

As the hon. Members are aware, the Budget of the State of Karnataka for 1989-90 was presented to the Legislature of the State on 17th March 1989 and the Vote On Account for the expenditure estimated to be incurred during the first six months was obtained on 27th March 1989, and the Karnataka Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act, 1989, was passed in March 1989. Since the State Legislative Assembly was dissolved before the Demands for the full year could be voted the Budget for the financial year 1989-90 as presented to the State Legislature was presented to Parliament on 31st July 1989. The Lok Sabha granted the balance of the Demands for Grants and passed the connected Appropriation Bill which is now before this House. To meet the total estimated expenditure during the current year, the Bill provides for payment and appropriation out of the Consolidated Fund of Karnataka of a total sum of Rs. 5374.93 crores, comprising of Rs. 4073.26 crores voted by the Lok Sabha and Rs. 1301.67 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State and is inclusive of the sum earlier authorised for withdrawal in the Karnataka Appropriation Act, 1989. Full details of the provisions are available in the Demands for Grants circulated to Members on the 31st July 1989.

Madam, I move.

The question was proposed.

श्रीन संसदालय में राज्य मंत्री श्रीर  
 संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री  
 (श्री रामाकिशन मालवीय): मैडम, मैं  
 यह चाहूंगा कि कर्नाटक अप्रॉप्रियेशन बिल  
 पर वंच के बाद डिस्कशन रखा जाय।  
 जो भी सदस्य चर्चा शुरू करेंगे उन्हें  
 बीच में ही डिस्-कन्टिन्यू करना पड़ेगा।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let Mr. Chandre Gowda start and he can continue after lunch.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA (Karnataka): Madam, we can adjourn and meet at 2.30, as usual.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will be giving you twelve minutes in any case. Your time is 12 minutes.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: I cannot speak anything in 12 minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Unfortunately, when they take a decision in the Business Advisory Committees they do not realise. We have only 12 minutes registered.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: I would draw your attention to the fact that this Bill was not discussed by the Opposition—an unfortunate situation.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): The State Assembly would have discussed it for months together.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the Members agree, we can dispense with the lunch hour and continue. (Interruptions)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Why do you deprive us of ... (Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Why dispense with the lunch hour? (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is better that we now adjourn for lunch and he can speak after lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-five minutes past one of the clock.

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

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair.]

**I. BUDGET (KARNATAKA), 1989-90**  
**II. KARNATAKA APPROPRIATION**  
**BILL, 1989—contd.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Chandre Gowda.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:**  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to initiate the discussion on the Karnataka budget. Before I come to the budget, I would like to take the House over the period of three months or a little more than that.

While referring to the mandate, the hon. Prime Minister has said that the Members of the Lok Sabha by resigning *en masse*, have violated the mandate of the people. I would like to draw the attention of this House to what has happened in Karnataka. The mandate has been given a decent burial. They have debased and defiled the Anti-Defection law, assaulted the Constitution, butchered democracy in broad daylight and reduced the office of the Governor to that of a marionette of the ruling party at the Centre.

Let us leave it at that, and let us leave it to the people of the country to decide as to who should be consigned to the dustbin of history. If you have faith in people, let us go to them. Don't stick like a limpet to the chair you are sitting on and pursue your perpetual rule in Karnataka.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I take up the discussion on the Budget-Karnataka, I feel that we should have some idea of the President's rule in that State particularly and that of the Janata Dal prior to that, and their performance for about 6 long years. First of all, there is that new innovation—the Advisers to the Governors, if I am correct. The Imposition of the President's rule has made the Governor to run the day-to-day administration through three Advisers. Official machinery of Karnataka is known for its efficiency. But I am sorry to say that the over-bearing attitude of the Advisers who have no stakes in the State or in the people of Karnataka has demoralised the entire bureaucracy. I feel it is an insult to the efficiency of the State Civil Service and the administration of Karnataka. The recent indiscriminate, unnecessary and biased transfers tell so many stories which were unknown either in Karnataka or anywhere else in the

country under the President's rule. I feel it is a negation of the spirit of the President's rule which we have envisaged under Article 356. I have reason to believe that transfers have been directed from Delhi, either from the office of the Prime Minister or from the office of the Home Minister or elsewhere from the concerned Ministers or otherwise concerned too. I am told, I wish I am wrong, Shri Venkitaraman takes direct orders from the Prime Minister's office. Most of the Backward Class and Scheduled Caste officers have been sent out of Vidhan Soudha, the seat of power, the seat of the power given by the people. And Vidhan Soudha is ago with rumours that every transfer is for some consideration, either it may be political or otherwise. Sir, if I have to quote certain transfers recently made a copy of which I have, you will be surprised to know what can a non-popular Government do under the President's rule. Sir, in one set of transfers of KAS officers, there are 58 in the list, and in the second set of transfers, there are more than ten. In all, there were about 68 transfer so far as the KAS officers are concerned. In the case of Indian Forest Service, they have transferred about 25 senior officers to different places. To quote a few more, a further set of 27 KAS officers have been transferred. Let me now come to the IAS officers. Sir, on 5.5.1989, 20 IAS officers have been transferred. Again, on the same day, a second set of transfers of 19 officers took place. And I do not know, it does not stop at that. And on 15.5.1989, 18 officers have been transferred. And on 18.5.1989, 8 officers have been transferred. The total figure comes to about 65 IAS officers who have been transferred. This is what the present state of affairs is going on. If my friend wants, I have the whole list with me. Sir, one of the Janata Party leaders, I am told, who was the previous Minister, he is very busy with transfers. He has, I am told, the blessings of the Central Government and the Governor obliges him. Day in and day out he either sits in the office of the Vidhan Soudha or in the Governor's office. His only job is to get the transfers sanctioned. (Interruptions). I do not know. Most of the engineers, either

of the irrigation or PWD, from top to bottom, they are also transferred according to his directions. Advisers are busy attending to these leaders, the so-called leaders, and guiding the destiny of the officers, not the destiny of the State. So, Sir, I would appeal to the Central Government, please Dispense with the business of these advisers, trust the local officers. They can deliver the goods. They have been delivering the goods. I am not new to the administration. I was not only a Minister. I have done the job as a Speaker and Leader of the Opposition also. Never have I come across such mass transfers, especially at a time when the President's rule has been clamped in a particular State.

Sir, coming to the recent happenings in Karnataka ...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** There are two names from your party. I do not mind it. There is another name also.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka):** Sir, it is Karnataka Budget...

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** ... which used to be discussed for three long months. Don't you have at least three hours here? Sir, I would like to bring to your kind notice that the opposition members in the Lok Sabha for various reasons could not speak on the Budget. At least the time of the opposition here should be given...

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS AND WOMEN AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** So, you want that that time should be transferred here?

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** Yes, Yes, don't you think it is justified?

Sir, on 25.5.1989 the fares were increased, the fares of the Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation, to come into force on 1.7.1989. They printed the con-

cerned tickets. They spent a lot of money to readjust their whole administrative set up. And the Congress leaders make an appeal and this drama begins and the Governor withdraws the order on 28.5.1989. Having spent so much of money he withdraws the order.

Sir, again he takes a decision to discontinue certain routes on the plea that they are uneconomical and within a few days again the same drama is played and he withdraws it. In whose interest he is doing it?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** I would like to know how it is done because I also have run this department in Maharashtra. This is done by the Board. It comes to the Government only for approval.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** My point is that the Governor himself announces it. That is my point. Sir, some time back the constitution of a Parliamentary Committee was suggested by no less a person than the KPCC(I) President and there are precedents. I do not know why these precedents were dispensed with so far as Karnataka is concerned. Sir, he has not even once called us over a cup of tea and consulted us, the elected Members of Parliament, or the elected members of Zila Parishads. Zila Parishads are working. Though this government was thrown out unconstitutionally under article 356, they could not throw out our governments which we had established after six years of long history. They could not throw them out. At least the office of the Governor should have heard them when there is a confidence motion to know what exactly is going on in the State. This has not been done.

Again about the excise policy. He has made a big announcement. Sir, excise is an issue somehow connected with politicians, whether they are Member of Parliament or former Chief Minister or the present Chief Minister or the one going to be the Chief Minister. Sir, my point is, so far as excise policy is concerned, earlier when this

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matter was taken up in Tamil Nadu, His Excellency, Mr. Alexander said that this is a policy decision and I do not want to interfere in that policy decision; it is for the popular government to take a decision. But unfortunately, in Karnataka, the Governor takes a decision and announces the policy. What is the policy? One paper writes on 31st July—it is Hindustan Times—under the caption 'Liquor barons in Karnataka get a jolt' and a saga story is written wherein it says, and I quote: "The State has been, according to a general estimate, losing over Rs. 300 crores duty per year from this kind of liquor" which means 'seconds'. Now, let us see how the present administration has looked to these 'seconds'. There are three categories. I do not want to go into the details of it. According to them, there, are only nine distilleries who have the capacity to distribute also. Can't we control nine distilleries? For that, we want to have a separate central set-up so that the entire production comes under one head. I am not trying to say that the wholesale trade takeover is wrong. I am not saying that. But I am doubtful as to how you would succeed there, and as I quote from this paper, they say, the loss of duty is about Rs. 300 crores, and the ex-Finance Minister of the State comes out with a statement that it is Rs. 600 crores. I do not know how many crores are estimated by my esteemed friend, Mr. Janardhan Poojari. Number of estimations have come in. But with this experiment, the Governor when we met him, estimated it at Rs. 50 crores; the Congress President estimated it at Rs. 60 crores. Now what is the estimate of the Governor? He says, the target has been raised to Rs. 36 crores, and while referring to Hindustan Times again, his own figures would say about the performance of the Janata Party for the last six years—and now Janata Dal as on today—In 1982-83, the revenue was Rs. 140 crores; in 1989-90. It is Rs. 320 crores, which speaks of the

performance of the previous government. I would leave it at that.

Recently, they have tried to regularise the fee structure and abolish the capitation fee prevailing either in the medical colleges or the engineering colleges. They have announced the fee structure. It is worse than the disease itself. At least, earlier, a person coming from a rural area who could not pay, who could not come out with distinction, was blessed by the elders with a seat without paying any capitation fee. Now, it is his duty to pay the fee. What is the fee structure? In the case of Government merit-pool students—this is in regard to the engineering colleges—they have to pay Rs. 1,200. Unaided—Rs. 2,000 per year. Karnataka students-aided—Rs. 5,000 Unaided—Rs. 8,000. Non-Karnataka students-aided—Rs. 12,000 and Unaided—Rs. 12,000.

In the case of the medical colleges, it is further worse. Government-merit-pool students have to pay Rs. 2,000. Karnataka students have to pay Rs. 25,000 per annum and non-Karnataka Indian students Rs. 60,000. If you want your son to be admitted into a medical course in Karnataka, you will have to pay Rs. 60,000 every year.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Without capitation fee.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: In the case of NRI's it is Rs. 80,000 per year. This is the fee structure. Has it, in any way, helped in tackling the menace of capitation fee? It is rampant. Today, it runs into lakhs. Sir, the students have to pay the fee, not year-wise, academic-year-wise, but for all the five years at a time, lumpsum.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): How much?

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: In the case of the non-Karnataka students, it comes to Rs. 3 lakhs. Over

and above this, the old method prevails. It runs into lakh, 2 lakhs, 2.5 lakhs. I heard a few days back that now it has gone up to Rs. 3 lakhs. What is it that we have done? Are we trying to deceive the people? Are we trying to teach the students right from the beginning, right from the inception, deceit? Sir, I, for one have been continuously opposing this capitation fee business. Rightly or wrongly, it is prevailing. But what is it that we have done now? Now, Sir, I come to...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** You have already taken twenty minutes.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** I need another twenty minutes.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** He is from Karnataka and we are discussing the Karnataka Budget.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** The time allotted is only three hours.

**DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh):** For discussing the Kudal Commission's report, we have taken two days. This is how you conduct the Business of the House.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** We have debated the Kudal Commission's report for two days.

**DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY:** Please allow him some more time.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** Mr. Gowda, I will give you another ten minutes.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** Coming to the Budget proposals for 1989-90, I have seen the Financial statement given by the Minister of State for Finance on the Budget of the Government of Karnataka for the year 1989-90. I am sorry to use this language. Instead of calling it as a Budget paper, I would, certainly, call

this as a political document. What is it that he refers to? I have yet to come across another document of this type. It says "A legacy of huge budgetary deficit, undischarged liabilities, has been left behind by the Janata Government." This is what the document says. You can make a political speech, I do not mind. It says; "...in addition to fiscal mismanagement and indiscipline." What shall I call it? It is more a political document than a Budget paper. It further says: "There are reasons to believe that the Janata Government was not vigilant in the matter of curbing tax evasion. Apparently, there is large-scale evasion of excise duty on liquor." Again, the same thing. This has been mentioned in the Financial Statement. This is what I take objection to.

Sir, I do not want to go into the details. Never in the past a Budget paper presented to Parliament to debate a State Budget has made such references at any point of time. As I said, this is a political document. What is this? Karnataka is not the only State which has a deficit, it is in the distinguished company of many Congress(I) States, including Gujarat. Let me not quote the staggering figure of the deficit of the Central Government, Rs. 28,000 crores. Sir, if I quote again from the A.G's office report, during the five years of Janata rule, it does not contain any adverse remarks on the management of finances or the administration, including that of the Excise Department. Both the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank of India have, time and again, complimented the Janata Government of Karnataka on its success in the resource mobilisation. This is the compliment given by the competent authorities, but what does this political document say? Is this the way to run the nation? Is this the way to run a State and is it the way to tell the people of the country? It is like coffee calling kettle black. I do not want to say more than that. Had the Minister presented the performance budget of the rule during these four

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months, we could have known or compared the performance of this Government with the performance of the previous Government at least, if not the past.

