

किया है वह भी आप किसानों को वापस करवाये। उसके चलते व्यापारियों अधि-कारियों की सम्पत्ति की कुकी जन्ती करिये, नीलाम करिये। उन में वसूली की जाए, लेकिन किसान को छूटा कर के तंग मत करिये। बाढ़ पीड़ित दरभंगा जिले के किसान बिना अन्न के मरते रहते हैं। उनके ऊपर कहर और तबाही गुजर रही है। मिथिलांचल में रोप पैदा हुआ है उग में आन्दोलन में दो दिन के लिए हम को जेल में रखा गया। मिथिलांचल में आग लगी हुई है। सरकार को चाहिये कि मिथिलांचल जिले के किसानों को रियायत देने के लिए जल्दी कार्यवाही करे नहीं तो वे कुछ करामात कर देंगे।

#### REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED THREAT TO THE BUSINESS OF COBBLERS ENGAGED IN MAKING LEATHER FOOTWEAR IN THE RURAL AREAS

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक (उत्तर प्रदेश): श्रीमान्, मैं जिस मामले की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आश्रित करना चाहता हूँ वह देश में बहुत मामूली लगता है। आपको मालूम होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के हर गाँव में मोचो जूता बनाता था। चमड़े को जूती हम लोग पहनते थे। लेकिन आज हालत यह हो गई है कि मेरे गाँव की करीब 12 हजार की आबादी है और उसमें सिर्फ एक परिवार जूते बनाता है। मैं अर्थ पार्टी के काम से मैनपुरी भया था। मैनपुरी के अलीगढ़ तक जो मेरे साथ साथी थे मैंने उनसे कहा कि आप पैदल या साइकिल पर जो लोग आ रहे हैं यह देखने की कोशिश करें कि यह क्या पहने हुए हैं। एक सैकड़ा लोगों के पैरों में चमड़े का जूता नहीं था, कारखाने में बने हुए रबड़ के जूते या तंगे पैर थे क्योंकि चमड़े का जूता बनाने वाला आदम जो उस गाँव का है जो आज जूता बना रहा है वह 60 साल का है और आने वाले बच्चे इस काम को भूल गये हैं वह काम अब आपको रोजी नहीं देता है। आपकी तनकर हैरत होगी बल्कि मैं साफी

चाहता हूँ सदन में जूता दिखाना। अशिष्टता नहीं होती तो मैं दिखाना जो जूती मैंने पहनी हुई है और जो हमारे गाँव में जूता बनाया जाता है वह बहुत अच्छा जूता है। जोश मलीहाबादी साहब ने अपनी किताब यादों की बारात में जिक्र किया है कि खान साहब का बेटा जब बाटा का जूता खरीद लाया तो वह उसको बन्दूक उठा कर मारने लगे और यह कहने लगे कि इसमें देश की चाल विगड़ जाएगी। खान साहब तिलकुल सही थे। जो जूती गाँव में बनती थी उसको पहन कर चलने वाला मजबूत लगता था और यह लगता था कि यह आदमी काम करने वाला है। लेकिन आज जो जूता पहना जाता है उसे पहन कर चलने में व्यक्तित्व भी कुछ नहीं रहता है। मैं माननीय वित्त मन्त्री जी को इस बात के लिए बधाई देना हूँ कि आपने मसने जूतों के लिए छुट दी है लेकिन कोशिश यह होनी चाहिये कि देश भर में हाथ में जूता बनाने वाले जो लोग हैं उनके संरक्षण के लिए कोई कार्यक्रम चलाया जाना चाहिये। उसका सर्वे होना चाहिये उनका जो आर्ट है उसको विकसित करना चाहिये। उनकी जो ट्रेनिंग वगैरह है उसमें अगर सरकार कोई मदद कर सके तो वह करनी चाहिये। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार जो हमारे देश का बहुत बड़ा आर्ट था और साधारण ग्रामीण के काम की चीज थी उसको बचाने की तरफ कदम उठाए। बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद।

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—CONTD.

SHRI ADINARAYANA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the motion moved by Shri N. K. P. Salve thanking the President for his Address. In his Address the President made a special mention about communalism and terrorism in the country. Communalism and casteism are today the worst that can happen to any country. They are enveloping every walk of life. These two fac-

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tors are being used by vested interests to whip up mass hysteria so that the country can be destabilized.

Sir, there are forces behind these vested interests from inside the country and also from outside like the CIA and other forces which are interested in destabilizing this country and this is a very serious thing which the Government should take note of and communalism and casteism must be curbed at any cost. It has become very essential now more than ever to curb these two things because our country is still faced with outside interference and outside forces are whipping up communal passions in the country. I would like to give one or two instances. When Mr. Anjaiah was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, a story was going round in the streets in a place and the people were talking of one incident. A particular gentleman saw a group of people in a car going on a particular street and this gentleman was an eye-witness to what happened. He did not want his name to be mentioned because he was afraid of those rowdies. One person in the car, in the dress of a Hindu, stabbed a Muslim on a street and the same car, after some time, entered another street and another person, in the dress of a Muslim, stabbed a Hindu! I am saying this only to point out that special efforts are being made to create trouble in the name of communalism. At present, we hear a lot of things about the Ram Janma Bhoomi where Lord Rama is believed to have been born. A section of the Muslim community says that it is the place of a mosque and not the birth-place of Lord Rama. Since the matter is in a court of law, I would only like to mention one thing about this issue. I do not know whether the gods of those persons who are fighting for this place, whether Hindus or Muslims, would accept the present position. I do not know whether Ram or Rahim would accept the present situation of communal trouble in

the name of religion and if they know what these people are doing, they will only turn in their graves. We know that communalism has taken away the life of one of the greatest leaders in the whole world, that is, Mahatma Gandhi, and, in the same way, communalism has taken away the life of another great national and international leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They are all victims of such communal passions. Though the Government is taking steps and making its best efforts, I would like to urge upon the Government to make some special efforts to find out who the people are who are behind these people. It is not a case of a few people fighting amongst themselves. But it is somebody who is behind these people and it is that somebody, either in order to fill his pockets or to satisfy his own communal passion, who is creating this sort of a trouble and this sort of a trouble develops into a mass hysteria. When the situation develops into one of mass hysteria, it is very difficult for any Government to control that situation. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to take special steps in the matter.

