

14.53 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (PUNJAB),
1991,92—Contd.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House shall now take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants for 1991-92 in respect of Punjab.

Shri Hari Kishore Singh to continue his speech.

[Translation]

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH (Sheohar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, during the course of a discussion in the recent past, I had expressed regret for creating such a situation in which the valuable time of such a great scholar and economist like that of Shri Manmohan Singh is being wasted. I am referring to it specially because today the Prime Minister of the country has left for participating in G-15 meeting at Caracas. It was in Caracas that the report of the South commission was presented last year before the world. I would like to quote from the book "The changes to the South".

PROF. PREM DHUMAL(Hamirpur): Is this Punjab Budget? Are you speaking on the Punjab-Budget?

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: I am speaking on the Punjab budget only. The book I have referred to has been written by Dr. Manmohan Singh. I am not talking of anyone else. Whoever is conversant with the name of the South Commission and this book, might be knowing that Shri Julius Nyerere who received Nehru Peace Prize and Indira Gandhi award was the Chairman and Dr. Manmohan Singh was the Secretary General of the commission. Mr. Singh is the author of this book also. So, I am not going to say any thing for which you people are so much cared. It is written in this book:

[English]

* A WORLD DIVIDED: Three and a half

billion people, three quarters of all humanity, live in the developing countries. By the year 2000, the proportion will probably have risen to four fifths. Together the developing countries — accounting for more than two thirds of the earth's land surface area — are often called the Third World.

We refer to them as the South. Largely by passed by the benefits of prosperity and progress, they exist on the periphery of the developed countries of the North. While most of the people of the North are affluent, most of the people of the South are poor; while the economies of the North are generally strong and resilient, those of the South are mostly weak and defenceless; while the countries in the North are, by and large, in control of their destinies, those of the South are very vulnerable to external factors and lacking in functional sovereignty."

[Translation]

Lastly, I would like to quote:

[English]

"The primary bond that links the countries and peoples of the South is their desire to escape from poverty and underdevelopment and secure a better life for their citizens. This shared aspiration is a foundation for their solidarity, expressed through such organizations as the Group of 77 — of which all countries of the South except China are members — and the Non-Aligned Movement, with a large and growing membership from all continents in the South." I am referring to it because today the Hon. Prime Minister alongwith several officers of the Government of India and the foreign Minister has gone to participate in the G-15 meeting. It was necessary. In the first meeting, of G-15 held last year at Kualalumpur the Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and the foreign Minister, Shri L.K. Gujral had participated. It is very distressing that a great scholar like Shri Manmohan Singh who is an authority on basic problems of the South or the developing countries in the global context has not gone there. He is busy with the Punjab Budget. So naturally, he will not be there on a world platform,

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where economic problems of the developing countries are slated for a discussion today. In the same context, it is also regrettable that the present foreign Secretary, Shri Muchkund Dubey who is an experienced officer of international repute on UNCTAD or any other agency of the United Nations and before whom many dignitaries in the developing countries become nervous has also not gone with the Prime Minister's delegation today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the reason for not holding elections in Punjab is known to the whole House as well as the world at large. But I would like to know as to by when elections would be held in Punjab. I would like to ask the Government in clear terms as to why it did so when the date of elections had been announced and all the polling arrangements had already been completed. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you as well as we have experience of contesting elections. About 100 candidates showed their courage to contest the elections and were killed under the present situation in Punjab.

15.00 hrs

I want to know, the House wants to know, the country wants to know why the elections have been postponed, at the last moment. At that time the then Hon. Prime Minister had shown his ignorance about the postponement of elections. Respected Chandrashekharji did not know about the postponement of the elections. It was a surprising situation that the supreme ruler of the country was unaware of the elections being postponed. We want to know when there would be a normal situation in Punjab. Form whose point of view the normalcy would be satisfactory? Would it be satisfactory from the point of view of the House or the Prime Minister or Chief Election Commissioner of the country?

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we belong to Janata Dal. Even the name of Chief election Commissioner creates terror in the hearts of

M.Ps elected from Bihar. It may be that his name may cause ever heart attack. Thus, you have to arrange the doctor also.

Recently, bye-elections have been held at several places. A number of manipulations and irregularities have been committed. We also raised that matter in this House. On 18th instant, I along with former Finance Minister Prof. Madhu Dandavate and former Home Minister Shri Mufti Mohammad Saheb went to meet the Chief Election Commissioner but we could not meet him. God knows what type of God man is he; What is his philosophy and to whom he would meet. We used to go to Nirvachan Bhawan earlier also but never had such an experience. When the former Home Minister and the former Finance Minister tried to search him, fortunately one constable who was acquainted to Shri Mufti Saheb made them to see Shri Bagga. At half past three we were told that elections were going to be held at Gaya, Repolling on 61 booths was to take place. At quarter past four, a notification was issued to cancel the elections of Gaya. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you will not protect the democratic process of the country then who will do it? It is regrettable that today....(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Shri Laloo Prasad will do it.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: The terror of Shri Laloo will disturb you for long. Don't worry? why are you afraid of Shri Laloo. Shri Laloo had said that you should conduct elections with the help of military but should not postpone the elections. I am sorry to say that we will shed tears like an important person unless protection to the citizens of the country is given and democratic process is ensured. I mean to say that pain in the heart may bitter the tongue also and people may be forced to take sword in their hands. They may also take A.K. -47. I regret that I am condemning it. One hon. Member elected from Punjab was not allowed to enter the House and the National Integration Council because he was carrying a long sword with him. He could not take up

oath in the House. I want to submit humbly that the sword was given proper concept by Guru Govind Singh. He was born in Patna. If you don't know, you please listen to me. As he was born in Patna, I have also some right to speak over it. Shri Guru Govind Singh, a great man and a great Saint who was born in Patna Sahib, had sacrificed a lot to protect the culture and civilization of the country. It is wrong not to participate in the democratic process of the country in the name of religion. I would appeal them that the length of the sword will not decide the fate of the country and the Sikh religion too, does not permit to give importance to such issues.

What to talk of the National Integration Council? It has been constituted in a hurry. With the result some persons have been left, who were to be included in the Council. But even the Defence Minister of India has not been included in the National Integration Council Whom to blame? First of all, I would request the Minister of State for Finance to reconstitute the National Integration Council and the petty problems of Maharashtra should not be brought to Delhi for solution. It has never been so far. The Defence Minister of India has been the member of the National Integration Council since its inception. Now, why he has been excluded. Tell me. Is he not competent. If he is not capable of becoming a member of the council, how he would defend the country. My hon. Colleagues will forgive me. It was appeared in the newspapers and a propoganda was made in the elections that in which capacity he was contesting when he was not even a member of the National Integration Council. That is why I was stating...*(Interruptions)*..... It is very much related to Punjab because the problem of Punjab has been created due to your narrow mindedness. As long as narrow mindedness would remain, the problem of Punjab can't be solved... *(Interruptions)* Do not say that at that time it was our government. When it was our Government, you were constantly pressuring us not to hold elections in Punjab. This thing, I want to tell to the country. If it is not so, you may refute it. You were not in favour of holding the

elections. It was not because you were coward, but you wanted that the Government may remain for some more time. You wanted to be in the Government not for the sake of power but for the requirement of the country. There is no need to protect the Government. It is the requirement of the country. Think with an open mind. I want a categorical assurance in the House as to when the elections in Punjab would be held?

As I said the other day we are not opposing the budget proposals. We don't want to oppose the budget. We want the budget to be passed at the earliest. But what is the remedy of narrow mindedness? When would the democratic process begin in Punjab? Will the administration of Punjab be carried in the same manner as the Home Ministry was doing earlier? We have one example of it before us. You have deputed the same persons who were posted there five years ago. Had he any achievement as he was upgraded to Director General, C.R.P.F. a biggest organisation, in Delhi? What was the necessity of sending him back? It pains me to say that his behaviour with general public has not been good. I know that it make no difference to call them as alive citizens or dead citizens. His conduct with his colleagues, senior officials has not been good. If you want to listen more, I shall narrate more examples. But are you rewarding him for not treating his colleagues and senior officials. You have created a wrong precedent by posting him again there. Why he has been sent to Punjab? Reply it. Don't enter into the politics of Akal Takhat and Sikhs.

Indiraji was assassinated. It was wrong. It was very wrong and blot. The Government of this country could not protect the Prime Minister of India. At least, the then Home Minister should have resigned if not the Defence Minister. You can think yourself who was the Home Minister at that time. Incidents occurred later also. These were unhappy incidents. As per Government statistics, 2300 people were killed and many people were burnt alive. A Commission was set up but what action was taken? Some of

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the accused were appointed as Ministers. For the sake of Congress politics, you threw Punjab into trouble. Later on, the Akal Takht was constructed in Punjab against the wishes of Sikhs. The Government of India had awarded a contract of eight to eleven hundred crores of rupees but later on, it was reduced to earth. In connection with Punjab, late Shri Darbara Singh had told me that the persons in Delhi would not allow Punjab to function. He had mentioned the names of several persons, in this regard. Shri Darbara Singh had told this thing not only to me but to many other persons. He had said this to the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi and we along with a delegation had met her. I want to submit that the first requirement is to hold elections in Punjab. The officer which is named as General Dyer should be called back. Give confidence to the people of Punjab that political process will be started there. It matters not much that which party comes to power. In many States, your party is in power. You are holding elections in Haryana and avoiding elections in Punjab. It is not justified. I submit not to follow the policy of narrow mindedness. Come forward in the interest of the nation. Assure this House and declare the date of holding elections in Punjab.

I conclude with these words.

SHRISHARAD DIGHE (Bombay-North Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants for Punjab for 1991-92. However, I am sorry to say that really speaking from the propriety point of view, there is no sufficient material placed before this House as far as these Demands are concerned. I have received only one page stating some figures and the departments. And along with it, we have straightaway been supplied with the Punjab appropriation Bill. I feel that when there is no popular Government in Punjab and when Punjab is also not represented in this House, it is the duty of the Government to put before us the performances, the different schemes, the different policies and the details of what

they propose to do as far as the remaining months are concerned. Merely giving some figures and departments does not throw any light on the real financial position of Punjab. And there cannot be a fruitful debate from the financial point of view. Therefore, considering that string of the purse with this House, we take this opportunity of discussing Punjab, namely, the political situation in Punjab. Therefore, the whole debate is really speaking addressed to the Home Ministry and not at all to the Finance Ministry. I do not think that any of the points which we shall raise and which we have been raising are in any way appropriately replied to by the Finance Ministry. It is because the financial aspect of this Budget is not placed before this House at all.

