

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 21st February, 1989'."

Hon. the Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I first like to thank the hon. Members for the high order of debate that has taken place on the President's Address, keeping with our parliamentary tradition and befitting of our flourishing democracy.

This is the last year of this Lok Sabha.

AN HON. MEMBER: Not Parliament.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I said Lok Sabha....Something wrong with your head-phone?

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati): President said: "Parliament".

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar): Something wrong with the Head of the Government... (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: What is this, why do you behave like this?

[*English*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is appropriate to look back at the challenges that we have encountered, our responses to those challenges and the tasks that lie ahead.

Sir, our vision that has guided us has been moulded by the vision of Gandhiji and Panditji, the vision of Indiraji. It is on that basis that we have faced these challenges. Our struggle has been to strengthen the unity and integrity of India. If you think back, at the time that this Lok Sabha was elected, there were tremendous doubts and ques-

tions in everybody's mind throughout the nation on these basic questions. Today that has been entirely removed.

Our struggle has been to remove poverty and to remove unemployment. We have worked during these years to build India's rightful place in the world. We have looked at a number of areas; the first and most important is peace and stability because without peace and stability there can be no development — peace and stability nationally in our region and internationally. We have worked to accelerate the economy because we felt that these are the two basic things that are needed for the development of our nation. We have brought peace and stability to Assam, to Mizoram, to Tripura, Darjeeling areas...

AN. HON. MEMBER: What about Punjab?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I will talk at length on Punjab; relax.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura): There is Bodo agitation also.

MR. SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I do not mind. Let them be happy with such things.

[*English*]

Sir, regionally, Afghanistan is coming back to normal. We have reduced our tensions with China, to some degree with Pakistan and Sri Lanka, which was boiling over, is very rapidly coming back to normal.

Globally, the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, which was at a complete standstill, is restored. The talks in disarmament are moving. The tension spots around the globe are slowly reducing in tension. We have worked during this period for a new world order; for new

international political relations; for new military relations in disarmament, and for new economic relations.

Nationally, our economy has been targetted at two things basically — at removing poverty and reducing unemployment. To do this we had needed rapid growth because without rapid growth we could not generate the resources that were required for investment in these two critical areas. We have looked for science and technology to be brought into the service of the poor as a multiplier of development, as a key in the development process. We have looked at the delivery system and streamlined the delivery system to see that our programmes are more effectively brought into the homes of the weaker sections. Most of all, we have strengthened our economy enough for it to start becoming competitive globally. This has been seen in the way our exporters have met the global challenges. We have looked at these challenges with new approaches and they have yielded encouraging results.

As I said, tensions have been reduced nationally, regionally and globally. Our economy has done well in very difficult circumstances. In the North East we have almost completely ended insurgency. We were tough with the insurgents. We gave no quarter. Yet we showed that the Government was ready to talk and to listen subject to only two conditions — violence to be given up and anything that is to be talked would be talked about only under our Constitution. We have shown that solutions are possible within the system as it exists today, without need for modification. We have shown that we are able to rise above party interests to national interests to bring about solutions. We have brought about full democratic participation in the North East. It is not a question of whether the Opposition or the Congress wins an election or loses an election. What is important is that the people of North East have had an opportunity to decide after many long years. We have ushered in democracy in the North East. We have set the stage for peace and stability and for development. And we offered to those few individuals in the North

East who are still outside the mainstream and outside the system to work with them, as we have done with the others, abjuring violence, working within the Constitution to find solutions to their problems.

There is a new problem coming up in Assam. It is a problem that the Assam Government must look after. The Home Ministry will give them all the assistance that will ask for. One problem, tension area, that has been difficult during these four years has been Punjab, Sir. In Punjab we have given no quarter to terrorism.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: What about Rode?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Terrorists have been faced with tougher force than ever before. We worked with all to try and bring about peace. We started a political process. It had to be aborted because those in authority were not willing to stand firm against the forces of terrorism. Sir, we have stood firm; the people of Punjab have stood with us. I take this opportunity to think for a moment about all the martyrs and patriots who have given their lives in Punjab for national unity and integrity. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank those opposition parties who have worked with us in very difficult circumstances in Punjab. I speak specifically of the two Communist Parties in Punjab.

At the same time, I would like to point out that there have been occasions when we have not had the type of support from some sections, from some political parties that we would have expected in Punjab. Some examples Sir. We did not get unanimous support from the Opposition Parties on an issue as clear as 'Black Thunder'. Could any question be asked? But we did not get unanimous support. There were those amongst the Opposition who said that "Black Thunder" was wrong. I am very sad. Then, there are those who are today talking of a Sikh State. It is very unfortunate that some of the members of the Opposition did not realise what they were supporting these last few days.