I would like to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this connection. He said:

"It is not enough to have political unity. You must have something deeper than that. You must have emotional unity which does away with provincial barriers, caste barriers, communal barriers and religious barriers. Then only we will have real unity in India."

About the freedom of all religions, Panditji says:

"There must be the most perfect freedom for religion and religious observances. But when religion comes in the garb of vested interests and exploits all the people, it is not religion at all."

These barriers of caste and religion are responsible for the ills in society.

Caste also is taking its own toll in the society. It is creating a lot of trouble for the peace-loving people, for those who do not need caste or religion but who can in their own way lead a peaceful life.

Then, Sir, the caste and religion have in all walks of life, been enveloped by these feelings. Specially the educational field should be free from such things, otherwise our youngsters will, if they are involved in caste and religious ideas, turn into different kinds of citizens, not the right type of citizens. The spread of casteism in education is the worst. Schools and colleges are established mainly to favour one's own caste pupils. All this is being done in the name of philanthropy and spread of education. You have college for Brahmins, Reddys, Kamas, Vysyas and Christians. Even appointments of teachers go by and large to the castes of the promoters. Small wonder then that students in their tender age find themselves compartmentalised on caste lines and their minds get fouled. This is from an article written by some gentleman in the name of Di yes in one of the newspapers.

Then, Sir, I congratulate the Government specially the Finance Minister in their right efforts to curb black money. I hope he will continue the steps in spite of a lot of pressure from so many quarters.

Then, Sir, I come from a very backward area, that is, Rayalaseema district adjoining Karnataka, almost on the border of Karnataka, at the far end of Andhra Pradesh. That area has suffered from droughts for a very long time. In 1952 when I became an MLA, I was elected almost in a very severe drought situation. There was no water, there was no food, in many of these areas. The Government of India as well as the Madras Government—we were under the Madras State then—came out with all help. They could not give food to everybody. They started growers' centres. In one taluk which I represented they started nearly 300 such centres per 100 villages. Water was going down still further because

wherever there is drought, people will go on digging wells deeper and deeper, and naturally the water level goes down. That is the present condition. Recently the Minister of Irrigation gave a reply in this House—that question could not come up—and he sent me a letter also that water is still available in the Rayalaseema area in Andhra Pradesh to the extent of digging 3 lakh 71 thousand wells as per the study of the Geological Survey. But if the State Government or the Ryots are asked to dig these wells, I do not think that water can be brought for the use of the people of those areas. It is an impossible thing. Therefore, I request the Government of India that they must make out some special schemes to dig up water from 2000 to 3000 ft. underground. It can be for a lakh of people or 50,000 people where there is a great necessity of providing water. It is only then that these areas can be served better.

Then, this area also abounds in minerals. The Government can start some public undertakings and encourage persons also to start some local mineral based industries also to help these people to tide over their unemployment problem.

P. M.

Lastly, I come to a very small point, Sir. I do not know why this thing has been delayed so far. Only today, in one of the answers I read, it is stated that freedom fighters have been granted railway passes. I do not know what kind of passes are being granted. It is a check pass or it is valid for six months from the time it is given and you can only go from one place to another and the pass is over? I would like to impress upon the Government that an official or officer of the Railway can travel with his family for three months on Leave Travel Concession in one year. Can't the Government think of giving a better pass which will be useful for a freedom fighter at least for three months in a year? I don't think this is very big issue. The Finance Minister is here. The Prime Minister has also conceded the pass. Also

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the pension of freedom fighters has been increased. There are not many freedom fighters in the country. There may be one or two lakh only. Not only they would be retiring from service, but they would be retiring from life also. As their number is very small, I would urge upon the Government of India and especially upon the Finance Minister who is here to agree to it. It involves finances and the Finance Minister may be able to accede to this demand and do the needful for the freedom fighters. Thank you.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the hon. President for his Address to the Joint Session of both the Houses. Sir, I would like to point out the important features in this Address, what the Government has done during the last year and what the Government proposes to do in this coming year. He has rightly pointed out that the basic strategy of the Seventh Five Year Plan is the eradication of poverty and building a strong, self-reliant and modern economy. The second aspect which he has brought to the notice of both the Houses is a fast increase in the production of goods and services for masses of rural and urban areas. It is our central strategy for removal of poverty. These two aspects, according to me, are very important. I would not like to repeat the points made out by other hon. Members on this side. But I would like to stress one thing once again. Our Government is determined to see that the national interest is above the party interest. In Assam and Punjab, we knew that we were not going to win the elections. We knew it. The Prime Minister also knew it. We wanted to restore democracy in both the States. Even though the time was not good for our party, the elections were declared because we wanted that democracy should prevail in this country. With that motive and at the cost of our party the elections were declared.

Sir, I would not like to go into the political situation, but I will dwell upon some of the aspects of our economic policy. As our Finance Minister has rightly pointed out, it is not important how we raise resources. What is important is on what items or programmes we utilise those resources. I may modify it by saying that the generation of resources is also important, but the more important is how it is spent. As far as mobilisation or generation of resources is concerned, it is more important to see from whom he has mobilised resources in this Budget. It is from those persons who can afford to give, those who can bear the burden, those who use cars, air-conditioners and refrigerators. They are not common people. They are the people who have got resources and from their pocket this time he has taken the money. Sir, there are persons outside this House and inside this House who are saying that we are deviating from our path of socialism and that we are not helping the public sector. I want to say, that you please see the Budget proposals you please see the working of the public sector, you please see what we have done in the Sixth Five Year Plan and the Seventh Five Year Plan, and you please see the amount which was spent in the 1984-85 Plan and the amount that was spent in 1985-86. We have spent 15 per cent more in 1985-86 than what we have done in 1984-85. The inflation rate was only 5 per cent. That means, in real terms, the Plan allocation for the year 1985-86 is more than 10 per cent of what it was for the year 1984-85. These are the things that we have to see. As regards the public sector people outside the House and inside the House denigrate the public sector. See the results of 1984-85. The public sector earned after the taxation Rs. 1,000 crores. This is the record. The sales have gone up. Their efficiency has gone up. Why? It is because the Prime Minister, not once, but many a time said that we have to see that the efficiency of the public sector is increased.