However, coming to the political situation in Punjab, I would say that elections in Punjab have become a must now. And it is gratifying to note that the Home Minister, during the last session itself, when he moved for the extension of President's Rule in Punjab, assured that elections would be held in Punjab in February of next year. And there have been frequent statements made by him that elections in any case would be held in Punjab by the 15th of February. I would welcome that statement because without elections, there appears to be no way out now as far as the Punjab problem is concerned. Today, Punjab is still a story of untold miseries and there is no light at the end of this tunnel. There does not seem to be any way out from the daily dose of mindless killings, inhuman liquidation of families, looting, extortion and kidnapping for ransom. Now, it has not been restricted only to the three border districts of Punjab but it has been spread over to all other areas of Punjab and outside Punjab also like the Terai area of UP, MP, Bihar, Haryana and Chandigarh. It has even reached Maharashtra. Only a few days back, there was a bomb explosion in the suburban train at Kalyan near Bombay. So, the militant activities have reached even to a State like Maharashtra. Therefore, as I was saying, this problem has to be tackled as early as possible and as there cannot be negotiations with anybody, elections are the

only way out as far as this problem is concerned. I read a report somewhere that Home Minister has also said that there cannot be any negotiations now because there are nearly 37 factions in Punjab itself. And we cannot hold any negotiations with any of these factions fruitfully as there are several factions existing today. Therefore, people have to decide ultimately as to who should represent Punjab and who should negotiate with the Centre. Therefore, the date of 15th February may be strictly adhered to by the Central Government. Now, for no reason, postponement of Punjab elections should take place; that would affect the credibility of this government and ultimately, it will completely be a mess as far as Punjab problem is concerned. Therefore, I would urge upon the government to stick to this time limit which they have announced and at any cost, there should be elections in Punjab.

I was happy to note that the proposal of debaring the separatist from the elections appear to have been dropped. That would have created a further sense of alienation among these people. Therefore, there should not be any separate election law as far as this State is concerned. We shall have to take the risk and catch the bull by its horns. With whatever army that can be deployed and with whatever election machinery that can be used, we must face the elections in Punjab. Therefore, I hope that the reported news that such a Bill to debar separatist has been dropped is correct and I am happy that it has now been left to the people themselves to elect proper representatives of their choice to represent their State of Punjab.

Further on, I also urge upon the Government to use all the diplomatic channels to curtail the militant activities as far as Punjab is concerned. As far as nuclear programme is concerned, attempts are being made for persuading this country, to join the NPT and also to decide in favour of creating a nuclear weapon free zone in south Asia. In this connection, people like Bartholomew and Blix have been visiting us and they are putting pressure upon this country. I urge upon the Government that this opportunity

should be utilised at this stage to see that the Pakistani training centres are abolished and militants are not given any encouragement across the border. Perhaps, after this there would be some light as far as the Punjab problem is concerned. There would be peaceful elections and peace will be restored in Punjab as early as possible. When this State joins the mainstream of this country again, there will be happiness not only in Punjab, but in the whole country as well.

Certain measures have been taken by the present Governor of Punjab and I welcome them. On the day of the 25th year of the establishment of Punjab State, the Governor has announced certain beneficial measures such as ensuring development of Punjab language in the entire Punjab-speaking regions, making Punjabi a second language in the States of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, generating self-employment for 1,000 youth, establishing a Lok Vikas Institute for promoting and preserving the Punjabi heritage, providing 1,000 villages with improved sanitary environment and providing safe drinking water. All such measures will also help to create a conducive effect not only to solve the problem in Punjab but also to have peaceful elections in that State.

Steps should also be taken to encourage those youths who desire to return to the mainstream. After intercepting certain letters, it has been found that they are tired of the life of militancy and they are thinking in terms of returning to the normal life of citizens. Encouragement should be given to such youth who want to rejoin the normal political and social life of Punjab by giving up their terrorist activities.

If all such steps are taken, I believe that there will be peaceful elections in Punjab and its problem will be solved and there will be no further Punjab Budgets to be placed before this House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) :
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I share Mr. Dighe's sense of uncertainty as to whether the political

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aspects of this matter which are being debated will be dealt with by the Finance Minister or not. Of course, it is for them to decide but certainly this is a matter which has very much to do with the Ministry of Home Affairs, which is not represented here at this moment, because the question of Punjab Budget being debated here has a very relevant bearing on the future of Presidential Rule in that State. I do not know whether the Minister is in a position to at least declare here confidently that this is the last time when the Parliament will be called upon to debate and pass the Punjab Budget. If he can make that statement confidently, I would be very happy.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SHANTARAM POTDUKHE): The Minister has already said that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please repeat again what your Minister has said with conviction.

Not very long ago, I think in the last Session itself, the House practically unanimously was of the view that despite all the risks and uncertainties we must go in for the earliest possible elections in Punjab. There is no way out. The Prime Minister himself gave the assurance on the floor of the House that elections are definitely going to be held not later than the 15th of February, today, we are now approaching the end of November. So, we have two-and-a-half month left in hand, as per the time span which the Prime Minister had spelt out. So, it depends on that now whether the elections are held or not, whether the elected legislature comes into existence and if it does, then perhaps we will not time and again be called upon to perform this unpleasant duty of discussing and passing the Budget for the State of Punjab which is being suffering under President's Rule for such an inordinately long time.

I also share Mr. Dighe's dissatisfaction with the fact that we have not been provided with any background material. We must

know what is happening there, otherwise it will be very difficult to make an assessment of the situation on the ground in Punjab with which this whole question is intricately linked up. Newspapers are the only source of information and what we are reading there in quite prominent headlines is that an operation called Rakshak-II has been launched. Rakshak-I is already over and Rakshak-II has been launched in which several thousands of army troops plus paramilitary force plus the Punjab police — altogether running into thousands of people — have been deployed and put under the State Government's authority to deploy them and use them as they want. I have nothing against that but why such a situation has become necessary now, if the government does not tell us anything then we are left to guess and to make conjectures. Does it mean that the situation has worsen? Up to now out of 12 districts in Punjab 9-districts have been declared disturbed areas under the Disturbed Areas Act. Only three districts have been left out. Now I find that those three remaining districts have also been covered under the Disturbed Areas Act. That does not surely mean that the situation is improving. Rather it seems to imply that in the Government's assessment — it may be right or it may be wrong — the situation has deteriorated requiring to bring the entire State under Disturbed Areas Act plus launching of this Rakshak II Operation. So, we have not been told anything. This sovereign House of the country which is called upon to debate a Budget of another State is not told anything about the situation there, as to which way we are moving now. Are we expected to have confidence that 'yes' in two-and-a-half months' time, that the government would be in a position to implement the assurance given by the Prime Minister? I had my own doubts at that time. When he was giving that assurance, at that time itself, Sir, I had said in this House that it is very difficult for us to expect a firm date from an infirm Government. Anyway, a firm date was given. We were told that they will stick to that. Sir, do you know the constitutional implications? If for any reason, they do not stick to the time, that is, for any reason, if the elections are not

held by the 15th February, a fresh Constitutional Amendment will have to be made. I do not know whether the present Government is in a position to risk the passage of a Constitutional Amendment in both the Houses.

So, it is a very serious matter. I should say that the Government is really between the devil and the deep sea. They have to decide. But what I am sorrowful about is, there is not a word about what I may call the no law and order. One is law and order. Second is the question of security, that is the question of deployment of security forces. All that we understand. The other side of the strategy which we were assured about was that there, the developmental work would be stepped up. More confidence should be put on developmental work. You have to isolate the militants. You have to instil confidence in the minds of the people. You have to help to attract the youths and also to create more jobs, provide more employment opportunities. But what have you been doing? Why have you not told anything? Why should the House be kept in the dark in all these matters? Please tell us. Since the beginning of this year upto now, what are those development projects which you have been able to start and how many new jobs you have created? I know that the Governor of Punjab had publicly announced with some good intentions, what he wants to do. It was just now mentioned by Shri Dighe. But that is not the something as accomplishing with the help of the Centre, the programmes which we were told that they were going to be launched. How are you going to change the mood of the people?

We were told now that the Rakshak II is necessary in order to instil confidence in the people. Who told you that? I do not know. I do not think that the government itself has any confidence in these development programmes and projects which it talks about so much. It depends only on the gun and nothing else. I am not saying that you do not have to. You make security arrangement. Obviously you have to. But what about the other side of the strategy? The people who

have for so many years been tossed about between the terrorists' violence on the one hand and excesses committed by the police on the other hand are not people who can easily be given confidence now. It is a very very difficult task for which we thought that the entire country, all the political parties should be mobilised by the government for an all-out effort to approach the people of the Punjab. But nothing is done. Nothing of that kind is being done. We are left each to himself to do whatever he likes.

So, my impression last time, when the Prime Minister spoke was that leading upto the election there should be a process of creating an atmosphere of conciliation and confidence among the people not only of confrontation. If I was wrong, well I beg to be corrected. The strategy was aimed at isolating the militants. It was already there. I agree. Our Reports are also like that. The mass of people are fed up now.

They are fed up with all these killings and lootings and extortions and butchery which are going on. They would also like normal conditions to return when they can lead a normal life.

Then the question of negotiations also arises. It is the Government's duty; whether it be the Governor there in Chandigarh or the Centre or jointly they have to think of which are those parties, those forces, which are those healthy elements, which are those secular elements which are there present in the Punjab with whom some kind of talks formal/informal must be held in order to pave the way, to prepare the ground for an election. We are not told anything about it.

I was horrified to read a news a few days ago in the paper that this fencing which is being done on the border by us is of sub standard material. It is being discussed many times; it is going on for a long time. An assurance was given that the entire border was going to be fenced; a big part of it had been done; something was remaining and all that. There was a news in the Press that it was found that much of this fencing, barbed

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wire fencing is of sub standard material. I do not know who the work was given — a contractor or who is that fellow. But true to the tradition of the Indian contractors perhaps it is now said that part of this fencing has been found to be of sub standard; they will not stand any kind of strain or anything; and if you pull them or push them, they crumble in your hand. This is the way our security is being looking after. I cannot expect the Finance Ministry to reply to these points; it is impossible when the whole thing is unsatisfactory. When we discuss Punjab in the House I demand that the Home Minister must be present; otherwise, it shows an utter lack of seriousness in this whole situation. Why are we not told what is the latest position regarding Pakistan's role in this whole Punjab affairs? Are they continuing to supply arms in the sense that they would like to? But is it a fact that arms are still freely being transported across the border? we are not able to stop them or check them or have them checked to some extent or nothing has been done. Why are we not told about it?