Sir, umpteen numebr of times the so-called leaders—I can't think about others—have said that Karnataka is bankrupt. They have no money even to pay the salaries. On top of it, it is the Prime Minister of the country who makes such a statement. This should not have come from the mouth of the Prime Minister at least, I am sorry to say that.

Now, in the name of fiscal management and financial discipline welfare activities of the State have come to a grinding halt, irrigation activities have come to a standstill, command area developmental activities have not begun yet. Sir, the Karnataka budget will speak of that. A law should be passed for enhancement to enforce reservation for the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes, but this is pending. Reservation of jobs for women, that too, under certain specified categories, has not taken off. Decision to constitute special courts for disposal of cases under Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 1976 and dowry deaths, is not yet implemented. Scheme for agricultural labourers; a scheme has been adopted by Government to give monthly pension of Rs. 60 to the agricultural labourer who is disabled while in service or at work and Rs. 2000 in the case of death. Budget provision has been made for the scheme but no action has been taken. Village sanitation, *sauchalayas* as we call them, budget provision has been made for this but no action has been taken. Housing has come to a standstill. Site and service projects have yet to begin. No programme has been made though approval was received for most of these important projects. Learn to earn scheme: it is still gathering dust. Extension of green

card facilities to urban areas: Recently a decision was taken to extend green card facilities to supply at subsidised rates in town having population of 20,000 for which a budget provision has been made. This has also not commenced.

The Hyderabad-Karnataka Development Board, which has now been announced in the papers, is a long-standing aspiration of the people from that area. A decision has been taken. Two crores of rupees have been allocated. While formulating the scheme, the present administration has not even had the courtesy to consult the concerned people. Who are those concerned people? The Zila Parishads are functioning. The Legislative Council Members are there. The Members of Parliament are there. While formulating a scheme of this type, at least a formal consultation should have been done. That has not been done.

Then the implementation of the model Committee Report on the Kudala Sangameswara Temple. This is one of those temples which gets submerged under the Krishna project. To save that, a scheme has been formulated. A Committee was constituted. The Committee gave its considered decisions.

AN HON. MEMBER: When?

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: It is not I think for the time. For they have not taken a decision. Four months have elapsed.

Coming to getting clearance of the projects, I do not want to go into the details of it because time does not permit...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I have already given you half an hour. I cannot give you more than that.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** No, Sir, I want at least 5 minutes more. Sir, a number of projects are pending with the Central Government for clearance. I would like to refer to only one or two in a pointed manner. I do commend the Government for having taken over the Visvesvarya Iron and Steel Works which would come under SAIL. We have been urging for this for a number of years. Thanks to the previous Government of Karnataka also that they gave whatever they wanted. Interest free electricity overdues, extra electricity and every other facility that the Central Government wanted, they gave. I would rather congratulate the previous Government for the interest they evinced in that.

Mangalore refinery and petrochemical project is pending clearance. Establishment of an export processing zone at Wakhal industrial estate, Bangalore, is still pending. About Vijayanagar Steel Plant, the less said the better it is. In the year 1971 the Prime Minister of the country comes and lays the foundation stone. Thousands of acres of land have been acquired. No less a person than the Prime Minister of the country, Smt. Indira Gandhi under whose leadership I worked and which I still feel was my privilege, came and did this. Unfortunately before every election, every party talks about it. Again I am told the Prime Minister has said that he would give life to that. I do not know what type of life he is going to give. I have yet to see that.

Coming to the other aspects...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** This is your last point.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** No, Sir, I will take two minutes more. In the performance of the Janata Dal Government particularly in the field of decentralisation of power, we set an example to the country, thanks to late Nazir Sab who took personal interest

in it. Another important aspect of his work was the supply of drinking water. More than 53,000 bore wells were sunk. The Government of India patted him and gave the bonus. Yet today the ruling party at the Centre does not look to it. Sir, the people of Karnataka used to call him "Neer Sahib". "Neer" is water. He used to be called "Neer Sahib". It is sad that he is no more, but his memories are still alive with the people of Karnataka in every village, in every hamlet.

Sir, I do not have the time, otherwise I would have quoted the figures. There were so many socio-economic schemes—like pension for widows, pension for the disabled, uniform to school children, mid-day meals, sarees and dhotis at reasonable subsidised price, green card for poor people.  
3.00 P.M.

There is a housing scheme in the name of this great soul, Nazir Saab, and we named the scheme after him and called it Nazir Aawas Yojana. Many people commented on that, knowing nothing about that person. If I may say so, Sir, it is our misfortune that we have lost that man, whichever party he belonged to.

Coming to one important aspect, that of forests, forests are in the Concurrent List. Now, we have built projects and projects but, for public purposes like laying roads, there are problems. I come from the Mainad area where the entire land is submerged, specially in the Varahi hydel project area. Thousands of people are homeless. Only to give an alternative means of communication for them, we have to construct a road there and, for that purpose, we have to fell only 400 trees. That matter is pending with the Government of India for the last, almost, two years. How long can they wait? This year again the rains are there, the area is full of water. There are nearly a thousand families there and we are taking them in launches. I would appeal to the Government that in the matter of con-

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struction of roads and in tackling educational and health problems, the State Government should have power to give consent for these public purposes. Otherwise, one has to seek Central clearance even to fell a small number of trees in the Malnad area.

There is another problem. Rightly or wrongly, the budget has come to the Centre. Now the Central Government has to take one decision. I come from a coffee-growing area. Seventy-two per cent of India's coffee is grown in the Chikamagalur area. When Mr. Gundu Rao was the Chief Minister, his Government started levying sales tax at 13 per cent plus 1.5 per cent. In Andhra you do not have sales tax on coffee, in Tamil Nadu you do not have sales tax on coffee though, in Kerala, it is only six per cent. This is a commodity connected with different States and therefore there should be some uniform method. Because of this levy, now the growers have to pay nearly Rs. 160 crores of arrears, and they are not getting their due share. This year's entire coffee fund will be directed to clear these arrears because of the Supreme Court's judgement as they have to abide by that. But the High Court of Karnataka said that the Central Government should come to their assistance. Yet nothing has come forth and they are on the streets. Therefore, Sir, through you I appeal to the Government of India to take up this matter in earnestness and in all seriousness.

In the end, Sir, as I have said earlier, I hope and trust that the Congress Party still believes in democratic institutions. So, let us not try to belittle the popular upsurge.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan): What a hope!

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): I think you are the greatest optimist!

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: Sir, I led three delegations to the Governor. In one delegation, there were more than 50 people. After I met the Governor and came back, those people told me, "Mr. Chandre Gowda, you were the Minister, you were the speaker, you were the leader of the opposition, you are everything. But don't for heaven's sake, do this again. We committed the mistake of bringing you to the Governor. We will not do so hereafterwards." Then they tried to tell those men in authority to hold elections as early as they can. I hope the Government would take a decision and see that a popular Government is restored in Karnataka as early as possible. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, somehow the Janata Party, or Janata Dal, has chosen a tilander batsman to start the cricket. I only salute the wisdom of Mr. Gurupadaswamy, the leader of the Janata Dal front. He knows his case is very weak; he cannot defend the case.

Mr. Gurupadaswamy tried his best to mend the Government of Karnataka, as a leader of the party here. But having failed, even on this day he chose not to defend the Janata Government or the budget which was placed by the Janata Dal. The initiator of the discussion has conveniently forgotten even to say whether he supports the budget or opposes the budget. He himself is not in favour of passing the Budget placed by his own party.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: I am sorry, it is still not too late, I suppose. (Interruptions)

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: He has demanded elections. (Interruptions)



SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I do not know why the Opposition Members are agitated. Mr. Chandre Gowda conveniently forgot to say, "This is a Budget presented by the Janata Government, Janata Dal Government, in Karnataka. Please pass it." He has not asked for passing the Budget. Why are you agitated?

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: That is only an oversight.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: It is all right, oversight or deliberate. It may be oversight for you. I take it to be a deliberate attempt at not defending your own Budget. It may be a deliberate omission.

Sir, I just went through the papers today and saw a photograph wherein the Janata Dal has again gone back to the Rajghat to take oath. (Interruptions)

I am coming to that. I am having the paper. Mr. Malaviya, why are you impatient? I will come back.

In 1977 we saw the same drama. After 12 years the drama has again started from the Rajghat. I am sorry, the Rajghat is a sacred place, but it is being used like this for taking oaths and forgetting the oaths. On the contrary, we have discussed about Gandhi and the Commissions yesterday. I am not going into that aspect. I will take out a para from their statement. Wherever "country" occurs. I will replace it with "State." It fits for the five years of the State of Karnataka. I quote:

"During the last five years the situation has become much more depressing. It was the State's misfortune that the rulers themselves had become thoroughly corrupt, in extracting money, in deals with land scandals and compromised with self-respect of the State."

I have only replaced "country" with "State." In what they said for the

country for five years, if you replace "country" with "State," it 100 per cent fits into the rule of the Janata Dal or Janata Government in Karnataka. This is what I wanted to remind them. You have gone to the Rajghat to say this. You yourselves are the victims of these statements.

Sir, performance of any government should be looked into. Somehow deliberately the initiator of the discussion forgot that he belongs to a party which has ruled the State for five years, and he has not said anything about the progress achieved in Karnataka, what their promises were and what their achievements were. That should have been stock-taking on this day, on the occasion of the Budget of the Janata Government.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: I have quoted everything.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: In whatever time you got, you conveniently avoided it. It is not helping you.

Sir, what were their promises? Their manifesto was released. "Jobs for all if Janata is elected," says Janata. What is the position today? They promised a job for one man from each family.

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA (Karnataka): We never said, "jobs for all." What is this?

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: This is the manifesto. (Interruptions) Are you disowning your manifesto? (Interruptions) If you are disowning your manifesto, I will throw away this paper. Are you disowning your own manifesto? (Interruptions)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, when Mr. Chandre Gowda was speaking, we were silently hearing. We did not disturb him. Now they are disturbing.

SHRI B. K. GADHVI: Mr. Chandre Gowda, you now realise where democracy lies. Is it on this side or on that side? (Interruptions)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: You can correct me if I am wrong. "If voted to power, the Janata Party will either give employment to all between 18 and 50 or foodgrains worth Rs. 2 a day, the State Janata Party President said here today." It is dated Novemebtr 28; before you went for elections. As on today, let alone creating new jobs, even 80 thousand vacancies in the Government have not been filled up. The KPSC has been crippled. No advertisements, no examinations, no selections are being held. I don't want to go further because it is an autonomous body. And what were their promises? Much has been said about the medical colleges and the capitation fees.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Hanumanthappa, to which year does it relate to?

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am talking of the 1983 elections and the 1985 elections. I have got both the manifestos.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: It relates to 1989 or 1990.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Morarka, you have already released 1990. Otherwise what are these 71 and 129? We are all watching. Do you mean to say we have shut our ears and eyes?

Sir, Chandre Gowda argued about the capitation fees and the medical fees and the Governor's decision. I am not here to hold the brief for the governor for his decision on the mounting fees, but why this Chandre Gowda, who is so much opposed, who was holding a position in the Janata Party, did not oppose sanctioning the new medical colleges and increasing the number of management seats

in medical colleges in Karnataka? What for? What was behind it? Why was he closing his mouth?

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: One minute. For your information...

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: No. I have not interrupted you. You should not interrupt me. (Interruptions) I want to tell this country the people who have taken oath at Rajghat what sort of Government they have given to this country and to the people. This is a warning to the people of the country for the next elections. Don't be misled by an oath at a sacred place. This is what I want to tell. What were your promises and what has been your achievement? This is what I want to tell this country. How far have you achieved?

Sir, they started with a very good slogan of value-base. I am happy Chandre Gowda admitted on the floor of the House. When he himself was discussing about the transfers, I just interrupted and asked: Are they value-based? Traditionally because of the Janata Dal and the Janata Party all the transfers almost all are value-based as conceded by Mr. Chandre Gowda on the floor of the House. So, value-based was attached to every work of the Government in Karnataka during the last six years. So, they said that the Congress Government has not conducted elections to the local bodies for the last eight years and that they will conduct. They also promised the provision of supersession will be removed from the Statute. I question them: when they were in power they conducted the Municipal elections only once. When the term was completed they never cared to notify the elections again. And till today as promised by the Janata Party they have not changed the Statute. What is the promise and what is their action? (Interruptions) They were in Office. They should have done that. That was their promise. Sir, without going into all these de-

tails, I will tell you about other promises. I have already told you about the value-based politics. The value-based politics has been discussed very much in this country. What is the value attached to arrack bottling or spirit or Revji or Madhuva? Now, I will come to the details of the actions that they have done in Karnataka. They have promised one job for each family and I have told you what they have done. They have promised to appoint meritorious Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes graduates and post-graduates immediately without any interview. Mr. Chandre Gowda was vehemently arguing for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes. Let him say how many Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes meritorious students have been appointed in the last six years? Sir, if I am not wrong, not a single candidate was appointed. I agree that this was challenged in the court but what effort the Janata Government made to see that it is vacated? That shows their reality. What was your effort in getting it vacated or getting it contested? That shows your intention.