And they have taken several actions and steps and that is why these results are there. Many public sector units earlier had huge losses. But in the year 1984-85, their losses have been reduced by 50 per cent. And I am sure, if this trend is maintained, by tightening the working of the public sector undertakings, next year we shall see that the losses are wiped out and all the public sector units will be making profits. And many say that the private sector are showing very good results. But I am surprised to find that 60 per cent of the limited companies in the private sector earn less than Rs. 1 lakh a year of taxable income. And 40 per cent of the companies earn 99 per cent of the income in the private sector. And, Sir, what is the contribution of the public sector as regards the revenue? More than 50 per cent of the corporate tax has been received from the public sector. And the private sector gives less than what the public sector is giving. But still we have to see that we improve the efficiency of the public sector. And I would like to give some of my views as to how we can improve the efficiency of the public sector. There should be one expert committee for each industry in the public sector, say for steel, there should be one expert committee, not just to sit in the air-conditioned rooms and discuss but they have to go to the site of the factories. They have to discuss with the Managers, they have to discuss with the employees and they have to find out what the cost per unit is. Bhilai produces steel, Durgapur produces steel and Rourkela also produces steel. We have to find the cost in these three plants and in the Tatas' plant. We have to find out why the cost of production in Bhilai or Durgapur or Rourkela is more than the other units and what the reasons are. We have to go into the details of cost of production in different units and find out why in Rourkela it is more than in Bhilai. You have to find out what the ratio of the labour is producing each unit

of production in these plants and see why it is more in Bhilai than in Rourkela or Durgapur. In this way, we have to go there and find out the reasons, and we have to improve their efficiency. Sir, in the expert committee, a technocrat of the industries should be there, a cost accountant or a chartered accountant should be there, an economist should be there, and a person who knows much about the labour should be there. It is not a big thing to have five to six members. They have to continuously go round the industries and find out the working of these units. If this is done, I am sure, the working of the public sector will improve.

Secondly, Sir, as I said earlier also, our Government is committed to public sector. This year, in the Budget, the Finance Minister has decided that we shall float bonds for the public sector. This was not done earlier. This shows that we are committed to public sector and we want to give them all help so that they work efficiently. As regards the public sector undertakings, we feel that this should be done.

Then, Sir, coming to the economic development, those who feel that this Government is not working, I would not like to go into the figures relevant to the Janata rule, but if I get another opportunity of speaking at the time of the debate on the General Budget, I will show you the working of the Janata Government and this Government, but, in the mean time, I would like to say that in the year 1985-86, in the matter of power consumption, the capacity has gone up by 8.2 per cent, in the case of steel production by 12.9 per cent and in the case of fertilisers by 10 per cent. These are all core industries and these are the results which should be seen by everybody. It is no use criticising the Government. If you want to say anything, make concrete proposals. This Government has an open mind. If you give a concrete proposal, which

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can be feasible, I am sure that this Government will take steps to implement it. This is my experience. This Government is very much amicable. They want that good suggestions should come from both sides of the House, be it this side or be it that side, and I am sure that if they are good suggestions, they will be implemented.

So far as the tax collection effort is concerned, it has gone up by about 25 per cent. I would not like to comment today whether it is because of the reduction in the rates or whether it is because of some other action taken by the Finance Minister regarding the stringent instructions and raid, but he has proved that he means business. But I personally feel that this major collection drive is because of the atmosphere which has been created by him, which indicates that this Government means business and it also indicates that those who want to conceal their income they will not be able to escape. My submission in this respect is that these raids should continue, in spite of whatever may be said by the newspapers which are being published from Bombay, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Bangalore and other places. Whatever they say, those have to be continued. These newspapers want to mislead by writing wrong editorials. Sir, it was surprising for me to find in one of the English dailies, a most popular daily, that because of the increase in the quantum of standard deduction, the Government will be losing Rs. 350/- crores. Either he does not know the arithmetic or he wants to mislead the people. These kinds of untruths, brought out by newspapers, have to be condemned. This is not the way to criticise the policies of the Government. Do not give wrong facts and do not mislead the people.

As regards the import and export policy and the balance of payments, I want to plead and very firmly that the time has come now, when we have not to import a single gram of

sugar or a single drop of edible oil. We have to tighten our belts. We cannot afford to spend our precious foreign exchange on purchase of consumer goods. We have to import goods for building our plant and machinery. We cannot afford to import consumer goods. Sir, for that purpose, this Government has tried its best in this Budget to restrict imports. They want to increase the customs duty so that more machinery will be manufactured in the country and more employment will be there. If you want to import machinery, instead of manufacturing it here, you cannot generate more employment. By this method he has done two things. Firstly, he has discouraged the import of machinery and spending of foreign exchange and by encouraging the manufacture of spare parts and other machinery here in this country, more employment opportunities have been generated. With this idea, the Finance Minister has done this thing and I compliment him for it. As regards our long-term fiscal policy, many of the suggestions have been implemented. Here I would like to say one thing. You have done much for the salaried class by increasing standard deductions and by giving more interest on their provident fund but after some years, the Government employees have to retire and after that, the biggest problem faced by them is of housing. I suggest a revolving fund for five years should be created. Loans can be given for housing and this is the safe money because every month you will deduct from their salary and there are not going to be any bad debts. So the Government must come out with a long-term policy for housing for the Government employees. If say Rs. 100 crore are given, for five years you will be giving Rs. 500 crores and at the same time, instalments towards repayment of the loan would be coming and so this fund will remain in tact for further utilisation. But you should try to charge as low a rate of interest as possible. You should also have such a scheme for the employees in the public sector. There may be a

central pool for this purpose and if this is done, I think a major problem of housing for the Government employees can be solved.

