

lakuda and Chalalakudy in Kerala State. Daily hundreds of vehicles and thousands of people are crossing this level-crossing. Because of frequent passing of trains between Trichur and Ernakulam, traffic is held up at this level-crossing. Public are suffering because of frequent crossing. This is an industrial area. I request the Railway Minister to construct an overbridge on this important place near Irinjulakuda Railway Station-Kallettumkara which has also been recommended by the Government of Kerala.

**RESOLUTION RE : CONTINUANCE
OF PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT
OF FUNJAB**

—Contd.

**NATIONAL SECURITY (AMEND-
MENT) BILL, 1985-86**

—Contd.

PUNJAB BUDGET 1985-86

**DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON
ACCOUNT (PUNJAB)**

—Contd.

AND

**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR
GRANTS (1984-85) (PUNJAB)**

—Contd.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN (Shri Somnath Rath) :
The House will now take up further discussion on items 14,15,16,17 and 18 of the agenda.

Shri Raj Mangal Pande to continue.

SHRI RAJ MANGAL PANDE (Deoria) :
Mr. Chairman, Sir, Yesterday I was speaking to the House that even the best efforts of the present Prime Minister and the late Prime Minister did not work. On a correct appraisal of the facts, if you go a little bit earlier, we will find that here in the Delhi Gurdwara meeting, which our late Prime Minister addressed, she unilaterally made certain concessions and those were concessions of great importance. Even that did not have any effect on the minds of these people and so much so they were bitter, they thought that it was because of weakness that the Government was virtually reconciling to their demands. Now, with more killing and looting in Punjab, the situation has been aggravated to such an extent that even those people who thought that some kind of a solution might be forthcoming like the BJP leaders, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri L.K. Advani—we have seen their statement that has come in

today's paper—have now found that the attitude of the Akalis is far from satisfactory and they do not think that any honourable compromise with them could be possible. The demands they have made are very much indicative of the fact that no Government worth its name could ever accept them. They are demanding even withdrawal of cases against army deserters and withdrawal of cases against all those people who not only indulged in arson and looting but also acted in such a prejudicial manner to the unity and security of the country which any government will not tolerate.

Now, Sir in this National Security Bill which is before the House we have only to consider whether its application should be extended from three months to six months. I think the situation merits that this should be extended not only for six months but even further until a sound philosophy of being a part of the Constitution and part of the Indian nationality dawns upon the minds of these Akali people. They think that they could create a situation to coerce us into accepting their demands which will not be feasible and honourable under any situation. The most surprising thing is that if you talk to a taxi driver in Delhi he emphatically asserts the idea of fighting for Sikhastan and obtaining it by all means. What does it indicate? It indicates their mind is full of animosity against the whole of the country. This feeling has to be eradicated by persuasion or whatever means. The members of the opposition and 700 million people of this country are to be taken into confidence because no government can compromise with any kind of situation threatening the unity and integrity of the country. A few years ago they said that they were Hindus. But now they say they are a separate race. They want a separate flag and they claim a separate nationality. How on earth one can tolerate such kind of a situation? Any government which compromises its position on that I do not think people of this country will tolerate. So, this Bill should be passed without much dissent and discussion.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) :
Mr. Chairman, Sir, you will excuse me and the Hon. Minister will excuse me if I do not confine my remarks to either supporting or opposing these specific measures because these are measures which are meant to maintain, if I may say so, the *status quo* as it has

been in force for the last several months. One is the continuance of President's rule and the other is the extension of the period for National Security Act and so on.

Now, I was hoping that the Hon. Minister would take the House into confidence as to what other political measures are under consideration so that this *status quo*—I do not mean the *status quo* in respect of these legislative or administrative measures but general *status quo* that is there now in the form of a deadlock in Punjab—is considered from the point of view of being resolved. I am not bothered about the public postures and the continual somersault sometimes that some of these Akali leaders are indulging in. Nobody holds a brief for that and nobody has said at least in this House from any side that the so-called demands or pre-conditions being put forward on behalf of this Akali leadership should be accepted. I was very sorry to read in today's papers some fresh resolutions which have been adopted by the meeting of the Shrimoni Gurdwara Parbhandik Committee. The majority of them have expressed confidence in the leadership of Mr. Longowal. That is all right. But, attached to that, were certain pre-conditions all over again. There are some things which of course nobody, no citizen, no patriotic minded secular citizen can ever accept. I am sorry to say this. I do not know if the Press reports are correct. They have gone to the extent of saying that the jawans who risked their lives during operation Blue Star should be considered as traitors whereas the army deserters should be considered as heroes. This kind of position cannot be accepted by anybody. I have had occasion previously in this House to say. Well, the Government took a political decision to send the armed forces into Golden Temple. That was the decision of the Government. It was not the decision of the jawans. The jawans were asked to carry out certain orders under circumstances which, in my opinion, perhaps no other army in the world could have carried out. And they did their job in a way which I think deserves admiration and respect from everybody. But of course I think it would have been hundred times better if such a situation had not developed and it had not become essential to send the armed forces into a place of worship. However it is no use going into what is past history. What has happened has happened; we cannot undo

those things. This is a religious-minded country with so many religions being practised here; and if the people, not only the Sikhs, but any other community, the Hindus, or Muslims or Christians or any body at any time feel that their place of worship has been desecrated by the entry of army into a temple or a mosque or a church, I have no doubt in my mind that the community will react in the same way perhaps as the Sikhs are doing now. It is a different matter. But the Government should take the House into confidence, should take the opposition into confidence, as was being done at one stage before Operation Blue Star so that collectively we can put our heads together and try to think of some way. It is a very difficult task. I do not doubt it. Somebody can catalogue all the difficulties that have now accumulated over so many months. But after all this process which is there in the Punjab, what is the state of affairs which exists there, both the psychological condition as far as the majority of the sikhs are concerned, as well as the conditions of law and order? We have just seen in Chandigarh, Sir, that killings have taken place. Perhaps there is a motive behind it also because in the past we have seen that whenever there is any talk of any kind of any settlement or any proposal put forward or any kind of settlement the interested sections resort to terrorist methods, like killing and murder, in order to vitiate the atmosphere again. This may be an example of that. But, Sir, the Government owes it to the country because this is a sensitive border State. We are talking every day about the threat which is coming from across the border particularly because of the tremendous accumulation of offensive weapons in Pakistan in the hands of the military regime. Amritsar for example is situated 20 miles from the border of Pakistan. And, can we afford to let a border State which has always been in the past the primary bulwark of our defence whenever there has been aggression or attack, — can we allow a State like that—to remain in this condition? This is not something which is only concerning the Punjab or the Sikhs. It is a matter of the security and the defence of the entire country. And the longer things are allowed to drift, the longer this situation is perpetuated in the Punjab, the more dangerous and perilous it is for the entire country. Therefore, irrespective of the unreasonable stand that Shri Longowal and his friends are taking in public

at least—I do not know if this is their private opinion also—and the public posture of confrontation which is being taken by them, it is the duty of the Government which is ruling the country not to give up, not to resort to despair, but to make determined, patient and consistent efforts and take initiative to see that some way out is found out by which this matter can gradually be resolved. I know the Minister will tell us that it is precisely because of that they have released some of the leaders hoping that they would respond. Well, so far as their release goes, I welcome it, but the question has been raised as to why other leaders have not been released. If some have been released, why not others? Among the others who have not been released, at least one gentleman is there, who always had the reputation of being among the most moderates of the Akalis. You know that very well. Why has he not been released? A technical argument is being put forward by the Government that the persons who were released were those who were detained under the NSA, and those who were not released, there may be specific charges against them. If there are specific charges against them, of course, it is upto the Government, charges can also be withdrawn, or they can be put on trial for those charges and the matter can be expedited. I am not in favour of letting the things drag on for months and months together. I think that the Akali leaders who were associated with the earlier negotiations and talk before Operation Blue Star should all be available. If they do not choose to come for talk, if they continue to put forward impossible conditions, well, it is for the Government to see that public opinion is mobilised and educated against that unreasonable stand of theirs. Ultimately, the only way we can break this deadlock is by mobilising democratic and nationalist public opinion in the country in favour of a settlement and against the obviously, patently unreasonable stand which is being taken by some of these Akali leaders. Their view should be isolated from the bulk of public opinion. I think, we have missed the opportunity once long ago when it was possible and I make bold to say that there was a time when the majority of ordinary Sikhs, brothers and sisters in Punjab, ordinary farmers and toiling people were not at all in favour of these methods and violence and what the extremists were doing. There was a time when by taking certain bold steps, making certain unilateral declara-

tions, I feel the Government could have succeeded in isolating at that time Bhindranwale and his people from the masses of ordinary peace loving Sikhs. We have missed the bus as far as this is concerned.

Today, it is regrettable that perhaps majority of the Sikhs, the psychology at least, has become not very different from that of the extremists, and the problem has become ten times more difficult to solve.

I would suggest that initiatives must be taken. This matter cannot be solved only by the type of certain economic measures which were announced by the Prime Minister at Hussainwala the other day. Of course, I welcome them. That by itself is not going to solve the problem.

The Minister must be familiar with the open letter which has been addressed to the Prime Minister by the Sikh Forum a few days ago. I hope, you have read it. I do not know what is the attitude of the Government towards this Sikh forum. I have read this document very carefully. And I certainly find that it does not echo the demands or the pre-conditions or the postures of the Akali leadership at all. Many of these people, who are the signatories to this letter and who are the participants of the Sikh Forum are ex-service people, who I think have served this country with great distinction in times of danger and in times of war, and a number of others who are also distinguished people in their own walks of life. They have put forward certain proposals. I do not agree with all their proposals either. For example, they have said that all the people who have been arrested and put in prison on the charge of extremist activities or are associated with the extremist or terrorist activities should be released *en masse*. I do not agree with that, because I think that there are definitely some extremists among those people who are arrested. I also would like to say here that our reports from Punjab say that a large number of innocent people are also being arrested, rounded up and locked up by the police. I have received reports that in some villages those people who are well known as extremists and terrorists and belonging to that village are at large. They are going about openly. But from that very village, perhaps fifteen, twenty, thirty or forty innocent young men are being rounded and locked up. I think this kind of attitude is not

going to solve any problem. I am not for indiscriminate releasing of everybody. I am for some kind of a screening machinery or screening committee to be set up by the Government. That particular point has been put forward by the Sikh Forum also. And when that Screening Committee goes into this, those who are obviously victims of indiscriminate arrests and who have no connection and nothing to do with the extremists, should not be held in custody and they should be released.

Sir, now I will just briefly mention some points which I think should be the basis of some initiative. The first point and this is the minimum, obviously minimum now, without conceding which the doors towards an ultimate settlement of the problem will never be opened. This has become the common demand of every Sikh now, not only the Akali, but every other Sikh also whether we like it or not. By the way, I am never in agreement with this idea that where an entire community is concerned, the Government chooses to select one particular party or organisation among that community and elevate them to the position of being the sole spokesmen of that community. Nobody else is taken into account by the Government. Are there no Sikhs except the Akalis? There are other Sikhs. Some of them are in your party, some of them are in my party and some are in the CPM also and particularly there are all those people who belong to the Sikh Forum, who may be non-party people, who do not belong to any party at all. They are not brought into the picture at all. You did the same thing in Assam. Before the disturbances, all the people in Assam are to be represented only by the All Assam Students Union, AASU. They are made the sole spokesman of the entire people of Assam, including all the minorities. The Muslims, the tribals, the other non-Assamese people, nobody among these was ever given any kind of status as representatives in the prolonged negotiations which took place at one time. I think I was also a party to it. Only the AASU was there. Now, only the Akalis and nobody else will be talked to! Well, if you choose to do so, I do not think it will be very beneficial in the long run.

But, any way, the minimum point on which everything seems to be held up is the questions of this Inquiry. I have no hesita-

tion in saying that if you want to extend the scope of the enquiry, if you want to extend the terms of reference to cover the killings which have taken place before the murder of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and before Operation Blue Star, I have no objection. Let all those killings be gone into. But the Sikhs are naturally very much agitated and worked up now, and feeling alienated because of what happened in the early part of November last year; and I do not think that there is any ground on which the Government can refuse to hold an enquiry. After what took place in the capital city for three days and three nights, I shudder to think what the implications are going to be in the entire country in future. If large numbers of people who have directly participated in these crimes of murder, loot, arson and all that once feel there is going to be no action against them, they are going scot-free, no enquiry will be held and no responsibility will be fixed, you are breeding a new category of people who, during those three days and three nights did what they liked. If they went scot-free, you cannot in future prevent recurrence of this kind of a thing in different parts of the country. Then what is the use of talking about law and order, laws and all that?

You know very well, the Minister knows, that non-official enquiry reports have been published. You cannot prevent people from reading them. One is a report by the PUCL; one is a report by a non-official committee headed by the former Chief Justice of India, Mr Justice Sikri. I found recently in the Panjab at bus Stands that printed copies of the Sikri Report were being sold. People are buying, picking them up and reading them.

AN HON. MEMBER: It has been circulated to Members of Parliament.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You are more fortunate than I am, at least. But anyway I can buy a copy if I want. The PUCL report has been circulated; and the very disturbing thing is, I can tell you, that the longer the Government drags its feet on this question of an enquiry, more and more conviction is growing among the Sikhs that the Government has something to hide, and that the Government does not want an enquiry because it will reveal many things which will not be the liking of the Government or the ruling party. Therefore, with all the insistence at my command I would say: if you want to

change the situation and bring about some reconciliation at some stage—I do not say that simply by ordering an enquiry, immediately everything will be settled; it is not so simple now—without this, nothing can be settled. That is also true. Therefore, I would plead with the Government that they should find their way to ordering an enquiry with the least possible delay, and the terms of reference may be extended to cover other incidents also. I have no objection to that. Now about the Anandpur Sahib resolution. I am not referring to what is supposed to be the original resolution. I am referring to the 1978 Ludhiana resolution, which was adopted at a big, general conference of the Akali party. The text is given here in the letter of the Sikh Forum—the full text. There are twelve resolutions. I do not think the Minister will claim that this resolution has got anything in it which smacks of secessionism or separatism or anything like that. I do not know what the original resolution was. Perhaps it was very objectionable; but as far as the 1978 resolution goes, that part of it which deals with Centre-State relations, talks about the need for a more federal Constitution, more powers to the States and all that—I think it is resolution No. 1 out of these 12 resolutions. I do not think there is in it anything which can be called to be outside the ambit of the Constitution. They are demanding certain constitutional reforms in the spirit of what they consider to be the true spirit of federalism. My suggestion is that portion of this resolution should be referred to the Sarkaria Commission. It comes within the terms of reference of the Sarkaria Commission. That Sarkaria Commission is presided over by a very eminent Sikh judge and jurist. Let that Sarkaria Commission go into this part of the resolution, and pronounce on it.

Regarding Chandigarh, river water dispute and those other disputed villages on the border of Chandigarh and Haryana, my impression was that in the days before Operation Blue Star, we had more or less come to a common understanding on these issues at least. What remained was that the government should announce it. To this day nothing has been announced; even that Chandigarh should be the Capital City of the Punjab is not announced to this day. Is it still because of the pressure of some people in Haryana? I do not know. Possibly, it is; it was decided at that time. But the average Sikh can legiti-

mately suspect even today after so much blood has been shed; they are not sure whether Chandigarh will be given to Punjab. I think on this matter government is adding fuel to the fire by dragging its feet unnecessarily. The Prime Minister has announced a very welcome announcement at Husseniwala—that the work on the Thein Dam will be completed and expedited. In this connection, I just want to say that there is another big project in the Punjab, Hydel Project at Nangal. It has been completed and about 6000 workers most of whom are Sikhs are now being declared surplus; and they are going to be retrenched. So, I would request the government to look into these matters and see that these workers who have skill and the experience, who have constructed the Hydel Project at Nangal, instead of being thrown into the arms of unemployment now may be employed on this Thein Dam which the Prime Minister has assured will be completed.

