

**Review on the working of and Annual Report of the Kerala Agro Industries Corporations Ltd. for 1989-90 and a Statement for delay in baying these Papers.**

14.06 hrs.

**MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS - Contd.**

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Buta Singh may resume his speech.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRONICS AND DEPARTMENT OF OCEAN DEVELOPMENT) (SHRI RANGARAJANKUMARAMANGALAM): (a) On behalf of Shri Mullappally Ramachandran, I beg to lay on the table:-

(1) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under section 619 of the Companies Act, 1956:-

- (i) Review by the Government on the working of the Kerala Agro Industries Corporation Limited for the year 1989-90.
- (ii) Annual Report of the Kerala Agro Industries Corporation Limited for the year 1989-90 along with Audited Accounts and comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(2) A statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (1) above.

[Placed in Library, See No. LT-2236/ '92]

**Revised Memorandum Regarding Delegated Legislation in respect of the Foreign Trade (Development and Regulation) Bill, 1992**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI SALMAN KHURSHED): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the revised Memorandum regarding Delegated Legislation in respect of the Foreign Trade (Development and Regulation) Bill, 1992 (Hindi and English versions)

[Placed in Library See No. LT- 2237/93]

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Jalore): Honourable Mr. Speaker, Sir, since yesterday a discussion has been going on in the House over the no confidence motion moved by honourable Jaswant Singh ji. Till now, many honourable leaders have spoken on behalf of the main political parties in the House and all the leaders want that the suggestions given by them are implemented by the Narasimha Rao Government. Some have been implemented and some suggestions could not be implemented, but on the whole I have come to the conclusion that all the leaders including Shri Jaswant Singh ji admit that in the present circumstances only Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao and his colleagues can given a stable and permanent Government to the country.

This House expresses the sentiments of the countrymen. If we read the speech of honourable Jawant Singh ji carefully, we will find that the feelings of the countrymen have not been expressed till now. The feelings of the Bhartiya Janata Party have been expressed in that. That is why their point of view is very narrow. Taking this point of view, if I say that the Government is running only with the belief in the democratic system and in this house because I am one of those members, who take pride in being a very old member. I have come to the lok Sabha for the third time. For some time I remained outside as well, but it is a matter of pride for this House, that the no confidence motion moved by the opposition, has always been defeated and I agree that... (Interruptions)

You have done this even when you were supporting the Government. That is why I believe that this proposal shall meet the

same fate which the no-confidence till today have faced. Till date i.e. upto the Tenth Lok Sabha 21 no-confidence motions have been moved in the House including the one by Padma Vibhushan Shri Atal Bihare Vajpayee. Whenever a no confidence motion came up in this House, this House rejected it and the council of ministers was always allowed to continue to lead the nation.

Sir, today when we look at the opposition, the Hindi correspondents term these parties as 'Ramo', 'Vamo' and Bhartiya Janta Party and about other small group the Doordarshan says- non-Bhartiya Janta Party. In the; Parliament News' Sansad Samachar covering of the proceedings of the House, the names of parties are referred to as 'Ramo', 'Vamo' or Bhartiya Janta Party and other groups as non-Bhartiya Janta Party.

I am hearing for the first time that in this House and in the other House, there are non-BHAJPA, Members. All of us are Indians. That is why in this House, when we come with this kind of a proposal, then, our first and foremost duty is that we should only be inspired by one thing - the sovereignty and self respect of the country and these should not be hurt.

Just now, the honourable member Shri Chandra Shekhar ji, whom I respect a lot, has in his speech, by virtue of being the former Prime Minister related a few of his experiences. He expressed his views on many issues in very forceful words and he called the Prime Minister 'Mauni Baba'. I have heard this word 'Mauni Baba' from his mouth for the first time. Shri Narsimha Rao came forward to serve the nation in very difficult circumstances and those circumstances are not hidden from anyone. The public opinion was being formed and gauged in the country and the elections were being conducted to elect the present members. At that time a great national tragedy struck the nation. The great leader of our country, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was dastardly killed. Elections had to be postponed and after that in the second round, Shri Narsimha

Rao took the leadership of the Congress party, and the elections were conducted successfully. The result of this was that the people of this country expressing faith in the leadership of Shri Narsimha Rao voted the Congress Party to power so that he may be able to save the nation.... (*Interruptions*)

I got an opportunity to go to every nook and corner of the country in connection with 'Bhartiya Ekta Aandolan'. I have been to all the states. On every public platform members of all the parties say that in such circumstances, none other than Narsimha Rao can provide stability to the country... (*Interruptions*)

Shri Advani, the great leader of Bhartiya Janta Party while on a foreign trip, stated the same facts when he was asked a question in this regard in Washington. Even he stated in reply to that question that in today's context if anyone is able to uphold the unity and integrity of the country and bring about all round development of the country, he is Narsimha Rao.

Perhaps Shri Jaswant Singh has not been able to see this statement. Today, I would like to be enlightened by the position presented. Jaswant Singhji They have certainly done something new in U.P. by violating the constitution and by ignoring the Judiciary of the country. If that is at the lock of this no confidence, Arjun Singh ji has already spoken about it yesterday. He said that we have nothing to do with that. I want to tell him that we can not escape from that. The feeling of communalism has been spread in the various states of the country and when the tree of communalism bears fruit, then the snakes of casteism emerge from its roots. As a result of that the affluent people are committing atrocities on tribals and the down trodden.

Jaswant Singh ji in his main speech, presented three issues before us. One issue was that of rising prices of essential commodities in the country. There is no doubt in that. Today, we can see that poor people, agricultural workers, and farmers have to pay higher prices for foodgrains. But



we are also responsible for that. This very House raised the procurement price. Along with that we want that farmers should get compensation. There was no increase in the wages of the agricultural labourers who works in the fields. Was there any increase in the salary of the poor and marginal farmer. Has the farmer benefited by the facilities provided to him? The countrymen are overburdened. Apart from the public distribution system, the traders of consumers goods in this country belong to the Bhartiya Janta Party. Do you believe that only the ruling party is responsible for running the country? But the Bhartiya Janta Party favours those who commit scams, who increase the prices, those who are responsible for pilferage of foodgrains from the public distribution system and sell it to the people at higher rates. Has the Bhartiya Janta Party ever thought about it? Has it ever given the message of patriotism? It is very simple to tell Narasimha Rao in this house to control the price of every small and big thing whether it is a lipstick, or a bandage to cover a wound.

We get only one good lesson from the speech of Shri Chandra Shekhar as he said that we are experiencing lack of moral ethics. He criticised us. He should have criticised those people as well. Today, there is need of following moral ethics in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, within three days of taking charge of Prime Ministership, our Prime Minister called a meeting of all the prominent leaders of major political parties to discuss the overall situation in the country. The situation in the country was very critical at that time, be it economic condition or social or matters of internal serenity. He stated the conditions in this country in clear terms. In the same meeting the Finance Minister had proposed some serious steps to be taken. I remember it very distinctly that the opposition leaders were told that the economic condition of the country had deteriorated to such an extent that it is on the verge of collapse, inflation had reached enormous heights, balance of payment had gone out of control, level of foreign exchange had gone an all time low it was almost finished and the situation was so critical that

the country could sustain imports for two weeks only. Alongwith that the Foreign Commercial Bank had stopped giving loans to this country.

Shri Chandra Shekhar has elaborated the situation by quoting the data. I am not conversant with the complexities of economic statistics. But is it not true that IMF loans had been taken during the Prime-Ministership of Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Chandra Shekhar. At that time also, there must have been some compelling circumstances and if our present Prime Minister tried to revitalise the economy of this country by taking loans through mortgaging of gold of this country. We should be thankful to him for saving the economy of this country. Sir, this is the hard fact that we make long and lengthy speeches on these basis but we do not mention the achievements at the same time. Two years back our position became zero in the international areas. Nobody used to care for us. Today, the views of our Prime Minister are considered important in the matter of Palestine, Israel etc. They say that if anybody can help in solving these tangles, it is India. What does it indicate? It indicates that our present Prime Minister and his Government has revived the old dignity and repute of our country in the international forum earned by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

During the last two years we made no progress in regard to the Eighth Five Year Plan. Our Prime Minister and our Finance Minister gave new impetus to our Eighth Five Year Plan. They launched new plans for the upliftment of the downtrodden and the farmers. We could not expect to prepare our next Five Year Plan. Today all the Chief Ministers in the country have approved that plan in the National Development Council. Many points have been included in that plan which we had demanded from our Prime Minister during a convention of all the parliamentarians and legislators of the country in which Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people had participated. As far the programmes related to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned we went to meet the Prime Minister at his Residence

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and we presented our demands and he admitted that people would be given full opportunities. He assured us that while executing the programme adequate weightage will be given to their problems, their questions and their point of view. We were asked to go out of the President House. He is the first Prime Minister who called the representatives of the poor of the country to his residence and gave a patient hearing to their grievances. Later on, he called a meeting of National Integration Council. After that a two day Conference of the Chief Ministers of all the States was held and the serious discussion on those questions was held and some decisions were taken. Shri Jaswant Singhji is least concerned about the implementation of the decision that had been taken in the meeting. He is least concerned with the affairs of the poor. He has not made any mention about the State of these poor people. But he is able to elaborate the points regarding Bofors case. If any court announces any verdict about the issue, is Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao responsible for it. You had been fully supporting that Government. You were equally responsible for all that. Many Governors were appointed with your consent and even now they are continuing. You never removed them, rather you withdrew your support from the Government. You had got full control on the Government in the Parliament but you failed to find out any offender. That is why my submission is this that we should be discreet in decisions. These are national issues and we should rise above party politics while discussing them. When Shri Lal K. Advani became the leader of opposition, while congratulating him I had urged him that along with becoming the leader of BJP he should also present light alternative before the country. I am sorry to state that even today he is acting as a leader of BJP only and in that too he is promoting the fundamentalism. If a person goes to Gandhinagar and pay homage to Gandhiji he cannot be considered a true Gandhian. You submitted that we would propagate *swadeshi*. Today, whatever is manufactured in the country it is *swadeshi*. Be it a computer

or any other thing. When you were the Prime Minister of the country a computer was kept in your office. You did not discard it. I would be happy if you learn it. I do not know even typing.

That is why Bhartiya Janata Party called a convention in Gandhinagar and propagated '*swadeshi*'. They tried to impress the people that they were trying to bring genuine secularism. In Ahmedabad a scene can be seen as evidence of this genuine secularism. A procession was attacked in a planned way and many innocent people had been killed.

SHRI RAM NIAK (Bombay North): Who attacked them?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Communal elements. I am talking of communalism. If you want to come out of the limits of Gandhinagar and talk about implementation of Antodya programme throughout the country, it is a welcome move. The same has been submitted by our Prime Minister in Tirupati. I would like that the politics of this country should rise above communal affiliations and should be based on country's problems. It should have a very constructing approach. If all the parties of the country include only country's problems in their party manifesto then it would be better. Shri Narsimha Rao has succeeded in his effort. Even in Bhartiya Janata Party, we have contacts with many people. We hear the same slogan every morning and evening. Let us do something for the nation also.

I wished that Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad would have allowed to speak on Ayodhya everytime this issue was raised. Several hon. Members raised this issue today. No Member has ever opposed Shri Ram Mandir in this House. Long negotiations were held between the both sides, and some decisions were taken. This was also one of the decisions taken there. The situation of that time was such that all the police force of the country was deployed in the villages. No police station had more than 3-4 constable at that time. Police forces were deployed everywhere because elections were approaching. We were considering the law

and order situation and were thinking how could we avoid bloodshed and arson when this question of Shilanyas was raised. All of us discussed the issue together and an unanimous decision was taken to improve the situation and this discussion was held under the Leadership of our Prime Minister. He was the Chairman of the Cabinet Committee. He used to review the situation daily. Meeting was held daily and later it was decided that all the Shilas which were worshipped in the lakhs of the villages of the country should be collected. Several other Governments also cooperated in it. All the Shilas reached there. A decision was taken and five highest officials of Vishwa Hindu Parishad signed the decision. We did not give publicity to it due to the elections. Prior to it V.P. Government spent money and gave publicity to this agreement by releasing half page advertisement in all the news papers of the country. But V.H.P. deceived us. According to the agreement V.H.P. had to leave that place after the Shilanyas was over and this issue was not to be raised before the decision of the Court. In the agreement signed by the Leaders of the V.H.P. there is one line which says.

[English]

"We will abide by the court's decision".

[Translation]

I do not know good English. Shri Advani knows English better than me. The meaning will be the same if he translates it into Hindi and it is that court's decision will be final and we will abide by the court's decision, and we will respect it. What to talk about that Court's decision, court's decision has been disobeyed very today itself. U.P. Government, B.J.P., V.H.P. and hon. Members of this House have different views on the situation. It should be clarified.

AN HON. MEMBER: What do you say?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: The hon. Prime Minister has said everything which I wanted to say. I am happy that the Prime Minister

has confirmed and proved that the education which was imparted to us is in the interest of the country. Today the faith is the need of hour. Shri Jaswant Singh got angry on an issue but we can not put the country at stake on such an issue. Today, the whole country is looking forward to this House for a solution to this issue. I am not talking of only my party. The nation has been deceived on such an grave issue. We have seen the character and the patriotism of the rich people who are called the meritorious people. They have given proof of their patriotism by swallowing thousands of crores of rupees. It is the country of farmers and labourers. Whenever an occasion to make sacrifice comes, it is the farmers and labourers who come forward to make sacrifice and give their blood. No rich man has ever come forward to make sacrifice. So the national unity and integrity and are the need of hour. Today B.J.P. is in such a position that our Prime Minister consult it time and again on certain issues as he wants to take all the parties together in his efforts to improve the situation in the country and safeguard national sovereignty and integrity.

You referred to Punjab yesterday and Shri Chandra Shekhar has also referred to it just now. I do not want to go into deep. The situation in Punjab is very grave, so we do not want to make it a point of party politics. We wish that people of Punjab may prosper again. Punjab has contributed a lot in the prosperity of this country. We want Punjab to play that role again. A reference was made about elections in Punjab. It is all right that we had boycotted elections at that time. It was done so because it was said that Punjab election would be considered as plebiscite. Are you ready for that? When you are not ready in respect of Kashmir, how can you be ready in respect of Punjab? The Congress party decided to boycott it because it was publicised as plebiscite. Now I will let you know the reasons as to why they boycotted elections this time. As soon as the elections were announced, a big meeting was held in Muktsar. All the notorious terrorists attended it. A warning was issued in that meeting that any Akali party of Akali leader who would take part in the elections

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would be considered as traitor and would meet his fate. All love their lives. They got scared so they boycotted the elections. See the difference. Congress boycotted elections on the basis of principle while they boycotted the elections to save their own lives. We do not claim that elections in Punjab were held in a proper way. I accept that the people came out for voting in poor number because elections were held under gun point. But we should appreciate the bravery and courage shown by the people because they came out for voting for the sake of democracy though fear of bullet was looming large on their heads. They said in one voice that they wanted elected Government. Now the elected Government is there, and it has brought the people closer. They have gone to the villages and talked to the people. They have isolated the extremists. They have boosted the moral of the people to a great extent. People want the development of Punjab. You can witness it by the agricultural production made during the last year. Last week a big rally was organised in Punjab. Shri Balram Jakhar addressed it. This rally will create a new awareness, a new feeling among the people of Punjab.

So, I want that keeping the Punjab's achievements in mind we should take a decision soon and should also hold elections in Jammu and Kashmir with the co-operation of local people who have great love for this country. People of Kashmir are the real patriots and true Indian. If they had not co-operated, we would have not Jammu and Kashmir with us today.

Assam has also been referred to. In last week when I was in Calcutta, I came to know that all major groups of ULFA have decided to sign a new agreement and it may materialise today or tomorrow. Thus Assam problem will be solved forever. I congratulate whosoever has made it possible.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today we are facing danger from inside the country. Jaswant Singhji there is no doubt, that there is a danger from outside the country also but it

has increased manifold from within the country. The way in which the communalism is being propagated and spread is a bigger danger than the danger from outside. I request the B.J.P. the V.H.P. to stand by the country in this hour of crisis. There is need to have faith and trust at this time. If you do not have faith and trust you will lose the confidence of this House and we will have to request the Prime Minister to associate those people who believe in the of the country and want to maintain equality with all.

Shri Arjun Singh has said that we would have to get rid of it. I say that it is not so. We can not get rid of it until the poison of the communalism is there in the villages. All the progressive, secular leaders and parties should go in the every nook and corner of the country to propagate the ideals and thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel so that this dreadful disease of communalism may be eradicate and unity may be brought about. Only then we can save our country. With these words, I strongly oppose Shri Jaswant Singh's no-confidence Motion.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am, of course, speaking in support of the No-Confidence Motion which many of us on this side have moved. I think too much should not be made of the fact - some people are trying to interpret in that way - that the Bharatiya Janata Party has tabled its on No-Confidence Motion and we, all the Left Parties and the Janata Dal have also tabled such Motions. The Motions are identical because that is the rule of the House, but too much should not be read into this. This is a parliamentary device which has to be used occasionally and it does not mean, in any way, that the content behind those Motions is necessarily the same, let alone being identical. I completely agree with many things which my friend Mr. Jaswant Singh said in his speech and there are many things which I do not agree. But the point is that my friend Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev got himself tied up into some self-contradictory knots. On the one hand, he conjured up a

very horrendous vision that if this Motion gets passed, then what will happen to the country? On the other hand, shortly thereafter, he said, there is no chance of it being passed, because the BJP and we, on this side, are not going to vote for each other's Motions. So, he cannot have it both ways. In any case, even if the Motion is passed, I do not think anything horrendous will happen. There will be another election; it may be horrendous for the prospects of some people. There will be another election; it will cost a lot of money; of course, and so, nobody welcomes it like that and the people of the country will again give their verdict and decide who should form the Government and rule.

Sir, many things have been said which I do not propose to repeat because it will mean taking up time. The episode of the unfortunate Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki has been referred to here by my other friends. I only wish to know from the Prime Minister whether Mr. Solanki was ever cross-examined by the CBI regarding that whole episode and his role in it. Was he cross-examined, we do not know to this stage. We know that he did something, on his own admission, which no senior member of the Cabinet is supposed to do, apart from the fact that he created, as the Prime Minister said on that occasion, a great deal of embarrassment for the Prime Minister and for the Government. But can we believe it? Is it credible that the External Affairs Minister, a senior member of the Cabinet could behave like this, entirely on his own? Could he take a risk like that, entirely on his own? It is a matter which is difficult to digest. We wanted, what was behind the whole thing should be brought out. That was the purpose of investigation we were demanding. We cannot believe that he acted on his own. However, that has not been done. Virtually what the Prime Minister has said the other day means, the CBI has washed its hands off the whole affairs because nothing can be found out. The identity of that person cannot be found out who handed over the note. What investigation was made, I would like to know.

Any-way in spite of all this curious

behaviour on the part of the senior Cabinet Minister and in spite of the embarrassment he caused to the Government and in spite of the impropriety with which he behaved, it seems the Prime Minister continues to have great confidence on him because at Tirupati, in the AICC Session, the Prime Minister could not find anybody except Shri Madhavsingh Solanki to move the Resolution on foreign affairs, on external affairs. He was rewarded to that extent. But the whole affairs stinks to the heaven. I am sure, we have not heard the last word of it.

Then, it is a question of whether a Minister of this rank should be ridiculed in this manner, compromised in this way. My point is, it has never happened before. We are moving this Motion of no-confidence because of certain acts of omissions and commissions which are unprecedented. They have never happened before.

I believe the financial system of the banking system of any country ultimately depends on the public confidence in it. As Dr. Manmohan Singh has said somewhere quite correctly, if all the people in the country who have got deposits in the banks—suppose hypothetically, all these people—on a particular day demand from the banks that they want their money back, the banks cannot give that money. The whole thing will fail, but that never happens, of course. Therefore, the system, the institution rests ultimately on the trust and confidence of the public. It is their money which is in the bank kept for safe custody. I am charging this Government with having completely crippled and destroyed this public confidence. This is something which has never happened before. Dr. Manmohan Singh has told us time without number, certain measures and reforms were necessary in order to inspire confidence in the foreign investors. I do not know to what degree he has managed to inspire confidence in the foreign investors after the Scam took place. But certainly as far as the investors in this country are concerned, the small men are concerned—I do not mean, Ambanis, Birlas, Tatas and such people. I am talking about the small man, the pensioners, the middle-class employees, the small shopkeepers, the small traders who were

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also lured into this prospect of making profits and therefore went in for the shares. Do you think that they have got any confidence left in this kind of system? That has been destroyed and something has to be done. They have to tell us how that credibility and confidence is going to be restored speedily and without any hesitation and without sparing anybody. Otherwise, this banking system and financial system has received such a shattering blow that it will be practically impossible for it to recover for a long time.

The whole object to this restructuring, the while object of this crisis management—as we called it last year when reference was made to the meeting that was held with the Opposition leaders to begin with in which the question of crisis management was the main Agenda before us—and it is true that it was explained to us how serious the crisis is, how bankrupt the country's finances are and what the consequences will be unless we take these measures, unless we get loans, unless we devalue the rupee which was done twice at short intervals, unless we ship a sizeable quantity of the gold from the Bank of India's vaults to London, all these things were done in swift succession in order to establish our creditworthiness in the world. In that meeting, I had asked a very small and very foolish question, I should say. I said to the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister "We are not against reforms." Many things require reform in our economy. But I only want to know your talk about making sacrifices in this hour of crisis and tightening of the belt, whose belt you want to tighten? We have no objection to tighten the belt, but whose belt? Is it the belt of the big private corporate employers? Are they to tighten the belts do the big people who are minting the black-money every day, who are smuggling money out of this country and keeping it in secret accounts abroad, those who are habitual tax evaders? Their names are given here frequently in statements in the House. Are such people going to pay for these reforms or is the whole burden and load of these reforms going to be put on those sections who are the least prepared or least equipped

to shoulder it? That is the reply we want. Well, we were assured that the interests of all people, the common people, the poorer people, everything would be looked after. That is what we were told. Now after one year's performance of this Government, I do not wish to add to anything that my friends here have said about the inflation, rise in prices and the condition of poorer people, specially in the rural areas and all that. But we can see who is gaining and who is losing and the while irony of the question is that those sections of people who are to gain the most and profit the most out of this liberalisation policy, are the very people who have stabbed the Finance Minister in the back by engineering the scam. Not we. We did not do this scam business. It is done by people who should be the biggest beneficiaries of your policy. This is the irony of the situation because the theory which is propounded is that the more you liberalise, the better people will behave automatically. They will be more honest, they will be more forthright, they will be more frank and come out with everything. They will not try to hide anything. This theory does not work. If you want to carry out this theory of liberalisation, you require more discipline, not less discipline. But our Finance Minister wanted to liberalise this economy while losing complete control over it. He wants to de-bureaucratise this economy without having any control over it and without any rigid discipline being enforced.

Then, what is happening? You have seen what is happening. This way, unregulated type of reforms will lead this country to havoc and destruction. And, I do not agree with him when he says that it is all a failure of the system, a systemic failure. The argument of systemic failure means that no individuals are to blame; it is the system which is to blame. So, the responsibility, the accountability, the moral responsibility of the persons responsible for such a big scandal is not important. What is important is the system. I am saying this system may have many loopholes and faults in it, no doubt. But the people who operate this system, the people who are put in-charge of operating this system and who have brought about this



kind of a scandalous state of affairs - do not try to white wash them and do not try to over them up, please. Some people have been removed from their posts and told to go on leave; some people have been prosecuted before the Courts. But I am bothered more about the fountainhead of this whole thing, that is, the Reserve Bank of India.

Sir, when we were students of Economics many many years ago, now 50 years ago, I remember, when I was studying economics in College, we used to be told a definition that the Reserve Bank of India is the Bank of Banks; it is the Banker's Bank. That was in the pre-Independence days when the lecturers were telling us all these things. Now, I would like to know one thing. Please tell us exactly what is the role and function of this Reserve bank of India now because your Governor, whom you are defending every day - Shri Venkitaramanan - he says:

"....It is not exactly the job of the RBI to be a detective agency."

Nobody has said he should be a detective agency. I am quoting from his Interview to the *Sunday Observer*. He says:

"The RBI has a supervisory role. It cannot get into each and every operation of each and every bank...."

Who told him that the should do that? Then he says:

"They must have their own control systems and proper auditing and all that.... Till a fraud takes place, no one can anticipate it...."

Is it true? Please tell us what is your perception of this whole system. Of course, Shri Venkitaramanan has become famous for what he has said about those people who are trying to get him out. He says:

"Those who are trying to get me out want to stop the investigation on its tracks to help the criminals. They

want to help the criminals...."

After that, you cannot argue with him. How could you argue with a man who says anybody who criticises me is really a criminal? Then, nothing is left to argue. Such type of people are in-charge of the Reserve Bank of India! Now, I am saying that I would like to know one thing. When there are bank to bank transactions, inter-bank transactions taking place in securities, what happens? I am talking about securities because I do not think there has ever been such a speculative scandal involving such a large number of securities. About stocks and shares, of course, there is always speculation that goes on. But this is in securities. When there is an inter-bank transaction in securities, you know that the money is actually not transferred; it is only a piece of paper, the security certificate which is transferred; the money remains where it is and banker's receipts are given. When these transactions take place, are they or are they not supposed to be reported to the Reserve Bank? I am not talking of inter-branch transfers. I am talking about inter-bank transfers. Is the Reserve Bank supposed to keep track of those transfers or not? If it was keeping track, then either it did not know what was going on in which case it was proved its total incompetence and the Governor should be sacked anyway or if it knew about it and still failed to do anything, it means it has lost all control over system. They lost all authority. Either way, I do not see how the Governor of the Reserve Bank can give this kind of alibi for himself.

I do not want to take up too much time. But there are so many things which have come out. One Shri Mahadevan who is the Managing Director of the State Bank of India, he has said and I am quoting him. First he explains how the fraud was carried out this and that. "Fraud was however possible," he says, "because of non-reconciliation of our branch books with those of the Public Debt Office of the Reserve Bank of India for quite some time. "The books are supposed to be reconciled with the Reserve Bank's ledgers. If that is not done for months and years together, then there is every possibility. And

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this every possibility can be taken by anybody who wants to perpetrate massive frauds. Shri M.D. Parameswaran, Chief Officer, Department of Banking Operations and Development, Reserve Bank of India had addressed a letter to the former Chairman of the State Bank of India Shri Goiporia in which he stated that ten cheques, ten cheques only, representing payment for transactions aggregating Rs. 707 crores had been realised by the State Bank and credited to the account of Shri Harshad Mehta. These are all 'payee accounts' cheques worth Rs. 707 crores - ten cheques only - which were credited and immediately put in Shri Harshad Mehta's personal account. Am I to take it that the Reserve Bank is not to know anything about this happening? This is not a petty small matter. It involves ten cheques of worth Rs. 700 crores... (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH): This particular deposit was not done by the Reserve Bank. It was done by the State Bank.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Deposit was done by the State Bank. This is a fact which I am trying to say. But what is the supervisory role of the Reserve Bank? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia): He said that the State Bank did it. You also said that the State Bank did it. What did Reserve Bank do?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The State Bank received the money and credited to Shri Harshad Mehta's account. I am asking in such transactions...