There is much talk about the training camps situated inside Pakistan across the border. Some of my friends have recently been publicly demanding that, if necessary, we should take action to finish off those camps. Well, that is a matter of high policy which is not for me to determine. But, even if the training camps do not operate, I think, these militants in the Punjab, in so many years, have been sufficiently well trained and experienced to operate provided they have the necessary arms, explosives, grenade, detonators and all these things which they are using, mines, Landmines they are using with devastating effect. Does it mean that actually the supply of weapons and arms equipments coming across the border has not diminished at all by our measures or what?

You are spending money and asking us to vote large sums of money. And one aspect of that definitely is that security arrangements have to be properly looked af-

ter. But how can we discuss and debate anything when there is not a shred of paper to give us any factual information at all? so, I think the Government is not serious about this question at all. However, for the time being, there is no point in labouring on all this. I would like to know from the Government whether they are prepared to assure the House again that, as the Prime Minister has said, there will be no going back from the date which was given here of 15th February for holding those elections; and secondly whether from now upto 15th February the reliance is going to be entirely on the Rakshak II or it may be followed by some Rakshak III I do not know later on. That means holding the whole State under Disturbed Areas Act and pouring more and more troops and para-military forces in. How does the wind go the otherside of the strategy of some development work of attracting people, of giving them confidence, providing jobs for the young fellows and doing something? There is nothing about that. Anyway, I am very much disturbed and worried by all this and I hope that the Finance Ministry will at least try to reply to these points; whatever they can reply to, they should reply or don't want to reply to, they may kindly refer them to the Government; and we should be told at a suitable time what exactly is the situation on the ground.

SHRI AJOY MUKHOPADHYAY (Krishnagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, with a deep sense of anguish and resentment I rise to speak on the Demands for Grants for the year 1991-92 in respect of Punjab.

Sir, the people of Punjab who stood in the frontline of the struggle of Indian independence, whose patriotism, valour, sacrifice and love for the country are written in golden letters in our history, and who have contributed a lot for the economic development in post-independent India have now become helpless and worst victims of the extremists. Their unflinching urge for national unity and integrity is being suppressed by the guns of extremists. In fact, the Indian civilisation, its rich culture, and the noble values, which are the products of the end-

less sacrifices of our forefathers, are burning aflame in the holy land of Bhagat Singh and innumerable other martyrs. It is a shame for the entire country.

Everybody knows that it is the Congress (I) Government at the Centre which is responsible for the creation of such a dangerous process which has led to the present disaster. But still, the peace-loving people of Punjab and that of the entire country expected that at least this time the Congress (I) Government, taking lessons from the past ten years, from the happenings of the past ten years, would come forward to meet the challenge of the dark forces squarely and would take effective measures in the right direction. But unfortunately, that expectation has been totally belied. During the regime of the five-month old Narasimha Rao Government the situation has further deteriorated very fast and now it has come to an alarming stage. The promulgation of the Disturbed Areas Act almost throughout the State proves it. The deep sense of insecurity and demoralisation has engulfed the entire State. I would like to cite some revealing facts.

Not only are innocent people irrespective of age being butchered daily, or incidents of kidnapping, rapes, extortions, intimidation etc., are occurring regularly as before but the number of killings etc., are also increasing rapidly. And during October and the first week of November a record has been created in this respect. On November 4, one of our topmost valient leaders along with his five colleagues was gunned down during day time. 31 branches of nationalised banks were burnt in one day. Since last October many police officials along with their family members have been killed and the weapons including machine guns were taken away.

Besides these, in order to create an atmosphere in favour of Khalistan, extremists are going ahead with their plan to force the people of the minority community to migrate from that State – thus creating a situation where Sikh migration from other

States begins. Ludhiana, the nerve centre of small scale industries, has been selected by them as one of the centres to implement their evil designs. By now all the major industrialists have shifted their industries in adjacent States including Delhi. Many shop owners belonging to the minority community in Ludhiana area have migrated from the State. The famous hosiery industry in Punjab is on the verge of collapse. The fate of three lakh workers attached with that industry be well imagined.

The extremists are executing their plans without the least resistance from the Government. The Central Government also is not taking any notice of these dangerous games. But is it not true that the large scale migration of the people belonging to the minority community will not only cause enormous harm to the State alone but it may have serious repercussions outside the State also? But who will answer these questions? Only the State Minister of Finance is present here. There is no Minister from the Home Department. Virtually there is no administration in Punjab and the government of India has no Punjab policy. This is the state of affairs going on.

For all practical purposes Punjab is now being ruled at the dictates of the extremists. The recruitment in the Government administration and all the public sector industries is being made on the basis of the lists furnished by the extremists. There is no secrecy in it. With the blessings of the extremists a section of the administration is harassing the people and extorting money from the like anything. Unholy nexus between the extremists and a good number of bureaucrats and police personnel is quite open.

But what the Central Government is doing? Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi as Opposition Leader and other leading Members of the congress (I) often used to blame the V.P. Singh Government that they had no policy regarding Punjab State. But that Government, though in a half-hearted way, took some initiatives to start a political process. That was, of course, not pursued. Now,

[Sh. Ajoy Mukhopadhyay]

may I ask the present Government what policy they are pursuing in regard to Punjab? They are not taking into confidence this House even not to speak of discussion with the different political parties. Whatever might have been said, the fact remains that during the last ten years all the successive Governments have treated the problem of Punjab along with the problem of Kashmir and later on that of Assam as a problem of law and order. But the problem is much more bigger—it is the problem of the unity and integrity of the country upon which the future of India depends.

The Government has committed to hold election in Punjab by February 15, 1992. But if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue and peace is not restored then the Government will have no other option but to approach this House again along with a constitution amendment Bill for postponement of the election which will further encourage the extremists and demoralise the people who have all through stood against the anti-national forces. There is no doubt about it. Mere issuing statements and expressing pious wishes cannot yield any result. The passivity of the present Government has crossed all limits. Even the media, particularly the electronic media are not being properly utilised not to speak of any political action. It is a matter of deep concern that the workers in Punjab who are consistently fighting against the extremist activities along with their fight for life and livelihood are being subjected to heavy police repression including frequent firing. A few days back, the contractors' labourers of FCI in Sangrur in Punjab were agitating for their long standing demands for better service conditions and regularisation in service. But the FCI authority refused to sit with the Workers' union for a negotiated settlement. On the contrary, they preferred to change the contractor unilaterally. Thereafter, police was called in and firing took place and 40 workers were wounded. Combing operation was also conducted in the slums of the workers and a number of leaders and organisers of the

CITU were arrested. A few days back eight workers were killed in police firing in Abohar in Punjab. Is it the way to start a political process, a democratic process?

In the prevailing situation in Punjab where the most essential thing is to start and develop democratic process, it is unthinkable that democratic movement of the workers will be suppressed in this way. So, I would request the Government to come out openly with what they want to do with the Punjab problem.

The net result would be that the helplessness among the people will go on increasing and very soon an opportunity will be created where the extremists will be able to create Kashmir-like situation in Punjab. In that case the hands of Pakistan and other foreign powers which are frantically trying to destabilise India would be further strengthened.

In this connection, I would like to point out that there is a major difference between the situation in Kashmir and in Punjab. In Punjab the overwhelming majority the people is against the concept of Khalistan. They are against the extremists and their activities and they are for national unity. They are secular in character. That is evident from the fact that despite all out efforts, the extremists did not succeed to communalise the situation in Punjab. They could not disturb the communal harmony of the State. Not a single communal riot took place in Punjab during this period. I think that the Government should take cognisance of this reality and come forward to take an all out offensive, both administrative and political, against the extremists. Simultaneously, the genuine aspirations of the people of Punjab must be honoured and fulfilled, with no further dilly-dallying. The Government is not realising the seriousness of the situation. Through their action it is not reflected. I would, therefore, request the Government to realise the seriousness of the situation and come forward, firstly, to streamline the administration and to take determined steps by ensuring people's support and cooperation for estab-

lishing peace and for saving the life and property of the people.

Secondly, the process of implementation of the Rajiv Longowal Accord is to be started forthwith and accordingly handing over Chandigarh to Punjab and full compensation to Haryana for that should be completed within a time limit. The issue of water dispute be immediately referred to the supreme Court. The culprits of 1984 Delhi riots be punished immediately. The Punjabi language be given proper status. Above all, the Centre-State relations be restructured with a view to give more autonomy to the States, including Punjab.

16.00 hrs.

Thirdly, I would urge upon all political parties of the country, particularly the major political parties – including the Congress (I) – to start and develop a political process in the State with right earnest. Finally, I would request the Government to spell out their policy in regard to Punjab. They should immediately start a dialogue with all the secular political parties of the country with a view to arrive at a consensus. I do believe that if we can go forward in solving the Punjab problem by combining all the forces, then it will be possible to open the doors to tackle the Kashmir problem with less difficulty and the extremists all over the country and their masters abroad will be demoralised.

If the Government and all the patriotic political parties fail to respond to the call of the situation and do not rise to the occasion to meet the challenge of the dark horses, history will not forgive us.

With these words I conclude my speech.

[Translation]

PROF. PREMDHUMAL (Hamirpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Prior to me, many speakers have drawn attention to this fact. The Central Government is neither serious about Punjab problem nor Punjab Budget.

When the whole country and different states are preparing for the the next Budget, we are presenting the Budget of the year of which eight months have elapsed.

16.03 hrs.

(SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA *in the chair*)

Small scale industries have contributed a lot of to reduce unemployment, provide employment opportunities and strengthen the economy of the area. The Despite adverse situation, the small scale industrial sector of Punjab is contributing in a significant manner. I was in Punjab yesterday and I met such several people and labourers. There are many small kilns where labourers work. It is unfortunate that there is shortage of copper, coal also etc. There is a shortage of raw material which is used by small scale industries. Prior to me, senior leader Shri Indrajit Gupta has drawn attention towards it that a small piece of paper relating to Budget has been given to us. I find that the Government is making propoganda time and again that Punjab is marching ahead in the field of industry and agriculture. It is maintaining its earlier position. If you see item No. 13 which is earmarked for industries, only 10 crores, 51 lakhs and 38 thousand of rupees have been allocated for industries in Punjab. What progress in the field of industries will be made there with this amount by the Government. The first requirement which is the concern of Central Government also, is that the raw material should be supplied there sos that the people engaged in small industries could get employment, and earn their livelihood. It would help to contain the problem of terrorism to some extent. The second problem is of banking facility which is linked with the Budget and the Central Government is also directly concerned with it. In Punjab, small industrialists generate employment for themselves as well for some other people by investing a small capital and working hard. But you have imposed the same economic strictness in Punjab too. Devaluation of rupee has reduced the banking limit from 30 to 40

[Prof. Prem Dhuma]

percent. Hence the Banking limit fixed in banks for small industrialist should be enhanced from 30 to 40 percent automatically. The Government has to take the initiative from its own side otherwise if the small industries are closed due to lack of money and raw material, it will increase unemployment as well as other problems also.

Small units are showing good results. So I hope that the Central Government would realise its responsibility. That is directly linked with their administrative responsibility. Thus, it will solve the problem of small industrialists.

The third suggestion is relating to small industries. There is a shortage of raw material and it is costly also. You will prepare the new year's budget. Once I had suggested to revise the limit of Central Excise duty imposed by the Central Government There are a number of small industries in Punjab. These can't bear the burden of Central Excise duty for long. The people are tired of bifurcating their units. There is a large number of small units. The whole production is going to be closed owing to devaluation of rupee and keeping the exemption limit same. It will increase unemployment.

People are recruited in Military and para-military forces on the basis of population of the States. Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir are small States. Their population of these States is less, but if you see the past history you will find that a large number of people belonging to these States have been working in military and para-military forces to defend the country. The change in law has increased unemployment there. The youths of, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Jammu & Kashmir are getting less opportunity to get themselves recruited in military. The results are before you. The youth of Punjab loves weapons. If you don't give weapons in their hands, if you don't recruit them in para-military forces, other recruiting forces will appear to recruit them. The recruiting forces

have appeared before you. They are supplying weapons to them. The youths who used to defend the country are attacking it now. You have to adopt a certain policy in this respect and increase the number in the recruitment for military and para-military forces.

Madam Chairman, I would like to cite an example of discrimination by the Central Government against Punjab. During the last session of Rajya Sabha it was asked in question No. 60 as to what compensation is paid to the next of the kin of the persons killed by terrorists. In reply to it, the hon. Minister has stated in the Rajya Sabha that Rs. one lakh is paid to the family of deceased who has been killed by the terrorists, in Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. But in case of Punjab, only Rs. 50,000/- is paid. Has the life of man in Punjab become cheaper?

Our Hon. Prime Minister has already declared and the speakers who spoke before me have also said that elections should be held there on or before 15th February definitely.

They didn't get time to visit Punjab. Both the Union Ministry of Home Affairs and the Minister of State for Home Affairs have not visited Punjab so far. Yes, the Government has deployed Army there. Shri Indrajit Gupta, has said that the situation is improving. I am coming to that also. The situation has improved to the extent that while only 9 districts were declared disturbed earlier, now three more have been added to the distributed districts. Some former legislators from Punjab met me on Friday. They were saying that the B.J.P. doesn't support the idea of holding elections any more. I told them that the B.J.P. had always supported the idea of holding elections and the Party had always maintained that before holding elections, the Government should create conditions conducive for holding free and fair polls. Another question that is put before us is regarding our decision to participate in the elections announced earlier. In this regard, I would like to submit that on national issues like this, everyone should rise above party lines. The

elections announced earlier would have certainly taken place but for the Congress decision to boycott it. When that party took this decision, pressure groups within the party insisted that the party would be thrown out of the State's political scene if it boycotted the polls. Then, some friends who had filed nomination papers, decided to withdraw from the contest. We said at that time that the situation was not conducive. While on the one hand, the Government had announced holding of elections, on the other, some political parties were boycotting it. Did they intend to hand over the State to the Militants? Despite all this, some parties had the courage to contest the elections. Notwithstanding the influences between the State Unit and the Central leadership, the C.P.I. put up its candidates. If not in hundreds at least 38 candidates were killed. As Shri Indrajit Gupta mentioned, the militants are now in possession of the latest weapons. According to reports they have acquired the technique to manufacture remote control explosives in the country itself. This was demonstrated in their attack on Dr. Baldev Prakash, the national Vice-President of the B.J.P. Hence, the Government should keep an eternal vigil in this regard.

Although I did not wish to criticize any individual personally, I would like to make certain things clear in view of the repeated references to my party and certain objections raised by Shri Hari Kishore Singh. In some context, our party's leader and Leader of the Opposition, Shri Lal Krishna Advani said that after Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri India has got a Prime Minister who deserves our respect. Shri Singh did not relish that praise. He said that Shri Advani should have said the same of Shri Morarji Desai and other leaders. Now if one mentions the name of one's father or Grandfather, it doesn't mean that one has forgotten the name of one's great grandfather. According to Shri Hari Kishore Singh, some positive observations made about a certain individual tantamounts to giving that person a clean chit. My friend gets a little disturbed when the Leader of the Opposition says something positive about the Prime Minister of the country, but he

preferred to maintain a discreet silence when an hon'ble Member belonging to his Party chose to shake hands with Simranjeet Singh Mann, about whom Shri Singh made a reference in his speech. Simranjeet Singh Mann is the person who wanted to enter the Parliament House with a three feet long sword, he did not attend either the Parliament session or the N.I.C. meeting.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: Madam Chairperson, I had said that it is wrong. The importance of religion cannot be measured by the length of the sword. With regard to the certificate issue, I had just said that Shri Advani could have recalled at least those people who had a great deal of respect for him.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: Madam, you might have observed that even in his clarification Shri Singh has not expressed any regret about an hon'ble Member of his party sharing a platform with a person indulging in communal politics in the name of religion (Interruptions).....Bhogendra Jhaji, you have also said what he has said. He did say that it was wrong on the part of Shri Mann to bring the sword along with him but he didn't condemn Syed Shahabuddin associating himself with such a person.....(Interruptions)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): After you had referred to that issue, he did condemn the people involved.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: There should not be any cross talk. Mr. Dhumal, have you yielded?

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: No, Madam, Apart from this, an allegation was also repeatedly levelled that the elections could not be held earlier because of B.J.P.'s opposition to it. When in 1989, elections to the Lok Sabha were held in Punjab, the Congress

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Party was at the helm of affairs at the Centre. The Chandra Shekhar Government was in power at the centre, when elections were held to the Municipal Corporations of Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar. Our party put pressure on your Government only with regard to the Punjab elections. Apart from this your Government did many things for which you alone are responsible and you accuse the B.J.P. for your failures. Tomorrow if there is any problem in your house, you will say that you didn't solve it because of pressure from the B.J.P. There is a saying in Punjabi "Nanga Put, Vich Khele". The Janata Dal has no stake in Punjab. The parties which have a stake in the State are aware of its tragedy. Only by taking the name of K.P.S. Gill... (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV (Azamgarh): The entire nation, not the parties has a stake in the State.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: I agree to that, I said that the parties are involved. If you look back, you will find that K.P.S. Gill, the present Director-General of Punjab Police, to whom you made a reference, was holding the same post, when your party was in power at the Centre. But now that the Congress has re-appointed him, you say that he is worse than General Dyer. So, during your tenure he was a very good person but with the change of power he has ceased to be a good person. Therefore, I request you not to raise such issues to gain political mileage. Please visit Punjab and study the situation there and acquaint yourself with the ground realities. I hope that the friends coming from that area will throw light on that and tell you about the ground realities. The Punjab problem cannot be solved by giving sermons and issuing edicts from here. You were not able to solve it even when you were in the Government. You couldn't do it because it has been observed that more problems emerge when political parties give priority to their vested interests. This happened in 1978 also when the Congress extended its support to the Dal Khalsa. However, they started condemning

it later on. Please think about Punjab objectively. You always talk about national interest. Then look at this problem with the national interest in mind, look whether the situation in the State is conducive to holding elections. If so, let the elections be held, irrespective of who wins. The Indian electorate has become mature enough and they would throw out any Government found incompetent. Therefore, I would like to humbly appeal to one and all that the discussion on the Punjab Budget should not be utilised for political harangue. Every Member utilised such opportunities to put forth his judgment. Here, I would request the hon. Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs to visit Punjab in order to instil a sense of confidence in the minds of the people of Punjab that the Union Government stands by them through thick and thin. As the hon. Member belonging to the C.P.I., who spoke before me observed, it is the only way out. The one silver lining amidst these dark clouds hovering over Punjab is that despite all these violence and bloodshed, the problem has not assumed a communal tinge. Both the Hindus and Sikhs in the State are united and both the communities are fed up with the militants. The people are prepared to support any positive step of the Government. Therefore, the Government should make a sincere effort to solve the Punjab tangle by making use of this opportunity. If the situation is conducive to holding free and fair polls, then elections should be held without thinking over matters like who the victor would be. If it functions properly, the people would support it and if not, the people would change it.

Lastly, I would like to submit to the Union Government that every issue has its own importance but the Government should give importance to the Punjab and Kashmir issues and a truly representative meeting of the National Integration Council can be held only when more and more people from Punjab participate in it. In fact, the people who are living in Punjab and are facing untold sufferings have first hand information about the actual situation in Punjab than those leaders who give long lectures here after going

through newspaper reports. As my friend Shri Harl Kishore Singh correctly observed just now when a person went on a long journey, his near and dear ones used to perform the 'Shradh' ceremony for they were not sure whether the person would return home safely or not. Today, a similar situation is there in Punjab. Many people from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar work in that state as labourers. Today, when a person goes out of his house in Punjab, the family members keep their fingers crossed till he returns in the evening. Under the circumstances, the Government should initiate a dialogue with the nationalist forces within Punjab, even if they are not affiliated to any party, in order to bring about a solution to the Punjab problem.

Very little time is left and the Government will have to take appropriate step at the earliest. I would like to appeal once again to one and all that instead of levelling allegations against each other, they should place before the House whatever concrete suggestions they have in their mind. I sincerely hope that we won't have the misfortune to pass the Punjab Budget once again in this Parliament after eight months. If the Government is sincere and takes appropriate steps, I am confident that free and fair polls could be held in the state and the problem can be solved because the common man in the state wants nothing but peace.

