

more luxuries. Therefore, any increase in their prices is a direct blow to the middle class and common consumer.

Sir, I thank you for giving me time to speak.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That in pursuance of sub-section (2) of section 3 of the Central Excise Tarrif Act, 1985 (Act No. 5 of 1986), this House approves the notification of the Government of India in the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue) No. 136/90-Central Excise, GSR 721 (E), dated the 22nd August, 1990, which was laid on the Table of the House on the same day, increasing the basic excise duty leviable on motor cars and other motor vehicles principally designed for the transport of persons (other than those of Heading No. 87.02), including station wagons and racing cars from 40% *ad valorem* to 50% *ad valorem* from the date of issue of the said notification."

The motion was adopted

15.15 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (PUNJAB)
1990-91

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will now take up discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget for the state of Punjab for 1990-91 for which three hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members whose cut motions to the Demands for Grants have been circulated, may, if they desire to move their cut motions, send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial number of the cut motions they would like to move. Those cut motions only will be treated as moved.

A list showing the serial numbers of cut motions treated as moved will be put up on the Notice Board shortly. In case any Member finds any discrepancy in the list he may kindly bring it to the notice of the officer at the Table without delay.

Motion moved:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the Fourth column of Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1991, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 30."

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 20-3-1990		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the Vote of the House	
		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
			3		4
7.	Excise and Taxation	6,98,18,000	..	6,98,17,000	..
8.	Finance	1,18,74,87,000	4,96,50,000	1,18,74,86,000	4,96,50,000
9.	Food and Supplies	1,95,53,000	4,96,70,80,000	1,95,54,000	..
10.	General Administration	9,29,54,000	..	9,29,54,000	..
11.	Health and Family Welfare	98,39,74,000	..	98,39,74,000	..
12.	Home Affairs and Justice	1,18,10,02,000	5,00,00,000	1,18,10,03,000	5,00,00,000
13.	Industries	8,53,94,000	11,45,50,000	8,53,93,000	11,45,50,000
14.	Information and Public Relations	2,86,48,000	..	2,86,48,000	..

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 20-3-1990		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the Vote of the House	
		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
				3	4
15.	Irrigation and Power	66,59,00,000	3,05,00,36,000	66,59,01,000	3,05,00,35,000
16.	Labour and Employment	2,76,86,000	..	2,76,86,000	..
17.	Local Government, Housing and Urban Development	12,21,72,000	9,62,78,000	12,21,72,000	9,62,78,000
18.	Personnel and Administrative Reforms	1,09,00,000	..	1,09,01,000	..
19.	Planning	1,30,68,21,000	..	1,30,68,22,000	..
20.	Programme Implementation	2,00,000	..	2,00,000	..
21.	Public Works	79,15,86,000	35,00,15,000	79,15,86,000	35,06,15,000

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 20-3-1990		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the Vote of the House	
		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
22.	Revenue and Rehabilitation	24,03,09,000	..	24,03,09,000	..
23.	Rural Development and Panchayats	11,37,58,000	..	11,37,57,000	..
24.	Science, Technology and Environment	65,43,000	1,39,62,000	65,43,000	1,39,63,000
25.	Social and Women's Welfare and Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes	24,58,10,000	2,29,60,000	24,58,11,000	2,29,60,000
26.	State Legislature	1,21,82,000	..	1,21,83,000	..
27.	Technical Education and Industrial Training	14,54,35,000	16,88,000	14,54,34,000	16,87,000
28.	Tourism and Cultural Affairs	1,40,48,000	1,31,46,000	1,40,47,000	1,31,46,000

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 20-3-1990		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the Vote of the House	
		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
29.	Transport	53,80,60,000	16,53,50,000	53,80,61,000	16,53,50,000
30.	Vigilance	1,06,80,000		1,06,79,000	..

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR (Gurdaspur): I am glad that at last I got an opportunity to speak on the Punjab Budget in this session in spite of the fact that it is only the Demands for Grants for Punjab. But when we speak about allocation of money for Punjab, I think, it is necessary that we discuss the conditions in Punjab also. My colleague was just telling that when our respected Finance Minister was here he said something else. For the last ten years I have been here in Parliament. And in this period whenever there was a discussion on Punjab I always found him participating in it. He knows the conditions—Punjab and he knows the problem of Punjab. It is very unfortunate that in this eight months that he is in the Government, he has not done anything about Punjab. Either he has not taken any interest to do something about Punjab which is very sad and unfortunate and perhaps even more unfortunate would be if he has not been consulted or if he has not been asked about the conditions or what he could do to help solve the problems in Punjab.

Today, people write about the conditions in Punjab. But I feel that many of the hon. Members do not know the actual facts. Since this Government took over, killings have increased. There have been more bomb blasts. In every sphere the situation has deteriorated.

15.19-1/2 hrs

[DR. THAMBI DURAI *in the Chair*]

Our Minister of State for Home Affairs has given us certain figures according to which from January to June more than 1000 civilians, 178 security personnel and 850 terrorists have been killed. This is only from January to June. I believe, July has even been worse and may be one of the worst months since the beginning of the new year. Therefore, I do not know whether the Finance Minister can reply to this. But I would like the Finance Minister, knowing that he is concerned about Punjab, to at least convey our feelings to the Prime Minister because one starts wondering whether the Prime

Minister really knows something. The way this Government has been treating Punjab one starts feeling that either the Government does not know the truth or the Government is not interested in knowing the truth and therefore, is doing nothing about it.

Police personnel have been killed—SSPs, DSPs, SIs. I can go on and on. I do not think I should take the time of the House on this. BSF commandants BSF personnel have been killed. Our ex-Finance Minister, Shri Balwant Singh was killed in Chandigarh. Mr. Tohra was attacked.

Mr. Talwandi was attacked. Many of Congress workers and CPI workers have been killed. Unfortunately or fortunately for the Janata Dal, they do not have a party there, and so none of their workers has been killed. Unfortunately or fortunately for the Janata Dal, they do not have a party there. So none of their workers has been killed....(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR: But Fortunately, or unfortunately, they do not have any worker... (*Interruptions*). No, you do not have any worker there... (*Interruptions*). Anyway, what I am trying to say is that

[*Translation*]

Janta Dal is there and fortunately none has so far been killed.

[*English*]

The conditions are such that today we do not know which way the Government is going? What are its policies? What programmes it has for Punjab. Money is being taken from the farmer, or a lawyer, or a doctor or a professional. Nobody is being spared and in some places whether they are business centres money is collected on a monthly basis. We have many bomb blasts. But, of course, never is anybody apprehended. I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to the Bandh we have. Every time a Bandh is called, the Government has proved to be totally unsuccessful in prevent-

[Shrimati Sukhbuns Kaur]

ing a Bandh or even persuading people to open their shops because the Government or the local administration closes the schools and say the buses will not ply. Therefore, the people do not have the courage because the Government is not with them. The administration is not with them to open the shop or any other business organisation. I would like to tell this House that recently there was a three-day Bandh. I can understand if the Bandh is successful in Gurdaspur because of the failure of administration, the terrorists run the administration either openly or behind the scenes. But, in a place like Chandigarh which is the seat of two Governments, right under the nose of the Governor, Sectors 17 and 22, which are the main business centres, were totally closed. The Administration were absolutely unsuccessful in doing anything against the Bandh. Then, we hear that the Prime Minister will be going on a Padyatra to Punjab. I would request the Prime Minister or some of the Ministers from the Government to start from the Boat Club or from the lawns of Rajpath to see the migrants sitting there, who have been there for the last four months and the Government even has not said a word and done anything about them. Our BJP Members have often brought up the subject about the migrants from Jammu and Kashmir and the migrants from Punjab. But, what has been done! They come in batches... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): We have raised issue of Punjab also.

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR: I said that for Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, they have raised this issue. Officially I do not know the what figures you have. But, I am told that 50,000 people came from Punjab to Delhi. As regards the people sitting on the lawns of Rajpath, what has the Government done for them. I wrote a letter to the Home Minister on the 25th May and I got the answer only on the 17th of July. This is how seriously the Government is taking the problems of Punjab. Now, the Prime Minister says that he is going to Punjab on a padyatra

to find out the problems of Punjab. During the last eight months, did the Government now know the problems of Punjab? Therefore, as I said before, start your padyatra from the Rajpath, from the lawns of the Boat club to find out what are the miseries that the migrants are going through. There were a group of migrants who had come here, appealed to the Supreme Court and got orders. The Government has not heeded to those orders and nothings has been done about them. I believe that they were supposed to be given Rs. 25,000/- as loans. But, the Reserve Bank of India has turned down that request. So, would the hon. Finance Minister kindly look into that? I would like to draw the attention of the House to the seriousness with which this Government views Punjab. I may give the example of Governors. First, Mr. Ray was sacked and Mr. Nirmal Mukherjee was appointed as Governor. Then after a few months on board the aircraft, the Prime Minister announced that the Governor is being changed. No name was announced. Later, Mr. Mukherjee resigned and went to Shimla. The few names and thrown around here. This man is going. That man is going. All the persons deny it or the Government denies it and perhaps the Government knew all along who they were sending or at least the Prime Minister knew all along who they were sending. Because one seat had to be vacated to accommodate somebody, so, Mr. Verma was shunted off to Punjab. In the beginning, of course, there were lot of statements from Mr. Verma saying he was going to do this, he was going to do that fencing on the border was going to be done on a war-footing, but I think he is quietened down now. That fervour and that enthusiasm is all gone.

When we were in the Government, the Opposition always said that the killings were being done by the Government. I would like to know from the Government, from the Party supporting the Government, who are doing the killings now. Have you reorganised all the village resistance groups? Have you strengthened them? How many people are being killed today? There is no answer. Nobody can say anything.

I would then like to move on to what initiative has this Government taken. At least when Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, he made an effort, a sincere effort. An Accord was reached. Unfortunately, Santji was killed and certain aspects of the Accord were not fulfilled. But what initiative has this Government taken? Soon after becoming Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh goes to Amritsar in an open jeep. Very laudable! Of course, we know that there were all securitymen in civilian clothes, running along the jeep. Even Mr. K.P. S. Gill had been running along the jeep. But he made very good news. I was also very happy. I thought may be something was going to be done about Punjab. Then after that, the Government goes to sleep for six months. Not a word is spoken about Punjab. Nothing happens. Now, of course, recently again he has gone to Punjab, and perhaps you people in the Government, or the supporters, know that there were two thousand people and just five hundred boys who were recruited, and nobody else, because when Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay, the Minister of State for Home Affairs went there, he was garlanded and two of the *Sarpanches* had been killed. So, nobody dared to even speak from the stage on which Mr. V. P. Singh was sitting. Mr. V.P. Singh wanted somebody to come from the public and speak. But they were so scared that they thought this Government cannot protect them once the Prime Minister leaves. Now he is going on a *pat-yatra*. I would like to know from the Government what are the motives. What is the idea of the *pat-yatra*? Who is he going to meet? The people of Punjab are not against you, or against the Government or against the people of this nation. They are part of this nation. Then whom is he going to talk to? What is he going to find out? What are the motives? We should like to know all this. We are very happy that he is going there. But what is he going to talk to the people? As he says, he is going to find out what the conditions are. Does he not know what the conditions of Punjab are? It is very very sad that today, eight months after this Government has taken over, the Prime Minister has to go on a *pat-yatra* to Punjab to find out what the conditions in Punjab are. Are there no channels

through which the Prime Minister knows? Then who is he going to meet? Is the Administration going to ensure that he meets only certain people?... (*Interruptions*). I never disturb you when you speak. Please listen to me. When you get a chance, you can say what you want to say. We are hurt, we have the problems, so we have to say these things. Sir, I would like to know from the Government what the motives of the Prime Minister's *pad yatra* are. Is the Administration only going to meet the people who suit them or are they going to meet the general public? Then, what about the security, not only of the Prime Minister but of the people? Is all the Force of Punjab going to be removed and put on the *pad yatra* of the Prime Minister? We would like answers to these.

The Minister of Home Affairs had said that they have taken certain initiatives. I would like to quote from the answer that he has given. He says that a number of steps have been taken for the border management, for restructuring of the civil administration and for development programmes in the districts. Then he goes on to say that they had meetings and all that. I would like to know what are the results of these initiatives. Have the killings come down? Have the extortions come down? Have the bomb blasts come down? Nothing. On Friday evening I was in Gurdaspur and the police station in Dhariwal was attacked. Of course, Press has given a different version, but I know what happened. Thirty boys attacked the police station. For half-an-hour there was firing. The police did not come out from the police station. They fired rockets. They lobbed hand grenades. From a loudspeaker they warned the police that they had come, and asked the police to come out and face them. But nobody came. They have also told them that they will come five days later and be ready. So, if the Police can't protect themselves, how are they going to protect the people? For heaven's sake please do something for this. You are the Finance Minister. But as I said right at the beginning that you are concerned about Punjab and I would appeal to you to do something for Punjab.

