. A doubt still exists in the atmosphere about this *satyagraha*, that is, by whom and against whom it would be done. These are the questions which are yet to be answered. So, the Government should come out with a statement regarding corruption. There is a lot of doubt among the people, in dealing, especially with corruption cases.

It is very astonishing to note that 149 cases are pending to get sanction from the Government of India for prosecution. What does it indicate? Who are the persons against whom those sanctions are required? They are holding the highest official positions like Managing Directors, Chairmen, Secretaries, etc. So, the Government of India should take strong and stringent steps so that it is checked and corrected.

There are political corruption as well as bureaucratic corruption. In order to check bureaucratic corruption, there is the Prevention of Corruption Act. Why is there no law or no enactment to check political corruption? The former Chief Election Commissioner, Shri T.N. Seshan has said that corruption, especially political corruption, starts from the time of filling of nomination papers for the elections. It is absolutely true. So, we should have electoral reforms not only to check the criminalisation of politics, but also to check corruption in the election process. So, I suggest for a comprehensive electoral reforms law. It should come before the Parliament. We have to deal with it seriously.

The last point which I would like to say is regarding the Directive Principles of State Policy which comes under Part IV of our Constitution. I would say that it is much more important or equally important as the Fundamental Rights which comes under Part III of our Constitution. Have we ever thought about the "Directive Principles? If we have followed that, then, we would have become a welfare State. There is no doubt about that.

Article 45 of our Constitution specifically and emphatically says that all children below 14 years should be given universal, compulsory and free elementary

education within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution. So far, five decades have elapsed. What happened to the Constitution and what happened to the provisions therein? So, I would like to suggest, at this juncture, that primary education should be made compulsory. If it is to be made compulsory, then it should be transferred from the part of Directive Principles to the part of Fundamental Rights. Then only the Government will enforce it. Otherwise, we can challenge it in a court of law. I would therefore suggest that right of fundamental and elementary education should be brought under Part III of Constitution, that is, Fundamental Rights.

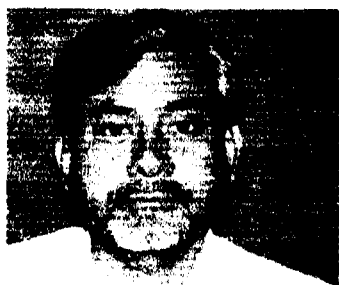
The rights to work and employment are very serious ones. I would not go into the details and statistics of it at the present stage. But I would only say that the right to employment should also be taken out from the part of Directive Principles. The Directive Principles should be imposed and it should have the power of enforceability. Otherwise, it should be taken out from the part of Directive Principles and included under Fundamental Rights.

Article 21 of the Constitution is very clear; even aspects like health care and medical care come under the purview of this Article which deals with right to life and liberty.

So, this also should be protected in such a way. Right to work and right to education should be brought under the Fundamental Rights, should be safeguarded and strictly enforced.

We had lot of discussions. We had very worthwhile debates. For the last five decades, the four walls of this Parliament have witnessed so many valuable suggestions, debates and everything is there. What is lacking is the decision. If there is a decision, there is no enforcement. There cannot be any implementation without the enforcement of the decision. What I would like to suggest is, if we want to enforce, if we want to implement this decision, political will power is required. That political will power will lead this country to the 21st century which is the modern era of the world. I would like to suggest that the United Front Government, which is at present under the leadership of our hon. Prime Minister, Shri I.K. Gujral, should come out with the political will power and should take stringent steps against corruption, communalism, secessionism and also solve the basic fundamental problems like poverty, unemployment and other issues.

With these words, I conclude my speech.



SHRI NITISH KUMAR

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, we are holding a special discussion in the special session of Parliament. Many learned speakers have spoken in the House. We are making assessment of our achievements during the last fifty years. We are discussing as to who has been benefited by the Independence and who could not be benefited. We are discussing it and we would develop an approach for the future. Then we would make some schemes accordingly, only then the utility of this special session would be proved.

I want to put before you some views on the basis of my experience in public life, not on the basis of figures. I belong to rural area. When I go to my constituency or some other rural area, I have to face a lot of difficulties. When we reach a village a large number of semi nude and hungry children follow us. On seeing them we feel frightened as to what would happen to this country? The real picture of the country can only be seen at that time. These children would grow in youth and would be able to produce more children. What would happen to our population then because their face and body reflect poverty in every inch. As we don't see any scheme for removing that poverty, we are pained to think as to what would happened to this country. How they would arrange their livelihood? What can be done for them? It would be proper if we think over these two points. We should pay more attention on education too.

When we reach any village, the first question that confronted us is that there is no school in the village. If there is school, there is no building for the school. If there is building, there is no teacher. We have to face these problems. We may formulate as many schemes as we want. There are the minimum basic need programmes of the Government of India and the government of United Front has included basic needs in its common minimum programme. There is no scarcity of schemes, and programmes, but we should concentrate on their implementation. When we go to the village, we see that we

are not able to construct school buildings and if they are constructed, they fall down after two-three years or their walls or roofs develop cracks and they do not remain worth sitting in.

There is no approach road in the village. There is no drinking water. There is no water for irrigation there is no arrangement of electricity. We do not generate sufficient electricity to meet requirement. We give priority to the cities, but villages are not given priority for electricity. As a result of that we are not able to produce as much foodgrains as required. We may say that we have become self reliant in case of foodgrains, because some people have no purchasing power. The target of the Government of India was 240 million tonne or 24 crore tonne foodgrains by the end of the century. But when we found that we cannot achieve this target, we reduced our target. Today people are not getting food as per their requirements, but we are claiming that we have become self sufficient in foodgrains. We are not self reliant but we donot have purchasing power.

The situation regarding drinking water is also the same. Yesterday Shri Sharad Yadav was speaking about it and I want to support him. It would have been better if we had solved even one problem of drinking water in these fifty years. After air, water is necessary for all whether it is human beings, animals, plants or trees. It would have been a great achievement if we had arranged safe water for the people during these 50 years. It is not that we don't have water here. Water is flowing waste into the sea. It also carries our fertile soil with it and we have not been able to check it. When we think about these questions, we find that we have not achieved much. We have made same achievements only for some people. Our Constitution makers gave two names to this country i.e. India and Bharat. The mistake was committed on that very day. Today after fifty years we have to think over it that if we were having only one name of the country instead of the two names, we would have made much progress. We gave it two names i.e. India and Bharat. To some extent India made progress and Indians became rich to some extent but Bharat went on becoming more backward and Bhartiyas become poorer. Therefore the question is this that after fifty years we have come to a stage where we are to decide as to whether we would make India more rich or at least bring Bharat to the level of India in the next fifty years if not to the level of America, England, Germany and other countries. If we are able to do it, it would be a great achievement.

Those who were instrumental in giving us freedom and those leaders who fought for freedom had not imagined that within fifty years, they would have to see all these

things. However, today such great men are not among us. What sort of dream the leaders of today can cherish about next fifty years? I do not know because strange things are happening in this country. What should have happened is not happening. What one is supposed to do, is not doing the same. Now, the Prime Minister of the country who has to govern the country, is giving call to the people to launch Satyagraha. Those who are supposed to perform 'Puja', talk about politics. A strange thing is happening in this country. It is a paradoxical situation. He has not been made the Prime Minister for call upon the people to launch Satyagraha from the ramparts of Redfort. If he is calling upon the people of the country to start a Satyagraha, then first of all he himself should take a lead. But, now being in government, he cannot lead the Satyagraha. I do not know what kind of a new experiment Shri Inder Kumar Gujral wants to carry out. Today strange things are happening in this country. Every person is covering oneself with glory at the cost of the institution.

Now there is a talk about democracy. I agree with some points raised by Atalji. He is worried about the happenings here. We share his concern. There should not be any degradation in parliamentary practice. We should maintain a proper sense of decorum. We should not break our conventions and limits. I agree with his feelings. We have learnt the lesson of politics from Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan and the lesson of politics of election from a mass leader of Bihar, late Karpoori Thakur who was the leader of the opposition in Bihar as is Atalji here. Whenever any member of Legislative assembly went to the well of the house, he used to scold that member and later on make that member understand that he or she was breaking the parliamentary decorum. You know better as to who has gained maximum from these parliamentary conventions? Those who are poor, neglected deprived, aggrieved and oppressed have been benefited more.

Today Kanshi Ramji spoke on political, democratic and other issues. Those were his own views. I do not want to go into them, but if we maintain the decorum of Parliament then those people will be benefited more, whose cause he was advocating. There should be empowerment of dalits or the exploited. Their empowerment is possible only when this system is developed further and it is improved. But the right to vote or franchise can be preserved only by our conduct. If it is preserved, the oppressed will definitely gain from it. Therefore, we share their concerns. We all should think over it and maintain decorum. But are those people, who are suppose to maintain decorum, behaving according to the established conventions? This Parliament is the reflection of the upheavals in the society. Merely worrying

too much will not serve the purpose. I have been in this House since Ninth Lok Sabha and I have been seeing the manner in which questions are raised here every time. The issues have changed. This House in the reflection of the society and whatever happens in the society, it will leave an impact on this House. If there is disturbance outside in the society, then we cannot maintain peace in the House. So it is also the duty of the House to realize and to bring an end to unrest and discontentment in the society.

Sir, in these 50 years of Independence in the society and if we evolve a plan or policy on the wrong foundation then we will not arrive at any conclusion and the things will be back to square one. Therefore, I request the government that let us reach a conclusion at last after this debate.

Sir, population is the major problem. If the population is not controlled, the problems of the country will become uncontrollable. Education is the basic thing. Today, we spent approximately four per cent of our budget on education. It should be increased. Let us spend ten per cent of budgetary allocation on education and control the population. For this purpose, we should lay more emphasis on women education. In Keral, emphasis has been laid on women education as well as on total education. Population control measures have proved successful their. We are not paying attention, to the area where population is still uncontrolled. Let us fix a target for population control after this debate. Though experts are taking part in this debate, the reality is that there is lack of education and information among people. Today, there is no dearth of information in the whole world. Now we are connected with internet, and every information has become accessible. Above all, I want to say that on the one hand we have got a lot of information about the whole world but on the other hand, there is no right to information in our country. Even today, a lot of information are inaccessible. Everybody talk about transparency the very first day when the Prime Minister came to the House he also talked about transparency but did not mention anything about right to information. If you go to any place and try to get simple information. I do not know what have been your experiences you will not get the information. As far as the central government is concerned, the situation is that when a Member of Parliament or Public representative writes a letter, he gets an acknowledgement and sometimes action is taken on that, but at a district level it is my experience till today one does not get any acknowledgement. What information they will give. There is no right to information. They refuse to give information on the excuse secrecy. In this age of transparency, this secrecy is no excuse. So the House should take a decision today that there will be right to information and people will get every information.

However, the vital information regarding the security of the country can be treated as secret. I want to say that the bureaucrats who have everything in their hands, cannot save this country. The people have saved this country. Whenever this country was slave it was because our country was weak and few people had a role in the defence of the country.

What is the history of our country? What makes you feel proud? We tell a lie that the history of this country is replete with defeats. We do not analyse the reasons for defeat. The reason was that the whole power was concentrated in the hands of a few people. When responsibilities are entrusted to a few hands, some people face defeat and some people taste victory. This is the country where the people were unconcerned to the extent of saying that—

"Koi Nripa Hoi Hamen ka Hani,
Cheri Chhod Ki Houb rani,"

This was the situation. We used to watch as spectators. During the discussion yesterday an hon. Member said that when the war was going on between the British and the Indians, the people were watching the spectacle because there was no participation of anybody in the affairs of state.

Now there is participation of people in the affairs of the state after introduction of adult-franchise, but what about this monopoly over information. Will information be available to a selected few? Who are the people who have been apprehended on the charge of spying. Have we ever tried to pay our attention towards that? Who are the people who have been apprehended on the charge of spying. Have we ever tried to pay our attention towards that? Has a poor man ever been apprehended on the charge of spying against the country? Only those rich people have been apprehended in such cases who have the access to information. They used to sell information thereby compromising sovereignty and freedom of the country. A poor and common man does not barter the interest of the country. Therefore, information should reach the common man also. If we have arrived at this decision after 50 years then the right to information and right to employment should be made fundamental rights. George Saheb said yesterday that so long as the right to employment would not be made a fundamental right this hollow debate would continue in this country. You know that yesterday I referred to the conditions in which some people have been living in this country. They have been not getting enough food to eat.

Today, we talk about corruption. Chandra Shekharji was speaking today. Sometimes it gives pleasure to hear him and sometimes we are taken by surprise to hear him as to whom he wants to defend. This is true that 95 per cent people are honest in this country because 95 per cent people are living in poverty. They do not have any other means. They are honest but corruption has had an impact on them too, we are not talking about major issues. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at times, I feel concerned. I was also of the view that if the Gangotri is cleansed, the Ganges will also get cleansed. If action is taken against persons in high places in politics, things would automatically be set in order at lower levels. But my experience has been quite different. We have been watching for the last few months that some action has been taken at the higher level but that has no impact on the people working at lower levels. Where should we go from there? Whom should we approach if we are not heard in Parliament? We are having debate in Parliament. You have provided the Parliament with an armour of privileges. M.P. Local Area Development Scheme has been launched for the benefit of the people. Patil Sahab is sitting here. We want to thank him. He deserves congratulations. Introduction of this scheme by him has enabled us to move with pride in our area. He would have his own experiences. He should ask from his conscience whether this scheme is being sincerely implemented. The answer would be in the negative. I have got the information of my own constituency as well as other ones. Are the guidelines are being followed? Shri Patil would be started to know that in the MPLAD scheme about 40 per cent of funds are pocketed as commission. Even 60 lakhs out of one crore does not reach the concerned area. Members of Parliament are not at fault for this kind of situation. It is the implementation machinery which is at fault.

Our entire area is in the grip of floods. The people have to grease the palms of the officials for getting caste-certificate, income certificate and for mutation. I want to know whether even after 50 years of Independence, there is any work for which money is not taken. I hope, you will give a serious thought to it. Will such corrupt people go scot-free? Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we can have long debates here but so long as the schemes which we pass here in the House and send for implementation at the lower levels will be of no avail if honesty and strictness are not observed in the implementation of the same.