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

I would like to ask a few questions. May I read out a small section from a booklet Sir? This is a small booklet which, I believe, has been sponsored by certain members from the opposition parties. It says, "For the solution in Punjab firstly, the solemn commitment made before Independence" — I am not aware of any such solemn commitment — "for creation of an autonomous Sikh State within India should be honoured."

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: What is he reading from?

[Translation]

SHRI NARAYAN CHAUBEY (Midnapore): What is the name of the book and who is its author?

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: This is a booklet called 'The Sikh Case'. It is prepared by the Bhagat Mukti Morcha of Punjab.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Why are you making noise?

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I will ask him. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada): He said that it should be above Party lines. Is it above Party lines?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I must remind the hon. members of the House...

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: What are you doing?

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa): He has to give the name of the author... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: He can give the name only if you let him to do so. You are not keeping quiet.

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: If you give me an opportunity, I will give the name.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: That is what he is telling.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: That is what he is telling.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down.

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the first thing I would like to say is when I speak of Members of the Opposition I mean Members of the Opposition not Members of the Opposition in either House. When I speak of Members of Opposition in the House I speak of Members of the Opposition in the House. But Members of Opposition include, when I

am saying that, look please understand I am including people in the Opposition who are not in the House but who have at times taken a position. Sir, I would like to read.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Why do you make noise?

[English]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: You cannot give an impression to the people outside the House that the Opposition is supporting that. Sir, why should he comment like that?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: He is clubbing everything together. He is wrong.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am reading the first sentence of the foreward of this little booklet. This booklet was prepared by the Punjab Unit of the Bharat Mukhti Morcha at the instance of Shri Ram Jethmalani, M.P.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: What is this all?

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: "Is an endeavour to place before the general public and particularly the Opposition Leaders the Punjab problem and to suggest a just and amicable settlement."

Then the last sentence of the foreword or one of the last sentences of the foreword says:

"Special thanks are due to Mr. Ram Jethmalani who read the draft and made useful suggestions."

Now, I go to the suggestions which have been put to the Opposition Leaders as a just and amicable solution. The first solution that

is suggested...

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: We have not seen the book. In all probability this book may have been published by RAW, by the Home Ministry.

MR. SPEAKER: Look here. You can disclaim that. You can rebut that. But what is in print is in print.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, what I was trying to point out...

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the first...

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: He is trying to convey wrong signals.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am only trying to show you that there are things that perhaps you are not aware of and...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: We are aware of it. We have rejected it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Then, this is what I was talking about.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): We have rejected your assessment of Bhindranwale as a Saint also.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It says that first...Sir, let me read out the solution. (Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: You are reading what we have rejected.

*(Interruptions)**[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: You have already rejected it.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please listen. Why do you make a noise?

[English]

Will you sit down?

*(Interruptions)**[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: What objection do you have?

[English]

When you are not concerned with it.

*(Interruptions)**[Translation]*

What is your objection?

[English]

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me read this and I will tell you what I am trying to say.

*(Interruptions)**[Translation]*

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Let him tell with whose support he has won.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You come to your point.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I am coming to that.

[English]

Sir, the suggestions are, "firstly, the solemn commitment made before independence for the creation of an autonomous Sikh State within India be honoured."

Do we really want this?

Second, "Repeal the laws separating religion and politics."

Do we want this?

Third Sir, under the heading "Permanent Solution"...

*(Interruptions)**[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: What is wrong with you?

*(Interruptions)**[English]*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, sometimes the truth can be a little difficult to swallow.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: It is not good on your part to interrupt like this.

*(Interruptions)**[English]*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Speaker, if the Prime Minister permits me to intervene for a second...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: No, Sir. I don't at the moment.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: All right. Thank you.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Thank you Dandavateji.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Thank you for your audacity. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: "There being no..." This is the permanent solution, Sir... "There being no alternative to the formation of an autonomous State within India, the structure of such a State is what should engage the deliberations of the Opposition leaders."

And it goes on: "It must have full internal autonomy with complete control over its economy. Only Defence, Foreign Affairs Communications and Currency to be Central subjects." Is this any different from the Anandpur Resolution, Sir? (*Interruptions*) In the whole book, there is not mention of one person that the terrorists have killed. There is no mention of the martyrs who have died fighting for the unity and integrity of India. (*Interruptions*) The book spreads poison and nothing else, Sir. (*Interruptions*)

What I am asking, Sir is: what action have the friends of the gentleman who has sponsored this book taken against that gentleman? Was he not elected by the support of certain Opposition parties? (*Interruptions*)

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: He asks the question; and he does not allow us to intervene. He asks the questions, and does not want an answer. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: On a point of order, Sir.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Some Members... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Can he keep on making statements without allowing us to speak, Sir? How can he get away with baseless and malicious statements? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I do not want to

argue the substance of that book. (*Interruptions*) What I am looking for is action by the members of the Opposition against the gentleman. That is what I want to see. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia): What is the basis of his charge against the Opposition?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I am not making any charge against the Opposition... (*Interruptions*) What I am asking is—I am asking the Opposition to take action against the gentleman, and to clarify... That is what I am asking for, Sir.

