

13.23½ hrs.

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

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now we take up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address and before we do that, I would like to bring to the notice of the Members that the time allotted for this discussion was nine hours. The Congress (I) was allotted three hours and twenty-nine minutes; they have taken three hours six minutes; BJP was allotted one hour fifty-four minutes, they have taken one hour ten minutes; Janata Dal was allotted fifty-four minutes, it has taken one hour twenty-seven minutes; and CPI was allotted thirty-four minutes, it has taken fifty-six minutes. I am not giving the time allotted to other small parties. Now, because of the time constraint, I have to request the hon. Members to be very brief and just to speak on those points which have not been already made, so that other Members also can get the opportunity to speak. I will call on the Members one after the other and I hope that they will cooperate in this matter. Mr. Chacko.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Chacko.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur): Sir, I belong to Manipur People's Party.

MR. SPEAKER: Do you want to speak?

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Yes. My Party has not been given time.

MR. SPEAKER: I gave details of the time which has been consumed by others, just to keep you informed that there is a time constraint and we shall have to adjust the time.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Thank you Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. P. C. Chacko.

SHRI P. C. CHACKO (Trichur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was referring to a point before the House adjourned yesterday. I may be permitted to conclude my speech. I only request my friends in the Opposition to come closer to share the responsibilities which the country is facing today. And those who are sitting closer in the House may come still closer and that is my request.

Coming to the point, on page 5, para 18 in the President's Address, there is a mention about the industrial growth. A lot of anxiety has been expressed on that point in this House. I wholeheartedly welcome the target fixed for the industrial growth which is 8.5%. This is what we have to achieve. I was listening to Smt. Susheela Gopalan explaining about this yesterday. She was explaining that the biggest problem is unemployment.

The Left Front Government of Kerala was offering ten lakh employment per year. After four years of administering the State, they quit without solving the unemployment problem even by an inch. Any promises, if they are not implemented, will take away the basic trust of the younger generation in the system. So, I hope that a large investment will be made in the industrial sector. A lot of anxiety has been expressed by the Opposition side. Anybody who understands economics will agree that the rate of growth can only be proportionate to the rate of investment. A large and substantial investment is to be made during a particular period of time so that anybody, either Non-resident Indians or others may be permitted to come and invest. All the anxieties are out of place. This Government may not have the adequate majority. But it has got a will to rule the country. So, any restriction can be imposed as and when it is required. In the industrial sector also, regional imbalance should be avoided.

Sir, I am coming from the State of Kerala. The Central sector investment is comparatively low in Kerala.

It is even lower than the national average. Out of Rs. 1,13,000 crores of Central sector investment in the whole country, the Kerala State's share is only less than 1.5%. This is quite inadequate, I request that the Government may please consider increasing this when they consider Central sector investment further.

**13.29 hrs.** [SHRI SHARAD DIGHE  
*in the Chair*]

In this context I just mention one very relevant point. In the industrial development the banks have also to play a crucial role. The scheduled and nationalised banks in the State are keeping an unfavourable CD Ratio. They have collected Rs. 7,858 crores from the State as deposits against which they have advanced only Rs. 4,638 crores which is just 59 per cent of the total deposits. Hence the credit deposit ratio should be increased. If 5 per cent is increased, Rs. 400 crores for industrial development will be available.

There is some reference in the present President's Address regarding the strengthening of the Railways. Well, we have been very hopeful and we were all listening with great enthusiasm what was mentioned in the President's Address. But when the Railway Budget came, we were all disappointed. Sir, Kerala is a State where there is no substantial expansion in respect of railway lines for the last 25 years except the small line from Trichur to Guruvayoor, which is under consideration and which is starving for want of funds. The density of traffic in our railway lines are also very high. The Trivandrum-Trichur sector is utilised 125 per cent. Nothing about electrification of Kerala railway lines was mentioned in the Railway Budget, and I hope the Minister will rectify this while accepting the proposals from this House during the debate. The segment of Trivandrum-Trichur is the most dense area, and I request the Government that electrification may kindly be considered for

the railways in Kerala. The Kerala Government offered the entire electricity requirement for electrification of the railway lines in Kerala and that offer has been pending for the last 15 years. The electrification of Jolarpet-Erode sector is being completed. Electrification of Erode-Trivandrum section may also be considered on a top priority basis.

The requirement of the State in the sector also is not being properly attended to. In the Presidential Address it is mentioned that the power sector will be strengthened. The Super Thermal Power Station at Kayamkulam which was sanctioned is still waiting for the final clearance of the Cabinet. Only the preliminary work is being undertaken on it and I request that final sanction may be accorded.

In the transport sector also, a lot of things are to be done. But for want of time I am not able to elaborate on this. My esteemed colleague, Mr. K. P. Unnikrishnan, was in charge of this Department. He tried his best, but his 'best' is not enough. The funds allotted to this sector are not sufficient to undertake the developmental work there. Kerala is an 'extended city' and the National Highway looks like a 'village road' and it is the only place where the 4-line National Highway is not implemented.

Sir, Survey on Guruvayoor-Kutti-param line has not yet been taken up and it should be completed soon. While implementing the points mentioned in the President's Address, Kerala's pending demands may also be considered.

I would like to make one more point and conclude. About the natural calamities, when any State or area of the country is hit by natural calamities, no proper help is coming. On the 1st of June this year, the South-West monsoon started in Kerala with high velocity winds and sea erosion and land-slides. In the last few weeks 104 persons died in Kerala due

[Sh. P. C. Chacko]

to this calamity and thousands of families were uprooted and even now relief camps are operating there. The damage is estimated to the tune of Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 crores and no funds are coming to Kerala. When natural calamities are hitting various parts of the country, it is the duty of the Central Government to come to the rescue of the State Governments. All these things are being mentioned in the President's Address.

In conclusion, I welcome the points mentioned in the President's Address. The Government may kindly consider sympathetically the backwardness of the States like Kerala. I wholeheartedly support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Buta Singh. And I also welcome the Prime Minister's statement that this Government will work with consensus and the attitude of the Congress Government should be understood in the proper spirit. We are facing a situation where we should all rise to the occasion and face the challenges that are before the country and in this hour of crisis it is the duty of all parties to come together and cooperate.

With these words, I once again support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Buta Singh and thank the hon. Speaker for the opportunity given to me.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):** Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise most reluctantly to oppose the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. I rise to oppose because this Address of the President is nothing but a bald statement, full of high sounding postulates and platitudes without giving a proper direction to the policies which the Government should pursue in the matter of the solution of the most pressing problems of the country. It does not correctly amplify the most burning problems that we face today. It does not spell out appropriate solutions to those problems. It also does not correctly measure the depth, magnitude and also the intensity of the

crises that are facing the country today.

Sir, within this brief period of time at my disposal I would only like to draw the attention of the Government to certain basic problems of the country. The first problem which I want to draw the attention of the Government is the price rise in the country. The Congress (I) made an electoral promise It is quite well known to everybody in the country, the Ministers and the Members of this House to what was the promise made by the Congress (I). I quite appreciate the position taken by the hon. Finance Minister. He was very blunt and correctly said that it was not possible for the Government to bring down the prices of essential commodities and other items within 100 days, as promised by the Congress (I) Party during the election campaign. He is blunt because he is not a politician. He knows his subject better than anybody else. I am also in agreement with him that under the present socio-political and economic policies that this Government is following, it is not possible to bring down the price level, not to speak of rolling back to July, 1990 level. If you go through the price situation in our country for the last three decades, you will find that never had been the occasion where any Government, of whatever complexion might have been, had been able to bring down the prices of the commodities mainly because of the fact that the Government could not take a bold stand to bring about a radical change in fiscal and economic policies. If you have to bring down the prices, then you have to radically change the fiscal economic policies.

Sir, I have got some figures with me. The Consumer Price Index based in 1960 as 100, rose annually by about six per cent during 1960s, by 8.5 per cent during 1970s, by 9.8 per cent during 1980s and during 1990-91, it increased by 11.6 per cent. It is bound to go up because the Government is following a fiscal policy which creates inflation and which has got some

cascading effect. If you have to really bring down the price level, you have to take a new policy. Naturally during the Budget debate, we shall be able to criticise or even support if it is possible the new economic and fiscal policies that the Government proposes to make.

Sir, the Prime Minister was very kind enough to say that the Government proposes to strengthen and expand the Public Distribution System. It is not only the question of expanding the Public Distribution System, but it is also the question of diversifying the items to be supplied through the Public Distribution System.

Sir, we have been demanding for a long time that the Government, if it is at all interested in bringing down the price level, should evolve a programme or take up a programme for supply of essential items of daily necessities through the public distribution system channel, at subsidised rates. Here the question of subsidy comes in. Unless you provide subsidy, it will not be possible to bring down the price level particularly of essential commodities. In view of the economic policy which the Government proposes to pursue it wants to drastically cut the subsidy. But I know the economic crisis which the country faces. I implore upon the Government that the subsidies which are meant for the welfare of the people, which are meant for the common men should not be cut. As a matter of fact, in order to meet the crisis, in certain cases, the subsidies are to be further expanded in order to remove the grievance of the people.

Another very important problem which has missed the attention of the President is the growing regional disparity. Growing regional disparity is not merely an economic phenomenon in our country but it is more than that. This growing regional disparity has given rise to serious political problem. The political problem, I mean, is the movement for

secession and terrorism. One of the very alarming phenomena is terrorism which pronounces the objective of secession which we find in ULFA in Assam. This we find in Punjab. We find intensified, prolonged terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir. I am constrained to mention these voices of secession are also audible today in other parts of the country and I may mention Tamil Nadu and Darjeeling also in West Bengal and Southern parts of Bihar. My objective is not to draw the attention of secessionist and terrorists activities in this part of the country, but my objective is to draw the attention of the House to the basic reason for growing terrorism and growing sense of isolationism, growing sense of divisionism and separatism. This is all borne out of the growing regional disparities.

Unless the Government adopts a new economic policy to remove or rather minimise economic regional disparities, the unity and integrity of the country will be in jeopardy. Therefore, it is not only from the point of view of economic interest but also from the point of view of larger political interest, namely unity and integrity of the country, the regional disparities should be removed.

In this matter, I also draw the attention of the Government to a longstanding demand of the people of West Bengal and other States of Eastern sector of the country and Northeastern sector of the country. In this connection, I may mention the continuance of freight equalisation scheme in respect of iron and steel and telescopic freight of the Railways. By these two schemes, the States in the Eastern sector, namely, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and other States in the Northeastern region are deprived of the locational advantage. It is because they are the steel producing States, coal producing States and they are being denied of these advantages which arise out of the location. The Government earlier had a committee

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

called. National Transport Policy Committee, popularly known as Pandey Committee. Pandey Committee already made a recommendation for the phased abolition of this scheme. This has not been implemented yet. The demand is either you abolish it in a phased manner or introduce this system, expand this system, extend this system, with special freight for other industrial goods. For example, there are many industrial goods which other States also require for their manufacturing activities, for example, cotton. The States in the Eastern part of the country are to take cotton from the Western part of the country. But freight equalisation facility is not extended to them in the case of cotton. But the facilities are extended to the Eastern and Southern States and other Northern States in case of steel, iron and coal. I have no grudge against other States as they are in the process of industrialisation. I want that every State should have good scope for speedy industrialisation and for economic development. But there should be a sense of equity. Other States which have got the locational advantage of certain industrial raw materials, should also be given the chance or opportunity to expedite their process of industrialisation.

Therefore, I want that the Government should also take note of it.

The Prime Minister has made an appeal saying that our country is passing through a grave crisis and that people should make sacrifices. Yes. We are conscious of the crisis. But which section of the people are required to make sacrifices? Would you kindly give a careful thought to that? Is it the poorest of the poor or the richer section of the people? I will give you the figures.

In 1981, the top big business had assets of only Rs. 6,541 crores.

In 1988, their assets rose to Rs. 18,06,317 crores.

Who has to make sacrifice? I think the President should have pointed out that to enable the country to meet this grave crisis, the richer section, the industrial houses, the big houses, the monopolists should also have to bear the burden and not the general people 40 per cent of whom are still beyond the poverty level.

I hope the Government would change its economic policies taking into account the basic realities in our society.

MAHARANI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI (Tripura-East): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to participate in this debate on the Motion of Thanks on the Address that the President had been pleased to deliver to the two Houses of Parliament on July 11, 1991. I wholeheartedly support the Motion, as it has particularly given the backward and the rural poor and the women, due importance. The Government policy with regard to the women and children is praiseworthy.

I would like to confine my observations particularly to the backward tribal area of the border State of Tripura and the North-East, in general.

As a representative of the tribals, the problems faced by them, pose the question that these people who have received great love, patronage and recognition of the leaders of the nation and our party, why is it that in spite of the best efforts, good wishes and sincerity on the part of the leaders, we, the tribals, feel unfortunately that nothing of much significance has been done for the economic upliftment of these innocent children of nature. In the tribals pockets of almost all States, there is extreme economic hardship and the people are on the verge of starvation. This has given rise to revolt amongst the youth. The question is: Where has all the assistance and planned

development expenditure for the tribals gone? It should raise some fundamental questions in the minds of the Members of this House with regard to the form, content and future viability of tribals and rural development programmes.

Some of the important issues are common to all the tribals of this country. Take, for example, the infiltration of non-tribals into the tribal belts. In Tripura, as also in the North-Eastern States, we can say that we are continuously facing the problem of influx of refugees from Bangladesh. Now, it has created a lot of hardship and economic exploitation. It is found that the Mahajans and the money-lenders have become the greatest beneficiaries. We also find that the benefits of all the Land Acts, all the Land Revenue & Land Reforms Acts don't reach the tribals. The tribals do not get the benefit of those Acts. Therefore, Sir, I would again bring this to the notice of the House that all laws relating to reforms with regard to the tribals should be put into the Ninth Schedule. There should be a Central Act with regard to Revenue & Land Reforms Act which cover the loopholes and weaknesses of Revenue Laws. In fact, these Acts should be put in the Ninth Schedule, as I said earlier. There should be a Central Act which should cater to the need for codification of tribal Customary Law and Land Usage Pattern. I don't think we have any pattern of this sort in this country. In the North-East, we have tried this in some States. In fact in my own State I initiated this Tribal Customary Law and Land Usage Pattern. We are in the process of it. Again, we require Central Assistance.

In Tripura, in 1979, we received over 20 lakhs of refugees. They have all settled in the State. As a result of this, there has been a population upsurge. This is the reason why most of the North-Eastern States do not want to have refugees in their

States. They find that the population imbalances create a lot of social problems for the people.

We have got the Chittagong tribals who have been staying in Tripura for the last 12 years. Till today, we have not been able to send them back. Neither, are we giving them enough help. I think that on humanitarian grounds we should give these people help. They have been persecuted and they have faced religious persecution. They are also facing ethnic persecution. Since they have been there for 12 years, I would request this House to take up the matter of the refugees who are staying in Tripura with Bangladesh Government to ensure that they be allowed to return safely to their country. Meanwhile, they should be given some additional educational, health and ration facilities which are very meagre now. We are giving them some very meagre facilities.

Sir, we in Tripura are also facing acute food shortage due to incessant rains, hurricanes which continuously damage our crops. The villagers and the hill area people are pressing for an immediate supply of rice and foodgrain stocks.

Adequate arrangement is yet to be made to provide drinking water facilities for the tribal and the rural areas. Steps should be taken to augment them.

Public Distribution System there is extremely poor. As you know, ours is a land-locked State. We are surrounded on three sides by Bangladesh and we have to depend on the mainland for all our supplies. Therefore, for our Public Distribution System should be augmented to help the women, the poor women in the villages and the tribal women living in the remote areas, we should put up fair price shops so that we could at least guarantee, during lean periods, supply of goods at fair price shops.

[Maharani Bibhu Kumari Devi]

Next, the Agartala Airport is another important matter. I think it should be modernised in the interest of this State because as I have just mentioned, we are a land-locked State. Communication system is poor. We would like to have facilities for night landing and the facilities for landing bigger aircrafts like the Airbus. We do have three or four services but they are not quite sufficient. We have not been recovering our planes in time due to many reasons like the climatic factor etc. As I have mentioned just now we have no night landing facilities.

On the educational front I would request that we should be given some educational facilities in the tribal and rural areas. We would like to have free education up to a graduation level for those students who are very poor. We do have a Tripura University. But we would also demand that the University of Tripura be converted into a Central University. Education should be made compulsory for all children upto the age of 15.

Besides this a medical college with research facilities in the State would be most welcome. Due consideration for setting up of this college may be given.

Our former Prime Minister late Shri Rajiv Gandhi had announced special integrated programme for the development of women and children. This would definitely help us all in the border States of North-East. We have got women from border areas, from rural and tribal areas who should get administrative support which is so important for an integrated development of the country. The National Committee for Women's Rights is a step in the right direction. We welcome this Government's programme for the deprived class of people, namely, the women.

With these words, I support the Motion and thank the Chair for allowing me the opportunity

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BAN-**  
**SAL (Chandigarh)** Mr Chairman

Sir we are today passing through a critical juncture of our history. I say so despite the fact that an hon. Member from the other side termed such description as 'liche'. When the Congress(I) assumed the responsibility of running the Government last month we knew that this responsibility was to retrieve the country out of the morass into which it was pushed during the preceding one and half years. During this period instability lacerated our system, sheer incompetence and indiscipline eroded the authority of the Government as did the scramble for fulfilment of purely personal ambitions. Violence stalked the land of Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. Lack of a long term perspective crushed the economy, inflation squeezed the marrow out of the bones of the poor, the prestige of the country in the international arena dipped to embarrassing levels and an all pervading uncertainty stared mockingly at us.

It is in this grim situation that faced the Congress accepted the challenge and the duty to run the Government. We face two handicaps in doing so. The dastardly assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi deprived us of the protective hand of the Nehru Gandhi family whose role in the task of nation building has been unparalleled and whose place in Indian democracy has had an element of mysticism. This handicap becomes more pronounced and telling in an ambience where the governmental responsibilities have to be discharged without enjoying an absolute majority in the Lok Sabha. Clearly the task is uphill and challenging but the Government and the party under the stewardship of Shri Narasimha-rao are undaunted. We derive our strength from the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi and are determined to carry forward that legacy with continued vigour and dedication.

The President's Address presents the Government's agenda of action in the coming days. Combating the evil of communalism, violence and terrorism have been accorded due priority as these have inflicted a devastating blow on our polity. The economy has nose-dived. It has to be resurrected and put back on rails.

Sir, difficult situations call for hard corrective measures.

14 00 hrs. [RAO RAM SINGH  
in the Chair]

Any action in this regard will be welcome but special care has to be taken to ensure that the poor and weaker sections of the society do not feel the pinch.

The Government's resolve to streamline and strengthen the Public Distribution System to ensure that the weakest of the weak have access to the essential commodities at affordable prices deserves due acknowledgment. Shri Rajiv Gandhi considered it as a major social obligation. The Prime Minister has kept the charge of this important subject with him. I am confident that this will convey the necessary message to the bureaucracy. I am confident again that the lack of resources would be no excuse for not strengthening the Public Distribution System which has to be overhauled and people with missionary zeal drafted to man it.

The Congress is committed to strive for creating conditions where every citizen leads his life with dignity and honour. In the past, well thought of plans were put to work but two interregnums of non-Congress rule in 1977-80 and 1989-91 put the clock back because those at the helm of affairs had their idiosyncratic notions of governance which made development a casualty. I was amused to hear some hon. Members from the other side speaking on this motion as also on the

Confidence Motion. They were either Members of a government that lasted for 11 months or were its supporters. That Government presided over the collapse of our democratic institutions, the retardation of developmental process and the lowering of our prestige. Today they want the new Government to remedy the ills overnight. They know that their parties were rejected by the discerning people. The verdict against the Janata Dal was for their utter failure to size up to the responsibilities that the Government of India has to shoulder. The BJP made an all out frantic bid for power but their brazenly communal harangues did not move the predominantly secular people of the country.

The Congress may not have obtained absolute majority but the mandate of the people about the role assigned to different parties is unambiguously clear.

SHRI SAIYAGOPAL MISRA (Lamluk) You got only 36 per cent of votes.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL Please listen to what I am saying. Having taken up the reins of Government the Congress will not dither in performing its duties. The primary concern is the well-being of the people and it is satisfying to discern from the President's Address that the Government will not be bogged down by any rigidity of thought or action in its approach to various issues that face us today.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi lent a forceful thrust to the advancement of science and technology. Its benefits reaching out to the people strike anyone visiting the country after a gap of five years. As a true inheritor of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's ideals, the new Government is committed to bring science and technology to the centre stage in economic planning.

[Sh. Pawan Kumar Bansal]

Today an interlude of uncertainty and despondency has come to an end. The return of Congress signifies that the world outside will once again look at us with an eye of understanding and respect. Our credibility has been restored. An aura of hope and optimism pervades the nation's life. This is the result of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's untiring efforts. He lived and died for India's unity and integrity; for India's progress and prosperity. An unrelenting desire to take India to the 21st century was a passion for him. It was his literature, his poetry, his philosophy. It was this passion which made him going, it was this passion which made him aspire and it was this passion which was his anthem to life. He instilled a sense of confidence and self-respect in the minds of his countrymen and after their frustration, their nightmare of 12 months, when he was poised to take over as the Prime Minister of the country, forces enigmatic to the country assassinated him. The captain who was celebrated and sung the world over was snatched from us. How apt Walt Whitman sounds!

Sir, I quote:

"Oh! Captain! my Captain! Our fearful trip is done,

The Ship has weather'd every rack,  
The prize we sought is won...

The Ship is anchor'd safe and sound....

But I with mournful tread

Walk the deck my Captain lies,

Fallen cold and dead."

Sir, the Congress Government headed by Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao is committed to carry forward the ideals that the Congress under the inspiring leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi stood and fought for. He wanted the youth to play a dominant role in nation building. The Constitution was amended to reduce the voting age to 18 years. A comprehensive New Education Policy was

formulated and schemes were initiated to generate employment. We are now assured that greater emphasis would be laid thereon. What is imperative today is not the creation of unproductive jobs, but creation of sources of income for the people and this can best be done by providing for new avenues of self-employment so that production increases and avoidable unproductive expenditure is reduced for attaining the desired goals.

Sir, I do agree that India's greatest source is its people but it is time that we sit up and think about the imperatives to control population. A national consensus is required to do so and devise a package of incentives and disincentives for the purpose. A political will is required to be shown by all the parties.

Sir, to conclude, I want to refer to the urgent need to work on electoral and judicial reforms. Some definite measures were taken by the Congress earlier to cleanse public life by enacting the anti-defection law and to check rigging, booth capturing and other mal-practices during elections. This, however, is a continuing process. We have to now see how the evil influence of money on the electoral process can be curtailed.

The judicial process touches the lives of almost every citizen of the country. However, the experience is often frustrating. Shri Rajiv Gandhi referred to the need to introduce judicial reforms in his last address to the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the 15th August 1989. I am confident that the new Government will act on it.