Sir, they told the farmers of the State that the former Congress Government was anti-farmers and there were killings in Nargund and they promised to look after the welfare of the farmers. So the Rayat Sangha supported the Janata Party because they promised that they would protect them. They were the people who removed the Congress party from the rule in 1983. Sir, after the Janata Party came to power 40,000 farmers were arrested. Mind you, Sir, the total capacity of the jails in Karnataka is only 12,000 but 40,000 farmers were arrested. Many incidents of firing took place. They said: "If our Government comes to power, we will not open fire on the farmers." This was their election promise. If I am wrong, let Mr. Chandra Gowda or Mr. Maheswarappa contradict me. But there were a number of firing incidents. The reason

given was: "We indented for rubber bullets from the Centre but the Centre did not supply us with rubber bullets; so we used the same bullets for firing." Can it be a reason?

Sir, one more institution supported the Janata Party which enabled them to come to power and that is Dalits Sangarsh Samithi, Dalits Kriya Samithi. They said: "Injustice has been done by the Congress Government; so we will support the Janata Party." The Janata Party promised them that they would take care of them. They said: "We will give you all protection and we will give you reservation." I will give you the figures of atrocities: In 1983, 329 atrocities were committed, the number of injured was 524, value of property lost was Rs. 1,49,000, the number of deaths was 44. These were the atrocities on Harijans. In 1984, 368 incidents took place, 412 were injured, the value of property lost was Rs. 1,33,000 and 33 deaths took place. In 1985, 553 incidents took place, 623 were injured, the value of property lost was Rs. 1,88,000 and 49 deaths took place. In 1986, 511 incidents took place, 720 were injured, the value of property lost was Rs. 1,14,000 and 30 deaths took place. In 1987, 630 incidents took place, 893 were injured. In 1988, 637 incidents took place. So successively there has been an increase of atrocities against Harijans. So they could not fulfil their promise of protecting the interests of the Dalits. To highlight these atrocities I want to tell you in Bindigari village, Belgaum district on 3. 8. 1987, Harijans were detained, abused, threatened and forced to eat human excreta. The allegation was stealing of lemon crop. No arrests were made and no punishment was given. That was the action of the Government. In Tallur village, Shimoga district on 29. 1. 1988, Harijans were not allowed to offer pooja. They were threatened and assaulted with chappals if they entered the temple. In Mudugal village, Raichur district, Scheduled Caste persons

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

were chucked out of the hotels; they were asked to get out of the hotels. One Harijan died in the scuffle. In chincholi on 14-1-1987 a Harijan boy and a Hindu boy clashed while exchanging Pongal greetings. In Yadgiri taluq, an Asst. Commissioner, a Sub-Divisional Magistrate was assaulted by an upper caste man before the Janata Government Minister. No action has been taken. He has not been punished. He has his sympathy with him. Now, the Dalits of Karnataka, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes have known the real picture and the hearts of the Janata Dal and the Janata Government.

Now, I am coming to law and order situation. The people naturally expect the Government of the day to take care of the law and order situation. Sir, what is the position in Karnataka? The Home Minister of the State Government has been chargesheeted. The S. P. has been chargesheeted and the case is pending. I do not want to go further. The Home Minister, who is expected to take care of the people, protect the lives and properties of the people, he himself has to resign and he has been chargesheeted and facing trial. As regards the protection of properties, there were some dacoity incidents. What was the statement from the State Government? Will they disown the statement? The Home Minister of the State Government is on record saying, 'don't depend upon the Government machinery. You have your strong iron doors to your houses. Added to this, you have the dogs to protect your houses. The Government cannot protect you.' For this, we have to vote? The people are asking, is it the promise that they have given from the Rajghat that "we cannot protect you, we cannot protect your lives, we cannot protect your properties?" Correct me if I am wrong. Was not your Home Minister on record to say that you have to have strong doors, you have to have

dogs to protect your houses and do not depend upon the Government machinery?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I do not want that.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Sir, Mr. D. B. Chandre Gowda has vehemently said, the people said, it was not a bankrupt Government. What do we see? Even old age pensions were not paid for which he boasted. Old age pensions, widow pensions, handicapped pensions were not paid. That lady will be waiting for the pension in the first week of the month, in the second month, in the third month and in the fourth month. Monies have not been given. Pensions have not been given. Sir, you may be surprised to know that cheques issued by the State Government for Rs. 60/-, Rs. 100/-, Rs. 200/- had bounced. There was no money in the treasury. Cheques were returned. Sir, this Parliament passed an Act which says, if anybody gives a cheque without a balance, he will be prosecuted. If this theme is applied, then then Janata Government of Karnataka should have been prosecuted under that Act... (Interruptions)... Let us not go to the individuals. Sir, on the day the President's rule was imposed in Karnataka State, bills worth Rs. 129 crores were pending. Will they deny it? Bills worth Rs. 129 crores were pending out of which Rs. 80 crores were to be paid to the contractors. Here, I have got my own reservations. After the imposition of the President's rule, the Governor has got money, raised the resources but they cleared the dues which they should not have done because Rs. 80 crores were for the contractors. In turn, it has got its own shares. It has got its own chain of shares. Rather than that, they could have been utilised for the developmental works. This is what Mr. D. B. Chandre Gowda is crying for now and I am one with him. Instead of clearing those cheques or pending bills, they could have been used for the developmental works.

Sir, the State Government of Karnataka has been practising prohibition since independence. Later on, it was my own friend, Mr. R. K. Hegde, when he was the Finance Minister, had prohibition was scrapped for whatever reasons under the leadership of Mr. Nijalingappa, our Chief Minister. But after the same gentleman took over the administration of the State, what is the achievement? Up to 1983, there were only 6,000 shops. But during this period, 8000 liquor shops are added in Karnataka. Up to 1983 14,000 हो गये प्रोहिबिशन के बाद । प्रोनली 6,000 थे लिक्वर शाप, इनके बनाने में 8,000 बढ़ गये । किसी भी गांव में जाइये बोड़ी नहीं मिलती, सिगरेट नहीं मिलता, पान नहीं मिलता लेकिन हाँ लिक्वर मिल जाता है । इतना मशहूर हो दिया, इतना डवलप हो गया है, हाँ बोड़ी नहीं मिलती, सिगरेट नहीं मिलता, पान नहीं मिलता वहाँ लिक्वर मिल जाता है, हर गांव ; हर गली में ।

Added to this, what did our Chief Minister do? The people who elected him expected him to run the State efficiently and give a good administration. But in his whole tenure, for not even 10 per cent of the period, he was in Karnataka and not even 25 per cent he attended office. Should the people be taken away by those woes and vote him a party to power? I leave the judgement to the people. Every now and then for deficit, they say the State faced a severe drought for four years. Did the Chief Minister care to visit the drought-affected areas. Where was he? He was never seen in the drought-affected areas.

**HRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:**  
What did the Prime Minister do that?

(Interruptions)

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** Yes, I do not know the facts. I will take the word of Mr. Chandre Gowda. Mr. Chandre Gowda, I want just to remind you that it is only after the Prime Minister visited the drought-affected areas in Karnataka, your Chief Minister started visiting Karnataka. Am I wrong?

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:** It is true. It is a fact.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** You tell me if I am wrong. It is only after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister, visited the drought-affected areas that the Chief Minister of Karnataka started touring the drought-affected areas. Sir, it had become the tradition of the Janata Dal and the Janata Government to blame the Centre or compare with Congress-ruled States. After all, the Janata Government was elected to run the Karnataka State administration. If you just open the budget speeches of the Chief Minister, every para contains an attack on the Central Government and the Central Budget and comparison with Bihar, Orissa and U. P. Baba, how is the farmer in a village in Karnataka interested in what is happening in U.P., Bihar and other Congress-ruled States? What are you doing? You are accountable to the people. You have been voted to power. Every day they make this comparison. Even now Mr. Chandre Gowda has said it is better than Bihar and Orissa. But what was Karnataka and what stage have you left it at? You tell me not only that. Why do you compare with Bihar and Orissa? We will not stand comparison with other States whether they are Congress-ruled or Opposition-ruled. Karnataka has its own tradition, its own glory, its own richness. What stage have you brought it to?

Sir, much has been said about standards. Even Lok Sabha Members have resigned on that issue alleging that the Congress Government is indulging in these things. I want to unveil certain information about the Janata Government.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** Briefly.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** No, Sir. I want some more time. You have the liberty to stop me if I go out of the way. But give me some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please put it briefly.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am always on facts. (Interruptions). Deliberately, Mr. Chandre Gowda, I repeat again, forgot to deal with the achievements. Every time, I was watching the deliberations of the Planning Commission when the Karnataka Chief Ministers came and discussed the plan of the State. You take the next day's newspapers. The press had asked the question, "What is your feeling about the Plan allocation?" Every successive Chief Minister had said, "I am happy about the Plan allocation." But, the moment they reached Bangalore, they would change. I do not know what happened in between in the air. In Delhi, they reacted to the press saying, "I am happy about the outcomings of the Planning Commission." The moment they reached Bangalore they came out saying, "I am not happy. The Centre has discriminated, etc." I do not know what happened in the mid air. I do not know what happens in the mid-air...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: There was a stop-over in Hyderabad.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Maybe, it may be the influence of Hyderabad. For the earlier flight there used to be a stop-over at Hyderabad. Maybe, because of the influence of Hyderabad the moment the Chief Minister lands in Karnataka he starts attacking the Centre. Fortunately now we have a direct flight. Coming to that, even after saying that I am happy about Plan allocations, what is their achievement? The Planning Commission fixed a target of Rs. 940 crores for the year 87-88. Their achievement was only Rs. 640 crores, Rs. 300 crores less than the target fixed. In the year 88-89 the target fixed was Rs. 900 crores. The achievement was only Rs. 680 crores, Rs. 220 crores less. During these

two years the achievement was only 70%. What does it show? Obviously the State Government was unable to mobilise the resources to reach the Plan target, because there was no Government, the Chief Minister never stayed in the State. In his anxiety to guide national politics unfortunately the victims are the Karnataka people. Their development has come to a standstill, to a grinding halt, because the Government, the leaders, they elected, they started indulging in national politics and trying to become an alternative to Congress, an alternative to Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

Coming back to scandals, I want to mention one scandal into which already a commission of inquiry has been appointed under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, that is about NRIs. I will quote from the very notification issued by the Government. This was about the 110 acres of land on the Hosur-Sajjapur Road given by the Bangalore Development Authority to the Non-Resident Indians Housing Association of Karnataka.

"To inquire into any irregularities, impropriety or contravention of law ... in addition to the matter referred to in paragraph (a) of this para."

"To inquire into any other matter arising out of the incident."

This story has already been published in the press. I do not want to go into the details. In anonymous names the society has been formed...

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: Please read the terms of reference.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I have read only the terms of reference.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: Why do you leave out the first line?

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: "To inquire into the facts and circumstances relating to the proposal"...

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
"...into the proposal", why  
leave that word? Please read  
the line.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:  
Reading: "...the proposal to  
110 acres of land on the  
Sajjapur Road"...

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA:  
Not given.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:  
Swappa says it was only a  
not ordered. Am I right? I  
further and read. "Orders  
passed..." (Interruption)  
...ing me to read further.

1977-78 the BDA decided to  
the bulk allotment of 110  
land. NR'HAK requested  
approval of the State Go-  
vide their letter dated  
Simultaneously the BDA  
NRIs to deposit 55 lakhs,  
the cost of land; 110 acres  
was approved by BDA.  
Association deposited the entire  
for the Societies Act. BDA  
allotting 110 acres of  
approved by the Govern-  
Karnataka....".

...ing is over. The land  
...over. It is func-  
... You said it was only  
... ..

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
...will do that.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:  
... already been handed

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
...the Government was con-  
... it was only a proposal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
JAGESH DESAI): Anyhow that is  
your view.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
It is not my view; it is one of the  
terms of reference.

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA:  
What about the Maharashtra land  
scandal?... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
JAGESH DESAI): We are discussing  
the Karnataka Appropriation Bill.  
Why do you bring in Maharashtra?

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:  
We are discussing Karnataka. Why  
should Maharashtra come in? When  
we discuss Maharashtra, we will  
answer that point also... (Interrup-  
tions)

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI  
(Andhra Pradesh): You are going to  
introduce the Maharashtra Budget  
also here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
JAGESH DESAI): This is for Karna-  
taka and not for Maharashtra.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:  
Sir, about the Governor's Rule, we  
have discussed it sufficiently and I do  
not want to go into that. I have al-  
ready given the facts and figures.  
What will be the result of 117-19, I  
have already mentioned on the floor  
of the House. I do not want to go  
further into it. I do not want to say  
anything about the 5 acres/124  
guntas of land in which lakhs of  
rupees of Government revenue has  
been lost. Who the relations are,  
who the Revolvers are, all these are  
published in the papers and I do not  
want to go into those details now.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
An inquiry was ordered by the offi-  
cers also... (Interruptions)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:  
That shows that there is a *prima  
facie* case .... (Interruptions) .... Let  
us dig out and many more skeletons  
will come out. Let us dig out and we  
will find out who are all involved,  
who are whose relatives and who are  
there in that company.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:**  
That is why you have set up the Commission.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:**  
Coming back to the question of power, let us see how they managed the problem of power. The KSEB is now suffering a loss of Rs. 350 crores. There is no budgetary support to the KSEB for the last six years. These are the facts. And, Sir, during the Congress (I) regime, the KSEB was having a profit to the extent of Rs. 10 crores. It may be a small amount of money. But, today, under the Janata regime, the loss has come to Rs. 350 crores and during the last one year alone the loss is to the tune of Rs. 100 crores! Is it better management? Is it better management about which they are talking?

