Eleventh Series, Vol. XVII, No. 18 to 23

August 26 to 30 & September 1, 1997
Bhadra 4 to 8 & 10, 1919 (Saka)

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

## (English Version)

Fifth Session
(Eleventh Lok Sabha)

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

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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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***Saturday, August 30, 1997/Bhadra 8, 1919 (Saka)***

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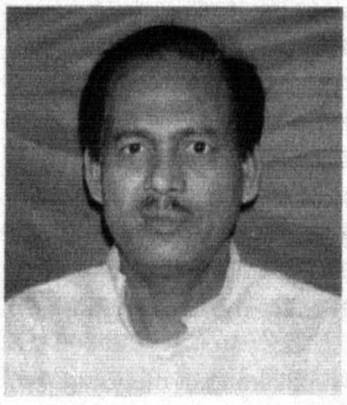
*The Lok Sabha met at Eight Minutes past Eleven of the Clock*

[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.*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now we shall resume the debate. Shri D.B. Roy.



**SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY**

*[Translation]*

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY (Sultanpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

First of all, I pay my obeisance to those patriots who became martyrs in the freedom struggle and to those who are guiding us today.

We have achieved a lot and lost a lot before and after Independence. At the time of independence, we lost half of our territory and at the time of making preparation for becoming a democracy, we lost our beloved Bapu. For the sake of country's progress, we lost socialism, mixed economy and now, with unabated inflow of foreign capital, we have lost the Gandhian philosophy. Some people see only greenary all around and they say that during these fifty years we have made all-round progress, but we are paying less attention towards the increase in desert area. Perhaps, we are over enthusiastic about all this. This august House is the centre of hopes and aspirations of 90 crore people. This is the centre of the country. We take the country to the direction we wish to take. If we do anything against the aspirations of the people, it is a fraud on them. If we act according to their wishes, it will be an act of love and gratitude towards them.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there has been gradual deterioration in the dignity of the House in the succeeding Lok Sabha. We are lacking patience and determination gradually. I would like to cite an example in this regard. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had given a privilege notice against John Mathai, the Private Secretary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this very House. Pandit Nehru had said then that the privilege notice given by an M.P. should be taken up irrespective of the fact that the person was his private secretary or anybody else. But what is happening today? Today, the leader of the opposition and the leader of the ruling party are sitting face to face. Once, the leader of opposition raised a point with the Prime Minister, the latter got annoyed and was not prepared to hear anything. This sort of behaviour cannot be expected of an M.P. At that time, the former Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar intervened and defused the tension. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was more popular than the Prime Ministers of today. Even then he respected the sentiments of hon. Members according to parliamentary practice and procedure. If we want to run the country, it should be run on the basis of transparency. Delivering speeches merely will not serve any purpose. If you do not protect the self-respect and prestige of the hon. Members, who else will do it? Which other body or the people will take care of the country's prestige? I would cite an example. On 6th December, 1996, about 24 MPs were travelling by Lucknow Mail. The train met with an accident on the way. Senior officers of the Railway were travelling by that train, but they ran away. This matter was also raised here. There was much hue and cry. Till today, neither the Railway Minister nor any officer has said anything as to how and why did it happen. Moreover, nobody expressed regrets for the incident. There was a threat to the lives of not only two dozen MPs but also hundreds of other people.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, earlier people used to say that MPs were dishonest, but for the last one month, people have been asking as to how the MPs are living a life with a meagre amount of Rs. 1500-2000 and even wearing white clothes. I would say that we are spending more on washing our clothes than what we get towards our salary.

Since past one month, when people came to know about our financial condition through the media, they are showing sympathy with us. They do not call us dishonest. Sir, in this very House Jawahar Lal Nehru rose to fame when John Mathai's case was raised in this House. Prof. N.G. Ranga, Dr. Lohia and Acharya Kriplani were then Members of this House. Our hon. leader, Shri Vajpayee and Shri Chandra Shekhar are Members of this House. But, today we have been reduce to contractor. We have been made BDOs. We have been provided Rs. 1 crore. Only 53 -54 hand-pumps can be installed with an amount of Rs. 10 lakh, while there are 1000 village in my constituency and we require thousands of hand pumps. What can we do when there are 1000 villages and we install 54 hand pumps only. We are not contractors, B.D.O.s, engineers or District Collectors. This is not our job. It is also not proper on the part of the Government to provide a sum of Rs. 1 crore to MPs and defame them. I demand that the sum of Rs. 1 crore provided to MPs should be withdrawn. If the Government intends to provide funds to MPs, the minimum amount should be Rs. 5 crore so that we could take up some work. Otherwise, this amount should be withdrawn. We have not been elected to this House to act as BDOs. God willing, we may like become a Jawahar Lal Nehru, Atal Bihari Vajpayee or N.G. Ranga but not a B.D.O.

Sir, I would not discuss as to what is going on in politics and election, as I have been allotted very less time. But, the fact is that though we have made progress in every field, there has been deterioration also. Why don't we have the courage to speak the truth? The Government sanctions car advance of Rs. 50,000 to the MPs to purchase a car. Whom are we making fool of? There was Janmastami on 25th August. If we are not able to understand the sentiments of the people, what can we do? It was Janmastami on the 25th August and this session was convened on the 26th August, after lot of deliberation. The MPs from Assam, Kerala, Jammu, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar not only consider Lord Krishna as a super human but also as God. He grazed cattle and in the process, became a pioneer and statesman of the country. We celebrated his birthday 'Janmastami' in the train. We broke our fast in the train. We sat empty stomach throughout the night of 25th. Did the people who fixed the dates of the session fail to realise the sentiments of the people and forgot the traditions of this country? We have lost so much but I am not going into the detail.

Judiciary is another organ of democracy. I do not want to say a single word against the judiciary but, at the same time, I cannot shut my eyes. We go to the extent of cursing the God when our wish is not fulfilled, but for judiciary, we are advised not to utter a single word against it. The judiciary should also understand that eyes of 90 crore people are centered on it. All are not a fool. This august House should take into account what the judiciary is doing. The judiciary is functioning at its sweet will. Though we are proud of the judiciary, yet our heads hang down in shame when we come to know about its wrong deeds and traditions set by it. I would like to cite an example in regard to judiciary and then conclude.

An advocate filed a P.I.L. in the U.P. High Court. He pleaded that District Judges and other senior judges should be allowed to use red light on their vehicle. The court where cases have been lying pending for the last 10 years, gave its verdict the same day stating that District judges and other senior judges could use red light on their cars. What benefit did people get out of it.

I would like to cite yet another example. A petition was filed by a person in the court seeking extension of retirement age from 58 to 60 years. The same day, a judgement was given on it. Sir, it is said that those who give bribe and those who receive bribe are indulging in the same crime and are equally punishable under the law. The persons belonging to Jharkhand Mukti Morcha languished in jails for months whereas those who gave the bribe are roaming freely and giving long speeches in the House. Serious thought needs to be given in this direction. Sir, I would submit that fair justice should not only be dispensed but it should seem to be dispensed also. Our judiciary is supreme but some drawbacks have crept in the system which have been a pointed out by one and all. Steps should be taken to set it right. As regards the corrective steps to be taken, it is a matter to be pondered over by the Government.

There is deterioration in the functioning of the Executive too, which was one considered to be very effective. We will have to think about this also. I would cite an example. When Smt. Indira Gandhi was assassinated, Heads of State of various countries had come to participate in the funeral ceremony. The French President was also here. All these Heads of State stayed in their respective embassies. The French President said that he would like to visit the streets of Delhi. I would like to bring these facts to the notice of Shri Pawar as it relates to a leader who was his contemporary. The French President said that he would like to visit the streets of Delhi on that day. The Government had issued instructions that no VIP would go out as there might be danger to their lives. Even then he insisted upon venturing out on the roads and the Home Ministry said that being a foreign dignitary and VIP he could not be prevented from doing so and arrangements were made for his outdoors. An IPS officer was deputed as PRO to the French President. The officer tried to persuade him. Even, the French Ambassador pleaded that he should not go out. But he did

not yield. He was taken round the streets of Delhi. After half an hour he returned and said that he would return to Paris immediately. He said he would not stay here any more as he was not sure whether the Government would remain or collapse. He was not sure whether Rajiv Gandhi who became the P.M. would be able to save the country. There was an apprehension of a revolt. Therefore, he did not want to stay back. His Ambassador said that the Executive of the country was strong and therefore, there was no need to worry. Nothing would happen. That was the image of our executive. But what was happened to the Executive today? They are dancing to the tune of their political masters and if the leader is weak they are making him dance to their tune.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today Rs. 50,000 are taken as bribe for appointment to the post of a constable or Patwari (Lekhpal). When a poor man who spends such a huge amount and even sells his ancestral property to grease the palms for getting a job of constable, comes back after completing training he wields his stick to extract money spent by him, from public. Why such hue and cry is raised that the Executive has become corrupt? We have to think seriously why there is corruption in the first place. Lot of money is changing hands and for everything, one has to grease the palms. Therefore, there is a need to pay serious attention in this direction. For the last three days, it is being said that we should raise only national issues. But some of the Members on the other side have pointed out that we should not play politics in the name of Lord Rama. They have spoken of communalism and casteism. I have to merely tell them that Lord Rama is part and parcel of our lives. He is omnipresent. We treat Him as an incarnation of God but some people do not consider him to be that. So far as my knowledge goes he has been treated as the 14th *Paigambar* in Islam also. Some of our Hindu friends are trying to paint Lord Rama in a different perspective and are trying to play politics. Shri Madhavrao Scindia had pointed out that they disliked whatever we had done. Leave that aside. His party was in power on 6th Dec., 1992.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have spoken for 14 minutes.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am the first speaker today. I have been waiting for my turn for last many days. Shri Scindia was a Cabinet Minister at that time. On 6th December, the Cabinet meeting was held. Let any Minister of that Government deny that we was not present at that meeting.....*(Interruptions)*. You have raised the controversy. I am merely countering it. Shri Scindia resigned when the tyre of an aircraft deflated and there was a minor accident. But he did not resign after the 6th December incident. They do not treat it as a disputed structure but make lot of hue and cry otherwise. This incident was not given that much importance as the deflation of aircraft tyre. Shri Chaturanan Mishra appealed to Shri Atal ji to leave the Mandir-Masjid issue and be kind to him. I would, on the other hand, appeal to Shri Mishra that if the blot of foreign aggression is removed from the face of this country we are with them. We are with those people who lived and died for this country. If the blot of foreign agression is removed, I assure Shri Mishra that he would spend his old age comfortably. We have respect for Dara Shikoh and Bahadur Shah Zafar. They belong to India and we are with them. We pay our respects at his Samadhi which is in Burma, but we have always treated Babar as an aggressor. Akbar, Bahadur Shah Zafar and Dara Shikoh will be admired by us but we will never admire Babar as he was an aggressor. He had invaded this country, killed thousands of innocent people violated our honour and prestige and ruined our glory. You may raise hue and cry to any extent but we will never admire Babar. Dara Shikoh and Bahadur Shah Zafar are ours own .....*(Interruptions)* You have said very well that you have honoured him ...*(Interruptions)*.

Our party was not in power in all the States on 6th December. Our party was not in power in Gujarat, Karnataka and Madras but lakhs of people from these States had come to Ayodhya. If you wanted to stop them, you could have stopped them ...*(Interruptions)*. I would only say that on the night of 6/7th December, the entire country was sitting on the powder Keg. This is what I saw.

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA) : At least you have admitted that your party was behind the 6th December incident.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : You are admitting that you were instrumental in the 6th December incident .....*(Interruptions)*. As the matter is sub-judice, I am not going to say anything about it. The police officer who was on duty at the main gate has been given six promotions by you during one year. I did not open fire.

SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA : But you were the SSP there.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : I am proud that I was the SSP and I did not order firing on lakhs of people who had converged there on that day. About 363 persons were killed in the Jalianwala Bagh incident and now the Queen of England is being asked to apologies when she comes on the State visit. I am proud that I saved the lives of lakhs of people on that day. I pray God to give me such opportunities thousands of times to save the lives of people. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You please address the Chair and not them, otherwise it would create trouble. You have already taken 17 minutes. Please conclude now. Please cooperate with the Chair.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : I was saying that the Police Officer who was manning the main gate on 6 December was given six promotions by the then Chief Minister during one year and a pucca road measuring several kilometers was constructed for the marriage of that Police Officer's sister and niece. The Chief Minister alongwith the whole Cabinet visited his village by Helicopter. Why did they go there? Can you explain the reason? You may please inform the House as to what type of security that officer was providing at the main gate. Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav was the Chief Minister at that time. They are talking about casteism today but that very officer belonged to the caste of Shri Yadav.

I was a witness to that night's incident. Had we and the BJP not come to the rescue, I am sorry to say, the whole country would have been destroyed. I do not want to say anything more because the matter is subjudice .....*(Interruptions)*. Had we not saved the situation, it would have posed a grave danger to the democracy .....*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You please conclude now.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : Since casteism is being attacked, I must tell that I was SSP there ...*(Interruptions)*. Though today I am an M.P. I still cook my food and wash utensils myself. I do not mind that. What do you expect from an M.P. to do? ...*(Interruptions)*. What we are going to do in future? S/Shri Nehru, Vajpayee, Chandra Shekhar, Prof. N.G. Ranga, H.V. Kamat and N.G. Gore are not going to born again.

Here, people are talking of casteism and we are being explained the meaning of communalism. Perhaps our friends have forgotten that Shri K.R. Narayanan has been elected as President with our support. Who opposed the candidature of Shri Swell, a Christian, for President? We had proposed the name of Shri Barnala for Vice-President. Who opposed him? Did not we support the candidature of a Dalit for the post of Country's President? They never wanted a Dalit to be a Chief Minister. But we made a Chief Minister ...*(Interruptions)*... Since you are asking, I am telling you all that. You talk of Casteism and communalism ...*(Interruptions)* I will not take much time.

While going to the IIIrd Floor, one finds a name plate depicting such and such Yadav as leader in Lok Sabha. The leader in the Rajya Sabha is also Yadav, who is brother of the same Yadav. Moreover, the Chief Whip is also Yadav. This is the position and here you are giving sermons that casteism should be checked. You yourself are spreading casteism. I do not know the caste which Subhash Chandra Bose belonged to. I do not know the caste which Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak belonged to. Similarly, it is reported in a Newspaper that such and such Harijan boy has died after falling from a tree. What was the need to add the word "Harijan" before the name of the boy. Only the name would suffice.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : Sir, I am just concluding. We must following the traditions whatever we say in the House or whatever points we raise in the House, a reply to that should invariably be sent in writing stating therein whether action is possible or not. We should also be informed even if the action is not possible, otherwise our speech in the House has no meaning. We don't know whether any action is being taken on the issues raised by us in the House or that particular work would be done.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a very long time before Independence, the name of our country was 'Aryavart' which comprised of Bengal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Jawa, Sumatra and certain other countries. Even Jamboo Island was also included in it and the whole continent was known as Aryavarat. But it changed into 'Bharat' from 'Aryavarat' and comprise of Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh etc. But now it has become India from 'Bharat'. Its boundaries are limited now. I, therefore, request that its name should be changed from 'India' to 'Bharat'. If necessary, a constitutional amendment should be made.

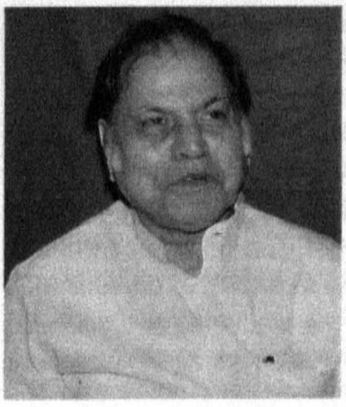
MR. CHAIRMAN : You please conclude now. You have already taken for 22 minutes.

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we must control population. Nobody should have more than one or two children, irrespective of the wives he might have according to his religion. The Minister of Communications is sitting in the House. He is listening to me very attentively. I would like to request Shri Varma who is agitated over my remark, to see that his colleagues sitting around him should not have more than one or two children.

THE MINISTER OF CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI C.M. IBRAHIM) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am the only person sitting beside him. I would like to say that I have only one wife.

SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Roy has very rightly said that population should be controlled but he is insulting women by using the words "irrespective of the wives a person might have."

SHRI DEVENDRA BAHADUR ROY : No, not at all. I am talking of you people. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful to you for having given me an opportunity to speak on this occasion. I am also grateful to the Hon'ble Speaker for having convened this Special Session on the occasion of completion of fifty years of India's Independence. I also thank all my colleagues for their cooperation. I may also please be excused if my speech has hurt the feelings of any Hon'ble Member.



**SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY**

*[English]*

SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY (Kulaba) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is indeed a very great occasion, a solemn occasion and we have to see this occasion in the right perspective and do introspection in retrospection. Do we do that? Not many have been doing it, barring a few exceptions. We became independent. Of course, the great intellectual Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has distinguished between freedom and independence. I am not going into those niceties. That way, the whole world is interdependent but are we Free? Are we free from want?

If we are not independent, so also we are not free in that sense. Are the poor—majority of Indians—free from want, disease, hunger, and illiteracy? No. Then should we say that we are neither Independent nor Free! Then what are we? And in which category do we fall? I am only making a passing reference. I am not either joining issue or disputing it. Shri Paswan spoke and he gave a historical retrospect. Each one has a right to speak his mind here so has he done. It is not a normal, usual session. It is a Special Session and one must be free to vent his own feelings till they are within the parameters of parliamentary procedure, rules, conduct of business and keeping with dignity and decorum.

I may put a very straight and simple question both to you as the Presiding Officer, and to this hon. House and indeed to myself, as a Member of the House; and a citizen: "What was Independence?" Was the Independence—you can call it Freedom—a goal in itself or was it the means to a meaningful goal for the betterment and upliftment of poor? Is Independence not then merely a means to an end? Gandhiji has been much quoted and rightly so. But many a time, he has been quoted our of context. Gandhiji did say, "We want *Purna Swaraj."* The goal was set around, perhaps 1927; 1920, of course a little later than effective advent of Gandhiji on the Indian political scene. It was in 1920. Within 27 years, between 1920 and 1947, we became free and we became independent. But fifty years have rolled by, half a century, indeed, thereafter. Alas! Whereas we could achieve Independence from alien power within 27 years by non-violent means with no injury to any other country or nation whatsoever, we failed to free the overwhelming majority of our population of worry over basic necessities of human life! In other words, have we achieved the goal? To my mind, No. Gandhiji had said, "Independence is not the goal, it is the means.

The Constitution of India is not the goal, it is the means. Any other vital organ of State, be that Executive, Legislature or Judiciary, all these devices are subservient to achieve the goal. The goal is to wipe the tears of sorrow and misery from the eyes of every poor. Have we really succeeded in that? We have achieved strident progress in many areas. Nobody can deny that. But for Nehru, we would not have had the basic industries which were needed for economic prosperity. Yes, there could not be a foundation laid for economic well-being without that. On the other hand, let us ask: "Have we seen the graph? How many people, not as per the British figures but as per our own figures, were living below the poverty line in 1947 and how many are so today?" The population is growing. That is true. But the proportion has remained the same if not increased. So, we cannot blame just the growth of population. We have to make serious effort to control the population. Nobody is against family welfare, in other words, family planning. No religion has said: "No family planning; have any number of children as you wish." It is no good throwing the blame on to some section or segment of society of religious affiliation or any other. Are we giving the poor the know-how or the wherewithal for practising family planning?

I happened to be the Union Health Minister for a very very brief period. Population control was the first task to which I addressed myself. What I found was that hundreds of crores of rupees come here even from outside. Contraceptives are supposed to be purchased. How many, however, are in reality, purchased? We do not know. Where do they go? We do not know. I visited at least two dozen Primary Health Centres myself because they are the centres for distribution of contraceptives to the poor and the needy. The poor cannot afford to buy them. He does not have money even for one square meal a day, perhaps two square meals a week! How can he buy them? We want the

population growth to come down. We want the poor to practise family planning. To my mind, it is like saying 'I have touched a boiling ice-cream'. We have first to enable him to purchase the wherewithal or to have free access to it.

As Health Minister I had appointed a Committee under one ex-Chief Justice of India with few experts, mostly non-political, to go into the questions of why the population growth is increasing, how it can be controlled and what should be done to see that contraceptives are first purchased and then properly and freely distributed so as to reach the poorest of the poor. The ex-Chief Justice was sounded and he agreed to head the Committee, when I was still the Minister, before the code of conduct was enforced. You may be shocked to know that till today the Committee has not been constituted. Not that I have not drawn attention to this of Government.

One of the factors that I laid my hand upon is whether we can see that the poorest of the poor gets free contraceptive. Then the growth of population will immediately be controlled. Who is there to see that? Hundreds of crores are coming into our country for this very purpose! Annually I think Rs. 100 crore or Rs. 200 crore are being spent biannually or annually. Where does the money go? Whereas the population growth, which is indeed a menace, has to be controlled, we have to see that we are in a position to control the situation, that is monies of contraceptives do not evaporate in thin air!

We call ourselves a secular democracy. I do not have to distinguish between democracy and secularism in India. In the Indian context, democracy was, necessity, to be secular, it cannot be but secular. If democracy is otherwise, then it is not democracy at all, it is mobocracy. Because each person in this country has been guaranteed by the Constitution protection to life and liberty. What did Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav have to say that day? When he said I was moved. Three orphan daughters had to take poison because their brother and mother were worried as to how to get these three sisters, daughters of a widowed mother, married. They took poison to remove their mother's, and brother's worry! Can poverty be eradicated by poison? Is that the spirit of Article 21? Are we looking forward to the Supreme Court of India to rule that protection to life and liberty of every citizen includes the right to live; live as a human being, live with dignity, live with honour? To live, and not to take poison to die! Then whose duty and function it is to enable them to live?

We are looking to the Supreme Court for everything that we can, and should do ourselves. We have not yet done ourselves. Very simple things are there. I do not want to be autobiographical. I hate that. Let me give two or three instances out of personal experience. Then I will come to the political and governmental stability which is essential for any growth including economy; nay for preservation of Independence itself and Democracy.

We are in the 50th year of Independence. Do we know how many lives of the unknown poor had been laid down for the cause of freedom? Yes, we know, but what? We know the greatest of the great leader, Mahatma Gandhi and then Jawaharlal Nehru, and the top leaders. We have heard of all those at the top. But what about the ground reality? In Maharashtra alone, there are hundreds of villages where thousands of people had sacrificed their lives. Then, throughout the length and breadth of the country, how many thousand villages are there where people had braved the bullets of the Britishers, their bayonets and in the process of fight for freedom lost their lives! Can one person in this august House stand up and say, including of course, A.R. Antulay, that he or she has got the whole list of those who had died so that we live and breathe free air and become Members of this House?

As the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, the first thing I thought that I should do was this. I got the list of every village where the inhabitants had braved the bullets during the freedom struggle and laid down their lives for the cause of our country's freedom. I took a decision. It so happened that I happened to be in a very small village in Satara district and some freedom fighters were sitting amongst the audience. They were very old and I invited them to come to the dais. The oldest one was sitting by my side and I asked him, "You are a freedom fighter. How many of you are there?" He said, "nine lives had been sacrificed for the cause of freedom in this very village." I said, "What a pity! I happen to be the Chief Minister. I come here and till this revered ailing old freedom fighter tells me that nine lives had been lost to obtain freedom, I was unaware of it! "Do I really deserve to sit where I am sitting? Can I, in all conscience, occupy the seat of the Head of Government of this status in Free India? I asked myself."

I started my address there by saying that, at least for the people of India to know that there was a village which had contributed to the freedom struggle, there should be a monument at the threshold of the village so that it can be seen from outside and each one should bow his head saying, "Here is a village which has contributed to the freedom struggle." I asked for a competition to be arranged and organised by giants in field of architecture and also its students. An independent committee was appointed and they chose a monument which is very beautiful. That monument is there at the threshold in all the villages of Maharashtra wherein died its inhabitants at the hands of

British. It is not a monument—like pillar but a very beautiful building and on the marble at the entrance thereof, the names of those who were killed and became martyrs have been carved so that at least the new generation will take inspiration on what they are doing for our country. They have laid down their lives and that is how, we are free. How did I become the Chief Minister but for the loss of their lives, sacrifices and laying down of lives? The costliest price to pay! I would not have been the Chief Minister. We would not be here. Nobody would have been the Prime Minister. Shri Gujral could not have even dreamt to be the Prime Minister but for the fact that those martyrs laid down their lives. It is not high time that in this 50th year of Independence, we should collect at least the names of those who sacrificed their lives? Nothing is dear to a person more than life as also to the family concerned. Anything can be purchased but not life. We do not know—at least I do not know. I may be wrong or ignorant. I was pleasantly surprise to know that the first person who became a martyr in Maharashtra was a tribal, an Adivasi. I began seeing the list and when I scanned through the list, to my horror I found that 99.9 per cent were poor. They were all illiterate and rustic poor who laid down their lives for the cause of the country. By laying down his life it is not only he but his entire family that has made a sacrifice as they have no one to support them. The entire family became miserable after his sacrifice and yet they were happy only because they knew that there was someone from their family who has sacrificed his life for the liberation of the country. When the question of laying down the life comes, it is the poor who are in the forefront. It is the poorest of the poor from every nook and corner of the country who came forward at the call of Mahatma Gandhi to drive away the Britishers from our country. But when freedom came, it is we who have eaten the fruits of the freedom. We have been benefited by it. So, it is high time that we have a realistic survey made. I call upon this august House, the supreme and sovereign body representing the will of the people of India, that those who responded willingly, voluntarily to the call of the Father of the Nation and became martyrs are recognised, and their dependents, if still surviving, are taken full care of. We do not know their names. We also do not know how their families are languishing. We have not done anything for those whom they represented. And they represented the poor; and not rich. They represented not haves but have-nots!

Many hon. Members have said and I agree with them that the country is rich but the people are poor. Why is it so? We may have accumulated the wealth but the question is in how many hands has it gone. Has it been equitably distributed? Have we gone by the Directive Principles of the State policy? Is it not an Article there to that effect? What is labour? Is he getting any effective opportunity to participate in the management of the industry? Is there any effective role which he plays? I have to make only three suggestions.

My first suggestion: The first charge on the exchequer of the nation, on the treasury of the country is to fulfil the basic needs of life of the poor. To my mind, once our borders are safeguarded, the country's integrity is looked after and we remain a united nation, irrespective of caste, class, creed and religion, our first attention should concentrate upon the poor. If you do not do it, you will be betraying them. We are paying tributes to the freedom fighters. We are honouring them also. But is that honour enough? Will it fill the bellies of those who are hungry and who go to sleep with empty stomaches? There are five basic necessities of life. The plenary Session of the Congress in January, 1964, under the guidance and inspiration of great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—that his last such Session—spelt out the five basic necessities of life. These are too well known to be re-told.

A solemn promise was given in the Resolution in January 1964—Panditji passed away in May, 1964—that within 20 years, all those Indians who were still unfortunate, who are neglected, who are poor would be provided with these five basic necessities of life within twenty years! Nineteen Sixty Four has gone; 1974 has gone; and 1984 has gone. Now, we are on the threshold of the 21st century. Has it been done? Panditji unfortunately was not there after that resolve. But was his promise not in keeping with what Mahatma Gandhi dreamt of? So, come what may, we must satisfy the basic needs of all Indians; at least in the first decade of 2100 A.D.! We make progress in other fields. Those fruits are plucked by only those who are the 'haves'. It is high time that we looked to the basic necessities of life as per Article 21 of the Constitution, as per the dream of Mahatma Gandhi, as per the humanitarian approach to see that first we fulfil their needs, whatever, thereafter remains, may be spent on other fields. This is the first thing. It is not difficult at all; in any event, it is the Nation's basic duty!

I will give another example. Such of those families which have nobody to look to except God, who will look after them? Who represents God on earth? Is it not the people's representative? Is it not the elected Government? Is it not their most vital function to see that a handicapped, a widow, and a widower without support—an old or ailing—who has nobody to look after, is looked after by the State in Independent India? To reach freedom from want to their huts ! Why should we not give him/her pension like the freedom fighters' pension? We in Maharashtra started it. I called *Sanjay Gandhi Niradhar Yojana.* Nobody can stop it.

There were attempts to stop it. But they failed in the face of fury of society. I am afraid a more revolutionary and a productive scheme to convert skill or sweat into nation's wealth, that was "Sanjay Gandhi Swavalamban Yojana", which was abandoned. Rupees two thousand and five hundred to be given as loan, interest free loan repayable within twelve years, to anyone who is recommended by five impartial persons; the people of unimpeachable integrity culled out from the society at the Tehsil level. If they say that such and such person needs Rs. 500 or Rs. 1000 or Rs. 1500 or Rs. 2500, they should be given.

Sir, I am sorry to take time. But these are ground realities. These are problems of small persons. I am a small man. I am not a great intellectual. I am not doing big things which are beyond me, which are beyond my apprehension. But I shall speak only about the down-to-earth matters which need to be done. According to me, in a democratic India, these are the priority items—indeed this is the Nation's Agenda.

I happened to go two/three years after I resigned the office of Chief Minister. There is one person, Shri Daima of Jalna in Marathwada. He was an MLA in my time. This happened after two/three years after I ceased to be the Chief Minister. When I went to Jalna—he was MLA at the time—I said, how is this, "Sanjay Gandhi Swavalamban Yojana", functioning; being implemented? He said, "Sir, you will be surprised to know what, though under the scheme it is laid down that for the first two years, nothing need be paid/returned, thereafter within ten years, the amount that is given by way of loan is to be returned in suitable instalments without interest." But he added: "Within a year these cobblers, artisans and smaller people did repay and the recovery is 95 to 97 per cent within the period when nothing need be repaid. Contrast it with Bank scams. How many thousands of crores were given to the big and the rich and the multimillionaires? How much money has been frittered away and wasted? I do not know what has happened to that? I only heard about Bank scam, a Committee and thereafter some sort of inquiry. But where the matter stands, if at all, at the moment, I do not know. How many thousands of crores have gone down the drain like this? If the same money was paid—poor man does not want more—if you give him one lakh of rupees in his hand, he will be flabbergasted, frightened. He even does not know what to do with it because he has not heard of one lakh of rupees. What he needs is Rs. 1500 or Rs. 2000 or Rs. 2500. Why can this Government not have a scheme?

**12.00 hrs.**

If the huge amounts involved in various scams was set apart, the sweat of skilled and unskilled labour could benefit his family while producing wealth for the country. At each Tehsil, there should be five persons suggested by all parties, and non-parties. Those five common names may be chosen as the Committee. Such schemes should not be a criterion for winning votes. This is a duty imposed on the nation and we should do it in the spirit of discharge of that duty. All parties should suggest the names, those which are common, as I have just said, persons of integrity preferably majority of them outside the political field should be included in such Committees. They should suggest that these persons should be given loan; such and such amount, and let it be so done.

Sir, I had a dream when I was sworn Chief Minister that by the time I go for the polls, that is 1985, when I go to the people, it would be Rs. 25,000 from Rs. 2500. Of course, I had to resign within a year and a half that is a different matter! Thereafter this scheme itself was wound up. The scheme did not remain even though before *Adivasis,* in Chandrapur district I said as Chief Minister, that after five years when I come to ask for votes in the elections, if anyone were to say that there is one person who sleeps on the empty stomach, then please do not vote for my party or me. I have no right to stay or sit where I am sitting. In the public speech I had said it because, I know, it is not impossible to achieve this goal.

But there should be a will. I think we lack the will. Excuse me, Sir. I do not bother who says what. Whenever I open my mouth and speak the truth, there is a controversy. In all my life I have always been in the whirlpool of controversies. If one more, today, begins, I do not bother. Why can we not do it? I resigned on the 12th of January, 1982. In the month of December, 1981, I called Shri I.G. Patel who had said that the loans given to the poor farmers, *kisans* by the cooperative banks should not be waived. Those who had taken loans, their grandfathers and their fathers too were indebted. Father's father was indebted. Grandfather's grandfather was indebted. Their grandchildren would remain indebted and the grandchildren's grandchildren will be indebted. They had lost credit. They could not enter the premises either of the cooperative banks or of the so-called nationalised banks. Shri I.G. Patel, the then Governor of Reserve Bank said, "We have not started a philanthropic institute. We have not started a Charity and we shall not permit it to happen." I said it on the floor of the House as Chief Minister that Shri I.G. Patel—the then Governor of Reserve Bank—is not the super cabinet. He was not the super Chief Minister. I said, "When the Chief Minister of Maharashtra takes decision, that is final. Even if I have to resign, I will resign on this issue but I shall not retract or retrace." Ultimately, the decision of the waiver of loans stayed; remained. When? It was in 1981 that I invited

Shri I.G. Patel and he agreed. I said that from the Government side, we give guarantee for the payment of those loans up to Rs. 1 lakh taken from the nationalised banks under "Swawalamban Scheme". If students have come out of the engineering college. Technical institute, they want to stand on their own legs. We say that they are not getting the jobs. We are not getting employment. Should we only go for employment? Why can't we give them loans to start their career as small trader or industrialist?

Yesterday, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi said about the skill that is in the blood of Indians. The fingers of skilled persons were chopped off by the British. That is how the skill disappeared. How are we exploiting that particular skill now? The latent but very much real skill, that is inborn, that has been born with them along with their birth? Why can we not say that you take Rs. 1 lakh? Start your own enterprise; stand on your own legs; do not serve others; serve the country. Now, why the same interest rate? One who takes Rs. 1 crore has the same rate of interest. If it is Rs. 1 lakh, one has to pay the same rate of interest. If it is Rs. 10,000 crore, the same rate of interest. One who gets Rs. 1 lakh, he earns in thousands. One who gets Rs. 1 crore earns in lakhs. One who gets Rs. 10,000 crore or Rs. 10 crore or Rs. 100 crore, earns tens to hundreds of crores. Why can we not taper—up to Rs. 1 lakh, if someone wants to stand on his own legs let banks give on the recommendation of the Committees mentioned earlier but not the Committee Officials? Excuse me, Sir. I would like to make a suggestion for the Government. If they choose to, they may implement. In fact to give/sanction loan upto one lakh of rupees to those whom the Committee recommends with State Government guarantee of repayment with interest, is the responsibility of the Governor of RBI.

The Annual Confidential Report is a scandal. It should be scrapped. The person next above gets the thing done from the one next below; whatever the superior wants it is written on files. Because the threat of A.C.R. is there. If he does not follow his instructions his future is doomed. I know of some Secretaries, not all, but some, and I will not mention names who only put their signatures on the files. How do I know whether the Secretary has applied his mind or not; indeed even read or not? I know how the Government of India is working. The whole note comes from down below. If the A.C.R. business—I say 'business' because the Secretary tells, "you do this way, you dare not do otherwise; if you do otherwise, then your A.C.R. will be spoiled" and the business of the "higher" officer suffers. In case the subordinate officer dare give a note different from one directed, then the result; his promotion would be stopped and he may be in even for punitive action on one pretext or another. So, the first thing that the Government of India is in need is to have an innovative thing in the interest of the public servant especially belonging to poor or other downtrodden community and/or an upright, honest, and independent subordinate officer, and in the interest of the efficiency of the Government, and the fulfilment of all those dreams which the under privileged and disadvantaged sections of society had nursed. Have A.C.R. in a different manner, not in tune with the British legacy.

SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA : In what manner is it done?

SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY : You scrap the A.C.R. You have a Committee like PAC/PSC separately. Let them see the performance and write the A.C.R. Everything depends on the A.C.R. 'Excellent', 'Excellent', and more 'Excellent' is written year after year and promotion is 100 per cent. It all depends on the subjective satisfaction. If I am the Secretary or Additional Secretary, the one below me and the one below him still, has to go by my own whims and fancies. I am making a suggestion in the interest of the nation because this is based on my experience. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

LT. GENERAL (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI (Deoria) : Mr. Chairman, Antulay ji is speaking for a long time and you have not asked him to conclude even once.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are casting an aspersion on me. Do not cast such an aspersion on the Chair.

*...(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA : Many hon. Members from your side have also spoken for half-an-hour or one hour. *...(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am aware of it.

*...(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a very good suggestion of hon. Members and I think that there is no party politics in it. *...(Interruptions)* Therefore, he should be allowed to speak for some more time. *...(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. VENKAT SWAMY (Peddapalli) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this suggestion is very useful and important for weaker sections. ...*(Interruptions)* Such things hurt our feelings. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Swamy ji, please do not create complications.

...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY : I am making a suggestion based on my experience. I am not making a suggestion in the air.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Antulay, you please take note of the time constraint.

...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (Murshidabad) : Sir, Hon. Members of each party have spoken for quite a longer duration. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY : It is not against anybody. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Antulay, you please take note of the time constraint.

... (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI C.M. IBRAHIM) : Sir, we are all new Ministers. What he is saying is beneficial for all. Let it be followed. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : By interrupting, you are wasting the time of the House. He is a senior leader. I am also telling him to take note of the time constraint.

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Venkat Swamy, he is not yielding. Please continue Shri Antulay.

SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY : These suggestions which I am giving are based on experience. Most of my colleagues will agree that ACR is outcome of subjective satisfaction; and subjective satisfaction cannot be the objective and unbiased criterion to judge for promotion or punishment of an otherwise an intelligent and hard working officer of high integrity. Having been apprised of some such cases in the Family Welfare Department of Union Health Ministry, I, in January '96, directed ACRs of officers which are put up to Minister as well as those which are not by practice and so-called precedent be put up to me. The then Secretary of Family Welfare did not put up till I laid down office. I sent note on the subject to the then Cabinet Secretary and spoke to him with a copy to PM's Principal Secretary but to no avail.

Unless we do so and unless this House resolves that the system of writing ACRs should be changed, things will not improve. This suggestion may look small but it involves the lives of hundreds and thousands of public servants, especially of weaker sections. I will refrain from using the word "Minority" because it is few and far between! But they too are sufferers.

My last suggestion is—I said that I will make only suggestions, but why they are impatient and show intolerance? I really do not know. I had nobody in view; not any group; only country's interest.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now please conclude. Please make your last point.

SHRI ABDUL REHMAN ANTULAY : We have now experienced within these fifty years that when the towering personalities were there at the helm of affairs, there was stability. When Nehruji was there, there was stability. Barring one exception of Emergency when Indiraji herself was defeated and her party was defeated, all the same, till Indiraji was there, there was stability. But are the Constitutions designed or framed keeping in view on Lincolns? No. When the Constitution is framed or made, it should keep not only Lincolns in view but also Nixons. Now, for example, Gujralji is today P.M. I really wish him well. But many people say that the Government is surviving hand to mouth. Hand to mouth in the sense that in the morning if they are there in office, they do not know whether in the evening they will be there or not; likewise, in the evening, if they are there but they do not know whether they will not be down before down! How can they apply their mind to the progress of the country, to the progress of the downtrodden, the teaming millions unless there is stability? Most of their time and energy is expended to manage to continue in office for as long as is possible for them to manage.

When Morarji Bhai's Government fell and succeeded by Choudhury Charan Singh's fall, at that time I had raised my own small voice that we should change our system to

stable Presidential system of Government from parliamentary democracy which is not even a parliamentary democracy in true sense. I know, I have no time, otherwise I would have distinguished between parliamentary democracy in England and the so-called parliamentary democracy in our country. There, the Chief Executive, within his ambit, is unfettered and free but here the Chief Executive also is not free to function as such. I am not going into that, but ours is a parliamentary democracy with all the disadvantages of parliamentary democracy and no advantage of parliamentary democracy. In Presidential system, within the demarcated area, the Chief Executive of the nation is free to express himself and also to implement whatever the people have returned him to. So, I shall make a humble suggestion that let us switch to Presidential system. Let it be on American model, let it be French style, let it be German replica, let it be an amalgam adapted to suit our needs, or let it be of the ancient times of our own, but one suited to the soil, suited to the climate of our country and in tune with the genius of our traditions and culture of bygone centuries! Mandes France was the last Prime Minister before Charles De'Gaulle came on the scene. There were six Prime Ministers within a span of a few months. That was a period of—chaotic times! De'Gaulle had to be invited by the French people to come and sit at the helm of affairs. The stability in the French system is there only since then. Are we not going to learn any lesson from that? If we are not going to learn from history, either of ours or of others, what are we here discussing for? To my mind, it is high time to do that. The founding fathers of our Constitution in their speeches in the Constituent Assembly, if you go through the debates I had attempted to do so long time ago when I wrote a book: "Appointment of A Chief Justice"—they had said that we are not going to bind future generations for all times to come. I think it was Mahavir Tyagi Ji—I forgot the name because most of the then stalwarts were Members in the Constituent Assembly and many had said so. They said every twenty or twenty-five years, a fresh look should be given at the constitution and it should be made adaptable to the times then obtaining. What is the implication of anti-defection law as a part of the Constitution. Was it not to stop horse trading? But has it been stopped? Aren't one third of even three-Member party defect? Thus the defection began along with *"Aaya Ram Gaya Ram"*, maybe in 1966-67 at State level, then in 1978-89 at Union level. How many times the Constitution is amended? More than six dozen times. But it has failed to bring stability! One amendment to the effect that direct election of Chief Executive will work to bring stability. But is it blasphemous to amend to bring stability? Are we considering such amendment as heresay? Therefore we must do what Nation needs. We should not make the Constitution a Bible or a gospel. It is a man-made thing and it should be tailored as per the needs of the nation. It should be the instrument to uplift the poor and in the service of the nation. Constitution is not sovereign—excuse me for saying that. Sovereign is a person, not an inanimate object, say a book even if it is the Constitution of India. A book cannot be sovereign. It has no will be its own; the will of the courts, as Interpreter is its will. It depends upon human interpretation. Sovereign are indeed the people of India; and if I am not misunderstood, their chosen representatives! Though I am second to none in my respect for the Judiciary, there have been cases of interpretation unintended by the framers of the Constitution. Stray remarks of some judges at least I know of one of Apex court way back in 1984 that "What I say is law and Constitution" in open court albeit verbally and casually—adversely affect the prestige of the Judiciary as a whole. People then, begin thinking, is such attitude healthy and in the interest of health of the Constitution and Rule of Law, and Democracy? People of India do not gather at one place through they are sovereign and express their will. They, therefore, express through those whom they elect. They function through them. In other words, again with due apologies to those who differ with me, the sovereign people of India, keep on delegating sovereignty to their most carefully selected attorneys—their representatives for a fixation of tenure; whom they call to account periodically. But whomsoever, the sovereign people cannot call to account. Judiciary cannot, even though, to call to account, is their right, they are not sovereign in that sense. Neither Judiciary nor the book *viz.*, the Constitution of India, are sovereign but only the people through their representatives, who can change it. At worst, let there be a referendum on the issue of amendment from present system to a stable system that is the ultimate.

To put it differently, a person is sovereign or a community of persons is sovereign or a group of persons an Indian community is sovereign. Therefore, Constitution is not sovereign as if we cannot touch it. If it is sovereign then how come that everyday whenever there is an amendment either it is upheld or struck down?

Now, we do not know what the basic features are. Thus we cannot work the Constitution on guess or conjecture. I give a call in this 50th year of Independence. Let this House be converted into a Constituent Assembly and let there be inserted a provision in the Constitution that the Chief Executive of the nation shall be directly elected by adult franchise, universal sufferage, and he will be functioning NOT removable till such time that he commits some act like Nixon did when he was impeached; or till his term expired.

Therefore, my last suggestion is that if there is no stability, there is no democracy. Democracy has no meaning. Independence also has no meaning. Mahatma Gandhi's dream will ever remain unfulfilled.

I have made a few suggestions only. I have many more to make. But I know I have no time. I thank you very much for the time you have given.

**SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR**

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West): Thank you, Mr. Chairman for giving me the opportunity to participate in the deliberation on the eve of this special parliamentary session.

*[Translation]*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank the hon. Speaker for having convened this special session of Parliament on completion of fifty years of our independence. We have been given some subject matters. Hon. Members, after going through and pondering over them, got the opportunity to express their views. In view of constraint of time, it was decided that 40 minutes' time will be given to each of the leaders of various parties and ten minutes each to all other members to enable them express their views in the House. I have been sitting here for the last four days, even late in the night. I have noticed here that the members after having expressed their views, leave the House immediately and do not come back. I am unable to understand this practice in democracy? If we want to be heard then we must hear when others speak but this practice is not being followed here. I am pained to see all this Day before yesterday, 10-15 MPs were sitting here till midnight. ...*(Interruptions)*. The main object of this special session is contained in the letter written to us by the Leader of the Opposition. It is stated therein that dignity of the House can be maintained only if we consider it fit to abide by three things. The dignity of the House cannot be maintained if we resort to indiscipline. We must think about it. I welcome the letter written to us. We fully abide by the suggestions given by our party. On a couple of occasions or so, we had to go to the well of the House. We do try to avoid it. I will dwell upon it when I come to that subject.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the speech delivered here by the hon. Speaker was excellent. However, I disagree on the point mentioned in the book that we got our independence through non-violence. Antulayji has just now spoken that there were many people who laid down their lives, which means that violence did occur. In the struggle for independence a large number of people and families got ruined, which means we certainly struggled to win independence. We did not get independence only through Satyagraha. There is an adage in Marathi :

'Ranvina Swatantrya kona milani', It means, "what can you gain unless you do not fight for it". Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar too had to struggle. Something could be achieved only after a large number of people participated in the struggle. It is an established fact in the world that the mother does not breast-feed her infant unless he cries. Struggle is most essential part of life. We make progress only so long as the struggle goes on, otherwise not *[English]* because we are not self-satisfied.

*[Translation]*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we got our independence in 1947. I remember that Kashmir was invaded immediately after we got freedom. Our military forces had to fight the enemy. Fifty years later, when we are celebrating our independence, we are faced with the same challenge in the shape of attack on Kashmir. Why our youths have to lay their lives again? Our youths had laid down their lives during the freedom struggle also. Right now, our jawans are fighting on the borders. That is why we are talking of them. While talks are going on there, we read in the newspapers about the shelling and firing daily. We must find out the reason.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is written in the book brought out by the Secretariat that ten thousand people have been killed in Jammu and Kashmir. Who were these people? Just now, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav has told that three girls had to commit suicide due to poverty. He paid a visit to their homes and provided them assistance. Antulayji too has referred to it. It is really unfortunate and such a tragedy should not occur in a family. Did anyone go to enquire of the well-being of the families of those youths who died? Were they not innocent and poor persons? You may notice that people are being killed daily in Kashmir and Assam. Why are they being killed? Nobody mentions about them or shed tears for them. For the last one year and four months, I have been listening carefully to the discussions being held here. Therefore, I would like all of us to pay proper attention towards their plight.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we will have to seriously think about the law and order situation in the country, be it Maharashtra,

Assam, Punjab, Delhi or any other state where people have been killed. When a criminal is shot dead, I do not feel sad at all because criminals do not think twice while killing unarmed and helpless people. Therefore, the law and order situation should receive our attention.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, brown sugar and opium being smuggled into our country spell ruination of our society. We must find out ways to curb it at this good opportunity of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of our independence. The responsibility to curb this evil of our society rests on our shoulders and we can never shirk it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is not that we have made no progress during the last fifty years. For 45 years, it was the Congress which ruled. Its regime has been a mix of both good and bad. We must acknowledge the good deeds. We take pride in the fact that Pakistan suffered defeats at the hands of Indian forces as many as three times. I wish to congratulate the chiefs of three forces and the Government of our country at that time for the splendid work they did. The message that has gone to the world is that though we never invade any country, yet will give a befitting reply to any invader who may attack us. We are fully prepared to face any future attack. We must be aware of the stockpiling of all sorts of armaments in our neighbourhood. I had read about it in a newspaper. The information available with me is also alarming. About our security aspect, the information contained in that paper was as follows:

> "With the end of cold war in the world, many new military equations emerged. Possibilities of war are not yet over. Discriminatory policies are being adopted with regard to implementation of nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The arms supply so our neighbouring countries is increasing. Pakistan develops nuclear weapons surreptitiously and is busy procuring a huge number of fighter planes, tankers and defence weaponry. China is going a head with its nuclear tests despite respected warnings by the UN and other nuclear powers. Under the circumstances, it becomes all the more necessary for a vast country like India to take these developments into account".

This is what a newspaper has published. I can even cite its name without any hitch, but we too will have to be careful and although we will keep the nation strong through non-violence, we should not think that we will never resort to violence. Mahatmaji too had said that when non-violent means proved ineffective, we would to take up arms. If the nation is in crisis we will have to face the crisis.

**12.27 hrs.**

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

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would reiterate that this was the good work done in the country for the first time. Apart from that, science too has made great strides in the country. Dr. Joshi told the previous day that our scientists were very advanced that they had entered the space and developed Aryabhatta on the time of Sputnik. Besides we have achieved success in developing missiles like Prithvi and Agni. Therefore, it would not be correct to say that we have made no progress.

Our farmers have done exceedingly well in the matter of foodgrains production. I want to thank them all.

*[English]*

Those who are responsible for the development in various industrial aspect,

*[Translation]*

also deserve our thanks. We set up steel plants and big industries and became successful in this sector too. Whatever be the condition of these industries today is a different story, but we are proud of our steel industry. The country marched on road of progress immediately after independence and we would continue to make further strides. There have been some achievements and failures as well. We have to identify these weaknesses. First, there is no fixed policy in our country in the name of 'Policy of the Nation.' A decision is taken today but the same decision is reversed the next day.

*[English]*

The country as a whole should have a fixed policy, so far as the entire world is concerned. But we have not adopted a firm policy so far.

*[Translation]*

We will have to adopt a firm policy.

Secondly, after the departure of Nehruji, Indiraji and Shastriji from the scene, Prime Minister changed in quick succession. Atalji also became the Prime Minister, but the Members sitting on that side treated him as an untouchable and snatched Prime Ministership from him just after 12 days. Their policy is wrong. I have deliberately used the word 'untouchable'. Now I come to the question of majority. I know the views of the Members belonging to the ruling parties about majority. Had they become united even on a

single programme, I would have agreed that the ruling coalition enjoys majority. But the ruling combination has mustered majority for their own selfish ends. Such a majority has no meaning. Had it been a majority, Shri Deve Gowda would not have to vacate the office of the Prime Minister. The ruling coalition forced Shri Deve Gowda out of politics. Now it is the turn of Shri Gujral. The poor man is not being allowed to function. He is not sure for how long will he remain the Prime Minister as he is apprehensive of his Prime Ministerial chair being snatched without any notice. Just now Shri Antulay has said that the leadership here is not sure about his continuance in power till this evening itself. The Prime Minister is going to the USA but he does not know whether he will remain in power till his return from abroad. In such a situation no leader can function howsoever intelligent and capable he may be. Therefore, the politics demand that if the UF forges unity among its constituents, the party supporting it from outside should ensure its support for at least a certain period. Even if this coalition arrangement continues for five years, it will have to be dependent on outside support, come what may. But I feel this type of political strategy is not needed at this juncture as it is proving to be deterimental to the interests of the poor of this country. The ruling parties must take care of them. One of their major weaknesses that has come to the fore is that the type of national feeling that should have been developed is not being seen.

*[English]*

We are not national-minded people.

*[Translation]*

What we see now of the ruling combination is that they adopt national posture at an opportune moment, otherwise not.

*[English]*

It is absolutely necessary to develop this national spirit in the minds of the people. It is a must and we cannot compromise with that.

*[Translation]*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, then comes the issue of corruption. The entire Government machinery has been corrupted during the last 45-50 years. Right now I am not going to point an accusing finger as to who is corrupt. The entire world knows about it. It is no good to criticise anybody as long as one does not have personal information about it. The newspapers are full of such stories and I go through these stories daily and so do other MPs. It will not be proper to term somebody as corrupt merely on the basis of newspapers' stories. However some remedy is urgently needed to root out corruption. Here, I want to quote the Chennai Edition of the Indian Express.

*[English]*

149 cases of CBI have been pending in the Office of the Prime Minister. Unless he gives green signal to all these, they cannot proceed further.

*[Translation]*

If our Prime Minister really wants to start Satyagraha against corruption, his Government must clear 149 cases of corruption, complaints about which have been received in his office. It is no use saying that we are going to wage a war against corruption, unless we do something practically.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a lot has been said about secular word. The word 'secular' is being used by each and every person for their own interests. I was looking for the meaning of this word in the dictionary. I do not think we have ever tried to be secular. Our Constitution does contain a provision in this regard and we must respect it. Shri Antulay was the Chief Minister of our State and we never opposed him. He is present in the House and he will vouchsafe for it. A muslim became the Chief Minister but we did not work against him. We did take cudgels against him about the policies and programmes persuade by him in the same way we did with Shri Sharad Pawar when he was the Chief Minister of the State. We had even an argument with him in this House itself. When we sit in the opposition it is our duty to oppose the ruling party. We shall also face the same music when we come to power. This is the policy of democracy. I do not think there is anything wrong in it. We as politicians do not practise casteism. I have with me a letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was sheer luck that I could lay my hands on this letter and I thought I must read this letter out, especially for the Congressmen and that is why I have brought this letter with me. A lot is said about communalism in this House. I want to tell the House what Pandit Nehru had said about communalism then. We were made a target when some Members referred to casteism. Yesterday, I listened to the speech delivered by Shri Ram Vilas Paswan very attentively. I do not know what is working in his mind but a few days back he had hosted lunch/dinner for the Members belonging to SCs and STs but he did not invite me because I do not belong to these categories. He owes and explanation. If he was to invite the Members for dinning our leaders including Shri Antulay and Shri Pawar should also been invited. I do not know why is he so selective? The Prime Minister had invited one and all.

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hooghly) : He will invite everyone next time.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I have directed this question to Shri Ram Vilasji because he always raises issue of casteism.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : When I invite you people, I do not invite the Members belonging to SCs and STs.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : But why do you invite different categories of Members at different times? Why is there such feeling in your mind? I had said earlier also that if you call the leaders, all leaders should be invited. Why only some are called? Such feeling should not be there.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Let me make it clear so that there is no mis-understanding as the whole country is watching us.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I am stating the reality. I am not creating any mis-understanding.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : All the hon'ble Members know that I call State-wise and zonal-wise meetings. I call the meeting of SC/ST forum. I do not call them on my own. When they urge me for it, I invite all of them in those meeting. There is not even a single member in this House who can say that Ram Vilas did not call us. We call State-wise, zonal-wise and forum-wise meetings. This helps the Members of Parliament and we also get benefited.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : That may be your policy. But I have never got any invitation for any meeting. So far as my knowledge goes.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : You have met at thrice in regard to Maharashtra, including Shri Sharad Pawar.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : It is not our Policy. I want to draw your attention to the letter of then Prime Minister Nehru which was written to an individual on October 8, 1962. I quote a few lines from it. I have got a copy of that letter:—

*[English]*

"I have your letter of 1st October. It is perfectly true that there are all kinds of disruptive forces at play in India and that caste continues to play an undesirable part. Also that the Congress itself suffers from these evils. I cannot tell you of some sovereign remedies to meet these difficulties. We have to face evil and try to overcome it. I have no special revolutionary step in my mind at present to meet these difficulties."

*[Translation]*

This is what he had written about casteism. Casteism is still prevalent. You may say whatever you want to say here, but casteism is not going to be wiped out unless we resolve to wipe it out.

Besides Shri Ram Vilasji, Shri Priyaranjan Das Munshi spoke about Tipu Sultan, Haidar Ali and other persons. I want to tell him that he should study and understand history in the right perspective. He should keep in mind what was done by Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan at that time.

*[English]*

SHRI C.M. IBRAHIM : I come from Karnataka. It was Tipu Sultan who gave the entire land to Shrengar Sharada Peeth. He was a great secular king.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I have taken a reference of two speeches that have been made here. We have our Marathas who have fought together with both of them not once but more than once...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI C.M. IBRAHIM : Leave aside Marathas ... *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

I am not talking of Kannada Tamil or Marathi Tamil. He was a king.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I have never raised this matter here. If some hon'ble members had not made a reference here, I would not have replied. I do not know whether you believe in Hindu religion or not. I have never asked, nor do I want to ask about it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to say that hon'ble Minister of Railways, Shri Ram Vilasji made some references about 'Ganpati Maharaj' and "Samunder Manthan" etc. in his speech. I request him to find out the truth before speaking.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Whatever I said Yesterday was said after due thought. If you have any doubt about it, it can be varified from our veteran leaders, who are present here. If there is anything wrong in it, please point out to me.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I would tell you separately in this regard. Yesterday, you made a reference about the battle of Panipat, the battle fought by Babar and also Ibrahim Khan. I want to say that Ibrahim was a good soldier in the army of Maratha Emperor.....*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country is known for unity in diversity, with a blend of so many cultures, languages and attires. Inspite of it, our country is united. We also took oath which was given by Balasaheb Thakare on that day. Our first duty should be towards the nation. If there is a need, we should be prepared to die for the country. The country should be our ideal.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to submit that there are many problems before the country today. I want to draw the attention of the House to some of them. The foremost problem is that of population. We will have to control population at any cost. There is a vital need of it.

*[English]*

But this should be undertaken as a national programme. This should not be undertaken in any other way.

*[Translation]*

Common civil code is required in this country. But there should be common approach in the whole country regarding population control because if population is not controlled, we will leave China behind in some years. Therefore, we should formulate and adopt some policy for controlling the population in our country.

*[English]*

In the interest of the nation we should adopt it.

*[Translation]*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we should make all out efforts to remove poverty. I have also said in the meeting for the Independence celebrations that we should reach out to the poor and should give them electricity, water and roof over their heads, if we want to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of our independence in the right spirit. If we can remove the darkness from the huts of poor in the villages, the Golden Jubilee celebrations of independence would be meaningful. I have already spoken about foeticide in the country. We should try and find ways through which the killing of the innocent could be curbed.

*[English]*

Because human life is very important.

*[Translation]*

Unless we respect the dignity of man, this situation would worsen. It would not improve.

Mr. Chairman, now I want to say a few words about the atrocities on women. We speak a lot about women and their plight. I recall an incident of September 12, 1996 and what I had said on that day in this House. Yesterday, Shri Mulayam Singh said here that there was no Member of Parliament who did not approach him in this regard. I want to tell him that I did not approach him. I did want to interrupt him when he said this. Mulayam Singhji on that day was in a mood to clap, but you did not get an opportunity to do so.

*[English]*

They wanted to pass this Constitution (Amendment) Bill without having deliberations in this House. At such a juncture I was the first person to rise against it. Then, Shri G.M. Banatwalla woke up and supported me. Thereafter Shri George Fernandes supported me. We were the three persons instrumental in opposing the move to pass the Bill without having any deliberation on it.

*[Translation]*

Therefore, I want to submit that women need to be given protection. There is need to check the increasing incident of rape and their exploitation and we must make all out efforts for it. Our country is safe only when our women are safe and protected. If women are not safe then, there can be serious troubles. Therefore, I fully endorse the view that first, protection must be provided to women and then we should meet their demand of reservation. I do not hold any other view and that day Shri Pawar was sitting beside me and I had categorically expressed my views on the issue in this House.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now you can come to your suggestions. The time is running out for you.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the other issue is of criminalization. It is on the increase at a fast pace in our country. We need to take some steps to contain it. Our Government must take effective steps to nab those elements who kill innocent persons just for petty reasons and criminalization of politics should be checked everywhere.

The third issue is that the number of opposition parties is increasing in our country and therefore, some law should be enacted to bring all like-minded parties into one fold. Such a process needs to be initiated. This is most important.

*[English]*

That is unemployment in this country. Because of unemployment alone, the youths are following different methods. They are following different ways and have started participating in all kinds of gangs. They have become gangsters today only because they have no bread and butter to eat. They do not even get one square meal a day.

*[Translation]*

We have large number of youths in our country and they are our source of strength. We must never overlook it as we have all along been doing. We are bringing new automation. New automatic Industries with very little scope of generating new job opportunities, are being set-up. Therefore, I call upon all of you to find a way out. The document presented here contains all the problems faced by our country but the important thing is that what course we are going to adopt for its solution. No serious thought is given to it. I do not know what is proposed to be done in this regard. I am quoting below two-three lines from it:—

*[English]*

> "Our 10,000 lives have been lost on account of violence in Jammu and Kashmir since 1992. This is significantly due to Pakistan-sponsored violence. This kind of violence is taking place in Jammu as well and infrastructure services like railways, electric transmission lines and highways are the targets of attack."

*[Translation]*

This is very bad. We should ponder over it seriously. Ours is a strong nation and we all can sit together to solve our internal problems. If our country is not safe, we shall not get the opportunity to do so. There is mention of several problems in this document. Yesterday I had made a mention of it.

*[English]*

That our booklet is a historical document which has been handed over to us. This is not for the purpose of reading alone. This should be studied. Mind should be applied and one has to carefully think over it and arrive at some solution to solve this problem. The intention of this particular special Session is that we should come together and discuss all the problems in this august House and thereafter, by sitting together, find out some solution, irrespective of castes, communities and religions.

*[Translation]*

Every person follows a religion and there is none who is not born in a religion.

*[English]*

Not a single person is there in this entire House who is secular in true sense.

*[Translation]*

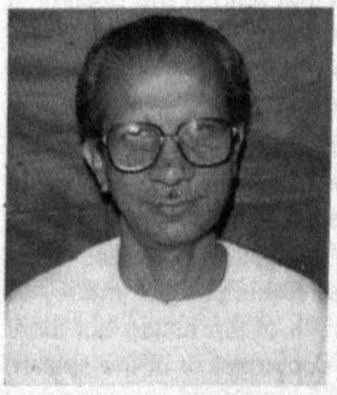
Those who harp on the slogan of secularism perhaps do not understand its true meaning. Our effort is not to take them on different path. But enough care should be taken that there is no disruption on the path that we have adopted and followed.

*[English]*

Let us work together. Let us walk together. Let us proceed together and let us solve the problem of this great nation on the eve of this Golden Jubilee of 50 years of Independence.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Before I call upon Shri Rupchand Pal to speak, may I remind the Hon. Members that nearly 93 members are there to participate? Even if we sit till 5.30 A.M., I do not think it is possible to complete it today. So, with your permission, I will give a warning bell at the ninth minute and at the tenth minute, I think you can conclude.

Except for the Party leaders, other hon. Members may kindly conclude in 10 minutes' time.



**SHRI RUPCHAND PAL**

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hooghly) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the happy occasion of the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, this august House has been discussing the state of affairs in the life of the nation. Many hon. Members, leaders of various political Parties and three former Prime Ministers have already spoken. We must take pride in the achievements that have been made during the last five decade. But when we take a stock of what happened during

the last five decades since we achieved our Independence, we are distressed to find that what we had wanted to achieve could not be achieved at all. I have with me the latest global Human Development Report which amply demonstrates that not only we failed to achieve our goals but during the last few years particularly the last five years we have been sliding down, down and down. This is the latest Report.

The Hon. Members have placed their view points. But on this great historic occasion, this House will be failing in its duty if we fail to mention some of the great challenges facing the nation. One such challenge before us is, national integration. It has been stated in the document given to us that there are many challenges before the nation. Political and emotional integration into an Indian Union was as much critical as was geographical integration. It is indeed a Herculean task to achieve this goal.

If we have to set our Agenda for the coming decades, we shall have to keep in mind these challenges; this problem of national integration need to be considered in all its aspects, such as communalism, the danger posed by the divisive, separatists forces. I was distressed to note that hardly any mention has been made to the menace of communalism, communalism of all varieties in the document. I was looking into some of the debates of the last five to six years. A large amount of time of this House was spent discussing this menace of communalism. Now when we have to set our agenda for the coming days, we must mention, find out and suggest the ways to meet this grave challenge so as to preserve, protect and strengthen our national integrity.

Sir, I am distressed to note that both in the document given to us and in the Inaugural speech made by the hon. Speaker, there is a serious lacuna. The other day when we were debating the Finance Budget, the Finance Minister announced a new scheme called VDIS, Voluntary Disclosure of Income Scheme. Today there are some indications that this scheme also is going to meet the same fate as it has met in the past 11 occasions. Sir, the black money, unaccounted money and the parallel money is causing havoc to the economic life of the nation but there is no mention of it either in the document or in the speech of the hon. Speaker.

I am also distressed to note that even while our senior leaders, the former Prime Ministers have been speaking at length, making suggestions, they had perhaps forgotten to mention about this menace.

Sir, apart from the national integration and the problem of black money, there are some other areas where we need to apply our minds. One of the areas is corruption in high places. This was very much on the agenda of the nation. People are worried about it. There has hardly been any introspection from important quarters. If we have to set up our agenda for the coming years, we must mention that. The problem of criminalisation of politics is one thing, but corruption in high places is another thing which must be mentioned. For the last few years, the nation has been facing this grave problem. If we have to take any resolution to present any national agenda for the coming days, this must be mentioned as a great challenge.

Sir, I am not going into the details of many serious other problems facing the nation today because many suggestions have already been made on these very important matters. I shall confine myself to four issues. What are they? It all concerns the development of the nation. Any nation planning to thrive and achieve prosperity must take into account its own resources. We have our vast natural resources; we have our resources in terms of human capital. I agree that. Population need to be curbed, of course. But if population is properly developed in terms of skills, education, health care and others in knowledge-based society today this human capital can work wonders.

Science and technology has been discussed by some of my colleagues and some hon. Members have made their own suggestions. I am not repeating all those. I am not going to discuss any of them. Sir, we are rich in bio-diversity. The developing countries of the world are rich in bio-diversity. The economic worth of this may be of the order of 60-70 billions.

Today, I am making a reference to what happened only a week back. Our scientists in CSIR have won a very significant battle whether they faced a challenge coming from the United States in respect of patent for the turmeric powder for its wound-healing capacity. It may look a very simple victory but the DG, CSIR and several scientists have come out with observations to the effect that it is a very very significant victory. What we could not achieve in the case of *neem,* we have done in respect of turmeric. What does it suggest? We are rich in Bio-diversity. We have hundreds of thousands of plants and species which if we can convert through our bio-technological knowledge into economic worth, we can be one of the richest countries of the world. But we have not yet applied our mind properly. But some of the developed countries, particularly the United States, have not yet ratified the Bio-diversity Convention of 1993.

**13.00 hrs.**

But at the same time, bio-piracy is continuing. Countries like us are making claims according to their own law. Their law is that patent can be allowed if certain knowledge is in

practice. But in our case, they say it will have to be documented and produced. In respect of hundreds and thousands of plants and species, particular knowledge lies only in the life and tradition of the tribal people and in their memory. It is a vast task to document them. But why can't we document them? It has been done in Vietnam. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, the hon. former Prime Minister was making a reference to that. It has been done in China and in many other Asian countries. But till today, we are very poor in terms of patent literacy. Many people do not understand what patent means. In such a situation, product patent is going to be imposed on us. Multinational companies like Ciba Geigy, Hindustan Liver, Hoechest etc. I am mentioning only a few, are analysing our germplasm. They have got the biotechnology of converting them and making huge profits. They are not sharing the result of all these researches.

A suggestion has come from the scientists. I am presenting that suggestion to the House so that it can be incorporated in our national agenda. A Patent Mission should be set up without delay. An expert committee will not do. A Patent Mission as early as possible is the goal. I suggest that let a Patent Mission be set up at the earliest because this is an area where natural wealth can be converted for the benefit of the economic life of our country.

I am just reading two sentences from the speeches of one of the great scientists of the world, Shri M.S. Swaminathan. "Bio-diversity is basic to progress in improving the productivity of plants, animals, fishes and all living organisms. Bio-diversity also provides the feedstock to the biotechnology industry. The frontier science will determine the economic life of the people in the coming century. While the developing world is the home of much of the global bio-diversity, the industrialised world is a home of most of the biological technologies essential for converting biological diversity into economic wealth."

There is a second suggestion I would like to make. In ordinary parlance it is called brain drain. We are producing a large number of scientists, computer engineers, doctors and also products. From the IITs, from the Physical Laboratories, from the National Laboratories, a large number of them are going abroad. Several studies have been made. Why are they going? Are they going for money alone or for any other consideration? No. They are going due to lack of opportunities and lack of infrastructure for research in our countries. They cannot pursue what they wanted to pursue in their research.

What is the loss suffered by the country as a result of this brain drain? On the estimate of the loss, several studies have been made. I am making a reference to two estimates only. A number of studies estimate a loss to the tune of 10 to 20 billion US dollars to India due to Indian brain drain alone over a period of 20 years. In 20 years, that is, from 1966 to 1986, the loss suffered by India was 20 billion US dollars. There is another study. It says that the rich countries had provided aid to the developing countries but what was taken through this brain drain was much more than the aid given by the rich countries to the developing countries.

Can we not reverse the process? When I had been to China I had an occasion to interact with many more people. China had undertaken a very comprehensive policy to bring back their own scientists not only in conventional areas but also in frontier sciences. They have very strong nationalism. The Scientist with Non-Resident chinese are coming back with their money, investing their knowledge and everything else. Can we not frame such a policy? Can we not make an Agenda for the coming decade? Indian Scientist abroad are willing to come. You would find that last week one of the major computer engineers from A.T.&T. had come back to Tata Fundamental Research.

Some hon. Member from that side was saying why scientists like C.V. Raman, Shri Jagdish Chandra Bose, Shri Sateyndra Bose are not being found today. We have our talents. In the United Kingdom, the telecom revolution was brought by one Bengali engineer. She was a lady. She is the relative of Geetadi and the relative of the former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. We do have our software engineers in U.K., U.S.A., Europe and in many more countries.

The other day, I had asked the hon. Minister of Communications that a particular multinational telecom company, even without a tender, was being given the opportunity to use their WILL technology to appropriate the Indian market. Wireless in Local Loop is a technology which will ultimately give the answer to our urgent need to provide rural telecom. I had asked as to what had happened to the Madras I.I.Ts' experiment? Are you ready? Why are you side-tracking them? The hon. Minister said: 'No, I shall look into it'. I am very happy that after two days it so happened that the WILL technology of Madras I.I.T. was accepted by the D.O.T. Not only that, today it has come in the newspapers. China is showing interest in the WILL technology of Madras I.I.T. which is very relevant to China and that they are considering to bring that to their country. That is our talent. But talents in large numbers are not coming. Science education is being neglected. Scientific temper is not being inculcated in a proper manner. Superstition, myth, obsolete thinking, etc. are all there.

There was a reference to Shri D.P. Chatterjee work on Science and Technology in Ancient India. What is the analysis? I say that India has both spiritualism and science

but the voice of the scientists was stiffed in hierarchy, in Brahminical order; it was lost. Some of the important papers were burnt, stolen and destroyed. The author has collected the material and demonstrated how science was having as much important part to play in the life of people in ancient India as in Greece and some other ancient civilisations. However, talents are not coming today to science. Meritorious students are going for Management, Commerce courses where they can earn more money. So, from the school days, pyramid like scientific culture will have to be developed and that needs a relevant and meaningful policy.

I can give a long list of people, our eminent scientists who have been poached and taken away by MNCs. It is not a simple case of a particular Indian Administrative Officer, who had served in a sensitive area. How could he have contact with multinational company? Taking legal steps is not all. What has happened to C-DoT?

I did not agree with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. I do not agree with many of his philosophies and actions.

In terms of this C-Dot technology, he had initiated a really good thing for the country. But so many scientists from C-Dot were taken away by MNCs during the last few months. The same is true about CSIR also. Our scientists and engineers have been taken away by the multinational and foreign companies. We must have a policy so that there is no more poaching. The scientists may be given the honour, prestige and opportunities so that they can pursue their researches. I think we do have human capital in our country in terms of talent and in terms of skilled people. They should be mobilised and engaged for the development of our indigenous technology. I am not a parochial. Wherever there is a potential to go in for indigenous technology, it should be emphasised because no one will give us the technology. Rather than depending on others for the technology, we should try to accumulate it.

My third suggestion. This is not a document for reading and discussing here. In the coming days, we have to somehow implement it. How can we do that? It may be implemented in several ways. But every time the question will arise where the funds will come from. There is a wrong conception going on in the present Government. In the paper that has been given to us recently about the subsidies in our country, there is a mention that whatever provisions we make for science and technology are considered to be subsidy. How can it be? Science and Technology can transform not only the socio-cultural life of the country but also the economic life of the people. Investment in Science & Technology should not be considered as subsidy.

I have another suggestion—the last one—to make. I will not take much time because others may be waiting because they also want to speak. So, I do not want to take their time. Now this is about our water resources. Shri Sharad Yadav has already made a mention of it and Shri Narasimha Raoji also has made a mention of it. We have immense potential in terms of Himalayan hydro power. Those who have gone to some Scandinavian countries like Norway and others, might have seen that they have immense oil resources in the North Sea. They sell it. But in their own countries what they produce and use is only hydro power and nothing else. In our country, even after five decades, we have not been able to apply our mind to this great potential. Water can be used for irrigation. It can be used for energy. It can also be transformed and converted for many other purposes, besides use for drinking purposes. Someone was telling me that there have been several hundred irrigation projects—multipurpose, medium, minor and others, but since 1951 till today, only one major multipurpose project has been completed in Punjab. The cost overrun in respect of most of these projects has already become 500 times, 600 times and even 1,000 times.

But, without irrigation, how can we become agricultural power? It may be that we develop our nuclear energy. You can go up to a level. But we cannot surpass many others who have started long back, who do have the advantages in many such areas. But, in agriculture, there is a potential. We do have our water resources. But, till today, we have not been able to apply our minds.

Sometimes we compare ourselves with the Asian Tigers. We set them and put them before us as models. We must take at least some lessons from them. By productive use of the human capital, by educating them, by providing them with the skill and providing with the opportunities in terms of land, giving people land, giving the right to use water resources, giving the proper right to participate in the whole developmental process, we can surpass them and surpass them earlier than what we can imagine.

I am concluding. India is a vast country and a great country. It has vast potential in terms of bio-diversity, in terms of water resources, in terms of human capital. In the coming days, if we have to set any agenda for the nation, all these three areas of our strength should be taken into consideration.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Joachim Baxla to speak now.

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA (Samastipur) : Sir, we are sixteen Members. We are not being given time. Are we here only for the quorum or for what?

MR. CHAIRMAN : That you have to decide Professor as to why you are here. You have to decide it. Do not ask the question to me.

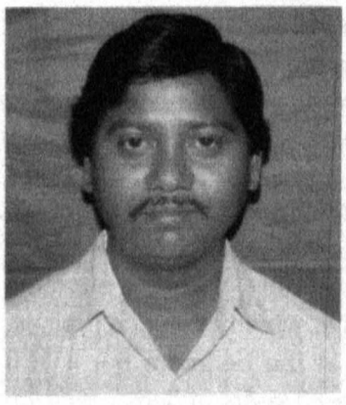
PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA : But we are not being given time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat. I will tell you for your information. I have a list before me. All the parties, except the B.J.P. and the R.S.P. have consumed the time allotted to them.

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA : What about our time?

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no separate time allocation for you. It is part of the ruling party, as a group. You have to discuss with the hon. Speaker.

Shri Joachim Baxla to speak now.



**SHRI JOACHIM BAXLA**

*[Translation]*

SHRI JOACHIM BAXLA (Alipurduar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I thank the hon. Speaker for convening this special session on the occasion of golden jubilee celebration of independence. As we all know that the whole country is celebrating the golden jubilee year of independence by organising various functions, public meetings, exhibitions and illuminating the buildings housing government offices. We have gathered here to take stock of our achievements and failures on various fronts during the past 50 years after independence.

Sir, now we have started of making assessment of our performance after 50 years. It would have been better if we had gone through this process earlier also. Then common man had known about the achievements made by the country.

If this assessment had been made earlier, the youth of the country would not have felt disappointed as they feel now. We had also expressed satisfaction on the achievements that we made earlier. Besides, we would have also got time to improve our performance. But that was not done. We should think about our progress in the coming times and also the measures to be taken for it.

There is a need to pay special attention towards education. We would have made progress to a great extent if due attention had been paid towards the plight of a large section of society, consisting of SC/ST, backwards and other poor people working in tea gardens, fields and factories etc. Their condition has not improved much after the Independence.

We all feel proud of making great achievement by bringing green revolution. But the labourers, agricultural labourers and common man who were the backbone of our success in green revolution still live in poverty. Our public distribution system is faulty and due to this inefficient system, labourers and poor people are compelled to face starvation.

Today we are celebrating golden jubilee of independence. We have achieved self-sufficiency in the field of foodgrain production but the section which worked hard for it has not been given their due share in it.

Even today a large section of our society is illiterate. But people of our country are alert and aware of the political developments taking place around them. That's the reason that in spite of their being illiterate, they compelled the ruling parties to sit in opposition on many occasions. The country would have made much progress if attention had been paid towards health, education and drinking water facilities for our countrymen during this period.

In this special session some of our hon. Members have discussed the achievements and failures of the country on various fronts. After this special session our responsibility will increase and we have to pass a resolution for efficient implementation of various welfare programmes. I hope and wish that we would be able to discharge our responsibility and duty towards poor people by providing sufficient food, shelter, medical aid and various other facilities to them in future.

I would like to make a special request to members of the ruling party. I have heard the speeches of MPs, who spoke here during night and I am happy to say that most of the MPs and Ministers have made enthusiastic and inspiring speeches. After listening to those speeches, I hope that effective measures would be taken after this session, to solve the national problems. The ruling party which has

the responsibility of solving these problems should plan for the future and implement various developmental and welfare programmes. The implementation of developmental programmes should be expedited, especially the programmes relating to welfare of backward people. We are celebrating golden jubilee of independence, but tribals in our country are still shelter-less and attention should be paid towards them. They do not get any medical facility. In rainy season, their families spend night under tarpaulin. They work as labourers in factories, tea gardens and fields in scorching heat during summer and in chilly cold during winter and rainy season. They work hard for producing foodgrain but for the last 50 years, no attention has been paid towards them. I request you to take care of their interests in the resolution which we would pass after this discussion. In place of mentioning only our achievements in various fields I would like to say that our drawbacks should be addressed on priority basis in the interest of the country. We know that:

*[English]*

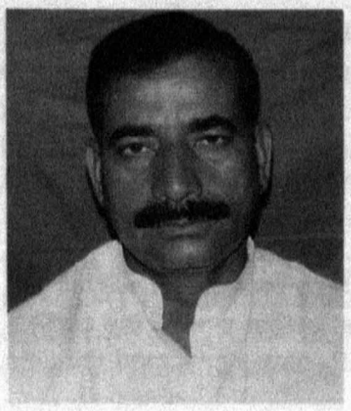
"Failure is the pillar of success".

*[Translation]*

Lacunae in our functioning should be removed in the coming years. The country will celebrate centenary of our independence. But we will not be there to participate in that. Today, the young generation is watching us on television. They might have felt disappointed by the speech delivered by hon. Prime Minister while unfurling the tricolour on the Red Fort. Now atleast you should fulfil their aspirations. You should give proper instruction to them and be an ideal for the young generation so that they could adopt right path. We should take a pledge in this regard and a concrete resolution should be adopted in the end of this session for rebuilding the nation, so that common man could be given a message. We should not feel sorry for our failures but hope for the best.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to make a request that now 50 years after independence, this process of discussion on achievements and failures of government and its policies has been started. A periodical review should be made to identify the fields where we are lagging behind and the fields which are required to be given priority.

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



**SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH**

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH (Muzaffarnagar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to congratulate you for giving me the opportunity to speak on the occasion of golden jubille year of Independence.

First of all I bow before those martyrs who had laid down their lives in the freedom struggle. I also salute those who were in politics or other fields and participated in the freedom struggle. I salute those armymen and their families who sacrificed their lives in the wars of 1965 and 1971 to save the country. Besides, I also bow to Chhatrapati Shivaji and Maharana Pratap who struggled for a long time to protect the honour and pride of this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the democracy which we got through freedom struggle has turned 50. It is a matter of great pride that today we have this House as the country's supreme body which has one such Member whom everyone praises, whether on reaching home or in the bedroom but it is a matter of pride indeed that in the 50 years of democracy we do have a Member who is praised by one and all.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset I go back to the history of 50 years and will try not to repeat the views expressed here by learned members. This country was divided in 1947 in the name of religion which was a fraudulent division. A big trend was played on the people of this country. Mahatma Gandhi understood that Hindus and Muslims have the same parcentage and are real brothers. But power seekers were so much in a hurry that improper division of the country was done. At that time Hindustan and Pakistan came into existence and in 1971, Bangladesh emerged. Before every one's eyes, both Hindus and Hindutva were made easy targets in Pakistan, similar acts were later repeated in Bangladesh, leaving everyone stunned. But India being a secular country did not uttered even a single word. What was the reason therefor? The reason was that the then ruling party was working on a game plan to convert the badly scared Muslims into its vote Bank for a long time to come. As the country was divided and land was distributed in the name of religion, honesty was not the name of the

game. Thus the ruling party continued with the support of that vote bank. We were fortunate that we had an iron man like Sardar Patel who, with his unshakeable intentions was instrumental in bringing about the merger of 600 princely states into India. Sardar Patel left for his heavenly abode within a very short time. That 'Messeah' of the farmers left us so abruptly. By virtue of iron man Sardar Patel, the then ruling party remained in power for a long time. Nehru family continued to rule, but this country was thrown into communal riots for ever. Sardar Patel left for his heavenly abode. With his demise, the word 'Kisan' also disappeared from the pages of newspapers and mouths of leaders of this country. After Sardar Patel, the People's House of this country never had debates regarding farmers. After a long time in 1977, with the dislodgement of the Congress from power and formation of the Janata Party Government, the farmer's cause made its appearance in the country due to Chaudhary Charan Singh. In 1979 a big rally of the farmer's was held at Boat Club and the politicians were enlightened in that rally about the rights of farmers, forcing them to think about farmers. Chaudhary Charan Singh had stated that something would have to be done about the farmers. Had Chaudhary Charan Singh not opposed Nehruji at the Nagpur Session, then cooperative farming would have been introduced in the country and just like Russia is starving today, in the same manner crores of people of the world would have eaten up their fellow country-men due to non availability of food and water. Despite his short stature as a leader as compared to Nehruji, Chaudhary Charan Singh opposed Pandit Nehru and cooperative farming. The interests of farmers and the country were served due to this. A women of Bangladesh Taslima Nasreen wrote in her novel 'Lajja' how the atrocities were committed on Hindus there. Here the demands for reservation for the muslims have started to be made vociferously. Big leaders also have started talking about this. Every party has started asking for reservation for muslims. What more should I say about this? The Defence Minister of this country should not have talked like this on the occasion of golden jubilee...*(Interruptions)* I am not saying anything about him. I want to tell the Defence Minister that such utterances are not in keeping with the spirit of the golden jubilee. It is regrettable that debate was initiated here in such a way as if the manifesto of the party is being read out as if it were only the muslims who performed brave deeds for the country and hence the talk of reservation for them. The Defence Minister should have talked about the Jawans and the martyrs here. First recipient of Paramveer Chakra was Jat Sikh. He should have talked about awarding gold medals and Ashok Chakras to those jawans who are sacrificing their lives for the country.

Sir, I belong to Muzaffarnagar in western Uttar Pradesh. There farmers who have four five acres of land toil hard. Go there and see ...*(Interruptions)* I would like to say to the Minister of Defence that I have been elected to this House for the first time. He is a big Minister and yet interrupting me repeatedly ...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is the golden jubilee of our independence that is why special session has been called, otherwise, I would have exposed him right now...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat.

...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : All of you cannot speak at a time. Everybody cannot speak at a time. Please take your seat. Please sit down. Shri Dau Dayal Joshi is speaking.

*[Translation]*

VAIDYA DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, what the Minister of Defence is speaking is not in keeping with the dignity of the House. After having spoken here, when he went outside, he embraced Muslim Members and said that no muslim can speak what he has spoken in favour of the Muslims.

*[English]*

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

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is enough. Nothing is going on record.

...*(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Joshi, this is not going on record. Please take your seat.

...*(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please understand one thing, Hon. Minister. Let us not use provocative language.

...*(Interruptions)**

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*Not Recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am on my legs. Shri Sohan Veer, please take your seat. I have a request to make. Please do not use any provocative language like this. I have made a request to you earlier. You can present your points without referring to anything which is provocative.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : What you are saying is not going on record. You are not allowed. Only Shri Sohan Veer will speak now.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is the point in speaking like this?

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : I did allow Shri Joshi to speak. Why do you speak now? I have already one Member to speak. This cannot go on like this. Please take your seat.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Joshi, you were given time to speak.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not going on record.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : When I am standing here, please take your seat.

*...(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the way. Please do not engage yourselves in this kind of talks. I have a request. Kindly understand the importance and the seriousness of this Session. Even senior Members are behaving like this. This is not going to help you.

I have made a request to please understand the seriousness of the Session. It is quite natural that we get provoked at some reference. When a reference was made by Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, Shri Dau Dayal Joshi was allowed to make a reference on that. We cannot go on unending like this. Kindly bear with the Chair. Let us not have this kind of discussion again.

*Not Recorded.

Shri Sohan Veer, you may please continue.

*[Translation]*

VAIDYA DAU DAYAL JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, why do not you ask those people.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not make such comments, Shri Joshi.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : I have nothing personal against anyone but nobody can prevent me from telling the truth. We are the followers of Chaudhary Charan Singh. We never perpetrate any excesses on anyone. But I want to make it categorically clear that neither we were ever scared of anyone nor we will feel any fear from anyone in future.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : If you have any more points, please present them. Otherwise, I will call the next hon. Member in the list to speak.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will say only truth without any fear. I respect my seniors and I will not use any derogatory words against them but nobody can stop me from telling the truth. Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Suleman Sait and our some other brothers have got no formula other than reservation for the progress of Muslims. Everybody has seen that reservation can not be key to the progress of any particular caste. Chaudhary Charan Singh used to say that partition of country should not had been allowed at any cost, even if 10 lakh or 50 lakh or any number of people were killed in communal clashes. I have heard him in many of his public meetings. He kept on saying this thing since 1972 till the end of his life. I remained in his association for a long time. He always used to say that country should not had been divided at any cost. Today again I want to place his ideas before this House.

There are only two measures to eliminate poverty from our country. But to achieve this objective we would have to take some concrete decisions. One of them is uniform system of education in the whole country. Be it Delhi or

Rajpur or Etawah or Kanyakumari or any other place there must be an uniform syllabus in every primary school. Children of farmers, workers and other lower strata come to Delhi but they do not get admissions in schools here because schools in Delhi give admission to the children of only a particular section of the society. Therefore, my suggestion is to introduce a uniform system of education throughout the country. All Ministers of this Government are present here. They should take note of my point seriously because they also claim to be the well-wisher of farmers and working class.

My other suggestion is that some hard measures should be taken to check the increasing population of the country. In this connection, I had discussed this issue with the present Minister of Health and Family Welfare. She told me that it is not possible to take strict action in this regard. I advised her to make a provision of having only two children. I told her that there had been many Health and Family Welfare Ministers in the past but if she takes this decision on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of our independence, the country would remember her forever—it does not matter how long does she stay in the Govt. She expressed her helpness about the paucity of funds in this regard. I told her that on the issue of checking the increase in population, we all are unanimous and therefore, it is necessary for her to take hard decision on this issue despite all the hurdles and even the deaths of one or two lakh people on this account should not desist her from this decision.

I will conclude very soon. This is my first chance to speak. On the occasion of Golden Jubilee year, a mention was made about Subhash Chandra Bose also and a Committee was also set-up. In our discussion we stressed the need to include the speeches of Subhash Chandra Bose alongwith the speeches of Gandhi and Nehru and ultimately some of his speeches were included which received appreciation from every quarter. Subhash Chandra Bose had eliminated the feelings of casteism and religious fanatism from every heart just in one go by giving us the slogan—'Jai Hind'. He uttered only these two words. Today we need such leaders who are truly nationalistic and do not believe in casteism and religious fanatism...*(Interruptions)* very soon I am going to conclude.

Now, I would like to say a few words about criminals in our country. Today there is a question mark on the readability of our judicial system. On the death of a son, father appears as witness and files an affidavit and when a father dies, his son gives witness and files affidavit on the the death of son, mother files affidavit today the CRPS, IPC and the system of evidence—all the three have completely broken down. I think this needs our attention...*(Interruptions)*

We are also faced with the criminalisation of politics. Today many political leaders have links with the underground world. They have accumulated large wealth and muscle power and are influencing our Parliament and Legislative Assemblies.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, please, conclude.

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : The Parliament is like Gangotri which should serve as the origin of the holy stream of honesty. Our Legislative Assemblies are Jamnotri. From the mouth of these two august institutions, should flow the streams of honesty. Fortunately, we the MPs, do get some money every year under a scheme which was introduced by Shri Shiv Raj Patil who is not present here. 80 per cent of this amount has to be spent on the development of our villages. When Rajeev Gandhi was the Prime Minister, he said that only 17 paise of a rupee, sent by us, reaches our villages which is true. My suggestion is that scheme should be formulated Lok Sabha Constituency-wise and the money spent under the schemes should be monitored by local M.P. This will check the growing corruption because today the bureaucracy is gluttoring all the money sanctioned by the Government...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 16 minutes excluding the time taken in disturbances. So please conclude your speech in one minute.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Hon'ble Shri Sharad Yadav is sitting here. This is fortunate that the issue like shortage of drinking water and casteism have been raised by some Hon'ble Members. Today in the name of caste many people have become leaders in this country. Therefore, my request is to enact some strict laws to abolish caste system. For this, all of us should rise above our petty self and party considerations and support this cause wholeheartedly so that casteism is totally abolished from our society.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, recently an incident of shoe-garlanding of the statue of a leader occurred in Maharashtra which created much furore and took the lives of several people. The root cause behind the violence in the aftermath of this incident was the strong feeling of casteism. Therefore, feeling of casteism must be wiped out from our society. If we cast a look on our country will find that from Kashmir to Kanyakumari there are statues of a number of leaders.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think you can speak in the afternoon.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : Mr. Chairman, after raising the issue of farmers I would conclude my speech. Farmers have struggled for independence of the country.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You should wind up in one minute now. You are not listening to what I have been saying. Please take one minute and wind up.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Sardar Patel had a little opportunity. He wanted that farmers should make progress. He had struggled for the farmers. Fortunately, the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Prakash Singh Badal is a farmer. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat is also a farmer. The Chief Minister of Delhi, Shri Sahib Singh Verma also belongs to the same community. The Chief Minister of Haryana, Shri Bansi Lal is also a farmer and Shri Kalyan Singh who is likely to take over the charge of Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh on 21 Sept., 1997 is also a farmer.

Mr. Chairman, Sir the farmers issue is being discussed here. Chaudhari Charan Singh had cherished a dream for farmers and that dream should come true. I want that today on the occasion of 50th anniversary of independence we should take a decision so that farmers can get improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and electricity in full quantity.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please address the Chair.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak on water. I agree with Sharad Yadav ji that the water has not been utilised in our country properly. We have not made serious efforts for the proper utilisation of water. If recycling of polluted water released from the factories is undertaken, major problem of our country can be solved. Some efforts have been made in Delhi in this direction.

Mr. Chairman, problem of unemployment has assumed horrible dimensions in our country. I would like to submit that progress should be made in the field of agriculture. With the progress of agriculture, farmers would be prosperous and when the farmer is prosperous, unemployment would be removed. Today, in our country the farmers of Punjab and Western Utter Pradesh are prosperous hence these areas do not have so much unemployment. The people of Bihar come here in search of employment. Agriculture in Bihar is weak. Maximum unemployed people are in Bihar. If farmer is prosperous, unemployment problem would be solved itself. Therefore, I would like to suggest that a study group should be set up at national level so as to study the problems related to agriculture in order to make the farmers of the States prosperous and to suggest the measure to solve their problems.

Mr. Chairman, after making some points regarding defence personnel of the country I will wind up my speech. In 1947 it was the spirit of the people in the country that each young men of the country should serve the motherland by joining the army. All the parents wanted that their son should join army and each sister wanted that her brother should join army but what is the position in this regard today in the country. Thousands of posts from higher rank to lower rank are lying vacant in army. Today, nobody is ready to join army. Therefor, on the occasion of 50th anniversary of independence of the country I would like to submit that better pay scales should be given in the army. Today neither good salary nor respect is given in the army. Therefore, I request that a separate pay commission under the Chairmanship of a retired General of the army should be constituted for the army. I.A.S. officer should not be empowered to decide the pay scale of the army. If this is done and good salary is given in army, the same spirit would be there for army in the people of the country and everybody would desire to join army so as to serve the country.