With these words, I deem it my privilege to associate myself with the motion moved by Shri Buta Singh to thank the President for his Address to both the Houses of Parliament.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI SURAJ MANDAL (Godda):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks on President's Address moved by Shri Buta Singh. I had also given some amendments to the Motion of Thanks. When Shri Buta Singh was the country's Home Minister, the then Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi had taken upon himself the task of solving two major problems. One was the long-pending demand for the creation of a separate state in the Jharkhand area, under Article 244 of the Constitution of India and the second one was the Babari Masjid issue. While on the one hand, he permitted the 'Shilanyas' ceremony to enable the construction of the Ram Janambhoomi temple at the site, where the Babari Masjid stands and on the other hand, the Government of India constituted a committee under his Chairmanship on September 11, 1988, in order to resolve the Jharkhand Problem.

[*English*]

**SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE (Aurangabad):** Sir, no Minister is present here (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SATYAGOPAL MISRA (Tamluk):** Where is the Minister? (*Interruptions*). The treasury Benches are empty.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, today, not even a single Minister is present in the House.

**SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, it seems that the Government is not serious about this discussion. It is against the dignity of the House. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** As soon as you said, Shri Sitaram Kesti has entered the House.

**SHRI KALKA DAS:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, you should issue instructions to the effect that such things should not be repeated, because the dignity of the House is lowered thereby and moreover they themselves had moved this motion.

[*English*]

**SHRI K. P. REDDIAH (Machilipatnam):** He is entering the House without any seriousness. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Many senior leaders of the Congress Party including Shri Chandulal Chandrakar are present in the House. Your sentiments shall be conveyed to the hon. Prime Minister. There is nothing to worry about.

(*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mandal Sanib, you may please continue.

**SHRI SURAJ MANDAL:** I am a great supporter of Shri B. P. Mandal and I whole-heartedly support the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. To come back to the point, a Committee on Jharkhand Matters was constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs on September 11, 1988 and it continued its deliberations for two years. The Committee visited Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa and submitted its report along with its recommendations to the Union Government on May 18, 1990.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today there are demands for a Jharkhand State, Uttarakhand state, a Bodo State in Assam and for other autonomous states, but no solution to such a serious problem has been mentioned in the President's Address. It is the most serious problem. If you keep your eyes and ears open, you must have come to know of the statement

[Sh. Suraj Mandal]

made by a Member of the Autonomous Demands Committee in which he had said that there was only one solution to this problem and that was AK-47, which obviously meant taking to arms.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when India attained Independence, we had only 14 states, but today we have 25 states. We would like to know from the Union Government as to what is the harm in having one or two more states. It is very clear from the contents of the Constitution of India that the scheduled areas of Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana have been constituted under Jharkhand area under the provisions of Article 244. Thus, the Union Government is responsible towards that area. If the State Government is not able to protect interests of the tribal people, then it is the responsibility of the Union Government, the Ministry of Home Affairs to protect their interests. It was mentioned in the House just now that our foreign debt is on the increase and that a loan of Rs. 1,000 crore was obtained recently. Shri Paswan wondered as to where such a huge amount had disappeared. I would like to inform the House about the manner that money was spent with ample illustrations. 112 blocks in Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana in Jharkhand region in Bihar State come under the purview of the tribal sub-plan. That money was allocated for the Tribal Sub-plan under which there should have been overall development of all these areas. I have with me the statistics brought out by the Development Department of the Bihar Government. They have provided district-wise figures. Of the 112 blocks, which fall under the 12 old districts, I shall start with the Sahebganj district.

Development in Sahebganj is 1 per cent, in Palamau it is 2 per cent, Dumka 3 per cent, Godda 4 per cent, Giridih 5 per cent, Hazaribagh 6 per cent, Gumla 7 per cent, Deoghar 8 per cent, Ranchi 11 per cent, Lohardaya 12 per cent, Singh-

bhum 13 per cent and Dhanbad 19 per cent. These are the percentages of 12 districts. Similarly, I have with me the figures relating to the allocation of funds district-wise and year-wise under the Tribal Sub Plan, but it will take a long time if I start giving these details. What I want to tell is that this is the level of development after having spent funds worth crores of rupees of this Board in different five year plans. These funds had come from the I.M.F. I would like to ask Shri Buta Singh and others as to who pocketed this money? Naturally you, because you are in power for the last 40 years. This is how development is taking place these days.

I would like to cite an example on the question of employment. Shri Buta Singh was saying that the Congress is the soul of the country. As I said a few days ago, only the bare-chested men are seen in this part of the country, but in my constituency, even women are not able to have clothes to cover their bodies fully. Such is the area to which I belong. Who is to be blamed for bringing the country to this sorry pass during the last 40 years? How can the Congress be the soul of the country? The opposition has been in power in Bihar only for 4½ years out of these 40 years. What has been the achievement of the Congress? The total number of jobs in the State Government is 2,94,173. Out of this number the share of scheduled tribes is just 21,387 which comes to 5.43 per cent. In the Public Sector Undertakings of the State Government the total strength of employees is 26,354 and out of it the number of employees belonging to scheduled tribes is 757 which comes to just 2.86 per cent. The total number of employees working in the local bodies is 26,500, but the percentage of those belonging to scheduled tribes and Harijans is zero. Who ruled the State for 40 years? It is the Congressmen. An amount of rupees five is a big thing for a poor man but for Ambani even Rs. 500 crores is a small thing.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, an amount of rupees five is a substantial amount for the people of the area to which I belong. The people in that area cultivate their fields and produce paddy, wheat and vegetables, but they do not have money to buy even salt and edible oil. You will be surprised to know that it is our area which produces the entire wealth required for running the Government. You just go to Dhanbad and you will find that the people call it 'Sone ki chidia' (Golden sparrow). Wealth is produced there and the people from all over the country have thronged that place to possess that wealth. The C.C.L. and E.C.L. are located there. We are simply the watchmen of this vault, but key to this vault is with you. The poor is simply guarding it. Gradually, the local people are also learning the art. We want to tell the Government not to thrust all these problems upon others. Please do not try to cover up your failures. If you do that, you will be encouraging extremism because you do not take into consideration the reality of the situation.

The people talk of elections in Punjab. The moment your party came to power, you got the elections in Punjab postponed. I know you are expert in political arithmetics. Had elections been held in Punjab as scheduled, your party would not have won all the 13 seats. It would have been difficult for you to win seats over there. That is why you took the pretext that the other parties did not want elections in the State. During the Prime Ministership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the students in Assam started an agitation on the question of foreigners in the State. At that time, all political parties were in favour of finding solution to the problem of detention of foreigners, and stopping agitation of students before the elections were held in the State. But your party did not postpone the elections. The result was that the State Government employees decided to boycott the elections and to refuse election duty. In that

situation, you carried the Bihar Government employees to Assam and held the elections there. Electoral rolls and ballot papers were printed in Assamese, but the election duty staff being from Bihar did not know that language and as such, they were not in a position to read the ballot paper. One of the high ranking officials was my friend and he told me that we went to the voters with ballot boxes at their houses and got some ballot papers put in the ballot boxes. What I mean to say is that you did not postpone elections in the State at that time. You must admit whatever mistakes you have committed till date and you must also try to correct them. I would like the Central Government to take all these things seriously. So many urgent issues are waiting decision of the Government. The Government of Bihar is losing Rs 2 crores daily as royalty and cess. The Central Government does not have even time to give a thought to it. They should compensate this loss of the State Government so that this money could be used for development. The number of States in the country went upto 25 from 14. We demand that the bigger states should be further bifurcated and the Central Government should set up a States' Reorganisation Committee for this purpose. Otherwise take it certain that Tamil Nadu, Kashmir, Punjab and Assam will be autonomous states one day. Another thing that we were talking among ourselves was that the Congress Party got fresh lease of life after the death of three Gandhis. Firstly, it got a fresh lease of life after the death of Mahatma Gandhi. Thereafter when the Congress was on the verge of extinction, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's assassination gave yet another lease of life to the Congress. Then for the third time, when Congress was on the brink of being wiped out, Rajiv Gandhi's assassination came to its aid. Therefore, all these things should be kept in view and States Reorganisation Committee should be constituted to solve our problems.

[Sh. Suraj Mandal]

If the Government is sincere in carrying the principles and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi to the people, it must strive to solve the problem of Jharkhand by 2nd October, 1991, failing which the people of Jharkhand will not allow the work in all the coal mines. Coal and iron ore will not be allowed to be taken out from the mines and a big agitation of economic blockade will be launched. Then you will say that it is taking the form of extremism. Therefore, I would request the Central Government to take this problem seriously before it is too late.

Since all these points do not find mention in the President's Address, the Motion may be amended accordingly.

With these words, I conclude

[*English*]

**SHRI SUNIL DUFF** (Bombay-North): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address to both the Houses of Parliament—Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

In the President's Address, two things are of great importance and special emphasis is given to those two things. Firstly, violence in the country and secondly, economy of the country.

Violence is spreading like a wild fire in the country. Violence has taken away the life of our beloved Leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi who was the torch bearer of that India that is united, integrated, secular, self-reliant and modern.

Rajiv Gandhi was just nine years away from taking India stepping into the 21st Century. He was a symbol of encouragement and strength to the youth of our country. Alas the budding flower that was spreading its fragrance in the beautiful garden of India fell at the hands of violence. Violence has been the cause of destruction of mankind and that violence has taken away from this planet earth,

men like Lord Christ, Imam Hussein, Guru Arjan Dev, Guru Teg Bahadur, Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and now Rajiv Gandhi.

I want to submit that Shri Rajiv Gandhi was not assassinated only by LTTE but he became a victim at the hands of those people, parties, organisations who spit the fire of violence. People who breathe violence, people who speak violence. We witnessed this violence during elections. If I may say so, the election was not a democratic election but the election was, as if we are fighting a civil war in some of the areas.

I appeal, Sir, through you to the hon. Members that let us all sit, think, speak and unite. We decide to eradicate the violence out of our system. For how long, India will keep on sacrificing great men like Rajiv Gandhi? And why only Nehru and Gandhi family have become the victims of such violence?

When the President was reading out his Address, I found that the sound system was not working properly in the Central Hall. When the first Citizen of the country is speaking I think it becomes the duty of the department concerned to see that the sound system is checked much earlier. I agree with my colleague, Shri Jaswant Singhji and other hon. Members who also pointed out about this sound system.

I do not know whether the other thing was also true or not. But I was told that at the time of the election of the Speaker, our Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, tried to seek the cooperation of Mr. V. P. Singh, but, somehow, I was told, that he declined to give his support. I wish, if the Prime Minister had narrated to him this *sher* (couplet) he would have agreed. I will narrate that *sher* in this House.

"Ranjish hi Sahi Dil ko Dukhane Ke liye aaj.  
Aap phir se hamen chhod ke jane ke liye aaj"

I think this might have good effect on him and we would not have the problem of consenses.

I shall compliment our Prime Minister on his clear-cut policies and vision that he has expressed in his summing up speech on the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers. He said as follows:

"The people have comeback to Congress, but with a warning. They say, yes, Congress will form the Government. But Congress will not ride rough-shod. The Congress will have to try its very best to find a consensus with other parties."

It is a question of the country's progress. It is imperative on all of us that we must join our hands together to take the country ahead. If we keep on fighting and finding faults with others, I think, this country will have much bigger problems. Therefore, through you, I request all other political parties and their leaders that though we are in a minority. But for the sake of the country and for the country's progress, if we come forward with some programmes, they must give us their supporting hands: that is the only way to take the country out of the turmoil that we are going through.

Secondly, his statement encouraged me much more when he talked about Assam. He said as follows "Left to myself, I would let the State Government deal with the problem without interfering, without taking any initiative from Delhi itself and creating more confusion."

I am sure, the Centre-State relationship will be discussed in detail and there will be more autonomy given to the States so that they can visualise their own problems, because every State has got its own

problems; and the people of every State know much more about their problems than the Centre knows. Therefore, we must give them more freedom so that they can solve their own problems in their own States.

I was very much pained to find that there was no mention in the President's Address about some of the important people of our country; that means 10 per cent population of our country; and they are the most beloved people, the disabled people. There is no mention about the disabled people in the President's Address; and it has pained me very much. We have 85 million disabled people in our country. The people of India were waiting that the President of India would make a mention about the disabled people in our country in his Address. The President should have mentioned about them so that they feel encouraged that the Government is doing something for them also. I received so many telephonic calls from all over India saying that there was no mention about the disabled people in the President's Address. I would like to bring to your notice that, according to WHO and the United Nations, the population of the disabled people is 10 per cent of our total population, that is 85 million disabled people. The Government of India's survey says that the number is less, 8 per cent. A private survey says that it is more, 10.8 per cent. In our country 36 children are born disabled every day, three per hour. We have 20 million mentally handicapped, 18 million blind and 25 million deaf and polio-stricken. Just a mention about them was enough, that the Government would take care of them. Eighty five million handicapped would have been pleased with the Government because the prayer of the handicapped reaches the God, and Lord Rama much earlier than of the other people.

I have with me three Addresses of the President. I have the President's Address of July 11, 1991. I have

{*Sh. Sunil Dutt*}

the President's Address of December 20, 1989 and I have with me the President's Address of February 21, 1991. It has different colours. But the basic thing is the same.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU:** The substance is the same.

**SHRI SUNIL DUTT:** Exactly. That is what I want to bring to the notice of the Government. They talk about Punjab. I will read from the Address of December 20, 1989:

"The Punjab problem has defied solution so far. Over the past few years we have witnessed widespread violence. There will be no compromise with separatism and no yielding to extremists. But there is admittedly a compelling need for a national endeavour to resolve the problem."

February 1991: "The situation in Punjab is being constantly reviewed. The Government shares the grief and sorrow of all those who have been victims of the senseless violence unleashed by terrorism. Government is determined to put down terrorism and secessionism with a firm hand."

And now July 11, 1991:

"Violence and terrorism in Punjab continue unabated. It is, however, heartening that the people of Punjab have maintained communal harmony in spite of the nefarious tactics of the terrorists who constitute small fraction of the population."

In these ten years, from 1981 to 1991, 9,070 people have been killed. They died because of violence in Punjab. Every Government that comes, comes with a promise that they would bring peace to Punjab and every time there is an endeavour which ends in violence and frustration. I as one of the Members of this august House for the honour and peace of Punjab walked through my country for 78 days from Bombay to Amritsar and met the people of

Punjab. The people in Punjab are peaceful. There is communal harmony. There is no difference between Hindus and Sikhs over there. Anybody who is living there, is an Indian. And I assure you that 90 per cent of the people there want to live in peace and harmony in Punjab and I generally feel that there is no political will in all the political parties who are here in this august House, whatever may be the Government that has come here to solve this problem.

I have witnessed one of the meetings of the political parties and I assure you that they were more aggressive and they were more violent than the various extremists or Atankvadis about whom we have been talking, or the terrorists. There is no doubt about it. In comparison, I feel I should say it in this august House that we must re-think and adopt a different policy on Punjab. We have hurt the psyche of the Sikhs. We have hurt the psyche of the Sikhs for a long time. I beg to submit that Shrimati Indira Gandhi kept on saying, after the Operation Blue Star that "We have to give a healing touch to Punjab." What have we given to Punjab? We have given nothing. We have given them bullets. We have sent armies over there. We have sent CRP there. We have sent the armed forces to Punjab. But we have never given a healing touch to Punjab. You can ask only the mothers of those people, whether they were innocent or terrorist who have become victim to the violence, what is happening to them and to their families and houses. I always feel that we should give proper compassion when we talk about the solution of Punjab problem.

Sir, I know, being a congressman, the gruesome assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It was one of the most terrible thing. I also admit that the killing of Sikh children and all other people was a great tragedy. But this House never condoled or said that it was a terrible thing.

Today we have to revive and bring back honour to Sikhs. The other day I was in South India. When I was talking to a South Indian, he told me that he had been to Andaman and visited the famous Kalapani Jail. He said that there is a list there as to how many people gave their lives for the freedom of the country and as to how many people were in the Jail, and were hanged over there. Sir, in that list, Bengalis are the first and Sikhs are the second. The Sikhs gave their life for the freedom of the country. They are in our Armed Forces. How can they say that they want a separate country. I cannot even think about that. Sir, I was in Golden Temple for 4½ hours. I met all the five Heat Granthis and also the terrorists over there. In 4½ hours, nobody ever said that they want Khalistan; nobody ever said that they want a separate country, nobody ever said that they want a separate nation. How can I believe that they want Khalistan? It is a thing that is being propagated by politicians because they cannot reach them. When you push the people to the wall, they will shout. We have pushed them near the wall. When they wanted to escape, they became angry. Their pride was hurt. You will have to bring back their pride and say that they are the greatest people and they are the greatest asset of the country. How can we ever forget that Sir? My appeal is this. Why should we be rigid on Punjab? Punjab was that Punjab from the Frontier to the boundaries of Delhi. Punjab was a Punjab when Haryana and Himachal were there. Now Punjab consists of 12 Districts. If we cannot maintain peace in those 12 Districts now, then what is the use of having a big august House and fighting elections and spending millions of rupees? I appeal that they do not want an independent country. There is no harm in changing its name as 'Khalistan'. They will abide by the Constitution of India and it will be a part of India. They admit that. Then, why can you not give the name? When you can keep the

name as Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Mizoram, Nagaland, there is no harm in changing its name...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANNA JOSHI (Pune): But you just now said that they do not want Khalistan.

SHRI SUNIL DUTT: They do not want an independent Khalistan. Why do you not name it as Khalistan? Punjab means five rivers. Now those five rivers are not flowing in Punjab. Therefore, Punjab should be given a top priority.

Sir, I earnestly feel that if there is peace in Punjab, then there will be peace in India.

SHRI PRATAP SINGH (Banka): I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Buta Singh. This is a very crucial period of our history and we did expect something very different in this Address from what we have had to find.

My basic reasons for not supporting this Motion of Thanks first of all are that he has not adequately touched upon the burning issues which the country is facing. We have problems in a number of States like Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and other places. We have a great unemployment problem which this country is facing. But the President has not addressed himself to this. So also is the need to develop areas in this country which are well behind the norms for development. In the State of Bihar where I come from we find that we are way behind in all the amenities which any people can expect. Our roads are not enough or well-made or maintained. Most of our primary and middle schools are in a dilapidated condition. The education system in my State is on the verge of practical collapse. These are the burning issues. These must be solved because we cannot afford to waste the life of our future generation. The rate at which the progress is being made specially in the

[Sh. Pratap Singh]

field of education, I can assure you that before we have adequate number of primary schools in my State, a generation will pass. At this critical juncture of our history, can this nation afford to lose an entire generation of people due to lack of education? Education is our biggest asset and wealth. I regret to say that this has not been properly recognised and no proper steps have been taken in this direction.

In para 12 of his Address the President says

"Government recognises that the country is in the midst of an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude"

I think, most of us are aware of the present situation and how this country has come to this pass. In fact, I would say that perhaps this is rather an understatement of the enormous amount of disaster which this country is facing today. He further said

"It has been living beyond its means and adopting soft options"

Well, I do not know exactly what is meant by "soft options" since I am not a financial wizard. But looking at it as a normal person I can only say that "soft options" means that an individual goes to a bank, takes an overdraft and have a withdrawal. I would like to state that for the last 40 years under successive governments headed by the Congress(I) Party this country has been taken for a ride and they are responsible for all this mess. (Interruptions) I quote again from the President's Address. In Para 12 it is mentioned..

"Government is committed to the macro-economic stabilisation and structural reforms which will unleash the nation's latent energy to bring about accelerated development"

Now, at a glance it appears that perhaps we are looking at the name of some new bacterium. Our observation is just the same that the present Government is hoping that the people of India will pull out chestnuts out of the fire. This is the sorry state of affairs for any Government to make when they say that we are waiting more or less for the latent energy of the nation to be unleashed, which will thereby accelerate development.

Now, I want to say something about generation of black money. We are talking about putting an end to this putting a curb on this menace. I charge that the previous Governments have systematically taught this nation how to be dishonest by providing a system of taxation which for the individual at least is very cumbersome and causes embarrassment. I do feel strongly that this needs to be looked into. It is the duty of the Government to see that there is no incentive to have black money. This should be detected. How they are going to get the black money is for them to do.

Now, I want to say something about Jammu and Kashmir. This problem of Kashmir is going on far too long. We have faced with this problem ever since independence and I find in the President's Address it is mentioned and I quote and that is the only thing that can be said about Jammu and Kashmir is this

"Special attention will be paid to providing employment for the unemployed youth of Jammu and Kashmir"

This shows how we are really hoping to bribe the Kashmiris and keep them within our fold if it is possible. I submit for your kind attention that the Kashmir situation needs to be given a fresh look and we have to see the reality as they are.

MR CHAIRMAN Shri Pratap Singh, please wind up

**SHRI PRATAP SINGH** Sir, it reminds me of a situation where a husband is trying to keep hold of his wife has found for himself another younger lover. Under such circumstances, there are few options that you are left with. You have a choice to buy back your wife by paying off the lover. You have the choice of bribing the wife to remain with you.

**MR CHAIRMAN** You are not being very charitable to the ladies.

**SHRI PRATAP SINGH** Well, Sir with due apologies to the ladies, I would put forward my last point which is that the last option is to put the country on your own head and call it a day. We have to recognise that the Kashmir problem has gone long enough and we must realise that to keep the entire people against their will is not going to be possible through coercion. It is not going to be possible through bribery and it is certainly very difficult at this point of time to persuade them to remain with us.

Lastly I would like to say that this Government is quite silent about the future of Centre-State Relations. Unless we address ourselves properly to this need we cannot hope to keep this country unified and on an even keel. With these words, I conclude.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR** (Durg) Mr Chairman, Sir, today the House has taken up discussion on the motion of thanks moved by Shri Buta Singh on the President's Address made on 11th July. The dastardly assassination of a great leader like Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has proved the growing cult of violence in the country's politics. So much so that it has emerged as a threat to the country's democratic policy itself. Not only this, the law and order situation in the country has deteriorated to a great extent in the last one and a half

years. It has brought social, political and economic crises in the country. Similarly, the income disparity between the poor and affluent sections of the society is widening. It is very important that we give a serious thought to solving these problems.

**AN HON MEMBER:** Has the law and order situation deteriorated only in the past one and a half years?

**SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR** Apart from being in politics, I have also been a Journalist and it is precisely this experience that comes handy, while talking on political matters. I am talking about the latest matter. I will also talk about the situation in the past. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once said that when the country faces any threat, then we should face it with all the strength at our disposal. What I wanted to say is that we should seriously think over the present crisis and the disturbing conditions that have emerged as a consequence. Mahatma Gandhi had made a significant remark, that when a person, society or elected representative take major decisions they should ponder over it and ask themselves as to how it will affect the life of the poorest of the poor. If the persons like us who are in public life adopt this attitude, it would be the best thing to happen. If we start believing in this policy and follow it honestly, it would help in solving many problems.

In the past many years, we have experimented with both socialist and capitalist ideas in our economy, but unfortunately we failed to get the success we had envisaged. Therefore, we should think over as to whether the time has come, to follow and implement Gandhian policies, after thoroughly studying it and understanding it. Implementation of Gandhism doesn't mean a return to the 'Charkha Age' or the 'Pre-Independence era.' It doesn't mean closure of big industrial units. Rather, it means that..

**SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota):** You were in power for forty long years. Why did not you think of this in all those years.

**SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR:** It seems to me that it will take some time for you to understand what I am saying. You please give me a patient hearing, you will understand it, but you are impatient. What I wanted to say is that we have had a mixed economy for the past so many years, in which we had experimented with the ideas of both socialism and capitalism, but it has failed to deliver the goods. Thus, under the circumstances, we should definitely ponder over whether the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi would prove beneficial to us. It seems that you haven't gone through the writings of Mahatma Gandhi. You please read the "Collected Works" of Mahatma Gandhi and if that is not possible, do make it a point to read volumes 35-82. It is a treasure house of knowledge and you will certainly benefit from the scientific and spiritual knowledge contained in them. Such a repository of knowledge cannot be found anywhere else. Please do make an endeavour to go through it.

The President in his Address referred to the various burning problems faced by the country and the gravest of them all is the problem of unemployment. Now the question is how to solve this unemployment problem, which is assuming gigantic proportions, day after day. It is not that in such a large country like ours, we are not in need of workers, but the time has come for us to make changes or at least review our education policy. Our basic mistake is that we have not been able to make the appropriate changes in our education policy. For example, the number of unemployed people in our country is in crores, but at the same time, we find that our industries, libraries and other institutions are badly in need of staff, but unfortunately we do not get right person for a par-

ticular job. In the present education system, it is very necessary to introduce changes from the Primary school level to the Middle school level and from the High School level to the college level. Suppose there are 45 hours of study or 45 classes in a week, then if not more, at least a few classes should be fixed for job-oriented education which would help the students to become self-reliant and enable them to get employment. Even in the industrial sector the position is same. They are badly in need of skilled workers. Even in Delhi, it is difficult to find stenotypist, who doesn't make much mistakes. This is because they do not get the right kind of training. Thus it is necessary to introduce changes in our education system and training should be provided to people on the basis of the requirements of the job. Then only eligible candidates would be available. The need of the hour is to open such colleges and universities in the country, where the students may get right kind of job-oriented training so that they could get the suitable job as soon as they pass out. Today it has become a fashion that every student wants to somehow get a Degree. They are not contented with any diploma, they are only interested in getting a Degree. For example, I would say that ours is primarily an agriculture-based economy. Deforestation (felling of trees) is taking place on a large scale in our country and as a result thereof our forest area is dwindling. There are only three universities in the entire world, which impart training for horticulture and forestry. One of them is in Himachal Pradesh. However, the unfortunate part of it is that even in this university, which is the only one of its kind in the country, education is imparted in the English language. It is necessary to set up universities which impart horticulture and forestry education of a high standard. These universities should be opened in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa etc. Similar is the case with the institutes of Technology. If you go to countries like England or France, you will

find that even those who white wash the walls are given three years training and are Diploma holders in this field. That is why, their quality of work is also good. While in India, we too have many people who do the same job, but they are not provided the right kind of training. What I want to convey is that we should bring about such reforms in our education system that while on the one hand, the students should get education of a general nature upto the age of 14-15 years and after that they should be provided job-oriented education. They should be given education of a general nature and after that they should be provided with training to work in the fields, in the factories etc.

[English]

**SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY** (Jagatsinghpur): Sir, am I to understand that my hon. friend is advocating the change of 1986 Education Policy which the Government has formulated.

**SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR**: If you have not understood, I can tell you, it is true

[Translation]

What I mean to say is that it has become necessary to bring about major changes in the existing education policy. (Interruptions) Today, we also face the problem of growing black money in the country. Everyone is aware of it. Everybody knows the ways and means to deal with this menace. There won't be any dearth of ideas in this regard, but my humble suggestion is that a time-frame say, of a 15 days a month, two months or whatever that is convenient to the Government should be fixed. Within this time period all those who possess black money, should be asked to deposit it in the banks. However, they should not be questioned about the source of their income. One thing that should be kept in mind is that at present it

is being misused in many ways and this has given birth to many a problem. Therefore, it would be much better if they are given some time say 15 or 25 days to enable them to deposit their money in the banks. The Government can use that money for constructive purposes.

Secondly, I would like to say that when the Government levies income tax, it is imposed on the earnings of a person and obviously, anyone would be reluctant to part with a part of his or her income. Moreover, the irony is that half of the money that is levied in the name of income tax is spent on establishment or collection itself. Why don't you lower the income-tax rates? (Interruptions) In countries like Germany, Income-Tax officers do not have a separate cabin for themselves. In countries like France, Germany and Japan, there are only large halls in which about five to six thousand people sit. Income Tax payers are guided to the table which deals with their case and where they have to present their documents. The papers are examined and the cases are disposed off them and there itself. For this subsequent presentations, they have to approach other officials and they don't have to go for a fourth time. This system prevents any kind of corrupt practices in the process of income tax collection.

I would also like to draw the attention of the House towards a very important issue. There is a severe drought situation in Madhya Pradesh. There have been no rains in the state and in regions like Chhattisgarh, where only one crop, namely paddy is grown, the drought situation is much more alarming. The State Government is not carrying out any relief or rehabilitation work, as a result of which Gastro-Enteritis, (Some people even say it is cholera) has created a havoc in the Bilaspur, Bastar, Raipur, Durg and Rajnandgaon districts of Chhattisgarh region. Although it has already claimed

[Sh. Chandulal Chandrakar]

more than 2,000 lives, the State Government has turned a deaf ear to demands for relief and assistance. The region is facing an acute shortage of Doctors, Nurses and Medicines. Not even a single Minister of the Madhya Pradesh Government considered it necessary to visit the affected areas. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI.** Has this epidemic made its appearance only in the last two years? It is only now that you have come to know of these shortages. You were a Member of the Lok Sabha previously also. Your party has remained in power for forty-four years *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR:** Please see for yourself how many people died there. You should feel ashamed of it. You should visit that place when people are dying there. What I mean to say is that the local government is not doing any developmental work. Within a year and a half the government encouraged corruption along with deteriorating law and order situation. The Madhya Pradesh government caused a deficit of Rupees Three and a half crore intentionally just to give benefit to one of their persons. What I mean to say is that in the recently held elections in Madhya Pradesh, the government of Madhya Pradesh... *(Interruptions)*

[English]

**SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. The hon. Member said:

[Translation]

"You should feel ashamed of it"

[English]

It is unparliamentary and I request you to take cognizance of it and remove it from the record.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** If it is an unparliamentary word, it will be removed.

[Translation]

**SHRI CHANDULAL CHANDRAKAR:** Sir, my submission is that in Madhya Pradesh elections were held in 40 Lok Sabha constituencies during the last elections. Elections were held in other States also but in Madhya Pradesh Congress Party got 27 seats out of 40. Likewise Gram Panchayat elections were also to be held but the state government apprehending their defeat did not allow elections there. What I mean to say is that the state government of Madhya Pradesh which is run by BJP should be dismissed immediately. The reason is that corruption is rampant and moral degeneration is also there at every stage.

Secondly, in chhatisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh the people are facing several problems. Chhatisgarh area, especially, has been prosperous from every angle. The people are hardworking and honest but the development and progress in chhatisgarh has not come up to the expectation during last few years. Reason being, that the youths are not getting equal opportunities for development. You know that Madhya Pradesh is the largest state in area but there is only one single centre in Bhopal for I.A.S., I.P.S. and I.F.S. examinations whereas in Maharashtra which is a smaller state there are two centres—one at Nagpur and the other in Bombay. Governments changed. We tried to draw the attention of the government to this issue and demanded a separate centre for I.A.S., I.F.S. and I.P.S. examinations at Raipur which is at a distance of 1300 Kms. from Bhopal but till now it has not been done. Similarly there was a proposal for laying a railway line from Rajhara to Bailadila in Bastar which is pending for the last twenty years. Sanction of the said railway line was given during Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra's time. Due to the absence of this railway line alone, Bastar area remained extremely backward. What I mean to say is that the people of Madhya Pradesh are not getting equal opportunities for

making progress. The condition of all the big industries there is causing much concern. In these industries justice is not done to the local people. Small industries or factories there do not get the desired encouragement from the government. For example, small industries are not getting any encouragement from Bhilai Steel industry. Due to this a feeling of dissatisfaction is continuously on the increase among the people of Chhatisgarh. People are in trouble. There is a growing demand for making Chhatisgarh a separate state. Now-a-days the people have so much discontentment that is assuming alarming proportions. Therefore, the government of Madhya Pradesh, be it of any political party, should take special care of the emotions, feelings and problems of the people of Chhatisgarh. They are being exploited at every stage and the developmental works are at a standstill. With these words I thank you

[English]

SHRIMATI DIL KUMARI BHANDARI (Sikkim): Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of Thanks to the President's Address. I endorse the views expressed by Shri Sunit Duttji about the need of healing touch in Punjab. I would like to say that we have to learn a lesson from our past and try not to create another Punjab in our country. In his Address, the President has stated:

"Negotiations are always possible with those who eschew violence and accept the framework of our Constitution."

I hope this applies to all the areas of our country where the cult of violence has raised its ugly head. If I am to understand that this is the stand of the ruling party, it saddens me no bounds to inform this august House that today more than 10 million Nepali-speaking Indian people of this country are very much agitated because

of a statement made by a Member of Parliament of the Congress Party. He has gone to the extent of saying that Nepalis have no place in India. I protest his statement and condemn his statement with all my might at my command. Somehow it is beyond one's comprehension that such a statement comes from a Member of Parliament, that too from the ruling Party. Such a statement has far reaching consequences. I would not like to bring it open as it is a very very sensitive matter. But for some people, such matter may be a matter of gaining cheap popularity. For any right thinking citizen, it is a very sensitive issue and with all my humility which I can summon at my command, I request such Member to refrain from making such irresponsible statements. Since the particular Member belongs to the ruling Party, Mr Chairman Sir, through you I want to ask the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and also draw the attention of the Opposition leaders to such irresponsible statement of a Member of this House and wants to have a categorically reply from the Home Minister whether this Member was voicing the feelings of the ruling Party, if so, the basis thereof.

Sir, I am very much pained to see that there has been no mention of the need for inclusion of Nepali language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution despite longstanding demand of Nepali speaking Indian people. The State Assemblies of Tripura, West Bengal and Sikkim have passed resolution in the past recommending for such inclusion. So many times, Bills have been brought before this august House also. On the top of it, a Member from the ruling Party has come out, to add insult to the injury saying that Nepalese people should leave the country. By doing so, he is a casting aspersion on the loyalty of those people who have served the nation for many generations and over this period, thousands of them have sacrificed their life defending their country against the enemy. Many continue even today to serve under heavy,

[Smt. Dil Kumari Bhandari]

hazardous, difficult terrains defending our sacred borders where at any moment they may be called yet again to sacrifice their life for the cause of the country and they will do so with all their might.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I leave this to the wisdom of the ruling Party whether to consider the mother-tongue of those people and is worthy to be recognised and included in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution, language of all those people whose blood is worthy to be shed in the defence of their country, their mother land.

The President, in his Address, has mentioned that we are proud of our Armed Forces. Yes, indeed we are very proud of our Armed Forces. But alas, the families of thousands of those people who are sacrificing their life for the cause of the country, who are guarding the border of this country, are being asked to leave the country. I am also sorry to say that there is no mention about the need to record the excellent service rendered by the Border Roads Organisation in maintaining the highways on border areas

Regarding price rise and public distribution system, I hope the Government will sincerely try to fulfil its promises to lessen the burden of the economically backward people keeping in view all hilly and difficult terrains of the country also

Regarding protection improvement and enforcement of women's rights the appointment of a Commissioner has been mentioned.

For achievement of Indira Mahila Yojana and to fulfil the dreams of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the Government should consider and constitute a National Commission for Women. This is required keeping in view the declining sex ratio. The Committee on the status of women had viewed

the declining sex ratio as secular consequence of composite process of women's declining status in Indian society. The marginalisation of women in economy, in family, the community and the political process in the community's view, all contributed to women's growing poverty, hunger and higher mortality in virtually all groups. This has been substantiated by the news of a mother killing herself and her child in a well which has been said in this august House by some hon. Member.

Sikkim is a State which is very peaceful and the crime not only in our country but in the world has gone down. In Sikkim, people are peace-loving and they maintain peace. They have seen the need for keeping peace in their State. They have been able to develop much in a little time by keeping peace in the State but irresponsible statements made by responsible people cause disharmony among the people. This should be restrained. I want to send this message to the Prime Minister

With this, I thank you for giving me the time to speak.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum):** Some of the bigger groups say that they are not getting their due share in the deliberations of the House.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Hon. Members, I presume that in the Business Advisory Committee, this must have been decided and the time is allotted.

**THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD):** In the Business Advisory Committee, it was decided that Prime Minister will speak today at 5 O'Clock. But in the afternoon, I received requests from a number of Members of Parliament from both Opposition and ruling side. So, I telephoned to all the Business Advisory Committee Members. (*Interruptions*). It is decided that instead of today at 5 O'Clock, the Prime Minister will

Speak tomorrow immediately after Question Hour so that we can adjust more Members. If the Members so desire, we can sit even beyond 6 O'Clock, at least up to 7 O'Clock so that many Members can speak.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** I think the hon. Minister should amend his statement. He should say "immediately after the Zero Hour" (*Interruptions*)

**MR CHAIRMAN** If the sense of the House is to extend the time of the sitting whatever the House desires we will proceed according to that.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** On such an important matter like the President's Address all the Groups should be a commode. That is the normal tradition of this House.

**MR CHAIRMAN** Yes, every Group is being adjusted. I think the CPM has had two speakers so far. Every group is being adjusted.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY** (Alipurduar) I am one Member standing from my party to speak and you are not allowing me to speak.

**MR CHAIRMAN** As the hon. Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has just pointed out that if the House so desires then the sitting can be extended so that more and more hon. Members can be given an opportunity to express their views.

**SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD** We don't mind even if the House sits up to 9 or 10 O'Clock today.

**MR CHAIRMAN** I would request the hon. Members to indicate their preference whether the sitting should be extended today or not.

**SEVERAL HON MEMBERS** The sitting should be extended.

16-11 LSS/ND/91

**SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD** They can sit up to 3 O'Clock. We don't mind.

**SHRI MCHALEMBA** (Nagaland) This is an important subject. I am the lone Member from Nagaland. If I don't say something it would not look nice.

**MR CHAIRMAN** I am sure you will get the opportunity. The point is should the sitting be extended today?

**SEVERAL HON MEMBERS** Yes.

**MR CHAIRMAN** OK. The sitting of the House today will be extended.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA** (Bankura) Shri Pius Tirkey must be allowed to speak.

**MR CHAIRMAN** hon. Members let me point out one thing. Shri Vajpayee is a senior Member and when he desires to speak we have to accommodate that. That doesn't mean that the discussion is being closed. You may be under that impression because Shri Vajpayee is speaking and after that the discussion is being closed. It is not like that. It was his preference to speak. After that as the Minister has pointed out, if you wish to extend the sitting we can carry on sitting till 8 O'Clock. Everybody will get a chance. Now, I request Shri Vajpayee to speak.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Members from BJP have spoken so much. Please listen to my point of view also.

**MR CHAIRMAN** You may request Atalji.

(*Interruptions*)

**MR CHAIRMAN** Atalji is speaking now, all of you be seated please.

(*Interruptions*)

[English]

**SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT** (Ponnani): After Shri Vajpayee's speech, my party Member should speak *(Interruptions)* ..

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: The point is Shri Vajpayee is on his feet. Kindly listen to him and not to interrupt him. He is on his legs

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: Members from North-East, Muslim League and you will get a chance to speak .

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: You do not remain present in the House when your name is called. What can I do for that?

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY**: Mr. Chairman, we have to take our lunch also.

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: I know that lunch is also important

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPA-YEE** (Lucknow) Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is my maiden speech. I will not allow interruptions in it. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

**SHRI GHUJAM NARI AZAD**: His maiden speech of Tenth Lok Sabha. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPA-YEE**: Mr. Chairman, Sir, President's address to the joint sitting of both the Houses is a historic event. If the Address takes place immediately after the elections it is all the more important. There is a need to maintain the solemnity of this occasion. Several Members including Shri Sunil Dutt who spoke just now and prior

to him. Shri Jaswant Singh spoke,— mentioned that the Members who had assembled in the Central Hall to listen to the President could not listen to his address. This should not be repeated. The programme is rehearsed and the arrangements are reviewed several times. We invite foreign dignitaries to participate in this event and if the loudspeakers do not function properly, we feel that we are not discharging our duties satisfactorily.

Another incident took place on that day. Some honourable Members whose party affiliations are not known to me and I don't know to which House they belong, wanted to say something, and they were feeling extremely restless. They wanted to interrupt the President's address to express themselves. But there is no scope for such things. Such scenes neither allow us to listen to the President's address nor the words of the Member are audible to us. It would be better for some Members, who are very keen on saying something before the Presidential address, to meet the President and express themselves after the address is over, but it would be still better if we avoid to such interruptions.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish my suggestion is followed in States also. When the governor is addressing, he simply reads out the speech prepared by the elected government. The Governor is the constitutional head of a State. At times, some Governors had to quit office on account of the address. *(Interruptions)*.. but if there is a scuffle, a pandemonium during the governors' address, such an incident diminishes the dignity of Indian democracy. There is a need for preparing a code of conduct and we should take some effective steps in this regard after the Lok Sabha elections are over and this is the proper time for taking some steps, because if the Congress party is ruling here and in some states it is in the opposition and if we are in opposition here, our party is in power in some States.

This applies to Janata Dal as well as Marxist party. As such if we make an attempt to set up new traditions then the democracy can be made stronger and successful.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a reference to national crisis has been made in the President's Address. The crisis is not only financial, but it is political and social also and above all, at present the nation is facing a serious crisis of morality.

I would like to discuss the prevailing economic crisis at length in my speech. The Government has taken certain steps in this regard and the on going discussion is to ascertain whether the steps taken by the Government are right or wrong. Take for instance devaluation of rupee, which has been done in two instalments. It appears as if something has been done surreptitiously, gold has been sent abroad and that too in instalments and in such a manner that as if it is being smuggled out or being sent stealthily. Was all this necessary?

My submission is to have a discussion on the issue of devaluation of rupee to find whether the move was right or wrong. But the basic question is as to how such a situation arose that we had to resort to devaluation of rupee. Why and how the country was pushed towards an economic crisis which compelled us to devalue the rupee, sell our gold and make desperate efforts to get foreign aid.

The hon. President has made a cursory mention of this issue in his Address. He has said that

15.35 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[English]

"The Government recognises that the country is in the midst of an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude. It has been living beyond its means and adopting soft options. We have been over-taken by events".

[Translation]

further he says

[English]

"The country must prepare itself to take hard and unpleasant economic decisions"

[Translation]

Our expenditure exceeds our earnings. How it happened and what made us reach this state? Were our policies faulty or they were not implemented properly or did we hand over our economy in the hands of such persons for whom the interest of the nation was not important

Excuse me for being harsh. After all the policies that have been formulated will lead the country to total bankruptcy. Could it not be perceived before hand? All right, our country is democratic and democracy is prone to a certain degree of populism but populism of a very less magnitude. If we run after the means and totally ignore the way of achieving it in that case we should realize that we have the deficiencies somewhere.

I know that this is not the right time for allegations and counter allegations. The Prime Minister is not present in the House. During the course of his discussions regarding crisis he commented on the work done by the previous two Governments but he has not made any comments on the work done by his party's Government which ruled before them. That should also be mentioned. After all among the previous Governments Shri V. P. Singh's Government remained in power for a very short time and the Chandra Shekhar Government ruled

[Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

with the support of Congress and enjoyed power as long as Congress extended its support. It is true that Shri Chandra Shekhar took some important and bold steps. If my information is correct then according to it after assuming the post of Prime Minister when Shri Chandra Shekhar called the officers and asked them about the reason behind the prevailing situation in the country, their reply was that—

[English]

now the situation cannot be retrieved.

[Translation]

Did the officers have no role in this? Are the formulators of the policies not to be blamed? Taking debits indiscreetly and spending it indiscriminately has brought the country on the verge of economic crisis and as such this issue should be seriously discussed.

Now we are approaching I.M.F. for financial assistance. On what conditions and the amount of the loan we propose to take and what are the conditions imposed in the case of those loans that we have taken till date. The other day, my colleague Shri Indrajit Gupta had raised this question. I have also gone through the reply given by the hon. Prime Minister. He is not prepared to divulge the conditions. What does I.M.F. expect from us and to what extent are we prepared to accept their conditions? Mr. Speaker, Sir I urge that the copies of the correspondence between the present Minister of Finance, officials of I.M.F. and Managing director should be laid on the table of the House. Copies of the correspondence relating to the agreements made between the former Ministers of Finance of the previous two Governments and the I.M.F. should also be laid on the Table of the House.

We expect the countrymen to drastically cut expenses to make sacrifices and bear the burden of new taxes. The country has immense power of tolerance, I am not prepared to believe that at the time of any crisis, the countrymen will not rise to meet the situation. They will stand by the country not because of this Government but because they love their country and have a deep sense of patriotism. They are in favour of safeguarding the self respect of the country. But if we wish to ask for the support of the masses it is very important to win the confidence of the poor who are in majority. Is it not essential to take this House into confidence? What is the necessity to send gold in this manner, what conditions are being imposed by the I.M.F. and what is need to conceal it? But it is very unfortunate that we are being kept in the dark. *(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are supposed to return the amount of the loan that we have taken. I would like to know the total amount that is to be repaid in the next ten years year-wise. The country and this House should be informed about it and we are keeping it confidential from our people and even keeping the House in the dark. But the thirty representative countries of the I.M.F. are well aware of the entire situation. How much loan the Government has taken and why it became necessary to take commercial loan? What was the need to take short-term loan and the reasons for taking this loan?

As per my information State Bank has also taken loan from I.M.F. although State Bank should not come into the picture so far as foreign credit is concerned because financial assistance from any foreign source should be sought through the Reserve Bank of India only. As such how State Bank was involved in it? There is no discussion on the amount of loan taken by private companies, Public undertakings and Defence. Loans are taken for Defence purposes also. What is the total liability and the terms and conditions of the loan are

never disclosed. What is the intention of the Government behind it. I would like the Government to take the House into confidence.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are very much worried as to how this loan will be repaid. Our new Minister of Finance is getting weaker day by day on account of it. He has already a weak constitution and now this problem is torturing him day and night. I know that he is not a shrewd politician as he has entered in this atmosphere recently. I will not be surprised if I am told that he is having sleepless nights, he is losing weight day by day but the share markets of the country are flourishing by leaps and bounds. The manner in which the prices of shares shot up and to what level it implies that there is no dearth of wealth, earned through honest means in this country. On one hand the prices of shares of companies are rising sky-high and on the other hand it is an irony that the country is facing acute financial crisis. I hold the view that the idea of liberalising economic measures has played its role and the result is that the capital is coming out and people are eager to join the main stream. Perhaps they were looking for encouragement. But there exists a paradox in our economy. I want the Minister of Finance or the Prime Minister to clear all ambiguities in regard to this issue.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I have said earlier that there is no dearth of capital, talent and man power in this country. Perhaps there has been some deficiency in running the administration of the country, there has been some flaws in it. The Indians who go abroad make themselves affluent and they make a vital contribution in making that country prosperous. Many Indians migrated to America as farmers, professionals, and small traders. They have reached the stage where they have the capacity of earning 50 billion American dollars and they have earned the same. Local people of Britain are jealous of Indians settled there. Wherever

Indians go they try their utmost to earn money and they achieve great success. But it seems that the moment they come to this country their talent is blunted.