[Shrimati Sukhbans Kaur]

Sir, I would also like to know from the Government whether they feel that the Akali groups have any role to play in the Punjab problem. Do you think that the Badal Group or the Mann group can help in solving the Punjab problem? If so, what are you going to do about it? If you think that you can solve the problem without them, then what steps are you taking? One day we heard that the Prime Minister has issued an invitation to Mr. Mann, then the next day it was withdrawn. Then we heard that there was an all-party meeting and we did not hear anything about it after that. Unfortunately, I do not know how you are going to persuade Mr. Mann. You have not been able to persuade him even to come here and take oath as a Member of Parliament. I do not know about the press report that Mr. V.P. Singh wants Mr. Mann, Mr. Devi Lal wants Mr. Prakash Singh Badal and Mr. Arun Nehru wants Mr. Amrinder Singh. So, we were accused that we were dividing the Akalis role. Now, I think, you are doing worse than that. You are dividing them and each one is trying to put up a person and none of those has any relevant as far as we feel. If you are feeling like that, then I do not know what are you doing about that. You are not arranging for a meeting for that. You are not taking initiative for holding an all-party meeting in Punjab, calling Sarpanches and the parties going to the States., But the Akalis have boycotted every single meeting this Government have called, whether it is being called by the Governor, whether it is being called by D.C. or whether it is called by anybody else. So, I would like to know from the Government what role do they think that the Akali Government can play. If they think that they cannot play any role, what are they doing about it and if they think that they can play a role, then what are they doing about it?

Sir, regarding the conditions in Punjab, one other thing I would like to bring to the notice of the Government. I do not know whether this Government is aware of it or not. Just like you have promised that you are going to give one lakh jobs to the youth, the terrorists are also having recruitment camps.

I wanted to bring a poster and place it on the table of the House. But I have not brought it. They have put up a posters in all the villages and small towns saying that they are going to recruit in the first instance 3000 boys in the scale of Rs. 1800-3600. And they are going to give one thousand rupees to any needy family in advance. They further say that if anybody is killed, the Government gives Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 50,000, but they will give Rs. 2 lakhs. Does the Government know about this? Are the Government aware of it?

Sir, Mr. Prakash Singh Badal attended a ceremony in my district, Gurdaspur and there on the stage a young man came and announced this matter. Mr. Badal was sitting on the stage of the local administration headed by the Superintendent of Police from the headquarters who was sitting there and they heard this announcement. I would like to know from the Government what is the reaction of the Government and what is the Government doing about this.

Sir, today is the first day of this week which is supposed to be the last week of the session on 7th September the session ends. The President's rule will end on 11th of November. Between now and November, there will not be any session. What are you going to do during this period? What are you planning today? Are you planning to hold elections? Are you planning to extend the President's rule? We hear that you are going to revive that. I think this House and the country should be taken into confidence by the Government. We have not heard anything about what the policy of the Government is on this issue. If the President's rule is to be extended, then the Government should have come up with a proposal in this session itself. If it is not going to be extended, then I do not know what their intentions are. I would wish that our respected and senior Member, Shri Indrajeet Gupta and some other Members from the other parties would please come with me to Punjab so that they can hear the people there and get the first-hand information and they can know the facts themselves and then they could tell the Government whether elections could be held.

I want that the elections should be held in Punjab. I will be very glad if they could hold elections in Punjab.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: (Midnapore): Can they be held?

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR: The Government has to answer that, not me. It is for the Government to find out and decide.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN She said she wants elections.

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR: I want elections. I want fair elections and free elections and if the Government can ensure that, I will welcome the elections. But we would like to know from the Government what they are doing about it. About the revival of the Assembly, I read the arguments by the legal authorities on behalf of the Government. It seems that they want revival of the Assembly. But I would like to tell the Government....

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): It is left to the Court.

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR: Yes, Sir, I know that, it is left to the court. But it is the people whom you are trying to please. I know it because you don't want to extend the President's Rule, you can't hold elections. So, you are trying to kill two birds with one stone. We understand it. But I would like to tell you the difficulty. The people you are trying to project have no base. If the Lok Sabha elections are any indication, Mr. Amarendra Singh and his whole flock had lost the deposits and if those are the people whom you are going to bring as the Chief Minister and as the Council of Ministers, then I think you are cheating the Punjab, you are cheating the nation and you are cheating democracy. And I think that if you really hold democracy dearly which, I am sure, our Finance Minister does, I don't know about the rest of the Government, please look into this. This Assembly was elected almost five

years ago, in September 1985, and they have a few days I should say, maybe over a month or less than a month I think that elections were held at the end of September. Is it fair to force such a Government on the people? Maybe you are thinking that this is the best way to get out. You know very well that they won't be able to succeed or control the situation and then you will have a valid reason to impose President's rule again. So, please look into this, don't let this happen, look into all aspects, don't just say that it is the court which is going to decide. I am sure you can have some say in saying democracy.

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling): Can I ask the question that if you know the situation.....

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR: I am only giving my views to the Government. The Government has to decide everything.

SHRI INDER JIT: We want to know the situation..... *(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI SUKHBANS KAUR: Sir, the Prime Minister was asked by the press whether the Assembly elections are being held. The BJP has on various occasions, as also the Leftist Parties said that the conditions in Punjab are not congenial to holding elections. So, the Government, I think, already knows, but they want the decision to be the responsibility of every one. They are not facing the problem and they are not making up their mind about what they really want to do because so far, as I said before, it seems they go into a dream and hope that, you know, Punjab is a nightmare, when they wake up, everything will be all right. It is not going to be and I can tell you that, as what I said before, the conditions are far worse than they were, the way I am putting it. You have to go there, see and hear to believe what the conditions are. There was also a news report that some parties had a meeting with the Prime Minister. The Congress was not invited. We would like the Government to share with us what decisions or things dis-

[Shrimati Sukhbans Kaur]

cussed during that meeting with some parties

Sir, I would like now to come to some of the economic problems of the State. First of all, we hear the Government always saying they want to help Punjab, they want to aid Punjab. They know that industry has suffered and only day before yesterday the Punjab Government has raised the Octroi by a flat rate of one per cent. They raised it four times. I think it is very very unfair. On the one hand, you should give credit to the people who are living in Punjab under those circumstances and running some sort of industries and on the other hand you are not encouraging them, but you are discouraging them. The octroi used to be on the weight previously, but now you have made it on the cost. Yesterday, some people from Batala which has a large number of industrial units met me and asked me to plead with the Finance Minister that this octroi which you have raised should not be done. Secondly, we have no big industry and we have only small units. We have, time and again, stressed the need that we should have more agro-based industries. We have, at the moment, 13 sugar mills and four more are coming up. Since the sugarcane is yielding good profit, it is essential that the cultivators of sugarcane crop need at least six more sugar mills and one specially in the Gurdaspur district. Then, we have about five lakh spinning spindles which have a capacity of five to six lakh bales, but we need 50 lakh spindles because of the cotton that is available there. After the 1987 floods, the roads are in a very poor shape, particularly in the border districts. In the Gurdaspur district, we fall between two rivers Ravi and Beas and the whole of the district is badly affected by the floods. So, special funds should be given for the development of roads and for flood protection works along the side of Ravi. The Ministry of Water Resources always gave assistance for the flood protection works, but this time no work has been done because they say that there is no money. Then the construction work of the Ranjit Sagar dam is going at

a very slow pace. Fortunately, the Minister in-charge is also here. I would appeal to him that a lot of damage has been done during the floods to the tunnels of the Ranjit Sagar dam and, therefore, money should be given not in little piece-meal because that will have no effect on the total construction and this would be further delayed if we do not get proper funds.

Sir, due to the Iraq-Kuwait problem, a lot of loss is going to be suffered by the industries in Ludhiana which are producing spare parts, bicycles etc. I believe that about Rs. 12 lakhs loss is being suffered by them. So, I appeal to the Government to give special relief to these industrial units in Ludhiana. During the Congress Government, they had set up industrial growth centres and one such industrial growth centre was sanctioned for Pathankot. I would like to know as to when the work is going to be started and what is being done about it. We have been talking about providing drinking water to all the villages. The Dhar block which is a semi-hilly area in Gurdaspur district has acute drinking water shortage. So, I would request that special allocation of funds should be made for providing drinking water to that area. The same is with all the small cities where there is not enough money for the development of roads and lighting. These are small things, but ultimately these things go to help the people of Punjab and Gurdaspur in particular. Lastly, I would again appeal to the Finance Minister to please convey the anxiety and the difficulties being suffered by the people and not to take the problems lightly. So far, the Government has been totally ignorant. They have not taken notice of what is happening in Punjab and they have done nothing. Now, the people are talking about Jammu and Kashmir that things are going out of hands. I do not want to go the extent of saying that things are already out of hands, but they are moving on that road very very fast. So, it is time that the Government and the supporting parties do something about it.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almorah) I beg to move

"That the demand under the Head Home Affairs and Justice be reduced to re.l."

[Failure to boost morale of the police force in Punjab.] (4)

"That the demand under the head home affairs and justice be reduced to re.l."

[Failure to protect general public from the terrorists in Punjab.] (5)

"That the demand under the head home affairs and justice be reduced to re.l."

[Failure to normalise conditions in Punjab.] (6)

"That the demand under the head home affairs and justice be reduced to re.l."

[Failure of the police to check cases of extortion by the terrorists in Punjab.] (7)

"That the demand under the Head Industries be reduced to re.l."

[Failure to check closure of cottage and small scale industries in Punjab.] (8)

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head home affairs and justice be reduced to re.l."

[Failure to provide adequate funds for security.] (9)

"That the demand under the head industries be reduced to re.l."

[Failure to set up new industries for providing job opportunities to the trained unemployed youth.] (10)

[Translation]

DR. S. P. YADAV (Sambhal): Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for having given me an opportunity to speak on Punjab problem. All the problems whether they are in Punjab or in Kashmir are created problems. The Punjab problem is also a created problem. In 1977, after the election, the Janata Party came into power and the leaders of the then opposition party created this problem. I hold that those very anti-social elements who were once incited by these leaders, have now gone out of control. Whenever they came to Delhi, they were given special treatment by those leaders. Sometimes, they were specially invited to Delhi. Afterwards, the situation changed so much that these very people began to demand Khalistan. The Government was a mute-spectator of all this. Then the situation went well out of control resulting in 'Operation Blue Star' which hurt the feelings of that particular community causing tense relations. They have taken an unfortunate decision to disintegrate. The Country and due to this decision, they have started indiscriminate killing. The buses were stopped and the innocent people were dragged down and shot dead. This fire is still burning there. The Pakistan also has tried to intrude in India under their cover. I am of the opinion that irrespective of the party affiliations here in the House, there should be no any difference as far as the integrity of the country is concerned. It would be the great misfortune for the people of the country to have another division. Despite our mutual differences we are not at daggers drawn and we should not have any difference on the issue concerned with the national unity and integrity.

I have noticed that sometimes, the House gets divided on the issue of Kashmir and some of us support the terrorists activities in Kashmir while the other counter them. I think that we all the 547 members of the House should take an oath in the House that we all are dedicated to the nation and will not allow the country to be disintegrated till we are alive. We should adopt this resolution. It is a necessary step in right direction because

[Dr. S.P. Yadav]

sometimes we are in power and sometimes you are. Their feelings were hurt and they turned rebels. I would like to ask as to how many persons were killed after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. But after the assassination of Smt. Gandhi, many Sikhs were brutally killed and tortured in Delhi. Later this, fire of hatred engulfed the entire nation. Who was responsible for that? The people who are sitting in opposition are responsible for that. Friends, the situation which we are witnessing in the country is the result of such wrong steps as were taken by them from time to time. The Janata Dal Government has taken a decision to implement the recommendations of Mandal Commission. Consequent upon the decision the young boys and girls have come forward to stage their protests through self immolations etc. and much publicity is being given to it and when the police takes steps to control the agitation, the people criticise the police.

