

12.55 hrs.

**DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (PUNJAB),
1991-92-CONTD.**

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House shall now take up further discussion and voting on Demands for Grants for 1991-92 in respect of Punjab. Shri Mukul Balkrishna Wasnik to continue his speak; but he does not seem to be present.

Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal to speak.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Chandigarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the dimensions, the proportions that the Punjab problem has acquired over the years, with Pakistan aiding and abetting terrorism in the State leaves no scope for doubt that it is a vital, a critical national problem. Over the years we have all said so - we have all said that as a national challenge it calls for a national endeavour. It brooks no partisan attitude. It cannot be solved by apportioning blame. Yet all that we have done is to revel in scoring debating points without pausing for a moment to reflect over the disastrous consequences that one reckless statement can have over the future course of events.

Refer to any debate on Punjab in Parliament during the last eight years, you will find it replete with accusations and counter-accusations, replete with provocative statement rather than suggestions to meet the situation.

Today the gravity of the situation is crystal clear but narrow political considerations continue to distort the vision and control the actions of some of us. The whole country acknowledges the consensual approach of the Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao to the various issues confronting the nation; yet our hon. friend Shri Hari Kishore Singhji who is not present in the House at the moment, had the audacity to level indiscreet allegations against him in an endeavour which is dangerous though futile

to rob him of his credibility. Indiscretion also, I thought, had frontiers. But Shri Hari Kishore Singhji was perhaps unmindful of this when he levelled scurrilous allegations against the Prime Minister for some observation attributed to him during the 1984 riots. To suggest even remotely that an uncompromising nationalist like the Prime Minister would have encouraged communal riots is nothing but blasphemy. It is chicanery and deceit to mislead the people, so that a problem like that of Punjab lingers on.

Sir, I wanted to avoid this. I began by saying that Punjab deserves a better treatment than blame-apportioning harangues. But I was shocked to hear Shri Hari Kishore Singhji delivering an infectious speech with perfect natural ease. I will not say how his mentor Shri V.P. Singh pushed Punjab further into the morass and quagmire of violence. But I would only appeal to him to be considerate to Punjab. Sir, the need today is to desist from making such reckless allegations or assertions which may contain portents of aggravating the situation.

Shri Madam Lai Khurana, a seasoned and senior Leader, referred to the Pakistan factor and alleged that the statements of Prime Minister and the Defence Minister were contradictory and were intended to confuse the people. I would not like to question his sense of judgement, but cannot agree with him.

13.00 hrs.

But I would only say that Shri Khurana's suggestion that the country should take some direct action against Pakistan may not be in the national interest, at the given point of time. This has to be left to the best judgment of the Government of the day. I would also like to take this opportunity to say that maximum diplomatic pressure has to be exerted to see that Pakistan closes down the various training camps functioning in its territory there.

The government stands committed to hold elections to the Punjab Legislative

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Assembly by 15th February. Yet some of our friends on the other side have kept up their diatribe against the cancellation of a veritably still-born election process which had been announced, I would say, in undue haste and had been forcibly converted into a referendum for breaking up of the country. The observations on this score are self-contradictory and confusing. On the one hand, they expect the government and rightly so, to control violence in the State; and on the other hand, knowing fully well the enormity of the problem and the enormity of the task involved, they find fault with the deployment of Army and the involved, they find fault with the deployment of Army and the posting of the Director-General of Police, there.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRIPAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Kindly give me some more time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are so many people to participate in the discussion.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, I am coming from Chandigarh. So, I may be given some more time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Okay, You finish it in two minutes.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: By doing so, they unwittingly serve the cause of those forces which wish chaos to prevail and mindless violence to stalk the state of Punjab.

Sir, the Indian Army is a symbol of duty and compassion. It is unfair to associate it with any form of repression against our own people. A large quantity of sophisticated weaponry has been pumped into the country and it is at present in the hands of the terrorists, who are trained by experts from across the border. This has rendered the State police ineffective and the scenario is that it is imperative to deploy Army in the State; and if we raise our finger against that

action, I would say with all humility, that we are not serving the cause which we are expected to do sitting here and speaking Punjab.

Similarly Shri K P S Gill has again taken over as the Director-General of Police. He has been a victim of unfounded criticism. During his earlier stint in the State, he led his force with determination and courage; and he provided the necessary motivation to the people there. That kept up their morale. so, to accuse him of excesses and repression is, again I would say with all respect, to speak the language of those, the checking of whose unlawful activities is a mission for him. How incredible it is to accuse him of being anti-Sikh? Shri K P S Gill himself is a Sikh. He cannot be accused of perpetrating violence. It was unfortunate to go to the extent of saying that he makes no distinction between a dead person killed and a person who is alive. This does not help in creating a congenial atmosphere. I would say that the need of the hour is to see that we rise above petty considerations and stop finding fault with others. I would like to say that after Shri Gill was withdrawn from Punjab earlier, the situation had worsened there and his return again raises a feeling of optimism in the minds of the people and restores a confidence which had been shaken three months back.

However, I would like to add that for achieving even a modicum of success in Punjab, we need the restoration of political process alone, which will help. During the last eight years, we had the legislative assembly only for 18 months. First, elections were held and thereafter, we had the long spell of President's Rule the result that the administration has lost its vital rapport with the people. It is insensitive towards the grievances of the people. Cases of police excesses are also there. I do not deny that. There are cases where innocent people are hauled up on mere suspicion. That leads to further alienation of the people. the *Khula durbars* of the Governor, which are administration-sponsored, have not been able to make any difference in the environment that prevails in the state today. Who is accessible

to the ordinary people? That is the big question before us. It can be only an elected government that could fulfil that responsibility. The result is that people have come to have a sort of feeling of dislike for the administration, for the very system and this can have disastrous consequences. It has to be checked.