These extremists and pro-extremists forces are not being prevented from holding meetings in the Punjab for the simple reason that they can hold meetings inside Gurdwara. Everyday, they are holding a meeting in the Gurdwara. But secular forces and democratic forces who are opposed to extremism, they are not allowed to hold any meeting because there is a blanket ban on meetings. This is every curious state of affairs. The extremists go on holding meetings and spreading their message through the Gurdwara meetings and those who are opposed to them who are fighting for the upholding of secularism and the unity of the country, on them, this ban of meetings is operative. Someway must be found out for this; otherwise, you will never be able to mobilize people. We do not believe that this crisis can be solved purely by administrative means and purely by government agencies. People are also interested and they should be given a scope to mobilize themselves and to speak out.

There are in the Punjab set-up some time on paper at least a number of Consultative Committees, Communal Amity Committees at different levels, district level, central level in the State and so on. Those Consultative Committees and Communal Amity Committees and so on, to the best of my knowledge, are existing only on paper; they have not been functioning seriously. My party in the

Punjab is very much interested that these committees should be made to function. All the parties who are interested in communal amity should be given a chance to function through these committees and do extensive propaganda among the people generally, so that one-sided propaganda by the extremists alone is not allowed.

Finally, on these two issues on which the deadlock should be broken are : (1) release of those leaders who are still being kept in prison; releasing some and not releasing others creates a very pernicious sort of a situation and the question of the enquiry. Without these two, I don't think anybody will listen. The Minister had told me a few days ago that a three-man committee of the Cabinet of which he is a distinguished member, is supposed to proceed to the Punjab for a visit to various places and to meet various people; that was several days ago. But, now, suddenly, we do not hear or read anything more about the visit of that committee. What has happened? When is that committee going? Is it going or is it not going? Are they prepared to take any more specific or concrete measures to announce it? Please do not say to me.

"If we agree to this thing, can you guarantee that those people will immediately change their mind and come running to the negotiating table." I cannot guarantee. The thing has become too complex and difficult now for anybody to guarantee anything like that. But, at least, if the government takes up forthwith a stand on specific measures, then it is possible to show to the people the unreasonable stand of those people who want to be unreasonable; and they may be isolated and public opinion can be roused against them and that is the only way step by step we can move towards a settlement.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri) : Mr. Chairman, so far as the extension of the National Security Act to that part of the country, that is Punjab, is concerned, it is welcomed by all sections of this House. The problem, as it appears, is not a problem which has appeared yesterday. Since years in this House we have repeatedly been deliberating over the problem of Punjab. One thing I want to place before this House. That is, have we created an atmosphere which will strengthen the secular fabric of Punjab or not? My submission that a section

of the political leadership has neither the foresight nor the strength in order to create such an atmosphere and call a spade a spade. That is the tragedy of the situation and they must go down in the history of India that they are primarily responsible for this situation. I want to know one thing. When the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was originally passed, Shri Charan Singh said that he condemned it. But what about the other leaders who were associated with the Government? What about the role of a section of the leaders of Janata Government? When Shri Prakesh Singh Badal was the Chief Minister of Punjab he passed orders that shaven sikhs will not be allowed in Government. That order was tolerated and nobody protested against it. Always, a section of the opposition wanted to exploit the situation against the ruling party. That is the crisis.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : This is objectionable.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY : I will establish it. A section of the Opposition wanted to exploit the situation. (Interruptions) Is it something unparliamentary? I will tell you. When a section of the political parties, they all met at Srinagar, what happened? What is the meaning of Srinagar Conclave?

(Interruptions)

You listen to me. Why were they given the dignity of being associated with a Party which was professing communalism in Punjab and all over the country? That is my submission.

A particular leader while going to the U.K., he had a Bhangra dance with some extremists. What was his reply to it? I saw a long article by him in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. Nowhere has he said that "I have not danced with the extremists". He had only given all evading answers. I say that this should have been outrightly condemned by the Opposition political parties as also the various activities of the extremists in Punjab. Today a section of the Sikhs, the Longowal Section of the Sikhs is having a Conference. What was their first slogan? Their first slogan was : "*Khoon ke Badale Khoon se lenge.*"

That was their first slogan. Who condemned it? May I know who condemned it? The problem is this. Whenever there has been a dispute, they raise the demand that the ban on the Sikh Students Federation should be removed. Those organisations which not only are professing secession but are also doing something to see that Punjab is separated from India. Should the ban on those organisations be removed? I would welcome a categorical suggestion from the Opposition parties that no ban be withdrawn till they rule out secession.

I want to say about many other aspects. Now, they are demanding that those who are deserters; should again be absorbed in the Army." Is it possible? What is the stand of the opposition in this regard? About the Delhi riot, I myself had given shelter to 20 leading Sikhs in my residence on the same day. I had told them that not a single man could touch them. Some of them are Members of Parliament also. Is it that one political party has done it? What is that unofficial enquiry committee report? Is it a fun? Is it fair and impartial in this regard? Have they collected evidence from all quarters? That is complicating the matter. The opposition wants to exploit the situation for their political ends. They want that the ruling party be condemned. That is the tragedy of the situation. Will the judicial enquiry on Delhi riots solve the problem? Will that bring all the Sikhs to the negotiating table? No. Those water and territorial disputes have gone to the background now and new demands have come up like Delhi riot enquiry, withdrawal of ban on Sikh Students Federation and that deserters should be absorbed in the Army. Not only that. Now, it is openly said by some Sikh leaders that the hijackers will be defended. Have they condemned the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi? Not categorically. This is the tragedy of the situation. After 100 years the history will judge as to who betrayed the great cause of secularism, national unity and integrity. Today it has appeared in the papers that SGPC has allocated Rs. 2.5 lakhs for army training to the Sikh Youths inside the Gurdwaras. What does it mean? Three or four days earlier, I read a news report in one of the national dailies that one international terrorist, Mr. Carol alias Jackal, had been employed by the Sikh fanatics to kill some VIPs in India. Should we compromise sacrificing the interests of neighbouring

States? Once upon a time we believed that if the religious demands were fulfilled, things would improve. The religious demands have been conceded, but nothing has happened. Step by step Government is conceding everything. Once Mrs. Gandhi had said that Chandigarh was built for Punjab. That was the indication. But all the same, the morcha was not withdrawn. There must be a mind for having negotiated settlement. And the first thing is that by and large, the Sikhs must come forward with a commitment that they are Indians and Punjab is a part of India and no secessionist activity will be tolerated. Who says this? All the Sikh leaders must come forward and say categorically that there will be no secessionist activity or Khalistan movement. The day after Blue star Operation it was announced on BBC that one of the self-styled leaders of Khalistan Movement had said that Indira Gandhi would be assassinated. So, the tragedy is that political leadership is not united, the tragedy is that they do not take it seriously to protect secularism. What is happening today? India is surrounded by countries which do not believe in secularism. There are number of countries in our neighbourhood which do not believe in the cult of secularism. They are conspiring against this. So, what is the challenge before us, we seem to forget. We had a clear mandate. Some of the Opposition parties should not forget how the people of India have reacted. Whenever the question of unity and integrity of this country came up, the entire nation has responded to the call of the Congress Party and of its beloved leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi. We should not forget that. Let us not go on attempting to have some political gain out of this situation. This is not the area where we can fight politically. The entire nation should stand united and fight against communalism and against the cult of violence, and any part of India from our geographical boundaries should be foiled. That should be the commitment of all citizens of this country and those who are true patriots, should stand together. This is the solution of the problem and not that you go there, give a speech, encourage the Sikhs to do this and do that and say that the Government is at fault, the Government should conduct an enquiry, Government should do this and Government should do that. All these types of talks encourage extremists. So my submission is that a time has come when all the

citizens of this country, irrespective of their political differences, should stand united and keep this country united because this is not an area where we can play our political game. Everybody must stand united and keep the cult of secularism and the philosophy of democracy intact in this country. This is my submission.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHURY (Katwa) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is hoped that the ruling party should have been more careful in selecting their speaker on at least this type of a sensitive subject. What just happened is totally unwise. We all are seriously attempting to find out a solution for the Punjab tangle and none of us wants to see that the situation in Punjab undergoes further deterioration. But such speech as made by the ruling party member is really repugnant to our desires.

At the outset, I must say that in principle we are very much opposed to these methods, such as, proclaiming President's rule or NSA. The past has proved that administrative measures have not been able to contribute a bit for the solution of Punjab tangle. The most disastrous incidents took place after the Government tightened its administrative measures through President's rule or NSA. What we require for Punjab is a political solution. It is very agonising that the situation in Punjab is still very alarming and there are attempts to aggravate it further. We are very much disturbed to see that communal polarisation in Punjab has taken a very serious turn and a sense of alienation is prevailing in the mind of the Sikh community.

Extremists are very much active there and they are sabotaging any attempt for a solution. These are the very extremists who are being abetted by the imperialist agents. We know that the extremist Sikh elements are working in some places abroad like London, New York and Canada in league with the J&K Liberation Front, which was responsible for the murder of Shri Mhatre in London. Similarly, they are collaborating with the Mujahideens. It is a very serious matter. What is really appalling is to see that just a few days ago, on the holiday, on the 7th of March, at Anandpur Sahib the extremists over-powered the Akali leaders. It was done on the Holi Mohalla day. Now

it has been stated that when a kind of negotiation was being attempted, they tried to sabotage it. So, the attempt should be to isolate the extremists.

It was gratifying to note that when some leaders of the Akali Dal were released, Shri Longowal particularly, he came out and said that he was against Khalistan, he was against extremism, he was for the unity of the country and he declared his adherence to the Constitution. But the painful thing is that, after that, under pressure from the Akali extremists, they are now out to make statements that are very harmful for the solution of the problem, very harmful for the unity of the country.

What has come out in the paper that has been referred to is that the SGPC in its budget has allotted some money to impart army training in the shrines. It is very much detrimental to the interests of the country, if it is true. We do not know whether it is true. Now it is for the Akali Dal to come out and pronounce their real intentions.

We are happy to see that, despite what the Prime Minister has said during the Lok Sabha election campaign, when he levelled accusations against the opposition, obviously wrongfully charging that they have supported the secessionist contents of the Anandpur Sahib resolution it—in fact, it was strongly denied by us and we declared that none of us supported it, we are for the unity of the country, we have proper suggestion how things can be done rightly—despite, all that it is gratifying to see that a statement was made in the Rajya Sabha on the 14th March by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, announcing that if the Akalis considered the Anandpur Sahib Resolution as a Centre-State problem, it can be referred to the Sarkaria Commission and that he does not make it a pro-condition for talks. We welcome that step and we feel that the Government stand on this should be further clarified.

The second welcome statement by the Hon. Home Minister on the same day in the Rajya Sabha was that we do not rule out the possibility of that kind of enquiry in regard to the Delhi affair, if that would provide some solution to the problem. That is also a very welcome step.

The other announcement is that the 2nd June statement of the late Prime Minister

will be the basis for negotiations. That is also a very welcome statement. Now if the Akali Dal want a solution, it is up to them to come out with their suggestions and proposals. If they fail to do that, it will be really a very harmful development, not for the country, not for Punjab, but for the Sikh community, for whom they are supposed to be taking up this fight. Now, the Akali Dal should keep in mind that no party, no individual in our country will allow this country to be disintegrated. We all will defend the unity of the country. There may be genuine grievances of the people that ought to be considered, but Akali Dal's continuous surrender and compromise with extremism has been making things very difficult. We want that the Akali Dal leaders should come out in condemnation of the killing of the BJP leader, Shri Manchanda, two days ago. This is very desirable for creating congenial atmosphere.

While on this point, I, of course, welcome the release of some of the Akali leaders, but as has been referred very much, some more Akali leaders are still being kept behind the bars, I hope the Government will consider their release also. Their release will help in the creation of congenial atmosphere, because none of them alone will be able to take any decision. We feel this differential attitude in releasing some and detaining some others will not be helpful towards a solution. This will rather continue to perpetuate the position of drift and drag on the solution. This position on the part of the Government will be harmful as it has been in the past.

In the Rajya Sabha on 14th March, and even at some other place, the Prime Minister said that our acceptance of religious demands has proved to be a wrong step. That is what we were telling that your acceptance of religious demands has only aided the extremism. We have to take a very forthright stand and that only will be helpful in the solution. We cannot allow the Punjab situation to drag on any more. We all know that it is a border State and across the border Pakistan is being armed by the US imperialism. Therefore if the situation in that area continues to be like this, it will certainly pose a serious problem to the security of our country. Therefore, in this context the Government has to come out with a clear mind and whatever indications which the Government have given in Rajya Sabha,

should be made more clear, particularly in regard to the holding of inquiry into the Delhi incidents. As Mr. Indrajit Gupta says we do not have any objection to the inclusion of incidents at other places. Those incidents also can be taken within the ambit of the inquiry.

Then what should be the attitude of the Government in regard to the demands of the Akalis, in regard to Chandigarh and other related issues? We feel that there will come a situation where negotiations should be possible. The Akali Dal should not miss this opportunity and that they should not surrender to extremists. But despite all this if unfortunately Akali Dal fails to come up for negotiations then it will be the duty of the Government to take the opposition into confidence and not bother about them. The Government should unilaterally declare its decisions on Chandigarh, Water disputes and about border villages. You should come forward unilaterally. Country cannot go about with anybody's whims. We have to take a decision. In that what is required is to make it success. For that you have to take the people into confidence. You have to mobilise the people; Being the ruling party, you have a very pertinent role to play in the mobilisation of the people. We have to go to the people of Punjab, mobilise their support. And what is your record in this direction? You have to do some introspection. That is the political test for the Members of the Congress Party. Are they going to the people? We in our humble way are trying, but still we have to do more.

That is the vital thing. We have heard about overseas Congress what they are doing. Abroad extremists very active. Many sikhs are residing abroad? Who were taking things to them about the real condition of the country? Government seems to be inclined to depend only on Administrative Service. That is not possible. And for the mobilisation of the people what has been referred to here by the Hon. Member, Mr. Indrajit Gupta is that the extremists can go to Gurudwara, they can go to hold their meetings there. So, others also can go to mosques and temples. But what about the democratic people? Our temple is the country. Our temple is the streets, and our deity is the people. We cannot hold meetings because of ban on holding meetings there. When we are

not allowed to hold meetings there, extremists are holding meetings in Gurudwaras. That means, your ban is not effective so far as they are concerned, but their holding meetings in Gurudwaras is harming the democratic people. In this connection I request you to create such a situation through lifting of ban on public mobilisation so that things can be taken to the people and mobilisation so that things can be taken to the people and mobilisation can be done.

Now, I want to tell something about the budget. Certain things are to be referred to here. Much has been said about Thein Dam. But in the budget nothing is there considering the depth of the problem in Punjab. About Thein Dam, it all started in 1964, many years ago, and the cost for that was estimated very well over Rs. 64 crores—now it is Rs. 700 crores. Politics and economics and everything has been dragging on. So also construction has been dragging on. In this budget the allocation for it is not more. Then what is the intention of the Government? They are agriculturally advanced, but industrially backward; they have their unemployment problem but industry is poorly off in this budget. So, that has to be taken into consideration.