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: He asks the question: 'What action you have taken,' And he does not want me to intervene and tell him clearly—so that all the controversies remain.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, he will have an opportunity to answer. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: When?

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: You will get an opportunity afterwards.

[*English*]

He has said that.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Just now.

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: I will not defy you and intervene; but I should be given an opportunity to clarify the position of the Opposition. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: One or two hon. Members... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: You are the only person who is wasting time, please sit down. You have already been given an opportunity. You spoke a lot, now let him make his submission. I gave you the whole day yesterday, but you didn't come.

[English]

Please sit down. I gave you the whole day, yesterday, to say certain things. And now let him say this. I gave you full day yesterday, because you did not come; but still I allowed you. Let us see. But not like this. You will have enough time. You were allowed enough time. You have been given enough time. You will have enough time. Now sit down. (Interruptions)

Behave like an hon. Member. Please sit down. Mr Jaipal Reddy, you are very much acrimonious. Please sit down. Please sit down now. I will name you otherwise. You sit down. You have tested my patience enough. Please sit down now. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: You name the Prime Minister.

MR. SPEAKER: I will name you. Please sit down. Will you sit down, please?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: If the hon. Member wants time to answer this, I am willing to have a debate on the connections of certain members of the Opposition, connections with the terrorists. I am willing to have a debate. I will give you plenty of time.

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central): Let us have the debate now, Sir. This is too much. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Here and now, Sir. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Certain members, I said; not you, Acharia Ji. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Here and now we should have the debate. (Interruptions)

SHRIBASUDEB ACHARIA: When you are charging the members of the Opposition...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: It is not you, Acharia Ji. (Interruptions) Not Members of Parliament, necessarily. I am saying: members of the Opposition.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Let me point out. I have not charged anybody. I have raised a particular issue. I would like to see action. I have not seen action.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Look here. There is a certain decency. Mr. Jaipal Reddy, you are crossing all the limits.

[Translation]

Why are you making noise, why are you interrupting?

[English]

Now you better behave. I will give you a chance.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You will be given a chance. You do not listen. You go on shouting all the time. You are so irrepressible, and this is not the proper way. Why can you not sit down?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Professor Sahib, tell him. Otherwise, I am going to name him. I am exasperated with him.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: With your permission, I would like to point out to

you. Sir, he says, "I have some questions to the Opposition" and when we say "I am prepared to intervene and clarify the points so that you might not have any discussion on that", he is not prepared to yield. Anyway, I do not want to foist myself on you as well as the Prime Minister and the House, but give me an opportunity when his speech has been completed, I would like to clarify that point which he has raised.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Speaker, all that I am requesting you is, since he has made a very highly controversial and provocative point, since he has not yielded, it is left to him. (Interruptions) Sir, can I not make a submission to you? Mr. Prime Minister, I am making a submission to the Speaker. I was saying that I do not want to interrupt the speech of the Prime Minister since he said, "I do not want to yield", I do not want to thrust myself on him or on the House, but after his observations are completed, I would like to clarify the points.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: I have listened to you, now you listen to me. He has given assurance to give you an opportunity.

[English]

He has said it.

SHRI CHANDRA PRATAP NARAIN SINGH (Padrauna): You stopped me from speaking, but Prof. Dandavate is speaking and you are allowing him.

MR. SPEAKER: He asked my permission and I gave him permission. I gave him permission to speak and he spoke, and I have asked him to sit down. Mr. Jaipal has not got my permission and he is not on

record. And he is not going to be on record. Whether you or Mr. Jaipal, without my permission nothing goes on record.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

[English]

This is the last warning to you. If you do not sit down, I will name you just now. It is enough of it.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I have heard. I have heard you. Now you sit down.

DR. DATTA SAMANT: He is saying that the Opposition is having links with the terrorists. Why not remove it from the records?

MR. SPEAKER: He is not saying that. He said something and you said something. He has a right to say something. You have a right to say something.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: He may have some information in his possession.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Professor, he says that you will have an opportunity.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: His saying is not sufficient. You are the Speaker. You have to decide. He is the leader of the House. You are the Speaker of Lok Sabha.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, unfortunately, yesterday I could not be present in the House. I believe some members from the Opposition have said that adequate attention was not paid to Punjab in the President's Address. Sir, we are paying the utmost attention to Punjab.