We are struggling against our deficit economy. In my opinion if policies are changed condition of the country can improve. For that we will have to make a new beginning. For new beginning it is necessary that leader should have clean record. Government official should be accountable and the industrialists should be asked to earn only reasonable profits. They should not be allowed to make excessive profit.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not among those who immediately become defensive whenever the name of IMF is mentioned. IMF is not something like a bug bear India is an ancient and a vast country. It is not possible for anyone to purchase India. When Shri Chandra Shekhar was our Prime Minister I had said that nobody can purchase the Prime Minister of India and I am prepared to repeat the same for the present Prime Minister too. The Prime Minister of this country is an elected representative. It is immaterial whether he is elected by a majority or a minority but it is a fact that he is the Prime Minister of this country and nobody can purchase him. If he sells himself, that is different thing. But it is not possible for IMF to purchase us. IMF cannot swallow such a big country.

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum): But this happened in Japan.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: If conditions are being laid down we have every right to analyse the merits and demerits of those conditions. It is not proper on

[Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

our part to feel frightened whenever the name of IMF is mentioned. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not that wealthy countries in the world are very much anxious to invest in India. Actually, they have a number of other better opportunities. The fact is that people lose their senses as soon as they disembark on an Indian Airport. After all they have the market of Soviet Russia, Communist China and Eastern Europe which need investment and they are offering attractive conditions. It is true that we had a bitter experience of East India Company. But if country does not act with self confidence, it would be very difficult for us to overcome this crisis.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are three aspects of the present problem of foreign exchange. The first is the smuggling of gold on a large scale. On July 12, 1991 the Minister of State of Finance told the Parliament that the Custom department had seized about 2926 kg gold i.e. about 3 tonnes of gold worth Rs. 102 crores from January to June and everybody knows that only two or two and a half per cent of the total gold smuggled into India is seized. We can guess from it as to how much gold is being smuggled into the country. According to our estimate it is 200 tonnes every year. During the last ten years from 1981-82 to 1990-91 the price of gold has been about Rs. 36 crores per tonne. It means that gold worth about Rs. 7200 crores was smuggled into the country during the last ten years and which comes to about 36 billion US dollars.

Another aspect of the foreign exchange crisis is over-invoicing. The Government has come forward with a number of proposals of economic reforms, but nothing concrete has been put forth by Government in this regard. We took loan from foreign countries to meet the immediate crisis. That is all right. But what will happen in future? How can we guarantee that the country will not retrace the

path which led the country to the present catastrophe. Smuggling of gold should be checked. I would also suggest some effective measures for this. But besides those, other measures should also be taken.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we import plants, equipments, spare parts and raw-material for industrialisation. During 1980 to 82 and 1990 to 91 we imported plants, equipments and raw material worth Rs. 2 Lakh crores and 29 thousand 640 crores. Generally, it is believed that importers indulge in 10 per cent over-invoicing. The Commission taken in the arms deal is also a part of this over-invoicing. I have consulted the industrialists, ten per cent is not a high amount. But at this rate of 10 per cent we left about Rs. 22 thousand, 964 crores in foreign countries during the last ten years. Which comes to about 11.4 billion U.S. dollars.

Third aspect is that of under-invoicing. We export commodities. During 1981-82 and 1990-91 we exported commodities worth Rs. 1 lakh 57 thousand 655 crores. Generally it is believed that the exporter deposits 10 per cent on an average of his export in foreign countries. However, some exporters are only for name sake while some one are genuine. If we accept that five per cent under-invoicing is done then the deficit comes to Rs. 7 lakh 8 thousand 883 crores, which is 3.9 billion US dollars. It means that we paid about 1 lakh 2 thousand 845 crores because of this defective system. I agree that in this process recycling of money takes place. Suppose we allow a margin of 25 per cent on account of it even then that money comes to about 39 billion U.S. dollars. If the decades of 50 to 70 are included then the amount comes to 56 billion dollars. This should be checked. If we fail to check it and continue to meet our immediate requirements by taking loan, then we may get immediate relief but we will entangle ourselves badly in this crisis again.

At present we have not to face elections and there is sufficient black money in the country for the purpose. About Rs. 90,000 crores of black money is generated every year. That day during the Question Hour it was said that one cannot fight election with black money. The President in his Address has referred to the ways to eliminate black money. But its generation should be stopped. Many schemes and proposals are being put forth to bring the black money into circulation and suggestions are being made about the purposes for which it should be used. However, I would not like to go into the detail. I am not talking of black money at the moment.

We will have to think how the smuggling of gold, under-invoicing and over-invoicing should be checked. A suggestion in regard to issuing gold bonds has been made. The Government can issue bonds or take other measures. There is a great demand of gold in the country despite the fact that due to her weakness for golden deer, Sita was abducted. Now Sita has been elected to the Parliament and Ravana is also there and there is no fear of abduction. The truth is that the BJP has brought Sita and Ravana together. This should not create any confusion in the 'Banar Sena' sitting opposite us.

Love for gold is always very strong and people require some gold for domestic purposes. Measures should be taken to ensure that they are not forced to meet their requirements through smuggled gold. Many proposals have been made in this respect. More suggestions and even suggestions to bring about basic changes can be made if the Minister of Finance so desires.

Suggestions to check under-invoicing or over-invoicing can also be given. As for instance in regard to import over-invoicing, the representatives of industry and finance should be called and directed to find out the rates of plants, equipment, spares and

raw-material etc. in the international market. They should contact the foreign chambers and publish the price list regularly. A constant watch should be kept on the prices of plants and spares being imported. I think it can be checked to a great extent. No efforts have been made so far in this regard. We can seek the cooperation of foreign chambers and can also invite quotations from authorised dealers by contacting them. Some are of the opinion that it can give rise to corruption. If the persons involved are dishonest they will find out loopholes, despite bringing about lot of improvement in the system. I do not assume that people in our country are corrupt or dishonest. We should have faith in the honesty of the citizens of the country. We should encourage them, we should provide opportunities to them and see that they are not forced to take wrong steps.

There is also a suggestion to check export under-invoicing. A foreign consultant concern can be appointed to assess the cost and the market price of the commodities being purchased from us. This should be done at regular intervals. Exporters should be made to export their goods at actual prices.

Other developing countries are also facing the similar problem of under-invoicing in export and over-invoicing in import. Indonesia is our neighbouring country. They have entrusted the entire responsibility to look after the customs of their country to a Swiss company. I am not advocating its case. But they have taken such a step. I only want the Government to take immediate measures to check bungling of foreign exchange which may enable the Government to save fifty million dollars.

International situation has changed. It has become more difficult for the developing countries to get assistance from the West. We should understand this fact. Not many days have passed when in December, 90 a German professor named Hatmat Elzane

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had visited Delhi. He delivered a lecture. I had chance to go through it.

16.00 hrs.

He spoke very bluntly and these blunt things are a challenge as well as a warning to us. It is true that he referred to those countries which get aid. But we should understand what he wanted to convey. I quote him:

16.00 hrs.

"But this aid will be characterised by conditionality. It will be extended under rather severe conditions because the South no longer has the option of threatening to change allegiance from one power bloc in the North to the other. The argument, if you do not give us aid on the terms we want, we will get it from elsewhere, will not longer be operative."

[*Translation*]

It is a sort of hidden warning to the developing nations. Now you have no other option and you will have to come to us. It is true that we are not getting aid, rather we are concentrating on trade. It is also true that we took loan and we are paying it in instalments. There may be difference of opinion over the way gold was mortgaged. However, the whole country, including all of us, would like that the country should pay the instalments of the loan at every cost. We would have every right to ask as to why the situation was allowed to be deteriorated to this extent. We would also want that such a situation should not arise in future. But it should not be taken that we can make the country self-reliant only through words but virtually rejecting it in practice. If the assistance or aid suits the interests of the country we should accept it, otherwise we should reject it. Besides we should create confidence and determination among the people. When I

suggested setting up a National Government, my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta said about that...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Whatever you said in the House, has been reported in my name.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: They also want that you and we should cooperate. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is good that the Government has won the Confidence vote. It is a matter of happiness. But Shri Advani also pointed out in his speech as to how long will this arrangement last on day-to-day basis. It is just like digging the well everyday and drinking water. There should be some permanent arrangement. The country is facing crisis and I agree with hon. Prime Minister that even if he had full mandate he would not have been able to solve it single handedly. I do not want to go into the details of the crisis that the country is facing today. I would like to confine myself only to the economic crisis. The country is in a war like situation. I am not saying war situation but war like situation and that situation is even more dangerous than war. The enemy is known and well identified in a war but here it is assaulting us from behind the curtain. We are in deep economic crisis. There is political instability in the country and therefore, the people should rise to the occasion and resolve to stand united. All of us should help in creating this national resolve. But this cannot be done by keeping the opposition in the dark. We should be taken into confidence and the people of this country should also be taken into confidence. If this Government works on these lines, I am sure that we can overcome this crisis.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: I have received a letter from the Finance Minister. He has sought time to make a *suo motu* statement at 4.45 P.M. Now, Shri Rajesh Pilot.

[*Translation*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT):

Mr. Speaker. Sir, being called to speak after Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is in itself as big a problem as the one being faced by the country on which he was speaking. I was just now thinking that since 1980 when I entered politics I have heard many hon. Members and today after 12 years I have come to realise that the art of oratory is a must in this country. It is immaterial whether work is done or not done. The example is before us. Atalji must not have achieved even a fig through his speeches during the last 25-30 years. He raised 2-3 major issues and thrust the entire blame of the crisis on our 21 day old Government. Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we left power in November 1989, what was the condition of the country at that time. That is on record. I am not adding anything from my side. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the condition in June, 1991 when we took over power. The Prime Minister has mentioned everything in his speech. We are trying to follow in letter and spirit and drawing inspiration from whatever the hon. Prime Minister has said in his speech on the Confidence Motion.

When we left Government in 1989 the industrial growth had touched an all time high level of 8 per cent and it was so after almost 20 years. After the constant efforts of 20 years it had gone upto 8.8 per cent. Agricultural production touched 177 million tonne mark whereas in 1985 it was just 133 million tonnes. This is not my report, but it is the Government report which was submitted by a close friend of Shri Atalji, Shri Devi Lal, the then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture. It has been mentioned in that report that the 1987 drought was the worst drought of this century and Government faced it bravely and helped the people. That is the report submitted the Government supported by him. That is

what the then Deputy Prime Minister said. When it came to Confidence Motion a mention was made that there is poverty in the country and that too 51-52 per cent. No Member or a responsible citizen would like that there should be poverty in the country. The Congress Party at least made some efforts in this direction and raised the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao'. We made efforts also in this regard. I will give the figures also later on. When a slogan is raised, work is also done.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri George Fernandes claimed in a report of year 1989-90 that 51 per cent people in the country are living below the poverty line. He applied a wrong formula instead of the formula prepared by the Planning Commission which says that a person having less than Rs. 6000 or Rs. 6400 as annual income would be treated as living below the poverty line. Shri George Fernandes prepared his own formula and raised the limit to Rs. 10,000 on his own. If we go by individual formulas the percentage can still increase. The Operation Research Group said that according to their analysis based on Planning Commission's formula there were only 27.5 per cent people living below the poverty line in 1989-90. It is a matter of serious concern and we want that poverty should be removed from this country. We are making untiring efforts in this direction and paying attention to it.

A little while ago it was stated that with the coming of Congress (I) to power, unemployment situation has worsened. I do not refute prevalence of unemployment in the country, but at least do not raise the efforts made by us in this direction to the ground. What was done during your tenure, but now at least we are making efforts. During 1985-90 the Congress (I) Government not only achieved the target of generating 2450 million man days, but generated 3452 million man days. I agree that the figures do remain on papers. We created

[Sh Rajesh Pilot]

3492 million man days. There can be margin of error between 2 per cent to 5 per cent, but definitely people got employment and benefits of new schemes did reach even villages and every corner of the country. This was the situation when we made over the charge.

Sir, today Shri Vajpayee raised the issue of Gold and country's economic conditions, but Sir I want to know when the Congress (I) Government bowed out of office in 1989, what was the position of foreign exchange reserves at that time.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN** (Rosera) How much was the foreign debt?

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** I am coming to that point also. When we left the power the foreign exchange reserve was Rs 6605 crores but on our coming back to power it was only Rs 2500 crores. If Shri Vajpayee holds us responsible for it then it is injustice with us. When we went out of power the foreign exchange reserve was Rs 6605 crores but the present position is before the House and the House is well aware of it. With the assumption of power now the responsibility has been shifted to us. We have lost National credibility. Sir, you will agree with me that there is a saying in the countryside—that as long as credibility is there, even in the midst of poverty trade of lakhs of rupees can be done but if credibility is lost even crores of rupees have no worth. Our credibility has suffered but who is responsible for it? Why should I blame Shri V P Singh. During his regime of one and a half year, I believe the Government could function smoothly for only 3 months from November to January, as per the newspaper reports. In January Shri Atalji instigated Shri Devi Lal and I do not know what prompted him to tread a different path and with the result two Prime Ministers started functioning from February. The people

of the country know the conditions prevailing in the country at that time. What I read in the newspapers, if I stand corrected, that in reality you were running the Government from behind the curtain. Everyday in the evening a list of demands was submitted and they were compelled to accept those demands. They were afraid of revolt. Therefore, I do not blame the then Government. As per the newspaper reports the Government was facing a crisis but somehow it was running. Mr Vajpayee, believe me my Government does not believe in day-to-day bargaining. We will run the Government without entering into any kind of bargain.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN**  
Clipping please

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** Mr Vajpayee raised the issue of clandestine dealings. In this matter Atalji is more experienced than me. Moreover I am younger than him. Besides I am an ex-service man. I have little faith in covertness and strongly believe in openness which I learnt during my tenure in the Armed Forces. I clearly understand what I am doing. You need not to worry about our dealings.

Sir, the policies of the Government are outlined in the President's Address. All the policies with details cannot be given in the President's Address. The Government tried to make a brief announcement of the steps proposed to be taken to improve the economic conditions prevailing in the country. Secondly, my party strongly feels that till the living standard of rural and poor people does not improve the country also cannot progress. All the policies of the Government are aimed at improving the lot of 90 per cent people of the country. How can the conditions of people of the country be improved? The Government has come out with clear details of the proposed policies likely to be opted, for tackling agricultural, irrigation,

industrial and educational problems the country is facing Today in the morning Mr Chandrasekar raised the issue of reservations for the backward classes Sir the approach of my party towards this issue is quite clear A few months ago, Mr Chandrasekar, was in the Congress (I) and both of us used to meet the late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi who had categorically stated that he had full sympathy with the backward classes and his party was also determined to implement the policies related to backward classes Still our policies are clear (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN**  
Then why there is difference of opinion on this issue in the Cabinet

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** On this issue we have no difference of opinion The difference is that you interpret in your own way We stick to our policies and are determined to provide reservations to the backward classes We have made our stand clear both inside and outside the House I was discussing this issue outside with someone and I made it clear to him that the benefit of reservation must first go to the most needy in the backward classes category During a discussion with Mr Paswan on this issue, I said to him that though, I also belonged to backward classes, yet I wanted that reservation to backward classes—whether it was 27% or 25% or 30% must first be given to the poorest among the backward classes Today my son is not in so much need of reservation but its benefits must go to the son of that person, who lives in a village and whose son reads in the light of a hurricane lamp Why is the reservation being given to those who are living in air-conditioned houses This was an example, I quoted to him

**SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV**  
(Azamgarh) Reservation does not mean that to whom it should be given

or to whom it should not be given It means the participation in power 52 per cent population of our country is socially and educationally backward, but reservation has not been made for them in any sphere So the question is of only participation in power Reservation does not mean all that you have stated (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** Mr Speaker, Sir so far as share of backward classes is concerned, you can see our party's mandates since 1952 and compare those with that party's mandates which claim itself to be the well wisher of backward classes The Congress Government has always done a good job for the betterment of the backward classes Even I say that we should not overlook the reality Today we have to think whether we should uplift those who are really backward or the so-called backwards The son of an IAS officer belonging to backward classes should not be given benefits of reservation, as he has been already reading in a good school but the benefits be extended to the poor whose children study in the light of lanterns We are moving in that direction (*Interruptions*) It is the intention of party not to disturb the quota of reservation but we intend to extend the benefits of reservation first to those who are most backward among the backward classes category This is our policy and we are going to implement it in a right way The intention of the Government is clear (*Interruptions*) Sir, the intention of the Government becomes clear if one goes through the President's Address, which clearly states that the Government proposes to set up a Backward Classes Development Corporation at an early date This will be our first step to let the people of the country know the proposed line of action of the Government Our policy regarding the reservation to the Backward classes is, therefore, absolutely clear

**SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV** Have your referred to the issue of reservation anywhere in the President's Address? If there is any mention about the reservation for the backward classes in it, then please read it out

**SHRI RAM VIJAY PASWAN** Mr Speaker, Sir, in response to what the Pilot has told you I want to say only this much as to why the government does not tell clearly its views to the Supreme Court? Why do they want to prolong this issue why do they not clarify their stand before the Supreme Court? The Supreme Court is angry about the government's vague policy towards this issue and it wants that the government should clarify its policy regarding this issue. *(Interruption)*

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** As our brothers are very eager about this I would request them to allow us to do this job, however, they may take credit for this. We shall tell the people outside this house that we had done this work at the behest of Ram Vilas only. We believe in work, not in mere propaganda. Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to assure this House that our government *(Interruption)*

**SHRI RAM LAKHAN SINGH YADAV** (Allah) There is need to clarify your policy to the Supreme Court right now as a case regarding this issue is pending there. If you do not send proper answer at the appropriate time, there would be resentment and ill-will among the people against the present government. On this basis, the Supreme Court's verdict may go against the government. It will mean that on the pretext of the Supreme Court's judgement the government will not implement the Mandal Commission Report and put forward one excuse or the other for not implementing the Report

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT:** Ram Lakhani, Please listen to me first.

I would like to assure this House *(Interruptions)*

**MR SPEAKER** Please take your seat. All of us are ready to listen to whatever is being said here. The Minister of Finance is also present here and he has said that he will make a statement at 4.45 p.m. I am permitting him for making the statement after the speeches of Members are over. Therefore keeping in view the constraint of time, there should not be any intervention in between the speeches of Members.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** Thank you Sir. An hon. Member has just now said that under the excuse of the Supreme Court *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH** (Chitorgarh) Rajeshji, drop this subject and please proceed further.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** On this point too I would like to make it clear that we shall certainly give the benefit of reservations to the backward classes and nothing will obstruct its implementation. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

**SHRI SRIKANTA DEVA** (Cutlak) I am on a point of order. If the Minister always tries to mislead the House, then there will be tension in the House. So I seek your protection.

**MR SPEAKER** This is not a point of order.

*(Interruptions)\**

**MR SPEAKER** I am not going to allow this kind of interruptions. This will not go on record. I will allow you to make a speech if you want, but not like this.

\*Not recorded

[*Translation*]

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** Mr. Speaker, Sir, two or three members have referred to the problems of Assam, Punjab and Kashmir in their speeches. The Assam Government is trying all the best to create an atmosphere in which the situation that had been deteriorating in the recent past, could be improved.

Su, as far as the problems in Punjab and Kashmir are concerned, these are the matters of concern for the whole country. There are no two opinions regarding what should be done in Punjab and Kashmir. These are the unanimous sentiments of the entire House that peace must be restored in Punjab and Kashmir by creating a conducive atmosphere for peace there and we must improve law and order situation there which has deteriorated there and the destruction which has taken place during the last one or two years should be made good. On behalf of my party I would like to assure that our party has never hankered after power. After making an accord for peace, we held elections in Assam, though we were in power there and we accepted the public mandate. The same we did in Mizoram where we were in power. We signed an agreement for establishing peace there. We signed an accord with Shri Lal Denga, who is no more now, to establish peace. I would like to assure the hon. Members of the opposition that the Congress party and its Government will make all efforts in resolving the problems of Punjab and Kashmir. I hope the problems of Kashmir and Punjab may be solved very soon if all of us take it into same spirit and adopt same policy. It has been our earnest efforts to create a conducive atmosphere in Punjab and Kashmir after holding the talks with all the concerned parties since the day our party came into power.

Lastly, I would like to refer to Shri Atalji. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not hidden to any one and it is wide-

ly known as to how the country's condition has deteriorated, whether it is the issue of black-money or any thing else. What is the main reason behind all this? I was reading Nehru's speech delivered in 1952. I was reading his reply for Jai Prakashji. [*Interruptions*]

[*English*]

Shri Anil Dattaji you are a senior person listen to me.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR** (Ballia) Do not quote Nehru, do anything.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** We have been living on Pt. Nehru's ideologies, Chandra Shekhari and you have also been living on Pt. Nehru's ideologies to some extent. We have been living on that ideology and that is why we will survive on this.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR** You should not quote Nehru, you should keep quite on it.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** Pt. Nehru's ideology will be followed, we have been following it and we will continue to follow that. That is our platform and we will not leave it on somebody's saying.

[*Translation*]

I was saying as to what is the reason of this malaise? who is responsible for such a situation? Why has the political situation deteriorated to such an extent? The main reason for this is the decline in the political standard of the country. It is different thing whether all the parties accept this fact or not. But this is the fact that unless every party of the country takes initiatives to raise the political standard, this malaise cannot be eliminated. I have mentioned it because Atalji in a very emotional tone had said that our country today needs to be strengthened and I fully agree with his assertion. But it is possible only when we have a strong

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political character. Unless we are politically strong, our problems will continue to grow, and they will not be reduced. We may make our country strong only when we strengthen our political character as well as our national character. But it is very unfortunate that today every political party does not have any concern for all these things. Unless we adopt all these things, our country will not march forward with strength. I am very thankful to you for giving me time. I have put forward the views of the Government in response to the points raised by Atalji and others.

[English]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Fatehpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this august House we have debated the verdict of the people, and there were differences of opinion and certainly there was not unanimity in interpretation of what the verdict is. In fact, it is not a single verdict, it is the numerical sum of two partial verdicts—one of the 20th May election and one of the 15th June, election. They are not only separated in time but they are also separated in context. It is like stapling two partial judgements of a judge and then trying to read coherence in it. Naturally, and no wonder, we do not find it. Anyway, this incoherence is the reality of this House. What its dynamics will be in future, I do not know. Rajesh Pilot Ji seems to be very assured about it. But it will be our endeavour to see that the voice of the people continues to be coherent and for that we are committed and on this ground we shall not fairly keep away.

Because of this commitment of ours to the people and the country, when it comes to issues of the integrity of the country, of its emotional and geographical unity, of its political and economic independence, Sir, may I assure you that we will

not function like parties but as citizens of this country because in the history of every country, there comes a moment when the real issue in the debate is not how we have managed the country but how the country has managed itself. This challenges before us today demand the sagacity that we all put our shoulders to ensure that the country manages itself well. We will do extend our hand when it comes to the issues of the country and of the people. And for this, the only way out is consensus. There is no other way out as we are paced in the House today. And if any coherence is to be read into the incoherent verdict of the people, I think they have given a verdict to run this House by consensus. But consensus assumes a culture of consultation. Certainly, if unilateral decisions are made and then if agreement is asked, it is not consensus. May I say it is non-consensus? So, let us not adopt this path, and I do hope there has been effort in this regard. The Prime Minister initially invited us but thereafter we were surprised that very major decisions were taken and we were just informed that it has been taken and now we have to agree or disagree. Sincerity of dialogue is to be developed. I think it is not only that the Government gets through the vote of Confidence. As the House is constituted, I think the Government should bring a motion of having confidence in the Opposition. I think that is what you need more. So, please show this confidence. When it comes to the country's issues, certainly we will behave responsibly, as that is our responsibility to the people, but certainly it is as much our responsibility not spare you where you make lapses or where you deviate from the interests of the country and we shall not spare you at all. We will be ruthless when it comes to that issue.