On the occasion of golden jubilee, hon'ble Members who are sitting here should ensure that at least its history, culture and geography should be protected. Bengladesh has alienated. Western Pakistan has alienated *...(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. Do not go into the details. The subject is very elaborate.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SOHAN VEER SINGH : Mr. Chairman, now I conclude my speech. Thank you very much.

**13.55 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fifty-Five Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

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**15.03 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Three Minutes Past Fifteen of the Clock.*

[SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*]

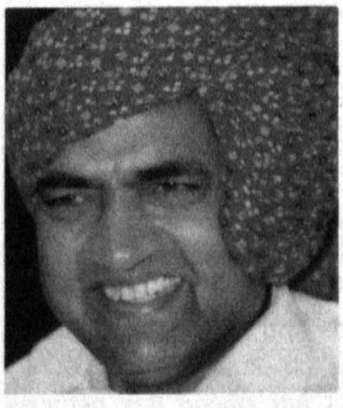
MOTION RE : STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY—*Contd.*

*[Translation]*

SHRI SHIVRAJ SINGH (Vidisha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, You are very generous.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no doubt about that.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE RAI (Sitamarhi) : I have been trying to catch your attention for the last four days. As I have to catch a flight, kindly give me an opportunity to speak.



**SHRI RAJESH PILOT**

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Dausa) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for having given me an opportunity to speak in this historic session. I am also thankful to the Hon. Speaker and the leaders of political parties who decided that we should sit together in this golden jubilee year of our Independence and make an introspection as to where did we go wrong; where was our progress satisfactory and how can we further strengthen our position to make progress in future.

I am amongst those fortunate citizens who have enjoyed the benefits and comforts of Independence. Our brave freedom fighters and all those who fought against the British rule have sacrificed their lives and as a result, our generation is enjoying the fruits of Independence. I am one of these very fortunate citizens. I belong to a political party which fought for the freedom of the country. The congressmen worked in tandem with the freedom fighters and eventually managed to accomplish the impossible task of overthrowing the imperialist force. When one goes through the history of pre-1947 period, one is horrified to find how and under what circumstances our freedom fighters fought against the Britishers. I feel proud that I am the Member of Congress Party, the party which lent its support to all and formed an inseparable bond with the nation. Fifty years after attaining Independence, development has taken place and in certain areas, we have faced failures also. My colleagues and the Congress Party Members have also expressed their views and have admitted that the development did take place due to the policies of the Congress party and as for the failures, we have the courage to admit that there might have been some failures as well but the country has definitely made progress due to our policies.

Several measures were taken after independence. Our party dared to take strong steps against feudalism. I have been elected from Rajasthan. Joshiji is not present here. He is also aware that when we go to 'dhanis' (hamlets) people say that earlier there was a 'Swatantra' party in Rajasthan whose members were mostly erstwhile princes and kings. They used to sit back whereas the villages and poor people living in huts used to seek votes for them. Earlier they were called 'Hukum' (rulers), and now because of our party's efforts these people address the people living in Dhanis (hamlets) as 'Hukum' and say that 'hukum', please give us your vote. This has indeed been a great victory for democracy which was made possible by the effort put in by the Congress.

Green revolution took place as a result of which the villages made progress. Banks were nationalised. Privy Purses were abolished. These major steps have been taken during the Congress rule and as a member of this party, I say this with pride that these steps have helped in changing the situation in the country to a great extent.

I was going through the speeches delivered on 14 August, 1947 by our Veteran leaders. I am pleased to note that in all the speeches delivered by my colleagues here during the last two-three days were above party politics and they expressed their views on what can be done to ensure the progress of the country.

I would like to express my views under two categories. Firstly I would like to speak about our achievements and

our weaknesses during the last 50 years; the reasons for these weaknesses and the steps to be taken in future. Secondly, I would like to dwell on the state of democracy and the reasons for the fall in its standards. I would like to express my personal views of these two subjects. All the colleagues have expressed their views on various subjects. The country got freedom in 1947. The situation prevalent in our nation is very apparent. Every member has said that we have made progress in each and every sector and compared to the situation prevalent in 1947, there is an improvement in the condition of villages and farmers but this improvement is not up to the mark. The condition of farmers has improved as compared to the scenario in 1947. We should not say that there has been no improvement. However the extent to which the improvement was expected has not come about. Our Agriculture Minister is present here and he would agree with me.

After Independence, when the budget was presented in the country for the first time, agriculture was given priority and 14.5 per cent allocation was made for this sector because the leaders felt that 70-80 per cent of our population lived in villages. At that time 85 per cent people were living in villages and 10-15 per cent people were living in cities and towns. Hence upliftment of rural areas was a must and efforts were made for upliftment of rural areas besides the cities and towns. Hence approximately 15 per cent of the total allocation was made for agriculture sector and rural areas. But in 1997-98 budget, only 4 per cent of the total budgetary allocation has been made under this head. Despite that, due to hard work of farmers, labourers and scientists, the foodgrains production has gone up from 50 million tonnes to 190 million tonnes. All this has been made possible due to the hard work of farmers and labourers. Though our scientists had meagre resources, at their disposal yet they helped the farmers to achieve this end.

I am happy that when India gained independence in 1947, the farmers had very little help available from the scientists. Today there are 29 agricultural universities and 46 agricultural research centres in our country. Still we have not been able to pay as much attention towards agriculture as we should have. Despite the scientific assistance we are able to grow only 17 quintals of rice per hectare in India whereas in the developed countries and in China the yield of rice is 35 quintal per hectare. The yield of wheat was quite low in 1947. However today the yield of wheat in India is 20 metric tonnes per hectare. In China the production is about 30 metric tonnes, per hectare and in Germany, it is 68 metric tonnes per hectare. This much gap still prevails in the yield despite the hard labour put in by our farmers. Who is to be blamed for this? Although our farmers are hard working still they lack the scientific support. Shri Antulay was right when he said that the gap between the rural and the urban life was widening. Such a wide gap was not there in 1947. Likewise the gap between the rich and the poor is also widening. The rural-urban gap was much less conspicuous in 1947, whereas today the gap is growing at a rapid speed. Hence we shall have to pay more attention to the development of rural areas. If we fail to ensure upliftment of 85% people living in villages, our people living in villages, our nation would not be able to make progress. Today we cannot say that our country has developed. So long as the farmers and people living in villages are not uplifted we cannot say that our country has developed.

Even today a farmer having 60-70 bighas of land cannot afford nutritious meal. Only he knows how he makes both ends meet. His all hopes rest on his next crop. He makes plans for his daughters marriage, for renovation of his house and for education of his son banking upon his next crop. He manages his day today expenditure by taking loans waiting for his next crop. Now a days when a farmer goes to the mill with his sugarcane, he is simply given a chit after weighing the sugarcane. He keeps that chit for one year with utmost care and considers that chit as his cash amount. He is paid the payment of his sugarcane after one year or one and half year at the rate fixed by the Government but no interest is paid on that amount. He has to go to the mill a number of times to collect his money. This is the plight of a farmer. I am raising this painful matter before the House because at present 85 per cent people of this country are facing similar problems. We are happy that today we are celebrating Golden Jubilee of our independence but so long as we do not pay attention towards our villages and farmers to bring abut prosperity in villages, we cannot make the country prosper.

Shri Antulay ji has rightly given the example of Banking system. There are 67,000 branches of Banks all over the country and out of them 30,000 branches are in cities and towns and only 37,000 branches are in rural areas where 85 per cent of our population lives. So far as allocation of funds is concerned 25 per cent of funds are allocated to 85 per cent people of rural areas and 75 per cent funds to 15 per cent urban people. This is the situation in our country and that has to be changed. I am saying this because ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Vermaji, please don't talk loudly. If you want to talk, you can go to lobby.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : If we want to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, then we have to reduce the disparity between rural and urban areas. We should follow such policies which may reduce this disparity. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan had rightly said yesterday that when the gap

between policies and objectives would be reduced, the wheel of development in the country would start rolling faster and unless the children of farmers and labourers occupy the higher posts, where they will be in a position to implement the policies, we cannot achieve the said goal. Once it is done, only then the people and their aspirations will be associated with the Government policies.

I visited Jaisalmer area in Rajasthan alongwith Bhai Ashokji some time back and the area was reeling under drought in those days. I asked one labourer about the wages he was getting. He told me that he was getting Rs. 17 only. I told him that as per rule he should be getting Rs. 17.50. I called their officer and asked the reason. The officer inquired from his subordinate staff and ultimately the headman told me that he has employed one extra labourer for providing drinking water, therefore, 50 paisa from the wages of each labourer is deducted and paid to him. When I asked for some water, campa cola, kishmis and fruits were brought before me. The collector was also with us. So I asked the collector from where he would pay the Bill for these items? He told me that he had certain discretionary power and he would manage. A discretionary power can be exercised in case of Ministers but there is no such power which can be exercised for the welfare of the poor. This trend has to be changed. This trend will change only when person associated with the sentiments of the general public would occupy the higher posts which are responsible for the implementation of policies. Only then the country would progress. If a son of a poor person becomes the Bank Manager, he would listen to the problems of the poor people and would not disappoint them. But today we have just reverse situation. If a customer comes to the Bank in a luxury car, the Bank Manager comes out to receive him at the gate and asks his peon to bring tea etc. for the customer. But such treatment is not given to the poor people. If a poor person borrows Rs. 8000 or 10,000 for purchase of buffalo and becomes defaulter due to non-payment of any instalment, then the Bank officials go to his house time and again. They go to his house when his relatives are there so that some social pressure may be built up and he may arrange repayment of his instalment to save his prestige in the society. So long as we will continue with such attitude, we will not be able to bridge the gap between the policies and objectives. I am sorry to say that this will further increase the disparity between the rural areas and urban areas and so long as this gap will go on increasing, we will not be able to take our country ahead on the path of development.

Sir, I have visited foreign countries also. You can visit the villages of developed countries and you will come to know the difference. Mr. Tony Blair goes to the country side for relaxation because all facilities are available there. Theie villages have all those facilities which are available in cities. When we were in the Government, we started telephone facilities in villages. We provided telephone facility in every panchayat. I am happy that Shri Beni Prasad Verma is now completing that work. But still there are villages which are yet to be connected with telephone. The officials pay least attention towards attending telephone complaints in rural areas. In urban areas, they attend the complaints promptly but not in villages. Even today, our villages are lacking in communication and road facilities. Even today 60 per cent of our villages are not connected with roads. All political parties mention this point in their menifestoes that they will connect the villages with roads but even then villages could not be connected with roads. Even today health centres are not available in villages. There is no education facilities in villages. When we were in the Government, we gave a proposal from our party that in every block we should have a big centre consisting of a hospital, college, an ITI, a communication centre and a big shopping complex where everything should be available. If it is done, the migration of rural people to urban areas can be checked. But today the situation of our villages is entirely different. What is happening with our farmers. Even after 50 years of our independence farmers land is acquired at throw away prices and the same land is sold at the rate of Rs. 2000 per square yard after developing it by DDA and GDA. Such one case is there of a farmer in Ghaziabad. His land was acquired at the rate of Rs. 105-110 per square yard and he was also promised a plot there. Lateron he was given a plot at the rate of Rs. 500-750 per square yard. After selling the land of his forefathers at a throwaway price, he is now purchasing plot at the rate of Rs. 550 per square yard. We have to change such policies. That land could have been sold in crores of rupees but that was sold at throw away prices. He has to part with the land of his forefathers. He is pained because he had to part with his land for ever. Therefore, I would like to say that unless the upliftment of farmers and workers is ensured, the villages cannot make progress. It is possible only when the gap between the policies and objectives is bridged. As I have already pointed out that it is possible only when we bring a change in our approach along with the policies and objectives.

Now I would like to dwell upon the state of democracy and law and order. It is true that with the attainment of freedom, the generation which came to power was that which had struggled through the freedom movement. Having undergone punishment like whipping under the British regime, this generation was aware of the price of freedom; Sir, if we go through the speeches of 1947, we will find them reflecting the feelings of all our breathern and elderly persons who had attachment with the country. There might have been difference in regard to policy and party ideology

but all their feelings tended to merge together for the country. Such a spirit and culture came to be developed after Independence. But gradually that generation became extinct and was succeeded by another generation which had not been a witness to the freedom struggle. When this generation came to power, there was a sea change in feelings. When the country became independent, there were apprehensions about our ability to maintain our freedom. I am happy our country has been able to demonstrate to the world its ability of having maintained democracy so far in the country. Our democracy has three pillars—legislature, judiciary and executive. All the three pillars have been strong here. Antulayji just now spoke of bureaucracy as having been strong enough since 1947. During my stint in the Home Ministry as incharge of the Kashmir affairs, I got an opportunity to go through the notes on the file like those recorded by Mr. Menon to Sardar Patelji and *vice versa*. The former was the then Home Secretary. The notings reflected their independent views and reflect that they always had the welfare of the country upper most in their minds. But today there is degeneration with regard to that for which I hold the legislature responsible. What are the reasons for the degradation now witnessed in the legislature? Had the political character of the country remained strong, all the three pillars would have remained strong. Filter down effect is visible on both, the judiciary as well as on the executive. Antulayji was mentioning about ACR today, people are always afraid of ACRs. When political character use to be strong, people never cared for the ACRs. ACRs too never used to be wrong. All the ACRs always used to be correct. The political character used to be so sound that it had its effect both on the executive and judiciary.

Sir, it is a matter of concern that our political character has declined today. I would rather say that after fifty years we must see in retrospect. Today, there is a void in the whole country, the man in the street is bewildered how this weakness has made its way in the body politic of the country and he wonder how it can be got rid of? The people in general today have lost their confidence in their representatives. Our credibility has gone down. If we do not mend ourselves, we will be playing fraud with the country and its people. I feel that unless the political character, individual character becomes so reflective, we will not be able to have any impact on the country. Formerly, Individual character of leaders used to affect people which has ceased to be the case now. I remember what Sumitra Kulkarni, Mahatma Gandhi's grand daughter was mentioning that once Mahatma Gandhi visited Bihar, he was given some funds meant for the Congress party. The money was counted in the evening and the amount ascertained. Next morning, the money was sent to be deposited in Bank. The man who went to Bank to deposit the money, deposited three pies less. Gandhi asked him about the missing three pies. The man replied that either there was a mistake in counting or the amount was lost somewhere on the way. Gandhiji said that he himself had pronounced what the amount of money exactly was 'you may not realise but I too am to blame for it, I will atone for it by observing a day long fast tomorrow.' So, Gandhiji went on a fast for an amount of just three pies. He went on to say 'how this mistake was committed? People donated money but we failed to keep it.' With Gandhiji observing a fast, the man in question also had to follow in his footsteps *i.e.* he too observed two day fast as he did realise that while he had committed mistake, it was Gandhiji who observed fast instead. When such a character, such a reflection will go across the public, only then our credibility will register an increase. Unless we develop a spirit of sacrifice, we cannot built a strong political character. Our political system was passing through a lean phase, when all of us were asking those persons in high places who were under a cloud or even slightest suspicion to relinquish their offices. But in case any such case of so relinquishing offices do come to notice, the political parties should make it a point to go into the reasons thereof and the persons in question must be dealt with accordingly. We must restore their position if they are not found guilty so that others may take initiative in future. Otherwise, the current practice of wrecking political revenge on the another and occasional mutual recriminations will continue to vitiate the political atmosphere. Without taking care to strengthen our political arena, both our other wings namely judiciary and the executive will continue to get weak.

Sir, today we tend to join issues with officers without bothering to look into the conditions they are working under. Just see the tremendous amount of interference we have come to make with their functioning. There is lot of political interference even in the selection of officers. Formerly, there used to be the bureaucracy wing but now the Cabinet Secretary is at liberty to make postings. It is a matter of regret that as Minister, we indulge in the game of posting and dislocating Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries. Officers have a come to be marked as being associated with one or the other leader, such a scenario is most unfortunate for the country. If such things continue to happen in the country, the whole system will collapse one day. No gentle or honest man worth the name will be able to rise up the leader of progress. Everybody being greedy by nature, is prone to fall prey to human weaknesses. Everybody nourishes ambitions of continuing in Delhi for certain years, say five years by virtue of his association with 'somebody'. If the bureaucracy is to be made strong, it must be allowed to remain independent, and for that a strong political character and absence of vested interest is required. I am repeatedly emphasising on the political character because

our country has democracy. There is rule of vote here. Had it been otherwise, the system would have been different. In the system of ascendancy of vote, political power is supreme. We shall not be able to restore credibility unless the political power gets purified and the spirit of sacrifice and honesty is infused in it and we the politicians become as clean as mirror at which people can look from a distance and unless that is regained, I am sorry, both the other wings will continue to get weakened thereby and if the present trend is not checked, the unity of the country will be in danger in future. Had the other two wings been strong enough in the country the catastrophes of December, 1992 and October, 1994 would not have occurred in this country. At least one of the two wings should have stood strong, but both of them betrayed their weakness, both have tried to abdicate responsibility by passing buck on each other, in the process setting before the country a bad example which cannot be erased from history.

It is really saddening, no one should take it otherwise. During his visit to Indonesia, Pt. Nehru was asked by Muslim brother there about what happens to the Muslims in the former's country. Pt. Nehru got enraged and put a counter-question to the questioner, "was the latter aware now many Muslims were there each in India and Indonesia separately". A single province of India has as many Muslims as are there in the whole of Indonesia. Pt. Nehru asked him not to lecture him and that he knew well how to take good care of his Muslim brethren. Such a feeling characterised those times and no one could have doubted or pointed an accusing finger at this feeling. Instead of this feeling what we hear today is 'this is mine—this is yours'. The Mandir-Masjid issue never existed. I am returning from London after attending two days Indian Overseas Congress. A wise person finds it difficult to give the reply if he replies honestly. Such incidents should not take place in the country on account of which one finds it difficult to give reply and it can be possible only when our all the three wings—judiciary, executive and legislative work collectively. I am thankful to the election commissioner, who has taken a big step yesterday not to give a chance to contest election to those who are involved in criminal activities and are corrupt. I would like to draw the attention of the House towards a speech of Radhakrishanan ji. At that time Dr. Radhakrishanan was a philosopher. When he spoke for the first time in 1947, it was in his mind 50 years earlier :

*[English]*

> "A free India will be judged by the way in which it will serve the interests of the common man in the matter of food, clothing, shelter and the social services. Unless we destroy corruption in high places, root out without trace nepotism, love of power, profiteering and black marketing which have spoiled the good name of this country in recent times, we will not be able to raise the standard of efficiency in administration as well as in production and distribution of necessary goods of life."

*[Translation]*

This conclusion was in his mind 50 years earlier and if it is accomplished then there is no problem before the nation.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I have two suggestions. The one is that the resolution likely to be passed here would become time bound. It should not be that the resolution is passed and we do not bother about it 10-20 years and after 50 years we sit together to find out as to what was discussed and concluded. These would be time bound and a committee should be set up which should have a representative of all political parties so as to ensure that we have taken steps to improve whatever we have done during the past 50 years and it should be reviewed continuously. When again after 50 years the people gather here should not think that we had wasted time but had expressed our sentiments and taken steps in this regard as well. Therefore, a committee should be set up and a time bound programme should be there for it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, my other suggestion is that the freedom fighters are there in each village. When we listen to their stories, there are quite moving. What has gone in their minds and what sort of agony was their in their hearts for freedom. They shall remain with us for 5-10 years more. After 5-10 years most of them would not remain with us. Their memories should be compiled and be published in a book form. They should be allowed to get their books published and the Government should bear its expenses. All the hon. M.Ps should get them published. These should be placed in the libraries of villages and districts. Besides we should decide today that a memorial should be constructed in each of the village where the freedom fighters have been residing so that their memories remain a fresh in the coming 50 years and we may not forget all those things for which they had laid down their lives.

My last suggestion is for the youths. Today, our youths are quiet worried about their future. They have been thinking whether they would make progress or not. The hon. Minister is present here and as Shri George Fernandes has said that unless we give them the right to work and frame such policies which would bring so place to the youth, we would not be able to show them the right path. Therefore, such a step should be taken in the resolution for the youths so that they can involve themselves in the progress and development of the nation. With these words I extend my thanks to you. I have put forth my views, which are for the welfare and good future of the nation.

**SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE**

SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE (Yavatmal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this nation has completed 50 years of freedom. This session has been called on this occasion to review our achievement made during the last 50 years. I am thankful to you and for my party for giving me an opportunity to a new Member like me to express my views in this session. I am thankful to them for it. 282 new hon. Members have been elected to the 11th Lok Sabha. These hon. members belong to ordinary families and society. They represent this Lok Sabha in real forms. The fact is that the new hon. Members should have been given some time in this special session. The prominent leaders and senior members of parliament keep speaking. We have been watching it for the last 15 months. This Lok Sabha has seen three Prime Ministers so far.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have wasted one and half minutes on it. Please come to the point.

SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE : They have been speaking for 15 months. I have been watching. This is a special session. Here, one should deviate from the party line since everyone is well aware of the views of the party. The party leaders can not speak anything other than the party views. As Vajpayeeji has specially told that as to how and what should be spoken in the House, Shri Chandrashekhar ji, Shri Mulayam Singhji, Shri Antulayji and Shri Rajesh Pilot ji spoke something other than the views of the party. Such hon. Members and prominent leaders deviated from the party's views. We have assembled here to speak all that in this special session. No party has got the majority in the 11th Lok Sabha. The voters did not accept the views of any party. No party is in majority today. I expect that in the coming years no party is going to have majority. It is a reality. In these circumstances, no party should be taken as untouchable. There prevailed untouchability in the society in the past. Now it has spreaded into politics also. How a large number of the B.J.P. Members have been elected? They have been elected in a democratic setup. How long would you treat them as untouchable? They will have to be roped in, only then the Government can run smoothly.

Secondly, I would like to submit that the speeches which are delevered here are politically motivated. Everyone tries to strengthen his vote bank. It is time to keep aside the politics of votes. We talk about development. What sorts of development have taken place during these 50 years? I do not know whether or not any development has taken place. Just now Shri Rajesh Pilot wanted to know our views about the freedom fighters? I am the son of a freedom fighter. I lived in Gandhiji and Vinoba's Ashrams. I spent my childhood there. What announcements did Gandhi make after independence? He said that all sections of the society would get employment, food and shelters and each and every sections would get justice. This was the assurance given by Gandhi at the time of independence. At that, people joined the freedom movement. My father and other people say that this assurance was given. However, has this assurance been fulfilled during these 50 years? Hence a call was given to launch the second freedom struggle. the assurances made at the time of independence have not yet been fulfilled. People are not getting food to eat, clothes to wear and houses to live in. People are not getting justice. Who is getting? When people who joined the freedom movement launched by Gandhi, do not get these things what does it mean by the second freedom struggle? What does this freedom mean? The hon. leaders sitting here and our hon. former Prime Minister Shri Chandra Shekharji says that 95 per cent people living in the villages are not getting justice. It is a fact. Then who got independence? Only 5 per cent people got freedom, but 95 per cent people did not get freedom. They are still not enjoying freedom. The people who got freedom include the political leaders, the bureaucrats of these days and the capitalists? 95 per cent people living in the villages are still slaves. When have we not been able to deliver justice to 95 per cent people, what does this freedom mean? What is the use of it? The Government should first try to fulfil those assurances and then make an announcement about the second independence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, development has, no doubt, taken place in the country, but whose development has it been? Everybody knows that only 10 paise reach the villages out of Re. 1/- sanctioned from here, Rajiv ji admitted this fact. The fact remains that out of the total capital investment made in the country most of invested money has been drained out to foreign countries except a small amount given as commission. Development of people must have taken place in the country. Here 90 per cent money has been spent for 5 per cent people. It is not so that development has not taken place in the country. The benefits of five year plans have not reached the deserving people. Were the plans faulty? No, some of them were right, even then why development did not take place? I am of the view that there are four reasons for that—*viz.* population, lack of education,

bureaucracy and environment. Until population is controlled, the benefits of whatever development we make, will not reach the people. How to control the population? With the slogan of 'we are two and ours two', we have reached 100 crores from 33 crores. Had concrete action been taken on this slogan, something could have been possible.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are certain issues which call for concrete action in this special session. People belonging to all faiths live in this country and every religion has the right to hold its views. If justice is given on the basis of religion, this country can not march ahead. It is not possible to enact such a law where people belonging to different faiths live. It will not help the country make progress. A law should be enacted in this country keeping this phenomenon in view. This august House is empowered to take a concrete decision in this regard, but there should be will power for this. As I have said already, the slogan "Ham do, hamare do" should equally be made applicable on all the citizens of the country. Then only population can be brought under control.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we think, a lot about education in this country, but education does not reach the villages. Women are uneducated. Some concrete programme should be chalked out for them so that everybody could be made educated. Now let me come to bureaucracy. I saw it from very close quarters. Unless rules of bureaucracy are changed, it cannot reach the people whatever the policies may be. The bureaucrats who were slaves of the British Raj, got the independent dowry. They hold the same mindset, same policies and same working style. Files lie pending for months together and no action is taken there on. We have to think here how to bring the bureaucracy on line. Are the parliamentarians who have come here after having been elected are the rulers of the country? Does anybody listen to us? Even Tehsildars and Collectors do not listen to the suggestions made by MPs. If a person who represents 15 lakh people is not given same power in the Government, what can he do? It is being said that Parliament's job is to enact policies, but who will see whether the policies so enacted are implemented or not. The Government does not involve the MPs in policy implementation. The MPs are not given the authority to see whether the rules so framed are implemented or not. The MPs should be given the authority so that some control on bureaucracy could be exerted. There should be some change in the policy.

Now comes the question of environment. Several new Acts have been enacted for environment. Development has taken place in the developed countries. There are roads for all villages. Dams have been constructed for irrigation. All the basic infrastructure has been set up there. Today, even after 50 years, there are no roads to reach villages in our country. Every MP while contesting the elections makes a vow that he would provide roads to the village after he is elected. Five years pass in this way, but the MP does not provide roads. Due to the application of rules of environment *i.e.* that Forest Act of 1980, roads cannot be constructed. Where have we not been able to provide roads to village people even after 50 years, what more can we give to them?

There was a talk about farmers. It is said that India is mainly an agricultural country. Everybody says this and I have been hearing it for last one and half years. What the Government has done for the small farmers in the country and what it is going to do for them. Has the Government brought any complete package for them? People need farmers for the sake of votes. If the Government wants to do something for the farmers, it should give them some comprehensive package. It should not be piecemeal, what type of package should it be? The package should be such that the technology, whatever might it be, should reach the farmers. We have a lot of technology in the country, but they are not utilised properly. The entire technology should reach the farmers. When the farmer make production, he requires water for his fields. The Government should construct dams for that purpose. The farmer should get remunerative prices for his produces keeping in view the expenditure he incurs on agriculture. Then only the farmer will take interest in his work. Without this he cannot work. The farmer needs godowns for storing his produce. Plans should be formulated keeping the small farmers in view. After providing storage facility processing plants should be set up in each and every village. Thereafter arrangements should be made for marketing the produce. Big factories cannot remove unemployment from this country. If we want to remove unemployment, planning should be done keeping in view of 80 per cent population which lives in villages in our countryside. While chalking out planning for the country, the people's representatives who hail from villages should also be involved in the process of planning who know what the problems of villages are? But who sits in the Planning Commission? IAS Officers are sitting in the Planning Commission who have never been in villages and do not know the difficulties of rural masses and they are making all the planning for villages. Whose influence is over them? They are not influenced by the Indian culture. They have nothing to do with the rural masses and therefore whatever planning is done that is not in keeping view the poor and farmers but that planning is rather done in keeping view the capitalists and that is the reason why the unemployment of this country is on the rise instead of decline. Mr. Chairman,

Sir, if the unemployment of this country is to be removed, the planning should be done in taking consideration of the small farmers and villages only, then, there could be some relief.

Finally, I would like to say one thing because time is limited. We often take the name of Mahatama Gandhiji. The Congress ruled over this country for quite a long time in the name of Mahatama Gandhi but what have they imbibed from him. Mahatama Gandhi used to travel all over the country wearing a dhoti only. Pilotji just spoke that Mahatama Gandhi had kept fast for two-three days. Leaders of the country should have a sense of sacrifice for the nation like Gandhiji which is very essential. It is very easy to preach sermon to others because if anything is very Ceap in this world, it is preaching sermons to others. If we really want to take this country forward and if we want to set any ideal for our young generation, the leaders of all the parties will have to inculcate a sense of sacrifice in themselves. It is a matter of shame that Atalji is forced to submit a proposal here to restore the dignity of the House after 50 years of Independence that we should not stand in the well of the House, we should not raise a hue and cry in the House. In a democratic country which has been celebrating 50th anniversary of Independence, we need a proposal what should we do inside the House to restore the dignity of the House is deplorable. I want to say that I am new member of the BJP and I observe discipline but we, who are sitting in back benches do not get an opportunity to speak. But those who raise a hue and cry and stand in the well of the House, it is ironical that the Chair calls their names to speak. Consequently, it came to my mind that if other members are getting a chance by raising a hue and cry in the House. I should also follow their foot-steps and it is a matter of wonder that when I raised a hue and cry in the House, I also got a chance and in such a situation we talk of restoring dignity of the House. To restore dignity is not a difficult task but first of all the prominent leaders of the parties should observe discipline themselves because rules are same for all the members but members interrupt others while they speak. When Atalji stands for speaking, they interrupt him time and again. This House is meant for exchange of views. But when we go to our constituency, people say to us that is our House a fish-market, what questions of our interests you will raise there?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 18 minutes, please conclude now.

SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE : I am going to conclude. I am speaking a bitter truth that if we want to send any message among the youth of our country, the prominent leaders of all the parties should discipline them and inculcate a sense of sacrifice only then it is possible. Otherwise, we make a lot of speeches here and listen to them as well. It is said that as is the king, so is the subject! We should keep that in mind while behaving. Whatever we have to do, we should do it together because no party is going to secure majority now onwards. I can say this assertively since the public have elected me, what the public say, what they think, I know that very well.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we talk of Muslims here in the House. The leaders of Muslims and Dalits are sitting here. If any community has suffered after independence, it is the muslim community. Their leaders did not speak anything despite the loss the muslim community suffered because of politics of vote. You will not speak them to adopt family planning because of that reason I have close relations with many muslim homes. What they eat, what they do, how they live it is not that. ...*(Interruptions)* But have they reached that level?

MR. CHAIRMAN : How long will you speak?

SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE : I am just concluding in two minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 20 minutes time by saying 2 minutes more again and again. At the same time, you are speaking on discipline. First you had said that it is your maiden speech but simultaneously you also say that you have spoken. I had allowed you because it was your maiden speech.

SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE : I will conclude in two minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Then why do you say that it is your maiden speech?

SHRI RAJABHAU THAKRE : If we want to bring about progress in muslim society, the muslim leader will have to ponder over it first that how the population should be controlled among them.

Many of my friends are dalits. Dalit leaders speak here that people committed mistakes earlier, injustice was done towards them—they are right but the reservation which is provided for dalits, why should be it for them because we want their upliftment but who has been taking the benefit of that reservation today after 50 years of Independence—a dalit who has become a collector once, his 5-6 sons get service, the remaining dalits who are living in villages, they are not getting any benefit from reservation—how dalits will get benefited in this manner? We should enact such a law that a family will get the benefit of reservation only one

time, the other people of the same community will get the benefit of reservation who have not availed it so far only then we can ensure upliftment of dalits otherwise the condition will be the same which we witnessed under the feudalism - first father becomes a 'patel' his son becomes 'patel' after him, and this process continues. The same sort of class would also emerge in the dalit community. If father is collector, his son becomes an IAS Officer and the other son becomes a tehsildar etc. If we ponder over to change this system in the interest of nation, only then something meaningful will come out of this Special Session for which we have gathered here.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I want to say one thing. If an Hon. Member speaks for 22 minutes by asking for 2 minutes more, again and again, the list of speakers which I have is not going to exhaust even after sitting throughout the night. The list of BJP Speakers is the largest. You should take note of it. When I try to control from here, you people speak from the benches, sometimes members come here for asking when their turn would come? So please do take note of it.

SHRI NAKLI SINGH (Saharanpur) : So it would be better if you here control from the Chair itself.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is what I am saying. Let the Chair control but nobody listens.

SHRI NAKLI SINGH : You please allow me. I am ready to listen.

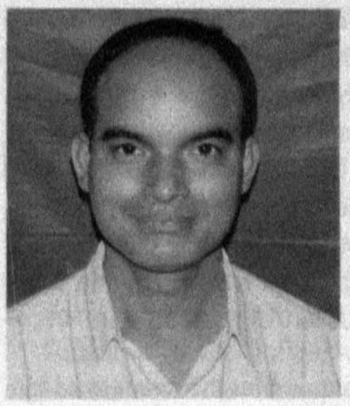
SHRI THAWAR CHAND GEHLOT (Shajapur) : If Nakli Singhji is ready to obey, everybody will listen ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : When your turn comes, you should speak. You just see how long time Rajesh Pilotji took to conclude his speech - he took less than 25 minutes. How many times Rajeshji has been the member of the Lok Sabha, you should take note of that also.

Shri Arun Sarma.

SHRI SARAT PATTANAYAK (Bolangir) : You do such a thing that if any member who takes more than 15 minutes time his speech after 15 minutes should not be taken on record. Leaders of all the parties spoke for one hour. We have been sitting here for the last four days.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Alright, nobody will exceed 15 minutes time from now onwards in any case. The first bell would be rung after 10 minutes and nobody will get more than 15 minutes time at any cost.



**DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA**

*[English]*

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Lakhimpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

The object for which this Special Session has been convened is to have an introspection of what we have been able to achieve and what we have not been able to achieve from the time we attained freedom. This is a most welcome approach. I hope, this Session will deliver some goods to the country.

The greatest problem now faced by our country is the question of nationality.

We do not have the national feeling although the same was envisaged in our Constitution that we have adopted after Independence. On the other day Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that some scenes in this House are comparable to the fish market. We must analyse as to why it has happened. It has happened because we have no national feeling. We do not follow any norms even in this House. So many norms have been framed but we are not following them. We say that ours is the biggest democracy in the globe, but in practice there is a tendency to defy the rules that have been framed.

This is the reason why we do not have any national feeling though it was envisaged in our Constitution which was framed at the time of our Independence which is being followed in this country. I would like to emphasise if there is no respect for the Constitution, there will be no national unity and India will never remain integrated for long. I can justify my contention. Our Constitution was originally a federal type of Constitution. But true federalism was not adopted in independent India.

On July 5, 1947 Sardar Patel suggested that 600 odd princely States might accede to the Indian Union only on defence, foreign affairs and communications, the subjects in which the common interest of the country is involved. In

other matters they could have autonomous existence. But after involved. In other matters they could have autonomous existence. But after attainment of freedom the term 'federal' or 'federation' did not find place anywhere in the Constitution. The Memorandum of Indian Constitution placed in the Constituent Assembly had used the term 'federation'. But the drafting committee headed by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar deleted the word 'federation' and substituted the same by the term 'union', that is, India shall be Union of States.

The point I would like to make is that the framers of the Indian Constitution had in mind to develop each and every remote corner of the country. They thought that the Centre should be powerful so that resources could be mobilized by the Centre and distributed to the under-developed areas. But after fifty years of Independence, we see that resources are being distributed to the developed areas only and the under-developed areas became more backward. It is because of such regional disparity the national feeling did not grow. The people of these States now feel that they have been deprived; that they are not being looked after and that they have been treated as subordinate to bigger nationalities within the country. That is why so much of grievance accumulated against the Centre. People in these areas feel that the Central Government is still colonialistic in its approach and that they are being deprived and exploited. They have a feeling that the resources are being used for the privileged areas only.

**16.00 hrs.**

In Assamese, there is a proverb, "Joor Jar Muluk Tar", which if translated into English means, 'people who have more strength privilege goes to them. What does it mean? By concentrating all the financial powers at the Centre and by concentrating all the administrative powers at the Centre, the privilege is being taken to those States which have more Members of Parliament representing in this House, who are in the ruling party. That is why, the regional imbalance has developed. The views of smaller States like Goa, Mizoram and Nagaland which have only one Member of Parliament are not allowed to be properly represented in this House. There is also a State which has a representation of more than 80 Members of Parliament in this House. Those States cannot be compared with the States which have only one Member of Parliament representing here.

In all the national parties there is High Command system; we have seen in this House that the superior Members or those who are in the limelight are getting more chances to speak than the others. I was waiting to speak here for the last four days, but I was not allowed till now because I am representing a very small State; our Party has a very low strength and thus, we get a lesser chance to speak. What happened now? This is the time when every corner of the country, the regional parties have grown. In the case of the national parties, only the Congress has got a few States where it rules; Left Party rule in three States, the BJP rules only in one State, primarily in Rajasthan; the Janata Party and the RJD rules in one State each. All the remaining States are run by coalition of parties or run by regional parties. What is the outcome and what is the reason? It is due to the verdict of the people who now want a true federal India. We have no national feeling that whatever norms we follow, all the facilities go to the privileged classes.

Therefore, it must be bound by our Constitution that all the States must have a true federal autonomy. In this regard, I want to suggest the following points for the consideration of the House.

Firstly, with an aim to preserve and promote the unity and integrity of the country, giving a permanent shape to the Indian nationalism, there should be a complete restructuring of the Indian Constitution with full autonomy to the states so as to make it a truly federal Constitution. That restructuring must ensure full devolution of powers to the States, leaving only currency, communication, defence and foreign affairs with the Centre.

Secondly, the Council of States, that is, the Rajya Sabha must have equal representation of all the States, irrespective of their size and population.

Another point I want to emphasise here is that there should be a national debate on the subject of dual citizenship. Only with introduction of such system through a national debate, there can be true maintenance of sovereignty and integrity of the country.

India is probably the only country which does not have a list of its citizens. Even on this modern age, we do not have a list of our citizens. We do not know who has come from where. If one asks them, they say that they are citizens of India; and thus, we have the problem in Assam. Since the time of partition, lakhs and lakhs of people have migrated from other countries to the Eastern part of India and mostly they started staying in Assam. We do not have a list of citizens; and now everybody comes and says that he is a citizen of India. When we start the process of identification, the only raise a hue and cry saying that the minorities are being disturbed.

It may be a Hindu minority or a Muslim minority or a Christian minority or a Buddhist minority like Chakmas. But the same hue and cry starts. Why? We are not against Indian minority in the country. Assamese community is also

a minority in India. We are not getting our full security when more people have silently come and settled in Assam. The very concept of giving the name of Assam does not hold good today even though States were reorganised on the basis of language. Now, when the majority Assamese-speaking population is being out numbered by some foreign population, when our Constitution could not give us protection, why cannot the younger generation go and take the help of arms? This is the reason why, probably, the Central Government have to negotiate with certain groups in the continent and again make accords. Why? Accords are made with foreign countries and not with certain groups and States. It is because we have failed to fulfil the aspirations of the people. The present constitutional framework and so many laws framed for Assam could not protect our identity.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 12 minutes.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : Thank you Sir, for reminding the time. But I am making some special suggestions.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do it within the time.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : I have been waiting for the last four days to get a chance.

We must have a proper system of governance because every time, laws are framed to a particular area. For Assam, the IMDT Act was enacted. This is applicable only in Assam. Why is it not so for other States of the country? The Immigrant Expulsion Act, 1950 was enacted only for Assam. The Special Arms Power Act was enacted only for Assam. So many Acts were there for Assam alone. At the time of adoption of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, special autonomy status was given to the tribals. For Kashmir, a separate type of Constitution and a separate type of status were given. There are so many other specialities in our Constitution that need a thorough restructuring so that the views of very individual, every community irrespective of caste, creed, and religion, the oppressed class and the ethnic groups are represented in a proper form. If the present system is continued, there will be resentment of some more sub-nationalities because they will never have any say in the Parliament.

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude soon. Only one minute is left for you.

*[English]*

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : My suggestion is, there should be another Constituent Assembly because our hon. Speaker has appealed to the Members that we should treat it as a second freedom struggle and every freedom movement is followed by a Constituent Assembly to adopt another Constitution. That is my justification that we should go in for another Constituent Assembly and there should be another debate. When the movement on foreigners' issue was started in Assam, that was the first Gandhian peaceful movement ever after the movement launched by Jayaprakash Narain. On a single day, ten lakhs of population at Guwahati stage *satyagraha.* The Assam Accord was signed but that was not implemented. Why? It was because it was a peaceful movement. Everybody who has taken arms was taken care of. Anybody who can shout here more is herd and taken care of. That is why, my suggestion is, there should be a full national register of citizens to be maintained in the country. We must have a record as to who has come. Otherwise, silent aggression from across other countries will always be there. They are coming and getting enrolled as voters and are deciding our political destiny. You know that in Assam and in some other parts of the North-Eastern region, the people coming across the border are enrolled in the voters list but according to the rules, they are not entitled. Now, the time is such that we may not decide our own fate and political destiny in our own homeland. There are evidences in Tripura and some other areas showing that the original population is already outnumbered. Which provision will give protection to those people?

So far as economic development is concerned, the North-Eastern region has the highest potential of water resources in the country. It has 33 per cent of the total water resources available in the country. If these 33 per cent of the water resources are utilised, we can produce 55,000 MW of power with which we can not only feed the country but we can also export power. It is not so all because of the Planning Commission, and the area remained power deficient.

The Planning Commission is an extra-constitutional body. It was not provided by the Constitution like the Finance Commission. Through the Planning Commission, all the financial resources mobilised from the States were distributed to certain pockets. All the liabilities were entrusted to the States. The resources were taken over one by one by the Centre. All the financial resources were accumulated and disbursed here through the discretion of Central Ministers. The Planning Commission is headed by the Prime Minister, a few Cabinet Ministers and a few other individuals. Planning is done at the Centre which cannot visualise the problems of the remote areas. That is why the regional imbalance in development has taken place. I want to give an example.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 17 minutes. Before you started speaking it had been decided that the

time limit will be 15 minutes now what can be done by the Chair.

*[English]*

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : Before I conclude, I want to give an example. While we started an agitation on the issue of foreigners in Assam, we were termed as 'anti-nationals'. Till now, the people of the North-Eastern region are still suspected as 'anti-nationals'. My concrete suggestion is that we must impart a feeling of true Indian nationalism in every nook and corner of the country. Give equal status to all the citizens, all the areas and all the communities. Give equal opportunities for development. What are the discrepancies? The Members from Maharashtra should not mind for this. I have not got any point of complaint against them. All the metropolises, including Mumbai, had inherited the infrastructure from the British regime. Because they had the infrastructure, all the investment went to that side. The North-Eastern region is a totally neglected area. There are no communications. There is no infrastructure. Nobody wants to go and work there. Nobody wants to invest there. The Central Government, that is, the Planning Commission did not want to invest there because the North-East had been attacked by China in 1962. The bureaucracy in Delhi thought that if they invested there, it would have been taken away by China. Because of this apprehension, the investment was not made there.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in this House in 1962: "My heart goes to the people of Assam." We could not be protected. The Indian Army fled away. Currencies were brunt. Luckily, the Chinese went back. Now, it is said that these people are anti-nationals. Who is anti-national? Those who have ruined the country are anti-nationals. We want to be more nationalists than anybody else. That is the feeling which we have inherited. Now, this feeling is growing in the entire North-Eastern region. The time has come when we must given equal justice to the citizens of Assam and the people of the North-Eastern region. Our nation is going to compete with the developed countries of the world. But people of North-East are not in position to compete even with some of the less-developed State of the country.

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please wind up now. You have taken 20 minutes.

*[English]*

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : If that is the situation after 50 years, what steps will be taken? What justice will be given to them after 50 years? That is why our Constitution has to be properly changed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do justice to me. Now, please wind up.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : Sir, I want an assurance that justice will be done to our area. Before concluding, I want to make one more point. There is the foreign policy which we have adopted. It has not been properly implemented during the last 50 years. The visits by foreigners to the North-East were restricted. The white-skin foreign tourists were not allowed to go to Assam and the North-East. We have been secluded or isolated. At the same time, we have allowed lakhs and lakhs of illegal foreigners to come into our country from across the border. The insurgency activities are being supported by Bangladesh and Bhutan. Who helped in the creation of Bangladesh? Why should one indulge in the affairs of other countries? Why did we involve ourselves in Sri Lanka and what was the result? The result is, we have bitter relations with Sri Lanka and they suspect our sincerity. Similarly, Bangladesh is not coming forward to have trade with us. They suspect that we are the big brothers and we will suppress them and deceive them. The whole environment has gone in other way. Therefore, we must change our policies to inculcate a true national feeling, and good relation with neighbours.

MR. CHAIRMAN : When will you conclude?

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : You may point out if I have made any irrelevant point.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, who says that!

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : In the national interest I wish to mention one data showing the regional imbalance that we have. The Centre for Monitoring the Indian Economy (CMIE) has published a data in January 1996 abut the State-wise investment by the Central Government and non-Governmental undertakings as on 31.3.94. It clearly indicates the discripancies in the financial disbursement by the Central Government and its undertakings. As against the investment of Rs. 30,000 crore in Maharashtra, a State like Goa got only Rs. 89 crore and the seven North-Eastern States got only Rs. 1446 crore. This is the extent of discrepancy which exists today. Because of the present system we cannot do anything now to remove the discrepancies.

On the administrative side, I wish to say that there is an IAS cadre shared both by the State and the Central Government. There is a discrimination in that also. I will

give you one example. One-third of the direct recruitment to the IAS cadre should be from one particular State. There is also no IAS officer from Assam since 1989. Only one officer was there who requested that he should be sent to Assam. But he was not sent. Under the same rule a number of other officers were given the choice of their home States. If we do not have our own IAS officer, as provided in the rules and Constitution, how can we help our State?

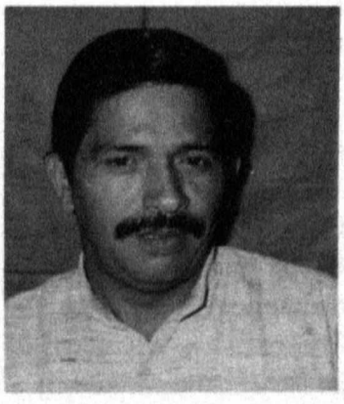
MR. CHAIRMAN : You can talk to Shri Baishya about this.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : Sir, even the foreign investment...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, you have already taken 25 minutes. It is too much. Please wind up now and take your seat. I can allow you if you wish to say that last sentence.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA : All right, Sir.

We have very frankly expressed our grievances. We want a strong India. There should be strong national feeling. The United States of America adopted a Federal Constitution some 300 years back which they have maintained till now. Because of some defects in our present Constitutional set up, all the problems and all the grievances have arisen. This has resulted in regional disparities, as a result of which we are finding it difficult to remain as one nation. To impart the feeling that we are members of one nation, so that we can compete with the other developed nations of the world, our Constitution should be fully restructured.



**SHRI BACHI SINGH RAWAT 'BACHDA'**

*[Translation]*

SHRI BACHI SINGH RAWAT 'BACHDA' (Almora) : Hon'ble Chairman, we are having a discussion on the Motion moved by the Leader of Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 26th August 1997 and the discussion is in its last phase.

Various issues, particularly the issue of infrastructure has been discussed here, I feel as Shri Madhu Dandavate, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, has mentioned that there are political pressures and political interference in the matter of funds allocation for various plans which have led to imbalance in the allocation of funds and more funds have been allocated to certain States. The basic infrastructure which we call natural infrastructure and which has been raised through investment of country's capital has been neglected. I wish to mention that sufficient basic and natural infrastructural facilities are available in the entire Himalayan belt which can be utilised for electronic industry and Hydropower projects. Naturally available old and dust free climate, which is so essential for the electronic industry, could have been made use of for setting up such industries in this region for the benefit of the country but this region remained deprived of such industries as there had been inadequate representation of this region in the Government. Similarly Hydro power projects could have been set up here but after giving approval for setting up of two-three dams it was assumed that with these steps the hill resources and the basic infrastructural facilities there could now be utilised, whereas small and medium power stations were required to be set up there and it led to the regional imbalance and lack of employment facilities for the people of this area. People felt the need to have smaller States and to have industries. It gave rise to demand for smaller States and ultimately certain new States were carved out. But the Uttranchal region of Uttar Pradesh could not become a State despite repeated demands for the same. Recently Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee raised this issue in the House on 11th August, 1997 that there is widespread resentment amongst the people and how long it would take to settle this issue. On that very day Hon'ble Speaker Shri Sangmaji had said that—

*[English]*

"I think that the point raised by the hon. Member is very important. When the Prime Minister addresses the nation on the Independence day, whatever he assures is a national issue. It should not take one year to implement that commitment. I also feel that this matter should be attended to by the Government as early as possible."

*[Translation]*

After that even Hon'ble Prime Minister repeated on 15th August while delivering his speech from the rampart of the Red Fort on the occassion of Golden Jubilee celebration that very soon the Government is going to fulfil this promise. A big rally was organised on 28th August and there was a huge demonstration in Delhi. When our representatives

including me met the Prime Minister at his residence, he did not give any concrete assurance. How long we will have to wait? Since it is a burning issue, the Chair, therefore, directed that it was no longer a regional issue now but it was a commitment and it is a national issue, so the House must ponder over this issue seriously and galvanise an opinion. Sir, a booklet entitled—"Fifty years of Indian Parliamentary Democracy" was circulated to us on the night of 14th August. On page 18 of this booklet it has been mentioned that regional movements like Uttrakhand movement are disturbing peace and tranquility in the country. On behalf of entire Uttrakhand and the people of Uttranchal I must tell you that despite coercion and atrocities committed on us, we never made any attempt to disturb peace in the country and no violent method was used for meeting our reasonable and just demands. Will it be necessary again to narrate the incident of Muzaffarnagar? Despite all this and large scale presence of police force in the region people exercised restraint and remained committed to the Constitution. We shall be grateful if the reference made in the booklet regarding Uttrakhand is deleted.

With all humility I would like to submit a few words regarding Parliament. Our Parliament is supreme and the country expects much from it. This debate has been going on for the last four-five days and the people of this country are watching it continuously. Only two days before this special session the Election Commission has decided that the criminals cannot participate in the elections. What is the reason for this? We could not enact any law in this regard so far. We all have praised the decision of the Election Commission that the criminals cannot contest elections for the Assemblies and the Parliament. Are we expecting other constitutional bodies to decide this issue as is being done by the courts in the matter of corruption. I do not understand as to why we people cannot make any decision in this regard.

Now I would like to mention about a Bill on Corruption. On 20th December I had piloted a Bill in this very House regarding income earned by the Ministers, MPs and Civil Servants. They must declare their income so that the entire nation could know about their income and how much assets they have and how much assets they have added during their tenure. We must know about this. This Bill should be brought by the Government, such provisions already exist in Uttar Pradesh. I have been a legislator there. In UP, MLAs have to fill up a form and have to declare their assets after every three months. Such provision does not exist here. I feel such provisions should be made applicable here also.

Corruption is rampant and is all pervasive. Therefore, less said is better. But I would like to draw your attention towards the other burning problem, the problem of population. The rising population is posing a big threat to the country. It seems that we look at it with political consideration or vote bank politics, hence we are distancing ourselves from the real issue. After all, what is the reason for which we could not bring any legislation to control the population? This issue has been repeatedly discussed but no step has been taken. I had also piloted a population control Bill and hon'ble Members also had a discussion on that. It is essential that preventive measures should be taken and the rising population should be checked. Family planning measures should be adopted by the people and they should have small families. Incentives should be given to those persons who have a small family. They should be provided certain concessions. But the Population Control Bill cannot do anything in isolation. Besides this Bill, I had also piloted another Bill. We should have a uniform civil code in the country as per the spirit of Article 44 of the Constitution. I had also piloted a Bill in Lok Sabha on 20th Dec. 96 regarding uniform marriage laws and dissolution of marriage laws. But our hon. Members from the Muslim League had certain reservations as they had said that such laws would go against their personal law and the shariat. I wish to refer to page 4 of United Front's Common Minimum Programme which says—

*[English]*

The Personal Codes of different religious community will not be altered unless and until a consensus is emerged in the religious community concerned about bringing about the change.

*[Translation]*

But United Front Government did not do. They went to Supreme Court. The Supreme Court issued directives in Sarla Mudgal Case that the Government should come to the court and file an affidavit. The decision was taken in 1995 that the Government should file an affidavit as why a Bill has not been brought on common civil code by the Government even after several years? It means we would look at the Supreme Court for every matter. We had many expectations and hope that United Front Government would do this but they have filed an affidavit with the Supreme Court that they don't want to implement it forcibly and they had reflected the same in their common minimum programme that they would not implement it forcibly, they would form consensus. But the question is: how consensus

would be reached? It is possible only when discussions are held on it in the House. If any particular community or religion have any objection to it, then they can register their objection with the select committee but population can't be controlled without a uniform and common civil code. On the one hand we want polygamy and on the other we want to cite the example of China for one child norm. A serious consideration is needed as to how and how would decide to have polygamy and one child norm at the same time.

Sir, several Muslim countries have enacted legislation for monogamy. It is a very serious matter and we should consider it as to why the law, which is being complied with in the Muslim countries, is not being complied with in our country. I would like to draw your attention once again towards another issue. There has been a wide discussion on Forest Conservation Act, 1980. In 1977, an amendment had been made in the Constitution of India and Article 41(A) was included in it, it is as follows—

*[English]*

'Protection and Improvement of Environment and Safeguarding of Forest and Wild Life—The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forest and wild life of the country.'

*[Translation]*

All of us want that forest should be conserved and pollution should be controlled but we have never paid attention towards the impact of this Act on the lives of the tribals of hilly regions. As a result, the provisions of the Act have been implemented in such a way that the common man of the hilly region, who once used to depend on forest for his livelihood has been gradually deprived of forest products such as wood, leaves, grass and fodder. Even a writ petition was filed in 1995 between T.N. Gooda Barman v/s Union Government of India and others. The Supreme Court has delivered its judgment on 12th December, 1996 where-in felling of trees, use of saw machine and even entry into the forest was banned but nevertheless, Himachal Pradesh was allowed to take wood according to the permit and licence the State possess. At that time Uttaranchal didn't have the status of a separate State. So, there was no one to plead in the Supreme Court from our side. During the time of Britishers, it was decided through Forest settlement that they were entitle to 40 thousand cubic meter wood but that right has been curtailed and no argument was putforth from the side of State Government, where President Rule was in force. Thus the situation is such that a house can't be built without wood in the hilly region ...*(Interruptions)* This decision has not come from the State Government. It was not monitored at any stage. I, myself had to file a writ in the Supreme Court on behalf of people of my constituency. I had to submit intervention petition. Hon'ble Supreme Court has given its judgement on dry wood on 7th May thereby giving relaxation on it. We had made a demand to the Government to ensure our constitutional rights, which were recognised in Forest settlement and which were included in the Sitoli treaty signed between Nepal and Britishers, otherwise our survival will be difficult.

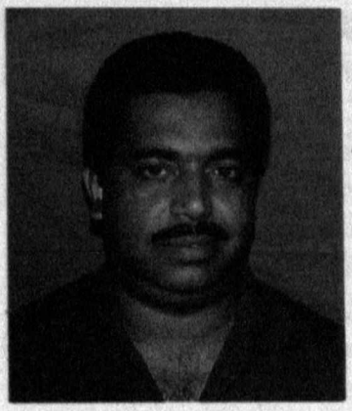
I have tried to draw the attention of the Government towards Forest Conservation Act by bringing in two amendments in the Bill on my own. But there is no efforts from the Government. It is an irony for the people of this region.

Yesterday, our former minister had praised P.D.S. a lot that under P.D.S., arrangements are being made for the people living below the poverty line, and 10 kg. of foodgrains is being supplied at half the rate and much is going to be done in this regard in the country. Not only we but also the people of Orissa, Kerala, Delhi and Maharashtra have tasted its adverse effect. Today there is a hue and cry among the people over the new system. The whole country is facing shortage of foodgrains. As a result, the hon. Prime Minister himself had to intervene and say that he would be convening a meeting of Chief Ministers and would also take up this matter with the hon. leaders and then would issue a statement on P.D.S in this House. But here, in this House P.D.S. is being praised. Here people are talking about various aspects of below the poverty line and above the poverty line. Therefore, I think this matter is also worth mentioning and I want that there should be an open discussion on it. We call ourselves as the believers of the Rule of the Day and we want that all the laws be enacted. The people have expectations that the required legislations would be introduced in the Parliament and if there are any shortcomings, they would be removed.

In the end, I would like to say that we have a particular type of national feelings and our thinking is that

"Idam Na Mamah
Raashtray Swahaah"

Which means whatever I have, it doesn't belong to me. Everything belongs to the country. With these words, I conclude.



**SHRI P.C. CHACKO**

*[English]*

SHRI P.C. CHACKO (Mukundapuram) : Hon. Chairman, Sir, firstly, I thank you very much for this opportunity.

As my hon. friend has said, my name was also in the waiting list and I have been on the queue for the last three days. In spite of this waiting, I feel it is a privilege which rarely comes in the life of any Member of Parliament and to join this discussion on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee year of our Independence. It is always a prestigious one.

On this occasion, I would like to share some of my thoughts with this august House. Without remembering, without saluting the memories of the martyrs who fought for our freedom, it would be inappropriate on our part, on the part of any Member to start with. We remember the great leaders who had participated in our freedom struggle. Also there are millions of known and unknown martyrs who had laid down their lives so that we could breath the air of freedom today. I salute before these martyrs.

The hon. Speaker of this House, in his wisdom, had decided that the most befitting manner of celebrating the Golden Jubilee year of our Independence is to have a Session like this. There were different opinions about this. But after three days of our experience, now we come to the conclusion that this is the most suitable and most befitting manner of celebrating the Golden Jubilee year of our Independence. In a very thought provoking speech, the hon. Speaker of this House has set the trend of this discussion and I would like to thank the hon. Speaker also for the suggestion he has made because it is said that introspection is the theme of this Session.

Mahatma Gandhi has said, "To celebrate the freedom of this country, it is to remember the martyrs and to rededicate ourselves for the poor of this country. That is the best way to celebrate the Independence". True to his words, we have devoted this Special Session for an introspection.

Going a little bit out of the party line, a Member raised a point here that when leaders are speaking or when Members are speaking, when they say that 'I am above my party line', that may not be proper. But I feel that there are occasions very rarely in the life of a House when Members are allowed to speak freely from their heart and mind beyond the party whip or party line. I think this is such an occasion.

Before I deal with one or two points which I want to share with this august House, I would like to thank the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He has made three suggestions which have gone to the minds of all the Members here in this House. I whole-heartedly welcome those suggestions and, I am sure, that this House will be adopting a resolution or a declaration at the conclusion of our discussions. He has made three simple suggestions which will go a long way in improving the standards of this House.

When we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, there are some opinions being expressed about the Parliament and the Legislatures in India. Some of the Legislatures in India are meeting hardly for one month or for two months. We are also meeting on a very few occasions. In the Lok Sabha also we are witnessing very uproarious and noisy scenes which probably, to an extent, will have to be curbed, if we accept the suggestions made by Shri Vajpayee. The standard of Parliament, decency and decorum should prevail in Parliament which is being lost. As Members of this House, if we cannot awake to this situation, understand this degeneration and find ourselves corrective measures, then history will not forgive us.

I, with great protest, recollect a comment made by an irresponsible judge who is sitting in one of the judiciaries in India. He compared this august House to a fish market. I protest it. But, at the same time, many people are thinking that we are behaving in an irresponsible manner. By accepting these suggestions, the falling standards of Parliament as also the falling standards of the Legislatures all over India, we will be able to recoup that or retain that as a lesson for the future generations to come.

When we look back over the last 50 years, the biggest achievement, as said by many Members of this House, is that we could establish a multi-party democracy in this country. I am not going into the details of that. When we achieved Independence in 1947, all the parties, who are sitting in this House, were not of the same opinion. All the parties could not celebrate the 1947 celebrations. Some parties thought that we did not get Independence. So, instead of raising the tricolour, they gave the call to raise the black flag. That happened. I am not mentioning any party's name. But today all parties share the common perception that

India at this hour of Golden Jubilee Celebrations should come together, whatever is the difference of opinion among the political parties. We have something common which is emerging unknowingly without definite planning. That is the biggest achievement or good thing which I see in the background of these celebrations.

When we were fighting against the British imperialism, even then there were differences and at the Second World War time when the Quit India movement was being launched in the country, when the Leaders were arrested, when repressive measures were let loose by the British imperialism in this country, at that time also there was difference of opinion. They said that this was a peoples' war which was going on, so we should not fight against Britain and we should support Britain. This view was there in this country. At that time also in India, we had the freedom for the people to chose their own line of action. I do not want to mention certain unpleasant things. But today this is a laboratory of political experiments in India. Here are also sitting very many ex-Ministers. Here also is a very senior Communist Leader, Shri Indrajit Gupta, who is a Minister of this Government. That shows the resilience of our democracy. Whether a party ruled this country for 45 years or a party ruled this country for thirteen days, we have so many ex-Ministers. They are also part and parcel of the system. That shows that all our reservations are disappearing and we are adjusting with the system. That way we have to contribute and improve our system. That kind of a political understanding is emerging.

Some suggestions were made here. Hung Parliament where no party is having a majority, is the biggest challenge in the present situation in India. As you know very well, Sir, probably the next election which is not very far off, may also produce another hung Parliament. In that kind of a situation, what is the remedy? This is the moot question which probably all of us are to think at this point of time. We should have the maturity. We should have the understanding. We, the political parties, whether sitting on the right side or the left side or in the centre, should have some kind of a minimum understanding about the economic and other policies of this country. We should try to tolerate even a minority Government. This Parliament is the sovereign guarantee for democracy in this country. When the Britishers left India, they said: These are illiterate people; they cannot lead a democracy; adult franchise is not fit for them. But what has actually happened? Democracy is crumbling in many countries. If we look from India at various neighbouring countries, we find military rules prevailing there. By killing the former rulers, new rulers are coming to power. This kind of bloodshed and oppressive rules we see in many places. At a stone's throw from our border, in Myanmar or in various other countries, even today the voice of democracy is begin choked. This kind of a situation is happening. We are a country of poor people but we could sustain our democracy. The poor people of India, especially in North India, who cannot even read and write, could decide what is good for this country. That is the greatness of this country. In whatever manner the Westerners may criticise India, we could prove to the whole world that we are competent, even though we may be illiterate. But as said in the hon. Speaker's Address, illiteracy and political consciousness are two different things. That we have proved to the whole world. Even in the midst of illiteracy also, the people of India could prove that they are quite capable of establishing and running a democracy in this country.

So many achievements were being explained here. I am not going into the details. But we could overcome a famine condition in India. I am not claiming anything as part of a party which ruled this country for many years, but I am very humbly presenting before this House that if we are not able to draw lessons out of that, then we will be doing injustice.

In 1942-43, senior Members like Shri Indrajit Gupta, who have witnessed the great Bengal Famine, will be remembering that. Even recollecting that itself may be shocking. Two to three million people perished in that Bengal Famine. That kind of a situation is not here today. Even today in the newspapers we see starvation deaths taking place or famine conditions prevailing in Somalia or Mozambique or Angola or Ethiopia or in many other countries in the world, but we could overcome that. Not very far off but in recent past also, China had a very big famine where nearly twenty million people perished in China. But they also could overcome that. Such a kind of situation was there where we were begging before big countries for our food with a begging bowl in our hands. We remember PL-480 and various other conditions. We were signing on the dotted lines and getting food from various countries. This kind of a situation was happening in many places. But we could overcome that situation.

I am not going into the details of our achievements or anything else. I have only one point to make and that is about the economic situation in this country.

But, Sir, after that we could not do justice to that goal, whatever was our achievement. Sir, there was an opportunity in 1991. There were debates in this House and there were different opinions also. I remember that in 1991 when Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao was the Prime Minister, the opening up of the Indian economy was there. When the new economic policy of liberalisation came, there was a lot of criticism. At that point of time also we made an appeal to all the parties holding divergent views that we have to have some kind of understanding on the economic reforms. But, today, India has to go ahead with that economic reform. But what is the impact of that economic reform in our society? We have to have an honest assessment. That is the only point which I am making finally.

Sir, I may be given a few more minutes to briefly explain that point. In 1991 when we opened up, when we said that integration of the Indian economy with the world economy is a must, we thought that probably doing that is the only solution. Even today I believe that we cannot be away from that. We have to open up our economy. We have to invite the foreign capital. But, what should be the policy of the Government? In the Udyog Bhavan the licence *raj* was prevailing. Deregulation has done really good to this country. I am sure that everybody agrees that today the Udyog Bhavan is not the centre for the licence *raj.* The licence *raj* has gone. That is good. But what should be the Government's role in a kind of situation like this? Let me quote one sentence from a very famous economist.

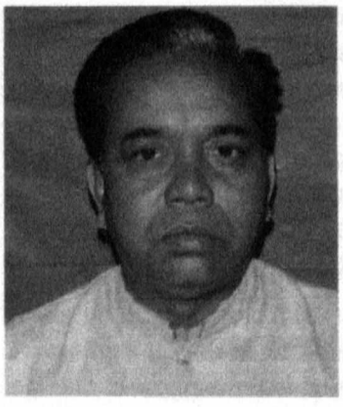
"Intervention should be different, not less. The State should not be in productive sectors but in social sectors. We all got in through our innocent flirtation with socialism, into agriculture, industry and banking. It is not even a question of crowding out. If the State is using all its resources and energies in productive sectors, the private sector will not invest in social sectors because they are not profitable enough, they are long-term and the private sectors are not going to come."

In India, we see today that after opening up, our experience is that in building our National Highways hardly any amount has come as foreign investment. In developing our ports very little money has come from foreign reserves for our expansion. This kind of a situation shows that neglecting the development will be at the peril of this country. So, social sector development is the responsibility of the Government. Therefore, all the parties should come together and if there is some understanding, then, I think, probably whatever be the ups and downs in our system, the country will not suffer. We have to develop that kind of a situation.

So, there has to be an understanding by all the parties on the economic policy which is being pursued since 1991. Every party cannot agree to the same wave length. But, at the same time, there can be some common understanding of the thing. Here, we see many agitations against Coca Cola. We see many agitations against the multinational corporations. But, at the same time, what are the social opportunities to be given to our poor people? What are the social developments or the human resource developments which should take place in this country? What are the poverty alleviation programmes? Such things are not being given sufficient attention to. A broad understanding of this question is the guarantee for the future. Throwing the baby with the bath water should not be the policy. Whenever there is an economic policy discussion, some people say that they are not for it. Probably, this kind of attitude is not going to help us. What is good for India? What kind of liberalisation, what kind of integration with the world economy is needed? Where should the Government focus her attention to? Where should our governmental investments, scarce resource be invested? If there is a broad consensus on this kind of issues, and if they are emerging, it will be good. This country is going to pursue the strengthening of the democratic system, the strengthening and cleaning of the parliamentary system, maintaining high standards of the parliamentary organisations and along with that an understanding on the economic policy in the future.

What is called for from us, from all the Members of the political parties in this House is this kind of a political understanding in the overall to rise above all kinds of partisan and other considerations and to offer before the people of the country that, Yes, we are capable of providing a better India, a better administration to the people of this country. Let us take a solemn resolve on this promise and let us be able to implement it in full measure.

I thank you very much for this opportunity.



**SHRI RAMTAHAL CHAUDHARY**

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAMTAHAL CHAUDHARY (Ranchi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the motion by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and admitted by the Hon'ble Speaker for the last four days and it seems that all the Members are serious in the real sense. They have expressed concern for the failures during the last 50 years and want to do something for the betterment of the nation. The main issues to which most of the Hon'ble Members restricted themselves were agriculture, education, corruption, science and technology, family planning, electoral reforms and courts etc.

At the outset, I would say that the nation watched our conduct during the last 3-4 days and if we try to maintain this conduct, it would be an achievement. In the past, we have not been conducting ourselves in a manner which behaves a Member of Parliament and at times it seems we are in a fish market. We feel ashamed of being called a Member of Parliament. In such a situation all of us feel that we should pay serious attention in this regard as to how to improve our image in public.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a fact that corruption is eating into the vitals of the economy and has assumed gigantic proportion. If we do not check it effectively we feel that our concern for development will not serve any purpose. Many Hon'ble Members spoke of High Court. If the Executive, the Government or the politicians work properly, there will be no need for judicial intervention. Today the situation has come to such a pass that even for construction of a road or a drain the court has to give order. It seems as if there is no Government and no system which can resolve the problems of the poor. There is nobody who bothers. That is why the judiciary has to act. Therefore, if the executive, the Government and the politicians do their work sincerely, we feel, there would be no need for judicial intervention. For small and even petty things one has to approach the courts. Everything moves with the court order. This is our character and this is the way Government functions today. When persons occupying high offices like the Prime Minister and Ministers give directions and still the orders are not carried out it has an adverse effect which percolates throughout the society. People say that if persons occupying high offices can tell a lie and make fool of people, then, what is the harm in speaking some untruth. In this way corruption percolates down. I would like to cite an example. During the Assembly elections in the past, tall claims were made in the election manifestoes to get power. In many States announcement was made to the effect that the loans of farmers upto Rs. 10,000 would be waived. The parties got power and the result was that nobody bothered for these farmers. Sometimes we feel ashamed of what is happening. The farmers who had taken Rs. 1,000 as loan have to repay even upto Rs. 20-25 thousand. In one area several people are in jails.

**17.00 hrs.**

Where from will they repay? If this situation continues and there is a wide gap between what we practice and what we preach, what would be its impact? That is what which has been happening for a long time. We will have to pay serious attention in this direction. Only then we could do something for the society and for the nation in the real sense.

Many things have been said about the condition of agriculture in the country. Crocodile tears are shed by all including those sitting on the treasury benches. It is unfortunate that inspite of all this, nothing is done for the improvement in this respect. Who will initiate and take steps in this field. Many facilities which the farmers used to get earlier have either been stopped or withdrawn. Earlier farmers used to get subsidy on fertilisers and seeds, but that has been stopped. There was subsidy on pesticides but that too has been stopped. We fail to understand as to what the Government is upto. More facilities should have been provided to farmers but nothing has been done by the Government in this direction. The farmer is suffering as he is not able to market his produce because of lack of transportation facilities. There are no roads, schools in villages. I can say about my area. It remains inundated at least for 6 months during rains. The Government does not spend even small amount for construction of culverts and bridges whereas on the other hand crores of rupees are being squandered away. We talk a lot about farmers but nobody thinks of safeguarding their interests. There is nobody to bother about their plight.

I belong to Jharkhand area which is neither affected by floods nor it is plagued by fire. If roads or culverts are constructed there, they would be permanently there. Due to lack of transport facilities the farmer is not able to take his produce to the market. As a result he is forced to sell his produce at unremunerative price, sometimes at throw away prices. Many times he simply dumps it in the fields. Similarly irrigation facilities are also lacking. Though lakhs of rupees have been spent on lift irrigation and other irrigation facilities but most of them are not in proper working order. Even minor repairs are not carried out, as a result of which the schemes are not serving any purpose. If irrigation, transport and power facilities are provided unemployment problems could be resolved to a great extent but the Government is not paying adequate attention in this direction.

Whenever we go to our constituencies there are complaint thats there are no school buildings, if buildings are there, teachers are there, they do not teach and remain absent. Nobody is bothered about it. There is no fear of administration. Unless there is fear, administration cannot be run.

Corruption is rampant everywhere. It is more or less like a Bania's shop where one can get everything for money. If one wants a particular posting he has to pay a particular amount. Similarly, for transfers also one has to grease the palm of officials. This has to be stopped. Unless we politicians stop misuse of officials for raising funds, organising public meetings and rallies, etc. corruption would continue. We may take any number of steps but the situation will not improve.

Corruption is increasing constantly, no work is being done. Poor have been looted and this tendency would continue. We have also talked of education.

So far as the question of family planning is concerned unless we all think about it in real terms we would not achieve success, however, we all are unanimous that family should be small. If people do not follow the rules of family welfare, they should be punished. There should be check

on people in this regard. They should be debarred from getting jobs and other facilities. Unless you do it, there can not be improvement and the propaganda in this regard would be useless. Therefore, I suggest that unless we take it seriously and take some effective steps to check the increasing population, the situation wan't improve.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have seen in my constituency and people must be having the experience of their constituency that a lot of money is spent in election. Crores of rupees are spent in election. Where from does this money come? This money is of the poor people which is looted by Govt. officials and leaders through corruption. It is spent in elections. This money is used in elections.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Election Commission has made some announcements in regard to election reforms. They are good. Some improvement would result therefrom, but I request that corruption from elections in the country must be removed by making comprehensive election reforms. When there would not be corruption in elections, it would be checked. We cannot get mango from the 'babul' tree. When election is won by indulging in corruption, corruption cannot be removed. Therefore, first of all there should be reforms in elections.

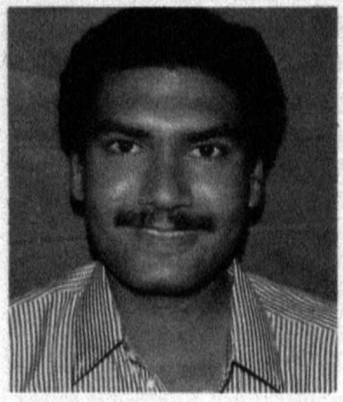
Mr. Chairman, Sir, in regard to election reforms, I want to suggest that all the candidates should distribute their pamphlates and all the candidates should speak from a forum and the public should choose from them. There is no need to provide cycle or jeep to candidates. Unless corruption is removed from elections, the country cannot get rid of corruption.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very disciplined man and speak very little but you have rung the bell, I want to respect the bell.

MR. CHAIRMAN : My work is to ring the bell and your work is to speak.

SHRI RAMTAHAL CHAUDHARY : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I understand and I am disciplined. Therefore, I want to say that I am very happy to listen very good suggestions given today during this debate in special session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebration of our Independence. People of the country would also be happy over it, but these should also be implemented. Only then we can make them meaningful.

Mr. Chairman, I would conclude by saying that the things which have been discussed in the House, should be implemented from tomorrow itself and we should not talk of implementing them in the next 50 years whether it is any government department or political office. Unless these are implemented in the country, there can not be any improvement in the country. The reputation of the country would enhance by implementing them.



**SHRI A. SAMPATH**

*[Translation]*

*SHRI A. SAMPATH (Chirayinkil) : Sir, I was in the queue, Sir, but my seniors told me to wait.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think you are supposed to speak in Malayalam.

*[Translation]*

*SHRI A. SAMPATH : Yes Sir. Neither English is my father tongue nor is Hindi my mother tongue. So, Sir, with your permission. I would like to speak in my sweet mother tongue, that is, Malayalam.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I belong to a generation that was born after Independence. Mine is a generation that do not have any direct experience of the wishes and aspirations of those brave soldiers of freedom who offered their blood and life for the liberation of our country and those fortunate mothers who gave birth to them. Perhaps, the majority in this House are like that. But we were bred upon those glorious stories which made us proud of being born in this greatest nation in the world.

Sir, I am from Kerala, from the southern most part of this country. I had never thought that one day I would enter this august House as a Member and make a speech like this in Malayalam. Sir, when we do introspection in this Golden Jubilee Year of Independence, we find on one side the pride, the hopes and the aspirations of those great men who fought for freedom and on the other we find some of those hopes have turned into fears and our leadership stand confounded in front of them. Sir, I would like to say a few words, restricting myself within the time limit, on youth and

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Malayalam.

their problems—the most prominent among them being unemployment—and the erosion of values taking place in the realm of culture. I would like to draw the attention of this House to the maladies and the alarming symptoms appearing on the visage of our polity. Sir, our constitution which came into being in 950, clearly speaks about providing universal and free education to all children below the age of 14 years. But, even after all these years, with the Sovereign Republic of India having past half a century, our heads droop in shame in front of the fact that the total number of the unemployed in our country has exceeded the total population at the time of Independence. Sir, the answers to a few disquieting statistical questions would ominously sound like 'India'. Which country has the largest number illiterates? India. Which country has the biggest unemployment? It is India, Sir. Which country has the highest number of women killed in dowry-related violence? It is our India, Sir. Which country has the largest number of children dying due to malnutrition? It is our India. Which country has the largest number of children working in subhuman and precarious conditions in order to sustain their parents? It is our India, Sir. Should not we be able to solve these problems? It is true that we have had achievements in many fields in the last 50 years. I agree. Our food production increased. We have been able to achieve notably in the production of iron and steel. We have also succeeded in improving some of the infrastructure facilities. I do not gainsay these facts. But we should not forget that inspite of all these achievements, the major chunk of our population are tottering under the poverty line. We should remember this, Sir, the leadership of this country should remember this, Sir. What I have to tell the leadership of this country is a famous line in a poem by a contemporary Malayalam poet, Kadammanitta:

'You should remember how
You became you'

The protagonist 'Kurathi' of the poem so titled asks:

'Didn't you burn and eat my
black children?
Didn't you pluck out their
full eyes?'

I am posing these questions before the leadership of this country. Sir, I am proud of being born in this country. But as a people's representative I cannot turn a blind eye to the erosion of values occurring in our system. I am coming from that land where lived the great poet Vallathol who taught us.

"Hearing the name of India
Your hearts should swell with pride.
Hearing the name of Kerala
Blood should boil in your veins."

I am coming from that part of the country where lived Sri Narayana Guru who preached:

"One caste, one religion and one God for Man". But what do we see in this country at present? It is the politics of invasion, it is the politics of hegemony, it is the politics of suppression that we see everywhere. Is it not the ill-fate of our country, the malady in our system? Even our national anthem upholds the ideal of "unity in diversity". But what do we see in reality? Is there not a conscious effort to impose language, to impose culture on us? Are we not subjected to a cultural fascism? We can take pride in the fact that when democracy was trampled by Military rule at times in our neighbour countries, our democratic system overcame all crises and withstood all challenges. The survival of our democracy against all odds is a big achievement. Our democracy even survived some dark corridors of history. I do not mean that our democracy never had to face any serious threat or challenge. The internal emergency declared in 1975 was a real challenge posed to the democratic system of our country. In 1992 when a holy shrine was brought down to pieces, in the name of religion, our secular democratic system faced another challenge. We should never forget these. Let me ask a question, in all humility. Did Mahatma Gandhi ever step into the Central Hall of this Parliament even once after Independence? Our leaders and Parliamentarians never fail in swearing in the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Did Mahatma Gandhi ever step into the Central Hall of this Parliament House? While entering this Parliament House we bow in reverence before the statue of the Father of the Nation whose head has been weighed down by sorrow. While leaving the Parliament House also we pay respect to that great man. We are a people who brutally shot down the Father of the Nation, the great man who had won freedom for us, without letting him live for a single year after Independence. We can never forgive ourselves for this dastardly act. In the last 50 years while confronting threats to our secularism, and while facing many other challenges to the fundamental values of our democracy, could we properly address ourselves to the problems of this country's youth? Half of our population is comprised of youth and adolescent. Whenever the question of solving the problems of the people is raised the oft-quoted statistical figures of our national growth are given in reply. Let me ask a simple question. Is growth equivalent to development? No Sir. Is growth equivalent to prosperity? No Sir. The development and progress consist of abstract and concrete components. They consist of tangible and intangible assets. Sir, let us examine the ratio of Central investment in various States. I do not want to repeat many things already spoken by many honourable Members in this House. But, Sir, you may consider whether the share of Central investment or assistance that Kerala got comes

anywhere near the share given to Maharashtra, or Gujarat, nay Haryana or I may be pardoned, the share given to Punjab? Did Meghalaya get? Or Mizoram? Many States have been neglected throughout this period. Sir, it should be remembered that a pretty good portion of our precious foreign exchange is the contribution of more than a million people from my State who toil hard in far off alien lands. Keralites form the majority of these workers who send money to our country. But Sir, what is the credit-deposit ratio of the banks in Kerala? It is 12 per cent below the national average. That is as low as 30 per cent. Banks do not have funds to give loans. But those banks which have a paucity of funds for giving loans do not have any problem of paucity when it comes to the question of facilitating scams. Even the Provident Fund and the Pension Fund that belong to those poor people who managed to save a bit from their hard earned money are ruthlessly diverted to the share market in order to pave way for economic criminals to reveal in a festival of scams. In the last Session, the Hon. Finance Minister gave a reply to a question I asked. My question was this. How many Bank frauds have taken place in the last six years after we adopted the policy of liberalisation in 1990? The aggregate amount involved in the bank frauds that took place in the nationalised banks in our country in the last six years leaving apart the big scams, is a mind boggling 2,5000 crores of rupees. The same banks do not have funds for giving loans to the poor unemployed youth who approaches them with a desire to find an avenue for self-employment. In this manner, the savings made by the poor workers of this country with blood Act oozing from their eyes are being looted and plundered by the economic demons who are euphemistically called scamsters. Is it not a blot on the fact of our democracy, Sir.

While these kind of activities are going on, I would like to submit in this House a few points. The army of the unemployed is constantly on the rise in our country. The growth rate of employment in our country is a mere 1.8 per cent whereas the growth rate of the army of the unemployed is 2.1 per cent. This evident disparity signifies that there is an abnormally incremental rise in unemployment in our country. The total number of job aspirants who have registered their names in various Employment Exchanges in the country has exceeded 4 crores. In this estimate those areas where Employment Exchanges do not exist and those people who did not register their names in Employment Exchanges have not been taken note of. Among these 4 crores of registered job aspirants at least 2 crores are educated and well qualified. A sizeable number of them are graduates. These figures denote the gross under utilization of human resources in our country. But then we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence and missing no opportunity to make long speeches.

Let us take the case of some of the law existing in our country. Some of our laws do not do justice to the woman folk in our country. Such laws exist in some parts of our country that deny women their right to the family property. As per the laws existing in many States a daughter does not have any right to claim a share of her parental property. Our country has a legacy and tradition of defying women and venerating her as mother and goddess. But the dark reality of women being enslaved in every other household lies in sharp contrast to the legacy. There is a saying in Economics "when the housewife becomes the wife the gross national income comes down". We have to apply our minds with all seriousness it demands to some of the burning issues related to the plight of women. Our women especially the women in the North Indian Villages largely remain illiterate. The health condition and matters of nutrition etc. of the children born to them are another matter of serious concern. All these are very serious matters. How long can we as a nation pretend not to have known these issues? It is high time we make serious effort to conscientise women of their rights, empower them politically, and encourage and enable them to take their due share in the administration of this country. This Parliament should rise up to discharge this historical responsibility. Women should be politically empowered and given equal participation in the administrative process. What is wrong in women involving in politics? What is wrong in women sharing power? In this connection, Sir, let me say something which is a matter of pride for everyone coming from Kerala. It was in our State that the District Council Act was implemented for the first time in the country. It was in Kerala that women were given their due share in administration for the first time in the country. It was in Kerala that women became the chairpersons of District Council for the first time in the country. I belong to that part of the country. Sir, rules have to be changed. Decades back Kumaran Asan, a well-reputed poet in Malayalam sang. Sir, with your permission let me repeat those brave words Kumaran Asan slammed on the face of the rotten system:

"Throw away those rules
Lest, You along with those rules
Should be thrown away"

Sir, how do we define the freedom struggle. Was it ever a movement with a monolithic pattern? No, Sir. It was like small rivulets flowing into a stream, and various streams flowing into a river, and various rivers reaching that great ocean. Our freedom struggle was like this great ocean. Sir, there were various ideals, various streams of thought, various doctrines, various philosophies, various struggles and agitations, in different places, in villages, in towns and in cities, in our country and even in foreign lands. People

united under various banners following various means and strategies—violent or non-violent—all directed towards the great goal, the freedom of India, the liberation of our motherland from the shackles of colonialism. That was the Indian freedom struggle. It was a multi-faceted movement that brought under its umbrella men and women of various hues and, various ideological allegiance, and employing various modes and tactics. The Punnapra-Vayalar struggle in Kerala and many other such struggles were part of India's freedom movement. The freedom struggle was never uniform or monolithic, but diversified and multi-faceted. The freedom struggle was never the monopoly of any party or region, it was never an exclusive affair of any set of people. It was never a political manifestation of any particular ideology or doctrine. It had never adopted a particular tactics or method. To establish that the freedom movement was monopoly of any particular ideology, or any particular region, or any particular set of people would tantamount to distorting India's history. Sir, What I would like to impress upon this august House is that even as we remember those great warriors who fought for the freedom of our country, and those great martyrs who shed their blood or the liberation of our country we should be able to do justice to the wishes and aspirations they had, the ideals they cherished, and the dreams they saw. We have to strive to fulfil their wishes and aspirations, share their dreams and commit ourselves to their ideals lest the future generation should tell us on our face that we were the ones who betrayed the country. We should not be branded by the future generations as a generation that failed to do justice to history and as a people who were insensitive to their historical responsibilities. This great nation should survive. Sir, let us ask ourselves whether we are sure of this nation's survival in the next fifty years. If this is the direction of our nation's growth can we say with surety that this nation will be there to celebrate the 100th year of Independence? As a nation we cannot overlook the vultures that however around us and the wolves that wait on the prowl. Our culture is being assaulted. Can we watch television in the company of our family members without its share of embarrassing moments. What do the able Television beam into our drawing rooms? How many programmes are there which can be seen by a whole family together? The unwholesome stuff that appear in the name of entertainment carry the mission of distorting our cultural identity. We do not have proper clothing. Sir, when we do not have proper clothings women are being undressed in the name of beauty contests. Is there anything more shameful than this? When we do not have sufficient cloths, why do we indulge in big talks about the increase in the production of washing machines? When thousands in this country do not get a one time meal a day, why should we hold seminars on Kentucky Chicken? When a large number of children die due to the lack of medication why should be talk about the rise in the production of ice-ream? We cannot turn a blind eye to the dichotomies and contradictions of this sort of which there is no dearth in our country. We should remember that any handsome growth rate, unless based on social justice is not going to bring any positive results to our people. I agree that we have had some growth. But that growth was vertical, not horizontal. If the so called growth indicators should have some meaning, there should be equitable distribution of justice. Man and woman should get equal justice, and equal dignity, the same job should get the same remuneration. Just because they were born in this country, they should not be driven to curse their lives and fate.

Sir, there are thousands of children and adolescents in our country who are forced by their circumstances to work in sub-human and precarious working conditions. Young children, very young children are working even in such explosive conditions as quarries and cracker companies. We do not find them in the school where they should have been. Why? If they go to schools their families will starve. If they go to the cracker companies, they get two rupees as wages with which they help to sustain their families. A mere spark from a but of a beedi carelessly thrown away by someone can sparkle an explosion in which these children may be burnt into ashes like flies. This is no fiction, Sir. This is the shockingly real living conditions of many of the future citizens of our great nation.

Sir, I am not prolonging my speech. I am concluding, Sir. Sir, I am coming from the land of such great men as Sri Narayan Guru, Vakkom Khadar, A.K. Gopalan, V.K. Krishna Menon, Kumaran Asan, Vallathol, and many other noble men who had led various agitations an movements for the freedom of our country, and many social reformers who rallied behind them the masses for many social revolutions that successfully brought about justice for the under-privileged and many martyrs who shed their lives for these noble causes. They all stood for united India. When the erstwhile Divan of Travancore, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer and his coterie argued for Independent Travanore, these leaders and the people behind them strongly stood for united Kerala and united India. All the twenty Members from Kerala in this House, from the northernmost Kaasargode to the southernmost Thiruvananthapuram are the people's representatives of the united Kerala. We are the successors of those who had spilled their blood for united Kerala and united India. Sir, we are proud of that. Sir, we are sitting in this House and enumerating the achievements and examining the mistakes. We should be ready to own the mistakes and try to rectify them. Mistakes are human, Sir. Only a child in the pre-natal stage and a dead body are free from committing mistakes.

We, human beings commit mistakes. But on realising it we should own the mistake and rectify it. I believe that it requires a great amount of boldness on our part. As a nation also we should be able to examine our mistakes and rectify them before proceeding further. Liberalisation is not a solution for every thing. Liberalisation should not be used as a ploy, an excuse, and as a magic wand at all times. Liberalisation could not solve the unemployment in the country, and I don't believe it can do so also. Liberalisation did not succeed in improving the infrastructure facilities. Sir, we should examine the breakdown and collapse that took place in our power sector during the last six years. The fall in the power generation is directly proportionate to the deterioration in our infrastructural facilities which in turn dampens our onward progress. The Parliament cannot overlook these vital issues. The cultural invasion unleashed should be effectively opposed. We should embolden ourselves as to say what we want and what we do not want. There is a saying in Malayalam which means approximately this:

"However sweet the dessert may be
It should not be served in a dirty vessel."

However great may be what you are giving, it loses its greatness the moment it is served in an unclean bowl. There is another saying which means a tinge of poison suffices to turn a cup of milk into a fatal drink."

So, Sir this Parliament has the responsibility to ensure the survival and stable growth of this nation. If Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary are the three pillars of our democratic polity, I would like to reiterate one point. Rules have to be changed. Laws have to be reframed. Several fundamental rights are enshrined in the 3rd chapter of our Constitution. But these rights do not include right to education and right to employment. It does not suffice to have it in the Preamble of the Constitution that ours is a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic, Republic. If it should be truly sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic Republic, if the true spirit of these words should be upheld, we have to do a lot in eradicating illiteracy and unemployment. It is pitiable that even after 50 years of our Independence, a huge section of our people do not know how to put their signatures in the language in which they address their parents. So I request the Government to include right to education and right to employment in the list of fundamental rights and thereby do justice to the youth of the country. I would like to urge upon the senior Members of this House to apply their minds seriously on this matter. That would be a preliminary step towards instilling vibrancy in our youth and reaffirming their trust in the efficacy, the great internal vigour and the unflinching sense of justice of this greatest democracy in the world. With these words I conclude.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri P.C. Thomas, you are also speaking in Malayalam. Isn't it?

**SHRI P.C. THOMAS**

*[Translation]*

*SHRI P.C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha) : Yes Sir. In Malayalam. Sir, I gave a notice three days back to speak in Malayalam on this auspicious occasion of the golden jubilee celebrations of our independence which coincides with the festival seasion of 'Onam'. Kerala's greatest festival of prosperity, as I felt it enjoined upon me a responsibility to highlight the relevance and beauty of Malayalam in this august House. But I was surprised and pained to know that for the last three years there has not been appointed a person to interpret the speeches made in Malayalam in Lok Sabha Secretariat. This news saddened me. Then I felt strongly to speak in Malayalam today. I also felt that all members from Kerala should speak in Malayalam.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I will confine myself to the time limit and make my points briefly. Sir, I think this is the most opportune occasion to analyse and examine the efficacy and success of the system of democracy we adopted after independence. This is an occasion when crores of our people who happened to have an impression of the country's leadership as lot who talk much and act less are observing us. This special session of the Parliament will have a meaning and relevance only if we make a sincere effort to feel and understand the problems, the wishes and aspirations of the people of our country and come out with concrete action plans and programmes for the redressal of their grievances and the fulfillments of their aspirations. The expenditure involved in running this House is seven thousand rupees per minute. Similarly more than 800 employees are working throughout day and night in connection with this session inside and around this Lok Sabha Chamber. If this marathon session which involves expenditure of this big magnitude in both money and human resources should not turn out to be a futile exercise. I have a suggestion to make before hand. In my opinion it does not suffice to pass a resolution after the discussion. Apart from passing a

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Malayalam.

resolution an all party committee should be constituted to assort and codity the ideas and suggestion emerged during the course of this discussion. I also suggest that the committee should have a constitutional validity in order to implement the programmes thus formulated out of these ideas and suggestion. The Committee may hold meetings and further discuss the ideas emanated from the discussions in this special session and prepare a report which in turn could be placed in the Parliament and could function as the foundation of our future actions. In this way this special session can have a meaning by translating the ideas into action and reaching the grassroot levels at our polity through effective implementation.