Hopefully, an elected Government will help improve the situation. The decision to hold the elections by 15th February is a very positive development. But unfortunately we hear some Akalis talking of wanting to boycott the elections. I think, we need not condemn them for this. We have got to understand the predicament in which they find themselves today. A long spell of violence has rendered them also irrelevant and powerless. It is the need of the hour today that all the democratic forces get together. I said that last time also. It is the absolute necessity of the hour that we form ourselves into a united front to meet the challenges that face the country in Punjab. In that endeavour, we have got to include the Akalis also. When I say so, I am also conscious of the fact that sometime back the Congress Government had initiated a series of debates, a series of public meetings in Punjab. Unfortunately, that platform was again converted into one of mudslinging. Leaders from different political parties, who were stationed in Delhi, who did not know about the ground realities in Punjab, went from here, spoke against the government in Punjab and returned. So, the result was that there was again alienation. There was again a doubt created in the minds of people about the *bona fides* of the Government. That has to be avoided today. If need be, the meetings may be held informally. Meetings, if the various leaders feel, may be held formally also. But before the elections, I feel, this exercise must start. Only then, we can persuade the Akalis also to play an active role in the cause of nation-building.

Fortunately, the people in Punjab are not with the secessionists and they have to be encouraged. Confidence has to be enthused in them. They have to fight the terrorists. There have been cases where the ordi-

nary people—unarmed—have chased the terrorists and got some amount of success in fighting them out. If we do not do this, if we all do not get together, I feel like many others that restoration of normalcy in the state of Punjab would remain a mere mirage.

It is imperative today that we shed all our inhibitions, all our biases and prejudices and persuade Akalis also not to abdicate their responsibility.

I also feel that the present stance of the Akalis about their decision to boycott the elections would not deter the Government from going ahead with its resolve to hold the elections because often we see that whenever elections have been declared, certain people say that it will be a futile exercise. I suppose nothing will cow down the government and Government would stick to its stand to hold the elections. Here I would like to add that when we talk of a political process - I may not sound chauvinistic on this since I come from Chandigarh, but I want to sound a word of caution - till the elections, any unilateral decision about Chandigarh will not prove to be of any benefit whatsoever. You have seen in the past that unilateral decisions have been made and concessions announced. That did not help in creating any congenial atmosphere. In this respect, I would say that Chandigarh has been rendered as a non-issue today. The issues that are raised today, Sir, have to be tackled earnestly. It is the question of Centre-State relationship. After the elections or even right now, we have to begin with the exercise to see as to what changes can be incorporated to make the states vibrant units of the Union of India. Sir, it is necessary today to create an atmosphere of good will and amity amongst the people and I am sure, if we join in that endeavour, it will not be difficult to do.

Coming to the elections, I would only like to make two small suggestions. There was a word from the other side that we should not tamper with the election law as such. I would also subscribe to the view that anybody who wishes to contest elections in Punjab at this juncture should be permitted

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today. We should not make any amendment in this regard. And the government, in fact, has nothing of that sort in mind. But I would suggest two amendments which must be incorporated in the Representation of Peoples Act at the earliest and that process of electoral reforms could be begun with Punjab. Firstly, I feel that the campaigning period should be reduced to ten days. It would drastically cut the election expenses and would expose the candidates to security risks for a shorter period. Secondly, as an endeavour is at times made to stall the electoral process, we brought about a similar amendment earlier and that should be brought in again, that is, death of an independent candidate should not lead to the counter-manding of elections.

I understand your anxiety about the time limit, Sir. I would not like to take more time. Very briefly, I would refer to one or two points only.

One important thing which the government can unilaterally do is to take steps to firstly see that the grievances of the people of Punjab are met regarding recruitment in the army. They should be given greater opportunity to join the army as they had been doing earlier. Secondly, whosoever is found guilty of any atrocity anywhere should be punished. Thirdly, steps must be taken for the promotion and development of Punjabi. Today, I find many important offices as that of director, Languages Department, Punjab, Director, Text Book Board, Secretary, Punjabi Sahitya Akademy and that of North Zone Cultural Centre at Patiala without regular incumbents. Steps must be taken so that these posts are filled.

On the economic front, I must say something before I take my seat. We have repeated it a number of times that lot of money is spent on the paramilitary forces. It is not the question of Punjab alone. If a great amount of expenditure is incurred on the maintenance of the paramilitary forces, then that should be the primary concern of the

centre only. The total cost incurred on them should be born by the centre. You have got to increase the personnel in Punjab Police. You got to buy better equipments. All those costs should be incurred by the Centre.

Regarding industry, but I find that even the paper mill for which the foundation stone was laid by Shri. Rajiv Gandhi himself has not been started by the Government. What else shall we call it if we do not call it flight of industry from the State? Sir, industry has to be encouraged.

One important point that rises from the present situation in Punjab is about the welfare of the migrants. It is not out of their free will that the people move out of their home leaving everything and take retage elsewhere. Sir, I find that, despite the decision take the help is not produced, in the India Gate lawns there are a lot of people. Something has to be done for them. They have to be treated at par with other people. Some monetary help has to be provided to them. Assurance has to be given to them so that they can return back to Punjab.

Finally, I would like to say about the Class IV employees of the Food Corporation of India. They have been agitating for a long period that they should be freed from the clutches of the contractors and that they should be treated as direct employees of the Department. When this was done in various other States, why not in Punjab? People from other cadres such as the clerical and other different cadres have been given benefits. But these people, the lowliest of the low, have not been able to make their voice heard. As it was pointed out yesterday, there was some unrest in Sangrur leading to the injury to many people there. I am confident that the hon. Minister for Food would look into it. But since this is a problem relating to the State of Punjab and since the Punjab problems have to be viewed in a different perspective and in a different light, I would urge even the Minister of Finance who is now present in the House to take initiative in the matter and ensure that the genuine grievances of the people of Punjab are removed.

With these words, I support the Punjab Budget Proposals.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We shall now break for Lunch and meet once again at 2.15 p.m.

13.16 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fifteen minutes past Fourteen of the clock

14.20 hrs.

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

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MEMBER SWORN

SHRI RAJESH KUMAR (Gaya)

14.21 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (PUNJAB)
1991-92 *CONTD.*

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi): Sir, for a long time Punjab did not have a democratically elected Government and due to this reason the Central Government had to pass the Punjab Budget on the last five occasions. The House passes the Budget with the hope that peace and prosperity will return to Punjab. The Punjab Budget is being passed unanimously but peace in Punjab is nowhere in sight. This has put a question mark over the survival of democracy in the country. Is the situation in Punjab careful enough for its citizens?

