

[Sh. Prakash Koko Brahmhatt]

the air terminal would be undertaken soon. He had also assured that the National Airports Authority would make all possible efforts to complete the works so that International flights could start soon.

I once again urge the Union Government that they should impress upon the National Airports Authority to have a time-bound programme for the development of the airports so that it comes up to international standard by 1990.

14.20 hrs.

#### DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (PUNJAB) 1990-91

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, we take up the discussion on Punjab Budget. Demands for grants Nos. 1 to 30 moved on 3-9-1990.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPIA (Midnapore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, once again this House is called upon to approve of a budget allotment for the State of Punjab. I do not know how long this situation is going to continue. The agony of Punjab is continuing without any let up. Punjab is bleeding and I think it is too serious a matter for our country. Nobody should try to make it a party issue. It is a national issue in every sense of the word and we can, of course, during a debate try to blame each other of going way back into the history, to try to trace the genesis of this crisis which has developed. But it is not going to help us. At the moment, we have to think more about the future. Prof. Madhu Dandavate's budget allocations in the present situation would naturally have to cover broadly two spheres—one is the sphere of security, the other is the sphere of development. And I, think that for both these requirements there, one cannot be emphasised to the exclusion of the

other. Such a situation has not yet come about. But, Sir, this session is due to end in another two days' time and normally by the time the House assembles again, it will be the month of November and by the month of November, this period of President's rule which was extended for six months will be over. Now, therefore, let us try to face the question which is there uppermost, I think, in the minds of everybody: What is going to be done by the Government, by the will of the Parliament in the next three or four months? We have certain options before us; they have been mentioned here by other speakers also. Either we decide to go in for elections to the State Assembly in Punjab or we decide again to prolong President's Rule for a further spell. The third option which is being talked about in the air, namely, to revive the old Assembly, I don't consider it to be a serious option at all. I don't know if the Government is really interested in such a perspective of trying to revive an Assembly which I don't think will carry any credibility to the people of the Punjab. But we are in a dilemma, the whole country is facing a dilemma. If we don't go in for elections, if the people of Punjab—by 'people of Punjab' I don't mean only the Sikhs—continue to feel that they are being permanently excluded from the democratic process of elections, which is available for other parts of the country, that will have nothing but negative consequences, I am sure of that. The feeling of alienation of the people which has already gone so far will be further intensified. So, this is one thing that if we go in for further extension of President's Rule for which I suppose now if the Government decides to do that, they will have to call another Session of this Parliament before November; otherwise it will not be possible to go through that constitutional process. So, if the President's Rule is to be further extended, Sir, and if elections are not to be held and they are to be further postponed, the argument offered for it is that in the present situation no election can be held in free and fair manner. Election will be dictated by the gun. The argument is that people will be too

scared either to go and vote or willy-nilly they will have to vote for certain candidates who will be imposed on them in a sense by the threat of the gun. That is not a pleasant prospect. Nobody wants an election to be held which is not free and fair. How to create the situation in which some substantial amount of normalcy and of peace is restored before elections are held? That is a burning question before us. On the other hand, if we decide, if the Government decides and if the House approves such a decision that we should have a further spell of President's Rule, I think that only the forces of secessionism, the forces which don't want the unity of this country to be preserved will be further helped by such a step. But what shall we do now? I don't agree with those speakers who have tried to accuse this present Government of not having done anything to alleviate the situation in Punjab. May be they have not worked out a coherent or comprehensive policy. For that matter if you ask me or if you ask somebody else here, 'What policy would you like to apply to the Punjab?', well, many suggestions of different types can be given. But to implement such a policy requires in today's conditions the complete cooperation of all the parties and all the forces which really stand for an end to violence, an end to terrorism, which want to restore peace and normalcy, because I do believe that the common people of the Punjab, Sikhs and Hindus alike, the common people—the farmer, the trader, the shopkeeper the riksha-puller, the worker the ordinary man, is thoroughly fed up with what is going on. For the last so many years the normal life is impossible to follow. They are tired of this violence, they want some respite from it. I think that is the prevailing mood amongst the people, whether they speak out or not. Therefore, cooperation is required if some healing touch is to be applied in such a manner that this situation can be transformed. Unfortunately, there are many parties and many forces in Punjab which are not yet in a mood to cooperate with each other. When the Constitutional

Amendment was brought here last time to extend the President's rule by six months, I had said during the discussion on it, that this extension of President's rule should not mean that we pass the Constitutional Amendment here and then go home and go to sleep. Something has to be done: this six months period has to be utilised by everybody who is concerned to take some positive steps jointly in order to improve the situation. I had suggested and I got the impression that the Prime Minister had agreed that all the secular forces in Punjab.—I do not rule out anybody—all the parties which are against terrorism, violence and secessionism and who stand for the defence and unity of this country should sit down together and work out a joint programme for going to the people in Punjab. There may be risks involved; it does not matter. In the last few years, we have lost enough lives to understand that without risks you cannot do anything in Punjab. They should go down to the people together, go down to the villages and campaign there together and help the people to acquire some self-confidence, a sense of unity and fraternity and arouse a feeling and deep passion for restoration of peace and normalcy. Before the President's rule was extended, there had been a number of joint rallies held in Punjab and I think, on the whole they were successful in mobilising the people together. There was a big rally in Amritsar, in Ludhiana, in Khatkar Kalan and in several other places. But after the extension of the President's rule, such type of rallies which are real mobilisation of the people themselves through the political parties were not organised. Mrs. Bhinder while speaking here the other day decried the fact that some attempts have been made at public meetings which had turned out to be a flop and only very few people came. Yes, because the mobilisation in those meetings, I must say, was not organised primarily through the political parties and forces. They were done with the help of the police, security forces and the intelligence services with a very heavy security at the meeting places. Who will

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 come to such meetings? Nobody would like to come. But if the initiative of the people had been unleashed, many things could have been done. Now I do not know whether there is time or whether it is too late. This Government took some positive measures. Some of them may be considered merely symbolic. But even symbolic gestures are very important in the present situation. One of the first things that this Government did was to repeal the 59th Constitutional Amendment which had suspended even the right to live in Punjab. That was an undoing of a very wrong thing which had been done earlier. Then, special courts had been set up for trying the accused who were guilty of the anti-Sikh riots in 1984. All the Army deserters have been released now; there is nobody left. This was a long-standing demand and it was a sore and irritant point mainly for the Sikhs. The pensions to the widows had been doubled. But all such steps are taken over a long period of time, very slowly and very tardily and their accumulated impact is much less than it could be. On the 15th of August, people had seen and noted on the Television screen that the Prime Minister standing on the ramparts of the Red Fort, had standing beside him, for the first time after four years, a Sikh officer with a drawn sword in his hand. He escorted the Prime Minister upto the flag post. I think this is a symbolic gesture which one could not think of it earlier. In this security condition, a Sikh officer with a drawn sword in his hand escorting the Prime Minister is something which could not be thought of perhaps by some people earlier. But these are small things. What is required now in my opinion is, in spite of all the difficulties—there are immense difficulties, no doubt. One of the biggest difficulties is caused, if I may say so, by the negative attitude of leadership of all the different Akali groups. The Akali Party, though now divided into so many groups and subgroups, is a very important force in the Punjab. They were the main force among the Sikhs. The other Parties have also got some Sikh fol-

lowers. Well our Party is there. We have got a small following among the Sikh peasantry. The Congress Party has got Sikh followers. But they do not mobilise them. They do not activate them. As far as the Akalis are concerned, they are not prepared to cooperate with anybody. This is the whole trouble. Even if you go in for joint meetings and rallies, no Akali leader is prepared to come and sit on the platform—may be they are afraid, I do not say there is no ground for their fear. Anybody who gives an impression of cooperating with other forces in order to restore some kind of normalcy and peace may find himself on the hit list. We know it. We have seen what has happened in the recent weeks, how many leaders have been killed and shot. Now the Hindus are not the only victims. I do not know the latest figures. The Home Minister can tell us. But last year, you see, more Sikhs were being killed than Hindus. So, the pattern of the killings also has changed over the years. Now it is a question of people who are opposed in any way to what the so-called militants or terrorist groups want. Anybody who speaks against them, who opposes their plans, who refuses to give money is liable to be killed. Mrs. Bhinder was right when she said, "The commonman in the Punjab is caught between two fires—the terror of the terrorists and the terror from the security forces". Both of them are there. Both of them are squeezing the people of the Punjab.