But who was responsible to bring those youth to the forefront? Certain vested interests instigated them to do this. This has been continuing in Punjab with the people belonging to some castes the names thereof I would not like to mention as those who are guilty know whom I am referring to. Therefore, I would only like to point out that all the Members of the House should unanimously try to find out a solution to the Punjab tangle and this will have to be done one day. You will have to suppress all such voices and activities if you want to save the country from disintegration. I say whether it is the Kashmir problem, the Punjab problem or that matter problem of any other state, our country has become so powerful in the world that we do not lag behind any other nation in terms of economic power, social power, ethical or moral power or the power of education. We are in no way less than any other nation. We are a resource-rich nation but we are not able to exploit those resources for constructive purposes yet, we are trying to do so by and by. Our power and our strength have come to the fore in the world. No country in

the world can browbeat us or dare launch an offensive against India. India is not so weak and we all should unitedly pray and wish that our strength should ever increase more and more and no power in the world should dare look at us with an averse eye. This should be our objective.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would only like to State that all the problems facing the country are the creation of some people of the opposition with an intention to create law and order problems so that such actions and measures are taken. I would only like to offer certain suggestions with regard to Punjab problem. As such, the situation is normal there, yet, it has to be made more normal and favourable and for this all out efforts have to be made and thereafter political activities should be initiated in Punjab and elections should be held there so that could get a popular Government to manage their affairs. The second thing is that in Punjab, there is infiltration of subversives from Pakistan, they are sent after they are trained in Pakistan and they resort to killings. It becomes necessary to seal the Punjab border in order to contain their activities. It is very important to seal the Punjab border so that the people from the other side of the border cannot infiltrate and attempt subversion in our land. Besides this, once a proposal to create a security air-strip in Punjab was mooted. We should take all the precautionary steps in view of the grave situation that presents itself before us. The Government should take strong and stringent measures and there should be no lapse on our part for which we shall have to repent in future.

I would only like to submit that whether it be the problem of Punjab or that of Kashmir, the Government should take strong measures to solve both. I support the demands for grants in respect of Punjab.

SHRI DHARM PAL SHARMA (Udhampur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion on the demands for grants in respect of Punjab is taking place. I would not have liked to go into this controversy but before I rose to speak, an hon. Member of the Janta Dal

made certain remarks which gave an impression that the Punjab problem had perhaps been created by the Congress Party. I would very precisely like to state that it was the Akali Dal which launched a crusade in 1982 in the name of Sikh religion. At that time it was the problem of Punjabis the people who speak Punjabi, no matter whether they are Hindu or Sikh, all identify themselves as Punjabis but the situation made an ugly turn when they launched a crusade in 1982 in the name of religion, it was started by Sant Longowal and in 1982 the situation deteriorated. The way they recruited the ex-servicemen, laid an entrenchment around Harminder Sahib and the conditions under which the operation Blue Star had to be undertaken and then the excessive rate of causality when the army entered into the complex speak volumes of the situation. I do not say that all that happened was good but who is responsible for that. How many people were killed there? Then we feel really pained for the turn the situation took in 1984 subsequently. The Congress party set up special courts, the culprits were awarded punishments and that process is still continuing.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what were the issues of dispute? They include that Chandigarh be given to Punjab, then there was the issue of Satluj-Yamuna link canal, the issue of Bhakhra management and they were not the issues concerning the Akalis or Sikhs alone. They all were basically the issues of Punjabis as a whole and the subsequent issues were raised by the Akali Dal and due to its infighting. The Congress tried to resolve it. When hon. Rajiv ji came to power, he made the historic Rajiv-Longowal accord. Who is responsible to sabotage that accord? The leaders of the Akali Dal, Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Gurcharan Singh Tohra were colleagues of Longowal at that time. Shri Balwant Singh who was killed and Shri Barnala who is presently the Governor of Tamil Nadu supported and accompanied him but the question was as to who should become the Chief Minister. Shri Badal wanted to become the C. M. when these Janta Dal people who hold the reins of power now and have formed the National Front Government

were in the opposition, they claimed to unite and bring to a single platform all the big factions of Akali Dal. What have they united? What is their policy? Their policy is that the day on which hon. V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister, they raised more slogans in favour of Khalistan there. Shri Ray who was the Governor asked for instruction so as to get those people arrested he was able to contact the Prime Minister on telephone who said that the former will soon be informed because there was no cabinet, the message came. He did not say anything and instead made a programme of visiting Punjab without consulting him. Shri Ray submitted his resignation on this. Now that you talk about his tour in an open jeep. There were 25000 security personnel in plain clothes. This was stated by Shri Ray himself that as many as 25000 security personnel were deputed in plain clothes. How many kilometer did they go, how far did they walk on foot and what was the result? Then it was set afloat that Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann would be the Chief Minister and the police administration was softened its action against the terrorists and it is the same Simranjeet Singh Mann who who says that the militants are the Freedom Fighters and that they will boycott the elections. He is raising the issue of self-determination under the auspices of the UNO. The Government is weak, it does not take any action. They talk of secession, they talk of Khalistan and the UNO but this Government does not condemn even a single word of theirs nor does it take any action. Then they talked of bringing them to the mainstream and when they saw that they are not coming they have now started negotiating with captain Arminder Singh and enticed to make him the Chief Minister and it is said that a compromise has been reached on three issues-that Chandigarh will be given to Punjab, the Satluj-Yamuna link canal issue etc. Now that there is Shri Bhajan Lal from Haryana. what does he think that he will bring the work to a halt, so, it came to be known that Shri Mann, in an interview, had himself admitted that it makes no difference whether it is he or the Raja who becomes the Chief Minister. Both of them are relatives, brothers-in-law, but they are being formal,

[Sh. Dharm Pal Sharma]

so, let it be Shri Mann. For this they are thinking to revive the Assembly whose term is to expire in one month. The Government wishes that the same Government should continue there after the revival of the Assembly and then elections should be conducted, then after a year or two there should be the President's Rule. This is the way it wants to save its skin. I would like to say that the persons whom. You deputed there in the capacity of a Governor, Shri Verma ji, tendered an apology and I object to it. I do not know whether he tendered an apology on behalf of the National Front Government or on his personal behalf but he is an institution, he is a Government and he said that he apologises for whatever happened in Punjab. I object to what he said, Sir. The question is as to why did the situation take such a turn? I was only saying that who created such conditions? They were created by the crusade for religion, by the Akali Dal. There was entrenchment and the Panthak Committee made a declaration. The way wireless messages were given and taken from Pakistan the announcement of the creation of Khalistan was made and under those conditions entry was made into the complex, still, I would like to say that the situation turned normal there after the operation Black Thunder was carried out, bomb-blasting events came to a halt except in one or two districts the killing incidents were minimised to a great extent, the shopkeepers started the resale of Cigarettes and Bidees and their shops were set ablaze if they did so earlier, mutton and wine were put to sale, killing and arson incidents got minimised but since the present Government has assumed office, they are left without any policy. We see that 15.20 people are killed every day, the acts of extortion have increased, migration too is on an increase, the affluent Sikhs too are leaving their villages in order to flee towards the cities. Such conditions have arisen there now. (*Interruptions*)

See the height of it that the Prime Minister of the country leaving aside all the problems facing the country is going to

undertake one week's journey on foot in Punjab. Is there no other issue left here that demands the attention of the Prime Minister? There are so many problems. What is happening in Tamil Nadu? What is happening in Assam? What activities is ULFA undertaking? How is the situation in Kashmir? But there is no other priority for the Prime Minister than to undertake one week's tour of Punjab and perceive and analyse the Punjab Problem.

16.00 hrs.

The situation in Kashmir is known to all. The Home Minister also visited there to take stock of the situation. In my constituency he told that the protection would be provided but blood shed is still going on. Even yesterday, three I.A.F. personnel and three police personnel were killed there. Shri Gujralji has been constantly saying that the election will be held in Punjab but some other Ministers have been saying that it will not be held. There is no policy about Kashmir who is putting obstacle? Shri Devilalji, who was the Deputy Prime Minister has said that water would not be released. The Longowal Accord should be implemented. No decision in regard to termination has so far been taken. The people of Punjab and Haryana will cooperate, you if you implement the Accord in real sense. I objected to tendering apology by the Governor. Will the President's rule be extended or will Shri S. S. Mann be given Power? Shri S. S. Mann has said that no action is being taken by the Government even after it became a national problem. The hon. Minister for Home Affairs have assured us to deploy at least five battalions of B.S.F. against our demand of 15 battalions. But we knew that he would not fulfil that assurance. Pakistan considers us weak. That is why Pakistan is imparting training to the terrorists of disrupt the unity of our country. She intends to annexe Kashmir. The hon. Foreign Minister was also saying that the Secretary level talks were being held. It is a fact that the present Government is a weak Government. Therefore, they should take all of us into confidence. But you do not want to consult the opposition nor do you take any co-opera-

tion from them about Kashmir. I do not want to comment on the Janata Dal. The Prime Minister invites our friends for a talk. But I want to say that he is non-serious about the issues like Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Tamilnadu. It is not known as to which way he intends to divert these issues. At the same time he raised the issue of Mandal Commission also so as to divert the attention from these issues. It is not known as to which direction he is driving this country and what would be its fate in future? The coming generation will never pardon you. I want to say that let Punjab be developed and let the landless persons and labourers get employment. You should pay your attention towards generating employment. Please make an effort to secure their lives. You should check infiltration across the borders. With these words I conclude.

5

SHRI PRAHLAD SINGH PATEL
(Seoni): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on the budget of Punjab to express the viewpoints of the Bhartiya Janata Party. I have got an opportunity of visiting Punjab as a member of the Parliamentary delegation of the Bhartiya Janata Party and I have read and listened to the discussion on the budget of Punjab that was held in this House on the 20th March. The Members belonging to different parties have expressed their views on Punjab. I have listened to both the hon. Members of the Congress and the hon. Members of the ruling Janata Dal. It is my humble request as an M.P. that we should restrain ourselves while leveling allegations and counter-allegations on each other in this House. Punjab problem is a social, political and emotional problem, so while dealing with it all aspects related to it should be taken into account. We cannot evolve a consensus if we try to solve it in part and the opinion so formed will not do any good to the country. We had submitted a report to the Prime Minister through our President after our visit there on 20th May. In that report, it was clearly mentioned that the Hon. Prime Minister's travelling in an open jeep at his first visit to Amritsar immediately after his assuming office of the Prime Minister proved effective

to some extent but at his second visit there, the whole of Amritsar was converted into police camps and no one had come to listen to him. One should understand as to why such situation developed there. The Government says that it has made an effort to heal the wounds there. It has been said that they have gone to the people so as to bring them and the terrorists into the nation's main stream but terrorists did not respond to this gesture and murders and killings are still taking place daily. What do we want to talk on, as far as the budget is concerned? Would we talk about the education existing there? The teachers are not ready to go to the schools in Gurudaspur, Ferozpur and Amritsar because they will be short dead there if they teach Hindi. This is the situation prevailing in Punjab. What education do you want to talk about and which schools do you want to run there, none of the students is ready to go? I want to ask from those who have come here from Punjab as to what efforts have they made to improve the condition of Punjab except indulging in levelling allegations and counter allegations against one another? As for example, take the education. What conditions did you create in order to spade the education? If you discuss about the industry, I would like to say that at Batala the men of Rice Mills Association met me and they told that they had given a memorandum to the Finance Minister to share pity for the industrialists there. Today, they are compared to the industrialists of Pakistan. The condition of the Rice Mills is very bad. So is the condition of the industries in Batala. The industries located in the outskirts of Batala have been closed because the owners and their children are kidnapped and thereafter the ransoms are demanded from their families. It is a well known fact that a number of banks have been looted there. Will all these not affect your budget? What budget do you want to discuss, what is the justification of this budget and for which purpose do you want to spend money? It has no significance whether it is presented in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab or in the Parliament of India? Does this budget make mention of providing security and employment to the people?