Mr. Chairman Sir, how far has our democratic system been successful. The litmus test for the success of the system is the degree of changes that took place in the lives of the 90 crore population of this country. During the course of this discussion we have been precisely dealing with the question as to how far we have succeeded in effecting changes in the quality of life that the people of our country are leading. What I have to submit before this House is my ideas on the same issue in a few words. Those great men who stood in the forefront of our freedom struggle, and the crores of people who rallied behind them had some dreams when we adopted democracy as our system of administration. The wishes and aspirations of those great sons of India, their sacrifices and their freedom spirit were all symbolished by the adoption of democracy as our system of administration. But how far we have been successful in carrying over that great spirit of freedom and democracy. Yes, we have succeeded in many fields. We have progressed in many realms. We have succeeded in giving wings to the unfledgeling hopes and dreams fluttered in the hearts of our forefathers. We have had achievements in the field of science and technology. We have a seat in the front row of world nations in some fields. We have so many eminent scientists we have made tremendous achievements in the fields of food, industry and agriculture. Especially in the field of education we have marched a long way into development. But inspite of all these it is doubtful whether we have been able to utilise properly the rich resources in our country. The rich natural resources in our country still remain under-utilised or unutilised. As many honourable members have pointed out, our country is rich but our countrymen are poor. Only 50% of our population are considered to be above the poverty line. Almost the same percentage of the population only are literate. Much is left to be done in these sectors. We have to travel a long way before rest in ameliorating the hardship of the major chunk of our population and giving the light of knowledge to those unfortunate of ours who can neither read nor write. In this connection, I have an important point to make. The architects of our democratic system had ideals of bringing the various cultures, various people and various States existing in our country together under the same umbrella of working together for the overall development of the nation, of ensuring the quitable distribution of development among all components of the nation and of making the States involve and participate in the mission of nation building with one heart and different bodies. The ideal was of giving everyone one's share in power and administration, as well as in development activities. It is true that we have had success in this to an extent. But I do doubt whether we have been able to realise the ideal of a strong Centre and satisfied States. The presence of strong men at the Centre does not guarantee a strong Centre, the primary prerequisite for that being satisfied States. If the States are to be satisfied they should get their due sources from the Centre. Our system should be revamped as to ensure a strong Centre that distributes the rich resources of this country equitably among States and States distributing them equitably among the lower democratic bodies. The devolution of power should be expedited. That would be a situation where each individual, each local body, and each State feel a sense of belonging and responsibility towards the great nation building process. Our democratic system can be said to have proved its success only in such a situation when power and the resources move down from the top to the lower levels, In such a scenario thus envisaged we have various layers of our polity supplementing and being supplemented by each other as a strong Centre supporting States, and a strong State supporting the local bodies below it where the ordinary citizens of this country directly interact with and involve in the process of governance. That great dream of Panchayati Raj is yet to be fulfilled. I feel that this has been a grave failure on our part. We have to go a long way in materialising the ideal of Panchayati Raj.

Lot of changes are required to have a strong Government at the Centre. We all know the plight of the present Government at the Centre. Nobody would be able to predict the future of this Government. It is doubted whether there is a strong Government at all. I am happy that so many political parties got an opportunity to take part in governance. I am happy that the aspirations and emotions of various regions are reflected here. But no one would opine that there is a strong and stable Government. So, there should be an open discussion as to how the desired changes can be brought about. Perhaps, major changes in our Constitution are required. One alternative form of governance that came up for discussion, though sparingly was the Presidential system. The feasibility and effectiveness of the Presidential system in the Indian context are yet to be probed upon. In the Presidential system, the President, the head of the State and Government is elected directly by

the electorate. In an adapted version of the system the electorate can directly elect the heads of State Governments. While this ensures stability and strength in governance, the present pattern on peoples representation in State Assemblies and the Parliament which can exist simultaneously will ensure accountability. This kind of a system of governance which is a healthy blend of the Presidential system existing elsewhere in the world and the great democratic institutions already matured in our country would satisfactorily meet the vexed question related to the priority of stability an accountability as it blends both harmoniously in a unique manner. I am sure one day we will have to put our heads together to discuss threadbare the feasibility of this alternative form of governance. I am saying this because the success of the Presidential system in the US or in France does not automatically guarantee its success in India. So I think we should set aside that issue for a free and open discussion in the Parliament.

Mr. Chairman Sir, alongwith achievements we have had our share of failures too under the present system. Corruption at all level is at its peak. All those who have been in power, irrespective of the duration of their tenure, have had to make sincere confessions. The list of scams that took place in our country in very long. Bank scams, sugar scam, risecam, petroleum scam, hawala scam, P.L. scam in Bengal, now a few more scams are reported from West Bengal. Like this we have had a series of scams. These kind of developments are bound to occur when we let down devotion and commitment in the progressive steps of democracy. One main cause of corruption is the present system of election. As many hon'ble members have pointed out it is high time reforms are made in the present electoral system. In spite of many discussions that were held we are yet to make any tangible result in electoral reforms. Perhaps State funding - the Government funding the candidates in the fray - would bring about some positive results.

**17.35 hrs.**

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

Now Sir, with a person who knows Malayalam having occupied the Chair I do not want to prolong my speech but will conclude my speech within a few minutes touching upon a few other vital points. Sir, I have been saying that to remove the Cancer of corruption from the body of our system, important changes need to be made in our system of governance. To make changes in the system of governance the system of electing people to power has to be changed. The most prominent question that would come up in any discussion on electoral reforms is how to liberate the candidates from the clutches of dependence on money bags. Whether the party be big or small there are many times when they had to feel obliged to money bags, big industrialists, and others who wield unholy influences. This is an undesirable situation. There should be an end to it. If we cannot put an end to it immediately our nation will experience the rule of the money bags by proxy if not directly. I do not claim that State funding alone can solve this problem. But I am sure that the State funding will be a big leap forward in purging our political life from its impurities like unholy dependence, favouritism, unwholesome obligations and the resultant corruption. So many discussions were held and so many decisions were taken. But we could not implement any of them effectively.

Sir, I would like to conclude my speech with another point as I am aware of the constraint of time. That is with regard to our infrastructure development. That is with regard to the development of basic amenities. The development of roads is an important matter coming under the purview of basic amenities. Inspite of the fact that the total length of National Highways and State Highways in our country is 1,65,000 kms, we have not been able to extend this network to all regions and ensure the equitable distribution of this network among various regions in our vast country. It goes without saying that good roads are a necessary prerequisite for industrial development. Also it is a fact that employment opportunities develop when industry develops. So, there should be a policy decision to allocate more funds for the development of roads. The Hon'ble Minister of Surface Transport occasionally indicates that due to the non-availability of funds equitable distribution of funds for road development becomes hard. We have to think about many means and alternatives. Sometimes we may have to entrust the private sector a portion of this taste. We may also have to depend on the cooperative sector and people's participation. Whatever may be the via media we have to pay a lot more attention to the development of roads. The other day when I was talking to the Minister of Surface Transport I made a suggestion to him. What I suggested to him was to probe into the feasibility of rubberising the roads. In fact we produce rubber in India, but we do not have rubberised roads. In Canada rubber is not produced but they have rubberised roads. In USA rubber is not produced, but they have rubberised roads. There are rubberised roads in France and Italy and in other European countries also. Rubberisation of roads is a modern technology. The initial cost for rubberised roads may be slightly higher than that required for ordinary roads. But the cost difference will not be higher than 20%. But when we see it in the light of the fact that the durability of a rubberised road is three times higher than any other type of road the cost difference appears little. Apart from making a saving in expenditure for the Government and ensuring long run benefit, the country will get good and stable roads. So, I urge upon the

Government to take up the matter of rubberising the road without delay.

I have only a couple of points to make on the development of infrastructure facilities. One among them is Railways. It is a fact that we have made tremendous progress in the sector of Railways. Our Railways have a tradition of 140 year. In that respect, we are much ahead of many nations. But it remains a fact that in this vast country of 90 crores of people an equitable distribution of railways has not been achieved. We failed in distributing properly the total length of approximately 62,000 kms of rail line among various regions of this country. Let us examine the ratios of rail distribution. The national average is 1 km per 13,500 people whereas the same ratio in some States comes nowhere near it. In Kerala, the State which I belong to, the ratio is far below the national average, that is as low as 1 km of rail line per 28,000 people. It is regrettable that we are nowhere near an equitable distribution in this vital field.

In the field of electricity also we are backward. We have to make long roads into the field of power generation. The thrust should be on encouraging mini project and small power generation units. Mini projects are the immediate answers to the power shortage. But the Central Government has reiterated several times that funds are not available to invest in this sector. The Central Government has not been successful in making proper allocation of funds for States.

Sir, I have a word or two to say on the agriculture sector. Though we have made some notable progress in the field of agriculture, till thousands of farmers in various regions involved in agricultural activity are experiencing in numerable hardships and agonies. Let me draw the attention of this House to the said plight of cardamom growers in the eastern part of Kerala. Cardamom is one product that has brought to our country much foreign exchange. Now the price of cardamom has fallen so low that those growers are finding it difficult to survive. It is regrettable that the Central Government is unable to do anything even if the problems and hardships of farmers are brought to its notice in the proper way. The helplessness of the Central Government to do the needful for the redressal of the farmers' grievances is not a desirable state of affairs. I do not want to say anything on the fall in the price of rubber. I do not know how many times have I raised that matter here.

Another undersirable aspect I would like to highlight is with regard to the discriminatory attitude towards the agro-products produced in certain parts of the country. The products from certain areas are treated in a special manner. The agro-products produced in Kerala have always been treated in a different manner. The fact that many of Kerala's agro-products are not produced elsewhere in the country has become a limitation for those products. There is no discrimination in consuming those products. But when it comes to the question of giving protection to those farmers who produce those products the Government has an unprofessed policy of turning a blind eye to it. These are miseries and agonies in the fields of rubber, cardamom and coffee. But the Central Government has absolutely failed in addressing themselves to these burning problems of the farmers who act as the backbone of our economy. It is said that talks are going on about importing cardamom from other countries, and already smuggling of cardamom has started. We fail to check the smuggling.

Sir, my last point is about the export of sea products. Sea food products' export has been a matter of pride for India. This sector that has been making considerable contribution to our foreign exchange reserve is now facing a threat. This has been brought to the notice of the Central Government but no concrete step has been taken so far. For the last few years this sector has not been paid proper attention. If we want to bring about some positive changes in this sector, and if we want to overcome the ban imposed by European countries, a delegation should go to those countries. The delegation should include those people who are engaged in the field of sea products export. Sir, I do not mind if no member of Parliament figures in the list, and that delegation should go to those countries and hold talks and find a way to revive that sector. In this way we should make a serious effort to resolve the crisis existing in that sector and reinvigorate it. This sector has too great a potential for success to be let down. I urge upon the Central Government to act in a meaningful way to rebuild the bright prospect that sector originally possesses.

**17.43 hrs.**

[SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE *in the Chair*]

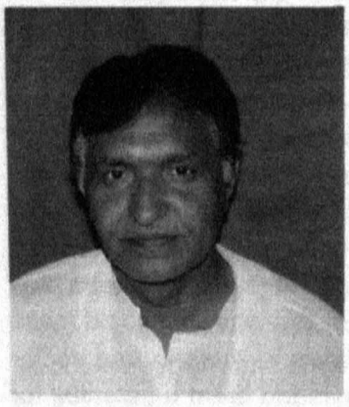
Madam, I am concluding my speech. I extend to all in this House the good wishes and greetings of Onam. I would have felt honoured to offer all of you 'Payasam', the sweet dessert often associated with the festival of Onam—but it is too early for that. The popular song praising the glorious rule of King Mahabali who reigned over a prosperous Kerala in the mythical past runs like this:

"During the reign of Maveli
All humans were alike
No lie, nor deceit
Not a figment of falsehood."

But now our rulers are not 'Mavelies' nor all human beings are alike. If these discussions would help a little in moving towards the goal of recuperating the welfare state of

Mahabali, in which human beings are bound together by love and the finer elements of humanity, we may say that we have been doing something meaningful. What characterised the reign of Mahabali was 'no like, nor deceit, not a figment of falsehood'. Have the present political scenario in mind can we say that about falsehood and deceit?

Madam, I am concluding. Originally I wanted to end my speech on the point of women's political empowerment and liberation. With no less a person than Smt. Geeta Mukherjee in the Chair. I do not venture to say anything more on that subject. But let me register my strong opinion that women should be given their due share in power and their due place in social and administrative fields. Let our country learn lessons from the experiences in the last 50 years, and march forward with renewed vigour and rejuvenated confidence. Let us work and pray for that.



**SHRI UTTAMSINGH PAWAR**

*[Translation]*

SHRI UTTAMSINGH PAWAR (Jalna) : Madam Chairperson, first of all I congratulate Sangmaji for convening this special session. But with heavy heart, I would like to submit that after being elected, when we come in Lok Sabha, we are asked about the expenditure incurred on the election. At that stage we speak lie. All the Members of Parliament know it that we speak lie in this regard because we state that we have spent below rupees four lakhs. We speak lie at the very first stage.

I am unable to understand that where are we going today? After 50 years of Independence, we are lagging behind in every field as compared to other countries. Someone says that say with pride "Mera Bharat Mahan", but unfortunately our position has so much deteriorated that when an N.R.I. considers himself more superior than an R.I., we feel bad. We do not know where we are going. The hon'ble Members of Parliament who are sitting here would they tell that whether we are considering the real issue correctly or not. I would like to submit that politics has its own importance but Parliament is for running the country. I do not feel that this system is being adopted in this Parliament. How the Government has been run till date. I will cite an example in this regard. There is crowd in the temples and when a person complains that shoes are being stolen in the temple, collector posts a court clerk there to check this theft. In that case, court clerk would ask everybody to put off one's shoes, then he will allow to enter. But when a devotee enters the temple without chappals, court clerk ask him before entering the temple to put off his shoes. The devotee says that he has come without shoes. Court clerk says that I am not at fault, you first put off your shoes, then enter the temple and when this matter is brought into the notice of collector, the collector says that this man is speaking the truth, when he has come without shoes, the question does not arise to put off shoes. Court clerk says that I will let him enter but when he will come back, he will take away others' shoes. Then, in that case please do not deduct money from my salary.

It is said that everything is sold here. I remember that when I was the student of class ninth, debate on this subject used to take place : whether knowledge is superior or wealth is Superior. Ten persons said that knowledge is superior.

"Vidhyam Tuwmch Nraptam Swmach,
Naiv Tulyai Kadachanam,
Swadeshi Pujyene Raja,
Vidhvana Sarvatra Pujyte."

We have been taught that nobody can steal knowledge. But after 50 years of Independence, what is our education policy? Today the situation is this that 40-50 thousand rupees have to be donated for admission in engineering and one lakh rupees have to be donated for the admission for medical studies. How unfortunate is our country that today in Mumabi these are such schools where one has to pay one to two lakh rupees for primary admission. It has been taught to us that knowledge is superior than wealth. But education is being sold and we, the members of Parliament are seeing it. I would like to request the hon'be Minister of the Government that quality should be provided in the education as they in the field of defence. Today, only education sector has been neglected. I would like to submit one more thing that bureaucrats are coming from only 4-5-10 metropolitan cities. Unfortunately, not even a single boy from rural area gets an opportunity to become an officer, what to talk of a Deputy collector. Hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs, it is a matter of great concern that a boy of our rural area is not able even to qualify the written test for the post of a 'Constable. It is not so that they have less wisdom in them. Whether Government would pay its attention towards the quality of education being provided in the rural areas? Moreover, I would like to submit that I am afraid that only those persons who get their education in foreign countries, will become bureaucrats and they will became I.A.S. The

education will not have its high standard in India. Today, this is the position of everything. Education is the biggest industry in the country today. This is the misfortune of this country that false balance sheet is submitted here. You are a businessman and I am also a businessman. I also run the industry. Whether correct balance sheet is submitted? It is adjusted. When we are granting concession, how can we check it? Today, there is a need of amendment in the Constitution. This is the misfortune of the country that after 50 years there is a need of amendment...*(Interruptions)* I do not say that amendment should be made or should not be made.

Today, we are talking about infrastructure. We have visited many countries. When we go to Europe, Korea, Japan, we are wondered. Today, we are importing Mercedese and Ceilo car. Is there any road and other facilities for driving them? In 1985 I had stated in Industry Association that there is no need of colour T.V. in our country. Our public infrastructure and Public transport are the weakest ones. Today, what is the position of railways? It pains me to say that as a Member of Parliament when I give a letter to somebody for reservation, he does not get reservation. This is the condition of our public transport. You know the condition of buses very well. We use car to reach our destination in time. You are not paying attention towards it. Today, the condition regarding availability of capital is very bad. I have asked I.D.B.I., I.C.I.C.I. and other big banks that instead of 50 per cent, why 12 to 15 per cent finance is being provided to needy sector. When we speak on this issue, our views are not taken seriously. Corruption is prevailing every where. We say that we should fight against corruption. How will the corruption be removed from this country? I do not feel that corruption will be removed. If we want to ward of corruption, responsibility should be fixed. We all are sitting here. We are accountable because we have to go again to the people for begging vote. Those who are doing so, have you fixed any responsibility for them. I.A.S. officers are involved in corruption. Seeing this, I feel sad. I was Chairman of Maharashtra State Tourism. When I was Chairman, I saw that that corporation was running into loss of rupees 10.5 crores. I had never run the business of tourism. When I asked officers, I was told that 46 per cent amount was spent on salary. That man had been appointed as Chairman of a corporation who had never run a business. Today Air India is incurring the loss of one crore rupees per day. Therefore, the Government should not run any business.

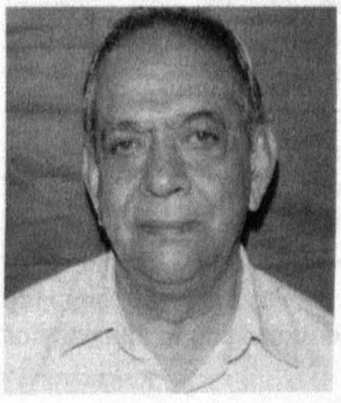
Madam, the thing which is run by money, is called business, which goes ahead with push, is called a car and which reaches late, is called a telegram and which runs with the mercy of God, is called a Government. This is the condition of our country.

Madam, as I have stated, we do not need colour T.V., satellite, computer and cellular, rather we are in need of infrastructure. What steps are being taken in this regard? Have you ever thought what would be the position of electricity after 10 years in the country? We would require 112 thousands M.W. electricity and it would be so expensive that I think only people like Shri T. Subbarami Reddy would be able to purchase it. I do not think that people of rural areas would be able to purchase it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. There are so many members to speak, please co-operate.

SHRI UTTAMSINGH PAWAR : I am a new member and for the first time I have got this opportunity. Madam, I myself admit that there are so many problems before the country. In June, I had gone to Korea to attend a conference on population. First of all, I was told that India has also the problem of population. A number of issues have been discussed here and after education, I take it as an important issue. There is need to control population. We can not control it till we do not fix any accountability in this regard. Discussions are being recorded here but there is no need to do it. The need is that the views which have been expressed by the speakers here, should be implemented. If their views are implemented, then I think that next 5-10 years would be good for India.

With these words, I conclude my speech.



**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA**

*[English]*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA) : Madam, Chairperson, I am acutely conscious of the fact that so many Members are patiently waiting to speak for the last three or four days. Therefore, I do not intend to take up more than a few minutes. You can check whether I keep to my words or not. Also, I am speaking not because I am a Minister or a Leader of my Party but because I happended to have been in this House for the last 34 or 35 years. Many of my friends were saying that it is very strange that I am sitting here but not uttering a single word. So, I thought to myself that I should just say a few words.

**18.00 hrs.**

I have to congratulate, first of all, the hon. Speaker, for this initiative which he has taken. I have to thank the new Members, particularly, who, I think, have restored the credibility of this House by the way they have participated in this debate. I congratulate them for that.

The whole country is watching this debate. The whole country which has been watching this House performing for the last several years will, I am sure, feel reassured now that the prestige and the honour of this House, the credibility of this House, will be well looked after by the Members who are now occupying these benches. But, at the same time, I would say, — we are now coming towards the end of this marathon debate — what do we want should emerge from it? Something should come out of it. Very good speeches have been made. Very constructive and learned speeches have been made. Many important and basic problems of the country have been discussed here. There are many more things which can also be discussed. But, the question which is bothering me is that at the end of this whole exercise, what is going to be the end result? What is the outcome of it?

In his opening address, hon. Speaker had very rightly diagnosed many of the evils which are be setting our electoral system and our administration. He rightly focussed attention of the issues of accountability of the public functionaries, whoever they may be, and also focussed attention on standards in public life, probity in public life, besides various other issues. I feel that much of the efforts which hon. Members have made over the last three days will go in vain if we do not at least try to take some concrete measures, some steps, at the end of this debate. So, all I am going to say very briefly is that I confine myself to two of the most important issues which are, I think, agitating the minds of people throughout the country, whoever they may be, whether rich or poor, whether belonging to this party or that party.

What is troubling people's minds? Of course, there are all the perpetual problems of backwardness, poverty, underdevelopment, hunger, illiteracy, lack of education and all these things. There are so many problems but I should say that corruption in public life and criminalisation in public life or criminalisation of politics are two diseases which have spread throughout our society and our social system like a cancer. We should be frank enough to admit this. People want to know from the representatives whom they have sent to this House, what they propose to do about this. Is there anything we can do, or should be just throw up our hands in helplessness and say that there is nothing to be done, or should be simply say that we have to depend on the law? We have no lack of laws in this country.

There are plenty of laws. But those laws have by themselves not prevented tremendous degradation and deterioration in our public life. Should we say that we should depend only on the law enforcing agencies among whom, of course, the police are the main people who matter, who are supposed to be a professional body of people committed to carrying out their duties according to certain standards and norms? Should we say that we have to depend only on police and depend on the law? I do not think nobody now-a-days will be satisfied with that kind of explanation.

So, Madam, I am proposing a resolution. I do not know if hon. Members will agree or not; I do not know whether the hon. Speaker will agree or not but I would humbly suggest that at the end of this debate, this House should try to adopt a resolution which will give some finality to the whole debate which has taken place and which will indicate the common determination and the common resolve of Members of Parliament, whichever party they may belong to, to take steps effectively, jointly and united in order to tackle this problem which I have mentioned.

I would like to move a resolution, a very short resolution. It can be changed, that is not the point. It can be changed, it can be amended and many more things can be added to it, if you like, but the idea, the main idea, which I want to give is that : "We the Members of the Eleventh Lok Sabha representing all the political parties in the country hereby solemnly resolve and give an undertaking to this House and through it to the nation in its 50th year of Independence that firstly, in any future elections, whether to the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha or the State Legislature or in other elected bodies like Zila Parishads, Panchayats or Municipal Corporations, no one should be given any ticket from our respective parties." This is addressed to all the parties. No one should be given any ticket from our respective parties to contest any such elections if any such person is or was convicted in any criminal case during the last ten years or was or has been charge-sheeted or challaned in any criminal case, is or has been a historysheeter in the criminal records of the police or is otherwise, well-known, publicly known as an anti-social or criminal element in the local community.

Secondly, for the above purpose, cases of corruption will also be included and should be treated on the same footing as criminal cases of criminal and anti-social activities.

Some hon. Members have pointed out to me that there was a danger here that people who had been convicted or against whom there were serious charges for offences, which were not connected with corruption or corrupt practices or

were not criminal charges in themselves, may also get into trouble if the police decides to take action against people on the ground that they had taken part in some political movements, which have lead to a technical violation of the law.

Regarding offences which are connected with recognised political movements, we will have to work this out as to how this can be done, and how it should be excluded from this category.

Thirdly, the Government, both at the Centre and in the States should come up speedily with suitable legislation on the above lines, including other aspects of electoral reforms.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Madam, with his permission, I would like to say that in principle whatever my senior colleague, and if I might have the honour of calling him as such a friend, has said : I accept in principle, entirely on my personal behalf and on behalf of my party. These are his words and in principle, this is acceptable to us. But as far as the phraseology or wordings, etc. is concerned that is a matter of detail and that can be settled subsequently with him, with his party and with the hon. Speaker.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Thank you. I am grateful to Shri Jaswant Singh for his response.

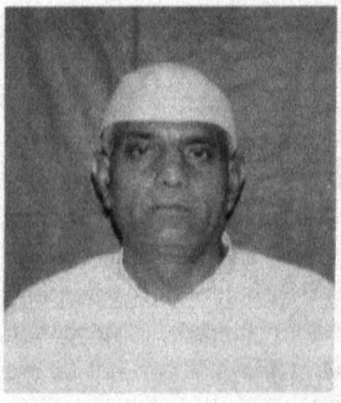
I only wanted further to indicate one point that the Election Commission's — I do not know what it is — decision or directive, which had appeared in the press yesterday regarding the question of disqualifying people who have been convicted and provided they have not gone in appeal to the higher court in which case they may be excused, suffers from serious infirmity and loopholes. I would not subscribe to that kind of a formula at all. I want to make it clear that, as I said a little while ago, I am making it a special and fervent appeal to this House, not in my capacity as a Minister of the Central Government but as one of the seniormost Members of this august House. I appeal to all the Members to rise above their parties and political perceptions in adopting the Resolution on these lines in token of their solemn resolve and as an effective response to the overall appeal of the hon. Speaker.

Here, we are not relying on anybody except ourselves. We are not calling upon any other agency or any other instrument of the State or Government to help us to get over these problems of corruption and criminality. We are depending on ourselves. Every party, the Leader of every party should be able to stand up in front of the people and make a declaration to this effect that, 'as far as my party is concerned, I give this solemn pledge to the country and to the people that in future elections my party will not put up as candidate anybody who falls within the ambit of these provisions.'

If the leaders give such a pledge and fail to keep the pledge, we have to rely on the people, the consciousness of the people to bring such parties or leaders to account, to pull them up and to enforce the spirit behind this pledge.

Madam, I do not want to take more time. This is all I wanted to say. As Shri Jaswant Singh has said, I am not insisting on any particular language or phraseology or anything like that, that can be changed. But the spirit, the main idea behind the whole thing, I hope, will find general response in this House and I will be satisfied with it.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : Madam Chairperson, I fully appreciate the suggestion given by Shri Indrajit Gupta, not as a Minister but as one of the veteran Members of this House. For the last three days an exercise is going on with all political parties in which we are trying to come to a certain decision and the basic part, what has been told by Shri Indrajit Gupta, is there. Some changes may be necessary here and there as far as the wording is concerned.



**SHRI NAKLI SINGH**

*[Translation]*

SHRI NAKLI SINGH (Saharanpur) : Madam Chairperson, I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this important occasion. I shall put forth my views in two phases, first of which will be — to pay our salutes and homage on this golden jubilee occasion of our Independence to those brave martyrs, who participated most enthusiastically in the freedom struggle and sacrificed their lives. I and you have utmost regards for those valorous people who became martyrs fighting for the country's liberation.

'Badh jata hai man veer ka Ran mein bali hone se mulyawati hoti hai sone ki bhasm yatha sone se.'

Out of these immortal martyrs the names of many may be enumerated whose names have found a place in the books, but at the same time there are many other such martyrs whose names have not found place in the books. I bow to all such martyrs. We also bow to all such persons, like Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Saheb and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan Saheb who worked most for the country's freedom.

Friends, many people perished in the freedom struggle, but their names are not there either on the pages of books on freedom struggle or on anybody's lips.

'Bhumi ke Rajkan sitare sabhi Akash ke
Bundiya Barsaat ki koi gin sake
Kintu Bharat ke saputon ki yashogatha badi
Hai Aparimit, Anant, Ant Heen Maniyon ki ladi'

The tale of the great deeds of the brave is beyond words.

Madam Chairperson, today we are living in happy circumstances, but to achieve freedom, countless households got uprooted, lights of countless families got extinguished, countless sisters lost their brothers and countless sisters lost their husbands. Do we pay our regards to these brave martyrs? We should ask ourselves how this stage of showing disrespect to these martyrs was reached in our country and do we really pay as much respect to them as they deserve? A country where martyrs are not respected, ceases to produce martyrs. What we are witnessing today is that we are unable to protect the statues of martyrs even when policemen are posted for the purpose near the statues. What is the reason thereof? The reason is that we are now lacking in patriotism. We are not taking to patriotism. Patriotism motivates man to make sacrifice even lay down his life for the sake of the nation. A patriot is one who—

'Suraj karta nahin dosti taron se andhiyaron se
Pani karta nahin dosti sholon se angaron se
Sher milata hath nahin kabhi jungle ke siyaron se
Rashtra bhakta samjhauta karte nahin kabhi gaddaron se'

Madam Chairperson, we saw the days when we were under foreign subjugation but what direction has been given by us to the country and its younger generation ever since the country became Independent? Hockey wizard Major Dhyan Chand was born when we were under foreign rule. Dhyan Chand and his brother Rup Singh both were hockey players. As soon as Rup Singh hit the first goal in the first Hockey Olympic at Berlin, the hero and head of that nation Hitler declared immediately that a road in Berlin will be named Rup Singh road and then Rup Singh road was constructed in Berlin. Dhyan Chand was a sepoy, Hitlar said that he would have elevated him at least to the rank of Lieutenant General. Taking from that the British rulers later made him a Major. Where do we stand today in world's sports' map? We must look to it and improve our position. It was during our days of slavery that Rustam-e-Jawan Gama was born in this country. Our present status in sports can be seen by anybody. Why were the youths not given proper direction? What I mean to say is that today our youth is astray and it is this youth who has taken to crimes and is lamenting. A country where youths get astray are reluctant to face the problems they become unadventurous and hesitant, and soon develop an escapist tendency which ultimately leads a nation to slavery. That stage must be avoided at all costs by giving proper direction to the youths.

With the permission of Madam Chairperson, I would like to say to all the hon. Members that we have to make this country progress economically. Too many things have been said here, including the issue of corruption. Newspapers coming out with exposures may not be allowed to do so, the voice of the people is gagged. Talk of the town everywhere is : That ruler or officer is good who does a job though after taking money. What is the situation we are in? Are we fighting corruption? Certainly we have not honestly fought against corruption. Why has this situation arisen? The key to the economic progress of this country lies in the progress of the farmer and that has not been adopted so far. I hail from Uttar Pradesh which is rich in sugarcane production. It was in 1967 that there was a rise in the price of sugarcane in Uttar Pradesh for the first time. The rise was not significant, the official rate was only thirteen and a half rupees per quintal but the rate rose upto Rs. 30 per quintal by virtue of the rise in Khandsari. At that time a rural labourer used to get Rs. two-and-a-half to Rs. three as wages which rose unchecked upto Rs. 15 to Rs. 20. Sudden steep rise was witnessed because earning by a farmer is always accompanied by a corresponding increase in the wages of the farmer's labourer. The income of the potter, the utencil cleaner, goldsmith and the shopkeeper increases correspondingly. This results in migration of people from villages to cities. This migration inevitably leads to an all round spurt in sales of motorcycles, iron, cloth, bricks, medicines as also a boom in the lawyer's profession because the rural people have a tendency to quarrel more.

What I mean to say is that prosperity of the urban people depends on the prosperity of the village people.

Therefore, the farmers must be given huge subsidies. Subsidies to farmers are given even in rich countries like America etc. We should not shy away from subsidies. The farmers constitute 80 per cent of the country's population. They are the people whose sons as armymen stand guard to the country's safety at the snowy mountains of Ladakh and NEFA. These farmers even constitute 80 per cent of the electorate and are providers of our foodgrains and saviours of our lives.

Agriculture is the mainstay of this country. In the past the saying went like this—

"Uttam Kheti Madhyam Ban
Nikhat chakri Bhikh Nidan."

To be employed in other's service was considered lowly in those times, the same has now come to be considered as fine. The farmers have now to go from pillar to post in search of jobs. If the morale of the farmers is boosted by the Government, they are capable of transforming this country. During the 1965 Indo-Pak war, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri made a call to the country's people. At that time the country used to import wheat from America only under P.L. 480. America had threatened to stop its foodgrains supplies in case we did not stop warfare. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri gave a call to the people to observed fast and work hard. During that period hotels and restaurants used to remain closed on Sundays. This could be possible because he was really a son of the soil. That was a call given by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and our farmer community took it as a challenge and brought about green revolution. Today, we are self sufficient in wheat. The Government should encourage the farmers who are patriot. Though all citizens are patriots yet the farmers are the synonym of patriotism. Therefore, welfare of farmers is welfare of the nation.

As directed by our leader, I do not want to take much time of the House and it is also right that we should conclude within the allotted time. We believe that if we really wish to eliminate dishonesty from our country, we should eliminate corruption. I do not want to count the names of corrupt persons here because everyone knows those names. In what condition they are today? What will they do with that money? I am younger than most the hon. Members and also elder than some of the Members but I would like to say one thing that money is not everything. With money, one can have a boy but not as on, one can have a servant but not a sevak, one can have a woman but not a wife. What is the use of that money? One can also have good cloths, good house, good education and good medicine with one's hard earned money. Ultimately, what is happening with those persons from whom money was recovered in sacks and gunny bags? It is the country of Harishchandra, Mahatma Gandhi and Gautam Budha but now what is happening to this country. Why it is becoming a dishonest country of the world? It was said about Harishchandra that :

"Chandra tale suraj tale, tale jagat vyavahar,
Dridh Shri Harishchandra ko, tale na satya vichar."

Today, the public have no faith in their leaders. At one time Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose recited a couplet at the tomb of Bahadur Shah Zaffar:

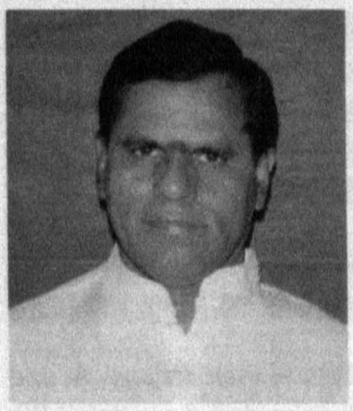
'Damdame main dam nahin,
khair mano jan ki
ae Zaffar thandi huee
Shamsherain Hindustan kee'
Then he said—
'Gazion main boo hai
jab talak iman kee
takhte London tak chalegi
tege Hindustan kee'

But what is happening today. Our elected leaders know the tactics how to win the elections. Those who think about the future generation infact they think about the well being of the nation. Today, the leaders have become so poisonous that no one is willing to meet them. If by chance a snake bites a leader, the snake will die but not the leader.

'Ek samp ne ek neta ko dasa
netaji maje main samp chal basa.'

Therefore, I would like to say that today we are discussing as to what we have lost and what we have gained during the last 50 years. We have gained corruption, several social evils and lost credibility of our leaders and if we want to describe it in nut shell, we can say that we have lost our national character. Today, we have no national character. We need to have a national character. We may have any Government, we may formulate any good schemes but they cannot be implemented till our society has a national character. I would like to say that we have good leaders in each party and they have their own credibility, so in this Golden Jubilee Year of Independence, we all should take a resolve in this special session that under any circumstances we would not allow our national character to erode because nation is of paramount importance and we, individuals come thereafter.

"Hum din char rahen na rahen
tera vaibhav amar rahe ma."



**DR. T. SUBBARAMI REDDY**

DR. T. SUBBARAMI REDDY (Visakhapatnam) : Madam Chairperson, I have been trying for the last 4 days, but time has been given only now.

*[English]*

Madam, the entire nation has become spellbound by the novel idea of our hon. Speaker for having introduced this new system in which every Member has been found with great enthusiasm and bubbling zeal, for which we all feel happy.

I would like to say something in Telugu. What it means is that the great patriots have sacrificed their lives to remove the couplings of slavery from the clutches of the British people and gave us independence, for which I bow my head.

I would further like to say in Telugu, which means:

So many great patriots have sacrificed their lives and dedicated their thought at the lotus feet of *Bharaat Mata* and hoisted the flag at the Red Fort and got Independence for which all of us bow our heads. Let us have the zeal and inspiration irrespective of political affiliations.

There is one more thing.

*[Translation]*

"Bharat Desh, Aarthik Vikas, Nokuttaya : Sanghatna : Nirupmana : Sannivesh na dvitya :"

*[English]*

What I mean to any is that the progress in these fifty years is spectacular and magnificent in all the various walks of life and various fields. The million dollar question is that even the poverty and unemployment and the frustration of the youth are also equally spectacular and magnificent in these fifty years. What is the solution? It is not a fun.

Let us listen and let us concentrate on a national spirit. Let us not make fun always.

The point is that in spite of this progress, today we see the suffering—for want of water, want of cloth to wear, want of shelter to live and we feel sad and tears come to our eyes. There is no question of speech.

What is the solution? How to do it? This is the million dollar question. We have to accept that in 1947 our population was 36 crores. Today it is 96 crores. The entire House agreed on this point that this over-population is negativating our progress also. In this connection I must compliment Shrimati Renuka Choudhary, our Health Minister—she is not here who has taken the initiative, as a lady Minister, inspiring the men that we must come forward for population control and family planning for which I really congratulate her.

What is the other burning problem? Till now many speakers spoke but nobody touched this point. I am going to tell that. One of the fundamental problems like a disease of cancer, besides corruption, criminalisation, communalism and casteism is red-tapism which is a most burning problem in this country. You go to any office. The papers do not move. You go to any department. We feel sad. I see that the papers are there for six months and nobody touches them. This red-tapism is going on at all levels in all the Departments. The people should apply their mind as to how to solve this problem. You must not take it very easily.

For instance, I heard about people who had the enthusiasm, who are our own Indians and who are living in foreign countries who want to come here and invest their money and start industries and give employment. Now they say : "We do not want to come to your country. The papers take two months to move and the people do not agree with each other. Suppose there are the Finance Department, the Law Department and the Industries Department, each Secretary gives a different version and no file moves; nothing moves". Therefore, we are telling all the parties that this is one of the fundamental problems. I request Shri Jaswant Singh to apply his mind on this. He must concentrate on this from his party also. The red-tapism should be abolished and eradicated in the future. In the coming fifty years, let us feel that the nation, the people and the Constitution are transformed into modern philosophy to mark the entry of the twenty-first century.

Madam, I will take five more minutes.

The next point is that ours is the world's biggest democracy. We feel proud. In spite of various storms, various problems and challenges we could withstand the democratic values and the Republic of this country is withstood. We feel proud of it. But, unfortunately, if you take the philosophy, the perception, the conception and the inception of the

political parties, it is totally different. If one man says *sa-ri-ga-ma* the other man says *I-sa-ri-ga-ma.* The political leaders feel that if one party says one thing, they must not accept it be it good or not. We must be constructive, practical and positive in our views. Let us forget the differences. Let us not politicise any issue. Anything which is going to be helpful to this country should be followed. Let us be united. That should be the one-point formula for the entire House, for the entire country. I am telling it on this occasion.

Another most important point is about shelter that is, house, food and to travel on a good road. You open a newspaper. There are accidents daily.

*[Translation]*

He is dead. He is in hospital.

*[English]*

Nothing moves. Today, we are importing oil, but the oil is wasted because proper roads are not there. So much of oil and so many minerals are there in our country. The country is rich but the people are poor because we are not in a position to exploit our resources, for which we need modern technology. In the field of science and technology, we have got so many technocrats for whom we feel proud. But our country is not utilising them; they are spread all over the world.

Our one point formula is how to eradicate poverty, how to create employment and how to give the minimum facilities like drinking water, roads in rural areas and education to the common man.

*[Translation]*

It is easy to say, but how it is got?

*[English]*

This is my question. Unless you become practical and constructive, you cannot solve the problem. Everyday is going on speaking and fighting. Only giving speeches gives no result at all.

What is the meaning of economic reforms? It is very simple. We have no money and we want to build up this nation. You want to inspire the entire world to come and invest the money here and build up our industries. Why should be distrust each other? Let us sit together. We are not selling our country. We can always build this country without losing the dignity and sovereignty of our country. Therefore, by way of economic reforms, we are inviting people for the growth of infrastructure, industries and so many other things. You want technology from them for exploitation of our minerals, oil and mines.

Therefore, my first suggestion is that in order to build up this nation, we must give top priority to highways. The cities of Mumbai, Delhi, Calcutta and Chennai should be connected with 11 ports. This is the most important thing. We need money for this, but we have no money. Red-tapism is coming in the way. For five years, various institutions are prepared to give the money but nothing moves. For this, we feel sad. Therefore, I would call upon everybody that at least in the coming fifty years, let us dedicate our spirit and inspiration to the nation in such a way that

*[Translation]*

There should be human development.

*[English]*

Secondly, all the parties should be united for any good thing. When great people wrote the Constitution of India, they did not know that some day the Government would be unstable and political instability would come. Now, it has come, but we do not solve it and the things are going on. At least in future, the people must apply their minds and amend the Constitution in such a way that political stability can come to this country at least in future.

My next suggestion is very important. We cannot afford to give education. Under Article 46 of the Constitution, we have to provide compulsory education, but we can not afford it. I moved a Private Members' Bill. I am grateful to the present Government that they have agreed to give compulsory primary education by giving Rs. 20,000 crore for which the Cabinet had also agreed. I was personally instrumental in this. I am grateful to the Government. This Parliament is a modern temple of democracy.

*[Translation]*

It is quite pious.

*[English]*

If you sit here and close your eyes, you get concentration of power. I feel so.

Now, I have produced a film on Swami Vivekananda in English and Hindi.

*[Translation]*

Swami Vivekanand thundered 100 years ago in Chicago.

*[English]*

He enthralled the entire world. It was he who gave the message to the entire world that

*[Translation]*

Bharat Vikas, Bharat Sanskriti, Bharat Sampradaya, Bharat Adhyatmic Vikas Adbhutsmana, it is extra ordinary.

*[English]*

That is what he gave to this world. The entire nation, till the sun and the moon are there in this universe, should remember the great Swami Vivekananda. I am fortunate to make a film on this great personality. The Hindi and English versions of this film have just been completed. Today, I am dedicating that film to this Parliament and which is the modern temple of democracy.

Lastly, in the coming 50 years, let us concentrate in bringing resources and modern technology to this country from all corners of the world. Let us not give an impression that the country is corrupt. Yes, we do find that unfortunately there is corruption in our country.

*[Translation]*

We are pained.

*[English]*

But all are not corrupt. There are people who are honest, there are people who are committed, there are people who are with conviction, there are people with determination and there are people with devotion in this country. We cannot deny that. If we go to banks, institutions and other offices, they are all demoralised and nobody is in a mood to take any decision.

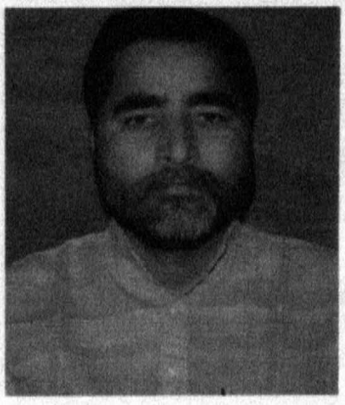
*[Translation]*

He thinks, we do not need it.

*[English]*

Madam, I would like to suggest another important point to build this great nation in future. Let us begin a new era. Let us forget and forgive the past. Let us give a new life for the administration, the Government officers, the economists and financial experts who are not corrupt. But there will be some corrupt people. So let us apply our mind and see how to remove it. Otherwise, everybody will be demoralised. Let us give moral support to the people who are committed to this nation.

Let us all dream to build this nation as an economically rich country, without unemployment and without any man who is suffering for want of drinking water and other necessary needs. Of course, even if we do not live for another 50 years, let us see that our country is made a glorious, unparalleled, magnificent and matchless nation in this world.



**SHRI NAWAL KISHORE RAI**

*[Translation]*

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE RAI (Sitamarhi) : Madam Chairperson, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this special session being conducted on the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebration of our Independence.

We have had a long discussion in this House on this subject. Hon. Members from all political parties have expressed their views at length. Our country has definitely made development in all sectors during these 50 years of Independence. I would like to speak on some points relating to development. In 1950-51 our food production was 50.8 million tonnes which has increased to 198.1 million tonnes in 1997. Similarly in 1950-51 total irrigated land was 22.56 million hectares which has increased to 79.9 million hectares in 1997. Similarly our industrial production was 18.3 per cent and now it has increased to 302.2 per cent. Sugar production was 1.13 million tonnes in 1950-51 and now it is 15.45 million tonnes. In 1950-51, steel production was 1.04 million tonnes which has now increased to 21.04 million tonnes. Power generation has also gone up. In 1950-51 it was 1700 MW and now it has increased to 8330 MW. Similarly in 1950-51 we had 2200 kms. long national highways which have now increased to 17,000 kms. Similarly the number of schools in the country was 312000 which has now increased to 836000. We have definitely made development but we have not made that much development which we should have made. Our main concern is, not pace of development but imbalance in progress. This imbalance should be removed. Our former Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi had himself admitted in this House that

only 10 per cent of the allocated funds reach the villages. It is a matter of great concern for us. I have already stated that we have made development during these last 50 years but we have imbalanced development. In this regard I would like to quote from a sample Report of 1991. As per this report the per capita income in Bihar is Rs. 3858, in Punjab it is Rs. 14,188, in Himachal Pradesh it is Rs. 7,784, in Madhya Pradesh it is Rs. 5845, in Uttar Pradesh, which is the largest State, it is Rs. 5331 per annum. Similarly if we compare our per capita income with per capita income of major countries in the world, then it is 340 dollar in India, 26,737 dollars in Singapore 23,000 dollars in Hongkong, 13,000 dollars in Taiwan. As such when we adjudge our progress during these fifty years on this parameter we find that we are far behind in the comity of nations. Through you I want this point to be debated in this House.

Our country is predominantly an agricultural country and its 50 per cent population is engaged in agriculture sector. In the year 1950-51 the agriculture sector's share in gross Domestic product of the country was 52 per cent, which came down to 26 per cent in the year 1997.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Instead of giving data you please conclude.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE RAI : First of all I will abide by your order.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am suggesting this because you are running out of time.

*[Translation]*

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE RAI : Madam, just now I have given data of progress we have made so far and through these I have invited the attention of the House. You have ordered to conclude, so I will conclude by suggesting two-three things through you.

Concern has also been expressed in the House about increasing population of the country. Thousands of crores of rupees have been spent on various Family Planning, Family Welfare schemes of Government of India but Family Planning could be done only in 32 per cent families. Government want to reward the people who have planned their families by adopting birth control devices but so far only 32 per cent people have been rewarded for family planning and thus we have not succeeded in this field also. You see the position of China, there, no facilities are given to families which do not practice family planning. Those who go beyond the prescribed family norms, are deprived of all government facilities. So, through you I want to urge upon the government to look into this aspect. This is my first suggestion.

Madam, my second suggestion is that as far as environment is concerned we are lagging far behind in this field also. In 1947 when the country became Independent there was 31.5 per cent total forest land in the country which now has reduced to 19 per cent as per the government data. Present Forest Minister has given a statement two weeks ago that there is 11, $11^{1}/_{2}$ per cent forest land in our country, whereas the scientists are of the view that, environment will not improve unless the forests are increased. All these environmental problems, diseases are due to flood and drought. The recommendation of Mohan Dharia Committee should be implemented in the country. He has said that every year Rs. 20 thousand crores should be spent by public and private sector on forestation in the country but this is not being implemented. This year about one thousand crores of rupees have been allocated in the budget for afforestation. We will request you that this should be included at the time of adopting the resolution and in any circumstances rupees 20 thousand crores should be spent on afforestation by public and private sector, whereas the sample survey report is that every year under public and private sector, rupees 40 thousand crores are earned from fuel, wood, fertilizer, then, it is fully justified to invest 20 thousand crores from the income of rupees 40 thousand crores. If we spent rupees 20 thousand crores then it will continue to increase.

Madam, in the end I want to say that there are nearly 25 crores youths who are literate, not fully literate and illiterate and some are educated scholars. Their energy has been utilized in freedom struggle, after that in the total revolution. As such in all wars and all activities energy of youth is utilized but there is no proper policy for the youths, if at all there is any policy for them it is incomplete. So there should be a new policy for youths, that should be included in this resolution and the House must do this in a fixed time frame and one youth council be constituted for framing youth policy which should be constituted at District level, State level and Village level as per the democratic system. Youth Council be given constitutional status after making amendments in the Constitution. After thorough discussion on it a youth policy should be made for the youths. Right to work should be included in Fundamental Rights. Government should empower them to implement it. They should have right to Implement instead of right to recommend. The Committees constituted till now were given

the right to recommend. Maximum energy of the persons between 15 to 40 years is being utilised but nothing has been done for them. Therefore we say that the House must do something to frame new youth policy and that must have constitutional powers ...*(Interruptions)* It should be decided in that, Youth Council should be constituted as per democratic norms at all levels.

The same youth council should frame New Youth Policy and Right to work should be included in Fundamental Rights. Besides Free Education system and compulsory Education system and uniform Education System should be implemented. I conclude with this request. Thank you very much for giving me time and listening to me attentively.

**SHRIMATI HEDWIG MICHAEL REGO**

*[English]*

SHRIMATI HEDWIG MICHAEL REGO (Nominated) : Hon. Madam, I thank you for this privilege of addressing this House.

I take this opportunity of saluting this great nation of ours, leaders who have passed on, and our present leaders. I would like to place on record something which is of great concern and that is the injustice which is meted out to the girl child.

After fifty years of Independence, in spite of constitutional guarantees provided by our Constitution to woman regarding adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for men and women for equal work done, just and humane conditions of work, yet the concept of gender equality still remains a dream.

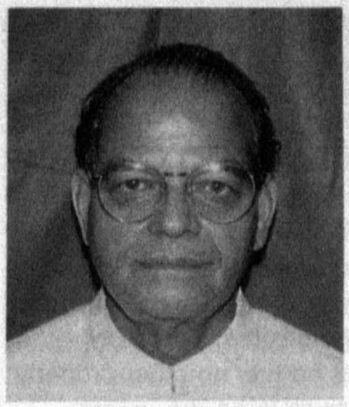
Our social structure still denies women their social and economic privileges under the misnomer that women are all born weak and are incapable of socio-economic and administrative duties, even though we have proved ourselves worthy in all these fields. To give you an example, fifty per cent women labour force is engaged in farming. Yet it is a fact that benefits of farming technology do not reach the women. The male-dominated set up still exists in villages as well as in towns. Female illiteracy is the biggest hurdle in our progress. Being a social service worker involved with the poorer sections of society and less privileged children, I call upon this august House to make sincere effort to educate the girl child to empower her with a deep sense of security so that the new generation of women are aware of their rights and privileges, and that they are able to take their proper place in the society as a worthy, help mate and partner.

A hundred years ago, our socio-economic reformers Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidya Sagar, Swami Vivekananda and later Mahatma Gandhi spent tireless years wiping the tears of women, widows and the girl children. Today after fifty years of Independence, those tears till fall profusely. What have, husbands, fathers, politicians, parliamentarians, social service workers, educationists and religious heads, done to our girl child? What are they planning to do to raise them from this terrible bondage? I call upon all Parliamentarians to made this their honourable duty. It is a fact that countries which have emphasised education of women have developed at a faster rate. More educated women raise more productive men, women, boys and girls. A new legislation is needed to right all wrongs especially when social customs go against individual rights. Girls must be protected against crime and exploitation. There must be strict laws to protect human rights. Equality is about equal human dignity and full membership in society. It must promote self-worth. Equality is about treating women with equal concern, with equal respect, with equal consideration, and with equal opportunities.

**19.00 hrs.**

Parents—father and mother—must share equal responsibilities in the home and give the male child and female child a deep respect for each other so that in the home itself, our female children are liberated from socio-economic bondage.

Madam, I call upon all my fellow parliamentariens to introduce new laws to prevent immoral traffic in girls, to enforce anti-dowry laws, and above all, to amend the penal code so that the new woman of India rises with a new vision, with our help here in Parliament—only then will, we parliamentarians we worthy of our hire and when we celebrate our century of Independence, women will be able to raise their heads in pride and Indians will have reason to be proud of our great democracy.



**SHRI SUKH RAM**

*[Translation]*

SHRI SUKH RAM (Mandi) : Madam, first of all, I want to congratulate Hon'ble Speaker for calling this special session on the occasion of golden Jubilee of Independence. During these four days, the issues of great importance have been raised. I have been a Member of this House for several years. I have never seen such a high level discussion during the last years and that too in such a good atmosphere. One important aspect on which the attention of this House has not been invited is that of ecology of 'Himalayas', I want to draw the attention towards the 'Himalayas' which include North-Eastern states, North-West, Himachal Pradesh and hills of Jammu-Kashmir and U.P. I want to draw the attention of Hon'ble Members towards that.

**19.01 hrs.**

[SHRI CHITTA BASU *in the Chair*]

Deforestation has taken place there rapidly and soil erosion is taking place very rapidly there. Many years before Vishwanathan ji had written an Article that rapid soil erosion is taking place in Himalayas and if that is not stopped then after 70 years North-India will convert into a desert. I cite an example.

Bhakra Dam was constructed in 1962 at a cost of Rs. 200 crores. It is giving revenue of Rs. 200 crores every year but due to soil erosion its life has reduced to half of its originally estimated life span. Entire country is facing loss due to this. If you want to save the Himalayas, which has plenty of resources and where there is abundant capacity of generating hydro-power, which can give prosperity to the entire country, you should save it. As far as big projects are concerned, mini and micro hydel projects are concerned, these can prove very useful. When I was having the portfolio of the Non-conventional Energy Resources department, I had decided to give 50 per cent subsidy for these projects. China has done a lot in this direction. We can provide cheaper power to villages through it. You won't find forest like 'Diyar' forests anywhere in the world. Diyar trees can be found in Himalayas only. It takes Hundred and fifty years to fully grow up. People use to cut it in half an hour to save themselves from cold. If we have to save it and if we want to save our two and half crores people living in Himalayas and the people throughout the country, then my suggestion is that greater priority should be given to mini and micro hydel projects in this area. My second suggestion is that in Himalayan regions LPG Agencies should be allotted at block level. Till the woods are cut for fuel and till we do not provide any alternative of wood, the forests cannot be saved. When I had Planning portfolio, I had suggested and it was almost decided at that time that an Eco Development Authority should be constituted for the Himalayan region comprising the Prime Minister as its Chairman and State Chief Ministers as its Members. The Ministers concerned would oversee the functioning of that Authority. Eco friendly industries have been set up there. But licence for setting up of a cement Industry was issued during the BJP regime. At that very occasion it was opposed. It was also opposed by the Present Chief Minister who belongs to Congress party but when he himself took over as Chief Minister, he signed the MOU while on the way to Shimla after his illness. I do not know how that has become a right decision now. This should not happen.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are so many issues but due to paucity of time I would like to draw your attention towards communication system which is very essential for the economic and social progress of a country. It should function smoothly and should be sustainable. Communication includes roads, railways, civil aviation and telephones. When I had the portfolio in 1993, I issued 52 lakh telephone connections during the period of three years while only 57 lakh telephone connections were issued during the 47 years in the country. The country earned Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ thousand crore during these three years. It is a matter of record. I am not talking in the air. The then Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh had also mentioned about this fact in his last speech. The country has acquired number 2 position in the field of telecommunication generation but see the irony of fate that a case has been registered against me that I gave concessions or benefits to the tune of Rs. one and half crores. Any now this matter is subjudice. I do not want to say anything but the country earned Rs. six thousand crore and it was my duty which I performed. I do not want to say anything more in this regard. Still I am an unattached Member but outside I am a President of a party. I was saying about the multinational companies that ... *(Interruptions).*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have been given an instruction by the hon. Speaker which meant for all the hon'ble members. Please bear with me.

SHRI SUKH RAM : I will finish my speech now. Others have taken fifteen to twenty minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is his desire that nobody should speak for more than ten minutes. I hope that the hon. Members would cooperate with the Chair.

SHRI SUKH RAM : I will abide by that, Sir.

*[Translation]*

It has recently been mentioned that multinational companies should not be allowed. But the country cannot progress till domestic and foreign investment is made in the field or infrastructure. Telecommunication is highly capital and technology intensive industry. But policy on telecommunications was framed during the tenure of Shri Narsimha Raoji and I got an opportunity to implement that policy. Under that very policy if you have a political will, no multinational company can acquire supremacy based on equity. Lot of pressure was exerted on me that no investment can take place till foreign equity to the tune of 51 per cent is acquired but I insisted on 25 per cent. There had been occasions when I had to agree to 52 per cent for domestic industries and I was pressurised to accept the basic tenders received in respect of the Eight States. I was pressurised by big countries but I rejected those tenders. The country earned Rs. 25000 crore instead of Rs. 8000 crore. Even Mr. Brown visited this country and I was told to sign the MOU. It involved half of Karnataka and half of Tamil Nadu. But I refused because it meant a loss of Rs. 15000 crore to the country.

Lastly, I wish to say one thing about transparency. it was the policy of my predecessors to issue licences for cellular telephones in all the four metropolitan cities. I did not change anything in that policy but this case lingered on for about two years in the High Court and the Supreme Court. I issued licences for Cellular telephones throughout the country but not a single case went to the court. This shows how much transparency was there.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, lastly I would say that I have always been a victim of conspiracy. When I was Minister of food and Civil Supplies in 1987–88, the country faced an acute drought situation but I faced that situation and not a single grain of food was imported. At that very occasion too I had to face a change. Some of my friends alleged that sugar scandal is there. There was no Congress Government at that time but I was a Member of the party. Shri V.P. Singh was the Prime Minister at that time. At that time it was decided at the high level that he is not at all involved. ... *(Interruptions)*

I would submit before you that public life is not cultivated within a year or two or four or ten years. It takes a long period to become a public figure. I would request this august House that anybody's public life should not be made victim of conspiracy. ... *(Interruptions)*. You will realise when you would pass through that situation. Only time will tell whether people are with you or not and I will be freed of the charges which have been levelled against me. Other friends are also facing many charges but these would be decided in the court only. At this occasion, I would say only that we should not tarnish anybody's public image. I would submit before this august House that if we really want to eradicate corruption, then each Minister should file his property return honestly and file an affidavit that he has no other property. They otherwise, have no right to mislead the voters.

With these words, I conclude my speech and I thank you for having given me an opportunity to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Raghubans Prasad Singhji is going to make an announcement.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS (Shri Raghubans Prasad Singh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, since the House is going to sit late in the night and arrangements for dinner have been made for all the Hon'ble Members, officers and the Staff engaged in the House. They are invited for the same, Hon'ble Members, Senior officers and Press people are to report in Room No. 70 and others are to report in Room No. 73. The Dinner would commence at 8.15 p.m.

**SHRI HARINDER SINGH KHALSA**

*[English]*

SHRI HARINDER SINGH KHALSA (Bhatinda) : Sir, first of all I share the pride which many hon. Members who spoke before me have expressed over the fact that we have completed fifty years of independence. We are genuinely and ligitimately proud of the fact that we have been able to retain whatever democratic character that we have aspired for. We have quite few achievements to our credit. Quite a few people have been talking about India not having been able to even manufacture even a needle in 1947.

I would only say that we need not unnecessarly gloat over such facts. In 1947 or before that, we were only slaves. We do not expect the colonisers to bring about that kind of development. After 1947, naturally, we expected some kind of miracle from our leaders. They have been able to deliver good to certain extent. But it is pity that even after fifty years of independence more than 38 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line. The standards of poverty have been set by ourselves.

Some people say that India is rich but inhabited by poor people. Yes, India was rich and it was inhabited by poor people. But, now, I think India is also getting poorer. India as a country is also getting poorer and only five per cent, Indians are getting richer. India is also getting poorer and the people are also getting poorer. It is only the five per cent, the privileged ones, who are getting rich.

As far as political administration of this country during those fifty years, we find certain aberrations. At least I do find some aberrations. One of them is reorganisation of States. As far as the State of Punjab is concerned, we had to struggle for it. Whatever was carved out of Punjab has lift the State truncated. Nobody was satisfied with that. Another aberration which many senior Parliamentarians have referred to is the Emergency. I myself have seen the Emergency days. At that time I was a diplomat. I was in foreign service those days. We received invitation from a journalist who was not in the good books of power that be at that time.

In the corridors of power, this information has already reached. I was in the hostel of the Ministry of External Affairs at that time; the electricity had gone. Whenever there was some noise, we used to think that the police had come to pick us up. That was the atmosphere. That was the second slavery.

I only hope and pray this the country will never see such leaders who according to their wisdom thought of clamping the Emergency. For the first time, the image of our country was tarnished internationally. We had nothing; there was none to defend whatever was done in the name of Emergency.

Another aberration which has also been referred to by my party leader, Shri Barnala was about the events of 1984. You had created a Frankenstein just to suit whatever aspirations you had; and when that Frankenstein threatened to devour you, you had eliminated him. But in the process, you razed to the ground, the holiest place of minuscule minority which is just 1.5 per cent of the population and which, according to their own vote calculation, is nothing. Who did this? It was done by those who swear by secularism.

I have not been able to understand the meaning of secularism. I think, it is a misnomer. What probably they wanted to convey to the world was that they would not discriminate anyone on the basis of religion, and that, they would not be pro-one religion or anti-another religion. But to say that we had turned secular and to incorporate it in the Preamble was something, if you allow me to say, irrational.

What is communal and what is secular? A secular is one who is concerned with the affairs of the world and not sacred or monastic or ecclesiastic. That is called secular. Similarly, secularism means showing scepticism of religious truths or opposed to religious education. That is called secularism.

There is another meaning, a totally different meaning, that is, something which occurs in a century or an age. Now, in no dictionary of the world, secularism has a meaning which we are given to believe here. I do not find anything wrong with the word 'communalism', just because this word has been used here so many times with contempt. So, communalism has now become an abuse. What is communalism? It is a principle of communal association of a society. What is commune? I have a feeling that the powers-that-be, instead of providing basic amenities to the people have been trying to mesmerise them by populist clinches. That is the drawback. It is very difficult to draw out a strategy to do planning, reach to poor man. It is very difficult.

It is as if so easy to resort to some gimmicks and cliches. You cannot feed teeming millions of people by mere cliches. Now, there has been a talk about population, about criminalisation of politics and also about decentralisation. I think if this country has to progress, if we really want this country to dwell in a vigorous manner, it is important that power is decentralised. Every Indian should have a feeling that he or she has some share in the process of ruling as far as the country is concerned. That he or she will feel so only when power is decentralised. We have failed to give economic and social freedom. We have failed in many of our policies. There was a time when a *mantra* was given to nationalise this and that. It was said that this does not run well and so it has to be nationalised as if nationalisation has become nationalism. After 45 years, suddenly, we came out with another *mantra*, that is, to make it private. Now churning of all these *mantras* is not going to save this country if we really want the nation to progress in the next fifty years. We have to learn from the past.

**SHRI AJAY CHAKRABORTY**

SHRI AJAY CHAKRABORTY (Basirhat) : We are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our independence with much pomp and show but I am sorry that due importance has not been given to the role of martyrs and revolutionaries who took different lines of action to liberalise our motherland from the hands of British imperialism. Shaheed Khudi Ram Bose went to gallows at the age of 18 years. Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Chandrashekhar, Master Suraj Sen, Pritilata Waddedan and so many other martyrs went to gallows for liberalisation of our motherland. It is not only that. Thousands and thousands of revolutionaries who were confined in the Cellular Jail in the Andamans were sentenced to life imprisonment after fake trial. Their role has not been given importance. Their role should be highlighted. Their sacrifices should be focussed before the nation by the Government of India. Not only that but the role of revolutionary organisations like the Gadhar Party of Punjab, the Anusilam Samiti, the Yugantar Party of undivided Bengal and Hindustan Republican Party led by Bhagat Singh should be focussed and highlighted before the nation. They have sacrificed their life and much more for the motherland.

Sir, so many Parliamentarians have spoken from different political parties on the subject being discussed in this august House. I have heard their speeches with rapt attention. I had heard the speech given by the hon. Speaker and I feel that his speech has given an extensive idea on these subjects.

I would like to raise a few suggestions in relation to the effective application of the principles of democracy, democratic institutions, economic situation and other allied matters being discussed here.

I think, democracy means representation of the people's voice with regard to rights, problems, economic development, removal of unemployment, illiteracy and meeting their needs and for regulation of their social needs. But under the present set-up of democratic institutions like Parliament, State Assemblies and local bodies, democracy has not been represented effectively due to the existing rules, procedures and provisions of the Representation of the People Act.

Hon. Members know that the parties securing 25 to 30 per cent votes rule over the country or a State, that is, over the 70 per cent electorate, disregarding the maximum number of electorates.

The Speech of the hon. Speaker has also exhibited that 60 per cent of the total electorates have been exercising their franchise in the last few elections. Forty per cent of the voters have not been exercising their franchise. It is nothing but a lack of consciousness on their part. Even though 60 per cent electorates cast their votes, the candidates getting 25 to 30 per cent votes— considering the number of candidates contesting in the field—become the representatives of their constituencies. Therefore, I think that the system of proportionate representation of electorates should be provided through democratic institutions like the Parliament and the State Assemblies by enacting new laws or amending the present Representation of the People Act.

If the political parties are allowed to play their effective role in the election instead of the candidates, the concerned political parties can select the best possible candidates for the legislatures. Then, there will be representation of the highest quality in the Parliament and the State Assemblies. They can deliver constructive speeches on different issues in the Parliament and the State Assemblies on the Bills and the Resolutions.

Corruption, right from the highest level to the lowest one, has come in the forefront in the speeches of different speakers. First of all, we have to check corruption in the elections.

Election Reforms are urgently required to check corruption. The expenditure incurred in the election by a candidate of a political party should be borne by the State or the Centre or jointly by the State and the Centre. It is also alleged that some political parties—I do not want to mention the names—are taking huge amounts of subscription from the big houses and multinational companies. Certainly, without any return or interest they cannot pay that subscription. Of course, I am proud to say that my Party do not indulge in this practice. If the States bear the expenditure of election, in that case corruption may be checked. Corruption is everywhere.

A number of speakers have already mentioned it, particularly our senior-most Member of the House and our Leader has moved a Resolution in this regard. That has been endorsed by hon. Members like Shri Jaswant Singh, Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev and many others. I also wholeheartedly endorse that Resolution. It is the duty of the politicians, the duty of the members of Parliament to set examples before the nation. Many Members referred to Mahatma Gandhi. What did Mahatma Gandhi say? We are not following his life style. We are habitual to lead a luxurious life. We should set an example before the nation by following a simple life style so that people can be enthused.

We know, in some States there is blood-shedding every time an election is held. There will be booth-capturing, rigging and snatching of ballot boxes. I know in some States the bulk of the people have never gone to the polling booth or rather they are not allowed to go there to cast their votes, and somebody in their place casts votes on their behalf by forcibly capturing the booth that putting *chaappas* on the ballot papers. This is the democracy that we have. People are losing faith in the democracy. I am rather compelled to say that the people are frustrated to see the conduct of the Members of Parliament.

It is also mentioned in the speech of the hon. Speaker the we create noise in the House and that we do not maintain discipline in the House. We create unnecessary *hullagulla* and march towards the Well of the House in order to attract the attention of the Press and the Media. If I am speaking on some subject, my speech will not be published in the forefront but if I enter the Well of the House and show undisciplined behaviour, which is unbecoming of a Member of Parliament, next morning it will come in the front page of the newspaper. So, I would say that the Media are rather encouraging this undisciplined action of the Members and thus they are responsible for people losing faith in the democracy. People feel frustrated to see the actions of the MPs and the politicians.

So, it is our duty to restore faith and prestige and maintain dignity of the Parliament. I hope the Leaders of all the political Parties will sit together and adopt the Resolution unanimously so that the message is conveyed to the entire nation that we are working for the betterment of the future of our country.

*[Translation]*

SHRI TILAK RAJ SINGH (Sidhi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to submit one thing. I would like to know this much only from you as to what sort of process it is. Someone is given the ninth position and the ninth place is made 8th or 14th or 15th. After two days his name is abolished. Whether he would be given a chance to speak or not?

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You ask your party chief whip please.

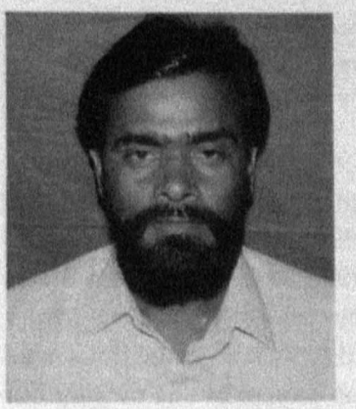
*[Translation]*

Talk to the Chief whip please.

SHRI TILAK RAJ SINGH : We have been sitting since the day before yesterday and even we were sitting the whole night yesterday, so would the number be abolished in this way.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Talk to the Chief Whip of your party.

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR (Satara) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would talk to the party leader but how the names given through the party go up and down, this should be informed?



**SHRI BUDHSEN PATEL**

SHRI BUDHSEN PATEL (Rewa) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to congratulate you for the opportunity given to me to speak in the special session convened by the Hon'ble Speaker.

There was British rule prior to freedom and when the Britishers used to live in this country they used to treat the Indians in a step motherly manner. They used to treat Indians as second grade citizens but they were rooted out of the country by the citizens of this country collectively. The country got freedom on 15 August, 1947 and now 50 years of freedom have passed. At the time when the freedom struggle was going on, 400 people were hanged and out of those 400 people 365 belonged to minority and backward class community. They got freedom for this country by kissing the noose. Now after 50 years of freedom, these minority communities are being given step motherly treatment. The proud Muslims of this country who fought the freedom struggle staked their lives have been given step motherly treatment. In 1947, Muslims were 35 per cent in Government jobs but today they are one per cent. What is the reason? Have the Muslims given up going to schools? Have they given up studies? It is not so. Muslims are the natives of this country. That is why, they were given step motherly treatment during these 50 years. The Muslims of this country have ruled this country for 800 years. Today, 90 percent of Muslim women are engaged in Bidi making. They sell bangles but the people in power have never turned their heads towards them.

On the other hand, the natives and proud Sikh community who staked their lives, shed blood and made sacrifices were also given step motherly treatment in this country. In 1984, when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was assassinated, Sikh living in any part of the country be it Rewa or Delhi, were killed, their houses were ruined and their mothers, sisters and daughters were raped. If they had turban on their heads, they were killed but the persons in power never paid heed towards them. Their reports were never registered. They never got justice. They did not get compensation. But on the other hand, when Mahatma

Gandhi, who is called the father of the nation was killed in 1948 by a high caste Brahamin, Nathu Ram Godse, no other brahamin was killed. This sort of step motherly treatment is being given.

My submission to you is that if there are one hundred persons in this country and there are hundred loaves of breads, then each person should have one loaf of bread but this norm is not being followed in this country. When the country got freedom, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel was made the Prime Minister by the people of this country but this step motherly treatment stopped him to become the Prime Minister. It was said that Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel belonged to backward class and if he was made the Prime Minister, there would be class struggle in the country. Today, when the backward class person comes forward, those who are ruling, claim that these backward class and scheduled castes persons are coming forward which would lead to class war and civil war in the country. Therefore, the casteism is prevalent in the country.

When Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru became the Prime Minister of the country, there were 3 percent Brahamins in jobs but today they are 62 per cent. Those who are ruling have never paid attention towards the backward class people. Baba Saheb Ambedkar gave reservation to the backward class people but they did not get it. 52 percent backward class and 12.5 per cent minority class people, total 64 per cent, such society is on the cross roads. It is like football. As 11 persons from this side and 11 persons from that side kick the football in the playground, likewise sometimes they go to this side and sometimes to that side. None has pondered over them. We must think about them.

Everything goes on in the name of castes in this country. There is communalism in the name of casteism and there is terrorism in the name of casteism. If there is terrorism in the country, then it is on the basis of casteism. If the Prime Minister of this country from Pandit Nehru to Narasimaha Rao has written any thing, then it was on the basis of casteism. The Brahmins, Kshtriya and Baniya community constitute 15 per cent of our population. They have 87 per cent jobs, 94 per cent land and 97 per cent industry of the country. People say that poverty should not be encouraged. When Pandit Nehru became the first Prime Minister of the country, the poor were 10 per cent of our population, today they are around 35 to 40 per cent. The poor are poor because 15 per cent people have 97 per cent capital in their possession. Among the member sitting here, 460 Members belong to the society which constitutes 85 per cent of our population. They have come from all the political parties. In view of the casteism prevalent in the country, I urge upon all these parties that tickets for contesting elections should be given to the people of various castes on the basis of their proportion in the population. If they do not get ticket, the down trodden and the backward class people would remain in the village.

I would like to submit that Baba Saheb made the Constitution. Baba Saheb intended that they should have participation on the basis of their proportion in population. He passed away after making the Constitution but the people who were implementing the constitution believed in casteism, partiality, inequality and they have not completed the quota of scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes even after 50 years till date. God alone knows when the intention of the Constitution would be fulfilled. The principles of equality, fraternity and justice have been enshrined in the Constitution. Nothing is done without it, but in practice everything is done on the basis of Manusmriti. The entire work is going on, on the basis of the Manusmriti written by Maharaj Manu three thousand years back. Here prevails the law of Mandodra. Outwardly, there is the Constitution of Baba Saheb but inwardly there is the Constitution of Manusmriti. All these people have been brought up in an environment where casteism is prevalent. There is none who do not want to foster casteism. Everything is going on, on the basis of casteism. When everything is going on, on the basis of casteism, then casteism should be eradicated from this country. But when we raise the issue of eradicating casteism, we are charged with giving encouragement to casteism. Those who are enjoying on the basis of casteism, charge that we are doing the wrong. Today, the government is run by I.A.S. officers. These 15 per cent people who are holding 80 per cent jobs, industries are the people of upper castes. The people of lower castes have been neglected. I would like to submit that many things have been said about criminalisation of politics. All the hon. Members have spoken about criminalisation of politics. I would like to submit that criminal is not responsible for it. You do not stop crimes. If all the hon. Members and leaders who are sitting here, go through the morning newspaper, they would find that a backward class, tribal or a scheduled caste girl has been raped but it has never been heard that a Brahmin girl has been raped. What is the reason behind it? I would like to submit that I have resentment over it.

50 years have passed since we got independence and our mother, sisters and daughters went on being raped in villages. They earn money by putting in hard labour. Those who costitute majority of voters do not get justice.

I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

**SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN**

*[English]*

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Coochbehar) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Under the initiative of the Government of India and the State Governments, on the 15th of August Golden Jubilee Celebrations had been observed throughout the country. But at the same time, we should not forget that 15th August 1947 was the day when India was partitioned into two nations, India and Pakistan. It is also a fact that on that very day the 15th of August, 1947, the constitution of our country was decided from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Kutchch to Kohima. India is our motherland, but that mother has lost her spinal cord on that very day. After that, you cannot expect that India will grow as India. Yes, it was the partition of India.

I do not like to mention here who was responsible for that. It is a fact that it was not Muslim League alone who was responsible for it, my Congress friends cannot deny that. Hindu Mahasabha is not there. The Hindu Mahasabha friends cannot deny it that they are also responsible for it.

Then what happened in these fifty years? It is blood bath. Two thousand communal riots took place throughout the country and a lakh of people were killed. Refugees are coming from this side and from that side into India. Who is responsible for it? Definitely, I can say straightaway that Mahatama Gandhi is responsible for it.

Our friends on that side have done a lot of damage to our country. They have destroyed the Indian culture by destroying Babri Masjid.

Still firing in Uri Sector is going on. It is the partition which is responsible for that. I do not like to say hat Mahatama Gandhi is responsible for this.

I have gone through the articles written by Mahatama Gandhi in the *Harijan Patrika*. What he said to publisher of the *Harijan Patrika*, Shri Desai was that "I am very much tired now, I am very weak and I am helpless".

It is because this is an allegation. These affectionate leaders were very much hungry for power. They liked to sit on the chair of the administration. It is a known fact. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Leader of the Opposition, must be knowing that Gandhiji was not here on the 15th of August. Why? He was in Calcutta. Emissaries were sent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Rajagopalachari, but he did not come here. But I am sorry to say that this is the other part of the history. We cannot forget that. We cannot forget the history of freedom struggle.

In 1857, Mangal Pande was hanged in Barrackpore. Shri Pawar knows the fate of others. They had sacrificed their lives. Khudhiram, Satyen, Kanai, Benoy Badal Dinesh and Master Surya Sen had sacrificed their lives. We cannot forget Bhagat Singh, we cannot forget Chandra Shekhar Azad, we cannot forget Asfakulla, we cannot forget Matangini Hazara and those who had sacrificed their lives in the 1942 movement. We cannot forget the struggle of Jai Prakash Narain, Aruna Asaf Ali and also Patwardhan. We cannot forget their sacrifices. We cannot forget the INA soldiers.

It was a clarion call that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had given. "Comrades, *Dilli Chalo*", were the words of Netaji. Now-a-days, some leaders are giving a cry. I do not know what is the significance of this call. If there is any God, let him save those leaders who had given a call a few days back to go to Delhi. "*Dilli Chalo*", was the call of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He gave that call. What is that call? "Comrades, in this long way, you will be hungry, I cannot afford to give you a loaf of bread. You will be thirsty, I cannot give you a drop of water but I promise you freedom if you give your blood, and sacrifice your lives."

Sir, it is this Party that had been established at that time. So we were against the 15th August Partition of India and we protested against it. We were sent to jail. All our Forward Block Party leaders had been sent to jail. Even I was at that time a school boy only. I was also sent to jail. That is history. So please do not try to take it the other way.

Sir, we must know the history properly. It is because if we do not know the history of our freedom struggle, patriotism and nationalism which have been evaporated from the country in these 50 years, would not be there. Please do not take it otherwise. It is not the Capsule History that has been near Jamuna Park. History is one thing.

We should know why Ramesh Mazumdar, the historian did not agree to write the political history, and the history of Indian freedom struggle. He resigned from that post. Why? What is the reason? He said, "I cannot write a family's history." If at all he wants to write, he will write the history of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who would have been designated as the first President of India. It was the directive from North Block and South Block that it should be Dr. Rajendra Prasad and his followers. Why?

In 1971, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was not in Bangladesh. Even then, the people of Bangladesh wrote in their history that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was the first President of Bangladesh. It is the same picture in so many other countries.

**20.00 hrs.**

But here it is called different. Why is it so?

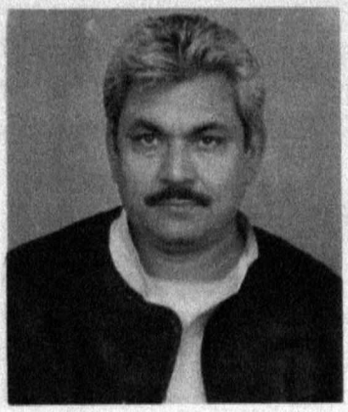
The I.N.A. forces, led by Captain S.A. Mallick, reached Moirang on 14th April, 1944 and they unfurled the Indian flag. The Azad Hind Government was recognised by 22 countries. They had captured Andaman and Nicobar, Manipur and Nagaland.

We shall have to rewrite the history. If we do not rewrite the history, then we cannot inspire our youths regarding patriotism and nationalism. If a country loses the patriotism, then there will be nothing and it will lose every thing. So, my first suggestion is that the Government should come forward to rewrite the real history of our freedom struggle.

During the last 50 years, about 1,50,000 people, who are Indian citizens, could not come to the Indian mainland. It was completely encircled by Bangladesh. There was not law and order. They were languishing under the rule of jungle. What have you done for those people? They are Indians. They are our brothers and sisters. There is no school; there is no hospital; there is no panchayat; and there is no M.L.A. or M.P. for them. They are at the mercy of the Bangladeshi people.

Lastly, I would like to say that during the last 50 years we have made so many Pacts or Agreements like Nehru-Noon Agreement; Indira-Mujib-ur-Rahan Agreement; Indira-Ershad Agreement and Narasimha Rao-Khalida Agreement. However, nothing has come out of those Agreements during the last 50 years. So, please do not forget that they are our brothers and sisters. They are the citizens of India. Have you no responsibility for them? I think, eighty per cent people of this country are Muslims. Have you no responsibility for them? Please do something for these people.

Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion.



**SHRI MANOJ KUMAR SINHA**

*[Translation]*

SHRI MANOJ KUMAR SINHA (Ghazipur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please wait. I am mistaken, I beg your pardon. The hon. Speaker has directed me to allow Shri Faatmiji at first.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I can not answer to every question. it is not possible for me.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI MANOJ KUMAR SINHA : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you from the core of my heart for giving me an opportunity to speak on this occasion. I came from the area, where the people got freedom not in 1947 but in 1942. The people of Ghazipur and Ballia had removed the British flag on 18th and 19th August and unfurled the tricolour of India. Therefore, I feel proud to speak on this occasion but when I think about it, I recollect a poem of Atal ji. Once he had said:—

"15 August ka din kahta azadi abhi adhuri hai
Sab sapne sach hone baki hain
Ravi ki shapath adhuri hai"

What was this oath of the Ravi. The people of Congress Party, under the leadership of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru were given oath of full independence on the bank of the Ravi on 26th January, 1929 but this oath sank into the river Thames of England.

We have got incomplete freedom. The achievements of last 50 years of independence have been discussed here.

I do not say that our achievements are nil. Certainly, we have made some achievements. But we have seen our dreams being unrealised during these 50 years. What can be the basis of assessing your achievements of 50 years. Should these be assessed on the yardsticks of the dreams of Mahatama Gandhi or the values that prevailed at the time of freedom struggle or on the basis of the directive principles of the constitution. These can be some yardsticks on the basis of which we can evaluate the achievements of these 50 years. The sentiments of the makers of Constitution can serve as the parameters for such evaluation. The pace of development can be assessed on the basis of the ideals of National Movement but it would be futile to assess the achievements of these 50 years on the basis of the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi since Gandhiji was forgotten when this country got freedom. When the country became independent on August 15, 1947, Mahatama Gandhi was not in Delhi at that time. Our friends has told that when tricolour was being hoisted in Delhi, Gandhiji was walking bare foot in the streets of Noakhali. He had become irrevalant for the Congress Party at the point of time. Congress got involved in the politics of power. If people had followed tenets of Gandhiji at that time, there would have been no need to chant the name Gandhiji time and again today after 50 years of Independence and the country would have treated on a altogether different path. It is worthwhile to note that in that very meeting of the Congress Working Committee, the resolution for division of the country was also passed which hurt Gandhiji's feelings deeply but he kept quiet. But I think he was more vocal through his quietness. The people of the country could not understand as to why Gandhiji remained silent. I am happy that we have been discussing on many issues here, but we need to take account of these 50 years very sincerely and I think that the word *parivartan* (Change) is a word of first person singular number. It is easy to deliver a good speech and propound principle but it is difficult to put them into practice. If we do not put them into practice, I think our speeches would be just merely shallow preaching. The word *parivantan* (Change ) itself is a word in first person, singular number which connotates as to what I say, can I put that in practice or not. If this sort of feeling inculcates in the minds of people of our country, there would be dearth of nothing in this country. We have got natural resources in abundance and ages old cultural heritage and we can also take pride in our national identity. Our country still has to go a long way. Vajpayeeji has said that a period of 50 years is not a long period in the history of a nation. But at the same time, in this scientific era, if this period of time is not long, still it cannot be considered a small figment of time.

The Directive Principles of State enshrined in the Constitution could be made a basis for it. Our Constitution makers in one way or the other have tried to enshrine those principles in the Constitution which were propounded by Gandhiji during the struggle for freedom. When we ponder over these Directive Principles of policy, we find that previous governments used to try to implement them, programmes, were to be implemented considering them as a base and policy statements used to be made in the House on that basis. But Governments today seem to be altogether unmindful of them. If the Congress Party would have implemented these directive principles of policy and adopted it to the need of changing times, I think, the results could have been good. But it is being said that this system of governance has failed but I think that system is alright. As we did not tread on the right path, that is why we could not reach our destination. This is my own perception. assessment of our functioning during these 50 years of Independence can be made in a way. For that, we can perceive whether feeling of mutual cooperation has increased or decreased in our society, brotherhood among the people of society has increased or decreased, how long can we pull along together, this could also form basis to judge that. I feel that this feeling did not get encouragement in the past but politics of slogans has emerged on the fore. Our one colleague was speaking that "our vote your rule" would not work. Such sort of slogans are being given now a days and these slogans are not going to deliver any good for the country. Those who feel pain for dalits and backward and the Members sitting in the House irrespective of their caste, have the same feeling that they want to do something for the deprived and backward people of society and that only has been their purpose to enter into politics. I think that by giving such type of slogans cannot deliver good for dalit, backward and minorities of the country because these slogans are far from the truth. Those who delivered good for these sections of society, they did not give such slogans. They are going to pay a big joke with the people of the country. They should avoid giving such slogans. We also want that those who have been deprived of opportunities since a long time, they should also get equal opportunities. Those who have not got justice, they should get justice. If they start creating tension in the society, It would be a big blow on the unity and integrity of the country and the country will not be in a position to make up the resultant loss in the comming time. Need of the hour is that we should understand this theory that social awareness cannot be created by stoking casteism and creating narrow feelings.

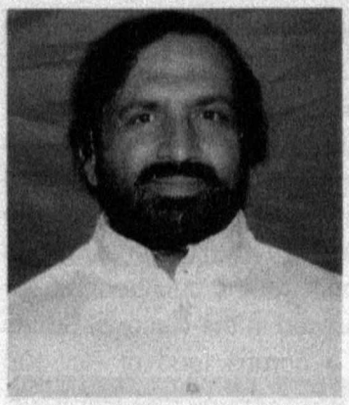
Of course, citizens have become aware of their rights during these 50 years. They are also keen to get something. Such type of arrangement could not be made in the government machinery in this country. There is a need to do something which could enable us develop a suitable system of governance.

There are three types of problems in India—first, how to eradicate the evils which we have inherited from the British regime; secondly, how to further the objectives of the national movement; and thirdly, how to solve the day to day problems of this country. We have to tackle them. The entire nation has to solve these problems.

As I have told earlier, if politicians go on playing with sentiments of the masses to serve their ends and if the problems of dalits, backwards and minorities are not solved, it will create disappointment in the society and that will prove fatal for the country. There is a need to discuss basic problems today. I have been listening to speeches on this issue for the last four days. On the issues of rising population, education policy and employment, the basic views of all the leaders be they of the BJP, Communist Party, Congress or any other party are almost the same. Every member wants that rising trend in population should be arrested, the people of the whole country should be made literate. Everybody should be provided employment. What is the need of such types of slogans today? We have got a tradition of our own. If we could march forward in the direction to solve these problems following our traditions, this special session could prove successful. Otherwise, the coming generation would say that the rounds of speeches continued for four days, all made good speeches but nothing concrete came out of that session.

I will conclude my speech after making reference to a point. The country is passing through a dangerous phase. Values upheld during the freedom movement are disappearing, social conventions are getting vitiated. Consumerism is fast gaining ground and it has an adverse impact on the society. National unity, equality and respect for all religious have been the values of our social life. We have to follow them sincerely. Trading of wrong charges it is not a good practice. The other day, I noticed that some people have become so expert in politics that they concoct a principle for everything as and when required. I am a new come to this House. I came across two principles in one year. One principle, was come what may, keep the BJP away so that it does come to power and the second principle which I came across is come what may, avoid the elections again. Could you do any thing good for this country? They are debt in the art of propounding principles and then asserting it's rightness. I would not like to waste time in explaining this tendency of theirs. I know that you are going to ring the bell.

We are marching on the wrong track in the economic sphere. We are distracted from our right path and dire consequences of which have begun to come before us. We are in a fire on the issue of policy of so called liberalisation. We are in anillusion that foreign companies would bring money for the development of our country. But the truth is that foreign companies will come here only to earn profits. It has been the experience throughout the world and India cannot be an exception to it. Our leaders who are in the Government are reverting our county to slavery and the country is paying for their foolishness. The burden of foreign debt has been mounting. We have been taking loans not only for implementing schemes but also for meeting routine expenditure. And this trend is continuing. We became more dependent on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund by the time we reached 1990–91. A dreadful situation has arisen. A number of industries have gone into the hands of foreign companies during the last five years which is indication of a dangerous position, our country is going to face and at the same time, you are also about to ring bell which is not going to spare one. Therefore, I am going to conclude within one minute. I am apprehensive that the country might get trapped into economic slavery. This as a second aspect and that is also alarming because disparity among people is in creasing, people are becoming desperate. The people might take a resolve to destroy the houses of affluence founded on the foreign capital. Our country India is a ages old country. Our democratic traditions are not new. Right from the Rigveda to Atharvaveda, the woods such as numericals, calculation, committee and assembly were in usage in our country. All these have there origin in this country itself, we have not borrowed them from anywhere. Ages old panchayat system was in vogue in our country somewhere. It may be difficult to overcome these dangers but to overcome them, we will have to inculcate a feeling of national pride among people, which is very essential. Their morale may be rejuvenated, a new awareness may be created among them. We are not a weak and helpless country. If we could do so, then I think perhaps our country might march forward in right direction. With these words, I conclude.



**SHRI SURESH KALMADI**

*[English]*

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Pune) : Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

On the occasion of the 50th year of India's Independence, it is a good time to assess the situation in the country as far as human resource development is concerned. The investment in the human resource is that investment of a nation. Sir, it is Disreli who said that a politician looks only at the next election but a Statesman looks at the next generation. So, human resource development is important. I think that after 50 years, it is good time to assess the situation of HRD.

Today, I want to speak on sports because sports denote the national pride. When the Indian flag does not go up in the Asian Games or the Olympic Games, there is a hue and cry. The country hangs its head in shame. So, we have to have sports on a different footing because sports denote the national pride. Sports also bring forward national integration. Irrespective of caste and creed, all the sports persons come together. This is also one of the reasons why sports has to be encouraged. Sports build a healthy body and a healthy mind and so is the importance of sports.

It was Shri Rajiv Gandhi who created the Ministry of Human Resource Development and was instrumental in increasing the sports' budget by seven times. In the Golden Jubilee year, it is really a time for introspection. The sports scenario has to be talked about. Our country of one billion is doing badly in sports. I think, it is time to wake up. There is a hue and cry only after we do not get any medal in the Asian Games or the Olympic Games. After that, we do little to improve the situation. Who is to be blamed for this dismal situation? All of us, whether it is a school teacher who does not give enough time, a principal who does not give enough time for sports activities, parents who do not allow their children to go to the playground in the evening and give them books and more books or the government which had allocated only 0.0001 per cent of the total Budget for sports, are to be blamed. Other countries like Germany allocate for per cent total Budget for sports.

The industry, whether it is the private sector or the public sector, also is not taking sportsmen in their organisations as much as it should. Then, the various sports federations should take much more interest and they should be much more accountable. There is no doubt about that. In addition to that, the sportsmen themselves should develop their skills. So, all have to be blamed for the present very low standard of sports in our country.

Sir, we are a country of cricket, cricket and more cricket. Cricket is played only in seven countries of the world whereas the Olympic sports, whether it is football or the indigenous games like kabaddi or kho-kho are played in many countries. But they do not receive total support. We have to have a social change through our television and the Press media. Now, one Cricket Series is just over and another one is about to start. The Doordarshan is covering only cricket throughout the day, with live telecast in the day and highlights in the night. So, the youth of our country are looking towards cricket instead of Olympic sports which are played all over the world. This is happening only is this country. Therefore, some collective effort has to be taken. This is definitely a social objective.

Sir, we neither follow the Chinese system where they go in for a 10 year training programme nor the American system which is the privatisation of sports. We have to go in for an eight year programme of sports training and we have to go in for junior coaching programme. We have to define the role of the Central Government, the State Governments, the Sports Authority of India and various other sports federations in the promotion of sports in the this country. Unfortunately, today the Sports Authority of India is a white elephant. The stadia under the charge of the Sports Authority of India are disintegrating. They are being used for *baraat* purposes and for housing Stock Exchanges instead of conducting sports events. The ends of these stadia are so high that sportsmen are not using them. Then, the Sports Authority of India is not given a proper budget which it needs. The stadia built during the Asian Games are in a dilapidated condition today and the usage of these stadia is only 25 per cent.

Sir, it is also time for reviewing the various schemes of the Sports Authority of India. Even the Tata Consultancy Services which was employed for this purpose wanted the Sports Authority of India to scrap most of its schemes and go in basically for building up the infrastructure which is required to look after the coaching programmes. There is a need for foreign coaches to come to this country. There is need for knowledge of sports medicines. Then only this

country can come on the sports map of the world. Last time, for the preparation to Asian Gases an amount of Rs. 20 crore was given, but that money came after the Asian Games was over. I had requested the Minister of Finance to give at least Rs. 30 crore, but well in time, before the Asian Games so that teams from our country could go out and have a lot of international exposure. Out of a budget of Rs. 80 crore, we get only Rs. 2 crore for the training of our national teams in various disciplines whereas all the other countries, including China, are spending about 50 per cent of their budget on their national teams. This anomaly has to be removed.

I now come to the guidelines issued by the Government on the 16th of July this year. These guidelines are draconian in nature. The autonomy of sports' federations cannot be challenged, as per the Olympic Charter. When we are in the era of liberalisation, it is surprising that the Government is bringing in draconian guidelines. They want a Government representative in the election of sports' federations. This does not happen anywhere in the world. The sports' federations are independent everywhere. The government should look after the federations, service them, and give some money to them.