The trouble in the Punjab is, some people are always seeing only one side and refuse to see the other. Some people will always condemn the killing of innocent people—which should be condemned—by these terrorists but they do not see the excesses which are being committed frequently by the police and the security forces. Some people see only the excesses committed by the security forces but refuse to speak a single word condemning the killing of innocent people by the terrorists which goes on every day. How can you have a kind of one-sided outlook like this? Human life is a human life. But unfortunately, our prejudices have gone so deep that you will find that

people are not prepared to condemn all killings irrespective of who is perpetrating those killings. I think, if there are people, if there are Parties, if there are forces—whether it is the Congress Party or the BJP Party or the Communist or the Janata Dal, whoever it is—who are against all forms of killings, terror and violence in the Punjab and who now want to bring an end to this state of affairs, who are prepared to stand up, to come to defend the unity of the country and if they are also interested to see that free and fair elections are held as far as possible, they should get together and try to come to some understanding. I believe that if such forces can agree on certain basic principles and ideas, then it is possible to hold elections in the Punjab whose outcome would be positive in the political and social sense and would not necessarily be a rigged election which is dictated only by the gun. I personally feel, my Party also feels, we do not appreciate the idea—I cannot say what will happen because the situation is not within our control—but we do not appreciate the idea of having to come back to this Parliament again in a month or two in order to plead for a further extension of the President's rule. It is because of the alienation of the people of the Punjab. Nobody there feels that there is any Government—neither the Sikhs, nor the Hindus. Simply by changing the Governors every six months, no solution is going to be found.

As we know, a large-scale migration of minorities is taking place. It is no use shutting our eyes to this situation. From the border villages, particularly of at least three or four districts, there has been a very large-scale migration of people. They cannot live there any more. If they have friends and relatives in the towns or cities, they go there; otherwise, they come even as far as Delhi. Many of them are living in conditions of extreme suffering and privation. This is going on. Hindus are migrating. Sikhs are migrating. It is becoming a kind of "no man's land" which is dominated by the gun either of the security forces or of the terrorists.

We are dispersing now within a day or two without deciding whether we are continuing with President's rule or possibility should be explored of how all the healthy and secular forces can be brought together. Nobody should non-cooperate with that effort because of party considerations. All the parties should come together and they should come to a common understanding as to what requires to be done in order to create an atmosphere in which elections can be held which will yield a positive result. In our opinion, that is the line of possibility which should be explored by the Government in cooperation or in consultation with all the other parties and I hope that will be done and we will not be all the time in a kind of blind alley without any way out. This has gone on too long now. Many lives have been lost. Too much blood has been shed and it is time now that we should get together and try to tackle the situation.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The time allotted for this business was three hours. We have already consumed three hours. An agreement has been arrived at between the leaders that we have to transact the financial business today. I am going to call two or three Members. I would request them to be very very brief and then allow this business to be completed. I am asking Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev to speak now.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV** (Tripura West): If you tell me the time, I will abide by it.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Five to seven minutes.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:** I will finish within ten minutes.

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY** (Hoshiarpur): This is an important topic. Some other Members would like to speak. Time may be extended.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** It has been agreed to complete this business within three hours.

**SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA** (Phillaur): All the Members from Punjab want to participate in this discussion.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:** It is a very sad day for us that we are discussing Punjab Budget which should have been discussed in the Punjab Assembly and, as very rightly said by Shri Indrajit Gupta today, the whole country is very much worried and upset about the situation in Punjab. Punjab was and is the granary of India. Punjab was a land where milk and honey used to be produced and still being produced in a big amount and it is known as a "Land of Honey", and 'Lasse' also as told by Shri Indrajit Gupta. Unfortunately Punjab is now also the leader of terrorists in this country and terrorist activity is spreading there very badly as in my State, Assam and as in Kashmir.

We are today discussing the Appropriation Bill. I fully support it, as many Members have supported it and there is nothing against it. There cannot be any division on that.

A very peculiar situation has arisen in Punjab. Shri Indrajit Gupta has also mentioned that we have repealed the 69th Constitution Amendment Bill, which was not liked by many. It was a controversial amendment for some. It has been repealed. We also gave our support. I still remember, that day when the hon. Home Minister spoke in this House, he gave an assurance to this House that Government would not come before this House again for extension and with the cooperation of all the political parties and secular parties, Government would create a situation in Punjab whereby there could be elections. Now, in this House, irrespective of the party to which we belong, a sense of apprehension has been expressed by all the Members that if there is an election, whether it will be a free and fair election. It is not only that. Many Members have said that it will be held at a gun-point. Hence, right at this

moment I do not know what will happen tomorrow or the next day. The situation in Punjab is not at all congenial for holding a free and fair election.

Sir, my good friend, the Member from the CPM Party Shri Saifuddin Choudhury— is not here. Shri Saifuddin Choudhury, in his speech, tried to sell an idea to this House. I do not know whether it is his individual idea or they are a party to the Government idea. The idea is that there is scope for the revival of the dissolved Assembly, thereby there can be a forum through which the Punjab problem can be solved. If my information is correct, the life of the last Assembly is going to expire sometime in the month of October. I do not know how the Government or the allied parties are coming to a decision that the Court order will be in favour of reviving the Assembly. I think it is an assumption because one cannot predict a Court order. Even if the assumption will come true and after the decision of the Court, it can hardly have a life for a month or so. Today, I have heard another talk in the Lobby that there is a provision in the Constitution that after the expiry of the term of a particular Government, if the President of India has the pleasure, the President can allow a care-taker Ministry to continue for six months... (*Interruptions*) But I do not know about it. I have heard it in the Lobby. In fact, Shri Indrajit Gupta has posed a very good constitutional question. This is the talk I am hearing from the Lobby. Shri Saifuddin Choudhury is also a party to it. I don't think it is possible. It will not be desirable also. Hence, I fully agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta that an atmosphere is to be created in Punjab to have a free and fair election. All the political parties, including our Party have got a responsibility. I do agree that the CPI and the CPM have mobilised some people. They have organised a rally in Delhi. But they will be doing injustice to the Congress people in Punjab if they say that we are not trying to mobilise people. We

are trying to mobilise the people. As far as the number of deaths of political leaders is concerned, the maximum number is from the Congress(I) Party. Even then, we are not shirking from our responsibility because we know that if we have to create an atmosphere there, as a political party, we have got a role to play. In the last Parliament and Assembly elections, we have scored more than 35-40 per cent votes. The people are with us. I visited Punjab at the behest of my Congress President Shri Rajiv Gandhi, along with six other Members. I would like to share my experience with this House that the day I went there, there was a death case in a particular village. Two Members of Parliament from Punjab were also there. I was amazed to see one interesting aspect. Before seeing that aspect, I would not have believed the fact. The point is that in that particular house, the strength of the Hindus and Sikhs was equal in number. Even, the Hindus might have been more than the Sikhs. I was surprised to see the cordiality with which they were talking and trying to discuss the Punjab situation. Still today, in the village areas as well as in large parts of the town areas, there is no ill-feeling between the Hindus and the Sikhs.