Another thing is Kundi area which consists of Gurdaspur, Ropar and Hoshiarpur districts. There, people are suffering from lack of proper drinking water supply. Their case has to be taken up. But that has not been mentioned in this budget.

Another point is about Government wasteland and evacuees' land which have been occupied by small peasants. Now what is happening? The Government is putting these lands into auction. They are not giving the opportunity to the occupiers to have that land and that is also creating a problem. So, you have to take a decision on this.

I do not want to take much of the time of the House. It is required of the Government that they take a firm step on the points we have raised. They have to go ahead with the negotiations and they have to give up the policy of drift and mobilise the people and they have to take the Opposition into confidence for this. After all this, if the Akali Dal has failed to come up, then the Government taking the Opposition into

confidence should unilaterally declare their position regarding all matters that are pending and go forward to save the country.

[Translation]

SHRI K. D. SULTANPURI (Simla) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the National Security (Amendment) Bill brought forward by the Hon. Minister in this august House.

The Government had held prolonged discussions with the Akalis on the religious demands included in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution but the way the Akalis burnt the copies of the Constitution was a flagrant violation of the Constitution. In this way an attempt was made to further aggravate the situation in the Punjab as a result of which a number of persons were killed and innocent bus passengers were done to death. Shri Atwal, D. I. G., Police was murdered outside the Gurdwara. We just watched these incidents, hoping that the situation would improve. But the Akalis never came out with a statement condemning the excesses committed on the people of the Punjab.

If any section has done a commendable job in the Punjab, it is the brave farmers, who have increased the production. Punjab has been the biggest producer of foodgrains in the entire country and the people of India too have stood by the Punjab. All the big projects and industries in Punjab today are the result of concerted efforts made not only by the Government of India but by the Congress Governments of the State also and this has given a leading position to the State. But in spite of all this, Ropar Canal was breached. It was is the Government of India which provided funds for all the development projects undertaken there, but the extremists breached the Canal and diverted the flow of water to the other side.

Therefore, if peace is to be restored in Punjab, it is necessary that the National Security Act is strictly enforced in Chandigarh and Punjab so that the life and property of the people could be protected. We should also keep in mind that their leaders should be released only if they are prepared to talk peacefully, live in peace with other people in India and work for the defence of the country, but, if they talk against the interest of the country, and the opposition parties say that they should be invited to talks,

then I would like to ask whom we should invite. The Opposition Members should have made them understand the position in proper perspective and indicated what their suggestions were. But they are not prepared to make any suggestions.

We shall have to suppress the elements who are disturbing the peace in the country. If we do not defend our country, then we shall not be proving our loyalty to it. We shall have to pay particular attention to this aspect as Punjab is a border State and attempts are being made to disturb the peace in the State. My area touches Anandpur Sahib, Ropar and on the other side it is contiguous to Dehradun and Tibet. These extremists entered those industrial areas which are adjacent to my constituency but they could not succeed in those hill areas because it is not easy to escape. In hills one is caught easily. Some extremists had gone to upper areas like Rodu but they were apprehended by the Himachal Police. You will have to screen the Punjab Police personnel also. There should not be any delay in this regard. If we go on delaying it, then the things will go out of hand. Murderers of democracy should not be spared. You will recall that in the 1980 elections to Parliament, Shri Lehna Singh Tur was elected as the lone Akali Member. All others elected were from the Congress Party. Shri Nihalsinghwal had asked here what Shri Bhindrawale intended to do? Shri Bindrawale belonged to his village Rode and he used to live in district Patiala, in PEPSU State and there he was... *He went there and started living in a Gurudwara from where he gave a call to all the Sikhs not to obey any order of the Government, but all the Sikhs stood by India and only a few obeyed Bhindrawale; such persons can be found in every community and they should be suppressed because the people who want to dismember the nation should never be tolerated.

Regarding Punjab, I would like to say that though it is a small State, yet the country has invested a huge amount in it. You will be surprised to know that many canals have been built and big projects have been constructed in the Punjab. And recently our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi announced that a very big industry was proposed to be set up in the Punjab. In a meeting held in the Punjab he stated this and here also he has

said so. Our leader Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated, but there are certain people who are not ready to say that her assassination was a treachery unto the nation. Therefore, I want to say that the people who want to destroy the country should never be tolerated. At the same time, the people who are honest and who stand for national integrity should be respected everywhere. The traitors and enemies of the country who want to stale the nation in the back should not be tolerated at all.

Our state of Himachal Pradesh is a backward state and the whole of its border is contiguous with Punjab and all the industries in Himachal Pradesh are also located in the border areas. It being a border area, it is easy for people to cross the border easily. I have been writing to the Central Government and I have been raising this issue in this House also several times that those industries should be shifted into the interior and we should be saved from this vulnerable position.

Similarly, crores of rupees have been spent by both the Central and State Governments on constructing a canal in Haryana also, but there is no water in it, the reason being that the constructing of that part of canal in which Punjab is being obstructed, although it was inaugurated several years ago. It is a national loss. Some people want that the people here may die of starvation and instead of green revolution there should be bloody revolution.

Similarly, training centres have been set up in Kashmir to train people for creating disturbances in Punjab and to shoot or kill people. Hence, I would like to say that when National Security Act is invoked against anti-national elements, it should not be opposed. If we don't stand united, there will be disintegration of the country. That is why our leader has said that he is prepared to sacrifice his life in the interest of national unity.

Besides, I would like to say that the persons who deserted the Army and resorted to massacre should be given due punishment for their act of treason. Such persons should not be spared at all.

The problem of Akails is very complicated because they issue contradictory statements.

*expunged as ordered by the chair.

In the Janata Government, Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Barnala were Ministers. They used to meet in gurudwaras. Turbans used to be tied there and after chanting 'Jo bole so nihal' they would come out. You have been in direct touch with the Akalis. I am pained to say that all the person murdered in Punjab— whether Lala Jagat Narain or Rameshji, who was a noted journalist and an editor, or the M. L. As. or Shri Tiwari, Member of Rajya Sabha— were intellectuals. I desire that our border should be protected and full protection should be given to the people. When Shri Nihalsinghwalā said something, his car was fired at. Had his son not been with him, he would have been finished. You will have to take strict measures in this regard. I know Shri Chavan is a strong man and whatever he does, he does, with a sense of honesty and devotion. I hope he will enforce NSA in Punjab strictly and remove the sense of fear from the minds of the people. I would like to caution the Minister that all precautions should be taken for the security of our national leader, Shri Rajiv Ghadhi when he proceeds on foreign tour, because there is likelihood of his being shadowed by extremists. The entire responsibility rests on the Home Minister and the Home Ministry. You should take effective steps and enforce them strictly.

With these words I support the Bill.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is very unfortunate that we are discussing here the situation in Punjab and there is no representative of Punjab in this House. This is the first time when the Budget of a State is being discussed without any representative of that State to participate in it. Last time, the same was the situation about Assam, but some of its Members were there in the House and they could express their views in regard to their State. The situation in Punjab is definitely becoming very grave. The new Government have been elected with a massive mandate in the name of the unity and integrity of the country. The Prime Minister has observed that his first concern would be to resolve the Punjab tangle, to restore normalcy in the State and to hold elections to Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha in Punjab. For this purpose he has set up a high-powered Cabinet Committee. Certain steps have also been taken. Some Akali leaders have also been released. Gov-

ernment have tried to create an atmosphere which should be helpful in solving the Punjab problem through negotiations. Some way out will be found out through negotiations. But today it appears that in the matter of Punjab we are back to square one.

Earlier also, before the Operation Bluestar the Punjab problem was discussed in this august House on several occasions and the consensus was that the problem should be solved through negotiations. Leaders of the Opposition were also associated in the talks. Bipartite, and tripartite talks were held, but whenever some solution was in sight, disturbances used to be created in Punjab. Some violent incidents used to take place in Punjab or Chandigarh or Delhi which stalled the negotiations and created a deadlock.

There were forces which did not like such negotiations. There were occasions when an agreement was almost concluded with the Akali Dal, but the Dal backed out of that agreement. The leaders of Akali Dal were under some pressure which forced them to back out even after reaching an agreement. Today also, the same situation is there. The Prime Minister took certain steps to create an atmosphere which should prove conducive to solving the problem through negotiations. The Akali leaders have been released. He went to Punjab recently and made announcements in regard to the economy of Punjab, setting up of factories and construction of a dam there. When all these steps were being taken, a BJP leader was murdered in Chandigarh. Recently a Press report has appeared that some Akali extremists, who are active in foreign countries will try to murder the Prime Minister or other important persons of India during their visits to foreign countries. It has also been reported in the press that the Akalis are mobilising funds for imparting armed training in gurudwaras and other places. What do all these things indicate?

Earlier it used to be said that in the Akali Dal, there are moderates such as Sant Longowal and Prakash Singh Badal and there are also extremists who are nearer to Bhindrawale. Today, it appears that there are no moderates and all have become extremists. Extremism is seen everywhere. What should be done in such a situation? How can the

Punjab problem be solved and who will take up this work? Mr. Chairman, you will also agree that the unity and integrity of the country cannot become a subject of negotiations. I am very much pained and I would like to express my feelings on this. Some newspapers have given an indication that the Government might refer the Anandpur Sahib Resolution to the Sarkaria Commission. I would like to know whether the policy of the Government in regard to Anandpur Sahib Resolution has undergone any change? The Anandpur Sahib Resolution hits at the very unity and integrity of our country. It is not the policy of this Government to discuss the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Throughout the country, a doubt is being expressed whether the Anandpur Sahib Resolution can become the basis for negotiations. The Home Minister must clear the position in this regard in this House and also before the entire country. I would like to suggest that he should categorically state that neither can the Anandpur Sahib Resolution form the basis for negotiations nor can it be referred to the Sarkaria Commission, but issues other than that can be discussed, and the economic and social problems can be discussed. If the people of Punjab want more concessions in the economic and social fields and if they have some grievances or religious demands, then these can be discussed. Most of the religious and economic demands have been accepted and I am of the opinion that there is no harm in handing over Chandigarh to Punjab.

The Central Government can make alternative arrangements for the capital of Haryana and I feel that the people of Haryana will accept it. The question of referring the Anandpur Sahib Resolution to the Sarkaria Commission or to hold talks thereon does not arise. It is for the Akali Dal to decide how to make a start. Sant Longowal or other Akali leaders should bear in mind that the Government of India as also the country will not be prepared to hold talks at the cost of the unity and integrity of the country. If someone puts forth such a demand or talks in such a vein, Government will not be prepared to hold talks even if the Punjab Problem becomes more complicated. If they are keen to solve the Panjab problem and restore the same situation as obtained before the "Operation Bluestar" or prior to the Bhinderawale phenomenon, then they should honestly come to the negotiation table, and I

think Government's mind is open in this regard. Government are ready to give any concession to the people of Punjab particularly the Sikhs within the framework of the unity and integrity of the country. They will have to accept basically that Punjab is an integral part of this country like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. There cannot be any negotiation about secession of the State.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a very painful thing that today a large number of our Sikh brethren meet us and ask us who is at fault for all that happened in Punjab before the "Operation Bluestar" and after it and why a part of the Sikh community has been alienated? The Sikh Community is a leading community of our country. It played a major role in the country's independence struggle, the country's development and when it came to defending the country, they were always in the forefront. Who is at fault for this feeling of alienation? Are Government at fault for all this? I say it is the Akali Dal which is responsible for this. Government have always given concessions to the Sikhs. The Sikhs have always been given Government jobs which were on the high side in proportion to their population. They always relied on the Sikhs. It is correct that they earned this confidence on account of their good deeds.

Who is creating lack of confidence today? It is being created by the Akalis and the extremists. It is not being created by the Congress Government. The Akalis should think over it.

I am surprised to note that top Army Officers, intellectuals and journalists write things which are beyond my comprehension. Who is responsible for this? What has been done by Government in this regard? The Akali Dal alone is responsible for creating the present atmosphere in Punjab so far as the Sikhs are concerned.

I agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta's point that the Akali Dal should not be considered as the lone representative of the Sikhs. In the last Lok Sabha, only one Member of the Akali Dal was elected to this House, the rest of the Members belonged to the Congress. If elections are held there even now, I am sure, the Congress would come out victorious with a better margin. Therefore, the

Akali Dal alone should not be treated as representative of the Sikhs. Only the Akali Dal does not represent Sikhs. The Congress party, and the Japata Party, C.P.I. (M), C.P.I. also represent Sikhs. Almost all parties have Sikhs as their members. I would like to give a suggestion that Government should convene a round table conference. Representatives of all organisations in Punjab, whether they are political organisations, social organisations, or educational organisations, should be invited to this round-table conference and the Punjab problem discussed with them with an open mind. If the Akali Dal wants to join these talks, it may do so. Today, there is need to create such an atmosphere throughout the country, especially among the Sikh Community in Punjab.

If the Akali Dal does not consider itself responsible for the present atmosphere, it should come forward for talks. I think the Government of Shri Rajiv Gandhi would not hesitate to accept their reasonable and just demands which are consistent with the unity and integrity of the country.

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar): The crisis of Punjab is the greatest challenge that free India as a nation has so far faced. It is a litmus test not merely for the ruling Party but for all of us as a nation. The problem of Punjab has proved to be a tragedy of errors and a story of missed and lost opportunities. It is a classic political illustration of a Greek tragedy. Everybody see that the whole thing was building up to a tragic denouncement and nobody appeared to have a will to stem the rot that was setting in. A student of history can trace the root of the problems to the Imperialist conspiracy during India's freedom struggle. But as you all know the current phase of the crisis has begun about three years back.

It all began when Akalis under the pressure of extremists called a Panthic convention and formed a charter of 45 demands. At that time Government of India did not agree to any of the demands whatever. At a later stage Mr. Parkash Singh Badal in a letter to the Opposition leaders shortened them to 10 demands out of which 4 were religious and 6 concerned all Panjabis.

At the tripartite conference which was attended by the Opposition parties as well Akali Dal was persuaded by Opposition parties not to insist on Anandpur Sahib Resolution. In fact, at that conference agreement was reached on all subjects except one, namely, the question of territory relating to Abohar and Fazilka. At a later stage a consensus was reached on this question as well but somehow the agreement did not materialise.

PROF. N. G. Ranga : Why ?

14.48 hrs.