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

I would like also to point out — this is a matter of interest — that in the seventy-one point, I think it was seventy-one or seventy-two point programme of the National Front — seventy-one point programme — Punjab appears as point-number 67. The relevance given to Punjab in the National Front Programme is No. 67! And what does it say? What is the earth-shattering statement that the National Front makes about Punjab? It states that immediate steps will be taken. That is all. Point 67 "immediate steps". Nothing more than that. No thinking has gone into it. This is the importance that the National Front has given to it... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: Immediate steps will be taken to give it priority... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I do not know whether you have become a Member of the National Front or not. They are quite capable of protecting themselves... *(Interruptions)* Why are you protecting them?

Sir, the fact is that we have been taking Punjab very seriously... *(Interruptions)* We have taken Punjab seriously. I made two visits to Punjab... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: What about Rode?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Should I now name you? You have crossed all the limits. All the time you are jumping up. There should be some decency. There should be some sort of a decorum in the House. You are all the time interrupting everything. Have you taken the monopoly of interrupting everything?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Now you are exceeding every limit.

*(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: He is not going on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, we have been taking Punjab very seriously. We saw the problem in Punjab, as I have said on a number of occasions in this House and outside, as a problem to be tackled on two fronts... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: What is the ultimate result?... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: On the one front, there is the problem of breaking the back of the fundamentalist and the linkages of the religious and fundamentalist terrorists with their supporters outside and with the religious institutions inside. The second is the hard action to see that the crime comes to an end. We have worked on both fronts. I visited Punjab twice last year... *(Interruptions)* Let me finish now.

Sir, twice I visited Punjab. Everywhere that I went, I got a very warm welcome, an enthusiastic welcome and an affectionate welcome... *(Interruptions)* Sir, the hon. Members have not gone to Punjab and they talk from here. Let them go there. Sir, one thing is very clear in Punjab that the people of Punjab have had enough of terrorism. The people of Punjab want peace. They want development and that is their priority today... *(Interruptions)*

I have checked my impression and I have found that the people of Punjab are convinced that terrorism must be ended and work for development must start. As I said, during these years we have broken the nexus with fundamentalism and secessionism... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Today there is only perhaps one group left which has any religious background at all. All the rest have been shattered and completely destroyed. This is a fact.

Sir, the gurdwaras today are no longer sanctuaries. The devout Sikhs in Punjab were shocked, shattered and distressed when they saw the type and the level of the desecration that was going on inside the gurdwaras by the so-called religious fanatics. They are extremists and terrorists of the highest order with no religion in themselves.

The Golden Temple has been restored to its pristine purity. The full *maryada* is being observed in the Golden Temple after a very long time. Over 20,000 devotees visited the Golden Temple on Makar Shankranti day. The social reform movement that had started based on terror and intimidation, has completely petered out; it is finished. Schools and colleges are normal or very near to normal. Over 50,000 children took their school leaving examination. The economy in Punjab is strong and robust in spite of the drought in '87 and floods in '88. The voluntary protection forces in the villages are working. Public activities like public meetings and other activities have started again. As I said, barring one or two groups, the terrorists have ceased to be a political force in Punjab. They are a criminal force. But they have ceased to be a political force. Today they are mixed up in drug trafficking, in smuggling and in looting. Amongst the people there is widespread revulsion of such criminal activities. Now is the time for us to double our efforts against terrorism and the criminals. And we are going to initiate just that. We are going to have very strong measures against those that are involved in such crimes. But now, that the political linkage has been broken with the terrorists, now that religious fundamentalism and terrorists have been separated, is the time, we feel, to start a normalisation process in Punjab. The first thing that we would like to do is to release the Jodhpur under-trials. All the Jodhpur under-trials will be released. Those that have other charges, will have normal prosecutions against them through the due process which will be done by the Punjab Government. Then the Punjab Government will start withdrawing the cases for objectionable speeches and I think, the written material — I forget what the exact terminology is

— the cases that are there against those individuals. We will remove the restrictions under the Foreigners Act for people to visit Punjab. The Disturbed Areas Act will be limited to the seriously disturbed areas of Punjab only and not to the whole of Punjab. The Special Armed Forces Act will also be limited to those parts of Punjab which are severely affected and not the whole of Punjab. TADA will be used very rarely. The National Security Act amendment will be withdrawn and it will revert to the parent Act. But most important is that the police functioning will be brought back to normal as rapidly as possible. A monitoring mechanism to guard against excesses will be set up very rapidly. Committees will be set up to monitor their functioning. We will set up district committees immediately and perhaps, if they are successful, sub-divisional committees which will look after the development process in Punjab. They will be Chaired by the D.Ms. and non-officials will be associated with the committees. Certain powers of decision-making, specially in the anti-poverty programme, will be given to these committees. They will also have an advisory role and a role for grievance redressal where problems can be brought and can be just sorted out. We are also organising a Village Defence Organisation which will be basically a non-political organisation consisting mainly of ex-servicemen, ex-police-men, ex-BSF, ex-CRPF, ex-uniform personnel, which will motivate the local people and run small village defence units.