This is a silver lining in Punjab which is not there, to that extent in Kashmir; which is not there to that extent even in Assam today. So, it will be wrong to say that if we do not go ahead the Punjab people will be lagged behind. But we should also take initiative. There was a move by the present Government to organise some political meetings in Punjab and initially we boycotted it but subsequently we joined. But what have we seen? That platform some time was used not by the left parties—I will not blame them—but by some other party to make Congress a villain about the particular situation in Punjab. This is not the time for us to say that Congress has given that legacy to this Government or this Government has failed to do anything. This is the time for us, both for the Government and their suppor-

ting parties as well as the opposition to join hands together, heads together and solve this problem so that we can really give representative people Government in Punjab. Let any party come to power but create a situation so that Prof. Dandavate need not come to this House with further Budget for Punjab. I think, he does not like himself as he is already burdened with so many works to see that any State Budget is monitored by him.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur):  
Let there be an all party Government.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:  
I do not want to criticise any particular leader. What I want to point out and which has been told by BJP, CPI, CPM Forward Bloc, even some of the ruling party Members and our Members is that the initial motive of the Government to particularly highlight one individual who is a Member of this House but who has not taken oath that he would be the only back for the people of Punjab to overcome this situation has proved to be wrong. I personally do not see anything wrong in trying him. But now after his announcement in Punjab that he would like UNO to come and conduct the elections or plebiscite in Punjab for a Khalistan, I think, the present Government or any political party should not have any love for this particular person and we should all condemn that and such person, under no circumstances, should be encouraged to have a say in the Punjab affairs. I am happy that more or less all the political parties have taken a correct stand in this particular respect that our country cannot accept the UNO or for that reason anyone else to interfere. What did he say? He said that if India was attacked by Pakistan, he would be behind the Indian army to shoot them and not to protect the country. That is not the sikh culture. The sikhs in this country have sacrificed to such a great extent for the cause of our country that their sacrifice can never be outnumbered by anybody. They may be only two per cent of the Indian population but their heroic efforts are more than 90 per cent in comparison to any caste or community in this

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country. This has been accepted by everybody. Keeping this in view, I shall appeal through this House to the people of Punjab that the dilemma which the country is now facing can easily be solved if the people of Punjab irrespective of region—as very rightly stated by Shri Indrajit Gupta—come forward and all political parties should play a role to see that we bring out a situation in Punjab where there can be free and fair elections. But just at this moment, my party also feels that with the present situation which is prevailing there, it will be difficult to have a free and fair elections. The Government should think twice before deciding about this particular aspect. This is my submission.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Kirpal Singh, please conclude your submission in five minutes.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Sir, it will take some time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I know you are capable to say a lot in a few words.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I want to be as brief as possible but please excuse me Sir as I would like to clarify in regard to the aspersions that have been cast on a personal level. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, agreed that there is little money for development in Punjab as most of it is being spent on security in the State. Earlier also I have said that there would not have been a need for security in Punjab but for the previous Government's negative action which created this situation.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have said this a number of times. Please come to the point.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: What I want to say is that the previous Government should own up the responsibility because it was they who created this mess.

Secondly, I feel that the sentiments expressed by all hon. Members, regarding a healing touch for the wounded Sikh psyche, do not come from their hearts. In the past there have been events like the military offensive on Shri Darbar Sahib and Akal Takht and the killings of Sikhs in the November 1984 riots. Latest in this series is the brutal assault by security officials on 200—250 people in Kathurnangal villages. But none of the hon. Members have commented on this incident. We have asked the hon. Prime Minister to set up a committee to inquire into this incident. Last night a Sikh friend telephoned me to say that while travelling on a train only his luggage was searched and he was the lone Sikh among all passengers in his coach. Such things should not happen again. Similarly the anti-Sikh propaganda over the media must be replaced by propagandas & which is favourable to the Sikh community and to the nation as a whole.

According to a book written by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, which I have got, there were 2646 persons who were sentenced to life imprisonment during the freedom struggle. Of these, 2147 were Sikhs and 499 were non-Sikhs. Similarly of the 121 persons hanged to death, 93 were Sikhs and 28 non-Sikhs. Of the 1300 persons killed in the Jalianwala Bagh tragedy, 799 persons were Sikhs and 501 were non-Sikhs. My hon. colleagues here say that Sikhs are courageous and have made sacrifices. But what about the situation in Punjab? On my recent visit to Amritsar I was told by local farmers that their produce was being sold at Rs. 200 whereas the rate is Rs. 225 because Central agencies have not begun purchases. This is how Punjab is neglected. Despite the sacrifices made by the Sikh community, Punjab is not given facilities like quality fertilizers etc.

Sentiments expressed in case of the army action on the Darbar Sahib and the 1984 riots must emanate from the heart. A Resolution was passed in the House in case of the Bhopal Gas

Tragedy. But no such resolution was passed in case of the 1984 riots in Delhi. Is this the way to do justice?

Sir, the Rajiv-Longowal Accord is more or less extinct but work related to the SYL Canal should not be taken up without taking into consideration the clauses of the Accords, distribution of water after including the Yamuna canal and the law of Riparian States. Making a part of the canal operational amounts to discrimination against some people...*(Interruptions)* Punjab should get it and you should also get it. You have the right to take your share and nothing more than that.

15.00 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please don't reply to the questions that are put during your speech.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Nobody has commented on the situation in Punjab and Haryana. At present Shri K. P. S. Gill is the police Chief in Punjab. The people who have created these problems are running the bureaucracy. We cannot expect any substantial change in the situation. I suggest that more agro-based industries be set up in Punjab for the development of the State. Then there is the issue of a canal where even drinking water is not available. My hon. colleague Shri Kamal raised this issue as it concerns his constituency. It is because of small-scale industry that Punjab is on the industrial map of the country. The contribution of heavy industry is negligible.

Small-scale industry too is subjected to severe constraints by the Government. Previously, a factory with machinery worth Rs. 2 lakhs and situated in an area with a population of 25,000 persons was considered a tiny sector industry. Now a factory with machinery worth Rs. 5 lakhs and situated in an area with a population of 50,000 persons is considered a tiny sector industry. According to a

census, 97% of the industries have machinery worth less than Rs. 2 lakhs. The bureaucracy has prompted the National Front Government to take a very wrong decision. They are not getting raw material or concessions in excise duties although they should be getting maximum incentives. If they cross the production limit they are denied the rebate on excise duty but manufacturers in higher categories get excise duty concessions on goods produced below the limit. This discrimination must be removed. The condition regarding population must be done away with. This will help villagers to prosper. At least 30-35 sugar factories must be set up in Punjab. Earlier, the ceiling for small scale sector was Rs. 37 lakhs which has now been increased to Rs. 60 lakhs. It will benefit the capitalists. I would like to say a few words about the political situation in Punjab. Some hon. Members say that elections should not be held in Punjab and the Government is considering to revive the previous Assembly in Punjab. Both these things are wrong. Punjab has been debarred from democratic process. The Parliamentary elections were held recently. The Election Commission of India and the Chief Secretary of Punjab have praised the peaceful conduct of elections in Punjab and have said that polls were never so peaceful before. Those who lost the election, made excuses that the people kept silent due to terror. But had it been so the candidates belonging to only one party should have won. But it was not so. Candidates belonging to all the parties have won. Neither they were under terror nor were they silent. The elections to Delhi Gurudwara Prabhndak Committee and Punjab Assembly should be held. The earlier it is done, the better it would be.