The country is passing through a phase of complete disarray. Our late young Prime Minister had once said that if we release one rupee, only 17 paise out of that reach the grassroot level. Saying so from the office of Prime Minister

will not serve any purpose. The point is that instead of 17 paise, the full one rupee should reach the village level. Has any action been taken to ensure that?

Similarly, If His excellency, the President and hon. Prime Minister simply speak about waging a war against corruption and set up a cell for that purpose. Will corruption be removed merely by setting up that cell? I want to inform the Prime Minister about bungling being committed in the M.P.L.A.D. scheme. He should take action against the officers and employees right from top to bottom. But who will initiate action against them? When Shri Patil was the Speaker of the House, he used to say about the members that they did not have courage and strength. He said this to someone. But if we lodge complaint with the Speaker today, what will happen to that? We want to do something but that is not being put into practice. We can have as much debate on this issue as we like but so long as our speeches are not translated into action the country will not progress. The hon. Speaker has said that we have to wage another war of independence. But we are the product of the second freedom struggle which has already been fought. We were imprisoned in cellular jail at that time. People were asked to keep their mouths shut. Fundamental Rights were withdrawn. The entire country was changed into a jail. The emergency was clamped on June 25, 1975. A struggle was started against that. This struggle, named as second freedom struggle was launched under the leadership of Shri Jai Prakash Narain. If a third war is to be fought, we all are ready for that but we should be resolute for that. We shall have to decide with a consensus as to what should be priorities before the country. We shall have to decide those priorities by sitting together. We can score as many debating points as we like by casting aspersions on one another, to whatever extent we may insult one another, but if we want to get rid of the situation which we are facing today, we will have to reach a consensus on some issues.

When the freedom struggle was going on there was no difference of opinion among the people of the whole country. But there was a difference of opinion about the means to achieve it. At that time, we had only the Congress party, which was the symbol of struggle. Some people wanted to attain freedom through some other means but the Congress was in the main-stream. That was the Congress movement. That movement was being launched under the leadership of Bapuji. But now a third freedom struggle is to be launched. We will have to remove contradictions and anomalies in our society. We have to build a new India. If we want to be a top class human beings in the world, if we want to be front

runners in the world by removing inequalities and poverty, we will have to arrive at some consensus on some issues. This House should be a trend setter in this regard. We cannot find a way out to all problems by sticking to one's own party affiliations. Pawar Saheb should excuse me. Atalji had made his speech yesterday. He was concerned about the deterioration that has beset in our institutions. His speech also contained guidelines for future. But I, personally, have great respect for the first speaker who spoke on behalf of the Congress party.

I have regards for Shri Scindiaji. He has even started election campaign from here, let any one may speak whatever he likes. I would like to appeal that special session of this House is being held and we should take a decision for doing something new. This House should solve some of the problems. If needed, we should make amendments in the constitution. We have taken oath for safe guarding the constitution and we have to go a long way in this direction. We must think over this. We should also consider the need for basic changes therein. We are worried about the prevalent system and the present situation in the Country. The largest party is sitting here. The Second largest party is sitting in the middle and the smallest party is running the Government with the help of some other parties. Now, this is a peculiar situation and it is because we have such type of a provision in the Constitution. Can't we change this? Is this the verdict of the people of our country? We should pay attention towards the fractured mandate. We should make some provisions in the constitution to avoid this type of situation. We have fought a lot among ourselves during these fifty years of Independence. Our country has already got divided. The country is facing corruption and several other problems and hence it is in dilemma. In such a situation we have to find a way out and we have to follow it. I request the leaders of all the parties to cut across the party lines and to think as to what they can do jointly. If possible, We should form a Cabinet jointly. Is it possible to elect the Prime Minister and other ministers through a secret voting in this House by 544 members? Shall we consider this issue? All the members, irrespective of party affiliations, should formulate a common agenda and common programme for the Country. If we implement and follow this agenda and programme then I think we can fight for such Independence in a real sense as mentioned by the Hon. Speaker. If we really want to proceed in the direction of third freedom struggle, then we shall have to take such initiatives. Therefore, while concluding my speech, I request that we should proceed on a new path. I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR GANGWAR

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR GANGWAR (Bareilly) :
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have assembled here to discuss our past performance and future course of action on the occasion of 50th anniversary of India's Independence. I do not want to say much about Introductory remarks because our learned members speaking earlier have said so much about this. I would like to draw your attention only towards some matters related to agriculture.

After Independence, the major and important achievement of the Indian History has been that we have driven out famine from our country for ever. I believe that we should consider the pros and cons of all issues and then we should give a serious thought to it. To assess the importance of this major achievement, we should go into the details of the economic history of the country dating back to slavery days. During 50 years between 1860 to 1909. The country witnessed nearly 22 small and big famines and post 1850 famines resulted in starvation deaths of atleast two crore people. The most painful experience had been during 1943, when 30 lakh people died of famine in Bengal. During British Rule, frequent occurrence of famine was not a matter of surprise because their policies were wrong. The British rulers used to force the farmers to grow crops according to their wishes/interests and they used to encourage crops such as cotton, indigo, opium and sugarcane with which their Industry was connected. As a result, limited varieties of crops were grown and the gap between demand and supply of foodgrains widened. Thus, occurrence of famine continued at regular intervals. We can say that during these years after Independence, we have been free from famine and we can term and view it as an achievement.

It is a fact that the position of foodgrains in the country immediately after Independence was not good. The major foodgrains growing areas such as Punjab and Sind had gone into the hands of Pakistan. If you remember, in February, 1951, the then Prime Minister had made an announcement that at that time foodgrains position of our

country was so bad that we had to import the foodgrains and it was being called 'ship to mouth' since foodgrains used to reach the hands of common man directly from ship. Thereafter our foodgrains position was good and we did not have to face famine. We have imported foodgrains, checked price rise and have given right direction to distribution/supply of foodgrains. In 1951 foodgrains crises cropped up. Attention was drawn towards this and 'Grow More Foodgrains' campaign was launched. Several measures were taken in a quick succession. Some people may have a different opinion in this regard but such measures as land reforms, improved irrigational facilities, increase in fertilizer production development of research-infrastructure and dissemination of the latest information to the farmers were taken at that time. It may be recalled that there was a spurt in production of foodgrains during the fifties and some relief was also there in the matter of foodgrains. However, the greatest achievement in this regard was made when our position regarding the production of foodgrains deteriorated during 1965-66. At that time the then Prime Minister gave us the slogan of 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan' and tried to bring 'Green Revolution' in the country. At that time we were in such a position that we succeeded in developing Mexican seed in our country. The farming community of India worked hard in fields to help the country gain self-sufficiency in this field. That was a good start as a result of which the country did not face the drought even during long unfavourable climatic conditions. The country witnessed the most severe drought during 1987-88 but even then the country did not had to bear the full fury of drought. Obviously Indian agriculture had developed the capacity to cope up with the unfavourable calamatic conditions. The Public Distribution System and the buffer stock helped combat the drought and all our systems worked perfectly well. Indian agriculture stood up to the challenge. The Indian farmers and agricultural scientists deserve to be praised for this feat. It is very much understandable that there has been a lot of improvement in the field of agriculture over the last 50 years. Just as our hon. Minister of Agriculture stated just now, the production of foodgrains which stood at 5 crore tonnes in 1950-51 has increased four times to 19 crore 80 lakh tonnes in 1996-97. As a result the availability of foodgrains which was 157 kg. per person in 1955, had risen to 177 kg. per person in 1995. The rate of \$ annual increase in production of foodgrains which stood at 2.2 per cent in the Seventies rose to 3.4 per cent in the Eighties. However, the rate of increase in population was only 2 per cent during that period. Even then we shall have to admit that the production of foodgrain per hectare has become static. We lag far behind the other nations and have not been able to pay attention in this regard.

Around this time the 'White Revolution' also took place in the country. The production of milk stood at around 2 crore tonnes during the fifties, and today the production of milk has risen to 6 crore 80 lakh tonnes. India is the second largest producer of milk in the world and our contribution in the world milk production is about ten per cent. I am mentioning this fact only because we earn 52 thousand crore rupees per year through production of milk and the annual growth rate in production of milk is around five per cent. The credit for this enormous rise goes to the small and marginal farmers who made progress in the field of animal husbandry without any help from the Government and without any advanced scientific know-how. India gained self-sufficiency in the production of foodgrains through green revolution by investing a lot of money whereas we have been able to effect tremendous changes at the rural level to bring in white revolution by spending far less money. The revolution in the production of milk helped bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the green revolution took place at such places where irrigational facilities were available. Around 70 per cent area of our country comes under the dry land farming where farming depends exclusively on rains. This 70 per cent land produces 40 per cent of the foodgrains which includes 83 per cent 'Jowar', 81 per cent pulses and 90 per cent oilseeds. The planners have not paid much attention towards the dry land farming, as a result of which the production in these areas has been dropping constantly. Similarly in the case of allocation of resources, the irrigated areas were benefited whereas the dry land farms were benefited the least. The farmers of these areas are reeling in the vicious circle of poverty. Hence there is a need to take concrete steps for the development of the area, for example the varieties capable of withstanding the drought conditions should be made available to the farmers. The seeds should be made available to them. Low cost techniques should be developed, market facilities, roads and means of transport should be made available in these areas. Research infrastructure for the development of dry land farming should be modelled taking into account the animal husbandry research set up simultaneously.

One more problem that has cropped up is that fragmentation of the land holdings has taken place quite rapidly. The average land holding stood at 2 hectare in 1976-77 which has come down to 0.2 hectare now. In view of the present rate of increase in population, it is anticipated that the size of an average land holding will be further reduced 0.11 hectare by 2020 A.D. Such small size of land holding is definitely not suitable for adopting new techniques. Hence it is essential that two pronged strategy is adopted for dealing with this problem. On the one hand the land

reforms should be taken up on a war footing and on the other suitable techniques should be developed for the small farmers. Besides, it should be ensured that the minimum size of land holdings is fixed at two hectares. I would like to draw the attention of hon. Members of Parliament towards a serious problem related to the availability of foodgrains. At present the annual per capita consumption of Foodgrains is 200 kg. which is the minimum required quantity for a human being. It is a matter of shame that even after fifty years of Independence 70 per cent children in the 0-5 age group are affected by malnutrition. Around 40 per cent of our population is unable to afford minimum required quantity of foodgrains. As per official records, 36 per cent of the population of country is living below the poverty line. So far as I know a family comprising of five members and having a annual income of Rs. 6000 or less is considered to be below the poverty line. If the family goes in for purchase of food items required for having a balanced diet as per the ICMR recommendation, the cost of the same would come to Rs. 30,000 per year. I am surprised as to how we can ensure nutritious food for the people of the country in such a situation.

Our population would be around 150 crores by 2050 A.D. and we would require at least 3.20 crore tonnes of foodgrains by that time. We would require 2.13 crore tonnes of foodgrains by 2001 A.D. What efforts are being made for increasing the yield of foodgrains? We will have to increase the yield of foodgrains from one tonne per hectare to 1.7 tonne per hectare. In view of all these figures, Economic survey has forecast an alarming situation. This fact requires close attention that the growth rate of production of foodgrain was 1.7 per cent during 1991-1996 whereas the growth rate of population was 1.9 per cent at the time. If the production of foodgrain falls by 3 to 4 per cent, it will cause imbalance and will give rise to serious problems. In the circumstances, the agricultural scientists and technicians will have to constantly strive to raise the level of production.

I am mentioning this point only because the outlay on agricultural research is being reduced. The Government is not paying any attention towards it. The need of the hour is to consider decentralisation of agricultural planning. We will have to give utmost priority to agriculture. Besides, stepping up our efforts in the field of agriculture, we will have to focus on the so far neglected areas of Central, Eastern and Western India. So far this programme has remained confined to the Northern, North-Eastern areas, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Tamilnadu. Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar will have to be developed as rice bowls of India. If we succeed in doing so, it will be a step towards the right direction. An integrated programme should be

launched for it Special efforts should be made to boost the yield of produces like vegetables and pulse crops so that optimum yield of these crops is ensured.

There are several opportunities as well as the challenges in the field of animal husbandry. Demand for milk is linked with increase in income which is increasing at a rate of 5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product annually. It had been hoped that demand of milk will increase by 6 per cent in the near future. About 8 crore tonnes of milk will be required to meet the market demand of milk by the year 2000. We have to revive our old traditions like protection of cow progeny and more attention should be paid to animal husbandry if we want to remove the problem of malnutrition prevalent more among the poor and the villagers. Agriculture should be made a viable profession to increase employment opportunities and prosperity for the poor.

We have to make more efforts for the development in the field of animal husbandry for ensuring food security and nutritious food among rural folk. More investment should be made in this field for effecting dynamic changes in the basic research system so that more profits could be earned and more opportunities of employment could be created. The present system is not successful in doing so. Today our research works are not commensurate to the needs of people and, thus, farmers are not benefited through these. Today they are adopting broader view point whereas scientists are confining their research work to a limited circle. This situation should be changed.

I have made by points in the nutshell because agriculture is not the issue of debate today. Our economy cannot be strengthened until the full potential of our agriculture is exploited and nutritious food and food security is ensured for the people of this country. 2/3rd population of our country live in villages. We cannot strengthen the economy unless due attention is paid towards agriculture and rural welfare. We should think about the progress of economy during the last 50 years. Whenever we go around, people say that the leadership of a person like Sardar Patel is required progress of this country. It would have been better if agro-based economic system had been created here. We could have provided adequate irrigation facilities and created employment opportunities for all working pair of hands of this country having a population of 95 crore and achieved competitiveness with other countries. But it could not be done.

On this occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebrations of Independence we should decide our future priorities in the field of agriculture and think as to how this country could

make all round development by means of agriculture. Today there are many problems before our country. It is easy to talk about the welfare of villages but implementation of programmes is infact quite difficult. Instead of discussing this matter here in the House we should actually work for the welfare of farmers and some organisation should be set up for that. Recently I had visited Chitrakoot where under the supervision of Shri Nanaji Deshmukh a Krishi Vigyan Kendra was functioning. The villages of this country can make progress and we can serve the society through these Krishi Vigyan Kendras. We have sufficient number of scientists in this country. Just today a scientist came to me. He claimed that he had developed a new fertility technique for cattle-breeding. But at the same time I would like to mention that this scientist is not being given any promotion facility by the ICAR which is a big institution whereas other State Governments have encouraged and honoured this scientist.