Sir, today the sports' federations are blamed for the deteriorating standard of sports and games in our country. The politicians are also blamed for this and it is said that the federations are not doing enough to promote sports in the country. But the federation are not getting any money from the Government. They are raising money on their own. The politicians have also done a lot for the promotion of sports and games in our country. The politician have raised money for conducting sports events. A politicians who worked in the Department of Sports had said that more money should be given for sports and clearance should be given for our teams to go abroad and get training. I say that the politicians have taken a lot of interest in the promotion of sports in this country. Shri Sharad Pawar has brought kabaddi on the sports map of Asia and Shri Priya Ranjan Dasmunsi has brought football on the sports map of Asia. When Shri Dasmunsi was the Minister, he relaxed the rules regarding import for bringing in more sports goods from abroad. When Shri K.P. Singh Deo was Minister of Information and Broadcasting, he gave priority for coverage of sports on Doordarshan.

Shri Jagdish Tytler and Shri V.K. Malhotra have done their best in promoting Judo and Archery. This way, the politicians have done their best. Though criticising the politicians has become a fashion, I want to say that more and more politicians must give support to sports in the 50th Year of Independence. Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev is a keen sportsman. More sportsmen must enter into politics. We need more politicians to encourage sports in the country. I think, that is very important.

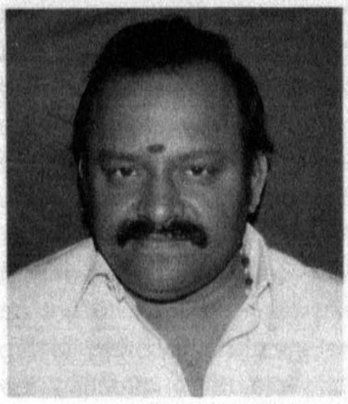
The Olympic Association has rejected the guidelines that were issued. There is a need for a dialogue between the Federation, the Olympic Association, and the Government of India with regard to the National Sports Policy. The Federations must become the backbone of our Sports Policy. They have announced in the National Sports Policy that they could create a corpus fund of Rs. 100 crore. I think, the Government has done a good job in this regard. I must thank Shri Chidambaram, the Minister of Finance, who has promised on the floor of the House that the expenditure incurred by the private sector on sponsorship and infrastructure would be exampled from tax. He had already set up a Committee, which I hope would bring in revolutionary changes in the field of sports. Otherwise, we can do nothing with Rs. 25 crore or Rs. 70 crore or Rs. 80 crore. As I said, it accounts for 0.001 per cent of the budgetary allocations. So, money should come in a big way through sponsorship. This is a must for the sports.

Sir, sports denote national pride. Unless some drastic stops are taken and unless the money come into sports, there is no future for it. There is liberalisation everywhere, and there must be liberalisation in the field of sports also, Doordarshan, Star TV and other channels must focus on these Olympic sports. This is my appeal to all of them. I would like the industry to come forward in a big way to help the sports. Each industry must be a sponsor for at least one sport. If they do that, train the sportsmen on the basis of an eight-year plan, send the teams abroad, and give them spots medicines, then it will change the direction of sports in the country. It will also be good for the industry. We are thinking of starting corporate games as well. Unless the industry provides jobs to coaches and sportsmen, I do not think that we will be able to step forward.

Before I conclude, I would like to make one point with regard to the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces must also look after the sportsmen. They are doing a lot for the sportsmen, but still they must come forward in a big way to look after the sportsmen.

When you talk about the manpower, there is a difference between the Indian Armed Forces and the Pakistani Armed Forces. We are always talking about the machines. But what about the manpower? The creamy layer of the youth in Pakistan is joining the Armed Forces, whereas in India, they are after MBA, IAS and IPS. So, something has to be done. When we are talking about the human resources, the recruitment in the Armed forces must be seen in this context.

Sir, the time has come to forget the post and to look ahead. Let us accept the challenge and let us all work together, be it the Central Government, State Governments, Federations, Sports Authority of India, parents, children, and the teachers. We should make sports compulsory in all schools and colleges. Let us bring about this change. It can be done, and India can become a sporting power in the world.



**SHRI C. NARASIMHAN**

*SHRI C. NARASIMHAN (Krishnagiri) : Mr. Chairman, on the occasion of the golden jubilee celebrations of the Indian independence, during the deliberations in the special session of the House, the vital issues that are before us is to find the ways and means to safeguard the hard won freedom and democracy of this country. The whole world and the people of India watch us as we discuss these issues. We have completed fifty years of our political freedom. The next important duty lying ahead of us is to win economic freedom ensuring economic prosperity of this country. Every citizen and every voter of this country are closely following the contributions made by each and every member of this House who represent the people of this country. It is true that they hope for a right answer from the representatives. What do we do those who elected us and enabled us to win the elections? At a time when we have completed 50 years, what have we been doing all these years to overcome our hardships and economic problems? Alongwith we members, the people of the country are also looking forward to the outcome at the end of these discussions that go on day in and day out. We must work towards economic freedom. We must ceaselessly and fearlessly bring about socio-politico-economic changes to usher in a prosperous era. The aims and objectives of our freedom should be translated into action through the plans and schemes of the Government and should reach the masses of this country. The same is being amply emphasized by our people's leader Thiru Moopanar and he has been insisting upon finding the ways and means to achieve this popular goal. We must build a strong India; we must bring about a prosperous Tamil Nadu; we must rise above caste and religion; we must ensure probity in public life; we must ensure a corruption-free-administration. This is the aim or the objective of our party. These are the noble principles of our Tamil Maanila Congress. We have been reiterating these ideals of our party for long.

Mahakavi Subramania Bharathi wrote,
'We would even have the world doomed
even if a single man left out starved'
'There should be plenty for all
Eveything must be available to all
Scarcity must become scarce

We will work for it with our force'.—was the observation of the great national poet Subramania Bharathi.

Fifty years after independence we have now gathered here in this august House. We must look back to see whether we could accomplish the dreams of the poet. I appeal to all the leaders and members present in this House in this hour to do a soul search whether we have accorded priority to our responsibility. We might have evolved several hundreds of millions of schemes worth billions of rupees. But we must realise the fact that these crores meant for the crores of people of this country have not percolated down and have not reached the people they aim at. There are about 2.5 crores of people without any shelter. About 17 crores of people do not have access to drinking water. About 25 crores of people are devoid of education and are illiterate. Crores of rupees spent on various schemes do not really reach the masses. Our population that remained at 33.5 crores in 1947, has increased to about 96 crores in 1997. Our country which was in the 82nd position in 1970 in Human Resource Development potential has now been pushed back to 196th position.

Mr. Chairman, I am constrained to bring to your notice a point for consideration. The alarming increase in the population that affects our progress must be curtailed. We must arrest the growth in population without discriminating against any caste or community. We must evolve our own strategy and set our targets. We must not differentiate between Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Sikh. We must accept it as a way of life. So many of our leaders and my colleagues who spoke earlier have referred to America, China, Japan, Korea, Malaysia and other economically prosperous countries. But they have failed to point out one thing. Democracy is only here in letter and spirit. In other countries democracy is not in its fullest form. It exists in some of those countries just euphemirally and put under several checks and balances. Unfettred democracy is here to stay in this country. At the same time democracy is misunderstood here. That is why we have failed as yet in

*Translation of this speech originally delivered in Tamil.

bringing about socio-political-economic changes the way we want it to be. We are lagging behind in fulfilling the basic minimum requirements. We went about with Five Year Plans right from the beginning. During the period when Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were there, we had progressive implementation of various plans and schemes with the exclusion of Licence Raj. But still we remain backward without being able to meet the basic needs. We must think as to why we could not achieve, what America, the richest county with lesser population than ours and China which is more populous than ours, in all these years. We must ponder over. I feel it is my duty to urge upon this House to evolve viable measures to ensure a change for the better toward prosperity. Even if we contain population, even if we go ahead with plans in that regard, we must not forget that we have largest manpower in this country. We should give cent per cent literacy. Education for all should be our motto. We must set up more of industrial units and they should be matchingly labour intensive to provide more job opportunities. The creation of employment opportunities should be proportionate to our population. Scientific advancement should mingle with our agriculture. Our agricultural growth should get the benefits of new strides in science and technology. All the parties must unitedly work towards establishing a casteless, creedless society with a rule free from any corruption. We must help overcoming the problems and hardships faced by the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other down trodden and deprived classes, agricultural labourers, industrial workers, business community. We talk about the problems faced by the minority communities in this country. We hear their complainings about their deprivation and lack of facilities to come up in life. The freedom that was won due to the solidarity of all the people living from Kashmir to Tamil Nadu should become a real victory. We all must unitedly come forward to lift up the masses. Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the need to get food, clothing and shelter for all. We must look back and must see for ourselves whether we accelerated the pace of the progress and then we must try to make in fulfilling the minimum needs of the people.

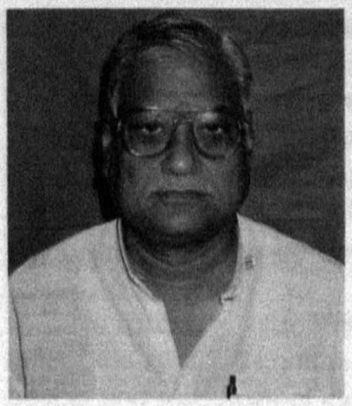
As far as public distribution system is concerned, we find villages without ration shops and villagers without ration cards. We find no roads, sewerages facilities, drinking water, electricity and enough food in villages. We are witnessing them and analysing the inadequacy in these 50 years after winning the freedom. When are we to overcome these problems that are aplenty? We talk about the lack of bus facilities and rail facilities in many places in India.

When we come to river waters, we find it as a tool in the hands of politicians. Some say Cauvery is ours. Some say Ganges is ours. They may even drown themselves in these waters but they are not prepared to share those river waters with the neighbouring States. All politicians must come forward to nationalise all the rivers. I want to change all the politicians that we have been failing the people of the country and our democracy.

The bureaucracy and the politicians in the executive must evolve a new work culture and strive to improve the lot of the people. They must avoid wasteful expenditure and must remove unnecessary controls. Whoever comes forward to control population should be considered the first patriot of this country. Next, those who come forward to increase the production and economy in this country through entrepreneurial ventures in the small scale sector should be considered a nationalist. The Governmental schemes should benefit the small scale sector. Small industries contribute more to employment generation and export earnings. The Government must come forward to set up small scale units, we must not hesitate to bring in big industries while taking care to avoid them affecting the environment and the cultural environs. Almost all of us are talking about inflation. It must be always linked with our industrial production. Today our inflation rate is at 3.75 level. But our industrial production has come to a standstill or a kind of stagnation. Share prices have come down. Investors are hesitant. We expect more of foreign investment. But we must encourage more of domestic investment. The economic measures that are being introduced by our able Finance Minister Thiru P. Chidambaram to bring about changes in our economy towards its restructuring must meet with our satisfaction from all of us. The schemes announced by him like to VDIS (Voluntary Disclosure of Income Scheme) will help bringing out the black money. Corruption is there not only with politicians alone, it is with the Government official also Nothing is free from corruption these days. We think only children are free from corruption. So we must come forward to uproot corruption at all levels. We must put our head and heart together to solve this burning issue.

On Monday when we would wind up this session I hope the Government would spell out its resolve to set things right in all spheres of our national life based on all the view expressed in this House during these deliberations. We must ensure right action to make our country a prosperous one. We must fulfil the dream of our founding fathers right from Mahatma Gandhi to the great leaders.

I for one who feel that we must feel proud to be Indians, we must build a new modern India shedding all our differences that arise out of caste, community, languages etc. Let us wok together to build a dynamic nation. With this, I conclude.



**SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI**

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very fortunate and I am proud to say that I come from Jhansi and the Lalitpur region. Jhansi is a historical place where Maharani Laxmi Bai started struggle for freedom and also inspired the countrymen to fight for the freedom of the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have to fight one more freedom struggle. But this time the struggle would be for social and economic freedom. It is unfortunate that the country still continues to rare the feeling of high and low on the basis of caste, creed and religion. This is a sign of degradation in our culture. We will have to fight against this. The Government itself has taken up the onerous task of social equality. It cannot be overlooked. We have to be a careful that hatred is not created the way of social equality. Social equality should be based on the principle of social unity. It is necessary to have a sense of fraternity in politics. There should be justice for all sections of the society. In today's politics it is necessary that all sections of the society have respectful and transparent participation in every field.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country cannot become self-reliant unless it is free from debt, everyone gets employment and water is available for irrigation. There is one more aspect also. The foreign debt and internal debt on the country has gone up to Rs. 7000 crores. We had eight five year plans so far and a single party has ruled the country for over 42 years. It had provided a stable Government. But today the situation is different. Water is not available in 70 per cent area of the country. Every year 50 thousand youth commit suicide because they do not get even two square meals. 50 lakh children become blind every year due to malnutrition. The reasons are that there were wrong policies, improper planning, wrong conventions and corrupt people on higher posts for 42 years. Development of the country is not possible till corruption is their. So also if there is no development, then creation of employment avenues is also not possible. If creation of employment is not possible, then people won't have money in their pockets and if there is no money, then poverty cannot be removed just by raising slogans, If poverty is there, then it is not possible to remove backwardness, poverty, famine, illiteracy and diseases spread among the people.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today the political thinking is going in wrong direction. Today leaders with criminal background have delivered speeches in this House. Today they have resolved in this House and people will see whether they will do what they preach or say. Today, many hon. Members have expressed concern in this House about criminalisation of politics. If we follow that we have said or resolved in this House, then certainly, politics will be free from criminalisation.

Sir, I would like to say that today the crime situation is the worst in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The main reason behind it is that in Uttar Pradesh criminals are being given protection by political pressure or due to wrong policies of the Government. I would like to lay stress on this point that the executive should work in accordance with the Constitution. There should be honesty and transparency in it. If there is honesty and transparency in administration, then I am sure that there cannot be criminalisation of politics.

Sir, I have concern for one thing. There has been a lapse on the part of our country. We have been raising slogans and today also we are raising slogans that the road to prosperity of the country starts from villages. But it has remained a slogan only. So, until and unless we think in this direction, nothing fruitful will happen. When villages prosper, then only the country will prosper because 85 per cent of the population of the country lives in villages. When the farmers' hands will be strengthened, then only something will be possible. The farmers' hands, will be strengthened when means of irrigation will be made available to them and remunerative prices will be given in the market. When remunerative prices will be given in the market, then purchasing power of the farmers will increase and when purchasing power of the farmers will increase, then they will come to market. When the farmers come to market, our factories will run. The main reason for collapse of small and cottage industries is that the farmers do not have purchasing power to purchase finished goods. These farmers constitute 85 per cent of the population of the country. Therefore, the Government should make its ideal "prosperity of villages is the prosperity of the country". Small industries cannot be strengthened in the country unless purchasing power of the farmers is increased and when the small industries are not strengthened, our youth will not get employment and unemployment cannot be removed.

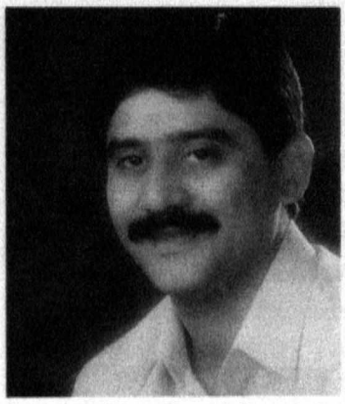
Today, I would like to tell one more thing to all the leaders present in this House. I have listened to speeches of all the leaders. I have been elected to the Lok Sabha for

the last three times. Today, regional imbalance has become a blot on the country. Today the population of Uttaranchal in Uttar Pradesh, Bundelkhand in Madhya Pradesh and Vananchal in Bihar is one and a half times more than the population of Kerala, Punjab and Haryana respectively. Today, the state of regional imbalance is such that there is no facility of education, medicine, roads, industry. Now they are leading their life in backwardness and poverty. There people do not get two square meals throughout the year. Today, I am making a demand to constitute the State Reorganisation Commission to wipe out regional imbalance. The Commission should submit its report within six months and small States should be created on the basis of this report. What is the reason that Punjab is not facing famine, Haryana is progressing and Kerala has hundred percent literacy and youth are not sitting idle there? But today Uttaranchal of Uttar Pradesh and Vananchal of Bihar are experiencing backwardness and poverty. Through you, I would like to submit in this House that if we want to make this discussion fruitful and meaningful, then we should add one more point that the State Reoganisation Commission would be constituted and the Commission would submit its report within six months. If small States are created, the economy of the country will be strengthened.

I know that you are going to ring the bell. I would like to add one more point. I recollect the day when Shri Charan Singh was delivering a speech in Lucknow. I listened to his speech. I was a student at that time. Shri Janeshwar Mishra is present here. I have also listened to many of his speeches in the university. Today, he is holding Minister's post. He has assessed the condition of the country in a right perspective. But today he is silent and confused. I hope that he would translate into action what he professed in the House otherwise some other alternatives will have to be found out. With this hope, I am repeating the words of Chaudhry Charan Singh in this House. He had said that agriculture should be given priority so that cottage industries, handicrafts industries may prosper, then Heavy industries should be given importance. Unless importance is given to agriculture, unless production of raw material is increased in the country and unless agricultural labourers try to increase the production of agricultural products to meet the demand, there cannot be any improvement in their living condition and they cannot make progress.

The economic structure of the country has remained the same. Still we could not eradicate poverty because we have not increased the purchasing power of the farmers and agricultural labourers of the villages who comprise 85 per cent of the population. Today they continue to be poor. Our country needs prosperity. But only 25 per cent of the population has prospered under the existing policy. Therefore we have to formulate such an economic system which would benefit the villages. Then we should give a call to move towards villages. Until such an economic policy is formulated, our speeches and discussions would remain fruitless.

With these words, I conclude.



**SHRI V. PRADEEP DEV**

*[English]*

SHRI V. PRADEEP DEV (Parvatipuram) : Respected Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak in this august House in this Golden Jubilee year of our Independence and it is indeed a privilege for someone like me who was born in the second decade of Independence.

Today, I shall speak on a subject of enduring interest to me, that is, the spread of education among India's illiterate masses. Education, as everyone knows, is the key to the progress of any society. Education is needed to develop one's body, as food and vitamins are needed to develop a healthy body.

After fifty years of Independence, it pains me today to note that the rural masses of my country, while striving to maintain a healthy body, have little opportunity to develop their mind. My learned friends and colleagues will definitely support me when I say that as long as my countrymen have underdeveloped minds, due to lack of education, they shall continue to be manipulated with misinformation. How can a democracy mature if the majority of the people cannot communicate with a free and an enriched mind of their own?

The worse is the case of our womenfolk. Due to lack of social enlightenment, a majority of women in rural India are denied their basic right of even primary education. Many such families feel that education is a waste of time. Children from such families are made to work or employed in

household chores because they can contribute economically through that. As these primary schools are badly managed and staffed, they do little to motivate or attract children. These very children are the future of our country. Can we, in this Parliament, remain quiet while the future of our country remains in the darkness of undeveloped minds even after fifty years of Independence?

It is difficult to achieve results in any mass programme unless the strategies and the instruments of mobilisation of people and resources of innovative and appropriate to the grass-root level conditions. The conventional approaches and instruments will not produce revolutionary results. The local people in the villages have to be trusted and local institutions have to be energised in such a manner that they bring in revolutions at the local level. If this happens in every village, it will become a national revolution. We have to work for a micro level revolution. Local people should be encouraged to find their own models in running schools. What is essentially of relevance is micro level planning. This means the whole planning approach has to be different from what it is now. It must also be understood that micro level planning means empowering the local communities to assume a responsibility in the planning and management of local institutions and programmes like primary schools and non-formal and adult education centres.

In this context, I would like to state that early childhood education of the socially-disadvantaged children with integrated services assumes significant importance. It should be recognised that the cultural gap between the home of children and the school is quite different. Unless this gap is bridged, the children will not be able to pursue their studies in the school for a period of five years after entry. Early childhood care and pre-school education is the appropriate programme for bringing in smooth and sustainable transition to the primary school of the children of socio-cultural disadvantage. Unfortunately, in India, in the rural areas pre-school programmes are non-existent.

Sir, I sincerely suggest to the Government through this august House that the following measures should be followed to realise the goals of 'Education for All', particularly in the rural regions of India.

Now that primary education is the fundamental rights, the State should introduce, and strictly implement compulsory Primary Education Act and Child Labour Act to ensure effective implementation of primary education for every child.

Effective participatory role has to be given to the local communities including planning, management and resource mobilization roles.

Low cost options have to be found in all aspects like accommodation, recruitment of teachers, learning materials etc., to ensure local relevance and affordability.

Teacher training programme have to be reoriented bringing positive attitudes and the spirit of social service among the teachers so that they work with social responsibility. Training in teaching skills alone is not enough in an developing country like ours with large population socially and culturally disadvantaged. The teachers have to motivate the children in the schools.

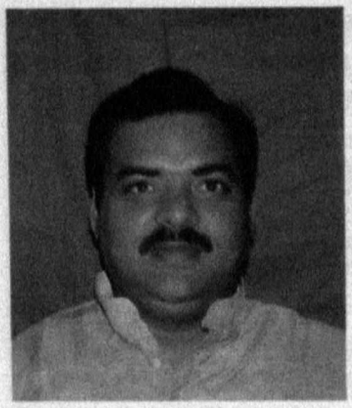
Early child-care and education programmes have to be undertaken on large scale particularly in the rural areas and for the disadvantaged children with sufficient orientation to cope with their demands and primary education.

More imaginative programme have to be undertaken through the local communities and the teachers to make the school attractive both in physical environment and learning transaction.

The value of university training consists not so much in the information acquired as in the scientific habits developed. The students should learn to distinguish knowledge from opinion, fact from theory, should be able to weight evidence, argue closely and examine fairly the opponents' point of view.

Finally, I wish to state in this august House the theme of education often stressed by our esteemed leaders since Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's era. Mere speeches in the House will not help the rural India in general and the tribal India in particular. I represent the under-developed tribals from any part of the country. What they need is education which is affordable and practical. Convent and public schools are still elitist and I suspect if the curriculum in such schools adequately garner culture and Indian value system in its programme. We need primary education brought to the doorsteps of the our rural masses with the media reaching out to the people spreading awareness and urge for education. Social ills like division in the society, corruption etc., which our hon. Prime Minister has already stressed from the ramparts of Red Fort on 15th August can be tackled in a tangible manner if we enrich the minds of our rural masses with basic, affordable and Indianised education. Media campaign on Government programme and national awareness is of no use if the target population does not understand due to their illiteracy and lack of education. Let us pledge on this year of our Fiftieth year of Independence to light the candle of knowledge through a meaningful education programme for our rural masses where the real soul of India lies.

With these words, I conclude my speech.



**SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI**

**21.00 hrs.**

*[Translation]*

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI (Darbhanga): Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all, I would like to pay my thanks to Mr. Speaker for this Remarkable effort made by him on the occasion of 50th year of our independence.

There are many bitter questions, many complex problems in the country, how we have to solve all these problems and pave a path for the progress of our country, perhaps it is not possible to find out a way by discussing all this within the short period of 4–5 days of this special Session but this lesson we can take from this session for future that irrespective of any caste, people should become united, taking all the problems of this country as a national issue and make efforts to solve them. Only then our country can make progress. I have asked Mr. Speaker that as far as big problems of our country are concerned, may it be regarding secularism, casteism or nationalism, take them one by one and convene separate sessions, close down all the doors of the House and ask the Members of Parliament to discuss about the particular problem/issue and not to leave the House unless you do not reach a conclusion. At present the people are scattered in different parts they belong to different castes and live in different regions, if something is lacking in them, that is the feeling of nationalism. If nationalism comes in our country, then half of our problems can be solved.

I would like to say that whether we could achieve something or not during the period of these 50 years, but we have been able to get this country free. We got the opportunity to enact our own laws, to run this country on our own. I do not know about the period before our Independence as I was born after our country became independent. But what I remember of my childhood is that people used to drink water from wells in those days, there were no even kucha roads, but today at least portable water has been made available in rural areas and kucha roads has also been made. Even though the desirable progress in the country could not be made. If we compare the progress made in our country during the period with other countries, we will find that our country is far behind them. I would say that as much attention was needed towards the big problems/issues, it was not given. Most of our income accrues from agriculture. Our farmers contribute the most in the country, may it be in the form of foodgrains or foreign currency, may it be agro-based industries or the carpet or sugar or goods made of cotton or the leather goods, may it be handicraft goods or the tea, coal or pulses. All are produced mainly by the farmers but nobody pays any attention towards our farmers in the near future without fail.

We have also discussed in the House about Science and Technology. I do not want to go in details. I am also an engineer. As far as I feel, since, I became engineer, and if we look at our past, will find that although we talk much about our progress but in fact how much we have progressed, everyone knows about that. Many Members have said about research work that we should give grants under this head also because ultimately research will give good results. I, therefore, would like to submit that in the near future if we want to achieve some success, we will certainly have to pay attention towards research works also.

I do not want to say much about infrastructure but I would like to draw the attention of the country towards one thing. Today, in infrastructure we include electricity or roads, highways or roadways, airports or ports. How much we have progressed in these fields during the period of last 50 years. We have before us the figures about number of rail lines laid down and number of highways constructed in the country. This is also a matter of serious concern. I specially want to draw your attention towards one more thing. If you travel just 100 kms. in this country, you will feel that you are not able to do any other work after travelling this much of distance. But our economist do not pay any attention towards it. Our highways are not well maintained, Being an engineer, I am telling all this. If you cover a distance of 100 km. within $2^1/_2$ or 3 hrs., then taking in view the wear and tear of the vehicle and human body along with the consumption of petrol and diesel and burden on the engine, you would realise the condition of our Highways.

If the roads are maintained properly, the burden of dollars for the purchase of petroleum products will be lessened and the commodities will reach far-flung areas at a lower cost. This way the entire communications system can be improved. So, I would say that the youth of India, now-a-days, who are studying in the colleges and schools do not know anything about their future. They do not know

what will be their fate after they complete, their college education. We should certainly have the right to work in our country.

**21.07 hrs.**

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

What the youth of this country are contributing to the world now-a-days? Look at the state of games, whether these are Asian Games or Olympic games, if you look at the medals tally, you will see that there is no mention of India. We provide reservation for job and employment in the name of caste and religion . But there is nothing in store for the person who earns laurels, name and fame for the country. There should be 5 to 10 per cent reservation for the people who represent the country in the field of sports. Perhaps nobody knows the President of Argentina but Maradona is at the tip of every body's tongue. West Indies is not a country. A team has been constituted from the players of small islands, and everybody is familiar with the names of those players. Nobody knows the President or the Prime Minister of West Indies. Today, when the name of India comes, it is not having any mention. There was time when we used to get a gold medal or a silver medal in hockey but those chances too have become a thing of past now. After all where is the lacuna? If the youths of this country are not brought together, the chances of emerging as a nation are far from remote. Now-a-days judiciary and CBI are much debated about in the country. The day the Constitution was framed, it was decided that for IAS recuritment there will be competition and a commission will be constituted, likewise commissions would be constituted for the people in high offices. It was also said that a judicial commission would be constituted. It is mentioned in Article 312. What type of people are occupying the seats of justice. If such people will be the judges and occupy the seats of justice, the decisions will also be of a similar nature. Poor people are deprived of their rights. Dual law is prevalent in this country and incompetent persons are occupying the seats of judges.

Sir, I would like to know as to when a common man will get an opportunity to occupy that seat? The only apprehension is that in case a commission is constituted today, 27 per cent persons from backward communities can also be able to occupy those seats and a person from Dalits can be also be there. That is why the Commission has not been constituted. I would like that the dual policy prevailing in the country should be done away with. There is a nexus to capture the Judiciary and to reign the country because they are not sure to win through the ballot-box. So through Judiciary they intend to rule over this country. Under the same law, one gets bail and another gets jail. In this country, under the same law, CBI action will be taken against one person and the other will not come under it. This dual law will not last long in this country. The time is not far away and I am sure it will come when these problems will get solved. Therefore, judicial system needs to be corrected. There are instances where a person is waiting for justice for the last 20 long years, but there is no justice. It need be, the judicial set-up should be expanded, but the way the things are going on now-a-days is not going to last long. ... *(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, under the prevailing system of education in the country, we proudly pronounce that there is 53 per cent literacy in the country, but if we go deep into it that who are these 53 per cent people, certainly, the percentage of the urban and affluent people having already a lineage of academic atmosphere in the family will be higher in these figures. You may please enquire the number of backward people, Dalits and minorities among these 53 per cent people. I don't have much data except that of Rajasthan and these are the complete figures of all the cities in terms of minority. Among Muslims, about 17 per cent people are literate and the majority among them is of these people who have studied in Madarasas. In the villages, it is 1.8 per cent. You wish that all the people should participate in the affairs of the country, all the same you want to keep the weaker sections of society at a distance and that is what has happened in the country. That is why nationalism did not come in this country. Equal status was not given to all the people. If you want development in the country, make the poor people, backward, downtrodden people and minorities people realized that they have equal participation in the development of the country.

They should also be given the equal right in the progress and wealth of the country. I am ready to give you a reward if you list out even one person belonging to the dalits, backwards and minorities out of a list of 500 big capitalists. I know you can not find even a single such person in the list of capitalists. So far as loan facility from banks is concerned, only a few from a particular type of persons are taking its benefit. Mr. Chairman, Sir, nationalism cannot come in this country, the country cannot march forward on the path of development, unless educational process, developmental process do not reach to each and every person of the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, my last question is about the population growth. Prior to that I would like to speak on Gujral doctrine. Different views are being expressed in this regard. I am of opinion that if peace rests at your home, it will be easier to fight against the neighbour and if you have

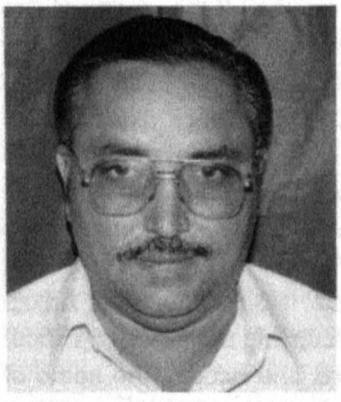
friendly relation with your neighbour, you can avoid clashes for a long time. But the way we attained the freedom in this country, is well known to us. By adopting the policy of divide and rule we were given freedom alongwith the formation of Pakistan in the neighbourhood so that we may keep on fighting against each other throughout our life.

Today, we have made our efforts to develop our harmonious relations with Nepal, Bangla Desh, Sri Lanka and even with Pakistan and these types of our efforts are to take the country forward and not backward. But we have not to distract our attention from national issues. We have fought three wars with our neighbour. But this is not the only reason of poverty in our country. Today, you allocate lion's share of the budget to Defence. All the people of the country are with the Government with regard to the initiatives taken by the country are with the Government with regard to the initiatives taken by it to develop harmonious relations with the neighbouring countries.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today the world is coming closer. East and West Germany, North and South Yaman have come closer and North and South Korea are also in the process. Moreover, regional unity is being evolved and uniform currency is being discussed. It is also an issue before the country that how to make our best efforts to come closer.

I would like to throw light on the issue how the population is increasing today in the country. The pollution has increased three fold since the attainment of independence but the development of the country could not move with the same pace. This is also a reason of the poverty in the country. Some people say that certain section of the people do not was family planning in the country. I would like to say that nobody can prevent you from adopting the family planning but it should not be a compulsion on anybody how to plan one's own family. It is siad that Muslim protest against it. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to tell you that Muslims are not against this move rather they support it. Who wants to pull on with a score of children? Who wants that his children may not get prosperous home and good education? I would like to say that today the attention of the whole world has been drown towards this aspect. I would like to cite three examples in this regard. I want to tell you about three Muslim countries. One country is Turkey which is considered the most progressive, secular and westernised country. The second one is Egypt which is considered a middle country, a religious country. Third country is Iran which is considered an orthodox country. Family Planning is gaining success in all of these three countries. You will have to take the people of the country in confidence and have to ensure that it will not be introduced forcibly. According to Islam, abortion of a baby having life if is tantamount to committing a murder. It is a preventive one it can be resolved through a dialogue? You may ask those countries how it is being adopted there? I don't think that anybody will oppose it. Today there is a need to regain confidence among the people in the country. We have completed 50 years of our independence. Some people say that nothing has been achieved but I dwell upon that a lot of achievements have been made. Here we have potentiality. Today, we need nationalism, clear conception, and its implementation.

I shall conclude after putting one more point. There are different problems in different parts of this country. Our one region also comes in Hindustan which stretches from Eastern Bengal to Eastern U.P. where unemployment, starvation is at the top but this region has the highest potentiality. The land is the most fertile in this region. All types of crops and foodgrains can be grown there. But this area has been ignored. I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards it. That area can be developed by producing electricity, channelising water system and by building dams and barrages on the rivers of that area. Get these works done to make advancement in this area. Only them imbalance can be removed and this area will flourish. Thus many problems of different areas will also be solved.



**SHRI P. SHANMUGAM**

*SHRI P. SHANMUGAM (Vellore) : Hon'ble Chairman, we have completed fifty years of our Indian independence. We were now celebrating the golden jubilee of the country that has many cultures and speaks many languages. We are now deliberating on the ways and means to strengthen our freedom and how effectively we can use it to uplift the people of this country. I would like to put on record my gratitude for giving me an opportunity to speak on this occasion.

It is our duty to recall the great sacrifice made by those great freedom fighters and pay homage to them.

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* Translation of speech originally delivered in Tamil.

In 1924, great leader of our Dravidian Movement, Thanthai Periyar happened to be the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. During that time when Gandhiji announced prohibition action plan. Periyar was the first leader who came forward to cut all the coconut trees in his farm which was about 50 acreas. He did not mind losing about several lakhs of rupees in those days all for a noble cause. This he said was against the toddy that caused great misery in the lives of the poor. Such a great leader who espoused the cause of the poor in the footsteps of Gandhiji left the Congress movement due to differences he had with Congress leaders including Gandhiji on the issue of discrimination on caste lines. When leaders asked Mahatma Gandhi about the prohibition, he said that he could not say much but it would be better for them to go and ask EVR Periyar, a leader in the South. I am proud to recall the contributions made by our Dravidian leader Periyar to the Congress Movement during the days when we were struggling for freedom.

As early as in 1930, the great nationalist poet Bharathi rejoiced the winning of our freedom. As a visionary he sang, "Let us dance to the tunes of rejoicing our freedom". I am proud as a Tamilian to recall and pay homage to Bharathi at this juncture. Bharathi sang, much before 1947, like, "Let conch shells blow to announce to the whole world our victory and let us rejoice our winning the freedom".

Likewise, upholding the Swadeshi Movement, our great patriot V.O. Chindambaram Pillai operated shipping transport service. Such are the contributions made by our great freedom fighters especially those who participated in the freedom movement from my part of India. Tamil Nadu never lagged behind. On this moment I would like to pay my tributes to all those who sacrificed a lot for the freedom of this country.

I would also like to share my thoughts on various other concerns we have been sharing on this occasion.

In 1957, when our country's population was just about 35 crores and our total budget used to be about Rs. 10,000 crores, the founder leader of our DMK, Thiru C.N. Annadurai, 'Anna' as he was fondly addressed, asked for Rs. 1000 crores for Tamil Nadu which had only three and a half crores of population. When he was confronted as to why he was demanding that much, he said that it was be put to use to tap the natural resources available in Tamil Nadu.

He pointed out the rich deposits of coal, oil and ore in several parts of Tamil Nadu. He highlighted the vast deposits of coal in Naively; oil reserves in Cauvery basin; manganese ore in Manavala Karachi of Kanya Kumari, and rich iron ore in Salem, all in Tamil Nadu, we may recall in 1997 what he had said in 1957. We would know how prophetic he was and how great a visionary he was in developing that part of our free country.

Today we find his dream has come true. We get both oil and natural gas in the Cauvey basin at Narimanam near Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu. Our leader Kalaignar Karunanidhi who is the third-time Chief Minister now went in for providing one of the basic needs to the poorest of the poor. He constructed concrete houses to shelter the Dalits even in remote villages both then and now when he is Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. It was he who realised the dream of Anna, by ways of getting clearance from the late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi for the project to set up the steel plant in Salem. As early as in 1973, our leader Dr. Kalaignar went in for providing shelter to Adi Dravidars in thousands. Such a scheme was the first of its kind in the free India when we were building a modern India. We in this House have highlighted now the problems faced by the Dalits and the Adi Dravidars. I would like to highlight the fact that our leader Kalaignar implemented a pioneering scheme for the welfare of the downtrodden by way of constructing concrete houses in rural areas. It was with the intention to uplift the depressed sections of the society. In the newly implemented Panchayati Raj system we have a three-tier local administration set up. I would like to suggest to this august House to reconsider and to make it a two-tier system. In a two-tier system the local Panchayats and the Panchayat Unions can have direct interaction with the State administration and can effectively implement several schemes meant for the rural poor. The fund flow could be faster and easier to ameliorate the poverty of the poor through the viable measures taken up with several poverty alleviation programmes. This will enable the State Governments to interact with the needy rural population directly.

Now we find some people claming that they would bring back 'Kamaraj Era' again. They must also raise their voice to abolish the District Board system which was abolished by the late Kamaraj. To usher in Kamaraj's rule we must take away the third tier in the present Panchayati Raj system. Those who swear in the name of Kamaraj must ensure this as a tribute to him. I appeal to this august House to have a review to make the Panchayati Raj System a two-tier system in the line of late lamented leader Kamaraj's thinking.

We have made many new strides in various fields after independence. We must have unity of thinking to make sure that the benefits of all the Governmental schemes reach the people of this country.

In 1945, Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan were bombed by the Americans. The radiation from the exploded

atom bombs caused a great devastation. Those towns were razed to the ground. But the Japanese people were not demoralised by that tragedy. They worked steadfast to make this country a highly industrialised country and a vastly rich country. They imported raw materials from other countries and exported the finished products to the world. We are also industrialising our country. A thrust is being given now. We make advancements in science and technology too. But we must entrust the responsibility which the technocrats.

As far as computer technology is concerned, we export software to United States and other countries. In the South, Bangalore is emerging as a computer city from which most of our computer software exports are made. Even great powers like America are after the Indians as far as this computer technology is concerned. So, I would like to suggest to this House that we must give new thrust to improve our potential in the field of computers to make the next century belongs to us.

Our country is an agricultural country. We have to increase the agricultural research to go for further advancement. About 65% of our population in dependent on agriculture. 27% among them are landless agriculture labourers. Their lot needs to be improved a lot.

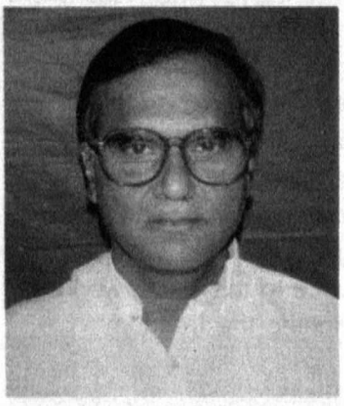
In 1960–61, Vaidyanathan Committee came out with a report stating that 42% of the land owners were owning just one acre of land. They had no other means of income and were dependent on handicrafts during off-seasons. With their meagre resources they were not able to carry out and often went for loans to commence cultivation every year. The underdeveloped state of the most of our farmers were brought to light as early as in 1961. Unless and otherwise we give remunerative prices for their agricultural produce, we may not be able to improve their living conditions and agricultural production.

Unless and otherwise we unitedly make concerted efforts at this juncture, we many not be able to prosper soon. I would like to bring to your notice an instance highlighting the need to tone up our administration making it responsive. Recently we had been to Gujarat to visit one of the petro-chemical units of IFFCO. We learnt that only about 503 villages in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh were getting their help. I wanted this number to be enhanced. I raised it here in this House too. They have not responded even to my letter I had written to them in this regard. I want this House to note that we cannot allow this kinds of unresponsive attitude from the public sector units. There should be reply to the letters from the representatives of the people.

In 1930, our population was about 30 crores. Today it has grown to 96 crores. Do we have enough of growth in all other fields. About 47% of our population is illiterate; unless we give education to all we cannot make strides in all fields. Education is essential and its importance needs not mention. We must resolve to give priority to universal literacy. We must ensure all facilities to all the people. We must pave way for an alround growth. All of us should strive to achieve this goal in the golden jubilee year of our independence.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, I have to make an announcement. Those members who wish to lay their written speeches on the Table of the House, may do so. Such speeches will form part of the proceedings.



**SHRI PRADIP BHATTACHARYA**

SHRI PRADIP BHATTACHARYA (Serumpore) : Sir, I lay my written speech on the Table of the House. I would like to place the following suggestions before you:—

(1) As our society is changing very fast and as a process of evolution man to man relationship, family to family relationship, community to community relationship are also changing very fast, it is true unity in diversity is the main bond of having unity of our country. Due to the changing circumstances of our society I strongly feel that the Constitution of India should be examined thoroughly. A Committee of constitutional experts should be constituted and after that it should be placed before both the Houses for adoption.

(2) Growth rate of population in the country is a serious subject. In 1947 we had only 33 crores of people, now it is round 97 crores *i.e.*, three times higher than 1947. According to the population we are having 'Three India' in one India. So population control should be made with all seriousness.

(a) Law should be framed that those who have more than two children will not get Government job.

(b) Those who have one child should be given concession in Income Tax.

(c) NGOs are to be utilised for full length to control the population growth in our country.

(d) National Committee consisting of all political parties should be formed with statutory power.

(e) National Population Council should be formed.

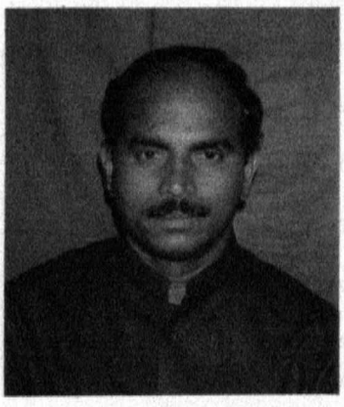
(3) National Labour Council should be formed.

(4) National Labour Policy should be made immediately.

(5) To protect the girl child, Government of India should make a policy so that the family earning less the than Rs. 1000/- per month should get Rs. 20,000/- at a time from the marriage of the girl child. This policy can only abolish the dowry system of our country.

*[Translation]*

SHRI VIJAY GOEL (Sadar-Delhi) : Mr. Chairman. Sir, please announce this also that members can lay their speeches on the table of the House on Monday also so that time of the House could be saved.



**SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV**

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV (Parbhani) : Hon'ble Chairman, Sir this special session of Lok Sabha has been summoned on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of India's Independence. This special Session will be a session which will go down in the history. We have celebrated the Fiftieth Year of India's independence. This six days of special session is a historic moment. I want to congratulate the Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha Shri P.A. Sangma as well as thanks the Secretary General of Lok Sabha and his staff who have prepared this historic documents "Fifty Years of Indian Parliamentary democracy". Today fifty years have been elapsed of our Independence. Bal Gangadhar Tilak had stated that "Freedom is my Birth Right and I will achieve it" Vee Sawarkar was incarcerated for waging struggle against the Britishers and imprisoned in the Port Blair 'Jail' of Andman and Nicobar Islands. I hope the Marathi Translater will be available here. I want to quote a sentence of Veer Sawarkar before the House—'Sagra Pran Majha tadmadla ne Majarsa ne one matrubhumila.'

Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, we have achieve freedom because of patriots such as Babujinu, Vasudo Balvant Fadke, Madan Lal Dhingra, Lal-Pal-Bal who were in their youths. Homes of many youths were ruined in this struggle mothers of many youths become widows, wives of many youths become widows, and the wards of a many youths have become orphaned. Hon'ble Chairman, Sir the existence of our democracy and this Government are be causes of their supreme sacrifice. This deliberation is taking place above the party affiliations and is meant to explore what we have gained and lost. It is not that we have not achieved anything but we have lost more that what we have gained. The purpose of this special session is to undertake the task to retrieve what we have lost.

When a youth like me came in this House for the first time and listen as well as participate in the debate he comes to the viewpoint that everybody there who have moral right to speak and those who do not have also spoke. There's a saying— 'going to pilgrimage with hundred sins"—this is the reality, a bitter truth which we witness here. I am sorry to say after listening all those who talked about polity, economy, science and Technology, poverty and unemployment, regionalism, nepotism, rural economy are involved in one or other scandal like telephone scandal, Bofors scandal and other scandals took place in our country but while delivering their speech they asked to improve our economy. When they were in power, they did not do anything. Some Hon'ble members hardly means what they say here. There's a lot of difference in their words and deeds. Even if we make number of planning and enact a number of laws, we cannot progress till there is difference in words and deeds of our politicians.

My other point is related to Hinduism about which anybody starts speaking against without giving a thought to it. I have seen it since the day I came in this House. I belong to Shivsena Party. Our definition regarding Hinduism is that only those are Hindus who are born in this country, have love for this country, its climate, its flora and founa and its rivers. The definition of Hinduism is quite vast but here anybody stands and start talking about Hinduism without giving any thought to it. I want to know that if we respect Islam, Christian, Sikh religions in this era of seculirism then why do we oppose Hindu religion? How for we will keep on going opposing Hinduism? I appeal to our great leaders who talk about secularism and communalism that if they really want to root our casteism then please restrain speaking against Hinduism, it is in the interest of all of us. Sir, Lord Ram followed the doctrine of having one wife. From then onwards this principal of having one wife only, became a part of Hinduism.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Lakshman had a true sense of brotherhood and the path of righteousness. He was an example of true Hinduisms for us. Lord Krishna rose above the relationship and imparted his whole knowledge in the form of Gita, where he preached strong discipline, from there we learn Hinduism. The affection of nature, the infinity of sky, the deepness of ocean and the motion of air, the fierceness of sun, all these have been assimilated in Hinduism. These are all five elements which have nurtured and strengthened Hinduism. A true Hindu disciple is very broad minded. The sages of this country, who loved nature in all forms, the fruits, the leaves who worshipped cow, who worshiped trees, Sun and Moon, how could they do injustice to human-beings. Hinduism has never done any injustice to anyone.

Mr. Chairman Sir, when India attained freedom, the Democratic System got strengthened in this country and we are leading a comfortable life. When this country attained freedom, eighty other nations also had attained independence. India is the only country where democratic system is being followed successfully, in other countries this democratic system has already been died and in other countries, where democracy is still continued, it is in danger. Pakistan also attained freedom at the same time when India did and then Bangladesh came into being. Democratic system in our country is not only being run successfully but it is flourishing as well as and we are living in a convenient manner. All this is due to the essence of Hinduism. Democracy succeeded here due to Hinduism and its goodness. It is due to peace and tolerance. Truth, forgiveness and peace are the basic principles of Hinduism. 'Satyamev Jayate' was the slogan raised on this land. The concept of Hinduism is given in 'Satyam Shivam Sundram'.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, saints and sages have been a part of Indian culture from past times. In Maharashtra Sant Gyaneshwar wrote a commentary on the Gita entitled 'Gyaneshwari'. I would like to quote from it:—

"Je Khallachi Vyankati Sando,
Taya Satkarmi Rati Vado,
Bhuta praspare jado maitra Jivanche,
Duritache Timir Jao,
Vishva Svadharma Surya Paho"

We have been following the doctrine of "Vasudhev Kutumbkam" which mean the whole world is a family. It has been the concept of our Hinduism. In this spirit, I hope that people would not prefer to speak against the concept of Hinduism. I would like to submit that if we want to promote broadmindedness in the country nobody would speak against the Hinduism.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when Shri Madhav Rao Scindia was speaking, there was a mention of Maharashtra and he pointed towards Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and said that if at all corruption was to be eradicated. Eradicate it in Rajasthan, eradicate it in Maharashtra. There are Shivsena and BJP are partners of power in Maharashtra. Corruption has to be removed from the country it at every cost. Shri Annahazare has made allegations of corruption against two Ministers of that Ministry namely Shri Madav Shivyankar—the Minister of Irrigation and Shri Shashi Kant Sutar—the Minister of Agriculture. Our Chief Minister have dropped them from his Cabinet. This is such first example in this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : Such type of example are not likely to be recented in India. We should take corrective measures to eradicate corruption. We should end the difference between our words and deeds, otherwise such type of problems would raise their heads.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken Fifteen Minutes. Please conclude.

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a deficit economy. Increased expenditure is reason of deficit. The non-plan expenditure has risen up to 73% of the total expenditure.

This is the misuse of subsidy.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please Conclude.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Speak your last sentence.

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have contributed 50 hours in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am also here with you.

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : This is the misuse of subsidy. Subsidy is not being provided to the States where it is actually required. Balance in respect of exports and imports is not proper. Reservation policy should be scrapped because it promotes casteism. Jobs, admissions and promotions should be given on the basis of marits. Today, there is need to stop reservation. There should be a Honesty promoting Committee of India for prevention of corruption. Honesty allowance should be introduced.

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

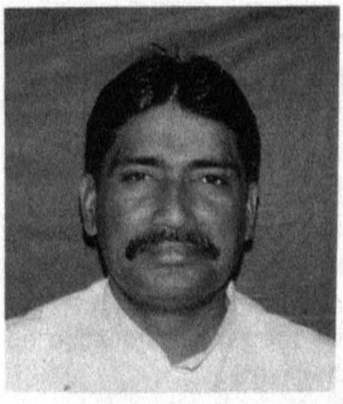
SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : Fatmiji has spoken just before me. He has taken 22–25 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not so. Don't go on those things. Speak your last sentence.

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : My only submission is that if we want to eradicate the problems which we are facing today like unemployment, terrorism, criminalisation of politics and imbalance between urban and rural areas.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Don't move on to the another point.

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : Many things are required to be done, eminent leaders have spoken before me on starvation, unemployment, economy, science and technology but my submission is that in the past also law was there and all things were being done in a planned way. But if there is difference between our words and deeds, then the purpose of calling this special Session will not be served. We must do something in real sense. My only request through you is that we must resolve here to have a firm, strong and influential India and to make India "Sare Jahan Se Achha Hindustan Hamara" and after this Session, some effective planning and programme should be prepared to keep balance. My only request to you is that we should take India ahead by meting out Justice to the youth.



**SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA**

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA (Ferozabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to thank you for allowing me to speak. I also thank the Hon'ble speaker respected Atal Bihari Vajpayee and all the leaders of the House. It's better late then never. After 50 years our leaders realised the conditions prevailing in the country. In the book published by the Hon'ble Speaker, it is mentioned that each minute in the Lok Sabha costs the nation Rs. 7000. And cost comes to Rs. 70,000 for ten minutes. For one hour Rs. 4,20,000 and for a day it comes to Rs. 50,40,000. In this way the four day session will cost the nation Rupees two crores, one lakh and sixty thousand, The money of labourers and the farmers are being spent on us and the Government of India. ... *(Interruptions)*

The only concern is that this is hard earned money. All the Members are elected from constituencies having 12–15 lakh population. A constituency having a population of 15 lakh includes farmers and workers, who elect us to Parliament. They are concerned about the role, character, commitment and honesty of the 542 members, who rule 900 million people. The people keep an eye on us. It is very essential for us to keep in mind our personality. We should bear in mind what we say, what we ought to say and also the place where we speak. I sat in the House for the entire four days—day and night. I left the House at 5.30 a.m. when the House was adjourned. I remained here full of optimism. It is very rankling that two types of policies are adopted in the House. All the members spoke how the 960 million people of the country look at the Parliament for guidence. When there is differences between what we preach and what we follow, the people then feel disgusted. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Katheria, You should know that each party supplies written whips here on the basis of which the proceedings are conducted from the Chair. You must not level any other allegation.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : It is quite right. The proceedings of this House is being telecast and broadcast, and is being watched by the entire country and the world. The father of the Nation, Mahatama Gandhi has said that the freedom would be meaningless unless the fruits of freedom reached each village. Eighty per cent of the people live in villages. It was our misfortune when it was decided to refer to our country as India and Bharat. We have celebrated in Delhi, the 50th year of our independence, with pomp and show. This was being done only in Delhi—Which symbolises 'India'. But the people of India even lack kerosene oil. Students are forced to study in the dark. Sir, I have seen your constituency also. It is beyond the ocean. What is the situation there? I have visited that region. Mahatama Gandhi was very much pained. After independence, on being asked how he wanted to serve this society. He replied that he would like to be re-born in very

**22.00 hrs.**

backward shudra society. By serving such a society we would achieve happiness. On being asked which of the two he would choose—between the happiness of his wife and the satisfaction of serving the society. He laughed and said that he would sacrifice the happiness of his wife and his family and spend his life in serving the poor and the country.

No matter how many laws we make it will not benefit the nation unless we understand the basic issues. An Indian saint reached Japan. He was travelling in a train. When the train reached a station he felt very hungry. He thought that

if he could get some fruits he would eat and drink water, to satisfy his hunger. A youth brought some fruits when the train left the station. But the fruits had marks of bitten. The saint said that the Japanese fruits were not good. The Japanese youth, took it as an affront, he immediately brought some good quality fruits. After having eaten the fruit, the saint asked the youth joyfully to let him know as to what was his desire and tried to given him some money but the youth refused the money respectfully and said, 'Swamiji, I do not want this money. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Katheria Ji, please address the Chair and not otherwise.

MR. PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : I am addressing the Chair but some of my colleagues are also sitting over there.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no. Not like that, they will listen you, they are very much in position where from they can listen you.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : My intention is to let them know also what I am saying because they are more intelligent people then us. Anyway, I was saying that when asked to beg something, the youth said, 'Swami ji, if at all you want to give me something then please give me an assurance that you will nowhere in the world never talk of anything ill against my country. You will never say that the fruits eaten by you were neither sweet nor delicious'. He was having a great regard and love for his country that is why he asked the saint not to say anything ill against his country.

Much has been talked about corruption. Corruption is the source of all kind of evils in our society. Like most of the political parties have basically originated from Congress, most of the evils have also originated from corruption. Unless growing corruption is checked firmly, I do not think, anything is going to happen in this country. If we fail to eliminate and root out corruption from our administration and day-to-day lives, any government scheme be it is scheme pertaining to the development of our country or any poverty alleviation scheme or a scheme aimed at removing unemployment—is not going to succeed. Today, out of 26.50 lakh small scale industries, 2.80 lakh are running sick. What is happening today in the country? Our population is growing like anything. Today, there are 75 lakh unemployed educated people in our country. We have seen in many States that corrupt officers are taking bribes openly from poor farmers and workers for recruiting their sons into the police force. The amount of bribery is running into 80 thousands of rupees. For instance, they are charging upto Rs. 80,000 for the post of sepoy. ... *(Interruptions)*

In several cases poor farmers have sold their 3 bighas of land to get this amount. What will be the result thereof? Unless and untill his son, who has been recruited as sepoy in the police force, earns this much money, his cane will always be working like a collector. Till he earns Rs. 80,000 he will be indulging in corruption. Further if you want to get your son recruited as Inspector, you are required to pay at least Rs. 2 lakh. Likewise there are several posts from group 'd' to group 'A' where nothing happens without bribery. If a farmer requires his ledger book of land records from a Lekhpal, he is asked to pay Rs. 50 in return only then he get ledger book. What I mean to say that things will not improve only by suspending the Lekh Pal. Things will not improve by suspending a constable or a peon. We can eradicate corruption only when the persons sitting at the top level are brought to book in case they are found involved in any such cases.

My submission is that all of us sitting in this House are crying for eradicating corruption from our society but the question is that how can we fight this problem? We all are claiming here that we are honest. In this regard, my suggestion is that we should enact a law in the Parliament providing for disqualification of a Member/Minister from the membership of the House in case he is found involved in any case of corruption. Like wise if a political party gives election ticket to a person having criminal antecedents, it should be derecognised. Merely delivering of long speeches is doing to yield nothing. I am not alleging anybody in particular. No doubt that we all are honest. But these are we people who are held responsible for the corrupt acts of IAS/IPS officers or officers holding high offices. Most of the responsibilities are shared by us. It is not fair on our part to take any kind of favour from any such officers who are working in a state which is under the rule of either my party or your party or any other party. Let us not get a member insulted by these officers just for the reason because he happens to be a member of other party.

Today several former kings and queens have entered into politics. I am not charging anybody in particular with any kind of allegations. Likewise several former IAS and IPS have joined various political parties. Now they are being given tickets for contesting elections. These people who had been against public since long and lathicharged the public, such people had committed dacoities for last 50 years and now joined polity but I would like to know as to how all of a sudden they start working in the interest of the country and public. This country cannot make any progress until and unless the wards of farmers, labourers and peons are given opportunity because IAS and IPS have no attachment with public.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : Sir, I have not spoken even for ten minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 13 minutes.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : The poison of casteism has caused much frustration among the people. All hon. Members have spoken on this issue. In this regard I would like to say that under the extreme pressure, even a small ant also retaliates. I would like to say to the upper caste people to embrace the dalits and to the dalits that many things have been done for the Dalits during the last 50 years. But if we think that we can bring about a social change with lathies or abuses that cannot be done. If we really wish to uplift them, we, ourselves have to realise the agony of dalits. If all hon. Members go on accusing the system only, that will not make any improvement in the situation. Gandhiji had said that if we create a feeling of brotherhood in the society only than we can give much more to the society otherwise not. It is all because of this that today a Dalit is occupying the post of the President of India which is the highest post in our country.

I have seen menace of casteism from close quarters in my constituency. I have visited every nook and corner of that area and have realised it. But what is happening in our country today is that if a Pandit is holding the post of a police inspector, he does not listen to the complaints of a person belonging to Scheduled Caste community. This shows the malice that is existing in the society to the extent that we dislike to see the face of each other. This evil of casteism first cropped up in Uttar Pradesh but now it has engulfed the entire country. To abolish casteism all should stop writing surnames with their names. Everybody should write 'Bhartiya' with his name.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 15 minutes.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : Sir I would request you to stop me if I am saying something wrong. I will sit down. If anyone suppresses an individual and his personality by occupying a particular post then the society would have to face its adverse consequences. After occupying a particular post one considers himself superior to others.

Ye duniyan nahin jagir kisi ki
Wakt ki har shai gulam,
Kuchh to aakar chale gaye, kuch jane ko taiyyar,
Khabardar, chowkidar, ye duniyan nahin jagir kisi ki.

Therefore, we have come over here as chowkidars. We all have to go. Many big personalities had come over here but now they are no more here. All of us have seen that the repressive acts of the Government have lowered the dignity of Parliament and democratic institutions. I would like to ask the destiny makers of our democracy as to what happened to my family members on 17th February. It is not happening with me alone but it could happen with any other hon. Member also. Where the sovereignty, unity, integrity and patriotism of this country have gone when a Member of Parliament like me was prepared to commit suicide in Lok Sabha. I requested Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who has got the honour of the best Parliamentarian, to do something for me. I also asked Shri Inderjeet Gupta as to where his conscience had gone. He is the Home Minister of this country. All hon. members have asked him the whereabouts of the missing members of the family. Nobody knows whether they are dead or alive. The media has given wide coverage to this incident but the Parliament of this country has not taken it seriously. I am still here. They should peep into their own hearts and see whether they are doing right or wrong. As long as the repression of poor people continues the country cannot move on the path of development.

Poor does not mean a Dalit. Poor people are everywhere in every society. If injustice is done to them and they are not given justice, the society cannot make progress. If you cannot realise the injustice being done to them then you cannot wipe out their tears.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have spoken a lot. Please conclude.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : Sir, I have not yet touched many points. I have not yet made out any point.

Now I come to education. So far as population problem is concerned, I would like to ask as to who is responsible for that. They were in power for the last 50 years. What they were doing all these years. Corruption did not crop up all of a sudden in the country. After all where this country is going today. Had our Muslim brethren been educated, had they been given justice, they would not have produced 20 odd children. It is a misfortune of our country that 65 per cent people of this country are still illiterate. Had they been educated, population growth would have been controlled to a large extent. Due to their illiteracy these very people clap on the speeches of our leaders unmindfully.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will call the next Speaker.

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA : Sir, I am just concluding. The debates of Parliament is a permanent record. Once anything is recorded there, that cannot be deleted from the records. The funds allocated should be properly utilised. If we do not arrive at any conclusion after this debate, I think we should forego our allowances. I think all the hon. Members from all political parties should take a pledge in the House that henceforth they would neither

give bribe nor take bribe from anyone. Through the letters addressed to Hon'ble President & Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, I would like to appeal to the people that the congress party has ruled this country for 42 years but had a Government under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee been installed at the Centre, corruption would have been difinitely wiped out from the country.

Alongwith the upliftment of dalit community, Gandhiji was also of the opinion that the villages should be made the main centre of socio-economic development. He used to remind his followers, leaders and planners of this country constantly that to the real India lives in villages and if villages are destroyed India would also be destroyed.

Gandhiji had a dream of Gram Swaraj. Once he said that if India wished to enjoy real freedom, our people had to live in villages instead of cities, they had to live in huts instead of palaces because crores of people of this country cannot afford to live in palaces. Educated people would live in villages. They would not live in dark and dirty houses but would set an example. All the men and women would be independent and by this way India would have its own identity in the world community.

The ideals and objectives of Gandhiji are still relevant. These ideals and objectives can undoubtedly bring about ethical and physical prosperity in our country. We have incorporated some main thoughts of Gandhiji, relating to the political and social structure of Independent India in our constitution which was adopted in November, 1949 and implemented on 26th January, 1950.

Eradication of untouchability was the main concern of Gandhi. Once Gandhiji was asked as to what he would like to become in his next birth, he replied that he would prefer to be born in an untouchable family in his next birth. Similarly he wrote that "I do not want 'rebirth', but if I am reborn I would like to be born as an 'untouchable' so that I could share their pain and misery"

The Panchayat will jointly function as Legislature, as judiciary and as executive. In fact Gandhiji believed that independence should start from the lowest level. In this way each village will be a democracy endowed with all powers. The villages will be the centre of power. It was for the first time in 1992 that the 73rd Constitution Amendment was brought forward and a new initiative was taken in the direction for making Panchayati Raj institutions strong and effective.

In the recent past a question that has been haunting us again and again is that in case the voters do not give a clear mandate what should be done?

There is no provision of Presidential form of Govt. at the centre. There is a possibility of reducing the significance of democracy and likelihood of dictatorship. During the last fifty years, President's Rule has been imposed more than hundred times in the States. It may be justified in some special circumstances when the extremist and separatist forces are posing grave danger to democracy as in the case of Punjab, J & K and Assam. But imposing Presidents' Rule because of political motives cannot be said to be correct on any account.

After Independence the population of our country has doubled. The problems also increased in the same proportion. Since the Congress Party was ruling for most of the years, it will be considered as their failure for not checking increase in population. The family planning programmes were not implemented properly and the successive Congress Government failed in bringing awareness among the masses about sterlisation programme. That is why these programmes remain failures.

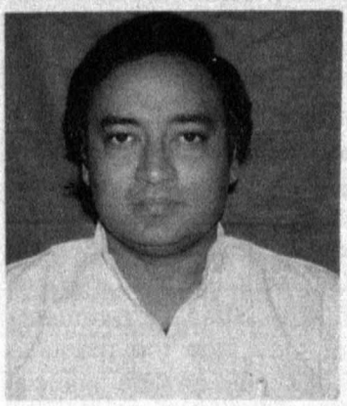
Population explosion has led to serious and complex problems in the country and today it is beyond the control of any Government to resolve them. We will have to take effective steps to control population increase. In this context I would like to submit that the Lok Sabha constituencies should not be linked to population otherwise it would be very difficult for them to keep in touch with their constituents. The population of outer Delhi constituency and Thane constituency in Maharashtra has exceeded 30 lakhs and 26 lakhs, respectively. If the elected representative claims that he can safeguard the interests of his constituents in such a situation, it does not seem to be true. Therefore, there is a need to pay attention to this.

The present coalition Government is very weak and that is why the Government at the Centre fell within one year and a new Prime Minister had to take oath. The present Prime Minister could not form a Cabinet of his choice. The coalition Government which comprises 13 parties is afflicted with ego clash resulting in indecision at every step.

The Government does not have any agenda for development and merely wants to remain in power. There is demoralisation in politics as a result of which the Ex-Prime Minister and several Chief Ministers are facing court trials. Scams and bigger scams are coming to light. If this trend continues there would be grave situation in the country.

The present political standard and character has fallen. Even the Prime Minister finds himself 'helpless' and he has made statements to this effect. When the Prime Minister of country feels helpless, whom would the lakhs and crores of poor people look towards for succour and hope.

The Prime Minister announced from the ramparts of Red Fort on 15th August that he would set up a cell in PMO to wipe out corruption. I would submit that if the existing investigation agencies like the CBI etc. be allowed to work independently there would be no need to open a cell for this purpose. In thank you for giving me time to speak.



**SHRI LAKSHMAN SINGH**

SHRI LAKSHMAN SINGH (Rajgarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me a opportunity here.

Today there is a need for a stable political atmosphere in the country. If there are problems in running this Government in future we should not hesitate in forming a national Government. If the National Government does not run then only one alternative is left i.e. of bi-party system. Democracy is strong in those countries where bi-party system exists. If democracy has to be strengthened in our country we will have to adopt bi-party system. Small parties should have the choice to merge in any party. Which ever party gets more seats should come power.

So far as democratic institutions are concerned, time has come when we should think afresh about Centre-State relations. The Government had stated in its common minimum programme that they would give more powers to states and implement the recommendation of Sarkaria Commission. Some of the recommendations have been implemented but not all. There is a need to strengthen the states so that they became self-reliant.

Sir, the need of the hour is to reorganise the country into smaller States. In my opinion if we create smaller States, there will be no danger to the unity and integrity of the country. Just as Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh were created, similarly Uttrakhand, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand should be given statehood. Smaller States have efficient administration and people get speedy justice. I belong to Madhya Pradesh. It has the biggest area in comparison to other states. The area of Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh is almost equal to that of Kerala. There are lakhs of Adivasis in Bastar district two have not even visited the state capital, not to speak of Delhi. It takes three days to reach Bhopal from Bastar. Therefore, there is a need for creation of smaller States. We should think over it seriously.

The previous Congress Government established the Panchayati Raj by enacting the 73rd constitution Amendment. This was a historic decision and the previous congress government made a history. I am proud of my state Madhya Pradesh for having established Panchayti Raj first of all. Establishment of Panchayati Raj in various States has boosted the morale and confidence of masses. It has kindled the feelings of hope and aspiration in them. Therefore, we must make earnest efforts to strengthen the Panchayati Raj System and more and more funds should be earmarked and released to the states by the Union Government.

So far as the economy is concerned, our Country has been under long subjugation of Moughals and Britishers which has naturally weakened our economy. Some intellectuals compare India with America but forget that America became independent 300 years before and we are celebrating first 50th year of our independence. Strengthening of economy takes time. Our Government made five year plans. After independence, we have fought three wars which always weaken the economy. Besides, our Country has witnessed frequent communal riots and there has been huge loss of property caused by them. In Japan, people do overtime in the factories to register their protest so that the nation suffers no loss, but in our country people resort to violence and arson causing immense loss to national property as a result of which all our schemes and projects run behind their schedule.

Hon'ble Shri Chandrashekherji said that the Britishers took away all our property across the seven seas. But I was expecting from him something on the Hawala scam. Today our crores of rupees are being siphoned off the country through 'Hawala' transactions. Today we are deleberating in this House on the important issues concerning our nation but huge sums of our currency are being diverted to foreign countries. I would earnestly request the Finance Minister to make stern laws so that those indulging in Hawala transactions could be punished effectively.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we have formulated new financial policy may have some demerits but all of us should, cutting across party lines, put our heads together, reach consensus on the issue of economic policy and adopt it then our country can certainly march ahead on the path of development and progress and get a place of pride in the community of developed nations. Today, Government should invest more and more to set up big industries. Khadi and Village Industry Commission and Cottage industries needs to be paid equal attention. Government has to spend 24,000 rupees on providing job to an individual through Khadi and Gramodhyog while the Government has to spend 5 lakh rupees on providing a job by setting up a textile mill.

Therefore, Khadi and Gramodhyog should be paid special attention in this regard. We had passed budgetary demand to the tune of Rs. 750 crore to the Khadi and Village Industry Commission but it is unfortunate to know that we are not able to meet their demand. In fact, these days it is not a big amount. The Finance Minister requested them to seek loan from the world Bank. This is disgrace to Khadi which forced the Britishers to quit India. It is quite humiliating to seek loan from the World Bank for promoting Khadi in India. Therefore, the earmarked amount Rs. 750 crores should be released to the Khadi and Village Industry Commission, to combat the problem of unemployment. Today India owes a loan of 6,68110 crore of rupees and 59 per cent of our G.D.P. is spent on repayment of this huge loan. This is really shameful. In fact we must strengthen our agriculture sector to enable us to repay this huge loan our nation owes.

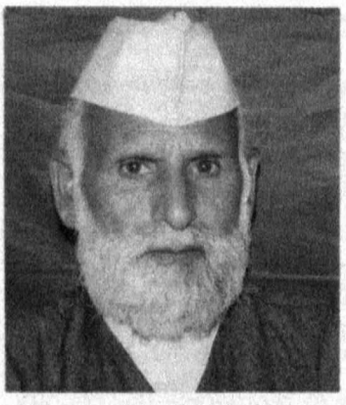
Sir, ours is agriculture based country. Unless and untill we strengthen our agriculture sector we cannot pay our foreign loan and also can not improve our economy. We have become self reliant in the production of foodgrains. But we have to do a lot more in the production of pulses and oil seeds. Today the production of pulses and oil seeds is 14.1 million ton and 21.3 million ton, respectively which is short of demand. Similarly, production of 11.9 million cotton bales is not enough and we spend a lot of foreign exchange on import of cotton though there is vast potential of cotton production in India. If we pay a little attention in this regard we can save substantial amount of foreign exchange. The production of cotton fint in China is 743 Kg. per hectare as against 202 Kg. per hectare in India, despite the fact that agricultural land in India is more furtile than that of China. Moreover, our farmer is more laborious and we can have better production in India. We must stop import of cotton to save foreign exchange. I also endorse the views expressed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that the State should provide funds for election in India to contain corruption. We set aside a sum of 700–800 crores for election then it will go a long way in containing the menace of corruption which is fast catching roots in all walks of life.

As far as infrastructure is concerned, petroleum sector is a core sector. We pay 18440 crores of rupees on petroleum bill. I cannot agree to this argument that our country does not have enough petroleum potential. 10 years ago, possibilities of oil exploration were expressed near Jaiselmer and Ajmer in Rajasthan and near Reeva in Madhya Pradesh. But we have not been able to extract oil from there till date. I want to say if we have to give any thing to private sector then oil exploration should be given to private sector and it should be handed over to our entrepreneurs and not some foreign company and they should be encouraged in the petroleum sector so that the oil shortage in the country is met and only distribution job should be taken care of by the Government.

Power generation is another core sector. We are required to generate 34,000 mega watts to meet the demand of power. At present, we generate only 17,000 mega watts. Our former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi laid down the gas pipe line from Hazira to Jagdishpur and if we set up natural gas based power plants then we can generate the cheapest possible power. I hope the Government will provide natural gas through this pipe line and build power station near this pipe line so as to generate power at cheaper rate and meet our targets.

Lastly I would like to say a word on the problem of population. Previous Congress Government had drafted a national population policy and I had moved a calling attention motion in the Parliament to implement this policy. 46 per cent population of our country reside in four States— Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and U.P. and these States are called sick States. Serious efforts need to be taken to check population in these four States. The State Governments are taking necessary steps but they face the resource crunch. So the Union Government should provide financial assistance to these States in this regard. Our Health Minister is a woman and she should visit these States to solve this problem.

We need to link education with population. The main reason for increase of population in these four States is illiteracy, unless we make the masses literate, we cannot implement the family planning programme properly. I would urge all of you to plead the Government to pay special attention to these four States so as to check increasing population in the country. I again think you for giving me an opportunity to express my views here in this House.



**DR. SHAFIQUR RAHMAN BARQ**

DR. SHAFIQUR RAHMAN BARQ (Moradabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am getting this opportunity to speak today after having waited for five days and I thank you for this. The country is celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence and I congratulate the Hon. Speaker for moving the Resolution in the House in the connection. On this occasion, I would like to begin my speech by reciting two Urdu couplets:

"Bafoore gam se do ansoo bahayen to bagawat hai,
Sitamgar jahan ko bhool jayen to bagawat hai,

Samajh hi mein nahin aata ki chheden dastaan kaise,
Hansayen to bagawat hai, rulayen to bagawat hai."

So far as Muslims are concerned, their sacrifice in freeing the country from foreign rule are in no measure less than others. During the struggle for freedom, while on the one hand leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Dr. Lohia and Loknayak Jaiprakash Narain waged a war for independence, on the other hand the Muslims gave sacrifices in their own way, braved the bullets, went to gallows smilingly suffered imprisonments and ruined their family lives by suffering long separation from their kith and kins. But what did they get as reward? While on one hand, countless Muslims gave sacrifices, on the other hand Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar started disobedience movement. He was elected the Congress President during the Congress session held in 1923 in Andhra Pradesh. When Round Table Conference was held in London in 1930, Maulana Hohar participated in the conference as delegate. The sacrifices given by the Muslims can be imagined by his priceless words which he used in his speech during the conference. He said, "Give me freedom, I shall not go back to enslaved India or else I shall need some space here for my grave". He lived to his words; he breathed his last in London and was buried with great honour.

Similarly, leaders like Maulana Fajle Haq Khairabadi, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Mukhar Ahmed Ansari, Ashfaqullah Khan, Bahadur Shah Zafar and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also gave sacrifices for country's freedom. Sacrifices given by Frontier Gandhi Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan are beyond estimation.

On this occasion, we are making an assessment of our achievements and failure during the last 50 years. What has been the share of Muslims in achievements and what treatment did they get all these years? Double standard policy is being adopted in regard to the Muslims today and they are being deprived of their rights. The rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution of India were denied to them. The laws relating to these rights are not being implemented even today. In such a situation, we shall have to think whether India can really make progress in the post-independence era.

30 crore Muslims live in India. Can India make progress by depriving the Muslims of their rights? This is not possible. This fact can be illustrated through the example of a paralysed man whom we cannot be call a healthy person. Similarly, if a community remains backward and illiterate in the society for some reasons, we cannot call the society a healthy society. Therefore, it is essential to ameliorate them in order to ensure progress of the nation as a whole. Anyway, what I am saying is that concessions and facilities being given to other communities should be made available to Muslims as well. They are not slaves.

All that I want to tell the House is that the Muslims of this country are not beggers, they are not slaves. They are respected citizens of this country. They want to lead a pious life. They are faithful to the country but they do not need a certificate in this regard. Whenever this country faced bad times, the Muslims came forward to give sacrifices. The people who passed on country's secret files to China and Pakistan for a price were not Muslims. In fact, they belonged to other communities yet the blame is apportioned to the Muslims. Our community is branded as Pakistanis and informers and, thus, excesses are committed against us.

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South-Central) : This is wrong. Whosoever works against the interests of the country is subjected to such treatment.

DR. SHAFIQUR RAHMAN BARQ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to ask you and through you to this House that the percentage of Muslims in the police force is less than even one per cent. I would like to know the reasons for such a low representation. Should I presume that the Muslims are not needed in the police force and in the armed forces for safeguarding the security and maintaining law and order in this country? I want that Muslims too should be inducted in the armed forces in the same way other communities are recruited. There should be a separate regiment for Muslims also, be it Pathan Regiment or a regiment by another name. Similarly, they should be given due representation in police force also so that they could also be deployed for controlling riots, etc. About 25,000 communal riots have already taken place in this country in which lakhs of Muslims have sacrificed their lives, but we have never registered our protests or expressed our anger. Yet, we are subjected to injustice. The only way to remove this injustice is to recruit the Muslims in the police force. I demand that Muslim representation in the police force should be at least 25 per cent so that a task force could be raised to quell the riots.

So far as Urdu is concerned, Gujral Committee was constituted for this purpose, but the recommendations of this committee were not implemented so for. Thus, injustice is being done to Urdu language. I demand that parliamentary literature in Urdu should be made available in the House in the same way this literature is made available in English and Hindi languages. Proceedings of the House should be conducted in Urdu as well.

Today, lakhs of innocent Muslims are behind the bars under TADA. Their children are weeping bitterly and their wives are longing for husbands. They do not have money to buy food and clothes. When Mulayam Singh Yadav was the Chief Minister, he had released the TADA detenus in

Uttar Pradesh. I demand from the Central Government that hundreds of Muslim TADA detenus in Maharashtra should be released forthwith as they are being subjected to injustice. So far as Muslim Universities are concerned. .....

SHRI SURESH R. JADHAV : But it is the Mafias and the gundas that have been put behind the bars.

DR. SHAFIQUR RAHMAN BARQ : So far as Muslim Universities are concerned, Jamia Millia Islamia was closed for the last many days. This university is not being given a minority character. Since we open minority schools with our own financial resources, these educational institutions should be given minority character and we should be given unfettered rights regarding admissions so that we could impart education to our children. Since teaching in Jamia Millia Isalmia has come to a halt, it is high time that a lasting solution is found to the problem. A country is run through law and order. But here the people who have been subjected to oppression for centuries, not been allowed to progress. Mere five per cent people are dominating the rest 95 per cent in this country and hence these 95 per cent continue to be backwards. They are being subjected to injustice. These include Muslims as well. I would like to know whether this is the kind of justice that is being done to them and will this country be run of these line in future as well?

On 6th December on the basis of faith of a section of society, Babri Masjid was demolished orders of the High Court and Supreme Court were not honoured. Can this country progress on the basis of such faith or by demolition of Babri Masjid? In this context an assurance was given for rebuilding Babari Masjid at the same place. There is no proof that this mosque was built after demolishing the temple. But we have proof about demolition of Masjid. This case is pending with the High Court and I hope that a decision in this regard would come as we have faith in the law whereas these people has sacrificed the law for their faith. I would like to say that Babri Masjid should be built at the same place to restore the prestige of the country because with the demolition of Babri Masjid the law of the land, democratic system and the image of the country was tarnished. If it is not done and justice is not done to the Muslim, our impression that Muslims are treated as second rate citizens in India will gain ground.

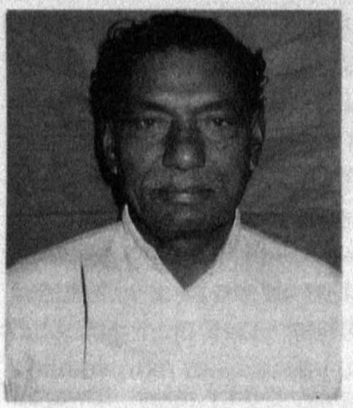
In the context of Urdu I would like to say that facilities be provided here also as have been provided in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Goa as a result of recommendations of the Gujral Committee set up for the purpose. I demand that right of implementation of the multi-sectoral Plan formulated for the welfare of minorities should not be given to minorities welfare department solely. Instead, it should be implemented through industries of Central Government after studying their annual reports. The report of the working group prepared by Vardarajan Committee for the ninth plan under which Rs. 8700 crore have been earmarked for education and craftsmanship should also be implemented in the same manners. Just now one of my colleagues has referred to a book authored by Dr. N.N. Pandey which carries a mention about Tipu Sultan and Aurangzeb to the effect that they donated their property for temples. In that case, how can they be called fanatics? But the people who had been victims of fanaticism level such allegations against them?

I would also like to raise another issue which relates to the development of my constituency. Moradabad is famous for brasswares and earns about 1700 thousand dollars through export. In spite of it Moradabad is not provided with assured power supply as a result of which 5 lakh artisans are affected. Not only Moradabad but the whole country is suffering loss and I demand that this loss should be compensated by the Government.

In the end I demand that a White Paper should be issued by the Government on the treatment meted out and atrocities committed against Muslims in this country during the past 50 years. This white paper to be published by the Government should spell out whether Muslims are given equal or secondary status in this country or whether they are being discriminated here or not? Now I would like to conclude by reciting a couplet:

"Zalzale unche makanon ko gira dete hein,
Mein to buniyad ka pathar hun mujhe khau nahin."

With this couplet I would say that like other communities Muslims also have some problems. Muslims should be trusted and given responsibility for the development and progress of the country. Muslims will be more loyal and will be ready to sacrifice their lives for the country if they trusted and given chances for making progress. I would like to take one minute more for raising the issue regarding education and literacy among Muslims. At present Muslims are quite backward in terms of education. We have demanded for Rs. 1000 crore for it from the hon. Prime Minister and during the budget session in February 1997 a memorandum was also given in this regard but I am very sorry to say that it was not included in the budget plan of the Government. I request you that Rs. 1000 crore should be allocated in budget plan for education of Muslim community so that this amount could be spent during the Ninth Five Year Plan. With these words, I conclude and thank you for allowing me to speak.



**SHRI KISHAN LAL DILER**

SHRI KISHAN LAL DILER (Hathras) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to lay my speech on the Table of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right, you can say that you are laying your speech on the Table of House.

*(interruptions)*

SHRI KISHAN LAL DILER : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I lay my speech on the Table of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : O.K., now you all may sit down.

SHRI KISHAN LAL DILER : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak in the special session convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of our Independence. Mr. Chairman. Sir, I pay my homage to all those mothers who sent their sons for taking part in freedom struggle and the freedom fighters who laid down their lives for achieving freedom of the country.

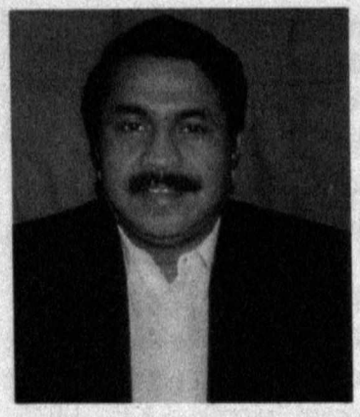
Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mahatma Gandhiji and the brave martyrs had a dream which envisaged that India would be free from the shackles of bondage and that self rule would come about paving the way to the prosperity of the country. We got independence but the dreams of Gandhiji have not been realised and changes brought about are not up to the desired extent. Our leaders have promoted casteism for fetching votes and thus the caste gulf has widened which is dangerous for the nation. Because of casteism, the persons who are qualified to get employment have become more poor and backward. Who will do justice to the public if leaders of this country continue to adopt a biased attitude?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the issue regarding poverty is being discussed here continuously for 5 days. I would like to know from the leaders in this House as to whether any attention has been paid towards welfare of safai karamchari. Today in the towns and various cities, they are not getting salaries for 20 to 30 months. Thus, how can a poor person make his both ends meet especially when prices are soaring. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I demand that Central Government should declare them as employees of the State Government or provide additional budgetary allocation to the States in order to ensure payment of their salaries in time.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the issue of reservation is being raised here time and again. But I would like to tell that most of the benefits of reservation policy are taken and misused by the political leaders, influential people, I.A.S., I.P.S. personnel and other governmental employees. Poor do not get full benefit. There is also the share of brokers in it. Therefore, I suggest that if we want to give the benefit of reservation, I.A.S. and P.C.S. officers should be excluded from it. The children of MPs, MLAs and Ministers, while in office should not be given the benefit of reservation, only then the benefit of reservation would reach the poor.

Mr. Chairman, Sir today on the occasion of golden jubilee of our Independence, a concern has been expressed in this House that corruption has increased too much in our country. Sir, if a bitch would protect the jalebi, it would not be there. The same thing has happened with our country. Just few leaders are responsible for the condition of the country. Who can be blamed for it? We could not fulfil the dreams of Gandhiji. We have forgotten the sacrifices of martyrs for our self interest. We all are worried about it and this special session has been called for expressing our concern over these things. The leaders of our country should remember Gandhiji and the martyrs of freedom movement. It was the dream of Gandhiji that we should develop the villages first. But today there has been only nominal development in villages. Villages have not been linked with roads. There is lack of schools in villages. There is lack of medical facilities. There is lack of electricity, water and irrigation facilities. Unless we pay attention towards farmers and villages, the country would not be enjoying freedom in real terms. If we develop agriculture the farmer would make progress. If villages are developed, the country would make progress. Sir, the budget provided for agriculture is insufficient. We would have to increase the budget for agriculture and then the people would enjoy real freedom. If we want that India is respected by other countries of the world, then the corruption would have to be abolished. If we want to abolish corruption, some stringent law should be enacted so that the corrupt people could be exposed and other people may also learn a lesson from that.

Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



**SHRI MOHAN RAWALE**

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to lay my speech on the table of the House. Please allow me for that. There is no time to read out such a long speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is all right.

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I lay my speech on the table of the House.

Sir, on the occasion of Golden Jubilee year of our Independence I salute and pay my homage to those revolutionaries and also Satyagrahis who laid their lives for the country and those who were killed in JalianWala Bagh.

To say that we achieved Independence through nonviolence is absolutely baseless and a deceiving concept, We didn't achieve independence through non-violence, rather we got it through violent revolution. Lakhs of people sacrificed their lives and still you consider it non violence! No doubt matchless non violent attempts were made by Mahatma Gandhi but if our great revolutionary leaders had followed Mahatma Gandhi blindly, the country would have still remained slave to Britishers and the politicians who have enjoyed the power during the last fifty years would have been languishing in British jails. Remember the slogan given by Netaji Subash Chandra Bose to the people: "You give me your Blood, I will give you Freedom". If Netaji Subash Chandra Bose had not formed Indian National Army and if he had not planned to attack his targeted aims from erstwhile 'Burma' we would not have been celebrating Golden Jubilee year of our Independence today. This plan of Netaji created a phobia among Englishmen. Naval Forces in Mumbai revolted against the rulers. Infact, revolutionary activities of Netaji and martyrs Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdeo, Chandrashekhar Azad, Batukeshwar Dutt, Mangal Pandey, Safekar Brothers, Madanlal Dhingra, Swatantrya Veer Sawarkar made it very difficult for Britishers to stay in India. The court while giving death sentence to Bhagat Singh had observed that these people have waged a war. The Martyr Bhagat Singh had said, three days before he was hanged, in his letter to the Governor of Punjab that he should be shot down rather than being hanged. The followers of non-violence have considered them as their enemy but the war they have waged would go on continuously till Britishers leave the country. At the time of declaration of our Independence, Lord Mountbetan had said that since things have gone beyond their control, they were going to leave India. To say that India got freedom through non-violence without any bloodshed would be an insult to our great revolutionary freedom fighters.

When Safekar brothers were being taken towards gallows, they saw tears in the eyes of their father who was standing there. Upon seeing tears in his eyes they asked him as to what has moved him to tears for he himself had inspired them to plunge into the freedom movement. Their father replied that his eyes were wet because he would not be having any more son now to send for participating in the freedom struggle.

Prior to this, a big battle was fought in 1857 also to achieve the freedom. Name of the great Martyr Laxmibai, the queen of Jhansi, has been written in golden letters on the pages of history. Bahadur Shah, Tantya Tope, Vasudev Balwant Phadake fought the battle for freedom and lost their lives alongwith thousands of other martyrs. Thousands of armless people, sitting peacefully in the Jalian Wala Bagh, were massacred mercilessly by British forces under the command of General Dayer. Was it not a sacrifice made by the brave Satyagrahis for Independence of the country? Inspite of this, you claim that we got freedom through the non-violent movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

Our Shiv Sena Chief, Shri Bala Saheb Thakre feels priode and glory in recalling the names of Lal-Bal-Pal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Vipinchandra Pal), the heroes of Punjab, Maharashtra and Bengal respectively. The contribution made by them in the freedom struggle cannot be forgotten. But unfortunately we forget everything while in power. Had we been showing any mark of respect to the names of the 'Iron Man' Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, Netaji Subash Chandra Bose and Swatantrya Veer Sawarkar and had considered them as source of our inspiration, the country would not have suffered so much setbacks.

Still there is time for us to wake up, recall and follow the path shown to us by those thousands of martyrs who laid their lives in freedom struggle.

Had we ever thought that one day, Japan, once completely ruined, will emerge as the leader of the world in the field of Technology? China still holds his head high with pride inspite of the fact that its population is far more than ours. Pace of development is fast in that country. Our politicians lack a strong will power.

Today, population wise we are 95 crore in number. Today, in our country on the one hand 95 lakh people die every year and on the other, 275 lakh children take birth every year, thus, 180 lakh children do become part of our population every year. We cannot eradicate poverty, illness, unemployment, starvation, shortage of drinking water completely from our country unless our fast increasing population is checked. Are we here to cheat the voters befooling them every time? It is not possible to eradicate illiteracy from our country without population control. Most of the people are victims of the superstitious faiths and, hence, they understand that family planning is against religion. They do not understand as to what religion means. People can be freed from superstitious faiths only when they are properly educated. Therefore, it is very necessary to make them literate.

Population explosion today, seems no less than an atomic explosion. In India, every year 5000 women are killed only because of the dowry demand, this happens merely because of the fact that our legal provisions are not implemented properly. The country is under heavy burden of foreign debt. The steering of the economy of our country is in the hands of foreign borrowers and M.N.Cs. The number of people living below poverty line is increasing instead of decreasing. Economic gap is widening between rich and poor and our moral standard has declined significantly. We stand 8th among the most corrupt countries in the world.

Let us resolve to inculcate within us the national spirit of the days of freedom struggle. Day by day the number of people living below the poverty line is increasing. Our border lines are always under the clouds of danger. Inclination of our youth is more towards western culture than our own culture. As a nation, our moral and spiritual influence on the world has come down to zero.

In the wake of its policies of openness and liberalisation of economy, the Government is allowing foreign companies to make a firm foothold in every sphere in India. Far from providing employment to the unemployed, these policies are rendering even the employed persons jobless. They are being compelled to take VRS. Employment opportunities are being eroded what to take of creating new ones. This is what the jobless persons are getting from liberalisation.

During the year 1995–96 agricultural items worth Rs. 17384 crores were exported from India. This has dazzled the eyes of the foreign companies which then decided to set their feet in the agricultural sector in India and our Government is permitting them to do so in the name of liberalisation.

There is no dearth of intellect in our country. Our youths are ahead in every sphere, be it medicine, engineering or science but they do not find the opportunity here to make progress and demonstrate their abilities. They do not get facilities here and that is the reason why our promising doctors, scientists and engineers are leaving India for foreign destinations from where they do not want to ever return to India. But this fails to draw the Government's attention.

The youths do not get loans to set up small scale enterprises and whatever little amount they do manage to get it is reduced to half after the payments they have to make by way of bribery and commission in obtaining them. Even the Banks advance loans and overdrafts to only those parties with whom they have some kind of underhand dealings and the amounts thus advanced are later on written off as bad debts.

Nothing is broadcast or put out through television or AIR or newspapers for the benefit of the youths to enlighten them about the Government schemes and facilities available to start their own professions or to enable them and the people to have knowledge of these schemes.

Sir, the achievement of these 50 long years since Independence is that even our currency notes are now being sought to be printed abroad. India has a population of 96 crores now and we have preferred a free and liberal economy to make a place for ourselves in the world. The Reserve Bank of India has given contracts to American Note Bank Company, Canadian Note Press, Kundess of Germany, Bank of England and Thomas Dilassa to print currency notes of 500 rupee denomination. Out of these the American and Canadian companies are in private sector. What guarantee is there that the country printing currency notes for us will not circulate dual and counterfeit currency in our country in order to destroy our economy, by just printing more currency notes than ordered by India? Will it not lead to creation of a parallel economy in India? This will jeopardise our very existence. During the second world war the Jews destroyed the German economy and created a great crisis there.

Will the Government think seriously as to what has led us to such a downfall that even to meet requirements of currency notes we have to depend on foreign countries?

Since the time Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India 50 years ago, we have been listening throughout that corruption is treason and the corrupt must receive the severest of punishments. The corrupt should be whipped in public view at the busy crossings. Recently our present Prime Minister Shri Gujralji echoed the same view in his Independence Day speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort, saying that corruption is treason. If that is so, the punishment for that must be to shoot down

the corrupt. After all, how long this Government shall continue to make such empty pronouncements. Now that all people have even come to know that the corrupt are traitors, who is going to take action against them?

If all the politicians, MPs, Ministers, Chief Ministers, MLAs and bureaucrats are screened to find out the corrupt among them and even ten per cent of such persons are shot down, corruption can be eradicated. But where is the will to root out corruption?

It is indeed very sad that even 50 years after attaining freedom we have no national language of our own. We have our own national anthem, a national flag, a national bird, a national animal but no national language of our own. As compared to other languages the number of Hindi speaking people is the largest in India but Hindi has not become the national language so far. It is nothing but sheer misfortune.