Today, even the Government says that ballot and bullet cannot go together. So far as the terrorists are concerned. Mr. Ribeiro, who was the then D.G.P. and later became the Advisor to the Governor, used to say from time to time that there were a handful of terrorists. When the people asked why terrorism was not



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being put to an end, he used to reply that there was no end to the recruitment in their ranks. It is clear that the recruitment of terrorists cannot be stopped with the terror of bullet. They should have been affectionately persuaded to shun the path of violence. But that has not been done till now. Among the ways adopted in Punjab to stop terrorism was the use of Black-Cat force, which was formed by Shri Izhar Alam, the then S.S.P. of Amritsar, who later became the D.I.G. also. Now Shri K.P.S. Gill has formed a new force named "Indian Lion". This force kills the people in Punjab. If sometime, you get the news of my death, please take it that I have been killed by the same "Indian Lion". It is the need of the hour to immediately transfer such officers from there. While speaking about me, one of the hon. Members said that I am not competent even to become a panchayat member. I would like to tell that I am a freedom fighter. Barring the period, when the Corporation was under suspension or supersession, I had been either the member or the Chairman of Amritsar Municipal Corporation. I was an M.L.A. for three terms and now, I have been elected an M.P. with a good margin. When others were selling adulterated ghee and were indulging in smuggling activities, I was working for the good of the country. The peace of this country received its first jolt, when during the Asiad, innocent persons were stopped on roads, their hair were cut and they were implicated in false cases.....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have said this earlier also.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Many such things were done. In the end, I would like to submit that attention should be paid to the issue of holding elections in Punjab. Similarly, attention needs to be paid to the Small Scale Industries and the agro-based Industries in Punjab. The most important thing is that the burden of expenditure on the Central Security Forces should not be put on the exchequer of Punjab, so that there could be all round development of State.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI NATHU RAM MIRDHA): The hon. Member has said that he has met the farmers in Amritsar, who told him that they had not received the procurement price of wheat at the rate of Rs. 225. I would like to inform the hon. Member and the House that those farmers, who delivered the wheat this season before the date on which the procurement price of Rs. 225 was announced have been paid the difference in price.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: What you are saying is right.

SHRI NATHU RAM MIRDHA: The farmers will be directly given the crossed cheques. There is no question of giving through the middleman.

[English]

DR. THAMBI THURAI (Karur): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I would like to join our colleagues to participate in this debate on Punjab Budget on behalf of my party. Most of the Members who participated in the discussion concentrated only a few seconds on the Budget. The rest of their speech was on the situation in Punjab. I am also going to do the same as I am not an exception. It is a pitiable thing that Prof. Madhu Dandavate is presenting the Punjab Budget today. When he was in the Opposition, he had said many times and had requested the Treasury Benches that that should be the last. Budget of the State of Punjab. But, unfortunately, he has presented the Punjab Budget this time and I know that he is going to do so in future also and that is going to happen because the situation is like that. When Smt. Sukhbans Kaur spoke regarding fair elections immediately in Punjab, she also mentioned that there is an attempt now by the Government to try to instal some other people while reviving the Assembly. At that time, Prof. Dandavate said that it may be the Court's decision and what can he do. This was what he said. But whatever they, think, making such an attempt is not good. It is better to have fair and

fresh elections and see that the present situation is eliminated...(*Interruptions*)...

Secondly, we are forgetting why the present situation exists in Punjab. The root cause of that is always being forgotten; all the time we are criticising terrorism, and the people and the youth are being criticised. But I want to know who are responsible for all this. I say this very House is responsible, the Parliament is responsible for this kind of a situation, because we are not strictly following what is required to be followed in a federal system. We want to take away all the powers from the States. When you are out of power, you say that you want to decentralize everything, but when you are in power, you want all the powers from State. That is the peculiar situation that we are facing in this country. First, the Education was with the States, then they brought it to the Centre also, now in their manifesto they want to decentralise. Till today I do not know what are the things they want to decentralize. When you come in power, you want to make all the legislations to take away all the powers and you want to rule from here. And when you are ruling, you forget about the regional aspirations, culture, languages etc. That is the root cause. The strength of this country lies in different cultures and different languages, but they always forget that. In the name of integration, you want to impose one culture, one language and forget about others...(*Interruptions*).

Whenever we want to speak in our mother-tongue, there is no simultaneous Tamil translation.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE  
(PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):  
It is there.

DR. THAMBI DURAI: If you speak in English, can I listen in Tamil? It is not there. Only I can speak in my mother-tongue, and we can get translation in English. You cannot get translation in other national languages.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Your speech is always valuable, therefore, I get translation, but my speech may be worthless, therefore, you do not get in Tamil.

DR. THAMBI DURAI: We want to have your reaction. Without any reaction from you, how can we react? We give you a number of valuable suggestions, but those are being forgotten. That is the problem.

Anandpur Saheb Resolution has been mentioned here. I am not for disintegration of the country. What is more important is that you must respect the feelings of the Punjab people.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude now. You have made very good points, namely elections should be held, decentralization should be there, cultural aspects should also be considered.

DR. THAMBI DURAI: More than that, what is the economic programme that the Government is having to solve this kind of problems in the country? Instead of beating about the bush, let us come to the point. We are facing political, economic and social problems. What is the concrete action that you are contemplating to solve these problems? On the political front, you have to take care of the democratic aspirations of the people. Then, what about social problems? Are you making efforts to tackle them? Similarly, let us look to the economic problems. The Leftist parties claim to be the champions to solve the economic problems? What are they doing? They are keeping quiet. Nobody is responding to the questions of providing more employment opportunities and right to work. If you are not able to solve the economic problems of this country by way of providing employment opportunities and giving right to work, terrorism would not be wiped out. Terrorism which today exists in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam, in due course is going to come to Tamil Nadu also, because nobody is paying

[Dr. Thambi Durai]

any attention to the problem of the youth.

What sort of programmes do you have to give them employment opportunities? Instead of addressing yourself to the question, you are organizing one rally or the other, you want to go to Punjab on padyatra.

If you do not devote the attention to solve these problem for your political gains, and if you want to eradicate some regional parties, that is very dangerous. In a good spirit, you should think of the nation, you should think of all the languages. Call all the languages as our national languages, do not call them regional languages. Whenever any Minister makes a mention of these languages, he refers to them as regional languages. I cannot understand that. You know what Pandit Nehru said when somebody asked him, that these are our national languages. When the Language Commission talked of regional languages, Pandit Nehru refuted and said that these languages are our national languages. But today, our Ministers call them regional languages. When I am shouting here, on this they are keeping quiet. They are not even reacting to it. That is why I say that this is the main reason for the present political situation that we have in our country. If you can solve the language problem, cultural and economic problems and the youth problem, then you can bring some kind of peace in Punjab otherwise the whole country is going to be affected. You have to cooperate in this.