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: What I am saying is that when the Reserve Bank came to know of it, the Reserve Bank asked him, "why you did it." That is how the whole thing came to be known (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I have the second interim report of this committee which you have set up. That itself says, "during a period of 14 months between 1st April, 1991

and 23rd May, 1992, the contract entered into by banks exceeded 58,000 in number and Rs. 9 crores in face value of the underlined securities. "More than two-thirds of the transactions were entered into by only four foreign banks which accounted for 70 per cent of transaction renewals. Over forty per cent of these transactions have been through the intervention of only four brokers. My question is whether in cases of transactions of this magnitude, Reserve Bank has any role to play or nothing to do. They have no means of finding out; they have no means of knowing. What your Governor says is that before a fraud is committed, there is no way of anticipating. Then what is the job of the Reserve Bank? Why is it there? What is it supposed to do? It cannot reconcile books. It cannot find out what are the indications in the stock market of this kind of terrific unprecedented boom taking place in the price of share within a very short space of time. Nothing gives them any indication or warning. Anyway, I do not wish to labour on this point any more because it is out in all the press and everywhere. We do not get any satisfactory replies. Now I am going to say another point which is one of the reasons of my total lack of confidence. In spite of several protests being made in this House by hon. Members of all sides, the Finance Minister continues to give certain assurances and undertakings to the international financing, funding agencies without first telling the House about it.

Sir, he has written a letter to Mr. Michel Camdessus, IMF Managing Director and in that he has said among other things that he proposes to bring the services within the tax net. Now I do not know which services? They have not been specified here. But it is a new thing — to bring the services under the tax net. But should he not take the House into confidence before he writes these letters to the IMF? There are so many other things in this; I can go on quoting all the things he proposes to do like reducing import duties including on consumer goods. The Government's final objective, the letter says, is to limit the negative list of imports, then future proposals to establish current account convertibility including unification of the dual

exchange. I think this he has said in the House. Yes, this has been said in the House. I am sorry. You have always assured us that convertibility will be achieved within a short space of time. But the principle of the point is Parliament is here; Parliament is in Session every now and then and you are writing letters giving certain assurances without which, it appears, the IMF is not going to be satisfied about our sincerity of purpose and about our performance and in order to assure them and reassure them, you are writing a whole number of letters to them. And those letters are not laid here, on the Table of the House.

**SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH:** It has been laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** This letter has not been laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH:** It has been laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** When was it laid on the Table of the House? Anyway, I stand subject to correction.

**SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH:** It has been laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum):** How many days after that letter was written?

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur):** But the question is that the Government of India has to write to them to get their blessings. That is the point.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** This Government has totally reversed; I do not say that there was no need for any reform or modification but it has totally reversed the policies which this country has been following for so long. Take for instance public sector. Shri Chidambaram, I think he made a remark yesterday, here, saying that for too long, this country has been following policies of protecting our native industries, not exposing them to competition, allowing them to function within a sheltered market and so on. I have no

objection to his saying that, provided he had also said that this policy, at one time, in one period, was very very essential. That, he omitted to say. This is a policy which was adumbrated in the time of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was part of the earlier Five Year Plans. Whatever industrial growth and industrial infrastructure that we have and we are proud of today, would never have come about if this policy has not been followed, if they had been exposed from the beginning to foreign competition.

Today, you want to expose them. But please give some credit to the policies which were followed in the past and do not dismantle the whole thing now. We are not against foreign investment. But we are against this policy of open door, against opening the door wide of anybody and everybody to come anywhere they want whether it is potato chips or Pepsi Cola or such other very vital things without which we cannot survive. We are against this kind of open door policy. Yes, in areas which require high technology or in areas in which we are not self-sufficient or in which we do not have expertise, I can understand. But anything and everything can now be brought here for foreign investment and manufacturing and this is supposed to inspire confidence in the foreign investors. I am glad that Shri Sharad Pawar is here. I accuse this Government again of completely reversing our traditional defence policy, which is very much tied up with our foreign policy. This economic liberalisation and all that can be well left to be argued by Dr. Manmohan Singh. He is an expert on that. But what about the defence policy and the foreign policy? I know Mr. Pawar will say that we have just done something very symbolic by having Joint Naval Exercises with the US and all that. It is not only that, we are entering into a long-term defence cooperation arrangement, of which the details have not been spelt out here. Because in our great wisdom, this time in the Budget Session, the Parliament did not even get a chance to discuss the Defence Budget. I have never heard of this. I have been here for a pretty long time, about 30 years. I do not remember any previous occasion when the Grants of the Ministry of Defence, which are the largest,

compared to any other Ministry, are not even discussed in the House. They are passed without discussion. Many thousands of crores of rupees are voted to the Government without being discussed. What is it being spent on? What is it for? What is your defence policy? What is going to be your strategy? We do not know anything, under the cover of that — now it is all right to say that our old friend is no longer there, he has collapsed, therefore, we have to now think of other means to be self-sufficient and all that — but does it mean that you should turn of about at 180 degrees and go in the opposite direction? No. I asked the Defence Minister in one meeting, who took the initiative for this Joint Cooperation and this Joint Naval Exercise? Was it the Americans, who made the proposal and we accepted it or did we take the initiative? If I am not wrong, he said that, we took the initiative.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SHARAD PAWAR): I said it was a proposal of some people from the American side.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am sorry that I didn't hear you correctly when you said that and I thought you said that "we took the initiative."

I do not know why we never did these things in all these years when a big friendly super power was our friend and with whom we have had such a close cooperation even in defence matters, with whom we never went in for any joint exercises.

We never had Joint Naval Exercises, Joint Air Exercises, Joint Army Exercises with the Soviet Defence Forces. We never said that you should have. You did not do it. You sent some people for training there and we got the equipment from there. That was good enough. But now within one year, you have turned right round about. The Minister has said that this is the first step on it. We read quite a lot of things which are appearing in the Journal called the *Indian Defence Review*, which appears twice a year, in which many, very senior retired officers - of course,

they are not allowed to write unless they have retired — of the Armed Forces are putting across a line. I hope you have read, it Mr. Pawar. In the name of cooperation in military matters with the USA, it adds up to a situation in which we, at least, have great apprehensions because we know that in these matters they are far-far ahead of us, they are far stronger than us. They have exhibited their military power last year in the Gulf War. That power can be used to terrorize people and to pressurise people also. It will lead inevitably, step by step, to a basic change in our foreign policy and foreign relations. That is what I am worried about. At present our foreign policy is like a ship which is drifting on the high seas, with neither a rudder nor a compass or any other thing, which does not know where it is going. Perhaps this is the compass you want to supply it with, that it should go towards USA. But there is a whole world around India which looked up to us for many many years as their leader, which inspired them, which occupied a place of such prestige in the whole third world and non-aligned world. I do not know what will be their reaction when they see us tying up with the military machine of Washington. These are not things which inspire confidence in the Government. I cannot bring a motion asking for confidence.

Everybody's minds are occupied with the news which is coming. On the one hand the full bench of the High Court, the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, has given an interim order. On the other hand the news is coming, if it is correct, from Ayodhya that the construction work is not only going on, but it has been further stepped up. It means that what Mr. Ashok Singhal has said, or is reported to have said, that he is not going to abide by any kind of court order or any kind of interference is true. He says if anybody tries to interfere woe betide the country. What is going to be done now? We want to know something when the Prime Minister replies to this debate.

Up to yesterday the position was that the Home Minister had made a statement saying that it was his *prima facie* impression that the court orders have been violated.

Now the full bench has given a new interim order in black and white asking them to desist, the suspend the work of construction at that site at least until the full order of the Supreme Court is available. But nobody is bothering about it; it is going on. If the Vishwa Hindu Parishad people insist on going on like this flouting the orders of the court, then I would like to know clearly from the Government without any prevarication as to what alternatives are left to them except to acquire that site. What else can be done? Mr. Singhal says that the courts are not above the people. The people are above the courts. But it will operate in some different way on some other occasion and then they would not like it.

So a very very serious situation has arisen. Everything has been pushed to the brink of confrontation. Therefore I hope the Prime Minister will not prevaricate and not try to hedge about and avoid the grim reality which emerged. The interim order was to be in force for only five days. They are asked to suspend the work only for five days anticipating that the final order of the Supreme Court will be available. It may not of course, it may be further delayed; then I do not know what will happen; it will become more complicated.

But at least in this House I think barring my friends of the BJP there is nobody in this House who is not anxious and worried about what is going on there, particularly because the situation may ultimately go completely out of hand due to the total inaction and the supineness of this Government which refuses to stand firm, refuses to call a spade a spade. We are not asking them to dismiss the Government in UP. At least I am not for it. I do not want to make Mr. Advani into a bigger hero, a bigger martyr than he is. It is not necessary; at least not yet become necessary what is necessary at this stage is that the Government should make it crystal clear that if the court's orders are going to be deliberately violated, then action has to be taken by the Government, of course short of dismissing the UP Government. There are so many things which can be done. They have got overriding powers to do it. But will they do it?

Have they got the courage? They are supposed to be defending secularism in this country. But we do not have faith in this Government because of the way it is behaving.

Finally about Punjab. About the crisis in Punjab my friend Shri Chandra Shekhar has spoken at length. At least the Government should be worried about the fact that the alienation of the majority of the people has gone much further than it was earlier inspire of this election. We participated in that election. He said, "We did a wrong thing". But, we participated in that election because we believed that at some stage or the other, the democratic process should be started in the Punjab. Anything is better than the rotten Presidential rule which means the rule of the Police, lathi, *danda* and nothing else. So, perhaps wrongly, we calculated that the process of starting this democratic exercise of election should not be postponed any further. But, what has happened after that, we all know. The Prime Minister said that we are talking about some package which was promised before the elections, which would contain many things which would be by the way of assurances to the people of the Punjab. To some extent, it suits them. But then he said, "It is a wrong idea; we did not promise any package". He said, "To me, the only package I know is the Longowal-Rajiv package; I do not know any other package". Then, why do you not implement that? It is because some other States ruled by the Congress party are objecting and coming in the way. For this narrow parochial interest of a particular State or a particular Chief Minister, you go on swearing by this Longowal-Rajiv package. But you do not do anything, you do not lift your finger to implement this. I do not know why this Government is determined to send out all wrong signals to the people of Kashmir. Yesterday or the day before, they brought a Bill here. You know about that. That was the Bill for the delegation of powers since there is no Assembly there. In that, a new thing has been introduced which was never there before — that during the period of President's rule, the powers will lie, not with the Parliament, but with the President, who may have an Advisory Committee to

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help him which he may or may not consult. It is written there. He may consult if he thinks it necessary and not otherwise. If he does not think it necessary, he may not consult that Committee also. 'Whenever practicable' are the words used. Who is to judge whether it is practicable or not? The whole power is vested in the hands of the President. Previously it used to be at least in the Parliament.

Feeble excuse was put forth by Mr. Jacob, who was piloting the Bill, saying that we found, the Parliament has no time to revalidate all those pending Bills which are there. I do not know, he never consulted the other parties to find out whether they have time or not, whether they are willing to sit late or not, whether they are willing to spend extra hours to get those Bills validated. Who told him? We do not know. But, how will it be seen by the entire people in Kashmir? Please tell me. Previously, at least, under President's rule these matters were vested in the Parliament. Now, they are vested entirely in the hands of the President. This is an arbitrary thing. This is a sort of an authoritarian move which will not help to normalise things in Kashmir at all. They will feel more suspicious and more aggrieved, apart from everything else that has happened in Kashmir.

I do not wish to add to this tally. I would like to know from the Government, finally, as to whether they would be prepared, at any time, along with all the parties sitting here - I do not know if all the parties are agreeable; I have not asked them, I am just making a suggestion that the Government plus all the parties together, jointly and publicly - to assure the people of Kashmir that whenever the situation is sufficiently normalised to hold an election - not just now, because just now I do not think any election can and should be held; but whenever it is possible; we hope the situation will improve - the elections will be free and fair, and not hijacked or rigged as has happened in the past. At such a time, the Government plus all the parties should jointly take up the responsibility to see that it happens. This, I feel, should be done; if everybody is agreeable. Otherwise, of course,

we can go on like this. The whole world is seeing, what they considered wrongly to be a liberation war, being waged in Kashmir, which is not doing for our name any good. But I finally say that no-confidence is inspired by the total bankruptcy of this Government policy. It has no policy on Punjab and Kashmir at all. They should tell us what their policy is. They have no policies.

Mr. Jakhar, I think, is now about to get up. He should tell us why the procurement is failing, why procurement has come down so much compared with last year and how the public distribution system will be maintained in the face of this failure of procurement.

AN HON. MEMBER: And drought also.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Of course, I do not blame for drought. He has not created drought. They have to take urgent measures to give relief to people in the drought-affected areas. Otherwise, we will have famine deaths in many States. But we do not find very much concern being shared by the Government with the House on these points.

So, for all these reasons - and many more which I did not go into - I support this no-confidence motion and commend it to the House.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, our hon. Member and friend Shri Jaswant Singh has moved this no-confidence motion. (Interruptions) Though we are friends but there may be difference in ideas and that cannot hamper our friendship. Perhaps, it is the tradition of democracy. Both sides have put forth their ideas. Shri Jaswant Singh is not present in the House and he is concerned about it. As just now our senior colleague Shri Gupta asked why the procurement has come down and what are the reasons of drought. I will have to answer all these things and I can answer them. I would like to tell Shri Jaswant Singh that he is concerned about these things and spoke a lot on these things. But the disturbance in the country is a matter



of grave concern. If there is drought in the country. We can face with peace, as we had faced in 1987-88. Such a heavy drought had never occurred before, still we faced that with courage. Whatever is going on in the country.....

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera):** Whenever your party comes to power, why there is a drought in the country?

**SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR:** Sir, it occurs due to your grace. The question arises what are the possibilities today and what are the motives behind this No-Confidence Motion? It is an irony that everything is overlooked. Perhaps, nobody reads history. It is said that history repeats itself and if history repeats itself everybody knows it. Today the history of our post independence is more or less 45 years old. During the course of this history only for about four years non-congress party rules the country first time in 1977 for two and a half years and second time in 1989 for one and a half year. The second aspect is the opposition where you are sitting now. In the first non-congress Government your party was one of the constituents.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi):** Two and a half years and one and a half year make four years.

**SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR:** I am also telling four years. I am saying that your party was a constituent in the first non-congress Government while a supporter in the second one. *(Interruptions)* No, your party was supporting the Government you were supporting them. It is very simple that your party was a partner in that Government also. *(Interruptions)* That is a normal practice. Shoulder is meant for holding responsibility then the question arises that you should learn something from that experience. You should look into the reasons. *(Interruptions)* Not Kashmir, I shall speak more on Punjab. Kindly listen to me.

I would like to mention this fact that whenever your party came into power, it never completed its full term. There will definitely be some reasons of it. Why the

people of country have to come to the Congress. Why the people repose confidence in Congress and why it is brought back into power? Because, you have failed to fulfill your responsibility and forgot your failures. You don't care that people have reposed confidence in your party and your party failed to keep that confidence. And whenever people voted us into power by expressing their confidence in our party, we have kept it. Our Government never failed and left the power in midway. Neither we wish the midterm poll nor we will go for it. Our Government will also win this confidence motion. I know that this thing should be presented in this very manner.

If Shri Jaswant Singh Ji comes in the House, I can point out what type of atmosphere you are creating in the country. I see nothing bad if there are differences in ideas and thoughts. But it must be ensured as to what you are doing and to which direction you are leading the country. God is almighty. He gives you life and can liberate you from the life. He is an alternative as well as horrible. He can do anything. Can we give life to anybody. Can we create anything in the manner that we are doing something very special. God is the only creator and this power is with him. It is very strange and that we are protecting God in his name. It is a very wrong thing. Whatever you want to do on its name. *(Interruptions)* I am telling. Please listen to me. The Government has never said that it has not made it. The Government will do it and will also construct the temple. The Government has never said that the temple will not be constructed. We have never postponed the idea for the construction of temple. Foundation stone (Shilanyas) has been laid for temple, not for destruction. Shilanyas had been laid for goodwill not for creating conflict I would like to tell Shri Jaswant Singh that he repeatedly says that there is no danger to the mosque and the mosque will not be demolished. If mosque will not be demolished then there is no difference in our views. Shri Ram Vials was saying that our and their views are the same. If our views are similar, I would request him that he may help us in getting one thing done from B.J.P. I shall be very thankful to

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you. B.J.P. says that mosque will not be demolished and temple will be constructed. We also say that the mosque will not be demolished and the temple should be constructed. Where is difference? Come and we all will jointly construct the temple then what problem is there. You should agree on the two things the mosque will not be demolished and the temple will be constructed. Secondly it should be ensured that the constitution will be protected and law would be followed, then there is no problem at all. (*Interruptions*) Please sit down.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): I am not going to say anything irrelevant. I would like to elaborate your point. You have referred to it as a mosque and we call it a temple. We both want to protect that structure, we are also not saying that it should be demolished because our Ramlala is there and that is a temple of God and we do not want to demolish it. Why are you repeatedly talking about demolition? We also want that status quo should be maintained. Why are you bothering about it? Then what is the problem with you and what is the point of discord?

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Till now there is no difference in our views. Please sit down. I have heard it. You have said your point, now please sit down. Kindly listen to me.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: No decision has yet been given and you are going on saying it a mosque. That is a controversial place. No court has decided as yet whether that is a mosque or a temple. We regard that structure as a temple and you are saying it a temple. The court has not yet given its verdict.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Ponnani): That is a mosque, where idols have been put forcibly. It is apprehended that a temple may be constructed there.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: You have mentioned a very good point. Is the Government giving permission for constructing temple at the site of Shilanyas?

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Temple will be constructed at Shilanyas site.

SHRI RAM VIALS PASWAN: Are you for constructing the temple there.

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: The second point I am saying is very simple. (*Interruptions*) It is very simple that the temple should be protected. (*Interruptions*) Please just listen to me. I am saying a right thing. Please listen to me. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Why are you interrupting time and again. It is not proper.

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: What I am saying, I am saying with responsibility. As I have already said, let the temple be constructed but the mosque should remain in tact. It is very simple. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am facilitating matters for you. He is exposing the Government. I am trying to bail him out. The shilanyas has not been done at the mosque site. The hon. Minister says that there is no objection in constructing the temple at the shilanyas site. I say that no construction can be made at the disputed site. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: All of you may please sit down.

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Please be seated and listen to me first. There will be no conflict if the mosque remains in fact and people construct the temple. (*Interruptions*) The difference is only of intentions. We should obey the law.....(*Interruptions*) Those who don't follow laws and do not honour the verdict of High Court, where will they go and how the country will run. (*Interruptions*)

If this will be the situation, there will be disturbances in the country. I have seen disturbances and riots at many places and the riots took place out of the blue. Poor children were killed. There was no cause behind it. People were bent upon engineering riots. But how long do they want to do like this? Sometimes they do it in the name of

Ganga water, sometimes in the name of cow slaughter and sometimes in the name of Ram. I had been to Ahmedabad. I was told that they had displayed Bapuji's portrait at their National convention (*Interruptions*) Please listen to me. I am not asking why it was displayed. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Jakhar ji, you may please listen to me. If you make a correct statement people can understand it. We feel that you have a feeling as if we displayed Mahatma Gandhi's portrait in Gandhi Nagar for the first time. But it is not so. We display portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Chhatrapati Shivaji and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wherever BJP conventions are held. There is nothing new in it.

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: I want that you should emulate him in letter and spirit. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): Your people have forgotten Gandhiji 95 per cent of B.J.P. people wear khadi, but your Ministers even don't wear Khadi. Shri Rajesh Pilot wears 'Khadi kurta' but his 'baniyan' is of a different make.

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Very good. The God has given you good sense. But if you follow his teachings in letter and spirit, it will do a lot of good. The country will benefit a lot and there will be peace if you follow that apostle of peace. But it should not be so that next time you people play some other game in his name. This is the only thing I wanted to say.

We can meet the challenges of drought easily if there is peace in the country. God forbid, there should be a drought. There should be rain. Hope is life. Chandrasekharji, one should not lose hope. We cannot say now that there will be drought. But we have to make arrangements to meet the challenges of drought. (*Interruptions*)

I know one thing —

"Yah rishta-e-diwarodara  
tera bhi hai, mera bhi hai,

Na gira is ghar ko, yah ghar tera  
bhi hai, mera bhi hai."

There is no need to disintegrate this country. There is a need to build it. There is a need to take others together. The purpose would be served when we march together.

I know about drought. It causes widespread damage when there is a drought. Last year there was a great loss at the end as there was no rain during August - September. Otherwise, farmers would have got bumper crops. The crops were damaged. It caused loss of 6 million tonnes in Kharif crops. The production was 170.5 million tonnes in place of 176 million tonnes. But we benefited in Rabi crops to some extent. Rice, wheat and oil seeds production was good. The loss suffered in Kharif crops was made good in Rabi crops.

We take recourse to Contingency Crop Planning for all the crops to fight drought. We develop seeds for short term crops. We try to sow rape-seed; sunflower, etc. This year, we have sown sunflower in about 5 lakh acres of land in two States. The I.C.A.R. invents such crops which can be grown in dry climates. The seeds of these crops are made available. Drought affected States are given advance help. If there is a need, the Government provides help in 2-3 instalments instead of in one instalment. A meeting of the Relief Commissioners of all States was convened in June and in the meeting ways and means to fight drought were considered. We discussed Contingency Crop Planning by convening a meeting of officers of the rank Joint Secretary of the Department of Agriculture from all the States. There is a weather-watch in Agriculture Department. It forecasts climatic conditions in different parts of the country. We take up measures for Crisis Management and hold meetings to fight drought and try to allocate funds to all the States from provisions made for various schemes.

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: Please tell us the rate at which wheat would be made available to us this year. (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: This is very wrong on your part. We have tolerated it too long.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Now, the rule which we follow is; if you have any intervention to make, you get up and speak if the Minister yields. The Minister is speaking and all of you are making speeches from your points. This is not correct. Please, do not do that.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Joshi, it is not the way to speak in the House.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Please learn some manners. You go on speaking. Your turn will also come. The rate of wheat will be taken up. What do you want.....(Interruptions)  
.....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Joshi, this is very wrong on your part to interrupt like this.

[Translation]

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: What rate you want to have for wheat. You want to give remunerative price to farmers or know the market price of wheat. The rate of wheat is decided on the basis of crop yields and the price of crop is decided by you.....(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): The rate at which export was made? (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Khuranaji, why are you speaking now?

(Interruptions)

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: What can I do if you don't keep quiet? I will be able to speak if you people listen. You are making an uproar. What do you do?.....(Interruptions) Look, there is a certain method to do a work. This is how we proceed. Mr. Jaswant Singh, you said yesterday that wheat is sold at Rs. 6.30 per kg. in the market. I got it enquired from 3.4 places. Wheat is sold at Rs. 3.70 in Nazafgarh, Rs. 3.80 in Sadar Bazar and Rs. 3.80 in Abohar.....(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Please arrange good quality wheat at this rate. (Interruptions)

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: We have to pay price to the farmers at a reasonable rate. It should be ensured that no injustice is done to the farmers and they get remunerative price for their produces.. They will not produce if they are not paid a just price for their produces. Why will they sow wheat and grow other crops if we don't pay them good price.....(Interruptions) You are all learned people.....(Interruptions).....Why don't you allow me to speak What are you doing. You are all hon. Members. I say clearly. But what are you doing.....(Interruptions) ..... Mr. Speaker, Sir, nothing can be done if somebody wants to create pandemonium.....(Interruptions) We have not fixed procurement price. We have fixed support price. Sir, we provide support price to farmers. You don't have to do it by force.

[English]

You don't have to do it. I cannot force my farmers to sell it on a procurement basis. I can only give them the support price. That is it.

[Translation]

It all depends on them whether they sell it or not. But I will neither force nor pressurise them. We fixed floor price of wheat by which the farmers get Rs. 2.35 to Rs. 2.80 per kg. of wheat.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. I would

like to tell the hon. Minister that there is a no-confidence Motion against this policy matter. If you go into the rates of Rs. 2, Rs. 2.50 and Rs. 3, it will complicate the matter. It would be better if he spoke on the no-confidence motion only to resolve this issue.

MR. SPEAKER: Look, no-confidence Motion is there. The issue regarding foodgrains is also very important. This question has also been raised. The hon. Minister is speaking. Please listen to him.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: If all of you speak simultaneously, you won't get the information pertaining to your point. Who can provide more authentic information than the hon. Minister?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: It is not intelligent way of yours to interrupt someone speaking. Rather, your intelligence should find reflection in your speech. If you want to ask something, you can do so and if the hon. Minister yields, your query will be answered.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the farmer has been able to produce sufficient foodgrains, despite the lack of requisite rainfalls, he deserves a pat on the back. We had the best rains during 1988-89, although the production was sufficient enough even then it fell short of the target by six million tonnes. As Jaswant Singhji was not here, I would like to say that we made every effort to meet the target of Rabi crops. We were also able to increase the production of oilseeds, cotton, sugarcane and all other crops. Karif production also declined.....(Interruptions) I don't know why they are interrupting.

[English]

SHRICHIRANJILAL SHARMA (Kamal)  
I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: You understand that it has to be on procedure. You will have to tell me first which rule has been violated?

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA: The hon. Member, Shri Jaswant Singh was speaking yesterday quoting figures regarding the prices of commodities. We listened to him spellbound kept mum.

Now, is it not the responsibility and duty of the Government to put figures? Is it not the responsibility of the Minister to meet the arguments that have been advanced?

MR. SPEAKER: This is exactly what I have told them.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA: If so, why are they not doing so? Let them face the reality. He is quoting figures. Then you have to run the House. At every stage, there are interruptions from the Opposition. Can we be silent spectators? Did any Member from the Treasury Benches think of interrupting the Members from the Opposition?

MR. SPEAKER: You are also not taking my orders. You first please sit down. What is going on there? It is not correct on your part also.

[Translation]

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: When a question has been raised I would like to answer it.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: When you are speaking, they feel that you are addressing them. You are addressing the House through me.

SHRI BALRAM JAKHAR: I am addressing the House through you. (Interruptions) If we don't appreciate the good work done by the farmers, how will he be encouraged?.....(Interruptions) While on the one hand, you say that the prices are going up, on the other you demand higher procurement prices for farmer's, produce so that this loss may be compensated and he may get more money. Now it is but natural

that when we provide more prices to the farmers there will be inflation and the prices will go up. You cannot have the cake and eat it too. What is called for is streamlining of distribution. I assure you that there is no need to bother about the P.D.S. We have allotted 30 lakh tonnes and the work has already been started. There won't be any shortage on that account. We have already identified 1700 points, which are in backward and tribal areas. Hence, there should be no room for anxiety and moreover, we have made a plan to provide 30 kilogram to each family. I am mentioning all these things to make the situation clear for you. We would like to continue with the programmes which we have taken up, so that we are able to provide remunerative prices to the farmers. If the farmer gets a better prices for a particular crop, why should he go for another one, which would yield him a lesser amount? If we want the farmers to try out a new variety, or a new crop, obviously we will have to provide him with some incentive. You please throw a glance at what he has done and what he has not. Only then will it serve any purpose. This Government has formulated a diversification plan for agricultural research. In the past, we did not possess basic facilities including that of transportation, grading, processing, packaging, cold storage or marketing, for the promotion of horticulture. We are laying a foundation. With your grace and the consent of the House, we would like the farmers to get better prices. Now, this is possible if we encourage them to cultivate crops, which yield more money and for this it is inevitable that we add additional value. We have formulated a Rs. 700 crore scheme to facilitate this task and its infrastructure is ready. I shall be putting this proposal before the Cabinet after convening a meeting of all the concerned ministries. Not only this, this year we have made a provision of Rs. 1400 crore for water resources in comparison to last year allocation of Rs. 400 crore. At the moment, we are facing a drought problem and there is an acute shortage of potable water. The hon. Member belongs to Rajasthan and he knows that there is a terrible shortage of drinking

water and people have to traverse long distances to fetch it. If irrigation facilities are not provided and there is no water in wells, how can they contribute the land again? To remedy this, we plan to provide many crores of rupees for Trunkler and drip irrigation programmes. We also want to make available new varieties of crops to the farmers. Earlier, the allocation for horticulture was a meager Rupees 64 crore, but now we have increased it to Rs. 1,000 crore to meet the expenses of a new plan, which would enable even the poor and small farmers to cultivate. Only after providing irrigation facilities, we will be able to make any progress. For the first time, we have exported 1,000 kilograms grapes worth Rupees 10 corer to England and in the coming year, we would like to make this export worth Rs. 100 crores. This is only possible if infrastructural facilities, including cold storage, contain centres and procuring stations are available. In this way, I would like to explain everything to you. There is no need for any anxiety whatever on this account. We have plans to improve the functioning of the P.D.S. We have allocated Rs. 70 crore to make barren land cultivate. Now, this is to meet any eventuality arising out of insufficient rainfall. We are making efforts to improve irrigation. We will be able to increase irrigation facilities only when we complete Narmada, Tehir and other projects.