As regards the Plan allocations, I would say it is the real socialism that we see here and I would say that this Budget is a social Budget because we want to remove the poverty and we want to see that education is imparted to all, shelter is given to all, and thus we provide for food, for shelter, for housing and for health. We have also added to it the drinking water. The poor people should be given at a very subsidised rates and that was the purpose why in the Adivasi areas and for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people, a special scheme has been drawn up by the Government for the benefit of these people. Sir, the target under the Integrated Rural Development Programme for Sixth Five Year Plan was to cover 15 million families. We have achieved this target; not only we have achieved it, but we have exceeded it. And 16.6 million families have been covered under this Programme which is an increase of 10 per cent. The crux of the whole situation is that we want to support all those who need it. Out of 16.6 million families, 6.4 million belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which is 40 per cent, and this is a good start. This is what the Government is doing. As regards drinking water, there were 2.31 lakh problem villages with no drinking water. Now 1.92 lakh villages are covered in one year 1984-85. Is it a mean achievement? This is what we are doing and that is why I say that this Government under the leadership of our Prime Minister, Rajiv ji is doing an excellent work. Our motto is to serve the people and to see that the fruits of growth should be equitably distributed, and this is the real socialism. That is why I feel the Government which is doing such an excellent work, should be praised. Let them give their criticism but it should be constructive criticism; let us work unitedly to remove the poverty and if we do like that, only then one can

say that we have done something. With these words, I support the Motion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The discussion on the President's Address closes. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 p.m.

The House then adjourned at twenty minutest past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Chairman in the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Prime Minister will now reply to the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to thank all those hon. Members who have participated in the debate. The debate on the President's Address is the time for us to measure our promises of last year and the accomplishments that have taken place, till now. Last year, we had made many promises and very substantially, we have accomplished those promises.

We had promised that our first thrust would be on Assam and Punjab and we did that. We took certain steps. Two accords were signed and they brought about a change in both the States. We were able to hold elections in both the States. I welcome the Members in the lower House from these two States. We have seen since then that Assam is progressing well. In Punjab, the speed of improvement has not been to the extent we would have liked it to be. We are in the process of looking at certain steps and measures that we might be able to take to once more bring about some improvement.

We had promised a clean public life. We have taken a number of steps towards that direction. We enacted the anti-defection law and a

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law in regard to company donations. We have tackled corruption at every level, with all sections. We had promised administrative reforms. Again, in this direction, we have taken a number of steps which have started this movement. Grievance redressal machinery has been set up at all levels. Personnel policies are being reviewed. The efficiency of the Government machinery is being improved. Emphasis is being put on results and accountability. Monitoring of major projects is being done monthly. Monitoring of anti-poverty programmes is going to be done with a new system which we have just evolved and it has come into operation just about a month or two months ago.

We had promised a new education policy. It is on the anvil and we expect that later this month, the Minister of Human Resource Development will be able to place it before the House. We produced the status paper in August and a national debate ensued. We formed a new department in the Human Resource Development Ministry to look at the total development of youth, women and children.

We brought in a new textile policy. It has come into operation. The main thrust is the protection of the handloom sector and to provide cheap cloth to the average persons. There has been a lot of change in the new policy, compared with the previous policy. We appreciate that there may be certain aspects which may not be working as envisaged and we are keeping a watch on this. If there are any areas that are harmful to the handloom sector, to the weaker sections, we will see that these are rectified and the handloom sector is protected. We had promised a new look at the judicial system. Lok Adalats have come up, benefiting thousands of people. Administrative Tribunals, similarly, have taken the load off the courts. The Law Commission is now looking

into further changes that need to be done. We have formed an Urban Development Commission to look into the directions of urban development in India over the next 15 years. When we talk of urban development we do not restrict ourselves to the metros or the big towns but also to the transformation of the larger villages into urban areas, how will they be controlled, how will they be planned and how will we see that these large villages do not become urban slums of the 1990s. We took up the cleaning of the Ganga. A Central Ganga Authority was formed. Work has already started and we look forward to clean the water of the Ganga very rapidly. The first viable part of the Ganga may be at Hardwar for the Kumbh mela this year.

Another ecological problem that has been burdening all of us is that of deforestation and wastelands. We formed a Wasteland Development Board and work has already started. We have set rather high targets but the choice is not really with us. If we are not able to achieve such numbers there is very real danger of a true ecological collapse in the country. We have to achieve a certain minimum target to be able to survive. Protecting the environment has played a major role in this Government. We have taken a number of measures in this session. We will be coming with a very comprehensive legislation against all hazardous substances and, for the first time, we have legislated in such a way that it will be possible for an average citizen to take a case to court and to complain against his right being infringed.

While looking at the development side, the more material side in a way, we have not lost attention of our strong cultural heritage. If India is to survive, India's cultural heritage must survive. We cannot allow modern materialism to overwhelm us or swamp us. Our stren-



gth is in spirituality and that must be preserved. That is also a thrust that we would like to give in the education system. We have set up a number of zonal cultural centres which will develop India's cultural heritage and will bring it not just to the elite who can go to the expensive theatres and halls but also to the poor to whom it to less accessible.

To remove poverty we have to look at technology. If we think for a minute what we mean by removing poverty, ultimately it comes down to improving the level of technology that is available to our people. I am talking of just the level, not make the villager run a super computer, but improving his plough, improving the seeds, improving the fertiliser—that is all technology. So when we talk of development, when we talk of progress, what we are really looking at is how this can be applied—technology can be applied where it is needed most. In India it is needed most in the fields of the farmers; in the home of our rural folk. This needed most to benefit the poorest, the most deprived in India. Our science and technology thrust must be so that it is for the people so that it is against poverty, and it must be in socially relevant areas. We have seen in India where we have concentrated our efforts we have made tremendous strides in science and technology. We are very close to the frontline of development. At the same time there are other areas where our efforts have been diffused and we have not achieved like we should have achieved.

We are looking at how to give a certain thrust in direction in specified areas. We will be developing what we call missions and thrust areas in various fields. Of primary importance will be those fields that will affect the average villager, the average poor person in India. We will have missions to provide drinking water, we will have missions on oilseeds, we will have missions for immunising

children, against illiteracy. We have set up a new Department of Biotechnology so that our efforts in this sphere may not lag behind those of the more advanced countries. Perhaps the most important step that is needed is some method of monitoring the monsoon and the rainfall for our farmers, whether it is in the North or the South, East or West. Sir, no emotions. What can I do? Not even for our farmers.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Nothing criminal.

SHR RAJIV GANDHI: We are coming out with schemes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): These are many on your side to appreciate

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I thought at least for our farmers and our poor people, their hearts will have a little pain.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): What do you want us to do? We are listening to the speech.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA (Himachal Pradesh): Join hands.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We do not want to disturb you and interrupt you.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Thank you very much.

