

श्री सैयद प्रिय मोस्तम : ये आंकड़े आपने कहाँ से और कैसे प्राप्त किए, यह तो बता दीजिए ।

What is the source of these figures ? This is absolutely bogus. I can give you hundreds of examples in Western Uttar Pradesh alone during three months.

Shri P. M. SAYEED : You please listen to me.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद सायुद : आपने 660—
600 के आंकड़े दिए हैं, उससे दुगुना कर लीजिए कम से कम, 600 आंकड़े 2 महीने के.. (भयवधान)

श्री पी० एम० सईद Details of crimes committed on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by other caste; ये मैंने पढ़ कर सुनाया मिश्राजी ने एक सवाल पूछा है कि क्या ऐक्शन उन अफसर के बारे में उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने लिया है । तो मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो डिफाल्टिंग अफसर है, एडीशनल एस० पी० सर्कल

और आफिसर four other police officers have already been placed under suspension. The Senior Superintendent of Police had already been transferred. These are the details. As has been mentioned by many Members Rs. 1,10,000 is not a compensation for the indignities she suffered.

श्रीमती सरला साहसबारी : महाशय, माननीय मंत्री जी से मैं सिर्फ एक सवाल करना चाहती हूँ कि स्वयं गृह मंत्रालय ने ये आंकड़े दिए हैं कि हर एक घंटे में एक बलात्कार की घटना घटती है, हर घंटे के 59वें मिनट में महिलाओं पर अत्याचार की घटना होती है, हर 35 मिनट में महिलाओं के साथ छेड़-छाड़ होती है, ये आंकड़े गृह मंत्रालय द्वारा दिए गए हैं । मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि एक विशेष घटना के संदर्भ में जो आप ध्यान देते हैं, मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि क्या महिलाओं के ऊपर बढ़ते हुए अत्याचारों की इन घटनाओं को देखता हुआ गृह मंत्रालय कोई विशेष नीति ले रहा है या नहीं, कोई खास कदम उठा रहा है या नहीं ताकि महिलाओं की सुरक्षा हो सके ?

श्रीमती सरला साहसबारी : क्या कि महिला जायोज के

बारे में नीति और निर्णय लेते वक़्त किस तरह से आप उनको रोकेगे ?

SHRI P. M. SAYEED : Some money is being given to her to give her peace for some time, without going for her daily work. It is only a consolation. It is not for the indignity or humiliation suffered by her.

I think I have already covered all the points.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATARAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir/please permit me for a minute. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SAYED SIBTEY RAZI) : All of you, please take your seats. I want to share some information with hon. Members. Today, it would not be possible for us to take up the Special Mentions. And, in the post-lunch hours of the day, we will take up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

Now, the House stands adjourned till 2.45 p. m. for lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-two minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at forty-nine minutes past - two of the clock.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri Md. Salim) in the Chair.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan) : Sir, at the outset, I want to place on record that the President's Address, which I have gone through, hardly deals with the events of the last year. As we all know, the President's Address should contain some sort of a state-of-the-Union message, as it is known in America, what the Government feels is the present situation of the country, what happened in the last year and what the Government proposes to do in the year to come. Now, Sir, just taking the memory of the House a little back from 1980 to 1980 there was a continuous rule of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv (Janani), and the Congress party

majority. There was no political uncertainty in the country. The main items, the main issues, which focussed the attention of the country in those days, if I can take the memory of the House a little back, were poverty, unemployment, health, education and general progress of the whole country. That was the thrust of the Government's policies or the focus of attention of the nation. This got derailed because of, first, the problem in Assam; second, the problem in Punjab; third, the problem in Kashmir and fourth, the problem in Ayodhya. By the time 1989 came, these were the major issues which were engaging the attention of the country and the main issue of socio-economic transformation had gone into the background, it is in this background, in 1989 when elections were held on one single issue which rocked the country at that time, the then Government lost power. This Government which got elected in 1991 is now completing almost three years. What is the plank of this Government ever since it has come to power? The so-called new economic policy: That is the flagship of this Government (*Interruption*) *interruption*. ... Have a little patience, Mr Narayanasamy. I have heard ignorant speeches patiently. Listen to me patiently. The

Treasury Bench, in this very debate, have themselves, Member after Member, emphasised the main achievements of this Government. What are these? One, foreign exchange reserves have increased from one billion to 13 billion. When the country was on the verge of default in June, 1991, when gold was pledged, from that situation we have retrieved the country; the global image of the country is an all-time high, foreign investment is pouring in.

There is generally an upbeat mood, as far as business and industry are concerned. Now, Sir, strangely so, the thing that worries me is exactly this, that a country like India, where one-seventh of humanity is living, as a country which has such a glorious cultural past and heritage and traditions which we are proud of, a country which fought the Night of the British without any resources should come to this position Mahatma Gandhi fought the British. Churchill called him a half-naked fakir. He had no gun. He wore only a dhoti. He united the whole country to throw out the British. The British, mind you, were all powerful at that time and the Indian National Congress.

95.M/B(N)16RSS—25

or the outfit which Gandhi was leading was powerless before the British. Yet he succeeded in achieving independence. I put it to this Government and, through you, Sir, to the House, if GDP is the only important thing, if foreign investment is the only important thing, if money is the only important thing, we were doing well in 1947, why did we unnecessarily fight the British and throw them out? The British would have got all the investment. The East India Company was doing quite well. To shift the entire focus from socioeconomic economic transformation, from self-respect, from self-confidence and dignity to rupees and naya paise is the biggest mistake that this Government has done in the last three years.

I charge this Government you have vesapped the self-confidence of this country, you have deliberately created an inferiority complex in the whole country for the benefit of a handful of people. Today, the general impression is, if business, industry and commerce are doing well, the country is doing well. This is the basic thesis, I am telling you. According to me, commerce and industry are important. I am not saying they are not important, but in a country of India where 85 crores of people are living, the people involved in commerce and industry are only in thousands and lakhs; their welfare cannot be synonymous with the welfare of the country. Crores of people are living on agriculture or are unemployed or are landless peasants. They are living in utter misery. We cannot have a situation, Sir, in which the GDP shows a rosy picture—which also it is not showing; I will come to that later—but even assuming all that, the so-called new economic policy being successful, if the GDP rises, if the direct foreign investment rises, the country is doing well!

What about employment? What about poverty? If the people do not get employment, if the number of people below the poverty line goes on increasing, I am sorry to say, no economic policy can be called successful. Whether you call it new or old or liberalisation or globalisation, the name does not matter. Speaker after the speaker is praising liberalisation and globalisation. But globalisation of what? The only thing we will achieve is globalisation of prices. The Dunkel Treaty did not even find a mention in the President's Address. When the Diu Draft issue was again and again raised

by us, we were told by the Members from that side and by the Government that it is the most fantastic thing that has happened, that the new GATT Agreement is going to open new vistas and that Indian exports are going to have a boom. If it was such an important thing that was happening in the country' then how did the President ignore it? It did not find even a single line in the President's Address. According to him it was a non-event. It has not happened. But both things cannot be true. It has not been mentioned because the logic of the Dunkel Draft or the GATT is highly questionable. The President could not call it good. The best thing he thought was to ignore it. That is the only interpretation I can give. If they have studied the Dunkel Draft, I would like to know this from them. Once the Dunkel Text comes into operation the pharmaceutical prices would become global. Once the agriculture exports start, the wheat prices here will become global. Once the sugar export starts, the sugar prices would become global. But the Indian wages would not become global. What will happen is all these commodities will go beyond the reach of the common man. They are already beyond the reach of the common man. It will go beyond the reach of even the salaried class. After three years we will have a country which will have a great BOP, a great foreign exchange, may be even great exports. But people would go hungry. They would not be able to afford wheat. They would not be able to afford sugar. Is that the society we are looking forward to? Is that the vision of the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister? I just don't understand it. I don't claim to be a great student of economics. But I do have some experience of business and management. They have announced various concessions for the corporate sector. They have reduced taxation and they have removed many other hurdles. It is very good. It is very good for the industry. I come from an industrial background. But is it good for the country? That is the question we are faced with. I don't think that this House was made or even I have been sent here by my party to look after the interests of industry. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry will look into it. We, as Parliamentarians, have to look after this country. Making the country and industry synonymous is an exercise not acceptable to

out party; I am sure, not acceptable to most of the Members on this side.

If we go by Mr. Manmohan Singh's liberalisation, what are the distortions in it? I will come to that later. What is happening on the political side? There is a very interesting mention about Ayodhya in the President's Address. It says, "Around this time last year the Ayodhya issue had cast its long shadow on the national scene.", as if this time last year you were not there in the Government. You were in the Government. The shadow was cast under your supervision. I would say that, but for the bungling of this Government, events in Ayodhya would not have taken place. They are saying it so innocuously.

The President's Address says —

"There was a great deal of concern over the possible fall-out of the demolition and the riots that followed. Thanks to the inherent wisdom and sagacity of the Indian people, the grim prediction as that were being made have been proved wrong. The atmosphere has improved considerably and we can hope for a lasting solution to the dispute. Proceedings are continuing in the Supreme Court on the reference made to it under the Constitution. Government will take appropriate measures in the light of the opinion of the Supreme Court.

3.00 P.M.

Sir, what they are trying to say in short is—English is a beautiful language which can be moulded the way you want — that, last year because of the events in Ayodhya, there was a lot of worry and apprehension. Some riots took place. Thanks to the sagacity of the people. For that also they want to take the credit. If the people have been patient and riots have not continued, they say the predictions have all gone wrong and solution is possible. Sir, after the mosque has been razed to the ground; after one community has been put on the defensive, the Government says, 'peace has come'. Sir, this is the peace of the graveyard. I am extremely sorry if, on the issue of Ayodhya, this is the perception of the Government. In that case what the other people have done is more than justified. You are just justifying them. You are doing nothing else. Not word of remorse. Not a word of criticism against

the people who have done this. This is most reprehensible. I want to place on record that Ayodhya was a very delicate issue. When we were in the Government, we made a sincere attempt to have a dialogue with the two sides. Solution was very near. Then our Government fell. They had all the time on earth, right from June 1991, to find an amicable solution which could have avoided this very unfortunate situation. First of all, this unfortunate thing took place. In our view and we have said this before, 6th December, 1992 was one of the blackest days in the history of a free, democratic, secular India. Even the people who supported the Ram Mandir issue were on the defensive. They said that it was never planned and it happened accidentally. In other words, they agree that a mob collecting and pulling down the mosque was wrong. They themselves do not justify it. But they need not justify. They have a Government in power which is prepared to bail them out. It is prepared to say that peace has come now. If people apprehended discontent amongst one community, they say 'Look, it has not taken place.' So what has happened is justifiable and that is the message. I am surprised that the President himself should not find this objectionable. I strongly object to this Government slurring over the Ayodhya issue in this casual manner. Sir, on his Ayodhya issue, at that time, I had told my friends and I again repeat it that India is a great country with a glorious tradition. It is true that the country is secular in spite of all the countries in this region. If you see, right from Iran, Iraq and the other side, where democracies have got extinguished, India remained like a candle in this darkness. My friends here are proud to say that this is because the Hindus dominate. I agree with them. It is not because of religion. It is because of tradition. The Indian tradition is such that it absorbs everything. Whoever came to India could not convert India. Instead, he became an India. The Moguls came here. But they could not convert India. They became Indians. India has a momentum of its own. Mrs. Gandhi was once asked by a foreigner, 'can you describe India in one word?' It is only Mrs. Gandhi who could give that reply. She took a minute and said, 'India is an idea'. Sir, please understand the meaning. India is an idea which cannot be conceived in any part of the world. It is a country where we

have multilingual, multi-racial, multi-religious societies, multiethnic people, living in utter harmony, enjoying full democratic rights, full human-rights, civil liberties, a free Press and a free Parliament. There are no day-to-day conflicts. Sir, most of the conflicts have been started because of the inadequacies of the Government, because of petty politicking indulged in by various political parties and mainly the ruling party. It steps were taken in time, most of these conflicts could have been avoided... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Even your party. . . *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMALA: MORARK Mr. Jadhav, when I say all parties, I am in the House, I am not outside the system... *(interruptions)*... Please have patience. You are the ruling party today. Please understand your responsibilities. Do you know where we are today?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Do you know where we are today ? *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: I understand our responsibilities. But I want that you also understand your responsibilities. It all happened even when you were in power.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Sir, he is only provoking me. Till 1879, most of these problems were not there. Bhindranwale was their creation. The Punjab mess was started by them, Assam mess was started by them... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : Mr. Morarka...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Sir, I seek our protection... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : Your leader had gone to Amritsar several times and he supported those people.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Who Chandra Shekharji? He went to meet Bhindranwale. You correct your history.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : I did not say that he went to meet Bhindranwale. But he supported their movement for a very long time.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Sir, this is not the time to talk of people who are dead and gone. But let the record be put straight. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution was passed in 1973. The Rajiv Gandhi Government referred that Resolution to the Sarkaria Commission. There is nothing wrong with anybody demanding autonomy or demanding more powers. That is not the issue. The issue is one of terrorism the issue is of misusing the official apparatus; the issue is of alienating Our own countrymen. And all these things have continuously been done by your Government. Let us not try to Hince words. Sir the funniest thing that I hear is my friends saying here that the Hazratbal crisis was handled with great care. But who created the crisis? When did the crisis take place. It was during your regime. Why didn't you prevent it (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYNASAMY (Pondichery) : This problem was there even during the earlier periods.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): please Mr; Narayanasamy have patience.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, Kashmir today, is the central issue that threatens the unity of this country. The Government says that our Kashmir policy is very clear. What is the policy? They say, "Kashmir is an integral part of India." Is that a policy? We all know that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Still there is a problem there. What is your policy to solve that problem? What is your policy to bring back the alienated citizens into the mainstream? They say that our policy on Kashmir is very clear and that Clinton should know, "Kashmir is an integral part of India." Sir when our Government was in power, a very small gesture of goodwill was shown by us for the U.S. We allowed refuelling of their planes—used for medical help, for humanitarian purposes, and not for carrying arms—during the Gulf war. Sir, there was a cacophony of voices from the Congress (I) saying : "India's interests have, been sold out. Why are we helping the U.S.? It has never been done before." Sir now some Robin Raphale, equivalent to our Joint Secretary or Under Secretary, is firing them every day... (*Interruptions*) Mr. Jagesh Desai corrects me; some Under Secretary is firing them every day and they are on the defensive. They are only making appeals to her : "No

no, our Sikh rights are there. Why did Clinton use this language? Please explain Clinton. You have become supplicant before the U.S. Do you realise that in three years, you have undone everything that Pandit - Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Shri Raji-Gandhi stood for? you have undone everything. In three years, you have come to a position where the President of the United States does not allow our Ambassador, Mr. Siddhatha Shankar Ray, to present his credential to him. He asked a Deputy Secretary to receive the credentials. And President Clinton receives the Pakistan Ambassador, Ms. Saudia Lodi who has just been appointed, and takes the credentials himself. This is your international prestige today. This is the condition of India which you have brought upon yourselves... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : Can you yield for a minute? Probably, my hon. friend was not there in the House on the day when the hon. Home Minister, Shri Chavan, replied on the Kashmir issue. He condemned the attitude of the U.S. in very strong words

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Thank you Sir, he is supporting my case. All that we do is that the Home Minister, in our Parliament, uses strong language against Clinton, and Clinton is using strong languages against us in Washington. This shows how much we are alienated from each other. I want to put on record that if India does not have human right and civil rights, then no country in the world has civil rights and human rights... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VJTHALRAO MODHAVRAO JADHAV : Why are you afraid of Clinton? Clinton is not everything in the world. The United States is not the deciding authority of the foreign policies of all the countries of the world.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Why don't you say that to Chavan Saheb? Why is he using a strong language? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VJTHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : He has rightly condemned the attitude of the United States.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : I am condemning the attitude of the Indian Government because the Indian Government is supin

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : The Opposition is not only to oppose... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : That is the job of the Opposition.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : The United States was always a powerful country. India was always a poor country. The United States could not have the courage to face India when India had a strong leader. Today, India it seen as being under a supine Government which, for the sake of a few silver pieces, goes to the World Bank and IMF and is prepared to lie low and lose its self-respect in the corridors of the world powers.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV : You people are... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM) : Mr. Jadhav, you had your time. You made your point. What else do you want ? Please sit down.