A reference was made to Bihar in the morning. I would like to draw a blueprint for a new plan for Bihar with your assistance and along with the ongoing extension programme, because if it succeeds, it would not only benefit Bihar, but the entire country also. We have a similar plan for Orissa as well. We have thought of a new scheme, that of fisheries development. We have done much ground work in that regard. Last year, we exported these to the tune of Rs. 800 crore and this year, it was worth Rs. 1400 crore. We increased its production from 39 lakh tonnes to 46 lakh tonnes and we wish to further increase it to 50 lakh tonnes. If everything goes according to our plan, then it would be alright. I wanted to tell you all these things.

Then, there is a Rs. 100 crore project in



West Bengal financed by the World Bank. That would include fish culture as well. Similar projects in Goa, Andhra, Bihar, U.P. and Orissa are on the pipeline. On the basis of our present plans, I would like to tell you that it would benefit one and all. I would like to assure you that the Government is alert with regard to the drought situation and plans including strengthening of the P.D.S. are being worked out to face it.

A reference was also made to Punjab-Chadra Shekharji and Guptaji are not present in the House, but, in order to remove their misconceptions, I would like to take them to Punjab, so that they may see for themselves the real situation in the State. You said that a fraud has been committed in Punjab. No, it is not so. If it is so, when we all are equally involved in it.

It is a matter to be examined whether it is a fraud or not and how you look at it. On the eve of the elections, a notice had been given, a meeting was held and this declaration was made that the families of the first five men, who go to cast their votes, will be wiped out and the finger of person bearing indelible ink to mark signifying casting of vote will be cut off. Thus an atmosphere of terror was created, and in such an atmosphere those, who exercised their right to vote, were brave, and they should be saluted, those who voted braising threats to their lives, should be respected. People wanted to vote. Today you should go and see what is happening there. Today, if Shri Jaswant Singhji, Chandra Shekharji, Indrajit Guptaji come with me, I shall show them what is the situation in Punjab today. People of Punjab should be allowed to live in their own way. People know that their representative will listen to them, their representatives are sitting here, that is why they know that they shall be heard. I used to say earlier and even today I say that even if the Government machinery is very weak, or useless, even then a democratic Government is more useful.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now I attended a meeting at Goindwal. There is a place called Manjhe there, which was a terrorist stronghold. A journalist approached me and said something which I took to heart. He said

that earlier a group of M.Ps had visited the place, who asked him about the atmosphere there to which he replied in brief words that he wished to live so he could not say anything, but in that meeting the journalist said that now he wishes to live and if he wishes to say anything, he will say it. This is the present atmosphere and we should help them, we have to see how the work is going on and, in which way it is progressing. It is necessary to see all these things.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, through this House I would like to request everyone that while we say that there is shortage of foodgrains, and this shall lead to spread of terrorism, people shall become victims of starvation, people will die, it will be a very bad thing. I had said earlier as well, and I am saying it today as well, that while the land is not expanding the land which God made once will remain the same but our population is increasing every year by 2 crores. Although we had once made a mistake in this House by doing so and whether it was correct on our part or not but when we faced defeat in 1977 after that no party touched this problem in an open manner. If this House gives a serious thought to it and understands that this is in the interest of the nation. If we do not think of this today then tomorrow we shall be held answerable. What will our future generations, our posterity say? They will only say that we people might have thought about ourselves, but we never gave a thought to them. This will divide the nation. If we consider this issue carefully, the entire issue shall be set right. These are correct things. I told you to unfold the pages of history. You helped them, the Government was a different one. They had written off the loans because of which our entire banking system is in a mess and today I am not able to give loans. All my banks are in the same condition. You should ask them what had happened. Now the Harsahd Mehta episode has come to light an even J.P.C.....(Interruptions) .....

You are talking about Harshad Mehta, J.P.C. has just been constituted. The Government has acted according to you wishes. Consequently, nothing shall remain hidden. I want that the one who has been dishonest, howsoever big he might be should

[Sh. Balram Jakhar]

be hanged even for a small thing. Either, it should be given in writing here, and if anything is said against him or if any allegation is to be made, it should be made openly, and he should be punished very severely. If he is lying, if he speaks an untruth, it should not affect anyone. This is to be seen because if he loses his faith or if a breach of faith is committed, then what kind of a life shall it be? With what face will he go home, and what face shall he show to the world? The parents who have given birth to him will feel that they are living on ill gotten wealth. This is a matter to be seen. The defaulter should be punished. I do not act as an advocate of anyone nor do I make an accusation against anyone, because he should know what he is saying. What he wants to do is a matter to be seen. To my mind, J.P.C. is not above the House. The House shall take a decision. I wish to say that one should make a statement with courage and conviction. This is the correct thing.....*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, whatever I am saying, I am saying with full responsibility. I appeal to Shri Jaswant Singhji to think and go through the pages of history and not think only to himself.....*(Interruptions)* ..... Now what am I do think:

"Tera Mera Kanch Ka Ghar, Main  
Bhi Dekhun Thu Bhi Dekh,  
Tere Mere Hath Main Pathar, Main  
Bhi Sochun Thi Bhi Soch."

This is the only way and we should think about it. They say in their speeches that the Prime Minister has become a Mauni Baba, isn't it peculiar, silence is golden. The one who remains calm can think, and he can think most peacefully. One who is excited does not think, and one who thinks before taking action, does his work properly. This is to be seen. I would only like to say that you may think about this later. If these things happen then there shall be no unrest in any part of our country anywhere and peace will prevail and we have to create democratic feelings in the individuals so that we may progress.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES

(Muzzaffarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, since yesterday a discussion has been going on, on this No Confidence Motion and while initiating the discussion, our friend Shri Jaswant Singhji said that after one year they were bringing this motion because during this one year the Government had not done any thing to bolster our confidence, so today they could do anything other than bringing this motion. He had said that he had certain expectations from this Government. I would at first like to clarify that I never had any expectations from this Government and I maintain that this Government should never have been in power here. If this Government came to power, it did not come on the strength of popular support. The issue is not the mandate which these people talk about, it is the mandate on the basis of which they have reached this position. If this Government reached here it was only because of one reason, that the opposition was divided, and that opposition stands divided even at present. That is why this is the only strength of the Government, other than this, this Government does not have any other asset. If these people do not understand this, it is not their fault. Because till the opposition does not understand this, the division of the opposition, if a factor in the criticism to which this Government is being subjected, its ill deeds are discussed both in the House and outside this House separately, then there is only one reason why they are here, because we are allowing them to stay here. That is why today in this House, while we are speaking on this no confidence motion, we are very vexed. We know that whatever may happen, whatever we people might say over here, but as far as the question of removing this Government is concerned, then somewhere or the other, the division of the opposition again becomes a hurdle and the discussion which arises both within and outside the house and this discussion takes place on such issues, which bear connection to the needs and the lives of people. While this Government is in power they are not concerned with the atrocities being committed on the common man.

But since the opposition too has failed to settle those disputes on behalf of their parties or collectively, this country has come to face a situation where it has no option but to bear with this Government.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hold that had the opposition wished, it could vote out this Government on so many issues even during the previous year. By adopting new economic policies in the months of July, August, September last year, the Government has endangered not only the economic freedom but also the political freedom and in one way the Government has acted in such a manner as the sovereignty of the country is at stake. The country has tolerated all this. We usually discuss the adverse consequences of all these things. For example, when the hon. Minister was asked just a while ago whether there would be a joint exercise of Naval Forces of India and America in the Indian Ocean, he replied that it was the proposal of American Government. We are pained to know that whenever the American Government makes any proposal, Government of India acts as a sycophant and rushes to America with its two ships. It is one of the examples which has been quoted in the House. I can cite a lot of examples where the sovereignty of the country has been attacked and we could not do anything in protest due to our leniency. This Government could impose this new economic policy on the country. It cannot be ignored. I presume that if such a situation continues, it is not certain to where this Government will lead this country.

We should have removed this Government on Bofors issue but even then it continued. On the part of the hon. Prime Minister it was assured in the House to reveal the truth before the House, but we discuss, it even today and we would like to know certain facts from the hon. Minister as to what is the progress in finding out the truth. We want to know if from the hon. Prime Minister.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, that was one issue. After that such a huge Bank and Stock Exchange scandal involving a huge amount

of Rs. 10 thousand cores or 15 thousand crores came to light. What role does the hon. Minister of Finance play in this regard, what does the hon. Prime Minister say in this connection? This is to be discussed the day after tomorrow or on Tuesday. I would not like to say anything today regarding it, because we do not want that they should give reply to all these issues at a time on the part of the Government that we have got the mandate in the election and the issue is now closed. This issue exists even today. Now we shall want to discuss it. It may take place on Tuesday or Wednesday. It all depends upon you. When-ever you allot time for it, it will be discussed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, perhaps you have decided to hold the discussion on it on Tuesday. So, it will be discussed on that day and we will require a separate discussion on the queries raised by us during the course of the discussion.

But that was such a serious issue on which the opposition in any country in the world might have dethroned the Government. But here the Government continues and it is relishing. Only one Minister has resigned, several others should also have resigned, but they are enjoying. Though they might be worried about it, yet they are enjoying. The nation expects from the opposition to demand not only reply from the Government, but also to remove the Government from the power. But as I have already referred to that we are in a peculiar situation. That is why I told that I am in a very odd situation, even then we will have to initiate with certain economic issues that too relating to Banks, by putting a special issue before the hon. Minister of Finance today. It is not related to today's Bombay issue, it is rather related to many branches of the Andhra Bank and the Hyderabad Bank. It is related to an issue of a company which has 50 small companies at present. The issue which has been presented before the hon. Prime Minister by the several hon. Members of this House twice during the period of last six months relates to "Progressive Construction" I am putting this case before you very seriously. Today I will not discuss it minutely. But I would like to tell the hon. Minister of Finance that this Progressive Construction Company has

made an embezzlement of Rs. 60 crores. It has embezzled this amount by taking loans from a Bank. It has embezzled Rs. 60 crore of income tax only. You have complete evidence with you in this case. The Reserve Bank of India itself admits it. While making investigations during 1985, the Reserve Bank of India stated that there were irregularities and six years ago, on March 7, 1986, an hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance had stated in this House regarding this issue and said that the Reserve Bank of India had investigated it. I am quoting an extract from the report.

[English]

It has revealed grave irregularities committed by the Progressive Construction Company (Private) Limited.

[Translation]

It is not the matter of their relatives, its owner was once a Member of Parliament in the past. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Did he belong to the Congress Party?

(Interruptions)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Yes, only a Congress-man can do so and other than the Congress men who can dare doing so.

(Interruptions)

There are many such Members who are involved in such professions. But there was a Member, I am not referring to him by name, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in 1985, a complaint was made to this Government regarding the affairs of a company. It was discussed many times in the House, but no action has been taken hitherto and the Government is stating now that.

[English]

We are not going to spare anybody

[Translation]

The day before yesterday, the hon. Prime Minister told us that the Government will not spare anybody who is involved in it.

SHRI RAM NAIK: It has been said regarding the scam, not regarding this issue.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: The scam begins with these very things. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are starting this topic only because it is not a new issue it is not a new thing which has been unearthed today, it is an old scandal, but will the Finance Minister admit that this scandal is going on for a long time. It is also said that the Ministers, leaders and politicians are not involved in this scandal, but will the Finance Minister prove it that these persons are not involved in the scam? It is not enough to arrest Harshad Mehta only. If the Government has any intention to unearth the scam, it should investigate and find out the relations of the politicians, Ministers and others with the doubtful companies being run by some particular persons and then the Government can be able to have a lot of required information.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is already having the information.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: If it does not have, it will be provided.

[English]

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, honourable Shri George Fernandes has brought up the case of a particular Company. I had received letters from several M.Ps. on this subject, including honourable Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In fact yesterday I have replied to these hon. Members to the effect that I have ordered special audit of the Accounts of this company by the Reserve Bank of India.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: We are satisfied to know that the Government has ordered for a special audit of the accounts for the year 1985-86. Does the Government have any answer to it?

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia): Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I know from the Minister for Company Law that he has also some information about it? Mr. Manmohan Singh, don't try to defend cases which you cannot defend. Inquiry has been held. Facts are before you, you are not able to take action. So, you are lingering in this matter.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO, VADDE (Vijayawada): Rs. 60 crores were advanced without security. What about that? (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a serious matter. That is why, we have raised it. This is a case study and it reflects as to how the political leaders and the kith and kins of the Government officers and the Ministers develop their relation with the companies and loot the Banks through those companies. It is the biggest example of it. What is the reply of the hon. Minister of Finance in this regard? An Under Secretary of his Department has written a letter to Shri Amal Datta. \*\* He writes that an investigation has been made in respect of the Reserve Bank of India but as per rule to maintain the secrecy, the information can not be given. When this Fidelity clause will be removed from the rules books? It is very surprising that when Harshad Mehta goes to Banks, there is no fidelity clause, when there is a scandal in Bank of Karad, there is no such clause. Even in case of agents, this clause is ineffective. When this clause will not be there only then Shri Janaki Raman can write everything and disclose it

to us. A company has plundered Rs. 60 crores. It purchased machinery once and mortgaged it at five places and took loans from all these five places.....(Interruptions)

I request the hon. Prime Minister that this issue will not be solved by the Finance Minister's letter only; and the special audit also cannot solve the problem. I am ready to send a complete report of the Committee. It contains 500 pages. I can send it to your office in the evening. If you have courage, You take action against the persons responsible and then tell us tomorrow in this regard.....(Interruptions) I am prepared to place this report on the table of the House. But you must have the courage to take action against the responsible individuals. You would not take action because they have been keeping it pending for the last seven years and the company is continuously taking money. The company evades the Income-Tax also. Company is looting the Bank. All this is wrong. Whatever has been revealed by Janki Raman, truth is ten times greater than that.....(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: What did you do during the last eleven months?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: As a result of those eleven months we are here in opposition today. Do you think that your functioning is good? What have you done so far by sitting in Treasury Branches.....(Interruptions) Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the only reason to refer to this topic. The reason is that our Prime Minister has made a statement that stern action would be taken against the people who are involved in the scam. We expect stringent action from him in this regard and demand a reply from him.....(Interruptions)

SHRI TEJ SINGH RAO BHONSALE (Ramtek): When all this had happened who was the Finance Minister of the country during those eleven months?.....(Interruptions)

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the chair.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have had enough time. It is right that they had not enough time during 1989-90. But when Shri George Fernandes had all the information regarding this case why did the Government not take any action for eleven months. He was the Cabinet Minister. If today, I am in the Government and if there is some thing wrong in the Government's functioning and I do not take any action then I have no right to complaint about it after one or two years. We should maintain this tradition. It is not proper that when you are having responsible position, you just ignore these things and when you are out of power, go on like this.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: In this connection, I just want to reply to Shri Rajesh Pilot only in one sentence. These are some reasons that forced to V.P. Singh not to take any action and again the same reasons are being faced by Man Mohan Singh to be a helpless fellow in this regard.....(*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATION (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Shri Manmohan Singh is present here, there is no reason.....it is an open discussion.....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: There is only one single reason. That when the near relatives of the persons having high position are involved in such scandals then they tend to ignore such matters to save their power. Whatever my friend Man Mohan Singh is doing with a great grief, V.P. Singh was doing it with a great enjoyment. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like that the Hon. Prime Minister should give a reply tomorrow in this regard. You allow me also to lay all the relevant documents on the Table of the House so that a final solution to the problem can be evolved. Whatever information available with anybody whether in Parliament or outside the Parliament should be provided to the House alongwith the details of the

specified responsibility of the concerned persons. You know the functioning of the Government very well. Ministers come and go but the Government is a permanent body. When the Ministers and the political leaders develop their relations with the permanent Government, they can lead the country to such a direction as is evident from the scandals occurred in Bombay and other parts of the country. You should take the action from the initial points from where the scandal started.

You should allow me to lay all the documents pertaining to this case on the Table of the House and ask the Prime Minister to reply it. I am referring to this issue because I have no faith in this Government. This Government does not want to solve any problem.

Now I would like to raise the Bofors issue. The matter had been discussed in the House. When Solanki issue was raised, the Prime Minister stated many things orally or through letters or otherwise, but one statement was common in all that. We were always assured that whatever is the truth, we would do everything possible to bring the truth before the people.

MR. SPEAKER: Sir, on the 2nd of June Indian Express published a report. Some people do not like Indian Express but such people should realize that the Indian Express is helping the Hon. Prime Minister to keep him away from the Bofors issue. So they should not feel any trouble from such news being published in the Indian Express. I may have some complaints against the said newspaper but you should not have anything against it because this newspaper is helping in propagating the fact that the Prime Minister has no hand in this Bofors scandal. A news had been published on the 2nd June regarding the meeting and we have tried to raise this issue in the House in several ways and will refer to it again and again. It is not a Notice.....(*Interruptions*).....but a Privilege Motion.

MR. SPEAKER: You want a reply of all these things right now?



**SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES:** This is a separate issue. I am not now raising this issue. How can I raise this issue here? But a newspaper publishes a statement of the Swiss Foreign Minister referring to a meeting. On that I was in Bangalore. I wrote a letter to Prime Minister that day when it was published. We expected some actions to be taken by the Prime Minister as per his promise. He should fulfil that promise and I had stated in the letter dated 2 June :-

[English]

"Dear Prime Minister,

Today's *Indian Express* has front-paged a story by Chitra Subramaniam in which the Swiss Foreign Minister Rene Felber is quoted saying, "Mr. Solanki just gave me the note summarising it briefly - the whole episode lasted two minutes."

[Translation]

You are well aware Mr. Speaker, Sir, that he had made a statement in this House that day. He had said that he had met the Swiss Foreign Minister and he himself had gone to meet him. Someone had handed over him a letter, at the time of his departure. But the facts were entirely different and in fact there was no fixed meeting of our Foreign Minister with his Swiss counterpart. Our Foreign Minister stood in search of the gate from where the Swiss Foreign Minister had to pass to attend his next meeting, he had more than thirty engagements on that day. It is his statement. When he was going to attend another meeting, Our Foreign Minister called him and took him to a corner to have a talk.....(Interruptions) Whatever may be the language.....Swiss Foreign Minister meets him and gets a room unlocked. They go there and have a conversation for two minutes only. The letter is handed over and tells the summary of the letter and that is all. It is all admitted by our Foreign Minister. In his own words:

[English]

The whole thing lasted only two minutes.

[Translation]

And in this House your Foreign Minister says \*\* He read his written statement in this House. I did not write any long letter to the Prime Minister in this regard. He had complained to me previously so I did not ask any question this time. Through my letter I had expressed an expectation from him and pointed out all these incidents. In view of all these happenings, I would like to submit:

[English]

"Mr. Prime Minister, I do not know if Mr. Solanki has shared all these facts in this sordid episode with you. If he has, you owe it to the country to disown the man and order his prosecution. If he has not, you must call for an explanation from him and apart from ordering his prosecution, expel him from the Congress Party of which you are the President.

You have repeatedly said that you will unearth the truth about the Bofors kickbacks. You will agree with me that Mr. Solanki has the key to the names of those involved in the scandal and those now involved in the cover-up. If you mean to unearth the truth, you can do so now. I hope you will do it."

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will be surprised to know that whenever a letter is sent to the Prime Minister it is certainly replied within a few days or one week. But till now I have not received any reply to my letter.....(Interruptions) Not at all. I don't know. Perhaps, some person close to Solanki might have withheld the letter and prevented it from reaching the Prime Minister. I have no such information. But I have still not received any reply of my letter and \*\* occurred in this House. Those who have got the full authority to unfold the facts of Bofors scandal are busy with their job.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE** (Bolpur): What was described in the summary?

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** He should give the summary to the Prime Minister or to we people. In his Press Conference in Delhi on 30th June he said that he had ordered the C.B.I. to investigate the matter after all facts had been given to the Prime Minister. C.B.I. reports that there was an advocate but no information about him is available. The hon. Prime Minister is making use of certain words which have disturbed us. He say that if a person from our country goes to some foreign country with a letter from somebody and there he hands over this letter to somebody, how shall we come to know who gave that letter. This is the hon. Prime Minister's promise who had assured this House to uncover the truth. Then in the same *Indian Express* on the 10th of this month, i.e. six days ago \*\* were published. \*\*.....(*Interruptions*) ..... Why should I go into its history \*\* and this information has been widely circulated.

[*English*]

**MR. SPEAKER:** If you have not mentioned other names, will you mention this name?

[*Translation*]

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the reason is that this man is involved in this case. F.I.R. has been lodged against him, if it has not been lodged so far it should be lodged now. So far as I know F.I.R. has not been lodged so far but it should be.....(*Interruptions*) I will not call him cheat etc. right now because people hve exploited him for their own ends. So I would not include his name. Mr. Speaker Sir, the news is published in the newspaper dated 10th July and this newspaper is in favour of defending the hon. Prime Minister. In spite of all this, the Prime Minister does not want to utter a single word or issue orders to file a case. There are separate reasons of delay in discussing it in the House. I would like to

know whether there is any sense in our resolution to find out the facts of the scam in this House, when such things are taking place every now and then. So I do not expect from this Government that it will discuss the creation of a new culture and civilization as you and Shri Balram ji said just now. Prior to that Sardar Buta Singh ji delivered an excellent sermon on the creation of a new character. We don't require this sermonizing at all. The House has several issues before it right since 1985 to 10th of this month, matters relating to Bofors and our External Affairs Minister, from the bribe in Bofors scandal, to the amount of bribe deposited in a Swiss Bank and some progressive, constructive works, then how can we believe that the Government will bring forth something new in this House.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, two days ago we discussed a political problem in this House which had been mentioned by Shri Inderjit just now and it was related to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir. I have a complaint that the Bill should not have been introduced here. I would have complained on that very day but you were not present. Since you are present, I have a complaint.

**MR. SPEAKER:** You may complain about me in my Chamber.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** It is not a complaint against you. But I have to say that you should not have allowed it because it has blamed us such a lot that we have no time. It is decided by the Home Ministry. At present Kashmir will be governed by a secretary of the Home Ministry in the name of President of India. But the Government's thinking is very unsound. I don't want to use strong words. The Bill, passed here, in a hurry, the day before yesterday, is not the only proof. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs made a long speech while presenting the bill. Mr. Speaker, Sir, he said that the situation had improved.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have mentioned about his speech in brief, but the speech is still stronger.

[English]

"There is a general improvement in the security scenario and in the environmental surroundings in Kashmir Valley and in Jammu & Kashmir....."

[Translation]

He adds further:

[English]

"In view of the change in the scenario in Kashmir, we have to hold the elections there at any cost because we have faith in democracy. We have to find the ways to improve the economy of Kashmir and bring confidence in the minds of the people....."

[Translation]

I challenged the Minister on both points at the time of the third reading of that Bill. I said that the situation was different than what he claimed. Secondly, I told the Minister how he could talk about the improvement and development works when there were no funds for the salary of the employees. The Jammu and Kashmir Government is not being given the over-draft while the Minister is talking about development works in this House. The last sentence of his speech is-

[English]

"Regarding payment of salaries, I am told that salaries are paid. I will check up again..."

[Translation]

Here is yesterday's newspaper. This news is reported not only in this newspaper, you can read it in all the newspapers published in Delhi and elsewhere in the country.

[English]

"No salary for Jammu & Kashmir employees."

[Translation]

Not only salary, the Central Government sent Rs. 100 crore to Jammu & Kashmir Government through Jammu & Kashmir Bank. The Bank adjusted this money is previous over-draft and refused to pay any money to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. (Interruptions) The Central Government is dependent on over-draft. You can see the economic situation of J&K Government, Kerala and Bihar Government but you fail to notice that how the Central Government is keeping its existence by borrowing loan from all over the world. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am raising Kashmir issue because to my mind the hon. Prime Minister has said something objectionable about Kashmir. The statement made by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs in the House is some what similar to the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister on 30th June, which was published in the newspapers on 1st July wherein the hon. Prime Minister says:-

[English]

"We are in a better situation today. The political step which the Government had taken had radically altered the situation....."

[Translation]

Any today it has appeared in the newspapers that the Governor of Kashmir has made a statement before the Consultative Committee or Advisory Committee - Whatever it is - that we are going to hold elections there and preparing for it. (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I think you are referring, not quoting.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: If you want me to authenticate it, I am ready to do so.

MR. SPEAKER: The newspaper reports are not authenticated.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Throughout the country the newspapers have published that the Governor of Kashmir has said:-

[English]

"They have mentioned that even though militant activities in Kashmir had witnessed a fresh spurt recently, with the melting of the snow on the high passes, the Government was effectively dealing with the militants....."

[Translation]

And we are discussing here that Kashmir issue has been resolved. Only thing to do now is to hold elections there. What sort of election will you hold there. Will you hold the same type of elections as was done in the case of Punjab? The role of the Government has been same in Punjab.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai): You ran away out of fear. We had invited you to contest the elections. You should have contested elections. Now show courage and contest elections in Kashmir. The then Ministers fled to Muzaffarnagar and you are saying how the elections can be held there. Do you think that elections cannot be held there if you do not participate. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): Please send Shri Fotedar and Shri Ghulam Nabi there.

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: This was the stand of hon. Prime Minister regarding Punjab. We are raising the issues of Punjab and Kashmir because instead of resolving these issues this Government has worsened them during the last one year. Yesterday, Shri Jagmeet Singh Brar described the horrible situation of Punjab in the House. I

would not repeat it but would only say whether the Government will take any action against persons and officers who created such a situation, wherein a couple was shot dead and their child was thrown in the air and fired, or would the Government remain silent and the newspapers, continue to scream through headlines about these incidents. In the newspaper, day before yesterday there were two news items one below the other '27 killed in Kashmir' and '27 killed in Punjab' and on that very day the hon. Home Minister made a statement in the House that the situation was improving in Kashmir and Punjab. The hon. Prime Minister washed off his hands by making a statement in the Press Conference on 30th June about these issues. He said that the situation is improving. And the Government has nothing to defend itself except the statement of the hon. Prime Minister. Nobody has said anything on these issues thereafter. When we talk of Punjab and Kashmir issues, reference of Pakistan is obvious. He said that bilateral issues are being discussed with the Prime Minister of Pakistan. During the last 12 months, our Prime Minister met his Pakistanese counterpart on five occasions and after every meeting it has been said that the situation is improving and the negotiation has been very successful. We would like to know specifically the areas in which situation has improved. Kashmir issue stands as it is but it does not mean that other bilateral issues cannot be resolved.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, ten months have passed since the secretary level talks between India and Pakistan failed. We would like the hon. Prime Minister to speak about the contentious issues with Pakistan, when he replies to the debate tomorrow and the progress made in this regard. There is a dispute about Sir Creek in Kutch and due to that, dispute of delimitation of sea is pending between India and Pakistan. There is no progress in this regard for the last one year. I would like to know whether this matter came up during discussions between the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan and any solution was proposed. \*

[English]

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SHARAD PAWAR): It is not fair. That is not a proper figure. I am ready to give the figure. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Then tell us what is the reality. How much fund is involved in it. Is it Rs. 2 crores?