Then, even with regard to production of power also, during the last six years they were not able to add even one million units more to the existing level of 9,000 million units although the demand of the State is 16,000 million units.

Coming to the question of public sector undertakings, there are 55 public sector undertakings in our State. There was an accumulated loss of Rs. 163 crores in the year 1983. We also do not claim that we were earning profits. The losses were Rs. 163 crores then. But, today the accumulated loss is Rs. 700 crores. During these five or six years, you have added Rs. 537 crores to the losses of the public sector undertakings. Is it better management? The credit for the Janata Government is the addition of Rs. 537 crores more as losses.

The KSRTC was having an accumulated loss of Rs. 15 crores in the year 1983. Today, it has gone up to Rs. 150 crores!

**SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA:**  
During the President's Rule, during these months, it will get doubled up.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:**  
You see, I have to answer certain points raised by Mr. Chandre Gowda. He raised these points. He raised the issue of the KSRTC fares. The Governor decided to raise the fares. But when there was an objection, he withdrew. This shows very much that the Government of the day is responsive and reacting to the wishes of the people. The Governor wanted to enhance the fares. But, when there was an objection from the public, the Government was reacting to it and was responsive to it and responded to the wishes of the people and it withdrew the fare hike. Are you objecting to that also?

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:**  
I am not objecting to it, but .... (Interruptions)

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:**  
You objected to it in your speech.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:**  
I did not object to it, but I did object to the method adopted.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:**  
Then, Sir, NGF is the best electrical industry in the country. The annual turnover is about Rs. 150 crores and this is a 100 per cent State-owned undertaking. Actually, this Company decided to sell one crore shares, one crore equity shares, to the public and the LIC and the UTI and the Government of India came forward to take that. But the State Government decided not to give it to the LIC or the UTI, but decided to give the share to another company in West Germany. Not only the LIC and the UTI, but also the Government of India came forward to purchase fifty lakh equity shares. But, for obvious reasons—the reasons are known to the Chief Minister and his company—the decided to sell these shares to AE of West Germany. If the Government had decided to sell the shares in the open market, it would have fetched Rs. 2 crores more. What have



they negotiated for? Material worth Rs. 100 crores, of India, has been sold but the commission is not accounted. I must tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that 75 per cent, so far as the transfer of shares is concerned, is retained by NGF and 24 per cent is given to the AAG Company. If one per cent more is added, the foreign company will get the veto power. Is it in the interest of the State? Is it in the interest of the country?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** Some development proposals.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** Sir, they boast of having written off certain loans of farmers, as also the interest subsidy. Rs. 182 crores the farmers returned in the hope of getting the interest waived. What happened in the ultimate result. They have not reimbursed the interest money to the cooperative societies. NABARD came in the way. They said: you have become defaulters, we will not advance you further. You also know that Maharashtra objected to this.

The Janata Government claims so many...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** Now, something regarding your problems.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** Sir, I just remind you, two days back Mr. Sathe, while answering a question, said something about 'Shakuntala'. It was conceived by somebody, which is disowned. Now, it is the Budget conceived by the Janata. We have to take care of the baby, orphan baby now. Even Mr. Chandre Gowda did not support the Budget. He just left the baby after conceiving and left it to the care of the Congress. (Interruptions)

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** Do you say that Governor's rule is your rule?

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** I am coming to that. Unfortunately, I wanted to start with the same sentence. Mr. Chandre Gowda, I am coming to your point. I wanted to say that Governor's rule is not the Congress rule.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI):** Another five minutes.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** I will finish within five minutes. He questions the Governor's rule and the appointment of advisers, etc. Mr. Chandre Gowda's question was: is it the way to run a State? After all these allegations, I ask him, the question: is it the way to run the State of Karnataka by the Janata Party and Janata Dal? I have given you ample examples and leave the answer to you and to the people of this country. Is it the way to run a State?

**DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI:** Mr. Narayanasamy will answer. (Interruptions)

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry):** You rule a State; we have to answer.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** While winding up his speech Mr. Chandre Gowda said: we have made budget allocations under these heads but the Governor has not started, that activities have not been taken up. Mere paper allocations will not generate money. As a senior politician, as a Speaker, as a Minister and as an M.P. you have worked; you know. Mere paper allocations will not produce money.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:** It is not paper.

**SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA:** What is it? What is the legacy? Rs. 129 crores bills pending? Will you disown that after collecting Rs. 3 crores by way of National Savings Certificates salaries have been paid?

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

Will you disown this? Mr. Bommai had to appeal to certain people to purchase National Savings Certificates. Out of Rs. 3 crores salaries have been paid. In such a situation do you want the budget allocations to be spent and activities to be taken up?

One thing more about VIFL? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, about V.I.F.L., I am thankful to Mr. Chandre Gowda for thanking the Government of India for their decision. While thanking the Government of India for taking over the V.I.F.L., I have my own reservations. If the Karnataka Government could have mobilised Rs. 240 crores or Rs. 250 crores, this prestigious property could have been retained by the State. Unfortunately, the Government and the local people wanted the V.I.F.L. to be taken over for better management and for amelioration of the condition of workers. I do not come in the way. But the property worth thousands of crores of rupees is being transferred in this deal. I only appeal to the Government to give us the project and the amount of Rs. 1500 crores which they are getting by the transfer of V.I.F.L. If they can't give us in one instalment, they can give us in a phased manner. Give us one more project or some other project which costs about Rs. 1500 crores. This project is a building project in the name of Shri Mageswarayya. Today we are not merely transferring the management. We are also transferring the asset. Rs. 1500 crores are being transferred to the State. So, I request the Government of India to come out with some project which will actually reflow these Rs. 1500 crores to the State. I thank again the Government for taking over the administration of the V.I.F.L.

The other demands include the petro-chemical factory at Mangalore refinery and additional allotment of foodgrains. While demanding the additional allotment of foodgrains, I

want to go on record again that the Janata Government in the year 1985-86, did not lift 22,000 tonnes of wheat and rice. These foodgrains were given for the poor people and for welfare programmes. 11520 tonnes of rice and 11520 tonnes of wheat were not lifted by the Janata Government. It was meant for the benefit of the poor people.

Regarding the flood relief, I would say that till the Central team visits and makes an on-the-spot study and sends its report, I request the Government of India to release Rs. 50 crores immediately to take care of the flood victims.

A request for Rs. 145 crores has already been submitted to the Centre for the sea erosion project. I request the Government to sanction it. I am thankful to the Government for increasing allocations for the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna. But I would say one thing. The money meant for Jawahar Rozgar Yojna has gone to the District Zila Parishads. What is happening in Karnataka is this. The Karnataka Panchayat is totally different from what we are thinking now of the Panchayat Raj. There the bureaucracy is dominating. The devolution of power is only on paper. Bureaucracy is dominating.

80 per cent of the money that has gone to the Zila Parishads and Mandals has been adjusted against the spill-over work. Either it should be stopped and go to the people directly in order to achieve the expected results or the Government of India should make additional allotment for this spill-over work. Otherwise this much-anticipated Rozgar Yojna will again become a farce if the 80 per cent of the amount is adjusted against the spill-over work. The common man will not feel the effect of this Rozgar Yojna which has been created for them by the Centre. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): May I seek your permission to have a clarification from him? Just permit me. I won't take much time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No 'please.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO: Sir, we are now discussing another State budget in Delhi. It should have naturally been discussed at Bangalore by the democratically-elected Assembly. That Government is thrown out and now we are compelled to have this discussion.

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

Sir, the Budget as such is to be opposed or supported. That is immaterial almost here. The Budget was originally prepared by the Government of Karnataka, and now it is proposed by and again supported by the Central Government. Perhaps, left to his own option, Mr. Hanumanthappa would have opposed it. Mr. Chandre Gowda did not also oppose it. He simply explained the things. Anyway, it is not of so much for us, it is a consequential thing as I said in regard to the Punjab Budget. Here also, in regard to Karnataka Budget, it is a consequential thing. That is why the point is that it is a very unfortunate position that we are discussing it. Last week we were discussing the Punjab Budget. This week we are discussing the Karnataka Budget. Perhaps, the Central Government would like many more State Budgets to be brought in here and discuss because it is their authoritarian power to rule over all the States, particularly the non-Congress (I) States. Congress (I)-ruled States would naturally oblige them. But the non-Congress (I) States do not. That is the demarcation. Otherwise, Karnataka Government should not have been thrown out. If I am to believe what all my hon. friend, Mr. Hanumanthappa said, the Karnataka Government could have been easily overthrown and the Congress could have won at every stage. That was not so. Why did it rush to behead

the Government while it was still continuing, while it was maintaining a majority? Under the plea that it has lost majority, the Centre had intervened and brought it under its own control. Otherwise, what were they doing? Were they respecting the Constitution? They were not respecting the Constitution. They were violating the Constitution. Were they respecting the appointment of Governors as was suggested by the Sarkaria Commission? No. They were not respecting that provision also. A Governor of the Congress Party despite the Sarkaria Commission's recommendation was imposed on the State of Karnataka which was ruled by a non-Congress (I) party. And he was also a defeated MP. That is another story. But the point is that it was arbitrarily done without consulting the State Government, and Governors were imposed despite the Sarkaria Commission's caution against using article 356 of the Constitution. They have brought this State under article 356 of the Constitution. So, all these things go to prove how arbitrarily and autocratically they have been behaving. The Central Government is after power, the centralisation of power, authoritarian power, despotic power over all the States. That is the indication of these instances. Well, Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir. otherwise, why were these things done? What were they telling us before? At the time of dismissing the Government, they were telling us that they have lost the majority. If the Government lost majority, they were only to wait for a week, and it would have been obvious there. The Assembly, according to the rules, was in session. Only it was not sitting. It was to sit after a week. And they did not wait even for the week days only to condemn this Government and disband it. Why? Why were they in such a haste? Because they were not confident enough that the majority was opposing the Government. The Government was having the majority. Since the Congress Party at the helm of

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affairs was not prepared to wait even for a week to see that the majority overthrows that Government it was because of lack of confidence and it was a despotic act on behalf of the Central Government. The point is why did they do it? Then, doing it, what did they tell us? They told us that the elections would be held as soon as possible. It was said that the Government has lost the majority and it has lost the confidence of the people and we are here to rule till then and we will be holding that elections very soon. What is the present indication that is coming in the press? Our hon. friend, Mr. Hanumanthappa did not utter a word about the elections (Interruptions). But the indications in the press—I saw a report in the Hindu on the 9th, and today the Hindustan Times has also reported—is that they were not prepared to hold elections in Karnataka. As in the case of Punjab, they do not want to have elections for the Assembly, along with the elections to the Lok Sabha. Why? Why are they afraid of elections? That means that there is obviously something fishy about it. Otherwise, why were they challenging everybody and even now Mr. Hanumanthappa is so confident that the Janata Dal rule has been a misrule and it has lost the confidence of the whole people, and he is so confident, but then let us go to the polls. Why are you afraid of going to the polls? Are you going to hold the Assembly elections along with the Lok Sabha elections?

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Will you please yield for a minute? Our President in the other House has pleaded for early elections. The Prime Minister is on record as having said that as soon as the Governor sends the report that elections can be held, elections will be held. (Interruptions).

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): We know what the Governor will say.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: We are not afraid of holding the elections.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO: I will be very happy if you fight for it. (Interruptions). The point is that they are very much afraid of holding the elections. Why? Because there is a Basmasurhastha and this Basmasurhastha they want to impose upon everybody, upon every opponent's head, and ultimately they will put it on their own head.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA RAO: We want Phoolmohini and Ardhanari.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO: In 1984 immediately after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, they held elections on the sympathetic wave. They won in the Lok Sabha elections and immediately within a short period, boldly Mr. Hegde went for polls. Because he could not succeed in the Lok Sabha elections, he went for polls and what did it decide. It was decided in the polls that the Janata Party then was having full confidence of the people and immediately after the Lok Sabha elections, in the Assembly elections majority was given to the Janata Dal. So, like that they are just watching and observing the situation now. If they hold the Lok Sabha elections now, they would just test the pulse of the people.