SHRI HIPHEI (Mizoram) : Yesterday Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral has clearly stated that when the President speaks, he speaks of the broad policies of the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Md. Salim): See, there are 14 speakers from the Congress party. They can sufficiently give reply. Now, Mr. Morarka, you please continue.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : I again repeat. .. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI HIPHEI : Yesterday Mr. Morarka was not here when Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral made his speech. I listened to him very carefully. He said that we were divided.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The Opposition is demanding.

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH (Bihar) : Mr. Hiphei, you are making a nascent demand,

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : I think the Members have missed the issue that I am raising. They think that I am charging them with incompetence. Half of them are incompetent. If they are competent why are not made Ministers. Those who are Ministers, they are incompetent. What can I do? There is a Government here. That Government represents India. If that

Government cannot present itself in an effective way in the United States, surely the Opposition is not to blame. Even you people are not to blame. I appreciate your, predicament. But please don't, please don't belittle this very important issue that India is [one country. It May be one country among the 120 countries. In my opinion, it is 1/7th of the world population. We are not just one country; we are one of the most important countries in the world.

Sir, let there be no mistake that the last three years their only achievement is [getting some loans and filling their bank balance.. There is no dispute. You have 13 billion. Conceded. You have got promotes.. (*Interruptions*)..

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra); We have got 13 billion. On the contrary, every year the loan from IMF is reduced and it has come to... (*Interruptions*)....

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : You allow us to speak. No debate can take place if you are not prepared to hear the others' point of view.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD SALIM) : Mr. Morarka, please continue.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Sir, the only achievement that they can boast of is the 13, billion foreign exchange reserves. These is terminology in economics. It is not your reserves. It is your current balance. The only thing they can claim is that the BoP position is comfortable. I have already said that a country cannot live on BoP. You may have a comfortable BoP position. But the people are dying in Kalahandi and Palamau. They cannot eat your foreign exchange. They have to eat wheat. If wheat is not available if wheat not available at a reasonable price, the Government's policy has failed. You cannot have food. My friend, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad is sitting here. A very nice man, modern man and he has the "Open Sky" policy. You may have five airlines. But how will the five airlines help a hungry man ? Yesterday, Mr. Swaminathan was arguing that having five airlines was very good, since the timings of the Indian Airlines were not good. Therefore, Jet Airways is very good. That can be very good for all of us who are 0.1 per cent of the country's population. Does it help the people? It this

irrelevant to the country's problems. We are wasting far too much time for these elitist problems. It is totally irrelevant. I think his should be discussed with the Minister in his chamber. Parliament's time should be given to the problems of drinking water, availability of foodgrains, availability of amenities of health and education, etc. to the common man. In the last three years—13 billion dollars are there and we know that-how many people literate ?

became literate ? How many more maternity homes have been opened ? We do not know. How many more people have got health facilities ? We do not know. How many people have come above the poverty line ? We do not know. How many people have got employed or unemployed ? We do not know. In my view, the Budget exercise has become totally irrelevant. It contains the interests of a few lakhs of people who play in the Bombay Stock Exchange and who run big industries. Beyond that, the Budget is of no consequence to the rest of the country or to the Parliament. I feel the Budget discussion should not be held for such lengthy periods. We should concentrate on expenditure discussion : What is that money being spent for ? How much of it is being wasted ? How much of it is going in corruption ? Our discussion should be on expenditure. We should not waste time on the modalities, the SEBI and the Sensex. All that is bogus. It has no relevance to this country. It has no relevance to anybody.

Sir, on the political side, as I said, before on Kashmir, still they are groping in the dark. They do not know what their policy is. In Punjab, there is peace, peace through the guns. Real peace will come when the boys will come into the mainstream, that follow-up is yet to be taken. Unless you do it, the situation can slide back. You have a Chief Minister there. But your K.P.S. Gill is more important than the Chief Minister. You cannot have two kind of politics. You will have to make politics that is relevant. Today, Sir, the entire political system is in disrepute, not only they, but all of us. Every time Mr. T.N. Seshan opens his mouth against politicians, he is greatly applauded by everybody. Why ? Have we ever thought about it among ourselves ? He is very popular among the students, Everybody is taking his autograph.,

Every time he calls the bureaucracy and the politicians names. He is scoffing at the entire system. Sir, it is not a good sign. If the system is in disrepute, it is not a question of the ruling party or the Opposition. If the entire system is in disrepute, where will we go ? Sir, the only thing we are proud of is our democracy. It will be in danger. We cannot allow it. Mr. Seshan has had a dialogue with the Government. He suggested a lot of things. Many of his submissions may be right on electoral reforms. It is for the Government to sit down with him and discuss. But a situation in which the Government and the Chief Election Commissioner are not on talking terms and the Chief Election Commissioner talks to the Government through the press does not augur well for our Constitution.

SHRI MENTAYPADMANABHAM: And the Government talks through the court.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : No, no, Mr. Padmanabham. The Government talks to the Chief Election Commissioner through the principal spokesman of the Congress Party, not even through the court. Every day I see a statement from Mr. Gadgil commenting on what Mr. Seshan has done. Sir, this is not the way to run a democracy. We are ridiculing ourselves in the public eye. I think collectively we must sit together and put our house in order before it is too late. And this onus is on the Government. Please call a meeting of all parties. Please sit down with them. Please sort out this mess because if a message goes to your people and to other countries that your democratic system is not working properly and the elections are being rigged, I do not think it is a happy augury for the system. So, whatever needs to be done do it. But do it in a responsible way, not through the press. That is not the way to do.

Sir, on the Mandal issue which was brought to the fore by our Government, Mr. V. P. Singh's Government, look at the funny part. The Congress Party, when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was there, passed a very balanced and sensible resolution reacting to what Mr. V. P. Singh Government was going to do on Mandal. It was a very balanced resolution saying that people who have been traditionally backward should be taken care of, but without an upheaval in the society. At that time, there was a

lot of trouble. The Government fell. We came to power with the help of the Congress Party. We tried to bring down the temperature of the agitationists and of the country. Sir, after 1991 where have we gone? I do not think any backward class person has got a job because people have lost jobs in the last three years. Nobody can get a job. You cannot retrench people. Yet, Mandal is a live issue every day. And, Sir, what is the result? The result is that everybody has jumped on that bandwagon. Your Welfare Minister whans to speak louder than the Mandalities.

The Congress Party also claims to be a bigger champion of Mandal than Mr. V. P. Singh. There is a competitive politics in appeasing the backwards. I must say that our great BJP friends have also joined the fray. People who till now had kept aloof and stuck of to some sort of a line which they had adopted, suddenly found that it is an avalanche. This caste politics overrides their religious politics. So, they have also joined the fray. They also want to nominate the backward people everywhere. Please take it from me. Nothing will happen. The more you try to play this politics, the more will Mr. Mulayam Singh gain. None of you will gain. Let us make no mistake. Everybody in politics should restrict to his plan. Congress Party can do well. We are all centrists. At some time or the other, we parted away from this party.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT) AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (DEPTT. OF HEAVY INDUSTRY) (SHRIMATI KRISHNA SAH1) : What about Mr. Laloo Yadav?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Janata Dal, yes. When I said of Mr. V. P. Singh, it included Mr. Laloo Yadav.

Sir, Congress Party had a plan. My submission is very simple here. The country after a long freedom struggle was inspired and there is no mistake about it when I say that it is old fashioned to talk about Mahatma [Gandhi]. I don't think so. I think after Marxism—Marxism has not failed—but after the Soviet system collapsed, Marxism is under sort of a

cloud. The capitalist system has, in any case failed. The tragedy in the world is that we are breakways. If communism fails, the immediate reaction is that capitalism is the answer. Communism came when capitalism failed. So, that cannot be the answer. Capitalism failed first and then communism came. Now communism has also failed. When both of them have failed, what is the path? The path was shown by Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan. They were in the same country where we are living. But no, Sir, we are all suffering from an inferiority complex. My friends here suffer from a complex that 'We are Hindus and in our own country, we are second-rate citizens. Muslims are getting all the benefits'—a thing, created in their own mind, creating their own complex.

There is another set of people who have created a complex—'Without America, what can we do? Without money, we will be sunk. Both of them are wrong. This is a great country, a country which Mahatma Gandhi taught, a country which can stand on its own feet. The biggest strength of the country is that the consumption level of a common man, of an ordinary man, is very low. But he can live a happy life at a low consumption level. Today, market economy means to raise their consumption level and make them miserable to a level which they cannot afford. That is their plan. What will you do? If everything succeeds, can you make these 85 crores of people rich? You cannot. If everything that Mr. Manmohan Singh wants, comes true, only a handful of five thousand people will become super rich; twenty houses will become super rich. But that does not help the country. The masses of poor people will remain poor and that will bring a social upheaval. What you are doing is, you are planning a social upheaval after five years. Mr. Manmohan Singh will not be there tomorrow. Mr. Narsimha Rao will not be there tomorrow. But all of us who are in the next generation will be left holding the baby. That is what we are doing. I request the younger Members. Please see the waiting on the wall and try to make a policy that can be a long-term policy. Don't try to go by a short-term policy.

SHRI S. VJ DUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu) : Who is young?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Is Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad not there ? Sir, there is no use chalking out an economic course which may look very good for one or two years. But what will be after that ? We must chalk out a course which Mahatma Gandhi chalked out, which Pandit Nehru chalked out for the last forty years. Pandit Nehru was educated in London. Mrs. Gandhi was one of the most modern women I have known. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was too much into the electronics and he was a very modern man. Did all those people not know of what they are talking about today ? Did they not know of market economy ? Did they not know of modernisation ? Did they not know of liberalisation ? They knew and they consciously rejected that model because they knew that it cannot take you even for one mile. The distance to be covered is one hundred miles. The motor car will go for one mile and get stuck. So they said that we will take another path. That was the path of moderate consumption, simple living, austerity, taking all sections of the people with you, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes brethren to be brought into the mainstream and the Backward Class people to be given something. The rich people are not to be given a *carte blanche*. No, Sir, sometime back, there was a ceiling on salary. It was a welcome thing. There was a ceiling of Rs. 15,000/- per month, i.e. about Rs. 2 lakhs per year, in respect of the salary of managing directors. But, suddenly, the Government removed that ceiling. Now, for example, one company is paying Rs. 42 lakhs a year to its managing director. Do you think this model could last ? No. If the companies pay to their managing directors Rs. 30 lakhs, Rs. 40 lakhs, etc., as a consequence of it, what will be the salary of the people in the lower rung ? ultimately, after two years, the wages of labour would become double. Again, the gap would remain. The only thing which would happen is that the agricultural labour and unorganised labour would be left behind.

What kind of a society are we creating ? We are creating a society which would become unworkable. By the time this Government goes, the economy would become unmanageable and the country would become ungovernable. This is what they are doing. Today, the Riches belong to the rich. Certain

sections of the people are rich. You give sops to these sections and they say that this is a good Budget. If certain sections welcome the Budget because of some concessions given to them, do you think it is a good Budget and the whole country welcomes it ? Can we ignore the people in general ? Can we ignore Parliament ? Parliament is the country. We, Member of Parliament, represent the country. Member sitting in the Lok Sabha represents the people in the 500 odd constituencies. If you frame the Budget without consulting them, do you think you can claim that the whole country has accepted the Budget ? If the Sensex figure goes up, does it mean that the entire country has welcomed the Budget ?

Sir, the whole philosophy must go. We must rid ourselves of this logic. We must go back to the old path. We must go back to the path of Mahatma Gandhi. We must get back to business. We must get back to the programmes of the Congress Party. We must go back to the original programmes of the Congress Party. The original programmes of the Congress Party are correct. Do not allow distortions. Of course, Sir, I see a ray of hope. The hon. Prime Minister, during his recent visit abroad,...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI : He said it in Davos.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : The Prime Minister recently told a foreign gathering that 'We, in India, would strike the middle way', Sir, the middle way is what is there in the Constitution, in the Directive Principles of State Policy. This is the middle way. Why should we be ashamed of our own intelligence ? Why should we surrender our intelligence at the feet of the westerners ? Something has happened. Something has gone wrong somewhere.

The country cannot function, a country of this size, the Government of such a country, cannot be run, without idealism. There has to be idealism. There has to be inspirations. There has to be something higher. There has to be something higher than rupees and paise. But what is the Government doing ? It is trying to reduce the entire Government business into commerce. It is trying to reduce the entire philosophy into rupees and paise. I think this is the most reprehensible thing which

he Government has done, the results of which would be felt in the year to come.

I think I should end now because I have dealt with many of the points. But just now, my friend here has given a very interesting piece of information which I overlooked. I must mention it. Apart from the new economic policy, there is one more achievement of the Government, i.e. turning the minority into majority. The minority Government has been turned into a majority Government. This fact was over, looked by me. My apologies. I think one of the greatest achievements of the Government is that slowly, but surely, it has turned the minority into majority. If this, by itself, could help the country, I do not mind.