[English]

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: It is less than Rs. 1 crore. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Money is no consideration.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): Sir, with your permission, I want to submit that the hon. the Defence Minister's assertion that it is less than a crore etc., in fact, trivialises the problem. \*

MR. SPEAKER: Let us not put misinterpretation on what he has said.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will not put a misinterpretation, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: He was just replying to the figure which was given. He was not trivialising the figure.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The hon. Defence Minister in response to what my friend, Shri George Fernandes was saying said: "You are wrong, it is not Rs. 5 crores. It is less; less than a crore". I am not complaining about the figure at all, whether on what he has said or what the Defence Minister has said. \*

MR. SPEAKER: It was not replied. It would not be fair to the Defence Minister. He was not replying on the importance of the issue; he was replying on the amount of

money involved. Yes, Shri George Fernandes:

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have a complaint. Has the hon. Prime Minister discussed these issues when he met his Pakistani counter part in Rio, Harare and twice in Colombo. I would like to know what solution has been proposed to these problems. These meetings are only for namesake and they say that things are improving but infact the issues are not resolved. Why definite policy is not being formulated. Does not the hon. Prime Minister know that due to lack of a policy the country is suffering.

The J.K.L.F. activists in Pakistan had said that they would cross the line of actual control and enter India. The Government was compelled to seek help from permanent members of the Security Council. Is this our foreign policy? By doing so have not we made it an international issue. Whose brain child is this? Mr. Speaker, Sir, my complaint is that the policies of the Government for the last one year in whichever field we may take will not solve the problems of the country. There is no clear-cut policy regarding relations with the neighbouring countries. We should improve our relations where it is possible and should deal strictly where it is necessary. Regular meetings are held and people are told that things are improving. Then one day an employee of Indian Embassy is mercilessly beaten in Pakistan. Our hon. Prime Minister does not try to solve this issue with the Prime Minister of Pakistan by contacting him immediately. Therefore, my complaint is not about what happened at which place but about having no definite policy. Why this Government should remain in power? In his press conference, when he is asked where these economic policies will lead the country, the hon. Prime Minister said that the Government had two objectives for which it has taken these steps. The first is the reputation of the country. He has used the word "reputation" and that the Government will safeguard the reputation of the country.

[English]

The second is that these policies will help the country to overcome the helplessness. Then he said that they had earned or built up foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 15000 crore. He has not used the word 'earned'; He said we have built up foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 15000 crore and thus improved the economic situation of the country. The hon. Prime Minister repeats this time and again.

Recently, in the first week of this month when he was on a tour of Assam he said, that there had been ruinous economic policies for the last 14 months in the country and the situation had improved now. The hon. Prime Minister says wherever he goes that everything had deteriorated during the last 14 months and how his Government improved the situation.

I would like to speak on two points. The first thing is that 'Standard and Poor', which gives rating to the countries of the world and on the basis of which the people of world decide in which country they should invest their money and in which they should not, has lowered our rating from "PBB" to "BB+". You have implemented policies for the last 12 months now. You have obeyed each and every dictate of IMF. The Government has tried to get foreign investment from each and every market source throughout the world. After completion of one year by this Government the "Standard and Poor" gave rating in June 1992 and said:

[English]

"We do not propose to change your rating; you are still on BB+"

[Translation]

And the hon. Finance Minister himself can explain the meaning of "BB+". If he will not explain it I will explain it. "BB+" means 'Non-investment grade'. This country is not suitable for investing money.

"You still do not come to the investment grade. You are still in the non-investment grade."

[Translation]

What is the use of boasting about the reputation and credit of the country which has been put on stake during the last 12 months that our rating has lowered to "BB+".

(Interruptions) The second indicator whether our credit worthiness has enhanced in our effort to get money from open Euro market. Naturally in this effort private companies of the country will vie with each other. Your "reliance" has lost. The Reliance has destroyed the economy of India and it has lowered the dignity of the country. Mr. Prime Minister, if you feel any difficulty in replying to it.....(Interruptions) then the Minister of Finance can reply to it. Since it is not the question of Reliance only, it is the matter of dignity of the country. In the first week of last month, Reliance shares were sold in the Euro - Market, in the world market. A share having face value of Rs. 10/- was sold @ 8 dollar and 17 cent which means Rs. 250/- per share. The company earned Rs. 240/- per share. Within ten days, the rate of the share lowered by 35 per cent in the Euro Market. It had two reasons. The people who had been running this business came to know very late it was not the actual rate of the share. It took time for the people of the world to understand the relations between the owner of the Reliance company and Mr. Harshad Mehta. They realised how they have been cheated. In the month of January, the rate of Reliance share was Rs. 130/-. The rate of share was increased upto Rs. 450 per share by manipulations in the month of March. But the people of England were not aware of the situation. They believed the formal statement of business of the Stock Market and purchased the shares and later on came to know that how they have been cheated. The rates tumbled down within ten days only. Secondly, the foreigners realised that to what extent the rigging is done in India. Were these the reasons due to which it was being



said that the country has great name in the world.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Is rigging done in shares also?

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: Yes, Sir. Share market is also rigged. Realising this, reliance shares have gone down to about 30 per cent. But I may tell you where the loss incurred. The Government of India has given right to three companies to sell their shares abroad. These companies were the Grasim, the S.R. Gujarat and the TISCO. Today the situation has become such that these three companies cannot go to foreign market to mobilise the resources. The under writers have shown their inability to help them for at least three months. They say that nobody will give a single penny to them and our Prime Minister says that he is working for upholding the dignity of the country.

A discussion was held here in this House and in the public also that how we have kept reserved Rs. 15,000 crore as foreign exchange. It is true and the hon. Finance Minister will elaborate this very much but would you tell me that who earned these Rs. 15 thousand crores? This thing is repeated time and again. It is an effort to mislead the House and the country. It should be stopped. I request the hon. Speaker not to allow them to mislead the House and the country. Have we earned or deposited Rs. 15 thousand crore. What have we done? There has been a deficit of 1 thousand 600 million dollars in the trade last year.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I think you are not putting the Chair in the dock.

[Translation]

SHRIGEORGE FERNANDES: We have to ask them through you.

MR. SPEAKER: Medium is all right but you should not put the Chair in the dock.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: During

1991-92 there was a deficit of 1600 million dollars in foreign trade. It means that there was no earning of foreign exchange. Then from where we brought this Rs. 15 thousand crore. The Government should tell the country that it is being run with the help of loan. Why they are hiding this fact. This is an important matter. This question was raised in the House that how much foreign debt the country has to pay and from where it was taken. How and when it was taken and where the money has gone. I want to inform the country that the Government is going to take loans of Rs. 25 thousand crore for the year 1992-93. During the next 5 years.

[English]

Forty billion US dollars is what they have planned to borrow.

[Translation]

It has already been decided in the meeting held in Paris. Mr. Finance Minister, the commitment of 7.2 billion of dollars has already been made. It means the commitment was for Rs. 22 thousand crore.

[English]

Forty billion dollars is what they have planned to borrow in the next five years.

17.00 hrs.

[Translation]

Today we are under foreign debt of 74 thousand billion US dollars. It means that today the amount of more than Rs. 2 lakh crore is outstanding against us as foreign loan. If this Government remains in power for four years it would burden us with the foreign loan upto Rs. thousand crore of rupees more. This Government should not remain in power due to this very reason only but you all know that this is not going to happen. Mr. Speaker, Sir, within one year the Government has burdened the people of this country with Rs. 25 thousand crore foreign debt which would go on increasing thereby making the people more miserable.

[Sh. Geroge Fernandes]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to seek clarifications about 2-3 things from the Government that after one year it is facing this No Confidence Motion in the House. The Government should tell us as to what it has done for the benefit of the farmers of this country during this one year? Shri Balramji has given a lengthy speech but he did not mention that the Government is procuring one million tonne of wheat at the rate of Rs. 450/- per quintal from abroad. The cost of that wheat will be Rs. 500/- per quintal in India. But the Government shows its inability to offer the rate of Rs. 280/- per quintal to the farmers. This is your policy on agriculture. On the other hand you have enhanced the rate of fertilisers. What has been given to them by the Government? Taking this plea you claim in the House that the people have confidence in the Government. What has been done by you in the interest of labourers? The Government have announced to close 47 Public Undertakings. It has announced to retrench 65 thousand workers working in the National Textiles Corporation. The Government have stopped the payment of salary in many public sector undertakings. There is nothing good in the Golden Handshake.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I alongwith Shri Bommai, President of my party, Shri V.P. Singh, leader of the party went to Bhilai yesterday. There an agitation has been going on for the last two years. The agitation is nothing but to get the minimum wages. We would like to know this thing from the Government. We have talked to the Prime Minister, Labour Minister and Industry Minister and apprised them of the situation. There is the complaint of the people of Chhattisgarh that the State Government has proved itself incapable. But some responsibility lies on the Central Government also. There is a steel plant in Bhilai. I have requested the Prime Minister, the Labour Minister to issue direction regarding not to supply machine parts to such industry owners who do not offer minimum wages to their employees and abolish contract system and treat the workers on humanitarian grounds.

But the Government has taken no action so far. If you wish, you can solve their problems within an hour. Today, 80 thousand workers are suffering there and 4000 people are on the road. There are 80,000 workers suffering as they don't get minimum wages. There, the worker is getting Rs. 10-12 or Rs. 15/-. But you are not worried at all. The Government is neglecting not only the workers of only Chhattisgarh but of the entire country. It is proceeding towards exist policy. The U.S.A. is putting conditions. By accepting those conditions, the Government wants to spoil the lives of workers.

What are you offering to new generation? What has been done to fulfil the hopes-expectations of youths during the last year. What has been done to make their future bright? What is your scheme? Mr. Speaker, Sir, last year there has been an increase in the number of 59 lakh unemployed. I am not counting their number. The number of workers who have come on roads due to closure of industries and the number of unemployed youths have become 50 lakh. Where is the employment opportunity? For what we are discussing here having trust and distrust. The Hon. Prime Minister has said that the Finance Minister has given me a note while coming to Press Conference.

[English]

Rate of inflation is now down to 11.4 per cent. As I was coming to the Press Conference, the Finance Minister had given a note.

[Translation]

I had asked the Government and the Finance Minister in this House not to deprive the people of their livelihood like this. Why do you play with them. Which prices you are referring to? I would like to tell the hon. Minister of Finance that according to the Government figures during the last 12 months the prices of rice, wheat, coarse grains like Jawar and Bajra generally consumed by the poor people have increased by 29.6 per cent, 29.1 per cent and 77.8 per cent and 39.4 per cent respectively. The price of a loaf

of bread has gone up by 26.5 per cent leave aside the issue of increase in the prices of fruits and other things. The Government has got no control over the prices of items of daily consumption purchased by the common man, but the prices of alcoholic beverages are under check.....(Interruptions) Price of liquor has increased by 2.6% and price of bear by 5.9%, but the prices of essential commodities have been increased by 50 to 100 per cent. This sort of control Government is having on the price front.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Fernandes, because of this whether the number of persons consuming alcoholic beverages has gone up or come down?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Only the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Finance can throw light on the conspiracy to dull the people of India by making available cheap liquor. I am in no position to comment on this strange phenomenon of increasing the prices of eatables while keeping in check the prices of alcoholic beverages. Mr. Speaker, Sir, my submission to the House is that such a Government.....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: That word will not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I would like to submit that the entire opposition should vote against this worthless Government and see that the dreams of the people of India are realised.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia): I would like to submit one thing to Shri George Fernandes and Shri Sharad Pawar and also to you that it would be better if the discussion held on Siachen in the House is not given wider publicity. I am not in favour of expunging the discussion but just submit that Shri George Fernandes and the hon. Minister of Defence should not give publicity to it.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I agree with Chandra Shekharji and it need not be recorded.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I have no objection.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: It will not form part of the record.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH): I have listened with great interest to the various points that have been raised in this debate. I do not think, anybody will disagree that our country is faced with challenges. We have today, an economy which is on a razor's edge - it can go down; it has also good prospects of going forward. Which way the economy moves, very much depends upon the sense of direction, the sense of purpose that this Government and this House can impart to the future of our economic policies.

We are faced with a difficult fiscal situation. We are still faced with a difficult balance of payment situation. Problems of unemployment that several hon. Members referred to, cannot be wished away. Problems of rising prices which agitate all the Members of this House, are a fact of life and problems of regional imbalances which had been discussed many times in this House, are also a fact of life. These are the problems which this country has to attend to. We have to apply our collective wisdom to find meaningful solutions to these problems.

I am very sorry to say that in this debate that has taken place, several points have been made, but at the end of it, I do not see light or constructive thought. I do not want to be rude. But I think, one can describe the state of debate.

"Bahut Shor Sunte The Pahu Mein Dil  
Ka,  
Jab Kata To, Karta Ai Khoon Na NiRia".

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to enter into arguments as to how these problems and challenges which our country is faced with, arose. All the parties are responsible for this. I am not saying that these problems have arisen overnight. But apportioning blame is not going to find a way out.

I feel that the challenge before our country is to pool all our wisdom, to pool all our resources to find credible solutions to these problems. I can assure you, Sir, that this is the spirit with which the Prime Minister and we approach this task.

Soon after this Government came into office, extensive discussions were held with all the senior leaders of the Opposition. Short of telling them that we were going to devalue the rupee, we laid bare every thing that was to be done, which was our intention to do with regard to other matters. For example, we took several initiatives in the area of industrial policy. I can say truthfully that this is not a question of Right and Left in our country. I had seen the speeches of several hon. Members. I have seen the speeches of hon. Chandra Shekharji. I have had the privilege of working with him. I have seen the speeches of Shri V. P. Singh. I have seen the speeches of Shri Vajpayee. I think all of them are agreed that this country needs economic restructuring. Shri Indrajit Gupta criticised the word 'de-bureaucratisation'. I could find that word repeated in several of the speeches of Shri Chandrashekhar. I think that is the right thing because our country had started in a particular way. At that time what we did, i.e. giving the Government the role of being the prime mover of economic policy was right. All these controls, precautions that were in place at that time was a right response. But, now our economy has grown so big, it has become so diversified that if you use the techniques of 50s to regulate the economy of 90s you would get, I think, dismal results. Corruption will multiply; smuggling will

multiply, black marketing will multiply. If one is talking of socialism 1971 in the marginal tax rates in this country was been pushed up to 97 per cent. Now, with that sort of tax rate, which everybody paid, we should have long ago removed inequalities of income and yet we all know that confiscatory rates of taxation have not produced equity. The situation in our country is precisely the opposite. Therefore, we have to think whether these old methods of dealing with our problems are the right response to the needs of the situation. This has been the motivating spirit behind the programme of restructuring, whether the restructuring concerns industrial policy; whether it concerns restructuring of trade policy of the financial sector and of the tax structure.

Now, it has been said that all this has been at the inspiration of the IMF or the World Bank. I would respectfully submit that in the situation in which our country was placed in June, 1991, I honestly believe that at that time we had no other alternative but to go to the international financial institutions. We were faced with a situation where large amount of capital was flowing out of our country. The exporters who had exported were not bringing back money into our country because everybody expected that a country faced with that situation cannot defend its exchange rate and nobody was willing to lend us any money. In that background if you recognise that, Shri Chandra Shekharji, I think rightly imposed a very severe import squeeze. That squeeze was necessary but it was hurting the industrial production. Further squeeze would have led to large scale unemployment, large scale increase in prices, and, therefore, that was not the option open to us. Therefore, at that time we had no option but to go to the international financial institutions.

Let me assure this House, Sir, it is not our policy to increase our dependence on foreign borrowings. It is not our policy to increase our dependence on international financial institutions. We are members of these institutions. We will use their resources but we will use these resources consistent with out self-respect; consistent with full

respect for India's sovereignty. But, that is not the path that we want to go. We do not want to get this country into a debt trap.

In the course of last one year India's external debt has gone up from 70 billion dollars to 73 billion dollars. But, I can assure you we have put all this money in improving India's reserves. We have not squandered that money and in the years to come it is our intention to progressively reduce the current account deficit so that this country does not get into the debt trap, about which hon. Members have expressed fears that we might be getting into that.

The basic thrust of our policy is to work towards self-reliance. And what is self-reliance? You read the documents of the Third Five Year Plan; the Second Five Year Plan and the Fourth Five Year Plan. The vision of self-reliance was not that India should cut itself from the world economy. But that India should be able to stand on its own legs; India should take advantage of the international division of labour but this artificial props of dependence on concessional aid must be reduced. How are you going to reduce this dependence on concessional aid? I suggest to this august House that if the collective will of this House can lead to a situation where India's exports can be increased by two percentage points of GDP, I think, we can dispense with concessional aids. The challenge before this economy in the next three to four years is to create a situation, to create an economic system where India's exports will grow up by at least two percentage point of GDP. In that case we should rise here as well as in the international fora and tell the cake donors "Gentlemen, we are very grateful to you, you helped us when we were in great difficulty but now we are able to stand on our own feet." That is the vision that inspires the worth of our Government, it is not, I think, the vision of perpetuating India's dependence, it is to a vision to make India self-reliant in the true sense in which, self-reliance ought to be looked upon, ought to be used in an increasingly interdependent world. This is of course not a one shot operation. We have to recognise, that standard of living is not a

matter of high productivity but several Members have referred to the fact that social spending is not increasing, certain important sectors have not got their dues, I share that concern, But in a situation in which you have a revenue deficit of Rs. 17,000 crore, how can you spend more? You can only do so by going to the Reserve Bank, print more money and what would be the consequence? Inflation will accelerate. Who are the victims of inflation to the greatest extent? The poorest people of our country. Therefore, if we really take the interest of social justice seriously, if we really care about the poor, then our first and foremost priority is to deal with those underlying causes which have built inflationary expectations to such a strong point in our country.

Now, these inflationary expectations have not been built, overnight. I recognise that India has been spending too much that our domestic and external borrowings have increased excessively, that we have to put a stop to this process. And that process, I can assure you has started. It cannot be completed in one year. But I do submit to you that in a single year to reduce the fiscal deficit from 8.5 percent to 6.5 percent of GDP is not a mean achievement. This year, we are proposing to carry that process further. If we reduce the fiscal deficit to five per cent further if we are not unlucky with regard to the weather, I am convinced the month after month, you would see a decline in the inflation rate in the economy.

I admit to this House that we have not been able to honour the pledge that the Congress Party gave in its Election Manifesto to roll back the prices to July 1990 level. But the situation in which we were placed, we had in the course of last one year cut our imports by \$ 5 billion. We had cut India's current account deficit. It had never happened in the last twenty years. We had cut the current account deficit from \$8.3 billion in 1990-91 to less than \$ 2.2 billion in 1991-92. Now, if you cut the current account deficit, the counterpart of it is that goods and services are not available. If the pressure of the bank persists, obviously, the prices will continue to rise.

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Now also, because of the severe import squeeze, the industrial production was affected. Because of the balance of Payments compulsions, we had to devalue the Rupee. For all these reasons, the prices and the inflation could not be brought under control.

I would also like this House to remember this. If you look at the problems of most developing countries, I do not think that you will find any single country which in the type of situation in which India was placed last year, a fiscal bind and a balance of Payments' bind, yet maintained to keep the inflation rate at roughly the same level as was in 1991. I am not saying that this is good enough. We must work to reduce the inflation rate to no more than four per cent to five per cent. I am convinced that the path that we are pursuing together with the strengthening of the public distribution system particularly strengthening it in areas where there is the concentration of a most vulnerable sections of our population if we persist with that path, there will be positive results. Therefore, nobody need doubt our commitment to being inflation under control. But fiscal imbalances and fiscal deficits are only one side of the coin. We have to address ourselves to the underlying causes of low productivity.

References have been made, I think, 'Shri Indajit Gupta referred to this that we are reversing the importance that was given to the public sector in the strategy of our development. What was the role of public sector in our development? I have studied all the plans of our country. I have formulated two of India's Five Year Plans. So I know what was the role of our public sector envisaged by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. By giving the public sector predominance Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to kill two birds with one stone. He said, in our society, profits are not only the source of accumulation but they are also the determinant of the distribution of income and wealth. If you socialise profit, you accelerate the pace of development, you reduce inequalities of income as well. But that

process can become effective, if there are profits, if the public sector is run in a manner in which it has been run thus far. If year after year there are losses, I am afraid, that public sector cannot perform the historic task that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had in mind. Our Government is committed to making the public sector a vibrant instrument of social and economic policies. We will strengthen public enterprises so that they can become self-sustaining, so that it becomes instrument of promoting fighter development but wherever public sector enterprises cannot perform that role, I submit to this august House, our first duty is to enable them to perform that role. Wherever restructuring is necessary, we will restructure these enterprises, wherever these cannot be restructured then I respectfully submit to you that we must find ways protecting the interests of the workers but at the same time some enterprises must be allowed to wither away. If you are trying to perpetuate the inherently unviable units, you must be able to preserve the employment of some people, to think of the future of their children and grand children.

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** (Dumdum): Who are your prime movers? The multi-nationals and the MRTP of the Government of India. (Interruptions)

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** On these issues we are all agitated. Only thing recently we have read in the paper that four public sector undertakings on their own efforts have turned the corner and they are running at profit. There was a commitment that there will be unit by unit review of all these undertakings before they are sent to BIFR. A committee was set up and after the exercise is gone through then the question of surplus labour, question of viability and non-viability will all be decided. We had agreed to that on principle with all sincerity and seriousness. But Sir, even the Members of the Labour Consultative Committee are not able to continue.

Members of Parliament are not able to continue in the Sub-Committee. That is not being done in spite of repeated promises. We sat with the Labour Minister, Mr. P.A.



Sangma; he is now a fullfledged Labour Minister ; he is not able to keep his commitment how is it to be done. And before that is done he is saying in his speech that they are allowed to be withered away. (Interruptions) We have said that, after all the exercises are made, if all the efforts are sincerely made, if due to reasons beyond the control of everybody, some units cannot be maintained then one can think of provided you provide alternative employment to the labour; you make some provisions for them.

But before going into that, every day, we are seeing this golden handshake, closure, nonpayment of wages, non-payment of salary. What is impression that is being created?

Yesterday only, the workers of the Hindustan Steel Construction Ltd. had been told, nothing doing; 14,000 workers will have to go; no exercise is being made.

There was a Committee meeting presided over by the Steel Minister. He has given a fiat that 8000 workers will have to go. There are minutes, I think. (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHANDEV): It is absolutely incorrect. We had a meeting. Mr. Dipen Ghosh was there. Then Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta was there. I have formed a Committee. I have told them that if they bring a viable project, I will consider it. No retrenchment; voluntary retirement only. I have kept everything in abeyance. Today, at 10.30 I had a meeting. It is not being enforced; it is not being accepted by them.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I will bring the minutes signed by him. (Interruptions). Therefore, I requests the hon. Finance Minister to make the position clear and keep your commitment. Otherwise, there will be a serious trouble.

So far as Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev is concerned, I will bring the minutes and give them to you. If he has changed his mind

since yesterday, I do not know. (Interruptions) I have got your signed minutes. (Interruptions) He is a fickle-minded Minister, what can I do. (Interruptions)

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: I would like to make one point clear. It is entirely false to say that our Government is going to depend upon multinational corporations to provide the motor force for development. In this, the difference between the Seventh Plan, Sixth Plan and the Eighth Plan in terms of proportionation of investment accounted for by the public sector, is not much. Let me say, it would be entirely foolish on our part to imagine that there are any international solutions to the problems of the country. Even if we wanted to invite multinational corporations, even if we wanted to \* the future of this country, I tell you today that there are no takers. We do need. I think, a breathing time (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: Even the World Bank has also pointed out that your plans and policies are not consistent. That is a report of today.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMANMOHAN SINGH: We do need two or three years' time to restructure our economy without too much pains, without too much trouble; for that, we need international support. But it is not part of our strategy to \* the future of this country either to the IMF or to the World Bank or to the multinational corporations or to the Commercial Banks abroad.

As far as the second point of Mr. Somnath Chatterjee is concerned, I stand committed to what the Government has stated on the floor of this House. Our policies are not those of retrenchment but of restructuring. We will make every effort to see that every able-bodied worker is enable to work; we will provide re-training facilities, re-employment facilities; and that will be done.

The National Renewal Fund has been

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operationalised now. I can assure you that we will make that as a credible instrument of national economic development. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry, I can understand the situation in which my hon. friend the Finance Minister is there. But he has just said a sentence, I think it is in the debate. He has said that "Even if we want to" the future of this country there are no takers." Is this the situation of this country? I do not know whether type Finance Minister should express this type of thing. I shall beg of him, he may criticise he may abuse us. But if he says, "Even if you are ready to" the future of this country," my dear friend, the country is not in that helpless position. You may be helpless. But your helplessness is not the helplessness of the country. Mr. Speaker, there should be some restraint.

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: I think if it is inappropriate I withdraw that.

MR. SPEAKER: Right.

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: All that I am saying is, there is, I think, nobody today who is willing to underwrite India's development.

MR. SPEAKER: That will not form part of the record. He is withdrawing.

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: India's development has to be responsibility of the people of India. There are no international solutions to the problems of a country of India's size, and therefore, all that I am saying, is if any words I have said which are not proper, I feel sorry, I withdraw those words.

Now some questions have been raised. Shri George Fernandes has asked, "what are you doing for the poor? What are you doing for the farmer?"

I feel in this country excessive protection of industry has been the biggest discrimination against India's rural areas. At one time that protection was justified when India's industry was in its infancy. It helped to create a climate for the entrepreneur. But the levels of protection that have persisted for the last 45 years in my view are the primary source of the growing disparities between urban India and rural India. They are the primary source of growing disparities of income and wealth in our country. And if we gradually reduce this level of protection as we intend doing, I think, that would be the biggest service that this Government can do to the cause of rural development and to the cause of agricultural development.

Now reference have been made to the various items of social spending. (Interruptions)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Fatehpur): I will plead with the Finance Minister. A very passing reference, a very very cursory reference has been made to the maintaining of Indian economy. We are not referring to industrial policy but the economic policy.

To our perception, the mainspring of Indian economy even today is the agricultural side and the rural sector.

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: I am coming to that.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is the biggest employer even now and if we are to really restructure the industry even, it is there that the purchasing power we have to create, that can create a structural change in industry, where it would be profitable to invest in items of mass production where we can offload population pressure from land and still give employment in the villages. Such a passing reference from the Finance Minister that if we remove these protections only then agriculture will profit, I think, is not a proper perception of what the mainspring of the economy is.

**SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH:** I think, I was coming to that. I started with that. I do recognise that 67 per cent of our people live in rural India, that 34 per cent of India's Gross National Product originates in agriculture, that this country can never become prosperous unless agriculture becomes prosperous. I started with only the first item on the agenda that we have of what we plan to do for our rural areas.