The Panchayat elections which had been announced in September but for various reasons could not be held, mainly because of the floods, will be held starting in May this year and we hope they will be completed by the middle of the year.

We had promised to consult the Opposition Parties in Punjab and we will be doing that. The Cabinet Committee has had a number of internal meetings and they are ready now. So, we will start that process also. We would like suggestions from them on how to fight against terrorism and how to accelerate the return to normalcy.

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

One other question has been raised a number of times and I believe that nobody wants to listen to an answer. That is the case of the Delhi riots and what has been done. 225 cases have been registered, with over 2,300 accused. More than half the cases are in the judicial process. Eleven cases have been concluded, with convictions against ninety people and six life imprisonments. To say that nothing has happened is categorically wrong. The legal process in India is a little slow. We are all aware of that. But it is also sure that it is working, it is grinding away in the right direction. Let us be clear, there is going to be no soft-pedalling of the Delhi riot cases of those that have been involved in it. I have said so on the floor of this House before and I reiterate that today... (*Interruptions*).

We would wish to see the political process in Punjab completely restored. But there will be no relenting against the fight, against the terrorists and the criminals. We can only contemplate a return to the political process after we have countered terrorism without fear and without compromise.

Coming to Centre-State relations, which has been raised by a number of speaker, we have repeatedly said that we stand for good Centre-State relations and we have worked for that. Yes, of course, we have differences. We all have differences. We have differences with non-Congress governments in Opposition States, we also have differences with Congress governments in the States. It is not a question of Opposition or Congress, it is a question of a certain perspective from the Centre and a perspective from the State. Neither is right and neither is wrong. Each has a responsibility, each sees a picture, and the relations will develop as the nation moves ahead, as we establish our institutions, as we build our institutions. We have worked in that way. I see some of our Leftist Members smiling. Let me remind them that it was with our help that you were able to prevent the break up of Bengal. Let me remind you... (*Interruptions*).

That is the sort of help that we have been giving. That is, when it comes to the crunch, we have stood with the States. We have not let down the States at any time. Whether it is question of national calamities or difficulties that the States go through, we have always done our best to work with the States. Where we have felt that the States are doing something which is prejudicial to the interest of the strength of the Central Government, to the interest of the unity and integrity, in a long term perspective that we see from the Centre, we may be corrected ten years from now when others look back and look at history and say 'yes it could have been otherwise'. Well, that is our view on an issue and it is our responsibility to protect the unity and integrity of the country and not to show weakness in such areas. Our attempt will always be to sit down across the table and discuss these issues and sort them out and that is how we would like to deal with you.

I just like to quote a couple of quotations from Gandhiji. Our attitude to Centre-State relations is based on these quotations and on Gandhiji's view. At the Round Table Conference in 1931, Gandhiji described the Congress in the following terms. I quote:

"It is what it means: "national". It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes."

He went on to add:

"Above all, the Congress represents in its essence the dumb semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its 700,000 villages. Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection has to subserve the interests of these dumb millions and so you do find now and again apparently a clash between several interests. But if there is a genuine real clash, I have no hesitation in saying on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interest of these

millions."

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: It was a different Congress party. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: That was not this Congress. That was a different Congress. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, some of them perhaps took objection to some of the words that Gandhiji used such as "represent to particular community or class."

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Perhaps that is why they had to leave the Congress because we represent all communities and all classes, and some people found that a little difficult.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: You represent only one community. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: If the hat fits, everybody is welcome to wear it. *(Interruptions)* Sir, turning to our economic performance, during these years our basic thrust, as I said, has been on removing poverty and on removing unemployment. The Seventh Plan was built around these thrusts. We have had significant achievements during these four years. The 1987 drought was handled impeccably and I would like to thank all the Governments that were involved, all the administrations that were involved but most of all, I would like to thank the farmers, the 'khet mazdoor' in the field. I would like to thank the mazdoor in the industries and the infrastructure which kept it going.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: What about 1,70,000 industrial units which were closed down and workers have been out of job?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, during the drought, the momentum of growth was maintained. For the first time, in such a

severe drought, we had a positive growth rate not only positive growth rate but a growth rate of 3.6% and I would like to remind some of our friends who today are sitting opposite us that there was a drought when we were sitting opposite them in 1979.

13.00 hrs.