SHRI J. K. JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): We will remind you when you do that.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Mr. Chairman, we have come out with the Seventh Plan during this past year. The Approach Paper of the Seventh Plan had been worked by Indiraji and the basis has not changed. The Seventh Plan during this past year, food, work and productivity. In fact, the basic thoughts behind our planning have not changed from 1947 to 1986. When we first thought of this

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

country is to move ahead, we thought of planning we thought of the Plans as being the backbone of all our aspirations for development. The priorities that we had put have not really changed. The priorities in our Plan—although a Plan is basically an economic development plan—are not limited to just the economic development. And what we have kept in mind is to see that India's unity, India's independence, our democratic structure, our secularism, our socialist thrust, our non-alignment and our self-reliance are not compromised in any way.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): From this side applause is here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Most loyal opposition.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I beg to point out that there is only one person from the opposite benches who finds virtue in these values.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: His Majesty's Opposition.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Loyal opposition.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is not a question of loyal or not loyal. It is a question of standing for certain fundamental things for this country. If you do not stand for a united, independent, democratic, secular, socialist, non-aligned, self-reliant India, what can I say?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Who disputed it? We have not disputed it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: These are all known things.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the India we want, the India our freedom fighters fought for, is the India that all of us are committed to. The core of our development problems lies not in our potential or in our

capability but more in what we are actually able to achieve, and the speed with which we can progress will depend on how quickly we can close the gap between these two things.

Our past achievements have by no means been small. The structural transformation that is taking place in agriculture, in industry, in the lives of our people is for all to see. I do not have to tell you about it. But the question is, can we do things faster and better today? How can we work quicker to get benefits for the poor, the under-privileged, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, women, children, the backward classes and the minorities? This is what the Plan is for— for helping these sections of our people. The highest priority has been given to agriculture and to anti-poverty programmes. Agriculture, because it is one of the best ways we have to remove and alleviate poverty from our land; anti-poverty programmes, for those who are too weak to even get advantage of the normal schemes. We have improved the monitoring of our anti-poverty programmes; we have changed certain directions, certain things that we were doing, after I toured many areas last year and saw for myself the difficulties that were coming up in implementation. Sometimes, even though the programme had been implemented, the benefit of that was not going in full measure to the persons. So we have tailored the programmes to reduce this to a minimum and we are monitoring them very very extensively. The monitoring will include random visits to blocks where beneficiaries will be personally interviewed to see what their personal experience was.

Much of the thrust of the anti-poverty programmes was visible in the budget that was put before the House a few days ago. Our Finance Minister said that his basic thinking had been to burden the affluent sections and not to burden the poorer,

the weaker sections. Sir, some of us are not happy when affluent sections are burdened.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: On that side, yes, correct.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): It is an old thing. That is why we did not react.

श्री राजीव गांधी : बँडिये बँडिये ।

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): At least we are glad that you no more deride them as a populist programme.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Wait a minute. There is a difference between a populist programme and an anti-poverty programme. There is a very big difference. Please try and understand that. This morning we were asked some questions. I do not want to bring proceedings of one House into another House. It bears on the same thing. The questions were on whether certain States have diverted funds from certain programmes. There was one question on the anti-poverty programme. There was another question, whether funds from agricultural development and rural development had been diverted. I do not want to name which State was the highest in the list.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You have already named it in the other House. You can do that.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, perhaps Mr. Upendra knows which State is the highest.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: It does not hurt the feelings of anybody. Let him name.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI BUTA SINGH): It could be concluded alphabetically also.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: When the Finance Minister talked of burdening the rich and taxing the rich, there was no reaction from the opposite benches. I was sitting just opposite, and I was noting what the Finance Minister was saying and the long serious faces of the Opposition.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: You do not mention what happened three weeks before.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the Finance Minister announced my number might be wrong—he collected about 36 per cent extra income-tax from the rich. It made our friends very unhappy, Sir. He said that he had a drive against smugglers. There was no reaction. He talked of the increase in the power generation by 16 per cent. They do not want power to go to the poor people. He talked of the performance of the railways on which, I am sure, many of them have travelled. But again no reaction. Even when we talked of Kalpakkam which is a very major achievement of any country in the world, let alone India,....

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: There is reaction here because this is for Kalpakkam.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI:....it did not steer anything inside them.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): Except Mr. Mohanarangam.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I must explain, Sir, I am talking in generality.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: We are burdened by taxes.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: When the Finance Minister talked of taking over property being sold for over Rs. 10 lakhs, everybody knows why this step was taken, but there was no appreciation from the opposite benches.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: What are the functions of the Opposition? How do you expect that?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, there were two points in the Finance Minister's speech, to which I expected some reaction from the Opposition Members. One was when he said that he was giving Rs. 700 crores to Vizag. Even for that they did not react.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: We personally met him and thanked him.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: But more than that, the Finance Minister had also given some major incentives for tobacco farmers. Again Members from those areas were deadily silent.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It was because the benefit will go to the middle-men, not to the farmers.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJESH PILOT) : No, farmers will get the benefit.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: When we increased the anti-poverty programme by 65 per cent, there was no appreciation.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Sir, let him repeat the speech, we will applaud again.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: With due respect, I would say that I have only a few points to cover. Then I will tell you why there was no applause. There was 93 per cent increase in the NREP and 58 per cent in REGP adding one hundred million man-days this year, it was not appreciated. Whether it was housing for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, whether it was insurance for the fruit growers, even something for the farmers, it was not appreciated. When it was something for the urban poor,