It is good that Government has banned Direct-to-Home (DTH) service. But how long this ban is going to last? We have come to know that some people are trying their level best to get approval for DTH soon after the Parliament's session is over. The Government must see to it that the country does not suffer economically and illegal activities may not spark off as a result thereof. The Government must ensure that no authority intervenes in it and DTH may not find approval under any circumstances before the broadcasting law is passed by the Parliament.

Our Shiv Sena Chief Shri Bala Saheb Thakre has said that to abide by the law of this land, to march a head with honesty alongwith the country and to keep ourselves attached to the soil of this nation is our foremost duty. But what we find here is that in the name of religion family planning programme is not properly implemented and is opposed here, whereas it is not so in other countries.

Yesterday itself, some Members of Parliament of Pakistan came to see me. They told me that in Pakistan before going for a second marriage one has to seek the wife's approval first failing which the later can move the family-court and the person seeking second marriage is liable to punishment.

Family planning is adopted even in Muslim countries like Syria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Tunisia and Bangladesh but in India some religious bigots are misleading the public in the name of their personal law.

VRS was executed twice in Scindhia Workshop Limited in 1987 and 1989 and continued upto 1991. Even those employees of the Scindhia Workshop who retired or expired or resigned after 1993, were paid their full dues accruing upto that time. The remaining employees continued to be on the rolls of Scindhia Workshop. Their attendance continued to be marked and their provident fund amounts continued to be paid by them. That means they were treated as employees of the Scindhia Workshop but were denied their pay packets. What kind of justice is this? Shri Man Mohan Singh, the Finance Minister in the previous Government had said that the employees must get their dues first and the SCIC may realise its money at a later stage.

Scindhia Workshop is a subsidiary of Scindhia Steam Navigation Company, and the responsibility for its employees rests entirely with its shoulders. It is not so that the Scindhia company lacks funds. The Scindhia House alone in Andheri is valued at more than Rs. one hundred crore. The Scindhia Sadan is valued at Rs. thirty crore besides other vast properties.

NTC mills are running in loss due to corruption. Workers can run the mills efficiently if they are provided with cotton, working capital and raw-material in required quantum. But the Government is resorting to retrenchment by offering voluntary retirement scheme. We should save the textile sector by providing economic assistance to it.

Now-a-days prices of everything are rising high but the Government proclaims that inflation rate is going down. It is a strange situation. I would like to say that the Government should issue white paper on price rise of essential commodities and give figures for the last five years, indicating the reasons for this increase and concrete measures taken by the Government to curb it. In public sector banks frauds are committed and bribe is taken for sanctioning loans. The loans are not repaid and ultimately that amount has to be put in bad debts account. The branches of nationalised banks in foreign countries are also incurring huge losses. The Government should find out reasons behind it and steps should be taken to amend the situation. Strikes and dharnas are frequent in banks every now and then.

In 1947, that is at the time our country become independent, we inherited a weak educational system from British regime which was insufficient for our large population and it was fraught with regional and structural imbalances. At that time the percentage of literacy among our people was 14 per cent and one out of every three children used to go to primary school. In view of the importance of making people literate and the need for imparting education to all the children in age group of 6 years to 14 years, a suitable provision was made for it in the Constitution of India and in Five Year Plans and efforts were made to develop a new education pattern. As per the Constitution of India the

decision regarding particular pattern of education system and its implementation is the responsibility of the state. Education policy is formulated by the State Government independently. But decisions regarding standard and overall pattern of education fall under the jurisdiction of Central Government.

From the recent killing of students in police firing in Bihar, UP and Madhya Pradesh it seems as if in the Golden Jubilee celebration year of Independence, this Government has even surpassed the British rule. Cheating in examinations in Bihar has become a normal practice, thus High Court has taken the responsibility of holding examinations there. The largest University of Asia, the Kashi Hindu University has been closed down for indefinite period after the killing of three students there. In Madhya Pradesh also 10–11 students were killed in police firing.

We have attained self sufficiency in production of foodgrains after independence and also made progress in the field of science, industry and defence. It is really our bad luck that even today we are debating the issue of including Right to Education in the Constitution of India as a Fundamental Right. Since Independence, Radhakrishnan, Mudalia, Kothari and Ramamurthy Commissions were set up for formulating a new national education policy and this policy has also been changed thrice so far. In spite of efforts of Chancellors and education-secretaries the mismanagement in education is increasing. Actually, national leaders lacked political will to improve educational system and they did not take it seriously.

We have forgotten the importance of human development and kept ourselves busy in constructing roads, bridges, buildings, and factories. We have not taken education seriously which is an important means of human resource development.

We have taken development of infrastructure for nation building. Now 50 years after independence on 15 August, 1997 Hon'ble Prime Minister has made an announcement from the ramparts of Red Fort that right to primary education will be included into Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of India. But announcements made by political leaders are not implemented properly and now we have to see the outcome of this fresh announcement.

If education system of a country is not based on its cultural values, then it will be baseless and prove ineffective. We have totally forgotten our national prestige and it is evident from the fact that even today we are unable to impart education in our own language. The nation is dumb without a national language. Mahatma Gandhi had rightly stated that if he was dictator he would have made imparting of education compulsorily in our own language. I would have not stressed to write of text books in our own languages because it is such a problem which should at the earliest.

Today 50 years after the independence, usage of English has increased in our country and it can be seen in mushrooming of small convent schools in every town of our country. The importance of English is increasing in our country not only due to our devotion towards this language or literature but the reason behind it is that we have linked this language with employment and due to our inferiority complex we feel proud in speaking in English. I would like to say that influence of English has ruined our cultural heritage and I feel that not only Macaulay or British rule but we ourselves are also guilty for it.

We have committed yet another great sin i.e. due to western influence and with the ill-conceived notion of secularism we have become indifferent to our own standards of propriety and moral values. If one is educated that does not mean that he must be bearing a good moral character. We have tried to shun our responsibility and became corrupt with the spread of this education system which is not based on morality and values. Such an education system can make people like Ravana and Duryodhana and not like Rama, Krishna, Vivekananda or Gandhi. This education system without values and morality has made educated people more corrupt and selfish. We were not so much morally degraded during the British rule as we have been during the last 50 years. An education system without values can only create a society which lacks morality and where violence, rancour and distrust are the ways of life. As a result of it we see that taking of drugs by students in renowned colleges and universities has become a common thing.

We have created disappointment, and resentment among youths to such an extent that violence has become the only way out for them. Destruction and bloody encounter is but natural in such a society. Instead solving the problems, this education system itself has become a problem for our country. Today, Chancellors of universities are not selected on the basis of their educational qualifications, character or fame in the field of education but on the basis of caste, community, link with political parties or personal relations. Due to the lack of participation of teachers and students in the administration of universities, mismanagement is increasing. Pt. Nehru spoke a lot about importance of education but did not show any deep commitment to change of educational system from social, economic and political point of view.

As a result of it, today, we find politics even in the field of education in its perverse form. Getting education is like completing a formality. It has become a business. Such a craze for degrees in the name of education cannot help in national development or bringing in social change in the society.

Pandit Nehru visited Japan in 1957. He was highly impressed by Japanese model of development. After coming back, he wrote to all the Chief Ministers. Besides sharing his experiences in Japan, he also mentioned Japanese education system. The truth is that Nehruji laid more emphasis on the later issue. He was pleased to note that education system is completely handled by the government and that education is a state subject. Secondly, he noticed that their education system was not discriminatory. Nehruji was impressed by this point that children of king of Japan as well as the ordinary citizens are studying in the same School.

What message Nehruji wanted to communicate by writing to all the Chief Ministers? Did he really want to adopt the Japanese education system? If this was so, what problems Nehruji could possibly have faced in implementing the same in India? Of all the Prime Ministers we have had so far, he was in the most sound position ever. Even his wish was honoured by the government organisations and the entire country. It was not as if he could not get done what he wanted to. Then why did he not make any effort in this direction? Why did he implement the dual pattern of educational system in the country?

Actually Nehruji was in a dilemma. Being a socialist, he wanted to implement an uniform education system throughout the country, however, in the back of his mind, he rejected the idea as he was a product of a public school and had studied in prestigious and exclusive school. When his government decided to run the school education on dual pattern, it became clear that the higher education would sooner or later be handed over to the private sector. The argument given was that more facilities could be provided in private schools. It could also facilitate manipulations. Under the circumstances, there students would definitely have an edge. By and by, this message would be communicated to the society that private schools are the best and at one time or the other, this demand would be made that if the charge of higher education is also handed over to the private parties just like school education, the standard of higher education would also improve. Likewise, higher education would also be controlled by the rich.

People of a particular class and the rich have taken control of the education system. These people first got the changes made in school education system. Now the government has made up its mind to convert college and university education into commercial centres.

Today one can understand the dilemma felt by Pandit Nehru. If he had done away with the dual pattern of education system soon after his return from Japan, the question of privatisation of the entire education system would not have arisen.

Today, education is not something which is earned, rather it has become a purchasable commodity. Today one can have any degree by paying the appropriate price. Earlier the teachers could not be bought but now with the changing economic scenario, some teachers are not averse to this idea at all and ever since this trend has started, they see themselves as government servants and are ignoring responsibilities. Earlier, the teachers used to hold themselves responsible for the welfare of students, however, ever since the students have started seeing education as a way to get a decent job, the teachers have also ceased to be the makers of future of students.

Our education is merely a formal education. In its present form, it can not make students capable of earning their livelihood. That is why, the problem of unemployment is growing day by day. It is essential to bring changes in the education system to deal with this problem. For this purpose, part-time, short-time and full time vocational education courses should be imparted after the completion of primary education.

What has transpired after fifty years of Independence is that the number of illiterate people has risen after independence whereas the target of literacy for all in ten years was conceived in the Constitution. Our Constitution had directed the government to provide compulsory and free education to children upto 14 years of age throughout the country in 10 years. What to say 10 years, complying with these directions seems impossible even after 50 years. Even today crores of children do not go to schools at all. Apart from the failure to provide compulsory and free education the half-baked education being provided in lakhs of schools due to lack of adequate resources and political will is much more serious issue.

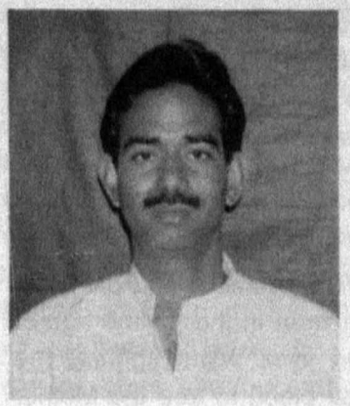
Present education system follows a centralised pattern, under which it is conducted from the capital of the state. The role of teachers who are infact the most important pillar of education system, has been restricted to an insignificant small part of megamachine whose only duty is to follow the orders issued by the higher ups. They are not to decide as to what is to be taught and how it is to be taught. Such decisions are taken by the higher officials sitting in Secretariat who are not at all directly associated with education. The over-all conclusion is that our present education system is plagued with serious defects.

Today we are celebrating Golden Jubilee year of Independence still we have not been able to provide education for all or improve the standard of education or put an end to illiteracy. Even after 50 years of Independence, 48% people are still illiterate.

The vulnerable position of our education system can be gauged from the fact that same enlightened critics from other countries as well as our country comment that India does not have any educational system; it has only an examination system. All the educational institutions have been reduced to mere coaching centres and they are producing students expert in craming only. In order to remove all such defects, many educationists all over the world suggest that the examination system should be done away with. When His Excellency, the President was holding the office of Vice-President, he mentioned this fact in his very first speech in Rajya Sabha that schools rather than being academic centres, have become torture centres for school children and it is essential to liberate the children. Today the percentage of unsuccessful candidates in competitive examinations is rising constantly. The major reason for failure is that the fear of examination is deep rooted in their hearts. One third or half the students find schools monotonous, irrelevant and scary. Increasing weight of school bags, too much of home-work are definitely matter of concern. About two years ago, the then Union Minister of Human Resource Development, Shri Madhav Rao Scindia had expressed the view that to declare a child as failed in examination or debaring the child from taking examination before class VIII is not correct. It is very important to put an end to examination system.

Many Education Commissions for example, Radhakrishnan Commission, Chattopadhyaya Commission have pointed out defects prevalent in the present education system. However no efforts have been made so far to bring any improvement in this regard. These Commissions have highlighted the fact that the actual potential of the children cannot be evaluated through the present education system. Present system is a complete failure in the matter of evaluation of character, leadership qualities, capability and spirit of bravery present in the students.

Today, we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our Independence. There is a need to mould the education policy in accordance with the changing times. The need of the hour is to do away with the education policy of Mecauley which produces only clerks and unemployed people. If we can make qualitative improvements in our education, only then we would be deemed to have actually celebrated Golden Jubilee of our Independence.



**SHRI GANGA CHARAN RAJPUT**

SHRI GANGA CHARAN RAJPUT (Hamirpur) (U.P) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for giving me a chance to speak on this occasion. First of all, I salute to those freedom fighters whose names were written on the pages of history. It is written on the pages of history as to how much police torture and atrocities they had suffered in jails for liberating the country and I am thankful to our hon'ble Speaker, Shri Sangma Saheb who has convened this special Session on the advice of all the leaders and thus has taken a right decision at the right time. He felt that the dream of our freedom fighters was yet to be fulfilled. We have not been able to achieve the goals which we were supposed to achieve. We have failed to reach our targetted goals. He has convened this Session to achieve that target, to fulfil those dreams of our freedom fighters. Taking the advantage of this opportunity, let us evaluate ourselves as to what are the reasons due to which today we are known as one of the most poor and backward countries in the world. The countries, which got independence much later than India, have gone far ahead of us and today are counted among the developed countries of the world. They have eradicated unemployment. Peace is never disturbed in these countries. Every village has been linked with roads and electricity and pure drinking water is available for every one there. Then, what was our fault and what mistakes we made because of which we failed to match their achievements? What are the reasons that today we are counted among the most poor and backward countries in the world? I think one of the main reason behind our failure has been the negligence, insult and deception meted out to our youths during the last 50 years. History of our country was written with the blood of our youth.

In this connection I want to make a mention about the mutiny of 1857, when people revolted in Meerut under the leadership of Mangal Pandey. The fire of revolt broke out in Meerut and reached Bundelkhand where workers, farmers and poor people rose in revolt against the Britishers under the leadership of Maharani Laxmibai. The queen of Mangla, Avantibai, also belonged to Bundelkhand which was always

a front fighter in our freedom struggle. The freedom struggle of 1857 witnessed much blood-bath on the soil of Bundelkhand. But even after 50 years of our Independence, pure drinking water is not available for the people of Bundelkhand and still they are craving for a drop of drinking water.

Maharani Laxmibai, Maharani Avantibai and her maid servant, Jhalkanbai, all of them were in their prime age of life when they sacrificed their lives while fighting the Britishers. Our youths shed their blood to free the Mother India from the shackles of foreign rule. Whether it was Sardar Bhagat Singh or Asfaq Ullah Khan or Pandit Bismil or Chandrashekhar Azad—all of them were youths and fragrance of the blood of our young freedom fighters still prevails everywhere on Indian soil. The Father of Nation had given a call to the then youngsters of the country to come out of their classrooms and join the freedom struggle. Responding to the call given by Mahatama, the youth of this country left their school life and joined the struggle for the freedom of the country. Thousands of youth, in their prime age, sacrificed their lives. Even children came out of their homes and took to street holding tricolour flags in their hands. They braved the bullets of Britishers and fell down but did not let the tricolour flag fall on the ground.

But when we formed our own Government after independence, the dream of our youths and freedom fighters was shattered and still remains unfulfilled which in other words was a deception with our youths. Still we are pursuing the same education policy which was formulated by Lord Macaulay in order to bring India under the governance of Britishers for centuries. The problems of our youth were never taken note of and even during the last 50 years since our independence, none of the erstwhile governments took any initiative in formulating a policy for youth of our country. We formulated external policy, industrial policy, trade policy but we never formulated any youth policy. May I know the reasons therefor? Whether no contribution was made by our youths in the freedom struggle of India?

When our leaders, after losing power, sit in opposition they start giving calls to youths to be on their side in the name of unity, integrity and sovereignty of the country. They would say to the youth that there is threat to the sovereignty of the country and that corruption is growing and atrocities are on the rise, therefore, come and help us in encountering these problems. This time the youths give them their help, next time they (the leaders in opposition) would solve the problems of the youths. They will eradicate unemployment and remove illiteracy from the country, once they come to power. But once leaders are back to power with the support of our youths, they forget the promises made by them to the youths. Our youths extend their support in the hope that the leaders would attend to their problems, bring a radical change in education policy, provide them employment and change their fate but their dreams remain unfulfilled when the Governments are charged with their help and the leaders forget their problems completely.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when our youths remind the leaders of the several promises of putting an end to the dual education system, incorporating work and education into fundamental rights, giving allowances to unemployed youths, they turn their faces away. The youth spoil their own career by falling in the trap of our politicians and their demands are never fulfilled. When the same youths take to streets and launch agitation, they are lathi charged and put behind the bars by the same politicians and support them but meet the same fate again. On the strength of their power, governments are changed but their fate remains the same.

So far as I remember, I was still a child when our youths and students launched an agitation under the leadership of Lok Nayak Jai Prakashji. What a great faith our youngsters had reposed in our politicians during the J.P. movement. They were bent-upon to overthrow the Congress from power with the dream in their eyes that they would change the corrupt government and vote other parties to power. Thus, they would evolve a new system in the administration but their dreams were shattered when new Janata Party government assumed the power at centre. Nothing was done for those youths who had steered Janata Party to power. Shri Beni Prasad Vermaji is sitting here. He is senior to me. When we were doing LLB from Lucknow University, one day, I asked Vermaji, since age-wise he was elder to me, as to why was he doing his LLB so late? He told me that his studies were got disrupted during the J.P. movement.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, no doubt J.P. movement culminated in the change of power at centre but again our youths were denied tickets in the elections. They were told to go back to schools and colleges since it was not their job to become MLA or MP. They went back to their schools and colleges with the hope that their problems would be addressed to by the new government. But their dreams were again shattered when they found to their dismay that there were same kind of people in the government tainted with many corruption charges and other allegations. Some of them were alleged to have been a party in the imposition of emergency and thus posed a threat to democracy. They left the Congress and joined Janata Party overnight. That Government also remained in power for two and a half years. But the hopes of the youth remained unfulfilled, whether it was the issue of right to work, the right to education or allowance for the

unemployed. We do remember the time, when we came on the streets to launch an agitation. The police lathicharged us, fired bullets on us, and we were put behind bars.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a new wave of change was again witnessed during my high school days. The youth under the leadership of Sanjay Gandhi brought about the change. At that time, the youth were not given importance. It goes to the credit of Sanjay Gandhi that he paved the way for the entry of youth in politics and the youth leaders were also given tickets. Earlier, there were no youth wings in many parties. Later on, each party set up youth wing. I have been the President of Yuva Janata Dal for six years and I am aware of the feelings of the youth. Youth wing is set up but is not given any powers. They are kept under subjugation. Only those youth are given tickets who carry the briefcase of prominent leaders and raise slogans in their favour.

**23.00 hrs.**

Mr. Chairman, Sir, then the agitation was launched against corruption in the country in 1989. The youth of the country left their university education half way. The Government was changed but the corruption could not be removed. Corruption is so deep rooted that those who hold the office of Prime Minister, forget the issue of corruption. I would definitely like to congratulate Shri Gujral because corruption may or may not be removed, but he is raising the issue of corruption. The plight of the youth today is one of the major causes for the deteriorating condition of the country. Today the youth are facing difficulties on two counts—Education and Employment. I would like to elaborate on the issue of education.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please try to conclude because your time is about to run out.

SHRI GANGA CHARAN RAJPUT : I will conclude in a short while. There are 2628 such primary schools in the country where there are no teachers and about 148,33 Schools have only one teacher. If there are schools in the country sans teachers, then it would be futile to say anything about the miserable condition in the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, according to official statistics regarding literacy, only 52 per cent people in the country are literate and 48 per cent people are still illiterate. The Literate are facing yet another problem whether they would be able to get a job or not after getting educated. There is no such guarantee. When a young man spends 25 years of his life and the hard-earned money of his parents to earn the degree of Graduation, Post Graduation, Medicine and Engineering with the hope that he might be able to support his parents in their old age, when poor farmers and labourers living in villages educate their children and bear the expenses of higher education, they mortgage their ancestral property for educating their children in the hope that the child would support them in their old age. When young men equipped with degrees come to cities in search of jobs, visit, the residences of MLAs, MPs and Ministers, keep a side their self respect to knock at their doors, they get nothing in return except insult and disgrace. He goes back to his village with tears in his eyes and is unable to offer any consolation to his expectant parents. Due to this, the young men either get into habit of intoxication and waste their lives or they take to arms and become dacoits or terrorists. If the Government does not pay attention towards the problems of youth and to saliate the fire burning in their bellies, this fire will engulf their minds and eventually would lead to youth revolting against the Constitution and law.

Today the problem of terrorism is prevalent in Kashmir, Punjab and North-East due to wrong policies of the Government. As the problems being faced by youth regarding education and employment were not solved, the youth play as instruments in the hands of foreign powers. The youth is giving up its conscience and if this trend continues, the entire nation would be in the grip of terrorism. Nobody would be able to save this nation. We may or may not do anything for the nation but the Government should declare its policy for the youth. The right to education should be included in the Constitution as a Fundamental Right. The right to employment must be included in our Fundamental Rights, only then this problem can be solved.

Recently a youth festival was organised in Cuba. All our young colleagues including Shri Samik Lahiri from the communist side participated in the festival. Young boys and girls from about 175 countries throughout the world came there. Cuba has 100% literacy and none of the youth is unemployed or illiterate there. Our Taxi driver was Navigation Engineer. That country got freedom years later as compared to our country, still 48 per cent people of our country are illiterate and 3.5 crore educated people are unemployed.

I would like to offer some more suggestions after which I will conclude. Today agriculture is such sector wherein most of the employment opportunities are created. Contribution of agricultural sector in the total National income and Gross Domestic product comes to around 32 per cent, whereas the Government allocates 20 per cent of its total budget for agriculture. Due to this very reason, the condition of farmers is very bad. Farmers toil in the fields still they have no foodgrain to feed their families for three months. The youth who looks after the milch cattle cannot afford milk or ghee. The youth producing cloth in the mill can never afford suitable clothes for themselves. The youth involved in manufacturing of footwear never have a good

pair of shoes for their personal use. My suggestion is that the agricultural sector has the potential. If we provide appropriate means of irrigation for this sector develop the infrastructure, connect the villages with metalize roads, provide power, quality seeds and fertilizers, the agriculture sector has the potential to reduce unemployment to the extent of 60 per cent. Poverty and unemployment cannot be removed through development of industries. As India is predominantly an agricultural country hence unemployment and poverty can be removed through development of agricultural sector. ... *(Interruptions)*

I apologise to my colleagues from the Congress party. Some parties have stated that development of the nation has taken place and the country, where not even a needle used to be produced is now manufacturing aeroplanes. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR : It was decided in the meeting of the leaders that no allegations would be levelled against one-another.

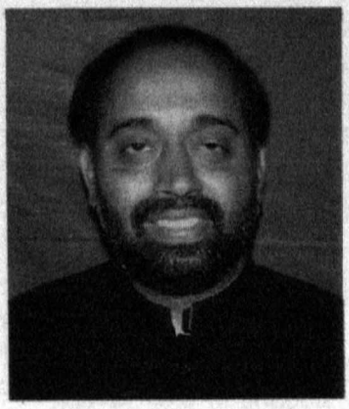
SHRI GANGA CHARAN RAJPUT : It is all right. I would like to submit a few words on science and technology. Without Science, development is not possible. There are no good laboratories in any of our districts. Well furnished laboratories should be set up there. Good scholarship and full facilities should be provided to the science students. Science has made good progress in our country but this progress is not satisfactory. There is large scale brain drain from our country. Today doctors, engineers, scientists are migrating abroad. This migration should be checked and their problems should be solved.

I would like to pay my thanks to the farmers because it is their hardwork which had brought about green revolution and Self-sufficiency in foodgrain production in the country. In 1950 the production of foodgrains was 5 crores tons which has increased to 19.5 crore tons in 1996.

With these words I am giving a call to youths of the country through this House that young age does not come again and again. After getting old, even the wealth of kuber cannot return young age. I appeal to the youths that whether government do something or not, they should not remain dependent on the government. Today the youths should be united to ward off corruption and poverty from the country, to make country supreme power of the world, to strengthen the unity and integrity of the country and to eliminate communalism and casteism from the country and that too without expecting anything from the government. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken much time, you should wind up your speech.

SHRI GANGA CHARAN RAJPUT : I am calling upon the youths to come on the streets and form such a government, develop such a system which can strengthen the country and make it the supreme power of the world.



**SHRI VIJAY GOEL**

SHRI VIJAY GOEL (Sadar-Delhi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to lay my speech on the Table of the House. On the occasion of 50th anniversary of the independence of the country I would like to lay my speech on the Table of the House in this special session. I have put my signatures on it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I extend my congratulations to be Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha for convening a special session for six days on the occasion of 50th anniversary of the independence. If the problems of the country are considered seriously in the House during these six days, then it would definitely be a historical session. If we go through the achievements of 50 years of independence, then we would find that we have laid down concrete foundation of democracy and got political and geographical independence in these 50 years but we could not achieve economic independence so far.

The contribution of the congress has been tremendous for the independence of the country. At that time the Congress was not a party but a comparing. It was a party of character and honesty, it was not a corrupt and dishonest party. It was an ideal party and today I would like to submit as to what is the character of that Congress today. In the last Lok Sabha elections, my rival was a candidate of the Congress party. I defeated him. The cover page of his election manifesto had the photo of Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Subhash Chandra Bose, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi but the photo of Mahatma Gandhi was not there. I enquired from a congressman about the reason behind it, he replied that Gandhiji used to preach sermon for giving up wine, corruption, dishonesty and violence. These Congressmen

now say that what is the need to give up all these things rather forget Gandhiji, hence it is not having the photo of Gandhiji.

Today, after 50 years Bhartiya Janata Party is not a political party but a campaign. Today, the people are looking with hope towards such a party which could save the country from fear, hunger and corruption. On this occasion I salute the bravemen of the country who sacrificed their lives for the cause of this country. They made sacrifices to save this country. Whether he was Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Pt. Nehru, Maulana Azad, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Bal Gangadhar Tilak or Lala Lajpat Rai etc.

Democracy was adopted in this country but what is the use of it for a common man. We should ponder over it. For him democracy is not involved in the holding of elections after every five years rather for him it lies in the court, Police and Patwari. Has justice been provided to him by the courts in these 50 years? Today he does not get justice from the courts even for long 10 years. The crime like rape, stabbing, dacoity and murder are being committed openly but justice is not done. Court needs evidence. Who can get evidence after ten years? Despite a lot of difficulties, poor man does not get justice. We should change our way of providing justice. Courts should give their decision expediously. Today lakhs of cases are gathering dust in the courts. If we are not able to provide justice to a common man, what is the use of democracy. In the democracy of 50 years what is the condition of a common man in the police stations. If he gets justice in the police station, only then he can understand the meaning of democracy. Do we not know as to what kind of treatment he gets in the police station? He gets treatment there like animals. Without any reason and chance of appeal, he is put behind the bars. He feels scared while going to the police station.

Democracy for a common man lies with his district and Patwari. If his property is safe, the democracy is meaningful for him. If the district magistrate does not pay attention towards his problems, when he cannot meet with the collector and there is no hope of justice for him in the government office, as such can we claim that our country is independent?

Today 80 per cent population of the country belong to poor families. If we cannot provide justice to them, if we cannot solve their problems, then what is the use of independence. We will have to change the structure of judiciary so as to lay a strong foundation of democracy. In all the three pillars of democracy—judiciary, executive and legislature, particularly, in judiciary a period of 10 years is taken to provide justice to a common man while big cases are decided within a few months. In judiciary, when former Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had appointed the fourth judge after superseding the seniority of three judges, an objection was raised. When an impeachment was brought in the Parliament against judge an objection was raised.

Today, the second pillar of the democracy *i.e.* executive is exploiting the common man. In executive, deterioration had started after 1967 when the persons where appointed on the basis of individual loyalty instead of their ability and qualifications. As the assistance from the despotic officer of the Executive has been decreasing, it becomes necessary for the political leaders to take the help of the persons of personal allegiance. I would like to ask whether a Minister can have a check on 13 Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries? Whether a Minister can have control over all the Organisations and committees under his Department? Perhaps he cannot and therefore, there is a need of having public representations in each and every department, committee, Organisation and government industry at every level of government right from the Panchayats to the Prime Minister. They may be either elected public representatives or members nominated by elected representatives.

There should be public representative at all levels of the Government. Otherwise, who would put a check on the bureaucracy which is becoming autocrat? If one writes any letter to any Department, the reply would come that it is being sent for necessary action. Can we hope that common man would get justice in government office? Today administrative machinery controls the public in democracy. Today an elected representative is in a bad position.

*[English]*

A politician has all responsibility, all accountability, but no authority. On the other hand, a bureaucrat has all authority, but no responsibility and accountability.

*[Translation]*

This is the position of our country. We have not provided so much sources to the public representatives so that they could serve the public properly. I would like to ask whether

there would be two norms of morality? If an elected representative is charged even with a small accusation, he is asked to resign, he is sent to jail, he is insulted. But on the other hand if C.B.I. orders an inquiry against an I.A.S. Officer, he does not resign. He is not asked to resign. I must say that there should be resignation in both the cases. Full action should be taken.

During the last 50 years, there was a time during the time of Pandit Nehru when the then Minister of Finance Shri T.T. Krishnammachari had resigned on moral grounds. Shri Keshav Dev Malviya had also resigned on moral grounds. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had also resigned after a train accident. Today what to talk of resigning they don't want to resign even after levelling of charges against them. There is the need of bringing in democracy in the political parties before the advent of democracy in the country. Elections have not been held in parties for many years. The practice of thrusting upon the leaders, has started, selling and buying of Members has increased. Today Election Commission has issued list in regard to the M.L.As and M.Ps of various parties against whom there are serious charges and cases are pending in courts against them. Therefore, the parties must have self introspection.

Today our Parliament has to shoulder a serious responsibility. Someone asked me what is Parliament.

*[English]*

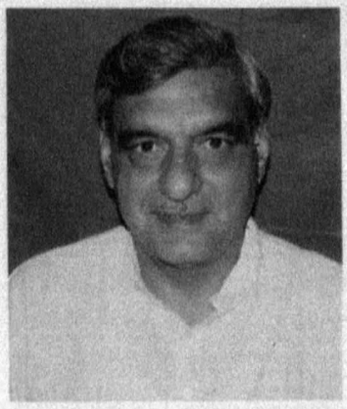
I replied, that Parliament is a game of lottery, race and requests.

*[Translation]*

Our notice questions, Matters under Rule 377, Bills, etc. all are balloted through lottery. You have to submit your question, Bill etc. in haste and you have to keep making requests to the Lok Sabha Speaker for allowing you to speak. Therefore, how can Parliament give justice which itself is run through lottery system? How the serious issues could be raised in the Parliament?

Today the epidemic of lottery is swallowing the entire country. Lacs of families are being ruined due to lottery. 124 members of Parliament signed on the representation in this regard, but lottery has not been banned by the present Union Government.

Today, on the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebration we should take oath to get rid of lottery, liquor and poverty from the country and inculcate good cultural traits in the people.



**SHRI BHUPINDER SINGH HOODA**

SHRI BHUPINDER SINGH HOODA (Rohtak) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Hon'ble Speaker has called this special session on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Independence of the country for holding discussion on important issues. First of all I salute the freedom fighters who got freedom for this country after making great sacrifices.

I consider myself fortunate that 50 years ago when the constitution of India was being framed, all the top leaders of freedom struggle were the members of the Constituent Assembly. My father, who is still alive was also one of them. He was born in the family of a small farmer and become the member of Constituent Assembly immediately after he was released from the cell of British prison. I have got this opportunity to make a mention about him after 50 years. I had a lot of opportunity to talk to those persons who have framed the Constitution, such as Prof. Ranga or my father or Shivlal Saxena. I can enumerate so many persons. That I was their spirit with which they had framed the Constitution and what they thought and what they think after 50 years. I think that it is the time of introspection for us.

Mahatma Gandhi launched the movement and made this country having varied religions, cultures, languages, castes and creed as one.

Today corruption and criminalisation has been discussed. The opposition leader and the Minister of Home Affairs also spoke about it and when they were speaking about it, it appeared to me that all the people of the country are in a fix and no solution is being found to get rid of it. I remember that page of the history, when Mahatma Gandhi came out with a langoti and a lathi, the people of this country made fun of him that he would get independence for this country, he would get independence from that power which had so vast empire all over the world. On it Mahatma Gandhi had said that I would get freedom for this country by wearing a 'langoti' and having a stick in my hand and without using the arms. I would create awareness among the masses, infuse patriotism in the masses and he did it. Therefore, it

is not a big thing, but the leaders of all the parties should decide that the norms fixed for others should also be made applicable on their own party.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, no Member should carry Cellular Phone inside the Chamber. If anybody is carrying any phone, please keep it outside.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BHUPINDER SINGH HOODA : They should follow the same norm which they expect to be followed by others. But today they have one set of norms for their party and another set of norms for the leaders of other parties. Regarding corruption, a tendency has developed today that a leader considers himself to be spotless while in his opinion, the Members of other parties are corrupt. Unless this type of mind—set is changed and our norm is fixed for all parties, we cannot get rid of it. When Bapu can get the country freed just by wearing Dhoti and having a stick in his hand, can 545 Members of the House not get rid of this evil?

Mahatma Gandhi had cherished a dream of Gram Swaraj in India and had hoped that the development of villages would get priority and the villages would be prosperous. But the need has arisen to analyse our achievements after 50 years. No doubt, a change in the life style of the people is obvious. I can claim that 90–95 per cent Member out of 545 Members of Lok Sabha are honest and only few Members have different way of thinking. Earlier, leaders used to join politics with a mission to serve the people. But today, some people have joined politics to serve their own interest. It is because of them that all the leaders and political parties are being defamed.

Mahatma Gandhi talked of Gram Swaraj but today, we shall have to pay our attention towards the present society. At first, we shall have to look after the interest of the villages. Today, the entire structure of the villages is caste occupational structure. There are three types of people in the villages. In the first category are the people of general caste, including my caste, Rajput etc. who are considered the land owners. Second category is of backward classes consisting of artisans, blacksmiths, weavers and shoe makers. In the third category, people belonging to Scheduled Castes working as a labourer come. This structure exists practically in the entire country. But today, as a result of import of new technology, artisans are facing extinction. It is said that blacksmiths, shoe makers and weavers have reached on the verge of extinction due to Tata, Bata and Mafatlal respectively. Today, shoe is imported from Italy. It is said that they were hand made and the cost of these shoes is rupees 8–9 thousand per pair. Nobody likes to wear the quality shoes made in villages. In the name of employment, loans worth crore of rupees are extended to Bata but nobody is bothered to know as to how many people get employment there.

In 1970, each family on an average, had 2.28 hectare of land but today average size of holding performly is hardly one hectare. Per capita land in 1947 was on an average 1.2 hectare while today, it is 0.2 hectare. The number of marginal farmers is 57 per cent, small farmers 18 per cent, medium farmers 13 per cent, semi-medium farmers 8 per cent and big farmers only 2 per cent. We see the farmers falling under 2 per cent category and say that the farmers are satisfied and their income has increased. Everybody in the House has discussed about the average production of the country. Our average production is 1.6 tonne per hectare, while in Japan, it is 6 tonnes per hectare, which is five times higher than ours. Farmers in Japan have less land while we have more irrigated land. In 1950, our GDP was mainly based on agriculture. At that time, the contribution of agriculture sector in national income was 58–60 per cent but today, it has come down to 30 per cent. The share of labour force which was 66–68 per cent at that time, has fallen to 55 per cent per capita average annual income in agriculture sector in 1961 was Rs. 912 and that of non-agriculture sector was Rs. 4054 but today, after 30 years, in 1991, the annual average income has increased to Rs. 1087 while in non-agriculture sector, it has risen to Rs. 6672. There is a wide gap between the two. The income in agriculture sector has increased by 32 per cent while that of non-agriculture sector by 138 per cent. This gap is the result of 12–58 per cent investment in the areas whose share in the national income was 100 per cent. But the position of electricity supply, roads, irrigation and water falling under economic power head is pitiable.

The expenditure incurred in the field of agriculture and irrigation as compared to the First Five Year Plan has decreased considerably and it is around 8 per cent now. When investment in the agriculture sector has registered a fall, how the country can make progress? It will also speed up the migration from villages to cities. People are rushing towards cities. Mahatma Gandhi wanted people to stay in villages and Gram Sabhas to be set up. But how will the people live there without electricity? Today, the villagers are living in a very difficult condition. A villager who earns Rs. 100 from the agriculture sector, falls under the category of marginal farmer and he owes Rs. 18.1 as loan out of these 100 rupees. Small farmers owe 20.7 per cent, medium farmers 27.7 per cent and big farmers owe 31.7 per cent loan.

So far as capital investment funds or loan is concerned, the farmer need loan for seeds from any source be it nationalised bank, other banks or working capital. But the nationalised banks or organised sector meet only 33 per cent demand of loans requirement of farmers. They have to take 66 per cent loan from private lenders at very high rates of interest. The entire life of a farmer is spent repaying the loan.

So far as subsidy to farmers is concerned, it is a much debated issue. There were only 5 to 7 Members of

Parliament in 1947 who had rural background. The same was the situation in 1952 but today, Members do discuss agriculture but nobody discusses about the declining trend of investment in agriculture. I have already mentioned that it has come down to one third. Today, we should think as to how an effective Gram Sabha can be set up in villages. Since 80 per cent people live in villages we shall have to think as to how we can increase investment in the rural area. We shall have to think seriously about our priorities after 50 years of independence. Unless we refix our priorities the dream of Mahatma Gandhi cannot be fulfilled. The production of foodgrains has increased in the country. We would need 240 million tonnes of foodgrains by the year 2007 while we are producing only 195 million tonnes of foodgrains at present. To achieve this target of 45 million tonnes of foodgrain production, we shall require the cooperation of farmers. Therefore, they should be encouraged and their morale should be boosted.

Banks have also been discussed here. Shrimati Indira Gandhi Nationalised the Banks. After that, farmers got an opportunity to enter the Banks. Now Banks are being privatised. How the Nationalised Banks and Co-operative Bank would be able to compete with privatised banks. If they would see their income, how the poor people would make progress? These banks are not going to provide loans to the farmers. You would also have to think in this regard. I am not saying it, it was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had said in the year 1950 that.

*[English]*

Everything can wait in this country, but not agriculture.

*[Translation]*

If the self respect of the country is to be enhanced, you would have to think in this direction, otherwise we would have to go to the other countries with a begging bowl. If the self respect of the country is to be enhanced, you would have to pay attention to the agriculture.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, You are asking me to conclude my speech. I want to say something about education. There is lot of gap in the standard of education being imparted in cities and that in villages. There are 57 per cent educated male in rural areas, but in cities the percentage of educated male is 81 per cent. The children study in good schools in cities, therefore, the rural boys do not become IAS and IPS, the rural boy can only become a constable, bus conductor or join army. Similarly, there are 30 per cent educated women in rural areas and their percentage in cities is 64. The average is 44% in rural areas, it is 73 percent in cities. Here unemployment has also been discussed. There would be ten crore unemployed in the year 2000 out of these ten crore unemployed people, 70 per cent will be rural people. We cannot provide employment to them, you would have to pay attention to it.

There are some disputes pending among the States. There is water dispute between Haryana and Punjab. Similarly, there is Cauvery water dispute. No discussion could be taken during the last fifty years, but you have to decide it now that water is a national asset, otherwise there would be crisis of water. After five years water would not be available in this country. So far as electricity is concerned, electricity at cheap rates would have to be made available to the farmers. We increase the rate of the produce of the farmer by 50–100 rupees per quintal and say that we have done a lot for the farmers. But the farmers would not be benefited by that. We produce foodgrains in our State and the poor farmers have to save grains for their consumption. Unless, such a policy is formulated under which if producers get the hundred rupees, consumers get the same thing for 125 rupees, there cannot be balance between producers and consumers.

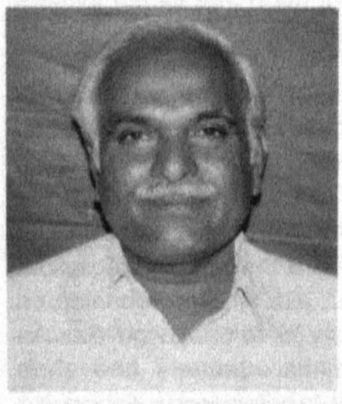
The matter of 'Gram Sabha' was also in the mind of Gandhiji and it was thought.

*[English]*

Whether state is for individual or individual is for state, there is only one institution which can create balance, that is Panchayati Raj, and that institution would work for the welfare of individuals.

*[Translation]*

With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



**SHRI KRISHNA**

*SHRI KRISHNA (Mandya) : Mr. Chairman Sir, first of all let me pay homage to those freedom fighters who had laid their lives in the freedom struggle of our nation. I also pay homage to the brave freedom warriors of Shivapura who took part in the freedom struggle, through Dhwaja Satyagraha and died for their motherland.

Sir, I thank the hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha for calling this special session to discuss various national issues. As

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Kannada.

a part of golden jubilee celebrations of our independence we are discussing various vital issues in this august House for the last five days. I am sure that these discussions will definitely achieve the desired goals. The people of this country are expecting a lot from us. Hence it would be our bounded duty to go deep into the various problems facing our country. I, therefore, appeal to the leaders of all political parties to come to definite conclusions after threadbare discussions.

During the last 50 years we have developed twin India. One is the urban India where 20 to 25 per cent of the population live and we have medical, educational and all other facilities. The other is the rural India where 75 to 80 per cent of the population live and their condition is pathetic. Unemployment, poverty, lack of health care and very poor educational facility are prevailing in the rural areas even after fifty years of independence. Why is this contrast?

I am reminded of the statements made by the revolutionary Balwantrao Phadke 400 years ago. Mr. Phadke was an employee of East India Company. He received a telegraphic message from his home town about his mother's serious illness. He could not go to see her as his leave was not granted by the East India Company. He got one more telegraphic message to go to his hometown. But this time the message was to convey him his mother's demise. East India Company did not allow him to go to see his mother even after her death. Phadke was very much upset. He discussed with his friends and well wishers the issue of slavery in East India Company. He decided to end this slavery. Freedom was the only goal for him. He started the freedom movement. All his friends were inagreement with his ideas and plans. But most of them did not cooperate with him. Phadke went ahead with the freedom movement. Many of them were not at all available to him. It is at this juncture he made the statement. He said that educated persons are not at all useful for our freedom movement. They are all selfish people. Educated people may be officers, businessmen or politicians, all of them behave in the same way and they do not do any substantial contribution to our freedom struggle. Crores of people are still below the poverty line even after 50 years of independence, These are the reasons for us to have two Indias, the rural India and the other urban India.

Corruption is the cancer in our society. This has to be routed out from our society. We can work more effectively than Asian Tigers only when there is no corruption in the country. Corruption is the major hurdle for our nation's progress.

What is the status of a politician in our society? Many people in our society feel that politicians are cheats, thieves manipulators, etc. The status of politicians in our society was excellent 40 years ago. They were respected very much. But now nobody cares for them. The Congress workers, leaders were respected by the society as they had participated in the freedom struggle. But now after 50 years of independence things have changed thoroughly.

There are several scandals. I cannot go on narrating them. Politicians make lengthy speeches. They are involved in a number of scams. At this juncture we have to take very hard decisions.

**23.37 hrs.**

[SHRI NITISH KUMAR *in the Chair*]

I appeal to all political parties to think in this direction. Corruption, nepotism, red tapism have to be eliminated completely from our society. We will be destroying our country by our own hands if we do not rout out the above mentioned maladies from our society. The leaders should have detailed discussions in this regard and come to some amicable solutions.

The media is very eager to expose the politicians who are indulged in scandals. Many top officials are also indulging in scandals. But strangely, media does not bother to expose them. It is the officials who guide the politicians, in all these notorious activities. Some people think that politicians make policies and rule the country. In reality it is the officials who are doing these jobs. Without the assistance of Government officials politicians cannot take decisions and make policies. Many officials have amassed huge wealth. Their wealth has increased by several thousand times. But unfortunately no action has been taken against them. Media also is keeping quiet without bothering about these happenings. How many of them have gone to jail? According to available information not even one person has been sent to jail for amassing wealth illegally. Even cases of suspending the officials are very rare. Stringent action is not taken against these officials. There are laws but unfortunately they are not effective. There is an urgent need to change these laws. There is a provision in our system to remove officials who amass huge money illegally. But where is the will power to take hard decisions?

Many politicians say that they have spent crores of rupees to contest elections. Hence, there is an urgent need for electoral reforms. Election process must be easy, simple and the expenditure must be very less. Discussions are taking place regarding electoral reforms inside the House

and outside. The States and the Centre should fund the elections. More than all these, the candidates for the elections should declare their assets. We cannot check corruption if we do not make it compulsory for the candidates to declare their assets. Declaring the wealth of the candidates would also help the voters to decide about their choice of the candidate. Special courts have to be set up to clear cases of scandals. The officials and others who are involved in corruption cases should be punished through these special courts.

Sir, the Fifth Pay Commission has given its report. The top officials have been given a big jump in their scales of pay. They are the privileged class having all the facilities like car, quarter, phone, etc. etc. The increase in their salary is almost 200 per cent. But what is the increase in the salary of Class III and IV employees? It is a meagre amount and it is not even 100 per cent.

I was surprised to see some Government employees playing cards most of the time. This habit is related to culture. I request the Government of India to take immediate measures to check this dangerous menace.

A popular song is sung in my area.

Where is the freedom?

The freedom of 1947.

Birla got freedom.

Ambani got freedom.

Tata got freedom.

Freedom did not reach the poor people of our villagers and small farmers. 70 per cent of the population have been neglected by one and all.

Our nation is fortunate to have so many rivers. But where does the water go? The total quantity of water in these rivers is about 1880 cubic kilometers. Surprisingly only 690 cubic kilometers is utilised. 65 per cent of water is going waste and only 35 per cent of water is being utilised. Is this not a tragedy, Mr. Chairman Sir?

During the year 1977 Dastur Committee gave its report recommending to link northern rivers with southern rivers. It had suggested to link Ganga and Cauvery. It had also mentioned that the total cost for linking Ganga and Cauvery would be about 12,000/- crores of rupees. The Government spends crores of rupees for flood relief programmes in the north. It also spends crores of rupees every year for drought relief programmes in the southern parts of the country. The Centre should come out with a plan to avoid such expenditures and to utilise the entire quantity of our river water.

There are so many river disputes:

1. Narmada river water dispute
2. Cauvery river water dispute
3. Sutlej river water dispute.

There are several other river water disputes in our country but as ill luck would have it, not even one dispute has been settled despite repeated meetings of the concerned parties. This is the golden jubilee session debating issues of national importance. On this auspicious occasion may I appeal to the Government of India to find out a permanent solution to the Cauvery water dispute without further delay. The world court decides international water disputes based on a charter. On the same lines the Government of India should find a way out to clear all the river water disputes in our country. Why don't we have a national water policy? Why is the Centre delaying this matter?

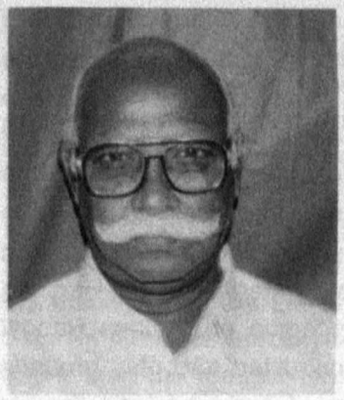
Like river water disputes we have land disputes. The Mahajan Commission gave its report 30 years ago regarding the border dispute between Karnataka and Maharashtra. This report has been kept in cold storage by the Centre for more than three decades. At least on the eve of our golden jubilee celebrations of our independence will the Centre implement the Mahajan Commission's report in toto? Otherwise the country may disintegrate.

Ganga Kalyan Yojana is a useful programme initiated by the Centre. But this is not being implemented properly in the States, particularly in Karnataka.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 18 minutes. Now you please take your seat. Rest of your speech may be laid on the Table of the House. Mr. Deve Gowda has said so many things about these 'Yojanas'.

SHRI KRISHNA : Sir, I want to appeal to the Centre to appoint a Nigam to look into the functioning of Ganga Kalyan Yojana.

Sir, I thank you very much for giving me a chance at this late hour to speak on important national issues and with these words I conclude my speech.



**SHRI K. PARASURAMAN**

*SHRI K. PARASURAMAN (Chengalpatu): Mr. Chairman Sir, I rise to speak on behalf of DMK party on this 50th year Golden Jubilee special session on development of Infrastructure, Human Resource and Economy of India.

Sir, talking of the present situation, I feel that prospects for Indian Economy is good. We have about 30 billion dollars of Foreign Exchange. The Growth Rate is 6 per cent. We are likely to cross 200 million mark in foodgrain production at the end of the current financial year. But inspite of these, in terms of basic needs of the common people in the country, there is a lot more that Govt., should do, in the matter of taxation policy etc. in medium and small size companies in India, which are growing in number should be given incentives in many respects. The key requirement for any company is that it should develop its own technology. Government should give all concessions and encouragements to the companies to establish their own Research Division and Laboratories, so that they can develop new process and their goods can compete in the international market.

As far the liberalisation policies introduced and implemented in July 1991 are concerned, though remarkable changes have not taken place on the economic front so far there are still some snags in the way of development and progress. There are anomalies which affect fast developmental activities especially after liberalisation. For example domestic industry is paying exorbitant local taxes. Domestic industries have not been able to get sufficient raw materials. Duties have not been brought down in their cases. Tariff rates are high. Local industries have to pay 20 to 30 per cent tax but there should be zero duty for domestic industries.

Another point is that we should have reservation in small scale sectors. The key issue is that the small scale industries should get support from Govt. I feel that Central Planning Authority is not going to bring about desired change in the economy but it can only be done by large number of people and involving them at grassroot level. Industries, companies, individual groups, managers, initiatives of states, local government Municipalities, at panchayat levels can bring about radical changes. However medium size companies and small size companies are growing through their own limited technologies.

In South east part of globe we find that economies of countries like China, Indonesia, Taiwan, South Korea etc have been growing faster. From early times, Our country continued to be one of the first ten industrial countries, later its position slipped down to 20th position. With introduction of liberalisation and globalisation, we have not been able to make much dent in industrial growth. During 91–92 we faced industrial sickness due to financial and credit difficulties. But now we face stagnation, particularly in domestic consumer manufacturing sector. The demand for consumer goods is not increasing due to lack of purchasing power though the population increases geometrically.

Sir, keeping in view the growing unemployment problem we have to plan for employment generation so that we can create more employment opportunities and also provide gainful employment. The centre may establish a National Commission for Man Power Planning which will plan and chalk out the requirement of the number of engineers, doctors, technicians, scientists, managers, administrators and at other levels for the next 15 to 20 years.

After 50 years of Independence I am sorry to say that there is rampart corruption at various levels of administration at national level, state level, district level, block level etc.. Stringent measures to check corruption at these levels should be taken immediately.

During 50s and 60s corruption in the country was almost nil or very very insignificant. But in recent decades earnings in corrupt ways have increased manifold at almost every level.

During the past 50 years if we look back, we will find that definitively we have made progress in the field of Industry, Agriculture Irrigation, Technology, Transport systems—Road, Railways, Aviation, Shipping etc education, both medical and engineering, financial institution like Banking, Insurance business etc. But at the same time population increase in geometric form Unemployment, increase in the percentage of poverty etc have been making their headways unperturbed. Immediate action should be taken izn this regard.

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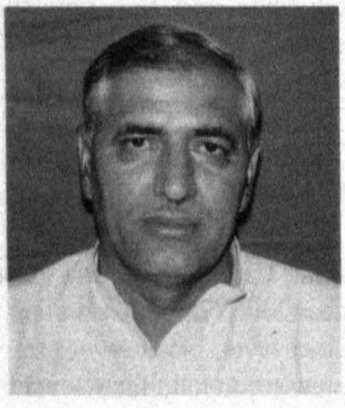
*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Tamil.

Provision of sufficient drinking water to the people especially in the rural areas is a burning issue which should be tackled by the Centre.

In each village, there should be a health centre or atleast for every thousand people there should be a hospital. Merely opening a health centre or hospital is not enough, but the authority should see that it is functioning properly and there should be a monitoring cell from the village level to the district level and so on so that any male functioning mal practice could be rectified.

Production of Pulse and edible oil has not been satisfactory and we have been importing these items till today. Necessary planning should be worked out to increase the production of these items which are basic needs of the poor in the country. We have increased the production of food grains (about 200 million tonnes) by adopting green revolution, etc. but in cases of pulses and edible oil seeds the same technology should be applied to increase their production.

With this I conclude Sir.



**CHAUDHARY RAMCHANDRA BENDA**

CHAUDHARY RAMCHANDRA BENDA (Faridabad) : Mr. Chairman; Sir, at first, I would like to thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak in this special Session. We are celebrating Golden Jubilee of India's freedom. Ranging from Mahabharata era to Vedic era, India had been most prosperous country in the world. After the battle of Kalinga and the victory of Ashoka, India was haunted by the various schools of thought. As a result, the Vedic era came to an end and the downfall of the country started. The hon. speaker, who spoke before me, have touched almost all the aspects ranging from politics, corruption, reservation to education. How a country whose guardians, be they santari, minister or Prime Minister, have been found involved in corruption, can claim of removing corruption? Pawar Saheb stated that 'Satyamev Jayate' was written in the House but all the Members sitting in the House spoke untruth that they had won the election after spending four lakh rupees. We all give false figures in the House. Sir, the people of the country know what we are doing. It has become very difficult for the country to come out safe from the net of leaders, bureaucrats and industrialists trio. My colleague Shri Bhupinder Singh Hooda raised the problems related to the poor farmers and labourers. Sir, Chhoturam had formulated a scheme for supplying water to Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. That was the scheme of Bhakhra Bangal Dam. Here bridges can be constructed and play grounds can be developed. Four rivers of India are still flowing towards Pakistan and we could not divert their flow. Half of the total area of the country experiences floods and the rest of the area experiences drought. So long as Himalaya remains within the country, there is no dearth of water. But we cannot provide water to the area which need it. There are canals in the country only on papers. There is abundance of water in the country still the land needs water. The land has two uses, either it can be cultivated or it can be mined for extracting minerals. India is rich is flora and minerals. The farmers and the labourers have made us so much self reliant in foodgrains that today we export foodgrains. If the foodgrain is imported, it is done for commission and not for consumption. Inspite of that the country is still indebted. When the price of a tractor was Rs. 8000, the per quintal price of wheat was Rs. 50. At present the price of wheat is Rs. 450 per quintal while that of a tractor is Rs. 4 lakh. A sack of fertiliser used to cost Rs. 6 but now it has reached Rs. five hundred per sack. The pesticides are very costly. Those who determine the prices of farmers produce are not aware of ground realities. Many leaders do not know exactly about agriculture so much so that a Prime Minister asked whether the red chilli was costlier or green? When replied that the red chilli was costlier, he advised that red chilli should be cultivated. Several leaders of the country are not aware of the difference between the farming of wheat and millets. Unless the attention is paid towards agriculture, India cannot progress.

Sir, secondly, I would like to speak on education. Today my colleague Shri Rajput made a mention about Macaulay's education system. But I would like to state that so far as the knowledge is concerned, Vedas are matchless in the world. Our ancient education was gurukul based and Veda based. Every book in the world bears the name of the author but all the four Vedas do not have author's name. No body in the world can challenge the knowledge of Vedas and prove it wrong. Today our Government does not recognise the Gurukul education. The students of Gurukul do not get employment, while the product of a public school easily get jobs. People come to us for admission of their children in nursery. People want to get their wards admitted in DPS by

giving a donation of Rs. 50 thousand, still they do not get admission. We did not know as to what nursery was. We used to go to first class with a wooden plate. Today we will have to reconsider this aspect of education and adopt the teachings based on Vedas. The contribution of Vedas in freedom struggle was not negligible. The Guru of Swami Dayanand, Shri Girijanand had raised slogan. The Contribution of Swami Dayanand and Arya Samaj was great. Swamiji mentions in 'Satyarth Prakash' that self rule is far better than the foreign rule, however worse it may be. He was requested to stricke out this line but he replied that his duty was to enlighten the truth and that he could not do so at any cost. On the basis of knowledge gained from the Vedas, a poor Indian manufactured aeroplane with the help of mercury and made it fly 15 hundred feet high. Before that, no country had aeroplane. Today Shri Murli Manohar Joshi stated that our Government was importing know-how. Will any country transfer the technology of Lipstick, Biscuit, Pepsi, Cola or manufacturing technology of fire-arms? No manufacturer would give his technology. The shoe polish manufacturer does not give his technology. Billi Polish is sold in four annas whereas Cherry Polish is costly. It is the difference of technology. Who would give his technology? All the technologies have gone from here. While Swami Vivekanand was delivering his speech in Chicago, he was told to go to his country and tell his countrymen that they are in the habit of copying, I have come to tell you that our country is in the habit of copying. I have come here to make you understand that the country would copy you. Today the mentality of my country has changed. It is said that this watch is imported. A trouser is sold in 20 rupees at Red Fort when such cloth comes from America, it is said that it is American Kurta, I don't know how much it costs. It is sold in 20 rupees at Red Fort. A mentality has developed that this is imported car, this is imported watch, this is imported chair. Except India, which country had anything.

DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA (Damoh) : Now wife is also imported.

CHAUDHARY RAMCHANDRA BENDA : Yes wives are also brought from abroad. Wife also comes from abroad in this country. I want to say that the mentality of our country has become such that we have forgotten our things and there has been moral decline. We have forgotten ourself. In the first mantra of Vedas it is written that you should become man first. You should become neither I.A.S., nor I.P.S., nor D.C. but man. Vedice religion is being followed in this country. Today slogans are raised in this country. Someone raises the slogan of caste, someone is saying that 84 per cent have come without giving statistics.

**00.00 hrs.**

Different things are being said by different people. I am not able to understand as to why you want to misguide the people. India has been the follower of vedic religion and there is a unity in diversity here. The four 'maths' were built by our forefathers to enable the people of one area to see the mode of living of other region. For example the persons from U.P. may go to Tirupati and see the food habits, clothing etc. of the people living in Tirupati and in the same way the people of Tirupati may go to Haridwar and see the mode of living there so that all the parts of the country may remain linked to each other.

**00.01 hrs. (31.8.97)**

Now, I want to express my views on Agriculture policy. I have told about corruption that such action wouldn't help us. All of you would have to be united and formulate some concrete programme in this regard. After this, I also want to speak about reservation. Reservation is not an issue. There cannot be any progress due to reservation. Here the slogan of Baba Saheb Ambedkar is raised. Baba Saheb Ambedkar nerve made demand for reservation. *(Interruptions)*

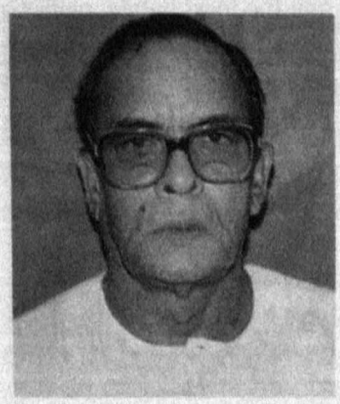
MR. CHAIRMAN : Now it is 12.00 O'Clock midnight and you have taken 12 minutes.

CHAUDHARY RAMCHANDRA BENDA : Baba Saheb never made such demand. As far as reservation for woman is concerned, I want that Government should bring the Bill again. There is need of reconsidering the reservation policy. Today a student who gets 30 per cent marks, gets admission in Medical. You can understand how he would do operations. Everyone should be provided educational facilities. Therefore, I want that Government should reconsider the reservation policy. There should not be any reservation in education. Education should be compulsory for all and it should be provided free and selection should be made on the basis of merit only and there should be reconsideration over reservation policy in jobs. Reservation should not be made any issue. When man would earn himself, using his mind only then he would make progress. There is the need for bringing Women's Reservation Bill because women have been accorded the status of Goddess and mother. In the Indian culture, woman has been held very high, she has been accorded the status of Goddess and mother. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Benda, you stick to your point, why are you getting derailed?

CHAUDHARY RAMCHANDRA BENDA : I want to speak mainly on agriculture, reservation and education. I know very little about industry because I am not an industrialist. I am a simple farmer. I have been elected to this Parliament for the first time. You are ringing the bell, I beg your pardon if I have said any unbecoming thing in my speech. Regarding reservation, I would like to say only this much that there should be reconsideration over it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mahendra Baitha ji, it you want to lay your statement in the House, you may lay the written speech on the table of the House.



**SHRI MAHENDRA BAITHA**

SHRI MAHENDRA BAITHA (Bagha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir I am grateful to you for providing me an opportunity to speak in the special session convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of independence. At first, I salutes those who sacrified their lives during the freedom struggle.

Sir, India has been a country of farmers, for ages our economy has been based on agriculture and even today 80 per cent people depend on agriculture. Therefore, unless special attention is paid towards agriculture, the problem of unemployment cannot be removed and the economy of the country would not improve. When 80 per cent population of the country depends on agriculture, atleast 50 percent of total National budget should be spent on the development of agriculture but actually it is not taking place. Unfortunately, farmers and agricultural labourers are the most neglected people. Today farming has become a loss making business. The farmers today are forced to sell their foodgrains at a price lower than the cost. On the other hand the Government in importing foodgrains on high prices which is causing disappointment among the farmers.

Sir, the bottled water is costlier than the milk in the country. There is a lot of difference between the goods produced in the fields and factories. The subsidy being provided to the farmers has been discontinued. The Indian farmers are still dependent on old agriculture equipments, substandard seeds and rain water. For the development of agriculture, Indian farmer should get latest agricultural equipments, high yielding variety of seeds, good quality of fertiliser and water for timely irrigation. Although, our labourers and farmers are labouriours, our land is fertile, we have sufficient water but either the government lacks will power or they deliberately want to neglect the agriculture labourers.

Sir, Gandhiji had state that unless our villages, farmers and labourers are made prosperous, the prosperity of the country is not possible. Chaudhary Charan Singh had stated that the path of the Indian prosperity passes through the fields. At present, 75 per cent members in the House are the sons of farmers and labourers and have rural background. Still the Indian farmers and labourer are the victims of pitiable condition. As a result, crores of agricultural labourers do not have basic facilities like food, cloth and house.

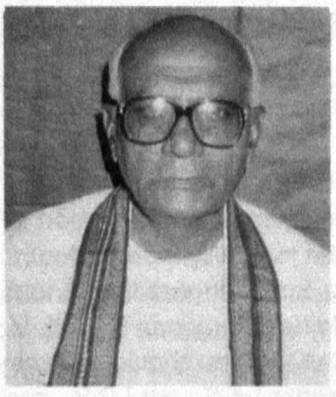
Today, on this occassion, I would like to draw the attention of the government towards this injustice and demand that—

1. Agricultural produce should get remunerative prices
2. Crop Insurance Scheme should be implemented
3. 50 per cent of National Budget should be spent on agriculture
4. The farmers should get more subsidised fertilisers, seeds and equipments for advanced farming
5. The vast gap between the prices of agricultural produce and factory goods should be abridged and
6. Like crop sharing, the workers should get ownership rights of the factories.

Sir, many thanks for providing me an opportunity to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : O.K. your speech has been laid. I cannot provide more time to you to speak at present but you can speak on your turn.

Any other hon. member who wants to lay his speech can do so.



**SHRI G. MALLIKARJUNAPPA**

*[English]*

SHRI G. MALLIKARJUNAPPA (Devangere) : I would also like to lay my speech.

*[Translation]*

*Sir, we have completed 50 years of our independence from 1947 to 1997. This is the golden moment for all Indians

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Kannada.

and we are supremely happy to celebrate golden jubilee. We were slaves of Britishers and the dedicated and determined freedom struggle of mahatma Gandhi ji, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sardar Vallabbhai Patel and many other freedom fighters brought us freedom. I want to express my deep gratitude to all of them.

The population is increasing steadily. Every year one crore persons are added to the existing population. The total population in 1947 was only 48 crores and now it has reached a staggering figure of 98 crores. About 70% of the population is agriculturists. A substantial percentage of land is dry and barren. Hence there is an urgent need to improve irrigational facilities such that we can export foodgrains. 30 years ago there was an acute food shortage in China and people were consuming fish, frog and snakes. Then were backward industrially also. Now they have achieved substantial progress in many fields including agriculture and industry. This was possible because of their discipline and patriotism. We too should have the same feeling of patriotism. Our nation would achieve progress in all fields if we are disciplined and work hard.

Science and technology must be taught at all levels. Basic education should be imparted to primary school children. Literacy programme is not at all a success in our country. The teachers give some names of the literates to the department and collect their honorarium. In middle schools also education is not being imparted properly. Corrective measures have to be taken immediately. Education must be made compulsory for all children upto the age of 12 years. Muslims and Hindus should live together like brothers. God is there in mosque and mandir. Therefore progress is possible only when we live like members of the same family.

Baba Saheb Ambedkar is the father of our Constitution. We express honorable respects to him. But the tragedy is that this Constitution is not being followed strictly. Murderers, goondas and other anti-social elements who disturb peace in the country are not at all dealt with appropriate punishment. This is really dangerous. Mahatma Gandhi propagated prohibition 50 years ago. But now what is happening. Even in villages we find liquor shops. Poor people, boys and others take liquors and waste their time wandering. Agricultural labourers take adulterated liquors and their wives and children commit suicide. Some are loosing their lives in accidents. Many drunkards indulge in rape and ill treatment of women. Their income is also going down. The benefit that they are getting in the form of subsidy is going for liquors. Hence imposition of prohibition throughout the country is the only solution for the emancipation of the rural poor masses.

Three decades ago very few people used to buy "Made in Japan", "German Electronic Goods", etc. But now there is great demand for Japanese goods and hence the price of those items has gone up. They have become very costly. We too have a very good technology. Using modern science and technology we too should produce high quality goods. We can increase our exports and our income will also increase automatically.

Adulteration is another serious malady is our society. Even food items and medicines are not spared from adulteration. This has to be checked immediately. Stringent punishment should be given to those who indulge in adulteration. Government of India should take urgent steps in this regard and quality control must be maintained. Then only we can get good market both at the national and international level.

On this golden occasion of celebrating our golden jubilee year of our independence, I appeal to the Government to implement the following with immediate effect:

1. Better education including NCC, Military education, etc.
2. Agricultural employment
3. Prohibition
4. Casteless society
5. Quality goods, and
6. Employment guarantee for the poorest of the poor.

I am grateful to the Hon'ble Speaker Shri P.A. Sangma for calling this special session of Parliament to enable us to discuss various issues of national importance.

Corruption which is rampant in the country can be checked only when we have dedicated and sincere politicians. Corruption can also be curbed by setting up special courts for this purpose. I appeal to all political parties to come together and take some urgent decision in this direction.

The following programmes are in vogue in Karnataka at present :

1. Rozgar Yojana
2. Indira Awas Yojana
3. Ganga Kalyana Yojana
4. Ambedkar Yojana

Unfortunately these programmes are not being implemented sincerely. I therefore urge upon the Government to take immediate steps for the proper implementation of these programmes. I hope that Centre would take urgent steps in this regard for the reason that we are celebrating 50th year of our independence.

Sir, I thank you very much for allowing me to lay my speech on the table of Lok Sabha during this Golden Jubilee special session.

**DR. RAM CHANDRA DOME**

DR. RAM CHANDRA DOME (Birbhum) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on this occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Indian Independence, may I welcome the hon. Speaker's decision to deliberate on certain vital national issues in our country?

I want to submit my viewpoints very briefly. I would like to concentrate on the family development issue, specially the main component of women's development and their health. After fifty years of Independence, the status of health in our country is such that one cannot say that the achievement is commendable. What do we have to show as some significant success on this health front? We are developing the health technology indigenously and even today our medical scientists, our professionals have achieved super specialisation on the basis of our indigenous technology. Today, even the heart transplantation operation is done by our medical professionals. All these are commendable achievements. I must appreciate that.

In the primary task of the health sector I must say that thrust area has been misdirected. From the very beginning our health programme has an elitist mask neglecting the primary health care. I need not define the basic concept of health. All of you know that health is an important component of socio-economic development. The basis of attainment of health includes so many multifactorial issues like nutrition, housing, safe drinking water, environment, sanitation, literacy and status of women. Above all, socio-economic development is the main basis of good health. It is needless to cite the statistical figures about the present day health indicators. We are having all these statistics with us.

Firstly, I must reiterate the very vital cardinal features. The single most important feature is the infant mortality rate. Though it has come down, yet 74 per 1000 live birth infant mortality rate is a very bad indicator specially in these days. Every year, approximately 2.2 million Indian children die of various diseases. Those diseases are absolutely preventable. Only due to lack of safe drinking water, lakhs of children die of diarrhoeal diseases. This is not any excuse. On this occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebration of our Independence, we should feel ashamed of this. Vital sectors like facilities for drinking water to all Indians is a remote possibility. This is because majority of the diseases are water-borne. We have neglected the main thrust area. We have neglected education.

Education is also a vital sector. Illiteracy leads to ignorance, which, in turn, leads to illhealth. The basic cause for this is poverty. Poverty is the prime cause of the sufferings of human beings in this society. Therefore, to maintain good health is not the task of only the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. Health depends on multifactorial and multifaceted issues. Health personnel alone cannot deliver justice to the people in attaining good health. India is a Member-country of 'Health for all by 2000 A.D.' Since that historic Alma Ata Declaration in the year 1978, primary health care approach has been initiated. But to achieve that target, only three years remain.

Health means a state of complete freedom from diseases, physical and mental well being; it is not just a mere absence of disease or infirmity. It also includes social well being. This comprehensive component is called health. Would we be able to achieve it? It is a remote possibility. This is because we do not care for the basic components to achieve good health for the society. Therefore, now, we have to assess how far we have arrived. Development is as much a way of travelling to a precise destination. The destination will be determined to a great extent by the way we may travel. The present trends of infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, our high birth rate and our high fertility rate indicate that we are not in a sound position in our country.

Though we are discussing here an important subject, health, going by our Constitution, is a State subject. The responsibility to look after so vital a sector like this has been left to the State Government. What is the responsibility of the Central Government? Education comes in the Concurrent List. What have they declared in the National Health Policy? Some projects, some national programmes and some national disease control programmes have become components of the Health Policy.

No comprehensive health policy has been drawn by the Government during the last fifty years of our Independence. So, now we need a comprehensive and need-based health policy. It should be totally oriented towards the Indian condition. It is very much necessary.

Present day health care infrastructure in different States are a farce, though in these fifty years some developments have taken place. Huge infrastructure has been created.

This is not enough. Maintaining personnel management and professional management are also important factors. Why the present day professionals are less educated? This is the basic question today. This is the serious question today.

Nowadays, some professionals are not committed to the service of people. That is our big concern today. They are making money. They are running after money. Why? We cannot blame them. It is because health sector has been opened to the commercial community. Today, health care has been opened to the trading community.

Large scale commercialisation is going on. So vital a sector like health care has been opened to the privatisation. This is the basic ill. Due to open economic policy. globalisation and rampant privatisation, consumerism has developed and due to uncontrollable consumerism, these professionals also get swayed by the desire to earn more money.

It is a very serious social problem to which we must find a solution in the coming days. Blaming other cannot solve the problem. The problem cannot be solved by blaming the Ministry or the professionals. So, my observation and suggestion is that vital sector like health care should not be privatised. This should be always in the public sector. Otherwise, in the coming days nobody will be spared.

We are responsible for damaging ourselves. Our over-comfort is damaging our generations. Our short-term benefits and our short-term comforts are damaging our future. So, we should be rational and we should be conscious about future. So, we will have to work out a appropriate health policy in the coming days.

Since health is a positive investment, I would like to quote something in this regard. It is a very relevant quotation. It is from an important publication of the WHO. I would like to quote a few lines from that so that we understand the basic problem.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it a concluding reference to your speech? You have taken 16 minutes.

DR. RAM CHANDRA DOME : Yes, I am concluding. I quote:

> "Expensive modalities of medical car employing high technology have proliferated in industrialized countries in recent decades; such technology has an inevitable lure for developing nations as well. The 'health transition' is a term used to denote the shift in the morbidity and mortality profile of a developing nation from one overwhelmingly dominated by acute infectious diseases and short life expectancy towards on in which there is an increasing burden of chronic non communicable disease in an aging, more rubanized population."

Therefore, our biased investment is elitist. That should be discarded. Our investment-bias should be according to the need-base. This should be the appropriate thing on this golden occasion.

With these words, I conclude.

**RAJKUMARI RATNA SINGH**

RAJKUMARI RATNA SINGH (Pratapgarh) : It is indeed a great privilege for me to be here in this Eleventh Lok Sabha.

*[Translation]*

SHRI P. NAMGYAL (Ladakh) : Please do not disturb our list at least.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We are not doing that.

SHRI P. NAMGYAL : No you have done it.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You may contact him; he would tell you.

SHRI P. NAMGYAL : In the list, next name was my name.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are also right, but I am not to be blamed in any way.

RAJKUMARI RATNA SINGH : We have 50 years of independence behind us. These 50 years have been very significant years. We may have achieved a lot; but to have got Independence was a big struggle.

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Ratna Ji, you have been given only 5 minutes time by the Hon. Speaker.

RAJKUMARI RATNA SINGH : I have just started.

MR. CHAIRMAN : So you have received overriding priority over Namgyal. You have seen his resentment. Please keep it in mind.

*[English]*

RAJKUMARI RATNA SINGH : It is indeed a great privilege to be here and I am very proud to say that I belong to a family which fought for our Independence since 1957. Our families were founder-members of the Congress Party and we have achieved a lot. Our family achieved a lot in bringing this freedom. Six generations of ours have served this nation. My father late Raja Dinesh Singh was Minister here for a long period and he served this nation. On his place, I came here and I have become a Lok Sabha MP. I have the privilege to be here today.

In these past five days I have heard all our party leaders speak about criminalisation of politics. On the eve of this Session, I would like to say that I had an attempt on my life because of criminalisation of politics. In the past one year during which I am an MP, there have been several attempts on my life. I must thank the Central Government which provided me with security; and it had been informing me from time to time about the possible attempts that were being made on my life. The attempts were made on my life not only in my district in UP, but several such attempts are being made all over India on politicians who want to work for the nation.

One year, in may district, I wanted to work very hard for my people but half of may time was spent in removing the criminals in my constituency and in the past two months, there was an attempt on the life of the BJP zila *adhyaksh* in my constituency. The SP's leader was shot dead one week ago and an attempt was made on my life on the eve of this Session. If we are talking of criminalisation, I would request all the parties that we must fight this criminalisation. I thank Shri Indrajit Gupta, who may not be present now, for having read this Resolution. This Resolution is very relevant because if we want to work for our nation, if we want to serve our nation, then we must have our right to do so. We must not be stopped by elements who want to stop this. I would request political parties not to support this. It is not only my fight but it is the fight of every party. I also request the Chair and the Government to help me in this fight. In this fight, as I said earlier, the Central Government has helped me. Even the local Government in Uttar Pradesh has helped me and the district administration has helped me in fighting the *goondas*. But before we fight these *goondas* and criminal elements, attempts are made on our lives and if, I as woman and a Member of Parliament, have to face this much in my life, then what about the poor people? I feel very sorry for the poor people in my State who have no one to go to. Today I can speak in Parliament. I have the right to do it. You people have given me the right, and the public has given me the right. But who is there to help the ordinary men and women? All over the country, we are allowing all these criminals to go scot free. They are being supported by our parties. These people are just running around freely.

Criminalisation is just not in politics alone. It is also faced by the poor journalists. The poor film people are facing this. Every walk of life is facing this. I think, our Resolution for the coming years, should be on this point. In ten years, our system has gone down and these dons and criminals have started coming into our society. I would request all political leaders and all parties to help me in this fight. I would request them all to help me in this fight of trying to improve India in the next ten to fifteen years. We should try to eradicate criminalisation which is affecting every industry and every walk of life. I think this is the most important thing. We have got our Independence. We have achieved it and we are progressing. It may be that our progress is not satisfactory to everybody but then we are a new nation and such a large nation with so much population. Our problems will not be solved overnight. But unless criminalisation is eradicated, nothing can progress. If we want to lay a road, criminals will not let us lay the road. If we want to put up a power station, they will come and stop us. A telephone tower was put up in my district. Shri Beni Prasad Verma witnessed it. The criminals were trying to show black flags. They were not ready to give land in my constituency. So, this should be our fight and I would request everybody present here to take a pledge that let us all make India a better place to live in not only for we, the members of parliament, but also for every citizen, very brother and sister who lives in India.

**SHRI P. NAMGYAL**

*[Translation]*

SHRI P. NAMGYAL (Ladakh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Speaker delivered an important speech in this august House wherein *inter alia* matters like disruption of business of the House, degradation in the political standard increase in corruption, probity in public life, women problems, deterioration in the style of functioning of administration, population explosion, poverty, economy, foreign policy, science and technology and other short comings and decline that have been observed, were highlighted.

**00.30 hrs.**

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

Many Hon. members have expressed their views in detail on these issues. I do not want to repeat all of them. Nonetheless, I would like to express my views on some issues.

You are aware that I belong to a tribal community. Hon. members have in some way or other, putforth the problems of every community such as minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but in passing reference the cause of the Scheduled Tribe has been taken up alongwith the Scheduled Castes. I am thankful to three Members, namely Bhuria Saheb who is not here at present, and Hazarika Saheb and Smt. Sushilaji, who have mentioned in detail about the problems of Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, I would also like to say a few words on this issue. Every community has different problems of its own.

The Scheduled Tribes comprises 7.5 per cent of our population. This community mostly resides in forests, hilly or plain regions. Some of its population live in the border areas. Their problems are different. I would like to talk particularly about those people who live in the border areas and they belong to the Mongolite community. These people too have different problems. After Independence, an awareness was spread all over the country and gradually, these tribals too started coming into our main-stream after centuries of isolation and these people have realised that they were not given warm welcome in the National mainstream, as was supposed to be given to them. Mostly, common people who are very poor, board buses or walk but they can't travel in cars. Therefore, wherever they go, people think that they are Nepali Bahadurs wherever they go, they are called by the name 'Bahadur'. If they travel by bus then the conductor calls them 'Bahadur' and asks them if they got the ticket. If they visit any office, they are stopped at the gate by the guard. When the person replies that he is an M.P., then the guard asks him to show his Identity Card. If anyone accompanies, then there is no problem. What I wanted to say here is that the majority people; who are in the mainstream, should welcome these tribals into their folds. They should make them realise that they are the citizens of this country and they too have equal rights. The majority community should do this thing. That's why these people are not serious about this otherwise, it is a fact that the people of such ethnic groups living at the border areas, they may be Bhutias, Lepchas, Nagas or Mizos, have their own problems. There is a problem in North East, there is a problem in Mizo too. Similarly there is Gorkha problem in Darjeeling and Dhoto or Butia problem in Ladakh region. These problems are existing there because they are being called anti-nationals, whereas it is not so. It is not that they are not patriots. Of course, they are patriots. There is Bodos-problem and majority of the people are patriots. They come from every class of the society. There is a problem of fundamentalism in my region. These Bhutia community people want to maintain and safeguard their identity at any cost. I think, whichever community the lives in the border areas, particularly the Bhutias and Lepchas, protect the country. Unless we trust them, there would not be any solution to the problem. Therefore, I would like to submit that these tribals are in the mainstream of our country. For example, yesterday hon. Member Shri Chamanlal Gupta has said something here. I am thankful to him that he has raised this issue here in this House. There is the Autonomous Council of Ladakh. For the last two years, the Chairman of the Council had been hoisting the flag on the 26th January and 15th August. Then a popular Government took the reigns of the State. They included autonomy issue in their manifesto with an assurance that they would give autonomy to three regions of the State. As a result, people cast their votes in their favour. The National Conference party got majority and they formed the Government. This is an issue of democracy. When a popular Government came into power, they forgot about autonomy and they said that they wouldn't allow the chief of the Council to hoist the flag, rather, they would send their minister to hoist the flag.

As a result thereof all the people of Ladakh boycotted the government function and the Chairman of the Council hoisted the flag separately. All were present there and even

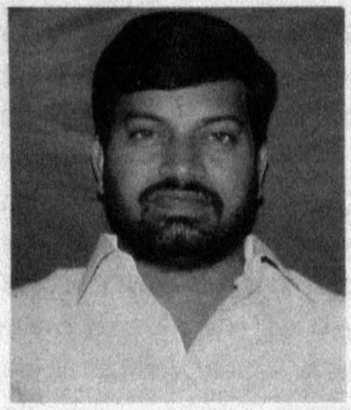
the government employees present there did not attend the official programme and the minister had to go back cutting a sorry figure. Hence all such problems which are raised with political motivation are misleading the people. I would say that we should avoid such problems. The Union Government should also look into the matter as it relates to hoisting of our national flag. We must welcome that the nationalist people wanted to hoist the national flag, but people sitting here are not allowing the flag to fly....*(Interruptions)*

Sir, a lot has been said here on the corruption. It is known that according to Muslim and Christian mythology, Adam and Eve were sent to heaven but were forbidden to eat anything. The apples were growing on the trees there, they were tempted and ate the forbidden fruit and were sent on to the earth as a punishment. Therefrom corruption started and therefore it is not possible to completely weed out corruption, however it can be contained. We should sit together and solve this problem otherwise, I would suggest that, we should legalise corruption. To put it in lighter vein the ministers and Government should not be paid any salary. The advocates engaged in legal practice are not branded corrupt. They charge fees, win and lose cases. In fact, we have to take some drastic steps to check corruption. Mere lip service on this issue is not going to serve the purpose. Therefore, we all should bring some Resolution on it and devise ways and means to weed out corruption completely.

Sir, there is time constraint, otherwise I wanted to speak on several other issues. ... *(Interruptions)*. Some very good suggestions have been made regarding electoral reforms. I duly support State funding of election and providing identity cards for voting in elections. Several such suggestions need to be implemented, I would like to say one thing more that when I contested 1989 elections, in our manifesto it was mentioned that we would fight against corruption. When this issue become quite popular among the masses then, the then Government administration and the police, all colluded and caused my defeat.... *(Interruptions)* If you do not perform well in your constituency you cannot get elected again. These are the few issues....*(Interruptions)* We must bring a Resolution on it and implement it.

Sir, I thank you very much as I was waiting for last six days. I again thank the Hon'ble Speaker for giving me an opportunity to express my views. ...*(Interruptions)*

I am really grateful to the Hon'ble Speaker for giving me an opportunity to pay my obeisances to those freedom fighters who languished in jails in the prime of their youth, suffered untold miseries and won independence for us.



**SHRI L. RAMANA**

*[English]*

*SHRI L. RAMANA (Karimnagar): Mr. Chairman Sir, the country has a long and glorious history of 5000 years. But the country was never so united politically as it is today. Past 50 years' history of independent India proves its unity beyond any doubt. Ours is a multireligeous, multilingual country with each region having a background of its own. Yet, we have succeeded in standing united and working for the development of the country. Thus, India enjoys a unique position in the world.

Before we speak of our achievements during the past 50 years, we have to remember the fact that we have succeeded in consolidating democracy in the country. Right from the beginning till the elections held for XI Lok Sabha, it has been proved beyond any doubt, that democracy has taken deep roots in the country.

Sir, ours is an agricultural country. Farmers are the backbone of our economy. A farmer is considered to be the king. But unfortunately the same farming community, whom we praise much, has been neglected. This most neglected community is feeling frustrated and let down. Successive Governments have done nothing for them. Farmers are not getting even minimum support price what to speak of the remunerative prices. When farmers get good income in one year, they continue with the same crops, be they commercial or cereals. But the next season, they will not get the price for their produce as they got earlier. As they are deprived of even the minimum support price, they hardly get back even the amount they had invested in the crop. So they remain poor and struggle for their survival. Shri Rajesh Pilot, who participated in the discussion, has rightly pointed out various difficulties of the farmers. It is a fact, that they still depend on the middlemen for the disposal of their crops, both cereals and commercial crops like cotton and sugarcane. So, what is evident is the fact the conditions of the farmers did not change during the past 50 years of independence. Farmers do not know how much return they

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Telugu.

would get on their investment. Their problems are increasing day by day. They are becoming poorer and poorer. At the dawn of the independence, the production of foodgrains stood at 5 lakh tonnes. And now, the production has touched 20 crore tonnes. It is because of the constant efforts of our farmers, we are not only self-sufficient in the production of foodgrains, we have started exporting them to different countries thus earning valuable foreign exchange. Hence the Government cannot afford to ignore the farming community anymore. It should take all possible steps to solve their problems in the coming years.

Sir, industrial growth in the country during the past 50 years is quite significant. Yet that is not sufficient. A lot has to be done in the coming years to widen the industrial base.

The youth in the country are directionless today. We depend on the youth for unity and integrity. We have failed to provide employment to them especially rural youth. Majority of them both educated and uneducated have no employment. Unable to earn their livelihood, they are turning violent. There is restlessness among them. That is creating law and order problem in the country. The only reason for their restlessness is the unemployment and financial difficulties. The successive Governments have totally failed to provide them any employment. There is law and order problem in Andhra Pradesh also. The activities of the extremists are on the increase today. The Government should try to know what are the reasons for the enhanced activities of extremism, what are economical and geographical reasons for the uprise of extremism and terrorism and should take remedial measures to curb these activities. As I said, providing employment is the problem which should be attended to immediately. State Governments alone cannot tackle this problem. From Kashmir to Kanyakumari, we have different States and regions. Our's is a vast country. The efforts of the State Governments should be duly supplemented by the efforts by the Union Government in employment generation and rooting our extremist activities. So far we have completed 8 Five Year Plans. But we have failed to achieve the objectives of these plans. The goals still remain distant. The main reason for the failure of the Plans is that they are being drafted in the air-conditioned rooms in Delhi and other State capitals. The benefits of these Plans have not reached the intended beneficiaries in our rural areas. That is the reason why rural India still remains backward and illiterate. Plans should originate from the villages. Then only they become meaningful. People in the rural areas know what they want and what they require for their development. The Plans should reflect the requirements of our rural masses. The Government should allocate funds to implement such plans. Then only planning will be successful. Our beloved Chief Minister Shri Chandra Babu Naidu, who knows the pulse of the people initiated several measures in Andhra Pradesh to redress the grievances of the people especially in the rural and remote areas. He understood the fact that there was no coordination and commitment in implementation of the Plans during the past 5 decades. That is why he has launched several programmes such as "Prajala Vaddaku Paalana (taking the administration to the door steps of the people)". He received 50 lakhs of complaints from the people and had already solved many of them. He has also undertaken programmes like "Shrama danam". There are several schemes which are now financed by the Union Government and implemented by State Governments. Our Chief Minister has introduced 'Janam Bhumi' scheme which has proved to be highly successful. Sir, the programmes launched by our beloved Chief Minister for the welfare of the people are worth emulation. Funds can be better utilised for the welfare of the people thus.

When I was a college student, I participated in the Panchayat Samiti election as a worker. I came to know then that half of the amount allocated under 'Food for Work' scheme was swallowed by middlemen and the so called experts. But fortunately, that is not the position today. The funds provided for such schemes is the hard earned money of the people collected from them as taxes. Such money should not be misused. If such funds are misappropriated, the future generations would never excuse us. Minimum basic facilities required for the people are yet to be provided in the rural areas. At least in the years to come we have to concentrate in providing those facilities to our people. Providing education to our children must be accorded top priority. Still the percentage of illiterates in the country is quite high. The illiteracy is hampering every programme. Both husband and wife work and earn their livelihood as long as their health and age permits them. Once they grow old, there will be nothing to fall back on. Hence old age pension has to be provided to the old people. The old age pension which is under implementation now, is not being extended to every old man/woman in our villages. Hence I appeal that efforts should be made to cover all the old people in the country under this scheme.

The Government should also henceforth concentrate its efforts to provide health and drinking water facilities in every village. Every village in the country should be well connected by road. All the villages should be electrified.

Sir, nobody is a genious when he is born. At the time of birth, nobody is a doctor or a lawyer or an engineer or a politician. It all depends upon his upbringing and the atmosphere around him. Similarly nobody commits a crime for the sake of a crime. Circumstances compel the people to choose the wrong and forbidden paths. But it does not mean that politicians should provide shelter to the criminals. Criminalisation of politics is an unhealthy trend. Shri Gulshan Kumar, who was associated with music industry, has been gunned down in Mumbai very recently. It is a big blow to the music lovers especially devotional music. We listen to his music every morning. The underground elements have eliminated him ruthlessly. Government should take steps to see that such incidents are not repeated anymore. Steps should also be taken to educate the people to make them bold and law abiding citizen. There is an alround degeneration of morality today. The nation is besieged with

scams and scandals. Innocents are being cheated. The Government should see that nation is saved from these disgraceful actions.

Sir, the speeches of great national leaders inspire the nation. Hence they should be given prominence in the media.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity and conclude my speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Shri Kishan Lal Diler. I want your permission. With your permission, I am calling the lady Members first.

*...(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seats. We have no time to waste.

*[Translation]*

DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA (Damoh): Diler Saheb has laid his speech on the Table of the House.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kusmariaji, with your permission, I am calling the lady Members. Three lady Members are there. We will finish them first. They will not take more than 10 minutes.

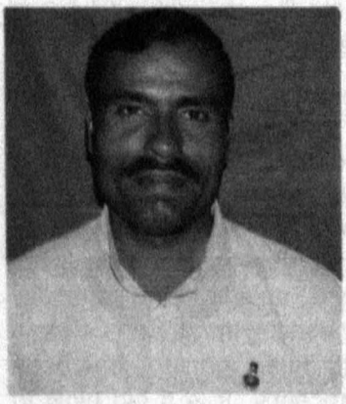
DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA: My name is there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, your name is there. That is what I am saying. The next name is of Shri Kishan Lal Diler.

*[Translation]*

DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA: My number is first.

**01.00 hrs.**



**SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR**

SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR (Sagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I lay my Statement on the Table of the House.

Many important points have come up through the addresses of new and old members of Parliament in the last four days of this special session, that has been convened on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of our independence. Our nation became a free nation from the shackles of slavery on August 15, 1947. We did get independence in our struggle because of the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and sacrifice of revolutionary of the stature of Sardar Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Khudi Ram Bose, Madanlal Dingra, Vasudev Balwant Phadaka, Ram Prasad Bishmil, Rajguru, Sukhdeo etc. but we also lost the Sindh, a part Punjab and the Bengal regions. Name of the family members of the revolutionaries who sacrificed their lives for the cause of country's freedom is either a member of the Lok Sabha or a Chief Minister of any State, Shri Baburao Paranjpe, a freedom fighter of the Indian National Army under the great Commander, Subash Chandra Bose is present in the House. He was also hit by a bullet in the freedom struggle. He had fractured his leg and fought that struggle by suffering a lot of pains and remained without food for many days but he did not apply for any sort of freedom fighter pension nor requested for the allotment of five or ten acres of land.

Sir, it would have been nation's pride, if we honoured our freedom fighters specially on the occasion of 50th anniversary of our independence. I do not say that our country has not made any progress during the last 50 years but certainly the pace of progress has not been satisfactory. Will the sky-rising buildings set a model for development of this country? Will the dogs of foreign breed peeping through the windows of the imported cars set a model for the progress of our country? Will the increasing AIDS patients set a model for the progress of this country? Will the youth generation struggling with desperation and in an inebriated state set a model for the development of the country? Will the increasing number of divided families set a model for development of this country? We cannot claim to have achieved the target of development, unless we ensure employment, shelter, medical facility, clothing etc. to the poorest of the poor in the country.