श्री मोहम्मद अकबल उर्फ सीम अकबल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मोरारका जी, आपको याद होगा, मनमोहन सिंह जी ने एक शेर पढ़ा था :

हम अकेले ही चले थे जानिबे मंजिल मगर,
लोग साथ आते गए और कारवां बढ़ता गया

نہیں تھیں افسوس شرف نام : افضل ہمارا
جی آجیو یاد ہو گا۔ منموہن سنگھ جی نے ایک
شعر پڑھا تھا :
ہم اکیلے ہی چلے تھے جانب منزل مگر
لوگ ساتھ آتے گئے اور کارواں بڑھ گیا

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Mr. Manmohan Singh is very good at *sher*, I must compliment him, He is not here. But the Finance Minister's recitation of couplets does not help us. Our problem is different. Our problem is this. All of us should sit together. Now, what is happening in U. P. ? In the case of U. P., it used to be claimed by the Congress Party that those who ruled U. P. would rule the entire country. This was the slogan. Are you sticking to this claim today ? Now, U. P. is between Mulayam Singh and the B. J. P. We have been wiped out. I say it is between Mulayam Singh and the B. J. P. because Mulayam Singh is ruling there and the B. J. P. is the largest

party, there Where is Congress ? It got just 27 seats. This is not even 10 per cent. Can you claim that you are ruling the entire country. If you are not seeing the writing on the wall, I am sorry for that. I see the writing on the wall. That is why I am worried. I do not want the B. J. P.'s philosophy. I do not want it to rule the country. No. I also do not want this country to be ridden with caste conflicts to such an extent that nobody would be able to control it. What is the path then ? The path is the one from which you have strayed, You so back to that path. My message to them is that they must go back to that path. Cynicism should be removed.

Sir, today, nobody believes the Government. Nobody believes any statement they make, except that of Mr. Manmohan Singh- You go to the public today. Only two persons have credibility in the country. Who ? Seshan and Mr. Manmohan Singh. Why ? They are non-politicians. They are seen as honest people outside this dirty system. We are all part of the cesspool. People say, "They have come to liberate us." Is this acceptable ? It may be acceptable to them. It is absolutely unacceptable to me. There are sections of people here who have stayed in jail, who have fed agitations, who have worked for the country/Why are they in a bad shape today? Because, the system is in dispute. The Government's actions are such that you don't take action on corruption. You are dilly-dallying. You are creating an atmosphere that shows as if you have something to hide. I don't want to enumerate the various corruptions that this Government has indulged in. The fact remains that there is a general atmosphere of cynicism among that people except a handful of top, rich people in the country. They feel that this is a great Government, and this is a great country! I request... (Time bell rings)

श्री संघ प्रिय भीतन : सर, ये रिटायर हो रहे हैं, आप इसको टाईम दीजिए, इनको बोलने

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : I don't want to speak much. If by now they have not understood me, they will, not-understand me forever.

श्रीमती कृष्णा साहू : हम लोग आपको बिल्कुल समझ रहे हैं।

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : Since it is a practice to say so many couplets. I think I should also end my speech with a couplet. I told this to my friends in the BJP when they had razed down the Ayodhya mosque. I am telling it in the context of funning of the Government.

“यह दौर भी देखा है तारीख की आंखों ने लमहों ने खता की थी, सदियों ने सजा पाई”।

श्रीमती कृष्णा साहू : यह भी मनमोहन सिंह जी बोल चुके हैं, बिल्कुल बोल चुके हैं।

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : I am sorry, I did not hear his speech, but he has spoken about himself.

Sir, my whole contention is that they make mistakes of far-reaching consequences. They make mistakes like the Ayodhya incident—Today this Government may feel that there is peace. What you have done in Ayodhya will be felt for decades and centuries. Who knows for how many decades we will have to suffer for what you are doing today on the economic front?

Finally, I want to say about the Dunkel Text. The parliament in every country had to pass the Maastricht Treaty. The parliament in every country had to pass the Dunkel Draft—The US Congress had to pass the NAFTA Treaty. The Indian Constitution has a lacuna that a treaty of such far-reaching consequences can be signed by the Government without Parliament passing it. I put it to the Government. Please consider this. We should amend our Constitution to provide for this about certain treaties. There must be a precedent in the U.S. and the U. K. that treaties which have long-range implications are required to be passed by the parliament by two-thirds majority. Only then they should be signed by the Government.

I think there is a lacuna here. I see that ever. Clinton was helpless about the NAFTA. He had to count each vote in the Congress. Here Mr. Pranab Mukherjee comes and announces that he has signed a treaty. We are helpless. I think—this lacuna in the Constitution should be plugged. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD-SALIM) : Shri Bhubaneshwar Kalita not here Dr. B.B. Dutta.

Before you start, the Congress Party is now left with 62 minutes totally. You are having 14 speakers left. So, unless you speak for less than four minutes, you will not be able to give a chance to everybody. Yes, please.

DR. B.B. DUTTA (Nominated) : Mr. Vice Chairman, I rise to support the Motion moved by Mr. Ahluwalia, hanking the President for his Address to the joint session of the Houses of Parliament.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I come from the North-East, a far-flung, remote corner of the country. I find that our perceptions are sometimes very different from those of our friend from the South and the North.

As far as the President's Address is concerned, we do not consider that it is a mere ritual. It is a very healthy practice that the President at the beginning of the session every year address the joint session. It gives us an opportunity to discuss certain vital issues. In fact, I feel very much inspired by what the President has said in his speech, the concern he has expressed for various sections of the people and the mention he has made about the various regions of the country, including our own. That emboldens me to say something first about the economic policies that concerns our region.

With the coming of the new economic policy the liberalisation, the privatisation and all that, we feel very much apprehensive about what will happen to the North-East. The North-East does not have till today a sound road or rail link with the rest of the country. We had only one link, but after the partition we have been put in isolation. We have suffered from historical isolation, we have suffered because of partition a geographical isolation and now we suffer from extreme economic backwardness. Our dependence on the Centre is the need of the day. Industrialisation is not in sight at all. Therefore, now in this competitive economy which is emerging, though we have not left the Nehruvian mould, if something on an urgent basis is not done by the Centre, we are very much apprehensive of what will happen to the North-East. For

example, when you look at the TV during the news time, you see that corridor. What is the situation in the corridor about the infrastructure. There is a single-line railway and there is a single-line roadway. Not less than two or two-and-a-half months every year it is submerged because of floods. As a result traffic comes to a standstill. Can you imagine what is the cost of it to the economic development as far as the North-East is concerned? Because of our isolation we have got double hike in the cost of production. For getting raw materials we have to pay extra and for putting the products back into the market we have again to pay extra. Added to this we have this kind of infrastructural bottleneck. If we apply the modern technology, raise the road level in those areas, which are flooded by the middle-Himalayan rains in the rainy season and if we make the railway a double-track and also the roads as double track, the North-East can be connected with the rest of the economy in a soundway. But that has not yet been done. It is possible to do. We require only a few thousand crores of rupees. What is it compared to the amount of money we are paying to the North-East for para-Military forces for containing the insurgency and all kinds of agitations. So, I would request this House to join me to request the President and his Government to make a fresh plan for this purpose.

There are certain capitals like Kohima, Aizawl, Imphal and Agartala. Some capitals are connected by air-links, some have not been. Right from Mr. Nehru's time we have been having an idea that all capitals in India will be connected with the national capital. Till today after almost 50 years, we have not been; we have to have the air links with some of the State capitals. There is a lot of frustration about this.

North-East has got about 30 per cent of hydro-power potential. How much have we invested to tap this power in the North-East? The power can revolutionise the economy. Power can be exported from the North-East. Tea and oil have been recognised as national resource and North is contributing tea and oil to the national economy. Why not utilise its power? There is not till this time any big scheme for power utilisation in the North-East. I may in

form this House that only 1.6 per cent of power utilisation is there in the North-East.

Power is one of the biggest agents of revolutionising the economy and for all round development of the society. We are now neglecting this power. There is a huge source for power generation. I feel foreign collaboration should come. Let the Central Government take up this matter. My only suggestion is that we should not be overawed by insurgencies and all that. I will tell you in the North-East the people in general are for the nation and the for mainstream. They are all nationalists. If you analyse the past elections, you will find that they have voted massively for stability and for national political parties. The youth who are frustrated have been misguided and influenced by the people across our borders. Now the ISI is working. That is how we are facing a very big situation. But when people are with the country, when people are with the nation, why should we not have a big programme for the North-East States? You should open the North-East States to the rest of the country. You should connect the North-East States properly. You should connect the Southern part of North-East like Tripura, Manipur and Aizawl. They are not well connected. There is no short-cut route to Guwahati. A route was opened in Nehru's time but it has not yet been completed. There should be a shorter route. A broad gauge line should be opened. Now it has been done only upto Tinsukia.

I would like to point out one more thing about IAS and IPS officers posted in the North-East States. They feel that they are having very hazardous duties. Their families are remaining in Delhi and their children are getting education here. These officers are feeling that though they are working, in the North-East States, their hearts and souls are in Delhi. They always keep on coming here and going back. With this kind of attitude, can they devote their attention to their duties? You may be knowing that Shillong is one of the most advanced cultural centres and one of the highly developed educational centres in the North-East States. Why can't the IAS and IPS officers get their children admitted there? If it is so difficult, why can't they make some arrangements for their children's education so that they can devote their attention towards their duties? They should.

not divide their attention at the place of their postings and at the place of their families who are here.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we live in the periphery of this country. We have been condemned to the periphery by the twists and turns of history. We are very much sensitive about certain matters. We are very much concerned about our foreign policy. Now what is happening in Kashmir ? Some claims and some counterclaims have been made on the Kashmir situation. Well, we from the North-East feel very much concerned about it. That is why I would request you to kindly give me a few minutes to say something on the foreign policy itself. Mr. Vice-Chairman, we remember how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation of our foreign policy as far back as 1928. As the Congress President, he gave a foreign policy to the Congress party and as the first Prime Minister of India, he had acted upon that foreign policy. What was that foreign policy? As far as we can see, it was rooted on two very important planks. One was that India remains a secular, plural democracy, a socialist democracy and that she does not belong to one group of people. At the height of the greatest provocation, when the fundamentalist forces clamoured for the division of the country, it was done under compelling circumstances. Nehru and all the leaders were forced to accept partition. But one thing was categorically rejected and that was partition on the basis of the two-nation theory. They did not submit to fundamentalism. It is this aspect of the polity, this ethos of the polity which should be adequately reflected in our foreign policy. Now what is happening ? We find that after the collapse of the Soviet regime, the fundamentalist forces are throwing up an increasing challenge to our secular democracy. Now this challenge is not a very new thing. If we go back to our history also, we find that even during the period of Sultanate and even during the Moghul period, this conflict between the fundamentalist forces and the progressive forces among the Muslims was there.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I may not be misunderstood. By fundamentalism, I do not mean Islamic fundamentalism or Hindu fundamentalism or Christian fundamentalism only. I mean fundamentalism of all faiths because fundamentalism does not mean that it is a fight between Hindus and Muslims or Muslims and I

Christians and all that. Fundamentalism may be at times inter-religious, but often it is intra-religious also. That fight was always there. It is not new. But we were the first victims of fundamentalism in 1947. After 1947, we find now in the country that an atmosphere is developing when, again, we are afraid that dark clouds are gathering in the sky. Their long shadows are there. We are afraid as to what will happen. So many millions of people died; so many women were raped; so many were sold to prostitution; and so many millions of people became homeless. If this fundamentalism comes we who live in the frontiers, are very, very, worried about it. After the end of the Cold War, a new battle has started between fundamentalism and democracy, modern democracy. A strong hotbed for fundamentalism is found in Asia. It is there on a global scale. And, India being one of the largest democracies, with its secular, democratic, polity, it has become the No. 1 enemy of the fundamentalist forces. Like Vietnam like Korea today, Kashmir has become a testing ground of fundamentalists.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, ours is a vibrant democracy. It belongs to Hindus, Muslims, Christians, to all, equally. We have never tried any funny practice of democracy like a 'controlled democracy' or a 'guided democracy' or something like that. Ours is a democracy of which we can boast before the world. What are the most powerful democracies in the world doing today ? We expect their support. But we find that they are using the 'human rights' weapon against us. What is that ? Did we not pay the greatest tribute to human rights when at the gravest provocation at that hour in 1947, instead of going in for a Hindu Raj, we decided that India belonged to all the citizens of India, that Hindus, Muslims, all shared unlike the fundamentalists who would say that wherever they were in a majority, the land belonged to them. We never did that kind of a thing. Did we not pay rich tributes 11 years before the Human Rights Declaration was made in the United Nations under the chairmanship of Eleanor Roosevelt ? We have done that. The world should appreciate that. Through our foreign policy, we should speak to the nations.

There is one more point I would like to make. You cannot control fundamentalism in India by only talking to the fundamentalists within

India. If fundamentalism has to be controlled it has to be controlled across our frontiers also, within our immediate neighbours also. It is so because fundamentalism has a sub-continental base. How do we go about it? Here comes our foreign policy. We must develop a concerted effort, united effort, global effort, through our foreign policy. Diplomacy is seventy per cent of the modern warfare. We want that diplomacy to come in play. We want a live, comprehensive, foreign policy at work.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri V. Narayanasamy) in the Chair]

We do not like to be found merely improvising, responding or reacting to fast-developing situations around us. The fundamentalists have got a territorial design. The battle today in the world, after the Cold War has ended, is between fundamentalism and modern democracy. It is a battle between everything that is modern and human and everything that is obscurantist. They are anti-human. It is a battle between fundamentalists exclusiveness and cooperative exclusiveness. It is a battle between democratic pluralism and fundamentalist exclusiveness.

So, in this battle, I think we have to take a final decision to fight it out with courage and determination. We have to analyse the situation and come to a decision to fight it out here there and everywhere.

As far as America is concerned, being a student of Political-Economy, I remember that President Roosevelt did not want India to be divided on the basis of communalism. This fact is clear from the correspondence between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill and ultimately, the British people sold this idea to the Truman Administration that a strong Hindu India is against the Anglo-American interests in the Gulf region. Now, I find that the present administration in America is also being guided by the same assumption. One more thing. In this fight, we need not be afraid of America, we need not allow America to give lectures to us about human rights. They should not utilise the human rights as a weapon to serve their own narrow interests, either to have the nuclear monopoly, or to have their monopoly of interests in some parts of the world.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) Kindly conclude.