I would like to say that due attention should be paid in this regard, only then we can bring White Revolution here. The farmers of this country can be successful only when they run some industry side-by-side. Cattle themselves are a sort of industry for farmers and we cannot uplift farmers and this society economically without paying due attention to animal husbandry. I would not like to name that scientist here. The people working in the ICAR are well aware of the fact that he has developed a technique to create fertility in a single doze of medicine but he is not being encouraged because we lack interest in this field and also in the progress of the country.

I would like to say that during this 50th year of Independence now our concern should be towards eradication of poverty and simultaneous upliftment of our two-third population that dwell in villages. We should work in the right direction and for the actual progress of this country. In view of prevailing corruption and rampant dishonesty in the country it will be in the interest of the country if all the members of Parliament decide here and now that they would not indulge in corruption and fight against fear, hunger and corruption. But a corrupt person cannot advise others to refrain from indulging in corruption. Embezzlement of money is embezzlement and it hardly matters if involved Rs. one or Rs. one crore. In this year of Golden Jubilee Celebrations we all MPs should pass a resolution to keep away from vice of corruption, only then this society will make progress and move towards the right direction.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak.



SHRI N.S.V. CHITTHAN

[English]

SHRI N.S.V. CHITTHAN (Dindigul) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to deliberate upon some significant national issues in this historic session. It is indeed a unique session in the history of Indian Parliament as you have decided to introspect into our performance in the past five decades.

We are grateful to all the martyrs who made supreme sacrifices to free the nation from the alien rule. I am the son of a freedom fighter. My father-in-law is also a freedom fighter. I am happy and proud to participate in this memorable session. We are fortunate to have had the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi and intrepid leaders like Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and in the South, Kamaraj, V.O. Chidamabram Pillai, Satyamurthy and Muthuramalinga Thevar who gave a vision to the future generation besides fighting for the freedom of our country.

17.58 hrs.

[SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA *in the Chair*]

Sir, we have gathered here to debate upon what we have achieved and what we have not, what had gone wrong and what we should do to correct ourselves. I wish to remind the progress made by the counter under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who gave the vision for modern India and brought in scientific temper in our thinking and action. Sardar Patel united the country despite all odds. We were importing even sewing needles in 1947. Now, we make from pin to plane, from rockets to satellites. Our food production has crossed 195 million tonnes from just 50 million tonnes in 1951.

18.00 hrs.

The average life expectancy has increased from 25 to 60 years. Our computer software export is growing by 45

per cent a year. The economic reforms have unleashed the potential for interaction with the world trade and in another 20 years, I can say with considerable confidence that India could become one of the world economic powers. But the greatest achievement of the nation is that we could preserve our democracy in the last 50 years, when so many nations around us could not find political stability. This is certainly not a small achievement and we are really proud of our national leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and others. But can we say that we have wiped out the tears of the toiling masses? The answer is simply 'no'. On the other hand, we still have more than 38 per cent of our population, that is, 32 crore people living below the poverty line and 29 per cent of our people do not have access to protected drinking water. According to a UN Report, violence against women has increased manifold. The UNFPA Report for this year says that in India there is one rape every 54 minutes, one molestation every 26 minutes, one dowry death every 1 hour and 42 minutes and one act of cruelty every 32 minutes. Still a half of our population is illiterate. Should we be proud of this?

Sir, for a moment my memory went back by 50 years down the lane of history, with the glimpse of the glorious days of freedom before my eyes. The thundering voice of Jawaharlal Nehru in our Central Hall of Parliament on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947 still rings in my ears, when he spoke on 'India's Tryst with Destiny'. He said :

"At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. We step out from the old to the new."

Indeed, we did awake to freedom from the alien rule, but did we awake to freedom from hunger, poverty, illiteracy, injustice, violence and so on? The answer is again 'no'.

Sir, on the glorious Independence Day in 1947, the whole Delhi was agog with activities of celebration, glitter and fanfare, but one soiled was absent in the celebration. That was Mahatma Gandhi. He was far away in Calcutta waging a battle against communalism. After 50 years, we still feel the absence of the spirit of the Mahatma. We are still not free from this struggle. There should be a true introspection of all that we have done in the past and only a genuine introspection will lead us to solutions.

Sir, I will just narrate a small incident which will explain our situation now. Once there was a beggar sitting on the bank of a river. He did not have even clothes to cover himself and he was shivering in the cold. Suddenly, he saw a blanket floating in the river. He thought that that would help him to cover his body. So he jumped into the river and

caught hold of the blanket. After a while, he was found being dragged by the waters in the river. The people on the bank of the river shouted at him to come out, but he was being slowly dragged into the midstream. Then the people told him to leave the blanket and come out. The man replied: "I have left the blanket long back. But the blanket is not leaving me, because what came in the river is not a blanket, but a bear." This is the position of all the political parties now. The man left the blanket long back, but the blanket would not leave him, because it was a bear. Today, whether it is the Leftists or the Rightists or any movement, they had caught hold of some dogmas like casteism, communalism, communism. You may want to leave them, but the dogmas will not leave you.

Sir, the world has changed completely. Even small countries like Singapore and Malaysia have done exceedingly well. But we are still struggling because of our inner contradictions.

To come to power, we are prepared to do anything, even by sowing the seed of violence in certain places. Nobody can break the golden rule that what we sow that alone we reap. If we sow peace we will reap peace, if we sow violence we will reap violence. We sow little but reap plenty. Therefore, Sir, it is my Party's earnest desire that we should take a pledge that we would not be a party for spreading hatred among communities, whatever the gain may be. Our beloved leader, Shri G.K. Mooppanar, emphasised to the party people that we should not attend any meeting arranged by castes or communities. This should be on top of the agenda of our programmes and policies. This will lead to national integrity and strengthen the unity of the nation.

Sir, the other thing which bothers everyone's mind is the condition of the poor in our country. Whether it is a natural calamity or a man-made calamity, the poor are the real victims. I am reminded of an incident in our leader Kamaraj's life. He was visiting a district in Tamil Nadu, when he was the Chief Minister. A very poor old widow came to him begging for help. Kamaraj asked the District Collector, who was by his side, whether he could do something. The District Collector replied that there was no provision in the law under which he could help. Quick came the reply from Kamaraj that 'if the law cannot help the poor woman, then change the law'. We are all sitting here only to change the law if it does not help the poor. Our patriotic poet, Subramanya Bharati, said: "If an individual cannot get food, we will destroy the world."

"Thani Oruvanukku Unavillaiyenil Jagathinai Azhithiduvon"

Sir, entitlement of food to every citizen should be a fundamental right. Before the end of this century, we should at least achieve that no one in India suffers from lack of food. If we do this we can enter the next century as proud Indians as we could wipe out hunger from our nation.

Sir, the functioning of our democratic institutions has been severely hampered by corruption. Even judiciary is not spared from this menace. Corruption in public life is a stigma in our set-up. There is no justice for the poor in any of the institutions that we have set up. Without paying bribe nothing moves in most of the Government offices. There should be a stringent law for dealing with corruption. Today, we find corrupt people are taking shelter in the lacuna of the law. One of the reasons for rampant corruption is over regulations in our administrative functioning. The more the rules and regulations, the more would be the corruption. The less the rules and regulations, the less would be the corruption. We should simplify all the rules and regulations. There should be less paper work and more action. There should also be decentralisation of power till the level of Panchayat Unions. This will eliminate most of the big corrupt fishes from the pond.

Besides, the bureaucracy should also be made more efficient and accountable. I also support the idea that those who have criminal records should not be allowed to contest the elections and all parties should agree to this. Otherwise, there is no use in talking about corruption and morality in Parliament.

This is the prime reason why our Party, Tamil Maanila Congress (Mooppanar), pledged at the recent Virudhunagar Conference to carry on Kamaraj's vision, that is, simplicity, honesty, purity, transparency and truth in public life and administration.

There is no doubt that we have made progress in the field of science and technology. But if one looks at the roads in India, one will find hardly any car or vehicle that originated from India. Even the old Ambassadors and Fiats are the models of some foreign makes. If we visit a shop, we will find that all the goods, including TV and music system, are bearing foreign brand names. We have made Prithvis, but we are not able to make a washing machine without foreign collaboration. ...*(Interruptions)*

As the leader of my Party, I have not taken much time. I would not take much of the time now.

What is the cause for this? Do we not have engineers or scientists who can make these things? The problem is that the development of science and technology has been a State monopoly for a long time. We have not encouraged enough private institutions to take up research in various

areas of science. Our agricultural scientists have done excellent job in achieving green revolution, but their research findings could not be presented and exported to earn royalty from abroad. Only now, I heard some move is on. There must be a sea change in our thinking. Other countries could progress well because of commercialisation of research. We should also go in a big way by encouraging private participation in research. This will lead to new discoveries and inventions by Indian scientists and engineers. A day must come that the products made in India would be much sought after in the world. Already a beginning has been made in exporting Indian medicines like *Ayurvedic*, *Unani* and other systems. The export of these medicines has gone up substantially. This could be encouraged.

For any development, infrastructure is essential. Our infrastructure is not only inadequate, but also pathetic. According to one estimate, we would require Rs. 70,000 crore to improve the roads alone. With the current provision of Rs. 4,000 crore to Rs. 5,000 crore, it might take three to four Five Year Plans to meet the need. The power sector's performance is dismal. The current demand and supply gap for power may reach 25 per cent by the turn of the century. Import dependence on petroleum may also go up to 70 per cent. Ports are overflowing. There is a waiting list of two million lines for telephones. So, what should we do? The projected estimate of Rs. 7.5 lakh crore cannot be met by the Government alone. It requires private participation and, if necessary, foreign investment in a big way. Unless we take hard decisions now, there is no hope of meeting the situation.

India's major resource is fortunately human resource. When a child is born, it has only one mouth, but two hands. This shows that if the human resource is properly developed, it can bring prosperity to the country besides meeting the need of the people. But there has to be a proper planning on various fronts including population. All these years, population control has not brought in the desired results because it was never made a people's movement. More distribution of contraceptives will not solve the problem. What is needed to be done is to tackle the major issue through people's movement. It should not appear as another Government programme. Female literacy will go a long way in controlling population. The World Population Report, 1997 has brought out an interesting aspect of the problem. It says that "Women must have the right to choose". That is, they must have reproductive rights and reproductive health. The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters relating to reproduction.

Education to girl child alone can bring in a sea change in the population situation. Without enough investment in

this area, we cannot really bring down the population growth. If you educate a girl child, you educate the whole family and, in turn, the whole community. We are for a time-bound programme to provide universal literacy. Priority should be given to primary education and free and compulsory schooling till the tenth standard.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not point out a national wastage from memorable times. North and East India are facing recurrent floods every year resulting in loss of very valuable lives and properties. A very large quantity of water is going into the sea in waste. On the other hand, in South India due to monsoon failures, drought and lack of drinking water is a common phenomenon every year.

Unless a massive project is drawn to link the perennial rivers with southern rivers, agriculture will not get sufficient irrigation facility. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Chitthan, please take your seat.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.S.V. CHITTHAN : I am concluding Sir, I am the party leader. I am the only speaker from my party. I am going to conclude. Other parties having one or two Members are taking a lot of time. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 17 minutes.

SHRI N.S.V. CHITTHAN : I will not waste the time of the House. I am concluding now.

Coming to my point, it is a national issue. In South India, we are all suffering for want of water. I am bringing out a major issue. ...*(Interruptions)*

75 years ago, the patriotic Poet Subramanyam Bharati said in Tamil:

"Wangathil Odvarum Neerin Migaiyal
Maiyathu nadugalil payir seiguvom.

He dreamed of diversion of the rivers like the Ganges, the Yamuna etc. flowing waste into the Bay of Bengal to the Central and the Southern part of the country. How long will this dream remain a dream? Is it not the right and opportune time to decide and act fast?

Sir, we have enjoyed fifty years of freedom. The audit of our performance shows that the profit is only marginal. What we need now is a more efficient and responsible

system to meet the needs of the people. We have to unleash the potential of the people to progress and prosperity. In fact, we have great potential in several areas. We also have reservoirs of hidden wealth. All that we should do is to dig up and enjoy it. If we do not do it sincerely, it will not help us to solve the problems of the nation. Let us dedicate ourselves again to the service of the nation, the great people of India and our mother land.

Now, I conclude with the saying of the Poet Bharati:

"Vazhiya Senthamizh
Vazhga Natramizhar
Vazhiya Bharatha Manithiru Nadu
Vande Mataram."

Long live Tamil.
long live good Tamil people.
Long live beautiful and adorable Bharat.
Vande Mataram.



**SHRI SYED MASUDAL
HOSSAIN**

[Translation]

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (Murshidabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am listening this discussion since yesterday. In the background note the problems of India have been divided in five parts. In my view, if we hold discussion on each part separately and give suggestions, perhaps some meaningful discussion can be held in a short time. But there are some popular issues before us and everyone raises those issues. Every speaker wants to speak on each issue. In my view, we have digressed from the purpose of the special session.

One party says that we have made a lot of progress during the last fifty years. We have become self-sufficient in food production. We have made progress in science and technology. Our satellites are there in the space and we are going daily to Antarctica. The party is saying that it is an election speech. We are wasting time in this type of

comments. We have made a lot of progress, but what is the use of this progress? A few capitalists, zamindars and contractors have made progress? How can I forget that most of the people are poor even after fifty years of independence. How can I forget that the area such as Kalahandi, Koraput and Bolangir are in our country. How can I forget that today also a mother sells her children for forty-fifty or one hundred rupees because of starvation. How can I forget that still there is bonded labour in our country and arrangements have not been made for providing drinking water in villages even after fifty years of independence. If it is the sample of our progress one may praise himself for it but the reality is different. I would try to confine my speech only to rural area. There are veteran leaders here and they have discussed big problems. I do not want to go into that. We do not trust the Government figures but I would have to rely on that because I cannot go beyond that. I see even in the Government figures that the growth of our GDP is fluctuating between 3 to 3.75 per cent. There is no more progress. This is the condition of GDP. Our food production has certainly increased since 1960, but there was a reason behind it. We have increased the cultivable land by improving the wasteland. We brought the high yielding seeds from abroad but now perhaps the law of diminishing returns has become applicable in this area. ... (Interruptions) Its result is that the increase in food production is only 1.7 per cent, but the law of diminishing returns has not become applicable in population increase, it is still 2.14 per cent. I know that there is some difference of opinion in this regard but this fact has also been mentioned in this book at one place. If it is 1.9 per cent, still it is more than 1.7 per cent and it is difficult for us to make further progress.