Sir, everyone must keep in mind that our country has a Constitution which lays down certain norms. Everyone should understand

the true meaning of Independence. Nobody should think that it is an assault on his self-respect. The need of the hour is to establish a democratically elected Government in Punjab. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether it is feasible to hold elections in Punjab on 15th February in view of the situation prevailing there. I and my party and for that matter even the masses are in favour of elections in Punjab so that the future of Punjab is in hands of its citizens. Considering the disturbed atmosphere in Punjab, are elections going to be held at the point of a gun? This point must be considered very seriously as it is a matter of concern for everyone. At the same time, to restore normalcy in Punjab we must not make any compromise with the unity and integrity of the country.

Sir, I am sure the Government will make efforts to restore the confidence among the people. I want to draw attention towards the fact that the people of Punjab have lost their faith. Their faith has been shattered to a great extent. There are examples before us which show that in Punjab whole administration has come in to the hands of extremists. There, the industrialists are so much frightened that for the sake of their lives, they set apart a portion of their income for the extremists. Extremists are running a parallel Government there these days. Cases concerning properties are settled by the extremists. The judiciary has been paralysed, the judges are frightened because there are no security arrangements for them. The judgements are not dispensing justice to the people. In Punjab, the district administration is non-existent and the word of extremists region supreme there. Their writ runs in every sphere. In newspapers we come across several such newsitems daily in which the senior administrative officers beg pardon of the extremists through advertisements and surrender to them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention of both, you and the House, towards the fact that today Punjab problem is a big challenge for India. This problem is a challenge to the unity integrity of the country

[Sh. Rajendra Agnihotri]

and the central authority. Separatists and terrorists forces are creating this problem. From where these forces of separatism and terrorism have come to Punjab? Who is encouraging them and why? These questions have been raised here so many times. Today, Pakistan is openly providing every kind of assistance to these extremists and separatists forces. It is not only providing them most sophisticated weapons but also money and training by *Gurilla War*.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, why did not the Government seal the borders? In this House, the Home Minister of the present Government and the previous Governments have stated so many times that for restoring peace in Punjab, it is essential to stop the assistance being received by and there is the only one solution to it that the borders of Punjab must be sealed. If need be, the wall should be constructed and borders should be fixed. Military forces should be posted along the border. This Government so many things and assures the people but I understand that it misguide the House. Today, Pakistan is openly providing full assistance to the terrorists in Punjab and of course, the rule of Indian Government is there but in practice its administration or authority no more holds good there. In Punjab, terrorists and the separatists are running parallel Government with the support of Pakistan and your administration is losing its help. The authority of centre in Punjab has lost its hold and this is the great challenge to India. Honourable Minister is present in the House and I think that he will answer all these questions.

Sir, the economic condition of Punjab has deteriorated. The 40-45 years of democratic history of this country is a witness to the fact that the economic condition of Punjab as compared to other States of India has worsened. What is the condition of Punjab today which used to contribute a lot in the prosperity of the country. Punjab used to feed whole country. Not only that, there were so many industries in Punjab which used to feed the small scale industries of India. But,

Honourable Minister, Sir, the economic condition of Punjab has deteriorated very much. The budget of Punjab will be passed by the House but will the honourable Minister assure the House that the industries, which are lying closed in Punjab, which has large Government investment and in which thousands of workers used to work and closure of which has rendered thousands of youth of Punjab jobless, will be re-opened. The youth are unemployed so the demand of your does not rise there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to have three minutes more. Today, the House should be assured that the industries and the units which are lying closed in Punjab, will start functioning again within a certain fixed time and for restarting these industries every financial assistance will be given by the Government. Because today due to the inaction on the part Government, the industries are lying sick.

Honourable Minister, the farmer of Punjab is very sad. I would like to draw your attention towards the administration of Punjab. You ask the administration the reasons for not providing seeds and fertilisers to the farmers before the onset of KHARIF season? How has this mistake been committed? Were they lacking funds? Why did not Punjab administration purchased the bags of fertilisers before the sowing season? Why are farmers in Punjab not being supplied electricity for irrigation? If the electricity is not supplied to the farmers, the tubewells won't work. The means of irrigation provided by the Government to the farmers are in bad or dilapidated condition today. Today, the farmer is not getting water for irrigation due to the non-existence of administration under the pressure of terrorists. Honourable Minister, if the farmer does not get water for irrigation, fertilizers and seed, you know he will become economically weak. When the farmer is poor there will be famine in the village. When there is the situation of starvation among the farmers, there will be starvation in the village. Today, the whole of the State is suffering from poverty and starvation. I would like to say to the Honourable

Minister that the fate of Punjab will be decided by the elected Government of the State. I doubt that the promise of holding elections in Punjab made by your as well as previous Governments will be fulfilled. I remember the speech of the former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh. I understand that the speech has not proved of any use. I understand that announcement made by the Prime Minister as well as by the Home Minister that the elections in Punjab will take place on 15th of February, will be implemented. With these words, I conclude. Today it is the duty of the house, it is the demand of the people of India, that there should be an elected Government in Punjab. An atmosphere conducive for holding elections should be created, and the elections should not be held at the gun point. Elections should be fair and should be held peacefully. Therefore, the Honourable Minister should prepare a plan to create an atmosphere conducive to holding of elections. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you that you have given me time to express my views on the budget of Punjab.