DR. B. B. DUTTA : With these words, I thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. MADHAVAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I join my colleague in thanking the President for his Address. At this very outset, I would like to point out that the problems of the State Government of Tamil Nadu have not been mentioned in the Address, especially the burning problems in Tamil Nadu and the needs of the State of Tamil Nadu. Though the Government of Tamil Nadu brought these problems to the notice of the Government of India a number of times, the Government of India has not taken note of them. For example, the Cauvery river water dispute has been pending for a long time, in spite of the Tribunal's interim award, which has not been implemented. The Sethusamudram Project which has been pending from the British days, has not been attended to. It was started by the Congress Government and four Committees have been constituted. All the Committees have recommended it to the Government of India to implement this project, but the same Congress Government has not taken any action in this regard. About the Southern Gas Grid, all the Southern Chief Ministers, including the Congress Chief Ministers, joined together and passed a resolution. They are prepared to contribute funds to the Government of India for this purpose. But, in spite of that, the Government of India has not taken any decision. Take for instance, the Railways. There is no project in Tamil Nadu. The existing capacity is being taken away. The Congress party, also ally like this along with the Congress Members from Tamil Nadu, but nothing has been done by the Government of India. The Congress Members must go and press this demand outside in their party fora. So, the feeling is that Tamil Nadu is being neglected. This is the feeling which the Government of India must take note of. The Government of India is emphasising that the ongoing liberalised economic policy, globalising the Indian economy through reforms, is irreversible and continuous, and the same thing is being repeated. At the same time, the Government of India wants to convince the people that the direct foreign investment is more in the core sectors, in the infrastructural sector.

and not in the consumer goods sector. Our hon. Prime Minister, in his address at Davos, has emphasised that foreign investment is preferred only in the infrastructural sector. For example, power. I was happy to read that speech. But, what really happens ? More foreign funds are flowing into, the speculative stock market. The share prices increase steeply. The foreigners are cornering the shares of the Indian industrialists. I am told that many of the Indian industrialists are afraid of foreign flow of money in the share market.

Another aspect is that the remittances from the foreign investors in India are on the increase. For example, the remittances to foreign countries from the foreign investors in India during 1987-88 were Rs. 67.33 crores.

In 1991-92, this has gone up to 190.07 crores. Your policy is making investment profitable for foreign investors. The Government want to open our economy to the multinationals. Whenever our Prime Minister or any other, Minister goes abroad, he says to foreign investors, "Here is a vast market in India, come to India." What does it mean ? You want them to exploit the economy of the country . This is very objectionable. Opening the floodgates to multinationals will bring horrible misery to our people. What happened to the Congress's continued policy of self-reliance? It has been given a go by. Instead, they always invite foreigners to exploit our economy. What is happening in the U. S. A. ? What do the people of the U.S. A. feel ? I quote a writing from a journal:

"A series of newspaper articles and protests in the U.S. against the Indian software professionals arriving in large numbers taking away American jobs and cause job losses. Hence U.S. has started implementing a new set of visa regulations that restrict entry of the Indian software professionals into U.S.A."

The U.S people comment:

"Weaving mills had to be closed and mill workers lost jobs in U.S.A. as a result of Indian textile goods dumped in U.S.A."

This is their objection But we want a globalised economy, a free economy, opening the gates

to foreign nationals. See the reaction in the U.S.A. But our Government wants to open our economy to the U.S. multinationals. The Government wants to ignore the protests of the working class in this country. They are going to lose jobs in India. I must recall our hon. Prime Minister's speech at Davos. I was very glad to hear the news on T.V. :

"Pandit Nehru adumbrated the concept of mixed economy. He was criticised in every quarter, right and left."

"But the mixed economy concept has saved India from political submission and economic dependence."

He further says :

"In the new-found enthusiasm for change, Governments should not go overboard to plunge large chunks of their people, India, people, into mass misery; they have no right to do so."

This is what the Prime Minister says. But what does the Government do ? The Prime Minister wanted a middle path, advocated a middle way at Davos. But what does the Finance Minister say ? This fear expressed by the Prime Minister, has been the concern of our working class in our country. What do the foreign investors want? They want the Exit policy. They want to throw away our labourers from the industry. The Government wants to invite Japan. The Government is interested in inviting Japanese. But what is happening in U.S.A.? There is a trade war between Japan and U.S.A. U.S.A., economically the most developed country, is afraid of Japan, but we are inviting Japan. What do Japanese want ? They want separate township for promoting industries and giving jobs to the working class here in India. This is the invasion the Japanese Government want. The Congress Government invite the Japanese. I want, the Congress Government must candidly say whether Pandit Nehru's policy of self-reliance and mixed economy will continue or they want the domination of multinationals at the cost of the indigenous industry. Sir, we are facing law and order problems arising out of ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional conflicts. The Government had to rely on the Armed Forces, military forces, to quell the riots. The local police was not able to solve the problems. An increase in the deployment of military forces for solving

problems is going to create more problems for us. I would advise the Central Government that it must try to find out political solutions if these problems. Instead of trying to curb the feelings of the people, they must see the spirit behind the feelings of various linguistic and religious people, they must try to solve their problems through discussion. There is a feeling in every State that the Central Government, especially the Congress Government, wants to impose its will on the States.

4.00 P.M.

This feeling must be put to an end to. We must learn lessons from what happened in the Soviet Union. After 70 years of disciplined rule in the Soviet Union now we find ethnic, linguistic, regional and religious upsurge there.

The policy of uniformity emphasising centralisation of everything at the Centre has failed in India. The Congress must admit this fact. We have wasted time by following this policy for 47 years. We must rethink on this policy. The unitary Constitutional approach has failed.

The federal structure in our Constitution must be strengthened. The State Governments must have more voice in the Central Administration. Our Constitution must be rewritten to emphasise federal structure.

The majority of people belonging to minority communities feel that they are neglected. The Centre is trying to divide those sections on party lines. Instead of indulging in such 'divide and rule,' the Centre must try to satisfy the aspirations of the minorities.

There is a feeling in Tamil Nadu that the Hindi language is being imposed. Now a days, the Congress Members have also joined us on this issue. I don't know whether it is a true feeling or not. More and more Hindi programmes are being telecast on television. In the name of Tamil programmes, Hindi programmes are being telecast with dubbing in Tamil, a horrible Tamil dubbing as dubbing is done in north. How long will it go like this?

I wanted Tamil words, not English and Hindi words in Tamil broadcasts. I wrote to the Minister. But the hon. Minister replied 'It is appropriate to use English and Hindi words in Tamil broadcasts.' I don't know why they are afraid of Tamil. We are always with them. We voted for them. We sent 28 M.P.s

So, don't be afraid of Tamil. We want Tamil in Tamil broadcasts. We don't want Tamil in English broadcasts or Hindi broadcasts. This must be understood. But they continued like this. Can you use Tamil words in Hindi broadcasts? I wanted that the Tamil calendar year, month and date should be telecast in in Tamil programme. But the Minister said that there was no proposal for telecasting Tamil calendar in Tamil programmes. The Tamil broadcast mentioned the name of the year '1915 Saka', which we don't understand. I don't know what it means. I enquired about it from a number of people. I enquired about it from the former Governor. I enquired about it from Prof. Bhattacharya. Nobody was able to tell me its meaning. I don't bother whether it is a Sanskrit word or a Hindi word. I have no objection to it. But you, also broadcast and telecast Tamil months and years. What is wrong in it? You are trying to treat the Tamil people as second-class people. It will only be encouraging the divisive forces in Tamil Nadu. You should encourage the feeling of Tamil people and tell them that you are our brothers. These kinds of things must come from the Minister. The Centre is unnecessarily inviting anti-Hindi agitation. I went to jail in 1965. But now, there are youngsters who are prepared to go to jails. You are indirectly encouraging the anti-Hindi agitations.

The President's Address has also mentioned about the reservation for the Backward Classes. I am glad that the Congress party has always stood for the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes.

Our great leader, Shri Kamaraj implemented the reservation policy of course, with the backing of the Dravidian parties. But now we have a problem because you are not showing interest. The Supreme Court says, 'no reservation beyond 50 per cent.' Has the Congress Government studied this aspect? Have you taken up this issue before the Supreme Court? You are keeping quiet. There is no provision in the Constitution which says that there will be no reservation beyond 50 per cent for the Backward Castes and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. There is no such provision. The Constitution only says that the States and the Centre can have reservations. The option is left to the Central and state Governments. In Tamil Nadu we have reservations to the ex-

tent of 69 per cent. All parties support it. Communist Party supports it. The Congress party supports it. But the Congress Government is not prepared to amend the Constitution. I would only like to suggest that if the Centre does not want to do this because it is afraid of somebody or some State, then delegate the power by amending the Constitution, to the States. Give that power to the States and let the States decide how much reservation they want depending on the population of that State. But you are not willing to give that power to the State. Now the Election Commission is waging a war against us. It is waging a war against the Congress Government. It is waging a war against the Parliament and against the politicians. The Government silent over this. Are you afraid? The Chief Election Commissioner says that electoral reforms have not been implemented. This is the only charge he is making. What is your answer? Nothing about this has been mentioned in the Address. He wants that identity cards be issued. If it is not possible for the Government to issue identity cards, it can announce that whoever is willing to pay will be issued the identity card immediately. With the help of political parties, 50 per cent of the identity card problem can be solved. But now the Election Commission started attacking us. The Congress Government is silent. Money power and muscle power in elections must be discouraged. The functioning of political parties must be streamlined. Political parties must abide by the code of conduct, otherwise, it will create problems. I would like to point out one thing about Tamil Nadu. Funds have been sanctioned aid from the US for Aids Prevention and Control Project. An agreement was signed in this connection by the Government of India and it was signed on 30-9-92. About Rs. 30 crores have been sanctioned for the State of Tamil Nadu. But, till date, because of procedural wrangles, this project has not been implemented. We are going to lose about Rs. 30 crore roughly because of the delay in the Health Ministry and the Finance Ministry. Coming to the boundary issue, everyday we read that somebody is introducing into our territory. What is your answer? We have been raising questions in this regard every day. The Home Minister says that the South coast has become potentially dangerous because of the continuing ethnic trouble in Sri Lanka.

The Indian Government had taken many measures when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister. But now the Congress party does not want to solve the Sri Lankan ethnic problem which means that this trouble will continue to be there and our borders will continue to be violated. The Chief of our Coast Guard, the Chief of our Navy, all have admitted that it was difficult to prevent smuggling of arms and narcotics into the country. We were told that our Coast Guard was not equipped with the necessary modern equipment to cope with this problem. We were told that we do not have sophisticated communication equipment and speed boats. We are not able to prevent the intrusion of foreigners into our country for lack of modern equipment. The Government of India must come forward to strengthen our Coast guards. Tamil Nadu is facing the greatest problem in this regard. The Government of India should join hands with the State Government to solve this problem. Thank you.

SHRI S. S. SURJEWALA (Haryana) : Sir, every body is getting a lot of time. I don't know why the time constraint is put on me.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister for giving a very balanced President's Address to the country which contained an account of the performance of the Government during the current year that is coming to an end and the agenda of the Government for the next year.

So, there are many high-ranking achievements of the Government such as containing inflation. Inflation has been halted. It was further brought down. Foreign exchange reserves are in a comfortable position. There is a buoyancy in the exports and improvement in the performance of essential areas like infrastructure, etc. There is also an all-time record of agriculture production. This Government has many tilings to its credit. For example, in regard to Jammu and Kashmir, for the first time, a renewed effort has been made not only to contain but also to wipe out the insurgency in that state. The President's Address contains a very categorical statement which I think has given a clear-cut message. The President in his Address says :

"Jammu and Kashmir is an inalienable part of India and we shall foil any attempt to destabilise it either from across the border or from any other quarter."

It is a very clear warning to the States like the United States which is trying to interfere in the internal affairs of this country and helping Pakistan in more than one way. The Government has also constituted the National Human Rights Commission and, thus, sent as very clear message to the international community that we did take care of human rights. The Panchayati Raj system has been re-oriented by making an amendment to the Constitution and, through this, democracy has been brought to the grass-root levels. The constitution of Department-Related Standing Parliamentary Committees is also going to strengthen the accountability of the Executive to Parliament.

The Budget is already before the nation. It has not only brought many reliefs to all the sections of the people but also created a new sense of confidence among all the sections of the people. The Government has made enhanced allocations in the field of rural development and for the welfare of women, children, the backward classes and to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. This is a very welcome feature. But I would like to say that the Plan allocation for agriculture is very meagre, in the last year, the Plan allocation for agriculture was Rs. 24,36 crores whereas in this year the Plan allocation is Rs. 2,637 crores. This increase is very meagre. There is almost no increase keeping in view the 8 per cent inflation. I would like to say that in the field of agriculture, the Finance Minister has tried to bring some improvement in the functioning of the co-operative sector, lending systems, etc.

He has made an adequate and reasonable provision for the creation of structure for the promotion of higher production. In the co-operative sector, he has also given Rs. 100 crores for the agriculture bank. And in this fashion, he has tried to help the farming community. But, Sir, on the other hand, the announcement which the Agriculture Minister has made is that the movement of foodgrains in the country will be free. All kinds of bans have been lifted. But, Sir, I would like to say that this announcement does not mean anything unless the Railways which have put restrictions on the movement of foodgrains in the country are helpful. As you know, Sir, issues have been raised many times in this 95-M/B(N)16RSS-27

House. The Railways have issued instructions that no piecemeal wagons will be booked from any station and that only a rake can be booked from a station to any outstation. This has, in fact, helped the big sharks, big business men who actually deal in the movement of food grains. Wherever there are high prices, they will move the foodgrains to those areas. And the small farmers cannot move their foodgrains because no farmer has got a rake-ful of foodgrains. Many farmers join together and they book a wagon so that their produce can fetch a good price. But this ban has negated everything.

Sir, as far as sugarcane is concerned, there is a complete ban in making 'gur' and jaggery and other products which the farmer used to traditionally make and sell. This has caused a great financial harm to the farming community. Similarly, there is also a ban on the movement and selling of milk also to keep the prices of milk down. All these things are causing a great setback to the farming community.

Sir, another provision which the Finance Minister has made in the field of agriculture is that he said that the farmers will be benefited by the policy of the Government which is to encourage agro-based industries. Sir, I would like to mention here that the farmers of this country have no access to any Market information which is very crucial for the farmers to go in for the market economy. And what is being done is that the large traders in the major commodities will succeed in eating out all the profits and the farmers because of lack of information will not be able to take any benefit of this market economy. Therefore, I would suggest that before venturing upon agro-industries and giving concessions to the farming community, the Government should do close monitoring and advanced forecasting of the agricultural produce, that is, which produce will fetch a good price in which area what the farmer should sell and where he should sell, etc. The main problem in the field of horticulture fruits and vegetables is marketing because all these things are perishable. There are no centres for packaging, for processing and for cold-storage. There are no market facilities. There are no road transport facilities. Therefore, Sir, before, the farmers of the country can take advantage of the Indian market and the export market

the farmer specially the young ones, the educated and the, semi-educated farmers should be given proper training.

They should be given training. They should be trained and taught about the new methods. The new methodology and the new market working and functioning, besides creating all kinds of infrastructure around all the areas "where there are farmers and where they want to sell (their crop).

There is still a big fluctuation in the market despite the fact that the Government has come to the rescue of the farmers by announcing the price of various foodgrains and agricultural commodities. I would like to give an instance. In Punjab, Haryana and in other areas where superfine basmati rice is being grown, the price of Superfine basmati was Rs. 1800 per Quintal about two years ago and this year it is only Rs. 500. Similarly, the price of cotton also fluctuates very much causing a serious set back to the farming community. In such a situation, it is only the rich people, the traders who do not belong to farming community, who reap the benefit of all the reforms announced by the Government or the reliefs given to the farmers. Therefore, I feel that the Government should create proper infrastructures there.