Sir, the President's Address is dreadfully silent on many things, and this silence gives shivers to us. It is silent

on the federal polity of the country it is silent on decentralisation it is silent on the commitment to the freedom of the press and electronic media it is silent on electoral reforms, it is silent on judicial reforms to ensure the independence of the judiciary So this silence is far more eloquent in the speech itself I do not know whether it is silence of the innocent or the silence of the kicked but certainly it is very significant because this issue is not of academic interest We have gone to the people on these issues They have given a verdict on this and it does concern us when there is no mention of these vital issues that relate to the democratic institutions themselves the erosion of which is what we exactly witnessed for some time now

When we talk of the federal polity there is a certain element of political equity in all these and a very delicate balance in the Constitution has been woven Somewhere we have to introspect on the problems of alienation in Kashmir, Punjab or Assam Apart from the external interference that is there, is not there some erosion of democracy that also has contributed? I do not say 'solely', but that is also the contribution to the element of alienation It is not necessary When we talk of the unity and integrity of this country when this element is there, I am sure this should have come in the President's Address on this very count that the federal polity of the country will be preserved and the Government is committed, but they avoided this issue But this is one thing which the Government may not take seriously, and I think when the Prime Minister replies certainly he will make this clear And also when we talk of the power to the people, in fact, there should be power to the poor And much has been said just now — 'commitment to the poor' About the issue of Panchayati Raj and decentralisation, there is no mention of it in the President's Address We want to know exactly what is the commitment of the Government on panchayati Raj on the electronic media what is going to be the fate of the

Prasar Bharati Act What is the assurance regarding the freedom of press? Yes today I can say it because when we are in the Opposition we are all for the freedom of the press The test comes when we are in power and the further test comes when the places would turn At that moment we did pass the test There was no pressure on any journalist or owner of the press to change his tune or anything like that These are very fundamental to the democracy itself The issue of judicial reforms is very urgent We know that lawyers and advocates before getting the appointments as Judges it is a sad thing that they go up and down the corridors of power What sort of judiciary we are having? What sort of institutions we are having? Precisely our issue is how far the Government is going to protect the democratic institutions from erosion which has led also to the present state of political situation we are having and also the Government should explain why these vital issues have been left out from the President's Address

Sir, so far this goes regarding President's silence I am now coming to what has been said in the Address May I start from the last phrase of the last sentence?

That runs like this

You have before you the historic task of building a strong and prosperous India, a humane India, an India where there is social harmony and communal amity, an India from which poverty has been eradicated an India based on equality and social justice"

One has to come to the last phrase of the whole speech which has now become the first phrase of the millions of people who have known nothing for thousands of years except stability of this deprivation and their humiliation What will be our message to them? After this Address, what is the concrete message that they would receive? Will it be the stability of their stagnation or will there be a message of change? This change,

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may I make it clear, is not made by dolling out money from the treasury. Destinies of nations have not been forced by legislations, destinies of nations have been forced by social forces coming forward, those forces which have been oppressed and deprived. What are we going to do for them? They are not asking for crumb from the treasury. They want to have a share in shaping their own destinies and the destiny of the country. How much share are we going to give them in power? Here, I want to quote Gandhiji, who regarding Swaraj said:

“By Swaraj I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of adult population, male or female, native or domicile who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State.”

This was the dream of the Father of the Nation, that those who have contributed by manual labour to the country should shape the destiny of the country. Who are these people who contribute by manual labour? Gandhiji, in his mind, had not put the word ‘manual labour’ just like that deliberately there. Who are these people who toil and earn their livelihood by manual labour? Are they not the people of the Scheduled Castes? Are they not the people whom the society has labelled as ‘untouchables’? They had not asked for it. They did not ask us to call them as ‘shudras’. They are the Backward Classes; this is the main labour force. It is the productive force of the country and it is the producer class of the country. After 43 years of independence, we have a shape of country with the main producer class of the country not having a say in running the country. It is not so much of an issue of how much money they are going to get from the Budget.

Sir, when we talk of social justice which the President has said, no programme of social justice can be drawn up without recognising the social reality. If you put a curtain on this

social reality and then have a programme of social justice, I say, we are not only deceiving ourselves, but we are also deceiving them. In the analysis that we do of the country, it is not only necessary that the economic and political realities have to be taken into cognizance, but the social reality also should be taken into cognizance; not only they should be taken into cognizance separately, but their interrelations should be clearly understood. It is a very ugly fact that those who are in the upper strata of the society do have a major share in the power structure of the country and in the power structure. I include the bureaucracy also because it is an institution of power. It is also an ugly fact that those who are in the lowest strata of social order have smallest share in the power structure. This is the sole reason why all developmental efforts do not reach those people who ought to benefit by these developmental efforts. Unjust social order gives rise to unjust power structure and this power structure distributes the benefits of power unjustly. Unless we make a direct assault on this nexus, I think, we will be only debating. So many Members have debated that the benefits do not reach. This issue is not concerned with only with this Party or that Party. That is the reality. Somewhere in the whole mechanism, the political will is missing. Among those who control power, some element of political will is missing: Who will have genuine political will? It is the deprived that will have the political will. So, if we have to induct an element of political will, we have to induct the people of the deprived sections into the power structure.

I request you to bear with me as I read out some excerpts from the book of Guynar Mridal on *Asian Drama*. The insight that he has, for a foreigner to come and have such an insight is remarkable. He says, India started with grand leadership. There were a galaxy of statesmen. A

very few developing countries have this. There were people of integrity, commitment and sacrifice. Then, what happened over the years? This is what he said. That is what we have experienced. I do not endorse it merely because he has said so but we have also experienced it. He says:

"The upper class status of those who stepped into power disposed them to abstain from taking policy measures that would contravene the interests of privileged groups. The operation of the political forces under stratification that has kept the masses of people poor, ignorant and passive."

That is the relationship of the political system and social order. He further says in the context of what had happened:

"India's acute problems, made it seem imperative to avoid issues that might threaten the unity of the articulate upper strata."

Precisely that is the sin we have committed.

"The urgency of achieving order and stability induced most leaders to shelve ideological commitments and acquiesce in postponing the implementation of the full Congress programme. Even the fact that economic and social reforms are largely ineffective in practice can, in a sense, be described as "stability".

I think, there can be no better diagnosis of what "stability" had made for all these years.

"But this kind of stability has only been achieved through the incapacity of the political system to induce the social and economic changes that development calls for. By leaving real power with the opponents of economic and social change, political stability implies stagnation."

I think, this is an issue which we may address seriously, not of accusing or blaming each other but let us list this on the national agenda, irrespective of Party consideration. It is not how it may affect one of us or the other. It is going to affect millions of people, not something remotely, but something which they live through their lives, from birth to death, on the daily basis of experience of life as we have in the present social order and set up.

In this context, I do hope that light will be thrown not only on some superficial level but we will address ourselves to this more seriously.

I will take you to paragraph 36 of the Address where the President has said:

"The Government attach great importance to make administration more efficient and responsive."

Now the need to have a responsive administration is on record. How is it that merit alone is all the qualification in the examinations? All those who pass IAS do not have low IQ or intellect or knowledge. It is never suggested that administration is not knowledgeable. It is knowledgeable. But it is not responsive. That is the complaint of the common man. Responsiveness is admitted merit. Have we not seen what administrative merit is? Is not responsiveness to people a valid merit than all examinations? For instance, Defence Services. Only on mere examination, they do not say "You go and be a personnel in the Defence." There are some other human qualities and if responsiveness is a merit, experience has to be part of it and the experience of suffering only can bring responsiveness, not reading of books.

It is also said in this very para that the Government will complete the drive for filling the backlog of vacancies meant for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in various Minis-

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tries and Departments. (*Interruptions*) We will cooperate fully with you when you take any measure (*Interruptions*). I am taking you into confidence (*Interruptions*). We considered this in the Cabinet. (*Interruptions*). We had considered it in the Cabinet among ourselves. We had come to a decision among ourselves—Shri Ram Vilasji was there that we will bring a legislation because today there is only Government Order, a Circular or something like that, regarding reservation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We had decided that we will bring a legislation where it will become an enactment and it becomes justiciable. A Member of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes can go to the court and get justice. We have promised this to them about half a century ago. I will request the Government to bring this legislation in this very Session. We will all cooperate. Let it come from Prime Minister himself tomorrow.

Rest assured also that while we extend this cooperation, let us assure, as Opposition, if it does not come in this Session, we will go to people and agitate and fight for it because we can no longer wait. So, we have given due notice of our intention of cooperation and also of opposition. Let it not be known that we have kept any secrets. Also, there is a silence, a dumb-founded silence regarding labour participation in management. There is no mention of it. Of course, there is a mention of labour having some shares etc. But what about labour participation in management? If the capital has a share in management, in the production of wealth so also the labour is a partner to it. Why should it not also have a share in management? it is not a mere trade union demand. It is a commitment of the Congress Party contained in its manifesto regarding labour participation in management. We have brought a legislation in the House regarding labour participation

in management. We want a very clear assurance of what the Government is going to do about that Bill which we had introduced. We want that in this very session because it doesn't require budget or foreign exchange or it may not have to go to Finance neither the first office of Schedule Caste/Scheduled Tribe nor of labour participation in management.

Sir, apprehensions have been expressed. It is stated that labour has not come to this level. But the Reserve Bank of India's study shows that sickness on account of labour is only 2 per cent and on account of management it is much more. So, let us have confidence in our productive forces or labour force. Why speak of all other things? But we don't have confidence in them. We should have confidence in them. Precisely, this is what the signal that should go from this House. We may be short of money. We may be in some difficulty. But we do have confidence. On this, we must be rich. We are not poor in confidence in our working and toiling people—that is the message that should come from this House. That is what I demand. It is not contrary to our today's challenges of modernisation or competition abroad. Germany has got labour participation and it is competitive in the international market. Japan has a model of cooperation, not of antagonistic relationship, industrial relationship. It is competitive and competent. We want a very categorical assurance. May I also give notice that if we are not going to give an assurance on labour participation in management in this Session, we will go to the working class industrial town-by-town and we will marshal them here till you give them the right. That is the signal that should go from this House. (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR (SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY): Mr. Speaker, Sir, our hon. Member and former Prime Minister of India was

discussing about the participation of workers in the management. His Government has brought a Bill and is pending in the Rajya Sabha. May I know from him, Sir, after the introduction, why it could not be passed at that time? Let him kindly explain (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** It is the Congress(l) which did not cooperate. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** I am very happy that he has given assurance that he is ready to bring that Bill and place it. We will give you all the support (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY:** You are not passing that Bill in the Rajya Sabha. Why are you not doing that? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Are you going to bring that Bill or not? That closes your mouth

[*Translation*]

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN:** We could not bring that Bill because the Congress(l) did not support us.

[*English*]

It is on record that they wanted that that Bill be sent to the Select Committee. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** It is precisely this thing that I requested. Let not serious matter be scuttled by these superficial remarks. Let us be serious. All right, we have made all the mistakes. Are you ready to correct them on labour participation in management?

**SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY:** Yes. (*Interruptions*)

17.00 hrs.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Our commitment has been clear on it (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur):** Is he supposed to reply to questions put by a Minister? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** We are the authors of that Bill the Labour Participation in Management. I want a commitment of the Treasury Benches even for giving a last date

Coming to Paragraph 28 of the Address relating to backward classes, it says

"Government is committed to special measures in favour of socially and educationally backward classes."

Mark the words "special measures". It does not say about the reservation in Government jobs. Again it says:

"In implementing these, preference will be given to the poorer sections among them"

We do not know what these measures are. It further says.

"Where poorer candidates are not available, the benefit will go to other members of the backward classes. The Government will also ensure that the benefits of reservation are provided to other economically backward sections who are not covered by the existing schemes."

This construction of sentence leads us to grave doubt. Why? Firstly, there is no reference to job reservation in Government service. It talks about "only special measures." It should be clear that the Government is committed to job reservation for the backward classes. Secondly, the doubt is, there is no reference of

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list. Which list will you follow? I want a clarification. Which list of the backward classes is going to be followed? Are you going to follow the Mandal Commission list? If they are going to follow that, why don't they write it here. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): Why did you not write it in your order? You had not accepted the Mandal Commission list in full. (*Interruptions*) That is the whole problem. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER. Please take your seat. No interruptions please.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: There is no reference to job reservation. There is no reference to list. I do not know whether they have produced one of the Mandal Commission's lists. We had adopted a common list of the State and the Mandal Commission. We had sent 14 joint secretaries. They had given the report. It is ready with the Government. Are you going to follow that list. Please make it clear. Otherwise, you will scuttle it for another ten years and the report will be kept in the cupboard. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am in the opposition. I have got a right to question. I have no duty to answer it. (*Interruptions*) How can a Minister question an opposition leader? We have a right to question. (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (SHRI P. K. THUNGON): How anomalous it is. So far as Arunachal Pradesh is concerned, backward classes have been mentioned and they are in the list. Ten names have been mentioned. Not even 50 people are there. If that is followed, out of 80 per cent of population, only 50 people

will be taking the benefit of 27 per cent reservations. Sir, such is the anomaly. I do not know whether they knew it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I think they are not well-informed. What was done is a common list. If it is in the State list, only then it will be all right. If it is not in the State list, then we will work out. When any Minister rises, he is committing the Government, and not a person. It very clearly shows now after this reply from the Minister that the Government does not have a list at all and that he has not given thought to it and that how he is going to fulfill this promise. I want a clear assurance. (*Interruptions*) There is no quantization about the percentage. Are you back-tracking from 27 per cent? You have back-tracked. You have not been able to give a commitment. The President's Address has come. You have responded in the House and questions were put and there was not even a single answer based on your great sympathy. How much is it? It is 001 per cent or what is it? (*Interruptions*) We have seen the conduct of the Government here and also in the Court. As the last day was expiring, hon. Members raised the issue here and that is why they have asked for time. We want very very specific answer on this. At no occasion, we wanted the reservation for all times to come. Even in our statement, we have said that after 10 years it will be reviewed. I do not want to go into the whole debate. There are other things to be discussed.

About the women a lot has been said that they want to do several things about women.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SUNIL DUTT (Bombay-North): The entire nation is anxious to know where the gold of this country has been sent? The hon. Finance Minister is present in the House. Let us hear him about the whereabouts of the gold.

**MR SPEAKER** Sunil Dutt, the hon. Minister is going to make a statement on the issue which you have raised. But there are several hon. Members who are to speak on the President's Address. Let them speak first and thereafter the Finance Minister will make a statement.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI SUNIL DUTT** You allow big leaders to speak for a longer duration whereas we are given only 5-10 minutes.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH** Sir, I will answer that question when I come to economy issue but they are not ready to listen.

[*English*]

In paragraph 27 of the President's Address regarding women it has been said

The programme aims at developing a new sense of awareness among women particularly in rural areas and empower them, so that they become active participants in the process of social transformation and regeneration.

In our Panchayati Raj Bill, which we had processed within Government we had this proposal to have 30 per cent seats reserved for women. If you want to make them involved in the development and transformation then we want a clarification. Are you going to give any place to women in the Panchayati Raj institutions? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR** (Mayiladuturai) Will you yield for a minute? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH** No, I am not yielding.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI TEJSINGHRAO BHONSLE** (Rāmtekh) Only for 30 per cent has been said Maharashtra Government. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

**SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR** Having yielded to the lady, why not you yield to me for a minute? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH** Well, I will give you the same honour of the lady. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR** Is it not a fact that the proposal to reserve 30 per cent seats for women in the Panchayats was first made by your predecessor, Shri Rajiv Gandhi? (*Interruptions*) Secondly, is it not a fact that in the Indira Mahila Yojana which is the context in which you read out this quotation it was specifically stated that the entire programme would be administered by Mahila Sabha comprising of all the adult women of a village who would form among themselves choose *sathins* who would act as a focal point of the programme?

In view of this I do not know what is the clarification the former Prime Minister seeks. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH** I am very happy that they are going to bring in 30 per cent reservation in Panchayati Raj for the women. I am very happy. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH** Are you bringing in or are you not bringing in? (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI TEJSINGHRAO BHONSLE** This should be 30 per cent. Maharashtra is the first state where we have implemented it. The same is true about other states where Congress party is in power. But during their rule. (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You have made your point, please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRAJAP SINGH: Sir, they have been in the Treasury Benches for a long time. (Interruptions) Still, they are behaving as if they are in the Opposition and we are in the Treasury Benches, asking us questions and answers.

[Translation]

AN HON. MEMBER: Have they accepted anybody else as backward accept Sharad Yadav and Ram Vilas Paswan? Not any Member of Lok Sabha Member or any governor. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. You can speak only when the hon. Member who is speaking is yielding. You should not rise from your seat again and again. Once or twice is all right but do not do it again and again.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Please do not do it again.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down now.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You have to sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat now.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot continue like this. You understand if he yields, you can speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I can explain to you. You come to my Chamber.

[Translation]

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: We shall resume our seats, but they are creating disturbance. When the hon. Members from other side rise from their seats, disturbance is bound to be there.

MR. SPEAKER: I have told you as well as those on the other side. Do not give me a chance to warn you again.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You are also disturbing him.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Regarding the economy, there is a need of a conscious approach because we know once the country gets into a debt, then it takes more than a decade to come out. It is certainly a duty of all of us. We are all conscious of it irrespective of party considerations that the country is not allowed to slip into such a condition. But at the same time, what Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and hon. speakers earlier also had mentioned is that there has to be transparency. The country has to be taken into confidence. It has to be told what is the situation; what are the measures to be taken; what will be the consequences if they are not taken. And after taking these measures, what further is whole economic remedy by which we will be able to pay loan or not get into a situation in which we got and analyse the reason how we got into that. Unless the people are not taken into confidence, I think, it will be very difficult politically to take the measures or anything that you have in mind. It is like a diabetic patient. If he is suffering from diabetes, it is better to

tell him that he is suffering from it. This is the problem. Otherwise if you say, you are all right, and if you do not tell him that he has got diabetes but say, "you stop taking sweets", he is going to beat you. (*Interruptions*) It is a situation which has not developed overnight. The foreign debt from 1980 to 1989 multiplied ten-fold. In 1986, I had the occasion to be in the Finance Ministry. I had brought before the Cabinet a paper—well—documented—as to how the variables of expenditure, of revenue, of loans, money supply all will behave, and had predicted that by 1990-91, the country will be in a deep crisis or financial crisis, though an analysis was basically on the domestic side. But we know the foreign exchange and the domestic situation are interlinked. That was four years ahead, I had warned that we are on an accident path. If we apply the brakes now, we can avoid it. If we apply the brakes two years later, perhaps we cannot avoid the accident. In that paper, I predicted that—I am speaking by memory—the revenue deficit by the year 1990 will touch about Rs. 14000 crores and somehow it has exactly touched that figure. At that moment, as my conscience was clear I had done my duty and warned that these will be the things which will come. The various measures that I had recommended were accepted by the Cabinet but my tenure was only about a month and a half. But I remember one thing that there was lot of pressure to take foreign commercial short-term loans. I resisted it firmly during my tenure and it could not come. After I went out, the window for short-term loans had opened and that created greater problem. When long-term loans also will get accumulated, they will catch up the problem. But the problem arises greater immediately with the short-term loans because you will have to pay in three months and six months. So, there may be some reasons which I do not know as I

was not there in the Government. But certainly, when we came back to power in February 1990, again we stopped this short-term loan. It might have been going on for sometime in December or January. So, these measures were taken. I do not want to go into the details as to what we have done and what you have done and I do not think that is the spirit of this debate. We can do it on some occasion in the Budget session. I cannot go into all those details but I can well answer those questions that have been put. I think that is not the spirit of this debate.

Government has a foreign exchange budget also. The foreign exchange budget should become an integral part of the regular budget. There is no reason why it should not be so. When I was there, the foreign exchange budget usually was prepared by October. It makes no sense. So, next year, I tried to make it by March. When we pass the deficit in our normal budget, we think that we have got the rupee, we will print the rupee or earn the rupee. But inherent in it is the foreign exchange deficit. It is not taken into account and the House passes it straightaway. After passing, there will be pressure. So, this is an area which demands better management. The Finance Minister is here. I would request him to bring the foreign exchange budget alongwith the regular budget. When there is such a crisis, there is no reason why it should not be discussed in this House.

Deficit is truly reflected and that is why, I tried to correct it. I got some figures. The Reserve Bank loans are shown under the heading 'Loans' and not under 'Deficit'. It is a genuine deficit because some fiduciary money is created. The House debates hypothetically and true deficit is not reflected and I tried to make some corrections and some figures used to come to the Parliament. Dr. Manmohan Singh is there. He is an expert in all these matters and, I think, certainly the House is justified in demanding it.

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The other point which I would like to say is that there must be some restriction on deficit. I found that it does not arise within the Government. We are all elected. We also have compulsions to make many programmes and schemes. I do not think that pressure is there and so generally we have to accept it. It will not be advisable also to have somebody outside the Government. The Expenditure Commission was once suggested by Ch Charan Singh but it will become a super Government. Why cannot we evolve an economy within the House? If the Government goes beyond a certain limit of deficit, say, 10 per cent or 15 per cent, then for every supplementary it normally comes back to the House and if there is a majority it gets it passed. Why cannot it be made as two-third's majority? Then there will be a consensus for making deficits than running the country into another debt trap. If there is two-third's majority, then the Government will have to talk to the Opposition for getting more deficit. I would request one thing on my own. I do not commit my party to it. If Money Bill fails, the Government fails. It brings a political problem on everyone's head. A Government should fall on a no confidence. If a Money Bill fails, let not the Government fail. Then we will really be free to debate a Money Bill on its financial merits and not on other considerations other than finance (*Interruptions*). This is a 'right' that I am suggesting for you. You acquire it!

Then Sir, the Reserve Bank should be allowed to function as a Reserve Bank and not as an extension of the Government. It has become a department of the Government. It should be given authority and autonomy to function.

AN HON MEMBER: Should it not be responsible to Parliament?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Of course it should be

responsible to the Parliament, but not like a Government Department.

There should also be stability of excise duties and direct taxes. When we assess an industry that this is its paying capacity there is no reason for this capacity to increase every year unless there is a dramatic change in the economy or a dramatic improvement or fall in that particular sector. With regard to customs, we cannot have stability because it has to respond to the international situation. But stability with regard to excise and direct taxes should be a part of tax reforms and revenue should be utilised for expansion of economic activity and that is the best way to use revenue on a long term basis.

In all this we talk of tightening of the belt. Whose belt is to be tightened? That is the question. Is the poor man's belt going to be tightened or is it the belt of those who can afford? When there will be a price impact because of all these measures how does the Government intend to buffer the poorer sections on the price front?

These are the questions that we have in mind. Sir, I do not know how much time is there and there are others yet to speak.