[SHRI N. V. RATNAM *in the Chair*]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I don't want to go into that. It could be because the government of the day did not have the will or it could be because Akali Dal leadership did not display sufficient political will to stand up to the blackmail of extremists. It could be a case of collective failure of our national leadership. I do not want to go into all that now. But I am only sorry to say that this issue has been made a plaything of partisan politics. In our young democracy we have had many glorious traditions. I may in this connection recall to you now Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as Prime Minister of India tabled a motion on the Floor of this very House when a veteran Opposition leader, Acharya Kriplani was pillorised by a news magazine. But then, Sir, look at the level of debate in the house today! Just now one Hon. Member was levelling grave allegations against the leader of Opposition parties. If the member alone had made allegations I would ignore them but may I bring to your notice that the Hon. Prime Minister of the country, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had himself levelled grave allegations against the leadership of the Opposition parties. On the eve of Lok Sabha polls he said that the Opposition parties had supported the Anandpur Sahib Resolution but nobody has so far produced a shred of evidence in this behalf.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Will the Hon. Member give me a minute ?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : No. I am not yielding. Very subtly an attempt was made to demolish the distinction between Opposition and Sikhs in the first place; bet-

ween Sikhs and Akalis in the second place, between Akalis and extremists in the third place and in the ultimate analysis the distinction between the opposition and the extremists themselves. One thought that this game of calling names would be put an end to, once the Lok Sabha elections are over. When Mr. H.K.L. Bhagat was sent as an emissary of Prime Minister to leaders of opposition parties and sought their cooperation one thought that this dangerous game of treating Punjab as a partisan issue would be put an end to. But then, again at the time of Assembly elections, the Prime Minister himself started the ball rolling. He began to suggest that the opposition parties had been in league with secessionist elements. In fact he referred to some meeting of a former Janata Minister at London with some Sikhs. I take this opportunity to demand a judicial enquiry into the allegations made by the Prime Minister against opposition leaders. If Prime Minister does not agree to that, he must agree to withdraw the charges. I do not want the Prime Minister of this great nation of 700 million people to make any irresponsible, malicious or false allegations and get away with them.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : He is an elected Prime Minister, not nominated.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He is not elected to make irresponsible statements. He is elected to run this country in a responsible way.

The problem of Punjab poses a serious challenge to all the cherished values of our freedom struggle and of free India. Now the Hon. Home Minister is seeking extension of President's rule. Against this background there is no option but to agree to extension of President's rule. With this the primary values of democracy that we cherish are getting eroded. Even the value of secularism is getting eroded. That apart, when non-economic issues like Punjab dominate the minds of people, basic economic issues and basic social issues get relegated to the background. As a consequence, reactionary forces gain the upper hand.

The budget presented by the Finance Minister is a clear indication of the upper hand that the reactionary forces have gained in the country on account of number of developments including that of the Punjab

crisis. The economic progress of Punjab has been something which has been admired by the people of the country. Punjab was one State of which all of us have been proud. People in all parts of the country used to derive inspiration from the economic model of Punjab. Our Finance Minister's budget shows that during 1984-85 there was a deficit of Rs. 70 crores of revenue. This shows what tremendous havoc has been caused to the economic fabric of Punjab State, after Blue Star operation. A responsible daily like 'The Hindu' in its editorial stated that the actual cost of Blue Star Operation itself was of the order of Rs. 100 crores. Apart from that, the cost involved in the economic damage such as breach in the canals had itself amounted to one thousand crores of rupees. It is therefore, correct that the Finance Minister had in fact considered the proposal to grant Rs. 100 crores as special assistance to the State of Punjab. Such a gesture in my view is very right and very welcome.

Sir, this is perhaps the last opportunity we have for a peaceful negotiated settlement of the problem. The Government did well, in my view, by releasing some of the prominent leaders of Akali Dal. But this was a very half-hearted halting, hesitant measure. In my considered view, other leaders like Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Tohra must also be released. As we all know Shri Prakash Singh Badal has been a stout and an authentic moderate on the whole question of Punjab.

Sir, I also welcome the change in the attitude of the Prime Minister towards the question of Punjab. At one time, he was not prepared to touch the Anandpur Sahib Resolution with a barge pole or a pair of tongs. But I was happy to know that the Prime Minister recently gave an indication that he did not find everything wrong with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and only some parts of the Resolution were objectionable. He did not even object to refer those parts to Sarkaria Commission.

Now, coming to the question of demand for judicial inquiry into the riots that followed the assassination of our late lamented Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, if this is the only obstacle, I do not see any reason why the Government should stand in the way. I am also happy to note that the

Prime Minister gave an indication of his preparedness to consider this also. Now, in my view, it is the Akali Dal's responsibility to rise to the occasion. Whenever in the past any concerted attempt was made to bring about settlement, the extremists were always at work to create condition under which the solution would never materialise and we find the standard pattern followed by them in this respect was repeated again in the form of incidents that took place in the last two days. This is one of the actions to spoil the atmosphere that is slowly building itself up namely the killing of B.J.P. leader. But it is necessary for the Government and the leadership of Akali Dal not be deflected from the determined course in regard to this issue.

Sir, whatever allegations the ruling party might have levelled against the Opposition parties, I would like to state that patriotism is not the monopoly of the Congress-I Party and I may also state that those who doubt the patriotism of veteran opposition leaders cannot themselves be credited with the over-dose of these patriotism. We are so intensely patriotic that we are prepared to lend our unstinted unqualified cooperation for any meaningful initiative to be taken for the solution of the problem.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Howrah): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by the Hon. Home Minister for the continuance of the Proclamation in Punjab and also the Punjab Budget. Sir, with rapt attention, I was hearing the contributions made by several Hon. Members from the Opposition. It is a
15.00 hrs.

fact that the question of Punjab should not be discussed with narrow angularities, whether from our side or their side. I quite share the concern of my hon. young friend, Shri Saifuddin Chowdhury that this is a matter to be discussed and dealt with sincerity of purpose in order to achieve the goal for the unity of the country.

We are well aware right from the days of the national struggle of the role played by Punjab and many other parts of the country. Gurudev Tagore, while he composed the national song, paid the highest tribute to the contribution of Punjab. The second sentence of the national song starts with no other part

of the country, but Punjab—*Punjab Sind Gujarat Maratha, Dravid Utkal Banga.*

Gurudev Tagore himself came forward to denounce the British regime in those days and declared that he would not care for the knight title given by the British to him when the Jallianwala massacre took place. Swami Shardhanand came forward from Bengal to Jallianwala Bagh and for the first time in his life being a *Sanyasi* renounced his *Sanyas* and, came in the national mainstream, and took part in the direct politics in the Congress session when it was held in Amritsar. Therefore, Punjab culturally, politically is and emotionally is not the link of Punjab alone, it is the link of the whole country. Late Lala Lajpat Rai was a great martyr of the country. We all know what contributions all martyrs from Bhagat Singh to Lala Lajpat Rai made for the freedom of the country.

I have seen the extremist movement during my student days in 1967 to 1971 in Bengal. It was written on the walls throughout that the power would come out of the barrel of the gun. At the initial stage, it is a fact that irrespective of political parties, whether they belonged to the CPIM, CPI or Congress, each one became a victim in their hands, but with great tenacity they went to the people to convince them of one aspect that it is not the barrel of the gun that is powerful, it is the people and their will which is powerful. I am sorry to say that if such efforts would have been made by all the political forces inside Punjab even long before the Blue Star Operation, though the casualties of Congress, CPI or CPIM would have been much more, but I am sure, whether it was Bhindranwale and his gangsters inside the temple, or others, their guns would have been shown as the smallest ones than the might of the people. But what had happened had happened.

The opposition is very much anxious to know what Government is doing about Punjab. First, I would like to deal with Shri Jaipal Reddy from Janta Party, who just spoke. If some Members like him are very keen to know about enquiry into the riots that took place following assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, I would like to tell them that the greatest enquiry of this land was held by the people of the country in the last Lok Sabha elections. Then, the Members from the opposition constantly

argue the point as to why our Prime Minister has accused the opposition leaders. Even if the Prime Minister has accused or expressed some remarks that the opposition did not behave with responsibility, can you deny the fact that during the last Lok Sabha elections throughout the country, you deliberately painted on the walls that there was only one party, which was responsible for the riots? You tried to convince the electorates about this. I can substantiate this with documents and photos; you maliciously abused the Congress Party and their leaders that they engineered the riots. But what happened when you placed these facts before the people? They are the best judge. What was their reply? Their reply was that this was not a fact. Those who are rioters, they are rioters, do not bracket them with Communists, Congress or any other party. They are rioters. You were talking of the non-official enquiry committee and the so-called judges and the PUCL documents. I know the PUCL people. There are some people of this country, who are not intellectuals, but they are professional intellectuals and traders. I am sorry to say that. Why was this inquiry not held when there was a massacre in Belchi, when Janata Government was in power? Why such an inquiry was not held when large scale rigging reports were received from Bengal after the Assembly elections? Mr. Turkunde was given the facts. Can they deny the facts? At that time, they did not find time for an enquiry. They are much more keen on the inquiry on what happened after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. They are not keen on the inquiry why and when the baby of Anandpur Sahib Resolution was born, why and when the head of the Nirankaris, Lala Jagat Narain, D. I. G. Atwal and lastly the BJP leader in Chandigarh were killed. They did not go into these aspects. Had they travelled widely in Punjab to see the situation on the spot and to face the extremists? Had they ever said that we were the intellectuals and we would like to shed our blood first if you did not stop the killings? No. They would sit in Delhi and would like to have an inquiry when Congress is in power. With all my regards towards the intellectuals, I would say that many of them are professionals and traders. They are not intellectuals in the real sense and meaning of the term. Had they been really intellectuals, where had they gone when Mrs. Gandhi was

appealing in her television speech on Punjab long before the Operation Blue Star and said, "I am compelled to take this stand, but still I am thinking, if they resume to talk to me."? Where had those intellectuals gone then? Had they gone out? Could they not persuade them to come and resume the talks? Is it the behaviour of the intellectuals that they would hold an inquiry and submit the literature to the Government. Will Government take cognizance of it? I equally blame them. They are irresponsible cowards. When a coward's pen writes, it is not ink that flows from it but the motives. They just take the opportunity of the hour and make things much more confusing. Well, of course it is a fact that these are riots, and many more people took advantage of the situations and the whole people of the country became panicky. I shed my tears days in and days out when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. I equally shed my tears for those families who had lost their people and became victims in the hands of anti-social elements. No one is happy. Do you think that we are happy? Do you think that we engineered the whole thing? Do you think that it is the Congress Party behind it? It is the assumption of the Opposition and of course, people replied to that.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I would like to ask a simple question. Our CPI(M) friends from Bengal (I do not want to bring in politics) always go on asking for inquiries and inquiries. Being a Leftist Party, will they answer a very simple question? When the refugees of Markh Jhanpi were killed, were you ready to have an inquiry? Did you instal a single inquiry when riots on a large scale took place? What can a judicial inquiry do? It can at best report as to how many were killed and as to what was the quantum of property lost? How could you identify the persons who were hired elements? They go here and there. About the riots in Pakistan, riots in Greater Calcutta killing how many inquiries revealed how many facts? Mahatma Gandhi died and the casualty occurred to the Indian National Congress. It was Lal Bahadur Shastri who while concluding a Treaty of Friendship with Pakistan died in Tashkent. It was Mrs. Indira Gandhi who sacrificed her life and nobody else. On every occasion, whenever any crisis came, I have seen that the greatest casualty was suffered by the Indian National Congress. The

Opposition may say whatever they like. The Indian National Congress and its leaders gave everything for the country. The Opposition leaders forget all the things. In the past everytime they said that the Opposition should be taken into confidence. The day Rajivji took over as Prime Minister of the country, that very day or the next day, he met the Opposition to deal with the situation in Delhi. He was all serious. Indiraji when he was alive, not on one occasion, but on three occasions, held discussions, with the Opposition.

The Opposition Parties say that they are not with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Can you show any political text, not merely the speeches, but the text of the political parties like the Indian National Congress saying, 'here we are. We condemn the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and its motive altogether.'? No, Some say a few parts of it. Some say this part and some others say that part. Sir, I want to raise this question, when the baby was born.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Fortunately, even the Prime Minister has now recently declared that he was not at all against the Anandpur Sahib Resolution as a whole, but there were certain parts. He said that.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Yes. I am coming to it. Shri Jaipal Reddy said that they have no links with it. I would like to remind him as to when the baby was born. The baby was born in Ludhiana Resolution in 1978 on 27-29 October. The Janata Party was then united under the leadership of Talvandiji. And the chairman of the drafting committee was no less a person than the Janata Government's Minister, Mr. Surjeet Singh Barnala. And in his presence, who was the special invitee to address the gathering of Akalis in Ludhiana when the resolution was adopted—do you know it? It was the united Janata Party's president, Mr. Chandra Shekhar. He addressed the gathering. Yes; I say this with authority. He addressed the gathering.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : If you yield, I would like to say something.

SHRI PRIYA RANJANDAS MUNSI ; I will finish ; then you can give your com-

ments. I do not blame them. What I want to say is that it is not that it was not known to them; it was done in his presence. He was a special invitee. He addressed the gathering. The resolution was drafted, and only one sentence was mentioned, saying that the resolution was being adopted in the light of the Anandpur Sahib resolution. What is that light, is still not known to us. That document was passed in 1978. Who was the Prime Minister at that time? Shri Morarji Desai. It was placed before Mr. Morarji Desai. He took some objection. He did not make any murmur. There was no compulsion on the Janata Party at that stage from the Akali party that if Mr. Barnala was out of the Government, the Government would collapse. No, But they kept quiet. They did not make things known to the people.

At that stage, the baby was born, and he was allowed to grow, and grow to such an extent that when Indiraji came to power, the matter was referred to at an appropriate moment. Is it not political blackmail? Is it not a shame?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Will you kindly yield?

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : While you spoke, I did not say anything.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : The Anandpur Sahib resolution was passed in 1973. That is the first thing. In 1978., another version was published. At that time, Mr. Chandra Shekhar was present, and told the Pressmen that he was not in agreement with many portions of the resolution. It was on record.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : I am neither holding any brief on behalf of Mr. Chandra Shekhar, nor accusing him. What I am telling is that this matter was not a new thing. It was known to them also on that day, when they were on that side. But they did not take up the matter at that hour, any say that it should be nipped in the bud. They allowed the baby to grow, they allowed the seed to grow and grow to such an extent that when the Congress came back to power, they found time to refer to it. I do not blame any party. What I say is that it was done with their knowledge, and they did not make it known to the people.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Come to the subject proper.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : This is the subject. What other subject can he refer to ? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : What I want to mention is that the Janata Party leaders find it convenient to meet the Head of the State of Pakistan while they get F-16 ; they find it convenient to mix with the extremists in London; and when they come to the House, they talk of unity and cooperation. This is not fair. They should control their people and their party. Is it fair on the part of any party that when our country is facing danger from Pakistan, and extremists are there in Azad Kashmir and other parts, their leader goes to Pakistan and meets Zia, praises him and tells him; 'We will enquire what difficulties are there.' Do not talk all these things. First expel those people from the party.

You are talking of imperialist conspiracy. Imperialist agents are in your party. Mr. Jaipal Reddy. Take care of them first, and then come to the House and talk of co-operation. (*Interruptions*) What I want to say is that so far as the Punjab situation is concerned, it is a great relief for the people of the country that our new, young Prime Minister on his first day in the House said that his first concern was to see that the Punjab and Assam problems were ably tackled, dealt with and solved. To salute the great martyr Bhagat Singh, he had been to Hussainiwala and announced a package of programmes of economic relief and certain other projects for Punjab.

I agree with Mr. Indrajit Gupta one hundred-per-cent when he said; Don't try to make only the Akalis the spokesmen of the Sikhs. A large number of people in the Sikh community belonging to Punjab and outside Punjab want to stay with India ; they want to find a solution within the framework of the Constitution. They want to stand by the Prime Minister of the country. There are a number of them. That is the real position.

Now what happened ? A section of the Akali leadership, under the pressure of extremists there say something once inside the jail, say something else outside the jail and inside the office. My request to you is : 'Make them at least feel that they are not under the pressure of extremists,

Whatever cooperation they want from you, you provide them. I do not mind it. But don't allow them to be under the pressure of the extremists; extremists are few. A number of young people were arrested in Bengal also in those days. I entirely agree with you that when police operate in such a situation, they often commit mistakes. When an innocent is taken into custody and when he comes back, he comes back as an extremist; it is always happening. So, I would request the Hon. Minister to apply his wisdom and see that all those young people who have already been detained in Punjab, I am confident that a majority of them had a feeling that they want to have a new India, a good Punjab under the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, they are not mixed up with the extremists. You provide them a good treatment and see that they can have dialogues with the authorities to see how things can be dealt with properly. Don't identify all the youngsters who have been detained as extremists.