SHRI DHARAMPAL SINGH MALIK (Sonepat): Madam Chairperson, I have stood up to support the Punjab Budget. Madam, very little has been said about the Punjab Budget and the hon. Members have correctly observed that much cannot be said about the Budget, since very little details have been given. Only the amount of expenditure has been given against each department.

Madam, I would like to say that we cannot eradicate any disease unless we reach its roots. The hon. Member who spoke before me made two or three very important points and I support them. First of all, this issue should not be politicised and secondly concrete suggestion should be given to solve

the problem. I feel that our political parties and leaders are to be blamed for the Punjab problem. If one looks at the history of Punjab, one will find that during the preparation days Shri Khizar Hyat Khan was the premier of the province. Sir, Sikandar Hyat Khan was the Premier till 1946. In 1946 the Congress formed the Government and Shri Gopi Chand Bhargava was elected Chief Minister. After that Shri Bhimsen Sachar became the Chief Minister, and the first and last Sikh Chief Minister of joint Punjab was Shri Pratap Singh Kairon. What I want to say is that Punjab has had many non-Sikh Chief Ministers. In pre-partition Punjab, all the Chief Ministers were Muslims and in Joint Punjab, out of the four Chief Ministers, Shri Pratap Singh Kairon was the only Sikh Chief Minister. After Kairon, Comrade Ram Kishan assumed office in 1965 and he continued in office till November 1, 1966, the day when the State of Haryana was formed. Political leaders partitioned the State to promote their political interests. They thought on communal lines to gain political mileage and exploited the sentiments of the masses. People got swayed by the hysteria created by these people. In my view, separation of Sikhs and non-Sikhs was the only basis on which Punjab was partitioned.

Madam, when property is partitioned between two brothers, certain things remain disputed. Similarly when Punjab was divided and Haryana was created, some disputes like Chandigarh, Abohar Fazilka and waters of the SYL Canal came to the fore. The dispute over Sharing of waters among Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan has acquired an international dimension over the years. The politicians are to be squarely blamed for these disputes. The Shah Commission was appointed to resolve these disputes. The Shah Commission in its award stated that Chandigarh should be given to Haryana, 4.8 MAF water from SYL should be given to Haryana and Abohar and Fazilka should also be given to Haryana. At that time, Chowdhury Devi Lal was the Leader of the Opposition. He opposed the recommendations of the Commission tooth and nail on the ground that the Commission was appointed

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by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Thus, the disputes continued to pester. Then in 1971 Indira Ji took some decisions which came to be known as the Indira Gandhi Award of 1971. These people opposed that as well and called for the implementation of the Shah Commission. While Chandigarh was given, the water allocated to it was reduced and even some villages of Abohar Fazilka were taken away from Haryana. This aggravated the situation and an agitation was launched in 1971 in which many students were shot dead in Rewari. Many people including Choudhary Devi Lal courted arrest in protest against the Indira Gandhi Award and these people refused to accept the Award.

After that, Shrimati Indira Gandhi launched the work on this Canal in 1982. After Shrimati Gandhi's assassination, Shri Rajiv Gandhi took the initiative to solve the problem and under the 1985 Rajiv-Longowal Accord, Chandigarh was taken away from us in lieu of some villages. Even Abohar and Fazilka were taken away from us and even our share of water was considerably reduced under the Eradi Commission Report. Now, the Opposition including Choudhury Devi Lal said about five days back that they are ready to accept all this only when the 1971 Indira Gandhi Award is implemented. They leave the latest Award and start talking about the previous Award. What was the reason for dispute. The leaders of Haryana exploited the feelings of the people to win elections and the same is done by the leaders in Punjab. Actually, every party was responsible for it. But if the Congress Party is 10 per cent responsible, the opposition parties are 90 per cent responsible. Because, most of time, the Congress Party was in power. When any party is in power, it never wants to destabilise its Government. But the opposition parties talk of exploitation for their selfish ends. I know that today there is no representative from Punjab in this House. If we represent Punjab, what objection we may have. It will be better if the Sikhs represent the Hindus and the Hindus represent

the Sikhs. The Muslims represent the Hindus and the Hindus represent the Muslims. If we do not think on these lines, we are worsening the situation. It has no meaning if I represent myself.

I would only like to submit in this regard that if we start considering this issue in a non-political way, it can be solved just in two minutes. While giving our lectures we give answers also in our lectures. At one time we ourselves say that the Congress Party is responsible for it and the Government is not able to solve this problem and after a short-while add that arms are being supplied from outside and Pakistan is imparting training to the terrorists. Has the Congress Party asked them to go to Pakistan and take training? Everyone wants to solve this problem and it can be solved. But it will be better if with the solution of this problem one's chair is also saved. This issue is not taken very seriously.

I would like to submit here two or three points on which my state has dispute with Punjab. They are related with Budget too. Unless allocations are made for these things in the next Budget, we are not going to get anything till then. The major dispute is over the canal on which the Bhakra Dam has been constructed and which comes to Haryana through Punjab and Haryana gets water from it. Near about 10 days ago, that canal has been damaged through bomb explosion. This is the dispute. Some mischievous elements are trying to vitiate the atmosphere there and political leaders and political parties fan sentiments there for their own vested interests. In this Budget, there is no mention about the allocation for minor irrigation or irrigation and power. Specially, funds should be allocated for the digging of S.Y.L. canal. Those funds are given from the centre but no mention has been made in the Budget in this regard. Unless these funds are allocated, work cannot be completed on this canal. Thousands of crores of rupees have already been spent in Haryana and Punjab both, for digging of this SYL canal. 93 per cent of work has already been completed only 17 per cent remains in which work on bridges and lining are included. Due to the non-comple-

tion of work, the water we would have got in 1966, is still out of our reach after 25 years. If Haryana or Rajasthan today gets water from the canal, the production of Haryana will increase by one and a half fold. If the saving of the farmer is Rs. 100 today, it will rise to Rs. 150, if he starts getting water from SYL canal. Therefore, I would request that funds should be allocated in this Budget for the completion of S.Y.L. canal. It is not so that Punjab is getting that water. That water goes to Pakistan. The water, which gives greenery to our Rajasthan and Haryana, goes to Pakistan. Under the Indo-Pak Water Treaty of 1955 India has purchased that water for a sum of Rs. 110 crore. But we are not getting that water. The Thein dam project is lying pending. But no mention is made about it in any Budget. As nothing has been done on this project the water of Ravi is not going into Beas. When Beas is able to get water from Ravi, it will discharge that water into Sutlej. Water of Ravi and Sutlej goes to Pakistan. But no provision has been made in the Budget. It should have been done. I would like to make some suggestions. Some people think that this situation in Punjab has arisen due to unemployment. Some jobless youths are indulging in such terrorist activities. But it is not so. On the one hand, we say that Punjab has the highest per-capita income in the country. On the other hand, we just comment by reading newspapers. Many people do not know the situation there or had never visited Amritsar. It is easy to make long speeches and write a book but it cannot make anyone's life. If poverty and unemployment were the only reasons for terrorism, it could have happened in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh first. The youths in Punjab have been misled and there is no problem of unemployment. In the same of securing livelihood for them, the political leaders serve their own interests. Suggestions are made that a political solution should be found when Shri V.P. Singh came to power, he visited Punjab. A 'saropa' was presented to him. He was of the view that the Congress Party was not working properly. Although, he himself was in the Congress Party once and had never accepted 'saropa' then. But later on he went there all of a sudden and no talks were

ever held since then. They fight over water dispute. Ask them what is the reason of their dispute. They won't be able to tell why there is terrorism in Punjab. Not a single political leader supports those terrorists. They don't say that we are supporters of Khalistan or we support it. But they give importance to newspapers. The number of incident which take place in Bihar is much more than that take place in Punjab. But in Bihar it is called personal enmity whereas in Punjab the incident of enmity are also described as terrorism. You can find the ratio of incidents in Punjab and Bihar. Some people loot others in the name of old enmity and it has no concern with terrorism. Unless this disease is cured permanently, these political leaders will continue to misled the terrorists by their speeches. Sometimes, they say that the dispute is over SYL canal and also say that they will not hand over Chandigarh to Haryana, even every child of Punjab will sacrifice his life for Chandigarh and they will not let water be discharged into SYL canal because it will destroy them. Such excuses are being made by these leaders but their intention behind it is something different. I would request that the 7 per cent work remaining on the SYL canal should be completed. Several times the workers are killed and even the Chief Engineer has been killed there. The funds allocated from the Centre are spent entirely on the administrative setup. The officers use their cars for unofficial purpose and the entire allocated funds are spent on the upkeep of their bungalows. Since the machineries are lying unused, they are getting spoiled and rusted I would request that the completion of the 7 per cent work left should be given to the Border Road Organisation, which is a semi-military department. The day, work on this canal is completed, fifty per cent of the problem will be solved.

Now remains the question of Chandigarh, Abohar and Fazilka. Four Awards have already been given. The Government can implement any of the Awards. It will satisfy the people. They have nothing to do with Chandigarh. They might be concerned with the water of SYL which will go into the fields

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of farmers. The masses are not concerned whether their capital is Rohtak, Chandigarh or Delhi. These issues are only raised by the leaders for their own interests.

Today, the situation there is worsening a lot. When the general elections were held, the elections in that State were also scheduled to be held on 20th or 22nd of June with them but due to the killing of several candidates the elections were either postponed or cancelled. They also know it that the law and order situation should be disturbed anyhow and to frustrate the legal process. Many non-serious candidates also stand in the election. The sections of our Representation of Peoples Act are such that any person who has attained the specified age and who is a citizen of this country, can stand in the election. Some people knowingly get the nomination filed by a 90 year-old person so that the election is postponed in case he dies. Therefore, I would request that to lessen the number of non-serious candidates, a provision should be made by amending the Representation of Peoples Act.

The issues regarding issuing of identity cards and fencing of border are also raised. If these identity cards are made in large quantity, the expenditure will not be more than Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per card. If they are issued to all the citizens of Punjab, who are above 18 years, they can properly vote. The presiding officer should sign the identity cards of the voters. Electronic voting machines should be installed there. If elections are held there, there will be a State Assembly and there will be no need to pass the State Budget from here. The issue of installing these machines was raised during the elections in 1989 also. Already a lot of money has been spent on them. The Government has said that they can be installed in 150 constituencies but no action has yet been taken in this regard. I would request you not to see this problem politically. Everyone should feel the distress of Punjab as his own distress and it is not concerned with any political party. Only then, we can solve this problem.