Coming to Punjab the sentence in the address reads as 'Law and order situation in the country has been a cause of grave concern for some time now'. After this sentence Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir were discussed. I am sure the Prime Minister might not have scrutinised it and the Cabinet too might not have scrutinised it. I have all respect for the Prime Minister. His political sagacity would not reduce Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir to a mere law and order problem. If you see it from the point of view of law and order only then that is not the point. And this perspective calls for change. Now elections in Punjab are postponed all of a sudden. Nobody knows how it has been done and who has done it.

and how the Election Commission functions. We demand that a date be fixed for elections. We have seen that after every postponement of elections, the Government has not been able to improve the situation. Therefore, a fair election date should be fixed and we should go ahead with the elections. He also talked about a law which is going to come, where if anybody makes any statement regarding secessionism, he will be debarred from membership. How will this law operate? It will be misused and it will be highly dangerous. We have come across some instances. If you see the files of some of those members who have been elected to this House, you will say that they should not be released. But after getting elected, they were normal. You released some and I also released some. They were the members elected from Punjab. Let this normalisation take place.

The other aspect that I am going to talk about is the federal structure in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. Somewhere this federal spirit is eroded. I have been given some disturbing information with regard to Nagaland. My Party colleagues have mentioned that a team of certain responsible persons from the ruling party have gone there. They are in the toppling game. This is a very highly dangerous game. Let us not add more examples of the erosion of federal spirit. This is how alienation starts. Toppling of governments is not the way to arrive at a consensus. Here I want to make it clear. Let us not play such games. It may have serious repercussions here too.

I want an assurance from the Defence Forces personnel and that is pension for ex-servicemen. We took a decision in the Cabinet that from Sepoy to Subedar and for the officers, there should be an increase of pension. That was under our consideration. We demand from this Government that they should only publish the decisions of the previous Government and not just throw them out. If they do not

do so, that will be the greatest injustice to the cause of ex-servicemen.

I would also like to mention something about the 15 point programme and the employment of the minorities. We took a decision that in every Selection Board, there should be one member of the Scheduled Caste and one member of the minority community, so that justice is ensured. Now, we want a time bound declaration not only regarding Minorities Commission but also for Rapid Deployment Force. Earlier, you had mentioned that you are going to give statutory status to the Minorities Commission. You had also mentioned about maintaining the *status quo* of shrines etc. We welcome them. But, there should also be a ban on slogans, cassettes and advertisements. They are highly inflammatory. I challenge that it is not only a political, economic or social question but there has been an attempt being made to challenge our culture also. It is not the challenge on the Government but it is a challenge on the psyche of the people. This is most dangerous. I think we must strengthen the unity and integrity of the country.

Our position is very clear regarding Ram Janna Bhoomi issue. This issue should either be settled amicably or the law of the land should be honoured. We said that the Courts should be kept away from this. The mechanism of resolving disputes and arriving at a decision has been incorporated in the Constitution. Now, we are saying that you take away that mechanism and after that, you solve the problem.

Shah Banu's case was quoted. Regarding this case, there was a judgement and then we came to the Parliament for amending the law. We amended the law and an assurance was given that only the will of the House will prevail. Now, either you submit yourselves to the will of the people or let the Parliament decide on that issue.

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At the end I want to say this. We should keep this in mind that India will not reach its fulfilment unless its two-thirds population which had been deprived for millions of years does find a place in the governance.

I think, this message will clearly come out from the deliberations here.

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) Mr Speaker Sir, I have not to make a long speech (*Interruptions*)

[English]

Nobody can let me down. You are accustomed to that.

[Translation]

Sir, I do not want to be dragged into these controversies. I want to mention only those issues which concern the future of our nation and which have been raised both inside as well as outside the House. Perhaps I did not want to speak in the House but I am constrained to point out that the Hon Prime Minister is not present in the House. On that day he had said during the course of his speech that the steps which he took to solve the economic crisis should have been taken by me. I want to say that all the papers were ready but due to the difficult situation I was facing I could not take those decisions. It is only on the basis of those papers that the hon Prime Minister has taken this decision. I understand my responsibility towards the nation and towards this House. To say that these issues did not come before me and that I did not think in terms of finding solutions to them is beyond truth. There may be some short-comings in me, but I cannot be accused of delaying decisions. I do not know how the Prime Minister took the decision, it is his domain and only he can tell about it. But I do admit that the capability which he has to take a decision is not there in me. I am not talking in terms of

the support of the hon Members, but of capability to take a decision. This capability to take a decision is unparalleled in him. I had written him a letter telling him that he took very speedy decisions. I have no objection to his taking speedy decisions, but the manner in which these decisions are being taken, I think, will jeopardise the future of our country. There would not have been any objection to me had the Prime Minister taken the decision himself, or had the Cabinet or the Parliament or the Congress Party taken the decision, but I am constrained to say that, from what appeared in the newspapers, it was clear that the Parliament and the Congress Party did not know about this decision. As for the Cabinet, I do not know whether it had any knowledge about the decision or not.

Just now, my friend Shri Rajesh Pilot was speaking. I know him, he is a young man with a zeal to make further studies and take the country forward. He was quoting from Nehruji's speech. I told him not to quote Nehruji. But he still ventured and did not quite succeed because you can not stretch Nehru beyond a particular limit. I did not agree with all the policies of Nehruji but the message of self reliance and 'Swadeshi' which Nehru gave in the economic sector was the legacy of Gandhi's movement. Through you I want to tell Shri Rajesh Pilot that they are no more associated with that tradition. His party has broken the last link with that tradition during the last three months. While I am saying so I am not swayed by emotions. I have been in Parliament for the last 29 years and I have seen how policies were framed. Industrial Policy Resolution was not framed in a day. MRTP Act and FERA were not passed in a day nor was the policy governing the Indian and Foreign Companies formulated in a day. Our Gurudev Atalji is sitting here and he knows how much heat was generated during the debate on the MRTP Bill in the Rajya Sabha. The House had to sit throughout the night after the normal day

sitting to discuss the Dutt Committee report on that Bill. He would also remember that beside discussion in the Parliament Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had invited the experts and the learned people from all over the country for an open debate on the Industrial Policy Resolution. The debate lasted eight years from 1948 to 1956. The work which Nehru accomplished in eight years the task which, Smt Indira Gandhi could accomplish in 45 years has been completed by Shri Narasimha Rao in three days. I congratulate him for this efficiency. He has turned all these policies topsyturvy. The documents were ready. After all where from the documents came who prepared these documents. There should be a discussion on these questions. I do not want that all these things be made public. Quite innocently he said that we would not like to know the details of the Budget nor would he like to disclose them. The people who have been elected to this House at least know this much of the Parliamentary tradition that neither anyone would ask the details of the Budget nor anybody was going to disclose them.

Sometimes we are surprised about it. Should we not discuss the policy matter? Should we not respond to the laws when we change our policy? When I have already handed over charge to him I am surprised when I am told that all these decisions were being taken at my instance. I was worried a bit when I was told that there was a report of the World Bank on the basis of which these decisions had been taken. That report was submitted to the Government in November 1990 after I assumed office. I held the office of the Prime Minister from November 1990 to June 1991. Although in the eyes of our friend Shri Somnath Chatterjee I was the Prime Minister just for name as I depended on other's support. But it was the misfortune of the country as well as mine that I happened to represent the country at that time no matter whatever weaknesses whatever lack of understanding

and whatever low capacity to take decisions I had. During these 6-7 months that report was not submitted either to me or to the Minister of Finance or even to our higher officials. That report was confined only to a group of 8 to 9 officers of the Government of India. I would not like to mention here any of these officers' name as you might be knowing them. However I say that most of these officers have been the officers of the World Bank at one time or the other. And. (Interrupts)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is a very serious matter.

SHRI SAH UDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): It is a very serious matter. There has to be an inquiry on this.

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wrote a letter to the Hon. Prime Minister requesting him to clarify as to where this report had been kept and why this was not shown to me and why this was not discussed? As Atalji has said, when I discussed various issues with the Ministry of Finance a day or two after assuming my office, one of the officers appraising me of the situation told me that the situation was so bad that nothing could be done then. I asked him why was he retaining the post despite having such conception? That higher officer who is very close to Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is still in the Government of India and he may again reach that high post. I asked him that very day to relinquish his office as that kind of pessimistic views were not required. I requested the Prime Minister to make an inquiry into and gave him an assurance that I would not raise this issue publicly till I am apprised of the fact after the inquiry. But I would like to ask my Congress friends as to why should I keep silent when the Prime Minister, after getting my letter states that his decision has been

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taken on the basis of the papers prepared during my regime' Is there not any responsibility on my part for this country or for this Parliament

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH) Mr Speaker, Sir, I have great regard for Shri Chandra Shekar I wish to assure him that all the papers have been prepared by us and no outside agency has been involved directly or indirectly in the preparation of these papers

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR I hold Shri Manmohan Singhji in high esteem He is my friend He might have prepared papers at his own level without any help from government during the last 57 days Even then I cannot believe that as I am not so unknown or ignorant I too have seen some of the papers as well as that report of the World Bank I possess two pages of that report Should I read them out but it would be an unprecedented move? The contents of the speech of our Minister of Commerce tallies word by word with this report The same policies are being adopted as have been suggested in this report of the World Bank In this report everything has been suggested in detail as to what should be the State policy and what should be the industrial policy, that the customs duty be reduced and excise duty increased in the budget These are the 18 papers that have been sent by the World Bank since 1987 and I am surprised that on these papers discussion can be held in the IMF in the World Bank and in the multiorganisations of the world but these can not be shown to the Parliament and the Prime Minister of this country and, moreover, I am being held responsible for taking decisions on this If Shri Manmohan Singhji has taken this decision, this is something phenomenal as there is much similarity between the way of thinking of Shri

Manmohan Singhji and that of the IMF and the World Bank. And I would not like to say anything in this regard But I would certainly like to point out the other thing Well, they have taken the decision What necessitated them to take the decision within three days, could be the country not await for a week and could he not take his own party-members into confidence? They want to change the policies that have been framed by this country and by this Parliament in the last 20-21 years saying that they are helpless that it is in the interest of the public and that is for the sake of development Now they want to convince the country that they have decided to change these policies after a deep thought I have full confidence in their wisdom but I am not ready to hold the wisdom of any Prime Minister any Member of Parliament or any Minister of Finance higher than India's wisdom of 21 years taken together It is my helplessness Therefore I say that the matter should be considered seriously I do not blame that they have a mala fide intention nor do I say that some sort of bungling has been done But, is it proper that those eight officers continuously kept this report in their possession for seven long months and did not bother to look into it for fifteen days? Is it proper that they take major policy decisions without consulting anyone? I would like to say that much cry was raised when the smuggled gold was sent outside during the period of our government and that act was allegedly called by the Congress Party a national Party betrayal But that very act of national betrayal of the month of May has become today an act of patriotism I cannot make it public here as to what is there in the files I had withheld that decision not for one or two days but for fifteen days but the persons like Shri Somnathji who constantly called our government a care-taker government compelled me There were certain big powers that wanted to compel that caretaker government to take wrong decisions I do not want to

say more than this. But I want a thorough inquiry into all these matters and all the facts must be brought before the country in unambiguous terms. I think that the devaluation was not required. Even, today I am of the same view but I would not like to make any comment whether this act of devaluation is right or wrong. In my opinion we could do even without this. Shri V.P. Singh did not devalue nor did I. No one did talk about devaluation with me but suddenly within seven days the whole scene and all the circumstances in the country changed and we became helpless. I know that we have shortage of money. I would not like to talk about loans our country is burdened with and also about who is responsible for this and to what extent. Shri Rajesh Pilot delivered a very learned speech here. I congratulate him as well as the Congress Party which has got such a competent member like him. He made a reference to the amount of loan they had left behind but did not state as to what happened to the foreign exchange amount of rupees six thousand crore kept in the secret reserve? A sum of rupees five thousand crore had been spent by them and the remaining one thousand by Shri V.P. Singh (*Interrupted*). And the reserved amount of rupees six thousand crore... (*Interruptions*)... Sometimes, I am very much confused. Two things perturbed me one thing, as our Gurudeo Shri Atalji has said that if a man is changed, the society will change itself. So far as the I.M.F. is concerned he has suggested us not to call a spade a spade. We call a spade a spade because we fear that Atalji might be misguided. Although I am saying all this, these are not new things. I did not know that I would have to speak today. I would not make a mention of the reports of 1982 but the U.S.A. treasury submitted a report to the U.S. President in 1982, in which the functions of the I.M.F., World Bank, Asian Development Bank have been defined. I wish all the members of the House to go through that report.

In that report it has been stated that the business of these Banks is to work for the economic, political and strategic policies of U.S.A. The report says—the countries which are taking loans should support USA on external affairs. If they don't support her, they should at least remain neutral.

India is a backward country. It is a poor country belonging to the third world. But we and especially those people who always refer to the name of Pt. Nehru should not ignore the fact that India is the leader of third world countries. India is the only country in the world which is still raising its voice. Our friend Shri Indrajit said the other day that India was the only country which was raising its voice and Brazil was the second such country and the rest of the countries had yielded. The people of Asia, and the people of backward regions look to you with hope. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the people devoid of any political knowledge are saying a lot of things. At one time they talk of USSR and on some other time they talk of Gorbachev. Mr. Speaker, Sir, perhaps they are not aware of the fact that the society which Mr. Gorbachev is heading has got an army which is alert and politically active. There is a great difference between that society and our society. In spite of that a person like Gorbachev is waiting for an invitation from the countries of G-7. He is also not likely to get any help. Our country has to enter new frontiers and take up new decisions. Now-a-days countries like Japan and Germany are ready to help us by way of giving us loans. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am saying with great responsibility that a tendency is developing in our country and there is a Government set up in our country which is not interested in running the Government. They want to create only one feeling in the country that this country will disintegrate. There will not be any I.M.F. and the World Bank. I am not against I.M.F. and World Bank. During my term of office I also received

[Sh Chandra Shekhar]

a loan of the order of Rupees 1200 crores I had levied taxes also. The capitalists of this country would have to be told that if we have to tighten up our belts, they will have to do it first.

Mr Speaker, Sir, what is conditionality? If you want to know it, you go through the report of the World Bank. You should go through the Report of Treasury submitted to the President, they don't work stealthily, it is known to the whole world and the entire country knows it except the Parliament of India. I am saying this that if steps are being taken deliberately I have nothing to say. But I apprehend that we are heading towards pitch darkness where we are mortgaging our future. Mr Speaker, Sir, I apprehend that we are not only putting our economic independence at stake but we are playing with political independence as well and it is not our experience many countries of the world have taken such steps. Gone are those countries, gone is that economic independence and gone is their economic development. I would like to ask Shri Atalji who is a great supporter of culture and civilisation as to what happened to the culture of Korea and Birsban? Is the dazzling light of gold and silver, economic development a large number of motor-cars etc. the tradition of our country. *(Interruptions)* I am talking of these countries which are considered as developed countries be it South Korea, Philippines, Thailand or Taiwan. What has happened to their culture and civilisation? I don't want to mention about all that. *(Interruptions)* India can't adopt that path, and the day the nation is led towards that direction the countrymen won't stand by you. Therefore, I want to tell you all this.

I would conclude my speech with a word about Punjab. There was a discussion about Punjab and Shri Indrajit Gupta asked as to who had taken the decision? He wanted an answer to his question. Our friend Bala Singh said that I had not con-

sulted anybody, although everybody's opinion was known. Parties like CPM, BJP, Communist Party and a few people from Akali Dal were participating in this process. Only extremists were opposed to the holding of the elections and a neighbouring country of ours was also opposed to the holding of elections.

I don't hold any secret talks. I had consulted all the concerned people including the Governor there. Moreover I had consulted all the sections of the administration and we had unanimously taken a decision that elections should be held in Assam and Punjab. It is known to everybody that the Honourable President objected to this. I told him that he could have his reservations, but we felt that the circumstances were favourable. I would like to tell my friends from the Congress Party especially those from Assam that there was tremendous opposition against holding of elections in Assam, but elections were held peacefully there and Congress Party formed the Government there. What had happened within 15 days? My friend Shri Buta Singh said that I had gone out of Delhi for four hours and Honourable President brought the situation under control, otherwise the situation of 1984 would have been repeated. I have great regard for the Honourable President and his support was always available to us, but how can Buta Singh forget that in 1984 he was Home Minister and the present President was also a Minister. Why had the incident of 1984 taken place then? Shri Buta Singh is not present at the moment. I enquired from him at that time on phone, he was sobbing and saying that he was not able to do anything. I don't want that the question of human compassion and human suffering should be talked about in such a flippant manner. All the same you might have seen that a puppet speaks in the idiom of his master. I don't object to the puppet as long as his master is native of this country, but if the master belongs to a foreign country the situation becomes very bad.

What happened in Assam? The law and order situation has been disrupted once again. Through you have got a Government, the army is the same, and same is the police force. I don't want to take any credit but creating a feeling of repugnance and bitterness is not good. If we avoid indulging in such things, perhaps we may solve the problems of our country more easily.

Finally I would like to say one more thing. Shri Vishwanathji has made a point just now. He appears to be very impatient in propounding new principles. I would request him not to put forward a suggestion to make Reserve Bank of India an independent body. Shri V P Singh has been the Finance Minister. He might be having more experience about the functioning of Reserve Bank of India. It is not the question of any particular individual. It is the question of institutions. Now we have to see as to what an extent an excellent person could be influenced and how much powerful could be the external forces. Secondly, if the Governments are not voted out on the Finance Bill, how could the Governments be voted out then? One has to think as to how long Shri Narsingha Rao and Shri Advani can adopt different attitudes on financial matters? Therefore financial matters are extremely complicated. More might have been proved to be wrong on other matters, but he has spoken one everlasting truth that financial questions are decided by the inner strength of an individual and it inflicts pain upon the person itself when his or her interests are adversely affected. I remember the example given by him. If we discuss with a priest of the British Church and go on refuting 32 cardinal principles, he would continue to say that we are the children of the same Almighty God, we should live with a feeling of love and brotherhood, but if you tell the same priest, the same bishop that one square yard of the land of the

church belonged to you, he would forget all the things and fling the same cross on your head. So such dreams appear to be very good, but all the same it is a dangerous game. In economic matters, on the one hand, you have a feelings for the poor and the backward and on the other hand such is the condonation of the economic matters. A person like Lord Buddha has spoken of —

Bahujana hitay, bahujana sukhay"

he has not said

"Sarvajana hitav— Sarvajana Sukhay

because there can not be consensus on such issues. All of us, I mean all the people including members of Congress party should think over it. There are different streams and these streams can not confluence at one point. Mr Speaker, Sir, if we keep all these things in our mind we may arrive at the correct decision about the future of India and the poor people of India.

[English]

MR SPEAKER The hon Finance Minister will make a statement. The other Members may speak later on.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD) While the hon Speaker was inside, the sense of the House was taken that the House will be extended upto 8 O'Clock.

MR SPEAKER We will sit upto 8 O'Clock and allow the Members to speak.

18.00 hrs

**STATEMENT BY MINISTER**

**Gold Transactions**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH). We are faced with balance of payments crisis of an unprecedented nature. Our foreign exchange reserves have despite significant borrowings from the IMF in July 1990 and January 1991 fallen to a very low level. Due to the weakening of international confidence in the rupee, international commercial banks have become extremely reluctant to lend us money. For the same reason, inflow of remittances from non-resident Indians into foreign currency and rupee denominated general accounts with banks in India has ceased to be a positive figure and in the last month there were signs of a large net outflow on this account. All over the world, expectations about the future value of the rupee were highly unfavourable and this was encouraging India exporters to delay the remission of export proceeds to India and also encouraging illegal export of capital from India.

It is in this background, that we took the decision on 1st & 3rd July, 1991 to adjust the exchange value of the rupee. This action has had a favourable impact on the psychology of international markets and all the principal players therein. I am confident that over time, the exchange rate adjustment together with the trade policy reform measures we have taken our balance of payments will significantly improve and there will be a return of international confidence in our currency.

However, in the immediate run, we have a major liquidity problem. We have compressed our import bill to an unprecedented degree to save foreign exchange for import of only the most essential articles.

At the same time, we have large external debt service payments falling due. We have taken a firm decision

to honour all our international commitments and not to default on payment of debt.

We are, therefore, faced with a situation where we have large financing requirements which cannot be met immediately by increase in exports, or by further import compression, or by increased external borrowing from international commercial banks or by way of increased flow of remittances from non-resident Indians.

It was in this background that the previous Government led by Shri Chandra Shekhar took this decision to sell abroad 20 tonnes of gold out of Govt stocks with an option to repurchase it at the end of six months. The actual export of this gold took place between 21st and 31st of May, 1991.

The previous Government had also agreed with the decision of the Reserve Bank of India that in the present difficult situation, upto 15 per cent of Reserve Bank of India gold could be sent abroad to be kept in safe custody with a Central Bank. The Reserve Bank of India's intention was to seek a short term loan against the pledge of gold sent out of India. Under Section 33(5) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, Section 33(5) of the Reserve Bank of India has the power to keep up to 15 per cent of its gold abroad and the Reserve Bank of India can take decisions in this regard on its own. However, for the sake of abundant caution the Reserve Bank of India consulted the previous Government and they agreed with the Reserve Bank of India's proposed course of action. When our Government came into power, I was aware of the decision of the Reserve Bank of India as concurred in by the previous Government. But I did not consider it wise to countermand that decision. In exercise of its powers, the Reserve Bank of India sent abroad 4.8 metric tonnes of gold on 4th July, 1991 to be kept in safe custody with the Bank of England. On 7th July, a

further quantity of 20.01 tonnes was sent. On 11th July, a further quantity of 10.01 tonnes was sent. On 18th July, a further quantity of 12.09 tonnes was sent. Thus in all, the Reserve Bank of India has sent abroad for safe custody with the Bank of England a total quantity of 46.91 tonnes.

Against the pledge of 46.91 tonnes of gold, the Reserve Bank of India can borrow for a period of one month at a time a total sum of about ₹ 400 million to help us tide over the serious liquidity problems we are now facing.

With the transfer abroad of the final instalment of gold on 18th July, the whole operation has been completed as originally planned. For obvious security reasons, the movements of gold had necessarily to be done without prior public announcement. Hereafter no further gold from the Reserve Bank of India stock will be sent abroad.

The export of gold was a painful necessity. However, I am confident that the various measures we have now taken will, over a period of time, lead to a significant improvement of our balance of payments. It will be my sincere effort to work to bring back to India as early as possible the gold we have sent abroad.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** (Dum Dum): I have sent a note for clarification. What happened? *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA** (Bankura): In reply to a question, some assurance was given by the Minister.... *(Interruptions)*.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE**: Is it true that during the period April to June we had an export surplus? Is it being put to use? Is it still high? *(Interruptions)*.

**MR. SPEAKER**: Shri Ahamed.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. SPEAKER**. Shri Ahamed may speak now.

18.10 hrs.

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

*(English)*

**SHRI E AHAMED** (Manjeri) Mr. Speaker. Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by the hon Member, Shri Buta Singh, on behalf of my Party, the Indian Union Muslim League.

Sir, for the last three days, this House has been discussing the Address of the President. All these three days I have been listening to the speeches made by the hon Members of this House, particularly the leaders of the Parties. The President's Address, Sir, has prompted the hon. Members of this House, particularly the leaders of political parties to . . .

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** (Dum Dum) Sir, may I draw your attention to one thing? A Minister of a State Government is present in the House. As far as I remember, Sir, there was a Ruling in the Lok Sabha . . .