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jehanabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have got the opportunity to speak on the Demands for Grants of Punjab. At present, there is no Government or State Assembly in Punjab. This has not happened today. When I was elected to this House, the Barua Government was there. It was dismissed later on and since then there is no Government in Punjab, and we have been passing the State Budget in Lok Sabha. It is regretful that there is no Member who can represent the State and can tell about the situation there. According to the details of the Budget, only the demand has been shown while it should contain the entire details. It appears that we are passing the Budget just for the sake of formality. There is constant increase in the incidents taking place in Punjab and on the very basis of such incidents the elected Government was dismissed on the plea that it was unable to stop the killings and its Ministers were giving shelter to the culprits. I had said it during the Eighth Lok Sabha also that imposing the President Rule by dismiss-

ing the elected Government in Punjab would be very harmful to the state. It is in the record. The incidents are still on increase there. When they were ruling the State, why the situation of Punjab has worsened? We have unanimously decided in this House that while taking all the risk, we will conduct elections in Punjab. February has been fixed for elections. Everyone is saying that elections should be held there. An atmosphere of peace and politics will have to be created there. Only then elections can be held there. When people do not go for voting due to fear, it is said that they should vote without fear. You must be aware of the condition of the police administration there. The terrorists had launched a movement to kill families there. It is a time for all the political parties to consider the matter seriously, whether they are from the ruling party or from the opposition. All are indulged in casting aspersions on one another. This sort of practice will not solve any problem. Everyone had to think honestly. We should jointly decide the election programme. The ruling party wanted to do it alone but they could not be able to manage Punjab and Kashmir. A decision should be taken after considering the issue with all the parties. Only then, the normal situation can be brought there. Unless we consult with and take Co-operation of all the political parties, the elections cannot be held, there. So it is necessary to invite suggestions from all the Members.

While giving his speech on Punjab yesterday the hon. Member Shri Malik, who belongs to Congress (I) said that the number of killings in Bihar was more than those in Punjab. It is a fact that killings are taking place in Bihar also. But in Punjab, the terrorists are behind these killings. It is not so in Bihar. Agitations are taking place there against exploitation, crime and atrocities, due to which these killings are taking place. You have to differentiate between these two. I think that the agitation in Bihar is no less than that of Punjab. In my constituency Jehanabad, killings had taken place for the last two days and this process is continuing. But the situation like Punjab should not arise in other parts of the country. You are not able

[Sh. Ramashray Prasad Singh]

to control Punjab, how will you be able to control Bihar and Assam. The reason of agitation in Punjab is not unemployment and starvation. It was a prosperous state of the country, which used to feed the country. It used to provide maximum foodgrains. Thousands of people used to migrate there for work. Even in the present situation people go there in search of work. Similarly, a religious mania is being created in other parts of the country. Is not another Punjab going to be created there? Where this religious mania is leading this country to? If this country has to be built on the lines of religion, this Government should also follow the other countries where the administration is based on religion. Then why do you appeal in the name of democracy. Everyday there are killings and communal riots. What happened in Banaras. The residents are of the opinion that so much destruction has taken place on the 13th last, that the Banaras will not be able to regain its old situation in even 10 to 12 years. Is it anything less than Punjab? I would request those persons who are instrumental in creating this religious mania as to why they are creating such situation in other parts of the country as is prevailing in Punjab.

During the Eighth Lok Sabha also, I had once said that the Supreme Court's decision regarding Shahbano case should not be set aside. But you have set aside that decision. When the decision is given by the Supreme Court, why it has been set aside. Shri Kalyan Singh said that we will abide by the decision of the Supreme Court, but will enact a separate law. Who showed him this way? You have shown this path to him. Whatever takes place in the House should be kept in mind and its effects should also be considered.

Through you, I would like to tell the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that he should follow the policy of 'let be gone be by gone'. But from now onwards, if you want to run the country, you must have the opposition parties also with you. As this is a minority Government, it should take the help of all other parties. Only then the present situation

in the country can be tackled. Elections had to be held as there is no other option, but it should be held after maintaining a peaceful atmosphere.

The elections were held in Assam and the C.P.I. was with you, but what was the result. A lot of people were killed. If anyone thinks that there are lot of votes and one will get the majority with these votes. It will not do any good for the country, What happened in Assam? You made efforts to change the mood of the people but in vain. Secondly, there should not be any slackness in the security measures. Besides that, development work should also go on. If there is no development, nothing can be achieved only through arm. People will leave that place. But if there will be some development work, people will have some attachment with the place. The Government is now trying to create a situation, which will give a new life to the people. The political parties should jointly and honestly work in this regard. But it has been a Himalayan blunder that for their own vested interests, the country has been pushed back. Therefore, we all should work honestly to save the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, why the Rajiv-Longowal Accord was not implemented? It should have been implemented strictly. Why the Congress Government did not implement it, while it had absolute majority of more than 400 members in Lok Sabha? Several Commissions were constituted in this regard, but why their recommendations were not implemented? Besides this, I would like to ask about Bihar also, Bihar is burning today. Why it is so? I have mentioned this to all the Prime Ministers. My Constituency Jehanabad had a population of 11 lakhs, out of which 7 lakh people are illiterate. There is no arrangement for their education. Even in those villages, where there is more than one thousand population of harijans and backward castes, there is no arrangement for education. This is a discriminatory attitude. Schools were opened in those villages, where people of upper castes live, but no school was opened in the villages, where backward castes live. I wrote to late Rajiv Gandhi, Shri

V.P. Singh and Shri Chandrashekhar had presently written to Shri Narasimha Rao in this regard. I had written to all the Chief Ministers of Bihar also, but in vain. Terrorism can end, if arrangements are made for providing education there. The poor students, who will become literate will shun this path. The poor classes are working there in camps etc. The rich and powerful people in Bihar are organising their own forces and similarly the poor class is also organising their own forces. This leads to the killings of the poor. Therefore I would like to submit that development work in Punjab should be expedited so that it can follow a proper way.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT (Rajapur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when we talk of Punjab, heretofore there are debates in the Parliament. Much has been said in the Press for a complete decade and most of the time these discussions are indulged merely as rhetoric or in trading charges. We have not been able to come to any fundamental course of action which we can adopt to bring Punjab back to normalcy. Lot of blood has flown in the Sutlej in the past. A time has now come when we should do something to stop this blood-shed once and for ever.

In all these discussions, there has been a characteristic lack of realisation of the ground reality. Hence the demand for election. Well, we all want elections. Who does not want election in Punjab? But we have to address ourselves to the situation in Punjab, and know whether the situation is conducive to holding the election. Or for holding the election, are we, going to sacrifice another hundred candidates to the militants' bullets? This is what we have take into consideration.