Whether to hold the assembly elections or not, they 4.00 P.M. would take a longer time to decide, if at all they keep themselves in power. As I have already said, this Bhasmasur Hasta which was placed on the heads of the Punjab Government and Karnataka Government, would be ultimately placed on their own head. I am sure of that. The point is, will they do it in the case of Congress-I States anywhere? They never did it except in one case when Punjab was in crisis. They did not do the same thing in regard to Congress-I Minist-

ries. Majority of the Congressmen were against a particular Chief Minister and they were for throwing out that Chief Minister or the whole Cabinet itself. Then, basing on the reports, basing on the cliques, that were there, they were trying to change Minister; Chief Ministers were changed many a time. Why did you not give the same opportunity to the party that had been democratically elected by the people of the State to have another alternative of their own choice? Why did you not give that chance to any non-Congress-I States? You have not given this chance to the party that was in power in any State to have a change if necessary, to change their own Chief Minister and their own leaders. That opportunity was never given and all of a sudden, straightaway, the Ministries were disbanded and that was the operation you undertook. So, the point is, a democratically elected State Government was overthrown and now it is sought to be discredited on the basis of certain loopholes that are found. Loopholes could be found in any rule, but whether they are moles or beams is the criterion. Mr. Hanumanthappa is seeing certain moles in the Karnataka rule forgetting the beams that are there in the eyes of Congress-I States. He has been referring to certain crimes stating that crime has increased in Karnataka. You know the volume of crime that is going on in the capital of India. Is there any comparison between what is happening in Karnataka and what is happening in Delhi? Only the other day, I think it was yesterday—and fortunately I have got a cutting here—it was reported in the papers 'Alarming crime situation in Delhi; 37 murders in the month of June; 170 murders in the past six months'. What is all this? Crime has been increasing throughout the country, and when you draw a comparison between a Congress-I State and a non-Congress-I State, the crime rate is far less in the non-Congress-I States. He must not forget this fact. He must have the modesty of having a self-critical view

of things. Only the other day, the Scheduled Castes Commissioner has given a report. What are the facts given in that report? (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Time allotted to you is 8 minutes; you have already taken 12 minutes. I cannot give beyond that.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO: I will just finish. So, if you go through the report of the Scheduled Caste Commissioner, you will find that in the Congress-I ruled States, almost two-thirds or three-fourths of the crimes are committed in those States. Even coming to Karnataka, it stands in no comparison to U.P. or Bihar or Madhya Pradesh where all sorts of crimes, murders, rape etc. take place on a large scale.

SHRI M A. BABY (Kerala): Only Pondicherry...

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO: Pondicherry may not be there in that category.

Particularly, when you try to judge the non-Congress (I) Governments, you should keep this also in your mind. You cannot point out, you cannot narrate, the loopholes without taking into account these things. After all, the country is ruled by a Central power, not a State power. Political power is in the hands, is in the grip, of the Congress (I) in the whole country. Only in the States—only in some States—other parties are there. The Congress (I) is having such a political power in its hands. Whatever had we see anywhere is because of your rule because of your policies. When we compare the performance with what was said in the election manifesto of the party at the time of the last Lok Sabha elections

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and what Rajiv Gandhi promised to the country immediately after coming to power, what do we see? Is there any comparison? There cannot be any comparison? New policies are chalked out. What these policies have brought us to now, we are clearly witnessing. After all, subject to the decisions that are taken, subject to the policies that are made, by the Central Government and subject to the Constitution, the States are operating. The States are functioning under very difficult circumstances. Under hostile circumstances also. Under those circumstances, they are undertaking their schemes. In spite of it, as my friend, Mr. Chandre Gowda, narrated, so many schemes were undertaken. Of course, there have been failures also. Who can say that there have been no failures? But my point is, when you see the performance of the Congress (I)-ruled States, the Central Government has no reason, no cause, to dismiss any non-Congress (I) Government. It is arbitrary. It is despotic. It is an authoritarian rule that is going on there. Unless this rule goes, there is no safety for the Constitution, there is no safety for State autonomy and there is no safety at all for the rule of law in the country. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Shrimati Margaret Alva. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Is Madam making her maiden speech; (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful or the sporting response. I have listened very carefully .... (*Interruptions*) I am not sepacking here as a Minister. I am speaking as a Member from Karnataka. (*Interruptions*) Sir, Mr. Gowda spoke about the mandate to rule which had been given to his party in Karnataka. I would like to

tell him 'Yes; the mandate was given the Janata Party to rule in Karnataka.' But it was when they decided to take rebirth and recast their own identity that the trouble started and their party fell apart like a toy which is quarrelled for by children; you know how it ends up. The resignation drama we saw in 1983 and we saw it happen again. But in 1983 because the party felt that their leader as indispensable, they pleaded with him, they wept and they brought him back. We did not interfere. They reelected him and they had him. But it came to a stage where they themselves were not able to hold together. In the words of their senior leader, Shri Nijalingappa, 'Not a tear was shed when the Government was dismissed and President's Rule was imposed'.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: Don't quote him half. Quote him fully.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I have quoted him in the House before.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: Don't quote only what is convenient to you.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I will quote what suits me and not what suits you Mr. Gowda.

Sir, when President's Rule was imposed the State was left with a demoralised bureaucracy, an empty treasury, a bankrupt Government and an impoverished people, caused by a corrupt Ministry, a divided party and an administration in shambles. I have watched for many years, Karnataka. Mr. Gowda spoke about his having been a Minister. We have seen Ministries. We have seen Governments, we have seen earlier Governments, we all of us were in the party, we have seen them come and go. We may have differed on policies and programmes but we were proud that we had a Gov-

ernment and administration which worked and Karnataka had a reputation of good administration, whether it was under Nijalingappa or under successive Governments afterwards. Why I am talking about this is that it has been said that the President's rule was unconstitutional, uncalled for, we were in a hurry to step in. By the time I finish you will realise what I say because we have inherited something which it is very difficult for us to put together or even perhaps to put right for many more years to come. They went to the High Court, they challenged the imposition of the President's rule and the High Court has thrown it out by saying that there is no ground. I think they are now coming to the Supreme Court. Let us see what happens there.

One of the charges that was made is that the Governor is not consulting anybody. I think it is a very unfair charge. They will just say, because I happen to be in the Congress Party I was invited. I was recently in South Kannara for some other function and the Governor happened to be there. He had a meeting at the local level not only with the officials but with all those leaders of the Zila Parishad and all others, and as a Minister I was asked to attend it. I did listen to all the problems of the Zila Parishads, the local bodies, their office bearers, and the local officials. It was not that only MPs were invited. You are a witness. I do not know if you were there. Recently, when the Prime Minister was in Bangalore there was a meeting with the MPs, with the Governor and all the officials to know what the MPs were talking about the administration. I was there as an MP. It is not that nobody has been consulted. You all have been repeatedly invited. Last week in Karnataka Bhawan, before the budget was presented, the Governor called Karnataka MPs of all parties.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
Only one MP attended.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:  
Whoever came. My point is that consultation has been there as and when needed. Therefore, to say that it is being run as a Congress State or without consultation is a very unfair charge. I am not saying that the administration today is perfect. It is not going to be perfect for a long time because of the condition in which we have got it; but the point is of consultation which is a part of our democratic system, whether we differ on certain aspects or not. We will consult, talk and try to find answers which will make Karnataka what it was once upon a time. This is what I would like to say as far as consultation is concerned.

Sir, six years of Janata rule we have seen. Its manifesto was referred to by Mr. Hanumanthappa. I do not want to go into its very many details. Saris were promised, dhotis were promised and mangal sutras were promised to those who were getting married, as if we have to go to the Janata party to ask for a mangal sutra at the time of marriage by the charity of Mr. Hegde. I have been in meetings where these promises were made.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA:  
These mangal sutras were not meant for persons like you. They were meant for persons coming from the poorer sections.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:  
Yes, I know but Mr. Chandre Gowda, however poor, at the time of his marriage he wants to be married with dignity, not with the charity from the Government. Let me say that mangal sutras are not bought with the charity of the State Government. Anyway, let us forget it. (Interruptions). That is why you have given them all this but you have not given them food. When they are starving you started giving them mangal sutras. So, let us not talk about it. They promised a job for every family. He has spoken about it, and simultaneously saying that we have no money, so impose a

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ban on recruitment. There were no Government job and at the same time they imposed such severe power cuts that even small scale industry had to close down. The private industry and small scale industry had to close due to power cuts. They had to close down. (Interruptions) Mr. Chandre Gowda, I sat through your speech, I cheered you when you finished and I never disturbed you. Let me finish. Otherwise, it affects the trend of my speech. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You had your chance.

SHRI B. K. GADHVI: May I request Mr. Chandre Gowda, kindly emulate some sense of discipline and chivalry?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am not asking for chivalry, I am asking for my right as a Member.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: I only requested you to do that.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am not asking for chivalry; I am asking for equal rights as a Member of the House.

Sir, at the same time I would like to say that two coloured ration cards were imposed. The promise was that those belonging to the poorer sections would get more on the ration cards and would get more at subsidised prices and the others would not get the same. Sir, I have been to rural areas. I have addressed meetings. I have got specific details. When the actual distribution of cards took place, it was the opposite. When I brought it to the notice of the local administration when they were in power, they said:

कही तो गलती हुई होगी ।

And for all those who had got the cards meant for the poorer sections,

there were no supplies in the public distribution system and every time they were told:

दिल्ली से नहीं आया ।

Nothing has come from Delhi. Whereas in the shops meant for the more affluent sections, every thing comes because they are educated people who can fight and who know what supplies to get. So this was the promise of looking after the weaker sections!

There were some slum improvement programmes. The Janata Government converted them into slum clearance programmes. The slums were supposed to disappear. The slums can be demolished and made to disappear, but the poor people do not disappear. Programmes which had been introduced by the late Devraj Urs like milk and bread to children in the slums of Bangalore were stopped. There are no poor children, there are no slums they said. They had been sent outside the limits of Bangalore.

The old-age pension ceased to come because there was no money. Salaries of school teachers, they have come to me in delegations, for three or four months had not been paid when President's rule was imposed. The stipends for house surgeons, the young doctors who were working as house surgeons, were not given for 8 months. And they came to me in a delegation in South Canara and at two other places in North Canara where I went. Even police personnel attached to us for security had told me that the DA had not been paid for ten months to police personnel in Karnataka. I can give you names of those who had come in delegations representing, "we cannot live, we have no other sources of income and we do not get our monthly salaries". Mr. Chandre Gowda knows it that there were months when the State Government employees were told, "Cheques are being issued, but please don't cash them before the 15th or the month. We are making arrangements for getting the money".



So this was what the financial position had come to. I am not saying that they did it deliberately. I am not saying that somebody was responsible. I am just saying that this was the condition. The Vidhan Soudha became a kind of janata bazar where deals were struck. The Chief Minister finally issued a circular in writing to the officers saying, "what is happening in the corridors is disgraceful. All this is happening; and the officials must stop meeting people because of all this happening in the corridors of Vidhan Soudha". The Chief Minister had to say that they should not accept the recommendations of M.L.As. and other elected people because it was bringing a bad name and because this was happening in the Vidhan Soudha. The bureaucrats were up in arms saying, "your MLAs are doing it and you blame us for all this." This was the circular which was published in the newspapers and which was issued by the Chief Minister.

The transfers had a price, the postings had a price, the clearances had a price. An officer rightly described the administration like this: "There are no rules here. The only rule is Mamool." Every thing had a price.

मामूल दो तो काम होगा नही तो कुछ नही होगा।

This was your value-based politics.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI:  
Where? In Delhi?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:  
You do not know what happens in the States. You have become so Delhi-oriented.

So this was the condition in Karnataka. They had appointed what was known as the 'think tank'. Mr. Hegde wanted to have all the best brains from all over the country. He put them together and it was known as a 'think tanks' of Karnataka of people from all over the country. It was announced that this 'think tank' would work out programmes to undo the ill effects of

the policies of the previous Congress Governments, whether it was land reform, or Janata housing or whatever it was. I do not want to say more here but if you look at the list of the 'think tank', three or four of the names were those that have come under scrutiny by the Kudal Commission and were members or that 'think tank' also.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Don't mention that. The same person got the Magasaysay award.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:  
Why are you coming in? I am talking about facts—I am not judging anybody. We all know about these Magasaysay awards—how they are timed and how they are given. I don't go by foreign awards: they don't interest me.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: You talk of the Magsaysay award as a foreign award! I think it is one of the recognized awards in the country even today.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:  
Why are you challenging? I am just saying that here are names which are concurrently available on both lists. I am not judging anybody.

Sir, there were experiments conducted with Panchayati Raj. I am all for it. I have, in fact, on every platform said that I welcome the initiative that Karnataka took to bring 25 per cent women, for the first time, in Panchayats in Karnataka. But when I went round the State the women themselves, whether they were of your party or mine or not, told me that the problem everywhere was that the subjects were transferred to the panchayats but the money and the budget was never transferred from Bangalore. One of the main departments affected was my own Department. I can tell you today, sports was transferred to the panchayats to deal with, and here I have a list which was sent to the Chief Minister and now I have sent it to the Governor also. There are 87 incomplete projects in Karnataka. First

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instalment given, the money sent to Bangalore by cheque, it never goes to the local bodies and there is no work done. The second instalment is with us, there is no utilisation certificate for the first instalment. We ask them what happened, the State Government says, "We are not dealing, this is a subject with the local bodies." The local bodies say, "Yes, but the money has never come to us." What happened to the money in between, Sir, is a question which Mr. Chandre Gowda will some day be able to answer.

Again, the Rural Health Centres I went to—I have been touring the rural areas—were closed. Why? There was a ban on recruiting doctors and they were closed. And where they were opened, there were no medicines reaching with the result that mothers were standing in queues outside, waiting for even simple medicines for children, whether it was for diarrhoea or whether it was fever. Besides this, not even nurses, vacancies were filled in the rural side.