I am interested in discussing the Punjab Budget but not in this way. Let the budget of Punjab be discussed in Punjab Assembly. We are ready to support them whatever amount they want to spend; we are ready to give our support to increase the allocation from the Central Budget but I request the Hon. Minister, Prof. Madhu Dandavate to ensure that this is the last Budget for Punjab to be presented in Parliament. Let the Minister persuade the Government to

bring a good democratic system in Punjab and see that peace is established there.

[*Translation*]

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA (Ropar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, not only this country, but the entire world is aware of the fact that the Sikhs have given maximum sacrifices to achieve independence for this country. Had the Sikhs wanted a separate state they could have got it at that time itself in the same way as the Muslims of this country demanded Pakistan and formed a separate country. But such conditions have been created for the Sikhs that they are forced to think themselves as slaves in this country. They are treated like slaves. For the last many years, some Sikh youths in Bareilly jail have been kept in chains. Army men who rose in revolt for the sake of religion are still languishing in Naini jail and they are being tortured there. The Government has said that all those army jawans have been released, but I would like to tell that except for those army jawans, who have completed their jail term, none has been released. The rest of the army jawans are still in jails and are being tortured. The police is playing a hunting game with Sikh youths in Punjab. Everyday some Sikh youths are killed in fake police encounters. I would like to know as to how many enquiries have been conducted till now and what are the names of the officers found guilty in these enquiries? It is a matter of regret that no guilty officer has been punished as yet. The entire bureaucracy from top to bottom, that is from the Chief Secretary to the Tehsildar, is anti-Sikh. Just now, some hon. Members belonging to the B.J.P. and other parties said in the House that full statehood should be given to Delhi and the Bill in this regard should be passed at the earliest. The reason behind their saying so was that during the elections, they had promised the public to provide full statehood to Delhi. It is good to fulfil the election promises. But at the same time, it is the duty of this Government to

fulfil the promises which it made to Punjab in its election manifesto. It was said here that initiative to solve the Punjab problem would be taken, but no attention has yet been paid by the Government in this regard. Just now, the leader of the B.J.P. and some hon. Members belonging to other parties said here that Delhi should be given full statehood and assembly elections should be held, because at present the Union Territory is being administered by the bureaucrats. I would like to ask whether anyone has ever paid attention towards the fact that Punjab is also under the bureaucratic rule? The Sikhs are being crushed like anything. As S. Kirpal Singh said just now, a new commando force named 'Indian Lion' has been formed there, which is eliminating the Sikh families.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, another point is that every possible way is being adopted to bring bad name to the Sikhs. Recently held Lok Sabha elections in Punjab were totally incident free. These elections were free and fair. Even then, just to defame the Sikhs, it is being said here that the Lok Sabha elections in Punjab were held on gun-point. I would like to ask, if that is the case, how did Shrimati Bhinder win the election from Gurudaspur with a good margin? How did Shri I. K. Gujral win? Has he been appointed a Minister, because he won the election on gun-point? How did Shri Harbhajan Lakha from Phillaur, S. Kirpal Singh from Amritsar and Shri Kamal Choudhry from Hoshiarpur win the election? Have they all won on the gun-point? (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY** (Hoshiarpur): We have won the election on our own.

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA**: The Government should tell whether all these Members have won the election on gun-point?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on 22nd of August, 1985, the B.J.P. leader, Shri L. K. Advani had opposed the elec-

tions in Punjab in the Rajya Sabha and said that elections should not be held there. But the very people are trying to revive the Assembly today. These erstwhile Jan Sanghis sent their lawyer Shri Jetly to the High Court to revive the Assembly. Same is true of the C.P.M. and C.P.I. also. On one hand, they oppose the elections, but on the other hand, they are trying to revive the Assembly.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that the killing of Sikhs in 1984 riots in Delhi and in other States was a big conspiracy hatched by the Congress (I) leaders. A Condolence-Motion should be moved in the Lok Sabha for the victims of 1984 riot.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the water dispute between Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan over S.Y.L. Canal should be settled through the Supreme Court. We will accept the verdict of the Supreme Court

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, fourthly, I would like to say that the hon. Prime Minister has toured Punjab thrice. But the Punjab problem cannot be solved through tours or Pad-yatras. It would have been solved a long time ago, if such things were to solve the problem, and the situation in Punjab would not have worsened to such an extent.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, whenever the issue of solving the Punjab problem is raised, it is said that an all party meeting will be called. I would like to make it clear that there is no need for calling an all party meeting to solve the problem as they will never let it to be solved.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, fifthly I would like to submit that the industries in Punjab are getting ruined. Particularly, the industries in Govindgarh, under my Constituency are not getting any raw-material and as a result industries are getting ruined.

Sir, the Kapurthala Coach factory is also getting ruined. The ancilliary units do not get any work.

[Smt. Bimal Kaur Khalsa]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, sixthly, I would like to submit that the industries in Ludhiana are facing a lot of difficulties due to the disturbances in the Gulf. Export of all their machinery like cycle and other items has come to a standstill. As such, I would like to say that every possible effort should be made to help this industry.

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): Sir, some other Members have also given notice.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: They have agreed that we should finish it now. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is an agreement.

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM: I do not want to speak, I just want to say this on behalf of those MPs who would have spoken earlier. Unfortunately, they did not have an opportunity to speak again. They were called yesterday by the Prime Minister in the evening at 7 p.m. Unfortunately, according to what we know, nothing, no outcome of that meeting has been there. We expected that there would be an agenda; we expected that there would be some serious discussion on how to solve the Punjab problem. On the 11th November, President's rule is getting over. Are you going in for elections in the present situation that is there? We would like to know specifically, especially when the law and order has deteriorated to a situation where the daily turn-out of deaths is 20 to 30, and with Mr Mann's statement openly calling for Khalistan. Are you going to continue to drag matters? There is not going to be a Session before 11th November. We would like to know specifically, your policies and specific programmes. Even yesterday, in the meeting, there was no programme. Even today there is no programme. We would like to know

whether Government is just going to allow things to drift.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): Yesterday, at about 5.30 in the evening, I got a message that the Prime Minister wanted to speak to Punjab MPs. There was no agenda for it; there was no time given. At 7 o'clock we reached Prime Minister's House. That time of 7 o'clock was given to a delegation from Sikkim also. There, in that meeting, no discussion took place. Just some individual points were made. More than that, it was just a political gimmick. If they want to have a solution for Punjab, if they wanted peace in Punjab they should have called people from Punjab. A Consultative Committee for Punjab has been formed. I am a member of that; not even one meeting of that Consultative Committee has taken place. What does this Government want; what policy does this Government have? I want to know.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): Day before yesterday, during the Zero Hour I think, Mr. Dinesh Singh started the talk; and quite a number of our Members took part in it. We all wanted a statement to be made by the Prime Minister, we wanted the Prime Minister himself to come here and take part, and give us an idea, or whatever it may be, of their policy: what is it that they want to do in regard to Punjab. It is true; it is the Finance Minister who is in charge of this Budget. But at the same time, this is the proper occasion when the Prime Minister himself should have come here and tried to reinforce whatever the Finance Minister would be saying, by taking the House into his confidence, and telling us about the political approach that they are making. On the other hand, my friend Mr. Dandavate is prepared to speak on behalf of the whole of the party, and particularly of the Prime Minister in regard to the political approach that this Government wishes to make, is making and wishes to continue to make. The House is going to adjourn for the next 2 or 3

months, or we do not know for how long. (*Interruptions*).