Sir, the increase made in GDP in industry has been during the period 1951 to 1997 and the way progress has been made in industry and service sectors, same tempo has not been maintained in agriculture sector. There has been decline in terms of percentage in agriculture sector and we are considering to discontinue subsidy on the inputs in agricultural sector on the directions of IMF, World Bank and WTO. Subsidy would have to be discontinued on their direction. ... (Interruptions) We would keep subsidy on food and distribution. ... (Interruptions) If you discontinue it, it is good. As a result of it, a small number of people, 52 per cent in rural areas and 54 per cent in urban areas, have purchasing power. They are the ones who are availing of the benefit and 30 per cent poor people are getting only 15 per cent and the remaining 40 per cent have the purchasing power for 32 per cent to 33 percent consumer goods. This is the condition today. We had made progress in big industry and small industry.

We have not been able to absorb our labour force. The industries have been closing down one by one. If the

rural people have no money, the internal market would sink and the industries would close down one by one. This is happening today. As a suggestion I would say that India means rural India not only urban India. If village is saved, India would be saved. Three things are required for saving rural India.

One is radical land reforms, the second is Panchayat and their is co-operative movement. If these three things are implemented, only then we can save the rural India. We do not want rich India. People dreaming of rich India, may do so. We must make efforts at least to remove poverty from the face of India. In my view it would be a good achievement of we are able to do this much. Then progress would be made automatically. I am saying soon the basis of my experience. We have done two things in West Bengal, radical land reforms and Panchayat. The Panchayat elections are being held there every five years, and I would like to tell you that 60 per cent Adivasis, Scheduled Castes and women who win the elections for Panchayats are rural poor, agricultural labourers and share croppers. Panchayats are controlled by them and not the landlords. The planning of the development of the village is fully under the Panchayats. The rule of contractors is no more there in the villages. These backward and poor people, who were depressed and downtrodden some time earlier, have got much enthusiasm as a result of it. If you see the enthusiasm with which they are working, you would be surprised. District council has been making its assets and contract system is being abolished in all works being undertaken in the district. We would not say that it has been abolished completely, but effort is being made for it there.

Before land reforms, we decided that their should be one resolution of party and the Government. The land ceiling law was made there. It was provided that no one would be allowed to keep land in excess of the ceiling. When the Government did it, it was aware that it would not be able to give land to all of us and the people, who have come, also knew that they would not get the whole of the land, but they got the first opportunity for fighting against feudalism. Thousands of people came out and we distributed this land among all of us. We undertook land reform. West Bengal has 20 per cent of the total land distributed in whole of the country. As a result, West Bengal has only 3 per cent land of the total agricultural land of India. The population of West Bengal is 8 per cent of the population of India. The State produces seven per cent of the total foodgrains being produced in India. Seven per cent foodgrain are being produced on 3 per cent land. The reason is this that small farmers have got small pieces of land. You say about family planning that parents would pay more attention towards their children if they have one-two children. Those who have got small piece of land, spray pesticide over the crop, if there is a small worm on a leaf of their crop. Food production has increased due to small holding of land. We know that this production would not increase more. If we

would not consolidate these small holdings through co-operative, if we do not start food production through co-operatives, we would not be able to use the modern equipment's. We are lagging behind in this matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your point is good. You please finish now.

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN : The speed with which cooperative movement is going on in the whole country, you will find that it has yielded maximum results in West Bengal. I am not speaking any thing wrong. There is a Standing Committee of Cooperative in every Panchayat and we people are trying to strengthen it further. I believe that if we implement land reform, Panchayat System alongwith cooperative movement in rural areas it will bring tremendous change there. It is regretted that cooperative movement is not so popular in the villages. Comrade Lenin said that where there is capitalist economy, in that place it strengthens the hands of capitalists but we will have to start co-operative movement. It will ultimately end capitalism.

What we have seen in Gujarat? When Amul was started there was enough milk. Too much help was given to them but today the way money is coming in name of international Co-operative machines are being made available and the way powder milk is coming from foreign countries and products and by-products are prepared by processing it, is it a co-operative in real sense? It is regretted that our Govt. has not paid attention towards co-operative. When it was in crisis we nationalised it and brought it under public sector. Today the situation of public sector is bad. We are degrading it and scrawling it but we realise the importance of co-operative sector, it is very unfortunate that although our Govt. did not try to take steps in this regard.

I admit that co-operative is a state subject but inspite of being a state subject it is the responsibility of the Central Government to formulate important law. If there will not be model Act then State Govt. also will not get share, and it is not getting the share. For the last 15 years we are getting assurance for making co-operative law but concrete steps are not being taken.

[English]

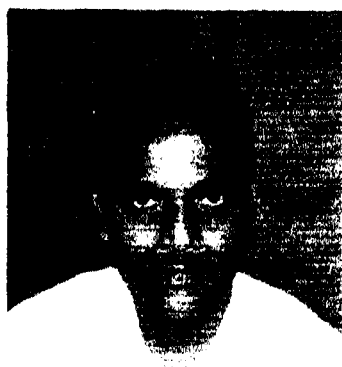
MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN : You are again and again asking me to conclude, so, I will abide by the direction of the Chair. I will conclude by a saying that try to save rural India and as I feel and the way the other Members have given their suggestions, if the Govt. find them appropriate it may try to take steps in this regard.

[English]

Sir, I am not going to defy the direction of the Chair. So, I am concluding.



SHRI ANANT GANGARAM GEETE

[Translation]

SHRI ANANT GANGARAM GEETE (Ratnagiri) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, a discussion has been going on in this House since yesterday in this special session organised on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the country regarding what had happened in the past and what we want to do in future. There is not much time and we have to express our ideas in the house within this time limit.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Within ten minutes.

SHRI ANANT GANGARAM GEETE : Mr. Chairman Sir, on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of the nation, all the Members who have expressed their ideas here nobody has claimed that today our country is in a good situation or poverty has eradicated or the problems which were there before 50 years have been solved.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we talk of Japan and Korea and often refer about some small countries. When we speak about their progress then we should try to know how the countries having less area than us, having less population, with negligible history and tradition, have made tremendous progress. When we talk about Japan and Korea and also about the progress they have made, we find that the people of that country have national feelings, they hold their country in high esteem. During these 50 years what we have lost and what we have achieved, what we have given to this country and society? We have to admit that after 50 years of freedom, we have not been able to inculcate nationalistic feelings in this country. Mr. Chairman, I have not gone to see a movie in theatre for the last 20-25 years but earlier when I was studying in school, I used to go to theatre to see a movie. I am mentioning this here because before 25 years after the movie was over National Anthem used to be played in every theatre. I do not find this national anthem anywhere today. Today the people of our country do not have regards for their country. Unless we have strong nationalist feeling, there for the country we cannot fight with social disparity and cannot remove economic equality. When we don't have nationalist feelings inspite of fifty years how the country will progress?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now Nitish Kumarji have referred the name of our country. Perhaps India is the only country in the world which is known by two or three names i.e. India, Bharat and some people call it Hindustan even today. It might be due to secular stand that the name Hindustan cannot be referred to our secularism is too much hollow and weak. It cannot accept the word 'Hindustani', but atleast we can give one name Bharat or India to our country. The name 'Bharat' also has a history. We can feel proud our history. When Mamta Banerjee stood here to speak, she said that she will try to speak in national language. I do not think that Hindi is the language of our expression, utility, it is one among the fourteen languages of this country but not our national language. A country which does not have its single name inspite of fifty years of freedom. We have not been able to decide about our national language then how can we discuss about the development, the progress. Hindi is opposed in our own country. I am quoting an incident which had taken place about 20 years back. At that time Hindi was opposed in South. Here is not so much opposition in South now. It was during the year 1967-68. Since there was opposition of Hindi, Tamilnadu Govt. declared that Hindi movies will not be shown. In this country no one raised voice at that time. Only one voice was raised from Mumbai. That voice was our Shiv Sena Chief Bala Sahib Thackray. He warned the Tamilnadu Govt. that if screening of Hindi movies will be stopped in Tamilnadu, if Hindi films will be banned there, then we will not allow any Tamil film in Mumbai. After that Hindi films were screened in Tamilnadu. I am giving this example because everybody has got feelings for the country and nobody wants to oppose those feelings we may have difference of opinion. Everyone is having parochial attitude. We are divided into party, State and language. I am surprised that nobody is thinking about the nation. I am astonished on this thing that no one is thinking about nation.

Our development must take place, our progress must take place, there should be no starvation, all this must take place. But side by side we should never forget our Nation. If we won't have nay food once a while there no one will laugh at us. But when the image of a Nation is destroyed then all the world laughs at us. Due to the lack of Nationalism, today, this is the condition of this country even after fifty years. There is no national language today, we have no self-respect we quarrel among ourselves. There is no policy of the party, we have to go by the policy of the party. Since yesterday we are saying that we will discuss issues rising at one party affiliations. We will try to lessen some of the problems of the country by putting party affiliations aside. This session is for four days. We will speak here leaving party affiliations aside and the day on which this session will be closed then we will go to play party politics. We can not escape from this. We are democratic

people. We are people who speak according to democracy and every party tries to encourage its views. The speeches of some of the members here were election speeches. Some speeches here were publicity of their views. Every Member has shown concern here and therefore when we try to encourage Nationalism and try to fight for Nationalism then the Nationalism gets casteist look. What were the factors responsible for the maximum loss to this country. Policy of appeasement has been adopted in politics, vote politics, power politics— all these have contributed a lot towards the loss of this country. If we start some sort of front in Maharashtra, if we demand something in Maharashtra then the people sitting at Centre think that Maharashtra should not be annoyed. If we annoy Maharashtra then our strength in Lok Sabha will be reduced. If there is some demand from Tamil Nadu then they think that Tamil Nadu should not be annoyed, they must be pleased. This is the way we appease the states, we want to appease the religion, we want to appease the society. In this way all these issues before the country are not going to be resolved. I was surprised that, here we remember Gandhiji, Nehru ji, Lal Bahadur Shastri, remember our ancient leaders and freedom fighters and also accept this view that today we do not have a leader of their calibre in the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

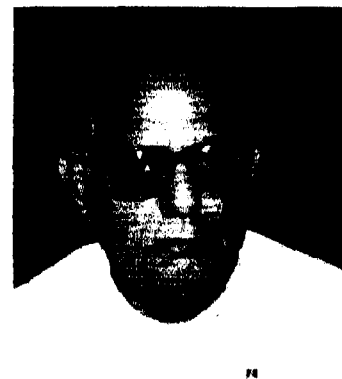
SHRI ANANT GANGARAM GEETE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am going to conclude.

Today, we do not find any such leader in this country having 95 crores of population who is competent to lead this country—what more misfortune we can have then this? I don't agree with this view that we have not competent leader today, many leaders are here. That House is not very far away, it is coming closer when this country will have a competent leader, competent leadership will be there is this country. Today there is need of competent leadership so that all our problems can be solved. If our Prime Minister is incompetent, helpless, and our Ministers say that Bureaucracy do not listen to them, they think that we are temporary, if the Government goes like this such rulers are there, then our questions, our problems will never be solved.

If we have to strengthen our country, poverty has to be eliminated. There is need to have a competent leadership which can take decisions in the interest of the country, without bothering about a particular religion, society, dynasty—we need such a competent leadership, only then our country will march ahead.

Several honourable members expressed their views before the House. This special session has been convened to know, the direction in which we should take this country in future, how this country can progress so that it can achieve

a respectable position among the countries in the world. Our country can set a example before the world. Just now Nitish Kumar ji has said that all the political parties in the House should work together in the interest of the county, there should be all party Government here. Single largest party has been mentioned and smallest party has also been mentioned here. In democracy, we give weightage to the number in comparison to ideologies, a sample of which has been seen by us during the last one and half year. Here, views are less important, character is less important, the number has more importance. Here, governments are formed on the basis of strength and by reduction in number governments fall. In such a condition how we can solve the problems of the country. Therefore when we think in the interest of the nation then I am proud of Shiv Sena Chief. On 15th August, while unfurling the flag in Mumbai he gave an oath to thousands of people present there, which I would like to mention in the House. The oath was that casting aside religion, dynastic rule, and casteism we should unite in the interest of the country and fight for the country. Today the country needs the oath given by Shiv Sena Chief. With these words I thank you.



SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA (Alwar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have been introspecting on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of freedom as to what we have achieved and what we have lost. The subject is serious and it is obvious that there are different views on it. There should be emphasis on different topics but the main subject is that we had won freedom after a long period under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it was the first experiment in the world that this country got freedom through non-violence and after we won freedom various countries of the world got freedom. Today, we feel proud that after freedom, this country which fell a victim of poverty, starvation, ignorance and orthodoxism during the British rule, made progress. There can be different views regarding progress. There can be shortcomings but none can deny that we have made progress during the last 50 years.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have little time at my disposal. Your bell can ring at any time and that is why I do not want to go into the data but the fact is that we have made progress in industrial, agricultural, health, education, employment, medical and social sectors and there can be shortcomings in that but we have made progress. There is no doubt in it and I do not agree with it that the country did not achieve anything after freedom or everything has gone in waste.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is true that several problems are being faced by the country. There is poverty, atrocities, social injustice, illiteracy, lack of education and infrastructure. There is still a lot to be done. Today the question is how should we solve all these questions. Today, I feel that the biggest problem in this country is of reliability. Today there is the crisis of confidence. Today, there is the crisis of character and belief. If we happen to find a solution of this crisis, then perhaps many problems can be solved.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are four pillars of democracy, the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and the other is press which is called media today. Let us think about the position of all these pillars. Hon. Atalji and hon. Speaker have also mentioned it in their speeches. Today the position of legislature is that today the Parliament is unlike that it was 30 years back. Its standard has deteriorated slowly. It is a matter of concern and it is to be pondered over how this problem can be solved. The condition of the State Legislative Assemblies is far worse. There the condition is that the session of Legislative Assembly is held to do the necessary work, to pass the budget and it does not last longer than one and half months. Due to the constitutional obligations the session is held for seven-eight days within six months.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nawal Kishore Ji, it has been decided to extend the House up to 8 O'clock.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA : Sir, thank you very much. I hope, I would get the due share of extension of time.