80 per cent of our population lives in villages. Mahatma Gandhiji gave a call to realise the dream of 'Ram Raj' through the gram-raj and it is still incomplete. There is lack of schools for children in villages. In many village-schools, only a single teacher teaches five classes. There is a lack of higher education in the villages, then how the children would be developed educationally. There are no hospital facilities, there are no roads or approach roads, water and electricity facilities. During the rainy reason many villages are cut off from the urban areas for three to four months as a result of which the people are bound to lead a miserable life. There is a need to ascertain whether the developmental schemes formulated for the villages are being implemented properly or not and to accord priority to the developmental work for removing disparities.

There is a need to make the education employment-oriented. After completing graduation and post graduation when the youth do not get employment, a sense of frustration prevails among them and they begin to commit crimes which is a detrimental factor for the development of any nation. Therefore, there is a need to provide maximum employment opportunities so as to check the young generation from straying.

A labourer toils round the clock. He works on machines in industries, factories and mills continuously. He provides all essential commodities to the country. That labour should have its participation in the trade which increase production as well as export and thus would naturally increase national income.

Women have shown their presence in the various fields of the social life by their remarkable contribution. They have shown their efficiency not only in agriculture sector but in aviation sector also. Hence, proper place and respect should be given to women in social and political participation. The students who get their education in field of science and technology in our country migrate to foreign country owing to lack of proper means and facilities. Proper respect and employment should be given to them. We have launched many missiles successfully. If we provide more facilities to our scientists, there are ample possibilities of development in this field.

Corruption has become a common phenomenon and is now being considered as a courtesy. It is prevailing everywhere. People wonder when their work is done without any recommendation or greasing the palm of officials. Poor people and students do not get their caste, residence or income certificates without paying money. Stern punishment should be awarded to the guilty people so that corruption could be checked.

Many schemes are formulated for the economic, social and educational upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people but the persons belonging to these castes are not getting benefits of these schemes adequately. A man who is allotted land generally does not get its possession. It is seen that the loan is utilised by the person other than the person in whose name the loan has been sanctioned. Such cases should be reviewed.

The people of the country keep a watch on the Members of Parliament. We should have transparency in our conduct and behaviour. Just after election how they accumulate huge wealth property. By passing a Bill in Parliament it should be made mandatory that every candidate must declare his property at the time of election.

India is a secular state where the followers of all religions are free to lead their lives as per their religious faith. We respect all religions. Hindu life style is very liberal. We give respect to Ashfaqulla Khan who laid his life happily during the freedom struggle. We also give respect to Abdul Hameed who had sacrificed his life for the motherland after destroying 11 Patton tanks of the enemy in Indo-Pak war. We give respect to Mohammad Azhruddin who always plays cricket in the ground with the spirit of winning for India. We give respect to Mohammad Rafi who had sung the couplets of Kabir and Ramayan more devotionally than a devotee. For maintaining communal harmony we should give respect to each other and thus try to avoid communal riots in the country.

The farmers of our country are very industrious. The soil of our country is very fertile. If fertilizers, seeds, water and electricity are provided to the farmers in adequate quantity on time, the farmers of our country can yield so much that the entire loan of the country can be repaid within a few years and the country would become self-reliant.

Increasing population is a curse for our country and its ill-effects can be seen in all fields. Therefore, there is a need to make a uniform law for controlling the population and special campaign should be launched to create awareness in the rural and backward areas in this regard.

Today, on the occasion of 50th year of independence there is a need for introspections during this special session. Only then the Nation can achieve the target of development. We have ample opportunities for development in our Nation. There are big rivers-hills and mineral resources are available in abundance in our country. Coal, gold, diamonds, vegetations and herbs are found in large quantities. If these are utilized properly, India can become rich again.

**SHRIMATI KAMAL RANI**

SHRIMATI KAMAL RANI (Ghatampur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful to the Hon'ble Speaker for his speech on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of Independence. I want to ask you that when such sort of special session is convened and time given to express one's views, will these speeches be of any use to society and the country? Whether we have tried to put these views into reality. I think until and unless we put all those things into practice, we would not be in a position to make any contribution for our country or society.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would also like to draw your attention towards social and economic condition of labourers in the country. India being an agriculture country, could not frame any law for safeguarding the interests of agricultural labourers even after fifty years. We could not pay any heed towards the interests of labourers even sitting in Parliament. Today our labourers are not self-dependent. Discrimination against labourers in the name of wages is being done at regional levels in the country. What should I say about the Industrial policy of the country? Labourers in Industrial city like Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh are on the verge of starvation. People in olden days used to present Tesco shoes and Towels of Eligen mills as gift to their guests but those mills have been closed due to wrong Industrial policy of the country. I want to draw the attention of the Government towards this fact and request that at least we should pay attention towards the labourers who are at the verge of starvation. I want to apprise the Government that as many as one lakh labourers have become unemployed and about three lakh families have reached the stage of starvation death. If today we are not in a position to see the deteriorating condition of labourers, then when will we see this? On the one side crores of rupees have been wasted on fire works at Vijay Chowk and on the other the lives of thousands of girls have been ruined and burnt for want of dowry. On the day when the Govt. displayed fire works at Vijay Chowk, all the unemployed youth showed their unhappiness.

Similarly, have we even paid any attention towards the bidi labourers, mine labourers, and similar labourers working in brick-klins? Have we ever ascertained as to how they are celebrating the fiftieth year of independence? For providing better place to labourers in society we have to make arrangements for food, clothes and shelter for them. For this purpose a Bill regarding participation of labourers in industries should be passed as soon as possible.

I come from Kanpur parliamentary constituency and the people of that area have elected me. While on one side we are discussing the plight of labourers, at the same time I want to say that all the labourers in the country are suffering on one account or the other and we are celebrating the fiftieth year of independence by spending crores of rupees. Are we really independent? Today women's misery is not less than anyone. Today the position of women in the country is also known to all. Everyday atrocities are being committed on women. Such incidents have increased many fold. Women Commissions constituted at the centre and state level have succeeded in preventing ever increasing atrocities on women. Need of the hour is that the Government should give them adequate powers, make the Women Commissions more powerful so that they can stop the increasing atrocities on women. Besides, I would like to say one more thing. We are celebrating 50th year of Independence here. I want to take you all in those areas where child marriages are still taking place. Marriages are solemnized by taking children in the arms. Perhaps you won't believe, that these children are so young that their marriages are taking place by taking them in the arms. Have we have ever tried to know that such things are happening? Perhaps it may be a dream for you. But I am telling you the reality and I have been to such places and have seen this ritual. We talk about widow marriages. Today we are celebrating 50th year of Independence here but widows are still being treated as caged birds. They are still suffering.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, senior member Madhav Rao Scindia has mentioned the names of our former Prime Ministers and talked about their era starting from Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. I am unable to understand as to why the name of former Prime Minister Shri Narasimha Rao has not been mentioned by him. I want to know about this. Because his deeds are not only famous in Hindustan but abroad also. I am saying this because I have just returned from America. Due to his image in America, the image of entire country has been tarnished. I met my countrymen there and had a talk with their children. I scheduled my programme to meet them. When I asked a child to give his introduction, he said that—

*[English]*

"I am an American and not an Indian."

*[Translation]*

When I asked him why he is saying like that, he said, "when the Prime Minister of the country is corrupt and the Ministers are involved in scams, then while living in U.S.A. how can we say that we belong to that country. The people of our country have some moral values and we came here motivated by those values and ideals. Now how can we say that this is our Prime Minister. That is why we do not like to call ourselves Indians." I was pained to learn this and I am sharing this pain with you. In this way we are celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Independence in our country. Now the situation is that earlier we used to tell others about our country, now those people feel ashamed of revealing their association with this country. Now the people of our country are fully aware that corruption is prevalent everywhere. When corruption is prevailing at the upper level, naturally the people at the lower level will also follow the same practice and one can imagine what will be the situation thereafter. Who will fight for the interests of the poor, the farmers and the labourers. They are being suppressed and denied justice. Then corruption is found everywhere from the block level to the district level and other levels also. We have to root out this menace of corruption. But who will lead us. There are so many people who will step forward to lead the way. Who

will lead the way to look after their interests. I would like to tell all of you that the virtue of honesty is a quality actually required for people of our country. My opinion is that so long we do not have the sincerity to discharge our duty to the nation and work honestly and as long as the feeling of patriotism is not evoked, we will not be able to achieve anything. I have seen in other countries that they are sincere towards their duties. If a certain time limit is fixed, they strictly adhere to it, even if they have to suffer loss on personal count or family front, but they do their work sincerely. They consider their work as duty. To that comparison, the situation has deteriorated in our country. Either one is working in office or in a mill, he is not interested in doing his work. How can we make a change? One will have to take a closer look at this 50th year span so as to see who were responsible for such a deteriorating situation and how our people began to shirk from work. There has been a decline in the patriotism spirit in our minds as well as in the minds of our children. Education is being provided in our schools but devotion to our duty towards our nation is diminishing from the text books. I would like such lessons to be included in the syllabus as describe our duty towards our nation so that a spirit of patriotism can be inculcated among children.

Now, I would like to say something about the farmers.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRIMATI KAMAL RANI: My demand is that the farmers should get adequate price for their produces so that their standard of living can be improved. They work hard day and night, in summer, in rains and in winter to produce foodgrains but they do not get adequate remuneration for their produce. If adequate price is given to the farmers then their position can be improved. The way inflation is soaring up in the country, is a cause for concern and as a result of this women are especially facing great hardships. Inflation should be checked. Our cottage industries should be developed. The sacrifices made by our youth should be honoured.

We see that our leaders go around prominently displaying slogan of 'Mera desh mahaan'. I fail to understand as to how our country can become great in this way. I want that the work relating to the upliftment of dalits should be undertaken, the farmers should be given work and the women should be given due honour, only then our country can become great. If attention is paid towards all these points our country can definitely become great.

In the end, I would like to say:

"Na badloge to mit jaoge ai Hindustan walo,
Tumhari daastan bhi na hogi daastan mein."

**SHRIMATI LAKSHMI PANABAKA**

*[English]*

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI PANABAKA (Nellore): Thank you Mr. Chairman for giving me this opportunity.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, throughout his life, had struggled and fought for the justice for the downtrodden people. He fought against untouchability, social, economic and political inequalities. Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the father of the Dalit community and made provisions for reservation for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the downtrodden in the Constitution.

The constitutional provisions, and reservation are accepted by all the people of India, including our great leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But still, in the long period of Independence, in these fifty years, no State is coming forward to implement the constitutional provisions, and reservation for the benefit of the poor and Dalits. The educated Dalits, even though they are highly qualified, are not getting jobs. Even though the reserved posts are there, they are starving with hunger.

Sir, my request to the Government through you is to implement all the constitutional provisions of reservation in the 50th year of Independence at least.

My second point is on atrocities on Dalits. Now the State Governments, even in this 50th year of Independence, are trying to suppress the Dalit community by splitting into categories just like A, B, C, D which is leading to communal disharmony. In some States they are appointing Commissions to categorise to split the Dalits into A, B, C, D are trying to disturb the unity and integrity of our Dalit community even though the State Governments have no right to appoint the Commissions which is the constitutional provision.

Sir, please direct the State Governments to stop all these unconstitutional activities and atrocities on Dalits and downtrodden people and safeguard the Dalits' constitutional rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution of India, at least in the 50th year of Independence.

I would also request the Government to pass the Bill for reservation of 33 per cent seats for women in Parliament and State Legislatures during this 50th year of Indian Independence.

Both Swami Vivekananda and Dr. Ambedkar felt that as long as women and the masses are neglected, India cannot progress. We must, in this 50th year of Independence, strive for their improvement in all directions.

Thank you for the opportunity given to me.

**SHRIMATI BHAVNABEN DEVRAJ BHAI CHIKHALIA**

*[Translation]*

SHRIMATI BHAVNABEN DEVRAJBHAI CHIKHALIA (Junagarh): I thank Mr. Chairman for given me an opportunity to speak on this important and historic occasion. I express my gratitude to the hon'ble Speaker, Shri Sangama for having convened a special session on the occasion of golden jubilee i.e. 50th anniversary of our independence. I thank the patriotic electorates of my Constituency who elected me to this House for the second time and due to which I got the chance to speak here today.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country is the greatest one in the entire world because every citizen and every child of our country calls his country as 'Bharat Mata'. He says and recites 'Vande Mataram' and he holds his motherland in great reverence. These are the most impressive words that can be used for our nation I have been listening to the speeches delivered by all the leaders for five days now. A ruling party member had said that when this special session is being held in the 50th year of Independence of our country, he raised the issue of demolition of Babri Masjid. I would like to know as to why are they getting upset by the demolition of Babri Masjid. They say that it is a blow to be our culture but they fail to take into account the fact as to how women are being cut into pieces and roasted in 'tandoor'. They are cut into pieces and thrown into the rivers to be eaten away by the crocodiles. Do they think that they will be able to put India on the path of progress by vote catching tactics? We have made many achievements during the last 50 years, however if anybody or government claims that the credit for these achievements must go to them, it is not right to say so.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to our scientists for having helped us in gaining fame and honour in the world. The farmers who are called 'Datas' are not getting their rightful dues from the government. If the government provides them irrigation facility, adequate power, and roads, they won't need any subsidy from the government. They have got the capacity and they are capable of producing foodgrains for the entire nation. A colleague sitting on the other side said very correctly that first we export the foodgrains and again we import the same for getting commission. What will be the future of this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the credit for getting our freedom goes to the Father of Nation, *i.e.* revered Mahatma Gandhi. When he had to suffer humiliation in a foreign country *i.e.* Africa, he, on his return to India reasoned why India was under foreign rule? Why the motherland India was shackled? He made up his mind to free the country. To convey this message, he toured village after village. People responded affirmatively to him. He explained them as to how the Britishers were exploiting our country. How they are distorting our culture. People used to get ready for anything at his single call. The question is why people followed and are even today following Gandhi so sincerely. This was only because when he went to villages, he found out that there was utter poverty there. People were unfed, unclothed. He was so moved that he started putting on a single dhoti and throughout his life observed this austerity. There was uniformity in speech and actions of Gandhiji.

After 50 years of Independence we must also remember that we are the representatives of people. Moreover, I would like to say something about officials also. Our duty and dedication ought to be towards our country and follow countrymen. If we discharge our duties in a just manner, I hope our country will rank first in the world.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say something about my experiences. We have been watching the flag hoisting on the 15th August and 26th January on television. Regarding flag-hoisting, the rule is that we wrap nothing with the flag and if it is done, it is violated, it tantamounts to disregard of the flag. But everytime we find that in states, when a Minister or Chief Minister hoists the flag, then something is wrapped in it. Their integrity is all right, their intention is clear, but it is an insult to the flag. We are celebrating the golden jubilee of independence. I would like to urge that our flag should not be allowed to be insulted.

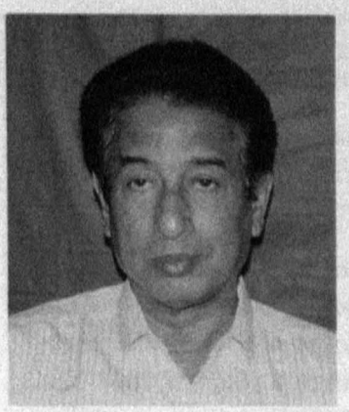
The third thing is that fishermen of the country work hard and their entire life is passed in sea, but no policy congenial to them has ever been formulated so as to enable them to do good work. We find today that multinational companies are coming here and two-third population out of the 90 crore do not get jobs. This is because of wrong policies. Therefore, I want that joint ventures should be stopped. They should not get licence any more.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I hail from Junagarh constituency, so I would like to say something about it. Junagarh got independence as the last of all princely States, whether you know it or not. But when India got freedom on the 15th August, 1947, the last Nawab of Junagarh declined to be annexed with India and preferred to be annexed with Pakistan. Then some patriotic persons revolted there. They told the Nawab that they will leave Junagarh and migrate to some other States. They started *hizrat* and they emerged victorious. The Nawab there asked them to remain in Junagarh itself. He further told them that he would go to Pakistan and he did so. I hail from such a place and I am proud of it because Mahatma Gandhi was born in Porbandar and it was his place of action. Today we find that not only in India, but also all over the world, the statues of Gandhiji are being installed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are celebrating the golden jubilee of independence. We have to think about the honour of women. Right now, Mrs. Kamal Rani and all women Members of Parliament have stated that if the atrocities on women are to be prevented, misbehaviour with them is to be prevented then we should unanimously pass the Bill providing 33 percent reservation for them. Moreover, we see that the children born in jhuggi jhopris, cannot go to get education. Their parents send them for work. I would like to say that those children who do not get a chance to go to schools, and we should formulate a good policy for them because the Constitution provides for this. If we begin to follow the Constitution, we will have no need to deliver speeches here or we will not have to amend the Constitution. So I urge that children should be given education free of cost.

Mr. Chairman Sir, our country is an agricultural country. Farmers do not get the prices they deserve. I urge that agriculture should be given the status of industry.

My constituency is Junagarh. Recently four innocent persons were killed there by policemen. I urge that when policemen misuse their rights in such a way, they must be given harsh punishment so that law and order is maintained in our country.



**SHRI BIJOY HANDIQUE**

*[English]*

SHRI BIJOY HANDIQUE (Jorhat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the *Swarna Jayanti* of India's Independence is not an event in isolation. This year places India like many other countries too in a unique place in history for the Twenty-first Century is just less than 30 months away. So, the completion of 50 years of Independence at such a point of time has a special significance.

When we look back for an assessment of our performance during the last 50 years for correcting our failings, we have an equally important assignment of equipping ourselves to enter into the Twenty-first Century. The proximity to the end of the millennium and the heralding of a new one poses us a question. Shall we walk into the next Century burdened with our failings? However, I must admit that it is the sense of direction, reconceptualisation of issues and the vision which prepares the way to enter confidently into the next new Century. "It is again barking up the wrong tree" when the so-called elitist critics accuse this party Government or that party Government for all the maladies which the nation faces today. If it is a failing, then it is a collective failing of the whole nation. A political party or a Government is a part of the society and is a part of the nation. At the same time, we have to track down the causes which ail the nation and prescribe the remedy. It will be, however, a travesty of truth if we refuse to admit that there is a sense and a fact of deprivation that afflicts the mind of the people.

It is not enough to say, in order to convince the people, that our Constitution is an instrument of change and a vehicle for social transformation. When Pandit Nehru spoke of the flexibility of the Constitution, it became a part of his vision that it should keep up with the changes that come over the society. Yes, 78 Amendments were adopted. I must also admit that some hopes and aspirations of the people have been met, but a large measure of changes and much talked about proposed changes, some of which are burning issues,

are yet to be incorporated in our Constitution or in our governance. Dr. Rajendra Prasad rightly said:

> "After all a Constitution, like a machine, is a lifeless thing. It acquires life because of the men who control it and operate it."

So, Sir, the society and the elected representatives of the nation must have the political will to bring in these changes and reforms like elimination or at least minimisation of corruption, then electoral reforms, abolition of child labour, universalisation of primary education, control of population and protection of bio-diversity to name a few.

Sir, we boast of a Constitution which we want to be a vehicle for social transformation. We have put it in operation for the last 48 years and yet we owe an explanation to the people, particularly the younger generation as to why we have failed in these areas.

We cannot gloss over our failures by glorifying our achievements in some other areas. The question that perturbs the nation the most today is the issue of corruption. How do we explain our dithering and pussy-footing on the issue? The Lok Pal Bill hangs fire over the years. It boils down to the position that we lack political will. As representatives of the people, we have to face these most incisive and disturbing questions from the electorate. Our credibility is at stake. The credibility of the system is at stake. As a matter of fact, the credentials of democracy are under thick cloud and once people lose faith in the system, I am afraid, they will take to undemocratic ways to adopt an alternative system leading to a climate of violence. Like it or not, with the introduction of liberalisation, the ground is more fertile for corrupt practices involving the politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. It is not only in India. The case of the European countries is an instance in point. In Europe, the wave of scandalous and mounting number of cases of dubious behaviour during 1980s and in the beginning of 1990s which are questionable in regard to both law and public morality have changed the nature of the problem. In a number of countries which seem to be democratic, corruption no longer appeared to be a marginal or an exceptional problem, but was seen to be an endemic problem, a kind of meta-system which is equally in effective operation as the official State apparatus to which it is attached and it nourishes it.

So, corruption can be initially defined as a clandestine exchange between two markets—the "political and administrative market" and the "economic and social market". The exchange is an occult one, since it violates public, legal and ethical norms and sacrifices the common good to the private, personal, corporatist and partisan interest. And such a transaction enables the private actors to have access to public resources like contracts, financing and decision-making, by giving them an unfair advantage because there is neither transparency nor competition.

So, since we have opened up the economy, it is all the more reason that liberalisation needs to be hedged with effective safeguards. I do agree to what Aristotle said that "Against human greed, no system is immune." Yet, we must make honest endeavour atleast to minimise corruption.

I insist on this point because central to this problem of our electoral system is this corruption. Unfortunately, our crusade for electoral reforms is diluted at the time of each election. For, we are all trapped in a system that breeds corruption. Probably, that is the reason why successive Governments have been vacillating over the years to take a plunge.

Before I conclude, taking a cue from what the Hon. Speaker's comments on internal contradiction that:

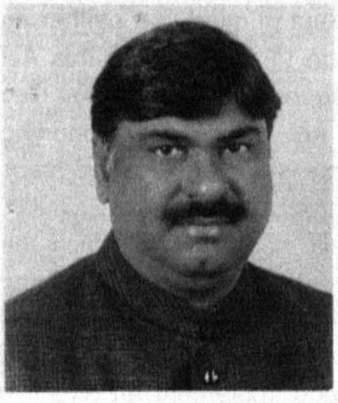
> "There is an internal contradiction between our culture of peace and tolerance and, our current conduct which is sliding towards violence, intolerance and discrimination."

> What I would like to emphasise is that these are the greatest threats to our democracy. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon in India.

During our freedom struggle, there was a nation-wide controversy in the beginning whether we wage armed struggle against the British Government or fight by constitutional means. I am not questioning the patriotism of those who belong to both the schools of opinion. At that time, in the political scenario of the country, a man arrived who declared with determination that to fight the armed British Government, the nation has to make supreme sacrifices for years and years. It will be a prolonged battle of suffering, courting jail, suffering torture, and laying down the lives. But this struggle has to be fought non-violently and with courage. Mahatma Gandhi made his assertion because he followed the trend-setter, the path-finders of the ancient history of our country—a civilisation spanning 5000 years, a nation inspired by teachings of Bhagawan Buddha and Mahavir Jain on non-violence, by the teachings of Guru Nanak and Mahapurush Shankardev. We have to march along that road. No political party, no Government, no individual is averse to change. Change is the law of nature. But that change has to come along the path of non-violence. No force can resist change. Even if our Parliament or legislature fails to accommodate and guide this change, change will still come of its own, but then it will by-pass democratic institutions and degenerate into a disorganised change with turmoil and chaos. But at the same time,

regional disparity which is the cause of chauvinistic conflicts, must go. We have a quasi-federal set up. The federal ethos need to be nurtured. That alone will help in appreciating and meeting regional hopes and aspirations. It will not be an exaggeration to say that it will be difficult to keep the nation together, or at least to keep it strong and fortified, if we fail to give shape to regional sentiments in harmony with the national ethos. There is the worst manifestation of this phenomenon in the North Eastern region of our country.

So, let the 50th year of Independence be the beginning of fresh thinking on such issues. Let us pursue the culture of peace, understanding and detente. In this sense, the hon. Speaker's call for the second freedom struggle takes on new meaning and significance.



**SHRI ASHOK PRADHAN**

*[Translation]*

SHRI ASHOK PRADHAN (Khurja): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak in the special session on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee year of Independence.

I pay my humble tribute to the known and unknown freedom fighters, revolutionaries and martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of this country and it is due to their sacrifices that we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence.

Besides, I am thankful to the people, supporters, admirers and the organisations of my Parliamentary Constituency, Khurja with whose support I am speaking in this House in the Golden Jubilee year of Independence. I would also like to thank the hon. Speaker for convening this session and taking the initiative to give this country a new direction.

Sir, all the great personalities of the country are equally respectable for me, but, I would like to submit without hesitation that perhaps there is no example other than Baba Saheb Ambedkar who received education in adverse circumstances and dedicated his entire life for the upliftment of dalits.

I would also like to remember and pay my humble tributes to all those great personalities who helped Baba Saheb Ambedkar in getting education and making progress with an open heart.

Today, after 50 years of freedom, we have seen development in some parts of the country and the metropolitan cities, but around 85 percent area of the country is still backward. Besides, the villages and villagers are still waiting for the development. Among them, the condition of the labourers, dalits and small farmers is very miserable and pitiable as there is no support from Government to encourage them and also to increase their production.

There is no facility of water, seeds, fertilizers, link roads, proper market, crop insurance, power, potable water, security, education and employment, nor do the farmers get honour and justice.

It is a matter of sorrow that when the farmers of our country go to the B.D.O. or other officers of the district, for solution of their problems, they are disgraced and their problems are not solved. They are not paid proper compensation for the acquired land. Therefore, there is a need to safeguard the honour of the farmers and their problems should be solved. They should be paid compensation at market rates for their land which is acquired by the Government. They should be given jobs in industries and they should be allotted plots in that land for setting up industries. Ten percent land out of the acquired land should be left for the development of their families.

The condition of industries in our country is very poor and the Government is bent upon ruining the indigenous and small scale industries. Due to unwise policies of the Government and invasion by foreign companies our industries are ruining. Lakhs of people have become jobless due to the wrong policies of the Government and the way the present Government is encouraging multi-national companies, it would have an adverse and far-reaching effect. Therefore, the need is that instead of encouraging the multi-national companies, the Government should encourage indigenous industries and all the required facilities should be given to the small scale industries.

On the one hand we are launching the total literacy campaign and spending sufficient amount on advertisement on Doordarshan for spreading education but even today lakhs of villages of the country are totally deprived of primary education and crores of children are not getting education

because all the villages of the country do not have schools and if there are schools there, they do not have buildings and if they have buildings, they do not have materials and even where all these things are available, teachers are not there in adequate number. Education is also expensive and weight of the bag of the child is heavier than his own. The expansion of Doordarshan has also impeded education.

I would like to submit that the Government should formulate such policy so that the children of the all classes of the country can get education equally and the public schools which are very expensive can be closed down and uniform syllabus should be introduced in the entire country.

Due to the efforts of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar reservation facility was provided to Dalits of the country only after giving a great deal of thought to it and it is a hard fact that if reservation policy had not been incorporated in the Constitution of India, today a person like Ashok Pradhan belonging to Dalit class probably would not have made it to this Supreme Panchayat of the country and there are many Dalit brethren like me who have made it to this Supreme Panchayat of the country because of this facility and are raising their voices for the welfare of oppressed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people for whom Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar had great dreams.

As has come to notice that the Union Government which call itself the messiah of Dalits propose to include about 1050 other castes in the list of Scheduled Castes. It will be a gross injustice to the Scheduled Castes people. If it is true that Dalit Christians are proposed to be included in the list of Scheduled Castes, the Government should inform about it in the House and after the discussion with leaders of all the political parties of the country, steps should be taken in this regard. Today this Government have senior Ministers like hon. Ram Vilas Paswan who calls himself the great leader and messiah of Dalits but it is regrettable that despite his presence in the Cabinet such trick is being played. It is a matter of shame.

It is known that at present the reservation provided to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes is still quite inadequate in proportion to their population. If Dalit Christians are included in the list of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, the percentage of present reservation for SCs/STs will get reduced even further, as a result of which SCs/STs would not get proper benefit of reservation. Therefore, Dalit Christians should not be included in the list of SCs/STs.

If the Union Government do intend to provide reservation to Dalit Christians, a separate provision should be made in regard to them they should not be included in the list of SCs/STs under any circumstances.

Atrocities are being committed continuously on our Dalit brothers in the various parts of the country and even after 50 years of independence they are being exploited and harassed on a large scale but the Government are not serious enough to take steps to prevent such atrocities on them. Rather a senior Minister of this Government who is the former Chief Minister of UP and now the Defence Minister at the Centre, is demanding in his public meeting that Harijan Act should be scrapped. It is grossly an unfair demand.

It is known that a number of crimes are being committed against Dalits each year in every State of the country and cases have also been registered under this Harijan Act. If this Act is scrapped, there is no doubt that more atrocities would be committed on Harijans. Therefore, it is necessary that Union Government do not scrap this Act, rather its provisions be made more stringent and instructions may be issued to the State Government to comply with them strictly. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that neither an innocent person should be made to suffer under this Act nor bogus cases be registered thereunder. If a person files bogus cases under the Harijan Act, he and his supporting officers and persons should be punished. No effective steps have been taken till date for the proper upliftment of Balmikis, the weakest section of the Dalit class due to which the system of carrying night soil is still in vogue in rural and urban areas of the country. The Government have not succeeded in checking this system. Therefore, the Government should formulate and implement an effective scheme immediately for the proper development and upliftment of Balmikis.

Today, when we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence of the country, we feel very much pained to see the pitiable condition of the labourer in the country because they are being exploited on a large scale in the country and contract system is prevailing in Multinational companies and the contractors are exploiting the labourers who are not getting proper facilities. Contract system in these multinational companies should be abolished and the labourers should be liberated from exploitation at the hands of contractors and the managers.

Today when our country is celebrating the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of our Independence, we pay our solemn obeisance to all those great freedom fighters including Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who made notable contribution in winning India's freedom and nation building. However, it is painful to know that all out efforts are being made to mislead and misguide the people about them.

I would like to invite the attention of House to the book, "Worshipping False Gods Ambedkar and the facts which have been erased" published by the A.S.A. Publication,

New Delhi. Printed by Gopsons Papers Ltd., Noida in 1997 and authored by Mr. Arun Shourie.

Mr. Arun Shourie has written this book to malign the great personality of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and insult the entire dalit community. The whole book seeks to prove that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a Pro-British leader and opposed to India's freedom also opposed all the nationalist leaders particularly Mahatma Gandhi for his vested interest and helped the British in the formation of Pakistan. The Britishers got him elected to the Constituent Assembly. He helped the Britishers to perpetuate their rule over India. And he was not the only leader of dalits instead was an opportunist and selfish leader.

Perhaps, no leader in the modern history of India has been subjected to distortion of facts as has been done with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. His ceaseless efforts for the welfare of downtrodden, his strong anti-Brahmin views and his decision to separate his community from Hindus have all caused anxiety in the minds of Hindu intellectuals. His differences with Mahatma Gandhi on communal representation and separate electorate for dalits, his role in the freedom movement against the British rule and his preference for social reforms over independence are all Paradoxical traits of his personality which have also been highlighted in the book titled 'Worshipping False Gods' authored by Mr. Arun Shourie.

In the most part of the book honour accorded to Dr. Ambedkar in the country which he did not deserve as the author feels has been denounced. What has pained the author most is the fact that Dr. Ambedkar still continues to hold a pride of place on Indian political scene.

Some portions of the objectionable statements given in the book against the father of our Constitution and the entire dalit community are as under:

Dalit officers and leaders do not deserve the high posts: On page 370 and 371, the author has targetted those dalit officers and leaders particularly those who availed of the reservation benefits saying that these officers an leaders misuse the opportunities, lack the desire to acquire necessary skill and knowledge to discharge their duties an nor is their conduct belove of the posts they hold. The job performed by them is never proper and causes irreparable loss to society and behaviour of such people gives rise to a particular section of society which ultimately causes reaction in the society. He has mentioned names of Sh. Kanshiram and Ms. Mayawati and some officers of Bihar to substantiate his statement. Can he produce any data and authentic evidence to prove his contentions about dalits? Such views about dalits instil a feeling of animosity against them who are getting opportunity to serve the nation. Such statements cause a division between dalits and general masses and also lead to breach of public peace and law and order situation like the incident occurred in Maharashtra after desecration of the statue of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on 11th July 1997 which ultimately spread in entire Maharashtra after the death of 10 dalit in riots in police firing in Ghatakopur. This statement is an cognizable offence under section 153(a) of I.P.C. under which causing animosity between various sections of society on the basis of caste creed and religion is an cognizable offence.

Dalits are responsible for British rule over India: The author has quoted a few sentences from a para of a letter written by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Mr. A.V. Alexander a member of Cabinet Mission and Dr. Ambedkar has justified the claim of dalits for participation in all spheres of administration in the country.

The contents of the above cited para have been stated to be historical but the author has twisted all the facts without giving the context background and objective of this letter to prove this contention that dalits were responsible for British rule over India.

Ambedkar was against the freedom struggle: The author has intended to covey that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had collided with the Britishers to put obstacles in the way of independence he was against India's independence and dalits were supporting the Britishers. Shri Arun Shourie is out to prove that Dr. Ambedkar was not a freedom fighter. For instance he states on page 3, "There does not exist single instance to maintain harmony between dalits and general masses". If this book allows to go to the masses then it-would stoke up the fire smoldering in Maharashtra. Those who have studied Dr. Ambedkar's literature, can very well understand that he was not only the supporter of Independent India but he also wanted India to be a free, democratic and sovereign country.

**Regarding the statue of Ambedkar in Parliament House and other places in India:** Mr. Arun Shourie, the so called intellectual had apprehensions on seeing that the statue of Ambedkar was the biggest of all the statues set up in the premises of Parliament House and was also overwhelmed to see the giant size portrait of Dr. Ambedkar in Central Hall that he was forced to write a voluminous book to relieve himself from such feelings. It is a fact that not only in India but today statues of Dr. Ambedkar have also been set up in foreign countries. His statue holding a copy of the constitutions in one hand has been set up on a high pedestal outside the Parliament House. His giant size portrait has been put up alongwith the portraits of Gandhiji, Lala Lajpat Rai, leaders from Nehru family,

Malviyaji, Rajendra Babu, Pt. Pant, Jagjivan Ram and other leaders who had participated in freedom struggle. Ambedkar was one of those rare individuals who had been awarded the highest award of 'Bharat Ratna' posthumously. The comments made by Arun Shourie in his book regarding statues of Ambedkar is an insult to the Parliament because the decision to set up this statue was taken by the Parliament.

**Ambedkar's co-operation in the creation of Pakistan:** The writer has tried to prove that apart from communists no other non muslim leaders except Baba Saheb Ambedkar had supported enthusiastically the demand of Jinnah and Muslim League for the creation of a separate Muslim state.

**Use of the word 'Harijan':** In his book the writer has very often used the word 'Harijan'. Perhaps the writer is not aware of the fact that this 'word' has since long been banned for official use because this is an insulting expression.

**Ambedkar is not the only leader of dalits:** The writer has presumed that Baba Saheb was the only and unanimous leader of dalits. According to him Ambedkar's influence was confined to only Mahars of Maharashtra. The number of members in his scheduled caste federation was quite less. It hadn't deep influence on voters and he was forced to be elected to Constituent Assembly with the help of Muslim League, Europeans and Anglo-Indians from Bengal. After cancellation of this parliamentary constituency he was elected to Constituent Assembly with the help of the Congress Party and leaders like Rajendra Babu and Sardar Patel.

**Ambedkar was a selfish person hankering for a post:** In his book the writer has quoted frequently the telegram sent by the British Viceroy which was marked 'immediate, private and personal' and also quoted the 'secret or trusted' correspondence with British officials. Accordingly our writer has tried to pass of his own statements defaming the character and personality of Dr. Ambedkar as statements of British officials. For example 78, 79, 80, 86, 89, 92 and 94 pages of our book can be seen as proof. On the basis of these unknown articles and unauthentic documents and materials, the writer has been misguided and portrayed Dr. Ambedkar as a selfish person having lure for office. On the basis of these unaunthentic documents he even mentioned in his book at page 75..." Ambedkar considered himself part and partial of Scheduled Castes but did he consider their interest as his own or whether he considered his own interest in their interests?"

**Ambedkar was elected member of the Constituent Assembly with the help of British Government:** The writer of this book-Arun Shourie has levelled some baseless and imaginary allegations on Dr. Ambedkar regarding his election to the Constituent Assembly from Bengal. He even alleges on page 402 that he was elected from Bengal with the help of 'British Establishment Interests'? On page 432 the writer has portrayed Dr. Ambedkar as a man who had opposed the idea of Constitution of Constituent Assembly for drafting Constitution and who told Britishers that providing freedom to India might prove fatal, who believed that Indians lacked mental ability to solve the Constitutional questions who had announced that he did not draft the Constitution and he believed that the Constitution should be burnt. Writer's such views about the founding father of the Constitution is an insult of an eminent personality like Dr. Ambedkar and India as a nation. These statements about Dr. Ambedkar are very shallow and have been uttered in the context of our hypothetical perspective while the writer has quoted them out of context.

**The role of foreign foundations in funding the project:** Arun Shourie has expressed his gratitude to Sitaram Goel and Sanjay Puri (who are these people?) for visiting India Office Library and public records office situated in London to collect material for this book. He has also thanked the 'Programme for the Asian Projects' for extending co-operation in the completion of his study. The Government should get this matter inquired by competent investigating agency to find out as to what interest these two people had in visiting London based Indian Library and obtaining distorted facts about Dr. Ambedkar. It would be also interesting to know as to how the funds allocated for the 'Programme for Asian Projects' run by Magsaysay Foundation and the amount of Rockfeeler Brothers' Fund was spent for defaming and maligning Dr. Ambedkar? Which forces are active behind the campaign of collecting details against Dr. Ambedkar. How did Arun Shourie reach the conclusion that the belief regarding Dr. Ambedkar in the society was an 'historical untruth' and the book "worshipping False Gods" was the only truth. He has merely presented the distorted facts in the interest of the people and organisations for whom this book has been written.

Unfortunately, the incident of Maharashtra happened almost at the same time when Arun Shourie was trying to present Dr. Ambedkar as an anti-national personality. This effort certainly helped in increasing hatred in place of harmonious feelings. Mr. Arun Shourie has by writing this book drawn wrong conclusion of the history, distorted the facts and played with public sentiments and flared up social discord. The writer has tried his best to malign Dr. Ambedkar in the ambit of human imagination and while doing so, he did not even think for a moment that his writing would hurt the sentiments of those who have full faith in the ideas

of Dr. Ambedkar. This book reminds to the readers of the age old and unending predicament of hatred and disregard.

In order to save the situation increasing communal hatred from further deterioration and to maintain harmony between Dalits, backwards and other religions, castes and community, and to compensate the loss incurred to Bharat Ratna Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar by this book, this book should at once be removed from the market and banned. The writer of this book should be punished so that no one in future may write such a book maligning the great personalities.

I am grateful that I have been provided an opportunity to express my views. I hope that the Government would take appropriate steps for solving the problem and issues mentioned by me and considering suggestions extended by me seriously so that our country may march on the path of progress rapidly.

**SHRI JANG BAHADUR SINGH PATEL**

SHRI JANG BAHADUR SINGH PATEL (Phoolpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon'ble Members cited the name of Pt. Nehruji in this House time and again and I have been elected from the same constituency of Pt. Nehruji. Pt. Nehruji was a great leader. He remained pre-occupied with the national and international problems. The name of Nehruji was cited repeatedly but Nehruji's constituency and field of action Phoolpur has been completely neglected in these fifty years of Independence. He was a great personality, he had concern for the country and the whole world as well. That is why he could not devote his time for his own constituency. Many great leaders of this country like the former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh, Pt. Gyaneshwar Mishra and the great socialist leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had been elected from the Phoolpur constituency besides Nehruji. But what I want to say is that many farmers of Phoolpur area were sent to jail under the leadership of Nehruji and they participated in Satyagrah during the freedom struggle and they were hanged on the trees of Neem (margosa) and Imali (tamarind) in Allahabad. On this occasion, I pay my tributes to these great men who took part in the freedom struggle under the leadership of Nehruji and became martyrs.

This Phoolpur constituency of Pt. Nehruji is one of the most backward areas of the country. Roads in this constituency are in a very bad shape. People even do not get potable water here. Even after fifty years of Independence people have to fetch water from the Ganges which is one k.m. away as the river Ganges has a stretch of about 150 kms. in this area. There are no other means of irrigation here except the river Ganges and there are no factories and cottage industries. The then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had given sanction to establish a factory there but local people and those people who lost their land in the process were not given any jobs in the factory. People hailing from other parts of the country were given jobs in that factory. The poisonous effluents flowing from the above IFFCO factory have turned thousands acres of land into barren tracts, and no arrangement has been made for its reclamation.

The schools in our area are also in a bad condition. There is no degree college in that area. During the Deve Gowda Government, Mulayam Singh Yadav College was established there and there is no other college except that one. There is no inter college for girls. The condition is deplorable in the sphere of education. We had resolved to achieve equality, liberty, brotherhood and justice for all while adopting the Constitution of India on November 26, 1949. We had to lay the foundation of our society in view of our said Resolution. On one side, we have an egalitarian Constitution while on the other there is the social order and the system of caste, Varna and creed. I would like to say that Baba Saheb Ambedkar had said about abolition of caste system. There is one leader in our country who runs the Government in the name of Baba Saheb, but who says that if the DM is not of the same caste as that of the CM, that CM cannot be successful. This is the height of casteism. There have been efforts in our country to openly sponsor casteism in the administration to such an extent which will prove disastrous for this country. All people think that casteism, communalisation and corruption are detrimental to our country. I would like to say that we cannot abolish caste system in the country from the above. There is dual system in this country. There are four Varnas in our country, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra and there are castes. As has been repeatedly said, a Brahmin would get caste certificate in the name of his Varna and similarly a Kshatriya and a Vaishya would also get caste certificate in the name of their Varnas. But in the Sudra Varna where there are 3743 castes, why an omnibus certificate should not be there for them, they should also be given a certificate of being a Sudra instead of being given caste certificates. Such a provision should be made for abolition of caste system.

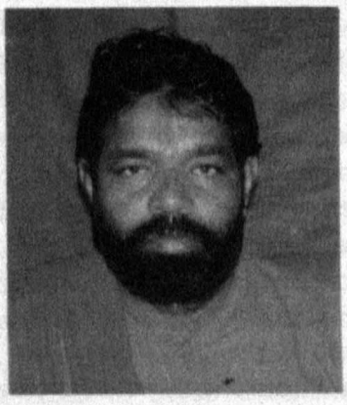
Some of our colleagues have vehementhy criticised Brahiminism but I want to say that before criticising any 'ism' we will have to think what is wrong?

Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is said that the Brahmin has its origin from the mouth of the Brahma, the Kshaytriya has its origin from the Brahma's hands, the Vaishya has got its origin from the middle part and the Sudra originated from the foot. But just the reverse is happening now, in the sense that the Prevention of Atrocities on Harijans Act is being misused in Uttar Pradesh, particularly people of the upper castes are being harassed by registering false FIRs under the Harijan Act on false accusations like forcible possession of Harijans' houses etc. The misuse of the said Act should be stopped there. Out of the total registered cases, 98 per cent cases are false. Action should also be taken against those who register fake FIRs if these cases are found to be so.

Sir, in the end I would humbly request that it is my maiden speech, therefore, I should be given two to four minutes more ...(*Interruptions*)

Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to give an example in brief that India has been described time and again as being predominantly an agrarian country but in the case of agriculture the extent of land in which cultivation is being done, just double of that land is lying unused. An individual cannot develop that but if the Government wants, it can do so. And the Government should set up a department for this purpose and the landless agriculture farmers should be asked to cultivate that land. We have been importing oil seeds today but we can do oil seeds cultivation on such land and provide employment to farmers in that way and we can do cultivation of other crops also and could do good for the country.

Sir, finally. I would like to thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak here. Thank you very much.



**DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA**

DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA (Damoh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, as per the mythological belief 14 gems were extracted by churning the Ocean. In the same way Hon. Speaker has also started this historical churning of thought which will certainly guide us in near future to take important decisions. On this occasion, first of all I pay my homage to all the freedom fighters who had sacrificed their lives for the freedom of this country and pay respect to all the leaders who worked for the progress of the country. But hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say something on the first line of the book circulated to us which says that—Political Life (Practice of Democracy). The first line is like this—"Achievement of Independence from foreign rule by the country through a non-violent struggle was great marvel in the history of humanity."

It seems that this line has ignored the sacrifice of thousands of martyrs who adopted a different path for securing freedom for this country. This line has also ignored the sufferings of those mothers and sisters who lost their sons, brothers and husbands in the freedom struggle during the period from 1857 to 1947.

During my recent visit to my parliamentary constituency I heard a song:

"Na top chali na banduken,
Na talwaron se kaam liya,
Satya ahinsa ke bal per,
Jhanda tiranga thaam liya.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it means that sacrifice of revolutionary leaders like Subhash Chandra Bose, Khudiram Bose, Shahid Bhagat Singh, who were hanged, is being ignored by the administration. Not only those but several other martyrs had sacrificed their lives for freedom of this country. In such a situation this line cannot be considered correct that we get freedom by non-violent revolution without any bloodshed. It is an historical document, so necessary amendment should be made into it.

This occasion gives us an opportunity to review the progress made during the last 50 years. This gives us an opportunity for introspection. We have to see where we have erred in the same way as we deserve credit for the good deeds. We should accept our mistakes and make amends and continue the good deeds.

I would like to draw your attention towards an episode of the Ramayana era, when Ravana's influence was increasing in this part of the country also as he started setting up his colonies and obstructing the religious functions or rituals performed by gurukuls. At that time Vishwamitraji came to Dashratha, the king of Ayodhaya and asked four questions. I would like to put those questions here as these are still relevant even today.

The first question he asked was whether the borders of this State were safe and any foreign power were trying to infiltrate and set up colonies therein?

The second question was as to whether in his kingdom any official extorts bribe from public?

The third question was as to whether in his kingdom 'gurukuls' the educational institutes were safe and have proper facilities for imparting education efficiency.

The fourth question was as to whether his public is happy, healthy and capable?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, these questions are still relevant. In view of recent firing at the borders by Pakistan and infiltration from Bangladesh can we say that our borders are safe? Yesterday Joshiji spoke on performance of the country in the field of Science and Technology that we have not made any progress in the field of research conducted by our forefathers rishis, munis in the past and that is why we are lagging behind.

**02.00 hrs.**

The second question was about the tendency of accepting bribe and corrupt practices indulged in by officials. In this context, one of our lady Members was telling that Indians living in USA feel ashamed of their Indian origin because of these incidents. Scams are being committed in a row. What has happened to our country? Why it is being done? For collecting wealth or money. How much money does a man require? We have lost human values and become 'Haranyakashyap' who was mad for gold and wealth. Thus corruption is rampant and moral character of people has deteriorated. We have to improve this situation.

In the same way the question regarding efficiency of our educational system or 'gurukuls' and prosperity and satisfaction among public was raised. Gandhiji had a dream of 'Ramrajya' I would like to quote two couplets from Ramcharitmanas:

"Daihik, Daivik, Bhotik Tapa
Ram Raj kahu nain vyapa"
Nahin koi dukhi na darad Dina,
Nahin koi abudh na vidya hina".

This was the definition of Ramrajya. But at present our country is suffering the curse of poverty. I come from Vasundra in Ratangarh district, Panna is also nearby. This area has rich diamond reserves. In Devbhog mines of Raipur district in Madhya Pradesh huge reserves of diamonds and other precious stones have been found, much more in quantity than those of Panna. We have enormous mineral resources. Our land is so fertile that we can cultivate in every season whereas in many states land is covered with snow for eight months continuously and the farmers there are unable to cultivate any crop. But inspite of all these facts why are we poor today? The reason for it is that we have not exploited our resources efficiently. No honest efforts have been made for improving its management. The main reason for it is that the right to work has not been included into fundamental rights. On the second page of the book circulated to us, it has been mentioned:

Box 1.1: What the objectives' Resolution spelt out?

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

It has not been accepted even today and so far nothing has been done for its implementation. Poverty is increasing because our youth are unemployed. We have raised several slogans for poverty alleviation. But efforts have not been made for removing the unemployment and providing jobs to the youths. Hence unemployment is increasing.

Our country is predominately an agricultural country. Agricultural based industries should be promoted. Farmers should be provided with irrigation, power and all other facilities. Our country can make progress by promoting agriculture, animal husbandry and cow breeding. But now a days thousand of cows are being slaughtered for export of beef. Several big slaughter houses have been set up. Recently we have visited Hyderabad to check up about pollution at 'Al Kabir' where hundreds of cows are slaughtered everyday but none can do anything to prevent it. It has been said that:

"Swasti Prajabhyam, paripalyantam nyayen
Margen mahi mahisha,
Gau brahmanebhyah shubh mastu nityam
Lokah samasta sukhna bhavantuh."

I am a Brahmin by caste and several Members in this House take wrong notion of the word 'Brahmin'. Brahmin means the person who has realised God. Mahatma Gandhi had realised God.

SHRI BENI PRASAD VARMA: But you are a brahmin.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Minister, please do not provoke in this way. Time is limited.

DR. RAMKRISHNA KUSMARIA: I do not call myself Brahmin' you can also become a Brahmin. Every person who has attained enlightenment and realised God is a Brahmin. It is a wish not only of mine but of all the great leaders of this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country has a vast land area. Madhya Pradesh is the largest state. We have already accepted the fact that for development of this country small states should be set up. In view of development and progress of the area, I would like to state, voicing the feelings of the public in my area, that a new state 'Bundelkhand' should be created with that I conclude. Now, I conclude and thank you for having allowed me to speak.

**SHRI CHANDRESH PATEL**

SHRI CHANDRESH PATEL (Jamnagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to lay my statement on the table of the House.

Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the occasion of the golden jubilee year of independence. After independence we have made a lot of progress but a lot of problems too have increased beside the progress. Today I would like to speak about the problems and their solutions.

The national criteria of keeping forests on 66 percent land on 33 percent hill areas out of the total 75 million hectare of land is far less than the National criteria in this regard. Desperate attempts were made to keep up the environment but what are the reasons that the forests have decreased instead of increasing? The forest development is being done in a wrong manner. Would the forest increase by merely digging the hole and planting a tree and keeping the target of development. It seems to me that it is a wrong way. From the Minister to the officer, people discuss about the forest development by sitting in an air conditioned rooms. There are so many aspects of forest development.

Besides planting a tree, steps should also be taken to protect them and irrigate them. Tree should be planted keeping in mind the scarce water and geographical situations. There are so many trees which grow despite drought and sustain themselves.

Sir, there is 5600 kilometers of coastal area in our country where there is a low rainfall. Low rainfall causes obstacle in the way of forest development. In such circumstances the tree named 'Magru' grows in sea water. Magru can grow in tidal zone area and if the plantation of Magru is done it can be beneficial in many ways as the fish can have their food. The fish can lay eggs in this area. The land sliding and erosion can also be checked. It can be a comfortable place for the birds and the birds where they can make their nests. It can improve the environment. The rainfall can increase, fire-wood can be available the sea expansion can also be checked through it, it can also yield fodder for the cattle. The growth of area under saline water can be checked, the soft water of rainfall can be stored and it can be used in Ayurvedic medicines. If Magru is planted then the forest development can be undertaken at low expenses since on one end it is protected by the sea and on the other end the animals and the way is seldom treaded by people in general and there is no need to irrigate them. Therefore, if we call this tree a Kalpwriksha then there is nothing wrong in it.

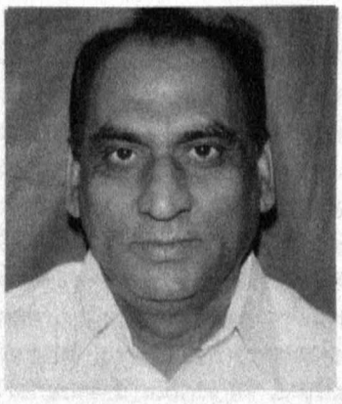
I would like to draw the attention of the Government through you so that the plantation of this tree is increased. We have more poverty in our country. As a result thereof the poor do not get two square meals a day. It leads to malnutrition and because of it they suffer from several diseases. There are so many remedial measures but it is not impossible. Ours is an agricultural country. Besides the development of agriculture, we grow fruits and vegetables but till date the forest department has not tried to develop fruit plants in a nursery and provide it to the people. I have raised the issues regarding fruit plants in the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Environment and Forest, where it has been told that it is concerned with the agriculture department. Can not the agriculture and forest department sit together and decide about the fruit plants. The fruit plant should be grown in nursery and given to schools, colleges, Government and co-operative institutions. The educated unemployed youth should plant them near tanks, command areas, rivers and water falls so that the unemployed youth can get employment. The farmers should be provided the fruit plants free of cost. If fruit plants are sown everywhere, the people would think that it would yield benefits to them afterwards and their health would be sound. The owners of these plants and the transporters would be benefited as a result thereof, processing would increase and foreign exchange would also be earned. Production would be increased due to heavy rainfall. The incidence of diseases would decrease. Lesser subsidies would be required because of lesser droughts. It is such a big cycle that I would not be able to complete everything in this speech but one thing is certain which none has thought till date as to how much our country would be benefited by the policy of first nursing the fruit plant and then providing it to the people without charging anything from them. My submission is that the forest and agriculture department would have to take a decision unanimously in this regard .

Sir, stern steps would have to be taken for the development of forest land in our country otherwise a day would come when we would come to know that it is too late. Our forest department claims that there is 75 million forest land but we do not have even 64 million hectare forest area. According to the Botanical and Zeological Survey of India, 1500 plants and flora and fauna come have been categorised as 'on the verge of extinction. The same problems are in our long coastal areas. Due to the indiscriminate construction our long coastal areas have been damaged. The coastal vegetation besides Magru and sea grass are on the verge of extinction.

The toxic effluents of industries and other developmental projects have been causing great damage. On account of it pollution has been increasing in our water fed areas which has been causing adverse effect on our aqua world and on the flora and fauna.

Keeping in view all the aspects in mind, provisions have been made in our Constitution for the safety of environment but unless we take it as our responsibility, the provisions are not going to solve any purpose.

I am going to conclude with citing an example. In 1930, the environment tax was levied on the industries of West Germany and this system is being implemented there successfully. Whenever big measures of pollution control were taken, the industrial sector opposed it at first but later on they would agree to keep the pollution under control. If whatever I have said is adhered to, many problems would be solved.



**SHRI DATTA MEGHE**

SHRI DATTA MEGHE (Ramtek): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I extend my heartiest congratulations for convening this special session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of our Independence. The matters listed for discussion during this session are of much importance. It is our duty to take an account of our achievements and failures during the last fifty years and at the same time pay our homage to those martyrs who had laid their lives for freedom of the country. These important issues have been discussed during the last four—five days. Although we have made some achievements in various fields like agriculture, unemployment among the youths, policy on education, casteism and problems of workers during the last 50 years but numerous lacunae still persist in our midst. Today we need to take an account of our achievements and failures. Mr. Chairman, Sir, as this is the special session majority of the members are trying to express their views as the same is going to be a matter of discussion in the country. The entire country is going to discuss as to what contribution we people can make in future for building our country stronger and powerful by rising above party line.

When we are talking about the country, we must pay our attention towards agriculture sector. Even today more than 80 percent people are living in our villages and other rural areas. Many of our MPs come from these villages and rural areas but still our villages and farmers are neglected lot. Let us think as to what we have done for them and what more is required to be done for them. We know that there is plenty of natural resources in our country which we have failed to tap successfully and make them available to our farmers. It is very necessary to provide good quality of seeds and fertilizers to our farmers so that they can increase their production. Along with this we have to give adequate assistance to the cooperative societies to help small farmers. We can help our farmers grow by extending them financial help through the cooperative societies. We have to pay our attention towards this area.

When we fought the battle of independence, we fought it unitedly. And today also if we want to steer the country ahead, we can steer it only when we are united in one thread. Whether we are Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or Christrian—we have to be united so that our country can progress. People of this country do not belong either to one religion or one caste. Followers of all religions are living in this country, therefore, we have to take into consideration the views of everyone and march ahead together.

Another important aspect is that of unemployment. Whenever an M.P. visits his constituency, he is surrounded by unemployed youths. They are educated, they want work but we cannot provide them work. The amount of attention which our villages deserved was not paid towards them and as a result thereof we are faced with acute rural unemployment. It requires our immediate attention. Today we do not have work for our unemployed youths but certain alien elements in our country are importing and supplying opium, and other psychatropic drugs to the people in our villages which is being sold to our youths by Paanwalas and Thelawalas. It is very fatal and in order to stop this, we have to take some drastic measures unitedly.

We find that even today the primary education is not available to a large chunk of rural population. Many people want to send their children to schools but we have failed to provide them primary schools and the teaching staff. Thus we have failed to provide them even their Constitutional rights. From this point of view also, we have to take some remedial measures. We are not able to check the increasing population of our country. Our youth leader, late Shri Sanjay Gandhi, had initiated some hard measures in this regard but a lot of hue and cry was made over his actions which were mispropagated in Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere. He implemented his measures rather strictly. Strictness is necessary for implementation of rules in any country and we also require some strict family planning measures to check the population growth. We find that the Government do not have adequate funds for higher education. There are only four to five engineering colleges in a big State like Uttar Pradesh. Nothing is done by the Government for them. But if there are certain good institutions and if they want to do something, they should be allowed to do so. The Supreme Court has ruled that colleges should charge only certain amount as fees but we are not ready for that. We want to give free education to the students of poor families who constitute 25 per cent of the total number of students. Whatever orders the Supreme Court passes, whether it benefits the poor at all? We do charge huge amount in the name of NRIs but we do not get NRIs. Resultantly, private schools in our country are charging heavy fee amounts from our own people of this country which is not fair at all. The Government should introduce a uniform education policy in respect of higher education. Otherwise the Government should put all private schools under its direct control and stop the unfair practices in the field of providing education. I am of the firm view that we are duty bound to give education to our poor people, through a correct and fair educational system.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to say a few things more. We have very large States. On the occasion of the 50th year of our independence, we should be thinking to bring some change in their size. Uttar Pradesh is a very big State and people are demanding a separate Uttarkhand State. All parties are in favour of this demand. Our Prime Minister has also said that it is likely to be accorded. But so far why it has not been formed, nobody knows. The demand for Uttarakhand Remanates from the U.P. State. People of Bihar are demanding a separate Jharkhand. Such demands have been raised in Madhya Pradesh also. Telangana is being demanded in Andhra Pradesh. We are demanding a separate Vidherbha State in Maharashtra. Even if smaller states are formed, they to0 will be very much within the country and not outside it.

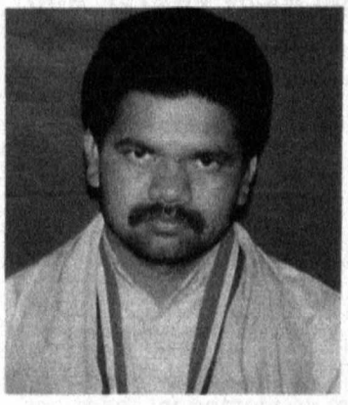
SHRI P.M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep): Andaman is also there.

SHRI DATTA MEGHE: Yes, absolutely correct. Andaman is also there. So formation of these smaller States is also necessary from the point of view that unless these are formed, our administrative machinery is going to be ...*(Interruptions)*. Three to four of these States are Hindi speaking states and if these were Maratha States, nobody would have fought therefor. But it is the demand of the people and it is a viable State. My submission is that at the time of reorganization of States, our Vidharbha region was also accorded the status of statehood not because somebody condescended to grant it Statehood but because it was a viable proposition. I am not sure as to whether the demand for Vidharbha was raised for the only reason that at that time Maharashtra was under the Congress rule. Anyway, I am not talking of only Vidharbha State. But by setting up a State Reorganization Commission we can benefit the entire country by evolving a suitable administrative mechanism and free the people of a certain type of administrative agony. There are small States like Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, which are smaller then even Vidharbha. I think this is the time when we should start the process of reorganization of our States.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today when we discuss about the elections, our BJP friends make prediction that elections are going to be held again very soon. The elections are being held once again. Why are the elections being held and why should the elections be held. When we have been elected for five years, it would be wrong to held elections again short of completing that duration. It does not suit the financial condition of our country. Our country is poor. Elections involve huge Governmental expenditure. We also spend a lot of money. Some elected Members file false affidavits to the effect that they have spent four and a half lakh rupees on their election compaign. Everybody lies. Why do they lie? About elections, it was stated that elections will be held after one year. People have elected us for a five year term, hence elections should not be held before a completing term of five years. This is my opinion. Only this system suits us. We do not wish to hold elections once again with in span of five years. We do not wish to make so much expenditure. Our country is very poor, hence all the Members in the House should consider this issue from this particular point of view.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say something on the issue of corruption. Gangsters are everywhere these days. They are there in Mumbai, Delhi and all other big cities. The lives of common citizens—the stars, the industrialists are in danger. Two gangmen go out and kill a person in broad daylight. We should ponder over this problem. What is the position of law and order in the country? Although it

is a State matter. But the people who commit such heinous crimes in broad daylight are from foreign countries and they also live in other countries. Some people think that Daud Ibrahim is behind all this, whereas some other persons name someone else. Who is responsible for all that is happening in the country today? Why don't our agencies apprehend these foreign elements? Usually we get to hear about Daud Ibrahim. Today I am raising this issue, unaware of what would happen tomorrow in Mumbai. The agents of gangsters roam around freely. But we also have certain rights. It is the duty of the Government to prevent these wrong doings, goondaism and cult of murder. The Government should do something to check their illegal activities. Our country is great and also a vast one. We, all the Members present in the House are dedicated to the service of the nation. We need to consider the changes we ought to make in our policies on the basis of discussion being held in the House so that we may present a better image of our nation in the world.



**SHRI TILAK RAJ SINGH**

SHRI TILAK RAJ SINGH (Sidhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are celebrating golden jubilee on the occasion of completion of 50 years of our Independence and this special session has been convened to commemorate this very occasion. I am very grateful to you for having given me the opportunity to speak. First of all, I would like to pay homage to those great martyrs who laid down their lives to get the country free. Hon'ble Members of all the parties have risen above the party politics to express their views and discuss various issues in this special session. I would like to thank Hon,able Speaker for having convened this session.

Many senior leaders have expressed their views in this House. I would try not to repeat the points already made by them while expressing my own views in the House. I want that the viable suggestions made by the Hon'ble Members should be accepted. Now I would like to make a very brief submission on my chosen subject. The subject I have chosen to discuss is the lifestyle and education of the tribals and in this regard, I would like to raise the problems being faced by the tribals.

I have been elected from a tribal area where there is no road, power or the irrigational facilities. Tribals have been living in forests and sustain themselves by using wood available in the forest as fuelwood and by eating edible roots 'Kandmool'. They are not aware whether our country has got independence or not. When we talk to our elders, they tell us that though we have got independence and we have become independent but we have not achieved anything after giving independence and that earlier we are in a better position after the independence. Our problems have increased manifold. Today they fail to find any edible roots in the forests. As for their way of living or the clothes they wear or other amenities are concerned they are not being allowed to use wood as fuel today. They are facing many problems. Wild animals are a menace for them. Our Government has tried to improve their standard of living after independence and given them certain rights so that their development may take place in their own villages.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, they are not getting full benefits. For example, a Patwari of village may belong up U.P. whereas he is employed in Sidhi in Madhya Pradesh. Similarly the tribal living in that village is in actual possession of the land for which the patta is in name of person living in U.P. The tribals of that area are illiterate. They do not know anything about rules and regulations But when by dint of their hard labour they make the fields fertile and constructed pucca houses, then these having patta of land come there, claim those fields as their own and force them to evict the fields. Tribals do not know anything about procedures or law. Thus they are forced to leave their fields. It is a vital issue as to what the Government can do for the tribals. When the affected parties approach the court, they manage to reach up to the doorstep of Tehsildar. They are unable to go inside. When they seek permission for going inside the office of Tehsildar , they do not get the permission and they have to part with the five-ten rupees lying in their pocket due to which they face problems in returning their homes. This is the case regarding revenue.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, now I would like to express my views on the Police department because mine is a tribal dominated area. A police station is not really required there. The tribals there are living in far flung areas. They have never felt the need to lock their houses but after setting up of a police station and locking up their houses, the number of incidents of thefts are taking place. This is very unfortunate. I would like to submit that when we go to the police to lodge a F.I.R., our report is not recorded. If the tribals dare to speak against a particular person, they themselves are implicated in the case. Now there is an additional thing. As Narcotics Act is in force in our area, any tribal can easily be implicated by the police. Any policeman

can take along a packet of drugs and put it into the pocket of the tribal and then arrest him under the Narcotics Act. This kind of high handedness is going on in the Police Department.

Hon,ble Devender Prasad Yadavji is present here. Yesterday he stated in his speech that he has provided foodgrains at half rate to people living below the poverty line and the scheme is working well in many States. I would like to submit that when foodgrain were being provided through the co-operative institutions at higher rates, even then the foodgrains were not available in those outlets, now how would the foodgrains priced at half rates reach the tribals. I feel that they won't get the ration at all. The foodgrains would be diverted to big businessmen, traders and prosperous people. The Government should take some steps to prevent it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say a few words on the subject of education. There is wide spread illiteracy in my area which is at the root of all the problems we are facing presently. Illiteracy is also the root cause of excesses being committed on them. Sir, education being imparted today does not inculcate any moral values in the students.

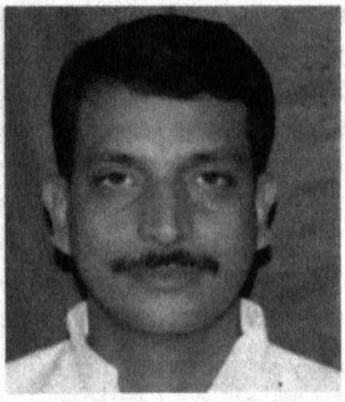
Today a lot is being said about corruption but where do its roots lie. In my view teacher is to be blamed most. Teacher is the mirror of society. He also shapes the destiny of the future generation and the society. In past, the guru used to solve the problems of the village where he resided. There were no disputes and their disciples who studied upto Ist or IInd standard were in no way less than today's MA., L.L.B. passed candidates.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI TILAK RAJ SINGH: I would also like to say a word about computers which are being used extensively these days. But people of older generation are able to give answer to the mathematical quaries even before the computer can do. They have learned Hattha, Mutta, Saayiyh, Purnia, Roda etc. by heart. Contrary to that if you ask a student about the table of 10 then, he or even perhaps the modern day teachers might not be able to tell or know correctly.

So far as the issue of corruption is concerned, it is very important. The popular notion today is that politicians indulge in corruption but I would like to differ on it. Had our gurus imparted moral education then, we might not have been in today's mess. What I must say is that our parents as well our teachers are also to be blamed. In past our teachers used to tell us not to drink and smoke and they themselves used to go by their teachings but today teachers themselves do no follow their own teachings and today is the situation that when they go to villages, they do not get house to live and nobody cares for them. Even the students abuse them, beat them by shoes and do not respect them at all. But they used to command a lot of respect and were given house and meals without any charges but we have to ponder as to why this situation has come about.

I would like to say that we should inculcate good values in our students. There goes a saying in the Bundelkhand area that as are the parents so will be their sons. The parents influence the personality of their sons or daughters. Therefore, parents are the first teachers of their children. I thank you for having given me the opportunity to express my views here in this House.



**SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY**

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY (Chhapra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, after five days and the long wait of 70 hours, I have got the opportunity to express my views in the wee hours at 2.30 a.m. in the night. I know that people in my constituency must be in slumber but I am not concerned for them only. I represent both Saran and Chhapara and I am not concerned with these areas only. When I have stood to put my views in these late hours at 2.30 a.m. I am equally concerned for those living in chilled atmosphere of Leh and Laddakh and about those fishermen sitting at the Seashores in Gujarat and also about the North East people who might have been sitting in the forest with their families as this issue has been raised in the 50th year of our country's independence. Today we will have to think that all those present in this House including those sitting on the treasury benches, are quite concerned about the plight of common men of India. Those who have been in power for a long period of 46 years, are also concerned for their mistakes of past. Had this responsibility been assigned to us earlier, then you might not have got this opportunity of five days today. (*Interruptions*)

Today's issue for debate is of infrastructural development in our country. Our infrastructure bases are economic and social. The economic issues are related to the strengthening of the infrastructure of our country including

construction of roads, rail, telecom, ports and generation of power. Social infrastructure encompasses the fields of health and education. All these things are the foundation for a strong India. Imagine that by using power, this debate is being telecast in the entire world and in the absence of power even for five seconds, the darkness will seem to have engulfed the entire country. Imagine on the same line about Indians who are living in the darkness in the countryside of India. I would like to stress on this issue of developing infrastructure in our country and without power the entire country will remain in darkness and lest not march ahead on the road to development and prosperity. I want to dwell on this subject. The Government have targetted for generation of 30,000 MW electricity during the 8th plan but after completion of five years we have succeeded in generating only 18,000 MW. Irony is that today our villagers are facing acute shortage of electricity but NTPC, a government undertaking, claims that they have surplus power. The entire North Bihar, North India and almost the entire nation is faced with the shortage of power. But submission of NTPC in reaction to this shortage is that they have not got transmission lines for supply of power from one place to another in the country with the result that they are wasting electricity worth Rs. 6 crore every month. It is a matter of serious concern as to when our Government and people at the helm of affairs are going to pay their attention towards infrastructure in our country. Today our electricity Boards are in shambles. If we look at the figures of last five years, we find that amount of arrears due on various State Electricity Boards totals more than 60 billions of rupees. Who will own the responsibility therefor? On the issue of power shortage I would like to draw your attention towards Bihar which constitutes a big part of the country. In India, one third of the total quantity of coal is produced in Bihar and more than half of the total quantity of electricity is generated from coal. But irony is that the supplier of coal of the whole country has plunged in total darkness. If Rajiv Pratap Rudy is expressing his anguish today on this subject, it is because of the fact that people in his constituency are still groping in darkness. There are 25 lakh people in my constituency whereas the total population of the entire commissionery is more than one crore but they all are living in darkness as power is not available to them. You want to take the entire country on the path of development but why do you want to leave behind only our States where 7 crore people live and which is also a part of the country. If a part of the body is afflicted by cancer, you can not save other parts of your body for a long time, you have to administer a uniform treatment to the entire country. How is it that coal is produced in Bihar and power is produced in Bhatinda and Punjab? Carriage of coal from Bihar to Punjab is more useful in your view but you cannot produce electricity from coal right at the pit heads. The persons who remained in power during the last 50 years and who formulated various plans and schemes should have contemplated in advance as to how would they like to run the country in future.

Sir, I shall be very brief on railways in my speech because there are many other issues to be covered and it is already too late in the night. Today, the railways are the most important part of the Indian Government. Today Railways are the biggest means of transportation and freight carrier in the whole world. They do least harm to our ecological balance. There was a time when during the fifth Five Year plan we used to spend 75 per cent of our total plan outlay on Railways which has reduced to 40 per cent in the Plan and further to 8 per cent in the 8th Plan. The definition of railways remains incomplete unless one corner of the country is linked by the railways with the another corner. Even today, when we see a person belonging to the North-East, we mistake him/her for a Chinese citizen. People of Bihar and people of south India mistake him/her for being a Chinese. But the railways are the only means which serve for national integration and have got nation-wide recognition. Even a train starts from a railway station in the North-East and arrives somewhere in South, it links the whole nation from one part to another part. So, if we do not provide much strength to the infrastructure in that part of the country, we will fail to provide strength to the sound base of a strong India.

I would like to say something about our navigation also. Today 95 per cent of our foreign trade is done through sea routes. When we earn foreign exchange, we use it to bring down the amount of our foreign debt. It is very necessary today to hold some discussion on infrastructural facilities available in our country. So far as its availability is concerned, there is a large gap between the urban infrastructure and rural infrastructure. No doubt there is shortage of power, roads, drinking water etc. in urban areas, but I would like to say that people in urban areas are far better placed then the people who live in our villages. This is the reason why I favour the influx of the people of Chhapra towards the cities. I support their influx because we cannot provide them these facilities in their villages or the same are not available there. But certain sections of our urban society have got their monopoly over these facilities which should be distributed among the other sections of our society also. And for this purpose, we have to bring our rural people into the cities. Today the situation is changing fast and if we leave our people hungry and thirsty in our villages, tomorrow a situation may arise which we shall not be able to tackle. In this regard I want to say one thing more that please do not try to convert Delhi into Paris unless the whole India is converted into France. And unless the benefit of development reaches every nook and corner of the country, India cannot be converted into France just by converting Delhi into Paris.

I would like to lay much stress on development of rural infrastructure, particularly in Bihar were due to scarcity of power. Pumps are virtually meaningless for us as we cannot operate them without power and get water. Today people depend on diesel but due to the high price of diesel it has become beyond the reach of our farmers. Condition of canals in Bihar is such that they do not fulfill the irrigation requirements of our farmers and unless our farmers get adequate irrigation water, the production of foodgrains like wheat and paddy cannot go up. And if their production does not increase, they cannot become prosperous. When we invest money in big irrigation projects to increase our irrigation potential, the productivity of our farmers goes up and when their production goes up, they sell the same in Mandi and when the procurement is excess in Mandi the same is sent to other States and when other States also do not procure the excessive quantity of foodgrains, the same is procured by the Centre and exported to other countries which fetches us foreign exchange and we use that foreign exchange to reduce the amount of our foreign debt. Therefore, from this point of view, we should think about the development of infrastructure in our villages.

As today we need to pay our attention towards the social structure of the whole of India, I would like to dwell a little bit on this score also. Today our rural set up is in worst condition. Hospitals in rural areas are in worst condition. How can we give the definition of an educated person in India when the person who is an M.A. or B.A. from the State of Bihar does not have full command either on English or Hindi? He cannot write perfectly in either of these languages. The reason therefore is that he receives his education in such an atmosphere which hinders him from becoming a properly educated person.

Those who read in Delhi, even in Government Schools, in C.B.S.E. Schools, and study a little, establish themselves in whole of the country by wishing 'good morning, sir,' and 'good evening, Sir,' whereas those who come from backward areas such as ours cannot establish themselves. Therefore. I am saying that imbalances are being created in various parts. Therefore, it is necessary that we take the country in the right direction.

I would like to put one or two more points before the country. The Ministry of Programme Implementation has stated that today in 190 Infrastructural projects in the whole of the country, there is time overruns and cost overruns of 46000 crore of rupees. Who would be held responsible for it? It would have to be told by the Government as to who is responsible for cost overruns and time overruns in this poor country. Sir, I am also making a mention of development because we cannot succeed unless the whole of the country is developed equally.

I want to talk about Bihar. An amount of Rs. 13,000 crore was to be spent there during the last five years, but only five thousand crore rupees have been spent. Therefore, it is not known as to where the bridge of that State would be constructed, where the hospitals would be constructed, where from the children would get books. Therefore, we would have to pay attention to the regional imbalances which have been increasing in this country for the last fifty years.

Now, I want to take up the basic issue. I was born after 15 years of independence. I want to put some challenging questions here. I would like to ask questions particularly from the persons who were assigned the responsibility of making the future of the country after independence, the responsibility of removing social inequalities and other evils from the society till we attained youth. But today we want to ask them, the whole of the country want to ask as to what have been their achievements in the last fifty years? What you are going to give to the future? But we are sheding tears, while sitting in the house on our achievements after fifty years. Hon'ble Speaker has rightly stated that a second freedom struggle is required to be started. It is necessary in the present circumstances because during the fifty years we have been consoling ourselves, our society, the country and neighbours by pretending to making a meaningful structure. We cannot go for ever like this, therefore, I am raising these issues so that I can say something about the circumstances which have emerged in the country.

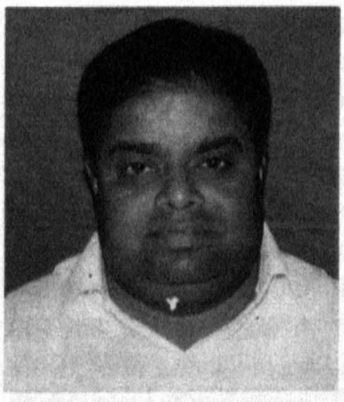
There is a middle class in our country. They have a tendency to take the good things of the upper class and not to allow the things of poor to come to them. The feeling of repentance is getting aroused in them now, because they want to adopt every good thing of the society and they don't want to allow the things of lower class to come up to them. Today, slowly the harsh realities of the society are staring them in the face. There is restlessness in the whole of the country because now they feel how they are running the country after fifty years.

The issue of criminalisation of politics is discussed in Lok Sabha as well as in the Legislatives Assemblies. Today the situation is this that if there is the Government of the Congress, it does not find any Members in both the House who can discuss economic issue, it makes a man from outside the Minister. Similarly, the other Government makes Hon'ble Chidambaram the Finance Minister, because they don't have any person with them who can deal with economic issues. I want to suggest that when thousands of educated men have the ability to run this country, then why they have to restrict their choice only to two persons. Today people ask their sons not to become leaders. No one wants that members of his family become leaders. He wants that they should become Doctor, Engineer and I.A.S. But no one

wants his son to become a leader. We have to think over it as to why this situation has come after fifty years of independence that our family members don't want us to become a leader. It is so because today the definition of a leader has changed. Today the leader is one who can get licences for them, who can manage backdoor entry and get quota benefits for them. We would have to understand it and think over it. We would also have to think as to how the country should be run.

Keeping in view the lacunae that have crept in the Constitution and under the present circumstances there is a need to bring about changes to the Constitution. It needs to be written afresh. You take the issue of reservation. You had introduced reservation. Today we are again discussing the issue of reservation. If we are discussing this issue today, we will be discussing the same issue and making analysis about the results of reservation in this House even on the occasion of diamond jubilee which will be celebrated after next fifty years.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, though I come with full preparation yet I am bound to raise my issues in brief only because it is the late hours of night. I would like to only submit that we should take a decision and at the same time Indians should also resolve to make a fresh attempt to run the country. The people of the country should also think as to how the country should be run and to whom the leadership of the country should be handed over? Only we will be able to reply correctly to the queries of the coming generation in the next fifty years. With these words I conclude my speech and thank you for having given me an opportunity to speak.



**SHRI K.C. KONDAIAH**

*[English]*

SHRI K.C. KONDAIAH (Bellary): Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you for the opportunity given to me.

At the outset, before I plunge into the introspection exercise, I very sincerely thank the hon. Speaker, Shri P.A. Sangma for two things—firstly for his wonderful idea of holding a special session of the House exclusively for making an inquiry into the functioning of our 50-year old parliamentary democracy and secondly for providing us, well in advance, some authentic background material to reflect on.

I take this opportunity to focus only on two issues, namely poverty and gender. My presentation takes into consideration the recent paradigmatic shift in our notions of development and poverty, from the income and growth-centered notions of progress and poverty to people-centered notions and deprivation, and from the value-neutral and gender-equity-incentive notions of development to the value-loaded and gender-equity-sensitive notions of development.

A dispassionate examination of our 50-year performance, among other things, gives us the impression that we have made spectacular achievement on several fronts, but the concerns of 1947 of eliminating illiteracy and ignorance, of preventable poverty, of remediable diseases, of malnourishment, of material mortality, of gender neglect, of inequalities of opportunities across the castes horizontally and across the classes vertically still continue to be our concerns in 1997.

Sir, a recent development-deprivation, progress-poverty analysis done by the Department of Development Studies, Kannada University, Hampi-in my constituency-lends unambiguous evidence to the disheartening fact that India has been outclassed by some of Indian fellow-members of the developing world and also by her immediate neighbours—Sri Lanka and China in terms of augmenting the levels of human development as measured by Human Development Index (HDI), of gender-related development and gender empowerment as measured by Gender Related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) respectively, and also in terms of reducing the levels of human poverty/human deprivation as measured by Human Poverty Index (HPI) and Human Deprivation Measure (HDM). This inter-continental cross-country study also shows that countries with different ideological bases and biases have excelled India. Cuba, Vietnam and China are socialist-oriented economies and South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand are marked-oriented capitalist economies and Costa Rica, Jamaica and Sri Lanka are mixed economies.

No doubt, most of the South Asian countries suffer a perceptible degree of poverty/deprivations, but the tragedy is, India suffers the most; India suffers from superlative degree of deprivations in terms of illiteracy, maternal mortality, infant mortality, and in terms of income-poverty too. We have, around 324 million people (or 38 per cent of our population) living below the Income-poverty line. The figure is higher than India's total population in 1951

which was 361 million. And as per the new measure, 36.7 per cent of the people suffer from human poverty, and in terms of Human Poverty Index, India is placed at 47th place amongst the 78 countries for which estimates are available.

Sir, these figures have been taken from the authenticated documents supplied by the Parliament.

There are 514 million people in South Asia, including those in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, who suffer human deprivation, as measured by Human Deprivation Measure. Of the 361 million people who suffer income deprivation in South Asia, 226 million are in India. Of the 652 million people who suffer education deprivation in South Asia, 479 million are Indians. Of the 409 million people who suffer health deprivation, 288 million are from India. The Human Deprivation Measure findings are based on 'Human Development in South Asia 1997' published by Mahbub-ul-Haq of Pakistan. This has appeared in *The Hindu* on May 12, 1997.

That is not the full story of Indian poverty. The inter-State disparities in income poverty are horrible. At the bottom of the poverty scale, we have Bihar with 54.96 per cent of its population living below the poverty line, and at the top, we have Chandigarh with only 11.35 per cent of its population living below the poverty line. All India average is 35.97 per cent. The four States, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh, account for 155 million people of the country's 320 million, which is 48.34 per cent, living below the poverty line.

With these reflections on income poverty as well as human poverty, I appeal to all the hon. Members of the House to endeavour sincerely to see that our development policies, plans, programmes and budgets truly reflect the poverty-deprivation concerns, both at aggregate, that is, at the national level and at the State level.

Now, I would like to draw the attention of the House to gender issues. I am sure that you all agree with me that the political, economic and social space belongs to everybody, across the classes, castes and gender. But it is a tragedy that women who constitute almost 50 per cent of the population, who constitute 50 per cent of the electorates, and bear more than 50 per cent of the work burden seem to have hardly occupied any space of decisive importance in decision-making. Women, who are all central to the very process of creation and propagation and perpetuation of the human race have been marginalised in the mainstream of social life. With 50 years of independence existence and with merely five decades of economic planning, gender-wise, still we continue to live in an unequal society. Men have the privilege to enjoying a disproportionately higher proportion of the fruits of development whereas women suffer disproportionately higher proportion of human deprivations.

In spite of carrying the productive work both at home and outside, and reproductive work, a major proportion of their labour goes unpriced. If nearly 75 per cent of men's work gets priced, it is only a little over 25 per cent of women's work which gets priced and quite a substantial amount of their work remains invisible.

In India, 88 per cent of pregnant women aged between 15 and 49 years are the victims of anaemia; only 34 per cent of the births are attended by trained health personnel, maternal mortality rate is as high as 570 per lakh of live births; infant mortality rate is 74 per thousand live births. Female adult literacy is just 36.1 per cent. Women occupy only 7.3 per cent of the total seats in Parliament, 2.3 per cent of the total administrative and managerial portions, 20.5 per cent of professional and technical positions and the earned share of income of women is just 26 per cent. Most of these figures compare very unfavourably with our immediate neighbours, Sri Lanka and China, and Karnataka's neighbour Kerala.

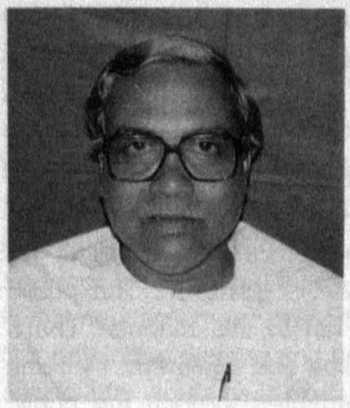
India, within a span of five decades of Independence, has achieved substantially in certain sectors of crucial importance to economic growth, besides recording moderate achievements in human development deprivation fronts. But inequalities and particularly the gender-based inequalities, illiteracy, income poverty as well as human poverty, malnourishment etc. still persist. Nehruji's concern of 1947 continues to be the nation's concern in 1997. So, to redeem the pledge that we had made to the people immediately on attaining Independence, we should take a pledge again in this Golden Jubilee Year to see that the nation is free from all sorts of deprivation and inequality in opportunities at least by the time we celebrate our Diamond Jubilee. It is indeed a great task.

**03.00 hrs.**

In the background of our 50-year development-deprivation experience, I want to quote a few lines to describe the decisive role of the people—those who govern and those who get governed—in achieving the great task before we complete 75 years of independent existence.

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep."

Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to participate in this historic debate.



**SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH**

*[Translation]*

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today on the solemn occasion of 50th year of independence many issues have been discussed, I endorse them. I would like to draw your attention towards one or two points. We had made an announcement that we would form a democratic India remove discrimination and disparity and develop the country. These are three issues. But it is my experience that we have got a lot of success in the world in the matter of fulfilment of our promise to protect the democracy. There are several countries in the world where democracy has been in perils but India is the only country where democracy is safe and despite a few shortcomings it is functioning smoothly and today we are making our efforts to strengthen it in the coming days. But today we should ponder as to how to remove disparity and make economic development in the next 50 years and how to make up for the shortcomings that have been witnessed during the last 50 years.

Sir, first of all I would like to submit that we had made promise that we would develop our country through Five Year Plans but what is the basic concept of the Plan? First of all resources should be mobilised to launch Plan. Our two main resources are land and man power. Labourer, farmer, landless labourer and natural wealth are our resources. But we have not utilised the land properly, we have been a failure in this regard. We have not fulfilled the promise of land reforms. Prof. Maulana Bish had thought that 6 crore and 20 lakh acres of land would be made available for distribution among the poor and landless people but we have not been able to distribute even ten per cent of this land in these 50 years and whenever this work was done, maximum land was distributed in Bengal, Kerala and a few other states. In most of the places the big landlords encroached upon such lands and kept the land in their possession either in their own name or in the name of their relatives. We have never thought about landless labourer who contributes in increasing of production of foodgrains in these 50 years. We have not been able to provide him protection and enact any protective legislation for them. Landless labourer is the most important human resources to strengthen the planning and we have done nothing for him. The result of increase in production by our farmer, agriculture labourers is before us. Our production has increased but it is not sufficient for our country. All persons cannot purchase the foodgrains. The requirement of calories for all cannot be fulfilled. That is why it seems that it is not there but infact it has not been done so. When we count calorie value every year we find that inspite of our eight Five Year Plans our per capita consumption is decreasing.

Secondly, the way we developed our rural economy was discussed a lot. Last year our foodgrains has increased by 1.7 per cent. Our agriculture policy, which has been decided later on, in which we have adopted the cash crop by lessening food production, is going to be a danger in the coming times. Our country is not a small country that at the time of crises people can be saved by importing food. It will not be an easy job to provide food to about 100 crores of people in the near future. This country is not Burma or Thailand. Therefore, we will have to keep in mind in coming days that the policy of increasing cash crop by reducing the food production will not be a danger.

We have to manage funds for resource mobilization but our 80 per cent people do not have adequate funds. We have to collect the money for our resource mobilization from 20 per cent people. But for the next ten years, we have given concession of 12000 crores of rupees for liberalization. If we continue to give such concessions then the people who can give taxes will not give us money. Then from where the money for internal resources will come.

If you look at the 8th Five Year Plan then only one and half per cent foreign components are there, 98.5 per cent are from internal resources. As such maximum development of the country is done by saving within the country. If we will reduce that money, give concession, do not make resource mobilization then we will not be able to arrange money for development and cannot execute more schemes. If we have to run schemes then we will have to do resource mobilization and will have to do away with concessions.

As far as our export oriented agriculture is concerned I accept that we need export, but it does not mean that we export leaving aside the domestic consumption. In real terms we will have to change our policy in the next 50 years.

When we are about to enter to the 21st century then what is the position of our country at present. We will have to think over it. We will have to feed about 150 crores of people because our population will be 150 crores in the

next 50 years. At present about 40 per cent of our population is living below poverty line but if we will not formulate our policy properly then the number of persons living below poverty line will increase. We are facing this big challenge today. By the 21st century more than 200 million people will be unemployed, 150 crores of people will have to be fed, 70 crores will be illiterate, 300 million will be child labours. If we are not making any proper scheme today then it will be difficult to check these problems. We will have to think about any scheme for the next 50 years then we will have to think about all these problems.

So far as industry is concerned, for the development of industries, previously our policy was to be self dependent in this sector, but today we talk about foreign collaboration. A few days back we had faith in other reliance. Now it has been left behind. We had left self reliance and other reliance behind. Now we have adopted foreign reliance. The way which we have adopted for making scheme by having faith on foreign funds, our country cannot proceed further in this way. No country in the world have developed only on foreign investment. Foreign investment helps in looting the country. Foreigners come to earn profit. They are coming for development, such this thinking is not right.

We have one domestic sector. We are giving importance to foreign M.N.Cs, T.N.Cs., instead of small and cottage industries. We are also facing danger of it. We are making disinvestment one by one by lowering public sector from commanding height. If such policy remains then there will be no public sector in the near future. What is Public Sector.

*[English]*

Public sector means government owned and run by bureaucrats.

*[Translation]*

There is no commitment, no discipline in it. That is why public sector is decreasing day by day. Workers do not get wages. There is a danger before us. We are not working as per our policy. We have been working in accordance with the policies dictated by the World Bank and I.M.F. If we continued following this path in future our country would have to face a more dangerous situation.

Besides, there is a need of introducing economic reforms. Why are these needed? There is a need of making these reforms for the development of the country. It is not for selling out the country. It should not be handed over to the foreigners. What is the aim of our country? We should bring reforms and technology as per our need. Today foreign exchange is flowing in the country. You know all the data in this regard.

The people living below the poverty line in our country are still around 40 per cent. How are they living? Today people don't have purchasing power. As there is no purchasing power, the price rise is going on. The public distribution system would not run in this manner. That's why, we have been repeating time and again that 14 items of requirements should be distributed through the public distribution system. We will have to do so. If we do not give the guarantee of two square meals to the public then how they would lead the country towards progress? It is necessary. If they are hungry they would not lead the country towards progress. We would have to work to remove our shortcomings in this area. Efforts would have to be made to remove them and we would have to continue the Public Distribution system under our plans.

The shortcomings on planning are due to discrimination. It would be clear to you from an example. Gujarat and Maharashtra where 14 per cent of our population reside, there the investment is 40 per cent. Kerala, Orissa, Himachal Pradesh and Bihar these four states have 18 per cent of our total population but the investment is one per cent there. Where there is 14 per cent population the investment is 40 per cent and where there is 18 per cent population, investment is one per cent, you would not be able to do planning with this discrimination. The economy cannot be run like this. We would not be able to make progress unless this discrimination is rectified by the Planning Commission. They formulate the plans in closed rooms. There is one other lacunae in our planning. We have not been able to make the policy of decentralisation in a proper way. The planning would have to be made at panchayat, district and state level. The planning should be done keeping in view the requirements of the people at grass root first, and then the requirements of the people of upper strata of society should be considered. Instead of that while planning we keep the interests of the people of higher class at top and then think of people of lower strata. The learned persons prepare policies while siting in their house and office with their bookish knowledge. As a result of which full success is not achieved. We fulfil merely 60-70 per cent of the target. The remaining target is not fulfilled. Unless the planning is not done in a proper manner it is difficult for the country to make progress.

The foreign impact on economy is increasing. We have given the foreigners full liberty. There is the record of 100 multinational companies for the last five years. It is surprising that their total sale has gone up by 91 per cent whereas

their profit has increased by 135 per cent. The import has increased by 260 per cent. They have not been importing machineries but have been spending 89 per cent foreign exchange. It means that the foreign companies want to keep us backward. They have been importing the raw material. 100 multinational companies have spent 1587 crore rupees of foreign exchange. This expenditure was negative and not positive as there was no earning from it. No investment was made on portfolio management. That money is today in the country and would go out tomorrow and then our country would be in trouble. What is going on in Thailand and Malaysia? The production was done there with foreign investment and now the surplus production is lying unsold in the shops.

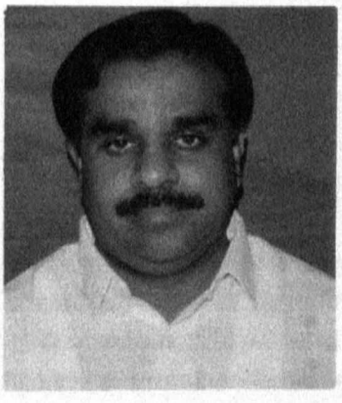
*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. Please do not deny the chance of other Members.