Coming to Haryana, the President's address has not mentioned anything about the inter-State problem faced both between Punjab and Haryana. Although the Government has solved many intricate problems about which we find a mention in the President's Address, I am sorry to say that Haryana state has not been able to attract Government's attention. The Home Minister is not present in the House but I hope other Ministers who are here will make a note of what I am saying. Haryana has remained neglected during the last 27 years of its inception. This is the only State in the country without a capital of its own. In the absence of a capital, the people of Haryana have remained backward socially and also in the field of education, in the field of science and technology and in other fields. The reason is that you do not know that Haryana has not been able to develop its language. Of course, Haryanvi is a part of Hindi but this language itself remains undeveloped. There is no literature available in this language and the people

of Haryana feel greatly handicapped in communicating with other brothers in the country.

Another thing is that Haryana does not have any national-level or international-level institutions on the lines of other similar institutions which have been established in different parts of the country in the field of culture or science, arts, technology, because we do not have growth centres. We do not have big towns or big cities. Haryana is still a State which consists of small towns or semi-urban areas.

Similarly, the SYL canal which is the lifeline of the people of Haryana is still not complete. This was started in 1982 when late Shrimati Indira Gandhi laid the foundation stone. Most of the work of this canal —about 82 to 85 per cent of it was completed by 1987. After that, due to insurgency in Punjab, the work on this canal has come to a halt. Most of the work on this canal had been completed after spending a huge amount of Rs. 400 crores which is now going waste because there is no water in the canal, and as you know, if there is no water in the canal, the lining is going to be damaged and it cannot be sustained. As a result of this, on the one hand, Haryana is losing more than Rs. 500 crores per year, the Haryana farmers are losing more than Rs. 500 crores per year, in terms of production loss. On the other hand, a sum of Rs. 400-500 crores has been spent. Therefore I urge upon the Government to see that the construction of this Canal is completed.

Another thing is that Haryana must have its own Capital soon. There are inter-State problems; problems not only with Punjab, but problems with U. P. and Rajasthan as well. In relation to U. P., the Hathnikund Barrage was to have been constructed twenty years ago. There is no problem in regard to this barrage. All kinds of clearances have been given. Haryana has spent a lot of money on it, but since U.P. is a very large State, on account of its political and other influences, it is not permitting us to construct this barrage, causing a serious loss to Haryana's economy.

Similarly, Rajasthan has choked the flow of the Sahibi, Dohan and Krishnavati rivers. These are very important for the districts bordering Rajasthan, i.e. Gurgaon, Rohtak, Mahendargarh and Rewari districts; The tube*

wells in these districts have gone dry because Rajasthan had, unauthorisedly, *ex-parte*, without consulting Haryana, constructed bunds in their own area.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) Mr. Surjewala, you can raise all these issues on a different occasion. Your time is over. You should conclude now.

SHRI S.S. SURJEWALA: I am concluding. Sir, I welcome the measure in the Budget. The hon. Prime Minister is a very balanced leader. He has brought glory to the Party and the country. His latest visit to Davos and Germany has ushered in new confidence the country. At the same time, I would like to say that this opening up, this transparency export promotion, liberalisation, incentives to industry, etc., have not brought in comparative benefits to the agriculturists and other people in the rural areas. These people cannot stand on their own legs. Similarly, the Backward Class people, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the weaker sections and minorities in the country..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Surejewala, I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI S.S. SURJEWALA : I am concluding, Sir, unless these people are made self-reliant and are enabled to stand on their own legs, no kind of protection would save them Thank you, Sir.,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Padmanabham.

SHRI HIPHEI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, , juit, one point. We, the junior Members, representing the small States like Mizoram, should also be given opportunities. My name is there in the list, but my fear is that may not be called at all. Sir, today is the last day of this discussion. I would request you that with the consent of the House, you may kindly make some kind of a special arrangement so

that those whose names are in the list, whose names are included in the list, are able to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : I would like to accommodate everybody, but the point is, if everybody confines to the time-limit, it would be possible. Now, Mr. Padmanabham, please.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh) : Thank you, Sir,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Padmanabham, your time is 16 minutes.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : I may finish even earlier. Since there is nothing in this Address, I can finish even earlier.

SHRI TINDIVANAM VENKATRAMAN : In fact, you can even leave it as it is.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have been listening to the speeches made on the Motion of Thanks during the last couple of days. Members from the treasury benches as well as from the Opposition spoke on various aspects.

After hearing what has been said so far, I find that most of the speakers from the treasury benches are apologetic. They spoke without any conviction.

Sir, the Address is full of platitudes and I am really aghast at this naivety. I am therefore, inclined to agree with the observation made by the former President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, that the President's Address is just a ritual and that it did not serve any purpose.

So, it is better to dispense with it. I totally agree with that observation. My friend Balaram yesterday raised this issue. This is wasting the time of this House, the time of Parliament. Absolutely nothing happens by this Address.

The Address contains some reference to the Standing Committees. When the constitution of the Standing Committees for various Ministries was mooted in the House, we from the Opposition welcomed it because we thought that these standing Committees would make the Executive more accountable to Parliament.

members in both the Houses of Parliament worked in the standing Committees. We pronounced some good reports. We made some recommendations. Not even a single recommendation to my mind is being accepted by the government. The casual way in which the government has treated the recommendations of the Standing Committees clearly shows the jealousy of the Government. On top of it the Prime Minister himself exhorted his own partymen to politicise the standing Committees. This is really the most unfortunate thing coming from the Prime Minister of this country because in the parliamentary system of government the committee system has its own role, and it is a time-tested, well-taken institution which will make the Executive account able to Parliament and to the people. I am really sorry for this kind of an utterance coming from the Prime Minister.

There are other committees. There are statutory committees. There are Joint Parliamentary Committees on various issues. This Government's attitude toward the recommendations of those committees is also most unfortunate. For example, the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Securities Scam produced a unanimous report. The party which is ruling this country had a majority in the Committee. But the moment the Committee report came in for discussion in this House, the way in which the Government, the Members of the Government, including the Ministers in the Cabinet attacked the findings of the Committee, is really very very unfortunate. It is a very sad day for the democratic institutions the country.

Sir, there is another committee, the Railway Convention Committee. It made some very very strong recommendations not to go ahead with the contract given to the ABB for railway engines. What is the value given by the Government to that kind of recommendation? They have simply rejected it. They did not even acknowledge that the Railway Convention Committee had made such a recommendation. This is really most unfortunate. The credibility of not only the committee system but also the various other parliamentary institutions has been eroded by this Government's attitude.

My friend, Mr. Kamal Morarka, just now said that the Government is take credit for becoming a majority government from a mino-

rity government. This is the most shameful thing. How could they become a majority government from a minority government? By systematic organisation of defections they induced Members of Parliament in other parties to defect from their parties. Shri Rajiv Gandhi in his wisdom, as soon as he came to power enacted the anti-defection legislation. What has happened to the anti-defection legislation now? It has been reduced to a mockery. A man who defected from a political party recognised in Parliament, a political party which had formed the Government in 1989, was made a Minister. This is a shameless act. But, I am really sorry, the Government is taking credit for this kind of a sordid state of affairs.

There are other institutions. For example the institution of the Governors. You know pretty well, a Governor who was appointed in Rajasthan was suddenly transferred to Tamil Nadu. The moment he has gone there, you know what is happening there. Everybody knows it. I do not want to recount it because of shortage of time. He is fighting with the Chief Minister. This is very unfortunate. A Governor is fighting with the Chief Minister like two people within a party. The Congress is full of infightings.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NA RAYANASAMY) : Mr. Padmanabham, you know the conduct of the Governor cannot be discussed in the House.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : I am not discussing his conduct. I am discussing the institution. I am not mentioning any name.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra): He is not a Member of the House. So, how can he mention? He is not here to defend himself. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri V. Narayanasamy) : I have told him.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : I am only referring to the institution of the Governor, nor, which is a part of the Constitution. The Governor was purposefully transferred from one place to another. Why? He was politically placed there. Is it really a democratic act? Is it really worthwhile for any Government to do this kind of a thing? That is the point I am trying to make. *(Interruptions)*

I am only pointing out that the institution of the Governor has been eroded, debased, has been used and misused. (*Interruptions*)

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE : If they make a running commentary, we can also make a commentary about the other party people. It is not correct.

THE VICE-CHARIMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Madam, I have already told him to go to another point.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : I am not making any commentary. There are other Institutions. For example, the judiciary — The Government precipitated the impeachment of Mr. Ramaswamy. I can mention that name because his impeachment proceedings were started here in the Lok Sabha. Then it backed out, In the process what happened ? The entire Judiciary has been reduced to a laughingstock. Could any Government do these things ? Therefore, my submission is that this Government within its few year of rule has eroded the Parliamentary institutions. The credibility of the institutions, created by the Constitution over a period by various legislations to protect and safeguard the rights of the people, has been systematically eroded. That is the point I would like to make.

Somebody just now referred to the Centre State relations. This Government seems to be oblivious of the emerging political situation in the country. At one time the Congress was ruling both at the Centre and in many States. It had sort of monopoly of power in the country. Now the situation has drastically changed—Different parties are ruling in different States. So, the Government should come forward with a proposal where they can create some institutional framework so that the Central and State Governments—State Governments which are ruled by different parties—should work together. But that kind of cooperation between the Centre and the States on many of the programmes initiated by the Government cannot be implemented properly. They cannot be taken to the grassroot level. For example in the Presidential Address three schemes were enunciated. Three schemes were enunciated. They are : One is the Employment Assurance scheme, the second is the Mahila Samridhi

Yojana and the third is a Rozgar Yojana. Some other schemes have also been mentioned in the President's Address. But how are they going to implement these schemes without involvement of the State Governments ? The implementing agencies are State Governments. These schemes would have to reach the targeted groups through the State administration. In the President's Address, a mechanism has been suggested as to how to implement these schemes. A Committee of Secretaries at the Prime Minister's level or a special cell in the Prime Minister's office would be created to implement these schemes. Can they reach 5 lakh villages in this country by sitting in Delhi ? Is it possible ? How are they going to ensure implementation of these schemes without involvement of the State Governments ? Is it a joke ? After all they have allocated some money in the Budget. I agree with it. They have increased the allocation for rural development programmes and to a number of other schemes. It is all right. It is okay. But how are they going to implement these schemes ? Who is going to supervise ? Can any body sitting in Delhi in an airconditioned room in the Prime Minister's office or in the Central Secretariat oversee what is happening in a remote village in Kerala or Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu Is it possible ? What I suggest is that the Central Government should try to implement: at least the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission with regard to the Centre-State relations. This report was submitted to the Government a long time back, may be six or seven years ago. It is lying in cold storage. Even harmless provisions, mutually advantageous provisions and provisions which are in the public interest and which are in the interest of the administration have not been implemented so far. Why ? What is the reason ? My sincere conviction is that this Government has neither learnt anything nor forgotten anything like Bourbons of the pre-Revolution period. They are just deaf, dumb and blind. They cannot see what is happening in the country, What are the changes the country is going through ? (Time bell rings) I think I got ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : You have already taken more than fourteen minutes. I am just reminding you that your time is over.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : The-refore, Sir, there is a need for drastic restructuring of Centre-State relations. For example, all the States put together, their debt position is really alarming. The total outstanding debt of all States as on the 31st March, 1993 was Rs. 1,43,343 crores. They are not able to pay interest on the principal amount. They are borrowing money from the Central Government as well as from various other sources to pay interest on principal amount. This is really most unfortunate. I feel that the Central Government should come forward and do something and see that the State Government function. How can they function in a debt trap situation? Without the functioning of the State Governments, can the Central Government implement any of the welfare schemes, developmental schemes, therefore, my sincere suggestion to the Central Government is that they should confine their activities to nationally significant areas like telecommunication, banking, railways, finance and defence. Leave other areas to the State Governments; and provide them adequate financial resources not allocations. The Central Government should come forward with a proposal to expand the tax base of the State Governments. Then only this problem would be solved.

With regard to agriculture, I would like to mention one or two problems. On this I crave your indulgence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Kindly [conclude in a minute.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : I will take two minutes.

I have gone through the President's Address and the total production of foodgrains has been mentioned somewhere here. The total production of foodgrains is about 180 million metric tons. I am happy about it. But, can the Government really take credit for the? Because of the good monsoon for the last three or four years, we could achieve this target. Whatever it is, I agree with it; let the Government take credit for it; I do not have any objection. But, in the Presidential Address, there is a sentence that we should try to encourage the export of agricultural products, This is really a very serious question.

The *per Capita* availability of foodgrains for an Indian citizen, after 50 years of Independence, is as follows. In the year 1951, the *per capita* availability of foodgrains per day stood at 394.9 grams. This is all information given in the Economic Survey. I am not quoting from my own source. Today, in 1993, the availability is 475.6 grams. During the last about 50 years, we could provide 50 grams more to our citizens! Now, the Government, day in and day out, saying that there is great future for agricultural exports. If you encourage agricultural exports, to that extent the population in the country would be deprived of. This is a pitifully low, shamefully low, consumption figure. No country in the world is consuming this low percentage, low nutritional level. I urge upon the Government to review the entire situation. There are famous economists like Amartya Sen who warn that the third-world countries are tempted to lay over ^emphasis on agricultural exports. That would definitely reduce the availability of nutrition to their own population. So, this over-emphasis on agricultural export, export of agricultural products, would definitely deprive our population of their essential nutritional diet. Therefore, this is also a very serious problem and I urge upon the Government to rethink before they formulate any policy.

Finally, there is only one point which is with regard to the GATT. Some of my friend said that the GATT had been hustled through. Neither Parliament nor the country nor the various non-governmental agencies which are working in this field had been taken into confidence while signing the Dunkel Draft. They have already signed the Dunkel Draft. However, there is some more time for the Government to accept it. My friend, Mr. Kamal Morarka, just now stated that in the case of the Maastricht Treaty or various other international treaties which would have a far-reaching effect on national economies they always went for some reference. Here,— leave alone, a referendum or forget about Constitutional amendments or anything like that some of us in the Opposition parties suggested that the Dunkel Draft should at least be referred to a Joint Parliamentary Committee. Even that was not accepted by the Government. This is not fair. This is not in the best interest of the country. Therefore, I

request the Government to at least refer the GAW proposals, the final proposals, to a Joint Parliamentary Committee duly constituted.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala) : It is right that they did not refer it to a Joint Parliamentary Committee. But already we have a Standing Committee on Commerce under Gujralji. I am also for a Joint Parliamentary Committee. But even the recommendation of the Standing Committee on Commerce (Interruptions).