[Sh. Prahlad Singh Patel]

It was also mentioned here that there is a need for labourers over there and people are coming from Bihar and U.P. to work there. But these people were being killed. It must be kept in mind that the common man in Punjab is courageous. Despite all sorts of problems the farmers of the state have always made progress. According to official figures, Punjab's performance on the agricultural front has always shown an upturn. Industries, and banks have suffered. So are prosperous farmers, no matter whether they are sikh or non-sikh, who have also been adversely affected. People who used to ply auto-rickshaws in Amritsar are now running financing agencies playing in crores of rupees. What will be the objective of your budget? How will the budget be financed if all they banks are looted? How will the situation develop in Punjab? If we pass the Punjab budget within these constraints, to what extent would success be achieved? If the Parliament fails to pay attention to the crux of the problem then it will betray the trust vested in it by the nation. I went to Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Batala, Jandiala, Jalandhar and Ludhiana and met the various cross section of the people there. I am surprised that even my Communist colleagues called on me. Members of the Akali Dal also called on me. What is the stand of leaders of national parties regarding Punjab? Everyone wants that there should be peace in Punjab before elections are held there. This Budget is under consideration because we want to increase the pace of development in Punjab. May I know what is the use of this Budget if it does not fulfil the aim that it is made for? When we speak of protection of democracy we must always keep the interests of people at heart. I would like to ask all Parties who are demanding elections in Punjab, whether they give first priority to a peaceful atmosphere in the State on holding of elections over there. We respect democracy and an election won at gun point is against democratic principles. We want to re-establish democracy in the state. The political parties which speak of stability in the state should have a common viewpoint. No political party has considered

adopting a joint action plan with other political parties to solve the crisis in Punjab. There has never been a proposal in Parliament that representatives of all political parties should tour Punjab and submit a report based on their observations. It would be understandable if the budget is passed after taking such report into consideration. They want to know the basis on which the Punjab problem will be solved. On behalf of the B.J.P. I dared to visit Punjab and have come up with the suggestion of creating a security belt along the border in the state. We want a permanent solution to the Punjab problem. It is not enough to deploy paramilitary forces to check the influx of Pakistani nationals in the state. I met senior officials of the B.S.F, the C.R.P.F. and the Punjab police and they contend that para-military forces cannot deliver good in the Mand area as it can be done by the army. The para-military forces have been given SLRs but the terrorists have got AK-74 Rifles. So the creation of a security belt is extremely important. A colleague belonging to a national party said that this point has to be considered. If there had been a healthy discussion on the pros and cons of a security belt in Punjab, we could have resolved the crisis by now. We are also of the view that all the three districts should be handed over to the Army. People say that they are not afraid of taking up this issue. Unfortunately many of the Members sitting here pretend that they do not recognize terrorists. Over there terrorists are non-personalities. I know that terrorists and those who act as middlemen between terrorists and victims, are familiar faces. When some of them are caught, many leaders start talking of elections and para-military forces. The apprehended terrorists are then ready to undergo a Jail sentence for a couple of months. When elections are held, supporters of terrorists would come into power. They mention the statement made by Simranjeet Singh Mann which says that an official from a family of terrorists would be treated like a martyr and anyone who creates trouble would be hanged to death. How will this affect the morale of police and paramilitary forces. In these circumstances, what will happen to our society, what will become of Punjab?

The local people have repeatedly asked for deployment of the army without any prior announcement so as to find a permanent solution to the Punjab problem. The army can control members of the public who are openly colluding with the terrorists. The local public is prepared to enter into a confrontation with terrorists. To what extent can they be provided with weapons? We are not talking of anti-terrorist groups because in other countries terrorists are well-trained. Jawans of the B.S.F. and the C.R.P.F. are engaged in night-long battles with terrorists. There are no communication facilities over there to inform B.S.F. and C.R.P.F. Jawans regarding terrorist hide-outs. Although we are not speaking of anti-terrorist groups, families which have lost one or two members certainly have a nationalist commitment and there can be no reason to distrust them. They could be given weapons for self-defence. The people of Punjab are not afraid of death. It is sad to see the industrialist of Batala whose three brothers were killed. At the time of partition, this industrialist had to flee Pakistan and came to Batala at the age of 14-15. Now once again he has to leave Punjab and migrate elsewhere. Tents should be provided for refugees from Punjab coming to Delhi. They know that they would have to leave Punjab once elections are held there. Today they are asking if they will be forced to migrate to other places through out their lives. The courageous people of Punjab want to live. If they get so demoralised how can we save Punjab. We must find a permanent solution to the Punjab problem. Today while we are discussing the Punjab budget we shall also touch upon issues like industrial development, unemployment and security in Punjab. Ways to find new sources of energy will also be discussed. Nobody will disagree on these issues as they are of crucial importance. Alongwith this we would like the Budget to be implemented properly. I suggest that the country's border with Pakistan be sealed. Unless we take this step we will not be able to control the situation in Punjab. If anyone differs on this issue they should come forward and express their views. There will be a difference in budget expenditure incurred in respect of terrorist affected

districts and the rest of the districts. So it is necessary to hand over the entire area to the army and make more assistance available if the need arises. Only then can we get a permanent solution to the Punjab problem. Otherwise every six months President's Rule will be extended in Punjab and the Punjab budget will be passed here in Parliament. And this would be in total contravention of democratic principles. Our first move should be to restore normalcy in Punjab. As a member of the B.J.P. I am proud to say that the B.J.P.'s stand on the Punjab issue has always been the same. Our policy has been nationalistic. Whether we are in power or not and despite our being a supporting Party, our stand regarding Punjab has never changed. This is in response to an allegation levelled by an hon. lady Member while attending the all-party meeting over there we had asked the Governor when we met him in Ludhiana as to why he had not gone to the spot where 14 persons were shot dead after their hands were bound. In the past it has been a practice among Governors to go to the scene of such incidents. The Governor replied that on the particular day there were three incidents in Punjab. In the first, 14 persons were killed, in the second 9 persons were killed and in the third there were 4 casualties.

The Governor went to the scene of the incident in which 14 persons were killed. If a greater number of people are killed at an incident then that incident is considered more serious I consider this an unfortunate problem. In a village near Kadian, five young Hindus were burnt alive. The families of these young men had 50 members but the terrorist handpicked 5 youngsters in the 19-20 age group, bound them to a tree trunk and burnt them alive. No terrorist left the spot till the boys were fully burnt. All the members of the family were forced to witness their young sons in flames and other villagers were prohibited to even express their sympathy for them. The barbaric murder of five persons is a very serious and heinous act. Rape of women can be a case to satisfy one's lust but making of video films of such incidents and to sent them to her brother and father is

[Sh. Prahlad Singh Patel]

a shameful and heinous crime. An incident cannot become small or big simply with the number of deaths in the incident. There are reactions and counter reactions of feelings. The barbaric method used to commit such acts is a more serious issue. A solution must be found to resolve Punjab problem.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel if all parties take collective steps to find permanent solution to Punjab problem, it will be much better. As a measure of collective steps we should go to Punjab and we should not cast aspersions on one another in the House. Some mistakes have been committed. The previous Government committed some mistakes and still we are trying to rectify those mistakes. The Bhartiya Janata Party has all along been maintaining this attitude to this problem. I know that the attitude of the Bhartiya Janata Party is the best in the interest of the country. But the communists have also made sacrifices in the interest of the country. I would like to say that they should also be taken into confidence while taking any decision. With these words, I thank you for providing me an opportunity to speak.

275-52
SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Faridabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants of Punjab. People of that side might be surprised as to how and why Bhajan Lal is supporting the demands presented by them. The situation in Punjab is so grim that it needs more money. Punjab should be given sufficient funds for its development, for providing employment to youth and for other works. I feel that even double of this amount may not be sufficient to meet its requirements. Punjab and Haryana are the states which meet the demands of foodgrains of the entire country. In view of the worsening conditions the problem of law and order and other problems in Punjab, more amount should be given to it. Therefore, I supported the Demands for Grants.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now an hon. Member expressed his views about Punjab and I would also like to express my views in

this regard. The hon. friends of that side always say that the Congress party is responsible for creating such condition in Punjab. I do not know for how long they will go on saying that the Congress is responsible for it? 9 months have already been elapsed since this Government came to power. The people voted them to power so that they can give a better Government in comparison to the Congress Party.

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (Murshidabad): They are responsible for deteriorating the situation over the last nine years.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Please listen to me. What are the causes of deterioration of situation? You all know that two demands of far reaching significance were made in Punjab. Firstly, Anandpur Saheb Resolution was adopted by some people in 1977, in which demand of an independent state was made. There is no need to mention the name of the supporters of that demand. The country knows which party supported Assamese.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shri Rajiv Gandhi supported them.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Now you have mentioned the name of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. So I want to tell you that some political leaders had visited Punjab for election campaign. In their speeches they supported the election manifesto of Akalis who demanded an independent state. One of the leaders was Ch. Charan Singh, who is not more with us so it is not proper to mention his name but he supported the demand of Akalis....(Interruptions) you forgot what was said in 1977, please try to remember it. I am saying all these things on the basis of records, all countrymen know it.

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: You should not make wrong statement please tell the truth only. He did not support the demand of formation of an independent state. It is a seat of truth, so please speak truth only.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You know that at

that time the B.J.P. was not formed and the Jansangh Party was there. The Jansangh Party was a partner of the coalition Government formed by the Akalis. Had you not formed coalition Government with Shri Badal and supported them?..... (Interruptions).... It is a fact, why are you trying to discuss the fact? You had supported the Anandpur Saheb Resolution and participated in the Badal Government.

SHRI RAJVEERSINGH: The Anandpur Saheb Resolution was not adopted at that time. It was adopted when Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister. (Interruptions)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: It is the result of that policy that religion is being misused for politics. Who have misused the Religion? Are gurudwaras, temples and mosques monopoly of one party? Nobody has monopoly over these places.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Why did you not stop them?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: We had tried to stop them but it was stated that it would be an injustice to Akalis.....(Interruptions)....the situation in Punjab alarmingly deteriorated and some people said here that the Harmandir Saheb was attacked with bombs. Nobody bothers to know the condition under which these steps were taken. I have to say regretfully all these things. I have great reverence in my heart for Harmandir Saheb, my head bows in faith. Whenever I went Amritsar I invariably visited Harmandir Saheb to pay my respect. I have visited there at least ten times. Who is responsible for committing sacrilege of Harmandir Saheb? The way criminals took shelter and women were dishonoured desecrated Harmandir Saheb. Not only this but they did not spare even D.I.G. Shri Atwal, who had prasad of Gurusahab in his hands and hardly crossed the door steps of the temple was shot dead. It can be checked from record as to how many persons were killed in Harmandir Saheb. People know all these facts. How fortification was made there? Was fortification done in a day? When the police failed to check that fortifica-

tion the army was forced to enter into the Harmandir Saheb to flush out extremists. About 300 officers and army jawans were killed in that operation. Even in a big battle so many jawans are not killed at one front as were killed there by the extremists. They had sophisticated weapons therefore, army had to face several problems. Lakhs of rupees are spent for imparting training to one jawan. More than 300 army jawans were killed there. Then only extremists could be flushed out. Several extremists were nabbed from gurudwaras. We were forced to take such extreme steps. Today it is stated that Harmandir Saheb was attacked. We were also not interested in taking such steps but we were forced to do so. None of the Akali leaders ever said that the extremists or criminals took shelter in the Harmandir Saheb. I do not want to mention anybody's name because it will create problems. The leaders who went there said that there was nothing unusual in Harmandir Saheb and there was complete peace there. Gentlemen, don't you know how arms and ammunition were recovered from there and what type of situation developed there. One day Shri Kirpal Singh was blaming us for that situation and was saying that it was due to excesses committed on Sikhs by us. I would like to tell him that I have high regards for Sikhs and Sikhs of Punjab are very brave. All Sikhs are not extremists but we are against extremists. At that time Bhinderawala said that he would not allow the Asian Games to be held at any cost, you can know this fact by going through newspapers of that time. It was a question of the dignity of the country. More than 50 countries were participating in those games. When he gave such challenge that he would not allow the Asian Games to be held then I was had to tell Mr. Bhinderawala that he would not be allowed to cross Haryana to do this.....(Interruptions)

SHRI JANARDAN YADAV (Gadda): You alone are responsible for it.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Kindly listen to me first. It is not evident as to who is responsible for it. You ask me...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal): Mr. Chairman, this sort of interruption should not be allowed to continue. Otherwise, we will not allow them to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: It is certainly a serious matter. We have not opposed anybody. The fact should come out. When they speak, you thump... (Interruptions)

SHRI JANARDAN TIWARI (Siwan): Mr. Chairman, Sir, my point of order is that such an important issue is being discussed and not a single Cabinet Minister is present in the House.

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Saharsa): Shri Bhagey Gobardhan is present.