*[Translation]*

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH: There is controversy about the Maruti Udyog issue now a days. This would only worsen the situation. Therefore, we will have to bring about changes in economic policy in future.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



**SHRI VENKATARAMI REDDY ANANTHA**

*[English]*

SHRI VENKATARAMI REDDY ANANTHA (Anantapur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

I have been continuously following the deliberations in this august House and in this special Session of Parliament to mark the Golden Jubilee of Indian Independence. Firstly I appreciate the keen interest evinced by the Hon. Speaker in organising this Session and in affording every Member an opportunity to express his views. I carefully listened to his historic speech on the 26th August. I agree with him that the need of the hour is a second freedom struggle—freedom from our own internal contradictions. Ponder over this issue and give a serious thought to it.

Sir, India is an agriculture-oriented country. Seventy per cent of the citizens of the country are living on agriculture. It is the backbone of the country. When we attained Independence we were facing difficult conditions with regard to foodgrain stocks. There was a time when we had to import foodgrains. We are all aware of the PL-480 and other agreements under which as had to import wheat from the U.S.A. From that condition we have risen to the level of excess foodgrains. Now we can proudly say that our foodgrain stock as at 190 million tonnes and we are actually surplus in our food production. This is due to the efforts put in by us in these years. Many technological innovations have taken place in the agricultural field and our scientists has developed new methods of agriculture because of which we were able to attain self-sufficiency in agricultural production. I take this opportunity to congratulate all our agricultural scientists and the farmers all over the country who have made the country proud. Sir, the population is increasing in towns because of lack of facilities in the villages. If this continues it will be a problem for the country. If the people of the villages are given the basic infrastructure and other facilities in the villages itself they will not migrate to the towns. This is my humble submission.

I want to mention one thing here. Irrigations is a basic need for the people of this country. All major irrigation project should be with the Centre and they should not be with the States. The river-water disputes between the States are increasing. There is the Cauvery dispute between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Between Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka there is the Almatti and Upper Thunga river disputes. I am afraid in future if there is an internal war between States it will be because of the river disputes.

The Government should do its best to sort out the internal river water disputes.

I would like to mention in this august House that despite completing fifty years of Independence, and despite being the world's largest and second oldest democracy, we are still not able to conduct the elections peacefully and without any violence. In every election you will notice that there is some sort of rigging and other things and many valuable lives have been lost. The entry of criminal elements into political field should be curbed. Today a politician is looked by the people at large as a corrupt and criminal element. It is the common behaviour of everybody that the politics is

full of corruption. Unfortunately, some incidents have given support to this thing. But as esteemed leader Shri Chandra Shekar said the other day, not everybody is corrupt and 95 per cent of the country is honest. A fraction is corrupt but they are bringing a bad name as a whole. Corruption is eating into the nerves of the nation.

As a Member of Parliament representing nearly twelve lakh people, it is my earnest appeal to all sections of this House to take a solemn pledge here and now that we will do nothing in our life to encourage corruption and we will try to curb the corruption once for all.

Sir, women are fifty per cent in the country's population. We are not doing best in terms of sharing power with them. The Lord Shiva is called "ARDHANAREESWARA". He gave half of his body to his wife, Sati. There is a Bill pending in this House for several months to provide reservation to women in the Legislatures. We are not able to pass that Bill. It is a matter of grave concern to all of us. It is time for us to give a thought to it. The Constitution (73rd and 74th) Amendments have given reservation to women in the Panchayats and Nagarpalikas. It is time for us to give reservation to them in the Legislature bodies.

Sir, the Government is considering making education a fundamental right. It is a laudable step. But mere legislation will not do. If a child is denied its due share of education because of poverty or other things, do you think he or she will be able to invoke judicial power to exercise her fundamental right. Instead of doing this, the Government should take every possible step to provide educational facilities in every village and every block in the country. We should ensure sufficient number of teachers and teaching requirement to the schools and we should make all efforts to provide congenial atmosphere for the children to get education. That will be a gift to our children in this fiftieth year of our Independence.

The country has reached several goals in the past fifty years. When the Britishers left India we were not able to make a pin even. Now we can manufacture big industrial products, trains, aeroplanes etc. We are one of the leading countries amongst the developing countries. After the economic liberation in 1991 the country has opened up to the multinationals. But we should ensure that they do not completely take over the Indian industry. We should not hesitate in taking the technology from the multinationals. But we should develop our own indigenous industry in the years to come.

Sir, there are many aspects which come to mind. For an young and enthusiastic Member like me, who entered this great and historic House for the first time in May, 1996, it is really a great opportunity to participate in this historic debate. I learned many important things while participating in the debate over the past five days.

I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

**SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR**

*[Translation]*

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR (Satara): Hon. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak at 3.15 a.m. I think myself fortunate that I have got a chance to become a Member of Parliament in this Golden Jubilee year of our Independence. The debate has been continuing here for the last four days. Every issue which affects our lives have been touched upon here. Every member tried its level best to explain as to what have we lost and what have we gained in the last 50 years. Before speaking at length I would like to offer my tributes to those freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives during the freedom struggle. Some of the prominent among them include Umaji Naik, Mangal Pandey, Kartar Singh of the Gadar Party, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Chandrashekhar Azad, Babu Genu, Vasudev Phadke Bandhu, Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose, Dange, Jai Prakash Narayan, Madan Mohan Malviya, Abul Kalam Azad etc. The Satara district from where I hail, is famous for revolutionary activities during the freedom struggle. The land of Satara is a holy land because of Chhatrapati Shivaji. During the Quit India Movement in 1942 Ballia and Satara districts took the lead and were known for revolutionary activities all over the country. I pay my tributes to revolutionaries like Nana Patil, Shetkaka and Baba Undawakar who hailed from there. A lively debate has been going on here for the last five days. I have listened so many speeches for the first time in my life. We listened the speeches of Chandrashekharji and Atalji and also the speeches of the leaders of the Congress Party, opposition parties and the ruling parties. Everybody tried to put his views here. Before me, my colleague said

that we were doing "Samudra Manthan" and self-introspection. Infact, there has been 'Samudra Manthan' and self-introspection but the elixir has not come out and nothing concrete has come out. The whole country is watching the proceeding of the House live. Every party has spread venom and nothing meaningful has come out. The elixir has not come out. Some gems did come out and some parties took their possession and also credit but who will drink the venom and poison that has been spewed here? We spoke in great detail about the past 50 years and the next 50 years. Gradually we are getting into a debt trap in the coming 50 years. But whom should we share with this venom of acrimony? Should we share it with the party who ruled over this country for forty long years or the Janata Dal who had a stint of two and half years in power or should we share it with the helpless and miserable people over whom we have been ruling or should we share it with the youth, landless labourers and farmers? It is very difficult to gulp down this poison. It was all the more necessary to have a comprehensive debate on social inequalities.

Sir, Mahatma Phule and Savitribhai Phule had waged a war against social inequality. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar carried it on further to which Shahuji Maharaj lent full support. Prabhakar Thakare spread this war in the entire country. If this country has to run then both wheels of our polity should move on smoothly. Those who had waged this war were the front wheels of this struggle. Thereafter nobody tried to carry it on further. Had this struggle been waged with full intensity then today's problems such as terrorism, communalism and criminality would not have been confronting our nation and our country would have been much ahead on the path of progress and economic development. However, this social battle to provide equal rights to women was never fought. Whatever has come out in these 50 years is the result of our relentless social struggle and nobody lent a supporting hand in our social struggle against social inequality and injustice. All political parties' aim is to grab power at any cost and in this process we have met with utter defeat. In the next 50 years if we do not wage an all out war against said inequality and injustice and do not recognise it, the benefits of economic and social development would not accrue to the poor. The fruits of development and progress attained in these 50 years have not reached Dalits and less previleged sections of the society. I believe that we shall simply lay our speech on the Table of the House. Those Members who have failed to make their speeches orally would be laying their respective speeches duly signed by them on the Table of the this House. But what good it would yield, I do not know. After all what has been the result of five days' long debate. Those listening to these speeches clearly understand that this is merely lip service. Mere lip service on the burning issues will not do any good. The question which is haunting me is as to whether more lip service being paid on the basic issues would yield any result and what kind of message is going down in the masses and the country. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been elected to Lok Sabha for the first time and I hope that you would give me more time to express my views.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have one minute more. Please conclude.

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR: After coming over here, I am totally perplexed. I am not that intelligent that my suggestion should influence the business of this House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had a chance to visit Russia in 1986 and I would like to share my experience with my colleagues but I must make it clear that I am not supporting Russia nor do I intend to raise a debate on the ideologies which led to disintegration of the Soviet Union. But what I saw there was that human beings, were the key factor of policy formulation. The milk available there is first used for children. I had a chance to visit a children school and I was pleased to see refreshing and beaming faces of children. That school had 25 students and all the children were served meals and breakfast.

I also saw AIDS material including projectors. I inquired from a teacher about his pay. In our country a teacher gets a pension of 120 rupees after attaining 55 years of age. I saw that roads in the villages were washed daily. Every village had its own garden and fresh reserve. I also saw Metro trains running under one another.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am trying to tell to what extent Russia has developed as Russia attained its independence from Imperialism 20-25 year, before we got our Independence, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. But why could we not achieve that much progress in India in 50 years? Our friends there were supporter of Indo-Soviet Union and they indulged in a debate that our leaders were responsible for creating the mess in which we find the country today. 60 per cent land is surplus in Asia.

If the number of people is lesser by five per cent, progress can be made on Russian model by keeping in view the number of people. In that country, such a way of living is followed that as soon as a child is born, a house is constructed for him. The schemes are formulated there keeping in view the needs of the citizens and that is why they have made so much progress. When they used to converse and speak and I am not aware whether it is appropriate to discuss it here or not. But those friendly boys said that the way the needs of people are kept in view at the planning stage in Russia ...(*Interruptions*)

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

*[Translation]*

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR: I want to speak on a number of points but you are suppressing my voice by ringing the bell.

*[English]*

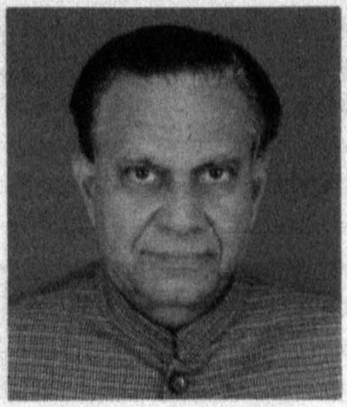
MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already taken thirteen minutes. Please resume your seat. There are other colleagues waiting to speak. We have only two and a half hours more.

*[Translation]*

SHRI HINDURAO NAIK NIMBALKAR: In the end, I would like to conclude my speech by reciting a poem as I have been in the army and have participated in two wars:

"Tadapte ho, Sisakte ho Jiwannani Vatan Jag Main,
gar Khoon ki jaroorat ho to ek do jaam bhar jaana
Bahu beti ki izzat par uthaye haath gar koi,
akele ho to kya parwah, na ho saath main koi
mita de is dukh ko, yahi paar kar jaana,
Miyan bibi ho faake se, sasur beemar hote hon,
Isi aadat garibi se, ghut ghut kar jaan dete ho,
mita de dukh, yehi paar kar jaana.

Whatever happened during the 50 years after Independence, has become the history but I am sure that we would be able to work out a strategy to be followed during next fifty years keeping in view the social revolution, economic disparity and needs of the people.



**LT. GENERAL (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI**

LT. GENERAL (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI (Deoria): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. Today is a unique day. On the one hand we are celebrating the golden jubilee of our Independence and on the other, we are awaiting the advent of a new century. I am sure that after having this five day long discussion, we will be able to surge ahead in both the directions. We will be able to have a fresh look at our freedom struggle and walk into the new century with a new mindset. But, before that, we will have to take a look at our past, at history. In this regard, I would like to draw your attention towards one-two points which have not been discussed as yet.

When we got Independence in 1947, our country was partitioned and another country was formed on one-fourth of the area of our country. Thereafter in 1949, 42,000 to 43,000 square mile area was annexed by Pakistan in the Kashmir war. In the 1962 war, 24,000-25,000 square mile area of Aksai China was annexed by a foreign country. This is a blot on us. Our future generations will never forgive us for this. As has been stated by our friend here, a resolution was passed in 1962 that every inch of land would be got vacated from the possession of the foreigners, still nothing has been done in this regard during 35 years. I propose that we should take a pledge at the occasion of golden jubilee celebrations that we will not leave any part of our land in the hands of foreign forces. This resolution should be formally moved in the Parliament.

I would like to go back into history at this occasion. When our country was partitioned in 1947, what was the basis thereof? All the leaders, to whom we are paying homage today, were present at that time. I would like to ask as to what was the basis of partition of the country. There was only one basis that the Muslims were 10.5 per cent of the total population in the country at that time. Jinnah said that on this very basis, they should be allowed to form a separate country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, that community has again now reached 12.5 per cent of the total population in our country after fifty years and after the mass exodus of Muslims. We should consider the situation. It is a critical situation. Again a demand is being raised for reservation and separate voting rights. This is just the first step for making the same demand as was made by Jinnah 50 years ago. We should remain vigilant in this regard.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our Defence Minister, Hon'ble Mulayam Singhji has stated that muslim community should be brought into mainstream. I would like to know as to who is stopping them from joining the mainstream. Have they been able to become a part of the mainstream since these 50 years or not? Have these people been denied any opportunity? Have they been denied education, employment or profession? There are only two reasons therefor their own mentality and they should seriously think it over. We are ready to embrace them. They should have joined the mainstream. They are most welcome and we are prepared for it but there is some difference and some confusion in their own mind. On one hand they say that we are the minority and we should be given the facilities normally provided to the minorities. I would like to ask them as to how they call themselves a minority. The population of Muslims in our country is higher than that in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq. Except Indonesia, the largest number of Muslims are in our country. We are proud of it. We see nothing wrong in it. Even then they call themselves a minority community. How are they a minority community is a point to be pondered. I know that our speech will be taken as tinged with bias. They have been in the mainstream for 45 years, now they should stick to our party at least. Now they have been disillusioned. They have been misused. We also want them to come into the mainstream. One has to join the mainstream of his own choice. Nobody can be made to join it by pushing or forcing... (*Interruptions*)

If they consider themselves a minority, they won't be able to join the mainstream. Whoever wishes to offer explanation, may do so. They need not offer any explanation. That is the problem that this community pays attention to such statements. We can't say what they should be doing. There is no purpose also. They won't agree and they won't understand either. They should introspect and they will find the answer. There is a need to ponder over this point.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we should also discuss National Security on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of Independence. I do not think that we can review these fifty years without discussing the issue of national security, especially when our security is in a very vulnerable position. However, due to some reason, this point has not been discussed, but, as we have got two additional days, I would like to discuss this point in brief. Pakistan is fully capable of making atomic bomb. China is aiding it and will go on aiding it without listening to anyone. Chinese missiles have been aimed towards us. China is setting up a fleet at a port of Myanmar which is only 25 km. away from our Nicobar Island. Even after getting the CTBT signed, by all the nations America is making an attempt for another experiment. Inspite of so much happenings around us, we have never discussed the problems of our army and the issue of national security during the last three years. I request that a discussion should be held on this subject. Alongwith this, we should also remember those Jawans who had sacrificed their lives while fighting for their mother land—India but who so far have remained neglected by us, since long back, our Prime Ministers have been saying to introduce one rank one pension scheme. This promise has been made by three Prime Ministers but so far it has not been fulfilled by any of them.

I am having a paper cutting with me which pertains to a survey conducted in respect of honesty, efficiency, contribution in the national growth and bravery. I received this cutting three-four days ago. I would like to let you know that at the top of the survey are our Army officers who have scored from 81 to 87 per cent marks but our administrators have fared very poorly scoring just only 32 to 34 per cent marks. But these administrators are at the bottom of our administration who have so far neglected our Army.

I want to say something about corruption. With the existing system of our administration we cannot wipe out corruption from our society. Our working system needs a decisive change. Just now Shri Nitishji has said that even M.P. Local Area Development Fund is not free from the corruption. With the present set up of police and commissioners, we cannot eliminate corruption from our society. Our M.Ps. are capable enough. They should raise their voice that under the existing system they will not undertake any MPLADF scheme. If you deem us fit and think that we are really capable of spending one crore of rupees only then entrust us this responsibility to spend the money. In a different case, six months ago I have sanctioned full amount for power connection but so far not even a single electricity pole has been erected.

At last, I want to say something on the issue of women exploitation. We all were discussing that Women Reservation

Bill should be passed without any further delay. They should be given 33 per cent reservation but it seems that it is likely to take some more time. Women are being exploited, by everyone—be he an administrative officer or a police officer or any other section of the society. Let this Bill be passed but cannot stop their exploitation. The Bill introduced by Kumari Uma Bharati is also pending. Straight way point is this that so long as the married women are not get entitled to get a share from their husband's property soon after the marriage, they would continue to be victims of neglect. I want to narrate an incident in this regard which took place recently at A-54, Kailash Colony. They are known people to me. Two years back the woman in this house was beaten up and forced to leave the house.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have no time to go into these details.

*[Translation]*

LT. GENERAL (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI: How much time I have taken?

*[English]*

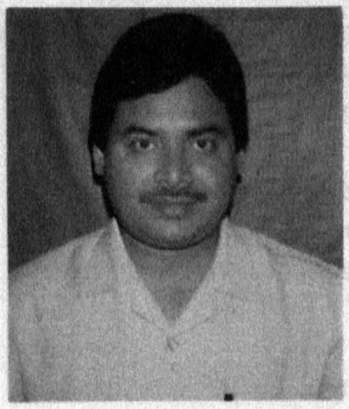
MR. CHAIRMAN: You have taken 12 minutes. I rang the bell at the end of the 10th minute.

LT. GENERAL (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI: Ten minutes is no time at all.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes is the time being given to all. Please wind up. Please do not go into these details now.

*[Translation]*

LT. GENERAL (RETD.) PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI: I was talking of women exploitation. It will not be checked unless they get share in their husband's property. This Bill is going to take much time. But exploitation of women is continuing under your very nose. I want to speak a lot but cannot cover all subjects. We have to set our agenda for next half century. Rest of issues have been covered by other hon'ble Members. But we have to be united and march ahead together if we want to build up a strong India. With these words, I conclude.



**SHRI SARAT PATTANAYAK**

SHRI SARAT PATTANAYAK (Bolangir): Mr. Chairman Sir, I want to express my gratitude to the hon'ble Speaker for having convened this special session on the occasion of golden jubilee year of our independence. Indian people never wanted to remain slaves of any foreign ruler. They started freedom struggle long back in 1857 which did not prove fruitful and remained incomplete, though the people of India participated in the struggle whole heartedly. This struggle again started in 1885. Later under the leadership of Gokhaleji, Congress party was formed. Mahatma Gandhi plunged into the freedom struggle and brought freedom. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Maulana Azad, Lala Lajpat Rai and many other leaders took part in the freedom struggle and steered India towards independence. Mahatma Gandhi, alongwith others, fought the battle for about 60 years before we achieved our independence. Prime Minister Pt. Nehru worked to develop the infrastructure of the country. When Indiraji took over as Prime Minister, she introduced various schemes for the eradication of poverty. She took initiative to produce atomic bomb. She undertook the nationalisation of banks. When Lal Bahadur Shastri became Prime Minister, he did many things for the welfare of our soldiers and farmers. Rajiv Gandhi gave franchise right to youths above the age of 18. He initiated many steps for promotion of Panchayati Raj. Many of our friends have regretted as to what we have actually achieved during the last 50 years. I want to submit that still there are crores of people who are living below poverty line. Safe drinking water is still not available for many of our people. But inspite of these facts India have always remained united and is capable of producing several missiles like Agni, Trishul and Prithvi. Still we are the largest democracy in the world. None of our States ever fought against each other. But our increasing population is never a good sign for democratic India. In the past several measures were taken by Sanjay Gandhi for population control. Stress was laid on the need to have not more than two children. But all other political parties gave this efforts a different colour and blamed the Congress or every wrong deed done in this regard. They were bent upon removing Congress from power. But today the people of India are realising how correct Sanjay Gandhi was in his approach.

Most of the people in our country actually do not know as to

*[English]*

What is the responsibility of the people's representatives.

*[Translation]*

When we visit our villages; people come to us with several of their grievances like non availability of power, drinking water and railways, etc. But when we come to this House and raise these issues, we are told that this is a State subject. People do not know about it due to our faulty education system. How this country can progress if teachers in a village school question the students as to what will be the total quantity of milk if two kg water is mixed in one kg milk. This reveals our morality and basic structure of moral education in this country. Thus this faulty education system is needed to be changed. Feelings of patriotism and nationalism should be inculcated in every individual whether one adopts the profession of engineer, doctor or any other profession. Peoples' representatives elected from six panchayats have been given office at district level. Sarpanchs and Panchayat Mukhias have also been given offices at district level but we, the MPs who are representing 12 lakh persons are not given any office at district level. This system should be changed.

In newspapers we often read newsitem that miscreants created disturbance using sophisticated arms like A.K. 47 whereas our police force, especially in villages have been armed with lathis. This difference should be bridged so that law and order situation could be brought under control.

These days in films police officers, I.A.S. officers, judges and politicians are depicted as corrupt persons. I would like to make a suggestion that such a depiction should be stopped because now a days people are much more influenced by films as it is an important media of entertainment. This trend should be checked.

*[English]*

The Judiciary is playing the role of the Legislature and Executive. That is most dangerous thing. It should not be so.

*[Translation]*

Official Secrets Act has been formulated for executives. It should be abolished for giving way to transparency in functioning of offices, 5000 Civil Servants, 5000 politicians are taking decisions and formulating policies for upliftment and progress of 90 crore people of this country. It is a defective system and should be changed in the interest of the country.

Our country got independence in 1947 and Indonesia in 1949. We are proud of saying that our scientists are manufacturing motor cars and other vehicles in our own country whereas in Indonesia Fogota and Mercedes are running but not being manufactured there. It will be incorrect to say that our country has not achieved any targets. But we have to make more progress for moving towards 21st century. The laws to check increasing population should be introduced at the earliest.

*[English]*

Corruption starts only from elections.

*[Translation]*

During elections politicians are busy in their election compaigns and after elections people come to them for interview and sometimes they ask for executing personal work. When we ask executives to do so they are sometimes compelled to refuse it on the ground that there is no such provision for that and he also has a fear of transfer. In this way whole system is rottening. There is an urgent need for introducing electoral reform to improve this system.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SARAT PATTANAYAK: I will not take more than two minutes.

*[Translation]*

In our country 185 million people are not getting safe drinking water and 130 million are not getting medical facilities.

*[English]*

Out of five women, four suffer from anaemia. This is the highest figure in the world.

*[Translation]*

It is also a fact that we have foodgrains for export but our own people starve. We are proud of being self-sufficient in foodgrains but 40 per cent of our population do not get proper food. Therefore, I would like to make suggestion that Bills related with population control, electoral reforms and irrigation should be brought at the earliest. Only 6 per cent area is under irrigation in my constituency. Around 2-3 lakh people migrate from this area annually. They do not get food to eat and migrate to Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab to earn their livelihood. The drought and resultant starvation has

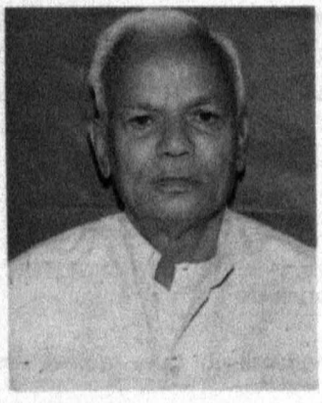
deteriorated the condition of people in this area and we are celebrating the golden jubilee of independence.

*[English]*

Mr. Sainath has written a book "Who loves the good drought?"

*[Translation]*

In this book the writer has conducted a study about 50 districts which are very poor and backward. My district Bolangir is at number one in this list. People do not get food and can hardly make their both ends meet. A mother is compelled to sell her child for just Rs. 20 to save his life. Therefore, I request you to pay attention towards these issues on priority basis.



**PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA**

*[English]*

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA (Samastipur): I am the Leader of my Party. So, I will take at least 15 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, you will be given only 10 minutes. The Members who are waiting here cannot be denied a chance. So, do not enter into an argument. You will have to finish within 10 minutes.

*[Translation]*

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I pay homage to those great souls who have laid down their lives in the freedom struggle of the country and I thank the Hon. Speaker for giving us an opportunity of self introspection on this occasion of golden jubilee celebration of our Independence.

One of our friends spoke about the Ravi resolution which was adopted on the banks of river Ravi. I would like to recall that from Ravi, we have reached Kaveri. Ravi has been left behind in Pakistan and with that the resolution has also been left behind. At present we are embroiled in the Kaveri river water dispute. Our leaders have now become Public representatives. There is difference between a leader and a public representative. A leader leads the society whereas a public representative follows the society.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, recently an international agreement was signed with regard to sharing of Ganga water. But that agreement was exposed in the very first year only. The quantum of water was less than the estimates. We want to give one suggestion in this regard so that you can keep your words. Agreement should be signed with Nepal regarding construction of a multi-purpose high dam on Kosi river in Bairaj region. This will not only benefit Nepal as it would get a water route but Bihar will also be benefitted as it will get adequate electricity and every field in North Bihar would be irrigated. There will be no shortage of water at Calcutta port. We would be able to provide water to Bangladesh ...(*Interruptions*) Ganga, Kaveri rivers should be linked. Many people want that all rivers should be linked with Ganga.

I would like to say a few words about democracy. Democracy is in danger due to black money floating capital and speculative culture which is going on for the last one decade. Internal conflicts have increased. The class which had already enjoyed the fruits of power even before Independence does not want the sons of soil to enter the corridors of power, which has become possible because of exercise of adult franchise. They keep on conspiring to seize the power. As a result of franchise the common people particularly those belonging to low class and middle class have come in Legislative Assemblies. There has been change of face of Legislature.

As a result of reservation in Government service, the number of such people has gone up. But this has not been happened in the judiciary which is continuing on the old pattern.

**04.00 hrs.**

The situation today is that three generations of about 200 families are involved in litigation in high courts and Supreme Court. That is why my suggestion is that a judicial Commission as envisaged in the Constitution, should be set up. Judges should be appointed through this Commission and only then the grip of influential people over high courts and the Supreme Court would loosen to some extent. Those who believe in *status-quo* have infiltrated in all the three wings of democracy—Legislature, the Executive and Judiciary. They are always conspiring against the government in power. When they conspire against somebody then it becomes easy to make a chargesheet and once the chargesheet is filed then the stable government could also

become unstable. How the democracy can function in these circumstances. It needs to be considered.

These forces keep on trying to concentrate all the powers in a handful of persons by reducing the powers of other two pillars of the democracy besides judiciary. To demand deployment of Army by CBI on oral orders of the High Court is a part of that conspiracy. It seems as if they want that judiciary should act for legislature. The judges may act as Ministers and the advocates present in the court may play the roles of MPs. How can the constitution function in such a situation? If the guardians of the constitution violate the Constitution by posing as a separate entity then how can the democracy function? No doubt, the judiciary must be respected and we respect it also. But to get respect, the judiciary should be above board like Ceaser's wife. Only then the dignity of judiciary can continue. Is there no corruption in judiciary? It is a matter of regret that the criminal elements do not consider the judiciary as an institution which gives punishment. They rather consider it as an institution which gives the certificate of absolution from crime. We may or may not charge any judge of taking bribe that is a separate issue but what we see is that if an advocate has an approach with high ups and he belongs to a family of a judge he can manipulate to the High Court or Supreme Court. One thing more what we see is even an idle advocate becomes talented and busy over night when a particular judge takes over in a particular Bench. Is it not corruption? We are talking about corruption in high offices and corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. We should also talk about corruption in judiciary. If the dignity of judiciary is violated, then where will we go? Therefore, the dignity of judiciary must be maintained. If there is corruption in courts we must take note of this. Cases are not taken up without giving bribe in courts. If bribe is not given even in small courts the case is not taken up for hearing. I would like to quote the views of some leading legal lumanaries about the courts:

*[English]*

Soli J. Sorabjee on standard of Judges in Calcutta said:

> "Judicial appointments have become a means of dispensing patronage and bounty... There are judges who enter court half an hour late in the morning and leave early. The people who never appeared in the court were appointed to sit on the Bench in High Court."

Justice Krishnaswamy Ayyar warned in 1982:

> "Independence of judiciary is a myth. It overlooks numerous tie ups with executives and business houses. No part of the system has non-class character."

*[Translation]*

Recently the Chief Justice of Supreme Court said in an interview that unnecessary remarks by the monitoring court affects the investigations of subordinate courts. They cannot remain fair. This aspect should be looked into.

As regards the role of judiciary and the Legislature I have submitted that judiciary wants that the legislature should play its role. Jawaharlal Nehru had said after the adoption of Constitution:

*[English]*

> "The whole Constitution is the creation of Parliament. No court, no system of judiciary can function as third chamber of correction."

*[Translation]*

Many questions were asked in this House about the the irrelevant comments of Patna High Court and its interference in the jurisdiction of legislature. Home Ministry constituted an enquiry committee on the demand from this House. The comments made by Patna High Court the day before yesterday on the constitution of this committee need attention. My point is whether we would be able to protect the dignity of the House if we continue to pay heed to the meaningless comments of the court. I would suggest to ignore such attempts. There is a need for the Supreme Court to intervene in case a subordinate court or a High Court make such meaningless comments which tantamounts to interference in the jurisdiction of legislature.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA: No more than two minutes Sir.

*[Translation]*

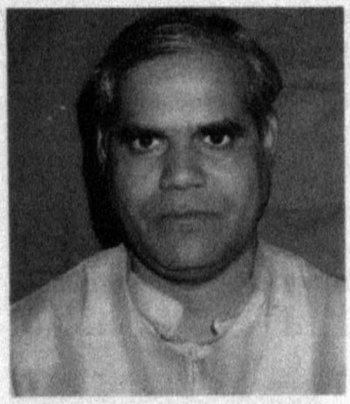
We shall have to maintain the dignity of our legislature, our Parliament on its own strength. In this context Dr. Ambedkar had observed:

*[English]*

> "I feel however good a Constitution may be it is sure to turn bad because those who are called to work it happen to be a bad lot."

*[Translation]*

Likewise we can say that if we are competent to maintain the dignity of our Parliament, then alone we can do so, and if not we cannot maintain it. Our domain is diminishing day by day. With these words I would thank you and conclude my speech.



**DR. RAMESH CHAND TOMAR**

DR. RAMESH CHAND TOMAR (Hapur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am highly thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the golden jubilee of our Independence. The entire nation is celebrating the 50th anniversary of Independence with all gaiety and fanfare. Mr. Speaker has summoned a special session on the 50th anniversary of our Independence and in the history of Parliament he has addressed the Members for the first time. While addressing the Members, Mr. Speaker gave a call for preparing for another war against corruption, unemployment and illiteracy.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, during the special session, Mr. Speaker had fixed an agenda for discussion on the basic and national problems for which I am deeply thankful to him. Today we have completed a long journey of 50 years of our Independence. During this period, our country had progressed in all fields, be it industrial field, educational field, or the field of Science and Technology, but the pace of progress has been very slow. If we look to the field of Education we have 52 per cent literacy after 50 years of independence, and more than 30 per cent people are illiterate. We have often observed that where there is illiteracy there is poverty, unemployment, malnutrition. If priority would have been given to education in the first five year plan, the problem of illiteracy would have been solved to a great extent. Sir, illiteracy is a hurdle in the development of a man and a nation. Therefore, literacy is extremely necessary for all round development. If the problem of women's education had been solved immediately after the independence, we would not have faced the problems created by population explosion. Compulsory education is a must to do away with illiteracy.

Sir, the Prime Minister has announced to present a Bill in the Lok Sabha to enshrine the right of education as a fundamental right. It is a matter of great pleasure. If we look at the Primary Education, we can understand that there are 10.5 crore children in the country who can be admitted to schools, but 3.5 crore children are bereft of school education and 40 per cent children drop out of schools as a result of lack of sources in the schools. After 50 years of Independence there are 26-28 percent schools where there are no teachers, and 148033 such schools where there is only one teacher and 171389 such schools where there are two teachers only. The ratio of teacher and student, which ought to be one against 30 or 35, is increasing. The standard of education is going down. The teachers are not concentrating more on the education of the students, so the standard of education is deteriorating. Therefore, the primary education which forms the backbone of further education is becoming weak. So there should be some reform in the primary education. There should be more and more recruitment of teachers.

Sir, many committees and commissions were formed for Educational reforms and these committees and commissions gave certain suggestions which were not implemented. So there was no improvement in the field of Education. Likewise an Indian education commission was formed in 1948 and 1949 under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan. A Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. A.L. Mudaliar was formed in 1952-53 and in 1958-59, Durgabai Deshmuck Committee for Women Education was formed in 1958-59. Education Commission was formed between 1966 and 1968 under the chairmanship of Dr. Kothari and in 1986 the National Education Policy was announced when Late Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister.

Even this National Education Policy was lauded from all quarters. There were three main objectives of this policy-universalization of Primary Education, vocationalisation of Secondary Education and specialisation of higher and technical education. But we could not achieve those objectives because there is lack of resolution, will-power and funds on the part of government. We shall have to make an expenditure to the tune of at least 6 per cent of G.D.P. on education, which was demanded even before 1990. Even this 6 per cent allocation is inadequate to cater to the educational needs of the increasing population. So, the time is ripe for considering whether we would be able to meet the increasing expenses on education, keeping in view the present pattern of education in the social sector. In my opinion it won't be possible in any case. Therefore, I would suggest that Education may be placed in the productive sector and all productive sectors should join hands for sharing the expenses on education.

When we think of higher education, on the one hand we have IIT and the Central Universities which are conscious of maintaining the standards. The first ranking products of these institutions go abroad for higher education. We had given a clarion call "Englishmen Quit India" before independence for getting rid of the shackles of slavery. Today our best talented scientists, engineers, doctors, etc. are migrating to other countries as a result of foreign attraction. We shall have to involve this talent in the building of the nation and for having their contribution in the nation building. We shall equally have to provide them with the required facilities. The Government should come forward in this regard. University Grants Commission is the main funding body in the field of higher education and 207 universities and 9278 colleges are controlled by it. 20 per cent students get education in the Universities, while 80 per cent students get education in the colleges. But as far as grant is concerned, 80 per cent grant is given to the universities and 20 per cent to the colleges. May be 80 percent grant being given to the universities may fall short of their requirements but I am sure that the subsidy being given to the colleges is meagre. Due to shortage of fund the students are not getting the facilities which are to be provided to them. Consequently there is a fall in the standard of education.

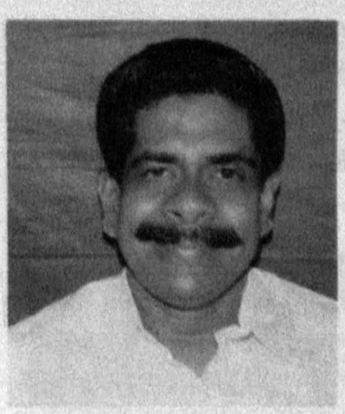
I believe that unless the standard of education in the colleges is improved, over-all improvement in the higher education is not possible. I would like to give some suggestions for improvement in the quality of higher education.

Firstly, allocation of fund for higher education should be increased and grant to the universities and colleges should be given in equal ratio of 50:50 per cent.

Secondly, at present only development grant is given to the colleges by the UGC but along with this, maintenance grant should also be provided to them.

Thirdly, the provision should also be made for President's Award to the teachers in higher education as given to the primary and middle school teachers.

Mr. Chairman, Sir so I would like to urge upon the Government through you to evolve such a system in the current academic session which will re-baptize this country from the erstwhile Golden era to the heights of fame in the world within a few years by achieving complete literacy. Finally, I would conclude with paying tributes to the feet of the great martyrs who had laid down their lives for the independence of the country.



**SHRI MULLAPALLY RAMACHANDRAN**

*[English]*

SHRI MULLAPALLY RAMACHANDRAN (Cannanore): Sir, I am extremely thankful for having given me this opportunity to participate in this Special Session being held at the instance of the hon. Speaker to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of our Independence. Being the son of one of the freedom fighters who had sacrificed everything without expecting anything in return or filing any claims, it is my proud privilege to participate in this historic debate.

Sir, at the outset, let me pay my respectful tributes to the countless known and unknown freedom fighters who had laid their lives for the liberation of this country. On this momentous occasion, I bow my head to Mother India and take this solemn oath that I shall strive to protect the unity and integrity of this country.

I shall rededicate myself to the advancement of my country. On this solemn occasion I pay my salute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the galaxy of other eminent leaders who had led the freedom struggle.

Without wasting the precious time of this august House on the preliminaries and with a view to stick to the time schedule, I would like to confine my remarks to the pressures being faced by the system—to put it bluntly—the dangerous eroding the credibility of the system.

Sir, with a heavy heart I have to submit that the last two decades have witnessed tremendous and terrible pressures on the Indian system and the fallout has begun.

Today, Sir, we find that a single party rule is being replaced by a multi-party front consisting of conflicting interests and divergent views. Not that I make this statement because I belong to the Indian National Congress which has presented a stable and strong Government to this country under the single party rule for forty years. But we have seen the fate of political coalitions and conglomerations

which were trying their hands in New Delhi unsuccessfully and the nation having to pay a heavy price since 1977.

What have we experienced in the past two decades? The main pillars of our Indian democracy have been weakened to a great extent.

To begin with, let me talk about the weakening of the party system. Weakened political parties are going to any length to grab strength and power and in the process the criminals get into our political system and the political parties. Many of the earlier speakers have elaborated the existence of 40 M.Ps. as well as 700 MLAs in the Legislatures having a criminal past. I do not want to dilate upon that point once again because almost all the eminent personalities who have participated in the discussion. They had at great length described the existence of these criminals. How did it come about? That is my question. It is not the development of one day. It has not come about without the knowledge of political parties and political leadership. It has, in fact, taken place with the knowledge and the tacit consent of the political leadership. The leaders may not have considered the apparent danger that was going to come with the entry of the rowdy elements into the political system. But at least when we are aware of the presence of such men in sizeable numbers in our political parties, is it not our responsibility to control them or to send them out of the party? We have not done that. This is a great mistake. This is a great danger. This inaction is the greatest enemy of our democracy. On many occasions we did not act according to the expectations of the people and this inaction again I repeat, Sir, is the enemy of our Republic and the democracy.

We have the Vohra Committee Report before us. This report is an excellent exposition of the unholy nexus between the politicians and the criminals. May I ask my colleagues here as to how many of us have seriously gone through this report? If we have gone through this report, what have we done about the report I ask my hon. colleagues in this august House?

We also have the Goswami Committee Report on electoral reforms. The late Goswami was our great friend. He was a Member of this august House. I have had a occasion to have association with the great soul. He made a thorough study of the electoral system. He has made some valuable contributions and recommendations about how we may reform the system. We did not do anything and we failed in this respect to reform the electoral system. Thi is another danger which is facing our democracy.

Another important aspect like money power has already been dealt with by many a senior Member and I do not want to touch upon that point. What is needed is correction. It is really sad that we could not do anything to correct the system.

Communalism as well as casteism have assumed alarming proportions and after Independence we have seen many communal carnages in many parts of this country. Mixing of politics with religion has got its dire consequences and we, the Members of this august House, must put our heads together and see how this enemy of communalism and casteism is completely eradicated from our nation.

When the Executive is weakened, it is but natural that this vacuum is filled by the Judiciary or the media takes up the cause of the public grievances. In parliamentary democracy, it is for the political parties or the political leadership to deal with public issues as well as the problems of the common man. But when the ruling parties fail in their efforts, the Judiciary steps in and the media points out the mistakes. It is our failure and it is our mistake, but hence we cannot grudge and we cannot complain. If we cannot use the playground in a proper manner, naturally people will come and play in the ground. That is exactly what the Judiciary is doing now. So, we cannot have any reason for complaint about the Judiciary which is stepping into the system.

Much has been said about corruption. The Transparency International as well as other organisations have stated that India stands eighth among the most corrupt nations of the world. I do not have the correct information about that, but I tell you that corruption is there at all levels of the society. The other day I happened to hear some of the leading hon. Parliamentarians of this House speaking about corruption. One or two very-very seasoned politicians have said that corruption is not the major issue, it is only one of the issues on our agenda. I totally dispute it. Corruption is an issue. Rather it is a major issue. It is an incurable cancer which is eating into the vitals of our body politic and it should be fought with. Unfortunately, in the last two decades, the politicians in India could not succeed in eradicating corruption. On the other hand, I would say that the politicians are sucked by the corrupt elements. The five-star culture and the luxurious way of living has debased the politicians Probity in public life has lost all relevance in the current day politics. Morality also has become a forgotten word in the dictionary of all politicians. What we find in India, especially in Delhi, is that everything is being decided in terms of price and very little is done in terms of value. In the process, I am extremely sorry to say that some of us, the politicians, have price tags in Delhi. Who can remove this stigma? We, the

politicians, alone can do it. Keeping away corruption, keeping away the corrupt elements is one answer and simple living is another answer. If we are clean, I am sure, we can get the system cleansed.

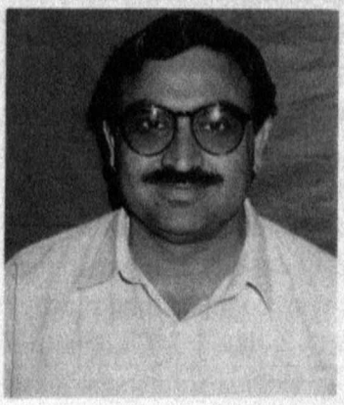
Another aspect which I wish to deal with is the failure of the system to provide the basic needs of the poorest of the poor. I am happy and proud that we have made spectacular breakthrough in various fields. We are able to solve many of our complex problems. But is it not a shame that even after fifty years of Independence, we could not provide drinking water to millions of our brethren in our villages? So also we have miserably failed to reach universal education to helpless children who are living in the remote villages of our country.

So also are food, housing and clothing. It is a distant dream so far as the hundreds and thousands of people of this country are concerned. What should we do about it? We must take some positive action. We must do something to show that the freedom is meaningful. We should make the freedom meaningful and purposeful by providing shelter, clothing as well as food to the common man.

I am being very brief. Before I conclude. I am pained to make an observation that even after 50 years of Independence Members of this august House are to be taught how to behave properly in this House. The senior leaders have said that we should observe dignity in the House that we should not disturb the Question Hour that we shuld not enter into the Well of the House and that we should keep up the decorum and dignity when the Rashtrapatiji addresses a Joint Session of Parliament. Is it not a shame that after 50 years of Independence our leaders need to tell how to behave properly in this august House? We must definitely undergo drastic changes. We must definitely make some amends. Otherwise our future will be rather doomed.

The saddest aspect of this particular point is that it has become necessary for us to convene a Special Session of this Parliament to teach our hon. Members the rudiments of discipline. It is for us the parliamentarians to see that the system is not weakened. It is our failure primarily which has led to this decaying of our system and the manifestation of negative and dangerous signals.

I, therefore, request you to take all measures which are needed to save the system. If this historic Session can give a direction on this important aspect, it will be a great achievement. This historic occasion is the time for us to have a serious introspection. Let us take some bold initiative to correct the system. Time and tide wait for none if we seriously want to correct the system, we will have to do it here and now. History, otherwise, will not absolve us.



**DR. VALLABHBHAI KATHIRIA**

*[Translation]*

DR. VALLABHBHAI KATHIRIA (Rajkot): Mr. Chairman, Sir I am thankful to you for the opportunity given to me today to express my views in the special session of the House on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Year of Independence. I belong to Gujarat. I pay my tributes to the apostle of truth and non-violence, Mahatma Gandhiji, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sardar Shri Rama, Shri Ram Krishna Verma and many other such great martyrs.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, many issues are being taken up for discussion during the last five days. Being a doctor and Member of Parliament I would like to add that due attention is not given to the health services in the Parliament. Yesterday Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi had said that due attention had not been paid to the Science and Technology. Health services had not been satisfactory during the last 50 years. We say, 'Health is Wealth'. There goes a saying in Sanskrit— 'Sharir mardyam Khallu dharamsadhanam'. There goes a saying in Gujarati also—'Pahlu sokhte jate nariya'. In other words, health and body free from disease is the excellent source of religion and happy living. I shall confine myself to the discussion on health services. Therefore, I would like to say that we could not pay due attention even after 50 years. We have not been able to provide medical facilities for our poor people. I hold the opinion that healthy people make a healthy society and a healthy society builds strong nation. But we have not paid any attention towards this fact. The progress, which has been achieved in our country, has not been achieved so far. There are five main factors of any of the welfare state-food, clothing, shelter, education and health. Health is the most important necessity among these five factors. Due attention has not been given

to the health services during the last five year plans while allocating budget therefor. I would like to say that in the first five year plans out of eight five year plans in the country, only 3.32 per cent investment was made for the health services. But after that five year plan, this investment followed a decreasing trend and in eighth five year plan, this investment came down to 1.74 per cent. How strange it is that instead of giving more attention to the health services, its annual budget goes on decreasing and it has came down from 4.5 per cent to 3 per cent. Now I shall draw your attention towards man power loss as revealed in World Development Report of 1993. It reveals that.

*[English]*

Disability Adjusted Life year...

*[Translation]*

loss, which is repeated daily, is 21 per cent world daily loss and this percentage is in our country itself. In other words,

*[English]*

292 million life years we are losing, because of the illness in our country, out of 960 million of population.

*[Translation]*

If we compare the datas of health services with the datas in other fields, we shall come to know that we have not been able to give due priority to the health status in our country so far and overall progress, particularly with regard to the health services, which might have taken place in the country, has not taken place so far. Today we find that by opening super specialized hospitals we are able to perform the kidney-transplant operations and cardiac by-pass open surgery. Perhaps we will be able to eradicate Polio by the year 2000 A.D. through Polio Pulse Immunization Programme. Small Pox is almost eradicated. I believe we would not be able to achieve our target of

*[English]*

Health for all by 2000 A.D...

*[Translation]*

In other words we won't be able to achieve our target of providing public health to all the people. It is evident that 21st century is just 3 years away and we are not able to decide about our health which is the priority sector, mainly because of our wrong policies and insensitive leadership. 80 per cent of diseases prevalent in our country are preventable, 80 per cent of the budget is being spent on the infrastructure, salaries of doctors and their staff and building construction. That is why the people of our country are not getting the medicines required by them or the required medical facilities because of insufficient budget. If we look at the other countries of the world, 3 or 4 per cent of the Central Budget is allocated to the health services, whereas in England it is 9.5 per cent, in Malaysia 6.7 per cent, in Ghana 7.3 per cent and in Namibia is 6.81 percent. Therefore, I would like to say about the priorities to be fixed in the sense that during the 50 years of our independence, most of the doctors must have become MPs but even a solitary M.P. did not get an opportunity to become the Health Minister. In case a doctor M.P. becomes a Health Minister, he will be fully aware of the priorities to be fixed for public health. I will present a brief statistics about norms fixed for the health of the people of the country and the progress made therein. At first

*[English]*

infant mortality rate

*[Translation]*

is mentioned therein. It means that the infant mortality rate in our country is still 72 per thousand, whereas this rate is much lower in the other countries of third world or the rest of the countries which gained independence around the same time. The infant mortality rate stands at 30 in Thailand, 35 in Philippines, 15 in Srilanka, 11 in Malaysia and only 38 in China. Secondly the maternal mortality rate is quite high in our country. The incidents of mothers dying during delivery time is very high. It is 460 per thousand in Thailand whereas in other countries, the maternal mortality rate is 4 in Israel, 41 in South Korea, 2 in Ireland, 140 in Srilanka, 340 in Pakistan and 220 in Brazil. Thus it is evident that the maternal mortality rate is quite high in our country as compared to the other countries. Similar is the case regarding women suffering from anaemia. Only 70% pregnant mothers suffering from ante natal cases. As for the survival rate in 0-5 age group, under five years age group, the life expectancy rate in India is 62 per cent whereas in Turkey 98 children of this age group, 95 per cent in Srilanka, 85 per cent in Mexico survive. In our country only 62 per cent children survive in this category. General expectancy rate has gone up in our country. When we got Independence, the average age stood at 41 years which

has gone up to 61 years. Birth rate has also declined. It was 41.7% earlier and now it has been reduced to 28.3 per cent. Death rate has also declined to 9 per cent. Earlier the death rate was 22.8 per cent, which has since come down to 9 per cent. That is why our population has increased. When we got Independence, our population was 36 million, today it is about 96 million. As we are noticing that the unchecked spreading of diseases and malnutrition are causing many deaths.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to put forth a point briefly. There seems to be a big gap in the primary health care delivery system. Due to paucity of time I won't go into details but I have gone through the statistics in a book published by the Lok Sabha Secretariat, according to which, there has been a decline in the primary health care delivery system. There is a shortage of more than one million nurses in our country. Apart from this, there is a shortage of other staff such as pharmacists, laboratory technicians, x-ray technicians etc. Have we paid any attention towards this shortage? What steps have been taken to meet this shortage? Whether new Medical College have been set up? Have any arrangements been made in this regard. Have we opened nursing colleges or started new courses for laboratory technicians and x-ray technicians so as to provide health services for the people of our country? There are no doctors or nurses in PHCs. If nurses are available technicians are not available. 10 per cent P.H.C. do not have proper building. As very small number of members have spoken on this subject, I would request you to allow me for two minutes more for this.

Now I would like to mention other health related issues. All the national eradication programmes like Malaria eradication programme, leprosy eradication programme, tuberculosis control programmes have mostly failed because our policy and our planning are faulty. If one goes through the indices, there were 80 per cent communicable but curable diseases in our country but we did not pay any attention towards them and did not make any arrangements to check them and instead gave much more importance to diseases like AIDS and cancer, for which a major part of the allocation was utilised.

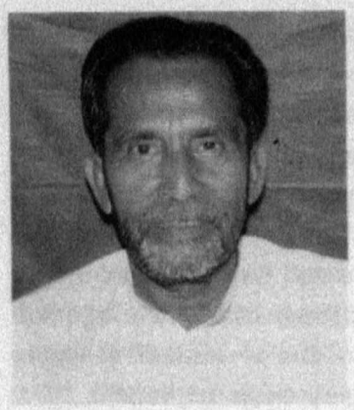
There are many other issues connected with the Health sector formulated our National Drug policy so far several years ago W.H.O. had asked us to prepare a list of essential drugs. In fact it had asked all the countries to prepare a list in this regard and also have instructions for making arrangements so that all the required essential drugs are made available in each country at all the places at reasonable rates and these drugs are of good qualities but so far these instruction have not been implemented in our country. There are 96 such medicines which have been banned world wide and even in countries like Bangladesh, however our government has not taken any action in this regard. Multinational companies sell the banned drugs in our country as there is a huge market available here whereas our people are dying of illness due to lack of essential drugs. We have not banned these drugs so far.

There is one more issue connected with the Health—Blood donation and blood bank. No action has been taken in this regard so far so as to set up blood banks compulsarily throughout the country. One has to visit Delhi in order to get a licence for setting up a blood bank in a small Tehsil which takes one or two years time. I suggest that the state government should be instructed the work regarding issuance of such licences.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I propose that guidelines should be issued to the state government in this regard because if the licence for blood bank is not issued through the state government, there would be problems in donation of blood. Hence I propose that this work should be decentralised so that state government can be empowered to issue licences.

Australia has adopted a good policy regarding Hospital Management. We should study this policy and follow it in our country so as to protect the environment. Regarding the uniform Medical education, I would like to say that whatever is taught is all based on western knowledge. They have only 20 per cent diseases and knowledge regarding the diseases is imparted, whereas the knowledge regarding the diseases restricted to our regions which can be cured easily and rather cheaply, is not imparted to our doctors during the training period. This is an important aspect of preventive social medicine.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, more allocation should be made in the budget for indigenous systems of medicine such as Ayurvedic, Homoeopathy, Unani and Naturopathy. I would also like to say that Prohibition of smoking, which is being implemented in Delhi is a very good act. Hence I propose that such an Act should be enacted so that smoking is prohibited throughout the country. Population control Act should also be enacted. With this, I would conclude my speech with this request that 'health' should be given top most priority in our country. 'Health' should be seen as an integral part of social issues and more and more work should be undertaken under this sector.



**SHRI RAMBAHADUR SINGH**

SHRI RAMBAHADUR SINGH (Maharajganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak here now at 4.45 A.M. after waiting for four long days. 80 per cent of our population live in villages. Thus after independence Gandhiji emphasized on the need of making villages self-sufficient in every sector like foodgrain, clothing, housing, health, education and security. Villages should not remain dependent on others for these things.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, self-reliance boost morale and creativity of people. No power can dare to challenge the existence and dignity of a country inhabited by such people. if anyone does so, he should be ready to accept his defeat. Gandhiji emphasized that power should be shared and villages should be given right to formulate plans for their development. Funds should be gathered by themselves for implementation of those plans. He wished that power should be shared by all, from lower level to upper level and villages at the grassroot with more power, states and centre should be given comparatively less powers. But this concept was ignored on the ground that most of the villagers are illiterate and novice in this field.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a common belief that every individual looks upon others as not wise persons, and this principle and concept was also applied in case of villages. Politicians and bureaucrats have been made responsible for development of the country and villages. As a result of it the country has been divided into two groups *i.e.* the rich and the poor. A few people who are rich have all the means of comforts and luxuries of lives whereas crores of people of this country live in the poor condition and they do not have even basic facilities like food, clothing, shelter, medicines, education and security for their lives.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this context I would like to mention here that Dr. Lohia raised objection on the present policy on the ground that it would benefit a few rich people. As a result of it the gap between the poor and the rich has widened in our society.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, economic policy is widely debated upon in the House and it is stated that the foreign exchange reserves of the country have become abundant. But we will know the actual position if N.R.I. deposit, the *portfolio* investment which may be required at any moment and amount of short term loans is withdrawn from it, then the balance will be a very small amount. I agree with the Government's claim that foreign exchange reserve, external trade balance of payments and value of rupee in exchange market is in favour of our country but this is not the yard stick of development. The yard stick of development is the growth in employment opportunities, the number of people given employment. Employment directly relates to food, clothing, housing, health, education and safety of people. All will be right if this criteria is adopted otherwise young generation will be misled. The main reason behind spread of terrorism is unemployment, which lead to starvation, helplessness and a feeling of insecurity.

At present the entire country is worried about corruption, starvation, unemployment, inflation and insecurity. The entire country is adversely affected of evils today. During last 50 years several more evils have cropped up and might of ruling power should be used as a means for transformation to root out those evils. But so far it has not been done. Now-a-days might of power has been used to get political mileage and fulfill self interests. From my old generation we have learnt that policy has two different philosophy or aspects, one relates to yoga and the other to hedonism. Yogic philosophy of politics guides us to use the might of power for transformation of society and for welfare of public so that poor people could get food, water and other basic necessities. But the politics of hedonism prevents us to do so and thus people having faith in such a philosophy do not care for it. They have lust for power and can do anything to fulfill self interest. They can go to any extent and do not hesitate even to cause harm to pride of the nation.

The yogic philosophy of polity says that one should not hesitate in making any sacrifice if might of power is unable for transformation of the society. For it I would like to make some suggestions. At first in a stipulated time the power should be shared and more powers should be given to villages at grassroot level, then to states and to centre. This distribution of power should be in shape of pyramid. Facility for drinking water should be provided to all in a stipulated period. This issue should be taken seriously. Several Members were interrupting the speech of Shri Shivraj Patil and in a sarcastic tone they said that what is the use of developing missiles if we are unable to provide drinking water to our people. It is really a fact that missiles and other equipments cannot be effective if basic facilities are not provided to people.

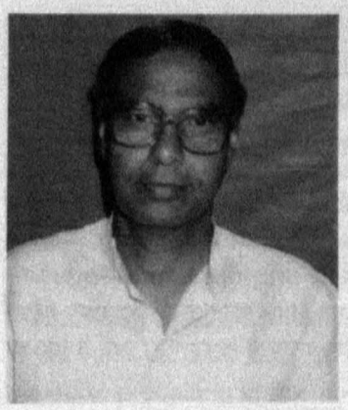
Mr. Chairman, Sir, if food, cloth, shelter and drinking water are not provided, the poor will be heartbroken. The poor will become indifferent and if the citizen of a nation become indifferent and nurse broken hearts, integrity and unity will have no meaning for them.

"Bhukhe bhajan na hoye Gopala,
Bhubhkshitam Kim na Karoti papam."

Hunger is such a potent force that it can force the human being to commit all sins. Hence those who say that the Government are launching missiles but is unable to provide drinking water for the people of the country, is not a mockery but a fact. They do not wish to oppose the launching of missiles. They want that the missiles should be effective and become more sharp edged but alongside it is essential to provide drinking water for the thirsty. That is why I said that all these weapons will be of no help. I know that we have augmented our military strength substantially but this strength would be meaningless if our people remain indifferent towards the unity and integrity of this country.

My third suggestion is that we should ensure irrigation arrangements in the country within a definite time span. Likewise, there is a lot of barren land in our country which should be made fertile and cultivable within a definite time period and a group of agro-scientists should be constituted to convert these barren lands into a fertile one. There is an enormous possibility of generating employment in the field of agriculture in this country. If only adequate irrigation arrangements are made and expert groups are set up for conversion of waste land into fertile land, a wide range of job opportunities in the field of Engineers, doctors, peons etc. will be available for lakhs of our people in the country. Therefore, I submit that these two tasks should be fulfilled on priority basis.

My fourth suggestion is that we should spread the net of small machine technology wherever it is possible because with small machine technology we would be able to help out people with less amount of capital by providing them maximum number of job opportunities. I am not an opponent of modern technology but since small technology is available in our country and it is more feasible for us, we should give preference to it. Ours is a poor country where labour is abound but the capital is inadequate, therefore, setting up of labour based industries will only be in our interest. The exports of our country also do not depend on higher technology rather it depend on small scale industries. Cottage industries and artisans, therefore give importance to this sector which has so far remained neglected. With these words I conclude.



**DR. B.N. REDDY**

*[English]*

DR. B.N. REDDY (Miryalguda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Good Morning to you and to all the hon. Members. I am happy that I got the opportunity. I was wondering whether I would go to my constituency without speaking in the Parliament. I am happy once again for having given me an opportunity to speak.

On this occasion of *Swarna Jayanti*, let us all be proud that we have achieved within these fifty years, certain sufficiency in the field of food, clothing, technology, defence, education, etc. etc. But if we just look back and see whether we could achieve much more than this which could definitely satisfy the requirements of this country, this is a very very important point to be considered. What is the reason that after fifty years, we still feel that we are lacking in so many fields? I feel that the sincerity, the honesty, the sacrifice which were existing before the Independence, do not exist today in the society.

**05.00 hrs.**

Today when we introspect ourselves, we find that we do not have the courage and conviction which our elders had. We always talk tall but when it comes to us, we make mistakes. We have been making laws but we have been violating them ourselves. So, this is the time for introspection in this regard.

Sir, if we have to go in the chronological order—of course, most of the Members have been talking—I would like to say that the first and the foremost thing for the development of our country is that we should put a full stop to the galloping population increase. Unless and until we stop this increase which is growing by leaps and bounds, we will not be able to fulfill the requirements of our countrymen.

Sir, we remember the late Sanjay Gandhi today and the way those excesses were committed in those days. But he really thought that the population growth would hinder

our achievements in other directions. Hence, I would say that we should give the maximum consideration towards control of population growth. We should try to curtail it to the extent possible as a time-bound programme.

Sir, my second point is about pollution. We feel that seeing at the rate at which the pollution is growing, it may be that we may be born polluted one day, and the future population will be alienated from this world. I do not wish so; we all do not wish so, but the way it is going on, it looks like that.

Sir, my third point is on '*Kissa Kursi Ka*'. We are all after power and money. It is not that some of us are really very self-less but we are still having the society in mind in which where we are all interested for improving the economic stability. There is nothing wrong. But somehow or the other, we are really failing in our attempt to find the right try-out methods in making our economy stable. We are going into all sorts of directions of making money and that is the reason why we are not able to see this country out of problems. So, somewhere, we have to draw a line to see why we are not able to achieve it.

If I put a question to myself, I find that I have been still making several mistakes in my day-to-day life, for example, while giving accounts, while spending money, while giving declarations. We are all doing like that. Actually, we do not want to do it. But the system is so bad that even while we tell ourselves that we may be a little more truthful to ourselves and in our working, still we have been unknowingly making mistakes. So, unless and until some proper system is created here, we will be making these mistakes continuously and our children will also be carrying on with these mistakes.

Now, let us think about the expenditure on elections. We have been telling that there will be some transparency but we have not really achieved it. Still we are considering it. And we have been spending something and declaring something else. This has to be stopped. Let us open our heart, let us tell the truth, let us tell ourselves. Let all of us, all the Member of Parliament who are making the laws should seriously think over it. Let us make the laws which we can freely follow and let us not make the laws which we are violating.

Now, I come to the point of destroying the public properties. Undergoing great difficulties we produce things and then under certain circumstances, during some strikes and other agitations, we just break the things, some items of public property which we had ourselves produced. This sabotage has to be stopped with an iron hand.

Also, certain services should be declared essential services, specially, water supply and power supply which will definitely help us in improving our development.

Sir, I have been talking about this issue time and again, that we have achieved some self-sufficiency in food and clothing. It was achieved due to the fact that our great leader the late Indira Gandhi gave the slogan '*khana kapra aur makaan*'. So, we have definitely achieved some good results in food and clothing. But today, when we go to our constituency, everybody asks us about three things and they are 'water, power and *makaan*'. Therefore, instead of '*khana, kapda* aur *makaan*' let us say, '*pani, bijli* aur *makaan*'. and, let us work for it. For any development, the basic infrastructure which is required today is water and power. Sir, we really feel sad that with thousands and thousands of crores of rupees allotted, allocated and spent in all these 50 years, we could not achieve self-sufficiency in drinking water, in water irrigation and in power for ourselves and the industry.

We feel that we have to give priority to this basic infrastructure of water and power. We know that today Rs. 17,800 crore is being given as subsidy for so many things. If Rs. 17,800 crore, or let us say Rs. 18,000 crore, is multiplied by five for a term of Five Year Plan, then it comes to about Rs. 90,000 crore. But, this year we have allocated about Rs. 8000 crore for subsidising rice and wheat. If you just calculate for a minute, I am not against subsidies. For essential things subsidy should be given. If you just look at the details of this Rs. 8000 crore for subsidising wheat and rice, Rs. 8,000 crore given on thirty-two crore people comes to Rs. 240 per year per head; that means Rs. 20 per month per head; that means 65 paise per head per day.

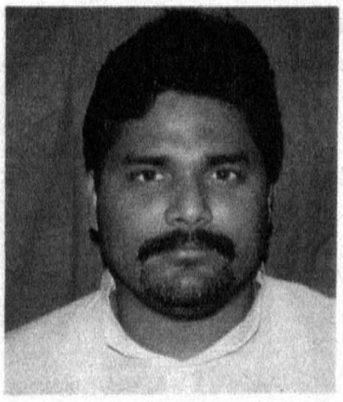
So, what I would say is that this has to be calculated. When we are spending Rs. 40,000 crore at the rate of Rs. 8,000 per year, this money comes to just 65 paise per head per day, that too going by a calculation that out of every one rupee spent, only fifteen paise reach the common man, it may be that not even ten paise would reach the public. What I say is, if five times of this Rs. 8,000 crore, that is, Rs. 40 thousand crores, is spent on projects like Bakra Nangal or Nagarjuna Sagar, we can build forty projects and then we can give a lot of employment, infrastructure, food and clothing. so, I would say that we should consider this very seriously.

Lastly, I would take a minute to recite a poetry on Parliament which I have tried to write:

*[Translation]*

"Ae Sansad, Tum to Patthar ki Moorti Ki Tarah
Mere Ek Bhi Sawal ka jawab Na Doge.
Tum Nahin Jante Mujhe Apani Praja ko kin-kin
Sawalon ka Jawab Dena Padta Hai
Tum Nahin Jante Ham Apani Praja ko

Kya-kya Vade Karke Aate
Hamne Vada Kiya ki Pine ko Shudh Pani Denge
Hamne Vada Kiya ki Inki khetibari ko Bijali Denge
Hamne Vada Kiya ki Beghar ko Ghar Bana ke Denge
Ye Vade Ek-Do Voter ko Nahin
Lakho Laacharon ko Diye Hue Hain
Tum Nahin Janate ye Hazaron Bhai-Bahan Mujhe
Sansad Tak Bhejane ke Liye
Kya-kya Taqlif Uthaye
Kitne Din Khane Pine ki Parwah Nahin ki
Kitni Rat Jage aur Kitni Nind Khoye
Agar Inke Zameer ko Thoda Pani na De Sake
Agar Inke Aansoo ko Thoda Ponchh na Sake
Agar Inke Sar Pe Ek Saya Na De Sake
Ae Sansad, Tan Phir Tum Kis Kam ke aur Ham Sansad Sadasya Kis Kam ke."



**SHRI RAJESH RANJAN *ALIAS* PAPPU YADAV**

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN *ALIAS* PAPPU YADAV (Purnea): Mr. Chairman, Sir, my turn has come on the sixth day for which I am thankful to you.

Sir, before dwelling on sufferings of the crores of our people of this country, I would like to salute them. I would also like to pay my homage to those freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives in the freedom struggle of this country. I bow my head before our 80 per cent population which still live in our villages. I also congratulate the leaders of opposition parties for having expressed their concern over the problems of our common man.

No doubt, today we are the biggest democracy in the world. There is plenty of mineral and natural resources in our country and it has a great tradition ranging from ayurvedic system of medicine to talented and genius persons in the field of science as well as spiritual world. Almost all big political parties have spoken at length on our achievements and failure during the last 50 years. I would not go into these details.

Poverty, hunger, unemployment and poor farmers are not a new phenomenon. We are discussing the same old issues in a new way. The difference lies only in the dimension of the problem. Yesterday the problem which looked small is looking gigantic today. Had we paid much of our attention towards economic issues instead of political issues at the time when we attained our freedom, these problems would not have taken such huge dimensions during the last 50 years and today we would not have been required to sit here at 6.00 a.m. and express our concern on the situation prevailing in this country. Had we sincerely tried to remove economic disparity, today there would have been no need to talk of Hindustan and Pakistan, poverty, hunger, morality and inequality. We have attained such a position today that we want to do something positive but have not understood as to what we want to do. Even today our people work in the fields without proper clothes and having high fever of 102-103 degree and subside their fever by jumping into the river. I want to raise the question in the House about those people. Constitution of India has been drafted to suit the needs of the five per cent people only. I would like to tell about the halpless condition of the remaining 95 per cent people. Their children jump into the river for treatment of their high fever of 102-103 degree. Today where we are? Today the situation is such that these children do not even get milk. The children take birth but they do not get milk. In India 60 to 90 per cent people do not have clothes to wear. We are unable to provide milk to the children for want of nutritious food. On the other hand, five per cent people give milk to their pets. Which India we want to talk about? On the one hand five per cent people living in Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta and Madras, give milk to their foreign pets. The rural child cannot obtain milk from the breast of his mother and the children die after taking birth. Which India you want to talk about? Of that India whose villages do not have water and the fountains are installed in the cross-roads in Delhi. I do not say that the fountains should not be there. You may install lakhs of fountains. But with the same amount of money we can install hand pumps and provide water to many villages. Of which heritage you want to talk about? This is not a question of water and the agricultural labourers who work in the field but it relates to the points which have been raised in the House. I want to draw your attention towards the tradition which we have inherited or the heritage of the urban culture of having fountains in Delhi or the heritage of persons who live without water in the villages. The hand which make brick without science, the brick from which the temple is constructed, either it may be the Birla temple or Tata temple, today we remember that heritage. But the hand which construct the temple or mosque, that hand is deprived of the temple. About 80 per cent people of the villages who make pitchers and cups, but they do not have any right to drink water from

that cup. We have no right even to touch, though that cup is made by us. He is not allowed to touch the thing which he has made. We are called as wretched and turned away like a dog. If a person remember that heritage who works in the field in summer and rainy season then that is turned away like a dog in the name of untouchability. Which India we want to talk about and how we are progressing? Definitely we have made progress in science but that has benefited only 7 to 10 per cent of our population. Only Seven per cent people travel by air, five per cent people travel by train. Who travels in the Rajdhani Express? What we want to project? We are talking about which heritage, culture and fields? In India, where ever the capitalists and fendalists have approved the scheme of things that has become our heritage or tradition.

Sir, look at our sports. What has happened to our Kho-Kho, Kabaddi, traditional rural sports song of Alha Uddal and the play of Satyavadi Raja Harish Chandra? Where have we gone from our culture? There are so many Indian youths sitting in this House and if the play of Raja Harish Chandra is staged, how many of us will watch that play? Why have we forgotten our traditional games like Kabaddi, Kho-Kho and rural sports and our heritage? ...(*Interruptions*)

What kind of India are we making? We talk about that heritage where Maryada Purushottam Ram respected Sita and in the same country in Mumbai, daughters and sisters of Maharashtra dance with expressive action and gestures on the music of Michael Jackson. Michael Jackson talks about which heritage? The price of his pillow is Rs. two lakh. The price of his bed is Rs. three lakh. Sir, I will conclude soon. I am worried too much ...(*Interruptions*) there is also exploitation in the party.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have got one more minute to conclude your speech.

*...(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV: Sir, on the one hand we talk about our conventions and dignity of women but on the other hand women are being portrayed in an obscence manner in Bangalore... (*Interruptions*)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: This will not go on record. Whatever unparliamentary words that are being used by him will not go on record.

*Not Recorded.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV: Alright Sir, I wanted to raise a few more points but due to paucity of time I will not go into details and in the end of my speech, I would like to tell you four things. What kind of India we want to build ...(*Interruptions*)

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not repeat it.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV: Sir, please listen to my four points. I request the House to pay attention towards these four points ...(Interruptions)

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not repeat it.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV: Sir, I wanted to get these four points noted here ...(*Interruptions*)

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not repeat whatever you have said already.

*...(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV: In this House all the Members have expressed their concern over caste system, dowry system and custom of sati. Caste system can be abolished by taking strict measures against the offenders. Political parties should take a decision that party tickets for contesting in election and government services will be given only to those persons who have entered into inter—caste marriage. Strict measures should be taken for abolishing dowry system because it is the main propellant for corruption and lowers the dignity of women. In the context of farmers I would like to raise two more points ...(*Interruptions*)

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. Your time is over now.

SHRI RAJESH RANJAN ALIAS PAPPU YADAV: I request you to give me one more minute only.

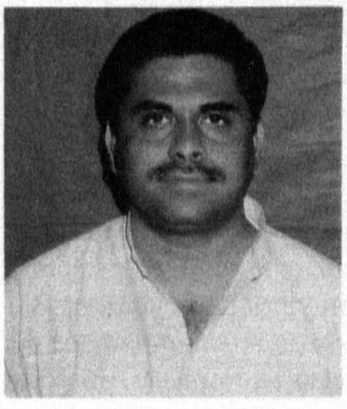
*[Translation]*

Sir, the power supply and irrigation facilities should be guaranteed to farmers to protect heritage of the country. A guarantee to this effect should be given on a firm footing.

We may talk about multi purpose education. There should be no discrimination or inequality ...(*Interruptions*) Corruption will be removed and then we will be able to discuss the issues regarding development of the country. Therefore, I request the chair and this House that stringent punishment should be awarded for caste discrimination based offences. The guilty of dowry crimes and rape should be hanged.

We agree to these provisions of punishment for such crimes.

We should pay attention towards welfare of farmers. Our conventions are followed in village and 80 per cent population of villages are farmers. We should take care of our villages which are in miserable condition. Farmers have to suffer losses of crops due to flood. I request you to pay attention towards problems of farmers if you want to save our tradition and customs. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak.



**SHRI RAJU RANA**

SHRI RAJU RANA (Bhavnagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak on the special session convened on the occasion of golden jubilee of Independence. As per one estimate more than 6 lakh revolutionaries were shot, hanged, imprisoned and faced exile from 1857 to 1947. I pay my homage to all those freedom fighters specially to three of them who hailed from Gujarat, who lead the revolution from foreign land. They are Pt. Shyamji Krishan Verma, Madam Kama and my grand grandfather Sardar Singhji Rana. But today I would like to confine my speech to industry only. Hon. Members have discussed the achievements and failures of the country during last 50 years. In brief I would like to discuss the various aspects of Industrial Policy. The ideology and traditional philosophy forms the basis of policies of a country, be it economic policy or industrial policy. For example we can study the policies of USA, Japan and Israel, which reveal their ideology, philosophy and way of thinking.

First of all we should formulate Industrial policy on the basis of Indian philosophy and thinking for economic as well a physical progress of this country. USA, Japan and Israel have progressed by following the policies formulated on the basis of their ideology philosophy and values for their social life. We have achieved much by these policies. But we have to set goals and follow our traditional path to achieve them. Management is also an important feature of industrial development. USA and Japan have been an inspiration in managing system of all the big and small industries in our country whether they are in private our public sector. It is a good thing. We have been of the view that we should get good ideas from all sides. We would not like to be orthodox. We should take all the good things of the world. America has given American management to the world from its own experience. This management system is made on the basis of American situation, social values and established values in American life. It is good for them. We should adopt the good elements not the whole. Our management teachers Peter Terbers and Tom Peters have given this thought of American management. Japan has also given but it has made its management according to its base and on the basis of philosophy. We are trying to apply Japanese style in our industries. We are trying to implement the element of American management. We get success to extent only partially. Because our environment, value of life, social psyche thought and values are different from those countries.

The other thing is that

*[English]*

What are Indian ethos in management? What are our values in management?

*[Translation]*

By considering on it we should try to step ahead. I belong to Axle Industry Limited which was established in 1941 in Bombay C.C. Shroff laid its foundation stone. He established management style on the basis of Indian thought and philosophy. After years we have got good results. It does not mean that we have not adopted the base of Japanese and American management but our base is Indian The saints of Ram Krishan Mission and Divine life society are propagating in the country and the world that like American and Japanese management, what should be the style of Indian management. They have thought and implementation that what should be the thought of Indian management. Shri S.K. Chakravarti is the professor of I.I.M. Calcutta. For the last 20 years he is going ahead with a single subject. He is trying to give a new style of management to the world. During formation of industrial policy guidance can be taken from him.

Thirdly, I would like to say that technology should be adopted. We do not want to remain backward. We cannot

ignore the traditional wisdom when we talk about new technology. After adding technology and traditional wisdom the policies should be formulated. Specially, the industrial policy can take us on the path of progress and prosperity.

Fourthly, I would like to say that we are perceiving the bright light of development on the basis of multinational corporation and companies, that will dim in the next years. Its results are coming now. We will make our industrial policy on the basis of small scale industries. It does not mean that there is no need of large industries. These industries should be established where there is lack of technology. But we should take things of daily use from small scale industries.

I would like to say one more point that with the help of double duty, mental pressure has been put upon us that there is a big market in India while it is a part of global market. India is to be considered as public market. Can we make such industrial policy on the basis of which we can say that it is not a market.

*[English]*

We are not the biggest market.

*[Translation]*

Today there was discussion on population. Can it happen on the basis of the industrial policy.

*[English]*

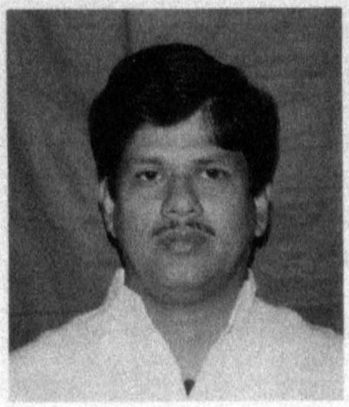
We can be the worlds biggest manufacturers population.

*[Translation]*

It can happen only when we understand the importance of traditional wisdom and small scale industry.

Lastly, environment is a separate issue but industry and environment are closely related to each other. Other thing I would like to say that environment exploitation is describing today's situation and it is the basic cause of our problem. If we make the industrial policy, not exploring the environment but by tapping natural resources it will strengthen India.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, lastly, analysing the existing problems on the basis of our past glory and experience, in completing the great work of creation of adaptive society for future and rebuilding of nation, if we take the industry in this direction, the time to come will be bright for us. With this, I conclude.



**SHRI SOUMYA RANJAN**

*[English]*

SHRI SOUMYA RANJAN (Bhubaneswar): Mr. Chairman, I thank you for two reasons. One for giving me this unique experience. To be honest with you, I have never spoken to anybody at 0530 hours in the morning, not even to my wife. I thank you for the privilege of talking, through you, to the Members present, those who have left and also to the whole of the country. This is a unique experience in the sense that I am a newcomer and I am on my legs for the first time. This does not mean that I will take more than 10 minutes. This is for your information.

The experience for the last one year and fourteen months that I have had as a new Member of Parliament and today, on the sixth day of this special Session is revealing. When we celebrate the 50th year of our Independence, I sometimes begin to feel that perhaps we have failed to put our reading glasses Normally, when we cross the age of 40 years, we require reading glasses to read clearly. Sometimes after 40 years we fail to put on them and, therefore, fail to read the writing on the wall.

But I am again amazed. In spite of Party differences and personal animosities—this must be the 100 and some odd speeches that we have listened—If we scan through the speeches, one would be struck by the near unanimity on 80 per cent of the issues that we have addressed ourselves. Politically we may say anything against anybody but beginning from Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to the last speech that will be delivered in a few minutes from now, you will find that 80 percent of the people almost agreed on every thing. They agreed that population is number one problem. They agreed that socially backward and poor people should be attended to first. They agreed that primary health, primary education, and drinking water is our primary consideration. They also agreed that unity of India and sovereignty of the Parliament is above everything else. Everybody is now unanimous that until and unless we do something about the young, the unemployed and the poor, we will not be able to keep this country together.

While we agree on many things, at the same time, the echo of asymmetry, contradiction, beginning from the inaugural speech of the hon. Speaker to all the speeches is also equally disturbing. The hon. Speaker made a very specific reference to how politics and democracy have succeeded in our country. In 1952, only 45 percent people voted. In 1996, 60 percent people voted. That is an index of stability in our democratic system. That is perhaps a proof that our democracy has matured. But, at the same time, almost everybody agrees that politicians have lost credibility. Even Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had to write letters to say that we should revive the dignity of this House. On that issue also we all agree—we will not go to the Well, we will not disturb Question Hour, we will not disturb of and destabilise our institutions. This is very interesting. On one hand we agree on almost all the issues that confront us, and yet we contradict our own conduct and we are doubting our own self. This is an asymmetry which disturbs every thinking man.

How to break this asymmetry? What is to be done? Why, today, all our politicians, all our institutions have lost their credibility? In one sentence, the central problem for our political system is, the institution-bashing. almost everybody is out to destroy institutions. Ad-hocism has become the rule. That man is more powerful and more successful who can break rules, not the one who obeys rules—that has become the new tendency. If I cannot break the rule, what kind of a politician am I! If I cannot do something which is normally not possible, what kind of an effective person have I become! This has become the new rule. Ad-hocism is also a new rule and the whole country suffering from this crisis.

In one word, I will say that the country is suffering from a managerial crisis. We are not able to manage anything. We are having real problems; we address the issues; we also have the provisions but somehow or other, something goes wrong; and we are not able to manage anything. There is a crisis of leadership. There is a crisis of accountability. All these things are militating against successful implementation of all the dreams that we cherished.

I for one, who was born after Independence, am not able to imbibe the spirit of 1947 the way in which you would like us to imbibe. I for myself, cannot imagine what could have happened in 1947 in this august House. The other day, we listened to a few speeches of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose. That is not enough to give me back the experience. My experience is different. That is history for me. I read it from the books.

Well, I was teaching Political Science but I am afraid of teaching it today. If somebody tells me to go back to the university and teach, I would say, 'Please, do not tell me to do that'. It is because whatever I was teaching in the classroom was different. If today I go back and teach the students, they will simply say,

*[Translation]*

They talk all rubbish.

*[English]*

About the Speaker, I have always taught my students that the speaker is the one who speaks the least. We see from the television now. The Speaker is there literally seeking all the time, calling for order. He speaks the most. I made a calculation in one week and found the Speaker was on his legs for more number of times than any Member in order to bring order into the House, all the time speaking, either cajoling somebody, or pressurising somebody, or advising somebody, or warning somebody. So, all the institutions-the Governor is not like what is taught in the books.

*[Translation]*

> "What is taught by the teachers are not there in the books, and Prime Minister is also not like that which is written in books."

*[English]*

There is a contradiction. Young people who look up to this country are not prepared to accept this explanation.

Finally, regarding the unity of the nation, very few people have mentioned this problem. It is all very well to say, 'the country is one, unity in diversity, India's glorious past, five thousand years of culture'. But, I am sorry to say, except a few mentions from friends from Assam, we are not really conscious of what is endangering the unity of this country. A large majority of the peripheral people do not feel at one with Delhi. We cannot just dismiss them as parochial, anti-national, or those who are not able to understand the problem. There is an aspiration problem. Regional aspiration is raising its head because most of their aspirations are not fulfilled.

Look at the Centre-State relationship, financial powers of the State, opportunity of States to develop. People on this side of the House are talking about the backwardness. There is almost like a competitive backwardness. We are competing for backwardness. If I declare myself backward, perhaps I will get more and more privileges. But we are not at all concerned about the regional backwardness that is still prevailing. I only want to appeal that social backwardness

is definitely important but more important than social backwardness is regional backwardness. If one social individual becomes socially backward or uplifted, the region does not develop. On the contrary if you develop a backward region, the people residing in that region will be developed automatically. So, those who are thinking of backwardness as a social backwardness has a primary criteria for development activity. I would appeal to them that they must think of regional backwardness first. If regional backwardness remains in spite of all that you may achieve politically by giving social backwardness a primary position, the social system will break. This is all I want to say. So many other points have been made.

I would like to make a point about Constitutional amendments on major issues and a point about employment. Young people do not want to listen to the speeches. A large majority of the young people are without jobs. We only say in speeches that 80 per cent of the people depend on agriculture, but agriculture is not developed. You go by the per capita consumption of fertilizer, per capita consumption of power and per capita consumption of fertilization. Punjab and Orissa or even Bihar are poles apart as if they are two different countries. How much of fertilizer they use and how much of fertilizer we use? What is the quantum of irrigation? What is the quantum of tractors? What is the quantum of mechanisation? But people do not want to cultivate any more. No graduates leave their places and come to cities to get jobs. Young people must be co-opted.

One suggestion I would like to make at the end is that any one who has got five acres of land cannot get a Government job. There is absentee landlordism. Everybody wants to own land. They want to cut the cake and eat it too. There, productivity is low. Ownership is not with the large majority of the people. So many other details can be thought about.

Finally, one of the biggest problems for our economic backwardness is cost overrun. A bridge has been built. One Minister lays the foundation stone; another Minister builds it; and the next Minister perhaps inaugurates it. Whereas in any kind of construction of project, it cannot be more than three years.

*[Translation]*

The Government should go ahead with the construction only within the constraints of the funds available. First of all if two bridges can be taken up for completion within three-four months, that should be done.

*[English]*

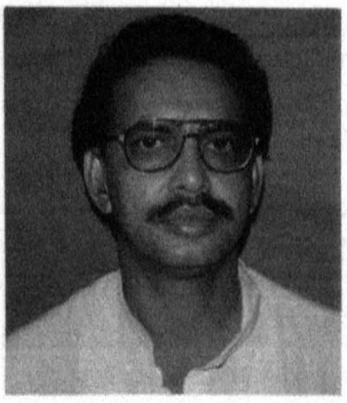
A project starts at Rs. 10 crore and by the time it is completed it becomes Rs. 50 crore or Rs. 100 crore or Rs. 200 crore. All the projects of irrigation, all the projects of infrastructure and all the projects that we have thought about have suffered from the cost overrun. As a result of that nobody is accountable.

*[Translation]*

Unless this vicious circle of taking commission etc. is not broken, we cannot set it right.

*[English]*

I once again thank you for giving me this opportunity. I urge you, and through you, all the Members of the House to think about as to how to integrate the youth, as to how to integrate the regional areas and peripheral areas and those who are thinking differently from the rest of the country because of economic backwardness.



**SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH**

*[Translation]*

SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH (Motihari): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for having given me the opportunity to speak on this occasion. I would also like to express my gratitude to the voters of my Constituency for having elected me to 11th Lok Sabha and thus having helped me to avail of this golden opportunity. We are celebrating golden jubilee of our Independence and we have assembled here especially on this occasion. Our country got Independence on August 15, 1947 but we have forgotten all the pledges we took during freedom movement. We will have to ponder over it. If we wish to make progress after fifty years of Independence, we will have to look back.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if we wish to build our destiny, we will have to cast a glance at our past performance. When the country got independence on 15 august, 1947, we got it in disintegrated form. when we were fighting for our

freedom and came close to achieving our goal, people of a particular community launched an agitation in the country demanding a separate country for them which resulted in disintegration of the country. Pakistan and Hindustan were formed. Both countries framed their respective Constitutions. The Constitution of Hindustan mentioned the word 'secularism' at the very outset whereas the Constitution of Pakistan began with the word 'Religious State' i.e. Pakistan is an Islamic State. The Constitution of India adopted the principle of secularism which means that all the religions will be given equal respect. We have not committed any mistake by doing so because it is not our nature. Respect for all religions is an in built feature of our culture. Our culture goes back to several centuries. Our culture can be seen in our villages where people offer milk to their enemies once a year. On the occasion of Nag panchami, we offer milk to the serpents and offer prayers. Our culture is very much alive in our villages and it is because of this very culture that we have given equal respect to all religions in our Constitution. When our mothers knead flour and if they happen to see any ants passing by they offer the knead flour to ants. This is our culture and on the basis of this very culture of ours, we have enshrined the concept of secularism, *i.e.* respect for all religions in our Constitution. When our Constitution was framed and we had our own government, we began to forget our rich heritage we forgot all about Tilak and Gokhale. We forgot teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and after 50 years, we have forgotten what Sardar Patel or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad told us. Our mentality was overwhelmed with the ideas propounded by Macaulay, Lord Clive, George V. and Jinnah. We forgot our own culture and were seduced into the materialistic culture, culture propounded by Babar, Aurangzeb and other invaders, and it is the result of falling into trap of consumerist culture of western countries that corruption stands as the biggest challenge facing our country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have had an opportunity to listen to all the leaders of our country in this House for the last five days. We will listen to the views of the Prime Minister on Monday. We have had the opportunity to hear the speeches of three former Prime Ministers of our country in these five days. We had the opportunity to listen to Hon'ble Narasimha Rao. His speech was full of detailed directions regarding foreign affairs etc. but he did not say a word about corruption. It is very natural because in our culture, no virtuous wife ever takes the name of her husband. Shri Chandra Shekhar had expressed concern over the issue of corruption. He did not express his concern over corruption rampant in the country rather he spoke of his concern over the mention of corruption in the Presidential Address and said that India is the most honest country throughout the world. I agree that 95 percent of our people are honest but the honesty of these 95 percent people does not matter because honesty of this major chunk of population in hostage to the dishonesty and corruption of 5 per cent people.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the fact is that those five percent of the people who are occupying the higher offices, be they bureaucrats or politicians their corruption is sustained on the edifice of honesty of 95 percent hard working people. Only recently, a conference of retired senior administrative officers of Indian Institute of Public Administration was organized. The inaugural speaker of the conference, Shrimati Vijay Laxmi Sharma stated that the politicians and the bureaucrats are responsible for deterioration of situations in the country. Foreigners looted the people of this country for hundreds of years but the people from our own country have looted much more in only 50 years. The result is there before us. Development has come to a standstill due to corruption. This is the achievement after 50 years of independence. We have been born in an Independent nation but have heard from our elders that when the country was under subjugation, a villager could buy a sack of wheat for one rupee. It speaks volumes of our achievements. If we go to the market with a sack and one rupee, it would be difficult to procure one sack full of hay in one rupee. Our elders tell us that when we were not independent, we could buy a cloth to cover our body in first one rupee and today this is our achievement after fifty years of independence that if we were to enquire from each and every shopkeeper throughout the market, we would not be able to buy even a handkerchief in one rupee.

Mr. Chairman, Sir what sort of Independence are we enjoying. Lakhs of people are employed in Pharmaceutical companies manufacturing drugs, still their young sons die due to lack of medicine. It is not as if they do not know anything about importance of medicine but infact they can not afford to buy medicines. Lakhs of people work in textile mills in cities like Surat and Mumbai and Lakhs of workers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are employed in the textile mills, still one finds them roaming about partially clothed. Again it is not as if they are unaware of existence of clothes, it is the lack of money which is to be blamed. Where is this money? This country had precious gems and jewels, milk was in plenty here and it was considered the most prosperous nation. Where is the money going? It is going into the coffers of the representatives of people occupying high offices. This kind of disparity is prevalent in the nation and the results of disparity are visible in every sector.

Mr. Chairman, Sir it is very much evident as to what is our position in the field of agriculture. 2.75 lakh tonnes of foodgrains are stored in Government Warehouses and there is no room for additional stocks of foodgrains. The

Government has decided to export 45 lakh tonnes of foodgrains. Our President has gifted one lakh tonne foodgrain to Namibia whereas people are dying of hunger is our villages. Two square meals are not available for people in District Kalahandi and Vananchal area. 75 percent of our population is affected by malnutrition, 90 percent out of these people are from rural areas and slums.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH: I have taken only five minutes. Please do not be unjust. I sat here throughout the night.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No please conclude within a minute.

SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir I would like to tell you the progress made during 50 years of Independence. In 1984 the per capita availability of foodgrains was 346 kgs which has come down to 303 Kgs in 1993. Per capita availability of pulses was 75 grams and it has come down to 3.8 grams in 1994-95. Where is the entire money going? What is the condition of our country? 6.7 percent of the total amount was allotted for roads in the First Five Year Plan which came down to 3 percent in the Eighth Five Year Plan. The same is the case with the national highways. Total investment in the First Five Year Plan was 11.5 percent which has decreased to 0.6 percent in the Eighth Five Year Plan. This is the scenario of 50 years of independence. The World Health Organization has said in its report that every country should spend five percent of its gross domestic product on the health of its citizens. Whereas in our country the total expenditure by centre and states on health is 1.5 percent of gross domestic product.

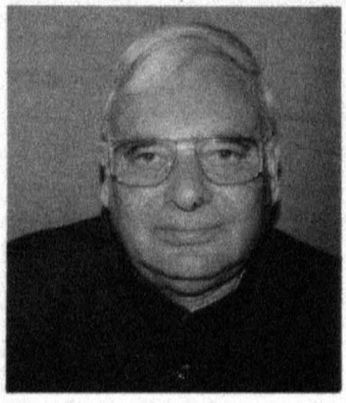
**06.00 hrs.**

While in the first five year plan 3.3 percent was spent in health schemes, it has come down to 8 percent in the central plan of 1994-95. I would like to draw the attention of the august House and the Country to a serious issue. I.S.I. activities are increasing in the country. We should think on it. Not to speak of border, we have been able to stop the enemies from entry the country even after 50 years of Independence. Nepal is the centre of their activities. I will not take much time. After great penance Bhagirath brought Ganga on the earth. An agreement on water was signed with Bangladesh. It was not imagined that Ganga will dry. There was a time when uproar of Ganga could be heard at the bank of Patna, but today sand ridges are appearing upto a long distance. One can cross Ganga on foot in Samaria in the month of April. It was not imagined. By making an agreement with Bangladesh the politicians have checked the flow of Ganga.

I would like to appeal on the occasion of the 50 years of independence that the agreement should be scrapped. After making a submission on Lokpal Bill, I will conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH: This time also the Lokpal Bill has been presented before the government for detailed discussion. The letters received by the Hon. Speaker from countrymen in this connection give us an insight into the matter. People consider that politicians are corrupt ...(*Interruptions*) It is their demand that the Prime Minister, the M.Ps. and the politicians should be brought under the purview of the Lokpal. The Lokpal should have right of inspection. The Lokpal should have the right to punish the guilty politicians. It should not be that the Lokpal submit his report to the government and the government sit on it without taking any action. Every sitting and former minister and M.P. should declare publicly that what were his assets when he entered politics and what he acquired later on. The Lokpal should try to find out the reality by taking help of the C.B.I. and other investigating agencies. Corrupt politicians and bureaucrats should understand that a new generation of youth has come up which will not tolerate corruption and dishonesty. With these words I conclude.



**SHRI GHULAM MOHD. MIR MAGANI**

SHRI GHULAM MOHD. MIR MAGANI (Srinagar): Mr. Chairman Sir, I would like to congratulate the Hon. Speaker for calling a special session on the occasion of 50th anniversary of our independence. In this very special session, we are discussing about what have been our achievements during the last 50 years and what we propose to do in future.