they did not bother whether it was the rickshaw pullers, cart pullers, cobblers, barbers, hawkers, Dhobis, Safai Karmacharis or coolies. There was no reaction. When medical equipment and life-saving drugs were made cheaper, they did not appreciate that. (Interruptions) I beg your pardon, Sir. I am not talking about the hon. Members of this House, I was talking about the friends in the other House. But they are all together, Sir.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: But reactions differ.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: But what has surprised me, is not just that all the Members did not appreciate these measures that we have taken. I can understand there are some reactionary members and we do not expect them to appreciate such measures.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: How could you say that I have not appreciated, though I have not appreciated you outwardly?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am talking of other Members. But what surprised me was that our progressive Members did not react.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Can you identify them?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The question that is worrying me is how can ideologies be forgotten in this way? What is worrying me is what has happened to all our red-blooded leftists?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Prime Minister, they are tired of hearing your platitudes. Your grandfather was much more expert in making platitudes.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Perhaps that red has become so pale because of the mixing with all the other colours. It has become so pale that even when they blush, you cannot see the pink.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You are talking gimmicks and nothing else.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am not talking gimmicks. We have seen what has happened in this world when ideologies have been forgotten. We have seen what happened in Europe when the leftists mixed with the rightists. When the colours were mixed, what did we get? We got the brown shirt that came out in Germany.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You have not seen the brown shirt feeling in your party in the 70s. It is good that you have uttered that word—brown shirt. Many of your Members do not know the connotation of brown shirt, while they are thumping. We have seen and experienced the brown shirt in our State though your party and our party.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: By this the Prime Minister is definitely provoking us. We are ready for the ding-dong battle.  
3.00 P.M.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): \*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Nothing will go on record. (Interruptions) After all I tell you hon. Members, that you must be able to stand a joke. You also play (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There is a limit to stretching it out.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I only plead that he should be ready if we fire back. He should not take exception, because all of them jump up when we play jokes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: When he is on his legs, nobody should interrupt.

\*Not recorded.

But at the same time he must not stretch it out. After all there is a limit to stretching it out.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is all over. No more.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We had Nazi experiment in 1975. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I would beg to say that I am not trying to degrade or deride any particular group in the House. I am only questioning that if one group has an ideology, I cannot see how they can mix up with other groups who are having totally divergent ideologies.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Don't you see what is happening in Kerala? What is happening in Jammu and Kashmir? What is happening in Tripura?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Mr. Prime Minister your own party consists of so many colours. You have got capitalist. You have got socialist. You have got every body there in your own party. Your party is the most representative of all the shades

SHRI J. K. JAIN: We don't mix up with all.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: But they all come under one tri-colour.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Without backing of your party Mr. G. M. Shah's Government in Jammu and Kashmir would not have lasted even for a minute there. In whose alliance you are in Kerala now? What about Tripura? What about Jammu and Kashmir?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Prime Minister we had Nazi experiment in 1975.

MR CHAIRMAN: Now allow the debate to go on. We have expressed our differences. You have expressed .... (Interruptions) ..

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: Mr Chairman, Sir,.....

श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण (दिल्ली) : चोर की दाढ़ी में कुतुब मीनार।... (व्यवधान)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, the Prime Minister is obviously provoking the Opposition and straining our patience. We were listening to his speech with dignity and silence. But unnecessarily he provoked the Opposition. Is he intending to teach us political lessons in this House? Are we to learn political lessons from him?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I have no intention to teach anyone political lessons? I would only like to answer .... (Interruptions) .. I do not want to teach anyone political lessons much less so to the hon. Members from the Opposition who are much senior to me. But I was only pointing out that irrespective of which party you belong to, you must have some basic ideology and you must stick to it. (Interruptions)....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Have you read the speeches made by the Opposition leaders here on this Address? Please go through the speeches and then reply.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : क्या राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर भाषण कर रहे हैं, या बजट पर कर रहे हैं? यह लोक सभा के भाषण पर वहाँ भाषण कर रहे हैं .... (व्यवधान) यह बजट पर बोले जा रहे हैं .. (व्यवधान)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): In Bengal, Lenin's statue is full of tears. How Marxism is being polluted by them?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I have no right to point out any particular party, or Member or group. Some people have felt that I have touched a new nerve and others have not.

But coming back to where I was, there were one or two points during the Finance Minister's speech when suddenly their faces enlightened....

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): The debate is on President's Address, not on the Finance Minister's speech.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: They are inter-related.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The Prime Minister is looking at his own mirror.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The only time when their faces lighted up was when the Finance Minister talked of higher taxes or the Railway Minister talked of increasing certain limited fares. Why? Maybe there is the vested interest in higher prices. Sir, some time ago, the hon. Opposition thought it fit to have a bandh. Some say it was successful. Some say it was not so successful. (Interruption)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Only your radio and T.V. said it was not successful. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I will accept what the hon'ble Members have said I would like to point out to our hon'ble Members that our GNP every year is roughly around Rs. 210 thousand crores which comes to approximately Rs. 700 crores per day on GNP. Rs. 700 crores is the total—if we remove the agricultural sector because the hon'ble Members, no matter what they tried could not stop the wheat from growing. (Interruption)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Nor you helped it to grow. It was a pat to the farmers and not to you and me. (Interruption)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the rough approximation that we take for the division between the industrial and agricultural sector in GNP is approximately two-third and that means the industrial sector, every day accounts for approximately Rs. 450 to Rs. 460

crores. Now, our friends say the bandh was 100 percent. I would not like to give them full credit but if they are insisting, we can try to see what this loss of Rs. 450 crores really means. (Interruption)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Your party organized a bandh in Hyderabad on a water crisis. (Interruption).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Have you tested the brown shirts there?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't record them. They are just interruptions.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, if Rs. 450 crores were spread thinly over the whole economy, the loss was borne equally by all and perhaps, the load taken by the poorer was most. What this Rs. 450 crores mean or could have meant, but it has now gone. 36000 extra primary schools this year. This Rs. 450 crores in the anti-poverty programme would have lifted 20 lakhs families above the poverty line. Sir, perhaps, the most telling effect has been that Rs. 450 crores have been lost. And they were complaining against the kerosene hike. The increase in kerosene will take four years to pay for that Rs. 450 crores. One day has cost the poor persons, who buy kerosene, four years of the increased rates. Sir, this is why they did not smile when we came out with the anti-poverty programme. They have a vested interest to see that condition of the poor in this country does not improve. (Interruption)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This is the real joke.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. (Interruptions) Look here, the Prime Minister is entitled to say, within the limits of parliamentary procedure, his opinion, and you cannot object to his opinion. You may not agree with it, but you cannot say that he should not say it.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: If we do not react, he is objecting; he says that we are not reacting.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record. Please sit down. (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Have you tested the Brown Shirts there?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Brownshirt is not just the colour of the shirt; it is what is there in their mind and heart. (Interruptions)

Sir, this Plan will not be an easy Plan. And the fact is, none of our Plans has been an easy Plan. They have required seva, they have required tyag, they have required sacrifice. And as was mentioned in the President's Address, nations are built by generations that sacrifice for a better tomorrow. It is not by asking for a cushy living today that we will be able to build our nation. It is with hard work and toil and dedication that we will be able to build it.