SHRI JANARDAN TIWARI: He is Minister of State. No Cabinet Minister is present here.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Minister is here. He will take care of it. Already one Minister is here and he is taking down the notes. Therefore, there is no point of order in this.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I would request him not to interrupt. We do not intend to disgrace anybody. Somebody might have made objectionable remarks. All the officials do not behave in the same manner.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: When you are saying that this is a very serious matter then you have to be serious in listening also when Members are speaking. If you go on commenting like this, then how can he speak. Therefore, I would request you to try to cooperate with the Chair.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was relating the circumstances under which the Government was forced to take action in Golden Temple. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the great leader of this country was assassinated. The entire nation was grieved, all the leaders were grieved. You are very well aware of the circumstances in which she was assassinated. At that time many of his well wishers had advised her... (Interruptions)

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH (Amritsar): Who was benefited in the process?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You were benefited because you became the Member of Parliament, otherwise you could not have been elected even the member of a Panchayat. Kindly sit down and listen... (Interruptions)..... It is no way to stand up and interrupt. Shrimati Bimal Khalsa was speaking here. I have a great regard for her. She levelled certain allegations. I had regretted that the saviours became the killers. The wife of Beant Singh the assassinator of Shrimati Gandhi was speaking here you know it. Perhaps all the Members may not be aware of this fact. That is why I had regretted and said that what would happen to a nation where the saviours became the killers. When she spoke, you applauded. You must do some thinking. It is not a matter of the assassination of Shrimati Gandhi alone. Can there be anything more disgraceful to the country that the fact that the protectors turned killers? After that, a Member whose name I do not know alleged that atrocities were committed on the sikh community and they were burnt alive. Members should take into consideration the circumstances in which riots started, Shri Khurana and other hon. Members who are sitting here must be aware that the assassination of Shrimati Gandhi was celebrated in Delhi, it was only then... (Interruptions)... You know some people... (Interruptions), Yes, I am telling the truth, they were dancing and celebrating the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Only then the feelings of the other community flared up and riots started.....

SHRI JANARDAN TIWARI: You were behind these riots.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You may ask Shri Khurana. You know nothing about Delhi. Kindly enquire from the citizens of Delhi, they know it. When Shri Rajiv Gandhi came to know about the happenings, he visited the affected places throughout the night, in spite of the fact that the dead body of his mother lay at her residence.

We do not say that Shri Advani and Shri Khurana remained unconcerned, they also took rounds of the streets and appealed to the people not to indulge in violent activities. Shri Rajiv Gandhi appealed to the people that they should shoot him first and only then they could kill the people of other community, Shri H.K.L. Bhagat and other congress leaders also made similar appeals. Shri Rajiv Gandhi had called all the Chief Ministers and asked....(*Interruptions*) It pinches them when facts are revealed.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): The people were shown on the television saying that assassination would be avenged by assassination....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You can realise it only when you lose one of your leaders. Kindly listen. If a father loses his son he is heart-broken, and Shrimati Indira Gandhi was not a small leader. She was a great leader, she was assassinated and her son kept on visiting the affected places throughout the night to appeal to the people to remain calm. Rather, he directed the Chief Ministers of all those States where riots started, to take strict action against the rioters. I myself witnessed all this as I was the Chief Minister of Haryana at that time....(*Interruptions*) You will also have to accept the truth. Mr. Chairman, Sir, he is aware of the circumstances in which riots took place and also how the situation was controlled. What would be more shameful than levelling charges against the Congress party.

It is said that the Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh went to Punjab, we appreciate his

gesture. It is also said that he visited the areas in an open jeep. What threat is there to him? He has uttered not even a single word against the terrorists earlier and even after he became the Prime Minister. He seems to have surrendered before them. What happened in Jammu and Kashmir is not a secret. Can a person do such a thing in the world. Are not daughters of others being killed daily, are not they being kidnapped? Who reached an agreement to get his daughter released in lieu of five terrorists? A number of Members are sitting here. The daughter of every Member is as dear to other Members and also to other citizens of the country as to himself. Is not a daughter or a son being killed everyday? Five terrorists were released for the sake of one daughter. A condition was agreed that the girl would be released only after they crossed the Indo-Pak border. They were provided a Government vehicle to cross the border and then only the girl was released. The hon. Minister's daughter and my own daughter are equally dear to me. But that does not mean that the national interest can be compromised for that. That incident boosted the morale of the terrorists. Everybody knows what is the prevailing situation in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab.....Six killings took place when Shri Darbara Singh of the Congress Party was the Chief Minister and he immediately resigned. What is the prevailing situation in Punjab, not a single day ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): That is why you removed him from the Government. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Because when killings take place and the Chief Minister is unable to control the situation, he must resign.....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): Bhajan Lalji, as you said, were the killings stopped within a minute? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Resignation was taken within a minute. I have talked of getting resignation and not of stopping killings....(*Interruptions*)Listen, what are

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

you saying? You are not serious in this matter. After that, how the situation changed? Even then, it is said that again....(Interruptions) ..I will just tell you, what do you talk of the resignation. Your Government itself is the Government of resignations.

16.42 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Does any single day pass when the issue of resignation is not discussed. One day the Deputy Prime Minister resigns, the other day the Prime Minister follows suit; one day Shri Arun Nehru resigns while the other day Shri Arif Mohammad Khan follows his footsteps and thus the process has been continuing. It would not be improper to call the present Government as the Government of resignations. Whose resignation you talk of?(Interruptions) ...I will tell you about that also....(Interruptions)Ask your leader from Haryana Shri Devi Lal how he maltreated the BJP. One of their leaders was dismissed and his belongings thrown out of the rest-house. Then he came to me and requested to do something to topple Shri Devi Lal. Thus we assisted him to remove Shri Devi Lal. Khuranaji knows everything. Ask him, you know nothing....(Interruptions)I defected only once in my life and I do not deny this. The people of this country know the circumstances under which I took that extreme step. Whether it was for power or....(Interruptions)The country knows this, but where do you stand....(Interruptions) There is a vast difference between the ideologies of R.S.S. and Bhartiya Jan Sangh on the one hand and the Janata Party on the other.....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You should address the chair....(Interruptions)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: What can I do when they interrupt?.....(Interruptions) You say that from Janata Party emerged the BJP but where do you stand

now.....(Interruptions)Devi Lal whom you consider your leader, has changed parties not once but 19 times.....(Interruptions) and Ch. Charan Singh changed parties 21 times(Interruptions)and Shri Madan Lal Khurana thrice.....(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): From Jan sangh emerged the Janata Party and from Janata Party emerged the BJP(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You address the Chair. If you do not address the Chair, you will not be able to make your points.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I am reminding him because he forgets, the problem is that good memory is a must.....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Bhajan Lalji, do not mind what he says.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Since you have a rural background, I may tell you that even a buffalo years for courtship after three months, but Shri Devi Lal has been changing parties every month....(Interruptions)I haven't said anything objectionable. I am telling you.....(Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, besides, the situation prevailing in Punjab, Assam.....(Interruptions)* Jammu and Kashmir

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI (Sonapat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, everything else is all right, but he should withdraw that word.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: What have I said?.....(Interruptions)

(Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Home Minister said that the situation there has become normal. what does he mean, by the

time normal? About 25-30 persons are killed daily in Punjab and 20-25 in Tammu and Kashmir and situation in the states of Assam, Tamil Nadu and west Bengal is equally bad. Earlier, only the innocent people used to be killed but now the Army, B.S.F. C.R.P. and Police posts are becoming targets of terrorist attacks. Today, the number of security personnel being killed is equal to that of civilians being killed. This has proud that the morale of terrorists has been enhanced (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Bhajan Lal comes from Haryana. He has some knowledge about the ground situation and that, he is presenting before the House. Therefore, please do not interrupt him. If you want to say something, you may speak after him you too will be given an opportunity to express your views. Mr. Bhajan Lal, I request you, not to respond to the queries being raised by hon. Members, doing the course of your speech. Please proceed with your speech and address the chair (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I am addressing you, but when I hear a voice from that side, I am forced to look in that direction (*Interruptions*) Today the law and order situation in the country is worsening day by day. Now, the hon. Prime Minister is talking of conducting a Padyatra in Punjab, but it is not going to solve any problem, it is not going to bring about any change in the situation. Mere oratory is not going to prove helpful in any manner. It is action that matters. Some people say that terrorism can be brought to an end, if the problems between Punjab and Haryana are solved when I was the Chief Minister of Haryana, I did proposed that if peace can be brought about some how then we should not hesitate to create a state of 'Maha Punjab' by merging the existing states of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. They never raised any questions about the sharing of waters of the Satluj-Yamuna Link Canal, or about the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab in lieu of Abohar and Fazilka. However, the Union Government and Sant Longowal felt that a if possible, a way should be found out to solve this problem. Shri Rajiv

Gandhi Convened meetings of the Parliamentary Party many a time and held parleys in order to find a solution for this long standing problem. Some people suggested that if could be solves, it a dialogue is initiated, if decisions are taken on the vexed issues of S.Y.L. Canal and the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab in lieu of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana. The Rajiv-Longowal accord was signed order to solve the Punjab problem, but unfortunately, Sant Longowal, one of the Architects of this accord which was in the larger interests of Punjab, was shot dead within two months of signing it. What do they want? They want to balkanise this country, but who are they? Just a handful of people. No true Sikh can speak of Secession, but some misguided people are dancing to the tune of some foreign countries and by their utterances and trying to disintegrate the nation. Today, some people of the need to hold elections and initiate the democratic process, but when should we hold the elections? Only when peace is restored there, for if elections are held without normalising the situation there, terror would be unleashed to such an extent that it would become to difficult for any civilized person, any good citizen to live there and exercise his franchise in free and fair election. Not only this, the situation would worsen so much that it won't not be possible to hold any elections in future or to bring about any improvement in the situation. therefore, elections should not be held until and unless normally is completely restored.

Along with this, the issue of the Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal is also there. It is an issue concerning the entire nation and not just the State of Haryana. Even the State of Rajasthan is concerned with the S.Y.L. Canal. Ninety per cent work on the canal project, which has already been provided with 300 crore rupees, by the Central Government, has been completed, but what do the terrorist do to stop its work? They have tried to disrupt the work by attacking thrice. Once they massacred 40 labourers, who were working on the canal. Then, they killed the S.D.O. (irrigation) and the Executive Engineer. About two months back, in Chandigarh

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

garh, they killed both the Chief Engineer and the Superintendent Engineer, who were in charge of the construction work on the canals. Barbaric acts are being committed in order to terrorize the people from working on the project. What does Shri Mann, who is an hon. Member of Parliament, say? He says that if Pakistan launches an attack on India, then they will attack the Indian Army, from the rear. I would like to know the Central Government's response to this utterance on the part of Shri Mann? What is its stand? To date, the Union Government has not made a Statement against that person. Can there be a worse traitor than a person, who talks of attacking the Indian Army, from the rear? It is most unfortunate for the country that such persons have been elected by the people to represent them in Parliament. You are aware of the Circumstances in which these people were elected. The people were subjected to oppression and excesses, and were not allowed to exercise their franchise in free and fair manner. Shri Devi Lal was also contesting from there. In Ferozepur, he escaped from losing his deposit by a mere 3,000 votes, because people were not allowed to vote. You are probably aware of the conditions that have developed there. Therefore, the Government should take stringent action against those who talk of secession.

The issue of the S.Y.L. canal, which is the lifeline of both Haryana and the country, should be resolved as soon as possible. Punjab and Haryana are the two major States, which supply maximum foodgrains to the rest of the country. Today, while Punjab has abundant water, Haryana and Rajasthan are thirsty. Today, they don't allow construction work on the canal and they say that their first programme is fill the canal with earth. They don't have any objection if Pakistan benefits from the river waters of Punjab, but our own States of Haryana and Rajasthan should not benefit from it. Can there be anything worse than this? Therefore, this is an issue which needs to be given a serious thought. I don't want to beat about the bush, I just want to say

that we should allocate more money for the Punjab Budget.

Alongwith this, I would like to make a submission that we should check terrorist activities with an iron hand, otherwise the country would disintegrate. Today the people of Punjab irrespective of their religious affiliations, are suffering from endless agony. No peace-loving citizen is safe in Punjab. What is the condition of Punjab now? What is the duty of this Government, under the present circumstances? At the time of assuming office, this Government had boasted that they would achieve a lot within thirty days, but nine months have passed since then and I would like to know what has this Government done? Even a child is delivered in nine months after conception. This Government assumed office nine months ago, but what action has it taken against the ever-increasing terrorist activities? Therefore, I request the Government to deal with terrorism firmly and take the S.Y.L. canal, work immediately under its control, and deploy the Army and complete the construction work on the canal in order to accelerate development in that region. I am laying emphasis on it, because it is an issue involving the entire nation and not just Haryana. Work on the S.Y.L. canal should be completed. So that the country doesn't face any kind of shortage of any thing. Thank you very much.

16.54 hrs

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): Sir, though this is the discussion on Punjab Budget, the whole gamut of the political situation in Punjab is also being discussed because in this Session we did not have the opportunity to discuss it and also in the coming two months before the next Session, we would not have any opportunity to discuss it.