We all have already expressed our views about prosperity and progress of our country. It needs special attention. Our country has always strived for peace and prosperity all over the world. India wants friendly relations with all countries of the world. We need to pursue this policy further. We know that after Independence eleven

general elections have been held and even elections of provinces have also been held a number of times. We have noticed that the people are fearlessly giving their support to make this country strong. 80% of our population are farmers and they are making efforts to increase the agricultural production in the country. The Government should provide all assistance to farmers to enable them to increase the production so that our country could prosper. There was a time when our country had to import foodgrains from other countries but today our country is exporting it to various other countries. India has made remarkable progress in this field and it is a matter of pride for us. I would like to suggest that more steps should be taken for the prosperity of the farmers to enable them to increase the production.

As far as industrial policy of the country is concerned, only six industrial policies were in practice in the year 1948 but today we are proud to say that Government has made sufficient progress in this regard. It needs to be promoted so that the unemployment problem could be eradicated and the country could progress.

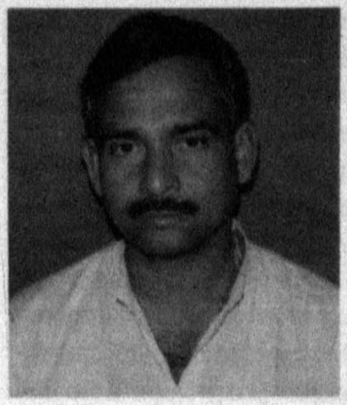
As far as educated youths in the country are concerned, unemployment among them is on the increase. It is a major problem of the country and the Government should give special attention towards it and make provisions to provide employment to them.

I belong to Jammu-Kashmir. As far as Jammu-Kashmir is concerned, we all know militancy has almost destroyed the state. Buildings and over bridges have been burnt there, unemployment is on the increase. No arrangements have so for been made to provide employment to the unemployed youths. I, therefore, request the Government to pay attention towards the people of the State of Jammu-Kashmir, which has become the target of militancy. Although the Government had announced a special package for this State but that package has yet not been provided there. I request the Government to provide the said package there.

Jammu-Kashmir is a major tourist attraction. Tourism needs to be promoted there. Central Government offices, which are lying closed there, should be reopened so that the problem of unemployment there could be solved.

I would conclude by making my last point. As far as women are concerned, a Committee has been appointed for the empowerment of women so as to give them their rightful due. It needs special attention.

With these words, I conclude and thank you for giving me the opportunity.



**SHRI ANCHAL DAS**

SHRI ANCHAL DAS (Jajpur): Hon. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak, though on fifth day, in this very special Session. On this occasion of golden jubilee celebration, first of all, I pay my homage to the great soldiers of India who laid down their lives for the freedom of the country.

The topics being discussed here, give a good message for the countrymen. The shape of the country will change only when these plans would be implemented. Ours is the country of villages and 85% of our population live in villages. Gandhiji's dream about developing village Panchayats, Zila Parishads have remained a dream even after 50 years of our Independence. The Centre and the State Governments paid more attention towards urban areas and incurred heavy expenditure on it but for villages very meagre funds are granted and even those funds are not fully spent there. In rural areas expenditure are shown on paper only. Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar had dreamt that our country will prosper only with the upliftment of downtrodden. But their dream remains only in the provisions of the Constitution and on paper. When one comes to power, he starts running the country at his own, the Constitution and law do not have any meaning for them. Many people have sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country but these people on one hand talk about the teachings of Gandhiji, Vivekananda, Mahatma Buddha, Mahavir and on the other hand misappropriate the funds of the nation. They form a party and raise slogans' 'Sare jahan Se Acha'. They have been doing this for the last 50 years but our plans remain incomplete. After independence these so called intelligentia and forward class have never come forward to help the poor and backward. They have never allowed these classes to utilise the facilities given to them by the Government and are making money from it.

Had the people, who have monopoly over the wealth of the country for the last 50 years, made efforts to uplift the backward people, the shape of the country would have been different. No doubt, India is great but the people who keep on crying hoarse with the slogan 'Mera Bharat Mahan' are not genuine. The so-called educated and affluent people

of the society have become so selfish that even if their neighbour is dying with starvation, they will just turn their face from him and will say that it is the result of his misdeeds. It is the bondage of our awareness, greatness and casteism until a big gap between the rich and the poor is there how can the country progress. But the disparity between humanity and greatness will not end.

With a heavy heart, I am compelled to say that our great leader could not bring all the people of the country closer. Till this day the rural people bring water from the ponds in the urns, they don't get one time meal even for a couple of days, they have no clothes to wear and no shelter to live in. In my state Orissa, people are dying of starvation and more about in the forests with their unclad bodies. Many leaders visit them. People living in jhuggies have to reconstruct the jhuggies often. The Government has been giving land to the landless for the last 50 years, but everybody knows that only negligible number of people have been provided with land.

The state of affairs in Education and Health in rural areas has so much deteriorated, but the Government has earmarked only two percent allocation in the budget for this purpose. Major colleges in the cities, medical facilities and gardens have been included therein but proper arrangements of maternity facilities in the rural areas are not available. If at all there are hospitals, there are no doctors, which results in the deterioration of patients. God knows how long this state of affairs will continue. Crocodile tears are being shed for SC & ST and hollow speeches are made in this House. We had achieved Independence 50 years ago, but we have not been able to fill the reserved quota in the services beyond 2-3 per cent. I don't know how many more years it will take to meet our demands? This is the present day demand. Backlog in recruitment and promotion has not been cleared. No action is being taken against the Executives. They are playing with the country. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates are fit for Science and Technology, Engineering and Medicine, but some foul play is being contrived in the interview and on the pretext that candidates available are not suitable hence the interview is cancelled. Nobody knows for how long this will continue.

Reservation in Judiciary for our community *i.e.* SC & ST is must. Poor people of the country are mostly from SC & ST. They are accused and are imprisoned. If a survey is conducted in the country, the number of SC, ST and OBC people languishing in jails will be immediately known. According to an information 85 percent of these poor people are in jails. They are languishing in jails because justice is denied to them.

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes financial Corporation is a big fraud, but there is a lot of embezzlement. The criteria of loans is such that loans are not granted. Big industrialists get loans from the Banks and after a few years these loans are written off because they are paying bribe to be the bank officials. These practices are disturbing the economic policy of the country.

Our Government is paying 1,40,000 crore rupees as subsidy, but the poor people do not get anything out of that money. The subsidies provided for cooking gas and petrol is meant for rich people. So, I would suggest that such subsidy should be abolished. Therefore, rural areas are provided less subsidy with the increase in prices. In rural areas, the people who put in hard labour can have both ends meet, they don't have opportunities to earn. Hardworking people do not get any chance at all. Hardworking people are not included at all in the list. So, it is essential that the Government should pay maximum attention in this regard.

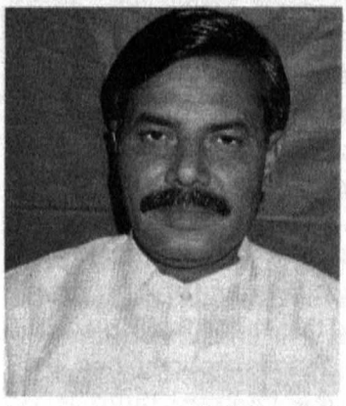
Most of the people living in rural areas depend on agriculture and cottage industries and earn their livelihood from it. But till now we have not been able to materialise the dreams of Gandhiji. Little attention is being paid towards it.

There are about 1,40,000 lift points in a district in Haryana and Punjab, but in the entire State of Orissa, the number of lift points will be less than 40,000. That is why we have to face drought every year.

The people from our community appear in interviews for Government jobs and these interviews are cancelled. Affluent people are being selected after paying bribe to them. That is why unemployment is on the increase in the country. That is why, in our society, our literate youth is caught up in the mire of vile people out of compulsion and sometimes they become anti-social element. Out of compulsion, these people join the crime world and at times leaders also provide them help. Gradually, these people join politics. Many Hon'ble Members have spoken about the criminalisation of politics, but all the parties should consider this and fight against this trend.

Amendment in the Indian Penal Code Procedure is essential, because there is delaying procedure and the accused, evidence and the witness are manipulated, that is why 95 percent cases are acquitted. For bringing total prohibition in the country an amendment Bill should be introduced. The increasing criminal activities in the country are due to consumption of liquor. We have the incidents of rape, murder, humiliation, dacoity as a result thereof. It is because of all these vices that all the youth are taking to anti-social activities.

Prohlbition has already been introduced in some states of the country. It should be introduced throughout the country. Now-a-days there is population explosion and if a new countrywide programme is not introduced we will out number China even and that is how the problem starts. The President and the Prime Minister announced in the Central Hall of the Parliament that we shall have to launch a crusade against corruption. All the funds of the country shall have to be utilised for the development of the country. We, the M.Ps should declare our asset before the Parliament so that the entire country comes to know who is responsible for the corruption, Lok Pal Bill should be passed as soon as possible. In order to fulfil the dreams and work for the development of humanity we shall have to keep in view all the problems and the sacrifices of the leaders of the nation, we shall have to take a vow to work for the development of humanity.



**DR. RAM LAKHAN SINGH**

DR. RAM LAKHAN SINGH (Bhind): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I would like to thank the electorate of my constituency who have elected and sent me here at this juncture when the entire country and this House is celebrating the golden jubilee year of our Independence. Alongwith this celebration the discussion is going on the progress made during the last 50 years and the reasons for lagging behind in certain fields. I would like to thank you for giving me an opportunity for participating in the discussion. All the same I would also like to express my thanks to my party leaders for proposing my name.

Shri Antulayji once remarked that the people who participated in the freedom struggle of the country should be remembered by the coming generations which can be made possible by erecting a pillar or anything similar to that in the villages wherefrom they hailed. It is our misfortune and that of the people who laid down their lives for this country. I hail from the village where 101 people were led to the gallows by the Britishers. It is the misfortune of the village and the people of the village who laid down their lives that the road has not been constructed there till now. There is no approach road to that village. What else can be our misfortune? On the one hand our friends from Congress have talked a lot about the development. I can certainly say, there is no doubt that there has been development but if we compare the amount of loan taken from abroad including the amount of tax raised from the public with the alround development of the country, we will come to the conclusion that no more than 10 percent development took place in the country as a whole. I have visited more than seven villages in my constituency during the last year. I have not travelled widely even in my own state, not to speak of the country. You cannot find even a single village out of these villages where basic facilities such as potable water, link road, primary education facility, medical facility and electricity etc. have been provided. These five basic facilities are essentially required for the development of a family. Not even a single facility out of these basic requirements has been provided to these villages. There should be proper drinking water facility, proper primary education facility or there should be proper approach roads in the villages but no such facility exist there. Drinking water facility was provided there, but later on it came to notice that the water tank has been constructed and pipe line is still to be laid. Where pipe line has been laid, DP has not been installed and DP was installed, it came to know that the same has been out of order for the last three years. At some places approach roads have been constructed but no earth work has been done thereon and if it is done, it has been washed away. There is a village where road was constructed 20 years ago on which a culvert was to be constructed but the same has not been constructed so far. In the absence of culvert the people have to face difficulties of crossing the streams. The amount of Rs. 1 crore, that is given to us for these developmental works, has been given to us very recently. I mean to say that whatever work was done, it has not been done faithfully and honestly whereas the money has been regularly spent.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Chambal valley is notorious because of dacoits. Morena is on the top of notoriety. Funds were provided by the centre for the construction of three roads in that area. When I was in Legislative Assembly, in December, 1994 I asked through a question as to how much amount has been spent on this 27 km long road and by what time it will be completed? You will be surprised to know that upto December, 1994 an amount of 1 crore 80 lakh rupees has been spent on the construction of this 27 km long road. And even today nobody can go by cycle on that road. The people of the village can tell you better how the ravines road can be constructed. All the people relating to the construction work from Chief Engineer to the lowest employee visited the place, estimates were prepared, work was undertaken but nobody could assess the need of culvert which a common villager can say at a glance. I told them

that if they were not having experience of constructing roads in ravines, they could have acquired such knowledge from the local people. I mean to say that whatever was undertaken that could not be undertaken properly. Normally people walk upright but this government goes on headlong whatever plan was formulated it was formulated half heartedly. It was formulated in such a way as how to extort more and more money. For the execution of any work the funds we allotted by the Parliament. During the 10th Lok Sabha our Hon'ble M.P. Shri Yoganand Saraswatiji also recommended to spend the money from this Fund. Letter was also written in this regard. But administrative sanction could not be accorded even after the lapse of three years. Many works are yet to be started. I appeal to the House that at least one work must be undertaken and got completed. Now-a-days our Prime Minister is delivering very good speeches. On 15 August he spoke about corruption and it is a welcome thing. But due to certain reasons he could not speak in his own representatives forum. If his conscience is clear, on the occasion of 50th year of independence he should decide and evolve a monitoring system with regard to the funds being given to the MPs. We find that not more than 5 per cent of the funds are being utilised and inspite of that we are unable to do anything in this regard. We repeatedly write to the Collector but in vain, look at any matter, be it education or anything. In this case we find that if there is a school, it has no building and if at all there is a building it is without a roof. If all is well, like in building etc. there is no teacher and if at all teacher is there he is not attending the school at all.

Sir, the other day I went to a village. I found a room was constructed there and it was locked. There was a sparrow's nest inside the room. We asked since when it is locked, we were told that the teacher was seen here in the last July and after that he did not come. We asked them to open the room. What I observed there that there were eggs of sparrow when the Sarpanch lifted up the nest in his hand. Such is the condition of education. Mulayam Singhji was saying that he is the well wisher of women. Very recently three girls died after consuming poison in Kanpur and he returned after paying Re. 1 lakh to their kith and kin. Some people died somewhere else and he paid Rs. 50,000/. How long the Government will go on paying Rs. 1 lakh or Rs. 50,000/- to women? If you have to find out a permanent solution and you are honest too, you are in the government, you have to do so. You are in power, it is your moral responsibility to enact some legislation. Just now some amendment has come for consideration through which education has been made compulsory for children between the age of 6 and 14 years. But what is going to be achieved. What is the condition of our primary schools these days? Now-a-days many programmes are simultaneously functioning *e.g.* adult education literacy programme and so many wherein we have funds to the tune of crore of rupees ...(*interruption*). Sir, please allow me to speak for a few minutes more as I have been waiting for turn for the last two nights.

Sir, the situation is such that 3 crore rupees are given to a district for literacy programme and the result is that not even three people become literate.

Education will not reach them and it will remain on paper only. The funds are going down the drain and there is rampant corruption. If we have to do it sincerely then we should make a policy in regard to providing compulsory education to girls all over the country. This would help in educating the entire society. Consequently, all the social evils will be automatically wiped out. We have been discussing various issues during the last four five days and even sat beyond midnight two days. When this House adjourns on Monday we should resolve to take certain decisions on the basic issues irrespective of the fact whether there is a Stable Government or an unstable Government. We should show to the world that we believe in concensus and can carry along everybody.

Sir, while concluding I would like to submit that Bhind Morena area is notorious for dacoits and this is mainly because the media has projected this image that it produces dacoits. But why it produces dacoits nobody has ever bothered to look into it. On the contrary there is no household, no village which has not sent its men to the army. There is a village Nahara where 60 people have been killed by militants between 1965-1971. Inspite of this, though many of these 60 widows have only one child, they have sent to army in service of the nation. Mr. Chairman, Sir, this aspect has never been highlighted.

I would like to submit one more thing. Once I was travelling by train, a wife of an Army Officer recognised me as an MP and gave me an application requesting her transfer. I told her that I was not in power. She said that she has been married for 11 years but in all these years she has not been with her husband even for 11 days. She said that wherever her husband is transferred Central Schools are there but she is not transferred alongwith him. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would request Shri Mulayam Singh that can we not do this little bit for them on humanitarian consideration. We talk a lot about women and their rights.

The Government has not made concerted efforts to provide employment. Factories have been set up but ITI colleges are not being opened whereas the factory owners demand that they can provide employment only when persons with requisite technical qualifications are available.

Even local people are not provided employment though crores of rupees are being swallowed as subsidy in the name of development of backward region and development of Bhind area. Factories are set up, subsidy is availed in power and water consumption depriving the people and farmers, but even then employment is not provided to local people. I would fervently appeal to the Government to seriously ponder over these issues and take effective steps in this regard.

**SHRI PABAN SINGH GHATOWAR**

*[English]*

SHRI PABAN SINGH GHATOWAR (Dibrugarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I express my gratitude to the hon. Speaker for having convened this historic Special Session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of our Independence.

It is time to rejoice, to remember, to reflect, to look ahead, and to re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of our great nation. First of all, I offer my respectful tribute to the Father of the Nation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, Gopinath Bardalai, Kanak Lata and many others who have given their lives and suffered for the Independence of our great nation.

Hon. Speaker in his opening Address mentioned about our achievements, introspection on our inadequacies, and set for ourselves and agenda for the future. If we list the achievement of our country, one has to congratulate the farmers of this country who have made our great country self-sufficient in food. Food is the very important aspect for our economic development. We must ensure how we can have the food security. The contribution of our public sector set up by the policy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the pillar of our industrial success. In the name of liberalisation, one should not undermine the importance of public sector in our country.

I think, the Government should continue to give all adequate support for the development of the public sector industries in our country.

One of the major steps taken by the late Indira Gandhi was the nationalisation of banks. Earlier, the banks used to be run by the rich people and for the rich people but after nationalisation, banks have come forward to help the marginal farmers, small scale industries and other people. Sir, the late Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had given the National Education Policy before the country. The Government has to take a serious note of that policy and try to implement it.

We always remember all these contributions made for the country with happiness but at the same time, we are yet to overcome many of our basic problems like poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, population explosion and corruption in public life.

Sir, in the 50th year of our Independence, we still have 323 million people living below the poverty line and about 226 million people waiting for safe drinking water. Also, 197 million people are still illiterate citizens of our country. Adequate power for industry and agriculture is still to be given. Proper health care is also not there.

Sir, irrigation is one of the major sectors of concern in our country because in the next 10 to 12 years, we have to feed another 50 crore of people. I think, we have to prepare and encourage our farmers to produce more agricultural products.

Sir, according to me, one of the major failures and the burning problems of our country is the population explosion. When I look into the figures of population, I must congratulate the people of Kerala who have given a fitting answer to the problem of population control. They are much better. Statistically, everybody talks about China in regard to population control but actually, Kerala's performance in regard to population is much better than that of China. The main factor for control in population is the female literacy and the female literacy in Kerala is 86 per cent as compared to 73 per cent of that in China. And in India it is 39 per cent as a while.

Sir, it is one of the major social evils that the sex ratio of our population is going against the female child. Ten years ago, we had 934 females as against 1000 males but a few years ago there were 927 females as against 1000 males. These are the social prejudice in our society prevailing. The declining sex ratio is indeed a danger signal, and behind these figures there is a sordid social picture.

The Swaminathan Committee has pointed out the gray area in between 1981 and 1991. Four States of our country—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh—together have contributed 42 per cent of our population. I think the family welfare programme is a total mess in these States.

Sir, it will be my duty to draw the attention of this august House to my region, the north-eastern region. The north-eastern region was never under either Mughal Rule or Gupta Rule. It was always independent. In 1826, after the Yandabo Treaty, it came under the British Rule. Before that, all of the north-eastern region was independent. When our national leaders were preparing for the celebration of our independence in 1947, the Congress leaders of the north-eastern region were in serious discussions because at that time the Cabinet Mission was planning to merge Assam and the entire north-eastern region with Bengal. They have strongly protested against that move. When they went to the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, he asked the Congress leaders: "Did I not tell you to oppose even Congress for the right?" He had encouraged Congress leaders and they successfully prevented the Cabinet Mission plan to include the north-eastern region in Bengal. After the partition there was a lot of resentment.

Then the Cyril Redcliffe Commission was formed. They had given four Thanas after three days of Independence. There are many many things for which the people of the north-eastern region have always agreed. The insurgency problem started right from 1947. Under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1960 the Naga Agreement was signed and they tied to bring peace into Nagaland. I am sorry to say that many people in Delhi do not realise that when we go to our State we have to fly over a foreign country. When we go by a train we have to pass through a chicken-neck to the north-eastern region. The north-eastern region is the only area of our country where the region is surrounded on four sides by international boundaries. As you know, there are so many problems in the international boundary. The leadership in Delhi has not properly appreciated the hopes and aspirations of the people of the north-eastern region. For that reason there is an inherent unhappiness in the minds of the people of the north-eastern region. I do not support the practice of people taking to arms, going underground, creating problems and killing innocent people. But this is the reality.

Every year Assam is devastated by floods, not once, but three or four times. If we control the water I think we can feed the whole country with hydro-electricity. But that also has not attracted the attention of our planners.

I must say that one of the major problems there is the influx of people from the other side of the international boundary. That is the inherent fear in the minds of the people of the north-eastern region. They feel that they will become a minority if the influx by the other side of the boundary continues. The Government of India has promised fencing the international boundary bordering Bangladesh. But till today they have not completed it. So, my submission will be that the Government of India should complete the fencing. They should constitute a high powered Cabinet Committee to study the problems of the north-eastern region. If a change in the Constitution is required, I think they should take action in that direction.

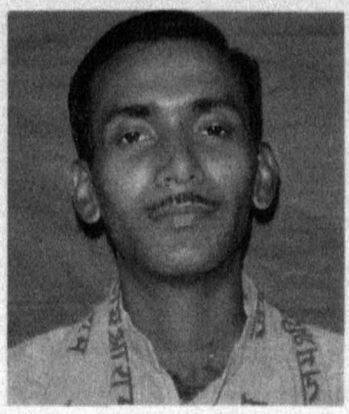
Before concluding, I want to draw the attention of the Government to the plight of the plantation workers all over the country. They are next only to the agricultural workers. The Plantation Labour Act was passed in 1961. There are constant demands for amending this Act. When I was the Deputy Minister for Labour, I moved an amendment. It is still pending in the file of the Government. It has already been passed by the Rajya Sabha. I draw the attention of the Government to this aspect and demand that they should pass the Plantation Labour (Amendment) Bill. They must also bring an Agricultural Labour Bill for agricultural workers and another legislation for the construction works.

The Electoral Reforms Bill, the Lok Pal Bill and all the other reforms have been referred to by our colleagues. We must give special attention to poverty eradication programmes, illiteracy, population control, welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, women and children. Our strategies and programmes have to change with the changing needs of our times. Let us draw a lesson from our past mistakes and take correct decisions.

At this stage, I want to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I quote:

> "The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear form every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long, our task will not be over."

At this solemn moment, let us take the pledge that we, the Members of this sovereign Parliament do dedicate ourselves in all humility to the service of India, her people and to see that this ancient land attains her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and welfare of mankind. Let us also pledge for the total eradication of poverty, unemployment, hunger, sickness and illiteracy from our beloved motherland.



**SHRI RAMSHAKAL**

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAMSHAKAL (Robertsganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I would like to congratulate hon. Shri Sangma for conducting this Special Session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebrations of India's Independence thereby providing an opportunity to Members of Parliament to express their views. I would like to pay tributes to all those veteran and revolutionaries who made valuable contribution in the freedom struggle.

Today there is need for self-introspection about our achievements and failures during the last fifty years. Just now some of our Congress Leaders have spoken at length about our achievement. I would recite a couplet to highlight their achievements:

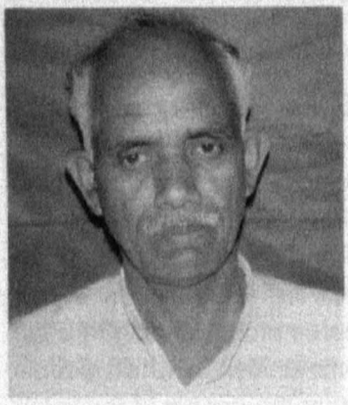
"Woh surya kaisa kaho mukti ka
ye ujala karodon gharon mein na pahuncha
Khula pinjara hai magar rakt ab bhi thake
panchion ke paron main na pahuncha."

Unemployment and hunger are the biggest problems in the country. We have not been able to feed our masses properly. Who is responsible for the poor plight of people in the country where lakhs of people do not have roof over their heads and have to take shelter under trees, where people do not have sufficient clothing nor do they have even two square meals a day? This country was El Dorado and there was enormous wealth but today every new born has a debt of Rs. 9000. The situation is so bad that we are taking loan for repaying the interest on earlier loans. The Prime Minister has gone abroad with a begging bowl. Who is responsible for this. It is these persons who have been in power for several years. It is most unfortunate that 2.5 lakh Kashmiris are forced to stay in camps as migrants in their own country. What is their crime? Why are they suffering and being punished? Even after 50 years we have not been able to ban cow slaughter. Cow is sacred to us. It is a symbol of our religion but lakhs of cows are being slaughtered in this country. It is unfortunate that a lot of injustice is being committed against the farmers. I am a son of farmer and I know their sufferings and misery. The farmer toils hard but the crops are either destroyed by drought or floods. Fertilizers, diesel and irrigation costs have increased. The farmers is not able to get even the cost of production. Traders fixes the cost price of his product and also markets his produce. But nobody listens to the woes of the farmers. What is needed today is that the farmer be provided with all kinds of facilities and subsidies as also fertilizers and diesel at cheap rates. This country belongs to farmers. If we do not give priority to agriculture, we will not be doing justice to farmers.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now the leader of our House Hon. Shri Paswanji spoke of the dalits and backward people. I would like to say without mincing words that despicable type of politics must stop. Desist from misguiding and dividing the society in the name of caste and community, we all are off springs of Bharat Mata without distinctions of small and big, low and high. All have the same blood running through their views. We know of the communities in which people at the upper ladders do not like that the people at the lower rungs mix up with them, the former would not like even to take water at the letters' houses or to establish matrimonial relations with them. This practice of misguiding and dividing people in order to seek popular votes must stop. If you really have sympathy with the society and you are interested to do something for the good of a particular caste or community, then it can be done by opening schools, dharmashalas or boardings for them. If you have sympathies and fellow-feelings, you should raise your voice against the practice of dowry and dowry-deaths. One should desist from striking such disharmonious notes which may lead to social dissensions.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the greatest problem facing this country is the growing population. Some of our brethren feel uneasy at population control measures saying that they do not have the sanction of the Holy Quaran. By that token, does our Gita sanction it? But it is the problem concerning the whole country, therefore, we have to tackle it, come forward to check it firmly and cooperation in any such endeavours with a national spirit. Education will have to be associated with the Fundamental Rights and corruption, poverty and starvation will have to be eradicated. The displaced persons of Kashmir will have to be rehabilitated. Cow slaughter must be banned. Agriculture must be given the status of small scale industry. Employment must be added to the Fundamental Rights. It is through the small scale industries that we shall be able to develop this country. During the Lok Sabha elections last year, people all over the country were expecting a BJP Government at the Centre with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its Prime Minister with fond hopes of a change in the country's fortunes and

direction of efforts. But the BJP has been checkmated by the very persons in unison who used to hurl invectives at one another and contested elections against one another. We have been witness to the autocracy of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the wave of Rajiv Gandhi, the hurricane of Shri V.P. Singh and there is nothing new about what is happening today. The final victory will be ours. Wherever we have hit the ground, water has been struck. This is all I have to say.



**SHRI MAHABIR LAL BISHWAKARMA**

SHRI MAHABIR LAL BISHWAKARMA (Hazaribag): Hon. Mr. Chairman, we have been discussing over important issues of the country for the last several days. Some enthusiastic ideas have also come to the fore while there are others causing concern to the country. When we think of the country, we will have to stretch our thought further and as the saying goes

*[English]*

"Politician thinks for the next election, but the Statesman thinks for the next generation."

*[Translation]*

May be, therefore, that we have not been able to get success in a number of fields today. In many fields today we find the atmosphere quite listless. But if we tend to think about the next generation, we will certainly be solving many a problem and, therefore, those who make it their concern to make the next generation give utmost importance to them. Only such a nation survives through many struggle in the world and makes more and more progress. While the second World War was on England was led by Mr. Churchill at that time. He used to draw up various plans and some secret agents of the German army were constantly on the look out for any future plans of Mr. Churchill. One day the German agents noticed a number of boats emanating the British sea coast and heading towards an Island. They tried to ascertain as to what was being carried in the boats and what plans Churchill had in mind. They came to know that some little children were being taken away and some teachers were also being sent alongwith them. Churchill was the most courageous person who used to say that 'V' signified victory, and was confident of victory in such a great world war.

**07.00 hrs.**

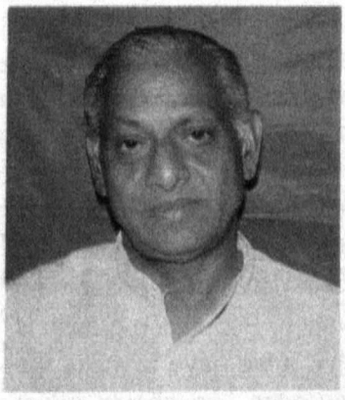
Mr. Chairman, Sir, Churchill was leading his nation in the war with tremendous courage, but in his mind he was also weighing the possibility of a possible defeat in which eventuality he wanted to ensure the safety of the future generation and if that generation kept alive the sense of patriotism in their hearts and with a fair idea of what they should be like, then England would certainly be victorious in the war in future. Therefore, the great need of the hour is to do a great deal of thinking for the generation to come. Unfortunately, in the prevailing system of education in our country, the education for small children in particular, is being neglected altogether.

Sir, most of my constituency comprises rural and tribal areas and whenever I take a round of my constituency, it adds to my concern. There is acute shortage of schools in that area. In the absence of schools, it is a common sight to come across children of school going age roaming about in the localities. If there is a school, we find only one teacher for 300 students. If there are teachers in the school, there is no facility of drinking water for the students in the school. There are schools which do not have any building. What I want to say is that schools in rural and tribal areas are lacking all facilities. Thus, the new generation is being subjected to gross neglect. Therefore, we must come forward to remove this kind of neglect and that is how we should show our concern for the new generation. We must strive for the all round development of these people. When we think about imparting education to these children, the guidance given by our great men on the subject would certainly help us in the meaningful development of the human beings in the real sense.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the development of human beings does not mean the development of body alone, it is much more than that. Human body is guided by senses; senses are guided by mind, mind is guided by intellect and intellect is guided by the soul. Thus our body consists of different elements. Therefore, the development of body alone will not ensure all round development of the human beings. Take for instance a person who is bodily healthy. If such a person lacks courage, his body cannot function properly and he cannot enjoy life fully. He will be deprived of the real pleasure of the nature, howsoever healthy he may be. Therefore proper development of the senses is necessary. But what happens sometimes is that these senses leads to astray. Therefore, if there is any power that controls, these

senses, it is the mind. Mr. Chairman, Sir, mind too can go astray and hence if you want to have the peace and pleasure of mind, the development of mind is also a must. Let us take the example of a man who is wearing decent clothes and is having tasty food, but the moment he receives the message of the death of one of his close relatives, such as mother, those very articles which were giving him comfort and joy (melody of music for instance) would be giving no soothing relief. So it is the mind that leads one astray. Thus, the development of the mind is essential.

The power that controls the mind, *i.e.* intellect resides inside the human body. Sometimes we find that the people run after happiness (peace) of mind. Take the case of a person who is suffering from diabetes. Since such a man finds it difficult to conquer the mind he or she feels like taking a sweet as it gives good taste. In such a situation, what is there inside our body which can exercise control over the mind? It is the intellect which can conquer the mind. Therefore, if intellect is developed on the right lines and if we are able to keep it pure, it will check the mind from going astray; it will check the human beings from wrong doings. Beyond the intellect, there is the soul which controls the intellect. Therefore, if we develop all these elements, i.e. the body, the senses, the mind, the intellect and the soul in that order, on the right lives and use them properly in education or formulate the educational policies on those lines, we shall be able to overcome the problems facing the nation today. It may help us even to conquer the demon of corruption. That was all I wanted to say. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have adhered to the time limit.



**SHRI R.L.P. VERMA**

SHRI R.L.P. VERMA (Kodarma): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank you and, through you, the Hon. Speaker for having given an opportunity in this Golden Jubilee Year of India's Independence for doing introspection by convening this Special Session. All the Members of Parliament have been expressing their views since 26th of this month about our achievements and their concern about the failures during these 50 years. When we view our achievements and failures form that angle, we find that there has certainly been some development in certain fields. On the other hand, we did have our share of failure too and the net achievements are before us. During the freedom movement, common man was being told that the food, clothes and shelter would be available to all. Further, it was promised that medicine to every patient and education to every child would be made available. But we find that during the last fifty years, the number of the living below poverty line has swelled to over 35 crore as compared to the figure of about 16.04 crore before independence. During the post-independence period, we formulated and implemented eight Five Year Plans and invested billions of rupees in these plans. When our internal financial resources fell short of the requirement, we had to meet the gap through external borrowings. This foreign debt burden rose to over 3286 crore and yet the number of those living below poverty line did not decline. This is the yardstick by which we can measure our deficiencies and weaknesses. That is why I say that the economic health of our democracy and for that matter the health of our democratic institutions is not good. The application of Science and Technology in our country has not proved to be helpful in the human development. This is evident from the fact that despite having so many plans and a lot of planning having gone into our economy, the desired improvement in the living condition of our people has not been achieved. That is why it becomes all the more important for us to do introspection in order to find out as to how our democratic institutions are functioning and what are the defects these institutions are suffering from. A type of X Rays is required to be done to pin-point these defects. This is exactly the introspection we have been doing here for the last four days. During this debate, we have risen above party lines. We have to reach a conclusion which could help us in bringing a change in our administrative set up which may lead to a change in the present state of affairs.

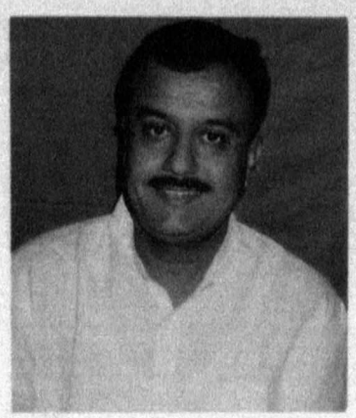
Mr. Chairman, Sir, we should give some powers at village, Gram Sabha, block and regional levels so that they could function as local self governments. We adopted our Parliamentary system at the national level only but did not follow local self-government system. In economy we adopted the Russian pattern of controlled economy for cultivation, we adopted Japanese pattern, alike. We adopted some system from German and some from other countries. As a result of this our country could not make progress to our expectations. We have forgotten the Indian culture, we have forgotten the Democratic principles of Mahatma Gandhi, we did not follow the economic ideas of Mahatma Gandhi but followed the foreign culture. The result is before us. Even

today 47 crores people in the country are illiterates. It is a shame for us. We could not educate the people even after 50 years of independence. What are the reasons for this? There are the provisions of Liberty, equality, fraternity and Justice in our Constitution. From where have we taken justice. We have not done justice to people? It means that the Politicians, bureaucrats in the country cheated the people and the result is that our conception of Government for the people, of the people and by the people no more exists in the country. Why people's freedom has been withheld? Whose duty is it to take freedom upto people? We should make introspection ourself and formulate schemes for the next 50 years honestly. If we prepare programmes and new policies for next 50 years our country will take a new turn and make progress. We should keep in view the benefit of more and more people and not become selfish. So far these people were selfish and they are guilty of it. Besides, bureaucrats have also exploited the people. One of our colleague Shri Ram Lakhanji just said now the District Magistrate, District Officer, IAS Officers misused the funds given under this scheme. MPLADS was formulated. Under Local Area Development Scheme, MPs, Local representatives can take fund for the development of their respective areas. Which are never developed and neglected. But so far as we have noticed about 31 per cent to 45 per cent of funds earmarked for MPLADS Scheme is being looted in the name of development of their areas. Unless their powers are curtailed, there will be no development in the country in future and the people will not derive any benefit from it. Powers to these officers should be delegated at district level, Panchayat level and Zilla Parishad level. District Magistrates derive their powers form the ministers and they use their power as bureaucrats. That is why no development is taking place in the villages. As such it is necessary to curtail the powers of such officers. We will have to introduce a new system. Until atrocities and dishonesty being committed by the IAS and IPS officers are checked and more powers are given to gram panchayats, local representatives and Zila Parishads, no development is possible so we should keep it in view. First of all I would like to compliment the freedom fighters. Even after 50 years of our Independence, in the freedom fighter cell, half of the amount of pension is taken as bribe from the pensioners and only then they are paid pension. The total number of freedom fighters is not yet known. We have failed to count the number of freedom fighters in the country during the last 50 years. Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you, I would request the Government to kindly dispose of all those pending cases of freedom fighters by the end of 1997. A decision should be taken on genuine cases and the others should be rejected. Cases of about 1800 freedom fighters have been sent so far to various Home Ministers during the last 10–12 years but the same reply was given every time that action is being taken. Out of these 1800 freedom fighters 900 have already died and no decision has yet been taken about the rest of freedom fighters. So, the cases of thousands of freedom fighters all over India are pending with the Government. The pending cases of these freedom fighters must be resolved by the end of this year.

Indian culture is being polluted. It has been polluted due to satellite invasion. Today vulgar scenes are being shown on T.V. It has polluted Indian culture. We are imitating the western culture. No matter whether they are Britishers or Mughals, they try to ruin the Indian culture. Ours is the oldest civilisation in the world. The Vikram Samvat is 205 years old and Muslim culture started from 1440 A.D. So Indian culture is the oldest one in the world. People very well know the Mahabharata and Ramayana age is 5000–7000 years old. In the countries like Cambodia, Java, Sumatra and China, the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics are staged. This is the culture of India. But this stops us from adopting the culture of other countries. The foreign culture causes hindrances in the progress of our country. Eating, Meeting, Sitting and cheating such schemes are made in speeches only ...(*Interruptions*). In this way millions and billions of rupees earmarked in all the eight five year plans of the country has been wasted on food culture.

Why did we fail to control population growth in the country so far? At the time of Independence, when India was divided, the population of Pakistan was nine crores which has now reached 15 crores. The population of Bangladesh has reached 14 crores. The population of these two countries has not increased more than one and half times. Whereas during the same period population of India has gone up by more than three times ...(*Interruptions*). The population of India has increased from 361 millions to 961 millions. We cannot control the population growth in the country. Until the dirty politics of policy of appeasement remains we cannot control population. Population growth is a very big problem for this country. If we have to make the family planning programme a success, we should adopt two children family policy and in case third child is born in a family, a penalty of Rs. 5000 should be imposed ...(*Interruptions*) Family Planning tax should also be imposed on that family. And in case the family has more than three children, the amount of tax can be increased further. Alongwith that the promotion of such Government employees also should be stopped ...(*Interruptions*)

With these words, I conclude.



**SHRI NANDKUMAR SINGH CHAUHAN**

SHRI NANDKUMAR SINGH CHAUHAN (Khandwa): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank Mr. Speaker for summoning this Special Session for introspection on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Independence. Unfortunately, even 50 years after independence we have not been able to reach the stage which we ought to have reached. The main reason thereof is the dilution of the national spirit almost to the point of extinction. Absence of national spirit is mainly responsible for this State.

If we look for the reason for the absence of national spirit, the martyrs who laid down their lives for the freedom of India and the freedom fighters who struggled so much have not been glorified to the extent to which they deserved. They have not been given their due respect keeping in view their sacrifices and our national solidarity has suffered tremendously in the process. With morality and ideals not having their due place of pride in the country, its people have joined in a race for amassing wealth in order to earn respect. Importance of pelf and power has increased and the whole society is running after wealth, which is why corruption has flourished in our country. Politics is considered to be the easiest way of acquiring power, wealth and strength. The easiest way to earn power, wealth and strength is to join politics. People have joined politics to misuse power and acquire wealth through it. Previously people used to join politics for rendering social service and service to the country, but now people are joining politics to amass wealth. Now-a-days, what should be of utmost importance is the development of nationalist feeiing for which the martyrs laid down their lives, who lived and died for this country, these revolutionists should be glorified and respected, it is of foremost importance now-a-days. The best way to pay tributes to these martyrs who laid down their lives for this country—not only those, but even those soldiers who sacrificed themselves in the defence of this country after independence, is to name the villages and schools etc. after them. This way the youth in our society will get inspiration. Institutions have been named after a few of them after independence. I would like to mention about the Nehru family. I have got a great respect for that family. Now-a-days, we see that in India, big institutions are named after Nehru family.

Besides, I have observed that we have forgotten the persons whose sacrifices are more than those made by the Nehru family, *e.g.*, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, with the result that our society is now bereft of the inspiration which we would got by keeping their memory alive. Corruption is the burning problem that our country is facing these days. We shall have to take some steps to curb corruption and the first step in that direction should be eradicating corruption which is rampant among politicians, journalists, officers for which special courts should be set up, wherein all the cases of corruption by politicians, officers would be decided within one month. Such special courts should be created in the country and provision should be made in the law that more stringent punishment should be given to the persons occupying position of authority than ordinary persons. There should be a provision of most severe punishment for such people, then alone corruption can be brought under control. Corruption is rampant in the country mainly because the political leaders are tempted to make money and gain power, etc. We shall have to look for effective measures and implement them to prevent the vicious circle of power through money and *vice versa*. We shall have to take some basic steps for nation development. We should not make further delay in this connection because that would be fatal for the country. We shall have to evolve a work culture in this country and develop penchant for work. In that case, we should not hesitate to bring harsh legislative measures. A person who works should be duly rewarded and the one who shies away from work should be punished. This way we can bring about a work culture in our country.

There are a few basic points which are important to lead this country to prosperity and development. Foremost is the power generation. In the absence of power generation our industrial progress has ceased. In most of our States the power supply in minimal. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are such States where electric supply is hardly for 4-6 hours a day. It is because of this reason that industrial progress is at a standstill. Not only that, agricultural development has also ceased there because of lack of electricity. Electricity is equally important for agriculture as it is for industry. We shall have to make a special efforts for power production.

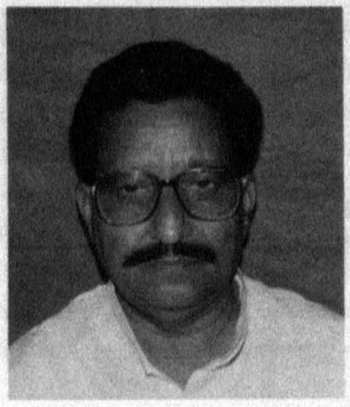
The rapidity with which our forest resources are depleting is a matter for concern. The dwindling down of resources during the last fifty years has assumed alarming proportions. If we do not take precautionary measures even now to conserve them, the coming generation will be

subjected to the ill-effects of our default. Therefore we should go in for legislating severe laws and take most stringent steps for conservation of forests.

Primarily, a scheme should be framed for augmentation of water resources in our country. We should take concrete steps for increasing underground water level for the storage of underground water. The quantity of drinking water is diminishing in the country and water for irrigation water we should make efforts to increase the underground water level. Thousands of villages are still thirsty, where women (our mothers and sisters) are getting drinking water from a distance of several kms. in hot summer. We should make efforts for raising underground water level to rid ourselves of this problem. A provision for basic education and moral education should be introduced after bringing a change in the present education system.

A change in the present day education should be brought about by a provision for basic education and moral education. Moral education should be introduced as a compulsory subject right from primary education (in every school) upto higher education. Such a provision is the need of the hour.

We should be cautious against the dangers posed by the economic policies which have been adopted today in our country. In the name of liberalisations we have given freedom to the multinationals to come to our country to invest in any sector in order to earn more and more profit. These multinational companies will swallow our local industries in due course. At this juncture we should make such provisions in our liberalisation policy which may put check on these multinational companies so that no damage could be caused to our indigenous industry as a result of these multinationals. Our first Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru used to say that these public sector industries and these big dams are a must for the country but today these public sector industries are facing danger. Today all public sector industries are either on the verge of closure or conspiracy is being hatched to close down these industries. We should be careful in this regard. We shall have to take effective measures for the survival of these public sector industries, for the survival of our local industries. At the same time, we shall have to take effective measures to put check on population growth which is the biggest problem before the country and to control the growth of population, family planning programme should be strictly implemented. I am thankful to you for the opportunity you have given to me to speak.



**SHRI SURENDRA YADAV**

SHRI SURENDRA YADAV (Khalilabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, having got the opportunity to express my views in the special session summoned on the occasion of Golden Jubilee year of Independence, I am very grateful to the great people of my Khalilabad constituency who elected and sent me hear. I am thankful to the Hon'ble Speaker also who summoned this special session and provided us an opportunity to have a discussion on the serious problems of the country, our achievements and future goals. I pay tributes to those martyrs of the country who laid down their lives in order to make our country free. They sacrificed their lives for their motherland (Mit gaye khud, par nahin mitne diya vatan ko). I would like to remind you the days of Sardar Bhagat Singh. When all his comrades requested him to give his approval to hire an advocate because after acquittal, he would be an asset in the freedom struggle, that great man humbly turned down their request and said that if he was hanged the young generation of the country would rise in revolt and thus would teach decisive lesson to Englishmen. Today we are worried about corruption and other similar things because we don't have such ideals in our life. Today our leaders don't have characteristic ideals for which our forefathers laid down their lives. The feelings, which the freedom fighters were having in order to keep the independence intact, is not found in the leaders of today. I am happy that our Hon'ble Prime Minister has shown exemplary courage by calling for a struggle against corruption. He reiterated his stand in the Chief Ministers' Conference in Delhi on 24 May convened on the occasion of Golden Jubilee Year of Independence and asked them to give a transparent administration and to set up courts to probe the cases of corruption. He repeated the same thing on 9 August in Mumbai and on 15 August from the rampart of Red Fort. I felt disturbed that many of my friends in the House tried to mock at this attitude but I hold the opinion that.

*[English]*

Each and every action has got its equal and opposite reaction.

*[Translation]*

We should welcome our Hon'ble Prime Minister if he calls for a struggle against corruption which is eroding the roots of the country. Through this House I would appeal to all my countrymen to come forward and extend their cooperation in fighting the corruption as our Prime Minister has called for a struggle against it so that our country may march forward on the path of progress. I am of the firm view that we won't be able to get riddance of this termite erosion like disease unless we resolve to fight it.

I want that directions should be issued to the States in this regard. Union Government should make it compulsory for the State Government to take effective measures to fight corruption prevalent in their respective States. You know that in every district IAS, IPS and IFS and other higher officers are posted, fixed amount in the way of corruption is delivered to them in their office. This amount is not one lakh rupees or two lakh rupees, but it is more than ten lakh rupees. Every Member of this House is aware of this fact. The Superintendent of Police receives fixed amount of bribe from each police station running under his control. From where does this amount come? S.Is. or Police sepoys extort money from poor people by implicating them in false cases. Fixed amount of bribe is received from all departments functioning in the whole district. Corruption is rampant. Whether it is MPLAD fund or Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, district officers extort money through engineers. I would like to disclose that half of the fixed amount of bribe is received by the District Officers from Contractors and half of the bribe amount is taken away by engineers and contractors themselves. If we do not pay attention towards there happenings, we do not take any action in this regard, our fight against corruption will certainly result in failure.

I would like to say that criminals in this country have their own strange ways. Great men of our country, Mahatma Gandhiji tried to do a lot against addiction. Today there are only two States where prohibition is introduced. The entire country knows and right from small to prominent-each and every political worker is aware that all crimes like murder, dacoity, theft of motor car or cycle, kidnapping of children are not committed in sober condition but in an inebriated condition. Hence efforts should be made to enforce prohibition throughout the country and other resources should be tapped for generating revenue. I would like to submit that so far as the system of police officials is concerned, I am reminded of a couplet "Nizame Maikada Saqi Badalne Ki Zaroorat Hai, Bahut si hain Safe Jinmen na Mai Aayi na Jaam Maya" So I would like to submit that the Government should do some thinking about such people who are poor, who do not own a single cot and don't have a quilt or a blanket to cover themselves in winter.

Sir, I would like to submit that this is our misfortune that today there is no arrangement for imparting primary education in our country. The dilapidated building and shoddy seating arrangements seem to underline the misfortune of children of our country living in villages. Maximum emphasis was laid on education during the freedom struggle because this was the most sound basis of British Imperialism. The interests of the British were protected and sustained through the British education system. Today education is in a very bad state and primary education is in even worse state. A long time ago, Hon'ble Shri Gopal Krishan Gokhale had move a Resolution in the Legislative Assembly for making primary education compulsory, however it was turned down by the Britishers. It is good that the present Government is considering a proposal to declare the right to education as a Fundamental right. However, major bottleneck in the case of primary education is that so long as this education is not made compulsory and uniform, it won't be qualitative. Primary education is being imparted in convent, Kindergarten schools, in English medium as well as in regional languages. This disparity will have to be removed and uniformity will have to be introduced in education. When one passes out of primary school, same student pass out of English medium schools. When it comes to the higher education, students hailing from rural areas develop an inferiority complex. If standard of education is not improved, youth living in villages in our country won't be able to progress at all.

Sir, in all the European countries, children of a President and a clerk study in the same school whereas this is not the case in our country. More injustice is being done by handing over education to private sector. In South India, private Medical colleges and Engineering colleges have been set up. Admission is assured in such colleges by giving a donation of 10-20 lakhs. How will the intelligent students coming from poor families be able to take admission in medical and engineering courses? Who will give them 25-50 lakh rupees? Only those people can afford it, whose daily earnings are ten to twenty thousand rupees and children of such people will be able to become doctors and engineers. Hence, my submission is that there is a need to introduce uniform education policy in the country otherwise there would be a wide disparity in the sector of education.

Sir, who is unaware of the predicament of farmers in the agricultural sector? Land of farmers is being acquired in Gorakhpur but they are not being given appropriate compensation. There are two dams on river Ghagra and river Rapti-*Viz.* Hamphala Madura dam and Karmeni Bilauni. The land was acquired but compensation has not been paid so far. The margosa and the acacia trees are felled and when the landowner files a case, he is dragged in court for three years ...(*Interruptions*) Such atrocities are being

committed on the farmers of our country. According to a survey conducted regarding handloom sector, about nine lakh weavers are unemployed, 86 lakh weavers are unable to procure yarn. Under the circumstances, cloth cannot be provided for the poor and this is the problem being faced in the country. After all, where the yarn is being utilised? The truth is that the Government exports nearly 2000 lakh kilograms of yarn annually on the pretext of earning foreign exchange.

Sir, this fact was unravelled in a survey conducted in Mumbai that such people are forced to sell vegetables on footpaths on roadside ...(*Interruptions*) The same is the case with regard to my constituency Khalilabad too ...(*Interruptions*) The weavers of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have put away their looms. Some have even started using them as fuelwood. In Andhra Pradesh, many weavers reportedly committed suicide. The former chairman of Planning Commission, Shri Laxmi Chand Jain went there and enquired into the reasons for the mass suicide and also why the victims did not seek the help of villagers. He was told that the weavers had self-respect and they did not want to seek help from anyone. 'India Today' conducted a survey some months ago wherein it was found that those weavers died of starvation. The Government officials maintained that the weavers died of old age.

There upon 'India Today' stated that those who died were not more than 40 years old and they died of starvation. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to ask as to how long this will continue. Cottage industries, handicrafts and other such industries are dying. My colleagues have spoken against the Muslims that a civil code has been formed but.....

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat now.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SURENDRA YADAV: It is not being followed in our country. You may visit any police station ...

*[English]*

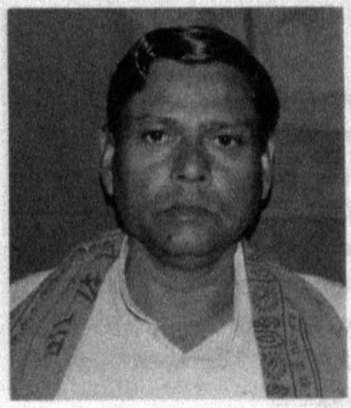
MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is over and this will not be going on record now.

*...(Interruptions)**

*[Translation]*

SHRI SURENDRA YADAV: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for having given me the time to speak.

*Not recorded.



**DR. AMRIT LAL BHARATI**

DR. AMRIT LAL BHARATI (Chail): On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the country's independence, I would like to pay my tributes to greatmen who made sacrifices and gave us independence. On this historic occasion, all the hon. members in the House are fully authorised to express their views freely and this is the hallmark of a democracy. What we achieved and lost in these 50 years? If we view the things in the right perspective then losses supersede gains. After independence while there have been developments in fields like education, industry, science and technology, there have been rampat corruption and scams, unemployment, cases of rape, starvation and extremism have increased by leaps and bounds. At the time of giving freedom to us, the Britishers had no doubt squandered country's wealth, but they had not made us debtors. Then what are the reasons that in a free country in these 50 years we owe so much debt. Today immediately after birth, a new born child carries a loan burden of Rs. 11000/- on its head. Today we are moving from one country to another with a begging bowl for loan. We need loan to pay interests of old loans. Everybody knows that there is some lacunae in us and in our policies.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, all the speakers spoke at length on corruption. There should be a serious discussion on this issue. In my view there is a need to make suitable amendments in the Constitution of India for this purpose. At the time of independence, there were only two or three parties in the country. While the Congress Party was the largest one, other parties like the Jan Sangh and the CPI were there. The past history is witness to the fact that at that time one of the parties used to get majority and the Government it formed used to be stable. In today's context we find that a person when he finds that his self-interest cannot be served in a party, forms a new party. This is the present condition of the country. Today the parties are in quite large a number whether they are national parties or regional ones. We see the repercussions of this phenomenon. In the present Lok Sabha even a single member of a party has joined the Government. As many as 14 parties joined together and formed the Government. Is

it proper? They are scared of the BJP. That is why they have joined hands. Joining hands is not bad, but the Government should run. For last several years elections are being held at frequent intervals. A Lok Sabha election costs about Rs. 16,00 crores. Can a country like India afford this expenditures? In every sector, be it drinking water, employment or education, People are clamoring for these things all over the country. Everywhere funds are short. How funds for election expenses are met? If funds spent on elections could be distributed in small proportions to district, many problems like unemployment, could be solved. This is the time to think. Why do not we think ourselves? If we have love for the country, if nationalistic feelings are there in us, let us rise above casteism and party and form a national party which will serve country's interests.

For last ten years, the dignity of leaders, political leaders and the House has declined and there has been a decline in their credibility What are the reasons for this? Today we are sitting here. Members belonging to different parties are there in the House. Here Members belonging to treasury benches and opposition do not consider one another as hon. Members. They get pleasure when fingers are raised at some member. They do not think that they may have to face a similar situation tomorrow.

We find that corruption has spread. The bureaucrats are mainly responsible for this. Nobody taught corruption or scam to leaders like us. It was spread by bureaucrats. Today there has been a decline in the administrative capacity and delay is caused for getting a work done. Small tips taken by lower staff took the shape of corruption and scam. Out of 10 rupees while Rs. 8 are pocketed by bureaucrats Rs. 2 are taken by leaders. The leaders have been put in the front row. We have to think about this together. Suitable provisions should be made in the constitution in this regard.

So far as education is concerned, as has been said by most of the hon. Members and just now Shri Yadav also said that, our educational system and policy is faulty. Equal opportunities should be given to all in the field of education. The Government should take up the responsibility of education in its own hands.

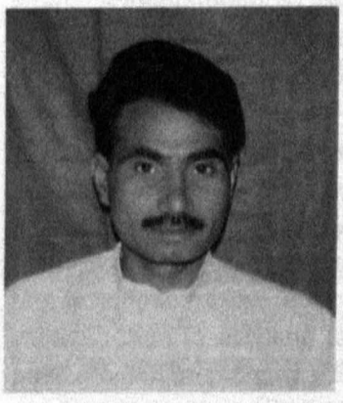
If we raise loans from other sources and utilises the money on education and other institutions. Government should take up education which occupies an important place at the national level into its hands and give equal opportunities to all. Today persons whether they are scientists, technicians, doctors or engineers, do not get suitable employment or due respect in the country because of which they go abroad. Today, if we go to a foreign country, we will find Indian doctors treating their patients and Indian engineers running their factories and making discoveries. Only because we could not provide them suitable employment and give them due respect they left of the country. There is a person Sonkar by name in our area. He is working in fishery. He made pearl from shells. The pearl is worth crores of rupees. This appeared in a magazine. He lives nearer to my native place. The Government should take cognigence of his work and honour him suitably. His labour and research work should be suitable rewarded. His talent should not go abroad. It should remain in the country itself. The Government should pay due attention to this.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as the question of unemployment is concerned, I would like to throw some light on this issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no, you have already spoken for 11 minutes.

DR. AMRIT LAL BHARATI: Since I am a member of the Parliamentary Committees on labour and welfare, I had an opportunity to visit Kanpur recently. All the factories are in a dilapidated condition there. Machineries worth crores of rupees are lying idle. Under the Governments policy lakhs and thousands of labourers are being rendered jobless. Their children are on the verge of starvation. The bureaucracy has a hand in this affair. These factories can work, if they get Government jobs like those from the Military and PAC. In this way these industries can be revived.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, since you interrupted me time and again, I am concluding. I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.



**SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH VARMA**

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH VARMA (Jalaun): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of our independence on the occasion of the golden jubilee celebration. This special session of Parliament has been convened to make introspection of what we have gained or lost during the past 50 years. I am grateful to you for having given me an opportunity to speak in this session. I also express gratitude to former Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee for having put forward the Motion in the House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, modern world is dynamic. The country is moving forward towards the 21st century in scientific, technical, social, economic and political perspective. Irregularities are growing day by day on the national scene. The situation is getting out of hand. Making a thorough view has become difficult. Under the circumstances, it is getting increasingly difficult to take the nation toward human progress, collecting maximum information and making use thereof. The nation today is facing many problems e.g. what will be the technique of the future human development, what the economy and political equations would be like, what impact would the changing profile of the society have on the nation, how would the nation shoulder its social responsibility and how would the Indian Parliament take its managerial shape, etc.

**08.00 hrs.**

Certainly man alone is the creative force of the nation. Therefore, putting the resources to good use is possible only through availability and efficiency of human resources. Howsoever developed science and technology may become, no equipment can form an alternative to man. Man is certainly the focal point of all management system and it is only through his proper management development that positive national endeavour and effective productivity can be achieved. Since very ancient times upto the modern industrial economies, human development has been present throughout in one form or the other. Food, employment, education, housing etc. form the pre-requisite for human development, but our nation is unable to meet these requirements even after fifty years of independence. Man's personal aptitudes, rights, regularities and habits require to be fully taken into account for human development.

The main objective of human development is to enable the individual to develop his capabilities to the optimum level and use them for achieving national objectives. It includes right thinking on the part of man, his capability to tackle problems, ability to get advice, insight, technical and scientific acumen, studiousness, analysis of self, capacity to withstand opposition, good will, commitment to the nation, but it is very sad to note that elementary principles said to be essential for human development are totally absent in the governance of the country. I would like to say that alround human development has not been possible due to aimlessness in the absence of proper atmosphere and fall in moral values. Therefore, for human development, it is very necessary to promote a proper organisational culture at the national level in order to achieve desirable results by effectively implementing the fixed programmes. The Government can say that human development has indeed taken place, by reeling out facts and figures, but that will be far removed from reality. Therefore, suggestions may be adopted for human development to facilitate development on solid basis. The effects of the programme may be brought to bear upon education, technical know how, medical treatment, scientific, economic, industrial political and sports fields and the entire humanity.

Development has a definite pace. Targets may be fixed in order to maintain continuity in that pace. Resolve may be taken to inculcate in every human being the spirit of development, zeal and steadfastness. An atmosphere of certainty and approval and orientation toward development must be there. After certain period a complete pause in human development should also intervene. Every human being should have orientation toward independent views and liberal attitude. For overall development, proper atmosphere, detailed and integrated programme, certainly not without a touch of reality should be there.

Hon'ble Mr. Chairman, ours is an agricultural country. At least 80 percent of our countrymen are farmers who live in the villages. No concrete measures have been taken, no new scheme formulated to improve the economic condition of the farmers. Today, even after 50 years of independence, the farmers do not get water for their fields timely. When they are not in need of water, they get plenty of it. Some farmers have got tubewells installed in their fields but they do not get electricity in time to operate them. Sometimes the farmers are given bogus manure in lien of their entitlement for electricity. The farmers use this manure in their fields to plough their fields with great expectations, but their crops get destroyed due to that manure. This should be remedied in order to improve the economic condition of the farmers.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of our independence in the form of golden jubilee, but are all people educated in our country? The cause of lack of education is our wrong policies. For our political interests, we do not want our countrymen to become literate. When Uttar Pradesh had BJP rule with Hon'ble Kalyan Singhji as its Chief Minister, respectable Raj Nath Singh ji was the Education Minister in his cabinet. The latter had brought forward the Anti-Copying Ordinance in order to improve the country's future. The ordinance compelled every child to make real studies. But when our present Defence Minister Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav came to power in U.P. after BJP rule, he withdrew the anti-copying ordinance. That ordinance is necessary for U.P. otherwise most of the children of U.P. who pass out every year mostly by obtaining their degrees by copying in the exams, will always be found going from pillar to post in search of jobs.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the spot biennial review of all the centrally sponsored schemes for the poor, farmers and labourers is necessary, because due to corruption, the benefits of such schemes do not trickle down to poor people. The whole funds meant for these schemes are pocketed by the officers. For example, under the Indira Awas Yojana for the Ambedkar villages, money ranging from Rs. Four thousand to Rs. Five thousand is being taken as bribes for allotment purposes. The amounts of subsidies on loans being given to the poor for providing employment under the I.R.D. are eaten away by the Bank and Block officials midway. These poor people are getting a paltry amount of just rupees Seven thousand against their entitlement of Rs. 10,000 as loan money, and the officers are indulging in creating confusion among them to recover from them double the amount they really get. Short of funds, these poor people have to repay loan amounts by selling their houses and agricultural fields. They are thus being rendered homeless. Therefor, these schemes need to be reviewed. Today, the whole country is experiencing the ill effects of corruption. There is no place where corruption is not rampant. 15 or 20 years ago, the performance of officials and politicians was reviewed at district level to identify the corrupt officials and politicians and there used to be one or two such cases only. But at present, the situation is totally changed and now we review the performance for identifying the honest officials and politicians. Our ancestors struggled hard for freedom of the country but I have apprehensions as to how long we will be able to protect it. We can well imagine the plight of common man in a country here a former Premier is trying to seek bail in case of corruption. In the speech, Hon. Speaker, has emphasized the need to start a second freedom struggle. Mr. Chairman, Sir, our first freedom was against foreigners but this one is against our own countrymen. In the end I pay my homage to the brave queen Lakshmibai of Bundelkhand-Jhasi and her friend Chhalkaaribai for their sacrifices in our freedom struggle. I also pay my homage to freedom fighters who are still amidst us and those who are not amidst us. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak here.

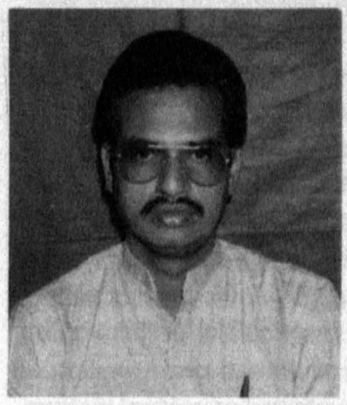
SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South-Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to make a submission. I want to withdraw my speech. I would like to speak here if the House permit to do so.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: A Member cannot speak twice. You have already participated and it is on record.

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE: Sir, I want to withdraw my speech. You may please allow me to do that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your speech is already on record. The full text of Shri Mohan Rawale's speech is on record. You cannot speak for the second time. Please take your seat. The time is very short. Please listen to Shri Shivraj Singh Chauhan.



**SHRI SHIVRAJ SINGH**

*[Translation]*

SHRI SHIVRAJ SINGH (Vidisha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you and thank you for conducting the business of the House in such a commendable manner. You are in the Chair for more than seven hours and are running the House very efficiently. There will be no problem before the country if the country is managed with the same motivation.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, all the Members have paid their homage to martyrs who sacrificed their lives in our freedom struggle. They should be worshipped. A poet has said that :

"Pooje na gaye Shaheed to,
Phir yeh mantra kaun apnaega,
Topon ke muh per kaun
Akadkar chhati apni adayega
Chumega Phande kaun
Goliyan vaksh per kaun khayega
Apne haton apne mastak
Phir aage kaun badhayega
Pooje na gaye Shaheed to phir
Yeh beej kahan se ayega
Dharti ko man keh kar
Maati ko maathe se kaun lagayega.

Thus, martyrs should be worshipped.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, debate is going on here for the last four-five days but I am not ready to accept that the present situation is very disappointing and that our democratic system is in danger. I am not ready to accept that nothing

can be done to improve the situation. Our democratic system is not that weak. It has already faced emergency which was imposed in 1975 which adversely affected the leaders like Sharad Pawar. Of course, our country could not make progress to the desired extent. There are certain reasons behind the slow progress of the country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, more than 50 percent of our population do not even know the actual meaning of freedom. The villagers, poor farmers and workers are ignorant about our freedom. It is also a fact that more than 50 percent of our population has not celebrated golden jubilee of Independence. Several tribal communities who live in forests do not know even the meaning of independence. Who is responsible for this situation. I do not want to dwell at length on this. Those who are primarily responsible for this are the politicians of this country. There has been degeneration of society. I am not saying this in the context of political leaders. There has been degeneration of national character. It is true that one finds honest people in every field whether it is politics, bureaucracy, farmers and other areas but in general there has been degeneration of character. To cite an example the doctors do not go to rural areas to provide medical care to the poor. Engineers get corrupt at the first opportunity. Teachers do not go to schools. There has been fall in standards in almost every field.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if anybody is responsible for this degeneration it is the political leadership of the country. The prime responsibility is with us. People watch our conduct. I recall that once I was ravelling from Indore to Bhopal by a bus. I gave money to the conductor for the ticket but he did not issue the ticket. When I asked him for the ticket he said he would issue it, please be seated. After an hour I reminded him that he had taken the money but had not issued the ticket. He again said that he would issue it soon. When I reached Bhopal and while getting down again reminded him that he had not issued ticket but had taken the money, he said that nobody is watching and therefore I should go away. He did not know that I was a Member of Parliament. Again he asked me to leave the place as nobody was watching. I told him that he is trying to swindle public money and I would not spare him and get his service terminated. On the contrary the conductor said that he did not know who I was and added that I may be powerful enough to get the services of a poor man terminated who had swindled only Rs. 50 but what about the Prime Minister who swindled crores of rupees and the matter was hushed up. If you want to reform the system then those persons should be thrown off their chairs and their powers snatched away. If the persons occupying the highest position indulges in malpractices and other wrongful deeds, it percolates down also. If the fountain head is sullied i.e. if Gangotri itself is polluted how can Ganga be clean in the plains of Kanpur and Varanasi? Therefore the prime responsibility lies with the political leadership.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, this cannot be achieved through long speeches but through following certain principles and having ideal conduct. On this Golden Jubilee celebrations of our Independence we should resolve that we would work sincerely and honestly. This can be a service of inspiration for others also. The biggest hurdle in this is that we have never treated national interst as supreme. The party interest has been considered above all and the leaders have considered lust for power and position as supreme. Those who do not enjoy power, they want to get it by hook or by crook and those who occupy high position they want to remain saddled there for ever.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, 'Ekkas' used to pay in Bhopal. There used to be one horse in it with blinkers. These blinkers were tied round his eyes so that he could not see anything around and get distracted and could move in straight direction. Similarly, the politicians of today are using blinkers. They do not see anything around but the high position (Kursi), they are not bothered about peoples' problems. Their sole aim is to get power at any cost. The second thing is that we do not have enough courage to oppose. We give popular slogans. We indulge in such deeds which are wrong and consider not to being public interest. We know that we are doing wrong but even then hesitate to say so lest the masses get angry with us. Therefore nobody opposes anything.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a gentleman approached me and asked me to help in getting his son more marks in an examination in which his son had not shown good result. I rebuked him and told him that he should be ashamed of his behaviour of asking MP to help in such a matter. On the contrary he said that cannot you do even this small favour. My party workers told me later that I should not have said so as he might have taken it otherwise. We cannot make our constituents angry. They told me that I should not have directly and plainly refused but instead told him that I would try. We do not even have the courage to say that it is wrong. We condemn this. We have lost that courage of saying that a politician cannot do this. A true leader is a person who can give right direction, to the masses. Let us all oppose what is wrong.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to bring another fact to your notice. Lot has been said about unemployment. But why did unemployment increase. We have discussed at length about education. I would not dwell on it. I am a farmer and belong to rural area. About 25 years back the villages were

self sufficient. Many people used to get employment in the village. There were blacksmith, goldsmith and carpenter in the villages. The 'teli' used to provide pure edible oil to every household. Today all these people have been thrown out of employment. There was one Munni Blacksmith in my village. He was an excellent craftsman. There was none to match his excellence in about 20-25 villages in the vicinity. He used to make agriculture implements. Two years back when I went to my village I saw him selling grocery items etc. I asked him why it is so. People still remember your agriculture implements like sickle, spade and axe etc. He said that now people purchase these things from Bhopal where lot of factories of agricultural implements have come up. Who will now purchase from me?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is true that where Tata manufactures edible oil and Bata makes shoes the traditional artisans and craftsman, the cobbler, blacksmith and oilman (Teli) will be thrown out of employment. This is the position today. The traditional employment in villages have been destroyed. This is a reality. We have invited multi-national companies under the liberalisation policy and opened the doors of our economy to them. Will this not increase unemployment? Loans are sanctioned to the youth under IRDP and Jawahar Rozgar Yojana but with mere Rs. 35000 out of Rs. 1 lakh that they get, what can the youth do. Can they get any gainful employment? The multi-national companies have huge funds which they spend on advertisements alone. They even make soap and it is promoted by a Cinema actress through an advertisement, who is all praise for Lux soap which she claims is the secret of her beauty. Then why will people purchase any other brand like Shivraj soap etc. The small scale and cottage industries in the country which could have provided gainful employment to youth have been ruined by the entry of these multi-national and foreign companies. Mr. Chairman, Sir, another important thing I want to say is that if you want to provide employment to our youths then please ban the manufacturing of those items in big industries which can easily be manufactured by them in their homes with low budget. Only then small scale and cottage industries will succeed and run successfully otherwise they are bound to fail. Right to work should be made a fundamental right. Education be made job-oriented, rural oriented and not degree-oriented. What for the people get degrees? They do so because degree makes them eligible for different kinds of jobs. People arrange higher education for their children, they are passing M.A., M.Com. and M.Sc. examinations but inspite of that they are becoming just clerks. Therefore in my view the 10th standard education would be sufficient for becoming a clerk. We should have an autonomous body in our country to run our education system. Why the Government alone is carrying the entire burden of education in our country and why should not an autonomous body comprising of eminent educationists, academicians and social workers be set up to look after this task? They all should sit together and think as to what kind of educational system we should have in our country. We should abolish the duel system of education and spend 10 percent of our total budget on education.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, much has been said about our language policy. I do not want to say much in this regard. The other day, Shri Mulayam Singhji dwelt at length on this subject. I associate myself with his ideas. Language of the common man, language of the poor should be used in our administrative work. Our official language is Hindi and if we impart education in Hindi, if we make it the language of communication then certainly our country will move ahead on the path of progress. Administrative work should be done in the language of the public—be it Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, or any other Indian language. This need was emphasised by Dindayal Ji, Lohia ji and Gandhi ji but we have never considered them seriously. We have to give Hindi the status of our official language in the real sense.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we are facing political instability in our country. Even certain States are also plagued by this malaise. Today the apprehension of next elections is looming large which makes every M.P. worried. Nobody knows as to how long this Lok Sabha and this Government will last. Political instability can never bring development to the country. Stability is a must for development and therefore we must consider seriously the need for presidential form of government in our country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the end, I would like to submit that today we see despair which we have to remove everywhere in our society. We may have several differences amongst us. It could be difference of opinion, difference of ideology or political difference which are bound to be there but there are certain issues like population explosion, criminalisation of politics, unemployment, corruption, poverty and defective system of education, on which consensus exists among different political parties. Therefore, cannot we have unanimous policy on these issues? Cannot we formulate unanimous programmes to fight these issues? Policies and programmes formulated by us through consensus and implemented honestly can only help India to achieve progress in real sense, otherwise nothing will happen except that this special session will conclude. During this special session we did not fight with each other otherwise in every session. We have always indulged in mud-slinging against each other. This is the case with every political party. Even if somebody does a good work, we never give any credit to him. We never praise him. Further if any

member of our political party does any bad thing, we cannot dare to say that he is doing anything wrong because he belongs to the same party to which we belong. If we do that, we shall be accused of tarnishing their public image.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it should be our endeavour to evolve a national consensus on above burning issues and implement them honestly. The one who paints a gloomy picture is not a leader. The leader is got to be an optimist who brings the ray of hope to people. A leader is one who infuses life even in dead bodies. We should never say lie, never lose our courage. If we say we are finished, we cannot save our country. We cannot scare away even a fly sitting on our face. That little task will also be completed by our neighbour. I concede that today urgently needed development is not taking place at the desired pace and still we are lagging far behind in comparison to other countries but once we take a firm resolve with determination and will power, we can face every challenge and emerge victorious. This is the right occasion to do something for the country and therefore, let us utilise this opportunity and resolve to steer the country ahead. I am sure that India will march ahead successfully and guide the whole world towards eternal peace and humanity. Let us prepare India for that day. Give up pessimism and be optimistic.

"Kaun Kahta Hai Ki Asman Mein Chhed Nahi Hota,
Ek Pathar to Tabiyat Se Uchhalo Yaaro"

If we strive with full determination and firm resolve coupled with strong will power, no doubt India will go far ahead and show the light of knowledge the entire world. India will again become the world leader. Let us march ahead with this determination.

Thank you very much for having given me this opportunity to speak.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, the list of speakers from all the parties and individuals available with me is over now. I have called all the speakers. Now, the discussion on this Motion is complete.

Today, when we conclude our deliberateness, it is a record, an all time record in the history of Lok Sabha. Before this, the longest sitting of the Lok Sabha was on 25.7.1996. That was a discussion on the Railway Budget which went up to 07.17 a.m. on the next day. Now, when we are concluding our deliberations, it is 08.24 a.m.

So, hon. Members, I thank you very much for the excellent cooperation extended.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai-South Central): Do we have to sign the register today also? ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

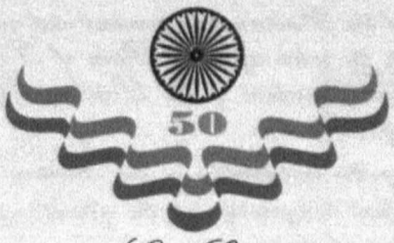
MR. CHAIRMAN: I specially thank the officers and staff of the Lok Sabha for spending one more sleepless night for the successful conduct of the proceedings.

Now, the House stands adjourned to meet again on Monday, the 1st September, 1997 at 1100 hours.

**08.24 hrs. [31.8.97]**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, September 1, 1997/Bhadra 10, 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.

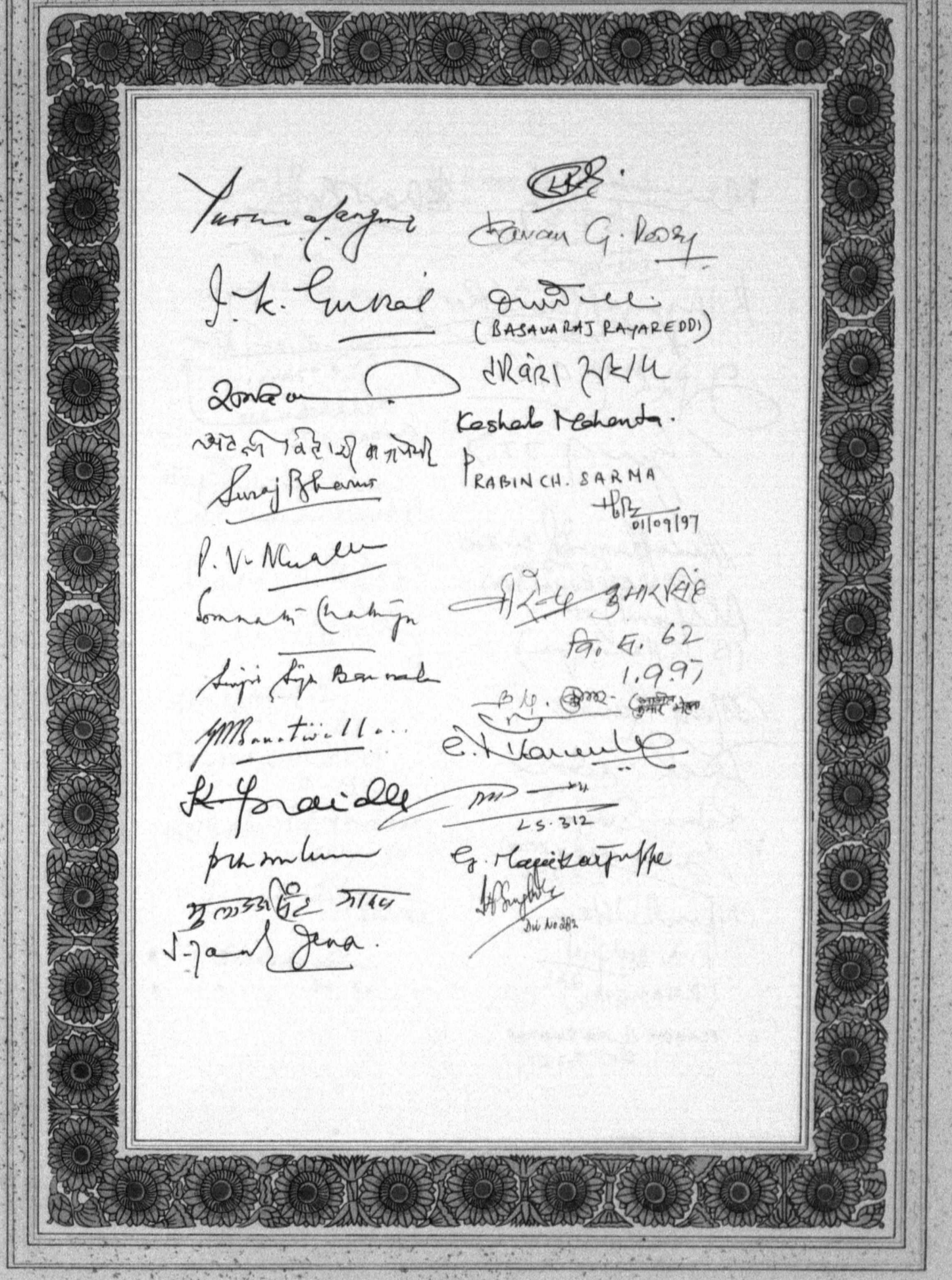
That continuous efforts be made for achieving, in a time bound manner, marked improvement in the quality of life of all citizens of our country with special emphasis on provision of our minimum needs food, nutrition and health security at the house-hold level; potable water; sanitation and shelter;

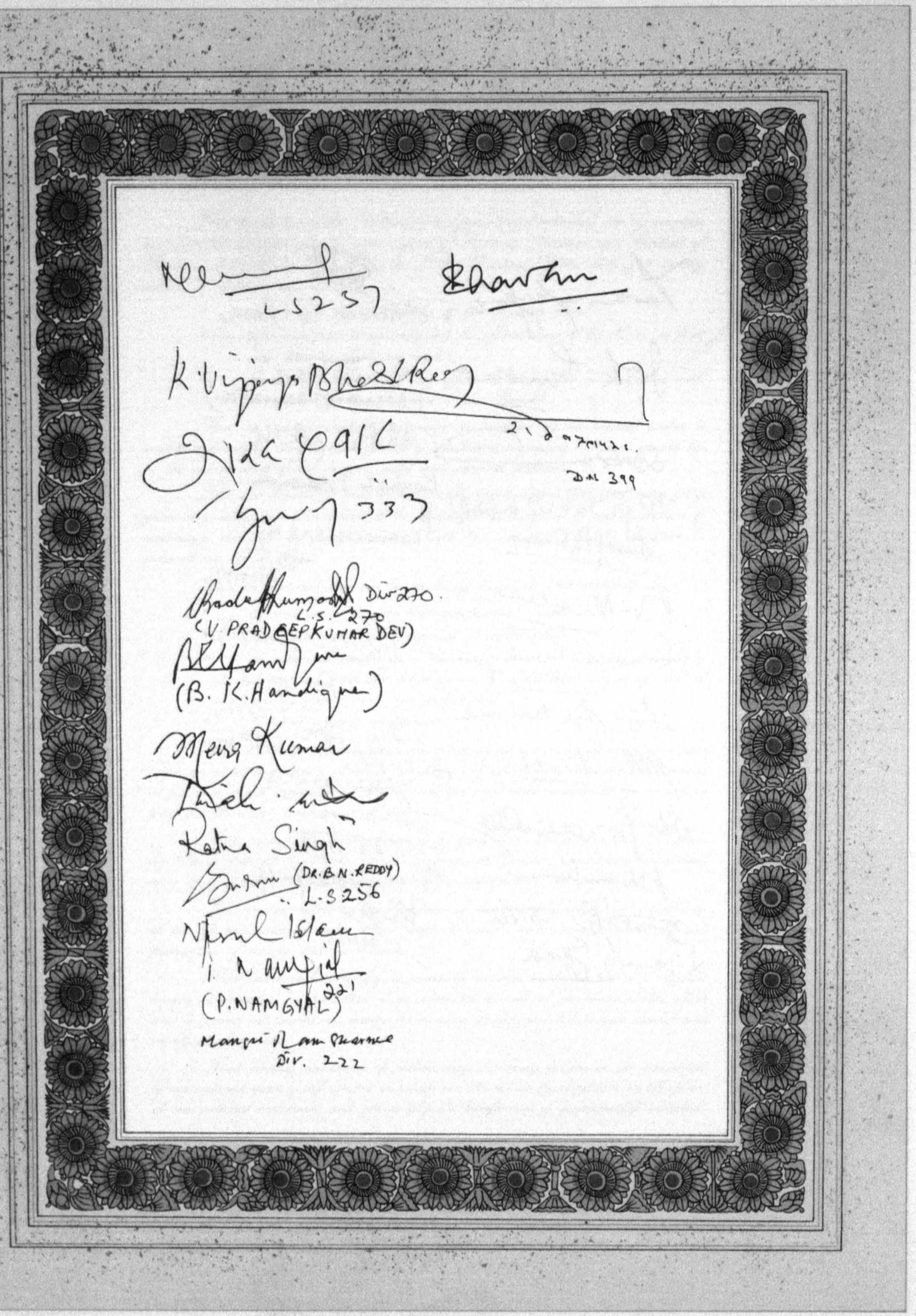
That gender justice be established in the spirit of the Declaration and Platform for Action of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) and be practised as a way of life, with particular emphasis on education of the girl child;

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.





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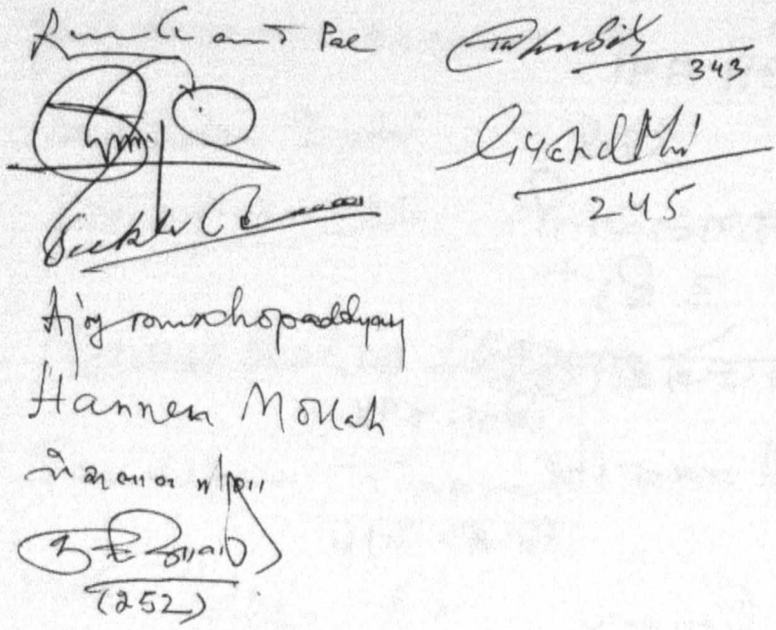

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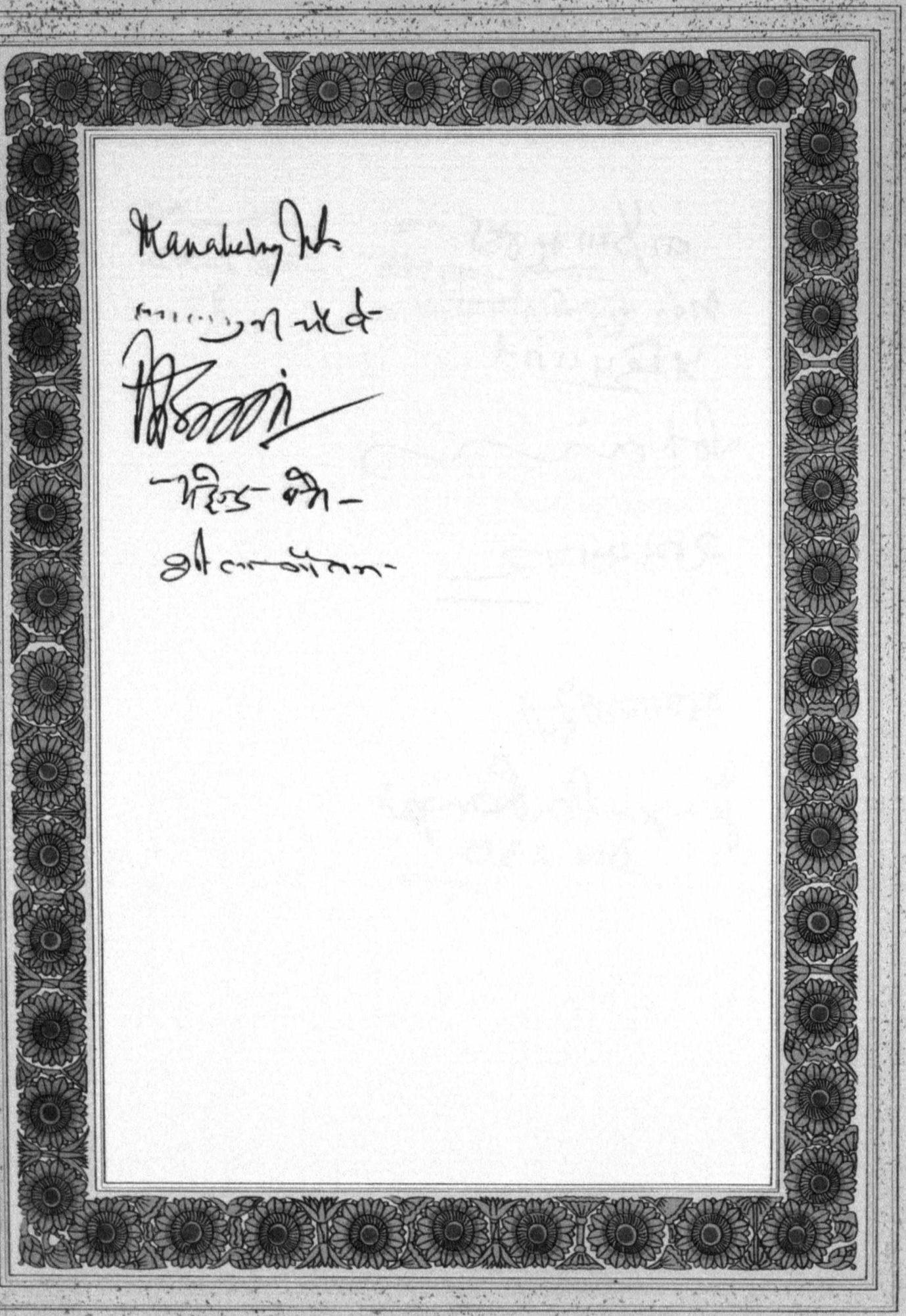

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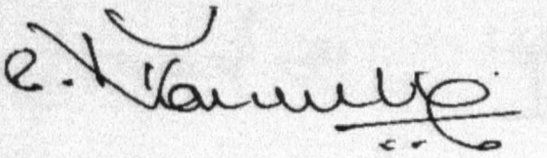

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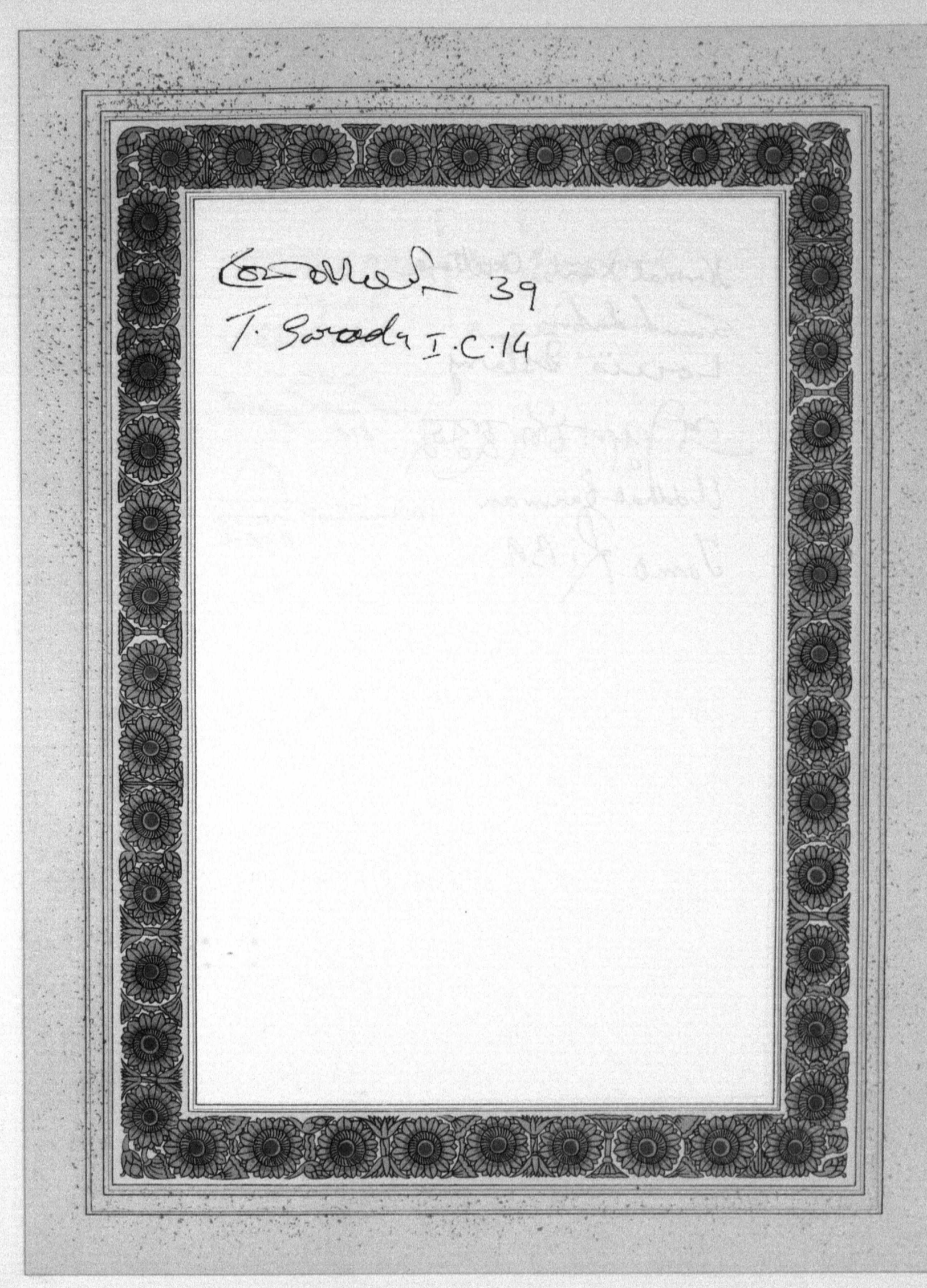

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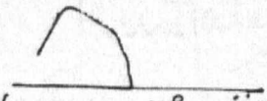

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आनन्द मोहन

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