The second factor is the ignorance; displayed. The disparity or deprivation has been the reason for the situation in Punjab today. Nothing is far from truth. Can this problem be solved by giving additional water to Punjab or by giving Chandigarh to Punjab

or by taking actions to have full autonomy in Punjab? I do not think so, because the realities are different. The first thing to be done is a diagnosis of the problem. Unless you do accurate diagnosis, you cannot come to a correct course of action that can be adopted. We cannot frame a strategy or a policy which will ultimately resolve the problem. While doing the diagnosis we have to deliberate on two factors. The first factor is the external factor which is responsible for the situation as on today. In this task, talking on general terms, the difficulty is the universally known factor of the attempt to destabilise India from imperialistic forces. This factor is known. Punjab forms a part of this larger attempt to destabilise India, for whatever motives, which are fully aware to all of us.

But, more specifically, when we talk of the extremist factor, we have to come to Pakistan. Since the advent of Gen. Zia, the principal foreign policy objective of Pakistan has been to destabilise Punjab, based on two motives. The first motive is economic and the drug-related problem and the second motive is a strategy to evolve a low-cost option to contain India. I am talking of the economic problem: We are all aware of the fragility of Pakistan's economy. And then Pakistan had an ambitious plan of militarisation, of developing into a nuclear power, of building up industries, all these and many more.

The 1980 invasion of Soviet Union of Afghanistan proved a boon to Pakistan. But there were problems of trade deficit and others. The problem of foreign exchange was there. Gen. Zia consciously adopted a policy of encouraging drug trade and thereby getting the required foreign exchange. It is reported that between 1980 and 1985, three billion dollars were earned unofficially by Pakistan through the drug trade. The result was forming of a nexus in Pakistan of the military, bureaucracy and the drug peddlars. We are all aware of the international drug. We are all aware of the Golden Triangle having been shifted to South East Asia and Afghanistan. The normal routing of drugs in this area is Afghanistan, Pakistan and India

[Sh. Sudhir Sawant]

- particularly the western coast of India, in particular Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sind portion of Pakistan. This is responsible for export of major drugs to the middle East, to the ultimate destination of United States and other European Economic community.

I have here the figures which I will give. In 1989, out of the drug trade, the total seizure of heroin in India was 2714 kgs out of which, 1,635 Kgs was originated from Pakistan, i.e., 60.2 per cent. Hashish of 8179 Kgs. was seized out of which 3892 Kgs had its origin in Pakistan, i.e., 17.6 per cent. In 1990, again the seizure of heroin was 2150 Kgs in India, out of which 1655 Kgs. Was from Pakistan, i.e., 76.9 per cent. So, this drug related problem is the fundamental problem which is fomenting terrorism. Many terrorist organisations in Punjab are mere frontal organisations in Punjab backed by drug barons in Pakistan. And that is why, if you want to do something about this problem, then the answer lies in cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad and the Western coast. If you want to do something to curb this drug trade, to destroy this drug trade, then the answer lies there. I want to ask: What has the Narcotics control Bureau or the Director of Intelligence Bureau done to resolve the Punjab problem? What is the role of this organisation of Finance Ministry in the Punjab Problem, what is the integration with the Home Ministry? That is not evident. And unless we control this, we cannot find an answer to this problem of terrorism.

Along with it is the problem of gun-running. There are many terrorists organisations who undertook this trade merely to obtain this. These organisations are also there So, fundamentally, Pakistan's objective was economic through which the drug trade has given them foreign exchange and today also the nexus of the military, bureaucratic and drug barons have a stranglehold on Pakistan's politics. We have to address ourselves to this problem.

The second is the softer option, the low-

cost option to contain India. It is very evident that this is being done and if India wants to do anything, we have not to talk, but to evolve an effective counterweight to this particular operation of Pakistan.

Coming to the internal side, I have already said, the sense of deprivation or unemployment is not the cause of the Punjab problem. What we had then? Let us take our minds back to 1980. We had a caucus of fundamentalist leaders who wants to seize the leadership of the Sikhs and eliminate others. So are the unemployed youth who are ready to do anything. These youth are like people have said, they are everywhere in the country. In Bombay people are ready to do anything for money or for materials, it is immaterial. So, we have this leadership, we have this unemployed youth, then we have the mirage of Khalistan, the ideological base. Then we have the requisite foreign support for them, and here we have a fundamental receipt for secessionism and insurgency. And hence now, when we talk of Punjab problem, there is another attempt to treat it as a law and order problem. I want to insist that the Punjab problem is not a law and order problem, but the problem of insurgency, and we have to recognise it as such and unless we recognise that the Punjab problem is insurgency, our action will be directed or misdirected because insurgency is dealt with in a different manner, law and order problem is dealt with in a different manner. So we have to address ourselves to this. In the past few weeks, Sir, it is a matter of serious concern. Now we see a different course of action adopted by the terrorists. One course of action is expansion, to expand beyond the limits of Punjab. We have seen kidnapping of the Romanian Ambassador. Then we have seen the carnage of Rudrapur in U.P., we have seen Sirsa, there are reports that the terrorists have now hired criminal gangs in Uttar Pradesh.

15.00 hrs.

The object is very clear; it is to destabilise the Hindi belt, to create a division between the Sikhs and the Hindus and invite a

backlash. Fortunately, the people of this country have realised and seen through the game of terrorism and we are proceeding with caution. The second course of action which the terrorists have adopted is the merciless killing of families of law enforcing agencies. The motive is again very clear and that is to demoralise the police force, terrorise the people and to bring the administration to a standstill. So, having seen this, it is a matter of very serious concern and we have to react immediately for this. Today, the situation in Punjab is that the common man has lost hopes that no administration will come and protect the life, limb and the properties of the people. For the last two years, passivity has been the hallmark of Punjab politics and that is why we have drifted indefinitely. Fortunately, having the Congress Government installed at the Centre in last June, there is a ray of hope that something can be done.

Sir, I must congratulate the Congress Government for having deployed the Army in Punjab and I must also congratulate the Government for having declared the major districts of Punjab as 'disturbed areas', because this is the way to proceed further. Now having said all this, we must come to a clearcut course of action. What is the solution to the problem? The first thing that has to be done is to evolve a clearcut policy on Punjab. We should not only evolve a clearcut strategy on Punjab, but we should implement it also. How long should we implement it? It is not for one or two years, but for 5, 10 or even 15 years. There is no short term solution to Punjab. We have to deal with the insurgency problem in a long term course. We have seen the insurgency problem in Mizoram and we have solved the Mizoram problem. But we had to administer for two decades the problem of insurgency and finally we could solve the problem. So, it has to be a long term policy; ways and means have to be evolved and adopted. The precondition for this is the political consensus. We have to develop a political consensus that anything done including the deployment of the Army is right as far as striking at the root of the evil is concerned to solve the

problem. We have to evolve a political consensus that all means are justified to root out the evil.