We would like the Prime Minister to come over here. If he is not here, let my friend send word to him; let him make his own statement, but at the same time give us an assurance that the Prime Minister would be speaking to us on behalf of the Government. Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Firstly, I am thankful to all the sections of the House for having agreed. (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

CH. RAM PRAKASH: Many members who want to speak are yet to get their turn.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: If you permit me, I shall curtail live minutes from the time allocated to me. You may speak.

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is very sensible, Mr. Dandavate; don't open the Pandora's Box ..... (*Interruptions*).....

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA (Phillaur): Kindly give me four minutes to speak on the Punjab budget.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Firstly, I am greatly thankful to all sections of the House for having agreed that, in view of the shortage of time at our disposal, the financial agenda should be completed today; and that is why we are also restricted the number of speeches on our side. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA: Will you give me some time to speak on the Punjab budget?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is replying to the debate.

(*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have to repeat the thanks to the House again and again because of the interruptions.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You don't do like this, an agreement has been reached.

...(Interruptions)..

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please be seated. Such occasions do come.

...(Interruptions)...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: This is the financial agenda and it has to be completed. Thereafter it is to be forwarded to Rajya Sabha. Otherwise some problems will crop up and there would be constitutional difficulties as well. Therefore, I had made a request to you and everyone has agreed to it. I would like to thank you for this.

CH. RAM PRAKASH: About thirty people are being killed there every day. This is a very grave issue.....(*Interruptions*)...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Leave it, why are you creating problems for me?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Madhuji, you speak.....

...(Interruptions)...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He has asked you to let the proceedings continue. We will talk about it later. I will reply to all your questions later. ...(*Interruptions*) ..

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You should not do like this. You can speak on a different subject.

CH. RAM PRAKASH: Allow me to speak for 1-2 minutes. ... (Interruptions)...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: This way the agenda cannot be completed. Discussion on Mandal Commission is scheduled to start at 4 O' clock.

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA: I should be given only two minutes to speak on the Punjab budget.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He has already given his ruling. Let me continue.

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA: All those members who come from Punjab should be given a chance to speak on the Punjab budget. I will take only one minute and then sit down.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now you take your seat.

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA: I will take only one minute and then sit down. I have a right to speak on the Punjab budget because I come from there.

I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Punjab budget. Punjab being the most prosperous State in the country is burning today due to the fault of some segments of the Hindu society, those who had started throwing ears, tails and heads of the cows and cigarettes into the Gurdwara at Nikodar. And this segment is responsible to do the same thing in Jammu & Kashmir and in U.P. also. Therefore, I request the Central Government to ban these social segments, those who are becoming the cause of destroying the Indian society.

Punjab was deprived of democracy since 11th May, 1987. The people of Punjab are interested to have free and fair election so that they can have their own legislature in Punjab; and the dead Punjab Assembly is not needed; the Punjabis are not interes-

ted that dead Legislative Assembly should come back in power. Therefore, there should be free and fair elections. During Lok Sabha elections, there was no booth capturing; there was no firing; there were free and fair elections.

Therefore, for economic development, in Punjab sugarcane cultivated areas should be improved; there should be a cooperative sugar mill established, especially in Hargobind, Batala, to fulfil the needs of the farmers. The bridge over the river Beas near Hargobind must be completed soon to create facilities for the farmers.

Ninety per cent of the people in bet area, *naya shahr*, Jullundur, are from SC and farmers. The Government is not paying any attention to improve their lot. So, proper educational facilities should be created for those people in Karpal Sagar which was meant to open a college must be started for those people. Then proper health centres should be opened in that area for improving the health of the people. Government is not paying any attention to provide education or render any other help to that area. Secondly, the farmers there are in dire need of cooperative sugar mills. In Gurdaspur there is one segment, Hargobind where the maximum quantity of sugarcane is produced and there also the farmers in need of sugar mills.

There is yet another segment, Braj in Gurdaspur district where also the farmers need sugar mills. Therefore, I would request the Government to look into these problems.

I am thankful to you for giving me some time to speak and I also request that everybody should be given equal opportunity to speak.

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please take your seat since you have said what you had to say. You may speak now.

CH. RAM PRAKASH (Ambala): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am a Punjabi. Ambala used to be a part of Punjab, it is a different thing that now it has been merged in Haryana. I am aware of all the facts. I was an M.L.A. in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha from 1952 to 1976. I have the full knowledge of the Punjab situation and I am well informed about the kind of people good or bad living in that state. You have given me only one minute and I would like to ask you only one thing. Everyday we read in the newspapers that twenty to thirty people in Punjab are killed by the terrorists. This is what the newspapers say, but so far as my information goes more than one hundred people are being killed by the terrorists daily. If similar conditions continue in Punjab, the entire population will be wiped out shortly and then you need not have to present a budget for Punjab. I would like to put-forth this request before you and ask the Government about the claims they used to make at that time... (*Interruptions*)... It is not an issue relating to any party. All of you sitting here are as good as dead. I would like to ask you whether the Government can do anything to check the killings that take place everyday. Thousands of families from that state who were at one time quite prosperous have taken to begging in Delhi, Agra and Bombay and the Government is not able to do anything for them.

Thirdly, so far as the issue of employment is concerned, we agree with what my hon. lady colleague has said. I am of the view that everyone should get employment and there cannot be two opinions about it, but it does not mean that in the absence of employment, one is free to loot anyone, commit robberies, loot banks, assault officers, murder S.P., D.I.G. and Secretary and kill all Government Officers. A lady colleague made a remark that the murder of Indira Gandhi was a right step. If the murder of Indira Gandhi was a right thing then if she and her family members are killed, will that not be a right

act? Will it not be a wrong deed? Then I feel that..... (*Interruptions*)... Dandavateji, please listen to me. No Government can function with leniency, Government has to act firmly. Governments take recourse to putting the culprits in jail and this Government should also do the same.

The army deserters have been released. Had the army deserters not been released the state of affairs in Punjab would have been different. Hence my submission is that the all army deserters have become extremists.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please come to the point... (*Interruptions*)... ..

CH. RAM PRAKASH: Listen, right now you have interrupted, but please don't try to do so in future.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE). Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am thankful to all the speakers on both the sides. I think there is a concensus in this House that without harping on what happened in the past, we must try to look to the future and try to see that the problem of Punjab is solved in the national interest.

I highly respect the sentiments expressed by Prof. Ranga and I may be permitted to say on behalf of the entire House that he wanted the Prime Minister to be in this House to express the various policies. I can assure Prof. Ranga that we as a Cabinet stand for collective responsibility and though I do not want to place myself on the level of clarity of the Prime Minister or anyone else, I can assure him that I will try to interpret the policy of the Government as best as possible and I feel confident that we will be able to secure your appreciation and in that spirit and context I will make only a few observations because by four O'clock we have to complete the entire financial agenda.



DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur):  
Thank you, Professor.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:  
Yes, for completing in time.