With these words, I conclude and support this Budget.

[English]

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Madam Chairperson, I expected the Government to make a statement about the assessment of the situation in Punjab and also about the plan of action, the Government want to follow to solve the Punjab problem. Madam, I think you will agree with me when I say that there has been no assessment and that there has been no indication as to the plan of action to meet the situation in Punjab.

My assessment of the situation is that there is no possibility of decline in Punjab militancy in the near future. On the other hand, the situation in Punjab has deteriorated; incidents of insurgency have increased. And this has increased after the assumption of Office by the Congress, after the election in June.

During the period when the Congress was functioning as an opposition party in this House, all along they have been claiming - particularly Mr. Chidambaram and some others who adorn the Treasury Benches today - that the National Front Government has no perspective of the Punjab problem and has no policy regarding Punjab. You might have witnessed that in this House. Madam, I was interested to see in their election manifesto, as to whether they have any policy regarding Punjab. Fortunately I saw it. It is for the benefit of the House to know the approach of the Congress regarding the Punjab problem which has found a place in the election manifesto of May last. I may quote only a few lines.

It says:

"The writ of the Congress has ceased to run in large parts of the State".

In May, the election Manifesto says this. This is the direct and inevitable outcome of there being no policy on Punjab except

appeasement and gimmickry. May I know as to what is their policy now? Do they have any policy other than appeasement and gimmickry? Is the writ of the Government running in all parts of Punjab today? Does the Government exist there? The Government did not exist in May last, because it was Shri Chandra Shekhar's Government which was your ally. But, does the Government exist today in Punjab? The nation wants an answer for it.

I have got the figures from the Government sources also, to show what has happened. The total killings in 1990 was 3,787. The sources say that in 1991 till now, 1,667 civilians, 374 securitymen and 1,641 militants have lost their lives.

The incidents have increased; the volume has increased. Not only the volume has increased, but there has been a qualitative change of the terrorist attack which has to be taken note of. The concentration of attack is on the security personnel, on the security staff. I feel that is a part of the total strategy of Pakistan. They want to demoralise our security forces. Therefore, attacks are not only on the security personnel but also on their relatives so that our security personnel cannot meet the situation with all their strength and vigour. This is the strategy externally. Internally, your writ does not run. Politically, Mann has been outspoken. He was speaking something earlier but never has spoken about the Khalistan in so many unmistakable terms. Let me quote. He says that it is their experience:

"One thing is clear now. Noting short of separate sovereign Sikh State will satisfy the Sikhs."

This is a development on political aspect of the problem. During National Front's time, this kind of statement was never made by the Khalistanis or had not the courage to make this kind of statement, whatever may be your assessment of the situation. Why is he in a position to make the statement in categorical terms? There must be a sover-

eign Khalistan because of international situation that has of late taken place because of encouragement being provided by the forces outside the country.

Now again I want to draw your attention to other kind of subversive activities. I have got with me a newsitem published in *the Telegraph* a few weeks ago wherein it is stated:

"The Punjab policy is repressive, says *Asia Watch*."

There is that '*Asia Watch*'. I do not know what does it mean. It is naturally based in New York. They have produced a voluminous report. I only want to mention some of the paragraphs in that only in order to stress upon the fact that politically the Punjab problem has become all the more serious and assumed an alarming proportion not only from the point of view of the domestic situation but also from external developments. And the Government has got no assessment of the situation, the Government has got no action plan, and the Government still continues to pursue a policy of drift and procrastination - that too in the case of a problem like Punjab. This 138-page report charges a big thing:

"It claims that the Punjab police, paramilitary troops and the Border Security Force have engaged in 'widespread summary executions' of civilians and suspected militants. Many executions are of people who were first detained in police custody and then said to have been killed in 'encounters' by security police."

These killings 'are not aberrations but rather the product of a deliberate policy known to high-ranking security personnel and members of civil administrations and New Delhi'."

I think, it is not necessary to quote more because the intention is clear that external

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

agencies are working round-the-clock to destabilise our country and create a condition of destabilisation within Punjab. In this situation, I am really very surprised to find and shocked also that the Government has got no policy to pursue and no well-thought-out integrated plan of action to meet the situation in the country today. It appears to me that the Government has taken to the policy of military solution and the question of political solution has been ruled out.

Why I say so is because the entire Punjab is declared as a disturbed area. That means you want to meet the situation by deployment of Army and security personnel. Basically, the problem is not a military one; the problem is a political one and a political solution is to be worked out and not a military solution. I feel that this is a point on which the Central Government must arrive at a conclusion on whether they have decided to have a military solution to the problem. Our friends are very much out-spoken and they say 'Demolish all the camps which might be existing within Pakistan'. There is a way out to have a solution other than a military solution to the problem. You do not want it, as far as your statements are concerned. But what you are doing is creating a condition which helps indirectly and directly the insurgents, the militants, the Khalistanis, the separatists and you are alienating increasingly the broad patriotic masses of Punjab, be a Hindu or a Sikh. Therefore, political solution suggests that there should be increasing political activities to isolate the militants from the broad patriotic, democratic and secular masses. It appears to me, as per the developments today, that you have given up that idea of meeting the situation politically and you are harping in the dark to find out a military solution to the problem. This is not going to bring the desired result.

Elections must be held. Election is a political process. It is admitted that election is a culmination of a political process. Holding polls in a particular day cannot be construed as a political process. Election at the

end of a process and more at the end of the campaign constitute a political process. You have not started that process. You have not started the campaign and you have not done any political campaign in order to isolate militants and insurgents from the broad masses. How can free and fair elections be held unless the masses are involved? You have got no plan to involve the masses. On the other hand, as has been rightly pointed out, according to the Government's assurance, elections are to be held before the 15th February. Political campaign has not yet started. Political parties have not started their political campaign and military actions are being encouraged increasingly thereby feeding on the militants and insurgents.

I would, therefore, ask the Government whether or not they are serious in holding the elections before the 15th of February. If they are serious, political process should start immediately. Some of the items have already been mentioned that Rajiv-Longowal Agreement constitute the basic framework for a democratic political solution of the Punjab problem. Of course, the situation has changed. There have been new developments also. Nuances may be changed but it provides the basic political, democratic and secular framework for a solution to this problem. But they have not yet started any programme; they do not want that Rajiv-Longowal Agreement should be implemented. Unless that political framework is worked out and improved upon, I think, there is no possibility for a solution to this problem. I would, therefore, say not to rely on the militant path.

17.00 hrs.

Rely exclusively on the democratic and secular path that allows political forces to play their due role and create conditions for free and fair elections so that the Punjab problem can be solved with the basic involvement of the patriotic, democratic and secular people of Punjab and that too with the active assistance and cooperation of the patriotic masses of the country as a whole.

Politically, there should be two broad

camp. Those who are for the unity and integrity of the nation should be in one camp and those who are against the unity and integrity of the country should belong to the other camp. If the broadening of the approach is not there, if the Congress Party and this Government have not changed their political attitude and if they do not abandon their narrow partisan interests, Punjab cannot be saved. It can be saved only through the broadening of the approach and only by this path, the people of Punjab can meet the onslaught of the militants and insurgents effectively and safeguard the unity, integrity and sovereignty of our nation.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Madam, Chairperson, I would like to submit my views on two points. First the total provision made in this Budget for vigilance is only of the order of Rs. 59 lakh. But in view of the vastness of the State and its various problems, this provision is negligible. I would like to know the steps you are going to take in regard to vigilance?

Secondly, there is constant increase in the terrorist activities in Punjab. You are aware that besides killing people, they are indulging in large scale bank dacoities and are demanding ransom. What action is being taken in this regard?

At the same time, I would also like to suggest that upward revision of the ceiling of small scale units should be done in Punjab. Once Punjab was quite developed in the area of small scale units but today it is lagging behind for which the people of Punjab are not responsible. It is happening due to the present political situation there. Therefore, I would request you to revise the limit for small scale industries upto 40 to 50 per cent so that those who are coming forward to set up small scale industries may reap some benefit.

In the end, I would like to submit that in the today's issue of the Indian Express Shri Buta Singh's letter to the Home Minister Shri

Shankarrao Chavan has appeared stating that one of his relatives has been abducted and the abductors are demanding release of the people who had been arrested under 'TADA' in Rajasthan, in return. The Government of India should make efforts to get his relative released. In response to that the Home Minister has written a letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan to consider the case of their release. Now the Home Minister is asking the Chief Minister of Rajasthan to consider the release of such persons who have been arrested for indulging in disruptive activities in the State and had been jailed under 'TADA' in order to get an abducted relative of an hon. leader freed from abductors. I would like to know whether the Government is really serious about the Punjab problem? You may recollect that during the Janata Dal regime, there was a compromise to release the daughter of the then Home Minister, Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. What were the views of your party at that time and what are you saying now. You were blaming them but now practically you are doing the same thing. I would like to know what does the Government want to do? The Government is answerable for the same. Will the hon. Minister say while replying to the Budget as to what are the plans of the Government to deal with the activities of militants.

It is learnt that Shri Buta Singh has written a letter to the Home Minister and the Union Home Minister has written a letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan to release the militants. How long such things will continue in the country? Will the Government fight the terrorists in this manner and should the Parliament allocate funds for this work? May I know what the Government is doing in this regard. I would also like to warn that it will not help the Government any way to fight the terrorists. They cannot also maintain the unity of the country. The hon. Minister should reply my point.

With these words, I conclude my speech as I had said that I would conclude within 3-4 minutes.

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Madam, Chairperson, I rise to support the Punjab Budget. This is the Budget of the richest State of our country. It is an irony that the Budget of the richest State of the largest democracy of the world has to be passed in the Parliament, the Lok Sabha. It is not the first time that we are passing the Punjab Budget in the Parliament, earlier also we had passed the Punjab Budget. I wish that after the firm declaration that the election for the State Legislature of Punjab will be held in the month of February this will be the last Budget for Punjab to be passed in the Parliament.

Madam, at the outset I pay my tributes to the people of Punjab for their heroic role both during the freedom struggle and in the post-independence period in the green revolution. I pay my tributes to the common people of Punjab who are playing a heroic role in these days of turbulence. I must say that the people of Punjab have heroism inherent in them and they are brave people. Even today amidst such disturbing situation Punjab enjoys the fruits of a vibrant economy. Our friends from the Opposite side have criticised that the economy in Punjab is dwindling. I do not agree with it. Had there been normal situation in Punjab, there would have been much better performance, but still under such a disturbing situation the economy is quite vibrant. Madam last year it exceeded the agricultural production target. The target for foodgrains was 192 lakh tonnes, which was exceeded. Compared to previous year's production figures, it is five lakh tonnes higher.