Here, I come to human rights. There is a lot of talk about human rights. There are two ways for the common man. He has to either submit to the coercive force of the terrorists or to submit to the force of the State. What are we going to choose? It is very easy to talk in a club about human rights, but we, as a nation, cannot sacrifice the common man of Punjab on the altar of human rights and hence this House in particular has to give the full legislative backing to the security forces to operate in the way they want, when they want and where they want in Punjab. Then only we can resolve this problem.

The next sector is to evolve an international organisation because this problem is permeating through national boundaries. The EEC and other major countries of the world are concerned. So, India must evolve an organisation to interact so as to root out the drug menace. You have to strike at the big people; catching the small fries is no answer. Hence, a coordinated international endeavour is essential at this stage. The next step would be to have a national set of organisations to look into this problem, a coordinated body of intelligence agencies, security forces and the rest.

I will talk something about the intelligence agencies. One of the reasons for failure of the State attempt to resolve the problem is intelligence agency. I do not blame individual intelligence agency. They are capable of functioning and producing result. But there is such a proliferation of intelligence agencies in this country that any attempt to evolve intelligence is rooted out. There is intense rivalry to the extent of even sacrificing national interest among the many intelligence agencies. The moment anybody gets information he rushes to Delhi. He does not disclose it to the security force commander in the neighbourhood. He will try to give it to Delhi. Then, it will come back from Delhi and by the time, the intelligence has

[Sh. Sudhir Sawant]

lost its value. They are under the Finance Ministry; they are under the Home Ministry; they are under the Defence Ministry; they are under the Cabinet Secretariat. We have to strike at it at some point of time. For this, a parliamentary committee is required to oversee the intelligence functioning. This is there in every country in the world but not in India. We have to address this problem so that intelligence functions are brought within the purview of this House. The intelligence agencies have to be integrated down from the tehsil level, district level, State level to the national level so that intelligence is available to the security forces to the strike forces which can coordinate with the particular intelligence agency.

Talking about the security forces, there is much confusion in operation. That is why, we are not successful. Let us talk of the Army. When we deploy Army in aid to civil authority, its function is in a different sense. When we deploy Army to curb insurgency, it will function in a different manner. That is why, I said initially that we should treat this matter as an insurgency problem and not a law and order problem. The local police are totally ineffective and cannot at all tackle the problem of insurgency because they have relationship with the locals, their relationship of the family and their own self will be made target by the terrorists with their bullets. Therefore, some outside agency is required in the form of the Army, B.S.F., C.R.P.F. or other Central agency which can tackle the problem, backed with credible intelligence machinery. Then only, we can do something.

Talking of the Army, you place them under the District Commissioner of a district and tell them to operate. They can never operate. It is an insult to the commander to be at the beck and call of the superintendent of police or the deputy commissioner and being told to operate in a particular manner. That is why, there is much confusion.

Secondly when various forces are oper-

ating, they have got overlapping areas of functions creating further confusion. When we deploy the security force, the B.S.F., the C.R.P.F., or the Army, we must give them clear cut demarcated boundaries of responsibilities. Then only, they function in a proper manner.

The N.S.G. was initially developed into an elite force, a strike force which can strike at any point. It is now burgeoning in strength. It is no longer an elite force. You are adding many more people. You are giving them additional task of security of VIPs and host of other duties. You cannot do this, if you want it to be an elite force. A small force can tackle the problem of terrorism. We do not require a large army to tackle the problem of terrorism.

We have evolved one organisation called Rashtriya Rifles consisting of retired Army soldiers to tackle this problem. I am surprised what this particular organisation can do additionally. Instead of that, why do you not raise an Army battalion? Instead of that why do you not raise CRPF battalion? When you create an organisation, you create headquarters; you create staff; you create administrative backing. It adds to the strain and it is a drain on the national exchequer. We must stop this somewhere. Rashtriya Rifles, to my thinking and to my logic, is no longer required in this country. You convert them into either the Armed forces or convert them into para military forces and still they can function in a better manner.

The next step should be organisation of cells in each State in this country to combat the menace of terrorism and to ruthlessly curb any sign of drug trade as well as linkages with terrorist organisations. When Bombay is silent, you do not think that there are no terrorist activities going on. There are major terrorist activities going on. They require economic base for their operations. They are not using it to launch major attacks on anything. But in time to come, this will also be evident.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are

others who have to participate in this debate. You have already taken 20 minutes time.

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT: On the political process, we have to proceed with caution notwithstanding what the Government has said.

SHRIMATI PARATIBHA DEVISINGH PATIL (Amravati): He is really giving good suggestions. I request you to give him more time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Very nice. Even before your recommendation and in anticipation of your recommendation, 20 minutes time has been given to him.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum Dum): She was Deputy Chairman in the Rajya Sabha. She has some experience.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK (Buldana): She has the authority to recommend!

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT: Notwithstanding what our Government has said that elections will be held in January or February, we must see and examine the ground realities. To my mind, the realities tell us that elections cannot be held in the near future because when we hold elections again, are we going to sacrifice another 100 or 150 candidates to the terrorists? It is not possible because in Punjab, unless you establish administration at the district and tehsil level, in which the Government is ruling, you cannot hold elections, because otherwise, the terrorists and their sympathisers will reach the ballot box and the real people the political workers of all the national parties will not reach the ballot box. They will face elimination and hence I would request the Government to reconsider their.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: April calendar.

SHRI SUDHIR SAWANT: I would request the Government to reconsider their pledge to hold the elections.