Firstly in a very short observation, I would like to refer to some of the concrete points that have been raised. Mrs. Kaur in a very lucid manner gave the entire picture of the country. No doubt some of the Members were angry whether it was with her or whether it was my young friend Shri Kamal Chaudhry—but I am one among those who had seen how the people of Punjab had suffered. For instance, when Mr. Kamal Chaudhry was speaking, some of our friends were angry that he was speaking in an angry mood. But many of them do not know that his father, who was a great colleague of us in the socialist movement, was shot dead and his voice was the voice of a person who died as a martyr. And therefore, if there are pangs of anger that are expressed through his language, at least I will not misunderstand it. Because I have not lost my father at the hands of the bullets of the terrorist, and therefore, my reaction is bound to be different and his reaction is bound to be different. There were some angry men. Anger was born out of whatever sufferings they have caused. Mrs. Kaur spoke in a subtle way. Mr. Kripal Singh talks in a particular way. Some friends were angry. But let us try to understand what they and their families have suffered. We have not suffered and, therefore, our language is softer and it is more courteous whereas they tried to speak about the blatant truth. I fully agree with the House that ours is a country which is not going to be dominated by only one religious group. Legacy of Gandhi tells us that we have a composite culture and secularism in this country does not mean anti-religionism. But in the right tradition of Dr. Zakir Hussein and Swami Vivekananda, it means the co-existence and harmonious relationship between various religious groups in the country. That is the concept of our secularism. We shall try to preserve that spirit. Nobody will be a primary

citizen in the country and nobody will be a secondary citizen in the country, whether it is a Sikh or a Hindu or a Muslim, all of them will be citizens of India with equal status and equal stature. If that is respected, I have not the least doubt that nobody will feel hurt. I can understand the Sikh psyche is disturbed. What is needed is not merely the irrigation projects, what is needed is not merely the employment problem, what is needed is not all other development projects, they are necessary to remove the discontent of Punjab, but the whole psyche of the Sikhs also is to be looked after. I do not want to put the blame on anyone. Here I would like remind the Hindu friends, whoever is guilty of that, terrorist tried to reside inside the Gurdwaras. As a result of that, probably the Government must have felt that they must take military action. And, therefore, there were firings. I would like to ask my Hindu friends that even if some culprits were to take shelter in one of the biggest Hindu temples of India and the Government at that time were to use the tanks and the machine guns to fire either at the Masjid or at the Mandir or at the Gurdwara, as far as innocent religious men are concerned, their response and reaction will be identical. And therefore, none of us were happy and I do not think even those took the guns and the machine guns were happy. Therefore, let us try to see that the disturbed psyche *per se* of friends, brothers and sisters is healed.

I am thankful to Shri Indrajit Gupta. While mentioning certain lapses in our policy, he also brought forth to the notice of the House the concrete things that have been done. 59th Amendment, which took from us, not the property but the right to life, itself has been repealed. We have seen to it that they deserve the service. We have seen to it that those people in Bombay, those people in Delhi and elsewhere felt hurt when during those riots, Sikhs were killed. I do not want to allege against anyone. If a particular community people is locked up in a taxi, locked up in the rooms, locked up in the hotels,

locked up in the residential places, if kerosene is to be poured and they are to be burnt alive, they are bound to feel very much aggrieved. Therefore, we were the first to come forward with the assurance of special courts by which we will look into this and whoever is found guilty, they will be punished. These are the steps we have taken. We are also taking a number of developmental steps.

While initiating the debate Mrs. Kaur pointed out that central assistance for execution of flood protection must be there. I can assure her that we will look into the matter. The Government of India has released an amount of Rs. 1.25 crores for flood protection works during 1990-91. The work will be taken up after the monsoon. Provision for these works exists in the State Plan also. I have taken note of the suggestion that she has made and she can be rest assured that we will try to expedite that work.

She also referred to the increase in the rates of octroi. Please take note of the fact that if de-centralised local institutions are to be built up, their complaint is that merely giving them power is not sufficient, along with power you must give financial resources also. Therefore, the rate of octroi duty has been increased. It is necessary to ensure the viability of the local bodies. I can assure her that the annual income from octroi is estimated to go up from Rs. 90 crores to Rs. 120 crores and that will help in the developmental activities of local organisations, and that will be of great help.

She has also talked about the loans to internal migrants in Pathankot Camp. Out of the total number of migrant families of 424, the number of families eligible for loan is 356. Loans have been sanctioned to 341 families. Seed money of Rs. 5000 has been given to 337 families. The full amount of Rs. 25,000 has been given to 14 families. Not that this is adequate, but we are moving in the right direction and we will be able to see that these problems are tackled effectively.

I was happy to find that a number of friends referred to certain developmental needs of Punjab. Mr. Kamal Chaudhary has pointed out that as far as Hoshiarpur is concerned, there are two canals which are under execution in Hoshiarpur District and that these should be completed immediately. I can assure him that in the current financial year allocations have been increased substantially to Rs. 12 crores against last year's allocation of Rs. 5.5 crores. We can assure him that substantial progress has been made in respect of both these schemes. The target of completion will be March, 1995. We will ensure that our target is kept up and the projects are completed in time.

There are other suggestions regarding the irrigation projects. Bhajan Lalji referred to the completion of SYL canal. Presently the work on the project is held up due to security reasons and because of law and order problem. But as the situation cases we will be able to tackle this problem effectively.

There are others who have referred to the problem of industries. Mrs. Kaur rightly said that the youth sometimes take up to certain course because their discontent is not removed. She also said that there are no adequate industries and no adequate avenues of employment. It was also pointed out that certain facilities are not available in the banks. In the disturbed atmosphere no doubt, certain difficulties are created. But we will try our best and see that Punjab is not to be treated only as a problem of one particular state. I fully agree with the hon. Members that we have to tackle this problem in a federal spirit.

Rightly Kirpal Singhji pointed to the role of freedom fighters. You go to Andaman & Nicobar Islands and you will find in the Cellular Jail a lore of honour that has been given. I do not divide the martyrs according to religious groups. But it is a matter of pride not only for the Sikh community but for the entire nation that in the roll of honour of those who were executed and hanged and those suffered

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

long term imprisonment, Sikh community topped the poll. For that not only the Sikh community but the entire Indian nation is proud and we shall carry this pride to the highest level of appreciation. We will try to see that the Sikh psyche that is disturbed is properly restored. We will undertake the developmental activities.

I can assure Prof. Ranga that there are certain pending problems. Every time I do not want to come before the House and blame only the previous Government for whatever inabilities are there, because for how long can we put the entire responsibility on the previous Government. We have been there for more than six months. I do not want to put the entire responsibility on the previous Government. No doubt, certain lacunae have been there. We were sitting on those benches. We pointed to certain policies. We made certain demands. Now on our side we cannot merely blame for the non-fulfilment of certain demands when we were on that side. Now, it is our responsibility and if we fail the failures will be ours and if we succeed the success will be ours. We can assure you that with the full cooperation of all sections in this House to see that everybody keep the Punjab problem as a national problem. You may ridicule what Mr. Indrajit Gupta has said. But, he has given the correct thrust and direction. If secularism is to be preserved in Punjab it cannot be done in an isolated sector in partisan manner. All will have to come together, sikh psyche which is disturbed is to be restored. That cannot be done by one party, the ruling party or the Opposition. All must give them the feeling that we are going to see the hurt that has been caused is going to be removed and an atmosphere can be created not merely by security forces. I do realise that the security forces are responsible. On the border we have to see the fencing is done properly. We have to see that we meet the terrorists menace properly. The terrorists whether they are in Assam, whether they are in Andhra or whether they are in Kashmir or whether they are in

Punjab, it has been clearly established that even across the borders, some of the terrorists in Kashmir and Punjab are getting the help. We have to deal with them and ours will be a firm policy. Flexibility as far as the legitimate demands of Punjab are concerned and a firmness as far as violence and terrorism is concerned. But, at the same time, when you say 'hear hear please hear,' one important aspect very clearly that terrorism is actually created by the environmental conditions also. If youth remain unemployed and they do not get opportunity, the terrorists utilise them. If there is corruption across the border, if there is smuggling across the border, I think those people are hired, young men are given that opportunity and if they do not get proper means of livelihood they play as stooges in the hands of the corrupts. They play in the hands of the Pakistanis and thereby more trouble is created and thereafter this aspect is to be taken care of to not only fight the terrorists with guns but try to fight them by removing the seeds of discontent and if that is done it will be cleared.