This is a very unhappy situation that in this House for quite sometime we have been discussing the Punjab Budget. This is not the right place for doing that. The State repre-

representatives of Punjab have to do it in their own House in a better way because they know the realities, the problems of the people of Punjab

Now we cannot help it because this is the compulsion of the situation and the mistake that the central Government at that time committed was by way of dissolving the elected State Government in Punjab. We are now bearing that damage. I request the Central Government to find out ways to rectify that mistake, if possible.

While taking part in this debate on the Punjab Budget I would say that in the whole situation there is an economic factor. It is not that where we have unemployment we have to have this kind of secessionist movement. That is ruled out. But the question is that where the vested interests, imperialists agencies and other kind of secessionist forces initiate this kind of movement, then the very reality is that we have a large number of unemployed youth who add fuel to the fire. And here the question comes how we are going to take proper steps to ensure jobs to the unemployed youth—those who are being diverted, taken away to their sides against the country by the anti-national elements and all that. On that the vital question would be to ensure jobs for the unemployed youth. For that all kinds of economic activities are to be stepped up basing on two things mainly—i.e. industrial development and the good agriculture that they have, to retain that and also to add to that. I think, the Government is in the know of the demands of the Punjab people. The kind of new initiatives that they have to take up in regard to setting up of industries and all that, they will keep in mind. Then there are other projects in regard to agriculture and irrigation. The river water question is a very serious question not only for Punjab but for other adjoining States like Haryana and Rajasthan. But in that, the kind of delay that is going on is not at all welcome. I remember that while taking part in the discussion on the Punjab Budget, previously many times, not only I but other Members have suggested that the construction of Thein Dam is very important. That has

to be completed as soon as possible. But it is going on and on. Are we serious in really helping the people of Punjab? Now the question of SYL canal has come. Every time we have demanded that there has to be proper allocation for its completion quickly. Now the terrorists are up in arms to see that this canal is not further completed. It is a very serious situation. Posters are pasted all over rural areas in Punjab. They have called upon the people—I do not know who will be responding to them—that they should come forward and fill it up. Now it is a very serious kind of situation. We have to take a very serious note of this and not delay the vital projects that are necessary for the economic development of Punjab.

I know that Government has a certain plan to give jobs to the unemployed youth. They have announced that they will be giving one lakh jobs to unemployed youth. But we have to make a composite plan because by simple announcements we can't achieve that and we have to see what kind of industries we are going to take up. The agro-based industries are very important for Punjab. Then I have come to know that there is a suggestion from an expert committee and all that to set up a petro-chemical complex in Punjab. If there is a suggestion like that it should be taken up. I am not saying that in a State where there is a secessionist movement you try to give them projects in order to appease the terrorists. It is not like that. You have to take up those things very seriously. It is not that somebody will take up arms and demand certain things and then you give it.

As a total plan for the development of the whole country we have to treat the development of Punjab. Now there are other political questions. These are very important if we are serious to solve the Punjab problem. What happened to those three issues. The Rajiv-Longowal Accord that was signed was welcomed by the whole nation. On that basis, elections took place there. Terrorists gave a call for boycotting the elections. People did not listen to them. They came out and voted en masse. But what happened to the transfer

[Sh. Saifuddin Choudhury]

of Chandigarh to Punjab?

17.00 hrs

Are these non-issues? What happened to the question of the dispute in regard to river waters? I do not know why can't we even now refer this to a Commission or to Supreme Court. What happened to the territorial dispute? Have we forgotten all these things? But, these are the main democratic aspirations with which the solution of Punjab problem is linked. In regard to transfer of Chandigarh why don't you take a decision? I understand earlier there were some difficulties which stalled the transfer. But, these are technical points. In order to prove that the Government is sincere why don't you undertake the construction of a separate capital for Haryana. The transfer of Chandigarh earlier could take place—may be in two, three or four years. But with the construction of separate capital for Haryana, the people of Punjab would understand that Chandigarh would be transferred ultimately. But as you did not do it, people thought that the Govt. was insincere and giving bluffs.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: The transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab is linked to the transfer of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana. The transfer would take place simultaneously. If Punjab gets Chandigarh, then Haryana will get Fazilka and Abohar.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: I am talking about the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. What you are referring to is, an altogether different issue.

[English]

Sir, these are accepted issues on which the solution of Punjab problem can be relied upon. Now, on these, I do not think that we have to run after this man or man for a solution of the problem. We have to rely on the people. Previously, many times we urged

upon the Government to take unilateral decision on these matters and not to go after Mr. Mann or Mr. Badal or somebody else. It is not the way to finding a solution.

For the crisis of Punjab, I am sorry to say that Congress (I) has also a very big responsibility. In the same way Akalis are also responsible. Akali Dal's policy of mixing religion with politics has also contributed in the creation of havoc in Punjab. In order to assuage the feelings of sikh masses, we may regret sending of Army of Golden Temple, but, that is not enough. Then, you will also remember that before Army entry what was going on inside the temple. That has to be condemned also. The terrorists had taken shelter there and doing all sorts of obnoxious things from that holy place. Now, anyone who demands an apology for entry an Army into the temple should also in strongest terms condemn that the terrorists were doing inside that holy place. We should not allow all these things to happen any more in Punjab.

Now, Sir, instead of running after this man or that man, what is really needed is to organise the people of Punjab. Despite all odds and investigations the people of Punjab. Despite all odds and investigations the people of Punjab are patriotic. They have contributed much more than ever before in the central pool or foodgrains. Their agricultural activities have not declined. That is increasing. They have not indulged in communalism at the mass level. There were attempts to divide them as Hindus and Sikhs. But, they remained united. Sir, I am not talking about other parties. But our party, the CPI(M) and the CPI (Left), we are all fighting against terrorists. On 27th of last month, 30000 people came to Boat Club and demanded a solution to the Punjab problem. People are dying from all parties, from our party, from other parties, but, the question really is not simply to die but to achieve a goal with these sacrifices. We are precisely doing that. We have to organise resistance. What happened to that Village Resistance Committees. I found on the television that some day some arms have been distributed. That is neces-

sary. How will people defend themselves if there are no Resistance Committees and their link with the Administration is not properly built up? What happened to the Advisory Committees at the State level? What happened to the Advisory Committee at the District level? Different political parties can be pooled together and they will have to be given some teeth so that they are doing. There are certain reports of excesses committed by the security forces. They are doing a very good job. I have all salutations for them. But the question is that when this kind of reports come, that only harms the interests of the country. So, we have to take that also seriously. Now, these Advisory Committees are very important. I also very much appreciate the attempt by this Government to call the Conference of Sarpanches at the lower level. At the lower level, people are very alert. They are willing to cooperate with the administration and the Government. They are willing to take part in the economic developmental process of Punjab. We have to pool together all these and then we will find that we have lot of grounds to really initiate people for fighting against terrorism. There are certain things in order to really psychologically understand the problem. What happened in 1984—the aftermath, the riots, the killings and all that took place. That was a very disastrous kind of thing that took place. But what happened to the culprits of those riots? Special Courts are set up but what is going on there, nobody knows. We have our television. We have our radio. Why cannot we seriously think that some trial that is going on there is shown to the people? Can some punishment, some conviction to some culprits not be awarded quickly? But nothing is happening. So, people think that we are not willing to really punish the culprits of 1984 riots. This is very important. In this context, I must say that the role of our media is awful and harmful to the interest of the country. People are resisting. There is one instance that the woman of a village chased the terrorists and killed them or captured them. But did it find any mention, may be only one line mention? Has that been highlighted on our television? Television is with the Government. If this would be Prasar Bharati,

I would move a motion to really supercede the Board of Prasar Bharati for not really highlighting the resistance in Punjab. But now it is with the Government. Terrorists are killing the people. How they are killing the people, has that been shown in a manner that hatred is aroused? Now people think that it is a fight going on between some heroic people who have no care for their life. But do they have any sincere politics in them. Nothing. They are extorting money from the people, they are raping the mothers and sisters, they are killing people, and somebody is calling them freedom fighters. What kind of freedom are they fighting for? So, that hatred has to be aroused in the minds of the people. Our media is failing in that, I am sorry to say. Government should take note of this.

Then, Sir, there are certain other things. I strongly feel that the way this Government had started was very good. The visit of the Prime Minister to Amritsar was very good. It was necessary. He is going to undertake *pad-yatra*. I welcome it. Go there, talk to the people, mix with the people. That is the only way out. Don't bother about Badal or Mann or this or that. If you can carry people with you, all Badals and Manns will come to you. You do that. This is very important. But the initial enthusiasm, the initial response that you had thrown to the situation, that has been wasted in between. Now you really take initiative. No *ad hoc* policies can do. Whether elections will take place or not, it depends on whether peace is restored in Punjab or not. Elections cannot take place to embolden the terroristic elements and the people who are there outside, across the border. If the Lok Sabha elections helped the terrorists, that is over now. Now this kind of things cannot take place. But I would suggest that the mistake that you committed when the Assembly was dissolved and the Government was toppled, if you can rectify it by judicial processes, try to do it. This is very important and it would be good for the country and for the Government also. Are we seriously realising the fact which had been known to everybody in this country that the forces across the border of Pakistan—and their abettors the USA—are very much ac-

[Sh. Saifuddin Choudhury]

tive, still active to instigate the terrorists? We all know that. In the past, when a kind of settlement was about to reach, we heard that these people sent signals to their henchmen for indulging in large-scale massacre, that took place. Now, Sir, I raised this during the Zero Hour some days ago. The US Ambassador in India, Mr. Clark, paid a visit to Punjab from 6th to 10th August. I have to remind you that he must have much interest in our country, much more interest in Punjab and that was why the US Ambassador was to go over to Punjab, not the Chinese Ambassador or any other Ambassador. But the question is that we did not tell the Ambassador that he should not do anything that would encourage the terrorists. How is it that this Sikh Students Federation's Chairman was allowed to submit a Memorandum to Mr. Clark which demands 'Khalistan' and asked for the help of the US Government? Do, we have an authority in this country to keep an eye on all these things?

Now, there is another report which has appeared in the Indian Express on 10th August. Here I find that a caption: "Mr. Clark to submit a Punjab Report". Now, this Ambassador will be submitting a report to Mr. Bush, the US President. How all these things are happening, I don't know? Here we have protagonists of Pakistan going and speaking to them and the Khalistan Council Chairman is sitting there. Now, earlier the terrorists and their mentors had sent the memorandum to the U.N.O. or somewhere or somebody had to go their by spending money to hand over the Memorandum. Now, the relievers are coming to Punjab. Now, I have taken a very serious notice of this and I demand a statement on this from the Government, though this is a Demand for Grants for Punjab, more of politics we are talking and least of finance. But the hon. Finance Minister know more about politics than finance and this is a Political Economy.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: At least you don't say this is neither of the two.

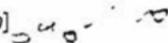
SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: I know you are a political economist. You must tell us now how all these things are happening.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura, West) Sir, it was desirable that one of the Ministers from the Home Ministry should have been here to listen to the views of the Member, though he may not reply to the point raised.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: Sir, I must say to this Government that what was prevailing in Punjab was a hopeless situation. But with this new Government, I believe that there is some hope the way they started and if they seriously try to organise the people, consolidate the people's action against the terrorists and make the administration responsible to the people, then I believe that it may not take long time, it may not take more blood.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Choudhury, you have taken more than 20 minutes.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: Then, Sir, I won't speak more.

[Translation] 

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to express my views. As those who spoke before me said, if only the representatives of the people at Punjab discuss the Punjab Budget, then, it would be an ideal Budget, but there are certain factors due to which the Punjab Budget is being discussed in New Delhi, instead of Punjab. Why is it so? Why has such a situation developed there? We should create such a conducive atmosphere that the Punjab Budget is discussed in Punjab itself, in Chandigarh. I want to say it in clear cut terms before the House that at present the situation in Punjab is not conducive for holding elections for discussing the Punjab Budget in Chandigarh. I myself and my party doesn't support holding of elections in Punjab.