Lastly, we must admit and recognise one thing. The Sikhs have sacrificed their blood for this country. In 1987, the battle that was fought at the highest 20,000 ft. to capture the Bana post was by the complete company of Sikh soldiers. I had the honour of witnessing it and every soldier was a Sikh. After the 1971 war, we have honoured only one person with Paramvir Chakra and that is Bana Singh who is a Sikh. If you calculate the decorations that have been given in the army, you will find that the major community which has received all types of decorations the Sikh community and hence we, as a nation, must rescue the people from the clutches of terrorists and for that, it is not dreams but blood that can mould the nation.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think that it is not a very pleasant duty for the Government of India to bring year after year, the Budget of Punjab State in this House. But the circumstances have, of course, forced this country and the Government also to go for these unusual measures and they are fulfilling their constitutional responsibility to place the Punjab Budget before this august House.

It should have been in the normal course passed by the representatives of the Punjab state itself. But the question is that how long we will go on doing this? will there be any end or do we foresee that this situation will come to an end some time in the near future? I think that everybody agrees here that Punjab State has been our one of the best developed, progressive States which at one time we were thinking it is a model State.

The people of Punjab State are valiant people, very hard-working people, they have got certain ideas of new innovations; they have, of course, played a very major role, rather a glorious role in our freedom struggle. After the freedom struggle, in our free country, they played a major role in defence our border and also in contributing to our culture and our national progress. All these things are accepted facts. Nobody denies that. But

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today this is also a reality that the situation in this State has become a major challenge; it is causing a serious national concern to our national unity. Unfortunately, a band of young people with misguided philosophy and a wrong approach has gone on the path of violence. Those people have not only gone on the path of violence but also they are being used by our enemies abroad to weaken our national unity and that is a very serious matter.

Sir, what is the position today? The entire State today has been declared as a disturbed area. Practically, we have handed over the State to the Army and the Army has gone there not only to be a stand-by force but it has also to play a role, if it is there. Its mere presence will not do anything. Therefore, there should be no illusion and one should not live under any kind of illusion that we have taken the extreme measure. There is no other measure after the Army having been sent there and the Army having been asked to stand-by to take necessary steps to maintain the national unity and also to keep the law and order situation there and to bring the State to normalcy. This is the extreme step which has already been taken.

There is another thing. This is also a fact. Perhaps the hon. Finance Minister, in his reply, will let the House know that a large number of industries are now running away from the State. Some of them are practically running away. Most of them are having an alternative arrangement. They are buying alternative plots, outside Punjab run their industries. They are hesitant for further investment in Punjab in the economic process of that State. This is the situation today. Further, there is also a situation that the people of Punjab are living under an atmosphere of fear. I think in this House many Members from Punjab very rightly said that we are sitting in Delhi or outside Punjab and we cannot fully appreciate how the people are living there and what are their problems. In my opinion, the Government of India has committed a major mistake have isolated

themselves from the people of Punjab. I do not know whether the hon. Finance Minister visited Punjab before bringing this Budget before this House. Was it not advisable that the Finance Minister, instead of formulating this Budget in Delhi, should have at least gone to Chandigarh? He should have met the officers of Punjab and the people of Punjab, some of the organisation, trade unions, business organisation, public personalities etc. The Government should have held a dialogue there as to what do they feel, what kind of a budget can be presented to this House. I am sure it has not been done. I will remind you, Sir, that in the last Session, it was on the last day of the last Session we discussed Punjab in this House. The Home Minister made a commitment on my suggestion when I said that the Home Minister should take initiative and invite the people who are willing to come for a dialogue; have a round-table talk with them and try to reach some kind of a consensus or at least give the positive feeling to the people of Punjab and those who are angry because of some reasons. We should tell them, "look here, we are inviting you, we want to involve you. It is not that doors are entirely shut for you. Please come for discussion and give your opinion". You may agree or you may disagree. But I am sure that the talks, the dialogues, the conferences are always helpful and this is one of the important methods in a democratic structure. But I am sorry to say that they were not invited. Even the Home Minister did not take the trouble of visiting Punjab. Why? What kind of fear is this? What is the impression? What kind of a message we are giving to the people of Punjab and to the country that the people there can live in that situation but the Home Minister and the Cabinet Ministers of the Government of India do not have the courage or do not have the understanding at least to go there and meet the people. It is a very wrong message. I must say that this has to be rectified. Unless and until you do that, you will not be able to win back the confidence of the people.

There are angry young men not only in our country but in many countries. History is

the evidence of it. In many countries in different phases, young people get angry. Young people go to the extreme position. But they have to be talked to.

This is what happened when the naxalite movement developed. My friend Shri Saifuddin Choudhury will agree with me that in West Bengal very intelligent and talented young people from the medical colleges and engineering colleges and become naxalites. They were shedding their blood for a wrong philosophy on a wrong path. But the leadership in West Bengal approached them and had a talk with them and tried to understand their problems to remove their grievances. Ultimately, what happened through that political process? The naxalism is almost gone in West Bengal. Now it is in other parts of the country but not so much in West Bengal because the approach was a different approach and the approach was an approach to understand their problems, to understand their anger, to have a talk with them and to give a feeling that we appreciate the reasons of your anger and we will try to meet your grievances. Therefore, what I am saying is that it is not yet very late. I think, if from this House this message goes that we are requesting this Government not to hold elections in Punjab it will again be a wrong message to the people of Punjab. Still we have got two and a half months. Why are we in a hurry? Why do you want to tell the people of Punjab that we have not faith in them? We are not able to hold elections. Then they will ask: "For how long? You have not done it for eight to nine years. And you want us to deny our basic fundamental democratic right". Therefore, please do not give your ears to this kind of suggestion, they are saying two and a half months before, and say, situation is bad; it is not a normal situation; we cannot hold the election". Do not do that. Keep your options open and go on making efforts to create normalcy; go on making efforts to create a situation where elections can be held.

[RAO RAM SINGH *in the Chair*]

Already mistakes have been commit-

ted. I am not talking of a particular Government. But several Governments have missed several opportunities where perhaps, elections could have been held, perhaps, people could have been involved in that process. We have missed several opportunities. But let us not miss any more opportunities in future. I am not also suggesting to go in for elections even if the election is irrelevant. I am not saying that. But please go on making efforts and see that certain things take a proper shape and proper things are done.