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : They elaborately examined them. I have also referred to it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : He has already made a reference to that.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : I have already referred to it. There is a Standing Committee not only on Commerce. There are various other Standing Committees on various other subjects. For example, there are Standing Committees on Agriculture and Chemicals and Fertilisers. Mr. J.P. Mathur was there on that Committee. They also recommended that the Dunkel Draft would adversely effect our drug trade, and our pharmaceutical industry. But not a single recommendation made by the Department-related Standing Committee was accepted by the Government. They treated it casually and rejected it. I made that point. Now, my point is, amending the Constitution, and going in for some sort of referendum is not possible. This is what I feel I believe that it is not possible. The minimum that the Government could do is to constitute a Joint Parliamentary Committee and refer the entire GATT report to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Anyway, they are free to reject the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee as they have done in the case of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Securities Scam.

SHRI M. A. BABY : They are free to barter away our freedom.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : Yes of course, they are free. Sir, with these words I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Shri Virendra Kataria. Mr. Kataria, there are only ten minutes for you. You have to be very brief. There are many Members from the Congress side who want to speak. So, you have to be accommodative.

श्री वीरेन्द्र कटारिया (पंजाब) : वाईस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी का जो भाषण था, धन्यवाद का, उसका यहाँ पर समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जब इलेक्शन के बाद कांग्रेस की सरकार बनी थी तो उस वक्त सारे मुल्क में एक पोलिटिकल टरमाइल था, इकनामिक जो सिचुएशन थी वह बिल्कुल खैरबंद थी, जो इन्फ्लेशन थी वह भी अपनी पीक पर थी और जो हमारे फारेन एक्सचेंज के रिजर्व बचे थे आल टाइम ली थे। लेकिन हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री नरसिंह राव जी की पालिसियों से आज हम कह सकते हैं कि हमारा पोलिटिकल स्ट्रक्चर, हमारी सरकार स्थिर सरकार है। हमारा इकनामिक निजाम इकितसादी निजाम जो पटरी से उतर गया था आज फिर पटरी पर चढ़ गया है और इसके साथ साथ हमारा फारेन एक्सचेंज जो आल टाइम लो था 4 हजार करोड़ से चलकर 32 हजार करोड़ तक पहुँच गया है। इसके साथ साथ इन्फ्लेशन जो बहुत बढ़ गयी थी वह मिनिमम 5.5 पर आ गयी है। इसके लिए हम अपनी लीडरशिप को बजा तौर पर मुबारकबाद दे सकते हैं। इसके अलावा अब यह सरकार बनी थी तो बाहर के मुल्कों में जो हमारा बकाया था और क्योंकि न तो पोलिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी थी न इकनामिक स्टेबिलिटी थी, बहुत गिरा हुआ था। आज हम फकर के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हमारा बकाया कम्प्यूनिटी आफ नेशन्स में बहुत शानदार है और हर हिन्दुस्तानी को इस बात पर फखर है।

वाईस चेयरमैन साहब, पाँच सूचों में इलेक्शन हुए। हमारी बाड़ी पोलिटिक्स में एक कम्प्युनल फ्रीलिक्स को इन्वेक्ट कर दिया था, उसके तलाबज हमारे मुल्क ने खोये थे। ऐसा ज़रूरता था कि सारे मुल्क में जाग सज गयी है। बसों के बसाके,

फिरकेदाराना फसाद, प्रापटी और ह्यूमन लाइफ का नुकसान, रोज ऐसा लगता था कि हम एक ऐसे किनारे पर आकर खड़े हो गये हैं, एक ऐसे अतिशफिशां पहाड़ के दहाने पर आकर खड़े हो गये हैं कि वह कब फटेगा और उसके क्या नतायज होंगे।

इतनी अनसर्देंनिटी हमारे देश में फैल गई थी लेकिन हमारी हकूमत की समझ-बूझ ने और उसके बाद जो इलैक्शन हुए पांच प्रांतों में उसने इस बात को साबित कर दिया है कि देश के लोगों ने सैकुलर और जम्हूरी फोर्स को हैं उनके हक में अपना फतवा दिया है और कम्युनल फोर्स को शिकस्तेफास दी है। मैं इसके लिए भी कौम के लोगों को मुबारकवाद देना चाहता हूं।

पंजाब का जिक्र हमारे राष्ट्रपति साहब ने अपने खतबा-ए-सद्दरत में किया है। पंजाब की हालत में बहुत बड़ा बदलाव आया है। कहां वक्त था कि खौफ-ओ-हुरास के साथे में लोग हर वक्त रहते थे। सूरज निकलने से पहले पहले लोग घरों से निकलते नहीं थे, हिम्मत ही नहीं करते थे और फिर सूरज छुप जाने के बाद घरों में छुप जाया करते थे और बहुत जरूरत हो तो तब ही घरों से निकलते थे और इसमें हर वक्त उनको किसी अनहोनी का डर मन में बना रहता था। पंजाब एकदम उजाड़ और सुनसान बन कर रह गया था। सड़कें टूटी थी, स्कूल और डिस्पेंसरियां बंद थीं, भंगड़े, गिद्धे और जगराते ऐसे गायब हो गए थे जैसे गर्ध के सिर से सींग गायब होते हैं। पंजाब हिन्दुस्तान का सब से खुशहाल प्रदेश अमली तौर पर एक मरघट बन कर रह गया था। जहां या तो गोलियों की दनादन सुनाई देती थी या चिताएं जलती हुई नज़र आती थीं या फिर औरतों और बच्चों की चीखें सुनाई देती थीं। लोग कहते थे कि पंजाब को किसी की नज़र लग गई है। लेकिन बाइस चेंबरमैन साहब, आप जानते हैं, सारा हाउस भी जानता है और सारी दुनिया जानती है कि आज से दो साल पहले जब पंजाब में इलैक्शन हुए लोगों ने कांग्रेस के हक

में फतवा दिया और पंजाब के बहादुर चाँफ, मिनिस्टर सरदार बेअंत सिंह ने अपने हाथों में टैरोरिस्टों के खिलाफ कमान संभाली, तो दुनिया इस बात को शाहिद है कि ऐसी लड़ाई लड़ी पंजाब में जिससे कि सारी सैकुलर फोर्स को फरव है और आज पंजाब में अमन है। जब थोड़ी देर पहले अयोध्या के मामले के बाद सारे हिन्दुस्तान में आग लगी हुई थी। तो मैं बड़े फरव के साथ, एक पंजाबी होने के नाते आपकी खिदमत में कहना चाहता हूं कि सारा हिन्दुस्तान जब जल रहा था कलकत्ता और बम्बई में बमों के धमाके हो रहे थे, यू०पी० जल रहा था, अगर कोई शांतिमय प्रदेश था हिन्दुस्तान में तो वह पंजाब था जो पहले कभी आग की लपटों में जलता था। मैं इसके लिए अपनी सरकार को, प्रधान मंत्री को और सरदार बेअंत सिंह को मुबारकवाद देना चाहता हूं। आज कश्मीर का मसला हमारे लिए एक प्राबलम इश्यू बन कर यह गया है। फिरका-परस्त ताकतें मजहब के नाम पर और इंपीरियलिस्ट ताकतें अपनी मंछिया बनाने के लिए एशिया में कश्मीर के मसले में आग लगाना चाहती हैं। कभी ह्यूमन राइट्स की बात करते हैं, कभी मजहब के नाम पर इस देश को तोड़ने की बात करते हैं। मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस तरीके से ये ताकतें पंजाब में फेल हुई थीं, इनको शिकस्तें फास मिली थी, कश्मीर में भी इन ताकतों को शिकस्तेफास होंगी। लेकिन इस बात के लिए मैं अपनी सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे अंदर एक पोलिटिकल विल होनी चाहिए, एक अजम होना चाहिए और हम लोगों के अंदर जाकर उनकी जीतने की कोशिश करें।

मैं आपका ध्यान 1947 की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं जब पाकिस्तान ने कबाइलियों के माध्यम से कश्मीर पर हमला किया था और ऐसा लगता था कि कबाइली पाकिस्तान के हथियारों की मदद से कश्मीर पर कब्जा कर लेंगे, लेकिन उस वक्त महाराजा ने तो इन्स्ट्रुमेंट ऑफ एक्सेशन साइन करके अपने मंत्री जो चीफ मिनिस्टर थे

मेहर चंद महाजन उनको दिल्ली भेजा। लेकिन उनके कहने पर नहीं, सिर्फ कानून की बिना पर नहीं, लीगलिटी की बिना पर नहीं, हिंदुस्तान की सरकार ने उस वक्त के हमारे वजीरेआला पंडित जवाहर लाल जी ने शेख अब्दुल्ला के कहने पर उस इंस्ट्रूमेंट ऑफ एक्सेशन को मंजूर किया जिसके पीछे लोगों की ताकत थी, लोगों का वजन था और सारी दुनिया ने देखा कि काश्मीर के अंदर हमारी फौजों ने काश्मीर के आबाम के साथ मिलकर पाकिस्तान के कबाइली जो श्रीनगर और बारामूलों के दरवाजों पर दस्तक दे रहे थे, किस तरह से उनको थिकस्तेफाश दी। आज भी काश्मीर में मकबूल शेरवानी का और क्रिमोडियर उस्मान का नाम जोग फकर से लेते हैं। यही वे लोग थे काश्मीर के जिन्होंने कि पाकिस्तान के नापाक इरादों को मलियामेंट कर दिया था और हिंदुस्तान की फौज की बहादुरी के किस्से आज दुनिया में गुंजते हैं क्योंकि जोजीलापास में जिसको कि छिपकली का दर्जा कहते हैं, हमारी बहादुर फौजों ने टैंकों की वह लड़ाई लड़ी जो कि दुनिया के किसी भी हिस्से में इतनी ऊंचाई पर और इतने छोटे दर्रे में नहीं लड़ी गयी। यह हमारी हिंदुस्तानी फौज की शान थी लेकिन उसके पीछे काश्मीर के लोगों की ताकत थी। आज उस ताकत को बहाल करना है, उन लोगों के मन को जीतना है। इसके लिए सरकार कारगर और सख्त कदम उठाए। वहां के नौजवानों का मन जीते और वहां डवलपमेंट का काम करे। वाइस-चैंयरमैन साहब, गलतियां हुई हैं और हमने लोगों को जो एकात्मिक मदद दी है, उसके फायदे आम लोगों तक नहीं पहुंचे हैं। वह बड़े-बड़े लोगों तक पहुंचे हैं और जो लोग हमसे कुछ दूर हो गए हैं, उनको जीतने की जरूरत है।

वाइस-चैंयरमैन साहब, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि जरात में हमारे मुल्क ने बहुत शानदार तरक्की की है। आज जरात के मामले में हमारे देश की यह हालत है कि हमारे भंडार 95-M/B(N)16RSS-28

भरे हुए हैं और हमारे गोडाउंस में अमाज को रखने की जगह नहीं है। वाइस चैंयरमैन साहब हम उन लम्हों को याद करें जब कि पी० एल० 480 के लिए हम अमेरिका के पास ठूठा लेकर जाया करते थे, उन दिनों से चलकर आज हम कहाँ पहुंचे हैं? हिंदुस्तान के बहादुर किसानों की मैं उसकी मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ। सरकार ने बजट में 2005 करोड़ रुपये जरूरत की तरक्की के लिए रखे हैं, उसके लिए भी मैं सरकार को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ। फर्टीलाइजर सब्सिडी के लिए सरकार 900 करोड़ रुपये इस बजट में रखे हैं, इसके लिए भी मैं सरकार को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ।

वाइस-चैंयरमैन साहब, अपनी बात खत्म करने के पहले मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि आज पंजाब में अमन नहीं है। आज पंजाब एक ऐसे वहाने पर खड़ा है, पिछले 10-12 साल के कल्ले गारद के बाद जबकि सारा पंजाब बर्बाद हो गया, आज पंजाब डवलपमेंट के रास्ते पर चलना चाहता है। इसके अलावा पंजाब के कुछ ऐसे मसले हैं जिनको कि अभी हमारी सरकार ने हल नहीं किया है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यही छोटे-छोटे मसले थे, जैसे पानी का मसला था, चंडीगढ़ का मसला था जिसमें कि आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता ये जखम रस-रसकर नासूर हो गया और फिर पंजाब में आतंकवाद आया। मैं सरकार से दर-खास्त करता हूँ, इट इज हाय टाइम की जो पंजाब के मसले हैं, उनको हल कर दिया जाए। चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को दिया जाए। एस० वाय० एल० केंनाल पंजाब बना लेगा। हरियाणा, हमारा छोटा भाई है, उसको भी फायदा मिलेगा, लेकिन जो पंजाब का हक है, वह उसको देने की जरूरत है। सरकार को उस पर फौरी तौर से अमल करना चाहिए।

वाइस-चैंयरमैन साहब, इस बजट में पंजाब के लिए कोई नयी गाड़ी नहीं चलाई गयी है। पंजाब सरकार को कहते हुए 10-20 लाख हो गए

ई कि पंजाब को रेलवे लाइन से जोड़ा जाय, अगर हमारी बात पर कोई गौर नहीं होता। आपको इस बात का क्यों एहसास नहीं हुआ कि पंजाब ने हिन्दुस्तान के लिए इतनी बड़ी जंग लड़ी है। अगर पंजाब इस जंग में हार जाता, तो हिन्दुस्तान की ताकत को खतरा हो सकता था। पंजाब के लिए स्पेशल कंसीडरेशन है। सेक्युरिटी फोर्स पर 6600 करोड़ खर्चा लगा है, आज उसको हमारे बाकि माना जाता है। हम उसका जो इन्वरेस्ट है वह भी नहीं दे सकते। अगर हम इसका इन्वरेस्ट देते रहेंगे तो सारी उन्न गुजर जाएगी। पंजाब की यह दरखास्त है कि यह 6600 करोड़ रु० का जो कर्जा है इसको माफ किया जाए।

इसके साथ ही हमारी तरफ़ी के लिए सिर्फ 397 करोड़ खर्चा दिया गया है। इतना बड़ा खर्चा हुआ पंजाब, जिसने 12 साल आतंकवाद का मुकाबला किया, उसके इन्वेलपमेंट के लिए बहुत पैसा चाहिए। मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले साल पंजाब में सैलाब आए थे और आज हमारे पास इतने भी पैसे नहीं हैं कि उस सैलाब से दूटी हुई उन सड़कों को भी हम जोड़ सकें। आप पंजाब का इन्वस्टिगेशन कीजिए, वहाँ वहाँ इन्फेस्ट्री लगाइए। पंजाब की सिचुएशन अलग है, उसका अहसास कीजिए। यही मेरी आपसे दरखास्त है और आपकी मार्फत सरकार से दरखास्त है।

आपका बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Now, Shri Chimanbhai Mehta. Mr. Mehta, please conclude within ten minutes.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, sir, our group generally gets more time. Anyhow I will try to conclude within ten minutes.