Recently, I was in sports. A team came to play from Punjab in Lucknow. They became champions in football defeating Maharashtra and Bengal. The youngsters in Punjab said that they were very much in sports; we had to do some sporting activities in Punjab; we could not do it because if we wanted to do something the administration will feel that the youngsters who will come to the playgrounds may be extremists. Please don't do it. You give them enough room to conduct their sporting activities within Punjab where ever they like. I tell you I have seen the courage of a few hockey players belonging to Punjab. I had been to Los Angeles. In the stadium they were facing abuses from the extremists, yet they played the game well; whether they won or lost the match is not important. They said, we are proud to be Indians; we had come here as Indians and we will go back as Indians. So, they do not belong to extremists. You take them into confidence; and from today itself, after the debate is over, you apply all your wisdom and machinery to see that the nefarious activities of the SGPC, come what may, be stopped. Whatever legislation you want to bring, the whole House will stand by you. They will not be allowed to spend the fund for the training of the youngsters with arms to endanger the unity of the country in the name of religion. Whatever they are doing, they are doing opposition to Guru Granth Sahib; they are killing every

day Guru Nanak; they are not saluting Guru Govind Sahib; they are killing Gurus whom we also adore, whom we also salute. If you cannot do it, I tell you another generation in this country will be swept away by these extremists; if you stop it now, may be some casualty will be there, may be some precious lives will be lost and those who are participating in the debate, their lives cannot be safe, but I tell you do it and do it firmly. We will not allow these extremists to enter into these activities in any part of the country in the name of religion. The whole House, without bringing in any politics into it, will solemnly stand by you. Our Prime Minister, who is dealing with this problem in cooperation with the people of this country, will get the support of the whole House. Let us hope that a new Punjab will come out very soon under the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and every youngster who salutes Bhagat Singh in Punjab and Lala Lijpat Rai will say one day that it is Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who rescued Punjab and Punjab has come into the mainstream of the country free from violence.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Mr. Home Minister, please take note of the very sensible suggestions that Mr. Das Muñsi has made that all Sikhs are not Akalis and all Akalis are not extremists. Please take note of that.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POWER (SHRI ARUN NEHRU) : We are aware of that.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am asking the Home Minister to be aware of it. Whether you are aware of it or not does not matter much.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM PRAKASH (Ambala) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support all these measures. The clouds of danger are hovering over India. As regards Punjab, I am fully conversant with the conditions prevailing there. There was a time when I was a resident of Punjab. I was a member of the Punjab Assembly from 1952 to 1966 when Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were a part of the United Punjab. At that time also the Akalis had raised their voice for Punjabi Suba. Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon was then

the Chief Minister of Punjab. Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh who were then leaders of Akali Dal, spearheaded this move and Sant Fateh Singh went on a fast unto death for the creation of Punjabi Suba on the basis of Punjabi language. Many clashes took place at that time. But Pratap Singh Kairon was a very strong Chief Minister. Some people told him that if Sant Fateh Singh or Master Tara Singh died, the entire Punjab would be in flames. To this Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon replied that there was no question of Punjab being in flames. Even if Master Tara Singh or Sant Fateh Singh died, there would be only four persons to carry their bodies, not a fifth one. Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon had adopted a very firm attitude at that time.

This chain of events was continuing. The leaders at the centre became a bit kind towards the Akalis and a Hindi Regional Committee and a Punjabi Regional Committee were then constituted. In 1966, Punjab was divided into three separate States, namely, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. I belong to Ambala which is adjacent to Punjab and I am fully aware of the conditions prevailing there. We are happy that after separation of Haryana from Punjab, Haryana has attained second position in the country from the development point of view. Now, Punjab has shrunk in size and many young Sikhs from Punjab have left for foreign countries to seek employment. You know, England, China, U. S. A. and Pakistan are not our friends. All these hostile countries want that there should be no development or progress in India and it should revert to the position prevailing during the British rule. You know that if some foreign powers want to engineer some trouble in a country, or to disintegrate it, they purchase a few hirelings of the country for creating disturbances there with a view to destroy it. A similar thing has happened in our country also. There are some people in the country who are traitors and who want to destroy the country and do not allow restoration of peace in the country. Today, the situation in Punjab has deteriorated to an extent which cannot be described. The entire Punjab has been ruined, trade in the State has been ruined, the traders have been ruined. The good and the honest persons are not allowed to live. Lala Jagat Narayan, his son Ramesh Chandra a D.I.G. of Police and several other persons

were done to death, still the Akali leaders ask why Sant Bhindranwale who was their guide, well-wisher and prophet was killed. They had links with the Governments of the countries which were hostile to our country and all the information used to be conveyed to them. They had a wireless set on which they used to receive instructions from the world over and, they acted accordingly. Punjab was a brave State, it was a prosperous State and it had top position in the country. But the Akalis raised slogans in the name of religion and you know what these slogans were. The type of activities carried on inside the Gurudwaras in Punjab, are not allowed in any temple, mosque or church. Two to four persons used to sit together and issue 'Hukumnama' that such and such person should be killed and in this manner many innocent people were murdered so much so that even our Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated. Do they deserve any leniency? Now, some of our leaders have made any appeal for reaching a settlement. I want to request to you and make an appeal to all Members of the house that there is no need to issue such an appeal. You have ruined the entire Punjab by issuing appeals and it has affected Haryana too. You know that innocent people were being murdered in Punjab. Our sisters were rendered widows and their children orphans. You might be aware that they also wanted to murder Shri Bhajan Lal, the Chief Minister of our State. He was also on their hit list. In spite of all this, our brothers say that conciliatory attitude should be adopted towards Akalis and we should make appeal to them. What appeal should we make to them? Appeal is made to a sensible person. They should be meted out the treatment befitting a traitor.

They have announced that whosoever speaks against them would be finished, would be put on the hit list. But who dare shoot Ram Prakash, I ask? I am speaking against them. I will see who comes forward to shoot me. Mahatma Gandhi had said that the biggest enemy of a man in the world is 'fear'. Nobody can kill a man who has no sense of fear.

So far as reaching an agreement with the Akali is concerned, you can take it from me, that although you entered into so many agreements with them during the last 20 to 30 years, yet they did not stick to any of them. If

you give them Chandigarh today, they will put forth another demands tomorrow.

In the beginning they demanded 'Punjab Suba' When they have got it, now they are demanding a purely Sikh state. How can you grant it? You can never grant it.

Therefore, I would like to request you that you should never adopt a lenient attitude towards them. If you adopt a lenient attitude towards them, it would harm the entire nation. You need not be afraid of them.

Now the question is what can be the solution? It is my suggestion—perhaps you may not like it—that you merge Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh into one State. As the Chief Minister of our Haryana State has said if you want to solve the Punjab problem, restore the original position of Punjab. We Haryanavis would certainly be at a disadvantage, but if we are to make this sacrifice for the integration of the country, we will do it. I think, when Punjab is reunited, *i. e.*, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh are merged into it, then the Akali Dal would not dare revise such a demand in future which aim at the disintegration of the country.

I am a simple man and I want to say in simple words that no talks for settlement with the Akalis would succeed. Even if a settlement is reached with them, that would not succeed and would turn out to be a failure. Therefore, the only solution to this problem is that all these three states should be merged into one state. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Salem-pur): Sir, I am very thankful to you that you have given me an opportunity to speak on a subject like Punjab. I have listened to the views of both the sides of the House on this subject. I have seen for the last so many years that proposals to this effect have been presented and discussed.

Sir, two points come to my mind. When the Britishes came to India, first of all they wanted to destroy the culture of the country in order to enslave it. In the beginning, they created a sect in Bengal so as to obliterate Indian culture and to bring in western culture. So far as I understand, there is a foreign hand which is arousing this feeling in

the minds of Sikh leaders and terrorists in Punjab that they are a separate "Qaum" and that they have no relation with the Hindu religion.

These things run counter to the Sikh religion and the tenets of Sikhism. If you study this religion, you will find that this religion was founded for the welfare of the Hindu Community and the defence of the country. Today, their minds are being poisoned in a sinister way and a feeling of hatred is being created among them. I want that first of all a climate should be created in which this feeling of hatred could be removed. The teachings of the Sikh gurus are in no way different from sermons of the saints like Kabir, Surdas and others. A saint from Gujarat has said, "*Sant Wahi jo peer paraee jaane*" (Saint is one who feels for others). This is their very mission. But today, a feeling of hatred is being spread by making a propaganda contrary to their teachings. Therefore, first of all, there is need to create an atmosphere in which the feelings of hatred are removed.

The second point which I want to make is that I have listened to the views of a number of my friends from the Opposition. I have my own views and I think others also might be having the same views, but they might not have got an opportunity to express them. A few days ago, this Bill was introduced. A more lenient attitude could not have been adopted by our Prime Minister. He has released all those leaders unconditionally under whose leadership thousands of innocent people were done to death and not only this, even the former Prime Minister of the country was riddled with bullets. There goes a proverb "*Prathama grasse makshika*". As soon as they were released, they again started spreading venom, again started shoot outs, with innocent people again falling victims to their bullets. But, I am surprised to see our leaders speaking for terrorists and the so called youth. I am of the view that top Akali leaders are the biggest culprits. As soon as you released Longowal, what was his statement? He made a demand for release of all the arrested terrorists unconditionally, for removing ban on the Sikh Students Federation, which is at the root of the problem, and to wind up the courts which have been set up. Not only this, he further said that the army deserters should also be released unconditio-

nally. We were astonished to read in the newspapers to-day that they are being given a cash reward of Rs. 10,000. Lawyers are being arranged for those army deserters who revolted against the Government and every army deserter is being rewarded. Not only this, another thing has also caused surprise. Youngmen were being recruited in the Gurudwaras and they were asked to fill an oath form named '*balidani*'. What was the sacrifice they were expected to make and for which they were asked to fill the oath forms? The purpose for which they were required to make sacrifice and to fill the '*balidani*' oath form was secession of Punjab from India. For this very purpose they received training in Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, and what had been its outcome? There has been a resumption of these very activities. They have constituted a committee which is receiving donations to the tune of crores of rupees. Out of this amount lakhs of rupees will be spent on arms training to terrorists. Despite this, it is being said that conciliatory attitude should be adopted towards them. What will you gain by adopting conciliatory attitude towards them? I am a fearless man and it is by way of caution that I am suggesting to you that the people of the country have given you a massive mandate so that you may maintain the integrity of the country. Had this not been the aim you would not have got such a massive mandate. What I want to submit is that attempts are being made to fan the fire which was already there.

I would like to know from the Hon. Minister the grounds on which they were released from jail. It was hoped that they would not indulge in activities which might deteriorate the situation again. But now they are making inflammatory speeches, committing murders and indulging in seditious activities. What is all this? Again a suggestion is being made by the Opposition to resume the dialogue with them, but I think that the time has now come to ponder over the question and the Opposition should also ponder over it whether we want united India or not. Will the extremists of Punjab go on murdering people? If they think that it is wrong then the leaders of the Opposition parties should pass a resolution with one voice to the effect that whatever step is taken by the Government to remedy the situation would be supported by them. If the leaders

of the opposition parties do not do this then I think the country would never forgive them. I come from the constituency where the house of the prominent leader Chandra Shekhar is situated. He is my voter. The people of Ballia while assuring Chandra Shekharji that he was their leader, had openly posed a question to him whether it was not a fact that once he had said that it was unfortunate that the late Prime Minister Indiraji had sent the Army there, and if so, why he had said so and had asked further if the country did not remain intact what the purpose of electing him was. He was defeated only on this count that the country comes first and he afterwards. A small mistake can set the country aflame and we all shall be reduced to naught. We want an assurance that the most stringent action would be taken in this regard and we shall support that. If the Government do not do this, they will be failing in their duty and the people will never forgive them. I am saying this to the party in power. I had read in the newspaper that lakhs of rupees would be spent on the training of the extremists. What are these temples meant for? These are fortresses. If the extremists are being given training in the Golden Temple, I again warn that the people will never forgive them. If it is not possible to check it then training will be imparted in temples and mosques also. How can you contain it? This fire will engulf the whole country. A very lenient attitude has been adopted. How can you expect a carnivorous lion to take to rice, dal, curd, ghee and give up flesh? He will never do this. Those whose work is to create trouble in the country and spread terrorism cannot change themselves. Their leader is living in England and is instigating them from there to rise in revolt. "*dharo satthon se satthta sadaiv, yeh neeti kabbi na bhulo naresh.*" Good people are treated with civility. When I see the photograph of Longowalji after his release from jail, he looks saintly. But when he speaks, he emits fire. It is the duty of the Sant to defend the country and keep it intact. I would like to ask the Sikh religious leaders to show me a single Sikh religious book which does not contain even a single line connected with the Hindu religion and does not speak of defending India. Guru Govind Singhji found the Sikh religion to save India and 'Dharma'. Today that very 'Dharma' is taking the country in a different

direction. I propose to make demand that talks should not be held till he does not openly declare that they will do everything for the defence of the country and will not do anything which is against India or against the honour of the country. We recite the name of Lord Rama. Vibhishan helped Lord Rama. He was a devotee of Rama. But I think, still, nobody would like to name his son after Vibhishan, Jai Chand or Mir Jaffar. Now thousands of Mir Jaffars are there. They are not amenable to soft words. At the time when innocent Hindus were being gunned down, their houses were being burnt, their shops were being looted, I had pleaded, with the Government that if they could not stop the massacre, the country would never forgive them and would compel the Government to take steps to stop it. Now terrorism has been revived. It would be possible to save the house if it is intact but once it is burnt down there would be nothing left to be saved.

Thousands of rupees are offered at the Tirupati Temple and a committee is there to control and manage the funds. Give me an example where the funds are used for political purposes. All its funds are being spent for building the nation, for opening Medical Colleges, Schools and for constructing Dharmashalas for the pilgrims. But the money being offered at the Golden Temple, is used to engage lawyers to defend the traitors. Those who are trying to destroy the country are being rewarded. They are being given training. Conspiracies are being hatched. The Government have evidence to this effect. I fail to understand why despite all these facts you are offering to hold talks with them. All the facts are before you, In the light of these facts will the Home Minister tell us what action has been taken against them? You should take action forthwith in such circumstances. India is a secular state. Are all the laws applicable only to us and there is no law for them? You take any of our temples. There is no such temple on which you have no control in one way or the other. On the one hand, you have control over the Badri Ashram, the Shiva Temple of Banaras, the Jagannath Temple of Puri, and the Tirupati Temple but on the other hand, there is no control on the Golden Temple? Why do you not exercise some control on the Golden Temple. Why are they being given a long rope? Their permission is sought to re-build

the Temple ! If you continue to seek their permission, the country would continue to remain aflame. I feel it is a gross injustice unto us. On the one hand you continue to help them and on the other you are harassing us. You are providing all facilities to them but destroying us. If training to armed men continues in the Golden Temple, then, I am saying openly that the public will not remain a dumb spectator. Otherwise training will be imparted in temples and mosques also and you will not be able to stop that. Therefore, keeping in view the integrity of the country and its future, we should declare their activities illegal. We should declare that their demands are against the country and its integrity.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it has been demanded here that the special courts should be abolished. If today you abolish these courts, such demands will then be made from other parts also and there will be anarchy in the country. If these extremists, who have murdered many people, are released from the jails unconditionally and without trial, then tomorrow others will also make similar demands and will behave in a similar fashion. The Government should not remain passive. I would like to give one illustration in this connection.