Now, the second problem of the rural India is that in the course of the last one year or the last decade, I find inadequate investment has been going into agricultural development. And I do not mean any disrespect to any Member of this House. I respectfully submit that after the waiver of loans in 1990, agricultural credit system has really collapsed in our country and even in the most prosperous States of Maharashtra and Gujarat I think there is an attempt not to repay the loans that have been taken and this has become today the biggest obstacle to pushing of investment in agriculture. We will address ourselves to this problem. This is the second thing. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Sir, I will seek your indulgence and also the Finance Minister ...*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum):** This is not a cross examination...*(Interruptions)*

**MR. SPEAKER:** Very good points have been raised and I am inclined to allow him. Please do not obstruct him.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** I am thankful to the Finance Minister and he emphasised the perception on the agriculture. If we see in agriculture the prices which the farmers have got and set off against inflation, they have been stationary. Investment in the agricultural sector not only in public but in private, if we see in real terms, that is stagnated. It is really the terms of trade that has caused the condition of the farmers. In fact loan waiver is not anything that we have done but repentance of the adverse terms of trade that we have imposed on the farmers. And we should see it in that perspective and

not only in the banking perspective.

**SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH:** Sir, I honestly agree with Shri V. P. Singh. and this is how I started. What are the terms of trade? Protection is a tax on one, it is a substitute to another. By reducing protection for industry, I am helping to improve the terms of trade of agriculture. If you look at the statistics for the last three years, I would respectfully submit that there has been a problem particularly with regard to wheat. I think, the wheat terms of trade have not improved. And that is why we have the situation which the hon. Minister for agriculture is referring to. In the course of the last one year, there has been a considerable improvement in the terms of trade for agriculture. I do agree with you that we want the agriculture to become a business proposition and not a way of life. We do have to pay attention to the terms of trade. On that point there is no difference of opinion. I also feel that at the first stage of agricultural revolution, our Agricultural Universities, at least some of them, did a very fine job; agricultural extension services were modernised. But over a period of time, many of these institutions did not remain in good shape and new technologies have emerged. And the worldwide trend is, whereas at the first stage of the Green Revolution, new agricultural technologies were in the public sector. Today the new advances in agriculture particularly in the areas of bio-technology are in the private sector. Science and technology in the world is being increasingly privatised and that is a source of great danger to us and therefore we have to look at the state of agricultural research, the state of agricultural extension. I can assure you that this is the task, and I think, we are going to attend to modernising our agriculture.

Finally we have to create jobs outside agriculture, close to rural areas so that there is no pre-mature migrations of people to the urban areas. In this way we will have development but without too much investment in infrastructure. And that is why in my Budget speech I announced a new scheme which has been devised after considerable discussions with several of our

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agricultural scientists. Shri C. Subramaniam took the lead in this. Dr. Swaminathan and others were also there. If the scheme of Agri Business Consortium gets going I am confident that you would see a new wave of rural development, which would help the agriculture and at the same time relieve the pressure of population on it.

Now I come to other areas...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura): Sir, you have allowed all leaders to seek clarifications from the Finance Minister. But we poor Members, who are not leaders, do not have any opportunity...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: It is a matter between you and the Minister. He has yielded now. You can put your question to him.

SHRI GEETA MUKHERJEE: I would like to know from the Finance Minister whether he is aware that raw jute prices are collapsing very seriously. How is it that? Jute products are our earner of foreign exchange. What is happening is that even the nationalised mills are in crises. Why is it so? Why the Government has not taken any stand with regard to buying of jute and also with regard to saving the nationalised mills from the crises.. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: It is not relating to fraud, not fiscal or industrial or agricultural policy.

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: I do not have information on the problems of the Jute industry.

I was on this point as to what this Government is going to do to deal with the problems of rural poverty, lack of adequate investment in social infrastructure. I think, as a nation, we ought to be ashamed that after forty five years or more of independence the

literacy rate in our country is still not more than 52 per cent, infant mortality rate is still as high as close to 85 or 90. Now, how are we going to redress it? We have a limited resources. If we want to spend more money on education - and let me say I have gone round the world, abroad children's education, the way it is being modernised, computer education today is the standard stock and trade of every school boy. In our country, our school children are not able to compete. The type of duration that we give to our children, I think, if we care about the future of India, if we care about India's place in the Comity of Nations, then we need to greatly upgrade our standard of education. In the same way, are our health services. How are we going to do it? If you want the public sector to go on spending more and more money on loss making units, there are no resources to be devoted to the health care system, to the educational development. That is why we want to restructure the fiscal system, that is why we want the public sector to stand on its own feet so that more resources can go into anti-poverty programmes, more resources can go into health care; more resources can go into education.

*[Translation]*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to ask just one question. The hon. Minister just now dwelt on the health and education facilities available in the country as if he is not aware of the ground realities. He can be excused for this. However, is it not a fact that in the current Budget less allocations have been made for health and education?

*[English]*

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: The Central Government has a very limited responsibility in this area.

*[Translation]*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Then why all these speeches?

[English]

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: No, I mean it. If you look at the amount of transfers that have been made by Central Budget of this year, I think you would be convinced of our desire to strengthen this programme. Despite fiscal difficulties, we have increased very substantially the Central assistance to State Plans. That should be the indication of what we want to do in social services, not what is listed in the Central Budget in the area of education and health because these are not the sectors in which the Central Government has major responsibilities.

Now, several hon. Members have referred to the Security Scam. I have made a statement in this House last week and I said that I share the sense of anguish, I share the sense of anger, I share the sense of great concern expressed in this House. I can assure you that we are determined to punish anyone however he may be high or mighty, who is involved in this in any way. If you have any evidence against me as a Finance Minister, by all means pass it on to the CBI. The CBI will be free to investigate my conduct as a Finance Minister. (Interruptions).

Let me say, we have nothing you hide in this. We have voluntary and willingly agreed to subject ourselves, that means everybody, the Finance Minister and all that goes with it, to the judgement of the J.P.C. Let us await results of that Committee. Therefore, I do not want to waste the time of this House. I would like to say that I started by saying that this country faces formidable problems. The challenges are so formidable and the opportunities are also so many that if this nation acts untiedly, I think 1990 can see the emergence of a new India. And that is what we are working for. In this, we seek the cooperation of all sections of the House. This is not a partisan exercise. I must confess to you that I do not need the certificate for this Government of what foreigners say; what matters more is the certificate of the love and the affection and the regard that the people of this country

have for this Government. Whatever opinion polls have been taken are a conclusive proof of the fact that this has been a period of one year spent constructively in the service of the nation. We do not claim we have solved all problems but we have begun well. For this, we need the support of this House, we need the support of this country and, I am confident that working together, we will write a new glorious chapter in the history of India.

MR. SPEAKER: Well, tomorrow is Friday and we start out Private Members' business at 3.30 p.m. So, the time available for discussion is bound to be very very limited. Now we are approaching six o'clock. So, what is the suggestion by the House?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We should continue today.

MR. SPEAKER: O.K. Well, I think we will continue with it and then we will give opportunity to the Members who want to speak. We will finish the discussion, excepting one or two Members, today, and then tomorrow we will take it up.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM (Katihar): Tomorrow what time do you propose to take up?

MR. SPEAKER: I think tomorrow also of the House cooperates, we, may not have the unlisted business.

SHRI RAMVILAS PASWAN: Tomorrow there should be no matters under rule 377 also.

MR. SPEAKER: O.K., that also we will see. And how about the Lunch hour? Lunch you may have but Lunch hour we may dispense with.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM: Sir, tomorrow being Friday, we have to go for prayer by about quarter to one. Therefore, there should be no business till two o'clock. Thereafter you can continue.

MR. SPEAKER: O.K.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: Sir, I think before 3 p.m. the voting will be over.

MR. SPEAKER: It has to, otherwise we will have to take a decision as to how we transact the Private Members' Business.

[Translation]

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduars): Mr. Speaker, Sir, please also give us a chance to speak on such an important issue being debated in the august House. Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are rarely given the opportunity to put their views. For the last 40 years we have just been listening.

MR. SPEAKER: I am giving you the opportunity.

[English]

Now you please take your seat. Well, we would like to respect your feelings but we would request you, at the same time, that please do not raise these matters in this fashion because Shri Buta Singhji has spoken, Paswanji has spoken, many others have also spoken and I am giving you also the opportunity. May I request on behalf of everybody in the House that please do not raise such issues in this fashion? Now come on, you continue with your speech... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the no-confidence motion. Since independence the Government does not care for our view point on the State of the economy.—(Interruptions) They do not care for the views of the hon. Members belonging to the Scheduled Castes or the backward communities. Their stand is that the persons belonging to the weaker sections, subjected to oppressions for years.—(Interruptions) We very well know the in and out of the persons belonging to the forward castes. The bunglings indulged into by them and the money stashed in the Swiss Banks. Have the persons belonging you Scheduled Castes

and the Scheduled Tribes also stashed their money in these banks? And to which castes the businessmen and the patriots present here belong who have deposited money in the foreign banks? The hon. Minister of Finance should conduct an inquest about the people who have deposited money in the foreign banks. A list of such persons should be prepared and their citizenship should be quashed. They are traitors as they have deposited the money of the country abroad and also are deep into the politics in the country. Who are indulging in corruption in the country? These corrupt persons are not fit to be in administration and the reins of administration should not be in their hands. Brahmins are the heads of all the departments. Brahmins are at the top in every party and in every religion organisation (Interruptions) Probably not even muslims are at the top because Brahmins are always in the forefront. Though decorum is maintained in every temple, but what about our dignity. They have robbed the country.—(Interruptions) Just now the hon. Minister of Finance referred to rehabilitation. In the name of development poor are being uprooted and pushed towards the jungles. No efforts have been made for their rehabilitation. For whom are the giant dams and big factories being constructed? Does not every citizen of this country have a right to live here. Does not everyone has not equal rights and a right you lead a decent life? Issues concerning theft, dacoity and murder are often raised in the House but even then the poor are being exploited. At present 10 lakh persons of my caste are residing in Delhi and the people of my caste are also involved in running the affairs of the country including the hill areas and other areas. So, who are these 10 lakh persons and is their job simply that of sweepers—(Interruptions) However we are not being given an opportunity to speak in the Parliament.—(Interruptions) These so called meritorious persons label us to be unfit for running the affairs of the country for not knowing English. Is English our mother tongue? And whether the knowledge of English is the only criteria for judging the capability of a person? They are committing thefts and for this reason they could not



make notable contribution for the development of nation. They have learnt only how to commit thefts and how to loot the people. All the businessman have become politicians. We cannot mix water in milk and also adulterate the establishes, People working against the humanity viz the blackmarketeers have become political figures. They know how to make money and stash it abroad, but the hon. Minister of Finance is not prepared to take the stock of the situation. The land in our possession — (Interruptions) though the movement for Jharkhand is on for quite sometime but it has not

18.00 hrs.

yet been discussed in the House. Had the movement been spearheaded by the forward castes, then the Government would have called the agitators for negotiations without delay. Movement for Jharkhand has been launched for the preservation of our cultural identity. In Jharkhand mostly tribals and harijans live and these are flocking the distant places like Delhi in search of employment in large numbers. It is not clear what does the Government intends to do for them? In the House it is stated that none other than the Congress (I) is capable of administering the country. This Government is of the bigwigs and of the persons with vested interests. There is no proper arrangement for providing ration to the people. In services discrimination is being done on the basis caste. That's why the Government needs to be replaced for the good of the country. If the nation has to march forward then pilferage and looting and injustice are to be rooted out. On this issue all of us must be united. At present the persons known for doubtful integrity are holding the top positions in the country. Whenever they are approached for getting any work done, then all sorts of excuses about procedural problems are offered and so a poor person like me gets entangled in these things and runs from one place to another to no avail. All the English knowing persons are thieves, dacoits. They go abroad for studies and then come back to rule over us. Such persons need to be removed from the administration. Therefore the system

needs to be tuned up and if this is not done then the people of India will never forgive us. Now a days heavy security is provided to every Minister, no security is available to the harijans being killed.

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh) : We are purposely listening to the English interpretation but it is not upto the mark.

MR. SPEAKER: Later on the translation of the speech will be sent to you.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: If we want a strong and stable Government and administration in our country then the Girijans and Harijans will have to be given a respectable place in the society. Equal job opportunity and educational facilities will have to be provided to them. It is about half a century since got we independence, but we have not been able to uphold the human values. Shri Advaniji has tried to give a new name to us. He has stated that it is not appropriate to call us. Adivasi, therefore, we should be called 'Vanvasi'. What is the synonym of 'Vanvasi', it can be 'Vanmanush' also. They do not like to give us the right of even being called human being... (Interruptions)

SHRI HARIN PATHAK: Shri Advani does not mean this, you are mininterpreting it.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY: This type of leaders are here in the House. Mahatma Gandhi called us Harijans and worked for our upliftment. I do not know where others want to lead us to.

My submission is that English medium schools similar to those which exist in cities should be opened in the villages also. Otherwise, it would be an injustice to us; the officers sitting here in the air-conditioned rooms and who prepare the schemes for the villages, do not have the realistic approach towards the villages. The villagers should be consulted before making plans for the development of villages. It won't do merely by directing the subordinates to go to the site do the things as directed. People of the area where a project is to be undertaken will have

[Sh. Pius Turkey]

to be taken into confidence. Attention will have to be focussed on the work which is most necessary. Besides, whatever project is started, should be completed expeditiously. If this attitude is adopted, a new India will emerge in just five years.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, he is not acquainted with the Indian culture, he always talks of western system; it would not be helpful to develop our country. You should ask the villagers that what are 'their needs? The development can not take place. The way they are working. They are running our country. The people of the country are losing faith in them. Shall we be able to live in India? All the big leaders and officials of the administration have their bank accounts in foreign countries, their accounts should be scaled. They are the traitors of the country and they should not be allowed to live in India. They should neither be allowed to join the administration nor the Cabinet. If this criteria is adopted, the persons elected in the Parliament would be the true representatives of the people, and the poor people will be able to raise their voice in the Parliament. If the Government cannot do this, they should resign immediately.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Ponnani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to participate in the discussion on the Non-Confidence Motion in the Council of Ministers. I am sure the House is aware that this is a very grim hour in the annals of our history and therefore, we must understand that we should deal with the situation very constructively so that we can save the country from disaster.

Sir, I earnestly desire that there should be a strong and stable Government in our country to face and solve the complex, explosive and sensitive issues so that peace will be established and the integrity of the country will not be destroyed. For the noble

objective, I emphasize that the Government should be firm and should act courageously, swiftly and effectively to uphold the judicial verdicts, rule of law and fulfill constitutional obligations. A Government of lethargy and laxity, inaction and vacillation cannot solve the problems, but will damage the future of the nation. Therefore, we cannot be blind to support or oppose the Government and one must have a positive and constructive approach while we speak on this Non-Confidence Motion. Of course, omissions and commissions are there. In many spheres, the Government has done splendidly and in some spheres the performance has not been very satisfactory.

Sir, the banking scam, the prevailing corruption, the failure to arrest the rising prices, the failure to provide full security to the minorities and the Scheduled Castes and the denial of social justice to the minorities and the backward sections in this country are matters which cannot be pardoned. I must say that if some uneasy decisions were taken in the economic field, these were taken because of a grave financial crisis that had developed in this country. But, at the same time, I would like to make it very clear that uneasy decisions should not be at the cost of the national honour. The economic dependency on colonial dictatorship like USA leading to pressurising our Government in granting diplomatic relationship with fascist Israel cannot be appreciated. At the same time, I must appropriate that this Government of Shri Narasimha Rao has fulfilled its commitment and accordingly presented and passed the Bill for maintaining the *status quo* of all places of worship as existed on the 15th of August, 1947.

I also appreciate granting of statutory status to the Minorities Commission just recently. I must say that the Government should act firmly to stop rising prices and inflation so that the common man may feel that his sufferings are mitigated.

Elections have been held in Assam and Punjab. But steps have not been taken to see whether peaceful and fair elections are possible as far as Kashmir is concerned.

Now I go to the most explosive problem of the day, that is, Babri Masjid-Ramjanam, Bhoomi issue. You all know fully well that this issue has become an international one. Shri Chandrashekhar had rightly pointed out yesterday that the entire world is today watching the situation and our policy on this very grave issue. We have to protect the integrity and peace and should never allow the country to go to pieces and face the holocaust. The responsibility of protecting the integrity and peace rests on all of us — the Government of the country, the secular forces, the minorities and the fascist forces like BJP also. Their responsibility cannot be brushed aside. The responsibility of protecting the integrity of the country also lies on the fascist forces like BJP who are today ruling some States. The BJP is violating the court orders. Whenever the matter came up they say, they do not violate the court order.

18.12 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE in the Chair]

But I want them to come forward earnestly and declare that they will accept the judicial verdict. This will save the country from disaster. If they do not do so, then their very sincerity can be questioned in this House. That is what I have to say about this.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister made a statement here in this House. The Prime Minister categorically declared yesterday in this House that the Government would never allow Babri Masjid in Ayodhya to be demolished. This is a statement which has to be appreciated. But this needs some more clarifications, to understand whether the plan of the temple does include Babri Masjid complex or not. That is the main problem that we should understand. The BJP members owe an explanation and they have to explain to the House what their plan of the construction of Ram temple is. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR: Won't you like to

say anything except talking about BJP only? You should ask the Government why they are inactive despite their violation of court order; you should also vote against the Government tomorrow and extend your cooperation to topple the Government. (Interruptions)

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: Whatever he may say, the things will remain the same (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAI: The Prime Minister further said that *shilanyas* was laid for the construction of the temple and not for *singhdwar*. This is how the BJP game has been exposed by the Prime Minister. Their intention has been exposed. We really appreciate the statement made by the Prime Minister. But you have deliberately started constructing *singhdwar* at the site where the temple has to be built so that the temple extends straight to the place where Babri Masjid stands. This is the game that we have to understand today.

The Home Minister went to Ayodhya to study the situation. After studying the whole situation, what did he say? He said very clearly in this House. I quote her statement "*Prima facie*, I am of the view that the Government of Uttar Pradesh have violated court orders by permitting work to be carried on the acquired land. When the Home Minister has very clearly declared that there is *Prima facie* case, and that the court order has been violated, I am surprised no action is taken then and there. The Home Minister goes there and sees everything with his own naked eyes that the construction is going on and he declared *prima facie*, there is a case of violation. And the Home Minister does not have the courage to take action against the BJP Government of Uttar Pradesh.

All this go to establish that this Government does not have the courage to take action and I must say that this Government has lost opportunities one after another. This Government of Shri Narasimha Rao has lost opportunities one after another.

[Sh. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

There was a time when temples were demolished, a time when graveyards were bulldozed. Then also the Government should have taken action. They did not take action.

The Home Minister visited the place and saw construction what going on but no action has been taken. Such a situation has been brought about because of such policies of inaction.

It is lethargy and inaction on the part of the Government. Government of India which encouraged BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to carry on the construction of the temple and this fact cannot be denied or disputed.

Let me tell you that this is testing time for the Government and for this country. The credibility of the Government is in question their authority is being challenged

I want the Prime Minister to come forward and make a clear declaration in the House that the verdict of the full bench of the Allahabad High Court will be respected.

Here I say that it is a very complex problem and I would request you to bear with me for a few minutes.

The orders of the full bench of the Allahabad High Court are here. Allahabad High Court directed the Uttar Pradesh Government to stop Ram temple construction on Ram Janambhoomi Babri Masjid Complex at Ayodhya. The order of the full bench of the Allahabad High Court is clear. But what happened? Construction goes on. The order was on 15th. 15 has passed. 16th comes. The construction is going on. We have the General Secretary, Mr. Singhal there. He declared at Faizabad that construction work started on acquired land, in the vicinity of Ram Janambhoomi Babri Masjid complex. It will not stop. It is defiance of judicial verdict and Central Government directive. When such a situation is there, there is no other go except to see that the court orders are implemented and the entire

acquired area together with Babri Masjid be taken over for the sake of protection until the court takes a decision. That is the only way that it has to be done. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

PROF RASA SINGH PAWAT: (Ajmeer): What contribution was made by the court in regard to Shahbano case.

[*English*]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: It is not a religious question.

This is clearly a political and historic question. (*Interruptions*).

I must bring it to the notice of the House that the entire nation, particularly the right-thinking people, minorities, the secular people, are holding their breath and waiting for action on the part of the Government of this country at this time when the High Court verdict has been given and in spite of this the construction is going on. They are holding their breath and are restraining themselves and, therefore, I demand a categorical declaration from the Prime Minister that immediate steps will be taken to implement the stay order of Allahabad High Court in case the State Government fails to implement this order of the High Court and for that purpose, take over the entire land with Babri Masjid complex. As I told you 24 hours have passed after the court order. Construction is going on. Such a situation cannot be tolerated. Therefore, I demand that when Prime Minister replied, he must come forward and tell us and make the position very clear that the temple plan should not include, the Babri Masjid complex.

Secondly, he must also say that they will do everything possible to see that court order is implemented and they have to take over the acquired land with Babri Masjid Complex, and if it is difficult to take over, if necessary again, finally they must have resort to Article 356 of the Constitution in his regard. (*Interruptions*) Therefore, we will watch what the Prime Minister

says. (Interruptions) We will watch and see what the Prime Minister says and then decide the course of action as far as voting in the no confidence motion is concerned. (Interruptions) We will just watch what the Prime Minister says and what assurance the Prime Minister is going to give and what action the Government is contemplating. After listening to the Prime Minister, we shall decide about what course of action we must adopt.

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN  
(Gobichettipalayam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the No Confidence Motion.

Sir, the No Confidence Motion, in a democratic set up, is brought forward on a very big or major issues. In a democracy, it is the last weapon in the armoury of the Opposition when they totally differ on economic, foreign or social policies of the Government. It is used only when the political and economic situation has reached such a stage that the Opposition feels the Government should be recalled and asked to face electorate. Normally, a case is made out based on statistics and justification. This Motion has come after exactly one year and naturally, one would have expected that certain circumspection, certain vision, certain direction should have been found in the Motion and particularly on the part of the hon. Members who are urging for the Motion to be accepted by the House.

Sir, it is undoubtedly true that the people of India did give the mandate, though not with absolute majority, but with full force for the hon. Prime Minister Shri Narashimha Rao ji and the Congress party. The people did it in the interest of the integrity of the nation, for the progress of the nation and for the hopes and aspirations to be fulfilled and their mandate should not be ridiculed by anybody in this august House.

Sir, what is the improvement during the last one year? How has the Government functioned? Has the Government functioned to the extent where there is justification for such a Motion even to consider, let alone by voted upon?

Sir, I would like to touch briefly some of the salient features during the last one year. Let us look at the economic situation of the country. This year the Finance Minister has presented a well-balanced Budget in order to tackle the economic situation, the economic crisis that our country is facing now. There has never been in this country - and that too within eight-nine months period - so much of policy inputs. If there is one reason why this Government should receive a pat on the back, it is for presenting a Budget that is sensitive to the poor, responsive to the needs of the industry and reflective of the courage in sticking to the rigorous course of structural reforms. It was no mean achievement to have brought the fiscal deficits down from Rs. 44,640 crores in 1990-91 to Rs. 37,792 crore in 1991-92. All the earlier Governments in a row have promised such reductions but none ever succeeded like the present Government.

The Government which assumed office in June, 1991 took series of corrective measures to restore viability of balance of payments position. These measures have had some success. There has been a marked improvement in the foreign exchange reserves. The foreign exchange reserves which was at Rs. 2383 in June, 1991 had gone up to Rs. 15,260 crore. This has definitely provided a boost to export and import substitution. The trade deficit is also narrowed down by nearly 63 per cent by the end of March, 1992.

The rate of inflation which had begun to accelerate in June, 1991 reached a peak level of 16.7 per cent in August, 1991. As a result of various policy measures taken by the Government recently, in spite of tight foreign exchange position earlier, the rate of inflation has come down to 11.4 per cent in the third week of June, 1992 and it is hoped that the rate of inflation will be in single digit by the end of current financial year.

The growth in foreign investment spurts after the announcement of the new Industrial Policy and the liberalisation measure in August, 1991. The total number of foreign

collaborations approved in the post-policy period (August 1991 - February 1992) registered a three-fold increase. The approved foreign investment also increased from Rs. 85 crore in 1990-91 to Rs. 1142 crore in 1991-92. During January-February, 1992, it has registered a phenomenal increase of Rs. 1228 crore.

The circumstances under which this Government was formed last year were well-known. The country was facing grave financial problems as well as extremely testing time for the nation's social cohesion and harmony. No doubt in the past 12 months the nation's morale and confidence had been largely restored.

The changes effected on the trade, commerce and labour side aimed at increasing production exports, people income and generating jobs. In a sense, the entire policy package was directed towards making the economy strong, vibrant and people-oriented. Thus at the end of one year of policy changes, considerable progress has been made. Still major problems remain and have to be vigorously tackled.

After a gap of a year or so, the Eighth Plan had begun with its central theme of generating jobs and incomes resources. In spite of severe financial crunch, the Eight Plan envisaged a doubling of outlay as compared to the Seventh Plan.

The present Government under the leadership of Shri Narasimha Raoji has made considerable improvement in the Indian economy, politics, foreign affairs and social service. In respect of Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam, we are in a better situation today. The political steps which the Government had taken had radically altered the situation. In Punjab, a popular Government had been established while in Jammu and Kashmir foreign instigation is still going on and the situation remains a challenging one. Hon. Prime Minister asserted about the Punjab package that there was no other package except the

Rajiv- Longowal Accord. In Punjab there was new enthusiasm among the people with the coming into office of an elected Government.

During his visits abroad, the hon. Prime Minister had given due importance to promote economic and commercial interests of India abroad. We have upgraded our diplomatic ties with Israel. We have now been to take part in the Middle-East Peace Talks. We have since established close relations with some of the Republics of the erstwhile Soviet Union having recognised all of them.

On foreign relations, except Pakistan, our relations with neighbours were very cordial. As regards Pakistan, with the initiatives of our hon. Prime Minister has taken, both Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan have agreed to continue the talks. During his talks, Prime Minister had expressed concern over Pakistan's support to extremist activities in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. With the continued talk, I hope, it is possible that Pakistan changes its way paves the way for good neighbourly relations.

Sir, I would like to make a brief reference to the present stock market scam. We are all aware that the capital market in our country witnessed a phenomenal growth in the 80s and it has now become the most dynamic and exciting sector attracting millions of investors. The capital market attracting funds over Rs. 10,000 and over 12 million investors are participating in the capital market. The Indian capital markets rates as one of the emerging stock markets by the International Financial Corporation has been rocked by the worst-ever scandal in its history.

The scandal has hit the stock market at a time when Government is reforming the financial sector, especially banking and enlarging capital market activities. The Government policies after the presentation of the Union Budget for 1991-92 and the new Industrial Policy favoured the capital market. Shri Harshad Mehta, a leading broken seized the opportunity and built a



nexus between money market and stock market to further his own gains taking advantage of his proximity to the senior banking people and the bank's anxiety to make quick gains for earning higher profits. Now the hon. Prime Minister has announced that a Joint Parliamentary Committee would go into the whole episode. However, I would like to urge upon the Government that it is our prime necessity that the investors' confidence is not eroded in the ultimate interest of a healthy capital market. That confidence could be preserved only if the Government is able to convince the people that it would dispense justice without delay and that the Government is sincere in punishing the guilty. Government should see that there should not be any cover-up, no shielding of anybody in the multi-crore stock scam and whosoever is at fault would have to pay for their deeds. The Government should take a tough stand on the matter taking corrective measures for the improvement of the entire banking system.

Now, I would like to draw the Government's attention about the current Cauvery water dispute. When the need for all to recognise that water is a national asset and to look upon issues connected with water in that perspective, it would be the Centre's endeavour to see that the work of the Cauvery Water Tribunal was facilitated. When hon. Prime Minister himself observed that it would be everyone's endeavour to help in expediting the final order of the Tribunal. Now the Tribunal had given its verdict. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu was hoping to secure a definite assurance that the Karnataka Government would honour and implement the award. But to our surprise, the Centre is keeping quiet, no assurance or any fruitful action has been taken by the Centre on this issue. The people of Tamil Nadu fervently hoping that the Centre would issue a directive that the Cauvery Water Tribunal's verdict is honoured and implemented without any loss of time.