[Translation]

My submission is that the condition of Legislative Assemblies is causing considerable concern. This is the condition of our Legislature and Parliament. Everyone has expressed his concern over it.

19.00 hrs.

The second pillar is executive. The hon. Speaker of Lok Sabha has said few sentences mentioning the executive which I am reading out here:

[English]

"The civil service, which is designed to be neutral, being pressed into the service of political masters and the use of police force for settling political scores have become facts of life today."

19.01 hrs.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

[Translation]

This is the observation of the hon. Speaker of Lok Sabha regarding our executive. We all feel that the executive has become more sensible and due to this sensibility the people do not get justice. I do not talk about corruption but ill luck is there due to some other point. Today the governments try to divide the executive, administrative machinery, police machinery and executives on the caste lines. There will be nothing more shameful if our executive is divided on caste lines and if transfers and postings are done on caste lines. Then it is not feasible that the executive would be able to remove the miseries and sorrows of the people. Therefore, the position of our executive is like this. I would like to be brief since I am afraid that bell can ring at any time.

The third pillar is the judiciary. It would not be appropriate to say much about judiciary but it is a fact that the poor and the common people do not have any hope of justice from the judiciary. I would like to go into the data but the fact is that thousands of cases are pending in each High Court and the Supreme Court also and there is no solution of these. The petitioner dies. The second or the third generation comes and he goes on crying for justice. The same thing happens in case of criminal case. The people are lodged in jails for years together and they do not get justice. It is true that during the last days the judiciary has earned some credit in the name of public interest litigations. Sometimes it is feared that in the name of public interest litigation it may not involve some innocent person. This public interest litigation should be used indiscriminately.

The fourth pillar is the media, the press. It is a fact that the press has done something good. Many times due to investigative journalism many scams have come to light but

the yellow journalism in press is a bell of danger. The electronic media has brought wonders. Violence, tisco-disco, sex, violence indiscriminate commercialisation and consumerism in this country have become its rule of law. It would cause loss to the country. I was making a reference to all these four important pillars of democracy. The condition of these should be taken into consideration. Unless the points are touched and periphery is talked about, the big questions of the country would not be solved. If we want to solve the big problems of the country we will have to go to its root. The problem will have to be solved from its root. Today the politics is standing at the cross roads. The politicians have also lost their reliability. Today there is a difference in what the politicians say and what they do. The people say so. Today the condition of the country is that nothing moves without power.

[English]

The people say that whether it is political power, money power or muscle power, today the condition like jungle raj is emerging in the country. It should be pondered over seriously.

Hon'ble Atal ji had talked about criminalisation of politics. He also demanded for electoral reforms. But whether electoral reforms will do needful? People do not have faith in the impartiality of elections. In elections, not only rigging takes place but the government machinery is also used to declare an elected candidate as defeated and a defeated candidate as elected. This sort of situation does exist in politics today. Electoral reforms are necessary. But there should also be a change in our mindset along with the electoral reforms. When Atal ji was speaking that there should be state-funding for elections and he also said that when he had contested elections in 1957, only two jeeps were accompanying him. Party workers used to go on cycles for campaigning. I want to ask Atal ji and all others why elections have become costly? Elections have become costly because workers do not have commitment towards their party now. Politics is fast turning into a profession and trade. It has not remained now a medium of service. When commercialisation has set in politics, culture of visiting card has been introduced in politics, posts are occupied because by taking their visiting card, they could approach officers and other people and some mileage is taken therefrom. Owing to this type of culture political workers will not work sincerely, they will work only when they get money and other facilities like jeep etc. Therefore, there is a need of change in mindset of people in politics. All these things will

not come about by enacting laws only. There should be commitment among political parties to carry out all these things. Commitment should not be there to capture power only. Although seat of power is necessary. A political party contests elections to capture power. Political parties seek opportunities to do service through coming to power but commitment for power only should not be there. But it is unfortunate that not only political leaders but the people of whole country have become obsessed with power. because no work can be got done without power. If any religious convocation is held, there should be a minister to inaugurate it, if any meeting of intellectuals is being held, a minister should also be there to inaugurate that meeting. The politics which has become a symbol of power today, precisely for this reason the country has been paying for its ill effects today

We all talk of criminalisation of politics nine years back from now, in 1988 when Atal ji was not a member of Parliament, the present Vice-President Shri Krishna Kant ji and I. ...*(Interruptions)*. I will take five minutes more.

Present Governor Raghunath Reddy and Ramdhan ji had issued a statement against criminalisation of politics and we also held a discussion on that, headed by Pt. Kamalpathi Tripathi ji. Hon'ble Atal ji, Chandrasekhar ji and V.P. Singh ji had also participated in that and well known journalists of the country, judges of High Courts, Farooqui Saheb and many other leaders also attended that seminar. Elections were held shortly after that discussion. Discussion was held on 14 October and elections were held on 17 October and after that this whole exercise came to a dead end. We held a lot of discussions now a days but nothing comes out of that. A special session of four days is being held, people have high expectations from this session. People think that perhaps something will come out from this session and if nothing concrete comes out from this session also and it merely remains a discussion, then it will have no purpose, no meaning whatsoever. Therefore I want to repeat what was also earlier said by leader of our party Sharad Pawar ji that some collective decisions should be taken at the end of this session as conclusions by leaders together in the presence of Mr. Speaker. And not only decisions should be taken because we have been taking many decisions but we should also fix a definite time limit to implement these decisions. There should be atleast two or four decisions to be taken from this special session, on which there should be no dispute and which should be unanimous. If we want this sitting of our days to be meaningful, there is an urgent need to find a way out to solve the various problems the country has been facing.

At the end, I want to say that we talk much about corruption. We also talk about the Lokpal Bill Corruption is not prevailing at high places only but it has percolated down and the general public is trouble more with the corruption prevailing down the line. How this corruption would be checked? We can have inspector, C.I.D. and above all inspector to check the corruption. But they are not going to help to check this corruption. I am of the view that be it the corruption at high level or be it at the lower level, I support the proposal put forth by Nitish Kumar ji that right to information should be made a statutory right. This is a right which every citizen should get. If right to information becomes a statutory right, I can say with certainty that people would get an opportunity to unearth corruption prevailing at high places and at lower levels, in developmental works etc. It is true that we should not share the information in the matters relating to sensitive issues which are pertaining to defence, external affairs and technology but adequate safeguards could be provided for that.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say one more thing through you that there is a chapter in our Constitution, the Chapter IV. This Chapter deals with the Directive Principles of State Policy. What these Directive Principles of State Policy are? We just have talked about atrocities committed on woman, scheduled caste and dalits. We also talked about that scheduled caste, dalits and women should get rights. Hon'ble Sharad ji has since left the House, I am agree to point that he had made that there should be university for promoting our traditional handicrafts. Gandhi ji said earlier, he also said during the struggle for independence that we wanted Gram Swaraj and village autonomy' the Panchayati Raj, Khadi and cottage industry are two important aspects in this direction. But what is happening today is that the cottage industry is being phased out. People are migrating from these industries and looking for other jobs due to which slums are increasing. Danger is looming large due to the entry of multinational companies, unemployment is on the rise. It is the duty of Government to provide job to the increasing working hands. The dream of Gandhi ji could only come true through setting up cottage and Khadi industries within the rural areas.

We have commenced the Panchayati Raj system but rights have not been given to it. All things are contained in the Directive Principles on which we had a discussion just now. Be it the matter of primary education or be it the matter of inequality or be it the matter of centralisation of means of society, all these things are enshrined in our constitution in the part of Directive Principles from 36 to 51.

A high-level committee should be set up with the consent of the Lok Sabha Speaker and leaders of the parties which will look into the matter as to what extent these Directive Principles have been implemented, what are the hurdles, what action should be taken to implement them in toto, what should be line of action: At least on issue on which the parties are not divided, the leaders of the political parties could be unanimous such as atrocities should not be committed on Harijans, women should get rights, they should get equal pay, system of bonded labour should be abolished, primary education should be made universal. There are many such other issues also since these issues need consideration cutting across the party lines. Therefore, my suggestion is that the hon. Speaker should call a meeting of all the leaders and a high powered committee consisting of technical, knowledgeable persons and experts should be constituted. They should consider and formulate a time bound programme to place before the House and the Government these directive principles. Then, I think we can find the solution to the problems being discussed today. For that matter, we held discussions frequently. The standard of discussions may have come down, the discussion may not be fruitful even then discussions are held in the House. Therefore, the people are disappointed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will talk about the things 30–35 years ago. You also belong to that period. At that time, when any issue was being raised then people used to realise that the matter had been raised in the Parliament. Now issues are raised daily in the Parliament, but no one asks about it, no one is serious about it. Just now, Nitish Kumar ji was saying that the members of Parliament receives the letters and acknowledgement. Therefore, we don't get any information about the action taken in this regard. In those days, there were many senior ministers but we were not required to go to them. All the problems used to get solved through mere correspondence. Today, one has to go to the minister even then nothing faithful happens. Such is the poor position of the Parliament and the Members of Parliament.

Today, there is decline in every field. The basic question is: how to check this decline? This not in the hands of any Prime Minister, M.P. or any leader alone. We all should do something for the country. This is the gift, which we should give to those who have fought and sacrificed their lives for the Independence of the country. We all should check this decline and we should see that there will be no further decline therein and the country will prosper. If we could make such an arrangement, then it would be meaningful. I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai-North) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, It was decided that the Hon. Member will take only ten minutes. Today is the second day. It will also come to an end soon. If everything continues like this then I think several members, who want to speak, will not get a chance to speak. My request is that those leaders who have expressed their views, If they have completed their speech, then further. ...*(Interruptions)* Today, you run the House as you please but atleast tomorrow don't put ten minutes time limit. If the first orator completes his speech, then it's alright otherwise. ...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I fully agree with you. Today, the beginning has been such. Today the discussion started with Col. Rao Ram Singh, and then it continued like that with a great difficulty, I could control the House. You know how many times I have controlled this House. But what else can we do? we will try.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV (Parbhani) : A gross injustice is always being done to the Juniors. When the Juniors speak, they are asked to finish their speech in five minutes. ... *(Interruption)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not like that. Any sort of in discrimination has neither been at present nor it will be done in future between Juniors and Seniors. We cannot do such a thing.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SUKDEO PASWAN (Araria) : If any hon. Member wants to speak, then definitely, he should be given a chance to speak.

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA (Samastipur) : The initial orators take plenty of time. Later they preach us to complete our speech in less time. We don't consider is proper. The initial orators speak for half an hour to one hour and then the remaining members are asked to complete their speech in five minutes which we don't consider it proper. ...*(Interruptions)*

DR. VALLABH BHAI KATHIRIA (Rajkot) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, All are repeating the same things. Every one should speak on different issues. Earlier also, discussion used to be held in this fashion. We should speak on different issues. ...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Chair can not direct the Members as to what to say and what to not.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHAMAN LAL GUPTA (Udhampur) : On each day discussion should be held on each of the four issues.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No Member has spoken on the same issue. Those issues which were supposed to be taken up in the next two days have been taken up today itself. Therefore, Shri Guptaji, you please sit down. The House will run in this way only.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHAMAN LAL GUPTA : If Chair says these words, then how the House will function?

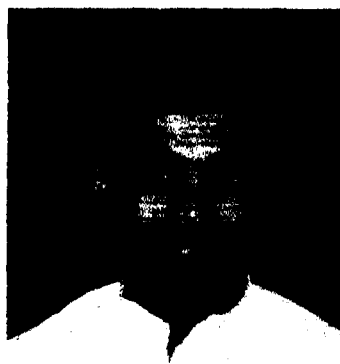
MR. CHAIRMAN : The Chair can't compel anybody as to what to say and what to not.

... *(Interruptions)*

DR. VALLABH BHAI KATHIRIA : The Special Session has been called for this purpose only.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House would run is this fashion only.

... *(Interruptions)*



SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV (Patna) : Mr. Chairman, Sir I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this special session. In this special session, discussions are being held on special issues. I hope that a resolution would be passed after the four days of session. The hon. Members have expressed their views on the burning issues of the country and I hope that this session would conclude with a concrete resolution passed by us.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, 50 years of Independence have passed and we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee Year of Independence but I think the purpose behind achieving Independence for which our ancestors had sacrificed their lives could not be achieved. We could not make the desired breakthrough in solving the basic problems of the country such as food, cloth and shelter, house, education, health, medicine, electricity, water, agriculture and granary. Even today people are dying on large scale due to starvation and unemployment. The 75 per cent population of the country, which reside in the villages is crying. India is being called a country of villages and unless we bring in prosperity in the village and happiness among the people, the country could never progress. The people can't march forward. Nevertheless, I think that those people who have been entrusted with the responsibility of the country after Independence have failed to perform their duties/obligations since independence till date and that's why even today crores of people are living on the footpaths in the country. After toiling for the whole day they are not able to provide basic needs like two square meals, cloth, education, medical facilities and water and electricity.

Sir, the present predicament of the country is not hidden from anyone. I agree that during these 50 years of our Independence, we have made significant progress in various fields yet in many a fields, we have fallen short of the desired level. The present fast pace of increasing population is quite alarming and causing impediments in the country's development. As several hon. Members have dilated upon it, therefore, I would not go into the details. What I mean to say is that our population which was 34 crores in 1950 has gone up to 96 crores and would cross one billion mark as we enter the 21st century. This is quite alarming. It warrants a plenty of thought by all the politicians present here in this House. Unless and until we check the pace of fast increasing population, we can not take this country on the path of progress and prosperity.