As far as the ICDS was concerned, there was a big meeting where from the whole State the workers had come. The food samples were so sub-standard that I sent a sample to the Minister. The report from the laboratory which tested it said that it was sub-standard and not meant for human consumption. The report from the laboratory was sent to the Minister and all that they said was that they were looking into it. There was no follow-up action. They had an option of either giving better food or not supplying, and they preferred not to supply because it was sub-standard.

Sir, the Women's Development Corporation was set up, again. They said we don't give money. It is on a 51:49 basis and we pay 49 per cent of the capital. I begged, I pleaded. They said yes, they passed a resolution. They didn't bother to follow the Central

guidelines with the result that Karnataka never took the money from the Centre and the women of Karnataka suffer because the Development Corporation just did not take off even though the money was available from the Centre. The other Opposition-ruled States that followed the pattern have taken the money and are doing wonderful work. But Karnataka never thought it necessary to follow up the programme—I don't know why. I could talk of a number of programmes like this, and they always say that we don't give money.

I have here with me the figures for the RLEGP. It is a hundred per cent Centrally-sponsored programme. In 1985-86 the total resources that were available to Karnataka were Rs. 2,970.94 lakhs, that is, about Rs. 30 crores. Their utilisation was only Rs. 2,133 lakhs, hardly 68 per cent. The next year it fell to 66 per cent. In 1988-89 it fell to 51 per cent. Resources were not utilised for the programmes even after they were made available. The same thing again with NREP—on a 50:50 basis from the Centre and the State. For 1986-87 the utilisation is 58 per cent. For 1987-88 it is 77 per cent. Again in 1988-89 it dropped to 62 per cent. Eternally we are told, the Centre is not giving money. Money is given, but not even utilisation is being attended to. Money had to be collected from various sources. Small savings collection in Karnataka became compulsory. Everybody who had some salary, something, had to have small savings. I am for small savings. But the point is Rs. 375 crores collected are not available now, leaving behind a liability of almost Rs. 700 crores to any government which comes later. Where are these collections? On what have they been spent?

I can say this about co-operative societies also. Recently in a meeting it was brought out that even the reserve and corporate fund of the co-operative societies has been withdrawn and

spent, leaving no money for ways and means for day-to-day functioning, against which banks were giving them advance for procuring supplies from wholesale co-operatives. There is no money.

I can tell you, I am a Member of the Rehabilitation Committee for the Karwar Naval Project. I was appointed as one of the Members of the Committee. I have repeatedly been pleading with the Chief Minister for land which they promised. Rs. 20 crores were released by the Defence Ministry for land to be acquired for the rehabilitation of those who are going to be affected by the Naval Project. A public announcement was made by the P.M. at a public meeting at Karwar where the Chief Minister was on the same platform. He was happy. He said, "Yes". Immediately the money was released to them. Sir, not one inch of land has been acquired, and there is not one, even one pie, of the Rs. 20 crores left in the treasury at Karwar or in Bangalore. The head itself is missing. What happened to the money? I am not judging anyone. I am only saying, I am a Member of the Rehabilitation Committee. I had raised it in the officers' meeting in front of the Prime Minister recently at Bangalore. I said, "what do I do? There is no money." They tell the local people "The Central Government is not allowing us to take forest land," as he said. If we were to give the forest land, where was the need to give Rs. 20 crores to the Government or Karnataka to acquire land. We would have given the forest land ourselves. The understanding was that you were to acquire land. You needed the money. In advance we gave it. The money has gone. Rehabilitation is in our hands. And there is no land for rehabilitation. They are telling the people, "The Centre is not giving the land. What can we do?" Can I manufacture land in Karwar for them? But the money has been spent very easily. It is not there any more. It is a question which we would like to ask.

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: The whole difficulty is, right from 1964 the entire Malenadu belt has been declared as minor forest. In 1974-75 after the Act came, forest was brought into the Concurrent List, nothing has been done for the State. Please try to understand the problem.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am not at all defending anything, Mr. Chandre Gowda. I am just saying that land was to be acquired by the State Government, and Rs. 20 crores were given. It has not been acquired. All the money has gone. (Interruptions)

Even the light seems to be protesting. I do not know. They are getting the power-cut here also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Because Mr. Chandre Gowda is interfering all of a sudden.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: It is his magnetic personality which is affecting the light.

They promised to stop the system of capitation fees. I just want to mention about this because it has been talked about. Eight medical colleges with capitation fee were sanctioned after they came; 30 engineering colleges with capitation fees were sanctioned; and 150 polytechnics again with capitation fees were sanctioned. Medical seats with capitation which were 683, went up to 2000 in 1989. They say, we have tampered with it. A person who cannot afford to pay the capitation fee, does not get it. All colleges, medical and other colleges, everything is with capitation fee. But there is higher fees being charged for students from outside because we do want that the students of Karnataka should get the same benefits at last and are able to get some seats without paying so much. If money has to be collected, let it be collected from outside students who want to go to these colleges, but let the Karnataka students pay lesser fees. Even that they object to.

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I am telling you, this has become such a racket today that even for admission to primary schools and for admission to first standard they are asking for capitation fee. How can you run an educational system which is based on paying or even admission into primary schools and into KG schools. The whole system has become so value-based that everything has a value today, whether it is a primary school seat or a medical seat or perhaps also an MLA's seat. I do not know.

Sir, arrack has been spoken about. From 6,000 arrack shops in 1983, today we have 14,000. The figures have been made available.

About excise evasion, Indian-made foreign liquor has been talked about. They say that the Governor's action in taking over this wholesale trade is politically motivated. Why? Is it because certain officers have begun to dry up after the Government took over the wholesale trade? Is it because some political interests have been affected after the Governor took it up? Mr. Hegde has said it. I am very surprised why he made the statement that it is politically motivated? If it is politically motivated that means that some political people are affected. They admitted this by making statements like this.

I do want to say that there was a famous liquor bottling, arrack or whatever case it was. I have with me just two sentences from that judgment which I want to read, because they say that these are all false charges. I am not making any false charges. I have got the greatest respect for everybody in this case, but I am just saying here what has been said by the Supreme Court. "That was indeed curious" talking about the action they took. "But things got curi-ouser and curi-ouser Alice would have said"—that is the judgment. They go on to say and I quote:

"It was an unusual decision to amend the excise rule after the bottling contract has been decided". The parties have been decided—eight of them—and then they amend the rule to accommodate them into that rule.

What the Supreme Court has said here is:

"An unusual, wilful and perverse way of exercising the power of distributing State largesses."

This is the quotation from the judgment. What I am trying to say here is that the Government tried to amend the rules and change policy. In this context the High Court has also observed and I quote:

"It looks to us that the so-called policy decision was only an after-thought tailored to meet the situation and the principle purported to be enunciated by the Excise Commissioner was a mere pretext designed to eliminate all except the chosen few."

This is the judgment of the Court and they say that we are making political propaganda. None of us went to the Court. That was a battle between two lobbies. And here there is on record the objection of the Home Secretary, the objection of the Deputy Secretary (Finance)—all are on record, on the files—which was over-ruled and it is said:

"This has been discussed with the Chief Minister and orders may, therefore, be passed by the Excise Commissioner."

There are just two or three more points. There were cases of cooperative sugar factories being sold to private parties. I wonder if all those who believe in cooperatives think that this was one of the best things that the think-tank should have suggested for Karnataka. (Interruptions) Then all the public sector units which are

running at loss should be abandoned and given to private parties like Tatas and Birlas and whoever it is to run it. We know what we are giving and what we are retaining.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is the policy of the Government now.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: In this context you should have abandoned the entire idea of cooperative movement in Karnataka. If you don't believe in the cooperative movement, you should say let us do away with these things. That is my point.

We gave them the Central Government projects. The Indira Avas Yojna became the Nazeer Avas Yojna in Karnataka. Money was given from here, the project was from here and it was named after Nazeer. Projects given from here are given local names to show that they were theirs. They give their own names and their versions of it.

They ended up with a number of crises. They ended up with the silk yarn crisis. They ended up with the power crisis. They ended up with power cuts. Everything went wrong there and they always said that the Centre was to blame. In the middle of it when there was no money for anything, publicity campaigns were on. Unofficially we were told Rs. 35 crores were spent on publication of books, on video recordings, and on publicity campaigns. Officially, of course, they say Rs. 8 crores, but the figures are there. These were to get publications of a fantastic nature. The image building programme was on it a big way. I want to tell you whether it was in Delhi or elsewhere, the Press was always looked after very well and there was a lot of entertaining. We also know what happened to some of the big newspaper men who were very well accommodated within some of the plots that were distributed in

Karnataka. The list is there. There were 125. There is also a resolution of the BDA by which these were released to journalists also from outside Karnataka. If they were of Karnataka, we had no objection.

Now, the question is that we are faced with the Budget. Figures are here before us. Money has been released for urgent needs. Some kind of local finances have to be raised. The moment the Governor talked about some methods they say: "This is President's rule, how can you raise this? How can you raise that? This is not popular." Sir, until the popular rule the finances have to come. Our Finance Minister will give you figures of how much has already been released as special advances and grants to Karnataka to pay the pending bills on every front which had been left behind because without money the administration was coming to a standstill. But now everybody says: It is President's rule.

दिल्ली से पैसे लाओ...

It is not possible for Delhi to pay everything. Some resources have to be raised locally and everytime the Governor makes an effort through the administration to raise some resources, there is a hue and cry. The same thing happened, I admit it, with the rise of bus fares. There is a commitment made by the previous Government that they would raise the salaries of KSRTC staff, the road transport. There is no money and so it was said that if it is to be done if they have to be given the raise, then we have to raise some extra revenue by way of increased fares. But immediately they themselves objected. Everybody objected. Our party people objected. I am not saying, 'no'. It was a popular thing: "Don't raise fares. It is the common people's transport." So the Governor withdrew the order. But the point is that higher salaries

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still have to be paid. Somebody has to pay them. Where does the money come from? So the salary rise was there and then, of course, the number of bills which were pending were cleared

Sir, I would like to say here over the last few weeks a number of things have been done. The Binny Mills, for instance, which was closed for a long time has been opened. The workers are going back to work after the settlement and I think it is a great achievement of the last few weeks. The VSIL, which was really in trouble is being taken over by SAIL and will soon be put on the rails. Sir, food supplies have been rushed, special allotments have been made for Karnataka and PDS is being revamped and being made more efficient to respond to the needs of the common people.

They spoke about transfers. Sir, there were favourites entrenched in some of the areas in Karnataka who could not be touched. They spoke about Mr. Jalappa, the former Home-Minister. I will mention him a little while later. I have had my own experience when I went to that constituency once for a meeting. Sir, the police refused permission for the public meeting saying that time has been booked by the other party and that party would start the meeting. I said let us not have a clash. Let us sit for 2½ hours. A Union Minister was made to sit saying that the same time has been given by the police to the other party and you cannot have a meeting, though we had applied two weeks in advance. Then, finally, Sir, when it went on and on and on we had to connect—they would not even give us power supply—our loudspeakers to the car batteries and we had our meeting in the other part of the town. This was the way the administration was entrenched and made it impossible for anybody to function.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Madam, just one minute. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is nothing very new. Very recently when there was four-party conference in Vizag, the Railway Ministry refused permission for holding the meeting and they had to seek a place elsewhere in a college and held the meeting. I think this is the type of game which is going on.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Are you seeking clarification or you are on a point of order?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Are you justifying what happened in Karnataka?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am not justifying. I am only saying what the Government of India has done.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Whether it happens in Andhra or Karnataka, I condemn it.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: No, no. Don't bring in Andhra. It happened because of the Railway Ministry.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: It is wrong, no matter where it happens. If my department does it, I will say it is wrong. I am not justifying it. But my point is that....