One hon. Member from the opposite benches has mentioned in his speech that the President's Address showed the economy in a crisis. There could be nothing farther from truth unless the hon. Member finds hard work and a little bit of sacrifice a crisis: that I cannot answer.

If we look at the performance of our economy in the past five years, in the past six years since the Congress Government came back, the Indian economy has done extremely well in a situation where the economies of major countries were in difficulties, and the economies of developing countries were seeing inflation rates of 300 per cent, 400 per cent and even close to 1000 per cent. Under those conditions, we have had a growth rate of approximately 5 per cent and an inflation rate well under control. Sir, we do not take credit for that. Indiraji looked after the country during those days. But what we

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are looking towards now is the future. The future is not going to be a joy-ride or a cakewalk. This is going to require tremendous hard work. And if we are not willing to do that, if we are not willing to give that much for our country, then we do not deserve a free, independent country. Pandit Nehru and Indiraji laid the basic framework of our development. That is still intact today. It will remain intact. And it is on that basis that we have to build today. The basic framework was 93 per cent of our own resources for development, not to go running with a bowl to other countries. We had a very easy way out. Other countries have taken the easy way out. But the result is visible. We will not allow India to go that way. We will not look at short-term solutions that may compromise the sovereignty of our country. One of our pillars of development has been the public sector. It has not only helped modernise very backward and remote areas, it has helped train people, train labour, train workers; train technicians, train engineers; it has been a basic thrust of our development process. We cannot and will not let the public sector be weakened. But we must look at the public sector realistically. We must see what will strengthen a public sector. If a public sector runs tremendous losses, if it is almost closed and the labour is not working, who is paying for this unit and is this unit really doing its part of work in developing our country, in taking our country ahead? We have to see how we can have a strong and vibrant public sector working for the public good. We have to see that losses are not a burden on our development programmes, on our anti-poverty programmes. We have to see how public sector efficiency can be increased.

One other area which we feel is important is that of the high cost of inputs into basic sectors. We have to

see how we can unwind our high-priced economy and get it back so that every rupee is worth that much more in each programme, in each anti-poverty programme. We have taken a number of steps to analyse and look at the public sector to see how that can be improved and made more efficient, but much more needs to be done.

There has been no change in our foreign investment policy—foreign investments in India—during this past year. Our industrial policy, our fiscal policy, has been such as to keep the public sector units at the top of the pillar, to get the maximum utilisation from the developments that have taken place over the past 38 years. India is a mixed economy and we must harness every effort and energy to carry our country forward, whether it is in agriculture or whether it is in industries. We have to see that our scientific research and development, our technological development, is independent, it is self-reliant, and, most of all, indigenous. We have taken a number of steps to bring this about. Our defence research and development is rising to new heights and our defence production is looking ahead to much greater, much bigger, areas and greater production, and, most of all; towards indigenous design of very sophisticated equipment.

During this past year we have strengthened our friendship with the Soviet Union. Sir, the Soviet Union...

**SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:**  
Not even a clap!

**SHRI RAJIV GANDHI:** All that red blood has gone pink! (*Interruptions*).

Sir, the Soviet Union is an old, tried and trusted friend and we see relations improving much further in the future.

Sir, with the U.S.A. we have seen major change in our relationship: the basic mistrust that was there has been removed. But that does not mean that there are no questions in our minds and I am sure they too have certain



questions in theirs. But we are co-operating in a number of areas where we have made a significant headway and we are looking forward to making further progress.

Sir, this is the last year for India as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. In this year, the movement has strengthened. We have asserted the voice of the Non-Aligned on major issues such as a new international economic order. We have raised our voice for disarmament, nuclear disarmament, and we have raised our voice to protect the small nations. We have raised our voice on South Africa.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** But not on Sri Lanka.

**SHRI RAJIV GANDHI:** In the Commonwealth Meet, India took a very firm stand on South Africa with a number of other nations and, as a result of that, we can a very appreciable change in the attitudes of the major countries towards South Africa, in the attitudes of the Banks towards South Africa and in the attitudes of the other financial institutions towards South Africa.

During this year, India has participated in the Six-Nation Summit and then again in a number of appeals on behalf of these six nations for disarmament and peace. This effort will continue.

During these years, Sir, we have seen the multilateral organisations coming under severe pressures. India has not been lacking in raising its voice in defence of these institutions. We have raised our voice in the UN, in the Non-Aligned Meet, in the Commonwealth Meeting, in the UNESCO and in the ILO.

Closer to home, we have taken certain steps for South Asian regional co-operation and an Association has been formed. This perhaps is a very major step in bringing about a new atmosphere of co-operation in our region. In our region, there are two

areas where there are still tensions. Pakistan has been a traditional tension-area. We have done a lot to try and reduce that tension. In some areas we have made headway; in others, it has been much slower; and, in some, not at all.

President Zia visited India in December. We made a certain programme according to which we would have liked things to happen and, after that, our Finance Minister visited Islamabad for trade talks. The talks took place and certain decisions were taken. But, again, the movement is very slow. Other talks have taken place. The movement is not as fast as we would have liked it to be. But this is not a one way street. We are watching the progress and we will be reacting according to what we see happening on their side. At all times, of course, there is no question of compromising India's integrity and security. (*Interruptions*)

Sri Lanka is another area which is close to us, where there is tremendous tension within. Unfortunately, the killings of civilians go on. We had tried to help the groups get together. Sir, progress was made; may be, more can be made. But what is important is that innocent lives are being lost daily. What we feel as important is that there can only be a political solution. The Sri Lankan Government also says that they are for a political solution.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Jayawardene says that they are for military solution.

**SHRI SULTAN SINGH (Haryana):** The latest is political solution. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Aerial bombardment is still going on. (*Interruptions*) Will you stop it?