First of all, normally should be restored in Punjab. There cannot be two opinion about the fact that the new Government has inherited the Punjab problem from the previous Government. At the moment, Shri Bhajan Lal is not present in the house, perhaps, he has gone out somewhere otherwise, regarding his reference to Bhindranwale, I would have asked him another before 1980, was there any problem in Punjab, which could be termed as explosive? At the time of the formation of the 'Punjabi Suba, at the time when the movement for Maha Punjab was at its peak, a lot of hullabaloo was raised, but never was the situation as frightening as it is today. Actually, the roots of the Punjab problem can be cracked back in 1980, when in 1979, the then Government, in order to bring the Janata Government to disrepute, made a clever move to create a destructive monster, however later on it proved to be a Frankenstein for the Congress Party itself. They had nurtured that monster to detain the Janata Government but the monster Bhindranwale, sounded the death-bell for the Congress itself. The Dal Khalsa was also created in 1979. It was set up in Chandigarh and you know very well, those, who met its expenses. All this has come in the press and I don't want to expert them here. What I want to say is that like the mythical Bhasmarura, who was bestowed power by Lord Shiva, to destroy anyone by merely touching him and who later on tried to apply it on the Lord himself, this Monster too, who was ruptured by the Congress and was empowered to dislodge the Janata Government, subsequently proved to be a Frankenstein and gobbled them us. Just now it was said that he was a great saint. I would not like to go into the question as to who gave him this name. But Shri Bhajan Lal was saying that he had not allowed him to enter his areas. But did not the same saint go on parading with guns and swords in Delhi under the very nose of the Government? He had gone to meet some people in Tihar jail fully armed whereas the rule is that no person can enter a jail with arms. But he went there fully armed to meet Akali leaders after flouting all the rules and despite a warrant against his name. Processions were taken

out to welcome him in Delhi and he was greeted on G T Karnal road itself. Did all this happen during Janata Dal rule? Now-a-days, Mr Mann is much talked about person. But "were you who released him just before the elections. This policy of appeasement is the basic cause of all the problems. You have been adopting *ad hoc* politics of appeasing and giving concessions. As regards 1984 riots, perhaps Shri Bhajan Lal was in Haryana at that time. Some steps were taken against Sikhs at that time which made them feel that they were second class citizens. They were subjected to searches and humiliation and Shri Bhajan Lal had played a role in it. This has created some sort of inferiority complex among the Sikhs and they have begun to think of themselves as aliens.

Mr Deputy Speaker Sir I would not like to go into the old things. But I would like to say to the new Government that it has made a very good beginning. He went there in an open jeep and it was a good gesture to the people. The Government should however make it explicit that it would talk to only those political personalities who are true to their words. Otherwise, there are person who keep on charging every hour. Sometimes the demand for Chandigarh is raised sometimes question of sharing of waters is raised. Now they are demanding elections under the Supervision of U N O. The persons who make such anti-national and seditious statements should be severely punished.

Mr Deputy Speaker I would like to suggest that Mr Mann's membership of the House should be terminated because he is challenging the Parliament by saying that he would enter Parliament House on his own terms and conditions. I would like to say that unless you take stringent action against such people nothing will improve. So far, you have not terminated his membership. According to the rules his membership should have been terminated as he has not attended the House for full six months. I would like to suggest that he should be tried on charges of sedition. It would not do if stern action is not taken against him.

[Sh. Madan Lal Khurana]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all we must tell Pakistan about the evidence of their hand in Kashmir and Punjab. We would have to warn Pakistan on this account. Secondly, the Government should declare in no uncertain terms that howsoever big a person may be, he would be treated as traitor if he challenges the unity and sovereignty of the country and asks for election in any particular state under the supervision of UNO. The Government must take clear stand on all such issues. It has taken one-sided decision to give some concessions. This is not good. I would like to say that such decisions should be taken collectively. It is not good for the country, if someone gives the impression that he alone is empowered to do so.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, from the talks which I held with the people of Punjab and also those who are running the administration, I have gathered that if actions of the Government during the last 3-4 months are any indications then the Government has tipped Mr. Mann to be the next Chief Minister. This is the reason which must have dissuaded them from arresting him. Therefore, the Government must adopt a clear-cut and unambiguous policy on Punjab and make it public. The Government must not give any assurance to anyone or talk to someone who refuses to act under the provisions of the Indian Constitution. The communal situation in Punjab is quite good despite the fact that many people have delivered communal speeches there. For this I would like to thank the people of Punjab. They should be taken into confidence and assurance should be given to them that the Government would protect them. I would like to reiterate that no election should be held in Punjab before normalcy returns to the State. Now that Shri Mann has made a statement saying that elections in Punjab should be held under U.N.O's supervision, the Government must rise to the occasion and declare that the Government would never bow before the terrorists and secessionists who are out to disintegrate the country by getting help from America and Pakistan. Such statements from

the Government should not prove to be hollow one, but should be followed by swift action to demonstrate that the Government means business.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, half-an-hour discussion listed for today at 5.30 p.m. will be postponed to a future date. We will continue the debate on Punjab Budget.

There are many Members who want to speak on the Punjab Budget. May I request the Members who are coming from States other than Punjab to take a very little time and allow the Members mainly coming from Punjab to speak?

Shri Kamal Chaudhry.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): Hon. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, for the last one week I had been preparing to make a speech on the Punjab Budget. I have reported more than 20 pages to speak here. But after hearing the Members here, at times, I get disheartened, or rather disgusted. Main aim of most of the speakers is mind slinging and trying to arouse the feelings of the people to fight.

I would just come down straight to the points that are needed for Punjab. It is possible to make congenial atmosphere in Punjab and hold elections. It is necessary and it is a must, if you want peace to return in Punjab, that the political process must start and people must have their own Government and not a Governor imposed by the Centre. The atmosphere was congenial last year. We did hold elections in Punjab. There is one member from Punjab who is a member of the Cabinet today sitting on the Treasury Benches. You ask him whether it was possible to hold elections in Punjab or not. Even today, it is possible. I have been saying so for the last 2-1/2 years. They are saying that there is a possibility that the terrorists will come up and they will rule the State. We have ourselves played gimmicks trying to impose someone or the other in Punjab

because no party in Punjab today feels that it is capable of ruling the state and that it has the leader worth the name to rule Punjab. It is a matter of shame that the political people have been reduced to dust by these political gimmicks.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who played the gimmicks?

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY: I can reply to you in plenty but I would not indulge in this.

As far as the utterances of people are concerned, whether it is Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann or Kamal Chaudhry or Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh or Shri Rajiv Gandhi or Shri Atinder Pal Singh, any one who talks of secessionism, and who is anti-national, does not have a right to live. Let me make it clear. He should be eliminated. If there is need, we must make laws and amendments. But unfortunately we are encouraging such elements.

What is needed in Punjab is just 12 Deputy Commissioners, just 12 Senior Superintendents of Police who are strong, clean and who mean business. I had suggested this years back and I remember I had even mentioned that the Government should try younger officers. I remember that the Director General of Police at that time laughed and said that it was not possible. But I felt happy that he did try junior and young officers in the Police who had manned these districts and it was successful. It was possible to contain terrorism. But time and again I hear from the senior officers that some corrupt officers have to be allowed to continue because they are fighting terrorism. They are allowed to fill up their tummy with lot of money. It will not be out of place if I mention that one Director-General of Police told me that the SSP in Hoshiarpur, is corrupt that his wife, sits with her *pallu* open, asking for money from people. I just laughed and asked him "What action is he going to take?" Later, this Officer was promoted and I was told that his record is clean. That is shame on administration. What action has been taken against these corrupt officers till date? Can

you name one officer or bureaucrat? It is a matter of shame. Nothing has been done on this. I will urge and request the Government and plead with this Government "Don't listen to all these things. It is possible to have a congenial atmosphere in Punjab and have elections." I will appeal to all parties. I have spoken to most of the people in Punjab. I have spoken to all parties and to all senior leaders. They agree with me that it is possible for nationalist forces to get together against anti-national forces and hold elections and that nationalist forces will win. There is a chance that some 5 or 10 or 15 or 20 terrorists who are militants and who have different wives might win. Let them come to the table and discuss their problems. Let them discuss what is there in their minds. Time and again, most of the senior leaders in the last five years have maintained that a terrorist should not be spoken to, a man who does not accept your Constitution, a man who has a weapon in his hand and wants to kill you. I urge this nation to talk to such youth who has some problem in his mind. That does not mean that you have to accept what he says but at least hear him, listen to him. I have spoken to hundreds of such youth who have turned militants in front of my eyes, some of them who are militants today. They have even gone to Pakistan and some of those who have returned from there wanted to come back to normal life. Some of them were even helped in Hoshiarpur District to be put back on the rails. But these people must be spoken to. Since we are speaking on the Budget, I would like to mention that under the Demands for Grants under Sl. No. 12, under the Ministry of Home Affairs & Justice this amount of Rs. 118,10,02,000 in the Revenue Account and Rs. 5 crores in the Capital account is excess and it be reduced. This amount should be spent for the development of Punjab.

As far as Hoshiarpur is concerned, I would request that the two canals viz. Shah Nahar and Khandi Canal should be completed. Hardly anything has been done so far on them. Only a few metres are prepared each year. I would request that money be allotted for these canals. Within one year

[Sh. Kamal Chaudhry]

itself, these two canals should be completed.

Then, the Pepsi Foods Private Limited Factory is at Zahura. Presently, this factory has been closed down. It is supposed process to take only tomatoes. I would request that this facility be extended to *kinnoo santra malata* etc.

Next, I come to roads. The roads, especially the village roads must be resurfaced, metalled. I had suggested about four-and-a-half years ago that the small cause ways which are there in hundreds in Hoshiarpur should not be bridged but cause-ways be made. I was shocked to see that one of the engineers laughed at me in year 1986 on these suggestions. This was experimented later and these culverts were made and about three or four of them are doing pretty well and are as cheap as one-fourth or one-tenth of the total cost. I would request that these cause ways be made on the same village roads which are absolutely muddy and not all-weather roads.

With these words, I once again plead with the Government not to try the other gimmick that we are hearing i.e. it is wanting to revive the Assembly and impose somebody on the people. It will be revolted by the people of Punjab. Once again, I appeal to the whole House to get together and help each other in solving this problem of Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and other States.

[Translation]

703-15

S. ATINDER PAL SINGH (Patiala) Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today, I am delivering my maiden speech and I hope that the House would listen to the voice of this elected representative from Punjab. The members belonging to the B.J.P. as well as the Congress have expressed their apprehensions and misgivings. The entire nation has same sort of prejudice against the Sikhs.

First of all, I would like to tell the entire nation through this House that if you are

really worried about the happenings in Punjab, you should give up all your prejudices and predilections. You should think, as Shri Khurana has also suggested, over the genesis of the Punjab problem. I would like to gain the trust of the entire house and the nation and request that the Punjab crisis should be seen and understood in the proper perspective. I would like to clarify that unless the promises made to Punjab in 1947 are fulfilled, there can be no solution to Punjab problem. The present crisis cannot be overcome by holding elections to the Assembly or by scrapping TADA, changing police or civil administration and by setting up special courts, I would like to clarify that these are not the demands of Punjab. This problem has been created due to the wrong policies of the Government and the Government itself would have to solve it. The real demands of Punjab are different from these demands. We would have to ponder seriously over them.

I would like to take you to pre 1947 days and draw your attention towards the statements made by the leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar and the debates of the Constituent Assembly. Unless those demands are fulfilled, there can be no solution to Punjab problem. Today there is no family in any of 12,687 villages of Punjab of which one or the other Sikh member has not been killed by the police and there is no family which is not affected by the killings in Punjab. I am myself an evidence to all this. There was no registered case against me prior to my arrest. But the Congress Government announced a reward of Rs. 5 lakh on me. It was extremely shameless. Then, at least Rs. 3.75 crore were spent through S.I.T. to arrest me. After are arrest, these cases were withdrawn despite my request that I should be tried so that the truth is revealed to the nation. Mine is not an isolated case of this kind. Every youth of Punjab is the victim of such prosecution and maltreatment. My entire skeleton is shaken and rendered weak. The doctors in the Annexe are not prepared to issue the medical report out of fear of the Government. They tell me only verbally that all the cells of your things

are dead, that you have a fracture in your head and a haemorrhage in the head and that the third bone of your chest has slopped. Even these days, sometimes, half of my body becomes senseless. I have a fracture in my leg and no one is prepared to write it in the medical report. (*Interruptions*) Everyone else is given a medical report. I was not given any treatment in the jail. I am not putting across just my case. It is the case of every youth of Punjab. You should gather the messages of such incidents. You should also feel the sentiments created by such incidents. I would ask whether such sentiments are good for the unity of the nation?

Now, I would like to draw your attention toward the resolution moved by the Congress party in 1929 at the Lahore Session. It reads as follows "the Congress will never accept a constitution which is not acceptable to the Sikhs". The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1929. This was the pledge that Mahatma Gandhi reiterated in his editorial in the 'Young-India' dated 16 March 1931. I have got with me the documentary proof of everything I say in this House and anybody who has any doubt about it can see it for himself. Such type of resolutions were again passed by the congress in 1939. The Congress Party had itself handed over the same resolution to the Crisp Commission when it came to India in 1942 and it is recorded on page 318 of the debate of Constituent Assembly. Then came the Cabinet Mission recommendations. In its recommendations the Cabinet Mission recorded in Para 18 on 16th May 1940 that three nationalities were recognised in India—first the Muslims, second the Sikhs and third, general. The word 'Hindu' has nowhere been used in it. It has been elaborated therein that all those people who neither fall under the category of Sikhs nor that of Muslims be included in the general category. The Cabinet Mission says:

[*English*]

"We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main

communities in India General, Muslim and Sikh. The "General" community includes all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs."