We will have to resolutely devise ways and means. We need to create awareness among the masses and impart education on it. Unless we educate the people we can not execute it successfully. Therefore, the need of the hour is to educate all. Majority of people in our country are still uneducated, which is the root cause of our backwardness. We have enhanced the education allocation of Rs. 153 crores in the first Five Year Plan to Rs. 2000 crores in the current one. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you too, hail from the backward region. The Primary and Secondary schools in our countryside are in bad shape. The schools in villages

do not have doors and windows and the student can not sit inside during the rainy season. Teachers do not turn up in the schools which have got all the infrastructure facilities so how the poor student in the schools can be imparted education and made self reliant.

India is a village dominated country. If the children are not educated, the country can not march ahead on the path of development and progress. Therefore, we should resolve to make all efforts to contain the fast increasing population and provide education to all then only this country can march ahead.

Irrigation is one of the major problems this country is facing. Irrigation plays a vital role in the development of a country but adequate irrigation facilities are not available to our farmers. Majority of Indian people are engaged in agriculture sector and reside in villages. We are not able to provide adequate irrigation facilities to our farmers. They are poor and lack motivation.

The pace of industrialisation has been quite sluggish in our country. That is why we have not been able to march ahead on the path of progress and prosperity. The major reason for this is that we have not paid any attention to those engaged in our agriculture sector. Adequate irrigation facilities are not available. The canals and other irrigation facilities are in a bad shape. Nature also plays an important role in irrigation. Hail storm and drought are witnessed quite frequently. Several States in the country experience floods or droughts. Therefore, the condition of farming community is deteriorating day by day. If in the agriculture based economy like India, we do not spend budget funds in a proper manner, the country can never march ahead. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I earnestly request you that we must provide roads and irrigation facilities in the country side to bring propriety in villages. The villages should be linked with cities. These days, people are fast settling down in cities and this tendency needs to be checked. We must know as to why people come to cities. It is, just because they get better electric and water facility and can provide better education to their children. Today people are leaving agriculture and heading towards cities for jobs. In a vast country like ours, all can not get govt. jobs. Therefore, we should make efforts to make agriculture sector more attractive. If we provide all facilities to them then, people will not migrate to the cities. The present fast pace of urbanisation needs to be checked. The trend to shift to cities should be checked otherwise day will come when there would be none to work in the fields. If there is no yield in the village, you would not be able to buy food even by paying money. If we intend to take this country on the path of development and prosperity then, we will have to

take care of those engaged in agriculture sector today. There is deterioration in every walk of life of the country. Leaders of various political parties are present here in the House. A lot was being said about corruption, political system and democracy. Today the democracy is in danger. If this situation persists then it will create complications for the four pillars of our democracy. On the basis of which the constitution and this country is running as stated by Shri Nawal Kishore Sharma. He has mentioned shortcomings and lacunae in detail. I do not intend to go into them but if the legislature, executive, judiciary and press do not correct itself, then, it will put the democracy and the constitution in danger as stated by Shri Nawal Kishore Sharma. Today people are looking towards political parties with hope. There is a general impression that political leaders are corrupt but I do not agree with this view that level of corruption has gone up in these 50 years and political leadership is responsible for it. Infact, corruption has rooted in all walks of life be it legislature, judiciary or the press. They are blaming each other. MPs and MLAs are believed to be thieves and are also root cause of corruption and much is said about them. People of other political parties are crying out calling others thieves but all activists of political parties are not corrupt. A political workers is engaged in social service right from morning to evening. 5 to 10 per cent people may be corrupt but ninty-ninty five per cent people are honest and sincere. A person clad in Kurta and Pajama is seen suspiciously. If people of political parties are not there the country can never march ahead.

This is true that we are accusing each other. We must introspect as to who is involved in corruption. We see towards others only and do not see ourselves. Unless we see towards ourselves, our society and country can not make progress.

I would also like to dwell on the politicization of Judiciary. Mr. Chairman, Sir, corruption is prevailing not only in Legislative and Executive but also in Judiciary. Now people of the country have set their eyes on judiciary in the hope that they will get justice. But if they listen such things, they will loose their faith in judiciary. This is not going to save democracy in our country. Therefore, let us introspect and make analysis of our inner self. Let us not stand in protection of each-other. If you make it a habit to speak against each other, it will be against the dignity of the House. If this tendency to cross our limitations continues, the democracy in this country will be in peril. It is, therefore, necessary for political parties to have a deep introspection and an analysis of their inner self so that democracy is safe in this country and the people who indulge in corrupt practices are awarded due punishment. Today people are criticising and loosing their faith in Judiciary which is required to be restored.

Today, people have become suspicious about the functioning of Judiciary and they are worried about their future.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will finish my speech within 5-7 minutes. I speak very rarely.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 17 minutes.

SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV : I have taken only 17 minutes but there are people who take even 40 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : But now, please conclude.

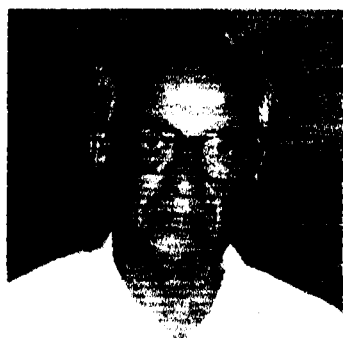
SHRI RAM KRIPAL YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am sure that you will give me little more time. Today I would like to urge you people to launch yet another struggle for freedom. No doubt we have got the political freedom but economic and social freedom yet remains to be achieved. I would request to all political parties in this country to come in this House with a concrete ideology and a clear intention of taking concrete action. Please do not indulge in making allegations and counter-allegations. The people of this country are crying for justice. Gandhiji had strived for setting up an egalitarian society in our country. If we want to bring forth the people who have so far remained backward in our society then this is my appeal to all of you, particularly youth of this country to come together and launch a concerted move in this direction as a part of second battle for freedom. If we do not work for upliftment of the people of backward class, it is but natural for them to feel neglected which would ultimately breed resentment among these people. Today terrorism is on rise and violence is taking place over very trival and trifling issues. The basic reason therefor is resentment among the people. If we do not work for upliftment and welfare of the people of backward classes, the country can not make progress and can not become stronger. We have ensure that 85 per cent people of this county do get their rights.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, though Mandal Commission has been implemented but the recommendations made by the commission have not yet been implemented completely. Dalit and backward class people are being denied justice in all the States of our country and unless we give them their due rights, bring them in the mainstream of the society, the country can not move ahead. Resultantly the country will be left far behind in the comity of other nations. It is, therefore, necessary to provide strength to the country by uniting these people in one thread. I do agree that criminalization of politics is taking place in this country. And it is in this context that we should take a firm decision for not giving tickets to the people having criminal back-grounds

in elections so that we could provide a clean administration to the people by electing the people having a clean image. If we do so, only then the dignity of the House would be saved. My colleague Shri Sharma ji has said that dignity of the House has received setbacks during the last 30 years.

I will conclude within a minute. We are required to change our ideologies in order to improve our jeopardised economy and bring equality in our society. We will have to rise above all petty considerations and take concrete decisions. All political parties will reach unanimity on some issues and bring in a resolution in the House which would further strengthen our country. This will give birth to a new society based on equality. This will also earn a good name to our country in the world.

With these words I conclude.



DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA

[English]

DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA (Guwahati) :
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to take part in the discussions during this Special Parliamentary Session on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the country.

I have listened to almost all the different speakers and what I have gathered is that many of the speakers have found satisfaction in our performance during the last 50 years and in some affairs, they are complacent and, in many of the affairs, they are unhappy and in the issues that have been discussed in this House since yesterday, it has been noticed that the speakers have spoken on the same subjects at different times. Therefore, as has been suggested the topic of my discussion will be mostly limited to only one aspect viz., education and more particularly, higher education.

First, before I start, I quote a version of the Upanishad:—

"shrinnwntu vishye amritasya putrah
Aa je dhamani dibyani tasthuh
tamasah parastat".

What we have been discussing here in this Parliament since yesterday is this message which was given to us more than 3,000 years ago, but even now, after more than 3,000 years, we have not been able to overcome the conflicts. As a result, the country as a whole is faced with turmoils. Conflicts are rampant and we are all the victims and more particularly, the rural masses are the victims. We are the repository of the confidence of the masses of this country and we have not been able to be worthy of this faith reposed on us. We have discussed many issues like corruption, poverty alleviation, illiteracy and many others and we have found ourselves that we have not been able to come above board. To me, it appears, the main reason of not resolving these issues is lack of proper education and we expect that after Independence of the country, we will have a system of education more appropriate to the soil of this nation.

Unfortunately, even after fifty years of Independence, we have been pursuing the British system of education. Even though slavery had gone in the political aspect, yet we have not been able to shake off ourselves slavery in respect of education and many of the other areas. Why I am making this charge today? But I do not blame any Government. I do not blame any political party. I blame ourselves that we have not been able to come with a particular message to the nation that we need an education which is properly and appropriately suited to ourselves.

You will be surprised to know that the quality of education should be ensured along with the quantity. We have quantity. But even now 13 crore people within the relevant age-group of six to fourteen are not getting education in spite of having a very big super-structure. Why have these particular people, the rural masses not been able to go for education? I think you are already aware of it and we have discussed many of these issues.

Now, I give certain examples in respect of higher education. In 1947, we had 23 Universities. In 1995, we had 224 Universities along with the Deemed Universities. We had only 700 colleges in 1947. Now, we have 8613 colleges. We had 1,05,000 enrolment in the Degree classes in 1947 which had gone now to nearly seven million in 1995. We had only 15,000 teachers in 1947 which has gone now to 61,300. So, in spite of having such a big super-structure, we have not been able to give a proper direction to the national well-being. In spite of the fact that we have been spending a huge sum of money for the development of education, we have not been able to produce some of the things which the education aims at.

The higher education aims definitely at quantity. We have now seven million Graduates and Post-Graduates taking education within the portals of the higher education

system. We want education to have quality. Quality is even now a great question mark. We wanted to have usability with efficient skill. But we are not in a happy position. Higher education aims at excellence and excellence is even now a far cry. So, under the circumstances, I have come to this conclusion. I have a request to make to this august House through the Speaker. The point is that we have two big agencies, one is the National Council of Educational Research and Training. But they have not been able to, probably, provide the basic necessity of imparting education in the primary and the upper-primary section, up to the secondary level. And secondly, the University Grants Commission has not been able to do justice in respect of planning education. Why I have made this charge is this. You will know about it from the data that I am going to give you.

In the Universities we are now enrolling students in the Humanities Group to the extent of 40.4 per cent. I am talking of the 1995 census. We are enrolling students in the Science Group to the extent of 19.6 per cent. We are enrolling students in the Commerce Group to the extent of 21.9 per cent. In general education, it is 2.3 per cent. In Engineering and Technology, it is 3.4 per cent and in Medicine, it is 3.4 per cent.

Agriculture 1.1 per cent, veterinary 0.3 per cent, law 5.3 per cent and others 0.8 per cent. Now from this, you will have to come to the conclusion where this country is heading towards. What is the usability of the 40.4 per cent of the persons, all these graduates taking education in this stereo typed courses? We are speaking of poverty, we are speaking of this unemployment, we are speaking of the science and technology, and we are now speaking of diverse industry. How can the industry grow? How can this manpower that has been produced by these universities be utilised? The utilisation of these people requires particular skills which we have not been able to provide them. So long as we do not come with a particular mission, so long as we do not come with a particular aim, the higher education will be meaningless. Even now we are going to establish universities. Most of the universities are not established out of necessity but most of them are established out of politics. So, my firm conviction is this that by the turn of the century, the total number of students enrolling themselves in the universities will be more than 8.4 million and by the turn of 2010, the number of enrolments in the colleges will be 10 million.

We have not been able to give a direction in this field of education more particularly in the Plus 2 stage and in the higher education. If we cannot make a firm resolution, we shall not be able to come out of this predicament and

unemployment will ever grow. We must have to have a particular mission. I do not know how it can be done. There are so many different philosophers, there are so many different intellectuals, and there are so many seasoned politicians. I think, they will be able to come out with a solution to set the nation free from this unemployment problem and also to a great extent, from this poverty.

Now there was a prophetic statement made by Dr. D.S. Kothari that future of India is being built within the four walls of the educational institutions. That has not been done. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a prophetic statement and said that if our universities are well, then the country will be well. This has not been done. Some of the Members of this Parliament have mentioned about Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi said, "What we need is the *buniyadi prashikshan*." We have not done that. Now, today there is a dichotomy. Many of the parents want that their children should be educated in the English medium schools. Many of the parents do not know and they are in a dilemma whether their children should be educated in vernacular language or in the native schools. It is on this dilemma that we people are divided. We are speaking about our national language. We are speaking about our English language and we are speaking about our scientific and technological language. Therefore, our people do not know it.

There was a Commission headed by Dr. Kothari. The recommendations of that Kothari Commission could not be implemented. We had the New Education Policy of 1986. That Policy could not be implemented even till date. I do not know whether another Commission will serve any purpose or not. Therefore, I urge upon you and I appeal to the whole House which exercising that they will come definitely with a resolution, with certain measures by which education can be re-built and re-constructed. The present system of education is not going to resolve the ills of the nation.

20.00 hrs.

Sir, we have universities but these universities have not been funded. Some of the Universities are the State Universities and some are the Central Universities. But the State universities are now suffering like anything. Most of these universities are affiliated universities and out of these 224 universities, 176 are under the umbrella of the University Grants Commission. Then out of these 176 universities, 144 are getting grants from the University Grants Commission. Then out of the total of 8,300 colleges, only, 4,500 colleges are receiving grants from the University Grants Commission.

So, the colleges are also starving and the universities are also starving. The education level has not come up, and the research level has almost reached at grinding halt. Therefore, we have to come out of this problem. If research is to continue, if education is to flourish, then probably, we must have to retrieve the funding of the universities.

Sir, there was a proposal that the big business houses should come to the rescue of the universities and colleges but no big business houses are likely to come out to help the universities outright. Even though there has been a tax exemption to these big business houses to render assistance to the universities, this has not come. So, I have an appeal to make...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA : Yes, Sir.