History tells us that for Janaki, Lord Rama burnt down Lanka, destroyed it and waged a war in which thousands of people were killed. But after getting Janki freed and coming to power, he had to send the same Janaki to exile during night to uphold the traditions of the society. Therefore, I advise you not to remain passive but to protect the Hindus and minorities in Punjab and to keep the country united for which the people of the country have given you a massive mandate. You must make arrangements to stop these murders. If you fail to stop this, then the country will not tolerate it.

I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I am not saying all these things in a fit of emotion but submitting the truth before you.

Just now one of my friends was saying that young terrorists should be released. How much loot do you want to be committed in the name of youth ? It is being demanded here that the young Akalis sent to jails should be released unconditionally; talks

should be held with them. That would set the country on fire tomorrow. In the name of youth, how much leniency do you want to show to those who have murdered tens of people. I cannot understand this. There should be some limit to our patience. The terrorists are operating not only from here; they have their roots in England and America also from where they are getting funds. The law of the land is applicable everywhere and you have control even over temple lands. Your officers have control over the offerings made to the deities also and keep them in a safe. You do not allow that to be spent without permission. But why has an exception been made in the case of the Golden Temple, so much so that the offerings made there can be utilized for creating disturbances in the country. Is it beyond your control ?

You have to keep the people of the country united. I charge the Government that it is showing favouritism. A small section is being treated as a privileged section, whereas the rest of the society instead of being shown any favour, is being suppressed. It is the result of the exception made in the case of the Golden Temple that the country is on fire today.

If you have to maintain secularism in the country, you should treat the followers of all the religions equally. Do not pamper a particular community. I would urge that they should not be released from jails till peace is restored and till you are sure that they will endeavour to maintain the integrity of the country, they will refrain from the activities which encourage secessionist tendencies and harm the interests of the minorities there. On the contrary, they should be awarded deterrent punishment through special courts. The members of the Committee constituted for the Golden Temple are distributing the funds amongst themselves. Some control should be exercised over that. Those funds should be utilised for the Temple and for the propagation of the Sikh religion but not for rebellion. With these words I support these measures.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, you are passing the National Security Amendment Bill Budget and the Demands for Grants in respect of Punjab, but for how long will you go on doing this ? A political solution of the problem of Panjab

should be found out. But our Prime Minister is trying to solve this issue as an economic problem.

When he visited Punjab, he announced certain concessions for the people of the State. He declared the construction of a dam there, which is all right. He also declared bonus for increased wheat production and a coach factory to give employment to the unemployed. But I feel these things are not going to solve the problem. A political solution should be sought by calling a meeting of all the political parties.

It is a matter of regret that in spite of the deployment of the Army, murders are being committed there. One day after the return of Shri Rajiv Gandhi from there, two persons were murdered in Chandigarh. It is a very sad state of affairs. When our leader in Chandigarh asked the local officers, Police officials and army officers for providing security and bodyguard because there was danger to his life, no attention was paid to his request. Due to lack of security arrangements, he was murdered. Yesterday, at his funeral also no security arrangements were made. All the people who went there were on the hit list of the extremists. Shri Vajpayee had also gone there and there was no arrangement for his security also.

We have been evading this issue for the last two to three years. Some people have been murdered. My submission is that a political solution should be found at the earliest.

The other leaders in jail like Shri Tohra and Shri Badal should also be released and then the problem should be discussed. We had hoped that Shri Longowal and Shri Talwandi, who have been released, will remain with us but they are supporting the extremists. Many persons are being killed but no one is condemning it. This shows that Akali Dal is indirectly with them. They have demanded that the Sikhs should be released from jails and the statements being issued by that party show that the persons released recently from jails are also with the extremists. We have been thinking that these people are with us. It is not clear whether these Akalis are against the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

[English]

Akalis are indirectly supporting the extremist activities. They are with the extremists. They are supporting the extremists, but they are not telling so. They are not condemning also. So, they are supporting these things.

[Translation]

We want to maintain the unity and integrity of the country. But some two or three days back, I was pained to read in the newspapers that an attempt was being made to treat the Sri Lanka issue as a problem of the south only. We should oppose this move. The Chief Minister of Karnataka Shri Ram Krishna Hegde, is trying to hold a conclave of the Chief Ministers of the Southern States to discuss the Sri Lanka problem. This is very bad.

(Interruption)

[English]

It is not an issue of the Tamil people only. It is an issue of the Indian people as a whole.

[Translation]

If someone says a wrong thing, that should be opposed and the person who indulges in undesirable activities should be condemned. The riots which took place after Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination should be condemned. But at the moment we are condemning the initiative being taken by the Chief Ministers of the southern states to discuss the Sri Lanka issue. Killing of Tamils in Sri Lanka should be stopped. Such feuds are harmful for the country as these would undermine its unity.

B. J. P. has opposed the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. You make use of such issues as a vote catching device in the elections, which we oppose. Someone amongst you had earlier suggested that Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana should be merged into one State but later on, in Himachal Pradesh, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had said that Himachal Pradesh would remain a separate State. In this way you sought votes and formed your Government. Such double standard should not be there.

Though a lot of hue and cry is being raised, yet no solution of the Sri Lanka problem is being found.

[English]

SHRI B. K. GADHVI (Banaskanatha) : The Congress I High Command has never spoken about the amalgamation of these States. If one person speaks, it cannot be taken as the view of the Congress I.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : Some of your people have spoken.

[Translation]

This is what happens in your Congress Party. Mr. Sathe used to say something and Mrs. Indira Gandhi used to say something else. Sometimes statements are made to build public opinion. You have never condemned such things, what does it indicate? In order to get votes in Himachal Pradesh he said that Himachal would remain a separate State. Such an attitude should not be adopted. So far as Kashmir is concerned, you did not utter a word regarding the Rehabilitation Bill either in Rajya Sabha or in Lok Sabha, but when you did not succeed in reaching an agreement with Dr. Farooq Abdullah, you spoke against the Rehabilitation Bill in order to get votes. In this way you are following a vote-oriented policy. That is why today the Punjab problem is getting more complicated. Now is the time to convene a round table conference and solve this problem. If the problem lingers on for more time, it will endanger the integrity of the country. It is my request that an inquiry should be made into all the violent incidents which occurred before and after Indiraji's assassination, which alienated all those nationalist Sikhs who neither wanted to secede nor supported the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. I want two things. Firstly, a round table conference should be convened and an inquiry made into all the violent incidents which occurred before and after Indiraji's assassination. Besides, the army should be allowed to take stringent measures to protect the people.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

PROF. MEIJINLUNG KAMSON (Outer Manipur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this problem which Punjab is facing is not only limited to Punjab but it has implications all over the country because today we see that insurgency and anti-national activities are not only confined to Punjab but also to different parts of the country.

According to the White Paper issued by the Government, there are some demands of the Akali Dal which are based on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Anandpur Sahib Resolution can be looked at from three angles. One is relating to the Sikh community as a religious group and their religious demands are, namely, giving the status of Holy City to Amritsar, allowing a radio station what they call as Harmandir radio station and carrying of kirpans. The second is the inter-State issue, that is, about Ravi-Beas water dispute and territorial boundary problem. The third is about the general issues, what are called the Centre-State relations.

I would like to emphasize in my speech on the Centre-State relations because the decision on the Centre-State relations in that part of the country, that is, Punjab, will have direct effect on other parts of the country. As far as the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is concerned, these are the demands which have been put forward by the Akali Dal :

“As per the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the Shiromani Akali Dal is firmly convinced that the progress of States would entail prosperity of the centre for which suitable amendments should be made in the Constitution, to give more rights and provincial autonomy to States. The Centre should retain foreign affairs, defence, currency and communications (including means of transport) while the remaining portfolios should be with the States. Besides, the Sikhs should enjoy special rights as a nation.”

If a State is to enjoy autonomy in everything except foreign affairs, Defence, Currency and Communications, then that State will no longer be a part of India but will be a protectorate or a vassal State in terms of international law. It ceases to be a part of India but it becomes separate from India. Of course, we have seen that in some parts of India like Jammu and Kashmir, and Nagaland, have got some privileges. It is because they have a different history and different background.

But as regards Punjab, it has been a part and parcel of our country, historically, culturally and religiously. If Punjab claims a separate status out of the Indian Union, other States would also follow suit and as a result and a number of separate States would be

formed in India. India would be disintegrated

Therefore, the Ministry of Home Affairs should take stern action against such separatist demands. The Ministry of Home Affairs should note that the people of India are against such separatist demands.

As regards matters like economic development of the State of Punjab and other issues like the river water dispute and the boundary disputes, the Ministry of Home Affairs can consider their cases reasonably.

I would like to remind this House and also the Ministry of Home Affairs that there are still some parts of the country in the North-Eastern region where the people are still in the process of becoming Indians. I should say that the people of Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, are still in the process of becoming Indians even after 37 years of independence. This is what may be called Indianization, culturally and politically, that is going on. These people are still trying to participate more and more in the Constitution of India.

But this is not the case with the people of Punjab. The people of Punjab are very much advanced. They are not only a part of India but they are the basis and the foundation of India, culturally and religiously. If we read the history of India, we can find that the Sikhs have sacrificed a lot for the preservation and protection of the culture and religion of India. Therefore, Punjab is very much a part of India. And if we concede this separate demand to Punjab, it amounts to the people of Punjab putting themselves in the process of de-Indianisation. If the separatist demand is conceded to Punjab, the unity of India will be threatened and affected.

I would therefore request the Ministry of Home Affairs to take stern action to see that this separatist demand of the people of Punjab is nipped in the bud and also to see that this type of demand is not raised in any part of the country. If we want that India should remain as India for all time to come and if we want to maintain the unity and integrity of the country, no separatist demand from any part of the country should be conceded. The demand for the autonomy of Punjab should never be considered.

Our Prime Minister has announced a solution of the Punjab problem within the framework of the Indian Constitution.

Too much autonomy should never be given to any State of our country to the extent of calling it a separate nation. That will be affecting very much the history of India as well as the Constitution of India.

Some time it may come to our mind as to why there should be this type of special status given to Kashmir. We hope that, after some years, after some decades, the State of Jammu & Kashmir will come still closer to the Indian Constitution; after some time, we may have to take off these privileges.

In the case of Nagaland also, we have given special privileges, but that is because of the nature of the movement. The Home Ministry knows very well that the Naga people who started the Naga movement submitted a Memorandum in 1928 to the visiting Simon Commission, i.e., two years before we took the decision in the Lahore Session in 1930 for complete independence of India. Before that decision, the Naga people had submitted their Memorandum for an independent State as and when the Britishers left India. Because of this historical background, we have given these special privileges to the Nagas. I think, in course of time gradually we will bring them into the mainstream of the nation. This is a process which is coming.

But we cannot concede to other parts of India, whether it is Punjab or any other part, more and more autonomy to the extent of showing themselves as a different nation other than the Indian nation. Therefore, the third point of demand, namely, the Centre-State relations, is very important. I should like to draw the attention of the Home Ministry to this and request that a firm stand should be taken in this regard. It is my considered opinion that this should not, in any case, be conceded. I do not mean only to Punjab; I mean, to any part of the country, this type of autonomy should not be granted. There is no reason why any part of the country, any State of the country, that is in India should want this type of autonomy. It is said that the Sikhs constitute a religious community. I want to point out that there are so many communities all over India, I represent a constituency where we

have 29 communities having a distinct, separate entity in respect of their culture, religion and traditions. If everyone of these 29 communities starts demanding that, because they have this separate cultural identity, they should be granted autonomy, they should have a separate radio, and all that, what will happen? I think in India there are more than 600 communities, and every community, whether big or small, has got its own identity. Not a single community that is in India should have this right to demand a separate nationhood only because of their separate entity or identity. Therefore, I should like to say that the Home Ministry should take a firm stand in respect of Centre-State relations. Otherwise, the whole of India will be moving towards a position where every part of India will be demanding a separate nationhood and no State of this country that is called India will remain in India. Therefore I should urge on the Government to act firmly on this matter. They may grant the other things in respect of economic and cultural aspects, but in respect of Centre-State relations, a strong action should be taken by the Home Ministry and we will give our full support for that.

[*Translation*]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM (Nagarkurnool) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a matter of regret that the Punjab Budget has been presented where today. This budget should have been presented in the Punjab Assembly, but because of President's rule in Punjab, it is being presented here.

The budget shows a deficit of Rs. 70 crores. We have no objection to it because deficit budget has now become a common practice. But development works have come to a standstill in Punjab. Not only we but the people of the entire country are concerned over it.

It is well known to all of us that Punjab is a State which is a granary of India, which produces maximum wheat, which has small scale industries and which had a leading position in every respect, has become a zero now and its future is also bleak. How has it happened. It all happened during the period of the Congress Government there. The Congress Government in the State could not solve its problems properly. It means that the Congress Government had failed there.

You all know the causes of the failure of the Congress Government there. Central Government interfere in the affairs of every State. You all know that the officers, leaders and the Chief Minister of any State cannot do anything till they get a signal from here. If full powers are given to the people, leaders and the Chief Ministers of every State, they can solve the local problems in a proper manner.

It would make no difference whether we support or oppose the Budget presented here. We shall support it. Why should we not oppose it, in case you are going to do something. The people in the State should be told about it and all these things should be discussed by them. What is being done by the Central Government in this regard? The Prime Minister and other leaders are saying that they will solve this problem early. Will they listen to the people there and then solve their problems expeditiously? They have made a claim to this effect but who knows whether they will do so or not. The spirit behind it is good but nobody knows what is in their mind.

The Chief Minister of Haryana, Shri Bhajan Lal and the former Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Darbara Singh have suggested that Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh should be merged. It has been reported in the press. What does this mean? Do Government of India intend to do this? Are these the views of the Government of India or are they saying it on their own?

The Members of the opposition parties are being told that they are divided and hold different views. We admit that we are divided, our paths are different, our parties are different. But what is your position? Yours is one party, whose leader is the Prime Minister. Is there no unanimity in what you say? What have you said? Have you directed Shri Darbara Singh or Shri Bhajan Lal to say such a thing or have they said it on their own? You should think over it. The entire country is aware of the situation prevailing in Punjab. We are discussing the Punjab budget in the House, after getting acquainted with the situation there. It would have been better had this budget been discussed there. We are eagerly awaiting the day when this

Budget would be discussed in the Punjab Assembly and we are also eagerly awaiting the restoration of normalcy there. The entire country will be happy only then. The Prime Minister has said it earlier also and says even now that he is not happy with the situation in Punjab. Everybody is concerned over the Punjab problem. The Opposition is with you. Nobody will oppose you for good work. We had said this earlier also that the entire Opposition is ready to cooperate with you, in case you do good work. Everybody here is well educated, decent and intelligent and as such nobody will oppose it. Who would like to follow the wrong path? But what we find is that day by day we are sliding backwards instead of marching forward. The Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers should sit together and consider the matter. No purpose will be served by merely issuing statements. Members from the Opposition should also be associated in finding the solution and only then some way out can be found. There is no question of not finding any solution. Nobody in the country can say that there is no way out of this problem. The matter has already been delayed and any further delay will be harmful. The people of Punjab are very brave and hard-working. The personnel of the Sikh Regiment are very brave and they have earned laurels for their bravery. Everybody in the country shares this view. When untoward comments are made and heard in respect of Punjab and the brave people of Punjab, one is pained both to say and hear such things. What type of justice is this? We are pained to say and hear such things. The Government of India should find out some solution to this problem immediately.