In Para 15 it is said:

[*Translation*]

I would like to tell the house with considerable seriousness and stress the reason why Punjab problem became a burning issue.

[*English*]

"We recommend that the Constitution should take the following basic form:—

There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications..."

[*Translation*]

These three subjects have been enlisted for the Union of India. It further says that:

[*English*]

"...and shall have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects."

[*Translation*]

The Centre Government was given financial powers with regard to these three subjects. Para No. 2 says that:—

[*English*]

"Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives and voting of each of the two major communities..."

In para 6 it is said:

[S. Atinder Pal Singh]

"The Constitution of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could by a majority vote of its legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution yearly intervals thereafter."

[*Translation*]

These provisions made in the Constituent Assembly through voting as well but they were not fulfilled. Under these provisions, it was promised that every State would have its separate constitution but this promise was not fulfilled. The Muslim league accepted these recommendations but the Sikhs were not satisfied with them and they rejected them. But the moment the Congress accepted these recommendations, the Muslim League rejected them the next day after passing a resolution to this effect because they thought that they would definitely be defeated by this. Thereafter, sikhs also rejected these recommendations. Pandit Nehru issued a statement, in his individual capacity on 7th July, 1946 on the eve of the annual session of the Congress party in Calcutta. Anybody who has any doubts can see the photo copy of the front page of the 'Statesman' dated 7th July, 1946 lying with me.

[*English*]

"The brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set up in North wherein the Sikhs can also experience the flow of freedom."

[*Translation*]

Pandit Nehru made this promise to the Sikhs and immediately after that rejected the Cabinet Mission and all its recommendations. In keeping with this very promise the Congress passed its own resolution on 27th and 29th of July, 1947. Dr. Sitaramaiah has recorded it in his "History of Congress," The Congress party and the whole House can see

this for itself. This pledge to the Sikhs was again reiterated in the constituent Assembly. In the Constituent Assembly Debate, Page 754 it is recorded:

[*English*]

"Congress will give them all possible support, removing their legitimate grievances and in securing adequate safeguards for the protection of their just rights."

[*Translation*]

On behalf of the same party, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru submitted a resolution, on 13-12-1946, called as 'Objectives Resolution' in its annual Conference which came to be known as a milestone in the achievement of India's independence. This Objectives Resolution was published in the form of a separate booklet in the Constituent Assembly. I would like to repeat the words that were used in the objectives Resolution, particularly, with regard to sikhs. Kindly have a deep insight and perception of every word. It says:

[*English*]

"The Resolution that I am placing before you is in the nature of a pledge. It has been drafted after mature deliberation and efforts have been made to avoid controversy. I do not think this Resolution contains anything which was outside the limitations laid down by the British Cabinet or anything which may be disagreeable to any Indian".

I beg to move:

"(1) This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance, a Constitution;

(3) Wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Consti-

tution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units together with residuary powers and exercise all powers and functions of Government and Administration save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union or as are implied in the Union or resulting therefrom."

[*Translation*]

While moving the resolution he said:

[*English*]

"It is a Resolution and yet, it is something much more than a Resolution. It is a Declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a dedication. And I wish this House, if I may say so, respectfully, should consider this Resolution not in a spirit of narrow legal wording, but rather to look at the spirit behind the resolution. This Resolution, let it not be done in the formal way by the raising of hands, but much more solemnly by all of us standing up and thus taking this pledge anew."

[*Translation*]

This is what was said by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with regard to the States in his Objectives Resolution that was published on behalf of the Constituent Assembly. Pandit Nehru reiterated the same once again in Para 1 of page 14 of the Debate. This pledge was made by each and every member of the Constituent Assembly and Dr. Rajendra Prasad while favouring this resolution had passed the same resolution once again which can be seen on page 23 of volume II of the Constituent Assembly Debate. At the time of the declaration of India's independence, the Congress through a resolution, again assured the Sikhs on 8th March 1947:

[*English*]

"The Working Committee will keep in

close touch with the representatives of the Sikhs and other groups concerned with a view to cooperate with them in the steps that may have to be taken in safeguarding their interests."

[*Translation*]

The British scheme was submitted on 3rd June, 1947. In that scheme the Sikhs of Punjab while forwarding their demands wanted Punjab to be divided into two parts, both autonomous and sovereign. The Congress party favoured the scheme. Iyengar Committee was set up on behalf of the Constituent Assembly. Besides Pandit Nehru, People like V.B. Patel, Jairam Dass Daulat Ram, Gopalaswamy Iyengar, V. Krishnamachari, V. Paratapi Sitaramaiah, A. Krishnamachari etc. were also associated with this resolution on 17th April, 1947...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Atinder Pal Singh, this being your maiden speech, I did not want to disturb you but you have already spoken for nearly 20 minutes and you have to speak on the Budget also.

S. ATINDER PAL SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is my maiden speech. It is the tradition of the House that at the time of maiden speech, a Member is given the right to freedom of speech and expression. With full regards, I...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: How more time do you need?

S. ATINDER PAL SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to take 10 minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We shall sit till S. Atinder Pal Singh concludes his speech.

S. ATINDER PAL SINGH: Thank you. The Iyengar Committee in its report, to which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also has appended his signatures, has candidly recommended to entrust three subjects to the Centre—the first being the Defence, the Second Foreign Affairs and the third, Communications. The

[S. Atinder Pal Singh]

18.00 hrs.

Iyengar Committee in its report said that the power of financing all the three subjects should be vested in the Central Government. The same Iyengar Committee has said in its report that the States would have their own separate constitutions. A chapter on Union constitution from Page 141 to 152 has been published in B.N. Rao's book. In its Sixth chapter, from Page 97 to 140, the model of the Constitution has been published. Vide Page 141 to 152, this Committee suggested the provision of separate constitution for the States in the constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly reconstituted the Union Power Committee. It submitted its report on 13.12.1946. In this report also

The circular further says that a close watch needs to be kept on them. As Shri Madan Lal Khurana has said the genesis of the Punjab. Problem has to be traced and the nation told about it in clear terms. I would like to know whether the country is ready to honour the assurances given to the Sikh Community. Most humbly, I want to bring out the truth before the House. After the resolution regarding partition, the country was divided into Hindustan and Pakistan. In the Legislative Assembly of independent Pakistan, 17 Hindu leaders accepted the constitution of Pakistan as drafted by the Constituent Assembly and put their signatures on it. Not a single Sikh was among those signatories. This is a matter of shame for this nation that Shri Bhim Sain Sachhar, one of the signatories, was appointed the first Chief Minister of Punjab and later on he was appointed as a Governor. Other signatory Shri Satyendra Narayan Sanyal was appointed a Judge of the High Court and there was another signatory Lala Avtar Narain Gujral whose son is a Minister in the present Council of Ministers. You can go through the debates of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and can see their signatures in the first Constitution Report of Pakistan. So their country has honoured the traitors but on the other hand you brand the Sikhs as traitors inspite of the fact that this sacrificed everthing. I want to ask a question whether this country accepts the Sikhs or not? The Sikhs were disgraced after the operation Blue-Star. The people of Punjab were not ready for that. The nation will have to restore their dignity with all humility. I want to ask as to why can't the Khalistan, Sikhistan or whatever name you may like to give it, be formed for the Sikhs in this country as promised by Pandit Nehru, when autonomy can be provided to the Gorkha-land Liberation Organisation, Nagaland can be given to the Nagas, Mizoram to the Mizos, Rajasthan to the Rajputs and Maharashtra to the Marathas. We are looked at with suspicion despite the fact that we have been constitutionally elected as Members of Parliament. It clearly shows that this country is still not ready to accept the

[English]

(a) Defence, (b) Foreign Affairs, (c) Communications, and (d) the powers to raise the finance required for the union subjects

[Translation]

were included. The Power committee submitted its report with regard to all the three subjects. But, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very regretful that as soon as we achieved independence, the Congress Party, the leaders of the country and the administration, all suddenly changed their attitudes to that of enmity towards the sikhs, the first example of which can be traced to the circular issued by the Governor, Shri Chandu Lal Trivedi on 10th October, 1947. It resulted in the martyrdom of 45 thousand sikhs and a loss of life and property, including the immovable property worth Rs. 95000 crore. They were migrating to India as refugees. They had decided to identify and merge themselves with India and made sacrifices to keep the country's unity and integrity intact. However, on 10-10-47, Shri Chandu Lal Trivedi, through a circular issued by him, termed the Sikh community as a criminal community, those very sikhs who had come to India after having lost everything they had.

people of Punjab. Please raise yourself above this prejudice. Silence is observed in this House to mourn the death of one or two persons killed in a rail accident or a riot. I want to ask as to why did not this House observe silence to mourn victims of 1984 riots and the operation Blue Star? with due respect to the house and by keeping full faith in this country, I want to move a resolution in the house that to minutes' silence be observed to demonstrate the nations' trust in the people of Punjab. I want to ask as to why can't the Khalistan Liberation Organisation or the Sikhistan Liberation Organisation be constitutionally registered under the Election Commission in this country, when such a provision can be made for the Gorkhaland Organisation? Why do you detest the Sikhs after all? I am ready for an open national debate on this issue. I ask you to give an instance, if there is any breach of faith on the part of Sikhs. I can present documentary proof in support of all that I have said. I have already quoted the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this regard.

Now, after quoting the words of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi, I shall pay many thanks to you for allotting me time to speak. While delivering a discourse in Sheesh Ganj Gurudwara on 22nd March, 1931, Mahatma Gandhi made a promise to the Sikhs and said, "Why do not you believe the Congress, if it betrays you later on, you can deal with them since you have 'kirpan' in your hand. I shall be at the forefront with you." Mind the very word 'Kirpan'. Today, the people of Punjab are acting upon the words of Mahatma Gandhi. They are called terrorists today as they are acting upon the words of the Father of the Nation. But I think, in a way, the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi is being called a terrorist, not the people of Punjab. Listen what has been written in this editorial of "Young India" dated 5 March, 1931. Mahatma Gandhi's own Newspaper. I am reading its photocopy which I have with me. I would like to repeat the very words which Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar used in his promise. I beg your pardon as I feel a bit of problem in reading it. These are the words of Dr. Bhim Rao Am-

bedkar which he used on 25 November, 1947, in the Constituent Assembly. He said, "Dear countrymen, the minorities have reposed their trust in you, so you should not commit a mistake of betraying your trustees because its result will be very grave because minorities are explosive power which if explodes will shatter the structure of the whole country. The very history of Europe is a dreadful example of it." Today, we see the very words of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru coming true in Punjab. In the end I would like to quote the words of Shri K.C. Jodh, General Secretary of All Subai Conference which he used in a letter written to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on 28th July, 1956. In his letter, Shri K.C. Jodh put a question to Pandit Nehru, "Should we trust the Sikhs because the Punjab issue, in fact, is an issue of faith?" He further said, "the Sikhs should constitute their separate sovereign state if the Hindus do not trust them, and the history will lead us to this conclusion ultimately. Therefore, should we trust them?" Sir, through you, I would like to express my feelings in the following words:

"Jab Bhi Watan Ko Lahoo Ki Zaroorat
Pari,
Sabse Pahle Gardan Hamari Hi Kati.
Hum Kathe Hain Yeh Aahle Watan, Ki
Watan
Hamara Hai Tumhara Nahin."

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir we have an equal claim over this country as you have. We also need respect and we want to live in this country in accordance with the promises that were made in the Constituent Assembly. We want to have our own state in this country and this demand should be accepted by you. Khalistan or Sikhistan whatever name you may like to give, should be formed on the very lines on which Marathwara for the Marathas, Rajasthan for the Rajputs, Nagaland for the Nagas and Mizoram for the Mizos exist in this country. I invite the whole country for an open debate on this issue. In this regard, I would like to tell all Political Parties that every person of Punjab wants Punjab grievances to be removed. Let me tell you that there is no other issue in Punjab

except the issue of distrust. With these words I conclude my speech and express my thanks to you.

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House

stands adjourned to re-assemble tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.

18.11 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, September 4, 1990/Bhadra 13, 1912 (Saka)