The financial position of the universities must have to be improved, redesigned and reconstructed in order to come out of this evil that is prevailing in the society.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Sarma, please conclude now. I have to call the next Speaker also.

DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA : Sir, I am just finishing. I am aware of the time constraint. I will not take much time. I am just concluding.

I have another request to make through the Chairman that there must be an educational planning. There is no educational planning and this educational planning which is very much needed, should be made. For this, some accountability should also be fixed to these institutions.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Prabin Chandra Sarma, please conclude now.

DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA : Sir, with one verse I am concluding.

“dhayato bishayan punghsah
sangastepajayata
sangat samjayata kamah
kamat krodhah upajayate
krodhat bhabati sanmohah
sanmohat smriti bibhramah
smritibhrangsat budhhinash
budhinasat pranasyati”

Sir, we should not kill ourselves. This is Parliament. We are the soul of the whole of the nation, and therefore, we must not kill ourselves so that we are not blamed by the future generation.

So, with these few words, I conclude my speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, I have before me, names of three more Speakers. So, with 10 minutes each—it is a gentleman's agreement—we can complete these three Speakers and then we will adjourn the House today.

Now, Shri Lal Bihari Tiwari.



SHRI LAL BIHARI TIWARI

[Translation]

SHRI LAL BIHARI TIWARI (East Delhi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think I am fortunate enough for having been elected to this House from East Delhi constituency in the by-elections held recently and that I have got an opportunity to speak in this House on the occasion of Golden Jubilee year of our independence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the freedom struggle of the country was fought 50 years ago under the leadership of stalwarts like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Gobind Vallabh Pant. During that time Mahatma Ji had launched Quit India movement which sent a wave of nationalism among the people throughout the country and they plunged into the agitation. During that period a tremendous amount of courage was witnessed among the people in every nook and corner of the country to participate in the crusade against the Britishers. Every person at that time had resolved to do or die. During the period of our freedom struggle, when our elder people, sitting in their 'Chaupal' playing cards and smoking 'Hukka', saw a person clad in Khadi Dhoti-Kurta with a Gandhi cap on his head coming from a visible distance, they thought that some great person was visiting them and they were going to have a nice day. But today i.e. after 50 years of our independence, the situation in this respect is different. Today when our senior citizens sitting in the same 'Chaupal' see a person wearing a Dhoti-Kurta and a cap on his head, they say that it would be difficult for them to pass the day peacefully. They say that they will not be getting their food that day. I have seen that time and this

time also. It was very difficult to find out a dishonest man during those days. But today after 50 years of our independence, the situation has changed significantly. How difficult is it today to find out an honest man. Over these 50 years we have lost our moral character which requires our special attention.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we are spending billions and billions of rupees in the name of development of our country but we are not strictly monitoring the implementation of projects with a view to ensure their long life. Be it a matter of construction of a building or a bridge or highways or roads, rampant corruption is deep rooted. In our country while preparing the estimate of a project, the commission charged thereon, is also included therein. But I am very sorry to say that even the estimated amount is not spent fully on the constructions of buildings. A number of Speakers here have mentioned that the benefit of only 10 paise out of rupee 1 reaches to people. For the sake of our independence, this practice should be stopped.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a few days back, an ordinance to ban beggary was debated here. It is not a good practice and poor children are exploited by others for it. Several States have enacted laws to ban beggary but all these rules are flouted. We all wish to stop this practice. We politicians should also pay attention towards our behaviour. We seek alms from big and developed countries in the name of assistance. We should become self-reliant. A person, who drinks liquor cannot preach its ill effects to his son effectively. Society cannot be changed in this way.

Mr. Chairman Sir, now I would like to say that during last 50 years the growth rate of economy has doubled to 7 per cent from 3.5 per cent through planned economy. Savings have also increased from 12 per cent to 25 per cent. Due to the savings and investment our gross national product has reached to Rs. 4,70,269 crore, which was just Rs. 8,939 crore in 1950-51. But it is really sad that 20 per cent population of the country at lower level is getting only 8.7 per cent of national income. Whereas the 20 per cent affluent population is getting 42.6 per cent, which is five times. We should try to remove this imbalance.

As regards poverty alleviation programmes, we will find that this imbalance in distribution of income could not be removed during the last 50 years. The 30 per cent rural population which is worst affected of poverty, spends 52 per cent of their income on food and clothing whereas this percentage is 54 in urban areas. The 30 per cent rural population gets only 15 per cent and in urban areas it is just 14 per cent which cannot be called sufficient. We are unable to remove this imbalance. Not only during his life time but even at the time of his death this imbalance continues. The poor people who die at road side, cannot even get fuel wood for their last rites whereas affluent class

uses sandal wood for their last rites. Can we achieve our target in this way. Crores of people of our country live in slums, J.J. colonies. People in a taunting tone say that televisions are used in Jhuggi Jhopries but jhuggi jhopri dwellers are worst affected and no one care when their children die of electricity currents.

I would like to say that due attention should be paid towards their welfare if we want to enjoy freedom and maintain unity and integrity of this country. Special funds should be earmarked for their progress only then we can dream of a developed independent India.

Now I would say a few words about export. It was 1.85 per cent in 1950 which declined to 0.64 in 1970, and in 1980, it was just 0.42. It is a pitiable situation for our country. I would like to say that due attention should be paid towards it.

It is said that during the last 50 years we have become self reliant in the matter of foodgrain production. It is right that we are producing food grains as per our requirement but during the period from 1952 to 1966 the production of foodgrain was 2.00 per cent of total agricultural/produce and non-foodgrains was 3.87 per cent. The percentage of foodgrain production, is declining. In 1950-51 it was 50.8 million tonne which increased to 191.15 million tonne in 1994-95. The non-foodgrain production which was 42.0 million tonne in 1950-51, increased to 177.5 million tonne in 1994-95. But it is a matter of concern that the production of pulses remained at only 11.12 million tonne. Earlier poor people used to eat pulses but recently their prices have risen to Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per kg. We should pay special attention towards production of pulses. The budget allocation in this regard should also be increased.

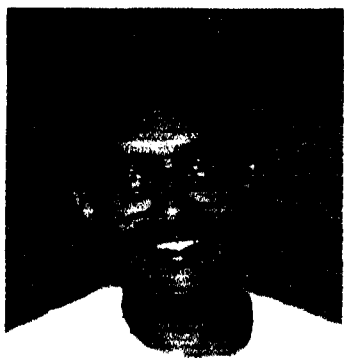
Ours is an agro-based country and in the matter of agricultural production we can feel proud of it. With the help of our scientists special attention should be paid towards production of rice. ...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have started just now.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Even after speaking for eleven minutes, you are at the beginning.

SHRI LAL BIHARI TIWARI : I would like to say that we can be proud of our foodgrain production. Attention should be paid towards per hectare production of foodgrain in our country like China, USA and Japan. As per the report of 1987-88, our per hectare production is 17 quintal whereas it is 40 quintal in Japan. Our scientists should adopt foreign technics of agricultural production and effort should be made to increase the production.

Now I would like to mention my point in brief. Just now Shri Chaturanan Mishra has told that 20 crore tonne foodgrains has been produced. We had also stated that Rs. 19,500 crore were demanded in the Ninth Five Year Plan but only Rs. 8,700 crores has been allocated. This production could have increased if allocation was increased further. Apart from production, due attention should be paid towards distribution and maintenance and storage of foodgrain. Crores of people are linked to PDS. FCI has a capacity for storage of only 23 million tonnes of foodgrain. The additional foodgrain are kept in the open and thus get spoiled in the rainy season. This rotten wheat and rice is supplied to poor people through PDS. Our Public Distribution System has failed miserably. Sir, through you I would like to mention that recently 30 lakh tonnes of wheat was imported. In 1996–97, 20 lakh tonne of wheat was imported whereas in 1994–95 this figure was 30 lakh tonne. As per my information the price of wheat exported from India has quite low but we imported it at much higher rates. It is not in the interest of the country. We have a huge stock of foodgrain within the country. The practice of importing foodgrain should be stopped.

I thank you for allowing me to speak.



**SHRI MANORANJAN
BHAKTA**

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the House has been discussing about the 50 year of our independence for the last two days during which several hon. Members have expressed their views but perhaps the foremost issues have escaped our attention as only one question is being asked today in the entire country—whether the common man is likely to be benefited by the democratic system or the country should adopt some other system which may increase the prosperity of 96 crore population of country and may find out solution for their day-to-day problems. We, the elected hon. Members of Parliament and those occupying treasury benches talk much about democracy but the question before us is whether this democracy is function properly? I would like to quote one point from the 'Objectives' Resolution' passed after attaining the independence.

[English]

I quote :

"All people of India shall be guaranteed and secured social, economic and political justice; equality of status and opportunities before the law, and fundamental freedom—of talk, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action—subject to law and public morality.

[Translation]

My question is whether the right of citizenship enshrined in the Constitution is uniformly applicable to the people all over the country or the people of different parts of the country enjoy different citizenship rights? I find that the people of Lakshadweep from where Mr. Chairman hails and Andaman and Nicobar from where I hail, are considered second rate citizens. We do not enjoy the rights enjoyed by the citizens of other parts of the country. There are Legislative Assemblies in all the states and they participate in Presidential Election but the people of the said islands cannot participate in Presidential Election. Likewise, under the present system, the people of Union Territories do not have the same participation in the Government as the people of other States. Our country is the biggest democracy in the world. But nobody had the occasion to think over or look to these aspects. We hail from a small place and here too, we do not get opportunity to speak at the right time. Sir, since you are in the Chair and you sympathise with me, therefore, I have got the opportunity to speak at this time when almost the entire House is empty except four MPs. Members are not present even to listen to our sorrows and miseries.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Entire India listens to you, don't worry.

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA : No doubt, entire India listens but men of principle do not listen. Therefore, I want only to say that a golden opportunity presented itself in the House during the previous days after fifty years of independence when the Hon. Minister came out with the assurance to introduce a Bill for providing Statehood to Andaman and Nicobar islands in the same session. There was consensus in the all-party meeting in this regard but that Bill could not be introduced so far. This was an opportunity when the Government could do some concrete work and we could have been provided the same rights as enjoyed by all the citizens in other parts of the country.

Let us talk about advertisements. Just a few days back an advertisement was published in the Hindustan Times depicting India's map in which Andaman and Nicobar Islands

and Lakshadweep were not shown. The correct geographical boundary of India was not shown in it. The people as well as the Government of India are not exactly aware of our geographical location. Likewise, we write to Doordarshan whenever we find something missing or incorrect aired on it. Likewise, when we wrote to the said private advertiser, he admitted his mistake but no reply is given on behalf of the Government. I wrote to the Hon. Minister to be watchful about the depiction of India Territory.

Some days back, a statement was made by a renowned Indonesian leader that Andaman and Nicobar belonged to Indonesia. Many people talk in the same vein but no attention is paid towards this side. That explains what we saw in a Doordarshan programme just two days back *i.e.* both Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep are missing in the map, that goes to show we think about these small areas. It has pained me.

Many of our colleagues stated that multi party system instead of one party system would be the order of the day in coming days. But I do not agree with it. I believe that in future that party will come to power in which people will have their faith. Merely saying will not prevent a single party from coming to power. If India has to develop and it has to fulfill the hopes and aspirations of the people for which we are committed a single party rule must emerge as a strong political power, only then this is possible. Today, United Front Government is in front of us and many people cite an example of West Bengal Government which is in existence for the last twenty years because they enjoy absolute majority there. They can run their Government even if the MLAs of other parties desert them but no party is powerful enough to perform that feat in the Centre.

Today, we are witnessing a great political change with two big parties out of power and small parties replacing them in power. Therefore, we should analyse where the political leadership has failed. If we are able to correct that folly then there will be one party Government in future, not a multi party one.

So far as the development is concerned, no doubt, we have made development. People may say whatever they like but in comparison to other countries, our country has made more progress in every field during the last 50 years. But why are the people annoyed with us even after our spending two and half thousand crore rupees from the First Five Year Plan till today and likely expenditure of about four lakh crore rupees under the current plan? When I thought in this regard, I found that the roads constructed by the Government develop potholes because they are not properly maintained, depriving thus of the natural benefits of roads construction. The teachers are not there in the schools built

by the Government and if teachers are there, they do not take pains in teaching students and rather prefer to indulge in political activities. They do not have time to teach students.

Likewise, water taps have been installed in villages for the supply of safe drinking water but the taps do not get water supply because the dams from which they are to get the water supply have gone dry. The Government has spent a lot for every item but the common man has not been benefited, therefore, he is annoyed. The benefit of million of rupees spent by the Government does not reach the common people. The Government must be spending crores of rupees but none of it reaches them. The benefits do not percolate down to their level. If democracy is to be retained we would have to take a decision. The decision is that we have to strengthen the infrastructure made by us and its benefit should reach the common people. Today I would like to request you that elected Members should be given some authority in the coming days. You must also be aware what authority we have? Our letter has not even the value of the letter of a Patwari. The letter of an MP has no value. The Ministers in Delhi send acknowledgement but the results do not come before us. I am here for last 21 years, and that is what I have experienced. It is easy to receive letter from the Prime Minister but it is not easy to receive reply from others. You can ask any hon. Member. All are unhappy about it. All Members cannot become ministers, only limited, people can. But we do not get the required respect when we go to meet a Minister. You sit there for half an hour, their staff would send the slip at their own will. They say that the Minister is busy. Therefore, they would send our slip after some time. I want to say that they do not trust the hon. Members. Therefore they are unhappy then how they would remove the sorrow of the common people.

Sir, the people in the constituencies think that MPs can do every thing. Particularly your and my position is the same. We have seen that a crowd of people gather and it happens daily. Then on meeting any officer they say we are very popular, as a large number of people come to us. I tell them that it is not the barometer of my popularity. The redressal which should come in the normal channel, does not come through that way. Therefore, they run from pillar to post in order to get their work done. It should also be taken into account that the Members of Parliament have the trust of the people of their constituency. This Government must pay heed to the sorrows of the people of their constituencies and the Government should take action in that regard.