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am only saying how the Ministry and the Government is functioning. The Ministry of Railways did the same thing only a week back.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: They spoke about our transferring the Scheduled Castes officers. Some of the figures were given by Mr. Hanumanthappa. I just want to point out the atrocities on Harijans—I am not talking of general law and order—which shows a rise over the last few years. Sir, the number of incidents recorded and that was their police record—it was not ours—in 1983, 329 incidents took place. They went up to 553 incidents in 1985. They went up

to 637 in 1988. Sir, the number of injured from 524 in 1983 has gone up to 793 in 1988. I am talking only of the record. They have a special cell for atrocities on Harijans in Karnataka. These are the figures which have been recorded and if I give you the figures of death, again from 44 in 1983, it has gone up to 61 in 1988. It is from the Karnataka Home Ministry's record and so if you say that everything is fine because it is an Opposition Government and it only happens in Congress States like somebody tried to say, it is something that none of us would accept. Yes, some transfers have taken place and some transfers will take place because the administration has to be revamped, has to be put on the right lines and has to go on. Sir, I want to say that some matters are in Courts and so I won't go into details. But I just want to point out one thing here. A man who was named in the death statement, a police officer in Gulbarga by a journalist, who was done to death, who named a police officer, as the one responsible for his murder, is promoted and brought to Bangalore and made a Superintendent of Police at Bangalore and then one year after, he is involved in the next murder. I am not saying he is guilty. But he and the Home Minister together, Mr. Narayan and Mr. Jalappa are today standing trial in the criminal court for murder of Mr. Rashid, a young lawyer from Kerala. The officer who is charged in one place is promoted and brought to Bangalore and within one-and-a-half years, he is facing the next murder trial as a police officer with the Home Minister and this is what they are talking about administration in Karnataka—which is supposed to have been ideal under Janata Party rule. Sir, have you heard of the Home Minister standing trial for murder during his term of office where he had to resign? These are the types of incidents which I think have not brought much credit to Karnataka or to the Government whether you wanted Janata Party or

Janata Dal or whatever it is. .... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Order please.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:

The other thing which has come repeatedly and I do not want to repeat, is the question of various land scandals. But I belong to Bangalore and I want to say that we have had a system of a green belt around Bangalore, to keep the city clean. Sir, during the Janata rule, the green belt has disappeared. It has become a housing colony. Special exemptions have been given in spite of the Karnataka Land Reforms Act and now we are talking of the NRI societies. Sir, I was in the United States in Chicago for a big function and the Karnataka Government delegation was coming the next morning—a 19 member delegation headed by the Chief Minister—and 19 rooms were booked for them and Sir, what were they coming for? For NRIs' investment to be mobilised in Karnataka. The local Indian community organised a function where I distributed some awards. At that time, they told me that they (the Karnataka Government Delegation) are coming for investment in the power sector, and I was very happy because Karnataka did need investment in the power sector and most of them were from Karnataka. I said, it is a very good idea. I think, you need to invest in Karnataka. Ultimately, what happened? What has come out now? They went with glossy brochures of housing colonies for selling land in Bangalore to NRIs. Now, when I have gone through the detailed records—I won't take more time—it is here on record. Without being registered—Mr. D. B. Chandra Gowda has gone away, he said, "proposed, proposed"—without the society being registered, 110 acres were allotted to these societies. Is it ever done? The dates of registration are afterwards. They were to be registered even then as a private society. Instead they went and registered it as

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a company. All the rules were violated and everybody was saying, nobody is involved. Mr. D. B. Chandra Gowda is not here. I am just reading two resolutions which are significant and this one is from the Bangalore Development Authority records where they say, "Consequent to the discussion and instructions of the hon. Chief Minister of Karnataka with the private development builders held on 4-9-89, this resolution is being placed for approval as per his directions." This is the record in the Bangalore Development Authority file and, Sir, here, I have also with me a letter written by the Private Secretary to the Chief Minister and here is a letter from the Chairman of the BDA, who says, "a special subject that the Authority may include is regarding this society—in deference to the letter dt. so and so of Shri Gopala Reddy, the Secretary to the Chief Minister regarding complaints received during his recent trip to the United States that the sites are not being given faster." This is the letter from the BDA Chairman. This is a letter from the BDA Chairman. And there is a letter on record from the Secretary of the Chief Minister saying that the Chief Minister desires that this should be done. Sir, money has been collected, huge amounts with agents in between, and the lands around Bangalore have disappeared; green belt areas have been sold; everything possible has been done; and still we are being told that this was a Government with value-based politics. We believed that it was so. But now we realise what the definition of 'value' was and what they really meant when they talked about 'value'. There was value for everything. And what is happening in Karnataka today is, the party is known as 'land chore party'. All the land has been stolen, it has gone and there is nothing left. There is now the Commission. Therefore, I do not want to go into the details because it is all before the Commission of

Inquiry. But the facts will reveal that what we were talking all this time were facts and they were not just political insinuations which were made.

Sir, finally—the Finance Minister himself is here, and here, I am speaking as an M.P. from Karnataka, not as a Minister—I am appealing that some of our important projects need immediate attention. We are also all the time pressurising. Sir, power generation and irrigation are the great need of Karnataka today. The battle that Dev Gowda had with the Chief Minister was over the question of irrigation projects and the money that was needed. Sir, I do want to say that the super thermal plant at Mangalore would be of great help to us. There are other projects pending like the Vijayanagar Steel Plant and the refinery at Mangalore. I am told now that the Abid Hussain Committee has suggested that others should get priority over the Mangalore Refinery. I hope that there will be a second look at it by the Planning Commission because these are the commitments which we have made in Karnataka and I think the people will expect us to keep them.

Sir, I have placed before you what Karnataka went through over the last few years. President's rule has come and I agree with what the Members said that President's rule is not Congress rule. But we are all in it together as far as Karnataka is concerned. It is not a party or it is not a governor, it is the people of Karnataka who will hold the Janata Government responsible for all their deeds and misdeeds of the last six years. Sir, they have left, leaving the treasury empty, absolutely bankrupt. And if this Budget has had to come here, perhaps, I keep saying, there must have been one bright star somewhere in their horoscope. At a time when they had no money even to pay salaries, they have had a rescue as it were, by the Central Government



and the Centre is trying to bale them out by releasing money, paying their extra bills and trying to help out.

I support the Budget and I would like to say that I hope that in the coming two or three months, with the administration tightened, this kind of wasteful expenditure coming to an end and economy measures being brought in, Karnataka can look forward to a brighter and more promising future. Thank you, Sir.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I may be allowed to speak from this seat.

Mrs. Alva wishes a bright future for the people of Karnataka. I hope it will not be as things are for the people of Bihar and U.P.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: What about Andhra?

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Andhra is all right.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Yes, Andhra is perfect.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Sir, I took objection to Parliament passing the budgets of various State Governments. As our friend mentioned earlier, only during the last week we passed the Budget and the Appropriation Bill for Punjab. Again the Union Government brings the Budget of Karnataka and the Appropriation Bill. Time and again, it has become the practice of the Union Government to destabilise the State Governments that are being run by the various non-Congress parties. During Jawaharlal's tenure, in fourteen years. President's rule was imposed only six times in various States.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: What about Charan Singh?

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: I am coming to Charan Singh. Why do you

worry? Once in Punjab, once in PEPSU, once in Andhra Pradesh, once in Kerala, once in Orissa and once also in Travancore-Cochin. But during Mrs. Gandhi's time it became almost a regular feature to impose President's rule in almost all States every alternate month. And in the present regime of Rajiv Gandhi, as you are quite aware, he has outbeaten all the earlier rulers by resorting to destabilising his own Ministries and his own State Governments and changing various PCCs. Rajiv Gandhi has the dubious distinction of shuffling and reshuffling his Cabinet 27 times. He even has the distinction of changing his Chief Ministers 19 times in several States; PCC presidents were changed at least 45 times in several States in the country. We know day and night several non-MPs are sitting in the Central Hall and at least half of them are from Andhra Pradesh. Likewise even in the case of appointments to District Congress Committees, tehsil committees or taluka committees the writ must go from Delhi, from the AICC. This way of doing things is deleterious to the functioning of the federal structure of the country. So what I would like to advise is ...

AN HON. MEMBER: You want to dictate from Delhi!

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Yes, we will dictate from Delhi too. That day is not far off. Because you are not having any government of yours in Hyderabad, you are concentrating on DCCs and tehsil committees and taluka committees...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Better than sitting in film studios.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): He is speaking as if this debate is on AICC and PCCs and DCCs.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: What I want to advise you is that it is not desirable to destabilise the State Governments, whichever State

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it is. During 1959 when Mrs. Gandhi was the chairperson of the Congress Party she started destabilising the constitutionally elected State Governments. She took the initiative for it. In 1954 even in the erstwhile Andhra State also the then elected Government was dethroned by the Congress people by their own defections—the Government of the late Prakasam Pantulu. Likewise in Gujarat, likewise in several other States—twice in Andhra Pradesh, three times in Assam, five times in Bihar, eight times in Punjab, six times in Orissa, five times in Manipur. In almost all the States the democratically elected Governments were toppled. And now it has become the practice for the Congress Party to destabilise its own party governments. President's rule under Article 356 has been misused to settle the internal squabbles of the Congress Party, to settle scores within the Congress Party. In 1972 President's rule was imposed in Andhra Pradesh and the then Chief Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, was asked to resign, and now he is sitting here as the Minister of External Affairs. At that time the Assembly was suspended but not dissolved. After settling scores among the Congress Legislature Party Shri J. Vengal Rao was appointed as the Chief Minister and the suspension was revoked and the Assembly was convened once again. Likewise in several other parts of the country. Nowadays Mr. M. L. Fotedar is going on behalf of the Centre to different State capitals like Bhopal, Patna and other places and he is blackmailing the Congress legislators in those States threatening, unless they agree the writ from Delhi AICC will come, we are going to dissolve the State Assembly. This is the dictum, this is the farce, going on in various States. So what I would like to advise you is don't go in for shortcuts, it is not desirable for the functioning of democracy and the federal structure in this country. Soon after Mrs. Gandhi came back

to power in 1980 several State Governments were dissolved...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: What about Charan Singh?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: He had promised to come to Charan Singh, but he never came.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: I am coming to him. She said, "during that period". I am coming to that... (Interruptions)... During that period, all the State Governments, all the State Legislatures, were running on extended lease of life and the Constitution was changed and the Representation of the People Act was changed by Mrs. Gandhi after putting all the Opposition leaders in jail. You conveniently changed the Constitution.. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Sir, is he talking about Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh? This is Karnataka Budget... (Interruptions)...

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: You extended the term for one year and that is why Mr. Charan Singh deserves our sympathies. There was nothing wrong in what he did. But it was, Sir, Mrs. Gandhi who abruptly dissolved the Assembly within three years without completing the term.... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Why are you permanently obsessed with Mrs. Gandhi? She is gone.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: We do not leave her. We always oppose her. We are always opposing Mrs. Gandhi as well as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. We never left her... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Mrs. Gandhi has proved to be more powerful in death than what she was in life. They thought that she was finished... (Interruptions)

THAKUR JAGATPAL SINGH (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, this cross-talk, this cross conversation, is going on... (Interruptions)...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, this cross-talk is going on. What is this?.... (Interruptions)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Sivaji, you speak looking at me and not on that side.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Sir, let him speak on Karnataka. We want to hear him on Karnataka.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: What is there in Karnataka now? There is nothing new in Karnataka ... (Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Then why are you speaking?

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: We do not like State Budgets to be passed by the Union Government here. We are basically opposed to the State Budgets being passed at Delhi. That is why we oppose this... (Interruptions)... Now, what happened in Tamil Nadu? On the 28th January 1976, when Shri K. K. Shah was the Governor, he submitted a report to the Union Government stating that there were some irregularities in the functioning of the State Government and so, the State Government was removed and an Inquiry Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Shri Sarkaria. Later on, a honeymoon was going on between the DMK and the Congress(I) and Mrs. Gandhi, at a meeting in Madras...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Again Mrs. Gandhi!

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: ... said she is on record—that only for the CPI and the ADMK she dissolved the Assembly and appointed the Sarkaria Commission and that it was not her

intention to do so. This she said on 30-9-79. Then whose report is correct, Mr. K. K. Shah's report of 28-1-76 or Mrs. Gandhi's statement on 30-9-79? This very clearly shows that the office of Governor is being misused to destabilize the State Governments and to settle scores in the Congress(I) Party.

In the States ruled by the non-Congress(I) parties, the Raj Bhavans are being used as the PCC(I) offices.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Oh!

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: And most of the Governors are acting like *de facto* Presidents of the PCCI(I)s. Unfortunately, there is a Governor, by name, Mr. P. Venkatasubbalah, in Karnataka.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: We are not supposed to discuss the Governors by name. You leave out the name and you talk about the Governor ... (Interruptions)....

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: He is talking about the Governor and the Governor is Mr. P. Venkatasubbalah. What is wrong? He can take any name.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You people do not know. Many of your were not here in the House. You do not know what happened.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Sir, Mr. P. Venkatasubbalah was the General Secretary of the AICC(I).

THAKUR: JAGATPAL SINGH: Sir, can the Governor be discussed here? ... (Interruptions)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Try to avoid accusations, please.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: This very same Governor, who was then the AICC(I) General Secretary, expelled Mrs. Gandhi in 1969. Then there is another Governor now in

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State, from my district, and he is Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddy. He has also got the dubious distinction of expelling Mrs. Gandhi from the Congress 5 P.M. in 1978. So these two people who expelled Mrs. Gandhi from the Congress Party are now acting as Governors. I am sorry that Mrs. Alva says that they are close to, and they are aligning with, the Congress Party, Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They are not. They proved time and again that they are not the well-wishers of Mrs. Gandhi and Congress Party. During 1977-78 Mr. Brahmananda Reddy went to the Shah Commission and gave evidence against Mrs. Gandhi. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: What is he talking of? Why is he talking about Shah Commission? If he so wants, let there be a debate on the Shan Commission. Let him introduce it. (Interruptions) Let there be a discussion on this. Why are you talking about it. Discuss it. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Your time is up. You have to conclude now. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: He should speak on the Karnataka budget only.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Say something on Karnataka. (Interruptions)

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: I hope that wise counsel will prevail upon them and they will see that State Budgets are not passed at Delhi level.

Unfortunately, nothing is mentioned about the preparations for an early poll in Karnataka. I do not know whether these people are going in for an extension of the term of Governor's rule in Karnataka. It appears so. There is no reason for... (Interruptions) What mean to say is that even with extension or without extension they are bound to lose in Karnataka and elsewhere in other States. (Interruptions)

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): This is a political prediction.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: People have proved this in Tamil Nadu and other places. So let us not extend President's rule in Karnataka and let them go in for an early poll so that they can face their Waterloo in Karnataka and other parts of the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Shri P. N. Sukul.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the tragic tale of the decline and fall of the Janata Government in Karnataka could materialise due as much to innerparty dissensions as to gross fiscal mismanagement. It is a pity that the Janata Government headed by Mr. Ramkrishna Hegde, when it came to power, promised an honest and clean Government, a corruption-free Government, and that very Government had to die an untimely death under the death weight of corruption and nepotism.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: It was a murder.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: It was not a case of murder. It was not a case of death. It was a case of suicide. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: An ex-home Minister of Karnataka is facing a charge of murder in Karnataka. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please allow him to speak. (Interruptions).