Sir, I am very conscious of the fact that the peach I am making is going to be absolutely futile. There would not be any result at all. Yetlike the poet who was solid the city of the blind.

I am also saying :

क्या पूछते हो हाल मेरे कारोबार का,
आइना बेचता हूँ अंधों के शहर का।

श्री रजनी रंजन साहू (बिहार) : अच्छा कारोबार चल रहा होगा ... (अवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Sahu, don't interrupt him. We are running out of time.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat). Sir, ours is a country where there is a scandal every day. We read in the newspapers. In such a situation, I thought or I presumed that the speech of the President would at least refer to the phenomenon of corruption. I know that there is no immediate solution. But the President's Address should have thrown some light on this issue enabling the entire nation to think over it because he occupies the highest office and his words are respected most. Solutions, in our country, are not easy. But, at least some debate on the point would have taken place. Then the citizens will start thinking about this point. But I don't find any mention having been made about corruption. Even the one-and-a-half hour speech of Mr. Manmohan Singh made no mention of it. It does affect the economy, But there is no mention about it. Instead of shying away from referring to the problem of corruption, we should think over it. I don't want to say why they are corrupt or why you are corrupt. In the speeches made from these benches, I think corruption did not form any agenda in their speeches. That means, no political party takes this issue seriously even though this is most important agenda before the nation. Recently MARG, a research institution, had published a survey on the basis of the opinions they collected from the people of five cities—Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Bangalore. The survey concludes that 57 % of the politicians are corrupt and only 10% of businessmen are corrupt. Then, they said that 27 % politicians and business men are corrupt jointly.

They were asked for a solution. They said that only dictatorship is the solution for this country. They asked the young men: What do you want to do? They said, "we want to get a

job abroad ; We would not like to live in this country." Such is the demoralising situation. I was hearing a couplet by ashair :

**ले के आए थे आजादी को दुल्हन बनाकर
लेकिन नेताओं ने उसे तबायफ बना दिया ।**

This is how they have polluted our freedom and our democracy. Now, it is not that our Parliament has not tried to take cognizance of this problem. I would not say that. You know that the JPC report was presented. But this side was interested in attacking_____

SHRI RAJNI RANJAN SAHU : The word 'tawaf' referred to is unparliamentary, to my mind.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA : This is not unparliamentary.

अनपालियामेंटरी नहीं है लेकिन हम ऐसे काम न करें जिससे अनपालियामेंटरी वे में लोग बातें करें ।

This is the whole important point, why should we go to this level ? I was referring to the Parliament's attempts. From 1969 onwards, five times the Parliament tried to enact the Lokpal Bill. But all the five times, the Parliament failed to enact because the Lok Sabha collapsed before the Bill could be taken up for serious consideration and enactment. Since the last three years, this Government has been here. And why cannot we enact the Lokpal Bill ? I have been putting this question for the last six months. In every session, my questions are there and the answers are given in negative way. They said that there are enough provisions in the present Act, Inquiry Commission can be held, Anti-corruption Act is there, etc. Sir, in the past there were Inquiry Commissions against five ex-Chief Ministers. Inquiry Commissions held them guilty. But nothing could be done against them because the appropriate Government did not move on the basis of the findings of the Inquiry Commission. You can understand what a demoralising situation it is that an Inquiry Commission headed by a Judge of the High Court or a Supreme Court hold five ex-Chief Ministers guilty and no action is taken by the appropriate Government because there was a lacuna that on the basis of the findings, the appropriate Government could not proceed with further

action. Therefore, I would like to point out to the Government, through you, Sir, that there should be a certain automatic check on corruption. There is a law in Germany whereby if one-fourth members of the Parliament, the Bundestag, move a motion for an inquiry against anybody, whether a judge or a politician or a bureaucrat, it is considered that the motion is passed. Three-fourths may oppose. It is considered as passed because corruption cannot be a policy of any party. And this helps if you do it. And I know some of the Chief Ministers. And even for the Prime Minister, it may be difficult because there are casteist and communal backgrounds. They have a lot of clout. There may be serious allegations against them. You cannot throw them out of the Cabinet. Am I in this Parliament, if there is a motion moved for an enquiry, then the judiciary and the administration are bound to co-operate. You also know that in the U.S.A. the Attorney-General is proposed in the Senate by the President and it is the Senate which endorses the name and the Attorney-General is given the powers to investigate and prosecute, both. You know recently the Clinton-nominated Attorney-General is conducting an enquiry. What is wrong if the President himself is investigated into ? That shows the real democracy. But here, in our country, in spite of repeated attempts for an enquiry committed to the Chief Justice or by a High Court or Supreme Court judge, we are not able to move anywhere. I know, in this House the generally we ignore the facts or even if the Members, make some noise, the ruling party being in a majority, would not bother much about it. In such a situation, I think, it is time that we tackled the issue of corruption. It is not a party issue. I am not attacking anybody. I am asking my friends sitting on these benches also as to why they don't speak as to why they have lost elections. Every party, in fact, is infected with corruption. Therefore, I am not making it a party issue. It is a national issue, and some of the opponents are more corrupt than those whom they attack. This type of corruption is there and therefore, the corruption are also well-known.

Corruption means delaying decisions. Once Mr. H. M. Patel when he was the Finance Minister, got one book published 'Coat of Delay' because he was able to see through

hundreds, of controls where the bureaucracy aajj the ruling party people were able to squeeze, whatever they, wanted, through the practice of ,. delaying decisions. .And he estimated at that time that one lakh crore of rupees were lost because of the delay. I am talking of 1977. Today what is the loss, I dont' know. Some-Body riaVtp.make out an estimate because there is escalation of costs everywhere.

Then,, political, parties are condemned. erytjody knows it. I need not repeat. Mafias -are coming into the political parties and they are becoming leaders. Recently in one State Government, two Cabinet Ministers charged each other with dealing in liquor trade, and 'both of them were expelled from the Cabinet I do not name that Government. Two Cabinet Ministers indulged in liquor trade ! Then numerous newspaper reports appeared that in ' one State Assembly, there are 141 history-shelters sitting as MX.As. Where is corruption leading to'? That is the position today. Tickets .are.alsg distributed by the political parties. I parties I do not want, to mention the names. In the , next session you will find this situation in the the Rajya Sabha. But such a thing never happened before Just five days back, there was a report in *Tfa, Hindustan Times*, that a Chief Minister's . selection or ejection is being influenced by a I „don based in Dubai [What is going to happen to our democracy ?] What is going; to happen to our freedom ? This is lthe position we have come to. Earlier> we did, .not come across such reports in news-jgajers*,. Earlier, there were no newspaper re-parts of this kind.Therefore, we must realise that a serious situation has arisen. T have just once point,Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NA-JRAYA JASAMY) : You have taken 15 minister SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA : This is the last point.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI. V. NA-'^ANASA^tY) : I will give you just one more more minute

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA : Earlier, .we discussed the question of electoral reforms, but the key issue of electoral reforms has not been discussed.at all. The key issue is casteism This is the'key issue which we must properly l

understand. A candidate is selected on the basis of the caste -composition in a particular constituency. Such a candidate is selected because winning the election at any cost is the primary consideration. If this is the criterion, if anti-socials are selected as candidate, these is no place for honest political workers. It is sad ,hat our Assemblies are being filled by these sort of people.

Therefore, we should reform the electoral process where casteism should have no role to play. I have to no time. Otherwise, I would have elaborated on it. But the point is, casteism has to be eliminated and for this purpose, we should reform the electoral process. This is very crucial because casteism strengthens corruption.

Now, castiems has become a big thing. It has become very aggressive now. I am coming to my last point, Sir. Some people are openly preaching casteism. I do not know whether the hon. Home Minister can take any action against such persons. Not only are they preaching it, but they are also advocating violence. One Member from the other House—I do not want to refer to his name—says :

What action have you taken against him ? He is openly attacking the other sections of the society. He is advocating violence. This is what is happening. This is what is happening in U.P. There is violence on both sides. Casteism is taking a heavy toll of our democracy. Casteism is taking a heavy toll of our freedom.

Thank you, Sir. I would not take any more time of the House.

SHRI HIPHEI (Mizoram) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for calling me to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NA-RAYANASAMY) : You have ten minutes.

SHRI HIPHEI : I am not ambitious. I will be very brief, though I have many things to say. I rise to extend my wholehearted support to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, moved by Shri S. S. Ahluwalia. Whan

I rise to speak on this Motion of Thanks, I remember one thing. When Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma was elected to the highest office in the country, the Prime Minister said that the nation was safe in his hands. I now remember those words. What the Prime Minister said then has been proved today. The nation is safe in his hands.

The President has said that the year 1993 started with problems, but ended on a note of optimism. It is proved. Why did he say that the year ended on a note of optimism ? It is because of the improved law and order situation, a record foodgrains production, unprecedented levels of procurement, very high levels of foodgrains stocks, containment of the rate of inflation at a single digit level, comfortable foreign exchange reserves, etc. These are the achievements of the present Government, under the leadership of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, during the last about three years. The President has talked about the achievements and the future programmes of the present Government-

I heard Mr. Morarka. He was jokingly saying that the greatest achievement of the present Government is the turning of the minority into majority. I wish he were here but he is not present here. Turning our % 1 billion of foreign en-Change reserves into \$13 billion is not a joke-It is not easy. We could do this under the leadership of the present Prime Minister who has rightly chosen the right man as the Finance Minister of India. Today I am very very happy that we have the best Finance Minister. He is the best Finance Minister in the world. I feel very much privileged to have him. So, we must be thankful and grateful to the President for mentioning all these things. The inflation rate in 1991 was 17 per cent. Today it is just above 8 per cent. So, we have to be thankful to him for mentioning this.

About the law and order situation, of course, he has said that it has improved, but it is very very debatable. It has improved in Punjab. Of course, we can say that in Punjab it was an insurgency problem and not a law and order problem. That has been totally solved. Now normalcy has returned to Puniab. We must also be very happy about this.

Let me go to Jammu and Kashmir. When I joined Parliament, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir was very very bad Jammu and Kashmir was burning. In 1991, I read in the News papers that on the Independence Day the Indian National Flag was burnt by the militants in full view of our military. The Indian currency was not allowed to be spent in Srinagar. That had been the situation.

I recollect another point. A lady doctor was kidnapped by the Militants. She had to be released, and the Government had to release five top militant leaders. So, they took one and gave five. It is a very very unprofitable business. It was taking one and giving five. Today that situation has improved. Today we are taking five and giving one. That has now come about.

The next point is about the formation of the National Commission on Human Rights. This is very appropriate. This has been done to counter the allegations made by our friends. Today, unfortunately, we have unfriendly friends as our neighbours. They are all friends but very much unfriendly. So, you have to counter their charges diplomatically. So, after the National Commission on Human Rights was set up, the world knows that India is very much concerned about human rights. So by establishing the Human Rights Commission we can somehow refute the charges. For this also we have to be very thankful to the President.

Another point is regarding population control. The President says that the potential rate of growth in 1990-91 was 2.14 per cent. The important point is that the annual rate of population growth has come down to 1.9 per cent. I am happy to know this. But I still have my doubts and fears about the way the population rise has been controlled. The family welfare measures are being adopted only by the affluent sections of the population. You know in the Western countries ladies are resorting to birth control measures not for the welfare of the country or the family, but because they want to be free from the burden of children. My point is whether these measures are being resorted to by the poorer sections of the population, say slum dwellers and beggars. Has anybody gone to explain them about the benefits of birth control measures and persuaded them to do so ? The day before yesterday I

read in a newspaper, probably in *The Indian Express*, that one Mamta, a beggar., who has been begging for the last 15 years hasTive child

ren. Sheearnsj/Rs. 10 a day. These slum-dwellers have no shelter. During hot season it is too hot for them and during cold it is too cold for them, because they do not have clothes and shelter. They are having as many children as they can. Nobody is taking note of the fact it is they who need birth control measures. Unless this is done, within ten year India will be over-populated with beggars and slum-dwellers all around. By then where will the nation go? Now, I come to the point about communications. The Communications Minister was here. He is not here at the moment. Paragraph 30 talks about the communication facilities. It talks only about the tele-communication, not about the road communication, air link or rail link. My State, Mizoram, has only one road communication linking Mizoram with the rest of the country through Silchar. When that is cut off, the State is totally cut off from the rest of the country. Whenever I submit proposals for more roads the reply is that there is no money. Where shall we' go ? If the Government is not having money for construction of roads, shall I go to America, shall I go to Russia or shall I go to France for help ? Without roads no State can develop. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to see that more funds are given so that more State highways and district highway are constructed in Mizoram. About telecommunications, here it is said that it has been extended to rural areas. In 1993-94, it has been said that 14,800 telecommunication facilities have been provided in rural areas.

But what about Mizoram ? Today, one of the district headquarters in Mizoram has no telegraph office. Today we are in the atomic age. It is surprising that one of the district headquarters has no telegraph office. When I enquired about the code number of Mizoram from the Telephone Exchange, they said that they did not know where Mizoram was. Then, I told them to let me know the code number of Aizawl. Then they asked me, "Where is Aizawl ? Is it out side India ?" I told them, " No, no, it is very much in India." So, they could not trace it out.

I had an opportunity to visit Bombay was putting up in a hotel. I was searching for

the code number of Aizawl. Nowhere it has been mentioned in the telephone directory. So, Mizoram is not known in India ! I would like to urge the Minister of Communications..

THE VICE-CHIRMAN (SHRI V. NA. RAY ANAS AMY) : Mr. Hiphei, you have to conclude now.

SHRI HIPHEI : I am concluding. The President's Address says, "But we still have a long way to go before we achieve the objectives we have set for ourselves in social and economic development." It is very correct. We are going ahead. The other day I read in the newspaper what the then Prime Minister of India, Shri Morarji Desai has said. He said, "India has a very bright future. It would be the biggest super-power in a decade to come." He was very mucho ptimistic. I also share the same view Today, weare marching towards a better tomorrow under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. With this, I whole heartedly support the Motion. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYASAMY) : Shri V. Gopalasamy. Ten minutes for you.

SHRI V. GOPALASAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am ex-remely thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to express my considered views on the Address delivered by the honourable President of India.