**SHRI CHITTA BASU** (Barasat): She made a speech today in the morning.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE**: Mr. Advani will corroborate this. There is a Ruling in the Lok Sabha that a Minister of a State Government is not permitted to speak in the Lok Sabha. In the Rajya Sabha there is a different directive. Since she has already spoken, the entire speech must be expunged from the proceedings of the House, Sir, I want a Ruling on this.

**MR. SPEAKER**. I will look into it.

**SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA** (Kottayam): Sir, she is a Member of the Lok Sabha.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE:** I know that. Precisely there is a Ruling on this. So, he or she will not be allowed to speak here unlike in the Rajya Sabha. There is a slight difference between the rules of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

**SHRI E. AHAMED:** Sir, during the discussion on the President's Address, it was interesting to see that leaders of political parties are hurling the charges and counter-charges especially with regard to the present-day economic crisis. May I say, Sir, the present situation is the result of some of the reckless policies pursued by the previous government. All these national political parties had their share in power at some time or the other barring the Left Parties. But there is no meaning in arguing or hurling the charges and counter-charges. It is time for all of us to rise above the party politics and to sit together and find solutions to the problems facing the country.

Sir, I would like to say that the President's Address is a document of political and social emancipation of the country. Many of the leaders have described the President's Address as a document containing nothing I disagree with that view. According to me, Sir, this Address of the President is the enunciation of the policies of the present Government in the context of immediate priorities as well as in the realisation of the long-term national objectives. The President has depicted a true picture of what India is today and he also has promised certain remedial measures for solving the problems. Sir, I do not want to take much of the time of the House on these matters, but I am just inviting the attention of this House to a very important matter concerning the country. The fissiparous tendency is growing in a dangerous way in the body politic of this country. This fissiparous tendency, according to me, Sir, is not a law and order problem, not even a political issue. This is a problem concerning the very unity and integrity of the country. The President, in his address, has men-

tioned certain measures as to how we will be able to tackle these issues. Unfortunately, many of the leaders who have participated in the discussion have forgotten to mention the growing communal and social divide in this country. Unfortunately in this country we find the communal divide which, according to me, is much worse a phenomenon and we have to take whatever steps possible to contain this and also put an end to such a phenomenon. As a matter of fact, this malaise is deep-rooted and we have no soft option to tide it over. I venture to ask: why are our people quarrelling in the name of religion? Why are they being killed in the name of religion? There is no place for such things in our religions.

Sir, I come from the State of Kerala which is a very small State. I feel Kerala can serve as a model for many northern States in terms of its tradition of communal harmony, amity, social progress and political achievement. Kerala is a living example of communal harmony where one can see the peaceful coexistence of temples, churches and mosques. They stand side by side as a picture of perfect communal harmony. This is the time for our national leaders to strive hard to propagate and emulate this cultural heritage of Kerala. The cultural heritage of Kerala is an integral part of Indian heritage. We have been following truthfully, we have been adhering honestly the principle handed down to us by no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He had said that the unity of this country is in diversity. We have been following this principle all along. Therefore, this is high time for our people to learn to live in perfect harmony.

Sir, there are many problems that the President has mentioned in his Address. One of which is the Babri Masjid-Ram Janma Bhoomi dispute. Much has been said about it. There is a civil case pending before the High Court Bench at Lucknow. Therefore, I do not want to go into the merit of the case. But, at the very same time, we have to deal with the political

aspect of the case. Here, in the name of this unfortunate dispute many people have been killed, Hindus, Muslims, but all are Indians. Therefore, the mention made by the President in his Address with respect to the solution is a welcome feature.

Para 9, at page 3, the Address says

"We cannot allow communal elements to defile their sanctity by using such places as instruments to generate controversy and discord. Government will make every effort to find a negotiated settlement to the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue with due regard to the sentiments of both communities involved."

This is, of course, a welcome feature. But at the same time, I may also invite the attention of the Government to their election Manifesto, of their Congress Party which was released by no less a person than late lamented Shri Rajiv Gandhi. In this election manifesto at page 29 on Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid, it is stated

"The Congress is committed to finding a negotiated settlement of this issue which fully respects the sentiments of both communities involved. If such a settlement cannot be reached, all parties must respect the order and verdict of the court. The Congress is for the construction of the Temple without dismantling the mosque."

In the President's Address, I do not find the wording, namely "If such a settlement cannot be reached, all parties must respect the order and verdict of the court" I think, it may be an omission by oversight.

Therefore, what I venture to say is that if we try our best to have a negotiated settlement on this burning issue, it is the duty of everybody to help for such an amicable settlement. By any chance, if we fail to have negotiated settlement, we have to wait for the verdict of the court. It is the duty of every citizen in a civilised society to respect such a verdict of the court of law.

Another important issue, I would like to mention here is with regard to reservation. We always support the principle of reservation. But at the same time, I may say that the position of the minorities, the Muslims in this country is very much deplorable. Muslims are to be taken as a backward class all over the country. In Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Muslims have been included as a backward class as enshrined in articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution. But in the whole of India, it has not been given. Even in the Mandal Commission Report, there are several anomalies. We have given a qualified support to the Mandal Commission report with the condition that such anomalies, especially with respect to the Muslims of Kerala should be removed. Therefore, we are for reservation but we request that the minorities should be given special reservation. Unless and until such reservations in jobs are made for the minorities, it will be difficult for government to take the backward section of the people to the national mainstream.

18.24 hrs. SHRI P. M. SAYEED  
in the Chair

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to take necessary steps so as to include the Muslims as a backward class and to give them special quota in the reservation, whether it is in the announced quota of 27% or by some other means.

May I also bring to the notice of the Government, the present deplorable position of the Muslims in the service? Their representation in the services is woefully inadequate. Muslims representation in the public sector undertakings is also very low. Therefore, the Government should strive hard to make some provision for the Muslims in providing jobs. If necessary, reservation should also be made. We are not very much interested in giving some Ministerial or Ambassadorship to the poor Muslims. We are really interested in getting job

[Sh. E. Ahmed]

at grass-root level. I hope the Government will bear this matter in mind and take necessary urgent steps

Another important point I would like to bring to the attention of the Government is the security and protection of the life and property as well as the honour of the members of the minority communities

I very much appreciate the point made by the President in his Address with respect to the formation of a composite rapid action force. It is disgraceful that the constabulary under the control of the State Government have been taking partisan attitude in dealing with communal riots. Therefore, this idea that has been given by the late lamented Shri Rajiv Gandhi that such a situation will be dealt with by forming a composite rapid action force is a welcome feature and it will definitely be a sigh of relief if the Government will take urgent steps for the formation of such a rapid action force to deal with communal riots

May I also bring to the notice of the Government some of the problems facing the minorities in the country such as their difficulties to get admission in colleges and schools? Even now Muslims, as a minority community, are very much backward in education. Unless and until the Government also extends a helping hand, it will be very difficult for them to get necessary educational facilities. I hope the Government will appreciate these difficulties of the minority communities and take appropriate steps in this matter.

May I also mention here Sir, a word about Jammu and Kashmir? Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. No force in this country can take away Jammu and Kashmir from our country. But at the very same time, I urge upon the Government that the ordinary man who has the patriotism and also faith in the mainland of India, may also be taken into consideration. The Government and the

authorities should deal sympathetically with them. Therefore, the political process should be initiated in Jammu and Kashmir. That alone will bring everlasting peace for that province of India

I may also make one point with regard to the foreign policy of our Government. The President has made elaborate mention with regard to the foreign policy. But during the last Gulf War period, it so happened that our Government has given a wrong signal to the countries in the Gulf region. The stand taken by the then Government was very much confusing. It is high time for the Government of India to remove the misunderstanding, if any, in the minds of the rulers of Gulf countries and Government should also take all necessary measures to improve the commercial link of India with those countries, taking into account the close proximity and also the possibility of improving our export. This should also be taken note of. The Government should also explore what are the commodities that we will be able to export to the Gulf countries. But unfortunately we do not have very good salesmanship in that region. Much of our opportunity has been ignored and much of our resource has not been tapped as far as this is concerned. Therefore, Sir, again with all due respect to the Opposition parties, may I say that we would like to have a consensus as far as the Administration of this country is concerned. This is the time to join together and solve the problems facing this country.

With these few words, I support once again the Motion moved by Shri Buta Singh and I conclude my speech

SHRI IMCHALEMBA (Nagaland): Mr. Chairman, Sir, our chance should have come much earlier. But till today, we are not getting the chance at all

MR. CHAIRMAN I have a long list. We have already decided

to sit late and then finish. Every body will get a chance.

**SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM** (Inner Manipur): Are you maintaining any list or are you adopting pick and choose method? Are you maintaining that?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** No. I am not going by pick and choose system. I have been advised by the Speaker how to proceed. He has given me the list. Alicady, the list is there. If you go on arguing like this, we will be further delaying our sitting here. May I seek your cooperation for doing help to you? Please be resuming your seat. I will now ask Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar to speak.

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY** (Alipurduar): We have been waiting here for three days. All the parties should be given the chance.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Your name has already been included. You are the third speaker, according to the Speaker's list.

**SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR** (Mayiladuturai): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks.

Sir, the President's Address reflects the courage and conviction of a party that recognizes its historic role as the natural party of governance of this great country of ours. Time and again, our democracy has afforded the opportunity to non-Congress parties to demonstrate their mettle. Almost always and almost everywhere - the notable exception being West Bengal in the last 15 years - the country and the States concerned have turned wearily away from non-Congress misgovernance and returned to the Party with the unbroken lineage of 106 years from Allan Octavian Hume to Rajiv Gandhi and now Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao.

Sir, I urge the Government to act as it has spoken, without fear and without inhibition, in consonance with the great principles and tradition of the Congress Party and in keeping with the Congress Manifesto - to the last will and testament of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

I know - as but two or three other Members of this House know - how much the Congress Election Manifesto was the personal handiwork of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. There were, of course, numerous drafts submitted and numberless suggestions made. These were considered with attention, sifted with care, and structured into a coherent philosophy of action and a programme of work. But, in the end, it was Rajiv Gandhi's own Manifesto, as much in concept as in detail. The broad brushstrokes were his as much as was the fine print. I hope I am betraying no secrets when I say that the release of the Manifesto was delayed by over a week because Shri Rajiv Gandhi wished to go over it line by line, clause by clause, para by para. I do not know why he wished to pay so much attention to it. Perhaps, he had a premonition of his coming death, perhaps it was merely a reflection of his usual punctiliousness. However that might be, the fact is that he meticulously crafted a charter of governance for the Congress Party over the next five years. Provided we remain true to the spirit and the vision of Rajiv Gandhi's last will and testament, nothing can deflect the Congress from remaining, even after the end of the era of massive majorities, the natural party of governance, whatever the temporary ups and downs of our electoral fortunes in any particular election. We fully recognise and understand the mathematics of the composition of the Tenth Lok Sabha. There are two fundamental coordinates. One, we are overwhelmingly the largest Party in the House. Two, we are slightly short of a majority. Therefore, as the Prime Minister underlined, there will have to be much greater consultation and much greater

[Sh. Mani Shankar Aiyar]

cooperation among all parties to enlarge the area of understanding and agreement. This would have been so even if we had secured a comfortable majority for, as the Prime Minister stressed—and I quote:

"I can assure you that I will keep my mind open. The Government mind will be absolutely open to new ideas, new innovative ideas that may be coming from any quarter."

I would request the House, Mr Speaker, Sir, to contrast the sheer graciousness of that statement with the utter gracelessness of some of the remarks we have been hearing from the benches opposite during the debate on this Motion of Thanks. There have been, I am happy to say, some constructive suggestions and some interesting new avenues of thought but, by and large, instead of responding to the new spirit invoked by the Prime Minister, the Opposition have merely opened their old bag of tricks: denigration, denunciation and destructiveness. They seem to think they have us by the short hairs because we are marginally short of a majority. Let me remind them it takes two hands to clap. Our hand is ready. Theirs apparently is not. So we are treated to homilies about what they call the "new realities."

What new realities? They were divided when they cohabited on these Benches. They are divided now on those. They divided the country when they ran the Government in a comical three-legged race. They seek to divide the country now that they are in Opposition. There was a politics of opportunism in Government. There is a politics of expediency now in Opposition.

The largest of the Opposition parties does not have even half the strength of the Congress. The loudest of the Opposition parties would not be able to fill even one bogie of a railway train. The membership in the House of most other Opposition

parties can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

In the name of consensus, these warring groupuscules of the Opposition are trying to effect a backdoor entry into governance. The Government must stand warned against such illegitimate efforts to capture the levers of power. This Government is our Government. This Government is a Congress Government. Our duty is limited to carrying with us our allies, such as the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. For the rest we will, of course, consult the Opposition, but let them not forget that consultation is being undertaken in the higher interest of the nation. It cannot be a trap to turn the hunter into the hunted.

Issue by issue we must see how we can carry our programmes through. That will require consensus, conciliation and concord. But not consensus born out of cowardice. Nor conciliation bred out of cowering. Nor, indeed, concord nurtured on cringing. It must mean consensus consistent with the cardinal principles of the Congress heritage. It must mean conciliation consistent with the Congress tradition of carrying the nation with it. It must mean concord consistent with Congress concepts and the Congress vision.

If, on this basis, the cooperation of sections of the Opposition is available on specific issues, we welcome that cooperation, we welcome every effort to widen areas of agreement and put aside areas of disagreement. But if cooperation consistent with our principles is not forthcoming on key issues that brook no delay, then we have no fear of returning to the people—for democracy decrees that the ultimate arbiter is always the people.

Merely to survive, no Congress government can become a BJP government in disguise—a kind of wolf in sheep's clothing, no Congress government can become a Left Front government in disguise—a kind of wolf in wolf's clothing, nor, indeed,

can any Congress government become a National Front government in disguise—a kind of sheep in sheep's clothing. No, Sir, we must remain ourselves. We are the party of the Freedom Movement; the Party of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi. We are the Party of Rajiv Gandhi. We are now the party of Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao. We cannot be the party of that former Prime Minister who told us about all the pressures from abroad which he claimed that were subjecting us to decision making at the behest of foreigners. He is one who buckled like a man of straw in the face of American imperialism and allowed American war planes to be refuelled on our soil, when the Americans were conducting an imperialist war against a fellow Asian country.

The President's Address may lack the philosophical musings of Syed Shahabuddin, the blood and thunder of Shri Somnath Chatterji's oratory, the ritual incantation of "Jai Sri Ram" of the BJP. It may, indeed, read in places, like as Syed Shahabuddin observed like an office note. But an office note has the inestimable advantage of constituting a programme of work to be carried out over the next twelve months. It is a principled programme, it is a practical programme, it is a pragmatic programme. Almost everything that is in it cannot but attract the support of everyone or almost everyone in this House. May I specifically refer, in this context, to the desperately needed programme to supply of drinking water to every village, which the Government propose to name after Rajiv Gandhi? I am sure all or most sections of the House would wish to support us on such issues.

There are however, some other issues, more controversial in nature. For example, the firm stand taken in the President's Address on legislation in regard to preserving the status quo of places of worship as on Independence Day 1947 and the Ram Jamma-

bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute. On such issues, it is the Congress' view that must prevail, whatever be the consequences. We cannot, in the name of consensus, forsake our secularism and let ourselves be drowned by the waves of saffron that are threatening to engulf from behind such basically decent, rational men as Advaniji, Atalji and Jaswantji. They are the victims of the Frankenstein which they themselves have created. There is no need for the rest of the House—or, indeed, the country to suffer a similar fate.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must draw attention to a gaping lacuna in the President's Address. There is no mention at all of the Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika Constitution Amendment Bills drafted by the Rajiv Gandhi government and defeated on the floor of the Rajya Sabha by a tiny handful of votes. Our Manifesto had promised to bring that legislation before Parliament in this Budget session.

Of course, as the Prime Minister pointed out in his reply to the debate on the Vote of Confidence, Constitutional legislation is distinctly different to other legislation. As we command less than half the votes in this House (and the position is much the same in the other House), we cannot hope to pass such far-reaching Constitutional Amendments without an accretion of support from the Opposition Benches. But there is always scope for bringing the Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika Bills forward in their entirety, as drafted by Rajiv Gandhi, to Parliament and then, if necessary, referring them to a Joint or Select Committee for further consideration.

Given the crucial importance which Shri Rajiv Gandhi attached to saving our democracy by granting Constitutional protection to democracy at the grassroots, I would plead with the Government to clarify its position on these Constitutional amendments when it replies to this debate.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Charles to speak now.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY:** Will we not get a chance to speak? *(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Speaker was here for one hour and I have just now occupied the Chair. Now, you have seen that three important opposition leaders continuously speaking in this House. From the ruling party only Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar spoke. I am calling out the names according to the list drawn already. As per that list, I am going. Definitely everyone of you will be getting his chance. Kindly bear with me now. Mr. Charles.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY:** One after another, only the Congress Members are speaking. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** What is the matter now? All the Members of your party are on the list. I try to accommodate everybody. After Atal Bihari Vajpayee three opposition leaders spoke. Your name is there, you will get a chance to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY:** I have my own party and I have my right to speak. I am waiting for the opportunity. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

**SHRI BHAGWAN SHANKAR RAWAT (Agra):** Sir, my suggestion is that you should give opportunity to all the Members on the List.

*[English]*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Shri Tirkey, you are a senior Member, you know the procedure. After all, we have to

conduct the business of the House. Please bear with me. We have already extended the time of the House

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** If all of you talk together, how will I take a decision?

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE:** In the Ninth Lok Sabha I was in the Panel of Chairman. My experience was that either the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker or whoever is in the Chair makes an initial arrangement of speakers. In the course of the debate, some re-doing of the list has to be done. It always rests with the Member who is occupying the Chair at the moment, to alter any suggestion which may have been left by the earlier Chairman. Therefore what I want to submit is that there must have been some slipping somewhere. When Group A with four Members in the House has not been called upon to speak Group B with only one Member has already been called upon to speak. So, what I want to say is that there must have been some mistake in the list. This kind of priority is seldom indulged in by the Chair. This is my experience of the Ninth Lok Sabha. I was in the Rajya Sabha earlier to that. I know that this is what is happening. Therefore, I humbly request that all of them may be accommodated today itself. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I accept it. Definitely they will be accommodated. What I was telling is that all the three opposition leaders Shri Vajpayee, Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Chandra Shekhar have spoken just now. Then only Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar spoke.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Do not bring in party names here. We have taken all these things into account. Now, Mr. Charles.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY:** You have just now promised me and told that I would be the third speaker. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Everyone will get his chance.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY:** You have told me that I would be the third speaker. Why have you changed your own decision? I want to put it on record. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** No, I have not said that.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI PIUS TIRKEY:** Yes, you have said that I would be the third speaker and that my name was there I am waiting for the third number. What is the decision that you have taken?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You have misunderstood. I told you that according to the list given, you are the third speaker. These are Mr. Mam Shankar Aiyar, Mr. Charles and then Mr. Tirkey.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I would request all the hon. Members to bear with me. If you go on arguing for the chance that who will speak first, I think, we will be losing our time.

*[Translation]*

**SHRI K. P. REDDAIAH (Machhlipatnam):** Mr. Chairman Sir, you read out all the names that are in the list.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** All of them are there. Your name is also there Shri K. P. Reddaiah.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

**SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK (Buldana):** May I seek a clarification? If we are not able to

get time, can we lay our speech on the Table of the House so that it goes on the record of the House *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI VILAS MUTTEMWAR (Chimur):** I have also been waiting for my turn. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Charles.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI IMCHALEMBA:** All the major political parties have exceeded the time given to them. There are also parties like us who have not been given time and we represent a State. What about us? We have given our names.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Speaker has already given these four names: Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar, Mr. Charles and Mr. Tirkey and Mr. Mangal Ram Premi. He has taken one from BJP, one from Janata Dal, that is, Mr. V. P. Singh and one from Samajwadi Janata Dal.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You are from Nagaland. Members from small small States and regions are there. You all will be getting your turn. Therefore, kindly bear with me. Let us shorten the speech.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You have already wasted 15 minutes. Three persons could have been accommodated.

**SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK:** Sir, is it the complete list of speakers?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** No, no.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Charles...

**SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum):** Sir, I stand to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by hon. Shri Buta Singh.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly be brief.

SHRI A. CHARLES: I have been waiting for the last two days. Kindly bear with me. We had been patiently listening when hon. Members from the Opposition were speaking. We are majority of the Members. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: Don't boast about your majority. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. CHARLES: I have been called by the Chair. (*Interruptions*)

The President in his Address has given a broad outline of action to be taken during the next one year. Before going into the details of those programmes, with a deep sense of sorrow, I have to pay my respect and homage to our great departed leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The brutal assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi has shaken the conscience of the people all over the world as has been rightly pointed out by the *Rashtrapati*. As has been rightly pointed out by *Rashtrapati* it was at a moment of grave crisis in the history of our nation that Shri Rajiv Gandhi was compelled to take the leadership and to guide the destinies of this great nation. Sir, at times he used to encourage and give us a new hope to the frustrated millions of the country. He guided the country to the penacles of glory within a short span of time but quite unfortunately, the destabilising forces both are within and outside the country had been very unkind to him. I do not want to mention any name in this connection. I have been hearing with rapt attention the speeches made by most of the leaders on the other side. Our respectable colleague, hon. Vajpayee said, while he started his speech, that there is a national crisis. The national crisis is not only one. It is political crisis, it is social crisis, it is moral crisis, it is economic crisis. But after mentioning all this, he had dwelt at length only on the economic crisis which we are facing in the country now.

Sir, in one or two minutes, I may mention about the political, social and moral crisis which the respectable Member had mentioned here. Sir, who is responsible for the present social and moral crisis? I plead with the Members on the other side to search their hearts, if any, for the reply. I had the privilege or the fortune or the misfortune to have been the Member of Eighth and Ninth Lok Sabha. What was happening in the Eighth Lok Sabha? Shri Rajiv Gandhi, at an hour of crisis, when the whole world thought that our unity and integrity was lost by the cruel and inhuman assassination of our dear Indrajai, when the whole country was burning, was compelled and persuaded to assume the leadership of this great country. With painful heart, I may say that the people who were around him, the people whom he had trusted, people who had always supported him joined hands with the destabilising forces and simply betrayed him. It is a sad story. So, social and moral crisis that the country now facing is only because of the conspiracy of the destabilising forces at that time. But now I am very sorry to say that the former Prime Minister who spoke for about more than an hour spent about twenty minutes on Mandal Commission alone. I belong to a backward community. I had even to discontinue my studies in my younger days as I was unable to pay my fees. And so, I know the agony of the poor, common and a backward man. With a painful heart, I may say that the then Prime Minister, while he was issuing the order to implement the Mandal Commission Report, had betrayed the whole backward community of this country. (*Interruptions*)...The former Prime Minister had asked a pointed question as to why this Government is reluctant to give a reply to the order issued by the Supreme Court. I am not the person to answer. I am sure that the Treasury Benches will give a proper answer at the appropriate time. But, through you, may I ask a small question? How did he issue the orders for implementing the Mandal Commission? It was a *suo*

*motu* statement made by him. It was not an order issued by him. Like Buddha, one fine night, wisdom dawned on him and it appeared to him that 52 per cent of the backward communities of the whole nation have been betrayed for the last 25 years. In that period of 25 years, he had been the Congress Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh also. Every drop of blood in that person is of the Congress. But he defected from the Congress and he was received with garlands by hon. Members on the other side.