Punjab has become an agriculturally pioneer State. Industries by the Oswal Agro Group of companies, Thappar Group of Companies, JCT Mills, Pepsi cola and so on, have been set up even in such a disturbed situation.

So, industrially and agriculturally, Punjab is going ahead in the current year, for which we are passing the Budget here. It is not that the Government is not aware of the situation.

Let us not forget that Punjab is not the problem of any particular party or the Government alone. Admittedly, this is the national problem. This is a national crisis. Who denies that Punjab is not the national crisis? When there is a national crisis, there has to be national endeavour to find out a happy solution. Naturally, that calls for a consensus, consensus of political parties.

I was hearing painfully the criticism, levelled by some JD Members. They were citing the visit of Shri V.P. Singh as a historic visit, the then Prime Minister to Amritsar - the Golden Temple. I would say emphatically that Shri. V.P. Singh has been the greatest political actor not only in India, but probably one of the greatest Actors in the world. He dramatises things to take political mileage only.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think the comments should be avoided on some one who is not in the House.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL: Mr. Chairman, I am on a Point of Order, the name of Shri Mukul Wasnik is coming in the close circuit T.V. outside. It may please be got corrected.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Okay.

[Translation]

It is not a Point of Order.

(Interruptions)

17.14 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[English]

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: I know that the point of order has no force.

Madam Chairperson, since this is a political problem and this is a national crisis, therefore, no political party should politicise this issue. I do not want to bring any reference to any Leader personally, thereby only undermining the gravity of the situation. How to solve it? As I told you this is the Budget where there are some welcome features. The plan outlay fixed for Punjab in this Budget is Rs. 1010 crore. In addition to the normal Central assistance of Rs. 207 crore, the Centre has provided in this Budget a special assistance of Rs. 600 crore. Naturally, the Government of India is aware of the economic needs of Punjab and therefore it has gone all out to give central assistance of this magnitude. There is again a redeeming feature.

Out of this, Rs. 284 crores has been placed or is being placed at the disposal of the District Planning Boards in view of decentralisation of planning; the planning process in Punjab has been decentralised and such a huge amount of Rs. 284 crores is being placed at the disposal of the District Planning Boards, naturally, to look after or to cater to the local needs in the rural areas.

There are several welcome features in this budget. But, at the same time, the problem of terrorism continues to be there unabated. Naturally, there is a point of anxiety for everyone. All efforts should be made for a consensus on this political process to settle the crisis there. Of course, the long spell of President's Rule creates vested interests; it has done so in the Punjab; and the earlier the President's Rule is given a farewell it is better for the nation and for Punjab also. At the same time, I would like to put a question. There is always some criticism that the Congress Government backed out of holding elections; the largest political party did not support for holding elections. But they are forgetting that even some other political parties were also associated with it; the Left Parties were also associated with it. To hold elections there definitely is uppermost in our mind and is a very fundamental necessity; but, at the same time, it is equally important that elections which are held

should be free and fair. The situation prevailing at that time in Punjab could not have facilitated holding free and fair elections. Can anybody placing his hands on his chest say that the situation was favourable to hold free and fair elections at that time? How many candidates were shot dead? Even the candidates had to take shelter in police stations. Was it not a fact? Therefore, we should create such a situation today, all the political parties together, where free and fair elections could be held. Of course, the Government should take an initiative in this direction in this matter. I would request the hon. Minister to take note of it. Of course, the Prime Minister is aware of it. That initiative has to be taken by the Government that all the political parties will associate themselves wholeheartedly with this so that an atmosphere is created for holding free and fair elections. It is a question of confidence among the people. Without such an atmosphere, without such a congenial climate if elections are held, who will go to the polling booths? Only a limited number of militants will go there. What will be the result? To hold elections in such a situation will turn to be worse than what we want. Our hopes will be shattered and irreparable damage will be done to the States and the nation; this is what I apprehend.

What happened in the past? Now, the foremost task before everybody, before the nation, before all the political parties is to apply our mind together and jointly address ourselves to this problem and create a situation which will be favourable to holding elections where common voters will turn up in large numbers, in good numbers to elect their representatives.

Therefore, I contragulate the Government of India for having changed the Governor. In the meantime, the new Governor has taken certain initiative in this direction. He is going round and holding people's *darbars*; he is listening to the grievances of the people. In addition to that, there should be committees of people formed at different levels, district level, and down below at block and panchayat levels. Together with other political parties, associating the representatives

[Sh. Sriballav Panigrahi]

of different political parties, political parties, major political parties who do not want to shirk the responsibility, of course those who want to come forward to face the situation meetings should be held. There are quite a large number of patriotic political workers coming forward and in the process they are sacrificing their lives. We pay our tributes to them. Therefore, with such people committees should be formed and leaders of political parties should visit Punjab and different areas of the State, and hold meetings.

Then, the Rajiv-Longowal Accord should be implemented. Some of our hon. Members from Bengal while participating in this debate were critical of the Government of India's role and saying that there is no government worth the name there. I would only ask them what was happening in Darjeeling Hills some years back? How was that problem solved? Who took the initiative? Was it not resolved by the Centre? The initiative was taken by the Government of India, from Delhi, not by the States.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (Bankura): The State Government took the initiative and that problem was solved.

SHRI SRIBALLAB PANIGRAHI: The Government of India took the initiative. The credit, by and large, went to Rajivji. The Rajiv-Longowal Accord, the Assam Accord and the Darjeeling Accord, were the outcome of Congress initiatives. Therefore, it is no use criticising since we know the depth of the problems.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA: All these accords only created discord.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: It is not the handiwork of any single political party and since it is a major national crisis threatening our integrity all out joint efforts should be made to solve the problem. Had the masses been with the militants things would have been different. My heart is full of grati-

tude for the common man, for the boldness shown by them. The militants have tried to create disunity, communal riots and communal tension. Having failed there they have now gone to Uttar Pradesh and other areas. They are trying to create trouble there. Therefore, all the political parties and the Government of India should reach the people. So, I say that the Rajiv-Longowal Accord should be implemented in its entirety.

Again the border problem and the water disputes should be solved. There is another question the Centre State relationship which is agitating the minds of different political parties and those who are at the helm of affairs in the States. Commission recommendations are there. Of course there is also a Cabinet sub-Committee working on it, looking into it. But it is also time that there is a fresh debate or a national debate on this issue, looking into the changed situation in India. The situation abroad is also changing these days. We should see how things have changed. Swift changes are taking place. Therefore, the Centre-State relationship in the context of the vexed Punjab problem should be discussed. I would suggest that an all-party meeting or a meeting of the National Integration Council should be convened as early as possible, exclusively for Punjab and Kashmir. ULFA may also come up. When elections were held all over the country there were demands to exclude Punjab and Kashmir; only Kashmir was excluded, but not Punjab. Now that matter is not raised. But different political parties are trying to find fault with the Centre saying that at the instance of the Congress Party the Punjab elections were postponed. I do not say anything on it but the first and foremost task is to create a situation conducive for holding elections. Naturally it is a slur on our democracy, the largest democracy in the world that one State is kept under the President's rule indefinitely and that too the State of Punjab which is the richest State which is having a very straight record, brilliant record of heroism and sacrifices and as I said it is a State which has played a great role at the Time of the Indo-Pak war also. Every time when there is any trouble, any war in the country,

it is the heroic people of Punjab who stood like a rock behind our nation.

With these words, I support the Budget. I also say that it is not the time for any political party or any leader to make allegations or raise finger at anybody else and that he is responsible and all that. It is the time for jointly taking stock of the situation without trying to take any political advantage of the situation. It is our national task, patriotic task to sit together and work together to solve this problem. When there will be unity of purpose, sincerity of purpose and sincere efforts are made in this direction, I am sure, those will bear fruits and will not go waste.

[Translation]

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Sahasra): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with a heavy heart we are discussing the Budget of Punjab once again in the Lok Sabha. I have availed of 4-5 opportunities to speak on the Punjab Budget. Whichever party may be in power, every time it has been promised that elections would be held in Punjab but till now nothing concrete has been done for the same.

Just now, my friend was saying that we should consider the Punjab problem on an all party basis and most of our friends must have had the experience that all these points are being raised whenever the Budget is presented and thereafter everything is forgotten after the discussion on Budget is over.

Sir, the Punjab issue has not remained confined to the State or to the country alone. Punjab has acquired international significance. You are aware that the problem is raised on all international platforms. What is all this? If peace talks are held in this country the Sikhs come to participate in the talks with their daggers. If they are not allowed to participate along with their daggers, the issue is being internationalised. What is all this? We should consider this problem seriously and take a decision accordingly.

Sir, you would like to know that whenever Shri Mann, hon. Member from Punjab spoke on Punjab he linked it with his demand for Khalistan. Hon. Home Minister is present. Did he ever read his statement? Is there any point in his statement which calls for our serious consideration. What are your views? I take it granted that the Government has not so far formed any view on that. Perhaps they feel that there is no substance in his statement. There standard is going down. It is such a supreme institution. It is the tower of democracy. But I feel that it has no solution to the problem.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one may believe it or not, but it remains a fact that earlier allocation in Punjab Budget and the progress that used to take place there is not there now. In Punjab I have observed that an agriculturist who possessed 4 tractors, pump-set and other machinery is forced to sell out his land. It is the duty of the Government to take stock of the situation on the spot.