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: He who is expected to speak is not able to speak and others are speaking and exchanging view! Sir, Mr. Chandre Gowda who initiated the debate started with transfers under the present Governor's regime and he counted 65 transfers of officers. He said that 65 officers had been transferred. Do you know

how many transfers took place when the Janata Government started functioning in Karnataka? Thousands and thousands of transfers took place costing crores of rupees to the State Exchequer and causing a lot of inconvenience to the employees. Also a lot of money was made. That is why they were transferred. They were transferred in thousands. Shri Hegde started his administration with favouritism and nepotism. It was at his instance that the Bangalore Development Authority placed order for cement with the State Corporation of Sikkim. You will be surprised to know that hundred per cent cost was paid in advance against all rules and all legal formalities. At the instance of the Chief Minister, Mr. Hegde, contracts were awarded by the Bangalore Development Authority to M/s Rashmi Contractors and M/s Khoday Contractors in violation of all rules on the subject resulting in a loss of crores of rupees to the Bangalore Development Authority and to the people who were to purchase plots of land. These irregularities have already been pointed out by the Committee on Public Undertakings of the State Legislature. In violation of Corporation rules, licences for the construction of a multi-storeyed building in Bangalore city was given to M/s. Ganga Ram & Co. This building collapsed during construction and about 100 people died. A judicial inquiry was instituted and that judicial inquiry came out with a verdict against the owner of the company and against the officers concerned. But during all these six years...

SHRI R. S. NAIK (Karnataka): Sir, I am on a point of order. Our hon. Member may not be aware that the Ganga Ram building was an old building. It did not collapse during the construction period. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): It is not a point of order. It is a point of information.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: An old building could not collapse during construction. It was a new building.

SHRI R. S. NAIK: Sir, without collecting full information, it is not fair on the part of the hon. Member to speak like that.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: The building that I am talking about was a new building and it collapsed during construction. As I was saying, nobody has been punished because the contract had been awarded at the instance of the Chief Minister himself. The Chief Minister withheld any disciplinary action or punitive action against all those who were found guilty.

In 1983, when this Government came into power, there were 9000 seats in engineering colleges and during six years these seats in engineering colleges increased to 15000. In 1983, there were 600 seats in medical colleges and when the Janata Government fell, the number was 2200. The number of polytechnics in 1983 was 63.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair] After six years, this number rose to 113. Similarly, Madam, all the I.T.I.s and the dental colleges were all sanctioned, opened and multiplied. And obviously, our Chief Minister and Ministers got heavy kickbacks.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER (Haryana): Like Bofors.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Much more than that. A decision to abolish the capitation fee was taken. But that decision is still in cold storage. Madam, recently, just two or three months back, I went to Karnataka along with the Joint Committee on Indian Medical Council Bill of which I was the Chairman. And we visited so many medical colleges in the State and capitation fee medical colleges also. From each student Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 lakhs are taken as capitation fee for admission. (Interruptions) They are open. They are run on commercial basis.

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA: Madam, most of the medical colleges in Karnataka are run by the Congress people.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Maheswarappa was a Member of that Committee.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Maheswarappa, your name is listed here. Please do not interrupt him.

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA: They run by the Congress people.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him make his speech. Why do you want to interrupt him unnecessarily?

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA: The Congress leaders are running them.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: But during all these six years, who allowed them to open? During all these six years who allowed them to function? How could new colleges, how could new courses come up? Mr. Maheswarappa, do not try to defend a lost case.

SHRI K. G. MAHESWARAPPA: Who runs them now?

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Madam, this is how the seats in the engineering, medical and dental colleges were increased by the Janata Government. As my friend, Mr. Hanumanthappa was saying, before 1983, there were 6,000 wine shops in the State. But they became 8,000 during the Janata regime.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: 6,000 became 15,000.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: During the election time in 1984, rectified spirit was sold outside the State although there was a shortage in domestic consumption. It was being sold and in that shady deal, the Chief Minister, Mr. Ramkrishna Hegde earned at least Rs. 50 crores. (Interruptions) I think

some of you have also got something from that. That is why you are trying to defend him. (Interruptions) Madam, as we all know, the Karnataka High Court indicted the Government for awarding contract for bottling arrack to a selected few in contravention of the Excise rules. The High Court passed a severe stricture in the matter, called the deal arbitrary, capricious and even shocking. And the Supreme Court later affirmed this verdict of the High Court. I have the judgment of the Supreme Court with me. For want of time, I cannot quote from it. And it was then when the High Court's verdict came and the Supreme Court's affirmation came that Mr. Ramkrishna Hegde had staged that drama of resignation. He resigned and then withdrew his resignation. In this also, crores and crores of rupees were collected by the Chief Minister and others. And tax evasion due to the sale of 'seconds' was to the tune of Rs. 800 crores. And Mr. Hegde earned crores by allowing the tax evasion through the sale of 'seconds' ...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): That is why he is made the Vice-President of the Janata Dal.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Excise revenue of the State in 1982-83 was Rs. 220 crores, and after six years, in 1988-89, it was still Rs. 300 crores only. There should have been a growth of 20 per cent, but there was a paltry growth of 10 per cent only. Madam, there are 55 public sector undertakings in the State. In 1983, the accumulated loss of all these 55 undertakings was only Rs. 163 crores. But in a matter of six years under the Janata rule, this loss increased to Rs. 700 crores; from Rs. 163 crores to Rs. 700 crores, it means a loss of Rs. 537 crores in six years only. For example, in the Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation in 1983 the loss was Rs. 15 crores, but after six years the loss rose to Rs. 150 crores. This is the perform-

ance of the Janata Government, honest Janata Government.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** May I ask him to remember the performance of your own Government at the Centre?

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL:** Do not compare. Analyse yourself first. You were very honest. You claimed to be very honest, corruption free and value based. (Interruptions).

**AN HON. MEMBER:** And they charged value for everything.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL:** That is why you started charging value for everything, for medical college seats, for engineering college seats.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Your Prime Minister promised a clean Government at the Centre. What happened to that?

**SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:** It is there.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL:** In sericulture, in 1983, there was a loss of Rs. 2 crores only in the industry. But after six years this loss grew to Rs. 14 crores. And as Mrs. Margaret Alva was saying a stage came that employees and teachers were not getting their salaries. They were not getting their salaries. The employees were not getting their DA in cash. They were not getting it in cash. Other Government servants in other States were getting it in cash and so also the Central Government servants.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** How could they live otherwise?

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL:** That was the problem created by you and your administration.

It is really good that the State administration has now taken over the wholesale distribution of Indian made liquor.

Madam, there are 28 sugar factories in Karnataka in all the sectors, co-operative sector, private sector, all the sectors. Before the Hegde Government came to power, the total loss on all these sugar factories was Rs. 21 crores. And within six years, because of the mismanagement of the Janata rule, it rose to Rs. 60 crores, three times only in sugar mills.

**SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA:** Equivalent to the Bofors commission.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL:** At least you could have equalled it, but you have far exceeded it. In the Bofors' case we do not know who has taken it but here we know you have taken it, Hegde has taken it and his Ministers have taken it.

The Gowribidnur co-operative sugar factory which had a distillery was sold to M/s. Kothari, a co-operative sugar factory sold to a private company, M/s. Kothari for Rs. 4.5 crores, whereas its real value was Rs. 10 crores. The Kollegal co-operative sugar factory was sold to M/s. Khodey and Company at a negotiated value of Rs. 2.5 crores, although its actual value was Rs. 10 crores and our Chief Minister got the kickbacks, and his Ministers got the kickbacks. In July, 1987, Hegde received a proposal for the sale of land in Hosur lay-out, Sarjapura, which my friend has mentioned. And from whom? From N. G. Monis and George Monis who live in Dubai, not in India. They are not Indian citizens. In a site mela at Lalbagh, Mr. Hegde openly encouraged private builders from abroad to build Bangalore. NRI Association Karnataka later came into the picture and 110 acres of land was allotted to it. What was the value of this land taken from the association? It was Rs. 55 lakhs whereas it should have been Rs. 11 crores. How much of kickbacks they must have received just from one deal! There lies the ingenuity of Hegde and Company.

**SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL** (Gujarat): A symbol of corruption.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL**: And this payment was made without obtaining the permission of the Reserve Bank of India which means in total violation of FERA rules.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA**: What was the Central Government doing?

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL**: That is what I am going to ask in the end of my speech as to what the Central Government should do. They should look into it and punish the guilty, whether it is the Chief Minister or any other man.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA**: May I bring to your kind notice that even the terms of reference to the Kuldip Singh Commission are only proposals.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL**: You said so many things about the Centre; I never disturbed you. Very patiently I was hearing all of you.

**SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL**: Why can't they digest?

**SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA**: When I replied, Mr. Chandre Gowda was not in the House. I produced documents; I read out letters of the Chief Minister's Private Secretary; I read out the resolution of the BDA which said that on instructions and as desired by the Chief Minister we are making this allotment. I read out here and copies are with me. BDA says it was allotted; he says it was proposed. The letter is here on record.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL**: As my friend, Mr. Hanumanthappa, was referring, one Mr. Narayanaswamy owned land measuring 5 acres and 24 guntas in Karnataka in Jayanagar, Bangalore. He applied for permission to sell that piece of land to Messrs. Revajeethu Builders and it was granted within three days in violation of Urban Land

Ceiling Act, and the property worth Rs. 2 crores was allowed to be sold at Rs. 75 lakhs. There was evasion of stamp duty obviously. Why it was done, because in that company, 50 per cent shares were held by the sisters of Mr. Hegde's son-in-law, and so within three days, permission was granted by the Chief Minister and the deal was struck and finalised. As Mr. Hanumanthappa was saying—he did not mention this fact that it was the sisters of Mr. Hegde's son-in-law,

As my friend was saying earlier, in 1983, farmers started Janata Ranga and so Janata Government came to power in Karnataka in 1983. Mr. Hegde declared 7 per cent interest on co-operative loans to farmers and became their champion. The difference was to be paid by the State Government. The farmers paid Rs. 180 crores. But the matching grant of Rs. 40 crores was not paid to the co-operative societies. With the result, the co-operative societies were not in a position to grant any further loans to the farmers who had already contributed Rs. 180 crores. (Interruptions) The farmers got agitated. They revolted and thousands and thousands of farmers had to be arrested. As my friend was saying, they could not be accommodated in jails. They were kept in schools, in hospitals and in Government guest houses. This is what actually has happened. (Time-bell rings) That is why I say, Madam, the farmers are not going to support the Janata Party now in Karnataka.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA**: Have the elections and see.

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL**: Their fate is written on the wall.

**SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA**: Why are you not holding the elections?

**SHRI P. N. SUKUL**: We will hold the elections.

**SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA**: When?



SHRI P. N. SUKUL: First, let other things be done. Let the Budget be passed.

Madam, as you have said 'the time is up', I will not take more time. Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, the champion of the people, when he was the Chief Minister, refused to pay bonus to his employees. Bonus has been paid by the Central Government to its employees. Many State Government have paid bonus to their employees. But Mr. Hegde said 'I do not agree, in principle'. He is such a reactionary man. Can any progressive party support him? I do not know how you are joining hands. He said 'I do not believe in paying bonus to class III employees, to Class IV employees'. As a result of this, the Karnataka Government employees are not getting bonus. The Dearness Allowance they could not get in cash, D.A. instalment in cash. Bonus, they never got. My submission is, at least, during the President's Rule, they must get bonus. As I said, other State Government employees are getting bonus; U.P. Government employees, M.P. Government employees, Bihar Government employees; most State Government employees, almost all. Similarly, Karnataka Government employees must also be granted bonus. Under the President's Rule, they should be granted bonus. If full bonus cannot be granted, to start with, let them be granted fifteen days' pay as bonus.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: They have made the State bankrupt.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: They have brought the State to the brink of bankruptcy when President's Rule was clamped. As I said in reply to what Mr. Gowda had said a thorough probe should be ordered into all the irregularities that have come to the surface. have come to the surface.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: It must be ordered.

SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL: That is the only way.

THAKUR JAGATPAL SINGH: There is no other way.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: A thorough probe should be ordered. Only then the real character of Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, his Ministers and others would become known to the people of India, to the people of Karnataka....

SHRI D. B. CHANDRE GOWDA: Welcome. Please do it. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: ....So that, once again, the people of Karnataka cannot be befooled into electing them to power. Thank you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I just remind my friend, Mr. Sukul, again? We welcome a probe into all the irregularities committed by the Government in Karnataka. (Interruptions) At the same time, I want a probe, a thorough probe, comprehensive probe, into all the irregularities, misfeasance, malfeasance, omissions and commission committed by the Central Government here. (Interruptions)

श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश):  
उपसभापति महोदया, एक कहावत है  
"उल्टा चोर कोतवाल को डाँटे" इसलिए,  
सारा मामला ये लोग गड़बड़ कर रहे हैं  
और उल्टे सैंटर पर आरोप लगा रहे  
हैं।

उपसभापति: आपने अच्छा किया,  
पहले कहावत बोल दी; नहीं तो यहाँ  
ब्राह्मण बन जाते।