It was a very mild drought, Sir, nowhere near as severe as the drought we had this time and during that drought, the growth rate was minus 4.7 per cent. *(Interruptions)*. That is the performance we have to compare. Sir, this year, the growth rate will be just under 10 per cent giving an average of over 5 percent which is above the 5 percent target that we set for the Seventh Plan. I thought I heard someone say that the economy has been an epitome of stagnation. All I can say is that perhaps they have not kept their eyes and ears open, or perhaps they have not wanted to see.

Sir, we have made good use of the rain, the grain output is above a very ambitious target that we have set, it will perhaps cross a 170 million tonnes which is 20 million tonnes over and above the previous peak that we had in 1983-84. It is a record crop for cotton, for sugarcane and for oilseeds. During this period we have also had a very good response from industry. The average growth rate has been 8 per cent in the first three years and is likely to above 9 per cent for the Eighth Plan. The economy is clearly on an accelerating growth path. The Central Plan outlay for the Sixth Plan was 90 per cent of the projected outlay. It was a new record for the Sixth Plan. For the Seventh Plan it is going to be 115 percent, another new record, and this is in real terms. Like I have said, Sir, this Government is committed to the planning process and we have demonstrated it unlike some others who just rolled along. For this achievement, this is the national achievement, and for that we must also thank all our friends because the nation includes everybody. But I would particularly like to thank the kisans, the khet mazdoors—the mazdoors who have made this possible. It is the people of India who have stood up to

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the drought, who have seized the opportunities of the good rainfall, who have brought our economy above the targeted growth path. The economy is buoyant and the growth has been accompanied by poverty alleviation plus substantial employment generation. Consider the expenditure on the poverty alleviation programmes. And here I would like to include not just the allocations for the rural development departments, but also the other departments which are dedicated to poverty alleviation, which means the rural development department for the anti-poverty programme plus the welfare programme for the poor, plus the human resource development programmes for the poor. The expenditure figures in 1980-81 was 1.6 per cent, of GNP. In 1985-86 we had raised this to 2.3 per cent, in 1989-90 we have raised it to 2.5 per cent. Over Rs. 9000 crores if committed for the poorer sections in our society.

Sir, there have been some new initiatives in the Budget. The ICDS programme which looks after perhaps the weakest sections in our society, i.e., the children of the poor, has been expanded by approximately one-third to reach 2,200 blocks. It is only limited. We wanted to do more. But we were not able to do more, not because of paucity of funds or lack of will to give the funds but because the infrastructure and the people required to run the programme were not available at the grassroot level to do a faster and more rapid expansion.

Sir, in this Budget, we have given saarees free for destitute women. Productive employment will give a new thrust to accelerated growth. We have done this by soaking up surpluses from the rich, specially for the Jawaharlal Nehru Rojgar Yojana. This will be supplemented by merging and revamping the NREP and RLEGP programmes. The administrative measures will focus on unemployment and the unorganised labours. We will upgrade employment policy in the Planning Commission. We will also see how we can strengthen the Depart-

ments that are looking at rural works and rural development to include rural employment and also the National Commission on Rural Labour. We will ask the Urban Development Ministry to give a new thrust to employment intensive sectors like the construction sector and the services sector. All economic Ministries will be focussing, will set their focus on activities that have implication for increased employment. The work has already been started on this.

Sir, the allegation that some Members have made that the anti-poverty programme are starved is absolutely not true. Some said that the anti-poverty programmes are starved. Some said, there is nothing in the Budget for poverty removal. How myopic can they be? If they have not read it, they could have at least heard it.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: Will are not discussing the Budget. That will come later on.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: What it really shows is poverty of truth amongst some Members.

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI VASANT SATHE): Some Members. Don't jump up.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Some feel guilty.

The War on poverty has been not just a war fought by funding standard departments more. It is a war that we are fighting by including hi-tech, middle technology and low technology. For example, for drinking water, we are using high technology such as satellite imagery and certain types of nuclear soundings. On the low side is our programme for guinea-worm eradication. We have changed the method of implementation of our scientific programmes and converted them into a societal technology mission which focus technology for solutions to problems of the average person in his daily needs. It is the first time that high technology has been so focussed. It is giving a multiplier effect to the investments and resources that

we are committing to these programmes.

Immunisation, for example, has vaccines as very high-tech, the cold chain system as the middle technology and disposable syringes as low technology. In agriculture, bio technology of the highest levels is being used to help our farmers and low technologies are being used to include oil *ghanis* in the oilseeds programme. The overall approach is imaginative, innovative and modern.

But there is one area of the economy which is causing us concern, and that is prices. They are running higher than we would like and it is causing special difficulties for the poorer and the weaker sections and specially in certain sensitive commodity areas. Prices need to be controlled and we will take action. There are two types of action; certain action has already been visible in the Budget that has been laid on the Table of the House. One of the areas that pushes prices up is the deficit. This year we have reduced the deficit for the first time after many years from the previous year.