**SHRI RAJIV GANDHI:** Why don't you try to understand what I am saying instead of talking? (*Interruptions*)

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Sir, we would like the Sri Lankan Government to do more than just to profess political solution. We would like to see certain actions that would go towards... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Ninety-six times our ocean fisherman have been assaulted. What action you have taken? (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The charges that they have levelled against India having an involvement are absolutely baseless. What is of immediate and direct worry to us is the number of refugees that are coming into India and we must see that the situation in Sri Lanka is normalised so that these refugees may be able to go back in honour and safety.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Prime Minister. One minute. They were getting arms from South Africa. It has been proved. They have purchased arms, armoured cars from South Africa... (Interruptions) Have you taken up this issue with Sri Lanka since they are a member of CHOGM and NAM and U.N.?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We have already talked. You talk as if you are the only one in the world who knows anything. (Interruptions)

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM : We would be very happy if you do certain things in private and don't mention them on the floor of Parliament.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I don't want to bring the issue of ignorance of hon. Members. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But ... (Interruptions)

SHRI J. K. JAIN: Every now and then he is getting up.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is a serious matter. Let the Prime Minister clarify. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will not repeat the word. (Interruptions).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Mr. Upendra, if you sit in the middle, you will get in both ears.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: He has a genuine doubt and apprehension. He can get it clarified.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have respect for you. I will not repeat the words to you which are attributed to me. (Interruptions).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is a serious matter. (Interruptions).

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Perhaps one of our biggest weaknesses in India has been communalism whenever it raises its head. Communalism has been a traditional tool to weaken India, throughout our history. The colonial concept has been to divide and destroy by using communalism. This did not end last year with the assassination of Indiraji. This attempt is still on. It is for us to see how we will be able to rise above it in order to really fight this menace. We all must condemn every sort of communal violence and our Government will do everything to see that the 15 points that we have raised and that Indiraji had brought in to try and ensure communal safety and harmony will be fully operational as soon as possible.

Gandhiji, Panditji and Indiraji, all fought against communalism. Gandhiji and Indiraji gave their lives in that battle. It is for us today to commit ourselves not to use communalism as a political tool. India's secularism is in its backdrop of nationhood "Sarva Dharm Sambhava" as we have translated it. Sir, we seek national cohesion with tolerance, with harmony and with concord. Only then will we get an India of our dreams. We would like an open dis-

cussion on any major issue. We believe in the politics of consensus and conciliation. But this should not be taken for weakness or indecision. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have taken your permission to speak.

SHRI J. K. JAIN: You have taken the permission for granted. First you take permission.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Has Shri J. K. Jain taken your powers? He is the Secretary of the Congress (I) Parliamentary Party only.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The members in the opposition are entitled to put one or two questions by way of clarification and I have allowed. Why do you intervene?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Sir, we have been discussing President's Address for the last 3-1/2 days. My colleagues who participated in this debate from this side and that side have raised very many pertinent questions, made very many valuable suggestion and also criticised the Government's policies in respect of very many matters mentioned in the President's Address.

Sir, we were keenly looking forward to the Prime Minister's reply to all the points raised. I regard it as perhaps a unique instance in the history of Parliament where not a single point of criticism made, not a single suggestion offered, not a single question posed in respect of the President's Address, has been dealt with except perhaps one where he said that some Members said that India was passing through an economic crisis.

I do not know whether even this was said here or whether it was said in the other House. Because the first part of the speech gave the impression as if the speech was only an intervention in the Budget debate in the other House and not in

this House. There is no question of my smiling or my reacting. My point is... (Interruptions) I will complete, Sir. My point is that very often we raise objections to the absence of Union Ministers in this House when the President's Address is being debated. The objection arises because unless someone important and responsible takes notes of what is said and replies specifically to the points..... (Interruptions). raised, the debate loses the purpose. Sir, I have not completed. This kind of speech could have been even made in the beginning of the debate rather than at the end. In order that a debate be purposeful, the points raised have to be replied, not a single point has been replied to.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the Prime Minister will...

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: It is unfair to the House, Sir.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I have got detailed notes. I was not able to sit in the House and I apologise for that. But I have detailed notes of what every single Member has spoken about, and what I thought relevant I have included, Sir. The hon. Member has said and, I think, the inference is that no Minister was sitting here when ...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I said what I felt was relevant. And lastly, Sir, ...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Surely on those points which we did not raise at all.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I would beg to remind the hon. Members that this great relevance that they are placing on the President's Address to-

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

day, they have forgotten about it the day when the President delivered the Address when they decided to be absent.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, one point. (*Interruptions*) Sir, I remind the Prime Minister ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have given the floor to Mr. Dipen Ghosh to seek a clarification which is allowed under the rules. And nothing else.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, if the Prime Minister goes through the speech made by me on that Motion, I raised a particular point with which he concluded his speech but did not reply to it. I raised this point that, yes, we are all eager to see that communal harmony is maintained in our country, and the integrity and the solidarity of our country is maintained. And I took a leaf from the President's Address. And the President had pointed the forces which are behind those communalism and regionalism, the forces which are reinforcing that. It is in the Address itself. But I raised this question: who is reinforcing whom? Was it not the ruling party which is in alliance with a faction of the communal party in Jammu and Kashmir? (*Interruptions*). Was it not the ruling party which is in alliance with the Muslim League and other caste parties in Kerala? (*Interruptions*). Was it not the ruling party which is in alliance with the TUIF in Tripura? Who is reinforcing whom? Will the Prime Minister kindly reply to it? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. ARUNACHALAM alias ALADI ARUNA: Sir, ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: No more. The Prime Minister is not replying. I shall now first put the amendments to vote. They are—Amendment Nos. 14, 15, 20, 32 to 41 by Shri Sushil

Chand Mohunta; Amendment Nos. 62 to 67 by Shri S. W. Dhabe; Amendment Nos. ...

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Sir, we belong to the second biggest Opposition party here ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are now on amendments and nothing else will go on record. Then amendment nos. 127 to 226 by Shri Dipen Ghosh; Amendment Nos. 250 to 265 by Shri Biswa Goswami. Shall I put all the Amendments to vote together?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put all the amendments to vote.

*Amendments Nos. 14, 15, 20, 32 to 41, 62 to 67, 127 to 226 and 250 to 265 were put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put the Motion to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th February, 1986."

The motion was adopted.

#### THE SPICES BOARD BILL, 1986 THE SPICES CESS BILL, 1986.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Shiv Shanker will move the Spices Board Bill, 1986 and the Spices Cess Bill, 1986, together.