My friend was just now saying that if extremism in Punjab is attributed to unemployment and poverty. There should have been maximum extremism, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, from where the labourer are going to Punjab in search of employment. The Government is still under the false impression. I want to say clearly that there is Pakistan's hand behind all such activities, because Pakistan has clearly said that it would help the extremists, and the Government is trying to suppress all these facts. Our Government should take up this problem seriously with Pakistan. Three months ago I had said in this very House that if a situation arises where war can't be averted we should not hesitate. Now-a-days so many people are being killed and so many are kidnapped. A leader like Shri Rajiv was assassinated. The Government is making a mockery of this problem as if it was a very minor thing. It will not last long. Today or tomorrow we will have to wage a war. If necessary it should be raised in the United Nations. We should present our clear stand in the U.N. Now-a-days Pakistan is indulging in bombardment

[Sh. Surya Narayan Yadav]

on the borders, and it is warning us time and again. Pakistan has clearly said that it would help the extremists. Why should we hesitate? Now-a-days we are passing through a financial crisis. You want to strengthen the financial situation of the country, but is it possible to do so in this manner? Therefore, the Government should invest as much money in Punjab as is possible. Though much money is being spent on armed Forces but the border cannot be sealed. Due to this the extremists are sneaking into our territory with ease. During the National Front Government the work of sealing up the border was started. The Government says that the border has been sealed. If it is so from where do the extremists enter into our territory? Is our army on the border so weak that it can't watch the borders? During the National Front Government also there was a proposal to this effect. But I opposed. The Government will have to take concrete steps. These days, we will have to help the agriculture labourers and small industries, and the people who have suffered loss at the hand of the extremists or for some other reason. We will have to provide security and help the industrial units for their development. Then alone we can do maximum good to Punjab.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I won't take much time of the House. I would only say that there is a need that the Government should adhere to promises it made in the last Budget Session that elections in Punjab would be held in March 1992. Just yesterday, there was a newspaper report that elections would be held by February 1992. What I mean to say is that whatever be the circumstances, elections should be held in Punjab. The voice of the masses of Punjab should reach the Lok Sabha and the Local Legislative Assembly. Please do not postpone the elections.

Secondly, the Government wants to improve the situation in Punjab. The Government should take consensus of all the parties and views of all of our hon. friends. This is very essential. The consensus ar-

rived at may be implemented seriously. There should be no laxity. I believe that every party is ready to render help for the welfare of the country. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we do not see any indication that the elections will be held in Punjab in near future. When the Resolution regarding extension of President's rule in Punjab was being discussed here in this House in the last session when the Lok Sabha was extended for a day, we were assured by the Prime Minister that elections would be held in Punjab by February next year but no particular date was mentioned. Already two months have elapsed since this announcement was made by the Prime Minister but no concrete steps have been taken by the Central Government to create a favourable situation to have a peaceful election peaceful poll in Punjab. Almost all the political parties have demanded elections in Punjab. We want that elections should be held because we want that some political initiative should be started. But during these two months, what has this Government done? They have only changed the Governor and they have appointed new Advisors. These two steps they have taken.

So many suggestions were put forward by the Members during that debate, such as formation of district level and taluka level committees, but no steps have been taken in this regard. The situation has been further deteriorated since October, 1991 when hundreds of rural branches of banks were burnt down by the extremists. One of the important leaders of our party, the Secretary of our Kisan Sabha, Comrade, Cheema was killed along with his family members. Hundreds of our party workers were killed by the extremists during these years for fighting against these divisive and extremist forces. The situation has been further deteriorated. The Government has not come out with any clear-cut policy in these five months period. I want to know how they want to hold the elections? For holding the election a situ-

tion has to be created. Some steps like implementation of the Punjab Accord have to be taken to create a suitable situation, to assuage the feelings of the people of Punjab. Why is the Government silent in this regard?

They have their Government in Haryana. Punjab is under President's rule. I think there is no difficulty in implementing the Punjab Accord. Where is the difficulty in accepting at least some of the important demands of the people of Punjab like transfer of Chandigarh, referring the river water dispute to the Supreme Court, transferring some area to Haryana, punishing the people responsible for the riots after the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi in 1984? Why the Government could not take any steps in this regard? All these steps could have assuaged the feelings of the people of Punjab. All these steps could have created a favourable situation in Punjab for holding the election. I do not know whether the Government propose to hold election with the help of militants. Or will it be by applying TADA or other black Acts? I do not know.

My colleague Shri Ajoy Mukhopadhyay has also mentioned about another aspect, regarding the workers of Punjab. In 1986 when I was on a short visit of a day or two to Punjab, I went to Chandigarh.

In that situation they could organise a *badayatra* in 1986 against these Khalistani forces, against these extremist forces. But how the Government of Punjab, how they are behaving with these workers? Thousands of workers of the Food Corporation of India are on strike, I mean the contract workers, the handling workers. They work only in Punjab. I do not know why this discrimination is there in Punjab when in the neighbouring State in Haryana this contract system has been totally abolished. Why in Punjab this system is still continuing? Against this system, against this exploitation, the workers of the Food Corporation of India in Punjab are struggling. They are on strike in a godown in Sangrur. When there was a change of contractor, when a new contractor was appointed, this new contractor threw

away all the old workers who have been there for years together, and there was demonstration and there was police firing, and one worker, Shri Jagdev Singh, was killed by police firing and several of them were injured, hundreds of workers were arrested in the month of October, in Abohar 8 workers were killed by police firing. But workers of Punjab, particularly the working class, are fighting for unity and integrity of the country. When they are fighting against the Khalistani forces, extremist forces, against the divisive forces, what the Government is doing? How are they dealing with these workers? These workers are being killed by the police. So, what I suggest is that if the Government is sincere enough to hold election as the Prime Minister assured the House that election would be held by 15th of February 1992, then a peaceful situation has to be created and for creating this peaceful situation, certain concrete steps have to be taken. So, the Minister must tell this House today what concrete steps Government propose to take to create a peaceful situation. Now, migration is taking place. Industrialists are shifting their industrial units from Punjab to other States. So, what will happen to Punjab after a few years if this migration takes place, if industrial units are shifted from Punjab to other States? So, the Minister should tell the House the concrete steps that the Government proposes to take to create a favourable situation in Punjab to hold elections by 15th February, 1992.

17.51 hrs.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK (Buldana): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, once again we are deliberating upon the Punjab Budget and once again all the speakers who have expressed their views on this could not deliberate much upon the Budget provisions, but rather have expressed their concern about the prevailing situation in Punjab.

Sir, for the last several years repeatedly this House has been taking up the Punjab Budget; the House has been discussing the Punjab problem; many a time it has been felt that there has to be a firm policy in tackling

[Sh. Mukul Baikrishna Wasnik]

the situation in Punjab and many a time, the Government had announced that they would be shortly announcing a policy to bring back normalcy in Punjab. This has been happening repeatedly for such a long time and it now seems that this serious issue for which the whole nation is concerned, we are all taking this issue in a very casual manner. The Government has announced that it is committed to hold the Punjab elections before the 15th of February, 1992. The elections which were to be held in July this year were postponed and had rightly been postponed. During the election campaign we witnessed that 22 candidates for the Assembly elections and 2 candidates for Parliament elections were shot dead. We want elections in Punjab, but not at the cost of the people of Punjab. We want that Punjab should be brought back to normalcy; that Punjab should have a democratic form of Government and we also want that Punjab which has been a prosperous State should continue to prosper.

Sir, whenever there was an attack on the unity and integrity of India, whenever there was a threat from Pakistan on the Indian borders the people of Punjab fought bravely; they have shed their blood for the unity of this land they have toiled to keep this nation together, united, integrated and today, the nation owes its responsibility to see that it jointly works towards evolving a strategy to solve the Punjab problem. As the Hon. Member Shri Dharampal Singh Malik was saying, we had been talking on Punjab for a long time, but what is the root cause of Punjab problem? Why have we been failing for such a long time? Frequently we have been announcing that the Govt. is committed to solve the Punjab problem, but everyday, the newspapers are full with headlines that 25, 30, 40 or 50 people have been killed in Punjab. Now-a-days it seems that if we read a report that 25 people have been killed in Punjab many of us will just turn the page. It does not attract our attention unless and until 50 or 100 people get killed; 25 or 30 people getting killed in Punjab is no more a matter of

concern. This is the situation in Punjab. In the last Budget Session, we announced that elections would be held by the 15th of February. But what have we done till date in this regard. What steps the Government has initiated to see that elections in Punjab are held in a free and fair and peaceful atmosphere so that the voters turn out in large numbers. That will be the democracy in the real sense of the term. We do not want elections just of the sake of elections.

In the last elections held in Punjab, the Barnala Government assumed power. But the Barnala Government failed ultimately. The Union Government at that time had extended all possible support but because the Barnala Government, could not come out with a political strategy, that Government failed. The state of emergency was therefore to be imposed then.

Since the time the hon. Home Minister, in the last session had announced that elections had been postponed but were not postponed indefinitely, the people have heaved a sign of relief. They thought that elections would be held sometime soon. The Govt. have deployed the Army; they have changed the Director General of Police and brought back Mr. Gill. But whenever we tried to revive the police personnel and whenever Army was deployed in Punjab. But time and again when we have taken such initiative from the other side, the militants have increased their attacks. The killings have increased. I have been told just two days back in Bengal, four Punjab terrorists were arrested. Such is the situation that Punjab terrorists are spreading in various corners of the country. Sometimes they are arrested in Maharashtra, sometimes in Madhya Pradesh. They attack at various points of time in Delhi, in Uttar Pradesh and in Haryana. These things are going to increase.

We are all aware that Pakistan is continuously supporting Punjab militants through their training camps, their weapons, their finances and all possible political support. Pakistan has been doing this all throughout including their support in the propaganda

campaign of the militants on the international level. But Sir, during the last few months, except one meeting of the hon. Prime Minister with Nawaz Sharief on and meeting between the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries, there have been no major initiatives to have a dialogue, and to tell Pakistan that they should stop meddling in Punjab affairs or else they will have to face it. How long are we going to tolerate Pakistan's interference? We will have to intensify our dialogue with Pakistan and ensure that in some way or the other, we stop them from continuing their operation in Punjab.

Recently the cases of abduction have also increased. This is a recent trend and has started when the daughter of the then Home Minister, Mr. Mufti Mohammed Sayeed was kidnapped in Kashmir. It was demanded that certain hard core terrorists should be released for the exchange of the Sayeed's daughter. Certain hard core terrorists were released and that boosted the morale of these militant organisations. From that day onwards, everywhere, in Assam, in Punjab and in Kashmir, several hundreds of people were kidnapped.

In Punjab alone, these are the figures given by the State Government of Punjab.

18.00 hrs.

In 1989, the number of persons kidnapped was 59.

In 1990, the number of people kidnapped was 411.

In 1990-91 up to October, 304 people have been kidnapped and out of them, 107 persons have been killed.

I would request that Government should have a firm and uniform policy in dealing with such incidents.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: Are you adjourning the House?

SHRI P.M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep): He can continue tomorrow.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: I will continue tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House is adjourned to meet again tomorrow Tuesday, the 26th November at 11.00 AM.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, November 26, 1991/Agrahayana 5, 1913 (Saka)