One of the Members has spoken, I believe, outside the House, who said that the problem is whether the deficit will be exceeded or will it be maintained. I would like to just point out for his benefit that at the time when the Budget was being handled by some who are in the Opposition today the deficit drifted to Rs. 4,500 crores above the Budget estimates. Since then, in 1987-88 it was only Rs. 126 crores above the Budget estimates and in 1988-89, it was only Rs. 456 crores above the Budget estimates.

We have kept a very tight lid on the deficit and we are going to keep it on this year also.

I am specially glad to see all our Ministers thumping the tables because they are the ones who will be running for flexibility in these areas and I would like to remind them at that time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Whatever you say, they will always thump.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We will also use the PDS to control inflation. In the last two years, over 9,000 new outlets have been increased. This is one and a half to twice the target that was set.

The other area of worry is the balance of payments. Control on the deficit will help control the balance of payments also. The Budget measures have already been taken and other measures to boost the exports. It is the bulk purchases which are causing some of the problems. Sophisticated indirect measures are needed to restrict the rise in imports. For example, curbs in certain areas compatible with economic efficiency, fiscal curbs on luxury goods which have large import contents and we have already looked to that. We will be doing more. One area that I have been speaking about for a long time which is now coming to a stage where we will be ready perhaps to bring a Bill, hopefully during this Session but definitely by the next Session, is the area of panchayati raj and devolution. Let me here again say very categorically. This is not an issue of Centre versus State and that is not how we would like to look at it. That is not how we would like to work it. It is not an issue of Congress versus non-Congress. We have no intention of bypassing the State Governments. Let me clarify. We are not attempting to rule the districts from Delhi. What we want to do is to help the people to rule their own lives. We are not attempting to erode the States' authority. We are only attempting to reinforce the people's authority. We are not attempting to alter the basic structure of the Constitution. But, we are attempting to realise the vision in the Constitution.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Go back to Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We are determined to realise Gandhiji's dreams of democracy commencing from the villages. The Constitution conferred on the States, the responsibility for realising that dream but that dream has not been fulfilled. We are determined to realise that dream.

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When we are ready we will call a Conference of State Chief Ministers. The fear that State Chief Ministers will not be consulted is only a paranoia and perhaps motivated malice.

Sir, we have brought out the National Perspective Plan for women. It has certain recommendations and the following measures, we feel, we can start implementing immediately. Sir, the asset distribution should be jointly in the names or singly in the names of the women for the Wasteland that are distributed, for the surplus ceiling lands, for house-sites, for the Indira Awas Yojana. In the Poverty Alleviation Programmes, 30 per cent will be women beneficiaries. Reservations in local bodies shall be recommended to the States. Reservations in National Development efforts such as the Planning Commission and other areas, we will try and see that it comes in and we will commend it for the States also to do the same. We will also try and see that the right proportion of women are in the recruitment organisations such as the UPSC and we will commend it also to the States Governments. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada): We have already done this in our State of A.P. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: We will have a Commissioner for the rights of women who will take timely action in cases of atrocities.

Sir, on the international front, India's prestige has risen to a level that it had never been at before. Our foreign policy has given broad support to the initiatives that were started by Pandit-ji and Indira-ji. We have been successful in contributing to the change in the international climate, to the change in the regional climate. We have been part of the efforts for reducing tensions in many parts of the world. My visit to China was the culmination of a process started by Indira-ji. A Joint Working Group will be set up to jointly consider measures for fair, reason-

able and a mutually acceptable solution. It will also look at steps to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas. Agreements on bilateral cooperation were signed. A Committee was set up and they will look at economic relations, trade relations and relations in Science and Technology. Special emphasis was laid on building future relations between India and China on the principles of *Panchsheel*. We have also decided to work together on the principles of *Panchsheel* for a new, more equitable world order-political and economic.

Sir, China and India constitute over one-third of humanity. We can make major contribution to world peace and prosperity.

Sir, my visit to Pakistan, after the restoration of democracy in Pakistan, has started the process of improving relations between our countries. A dialogue that was initiated with their Prime Minister has helped reduce some of the tensions and work in the other tension-areas has started in earnest. We look forward to improved long-term relations and we look forward to complete normalisation. Sir, Sri Lanka, after a long help is returning very rapidly to normalcy and to a normal democratic path. The Agreement of 1987 has been almost completely implemented. The turn-out of voters in spite of threats has been very heartening and the devolution has been particularly good. The IPKF continues its operations and it will do so till the Tamils and the Government of Sri Lanka feel that they are necessary. We would like to thank the IPKF for the job they have done. We commend the job that they have done. We salute their achievements.