Today you need MLAs there but President's Rule has been imposed in the state. Why have you not dissolved the Assembly? Why don't you establish peace there? Why don't you hold elections there? Hold elections there and establish peace early. You should lay a good foundation there and again raise high the name of Punjab. Why does the problem not receive your attention? Is it because you do not have the time or the will to do this? What is the matter? Had it happened in some other State, the reply would have been that it is due to the Opposition rule there. In Punjab the failure was that of the Congress Government. Who is

responsible for this? The Government of India and you people are responsible for that and that is why you keep quiet. Had it been the case with the Opposition, there would have been an uproar in the House. Today none speaks about it. They should be honest to themselves and must say something... (Interruptions) We want early elections there. We are pained that this Budget has been presented here. Popular government should be established there, no matter whether it belongs to your party. We are not concerned with it. The people there should be happy and development should take place there. Something must be done in this regard. I feel you will definitely find some way out.

[English]

SHRI B.K.GADHVI (Banaskantha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is to the credit of Congress to have preserved freedom and liberty. Therefore it is our creed to see that within the framework of our Constitution the elected representatives govern their respective States and also represent their respective States in Parliament.

Indeed, it is a matter of anguish for me to see that this time even in this House we do not have a single Member from Punjab. I think that this is the first time that even in Parliament when we are discussing an important State matter, the representative of that State is not there in Lok Sabha.

When we contemplate the measures to be taken in this House today, when we deliberate on these matters, we have to know as to what were the circumstances which have created the situation.

Nobody is happy with the Punjab situation. Punjab does not solely belong to the Sikhs. It has been rightly stated by some of the Hon. Members opposite that all Sikhs could not be bracketed with Akalis. When we examine the composition of the population of Punjab we find that it is composed of Hindus, Sikhs and other communities. All these people comprise the population of Punjab. So, when we think of solving the problems of Punjab, does it mean that these could only be highlighted or projected by Akalis, who are not in totality, representing Punjab? What are the problems? Some problems are no doubt religious. It was due to the large-heartedness of our late Prime

Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi that some concessions were given in Delhi and Punjab. There were certain demands with regard to river water disputes and territorial areas also. A really pragmatic approach was shown by the Government of India. But still the agitation continued. The agitation took the path of terrorism and shedding blood and killing of innocent people.

Sir, ultimately, despite the greatest restraint exercised by the Government of India, it was forced to embark upon 'Operation Bluestar', because the entire sacred Golden Temple was defiled. It had become a harbouring place for the extremists indulging in murderous activities, for the people who were advocating disintegration of this country, for the people who were getting inspiration from outside which threatened the very unity and integrity of our country, for the people who were putting the life and property, of the peace-loving people in jeopardy. When the Operation was carried out and after the issuance of the White Paper, we had seen the horrible stock of weapons piling up there. Our army people who went in operation there used utmost restraint at the cost of their own life. The brave jawans who went into operation faced a lot of difficulties and stiff resistance and they did not even care for their own life but they adopted the utmost restraint with a view that the sacred Golden Temple should not be damaged extensively, with a view that minimum force should be exercised to avoid further complications and, therefore, they sacrificed their lives also. We know that the Government of India had shown a sympathetic gesture to those affected people and we have also heard from Shri Rajiv Gandhi of his good gesture before election and after the election. He always spoke of solving the problems of Punjab. But what is the response from the Akali Dal? I am sorry to say that the Akali Dal people did not respond. That does not matter. But they have not even condemned the cult of violence. They have been shouting from the house-tops that they are patriots and they try to show to the world that they are Indians. But in India can we comprehend the cult of violence in the land which has produced great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi.

Sir, in Punjab, today what is happening? Now, the Government has brought forward

this measure. Of course, it is a law and order problem. It is an exigency for which this measure had to be brought without recourse to the Advisory Body and other methods. But what is happening there? Should we simply confine ourselves to preserving law and order situation only? Is it not our duty also to see that the prosperity of the State is continuously growing? But despite tremendous odds, the farmers in Punjab have contributed to the massive food stocks of the country, despite tremendous odds, the industries in that State are working well. But still the entire prosperity of Punjab is in jeopardy. We have heard of agitation taking place due to poverty. But perhaps here it is the only agitation which is the culmination of the prosperity of a few and they have got enough money, they can hire people for shouting and inciting others, give support for the hijackers and proclaim to train those people indulging in grave and heinous crimes. Therefore, Sir, our anxiety should not only be limited to keeping the detenués in prison for some time but finding a permanent solution to the problem. Opposition parties are suggesting political solutions. But political solutions can only be with the political persons who can sit around the table and thrash out the problems. That is not possible. It is, therefore, high time that despite all the odds, we must obtain the verdict from the people; we must after some time go to the polls and have a political solution as to which party has to rule Punjab. Akalis and a few extremists are keeping the entire Punjab at ransom. Ultimately, it would spread to other areas of the neighbouring States. Complications are becoming complex everyday. We have to think, whether the policy of appeasement is the solution, whether the policy of compromise is the solution, or whether the policy of retribution is the solution.

I think we must forget that Akalis are the sole proprietors of the interests of Punjab, we must call all the people, Sikhs and other people, together because everyone of them has got the interest of Punjab equally at heart.

The measures that we are taking are very good, but for how long will you continue to take these measures? It will have no end, if diluted and drifting approach continues on their part. With more vigour and force, we have to find a solution to this Punjab prob-

lem. Since the Government is keen in solving this problem, a Sub-Committee of the Cabinet has been appointed. We are unaware how far progress has been made by this Sub-Committee. We will be happy and the nation will be happy, if steps towards the solution are always apprised to the people, so that they can understand the complexity of the problem for a proper perspective.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, The Punjab problem, which is being debated here has become very complex. The proposal brought forward for extending the period of the National Security Act is all right, it can be extended, but I am of the opinion that it would not help. This problem can be solved only politically.

At the same time, you can also solve this problem by forming a popular Government there. As you have seen, many Hon. Members have also just now pointed out that not a single Member from Punjab is here to speak on the Punjab Budget and that they are merely doing a formality. With the passage of time, this problem would become more and more complex and the development of Punjab would come to a halt.

As and when the country faced a crisis, we had exhibited solidarity. The foremost thing is that the country comes first and the party comes later. It applies to all the parties whenever the country forced a crisis, everyone had shown that we were one and would remain one.

Some of the Akalis who were detained for being extremists, have been released. I would say that others should also be released so that they may ponder as to how the integrity of the country could be preserved. They should also be given an opportunity.

At the same time, you have to realise that the assassination of our former Prime Minister and the riots which followed were very harmful to the unity of our country. If you do not realise it, it will have repercussions in the future. Hindus and Sikhs are one and have common family bonds. I had a chance to visit Ludhiana on 22nd January, where our party and C.P.M. had organised a joint meeting with a view to preserving the

unity and integrity of the country. A public meeting was held in Baba Chiter Dass Lawns. Twenty thousand people had assembled there. They all belonged to the Sikh community. They told us that it was a handful of people, misguided by the foreign countries, who were harming their unity and creating mutual differences leading to the murder of innocent people. Therefore, we shall make sacrifice to face them unitedly. But, I do not know why this problem is being evaded. Posterity will never forgive the people who are playing with the destiny of the country.

There is no question of Punjab or Assam-ese in the issues that have spring up. You somehow created conditions for elections in Assam and held elections there, but Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER, Sir, I do not want to go into that. You should form a Government in Punjab, it may be of your own party, but it should be a popular Government. With the help of that Government we can find proper solution to this problem, otherwise, it will become more and more complex with the passage of time. Therefore, I would request the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs that arrangements to hold elections there may be made and a popular Government installed there. If you are unable to form a Government there; the Assembly should be dissolved to pave the way for holding elections and constituting a new Government to create a favourable atmosphere. For this purpose you should seek cooperation from the opposition parties and make efforts to solve this problem. If you make a sincere effort, a solution to the problem, howsoever big and complex it may be, can be found.

With these words, I conclude and thank you.

[*English*]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to submit a few lines for the consideration of the Government. In fact, as my colleague Shri Tulsiram said, it is a matter for sorrow that we have to approve the budget of Punjab, while the elected body of that State is under suspension. Mr. Chairman, Sir, we all hope that things will take a good turn. Recently, after the elections, the Government of India have released the Akali Dal Presi-

dent Shri Harchand Singh Longowal and some other leaders of Akali Dal to pave the path for reconciliation and to arrive at a solution. We hoped things will improve. But, unfortunately, again we are very sorry to find the ghastly murder of one BJP leader Mr. Manchanda only the other day.

I would like to tell the Government that a complete change of heart should take place on both the sides. In the Akali Dal, in the beginning there were two sections. There were people with two different viewpoints--one section was moderate, and the other extremist. In fact, the moderates sincerely tried to come to an understanding on the issues to be resolved. Several efforts were made. There were times when a solution was within sight and was going to be arrived at. But unfortunately it was the ruling party and the Government which went back, and the issues prolonged without their coming to a solution. In the process, the moderates lost ground. They were compelled to follow the path of the extremists. They had to move hand in glove with the extremists.

I appeal to the Akali Dal leadership to think over, reconsider their stand and recognize that they are drifting away from the national mainstream and losing the sympathy of 60 crores of Indians. They should bravely announce that they are in no way connected with the activities of the extremists, they do not subscribe to the views of the extremists within India or of some people in Britain or elsewhere who talk all rubbish and use irresponsible words about our Government and our motherland. The Akali Dal leadership should be brave enough to dissociate themselves from such things.

I also request the Government to release Mr. Parkash Singh Badal who is the ex-Chief Minister of that State, who is known as a moderate and who along with Longowal and some other leaders tried to bring about a solution by holding discussions with the Government of India.

In fact, the nation has paid the highest price. Shrimati Indira Gandhi was assassinated. You know the aftermath. The Akali Dal should realize that they are not the only people in Punjab. There are Hindus as well. There are a good number of Sikhs who do not subscribe to their views. In fact, to some extent it is the brutal killing of innocent

Hindus in Punjab and some other places which, after Madam Gandhi was assassinated, though it was engineered and encouraged by some political people had a bearing on that aftermath. That is why some people took the opportunity and either killed or destroyed the properties of Sikhs. It should be a warning to the Sikh community in general and to the Akali leadership in particular that things are not good and they should rationally think and arrive at a decision. I request the government that, for political advantage, they should not allow the things to be prolonged like this. It is the nation's interest which should be kept foremost. Issues regarding capital, sharing of waters, readjustment of certain parts of the land, transfer of some villages either from Punjab to Haryana or from Haryana to Punjab, are not such issues as have no solution at all. There are several precedents. In fact, I had made it clear about it in the previous discussion held in this House. Therefore, I will not take time of the House for this. I only appeal to the government to sincerely try and arrive at a solution and certainly it can be clinched.

We hope, in the near future the situation in Punjab will improve and it will also travel with the mainstream of the nation, which is famous for agricultural production, for industrial production and for their contribution to the defence of this country. Still, there are a good number of people who are in the defence and other services. I request through you the Hon. Minister and the government to make amends in their stand also and sincerely attempt an early solution. Thank you.

SHRI SUDHIR ROY (Burdwan) : Mr. Chairman like other speakers, I also request the Hon. Minister to end the President's Rule by October 1985 and take measures so that popular government can be installed in Punjab.

In principle, we are opposed to Article 356 as it strikes at the root of healthy federalism, as it erodes the authority of the State Government and not infrequently the Union Government invoke this Article for ousting the government led by opposition parties. Therefore, we had great misgivings when the President's Rule was imposed over the State because we feel that the situation would not have deteriorated, had the Central Government taken prompt action earlier. Chandigarh

could have been transferred to Punjab because in 1969 Darshan Singh Pheruman gave up his life for this cause also. A tribunal with a Supreme Court Judge as its Chairman could have been appointed for the distribution of river waters. Besides, boundaries could have been earmarked long ago. But instead, the situation was allowed to deteriorate and the ruling party tried to fish in troubled waters; and naturally, the situation turned explosive and as a result the government had to launch 'Operation Blue Star'. Now, the government promise, use that they would soon find out a way for solving this problem. We demand that government should sincerely implement its promise. But before solving this problem, what is required is the institution of an enquiry committee for probing into the causes of the riots that took place in Delhi and in other towns of India after the assassination of the late Prime Minister. Not only this, the opposition parties should be taken into confidence for it has become the habit of the leaders of the ruling party to malign the opposition parties. During the last Lok Sabha elections, the opposition parties were branded as traitors.

Sir, we remember the days of 1962 when Sino-Indian border conflict flared up when thousands of Communist workers and leaders were thrown behind the bars as they were alleged to be agents of China. But what we demand is that there should be peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two great neighbours. And now, the Government of India is itself talking in terms of a peaceful settlement. Therefore, the Opposition leaders should be taken into confidence so that a consensus can be arrived at. Not only this: The leaders should be freed so that an atmosphere of good will can be created. What is required is taking speedy steps so that this problem can be solved early.

MR. CHAIRMAN (SHRI. N. V. RATNAM) : Hon. Home Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Chairman, I have heard with rapt attention the speeches which were made by hon. Members from both sides of the House. I do not think that the Motion which was before the House warranted such a long discussion. One was about extending the President's Rule in Punjab and another was about the

National Security Act which had to be extended by one year. Excepting perhaps Mr. Chowdhury, all the hon. Members who participated in the discussion have not opposed these two measures. I presume that most of the Members are not opposed to these motions at all.

In the kind of turn that the entire discussion has taken, the entire issue of Punjab was discussed at length and some hon. Members went even to the extent of bringing in the North-Eastern States. So, the entire gamut of the Punjab issue and all other issues have been discussed. It is but natural that this kind of a reaction should have been there in the House when these measures are being discussed.

At the outset, may I request all the hon. Members who have participated in the discussion, that the situation as it is, is really very complex, and is made more complicated because of the actions of some people who would not like to find a solution to the problem. And I am in full agreement with some of the hon. Members who expressed the view that there are extremists and some of their patrons who happened to be from outside the country and whenever they see that some kind of a solution or effort to find a solution is there, you will always find a spate of violent activity in Punjab. But I would like to assure the hon. Members that we are not going to be cowed down by whatever violent incident that might take place in Punjab or anywhere else. Our effort will always be to find out a workable, amicable solution, political solution to the problem. And, I will request all the hon. Members of the House to kindly give us their whole-hearted support.

Emotions are bound to be surcharged. Some of the speeches which were made, I have heard them, and that can be also one of the reactions to some of the efforts which are being made by the Government. I would like to assure the House that there are some basic principles on which we are not going to make any compromises. Let us be very clear on this issue. So far as the unity and integrity of the country is concerned, there can hardly be any scope for any compromise. So please do not get disturbed merely because of a statement made by some people that this resolution or that resolution needs to be

accepted or the kind of twist that was given to the statement made by the Prime Minister in Rajya Sabha. What the Prime Minister stated—if it had been correctly reported because I was also present when the Prime Minister made statement—previously he did say...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Who gave that twist ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I do not know. I do not want to enter into that controversy either.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : The twist was given in the press briefing and not in Rajya Sabha.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Anyway, I do not propose to go into that either.