As regards my State, Tamil Nadu, a year back there was no peace in the State because of utter lawlessness, anti-national, disruptive and subversive activities by the

LTTE militants. But on assumption of the office of Chief Minister, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi took such drastic measures which put an end to these activities by the LTTE militants and restored peace and normalcy in the State. Yet a strict vigil has been kept on the militant activities as my State has a major sea border with Sri Lanka. The Government has recognised the sea border problem. We have received a little assistance. The State has been consistently demanding Central assistance in view of the heavy expenditure by the State to contain the intrusion of the militants. But the Centre has not so far conceded this. I, therefore, urge upon the Government that just as the Centre's special treatment given to border States like J & K and Assam, the problem in State's border areas along the coast should also be given special assistance treating it as a sea border area at par with land border area.

Now the Tenth Finance Commission has been constituted. There were some difficulties faced by my State, Tamil Nadu, following the implementation of the recommendations of the Ninth Finance Commission. Tamil Nadu is facing a massive non-plan deficit although the Ninth Finance Commission a non-plan projected surplus. The mounting debt service liability of States is a cause for consideration concern. In this situation, it is essential that as a measure of relief to all States, the shareable pool of Union Excise Duties is stepped up to 50 per cent making available the extra 5 per cent to all the States. The constitution of the Tenth Finance Commission is of utmost importance to the State.

As regards the allocation towards flood and drought relief funds, I would like to urge upon the Government to set up a revolving plan for providing additional Central assistance in the wake of natural calamities like floods, drought, cyclones etc.

Let me turn to the question of transfer of certain centrally sponsored schemes to the States. There was an assurance during the Eighth Plan that more schemes would be transferred to the States. The Centre should see that the transfer of schemes should also

be accompanied by a transfer of the full assistance for these schemes.

As regards the State Plans which are now heavily depending on resources flows based on external aid, there is a noticeable slow down in the appraisal and clearance of State projects. As for my State, Tamil Nadu, it has not seen a single substantial central investment worth the name for more than two decades. It is a great disappointment to the people of Tamil Nadu on Tamil Nadu's share in the pipeline of central Public Sector projects for the Eighth Plan. However, the people of Tamil Nadu are highly grateful to the hon. Prime Minister for giving clearance for the Aromatics Mega Projects to be established in the joint sector at Madras. With this happy beginning, we hope the tide will turn and the Central Government will pay greater attention to our continuing request for an enhanced level of central investment in Tamil Nadu in the Eighth Plan. The assistance given to the States based on external aid should also be streamlined. Hundred per cent of the external assistance received is still not being passed on to the States in some sectors.

The central investment in Tamil Nadu has declined over the years and has dropped to a low of just five per cent of the total central investment. This trend has to be immediately corrected. Central projects in Tamil Nadu require immediate clearance. The Government of Tamil Nadu will extend full cooperation to clear all bottlenecks in the speedy implementation of these projects. Some of the important projects pending clearance are: (1) Sethu Samudram Project which will connect Palk Strait with the Gulf of Mahnar to facilitate passage of ships which is being identified by the Department of Economic Affairs for external assistance in the Central Sector and (2) setting up of a Free Port in India. I hope that the Centre would clear all the important projects which are pending at the earliest.

Before I conclude, I would like to draw

the attention of the Government regarding a serious lapse on the part of the Doordarshan for not giving adequate coverage of a historic event which took place in my State, Tamil Nadu on the 28th and 29th June, 1992. On the 28th June, a 'Victory Conference' of AIADMK Party was organised on the successful completion of its one year rule in Tamil Nadu at Madurai. A big procession was arranged to mark the occasion. It was a sea of humanity that marched in the procession through the streets of Madurai on the 28th which began at around 1 p.m. and the procession went on till 7 a.m. the next day, that is on the morning of Monday, the 29th. It was almost 20 hours the procession went on. More than 50 lakhs people participated in that procession. It was a historic one and is a Guinness Record. It was one of the historic events in the history of Tamil Nadu and it was personal victory of our Chief Minister, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi and a categorical demonstration of faith in her and her Government in Tamil Nadu. But, it was most unfortunate that this historic event has not been given adequate coverage as it should have been given in the National Network. It was understood that on the 29th there was only a few seconds coverage on Doordarshan, that too, on the Metro Channel of Madras. There was no mention at all in the National Network on the 29th or on the next day. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government to look into this serious lapse on the part of Doordarshan and see that such lapse will not recur in future.

Sir, I have taken enough time and I do not wish to take much more of the time. Finally, I agree that the nation is passing through difficult days, but, for this, not only the ruling party, but the opposition is also responsible. I would like to say that there has been no change in policy, no departure from basics. But, there has to be and there will be reorientation of the implementation of those policies as time passes. And, therefore, there is absolutely no justification of any No-confidence Motion. However, I earnestly hope that the Government will make all out efforts to curb the price rise and it will not shirk the responsibility entrusted by the

people. Therefore, I oppose the Motion of No- Confidence in the Council of Ministers and I request for its rejection.

Thank you.

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE** (Panskura): Thank you, Sir, for giving me time. I shall try not to repeat the points which have been dealt at length by many of my illustrious leaders and colleagues.

While supporting the No Confidence Motion, I want to bring to the notice of the Government that women comprise of 50 per cent of the population of the nation. What has the Government done for them in reality, not in writing? Firstly, the biggest botheration is the terrific price rise. The second is the increase of atrocities. Even in the capital territory, nothing much has been done for it. You may say about the National Commission (*Interruptions*) Wait a minute. That does not speak well of you either. Please understand what I am going to say now which you will have to accept if you are honest to the cause of women.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please do not interrupt.. (*Interruptions*) Please be brief.

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE:** After the National Commission on Women had been set up during the tenure of the last Government, there was an assurance on the floor of the House that all women's organizations of all hues would be included in it as Members of the Commission without salaries and allowances. But the Commission has been formed. Has this rule been made? No Sir, despite our repeated recommendations. If not, why not? That would have given us an opportunity to rise above all political considerations (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAM KAPSE** (Thane): Sir, I am on a point of order. No confidence motion is being discussed. There is not a single Cabinet Minister sitting here. This is the seriousness. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA** (Kottayam): There are two Ministries.

**SHRI RAM KAPSE:** I am telling Cabinet Ministers. We expected the Prime Minister to be present here. At least a Cabinet Minister should have been there. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL** (Chandigarh): Please do not rise to make such an observation.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** There is no point of order. Please go on. (*Interruptions*) It is a point of propriety and not a point of order.

**SHRI RAM KAPSE:** That propriety should be maintained. Please see to it that the propriety is maintained here. The Chairman has given a ruling.

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE:** Well, Sir, it is not a point of order but definitely a point of propriety which is not being observed by the Cabinet. Let me tell you frankly.

Now the second question is about agriculturists. I was trying to ask at that time from Mr. Manmohan Singh one thing. But either he did not understand or avoided the reply. The question of economic development in our country is definitely related to the expansion of internal market which can be done by certain things. Is this Government paying any serious attention to that?

First, I come to land reforms. You may say that the land reforms is a State subject. Even then, may I know how many acres of land are owned by your leaders - your party leaders in each of the States- today either *benami* or in somebody else's name or in some family member's name? What steps have you taken during this period so that ceiling is implemented inside your party as well as by your Governments and also even by the Central leaders? You have not done anything. If that is so, then how will the market expand?

I was talking about fall in jute prices. Falling of jute prices is a very serious thing in the whole of eastern region. Now what has the Government done with regard to that? JCI is not buying. Consequently, with the falling of jute prices, the opportunity is being

taken by the jute traders who are paying at a low rate to give later on to the private jute millowners. Therefore, the nationalised jute mills are in difficulty. Now this is one region only about which I have mentioned because of paucity of time. But this is a very important region in the whole of eastern zone. Has the Government really done anything? Have they asked the JCI to purchase? Have they given any other way out to these poor jute cultivators? The answer is 'no'. It can be said about many other sections also. But I do not have the time to take up them. Therefore, about this No-Confidence Motion, on behalf of women and on behalf of the poorest of the poor agricultural labour and poorer peasantry, I do support the Motion. I do not think the Government policy, in implementation, has benefited these poor people at all as they should have done. Therefore, apart from all the other counts, in these two counts where majority of the population are involved, the Government has failed miserably. So, this No-Confidence Motion is definitely supported and I think it will be carried out.

**SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijayawada):** Mr. Chairman Sir, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak. It is almost more than a year that this Government has come into power. Sir, I would like to say that almost on all fronts, the Government's performance is very very dismal. It is so specially in regard to containment of price rise. They could not keep their own promise, leave alone in 100 days but even after a year, they could not keep up their promise. Honourable Finance Minister has stated that the inflation rate is only 11.4 per cent. Actually, when a housewife or a common man goes to the market to purchase different foodgrains, vegetables, edible oil or anything for that matter, he or she finds that prices are manifold and this price rise is continuing because of which the life of the common man has become very miserable.

Regarding fiscal policies, the Government has brought several changes.

In the industrial front or on the trade front, it has brought many changes. While intervening, Mr. Chidambaram was saying that the BJP is supporting their policy. It is all right. I wonder that it took more than three decades for the Congress Party to realise some truth of what the great person late Rajaji said. He was pleading all the while that this licence-permit-contract system should go and it will not help this country to achieve prosperity in reasonable time. The policies adopted by the Congress have helped those persons who are very close to the political leadership. People who were having nothing earlier have now become crorepathis and billionaires. Mr. Rama Rao is nothing when compared with several other big shots. As you know, it is because of these policies of the Government that some industrialists could increase their assets to even Rs. 4000 crores in a period of only ten years. All the while, the Government and the Congress Party were telling that they were trying to establish a socialist pattern of society. But the fact of the matter is that the share of the top 10 per cent in this country in the total national income is more than 34 per cent. Even in countries like the USA, which professes free enterprise and complete capitalism, the share of the top 10 per cent is hardly 22 per cent. It is almost the same case either in France or in Germany or UK. In several developed countries also, the share of the top 10 per cent is never more than 22 to 24 per cent of their national income, whereas in our country it is 34 per cent. And at the same time, the number of people living below the poverty line is increasing. So, now we know where the policies of the Congress Government have led us. Sir, I will not go into the details of the difficulties that the common people, especially the poor people, have to face in this country.

Of course, to some extent, we are happy that the Government has tried to bring about certain changes in the policies with a view to de-regulate the economy and to minimise red-tapism or bureaucratic interference in the form of procedures and formalities that an entrepreneur has to face all these years while setting up an industry. We do welcome

such measures and we have no objection to such policies.

But we are afraid of the present trend. We feel that the present performance of this Government is leading us to a very dangerous situation. On more than one occasion, Government itself is telling that they are trying to implement the suggestions that are given by the World Bank, the IMF, the ADB or some other financial institutions which are giving us some aid or loan, and thereby influencing the governmental policies. Apart from this, certain decisions of a recent origin, taken by this Government, are leading the nation to a very dangerous situation. I will quote only three examples.

As you know, one of these controversies is partly discussed. It is yet to be discussed fully. I will not go into details. The Ministry of Railways, which is a governmental department, has said that the BHEL does not come under category (1) in the matter of awarding Rs. 400 crore worth of electric locomotive contract. Though the Tender Committee has accepted BHEL not once but twice, the Ministry of Railways, a department of the Government of India itself has said that the BHEL does not come under category (1). Though the BHEL have given the details of the items that they are going to produce in India, they were denied the award on the plea that their prices were not quoted. And for reasons best known, the Ministry of Railways has conveniently ignored the deficiencies on the part of the Asea Brown Boveri. It has very serious flaws and it should not have been awarded the contract. But on the recommendation of the Railway Ministry, it ultimately won the contract.

The second one is the Rs. 1200 crore worth of 615 megawatt combined cycle gas turbine power project at Gandhar which given to Marubani-Asea Brown Boveri Consortium, denying the Siemens and the BHEL. And you will be surprised to know that it took just one day to award this Rs. 1200 crore worth of project to the Marubani-ABB consortium. You may please permit me to quote only a few sentences. Between 3.30 p.m. on March 26, 1992 and 5 a.m. in the

next morning, a public sector unit under the guidance of its retired Chairman and Managing Director - I will not name him - had invited Marubani-ABB for contract award discussions without actually issuing any formal communication to them. Pre-award discussions were held with them and they issued a letter of several hundred pages awarding the contract to the consortium. The pre-award discussions have been incorporated in this letter itself and they have also received a letter of acceptance of the contract. All this had happened in just 24 hours.

This is where we feel very agitated. Till now, BHEL has played a leading role in the establishment of thermal power plants and supply of machinery. But now, the NTPC and the ABB are blue-eyed firms of this Government.

19.00 hrs.

Sir, we know because of such decisions of the Government what will be the future of the prime institutions like BHEL, in which thousands of people are working and thousands of crores of public money is invested. We know what will be the fate of the people who have been serving this organisation for quite long time now.

I will quote another example. The Government of Karnataka has very recently awarded Rs. 69 crore worth of project, for digging up a canal under Upper Krishna Project, to a private firm namely Gayiri Engineering Construction Company, which quoted Rs. 2.5 crores more than a Central Government's firm. Not only that, leaving aside all norms and rules that Chief Minister of Karnataka has recommended to the Asian Development Bank to accept the award of that contract. Of course, one people's representative, who was interested in the State's well-being has gone to the court and also has written to the Asian Development Bank. But that is a different matter.

What I want to impress upon the House is that such decisions are taken not only for

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

reasons best known to the persons who are concerned in awarding of such contracts but also to please the World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank and other financial institutions which are giving loans to us.

The Minister for Agriculture is not present and the Finance Minister is also not here in the House. I would like to say that till now, after a year the Government assumed power, this Government has failed to bring out an Agricultural Policy. They have been promising that they are going to bring an agricultural policy but there is no such policy. It only shows a lack of interest of this Government towards the agricultural front. Right from the beginning, ever since the country attained independence, agriculture has been the backbone of our country. But, unfortunately, right from the days of Jawahar Lal Nehru, agriculture was given a step-motherly treatment. Funds necessary for the development of agriculture were not provided; funds necessary for the development of irrigation were not provided. Our country is having 51 per cent of total land as cultivable while the world average is only 11 per cent. Had the Government right from the beginning extended all infrastructural facilities and treated the farming sector as one of the important sectors and if it was giving all the help that it gave to the industrial sector, our agricultural sector would have developed and our country could become the number one agricultural powerful nation. Unfortunately, it did not happen.

Today, even the minimum consumption levels are not being attained. While 2600 calories per day of food are necessary for a human being, in our country per person availability is only 2100 calories. While the minimum requirement is 180 Kg per year the per capita availability is only 173 Kg. This is all because the Government has not treated the agriculture in a way in which it should have been treated. You want to bring changes on various fronts but you did not think it fit to bring some changes in the agricultural policy which you have been purchasing all the while. And still you don't want to unshackle

the agricultural sector. Even now, the terms of trade are adverse to agricultural sector. It is almost 0.8 for many years. Because of this, whatever little profits that have been made by the farmers are being diverted to the industrial sector. As a result of this, the private investment in the agricultural sector has been going down and down. In addition to that, the public sector investments, either in irrigation or in other infrastructural facilities, are also not in tune with the requirements.

I would like to just read two or three sentences from today's *Indian Express*. Of course this Government has been that it has got more regard and respect for the World Bank. It has come in the press today and I quote:

*"World Bank comments on Plan before House sees it:*

The input targets do not seem to be in consonance with the overall plan targets. Similarly, the World Bank has held that the Plan has "little in way of a new strategic focus to tackle the mounting problems (decreasing public investment, crisis in rural credit, distorted incentives, pervasive government Interventions in input and output markets...)"

Ultimately, the Bank has criticised the plan documents for its inadequacy and vagueness of the financial commitments required to realise the targets.

Sir, the Finance Minister was speaking so much about agriculture. I would like to say that the allocations that he has proposed in the Eighth Plan are not at all enough when compared to the Seventh Plan.

Sir, during the Seventh Plan, agricultural sector was given 5.9 per cent and irrigation was given 9.4 per cent and the total comes to 15.3 per cent. But in the answer given to the Lok Sabha on 8.7.1992, this Government had stated that "The Investments put together by the Centre, States and the Union territories and the amounts allocated for



agricultural and allied activities, including irrigation and flood control came to a total of Rs. 54,992.50 crore which is hardly 12.6 per cent." So, this Government has not rather is not enhancing its allocations to agricultural sector or to make available necessary funds to the agriculturists who are very much in need of loan but are not getting it at proper time. He has said so much about biotechnology and extensions. I ask this Government, what have they done in this regard? Have they allocated necessary funds to the agricultural extension programme? How many Krishi Vigyan Kendras are you going to sanction this year? What are you going to do for taking the results of technology to the farmers in the villages?

So, Sir, I feel that this Government still has not changed its attitude; its perspective towards agricultural sector. And until that basic change comes in the perception of this Government, the country will continue to suffer and the same things will continue in future also.

Now, I want to sound a note of warning to this Government. If basing upon the advice of the IMF or the World Bank or such other institutions, you are going to withdraw the subsidies on the farm sector, you will be doing a great injustice to the farmers. It is because of these adverse terms of trade that the farmers are losing so much. Even in a country like China, the terms of trade were deliberately kept in favour of agriculturists. They want to increase it, viz. the agricultural reproduction. In our country, with 140 million hectares of cultivable land, we are able to produce only 173 million tonnes of foodgrains.

In China, with 100 hectares of land, they are able to produce 360 million tonnes of foodgrains; whereas in India, with 140 hectares of land, they are able to produce 173 million tonnes of foodgrains. That shows definitely a radical shift should be there.

The developed countries like USA or European Economic Community or Japan have withdrawn completely subsidy which they were giving to their farmers. In our

country, our total subsidy either on food or fertiliser or irrigation or fertiliser and electricity and irrigation all put together comes to only 7 billion US dollars; i.e. per capita it is only 4.4 dollars per person. But in USA, per capita assistance to the farmer is 150 dollars and in European Economic Community it is 240 dollars.

If you withdraw subsidy, our farmers will be put to great loss; not only the farmers but the country itself will be put to great loss, because you will not be able to export agricultural products and earn more foreign exchange.

Finally, I will not go into the details of the securities scam. But I would only like to warn this Government that while a common man, a farmer, a Harijan, when he goes to a commercial bank for loan, they are not given loan.

The prawn culture is one of the thrust areas identified by the Union Government. Last year, we exported Rs. 1400 crore worth of marine and fish products. We have earned foreign exchange by sending our marine products. When a prawn culture farmer goes to a commercial bank, they are insisting on 300 per cent security. How is it possible for him to give? It is not good on the part of the Government to demand it, especially when they have given hundreds of crores of rupees to Mr. Harshad Mehta and some other persons without any security, without any signatures on a piece of paper.

I feel this Government has a moral obligation to resign forthwith. I support the No-Confidence Motion moved by my colleague.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chitta Basu.

[Translation]

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA (Mandsaur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, our friend Shri Jaswant Singh has spoken on behalf of the B.J.P. Members of other political parties are still speaking. But BJP has not been given adequate time. Similarly, two members

of each of Janata Dal and CPM have already spoken. My submission is that we should also be given more time. Shri Jaswant Singh is also the prosper and many other Members also wants to speak.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now I am calling Members from the small parties which have only one Member. I will give you time to speak. It is advisable to clear the names of the Members from the small Parties first.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): We have also gone and requested the Speaker. Then our speakers will not speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: First I will call these two names. I will give you a chance to speak.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): I rise to support the Motion expressing lack of confidence, want of confidence in the Council of Ministers.

I would not take much of your time and put on certain important points expressing the reasons why I am in support of the No-Confidence Motion.

This Government has practically failed on all fronts- political, social and economic. This Government has embarked upon a course of sell-out of national interest to multinational corporations and neo-colonial policy of the western imperialists and that too under the dictate, under the bidding and at the behest of International Monetary Fund.

Sir, this Government has dismally failed to protect and to preserve the sovereignty of the country- economic sovereignty and also the political sovereignty of the country. This Government has failed to uphold the rule of law. This Government has also failed to curb the constant rise of religious fundamentalism which strikes at the very fabric of the social unity and integrity and ultimately the

independence of the country.

This Government has failed to tackle the burning problem which concerns the interests of the common masses of our country. It has failed to pursue the nationally accepted foreign policy of our country based on Non-alignment and peace and taking a firm position against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

These are the principles. I have got no personal grudge against the Prime Minister of the country, not to speak of any Member of the Council of Ministers. My party moved this. No Confidence Motion only on the grounds of principle and on this broad principle I stand that this Government should quit and quite immediate.

Sir, so far as the political issues are concerned., they have already been mentioned. I simply add my voice to them. That is, this Government has failed to solve the Punjab problem which is a national problem and the Government has miserably failed to tackle that issue. Equally this Government has failed to bring about a political solution in Jammu and Kashmir, which is also a national problem and it requires a national solution and from the point of view of the nation's interests.

This Government has failed to curb insurgency in different parts of the country, particularly in the North Eastern region.

This Government has failed miserably to bring about a solution of the Mandir-Masjid dispute and it has not only failed, it has further aggravated the problem. Even at this last stage when the Uttar Pradesh Government led by the BJP has defied the judgment of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, this Government seems to be meak, weak and sulking to take a decision whereby the communal forces get further strengthened and create conditions of terror and tension among the vast majority of the minority communities of our country.

Therefore, this Government has got no

moral or political right to exist even for a single moment. It must go, and there is no way out for that.

So far as the performance on the economic front is concerned, I do not like to take much of your time. You know that I am very brief and I want to be very succinct and precise in the expression of my views.

Shri Chidambaram was waxing eloquent about the credibility of this Government outside. What is this Government's credibility to the people of the country? The working classes of our country have expressed their lack of confidence, whatever may be your strength here, in you, because of your exit policy, because of your industrial policy, because of the policy you pursued to satisfy the ends, the motives and profit motives of the monopolists and capitalists in this country and outside. The working classes including the poor peasantry, the agricultural workers, the women, students, teachers, everybody has expressed their lack of confidence in this Government. It may be that you have manufactured or rather you have increased your strength by your getting a vote in Punjab, a ten per cent vote and 12 seats here. You also want to follow the same principles so far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned. This kind of arithmetic.. (*Interruptions*) Shri Manoranjan Bhakta, you have got that amount of political wisdom. It is not the number which alone counts, it is the approach of the Government, it is the linkage of the Government with the people, it is the ideology, it is the philosophy which the Government pursues constitute the stability of the Government and you have got no stability despite your number. It is not the number, Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev, it is the policy, it is the programme, it is the sincerity, it is the integrity of the character of the Government that makes it stable or unstable. On that account you have got nothing to claim. You have got a big zero to your credit. Whatever might be the credit policy you have with Mr. Bush, Mr. John Major or anybody else outside the world, you have lost credibility in this country, of the major segments of our society.

Sir, I now come to the economic

condition. I would not like to take much of your time, Sir. I would read out the progress of economic performance. I read from the monthly economic report (June) prepared by the Finance Ministry itself.

It says:

"Deficient pre-monsoon rainfall, lower foodgrains stocks, procurement and off take, stagnant industrial production, mixed trends in infrastructure and investment climate, higher growth in money supply, inflationary pressures continue and export in dollar terms sluggish".

Sir, there is another report which has been published in a section of the press just today, that is a study has been made by the Centre of Monitoring Indian Economy.

It says:

"Prices have risen unabated during the year, the survey reveals. This has been coupled with a slowdown in the growth in the real gross domestic product, industrial and agricultural sectors, trade in dollar terms and rate of capital formation..."

This is the analysis of the economic situation, which is prevailing today and that too despite your so-called economic reform, which is nothing but an economic reform, an industrial policy formulated not by this Government but by the World Bank and the IMF Officers.

Over and above, the Industry Minister Shri Thungon, sometimes the Coal Minister and also the Prime Minister says that there is no question of retrenchment of workers and there is no question of privatising public sector units. Sir, yesterday or day before yesterday, Shri Thungon has said that 4.5 lakh employees of the public sector undertakings have been found surplus, out of the total 23 lakh employees of the public sector undertakings. That is, One among four employees.... (*Interruptions*) Sir, can they have any confidence in your Government? Can the families of those employees have confidence in your

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

Government? More over, 13 more public sector undertakings had been added to the list of the sick industries. Already you had given a large number to the BIFR. They are going to be closed, certainly all of them.

Sir, this Government always weeps for the poor, shedding very good crocodile tears. Please go through the report of the Planning Commission on Jawahar Rozgar Yojana.

Jawahar Rojgar Yojna could provide work to a person only for an average number of 11.44 and 15.68 days during 1980-90 and 1990-91. That is you could provide work only for 11, 12 or at best 15 days for an agricultural worker thorough the year. I have got on no quarrel with you. Look at what is happening in the country side today. Agricultural workers got only 11, 12 or 15 days of works throughout the year.

By the latest count, as stated very recently in the Parliament, our 23.76 crore people, accounting for nearly 30 per cent of the population, are still below the poverty line. It is to be noted that the Government claimed in 1989, only two years ago, that the percentage of people below the poverty line had been brought down from 36.9 per cent to 25 per cent during the five years period 1984-85 to 1989-90. After two years, we find that it is 30 per cent and not 25 per cent. It is expected that by the passage of time more and more people will be above poverty line. Here the contrary has become true. More and more people have gone below the poverty line. This is the paradox.

Again, they are relying on NRI investments. I do not want to go into the details. Only 2-3 days before, it has been said that during the first two months of 1992-93, NRI deposits worth Rs. 800 crore have flown out of the country. Is it your achievement?

I am ashamed that the Prime Minister goes to Rajasthan and says that there will revamping of Public Distribution System. What is the truth about it? With Rs. 250 crore

subsidy under the so-called revamped Public Distribution System, to be spread out to 16.7 crore people, per capita subsidy come to Rs. 14.97. Is it the people's Government? Can these people in the far-flung areas of our country, which take only Rs. 15/- as a subsidy towards food, support your Government? (Interruptions) What is the additional relief the agricultural worker is going to get out of the so-called revamped Public Distribution System? Only less than a kg per month. This is your Government and this is your concern for the poorest of the society.

Sir, you have rung the bell twice. So, I am concluding. This Government has got no moral right to exist even for a movement on the five points I have enumerated earlier. This Government should go and the sooner it goes, it is better for the country.

I am reminded that what will happen the future, if you go, who comes. It is immaterial to me, it is immaterial to the people because it is the people who will determine the destiny of the nation and not you. It is neither you nor we who can determine the destiny of the nation, nor myself also very much. People through their struggle shall determine the courses of destiny and the leadership of this country. The struggle is on and it will be increasing with every passing day. They cannot remain a Connute. If they have the pleasure to become a Conute, let them become, but the waves of the people's warmth will sweep them away.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (GARHWAL): Sir, I rise to lend my support to the Motion of No-Confidence against this Government.

This Government has been in office for over a year now and today when you do a stock-taking of its performance, the picture that emerges is dismal and gloomy picture of belied hopes and broken promises.

When Shri Narasimha Rao Ji took over the reins of governance about twelve months back, the nation, looked forward to a new era of clean, honest governance. The Prime Minister promised an open, transparent and

clean government. He assured us that all National issues will be resolved by consultation and consensus and that the National interest will be above Party interests.

The Nation believed all this with high hopes. The personnel background of Shri Narasimha Rao Ji, his decent, arrangement-for style of functioning and his apparent honesty of-purpose kindled hopes of a new era of value and character-oriented system of governance making a beginning. We hoped, and expected, a change in our rotten, decaying, disgraceful form of governance that has been going on for some years now. Above all, it was hoped that the Congress party's culture of powerbrokers dominated and corruption-controlled political ethos would start withering away.