I want to tell you one thing more. If we go for any licence, quota or permit, you can say no and it does not matter. But if it is in connection with the difficulties or grief of the public, you would have to do, because you are committed for that. Therefore, I would also like to tell that

our democracy is still in experimental stage. Now 50 years have passed and if we are not able to take right decision, this parliamentary democracy would not survive in the coming time and what would happen at that time, whether civil war or something else, I cannot say it now. The second thing is in regard to security. It is strange that poachers come regularly in Anadaman-Nicobar islands and take wood after felling the trees. We go to the Lieutenant Governor and the Government of India also for help, but now we do not want to do so. There was a marine police force to check the poachers coming in Krick. It is strange that Government cannot make security arrangements even for that place.

Sir, I want to say one thing more. When we talk to the big leaders about the difficulties of Andaman and Nicobar, they say that it is very easy to remove our difficulty if we get independence. Morarji Bhai had also said so once when we met him. He said—what is the need of democracy in Andaman Nicobar? ‘You become independent.’ All say that even today in fun. They do not try to understand that the people living in farflung areas, who are also Indians would be hurt by saying this. You know that there is cellular jail in Andaman-Nicobar Island, where freedom fighters were kept.

How much atrocities were committed on them. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had unfurled the Tricolour there on December 30, 1943. Andaman-Nicobar was the first part of India which became free first of all. It pains us to hear such things about that place.

Secondly, Indiraji used to call that place mini-India. There is no State in the country, from where people have not migrated to setting down in Andaman and Nicobar. The people of all religions and castes live there. It has always been free of riots. Inter-caste marriages among Hindus, Muslims and Christians and people of other religions is a common thing there. All people speak Hindustani there and speak their mother tongues in their homes. There are 20 per cent Bengali and the remaining people are from all over India. We have adivasi (tribal) people. Even then the Government does not pay heed towards it. I would request the two-four people sitting in the House that they should pay heed to it and attract the attention of other Members also.

I would like to tell you one thing more. The Island Development Authority constituted there is also without any functions. I requested the Prime Minister to call a meeting in that regard and solve our problem. Mr. Chairman, Sir, today a message should go from here because we have always seen that the Government of India always gets ready to talk easily with those who indulge in violence and riots whether it is Mizoram, Nagaland or Manipur, Government says, “Come, sit, and find the solution of the problem.” The message should not go in the country that the Government

would listen only when the people of Andaman Nicobar and Lakshadweep would take recourse to violence. Those in power must know the difficulties and pains of the people living there. We may be small in number, but we are part of India. We have also our share in the progress and prosperity of this country. We are insignificant in terms of number in political manoeuvring in India. But we are standing as the Gateway of the country if we think about the interest of the country. Therefore, the Government of India should consider over it and if it would not pay heed to it, the people would have to take the other course of action. For how many days they would keep the young generation silent. Today there is unrest among them, there is the pain of unemployment. What is happening today? UPSC makes selection from the candidates from all over the country. But it would not select the qualified children of Andaman & Nicobar. When such things happen, unrest would increase. There is the need of thinking over it.

I would like to make some suggestions for the coming 50 years.

According to the Apex court, we cannot make amendment in our Constitution. We can make limited amendments in it. We cannot change the basic structure. Our constitution is not static. It can be changed according to the needs of the society. Therefore, there is the need of taking decision in this regard in the coming days. The second Constituent Assembly should be constituted to make the new Constitution and the experience of the last 50 years should be taken into consideration. We have made 80 amendments to the Constitution. If we have made so many amendments, it needs reconsideration. We have to consider what have been the pains, where they have been, what should be done, what should not be done?

So far as judiciary is concerned, it has done commendable job in many cases but it has given its verdict in many cases that

[English]

The basic structure of the Constitution can not be changed.

[Translation]

But contrary to it judiciary is violating its verdict. The opinion expressed by Patna High Court regarding article 356 is the proof of it. It has stated that court has also right in regard to article 356. It is wrong observation. This is not good trend. That it has interfered into that matter which does not fall under its jurisdiction. This matter should be looked into. The Citizen and Parliament of this country are supreme. The representatives elected by the people work for fulfilling the hope and aspiration of the people. I am not

saying so, people ask what the Parliament is doing these days? When I asked them what happened? They said that everything is being done as per the orders of court. Even the posting of an officer is decided by the court. Court dictates our duties. In regard to the legislatures which are enacted by us it opines that it is not suitable. People say that we do not have work. We should visit the entire country, take rest and enjoy because the country is being run by the court. It is a dangerous trend. We have to think over it. There may be different opinions. Everyone is free to express his views. There is no doubt about it. There should be check and balance on their functions like others. We should decide it.

We could not formulate any national wage policy during 50 years. A person having the same qualification and performing same duties gets somewhere five thousand rupees and somewhere three thousand rupees and at same places he gets only two thousand rupees. We should think over it. If we could pay attention towards it, the difficulties could be solved easily because the country is facing grave problem of unemployment. It requires our attention.

I would like to submit one more thing. Many of our colleagues have said that there should be a national agenda. In view of the present situation all parties have come out irrespective of party-politics. We have to ponder over it and in this way same issues should be selected. May any government come in power but a programme should be formulated on the basis of present issues for ten years and they should not be changed for ten years. We see if a government chalk out any scheme and in case that government is gone before its term, those schemes are dropped. It should not be done. Due to this people are demoralised.

Mr. Chairman, I have no words to express my gratitude for giving me opportunity to express my views in the House. Two senior hon'ble Ministers are sitting here. If you appreciate my issues, take action in this regard.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Manoranjan Bhakta, everybody is appreciating. They have understood what you have said. Now, you please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA : I am glad to say that the country has made progress, it has developed the infrastructure during the last 50 years and there is no shortage. We should not view it from a partisan angle as it is the progress of the country as well as the people. Due to the intention of people these achievements have been

made. If anybody says that the country has not developed during 50 years, it is the insult of people of this country. The people of this country should not be insulted. I conclude my speech stating that whatever has been discussed for the last four days would yield good results.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Qamarul Islam ji, will you complete your speech today?

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM (Gulbarga) : Sir, I will start now, and I will continue tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Then that will be difficult.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM : As per your direction and as per the desire of the House I am happy that I have been given a chance to speak. Otherwise, my number would have come last. Now the hon. Members are very impatient. So, I would request that I may be permitted to continue tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You need not start now. It is because the hon. Speaker has decided to give a chance to the newcomers tomorrow. If you are on your legs, then, according to the rules you have to proceed. Therefore, you may start your speech only tomorrow.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : Sir, I want to make only one point. The whole nation is watching us. We are giving sermons to the whole country. It is not good that even five per cent of the Members are not present in the House. Kindly ensure in tomorrow's meeting of the Leaders that at least some Members of Parliament are present here. It is not good if even five per cent of the Members of Parliament are not sitting here.

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM : Sir, the whole nation is watching. I have been waiting for a very long time. My name is there in the list. My only request to you is that my name should not be put at the end of the list tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get a chance tomorrow.

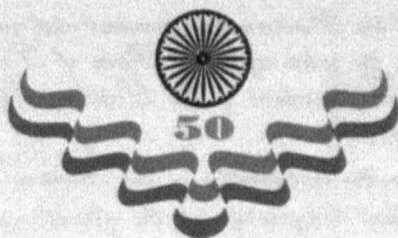
SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM : You need not give me a chance immediately. You can give me a chance after one or two senior leaders have spoken. At least I may be assured of that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned to reassemble tomorrow at 11.00 a.m.

2050 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Thursday, August 28,
1997/Bhadra 6, 1919 (Saka)*

ANNEXURE



*Resolution adopted by the Lok Sabha at the Special Session of the
Parliament on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Independence,
26 August to 1 September, 1997*

We, the Members of Lok Sabha, meeting in a specially convened Golden Jubilee Session of both Houses of Parliament, to commemorate the completion of half a century of freedom;

Having remembered with gratitude the great sacrifices made and the salutary service rendered by our freedom fighters;

Having recalled with deep satisfaction and pride the maturity of our people in vigilantly preserving democracy and safeguarding the unity of the nation and the valour of our soldiers, sailors and airmen, including ex-servicemen in service to the country,

Having reflected upon the state of the nation with the Preamble to the Constitution as the guide;

Having then, specifically deliberated upon matters concerning our current political life, state of democracy in the country, our economy, infrastructure, science, technology and human development;

Do now solemnly affirm our joint and unanimous commitment to the issues hereinafter mentioned, and we also do solemnly resolve and direct that they be adopted as minimum tasks, constituting our "Agenda for India" on this historic occasion:

That meaningful electoral reforms be carried out so that our Parliament and other legislative bodies be balanced and effective instruments of democracy; and further that political life and processes be free of the adverse impact, on governance of undesirable extraneous factors including criminalisation;

That continuous and proactive efforts be launched for ensuring greater transparency, probity and accountability in public life so that the freedom, authority and dignity of the Parliament and other legislative bodies are ensured and enhanced; that more especially, all political parties shall undertake all such steps as will attain the objective of ridding our polity of criminalisation or its influence;

That the prestige of the Parliament be preserved and enhanced, also by conscious and dignified conformity to the entire regime of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of the Houses and Directions of the Presiding Officers relating to orderly conduct of business, more especially by

- *maintaining the inviolability of the Question Hour,*
- *refraining from transgressing into the official areas of the House, or from any shouting of slogans, and,*
- *invariably desisting from any efforts at interruptions or interference with the address of the President of the Republic;*

That a vigorous national campaign be launched by all political parties to combat economically unsustainable growth of population, recognising that such growth lies at the root of most of our human, social and economic problems;

That education at all levels be made employment-relevant, special attention being given to quality; that achievement of the Constitutional mandate of universalisation of elementary education be closely monitored; and that universal primary education be achieved by A.D. 2005;

That the national economy be prudently managed, with emphasis on

- *efficient use of resources and avoidance of wastes;*
- *priority attention to development of infrastructure;*
- *generation of wealth as a sustainable means of achieving full, freely chosen and productive employment, of elimination of poverty and of securing equity and social justice; and*
- *balanced regional development.*

That continuous efforts be made for achieving, in a time bound manner, marked improvement in the quality of life of all citizens of our country with special emphasis on provision of our minimum needs food, nutrition and health security at the house-hold level; potable water; sanitation and shelter;

That gender justice be established in the spirit of the Declaration and Platform for Action of the U.N Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) and be practised as a way of life, with particular emphasis on education of the girl child;

That constant efforts be made in terms of inculcation of values and adjustment of the life and working styles of our people to secure protection of environment and preservation of ecology and bio-diversity;

That science and technology be primarily anchored in the creation of a scientific temper, be developed by promotion of governmental as well as non-governmental efforts and be pressed into service not merely for economic development but human development in all its dimensions;

That, finally, the essence of participatory democracy be seen in the inculcation of our national spirit of self-reliance, in which our citizens are equal partners in all spheres of our national endeavour, and not simply the beneficiaries of governmental initiatives.

Signatures of Members

Y. S. S. S.

LP

Sanjay G. Desai

J. K. Luvai

Basavaraj Rayareddi
(BASAVARAJ RAYAREDDI)

Donna

K. R. R. R.

Keshab Mahanta.

Suraj Bhargava

RABINCH. SARMA

01/09/97

P. V. Murali

Somnath Chakraborty

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M. S. S. S.

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Shawm

K. Vijaya Bhaskar

J. A. P. K.
J. 333

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Shadekhumbad Durao.
L.S. 270
(V. PRADIPKUMAR DEV)

Al Hamd
(B. K. Handique)

Meng Kumar
Lach. Singh
Ratna Singh

G. N. Reddy
(DR. B. N. REDDY)
L.S. 256

Nurul Islam
i. Namgyal
(P. NAMGYAL)

Mangai Nam Sharma
Div. 222

G. Khan

Div. 40

महाराष्ट्र दि. 19

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(T-R-BABU)

संप. देवेंद्रा कुमार
(M P Veerendra Kumar)

दि. 41

दि. 64

दि. 44

Kalabur Poliyadane
दि. 50

दि. 52

Md. Shalabudhni
दि. 51

दि. 23

दि. 383

दि. 14

Jaswant Singh.

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मानविकी विभाग

राज्य विद्यापीठ

Deen

(डॉ. सत्यनारायण जटिया)

गोपीकांत

(जगत जीव सिद्धांत)

मनो (सत्यदेव सिद्धांत)

धन

(V. DHANANJAYA KUMAR)

लेखन विभाग श्री प्रकाश भाषा विद्यापीठ

Raj

(Rajendrasinh
Rana)

निरंकर शास्त्र.

A. S. Kumar.

(आशीष शर्मा)

L. Ramey
IC-37

पुस्तक
IC 457

Benang
IC 367


Luyuyce
I.C. 381

M
IC. 28
Dr. M. J. J. J. J.

Kok Pyay
I.C. 17

Sode Lamm
IC 100-5

S.V. (N.V.N. Somy)
(Deputy Leader D.M.K.
M.O.S. Defence)


AR Antology 1/9/99

SR
(S. Bangareppa)
1/9/97


AA
1.9.97
(Pabam Singh Ghatoom)

D. P. Yadav.
Div 316

M. Hanson

Manosampr Bhakta
Div 193

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DIV 243


(L.S. 300)
Div. 376

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Div. 340

LASHIRAM RANA
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Chandresh Patel - D. Patel

Banwari Lal Purohit

M. Purohit
D.N. 469

मानसिंह शर्मा

M. Singh
D.N. 491

Justice Harnam Malhotra

H. Malhotra
D.N. 467

श्री राजा सिंह शर्मा

Raj Singh
D.N. 470

श्री. लक्ष्मीनारायण पाण्डे

L. Pandey
D.N. 471

श्री. विद्यालाल

V. Lal
D.N. 477

महाराज प्रसाद

राजा मोहन गीत

बाबा राजा महाराज

जन्म १९१९

मृति १९९९

काशी जिला के पारस

लेखक राजा
०.१.१९५८

by
Raj

महाराज महाराज

डा. राजा, डा. राजा

L.V. No. 450

काशी जिला के पारस

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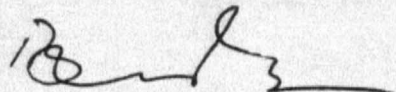
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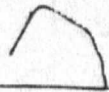
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