Previously, we had taken the position that unless they were to take a very categorical stand that they were opposed to Anandpur Sahib Resolution, there could be no scope for any kind of a discussion. I think the hon. Members will also appreciate the fact that there are two Resolutions which we have to take in view. One is the Resolution which was passed at Anandpur Sahib. That was the Resolution or draft Resolution of the Working Committee. Later on, in 1978, there was another Resolution which was passed at Ludhiana. But this is also being termed as a kind of Anandpur Sahib Resolution. This is a bigger body, a sort of general body meeting in which they have passed 8 or 10 resolutions. Thereafter, people have always been talking in terms of not Ludhiana Resolution but Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Sikhs have sacredness for that place. That is why even the latter Resolution also is being termed as Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Both the Resolutions had been given in the white paper which was circulated to all the Hon. Members of the House. I would request all the Hon. Members to go through both the Resolutions and try to come to their own decision as to what attitude needs to be taken. What the Prime Minister said was : I am not opposed to the total Anandpur Sahib Resolution, but a portion of it. Rest is an inter state matter centre state relations, which can be referred by them to the Sarkaria Commission. Because it is not peculiar to Punjab that they are asking for more autonomous powers. There are rest of the State

Governments who have been asking for the same. So what is not very peculiar to Punjab can be referred to Sarkaria Commission. And if there is the slightest doubt about any secessionism in any part of the Resolution I can assure the Hon. House that I will be the first man to oppose any kind of a move wherein even indirectly or impliedly also, the unity and integrity of the country is being compromised. So, let there be no doubt on that score.

There were other issues. Some Hon. Members while discussing this issue—I would not blame them because they are new to this House and not knowing the entire history—it is quite possible, must have jumped to this conclusion that the solution was in sight but the Government seemed to have developed some kind of a re-thinking on the entire process. Of course, I would not blame them if it is being charged by some of the Hon. Members who have the complete background of the same. As far as my information goes, and that has also been corroborated by subsequent events, when we try to talk to some of the people, they discuss something and we feel as if they are agreeing with our point of view or we are agreeing with their point of view and later on, there are some pressures which are being brought about on these people. Either the extremists have been pressurising or some other elements; I am not quite aware as to which element is pressurising them.

17.00 hrs.

But they again start rethinking. If you decide on two demands, second day you will find that those two demands are no more relevant now, other two demands are there. So, they go on adding. There is no finality to the demands which they are putting forth. Hon'ble Shri Indrajit Gupta was very right in saying that the old demands are no more carrying that importance. Though they are important, but now other demands are coming forth. Unless those demands are conceded, whether they should go in for a discussion or not is another point which is almost being forced on them. I can well understand the predicament of some of those leaders who have been released from detention and I am prepared to give them some more time so that they establish themselves and having discussed these matters with some of their friends, they are able to come

to objective decision themselves. They are in the process of making up their mind and so, whatever statements they are making today, I am not prepared to give those statements that importance which normally should be attached to the kind of statements they are issuing. But in the name of having objective assessment some of the things which they are saying are rather very unfortunate and most unreasonable, but be that as it may, we have to put up with it for some time and later we will be able to find out as to what exactly is going on in their mind.

Some hon. Members wanted to know what has happened to the Cabinet Sub-Committee going to Punjab and whether we have any positive solutions, alternate solutions in view. We stand committed for going to Punjab and if other two hon. colleagues are able to find time, it should be possible for us to go to Punjab in the first week of April. As soon as the Home Ministry's Demands are over, at least I am thinking of going to Punjab and meeting with cross-sections of the people. And as you have very rightly said, it is not only the Akali Dal who can represent the Sikhs, there are others also who need to be taken into confidence. Certainly, we are prepared to discuss with the cross-sections of the society, irrespective of the political opinions they might be having. We will go over there and give opportunity to all the sections of the society who are interested in finding out an amicable solution to this very intricate problem. Everybody who is interested in giving any suggestions of this nature is most welcome to have discussions with us. We propose to spend about two days in Punjab visiting three or four cities for the time being, and in the second phase most probably another three or four cities we propose to visit and meet a large number of people who can possibly be of some help to us.

A point was made about releasing some detenus while some others are still there, on which the Government have not been able to make up its mind. I have stated earlier also, either in Rajya Sabha or in this very House, that we have asked the officers to do the entire scrutiny and send their list to Government. We will satisfy ourselves that those against whom there are no serious criminal charges, should be released whether they are from the Akali Party or from the All India

Sikh Students Federation. So long as their direct involvement is not there in any case of serious crime, their cases can be reviewed. I am sure that within a day or two we will get all those reports and, thereafter, it should be possible for us to take a final view in the matter. But I can assure you that we do not propose to detain them for very long; very early we should be in a position to take a view in this case.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I think these are the positive steps which the Government have taken so far, at least with a view to create a congenial atmosphere for some kind of negotiation. The Akali leaders have been freed. Our interpretation about the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was also made absolutely clear. The Prime Minister and I have also said in the Rajya Sabha that we are not averse to holding an enquiry into the Delhi episode, provided there is a finality to the entire problem. We are not averse to it, though we hold the view that it is not going to be a very fruitful exercise. If you try to reopen the wound again, the strained relations between the two communities, which started over the episode which took place on the death of the late Prime Minister and the conditions in which these riots took place in Delhi, if they are opened up, it might again create very strained relations. But this is not a matter on which we stand on a question of prestige. There is no question of any prestige involved, if it is going to satisfy those sections, if they are going to come forth and say that "we are prepared for finding a final solution to this problem and this is the only way for finding a solution". Certainly, it is not a question on which we can stand on prestige and say that we do not propose to hold any enquiry into the matter, unless something is being done by you. At least the Government do not hold that point of view, provided we get a positive response from the quarters concerned.

The Prime Minister announced two or three very major things in his meetings in Punjab. He had gone to Hussainiwala, which is very near the Pakistan border, and at a meeting there he announced some very major decisions. He announced that we are going to have a coach factory located in Punjab, the Thien Dam is going to be sanctioned and that some bonus is going to be given to the Punjab farmers, who contribute very substan-

tially to our procurement. I do not think any of the hon. Members will have any objection to these things which were announced there. Only some hon. Members made the point that even though the Thien Dam is going to be sanctioned, we do not find any budget provision for the same.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHURY : The budget provision has to be increased.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : If there is a budget provision, certainly, there is scope for increase. I do not think that is going to be a major problem. Instead of allowing these waters to go to Pakistan for all time to come, it is very necessary to get committed that we are not going to be sufferers. The best course would be to start the construction of the dam immediately, impound the water and give the benefit to the areas concerned, so that we are not permanent losers.

These are the three major decisions, which the Hon. Prime Minister announced when he went there, with a view to create a kind of atmosphere, wherein this kind of alienation, which some people are deliberately trying to create between major sections of the community in Punjab is removed, so that there will be no scope for any kind of misunderstanding. That is why these decisions were announced there. So these are the positive steps that we have been taking.

Now, some of the hon. Members feel that we are unilaterally announcing all these steps, but there is hardly any response from their side. We have to appreciate the fact that they were under detention. They were kept separately. They were kept in different States. They did not have an opportunity of even coming together in those areas. For the first time they have been released. And even if it comes to internal discussion amongst them, we can also expedite the release of some of the detenus who are in prison and those who fulfil all the conditions which I stated earlier. So, if those things are satisfied by them, it should be possible to take positive step in that direction also so that they are in a position to discuss with one another and come to a definite solution of the problem. I think these are very positive steps which we have taken, but unfortunately, so far there is not that kind of response which we had anticipated from the Akali leadership or from others.

I have also gone through the open letter which the Hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta has referred to of the Sikh Forum. The Sikh Forum had written an open letter to the Prime Minister. I have gone through it and, as he stated, there can be controversy on certain issues. But they are the people who are retired Government servants or the people who are having very high position in different areas where they have worked or are working today. How much influence they carry with the masses in Punjab is a different matter, but they are eminent people. I have no objection if they were to come for discussion, but I would like to concentrate...

SHRI INDARJIT GUPTA : Why don't you at least call them ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I would rather concentrate on the local people in Punjab rather than these Sikh Forum people initially. Of course, later on, if necessary, we do not have any objection in discussing these matters with them. They are eminent people and they will be of tremendous help. But at the same time I would not like to create an impression as if they are the people who are going to decide anything. This might create ill-will among the Sikh population themselves and then it will be very difficult for them to go ahead with any proposition they might be having. So, in their own interest I am not going to talk with them. Subsequently, we can discuss the matter with them also.

A point was made about the opposition being taken into confidence and that we all should try to find solution to the problem. Certainly, we are not opposed to this idea. This was the exercise we had undertaken earlier also. This time too I have been discussing and having some kind of consultations with some of the Opposition Members. And at an appropriate time, if the Government feels that some kind of a joint consultation is necessary, I would like to have the possibility of having that kind of exercise also.

There was another point made about some kind of provision that was being made in the SGPC Budget, wherein they say Rs. 2.5 lakhs has been provided for training in arms. I am still not having the correct information with me. Unless we get an authentic copy from them, it will not be correct on my part to react to any of the things which are being reported in the Press.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Why don't you repeal the present Gurudwara Act.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I hope you are interested in helping me.

Anyway, I will get the correct and authentic report from the SGPC sources and if the Government is satisfied that this is the kind of training which is proposed to be given to the extremists, which earlier they never did and this is for the first time they are trying to do by providing regularly in the Budget, I think you can rely on the Government that the Government will not be failing in taking whatever steps that are considered necessary. But I do not think that I should immediately react to what is given in the press instead of getting a correct version of it and if it is established that they are indulging in this kind of a thing, then of course it is a very serious matter on which we cannot possibly take a lighter view.

Sir, these are the major points which the hon. Members had made and I do not think that I need say anything more than what I have said.

Some hon. Members were interested in finding out as to how many meetings of the Cabinet Sub-Committee were there. I have got the figures with me, but I do not think these are the minor details in which you are interested, but I can assure you that we are deeply interested in finding an amicable solution to the problem which, according to us, received the highest priority. Without compromising our position, without compromising the unity and integrity of the country we are interested in finding a solution. I am also prepared to give some more margin to them for reacting the way they are doing at least for the time being so that Mr. Longowal may be interested in having his own leadership being established in certain areas. I am not opposed to this sort of a thing, But if I find that this is the only track on which he is supposed to travel, then I will have to admit that this is a misjudgment of the situation which I have indulged in. I do not think that I can say anything more than what I have stated now. But immediately at least I have not come to any conclusion that this is the initial reaction of those, of course, who were totally disconnected from the rest of his

comrades. So, having been released, he is now trying to have contact with them, to have a rapport with them, and trying to have a feed back as to on what lines he should proceed ahead. I do not think there is any scope for any kind of misunderstanding. We may not have any misunderstanding, but at the same time we cannot also ourselves come to any definite conclusion as to what exactly is his objective analysis in finding the solution to the problem. Later on, when we go to Punjab we will have our own assessment after coming back, the Cabinet Sub-Committee will be able to discuss amongst ourselves as to what more needs to be done in order to find an amicable solution to the Punjab problem. Thank you.

SHRI S.M. BHATTAM : Sir, I am rising on a point of clarification. The Minister of Home Affairs some time back on the floor of the Rajya Sabha has started that the presence of Army in Punjab is going to be a permanent affair. I have myself heard it from the Galleries. Is there any clarification you propose to give on this matter on any revised stand on this issue ?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN : I do not think the hon. Member has made his point because I am not having that speech also with me. Anyhow, I have no objection in clarifying on what I had stated in the Rajya Sabha. In reply to a question or some Calling Attention notice I had stated that Army has been disengaged from most of the areas excepting three districts and there also as far as possible our effort will be that the local police and para-military forces should be able to take over the entire responsibility themselves and the Army authorities should be disengaged as early as possible, but the presence of the Army in some shape or the other is always going to be there. This is the kind of statement that I had made and people are harping on the word 'always'. I think the hon. Members will be aware of the fact that Punjab happens to be a border State and we have big Army establishment and cantonment areas. When we disengage the Army, we cannot create a situation where a fear psychosis can spread in the different sections of the people. So they are going to be alerted. They have to be available within the shortest possible time. They can go back and that is also under the consideration of the Government. As far as possible, we will see that the local police and the para military police are

able to take charge of the entire thing. To the extent possible and as early as possible, we will try to disengage the Army from the internal management which they have been doing so far. But at the same time, we would be alerting them that they have to keep themselves in readiness. It is because, at the shortest possible notice, if they have been called, they should be ready. I hope you are satisfied.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, about 19 hon. Members have participated in the discussion but hardly any Member has spoken on the Budget. I don't think there is any point on which I could reply.

But I want to make only one point and that is, I am congratulating the industrialists and hard-working people of Punjab on keeping the tempo and pace of economic development in the State. So far as food production is concerned, I am just mentioning only about rice.

The total production in Punjab in respect of rice upto 23-1-85, during this year, was 50.47 lakh tonnes. Their contribution to the Central pool is 38.89 lakh tonnes. The percentage of contribution to the Central pool to total production by Punjab is 79%. The total procurement in the country up to 23-1-1985 is 71.02 lakh tonnes. The procurement in Punjab is 39.89 lakh tonnes. The percentage of procurement in Punjab to total procurement in the country is 56.1%. This is the excellent performance of the people of Punjab.

Regarding the 20-point programme. in 1982-83, Rs.456.5 crores had been spent. During 1984-85, Rs.532.76 crores have been spent. Now, the provision for 1985-86 is Rs. 541.50 crores.

Sir, I may bring to your notice some of the achievements made by the administration in Punjab. The State has won awards and incentive bonus for four items, namely slum improvement, power generation, sterilisation, and elementary education and adult literacy for its creditable performance in the implementation of the programmes during 1983-84. An incentive bonus of Rs. 1.86 crores has been given to Punjab for achieving the higher target for providing basic civic ameni-

ties to the slum population. Against the target of 1.65 lakh slum dwellers, the State has covered 1,90,616, giving the percentage achievement of 115.52.

So far as the power generation is concerned, the Punjab State Electricity Board has won an award of Rs.3.16 crores for the performance of the Guru Nanak Dev Thermal Plant, Bhatinda. The Plant Load Factor has risen from 41.3% in 1981-82 to 57% in 1983-84. The performance of the Guru Nanak Dev Thermal Plant, Bhatinda was the highest during 1983-84 out of all the thermal units of the same capacity in the country.

Punjab has been given a cash award of Rs. 2.5 crores for being the best State in respect of family planning, achieving 140,246 sterilisations as compared to the target of 1,28,000.

Coming to elementary education and adult literacy, Punjab has won a cash award of Rs. 1.12 crores for better performance in the enrolment of girls in the age group of 6-14 years and in respect of adult literacy for women, against the enrolment target of 12.02 lakhs during 1983-84, 12.83 lakh girl students were enrolled.

I do not want to list some of the achievements. So far as the Prime Minister's announcement regarding a coach factory in Punjab is concerned, it is going to have the capacity of 1000 coaches and the investment would be Rs.200 crores. The employment would be of an order of 10,000 people.

So far as the Thein Dam project is concerned, the modalities are being worked out to expedite it.

So far as the payment of bonus is concerned, there also we are working out the modalities.

The hon. Members from the Opposition side and also from our side have made a very pertinent remark that only a handful of people are creating trouble. It is not the people of Punjab who are creating trouble. It is only a handful of people who are holding the country to ransom.

Here are the brave people of Punjab, the factory workers of Punjab, the farmers of Punjab and the working class of Punjab who