The Nation was excited, expectant and pregnant with high hopes. Sadly, very sadly, the Nation has been let down after raising high hopes. We are to business as usual"

I am not a politician but I do realise, if not understand, the constraints and compulsions that the Prime Minister may be having, may have had in getting rid of these powerbrokers and corruption-oriented politicians, a number of which are in his own party. I sympathise with him.

But the fact remains that after one year of governance, the corruption has become more rampant and what is worse is it has become more respectable. The ethos of partly interest above national interest' has become more pronounced and the power-brokers not only back in business with a vengeance but they are back in bigger business.

However, my biggest worry is that the Nation continues to slide downhill on some important issues of character-qualities and value-systems that this Nation was so proud of once upon a time. This Government can say that they did not start this downhill, slide, I agree, but we are hoping and expecting that a stop to this slide downhill would be started by the Government of Shri Narasimha Rao Ji. I am sorry to say that this Government,

during the last one year, has actively abetted in the crime of debasing our character and value-system. The performance of this Government has been disappointing. Let us now examine some major areas of performance of this Government.

My senior colleague, Shri Jaswant Singh, has adequately and effectively highlighted the blundering and plundering by this Government during the last one year. I will only repeat a few of the important issue which, I think, bear repetition and touch upon some issue which worry me.

Let us first look into the internal security aspect. Today the situation in the country, in my opinion, is worst since independence. The entire country is in turmoil. There is no place in East, West, North and South-where you can point out that the things are peaceful and what is worse is this turmoil is increasing both in its intensity as well as in area of operation.

On Kashmir, a lot has been said and we only like to state that this Government, in my opinion, seems to be a helpless onlooker and seems to have been paralysed into inaction. Whatever little action that you have taken, off and on that spasmodic action that you have taken, is only based on your own party interests. You first look forward to how the party is going to gain and then they try to work out a solution. This is not the way things are going to be worked out. Things are bad. The previous speakers have stated this. I only re-emphasise that you kindly rise this party interest and look at the national interests and then you will be able to solve the problem.

About Punjab it has been said- but it bears repetition - that you people, very shamelessly, postponed the election in June last year. There was no reason for it. The present Government, the present Prime Minister was not in office on that day- but he was virtually there- and so it was your gift to the Nation, before you started governing. The Nation and we - people like me - were willing to accept this as an aberration hoping that the Prime Minister will come in the chair and then start a new chapter and stop this

sort of a tendency. But we were again disappointed. The so-called fake elections were held. Some people have been saying that it is good that we have some sort of elected people from Punjab. Well, all that you have gained is a few more seats in the Lok Sabha. The Congress Party has gained but the Nation has lost. Please remember this and realise this.

As regards the other areas— in Tamil Nadu the ghost of L.T.T.E. is still on us. I am from Army and I know how many thousands of people were maimed and killed, how many widows, till today, are suffering because of our careless, casual and indifferent attitude towards committing our Army on a mission which was meaningless, on a mission for which we were not prepared. And today similar things are happening in other parts of the country.

About Assam people have been talking - Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev said that things are improving. I hope and I wish that things are improving. But, if we have to continue using army all over the places in this manner, it is sad day for this country.

I have two big worries. The ethos of solving the internal problems has, somehow, degenerated resulting in two basic problems. The first is that when we have a problem, we first want to see how my party is going to gain. The biggest culprit has been the Congress because you have been ruling this country for the longest time, for forty years. This is the type of culture you have brought into this country. You first want to see how your party is going to benefit. You do not see how then nation benefits. And then you start finding a solution. How can you find a solution in this manner?

The second problem is equally worst. You do not handle the problem, you do not pay attention to the problem when it is at the initial stages. You do not want to give one bit. Slowly and gradually you start delaying the solution till the problem becomes a bigger one and till you have to give more than what

was being demanded in the initial stages. You only understand the language of violence. You only take action when people go on strike, when people threaten you, when people go to the roads and take the law into their own hands. That is the time when you start thinking of the solution and till that time you are not bothered. This is a very sad state of affairs.

I will give two examples which effect my area. We have got this problem of 'Uttaranchal'. This is a longstanding demand, people have been peacefully demanding it so far, there is a legal, democratic procedure. The State Government is required to send the recommendation, the State Government sent the recommendation to this Government on 17th November last year. This Government dilly-dallied, asked questions, clarifications and justification has been given giving all valid reasons, all types of reasons, social, economic, political, cultural and even from the point of the border defence; cultural and even from the point of the border defence; a thick justification paper has been sent. But what is this Government doing? It is taking no action. I have asked three kinds of questions twice in this Parliament. Every time what reply do I get? The reply is 'It is under examination'. Eight time what reply do I get? The reply is, 'It is under examination.' Eight months of examination — you are not examining it and you are only waiting for us to get violent. Do you want us to get violent?

Sir, I have been in the Army for 38 years and because of my discipline, I have been telling my people have some more patience. Don't take it to indiscipline. 'But how long can this thing go on? Why don't you people realise that this is not the way of solving problems? You tell me you are examining. Every time the same standard reply is given. Three days back I got a reply stating, 'The matter is under examination.' This is after eight months. Sir, your Government is having this disease of analysis to paralysis. Don't let this disease infect you. And this paralysis is shaken up only when there is violence. Do you want us to be violent? Is this how the problems are to be solved? Is there not enough violence in this country? Is there not



enough unrest in the country? Why do you want to add up to the problems? You are not even making a statement. I asked the question: 'Why don't you call a meeting of the people concerned?' The reply that I have got is, 'There is no necessity.' If the Jarkhand people go on strike, stop the movements, you call then for a meeting. Even if the State Government has not sent a proposal, you call them for a meeting because you are afraid of their violence. Is this way of solving the problem? Is it how you want this country to prosper? Is it what you have produced in the last one year? Is it the method of solving problems by consultation and consensus? It is disappointing.

19.45 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Another example of your disease of analysis to paralysis is the case of Tehri Dam. You are just not reacting to their demands, their various proposals. But the matter is just being allowed to drag on. There are some hunger strikes, sometimes somebody is going in strike for a while you react and that was all. There are two conflicting parties fighting with each other and you are just being very nice, watching and having good fun.

Sir, on Tehri Dam there is a demand, there is a technical requirement - the Dam is too high, let the height be reduced and then let it be constructed as run by the river. The cost of this construction is going up day by day, but nobody is interested, Is this the method of solving the national problems? I put it across to you, Sir. And this is what you have given us in the last one year.

Sir, next I come to the external threat. We have a very long border. It is spread over high altitudes, mountains, plains, deserts, and it is a difficult border. But we have got these very fine set of Armed Forces to look after our border. But Army alone or the Services alone do not take care of the external threat. You have an External Affairs Ministry which is supposed to take diplomatic action and do various things. I will not like to touch

much upon the External Affairs because people have spoken on it, but I only just remind you that we had a Minister who was more concerned with Bofors. Now we have no Minister at all.

Then, Sir, there is thing called National Security Council. We have heard nothing about it, its functioning is not known. The other day two very serious questions were raised here. One was about the intrusion of Myanmar Army into the eastern sector and the other one was, in the Rajasthan sector Pakistan is coming and killing our people. Where is this National Security Council? Why does it not function? There is no response. We keep on asking questions, but this Government in the last one year has not told us what does this National Security Council do. This is how we are taking care of the security of our nation.

Now a word or a little bit about the Defence Ministry. I am happy to hear Shri Indrajit Gupta make a mention that the Demands for Grants of the Defence Ministry this year were guillotined. It is a very sad state of affairs; at best of times, the Defence Ministry did not get adequate attention in terms of discussion here under the cover of security. This year, it was guillotined. About 13 per cent of our national budget is being spent on defence which is equal to the amount which is going under the Plan funds and yet this Government does not take interest in having it discussed here, if not in detail, at least formally. This is the type of attitude that you are having towards the defence services and defence forces.

As far as the Ministry of Defence is concerned, the attitude continues to be same old sluggish attitude. There is no desire to make a change. I would like to mention only one or two issues here. There is a thing called Arun Singh Report. It has gone into very great detail about the shortcomings in the Ministry of Defence and it has made a lot of suggestions. I have been asking about it for the last one year, but there is no response. The reply given is: 'we are examining it; it is under consideration'. 'You have no interest in improving things and this is the

Government which tells us that things will move more efficiently and faster. As far as the other aspect of combat readiness is concerned, the misuse of the Army today is so great that I wish to highlight, emphasize and caution this Government that you are misusing the Army to an extent where its combat readiness is badly getting affected and what is worse is that at the political and at the administrative level, it has become routine and we have become insensible to the ill-effects of this. Today, we have got into a habit to hail up the Army just like we hail a taxi whenever there is trouble. Nobody bothers about the after-effects of this. I caution this Government to be very careful.

Sir, the next issue on the defence side is about the broken promise of this Government regarding one rank-one pension. There is a document called 'one time increase'. It is shameful to see that a large number of deserving persons have been left out. I will give you only one or two examples only because of paucity of time. A soldier if he has served for 25 years in the Army and if he has served only for three or four months after his retirement, he is debarred from, getting this 'one time increase'. I would request this Government to kindly to go into it. A newspaper report says that you are appointing a Committee of bureaucrats. Please do not fool us with this buereacratc game. If you want to do something, have a committee involving the soldiers and involving their organisations and also involving a number of parliamentarians; mere examination by a Committee of bureaucrats will not do.

The other aspect of defence is the sense of accountability and the responsibility. It is just not there in the Ministry of Defence. The buereacrafts have all the authority and no accountability and the three Chiefs have all the accountability and no authority. In terms of financial authority, even a Desk Officer in the Ministry of Defence has more powers than the Chief of Army Staff. Is this the way you are going to defend the nation? Is this the way you are going to give encouragement and support to the defence

forces? I request this Government to look into this.

Sir, a mention was made by the Agriculture Minister about the PDS and the improvement that has been done. I would not have touched upon this point, but I wish to correct the Agriculture Minister. He made a mention that in the 1700 blocks which have been identified by the Prime Minister, he said that about 20 kg. of wheat is being given. Let me inform this House and somebody may kindly convey this to the Agriculture Minister. Today, in my district, we are getting 500 gms. of rice per man per month and he is talking about 20 kg. of wheat. We get wheat at the most about 2 to 3 kg. per month and this is the state of affairs in all the 26 blocks of many constituency which are included in 1700 blocks in the entire country. My area is a hilly area where food production is very low and minimal. This Government is playing fool with us. They are telling that they are giving 20 kg. When I asked about this, they said that the State Government does the allocation. But from the Central FCI, the UP Government is getting only 687 gms. per man per month. How can they give 6 or 7 kg?

Here, you stand up and pat yourself on your back that you have revamped PDS and the poor man is getting so much. By giving this sort of wrong information, first of all, you injure us by allocating less than 1 kg per month. And then, you are adding insult to injury when you say, you have given us much bigger quantity.. There is no revamping of PDS. Nothing is going on in my area. Today the people there are fed up and revamping is only on name. I have already written to the Prime Minister, to the Food Minister and the Minister dealing with the PDS. Everybody says, we will look into it. But nobody is doing anything.

About corruption, I will not touch upon it because enough has been said. You have got the big crown of corruption with Kohinoor on your head.

About secularism, again a lot of lectures have been given to us from that side. I would like to say a few words, particularly to my

friends on the Congress side. You lecture us on secularism. Have you done some introspection as to how you have behaved? You go to Mizoram. In your election manifesto, you have told the Christians to vote for you and will start the education system and administration as per the Christianity. You come to Shah Bano case. Everybody is talking about court orders. You are the one who changed the Constitution to over-turn the Supreme Court decision. Your leader goes to Ayodhya and says: We will give you Ram rajya. If you talk of Ram rajya, it is secular and if we talk of Ram rajya, it becomes communal!

Today your party is sleeping with Muslim League in Kerala. Do you call it secular? Then, you have got the guts to tell us that we are communal. I have put in 38 years of service in an organisation which is having very secular credentials. We are not here as the just bunch of communal people. We have got the nationalistic views. If you want to understand the true meaning of secularism, you come and discuss with me. I am wiliness to discuss it. Although I am new in politics. I am willing to discuss secularism. I am willing to challenge anybody on secularism and prove that you are more communal than us.

I am seeking your indulgence and I would like to make a mention of the victims in Uttar Kashi. During the last session, if you see the record, this subject had been brought on the agenda four times for discussion but all the four times, your Party manipulated to avoid the discussion, because there were a lot of allegations. You talk of funds, which has been given for the earthquake victims. Even today in reply to my Question, the Government has said something peculiar. I have asked some money for repairing of the water supply scheme which has been damaged due to earthquake for which Rs.3 1/2 which Rs. 3 1/2 crores are required. The Government tells us that this money has to be spent out of the Calamity relief Fund. How is it adequate? We wanted to have a discussion on this subject but you are avoiding it. *Many more things need to be said.*

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE

MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): I have donated from SAIL hundred tonnes of G.I. sheets for the victims.

MAJ.GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRAKHANDURI: I am grateful to you. But let me also submit very humbly that what we wanted is not only money and help but also your understanding. We also wanted you to come and tell us with honesty of purpose. Ministers went there and they said "We are releasing so many thousands tonnes of corrugated iron sheets." They have not reached us even after one year. All that you did is to send one of your MPs as a publicity mission. We spent lot of time there. There was no news about it on television. One of your MPs went there for just two minutes and there is two minutes display on T.V. for that. This is all that you have done. This is the culture about which you are talking. It is very sad. I say, gentlemen, purely from the national interest, not from the Party intermost. Kindly give up these petty attitudes. You are from the Congress party. You claim you have been associated with independence movement. You are the men how should set an example. You are the men who should be leading. You are now in the Government. It is your duty to bring this national ethos and corruption free system of Government. You start charity at home. Clean your own house first and then you talk to us.

On this one year's performance, in spite of great expectations, with great respect for Shri Narasimha Rao, I feel that this Government has failed during the last one year. Therefore, I support the lack of confidence in this Government.

[Translation]

SHRI RABI RAY (Kendrapada): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, before you allow any other Member to speak I would like to remind you that I had raised a question in regard to Myanmar (Burma) yesterday. You were in the Chair at that time and Shri Jacob had assured to give a statement to that effect today. But at the moment Shri Jacob is not present; nor there has been any reference to the matter so far, I do not know whether you

[Sh. Rabi Ray]

have forgotten the matter or there is some other cause for not referring the issue.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the House was assured in your very presence that a statement will be given to that effect, it was a very important matter.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: He said that he will come back as soon as possible with a statement. I do not remember whether he has promised to give it today. I do not remember. I do not remember he committed it. Even then, when the hon. Member Shri Rabi Ray is saying it, I believe it. I will draw the attention of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri M.M. Jacob to this matter.

[Translation]

SHRI RABI RAY. Alright, Then he should come here and submit.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I will tell you.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machilipatnam): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while thanking you for having given me time to participate in the debate on the no-confidence motion tabled by Shri Jaswant Singh, I want to bring certain realities before the House.

On both sides, both from Opposition and from treasury benches, we have heard the view points expressed by them and since my school days, I was under the opinion that there are only two Parties in this country which will rule this country, that is, either Congress or Communist parties. But now everything has changed. Opposition was divided and Shri George Fernandes has said that because of the disunity of the Opposition, today the Congress is ruling. It is a fact.

But here we have got a Prime Minister in whom the whole nation has got confidence and trust and in a reciprocal way, he is upholding the confidence reposed by the people of this country.

20.00 hrs.

Sir, I have got one big doubt to be clarified by the Opposition Benches. Our Opposition is one of the best Oppositions in the entire democratic countries of the world. But the only difference is that in the other countries, the Opposition will act in such a way that the Government could not misuse its power and with its power will not loot the public money or exploit the innocent people of the country. But here the difference in the functioning of the Opposition is they act a little bit late. Of course, they are also doing better than the Opposition parties of the other countries. But here the only difference is that they act after something is looted, after something is committed by the Government. Only after that, they are raising a hue and cry with the result nothing is beneficial to the people of this country with the functioning of the Opposition parties. Since five years, we have been discussing Ayodhya; since five years we have been discussing Bofors. Did we get anything out of it? Here is a responsible Prime Minister, a democratic Prime Minister who is, all the 24 hours and 365 days, prepared to talk to the Opposition, to open a dialogue on any issue which you bring for solution. On the bank scandal, when the Prime Minister of this country has come prepared to discuss the issue threadbare in all its ramifications the nexus between the politicians and the bureaucracy in these affairs it is this Opposition which has utterly failed in fixing the priority for the issue to be discussed. They have tactically diverted the issue. They took up the Ayodhya issue which is not an issue at all; they took up issue of harassment of Harijans in Rajasthan which is not an issue on that day, at that hour. We have been discussing this atrocities on the Harijans for the last one year. The entire Opposition could not make the Governments either in Andhra Pradesh or in Karnataka even prepare FIR against the culprits. What have we

achieved? Therefore, I disagree, at this moment of time, to dislodge this Government from governance.

Sir, I will now narrate certain failures of the Government as well as the Opposition. Not only myself but the people of this country are very much indebted to the leaders like Shri George Fernandes, Shri Rabi Ray and Shri Vajpayee for keeping the Government on its toes. But the only difference is that after everything is looted, then they are coming up with action. What is the functioning of the Opposition in a democratic set up? The duty of the Opposition is, apart from being a watch-dog, to see that the Government or the Party in power does not misuse its powers to exploit the innocent people of this country and to loot them. This function, they never did. If the Opposition in this country had functioned well—both the Congress and the other Opposition Parties—then, the Rs. 60,000 crores of the bureaucrats' money, of the politicians' money could not have been deposited in Switzerland and other countries. It is only with the connivance of the leaders of the Opposition, of the Opposition parties that any ruling party can loot the country's money or loot its country's people. Then only it is possible to do so.

Sir, in Tsundur 20 people belonging to the Harijan community were massacred, put in bags and thrown into the river.

There is a Congress Government here and there. There are many opposition leaders. But till today, even FIR has not been filed. Why? Opposition parties will simply raise hue and cry to attract the weaker sections only for the purpose of vote bank. They never fight on behalf of Harijans or the minorities.

Who is concerned with Ayodhya? Really speaking, the Hindus and the Muslims of this country who are just struggling hard to get a day's meal are not bothered. It is only the political leaders, it is only the politicians, intellectuals and the bureaucratic set up who are interested in Ayodhya or Ram Mandir, Babri Masjid issue. How long will you continue this issue without any concrete results? This

issue needs to be completed once for all. I do not want to go into this. I was one of the members of the NIC team which had gone to Ayodhya. I saw the faces of the people of Ayodhya. There was no heart-burning in both Muslims and Hindus. They came to see us only when the helicopters reached the ground. No one, whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim, came in a fighting mood or to obstruct us. When something happens, is it the duty of the Congress or the opposition leaders to instigate people? If it is done, the whole country will be in flames. You please keep quiet. The two brothers will definitely exchange pleasantries and they will never fight. When about 80 per cent mass of this country are struggling for their survival, how can they fight with each other on Ayodhya issue? Do you think a Muslim from Andhra and a Hindu from Punjab will go and fight on Babri Masjid issue? It is because of the acts of the BJP people or the Congress people or people belonging to some other party, they fight. Otherwise, they do not fight. We cannot get Rs. 20 unless we work hard for 24 hours a day. Now rice is available at Rs. 8 or Rs. 9. Wheat is available at Rs. 6. I do not want to go into details.

Shri Jaswant Singh had found out of the failure of the Government in economic front, privatisation, agriculture front, food print, on safeguarding SC and ST people, Babri Masjid issue, Punjab, Kashmir and so on. I am sure about one thing. Our hon. Prime Minister has given ample scope to democratise all the institutions—political—economic and social—of the country and it is we who are not extending our helping hand to democratise these institutions strongly. Opposite leaders have said that the Prime Minister is yielding to the pressure of the IMF or the World Bank. The other day, he said, "whether Russian engines come for or not, whether any assistance is given to us or not for our rocket technology from America or Russia, I am not going to sign the treaty". Is it not sufficient? Despite the advice of the World Bank last year, he did not yield to the pressure to take away subsidy on fertilizers. It is not correct to say that the Prime Minister has yielded to the pressure. In July, 1991 when he took the charge of the Prime Ministership, what was

[Sh. K.P. Reddaiah Yadav]

the position? We had the crude oil only for one week. No country is prepared to give a single dollar and they were saying "you please first pay our balance amount and then only come for a new loan". All these leaders have also witnessed the transporters strike which was only for four days. During that period, the whole economy has gone to dogs. We have no food; we have no vegetables; we have no transport during that period. Suppose, the Prime Minister had kept quiet then would have happened? Suppose, the Opposition is in power, they would have said "no, our honour will be suffered; we will not go and talk to them; we will not yield to World Bank or IMF". In that case, what could have been our position? The whole petro-complex would have gone to dogs; the transport, the industry and our economy could have been crippled. It was all because of the successive sins, successive faults committed by the successive Governments, by all parties because all parties have run this country at one time or the other.

Our hon. Prime Minister having taken the burden of all the sins put together, has come out with concrete proposals in the shape of new economic policy and industrial policy. On Industrial Policy, of course, I do not agree with the Government's view.

The public sector undertaking are incurring continuous losses due to the failure of the management. I have brought this to the concerned is notice both in Consultative Committee meetings and even in this House also.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: Sir, I am a new Member.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are a new Member for today only?

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one thing is sure, that

is, I will be putting forward the views of the people in their language only. I have narrated several times that the public sector undertakings are incurring losses only because there is an officer-cum-agent system; officer-cum-contractor system. The Managing Directors and the Executive Directors, they will be hand in glove with the Ministers and they will be having their own agencies and also of benamies and on sisters and daughters names..

What the Trade Unions are doing? When they are not asked to work hard, they are enjoying. I saw several red flags hoisted along the club. Instead of hoisting the red flags here, they could have gone to a Minister's house, they could have gone to an M.D.'s house, they could have gone to the house of the Chairman of a national bank and hoisted these red flags and then there could have been some result. That is the failure of our Trade Unions and Opposition in this country.

Sir, they know fully well which MD is doing; they know fully well which chairman of the bank is fraudulently managing the affairs of the banking system. Do you think that Shri George Fernandes and Shri Jaswant Singh do not know the names of the Chairmen who are fraudulently managing these things? That is not so. They want to come out after they commit the loot, so that it could be converted to their political advantage and to cash votes.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am telling you all the facts. In my constituency, this year, Rs. 750 crores worth of World Bank funds were ear-marked and all plans were prepared by the engineers, contractors and politicians to loot that money. I am not weeping after everything is looted. But as a Member of Parliament from Machilipatnam constituency, I raised this issue in IDBI; I raised this issue and I fought with the Chief Minister and when I could not do anything there, I brought it to the notice of the hon. Speaker and I raised that issue here also. I went to the Central Vigilance Commission, CBI and I stalled that looting. That is how the Opposition leadership should function in this country and not raise a hue and cry after everything is looted. This



is the basic shortcoming in the functioning of the Opposition in this country.

Our Prime Minister also extended stability to the Governments in the States. He never tried to destabilise any opposition government. Take for example in Bihar a scandal has come, a scandal has come in UP. He went to Madhya Pradesh and patted the Chief Minister Patwaji and said that he would support the Chief Minister for all his good actions. Mr. V.P. Singh had appointed some Governors. Did he destabilise them? Mr. C. Subramaniam was appointed by him; Mr Satyanarayana Reddy was appointed by him. You can understand how democratically he is functioning. He wants to completely change the political map of this country by democratising each and every inch of this country.

It is a misfortune that I have also brought so many scandals to the notice of some of the ministers by writing to them. But some ministers do not know what I write. They cannot understand what I write. They cannot read and understand what their Secretaries put up to them. Such are the ministers. I should not name them. Power sector is kept under whose hands? Fertilizers and Chemicals are kept under whom?

Last morning I got a question about Fisheries Department. This year with an export of 21 tonnes of shrimps we have got Rs. 1375 crores worth foreign exchange. 8th Five Year Plan envisages 50 lakhs tonnes of shrimps and fish export. With that every year we would be getting Rs. 20,000 crores worth foreign exchange. But what is the Agriculture Ministry doing? Last year 1st May the World Bank had given Rs. 330 crores for shrimp culture. Even today they do not know what to do with that money. They do not know what plans they have to make. Even today what are the projects they have to sanction, they have no idea. We find some scientists trying to manage the shrimp and prawn culture; but the infrastructure is not there.

But these ministers say yes to whatever the bureaucrats say. Fifty per cent of the ministers do not know even to question their bureaucrats.

[Translation]

They go to Rihand and hold meeting there for days but what they do there?

[English]

NTPC was functioning very well. Even the World Bank authorities lauded the functioning and efficiency and the profit-making capacity of the NTPC. But this gentlemen, has divided it into three only to accommodate some chairmen, some executive directors. Are we not responsible for these people? Are we not ashamed of it? When an organisation is functioning hundred per cent well and is getting profits, you want to bifurcate it into three. Now you go and see there is discontentment in the minds of the staff, engineers and other people.

(Interruptions) Sir, let us not go into the merits and demerits of the speeches. It will not give any solution. Solution will not come out of these speeches about Ayodhya and SC/ST issues. You do not want to indigenise things; you do not want to merge Kashmir with India and yet you say that Kashmir is burning. You do not want to conduct elections in Punjab, you do not want to participate in it and you say that nobody has participated and with five per cent votes, they were elected. Now, you declare that you are fully prepared and here is a democratic Prime Minister who will conduct elections.

I am a farmer and I have sold my paddy of 75 kg., in the month of January for Rs. 210. After three months, I had to purchase the same amount of paddy for Rs. 300. What type of machinery we have got to check all these things? In a period of three months, the middlemen, created by our political system and bureaucratic set up, is getting a profit of Rs. 100 and the farmer who produced the paddy is getting only Rs. 20 or Rs. 40. What I mean to say is this. You may create more warehousing facilities. You may keep the paddy or wheat or whatever the farmer brings in the month of December or January. In case of pressing needs of the farmers, you may take the paddy or wheat and give about 80 per cent of loan on it. Please do not give it to the middlemen, do not give it to the miller, do not give it to the hoarders.

[Sh. K.P. Reddaiah Yadav]

Sir, I oppose the No-Confidence Motion. Before opposing the Motion of No-Confidence, I once again thank you for having given me the time. We should lend our support to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao's Government to strengthen our economy, to hoist our flag high in the comity of nations. He is determined to do that, whether we lend our support or not; but with the support of the people, he is determined to do it. Thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Mandhubani): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I won't repeat any point raised here. Rather, I will concentrate on those, which have been left out.

Sir, this Government has completed one year in office. 70% of our population dwell in the rural areas. According to official figures itself, the surplus land in the country is about 2 crore acres. The Government has in its possession 12 crore acres of barren land. Forest areas without vegetation is 10 crore acres. 6 lakh acres of Bhoodan land is also there. Thus, there is about 24.5 crore acres of such land, which can be distributed among the landless and those with very little land and thus the agricultural production can be raised.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is also important from the viewpoint of special justice. Whether this will generate employment or not is an altogether different question, but certainly, it will make the landless and also those who possess land only in name, the real masters of land. If our agricultural production goes up, the raw materials required by our industries, will be easily available and if the villagers don't have the purchasing power, the goods will remain unsold. The farmers will certainly find the goods in the market, but they won't be able to purchase them as they don't possess the purchasing capacity. Recently, there was a meeting of the U.S.A. and seven other industrialised countries. They want to export both inflation and depression on into this

country. The economic policy adopted by the present Government is bound to facilitate the easy and simultaneous entry of both. In consonance with the policy of the international monopolists, of decreasing production and increasing profits by hiking price here also the prices will go up and production decrease, because the purchasing power of the people is less.