19.00 hrs.

He has been praised as a saint. What did he do? While issuing the *suo motu* statement, he has not released the list of backward communities eligible for reservation. That was a total betrayal. I ask him whether he stands by the list of backward communities mentioned in the report of the Mandal Commission. Sir, the problem is not merely giving reservations to the backward communities. The real problem is about the list. There are 3743 communities included in the list. What did he say while issuing the order? We all know that the order was issued just to stab the Tau whom he removed just like a sweeper without even giving a show cause notice. After all it was his politics. It is their business and we have nothing to do with it. But what has happened is this. The order did not contain the list of communities. It simply stated that 27 per cent of the reservations would be given for the backward communities and the list had to be prepared duly from the list given in the Mandal Report and the lists in all the States. Why did he not release the list. He was the Prime Minister then. If he were really sincere towards the backward community, he should have prepared the list. Now we find it very strange when he asks the present Prime Minister why in these two weeks he has not prepared the list. This is very surprising

Shri Paswan is not here. I wanted to ask him a few questions. In those days when he was a cabinet Minister I met him and I pleaded with him why the converted Christians from the Scheduled Castes should not be given the privilege when he extended the same privilege to Neo-Buddhists. But he refused to do that. What was his calculation? He did some simple arithmetic. 27 per cent reservation for 52 per cent population belonging to backward communities. V. P. Singhji, Paswanji and Yadavji prepared the arithmetic. With 52 per cent of backward people and 22 per cent of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, they have 74 per cent of the total population of the country in their pockets. With this calculation in mind, they asked the President to dissolve this august House. On these communal lines, they wanted to go to the people straight. The President did not give his permission. All of us know the whole thing and it is history now.

Sir, I am reminded of a story. There was a school teacher in the pre-independent India. Nowadays the teachers are an organised lot and they are very powerful. Because of their organised power nobody can touch them whether they teach or not, whether they go to school or not. But in those days, the future of a teacher depended entirely on the report of the schools inspector. A poor primary school teacher was teaching arithmetic to the Fifth Standard students, when the schools inspector came to a visit. He put a question: "If the length of the class room is 20 feet and the width of the room is 10 feet, what is my age?" The teacher was shocked. He thought that it was some new arithmetic not known to him. He asked all the 30 students one by one. One of the boys who was very intelligent, answered that his age was 40. It happened to be the exact age of that inspector. He was surprised and patted the boy and asked him how he arrived at the answer. The boy said that it was very simple. He had an elder brother who was 20 years old

[Sh A. Charles]

and he was half mad. The school teacher must definitely be 40 to put such a question. This is the arithmetic of Shri V. P. Singh too. What was your strength in the Ninth Lok Sabha? And what is your strength now in the Tenth Lok Sabha. That is why I am reminded of this story.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are all smiles, even though you too do not have a simple majority!

SHRI A. CHARLES: Though we are short by a few, we have got the will of the people. We have the support of the people.

The former Prime Minister talked about consensus. He started his Prime Ministership with a consensus. He had said that everything will be done with a consensus. I want to ask my BJP and Leftist friends one question. Did he consult them when he issued the order regarding implementation of this controversial Mandal Commission's Report?

He even failed to consult them when he betrayed the whole nation by playing the communal card. He divided the country. I am sure the historians will record that here is the man who has brought the entire country into a crisis by playing communal and caste cards. Now, he says the present Government has taken a unilateral decision and that amount to non-consensus. What was that decision which he took? What right has he got to ask this Government that we are taking a unilateral decision? We are for consensus. On issues, we consult everybody. One of the hon. Member has just mentioned about Panchayati Raj Bill. Who opposed that Bill? In that 30 per cent reservation for women was there. Who betrayed at that time? I challenge if that Bill is introduced here, are you prepared to support it.

We stand committed to that Bill? We stand committed to the people. I want to mention something about the Industrial Policy and also about Fiscal Policy but due to lack of time, I am not going to touch these topics.

So many changes are being brought forward throughout the world. Even in the Soviet Union, large changes have come. But unfortunately, our friends in the opposition who come from Kerala and West Bengal cannot understand those changes. We are for changes. We are for progress.

So, with all the strength at my command, I stand to support the Motion of Thanks.

[Translation]

SHRI PIYUS TIRKEY (Alipurduar): Mr Chairman, Sir, I have got an opportunity to speak after a long wait. I would like to draw your attention to a matter which no other Member has pointed out. I would like to read out what is mentioned in Article 244(1) and (2) of the Constitution of India. It is about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. After going through it, one comes to know how much justice Congress Government has done to them. Over and over again it is repeated that a lot is being done for them. Reservation is being made for them. These things are mentioned in the speeches of almost all big leaders. But they do not follow what is provided there in the Constitution.

[English]

Article 244(1) and (2) of the Constitution says:

"The provisions of the Sixth Schedule shall apply to the administration of the tribal areas as are specified there." How far the Congress Government, in its rule, implemented the provisions? This is my question. Have they done so? I ask the Ministry, the Government of India and the ruling party to go through the Constitution of India.

[*Translation*]

Justice should be meted out to them. They are not beggars who want your pity or protection. They want their rights. They are being suppressed and denied jobs. It should be borne in mind that they do not want your pity. This was what Shri V. P. Singh wanted. The backward classes do not want to live on mercy. They want their rights and equality. That is why Congress joined hands with the BJP and made the Government fall and now the former is talking of doing a lot for the SCs/STs. Dams are being constructed and factories are being set up and lakhs of people are getting displaced. Where are they being rehabilitated? Has anything been thought about them. For whom is the dam being constructed? Lakhs of poor people are getting displaced in Adivasi areas. Where should they go? Some of them get compensation whereas some do not get anything. This matter should be seriously considered. This is why terrorism and atrocities are increasing Naxilism is on an increase in the tribal areas. What is the reason behind it? The poor are being suppressed by the high castes for their selfish interests. Every year foreign exchange worth seven hundred and a fifty crore is earned. But what is the use? It is not used for primary education in these areas. People have been befooled. Some Members say that there would be 'Hindu Rastra' (Nation). About Hindus I would like to point out that the President is a Brahmin, the Vice President, Prime Minister, Chairman of the Planning Commission and Chief Election Commissioner Shri Sheshan are all Brahmins and Hindus. I am not abusing the Brahmins. They are depriving them of the rights provided to them under the Constitution. It has been categorically stated therein. There was agitation in Nagaland and North East. After lot of bloodshed they gave them their due. The Congress Government understands the language of gun only. It listens to those who fight for their rights. If it continues things will

deteriorate throughout the country. I dare say, this Government is blind, It cannot look. There was a report recently that 40 million hectares of land can be saved from the fury bloods. Tribal projects have been formulated but never implemented. Pollution of river Ganga is another problem. The need of the hour is to first save those 40 million hectares of land. Report says that with timely step 33 million hectares of land can be saved. There is large scale land erosion in West Bengal because of river Ganga. Big villages and fertile land is likely to be submerged therein. The Government policies are not correct, Townships and colonies are coming up on fertile land. They do not have a soft corner for the farmers. If they wanted to do something concrete for them they should leave fertile lands and set up colonies and Five Star Hotels in the deserts in Rajasthan. Townships are coming up on thousands of acres of fertile land. The farmers and poor are being exploited. The poor living in slums in Delhi do not have anything to eat and they try to get the left overs from dust bins and dumps. I have seen this with my own eyes. The poor people do not even have roof over their heads in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, whereas we are under the burden of heavy debt and are pledging our gold and smuggling Indian currency. Is this the concept of free India. Such a Government cannot run for long. That is why the people have not given full mandate to the ruling party. It is a lame Government. I therefore urge the Government to seek cooperate of all. The mistakes of the previous regimes, when you were in power should be rectified otherwise the people of the country will never forgive you.

[Sh. Piyus Tirkey]

All of you have taken the oath of allegiance to the constitution of India and it specifically mentions about the Government's duty to protect the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Tomorrow itself you should introduce a Bill to make special provisions for areas marked as backward in all the States of the Country. You can either set up autonomous districts or autonomous regions.

[English]

I will ask the Government to go through the Constitution and do the needful immediately.

[Translation]

SHRI MANGAL RAM PREMI (Bijnor): Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I wanted to say some thing particularly to Shri Buta Singh, who has moved this Motion. Unfortunately he is not present in the House, at the moment. The hon. Members have raised almost every issue but one thing that surprised me was that not a single Member considered it necessary to raise the issue of the problems being faced by about five lakh sanitary workers in the country. Shri Buta Singh is considered as a crusader for the cause of these people and it is said that their upliftment is of utmost concern to him, but when he joined the Cabinet few years back, he did not make any effort to improve their lot and he too forgot them. I would like to draw the attention of the House towards their living conditions. These sanitary workers, who work in Municipal Corporations, Notified Areas, Zilla Parishads and villages, are not paid salaries for eight to nine months. They are engaged on a daily wage basis and are exploited. Those who make loud proclamations about democracy and those who have been administering the country for about forty years have along been mute spectators to the exploitation of these sanitary workers. No effort has been

made to make their jobs permanent. They are being exploited. When India attained independence, the population was estimated to 35 to 40 crores and it is said that today we are 85 crores although I feel that it is near about 100 crores. However, the number of sanitary workers has not increased in proportion to the increase in the population and consequently the burden of maintaining cleanliness and sanitation has fallen on their shoulders. Is the Government providing any assistance to them? Has the Government ever thought of uplifting them, improving their standard of living, of providing them facilities to which they are entitled? Unfortunately, nothing is being done for them. Instead, they are being exploited further. I would like to tell you what's happening at B.H.E.L. (Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited), Hardwar. Contractors are entrusted with the work of sanitation. They are charging 40 to 50 rupees per sanitary worker but the contractor gives only Rs. 10/- per worker. Why is it so? Why that poor fellow is being exploited like this? Had Shri Buta Singh been present in the House, then certainly I would have reminded him of the loud proclamations he had made about improving the lot of these unfortunate people and also the fact that he never raised this issue even once in this august House, once he joined the Union Cabinet. I wonder whether there is a single hon. Member, who hasn't been benefited by these people, but they never deemed it necessary to bring to the notice of House, the tragedy of these poor people.

Sir, I oppose the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, precisely because nothing has been said about them in the Address. You can go through it and verify the authenticity of what I am saying.

MANY HON. MEMBERS: You are right.

SHRI MANGAL RAM PREMI: I would like to tell the House and the Government that although they are weak, they have got the potential to

make life hell for each one of us. Hell would break loose, if they decide to use the broom-their most potent weapon, in order to seek justice. If they stop working for just eight days, India would be facing a disastrous situation. Epidemics will spread. This is a community, which serves the society, by putting its own life and health at stake. Perhaps, that is the reason why they have been ignored in the President's Address and neglected by the Government. Congress Governments have been responsible for this continuous exploitation over the years.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if you look at the condition of the sanitary workers in schools, you will find that although they have been working there for 15 to 16 rupees or 25 rupees or a maximum of 50 rupees. When the salaries of teachers, the peons can be increased, then why not of these people. If it has not been done, it is simply because the Government is not sincere about their welfare. Whether it is at the District level or the Block level, these people are engaged as watchmen-cum-safai Karamchari. They are paid so meagre salary that they are not able to properly maintain their families. They are not in a position to provide proper education to their children and if at all some of them manage to get education, he is asked to do the sanitation work. At many places, these children are made to work during day and night and if ever they are found enjoying some spare time, they are compelled to bring fodder for the buffaloes.

Sir, through you, I would like to tell the Government that it should pay more attention to these people. The fall of the Government is imminent, if it is not done, I appeal to the Government to make their jobs permanent and to consider them as Government servants. In notified areas, towns, and municipalities why they are not employed on a permanent basis and paid regular salary? If it is not done, then how these people can keep their body and soul together? I request the Government to make arrangement for the payment of their

salary through banks or post-offices. Otherwise they would be in trouble and consequently, they can create problems for others as well. If they are not paid, their children would remain an educated and would have a bleak future.

They are forced to pay bribes ranging up to 10,000 rupees to get the job of a sweeper. Reservation has become the in-thing. Harijans, backward classes etc., all of them enjoy the benefits of reservation. I wonder why this benefit of reservation in job, is not extended to these people? Why they are not being provided with such facilities? I urge upon all the hon. Members to give a suggestion to the Government.....(*Interruptions*). This is not mere rhetoric, Sir, a large section of our society is being exploited and I am just highlighting it. I would not like to take much of your time but certainly I would like to urge upon the Government to declare them as Government servants and pay their salaries regularly as their condition is deteriorating. As far as I know, in the villages, these people lead a hand to mouth existence. There, they are given 5 kilograms foodgrain and one 'Roti' per day. Why 'Safai Karamcharis' are not engaged at the block-level? It would not only help in maintaining cleanliness in villages, but also in small towns where heaps of waste are a common sight. The local authorities admonish them and they are warned of suspension, but these sanitary workers do not get adequate time to cope up with such a heavy workload. According to the Manual Report the number of sanitary workers should be increased, their salaries should be paid in time and they should be treated as Government servants.

Sir, I would like to say one more thing. If the birthday of Prophet Mohammed could be declared as a public holiday, then why not of Valmiki? After all, Maharishi Valmiki did so much for this country. He enriched Hindu society and philosophy with his immortal epic the 'Ramayana'. He prophesied that Lord Shri

[Sh. Mangal Ram Premi]

Ram would reincarnate after ten thousand years and save mankind. I would like the Government to declare 'Valmiki Jayanti' as a public holiday, to respect the sentiments of these people. With these words, I conclude and oppose this Motion once again.

[English]

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur): At the outset, I would like to express my unhappiness on behalf of my colleagues who are Hon. Members for treating us as untouchables. We have come here from very far away places in the northeastern area like Manipur, Nagaland, border areas of Assam. We expected that while giving chance the treatment will be state-wise. First you may give preference to bigger States. But after that the smaller States may also be given chance. But when you treat party-wise, we may not get a chance. We regret for this.

Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion. The President in his Address has rightly mentioned that the situation in Assam, Nagaland and Manipur has continued to cause concern. This is because there are troubles in Assam, in Nagaland and in Manipur. In Manipur, as you know, up-till now there has been in force the Special Powers to the Armed Forces Act. Please imagine under what circumstances it might have been enforced. This is not enforced in other States having special status. It is enforced in Manipur, in Nagaland and in some parts of Assam. Why is it so? I would like to bring before this House the seriousness of the situation and the circumstances prevailing there.

Sir, I hope, I shall not be misunderstood as parochial when I refer to the affairs of Manipur only because the time at my disposal is almost over. As you know, Manipur has got strategic border area bordering Burma and other parts of India. This Manipur State was a native State. It merged with India only in the year 1949. The Maharaja of this State was forced to sign the merger agreement. The

Maharaja signed it under duress. So, in this way, the Manipur became a part and parcel of India. But the people feel quite disappointed by this merger. Some sections of these youngsters took arms and rose in revolt against the Central Government because these youngsters felt that they have been betrayed. The situation had been created by the negligence of the Government of India. I am bringing this fact before the House.

Sir, Manipur was an independent sovereign State upto 1891. It fought for the last war of Independence with the British in the year 1891. It was the last State in India to fall before the Britishers who took it in 1891. But, still the Britishers gave it Statehood by allowing it to be a native State. According to the merger agreement, the people expected that they would be treated well, but they are quite disappointed now. As you know, Sir, Thomas Pane had said: "Where there is liberty, there is my home", but Gandhiji said: "Where there is no liberty, there is my home". With that spirit, of Gandhiji, our beloved Prime Minister Late Nehruji visited Manipur and at that time he asked for giving away the Kabow Valley to Burma, which was a part of Manipur. At first, the people resented to it. They did not agree to it. But Nehruji wanted to give it away to Burma because at that times Nehruji wanted to do this favour to Burma because he wanted to be friendly with that country...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Yumnam, your time is over.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: I will take some more time, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already taken five minutes...

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Sir, I have spoken for more than twentyfive years in the Assembly.

This is my maiden speech in the House. So, I must take some time more.

So, Sir, in lieu of parting away this Kabow Valley from Manipur, the people asked for something from Nehruji and he agreed to it. But it was not so formal. He agreed that the Manipuri language must be made one of the national language in VIII schedule. After Nehruji, we pleaded it with Shrimati Indira Gandhi. I took a deputation and met Shrimati Indira Gandhi and she agreed to some extent, although it was not announced officially. I was given a chance to see her when I had gone to attend a Conference of the Presiding Officers in Calcutta, Shri Bal Ram Jakhar was the Speaker. He was presiding over the Conference. I was summoned from Calcutta by Shrimati Indira Gandhi while she was the Prime Minister. It was on that very ill-fated day that I was summoned from Calcutta to see her. I took permission from Shri Bal Ram Jakhar and went to meet her. But on that very ill-fated day, as soon as I arrived in Delhi, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was killed. The plane was late by about fifteen minutes, otherwise I could have met her and I could have even averted the very ill-fated incident.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi had agreed to some extent, although it was not announced officially that Manipuri language should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and it should be recognised as a national language. Other leaders of this House, like Advaniji, leader of the BJP, have accepted that Manipuri language should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Leader of the Opposition, Shri Advani announced it in a public meeting at Imphal. The other Left parties, including CPI, CPI(M), have committed it to their manifesto that Nepali and Manipuri languages will be included in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution. Shri V.P. Singh, while he was the Prime Minister, almost took a decision on it and in fact he conveyed a message to us

through the Chief Minister, Manipur that he is going to announce it in a convocation function of Manipur University in Manipur. I am glad to find that our senior Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta and others have also put up an amendment to the effect that they will support this move of inclusion of Manipuri in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India. So, almost all the parties, National Front and other Left Parties, B.J.P. have committed for the inclusion of the Manipuri and Nepali languages in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution. I also hope that the Congress(I) Party will endorse it and I hope the Government will put up a Bill for this purpose.

Now, about the richness of the language, I need not say much. I would only say that the renowned scholar Shri Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, a doyen of Indian languages remarked that this Manipuri language is the most developed in all the Tibeto-Burman Speech family. And to give the justification for accepting this language to be the national language, I would like to give some points only. It is the mother tongue of about two million people. It is the official language in the State. The Manipur State Assembly has passed a Resolution to this effect and an Act has been enacted.

It is the Court language, used in the lower courts. It is a major Indian language. It is the medium of instruction of examinations from the primary level to the post-graduate level. It is recognised by the Sahitya Academy of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon'ble Member may please wind up. You have taken fifteen minutes. You may now wind up.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUM-NAM: Sir, the Manipuri language has all the justification for the recognition as a national language of the country. Hence, I urge the Government for bringing a proposal in the

[Sh. Yaima Singh Yumnam]

form of a Bill so that the Constitution can be amended suitably to include Manipuri, as well as Nepali languages, in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India.

Coming to the other matter that I have put up in the form of amendment, I would like to mention one thing. As you know, there are seven constituencies of the Manipur Assembly which have now fallen vacant. The Hon'ble Speaker of the Assembly has disqualified seven M.L.As. from the membership of the Assembly.

SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE (Aurangabad): Sir, there is no quorum in the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the quorum bell be rung.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, there is a quorum. Shri Yaima Singh Yumnam may continue. Mr. Yumnam, you have already taken more than 20 minutes. So, kindly wind up your speech.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH: He has already taken 35 minutes, I have got the record, and you are telling that you will give time for a new Member to give his maiden speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What to do? Your colleagues should cooperate.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Mr. Chairman, since the leader of the opposition has now entered in the House I have to repeat again about the Manipuri language. Shri Advaniji addressed a public meeting at Imphal and very sympathetically he assured the public that he will take up this issue of Manipuri language for inclusion of this language in the Constitution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: I am very happy to know that the BJP will be supporting it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up, you have already taken 20 minutes. All other Members are waiting. Please wind up now and cooperate with the Chair.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Sir, in Manipur, the Speaker of the Manipur Assembly, by his order which was issued on 24th July, 1990, disqualified seven MLAs because of their defection.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should speak on the President's Address. You have already taken more than 25 minutes and it is very difficult for me to accommodate other Members. I would request you to kindly wind up now.

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM: Sir, for almost one year now, the Govt. have not filled up those seven vacancies in the Assembly. I would like to ask the Government to tell whether the people of those seven constituencies will be left without any representation in the Assembly. In Delhi, the capital of the country, at least one of the roads in capital should be named after the great martyr who fought for the cause of Manipur and for the emotional integration of the people of the country.

PROF. MEIJINLING KAMSON (Outer Manipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to clarify one point. The hon. Member has given some wrong information. In Manipur, no doubt these seven MLAs were disqualified, but the case is still pending in the Supreme Court. In view of that there is no question of having any election there. So, the people are not deprived of their representation. (Interruptions)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You need not reply to his clarification. You can wind up now. I am going to call the next Member.

**SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM:** Sir, I am not given enough time to speak. So, in protest I conclude my speech now.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** It is very unfair that you have made such a remark on the Chair. Now, Mr. Jeevarathinam.

[Translation]

\***SHRI R. JEEVARATHINAM** (Arakkonam): Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, I wish to say a few words in support of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

Hon'ble President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman is a great statesman. His public life spans over a period of more than half a century. In shaping the destiny of the nation, he had and he still has a major role.

The country is undergoing crisis after crisis for the past 2 years. Hon'ble President has ably assisted in tackling all the crises. He helped democracy to take deep roots. I, therefore, thank the Hon'ble President on behalf of this august House.

The people of the nation have placed their faith in Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao and his Finance Minister and they hope that there will be a solution to all the economic problems facing the country.

All those persons who have come to this House from North India in the name of Ram were at one point of time or the other, supporters of colonialists. They were the persons who rejoiced over the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and distributed sweets to celebrate the occasion. Today, they are in the House

\*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Tamil.

under the umbrella of a different organisation. Whatever may be their past, I would appeal to them to extend their cooperation to this Government.

If there was no Mahatma Gandhi, we would not have got our freedom. If there was no Nehru, there would not have been any democracy in this country. I and you would not have come to this House.

The patron Leader of DMK, Shri E.V. Ramasamy Periyar opposed the freedom struggle. The present leader of DMK has joined hands with the LTTE which brutally assassinated the youthful Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi in a bomb blast. The DMK Government which was in power for the past 2 years did not check the growth of LTTE. The DMK Govt. in the State and the Janata Dal Govt. at the Centre were responsible for the kind of situation in Tamil Nadu in which we had to sacrifice a Prime Minister. Both the parties were taught a good lesson in the last elections.

20.00 hrs.

Let me now come to the drinking water problem. There is acute shortage of drinking water in my Arakkonam Parliamentary Constituency. I request the Hon'ble Minister to immediately provide the necessary financial assistance to the State to tide over the problem.

**SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE** (Aurangabad): There is no quorum, Sir.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Let the quorum bell be rung.

(Interruptions.)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Nothing will go on record.

SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE (Aurangabad): There is no quorum, Sir.

\* MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the quorum bell be rung.

*(Interruptions.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Quorum bell is ringing. Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions.)\**

MR. CHAIRMAN: There being no quorum the House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow at 11 A.M.

**20.06 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, July 19, 1991 | Asadha 28, 1913 (Saka)*

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\*Not recorded.