Paragraphs 35 and 36 of the Address mention about the backward classes movement and 27 percent reservation for the backward classes I come froma State, that is, Tamil Nadu Which isa pioneer State in them ovement for social justice. We have shown this silver line in an otherwise dark horizon. Right from 1921 we have taken up this matter. The credit goes to the Dravidian movement, that is, the famous communal G. O. of Muthiah Mudaliar. But vested interests tried to block it. Naturally Thanthai Periyar, Perarignar Anna, took up cudgels against it. Mr. Kamraj had to convince the late lamented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This was the reason for the first amendment of the Constitution in India. Today, the people belonging to the Backward Classes are seriously concerned and very much agitated over tbf

verdict of the Supreme Court in Indira Sawhney case. The apex court has said that reservation should not exceed 50 per cent. In Tamil Nadu, cutting across party lines, all have agreed that we should stand as one on this matter, that there should not be any problem with regard to the 69 percent reservation which the backward class people, the most backward class people and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are enjoying. Laws are enacted in Parliament only to suit the needs of the people, of serve the people, We have to the boot for the foot. We cannot cut the foot to suit the boot. There fore, it is high time the Central Government came forward with a legislation. in 1951, they brought the first amendment to the Constitution. The Central Government should now come forward with a legislation so that there is no problem for the States which are already enjoying such benefits Sir, in the morning, Members from Tamil Nadu, representing different political ideolo. gies, have expressed their concern that our State is being discriminated by the Union Government. Article 15 speaks about the prohibition of discrimination on so many grounds- But, we are discriminated against. I can give you umpteen instances. One is an important project, the Sethusaraudram Canal Project. This is a very important project. Even before Independence, nine proposals were considered between 1860 and 1922 and investigation done for cutting the ship canal mostly through the Rameswaram Island to connect the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Strait. In 1955, the Government of India constituted a Committee, called the Sethusamudram Project Committee, with Mr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar as the Chairman. That Committee recommended in 1956 that the Sethusamudram Ship Canal Project and the Tuticorin Harbour Project were closely inter-related and they should be executed as one project and that they should be completed during the Second Five-year Plan. At that time, the cost was estimated to be only Rs. 18.18 crores. Years passed by. In the year 1963, on September 12, the Central Cabinet cleared the implementation of this project". But, Sir, at that time, we had to develop good relationship with our neighbour; after the Chinese debacle. Therefore, to sui the interets of the Sri Lankan Government the protest which was cleansd by the Centra Cabinet, was kept in cold storage, thrown t< the dustbin. Even today, I would like to men

tion that there are six crores of citizens in 'he State of Tamil Nadu. But it is very unfortunate that there is no representation for the State of Tamil nadu in the Central Cabinet headed by Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao.. Is it not a discrimination ? There is no member in the Cabinet from the State of Tamil Nadu. Does it mean that the Members elected from the State of Tamil Nadu, including Pondicherry, are second-rate compared to the members elected from the other States, from the Congress party ? For ten years, from 1984 till this date, there is no representation in the Central Cabinet. Only for 11 months in between, when Mr. V. P. Singh was the Prime Minister, we had a member of the Cab-net from Tamil Nadu. (*Interruption*). It is a fact. You have to admit the fact. Only for 11 months Tamil Nadu was represented in the Central Cabinet. This shows a clear discrimination. That means they think that the State of Tamil Nadu could betaken for a ride they can hoodwink the people of Tamil nadu This is the reason for the imposition of Hindi' also. Sir, our valiant brothers have fought for this cause right from 1937. We have shed blood and many have laid down their lives against the imposition of Hindi.

Sir, today, through overt and covert means the Central Government is trying to impose Hindi in every respect, in every sphere and in every department of the Central Government. Of course, the people here cannot understand and realise the hardships and inconvenience to which the people of the non-Hindi speaking States are subjected.

This is going on. The Hind zealots are encouraging the Hindi jingoism. Today, India is standing at the crossroads of history. Today, India is standing at the dusk of the 20th century. We have not learnt any lesson from what happened in eastern Europe. We have not learnt nay lesson from what happened in Soviet Russia. Sir, the Ministers come to Madras and make statements there and whenever the fighting voice of Tamil Nadu is expressed, they make their somersault. I could give umpteen instances. A senior research student, who got a doctorate, wanted to go abroad and for that, he was selected, to appear in the seminar in Australia. For that he applied to the CSIR to get the financial assistance, He got a

reply from the CSIR which was in Hindi. He could not understand this. It was totally in Hindi. What assurances are we giving on the floor of Parliament? The assurances given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have been thrown to the winds, have been buried thousands of fathom deep. This sort of imposition of Hind¹ is going on. But, Sir, I would like to give a stern warning in this regard. The more you impose, the more the unity and the integrity of this country will be jeopardised. Sir, for what reasons the Indian Government has put its navy in the sea, in the Indian ocean? Sir, the killing of the Tamil Nadu fishermen in our own territorial waters by the Sri Lankan navy has become the order of the day. Our fishermen, when they go for fishing in our own territorial waters, they are killed and their boats are destroyed. This is continuously going on. I would like to know whether the Government of India has taken up the matter seriously with the Sri Lankan Government. No. Had you taken up this matter long back, this would have been stopped. We are not making any request on mercy grounds. It is the duty of the Union Government to protect the interests of every citizen of this country. Therefore, Sir, I would like to point out unless this sort of discrimination in every sphere is stopped, you cannot stop the feeling of anger and disgust that is growing in the minds of the people in those areas. Thank

श्री आगीर सिंह "हर्ष" (पंजाब) : (पंजाबी में बोले)

वाईस चेयरमैन साहब, जो मोशन आफ थैंक्स एस०एस० अहलुवालिया जी न पेश किया है मैं उसकी पुरजोर हिमायत करता हूँ। चूँकि मेरे पास वक्त सिर्फ पाँच-सात मिनिट है इसलिए मैं सिर्फ पंजाब पर बात करूँगा।

आजकल सेंटर में सरकार कांग्रेस की है और पंजाब में कांग्रेस की सरकार है और हरियाणा में कांग्रेस की सरकार है। इसलिए अब अगर यह मसला पंजाब का हल नहीं होगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि कभी नहीं होगा। अब जो क्रेडिट है वह कांग्रेस को जायेगा। नरसिंह राव की गवर्नमेंट को जायेगा, सरदार बेअंत सिंह की सरकार को जायेगा। अगर ऐसा न हो सका तो

you.

मैं समझता हूँ कि यह मसला कभी हल नहीं होगा। अगर यह मसला हल नहीं हुआ तो मैं नेशन को वार्न करता हूँ कि जो नया काश्मीर बनेगा, उस काश्मीर में, पंजाब में हम सब कांग्रेसी मारे जायेंगे, मगर हिंदुस्तान भी चैन से नहीं बैठ सकेगा। चंडीगढ़ का मसला है। चंडीगढ़ जो था—जिस वक्त हिंदुस्तान की डिवीजन हुई तो मेहर चन्द जी महाजन गये रेडक्लिफ के पास, उसने कहा कि हमारा राइट बनता है लाहौर पर, जो कैपिटल है वह हमको मिलना चाहिए क्योंकि रेवेन्यू की इन्कम के जरिये, फैक्ट्रियों की कीमत के जरिये पंजाबीयों का हक ज्यादा था। उसने कहा नहीं बंगाल का जो कैपिटल है कलकत्ता और यह है पंजाब का, दोनों कैपिटल नहीं मिल सकते। एक लो। तो उस वक्त कांग्रेस सरकार ने कलकत्ते को ले लिया और पंजाब में लाहौर को छोड़ दिया। उसके बाद हमने दूसरा कैपिटल बनाया वह भी हम से छीन लिया। अब मैं समझता हूँ कि बात क्या है यह क्यों नहीं हो रहा है? इसलिए मैं पुरजोर अपील करता हूँ सरकार को कि पंजाब को चण्डीगढ़ दिया जाए।

दूसरे पानी का मामला है। हम 70 परसेंट सेंटर के पूल में गंदम देते हैं और उसके अलावा 45.5 परसेंट चावल देते हैं, इसलिए हमको पानी देना चाहिए। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि हरियाणा और पंजाब, वेस्टर्न यू० पी०, कुछ इलाका राजस्थान का, इसको एग्रीकल्चर जोन डिक्लैयर करो। इसमें सब को पानी भी दो और खाद भी सस्ता दो ताकि सारे मुल्क का अनाज हम पूरा कर सकें।

तीसरे पंजाब में पंजाबी जवान को हरियाणा में सैकंड लेग्वेज बनाया जाए, क्योंकि वहाँ पर तेलंग भी पढ़ाई जाती है। हरियाणा, हिमाचल प्रदेश, दिल्ली और चंडीगढ़ में दूसरी जवान पंजाबी को बना दिया जाए। पंजाबी स्पीकिंग एरियाज पंजाब को दिए जाएं। आनंदपुर रेजोल्यूशन का अभी बर्क हुआ था। अगर हमको यह आनंदपुर

रेजोल्यूशन में अकाली मांगते हैं अगर वे सारे के सारे दे दिए जाएं टैरिटोरियल डिमांड तो उनकी गवर्नमेंट कभी नहीं बन सकती अकालियों की नहीं हमेशा कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट बनेगी। उसके बाद 6600 करोड़ हमने कर्जा देना है और मुल्क की लड़ाई लड़ी है तो हमारी तो कोई लड़ाई नहीं थी, वह प्रॉब्लम हमारी पैदा की हुई नहीं थी, सैंटर की पैदा की हुई थी। इसलिए हमारे को लोन मुआफ किया जाए। अगर नहीं कर सकते तो जैसे बंगाल में लोग आए थे रेप्यूजी आए थे तो उनको फीड करने के लिए हमने सारे मुल्क पर टैक्स लगाया था, तो सारे मुल्क पर इस किस्म का टैक्स लगाएं ताकि हमारी इकोनोमी ठीक हो सके।

उसके बाद थोड़ी सी आइटम रह गई थी फिक्सो, जो सिख दाढ़ी पर लगाते हैं, उस पर भी टैक्स लगा दिया। तो मैं अपील करता हूं कि वह कहते हैं सिखों से डिसक्रिमिनेशन होती है, इसलिए यह तो मुआफ करा दो।

इसके अलावा पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने कहा कि अपर हाउस जो है उसको रिवाइज करना चाहिए उसके पैसे सरकार ने देने हैं, उसकी तनख्वाहा सरकार ने देनी है, तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को इसमें क्या एतराज है? वह क्यों नहीं बनाती? इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि वह भी अपर हाउस बना देना चाहिए। धीन डेम जो था उसका जो पहले 95 करोड़ का एस्टीमेट था अब वह 2 हजार करोड़ बन गया है। उसमें हमारी तो कोई गलती नहीं थी?

इसलिए अब बाद में मैं आपका शुक्रिया ही अदा करता हूं। जय हिन्द।

SHRI K. R. MALKANI (Delhi) : Mr Vice-Chairman, as a new Member of this august House, I looked forward to the President's Address with great expectations. I am sorry to say, I was disappointed. I also find that I was not the only one to be disappointed, even Mr. Venkataraman, former President of India, said that these Addresses have become meaningless. May be, he is speaking from his own experience. These

Addresses will become more meaningful, more purposeful if a balanced picture of the national scene is presented to the Parliament And this Address is not used as something like Government handing out a certificate to itself

I must say that there are patches in the Government's performance and in the President's Address which are fairly good. I would call them a few bright patches, particularly in the realm of foreign policy. I think it was very good that we established full diplomatic relations with Israel even though we took many decades to do so. I am happy to note that relations between India and China are improving. I am also happy to note that we are developing friendly relations with Iran. It is good that we are opening up even with South Africa. But even in the realm of foreign affairs, I would say that our sending troops to Somalia was not a wise thing to do. We should not be dabbling in other people's disputes.

There were many claims made in the President's Address which are of a very dubious nature. It was said that inflation rate is only one digit. Why should it be one digit? One digit can be anything from one percent to nine per cent. In proper healthy economies it is hardly one to two per cent. So having an inflation rate of six per cent, eight per cent or 12 per cent is not a very healthy sign at all. The Government is also taking credit for more foreign exchange reserves. It is good that you have collected some reserves. But is it proper to include in these foreign exchange reserves, loans which you have borrowed from abroad during this period? You should talk only of your real earnings in foreign exchange through greater exports.

Sir, the law and order situation is supposed to have improved. This Government has a unique distinction of creating problems and after some time solving them. That is what they did in Punjab. That is what they did in Hazaratbal. They created the problems. If we look towards Kashmir, and many other parts of the country, we find that the law and order situation is none too good

The President talked of many schemes for 'women, children, weavers, unemployed youths, the Most of these schemes are to be found only on paper and in air. They are not there

on the ground. Even the former Prime Minister said, that of every one rupees spent on development work, it was only 15 paise which reached the people. Government should feel proud only if this performance could be improved from 15 paise to 25 paise or 50 paise.

The President's Address talked of a Minorities Commission, Minority Finance Commission etc. I feel that these are basically cosmetic programmes. But, in the case of important issues, the Government does not bother. For example, let us take the case of weavers. Weavers belong to all communities. But a very large percentage of them belong to our Muslim community. What is the Government policy with regard to weavers? This is a synthetic Government. It is only interested in synthetic fibre, synthetic clothing, etc., not in weavers. The entire weaving community in the country is in dire distress. If they care for weavers the greatest service they can render to the Muslim community is to do something about weaving.

One good friend from the Government side justified borrowing money from abroad, from the World Bank, for relief and rehabilitation in Latur. Do we need dollars for bricks, mortar, blankets or medicines? I think this Government has developed. Begging is its second nature. I think its symbol is the 'begging bowl'. We do not need this. We ourselves can very well look after the earthquake victims of Latur or any other place.

The President also referred to Ayodhya and the long shadow cast by it. There would have been no shadow, long or short, had the Government behaved honestly, more responsibly. Had the Government of India not rushed 16,000 paramilitary forces to Ayodhya, the December 6th incident would not have happened. I have a shrewd suspicion that the Government of India, at least, important elements in the Government of India, wanted the disputed structure demolished.

I now come to a few points about the major developments in the last one year which were conspicuous by their absence in the President's Address.

We had this notorious securities scam, and we had the JPC. The JPC cast aspersions,

serious aspersions on many important people. None of them has gone out. I am sorry to say they have the hide of a rhino. Last year, this month, there was serial bombing in Bombay. It shook the country and shocked the people.

SRHI, S. S. AHLUWALIA: What happened in December?

SHRI K. R. MALKANI: I dealt with that. You were not attentive, it seems. The Police Commissioner of Bombay had said at the time that cases would be filed within six months. It is 12 months now. And nobody talks of any cases. In any other healthy, strong country we would have traced the criminals to the end of the earth and brought them to book. And here these Johnnies are holidaying abroad, and we are satisfied with only confiscating their properties. The issue of Bangladeshi infiltration in India is there. When the Prime Minister visited Assam, after assuming office he himself had said, "Millions of Bangladeshis have come to India; this affects the bread and butter of the people of India." We would like to know what the Government has to say on this. What have they done to send them back? Have they done anything? And the President's Address was absolutely silent on this. On all these issues—JPC, RDX, and Bangladeshi infiltration I am afraid, it is a very guilty silence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Malkani, will you please yield for a minute? The hon. Railway Minister has to lay on the Table of the House the Supplementary Demands for Grants.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (RAILWAYS!) 1993-94

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI K. C. LENKA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants (Railways) for the year 1993-94.