Whatever policy the Government may adopt for the industrial development of the country, it should be ensured the people possess adequate purchasing power. However the Government has maintained a steady silence for the past one year on the issue of land reforms including land distribution. We raised questions, many a time but the Government kept mum. The Agriculture Minister don't take it seriously. I won't say that he is opposed to it, but at the same time, he is not a supporter as well. However, this doesn't get into your head and the Government is quite about it. Violent disturbances and atrocities are taking place in several areas. It is the people who possess surplus land, who exploit and commit atrocities and wherever we are not in a position to carry out a peaceful struggle, we witness bloodshed. Therefore, on the issue of the failure of the Government on this front; if a No-Confidence Motion is moved against such a Government, which has failed cent-percent in the direction of land reforms. (Interruptions)

20.27 hrs.

[SHRI PETER G. MARBANIANC  
in the Chair]

I welcome the new Chairman.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, Sir, in 1985, 1986 and 1987, Conference of State Revenue Ministers were held to consider the issues of land reforms and the rights and of the tillers. Some unanimous suggestions were made during the deliberations. A similar conference was held in 1990 also, but with deep regret I have to say the Government supported by us, which was then at the helm of affairs, bungled the whole thing in favour of big,

kulaks. This year also, a meeting of the State Revenue Ministers was held, but so far the suggestions made at the conference remains to be implemented.

Therefore, I would like to say that on this issue, we should not sit silently. The landless people of this country won't keep mum. On behalf of the poor people of this country, I would like to say that if the Government doesn't implement the land ceiling and reform laws, then the farmers will implement it and take over the surplus land, the land forcibly occupied by the rich and the unvegetated Government forest land, which are illegally exploited by the forest officials. They will re-occupy the forcibly occupied land and also distribute it. Therefore, it is better if we implement the existing laws in this regard. I support the non-confidence motion against this Government as it has miserably failed on this count.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with regard to rural development, our hon. Minister of Finance has correctly observed that our banks are almost bankrupt. The Rural banks have failed to serve this purpose and I won't go into the reasons behind it, although I had expressed this view at that time also. But so far as the situation is concerned, what provision are you planning to make? The Government is not in a position to provide employment to all. The production in this country won't increase unless and until the Government provides finance and resources to men and women for entrepreneurship, for village and Small Scale Industries etc., the problem of unemployment will remain and there is no question of prosperity.

The Finance Minister has started the fact that the Banks are unable to make recoveries, but he will have to come out with the solutions as well. Either you find a remedy for or you admit that the provisions Governments brought about so much mismanagement that you are not in a position to run the Government and hence resigning. I know that many banks are not able to make even 10-12 per cent recoveries. Many political leaders promise a further loan waiver after the next elections. This is the height of

irresponsibility. The Finance Minister or the Prime Minister have not made any effort to maintain consistency on these issues. I am saying this because I don't champion the cause of employment; rather, I tell people to become masters, to become entrepreneurs because the banks have gone bankrupt and are not in a position to disburse loans. What's more, the Finance Minister has expressed his helplessness and is not doing anything except putting the blame on the previous Government. If you cannot find a remedy for it, what are you here for?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with regard to the agricultural crisis staring us on our face, I would like to say that the Dunkel proposals which came up during the round of talks suggested that grants or subsidy shouldn't be provided to the farmers, save for the poorer ones. Following forcefully please, last year the Government maintained the 40% subsidy in fertilizers for small and marginal farmers with less than 100 acres of land, while those possessing more land were provided with 10% subsidy. Although I repeatedly asked the name of the States which have provided subsidy to the farmers, the Union Government never responded to it. So far as the Government of Bihar is concerned, I am aware that it has not provided subsidies. Only recently, we came to know that you have provided Rs. eight crore, then Rs. 25 crore and Rs. 35 crore to the Bihar Government and we have emphasised that whether the Central Government provides subsidy or not, the Bihar Government should not lag behind. So, the Union Government has implemented the Dunkel proposals in its fertilizer policy, without formally accepting it. The Americans, who ask us to suspend subsidies to farmers, themselves provide huge subsidies to their farmers. At the moment, they are prepared to destroy their Surplus production, so that the remaining stock can be sold at a heavy price in the market. While that country is providing subsidy to its farmers to destroy their crops, we are being restrained from increasing our production and the Indian Government has started implementing it, without agreeing to the Dunkel proposals. There cannot be anything more disastrous for Indian Agriculture.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Indian Patent Law was passed in this very House, according to which the process of manufacture was patented, but the U.S.A. wants us to patent the products, the outcome. Notwithstanding failures and drawbacks, our scientists have made tremendous progress. All this will be restricted, once it is done. It will put unnecessary restrictions on more than a hundred developing countries, which are looking towards us for inspiration. The Government of India finds itself in a quandary, it neither agrees to the proposals nor rejects them outrightly. It seems that the Government of the country finds itself helpless, at a time when more than 100 countries are looking as to what posture the Indian Government adopts. Thus, an imminent danger looms large over Indian Agriculture.

When the Agriculture Minister was speaking, I was listening with the fond hope that he would say something on it, but I regret that not a single syllable was uttered in this regard. Thus, the failure of the Government in this respect is obvious.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as the question of social justice is concerned, unfortunately, the bane of untouchability continues to haunt us. Right from our childhood, we have been engaged in a relentless struggle against economic exploitation, atrocities and discrimination between Harijans and non-Harijans. It would have been much easier to tackle the problem, had there been only a couple of castes in the country, say, forwards and backwards or Harijans and non-Harijans, but in this country, we have more than 6,000 castes and each claims superiority over the other. The castes, which are superior in terms of money or social hierarchy commit atrocities on the inferior ones. This becomes evident, if we take into account the killings taking place in Central Bihar and the autecedents of these killed. Thus, the bane of untouchability is indeed terrible. We have remedial laws, but can't we launch a national campaign to implement them? Can't we punish those people who talk of untouchability among homosapiens? It appears that there is no place for this in Government policy.

Though this law is there, yet it may or may not prove useful in future. The war on the question of social justice is taking place on a different arena, but the arena of injustice in society, is some what different. In this war the people retaliate and face the challenges. It may be wrong or right but it is certain that the people are courageously facing it, but the Government machinery and the governmental laws are entirely ineffective in this matter because no sincere effort is being made in this direction. In this matter, the rural areas of the country, are sitting on a volcano.

In Andhra Pradesh, you call the people's war group illegal. I would like to say on my own behalf that the claim which we make of a revolutionary movement, is a Sign of to failure because we do not give the right leadership to the struggle of the poor. That is why they get frustrated and indulge in killings and murder. I would like to urge that this Government should clarify its stand on this issue. It should clearly state whether it is with the land grabbers or with the authorities enforcing land reforms laws. It is with the persons who inflict social cruelties, or those who faced it. On this issue, it was necessary to bring come forward with a national policy, which has not yet been done.

Our Finance Minister lays stress upon a new financial policy and a new industrial policy. The members of the opposition party oppose this. I had said it earlier and I am repeating it even now, whether any minister cantell me, the name of any single industrialist in India, who is running his industry in the private sector entirely with his own money. He runs his industry by taking the money from the Government and with that money, he manages to get published news in the newspapers. One one side the public sector has failed, and on the other side the private sector is proposing. He runs his industry with our money. He runs his wholesale business with our money. Inflation has gone up, farmers are not getting money. The procurement of wheat has gone down this year and this Government is going to create a national stigma on our forehead that we shall import foodgrains from foreign countries.

On the 8th of May a delegation of Akhil Bharatiya Kisan Sabha met the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister talked in a cordial atmosphere, and asked the delegation to suggest ways as to how the procurement of wheat in Punjab can be completed whereas the terrorists of Punjab deadly oppose the procurement. On the 9th we gave a suggestion that the procurement price of wheat should be raised to Rs. 350/- per quintal, and the quota of procurement will definitely be completed and there will be no need to import foodgrains from abroad. The Government has not implemented it till today. Even now, I am saying that, many farmers have parted with their wheat and the traders have purchased it through Bank credit. But you are not getting the wheat. If you make an effort even now, then there is considerable hope that Punjab itself may complete your quota. There will be no need to spend foreign exchange for importing wheat from foreign countries.

I would like to mention one thing which I forgot to mention before. A big resource of our country is water. My friends were talking about Tehri dam. When there is snow fall on the Himalayas and the snow melts. The water flows towards the plains, then there are floods in the plains and if the water is less, there is drought. For this reason the production of electricity is less, and we are not able to use water. Our negotiations with Nepal in this matter have been very also. As far as Kosi, Kamla, Bagmati, Pancheshwar, Karnali rivers are concerned I would like to state that the electricity which can be generated from the water of these rivers shall be much more than we require that our water resources minister had referred to those books which had been written by me earlier. But this time, in the joint negotiations held between India and Nepal, Nepal had demanded that a survey should be made to start a Steamer Service in Barrage region and this demand was in the interest of India, but I do not know who were the officials who represented our side, and opposed this demand by saying that the question of the steamer service should be left for the present. They are not able to utilize the water resources, because of which the problems of

electricity, water, drought and floods are very common. Similarly, the river water dispute is going on between Karnataka and Tamilnadu. But this river is falling at 3-4 places from a height. Water can be accumulated at 3-4 places. Water can be stored in reservoirs during rains and in the days of drought this water can be utilized. As a result of it there will be no dispute between Tamilnadu and Karnataka. This Government has failed completely in making water reservoirs. In view of these failures, I support the No Confidence motion under discussion with very little hesitation. Even now I hope from Shri Jaswant Singh the mover of the Motion that by tomorrow he should say that they would abide by the judgment of the Court on Ayodhya issue and implement it and will not allow its violation. As my friend has rightly made an allegation against the Congress Party that it has always surrendered before the communalism whether it is Shahbano case or any other matter. They have got fulfilled the judgment of the Supreme Court in this very House on the basis of their majority. They acted according to the Christian law in Mizoram. Are our B.J.P. colleagues not copying the culture of the Congress and thus helping them in doing the wrong things. In this connection, I would like to cite an interesting story. There were two brothers. One brother cut his father's hand. Then the other brother asked his brothers as to why he had cut his father's hand. The first one replied that he had cut his own father's hand; then the other brother said that he was his father as well so he would also cut the other hand of his father and thus he cut the other hand also. The same is the case with Congress and B.J.P. as both are cutting the hands of 'Bharat Mata' in this way. So I would again like to request Shri. Jaswant Singh ji to announce that the Congress has made a mistake and they would fight against this mistake and they would not commit such a mistake as has been committed by the Congress. If Shri Jaswant Singhji says it tomorrow, it will enable us to vote jointly in favour of the 'No Confidence Motion'. We are against the Government. We had also given the notice of No Confidence Motion but it was listed in the name of Shri Jaswant Singh. So I would

like to request him to muster courage make an announcement regarding abiding by the decision of the Court on Ayodhya Issue. With these words, I support the 'No Confidence Motion'.

**SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK** (Buldana): Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of No Confidence moved by Shri Jaswant Singh ji. It is really very unfortunate that at a time when the country is faced with several challenges we are today discussing this Motion of No Confidence. Rather than making an all out effort, a joint and a united effort, to meet these challenges we are deliberating on a motion that has not received the importance from the very Members who have moved this motion. We can see the empty benches in the Opposition which reflect that this motion was not moved by the Opposition with any serious thinking. I personally feel that this motion is the result of the political impatience and the frustration which has crept into the minds of the leaders of the Opposition, their Members and their workers all over the country after realising that the Congress is doing well at the national level.

Almost all the Opposition Members who spoke said that the people are not with this Government; that the people are annoyed and that they are not in support of this Government. But the recently held bye elections to the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha have shown something else. People have once again reposed their confidence in the Congress. Therefore, I feel that today the motion which is being discussed has no backing from the people but simply it is an outcome of the impatience which is there in the minds of Shri Jaswant Singh and his friends in the Opposition who have spoken on this motion.

Sir, yesterday, while moving the Motion, it was said that for the last one year, "we supported this Government and we gave them time or grace period" and after one year, they are saying that "we do not wish to continue the support." Let me make it very clear to Shri Jaswant Singh that this Government is not here because of the wish of the BJP, this Government is not here

because of the support of the BJP, this Government is here because of the mandate of the people, because of the support which we had received in the last elections.

Today, while we are discussing this Motion of No Confidence, it is very important to recollect the situation which was prevailing in 1990 and a part of 1991. What was the situation during those days? During those days we witnessed the functioning of two Governments, one was headed by Shri V.P. Singh and the other by Shri Chandra Shekhar. But what happened during those fifteen or sixteen months? There was total instability, and chaos in every part of the country. There was no policy on any important issue; there was no policy on Kashmir; there was no policy on Punjab; there was no policy on Assam and no policy on economy and throughout the length and breadth of the country, people were all the time thinking that the Government is not going to last. People were worried and concerned over the fate of the then Lok Sabha and the fast deteriorating situation. During those very days, communal passions were aroused; caste conflicts were created. There was a decline in the industrial production and there was a decline in the prestige of India abroad. Sir, after spending twelve months in Office, we will have to assess, whether the situation that was there during 1990 and a part of 1991, whether that situation has deteriorated or that situation has improved.

I firmly believe that under the Leadership of Shri Narasimha Rao, this Government has been able to provide stability; this Government has been able to provide normalcy by reducing the communal and caste conflicts and the passions which were aroused. This Government has also made an effort to revive the economy which was rapidly deteriorating and this Government has been successful in improving India's image abroad.

Sir, for the last several years, we were having a policy of control, regulation, licensing which had kept the opportunities restricted for the entrepreneurs to move forward. But immediately after we assumed power, we



saw to it that there is a need to de-regulate, de-control and de-licence the economy and measures were taken to stabilise the economy which have started showing results. Nevertheless, I will add that, if we expect that the results should come immediately, then we will be wrong. A process has started. A process in the right direction has started and we will have to wait for the results. It is because, at the time, when we assumed power, the situation was extremely grim.

What was the foreign exchange reserve with the country in June 1991? Why was the gold pledged in a foreign bank? Why were severe restrictions imposed on imports? These are all very important questions before. As if now we start analysing the performance of this Government the foreign exchange reserve position has improved considerably. The gold which was pledged abroad, has also been able to get it released; and gradually, restrictions which were imposed on imports are also being relaxed. To meet the domestic requirements.

In such a situation it was not expected that a person like Shri Jaswant Singh learned, experienced and an eloquent leader of the BJP would launch an attack on the Congress Government with statistics which were proved to be wrong when Shri Chidambaram came out with the recent statistics.

Shri Jaswant Singh had mentioned that the Narasimha Rao Government started with the approach of consensus, has now converted consensus into cleverness. This is not fair. The Prime Minister has time and again made it very clear that the consensus is not out of weakness but that he firmly believes in it. He has further added that the time has come where numbers alone are not important to face challenges effectively, to solve the problems effectively, and expeditiously; it is necessary that all concerned should come together, work together and see that solutions are evolved. We have never claimed that the consensus is unanimity. There will be divergent views. But we still have to be open to receive whatever positive suggestions are expressed from whichever quarters. This is

the only way for healthy democracy. But to say that this consensus approach has not been converted into cleverness is not appreciating the wisdom behind the approach. The approach still continues. Unfortunately the problems have started from the Opposition.

The BJP has once again taken up the Ayodhya issue. May I ask them- why they avoided the issue during the last 12 months? What is the reason? I feel that is nothing but political expediency has resulted in their changing the strategy; and it is really unfortunate that at the time when we have to work together, and to calm down the passions created, the BJP has once again started their old game.

I would like to say here that Shri VP Singh, who had been claiming that he stood for secularism, social justice, had formed his Government with the support from the BJP. He had been levelling allegations against the BJP. But, when he wanted to become the Prime Minister of India, he took their support and continued to be in power when the Rath Yatra led by Mr. Lal K. Advani passed through various States arousing communal passions and creating a situation which was like a dreadful nightmare.

Sir, the Left Parties and the Janata Dal, have expressed their concern over the issue of Ram Janmabhoomi and the stand taken by the BJP whose front. The BJP, its other organisations like the VHP, Bajrang Dal, have been violating the court order. They have further demanded a strong action from the Government. May I therefore know as to why the Left parties and the Janata Dal have joined hands with the BJP over this motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: I will just take two minutes more.

I would like to ask, whether the ideological differences between the Left Parties and the BJP are no more there. Have they bridged the gap?

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: They are there.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: Then why this joining hands with the BJP to move this Motion?

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Because of the prevarication of your Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not disturb. We did not disturb you. Nobody disturbed you. Let him have his way. You have had your say.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: Shri Indrajit Gupta while he was speaking on this issue, had once again demanded that the Government should take a firm and strong action. He added that he was not in favour of dismissing the Uttar Pradesh Government. Nobody is happy to dismiss an elected Government elected by the people. But if a government is there which is violating the court orders, the way it is happening in Uttar Pradesh, then the Union Government should act firmly and if need arises it should also not hesitate to even dismiss the Uttar Pradesh Government.

There have been several things but I will only take up one more point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have one minute only.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: Shri George Fernandes had been talking about several scandals. In the last one year he has come out with several scandals. Whenever he gets up to speak in this House he comes out with one more scandal. On the security scam he had made a statement that he is in possession of the name of the Ministers involved in it. The Prime Minister has made it very clear that the Government will be firm in taking action against anyone involved. I would therefore demand from Shri George Fernandes that if he has got any names and evidence to prove that he has got any involvement, he should come out with the names and should not hesitate and run away. Merely leveling allegations to malign

this Government is not going to help.

The same exercise was done by the Opposition to malign Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the case of Bofors. But till date nothing has been proved in that regard. Today the same type of strategy is being adopted by the Opposition to malign Shri Narasimha Rao's Government. I would like to add that such type of efforts will not be tolerated. As the time does not permit me to continue. I thank you for giving me this opportunity and once again I oppose the Motion moved by Shri Jaswant Singh.

20.59 hrs.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Chairman, this Motion, I feel, has not been seriously brought by the Opposition. I do not think that even after discussion they are serious to bring forth any positive results out of this motion.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Then do not oppose this motion.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS: I do not think whether I have to say anything at all, because even the speakers on the other side, while they were speaking very harshly against the Government, they were also saying that they will leave some of the issues to be discussed next week.

I specifically remember that the Hon. Member Shri Somnath Chatterjee was saying that he will speak in regard to scam next week when it is going to be taken up. It is very clear that even he was not meaning this No-Confidence Motion to be really passed. I am sure that no responsible person in this House can actually mean this Motion to be really passed at a juncture when we are dealing with serious matters, when the country is faced with many tensions especially communal tensions. It is for the secular forces to come together and to strengthen the activities which are creatively done by the Government. Now the role of the Opposition is to give very creative suggestions, very creative attacks as well as very creative support to the proper actions of the Government. I do not think that the

presentation which were made by the hon. Members of the opposition are really meaningful to the effect that they really do oppose this Government indeed and in the days to come.

The situation in this country, as we see, requires some very stern steps to bring about proper results in regard to certain very important matters. For example, price rise, which affects the common man to a great extent. This is a phenomenon which has to be attacked and a proper solution has to be found out to this. Now the only solution which we can think of is production. Efficiency has to be increased. This Government has really done something in this regard. The Government has taken some steps to increase the efficiency in all fields, in agriculture, in industry, and other things. Now a new policy in the economic sphere was given by this Government. If this policy was not brought forth what would have been the policy at present? The economic field would have come to a state where we in the Comity of Nations would not have been credible even to get a pie from anywhere even for the working of the nation. Now we were not self-sufficient in many fields, which we all know. We had to borrow and frame an economy. We had to do something to bring forth or take the country forward. That was the position. Our foreign exchange reserve was very very low and we were in a very discreditable position. Something had to be done. A firm step was taken by the Government., Now, I think, the results would come and indeed the results have come in certain respects exports have improved, And we are sure that production is improving in many sectors.

Now I will come to public sector undertakings. It is not the policy of the Government to close the public sector undertakings and to throw the workers on the streets. That is not the policy of the Government. It is alleged that the public sector undertakings are not working properly because of the problems with the management. Should we not face the problem? Should we not find out a way-out for this problem? So, something has to be

done in this regard? Efficiency to be increased. How is the efficiency to be increasing? Only competition would increase the efficiency. Last week we had an opportunity to see one of the Airlines, East West Airlines. I am not supporting a public sector undertaking. I heard everybody who were present there saying that we atleast have somebody to compete with Indian Airlines. They were saying that the Indian Airlines flights were not flying properly. They were saying that there are many defects and they have to be rectified. They were saying so many things about the Indian Airlines and the flights. But, should not there be a competition in any way with the Indian Airline I think, the only way out of this situation is to bring out some competition. Of course, there would be some curbs in the broader sense. I think, the Government is thinking in those lines.

Now, with regard to the agricultural production, I think, we have to go a great length and I think that Some basics have been laid by this Government. Now, I am happy that this Government has been responsive to many of the problems of the agriculture sector. I have a point to make. I was a person who was arguing for the small farmers in my State for some time. I had been arguing before Shri V. P. Singh Government for a very long time for solving the problems of small farmers in my State. I am just pointing out one example. It was the issue regarding rubber. Then, I along with all the MPs from Kerala were trying to make Shri VP Singh Government understand that we have enough production now. Now, it is for us to stop this import and start export. This is the time when we have to think of it, but that Government did not do it. That Government did not think of that line at all. About 40 thousand tonnes of rubber was imported indiscriminately only to save the purses of some big industrialists. What happened? This raw-rubber, which is produced by the farmers in a very large quantity, was just lying here with no price for the farmers. It was lying there for a long time and the farmers weren't getting any price at all. After this Government came, they understood the cry of the farmers and I am happy that imports

[Sh. P.C. Thomas]

were stopped and I am also happy that the Government was ready to report rubber. We have gone to the extent of exporting this commodity from India. *(Interruptions)* I am not going into more details because of paucity of time.

I support the Government and I reiterate the support to the Government and I oppose the Motion of No-Confidence.

Now, I want to say only one or two points. Now, we are marching forward in Science and Technology and in space programmes. I am sorry that nobody has stated about the success of INSAT-II. We are happy and we are proud. I congratulate the Government for taking firm steps in this regard. I also congratulate the Government for taking steps to start project in the backward sectors. But, I only point out that as far as Kerala State is concerned, we have a great dream in respect of a Thermal Plant in Kayamkulam. Now, on this Thermal Plant, Rs. 6.2 crores have already been spent. This project of almost Rs. 7,000 crores. Kerala State is waiting for this. We are going to have a very great power crisis. I urge upon the Government to take immediate steps to start this project in Kayamkulam in Kerala. I also urge upon the Government to give sanction to Pooyamkutty Project, which is somewhere in my Constituency.

Finally, I would like to urge that it was inappropriate to bring this Motion at this stage when communal forces are causing tension in this country.

I thank you very much for the opportunity given to me.

[Translation]

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH (Buxar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the no-confidence motion. I do so because the Government has failed completely to solve every problem of the country. 70 per cent farmers of the country live on agriculture. But even after 44 years of the independence no arrangements

have been made for irrigation. Although it rained in the month of Shrawana, it did not rain in the month of Ashadh. The entire country is in the grip of drought and the Government had failed to make any arrangements for irrigations. Almost all states have failed in making any arrangement for irrigation in case it does not rain. All the old arrangements have lost their utility. In Bihar the Sone canal was constructed by the Britishers. It irrigated nearly 32 acres of land. That canal has become useless. The Government had promised to provide a sum of Rs. 22 crore. But the Government released only a sum of Rs. 1 crore and then stopped releasing this assistance with the result the work could not be completed. Had any arrangement been made for irrigation, I think this country might have not been affected by drought today. This is not the case of Bihar only, but all States are facing drought situation be it Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh. The Government has failed to make any arrangement for irrigation, therefore, I support this no-confidence motion.

Unemployment is the other issue. The Government has been functioning for one year. But unemployment problem has not been solved. The Government has failed to provide employment even to the people coming from the lower strata of society which include Harijan and the tribals during this period of one year. The Government has failed to provide employment not only to the people coming under general categories but also to the Harijan and tribals. Therefore, I support this no-confidence motion. The Government has failed in the field of education all. Not only in cities but in villages one may find that the schools in which the children of poor farmers study do not have their buildings. In the States like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh no school building is there for primary education. This Government has not provided any building during its one year period. During the total period of the Congress rule, no building has been constructed anywhere in village where the children of poor people read. The children of poor people study under trees, where as those of the rich study in magnificent buildings. The Government has failed to provide

education to 90 per cent farmers, therefore, I support this no-confidence motion.

The Congress leaders had written in their manifesto that they would check price-rise within 90 days. A number of such 90 days have passed, but instead of decreasing, the prices are increasing. If it is not controlled, the price will continue to increase. I think that the price of every item has increased two-fold. Only a rich man can survive in this situation, but can a poor man survive?

So far as corruption is concerned, it is assuming larger dimensions from top to bottom. When the Prime Minister took office, he said that he would eradicate corruption from the country. Previously, only the officials were involved in corruption, but today we find in newspapers that those who are in Government are also involved in it. The members of Congress had said that these are wrong statements. Has a case been filed against any newspaper? No such case has been filed only because a son or a wife of a person in the Government might be having some share in the newspaper. Therefore, I want to say that this Government has failed to check corruptions and as such I support this no-confidence motion.

Today there is power crisis in every State. The hon. Minister of Power says that he is making arrangements for supplying more electricity. I hail from Bihar and all the power-houses there have lost their utility. The hon. Minister of Power has to give Rs. 5 crore to our State, but he has not got time so far for doing so. If this amount is sent there, electricity will be made available to nearly one lakh villages. But the Government does not have leisure to release money. The persons like Harshad Mehta may withdraw billions of rupees from Bank by unfair means and invest the money in some other purposes, but there is no money to provide electricity to farmers. Therefore, I support this no-

confidence motion.

So far as communal forces are concerned, there is no law and order in his rule. Till now some regard was given to Procedure Code. When Court orders were issued under Section 39(1) or (2) they were obeyed. But today we find that they are violated and the Government is sitting smugly. A High Court has given its judgement, but the Government is not ready to implement it. It means the Government is an accomplice in violating laws. Recently, the High Court issued orders in the Ayodhya case. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs also visited Ayodhya and said that court order was violated, but the Government is doing nothing. Why any regard is not being given to law? The Government that has no courage to ensure any regard for law, has no right to continue in power even for a minute. The violation of law will result in the disintegration of the country and on this particular issue the country will not only disintegrate but it will disintegrate into smallest possible parts. Therefore, this country does not deserve to continue in power. As such I support this no-confidence-motion. There is a point of social justice. We may certainly deliver lectures but it is very difficult to implement laws. When the issue of poverty is raised, when the issue of raising Harijans or the people of backward classes by providing them reservation according to the provisions of the Constitution is raised, agitation is started by higher castes and incidents like self-immolation take place. Unless the Government gets laws observed strictly, the country cannot make progress nor the poor people and Harijans living in the country can make progress. If the Government wants that there should be some regard to law, it should ensure regard to law sternly. Only then something good can be done to the country. Otherwise, the disintegration of this country is inevitable.

With these words, I support this no-

619 *Motion of No-confidence in*  
confidence motion and conclude.

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*the Council of Ministers* 620

17th of July, 1992.

[English]

21.19 hrs.

MR. CHARIMAN: I thank all hon.  
Members who have extended their  
cooperation. The House now stands  
adjourned to meet at 11. A.M. on Friday the

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till  
Eleven of the Clock on Friday, July 17,  
1992/Asadha 26, 1914 (Saka)*