On disarmament and non-violence, India has a unique record particularly in bringing both these ideas home to the world. After many decades of struggle, for the first time, major countries in the world are accepting non-violence and non-alignment as basic tenets for the development of civilisation. These are ideas going back to Gandhiji and Panditji and these are the ideas that we have to build the future of the world upon. And at this juncture, when there are rapidly

changing relationships in the world, it is all the more important for us to work towards these ends.

Sir, in conclusion, I would like to appeal to all Members to join us in supporting the Motion of Thanks to the President and to thank him for his gracious Address to Parliament. Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Speaker. I am happy that you have given me an opportunity to clarify only one point.....
(Interruptions)

I think, I am speaking with your permission. Kindly tell him. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA (Hoshangabad): Mr. Speaker, I will like to request the hon. Member, through you to restrain Shri Jaipal Reddy of his party. He is in the habit of interrupting us and now he expects us to listen to him seriously.

MR. SPEAKER: You also want to emulate Shri Jaipal.

SHRI RAMESHWAR NEEKHRA: We do not want to emulate him but this is our request.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the course of his intervention, the Prime Minister has made certain comments. Sir, it is not customary for any Member to make any reply. But I sought his permission. He said: "not now." And you said: "afterwards I can make the observation." I will only pick up one point to put the record straight. As far as my party—and I may say that even the position of the opposition Member—is concerned, Sir, not only we are opposed to theocratic State in the country as a whole but we are also totally opposed in this land of Gandhi for any autonomous State which will be restricted to any religion and any community in any part

of India. That is one thing. Secondly.....(Interruptions)

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK (Panaji): Show it in action.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Please. Let me clarify second point. He read out one booklet published by Bharat Mukti Morcha. I may humbly point out to you that even the title of the booklet and what is contained inside the booklet is so contradictory that those who have written that booklet, probably, there appears to be a bundle of contradiction. I will just point out to you one contradiction. He has said that the booklet is titled, "Case for a Sikh State." Whereas, inside, it is said, this State, that is, autonomous State and ' quote:

"It should be comprised of all contiguous Punjabi speaking areas without bringing in the consideration of any community. The time-tested Sachar/regional formula is ideally suited."

Even if they are proposing this, that would conflict with a Sikh State. And I wish to make it clear that in this House, on behalf of my party and on behalf of the opposition as such that the division of India in 1947 was the first and the last. And we shall not tolerate any division of the country on the basis of religion and community. And as far as that point is concerned, I moved an amendment. Sir, you blessed it. That was also accepted. And we are informing all those who are connected with this Mukti Morcha that that is not the position not only of Janata but any other opposition party in this country.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, I would like to thank the hon. Member for the stand that he has taken. I would also like to point out that(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Just a minute, I forgot one point. Another point; I said that 1947 division was the first and the last. Here is a Constituent Assembly Member, Prof. Ranga. Even Congress leaders who accepted the division of India under

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

compelling situation made it clear that we have not accepted the two nation theory based on religion. Therefore we are proud that India is the second largest country in the world where there is the largest Muslim population. It is not Pakistan; but it is India. Because we have not accepted the two nation theory.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the name that I read out in the book, Mr. Jethmalani, I believe has also written a letter commending that book to various people. To the best of my recollection the Hon. Member was elected from a State where the Hon. Member's party supported him to win...(Interruptions)...sponsored him.

I would look forward to the Janata Party or the Janata Dal or whatever it is now I am not too sure, or Front or whatever it is. (Interruptions)... should take some action against the gentleman. Has any action been taken?

Yes, I know Hon. Member Dandavateji's position on this. I have no doubt on Dandavateji's integrity or nationalism or patriotism. But what action are they taking with that Member? (Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Leave it to us. We have never asked the Prime Minister what action he will take against the person who had taken a contradictory stand on the Muslim Personal Law and also on Shah Bano's case..(Interruptions)... We will sort it out. We will assure the House..(Interruptions)... It is not for him to suggest that we do this.

DR.V. VENKATESH (Kolar): About Mandal Commission I want to ask Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: No. Not allowed. This is not a debate.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Sir, the letter was written in the beginning of September 1988. It is now five months, six months

already.

MR. SPEAKER: A number of amendments have been moved by Members to the Motion of Thanks. Shall I put all the amendments to the vote of the House together or does any Hon. Member want any particular amendment to be put separately? I find nobody is pressing. I shall now put all the amendments together to the vote of the House.

The amendments were put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put the main 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 Lok 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 21st February, 1989.'

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER: We shall reassemble at 2.30 p.m. after Lunch.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till half past Fourteen of the clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at thirty-six minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the chair]

RAILWAY BUDGET 1989-90—GENERAL DISCUSSION

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, we shall take up general discussion on the Railway Budget for 1989-90. Prof. Madhu