Lastly, I would like to make it clear that whoever tries to take arms against the people of this country, whether in Punjab or in Jammu and Kashmir, they must be told that the division of India in 1947 was the first and the last and that will never be repeated in this country and India will stand united and that we will achieve with the cooperation of all the friends.

Friends, I can assure you that with the cooperation of all sections of the House whether inside the Parliament or outside the Parliament, we will fully ensure and enlist your cooperation and try to implement the constructive suggestions and proposals that you have made. With these background I will appeal to the House to accept these budgetary proposals unanimously and pass the Bill...(*Interruptions*).

Now, the question of election comes in. You have rightly said before the next Session in November, the Presidential Rule in Punjab will be over.

Firstly, therefore, the alternative is revival of the Assembly if the Court permits it. Secondly, the President's Rule and Thirdly will be the elections. I fully agree with you that if elections are to be held, they are to be held in a free and fair atmosphere. We will be guided by the consensus in this House and we will also be guided by the political environment in Punjab. If we are convinced by the actions of the people in Punjab and outside that there is an atmosphere for a free and fair elections, if that atmosphere exists, we will not hesitate to hold the elections. But, if we are convinced by the experiences in Punjab that unless you are resorting to guns, there cannot be election. Bullets cannot be a substitute for the ballots and that will be the lesson we will have to bear in mind and whatever we do we will take the sense of the various political parties and on the basis of the consensus we will act, as far as elections are concerned. Thank you...*(Interruptions)*.

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur): Regarding elections you said it is not sometimes possible. But, there is a possibility of reviving the Assembly also...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: As far as the revival is concerned, it is in the hands of the Court. I say only theoretically that possibility is there. But, if you ask me my conjecture, I cannot anticipate what court will say. But as far as my study of the Parliamentary procedure and various judgements of the Courts is concerned, I do not think probably we are going to expect such a favourable judgement by which the dead Assembly will be revived again. Of course, for everyone who is revived, one is always happy. One does not want anybody to be eternally dead. But personally if you ask me my assessment, I do not very much expect, on the basis of the past precedents, that probably the Assembly might be revived. But if the court gives in directive that the Assembly has to be

revived, then I have no choice at all. In that case we have to respect the highest forum of the Judiciary. But that will depend upon what the judgement is.

DR. THAMBI DURAI: After revival of the dead person, don't kill him once again. Why I am saying this is because there is a technique in that. After reviving the Assembly, even after one month you can dissolve the Assembly and declare President's rule there, without getting the consent of the House.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We can assure you that if the dead body is revived, we will not kill it again.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall now put all the cut motions moved to the Demands for Grants (Punjab) for 1990-91 to vote together, unless any hon. Member desires that any of his cut motions may be put separately.

*All the cut motions were put and negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall now put the Demands for Grant (Punjab) for 1990-91 to vote. The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

## Demands for Grants—(Punjab) for 1990-91 Voted by Lok Sabha

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 20-3-1990		Amount of Demand for Grant Voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	Agriculture and Forests	47,00,74,000	19,07,27,000	47,00,73,000	19,07,28,000
2	Animal Husbandry and Fisheries	17,91,10,000	1,04,50,000	17,91,11,000	1,04,50,000
3	Co-operation	7,11,81,000	31,01,83,000	7,11,80,000	31,01,82,000
4	Defence Services Welfare	1,50,87,000	12,00,000	1,50,88,000	12,00,000
5	Education	2,51,27,48,000	60,20,000	2,51,27,47,000	60,20,000
6	Elections	3,03,40,000	..	3,03,41,000	..
7	Excise and Taxation	6,98,18,000	..	6,98,17,000	..
8	Finance	1,18,74,87,000	4,96,50,000	1,18,74,86,000	4,96,50,000
9	Food and Supplies	1,95,53,000	4,96,70,80,000	1,95,54,000	..
10	General Administration	9,29,54,000	..	9,29,74,000	..
11	Health and Family Welfare	98,39,74,000	..	98,39,74,000	..
12	Home Affairs and Justice	1,18,10,02,000	5,00,00,000	1,18,10,03,000	5,00,00,000
13	Industries	8,53,94,000	11,45,50,000	8,53,93,000	11,45,50,000
14	Information and Public Relations	2,86,48,000	..	2,86,48,000	..
15	Irrigation and Power	66,59,00,000	3,05,00,36,000	66,59,01,000	3,05,00,35,000
16	Labour and Employment	2,76,86,000	..	2,76,86,000	..

1 No. of Demand	2 Name of Demand	3 Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 20-3-1990		4 Amount of Demand for Grant Voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
17	Local Government, Housing and Urban Development	12,21,72,030	9,62,78,000	12,21,72,000	9,62,78,000
18	Personnel and Administrative Reforms	1,09,00,000	..	1,09,01,000	..
19	Planning	1,30,68,21,000	..	1,30,68,22,000	..
20	Programme Implementation	2,00,000	..	2,00,000	..
21	Public Works	79,15,86,000	35,06,15,000	79,15,86,000	35,06,15,000
22	Revenue and Rehabilitation	24,03,09,000	..	24,03,09,000	..
23	Rural Development and Panchayats	11,37,58,000	..	11,37,57,000	..
24	Science, Technology and Environment	65,43,000	1,39,62,000	65,43,000	1,39,63,000
25	Social and Women's Welfare and Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes	24,58,10,000	2,29,60,000	24,58,11,000	2,29,60,000
26	State Legislature	1,21,82,000	..	1,21,83,000	..
27	Technical Education and Industrial Training	14,54,35,000	16,88,000	14,54,34,000	16,87,000
28	Tourism and Cultural Affairs	1,40,48,000	1,31,46,000	1,40,47,000	1,31,46,000
29	Transport	53,80,60,000	16,53,50,000	53,80,61,000	16,53,50,000
30	Vigilance	1,06,80,000	..	1,06,79,000	..

**SHRIMATI SUKHBANS KAUR:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Prime Minister has come now. He can tell us.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** He stands by everything that I have said.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The Minister may now move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Sir, I beg to move:\*\*

“That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of the financial year 1990-91, be taken into consideration.”

15.58 hrs.

**PUNJAB APPROPRIATION  
(NO. 2) BILL\***

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We shall now take up the Punjab Appropriation (No. 2) Bill. The Minister may seek leave of the House to introduce the Bill.

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):** Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of the financial year 1990-91.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of the financial year 1990-91.”

*The motion was adopted.*

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The Minister may now introduce the Bill.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Sir, I introduce\*\* the Bill.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The question is:

“That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of the financial year 1990-91, be taken into consideration.”

*The motion was adopted.*

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The House will now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. The question is:

“That Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.*

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The question is:

“That Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the long Title stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

\*Published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Section 2, dated 5-9-90.

\*\*Introduced/moved with the recommendation of the President.