Mr. Chairman, I again request the Government to take the initiative of inviting those individuals, organizations who are willing to come and talk about the Punjab problem. Whatever may be their philosophy, whatever may be their attitude, if they are willing to come and talk, please do invite them, talk to them - collectively or separately - and do whatever is possible and try to have a round table conference or at least a round table talk on Punjab issue and try to understand their problem.

I think the Punjab problem raises another basic issue. I have been convinced for a very long time that there is need for a serious discussion about Centre-State relationships. The Punjab issue raises this problem very prominently. Now the time is changed and during the last forty years many things have changed. We are all seeing what is happening in the Soviet Union. Such a powerful country is disintegrated today. The people there want to have their autonomy, they want a democratic right for formulating the policies - social, economic and cultural - for themselves. They want their own identity. Now the thought that we should have a very strong centre will not do any more. In this country, we are trying our best to have some kind of balance that is to have a strong centre but at the same time the state should not be pressed against the wall. Those days have gone when the States have no say or their policies and everything is decided from Delhi. Before these things turn into another national problem, it is high time now to very seriously consider the Centre-State relationships and take certain steps.

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We should not close our eyes by dismissing certain State Governments because of political reasons. When the people get this feeling that they elected the Government but somebody who does not like because of political reasons or otherwise, dismisses the elected Government, it erodes the total confidence of the people and those people either take to arms or they adopt unconstitutional means and that situation should not be allowed to happen. It is because we are passing through a very difficult and challenging phase of our national life. It is a current and national issue but not a party issue. Everybody feels concerned that Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir provides the ground for our enemies abroad to weaken our national unity. Therefore, I submit, that the Centre-State relationship needs a very serious consideration.

Another thing which is the failure of our Government is that somehow we have not been able to project our case or argue our case or persuade the people abroad Pakistan has successfully put us in wrong docks several times. They feel that we were not doing justice to certain communities in Jammu and Kashmir; there is a feeling that we are not giving due rights, due consideration to the needs of the people of Punjab; we are perhaps adopting certain methods which are not according to the democratic norms and perhaps therefore, we are using force or we are trying to suppress certain genuine movements. There should be a proper presentation of our national face in the foreign countries, in the friendly countries. There must be international public opinion and pressure put on Pakistan. Some countries who misunderstood us in the beginning are trying to rectify their position, but that is not enough. I think this is high time that the Government of India specifically talked this issue of terrorism and took the issue of the Pakistan's interference in our internal affairs. It is not an issue between India and Pakistan; it is an issue where international public opinion and public pressure must be exercised on Pakistan.

I am glad that the Chinese Prime Minister Shri Li Peng is visiting our country. Even China has not been able to understand our case properly in so far as India and Pakistan relationship is concerned. Therefore this opportunity of the visit of the Prime Minister of China to India should be properly utilised. Our case must be put before China in such a manner that China should also be able to put pressure on Pakistan not to help these terrorist activities and not to interfere in our internal affairs.

I am glad that our relationship is developing with China. Today there is an atmosphere in which China wants to understand us better. We are trying to understand China better. We are both major nations not only in Asia, but in the international community. Therefore we have got a historic opportunity and India should take up this matter with the Prime Minister of China so that China could also put pressure on Pakistan and should not go on helping Pakistan by supplying arms, by bargaining certain territories and by thinking that perhaps helping Pakistan or Pakistan's cause gives them some kind of political leverage. That should also not be allowed. So, I request that the Government should take these things very seriously.

Lastly I will say that we must see and make all possible efforts - maybe during this Session, not very late, maybe next week or ten or fifteen days later when the Prime Minister comes back - to hold a conference of all the parties here. Please try to understand what are the suggestions of different political parties, not only what suggestions we give on the floor of the House. Take them into confidence. The political leaders of all political parties should be taken into confidence. The Government should try to, in real sense, make this issue a national issue. a collective approach should be adopted to find a solution for Punjab, J & K problem and also in a broader sense the Centre-State relationship and other issues which concern this problem.

I appreciate the difficulties of the government of India. I am not saying that efforts

have not been made; efforts have been made, but unfortunately they have not succeeded and the things are going from bad to worse. The entire State has been now declared a disturbed area. This does not add to our national prestige. We must give this feeling that now we are a nation capable of finding a solution on our soil with determination, with understanding and also with a sense which gives a good feeling to the people.

With these words, I conclude

SHRI YAIMA SINGH YUMNAM (Inner Manipur: Mr. Chairman. Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity. The fact that the business which has to be transacted in a legislature of a State has been brought before this House itself indicates the extraordinary situation prevailing in the State of Punjab.

I rise to oppose the proposal the Demands for Grants for 1991-92, in respect of Punjab - because I do not want to be a party to approve the policy adopted by the Union Government in respect of Punjab. It is my considered view that the problem of Punjab is a creation of the persons who were in the Government at that time. Since then, the authorities in Delhi - the Government - should have thought of what would happen in future. But, they did not. That is why, we are witnessing the worst situation today.

I would like to say that, with regard to Punjab, a long rope has been given to the extremists by the Government of India. That problem could have been solved earlier, if the Government adopted the style and functioning of late Sardar Patel, when he was the Home Minister. We can recall as to how he dealt with Hyderabad and other Princely States when he took over as the Home Minister of the country. My feeling is that even today we have to adopt the style and functioning of late Sardar Patel, who fought for the unification of the country. I am not convinced as to why military should not be deployed in Punjab. It is deployed in Manipur, in Mizoram, in Assam and in some other

States in the North-Eastern region where the problem of terrorism is the maximum. The military deployment has contained terrorism in Manipur, although it is not totally solved. It is solved in Mizoram; it is now being solved Assam and we are expecting that. I want to know as to why deployment of Army is not effectively done in Punjab. That is what I fail to understand. So, it would be my suggestion - as it is suggested by some hon. Members here - that we must deploy Army there, to effectively assist the Government with some determination, as it is done in the North-Eastern States. I think, if Punjab is lost to the terrorists, it will not only be Punjab that will be lost but the North-Eastern region would also be lost. What has happened in Punjab is encouraging the activists in my State, Manipur, and also in some other North-Eastern States. They consider that one day there will be a chance to create such problems in North-Eastern region and they will claim to secede that region from the country. What I have said is that it is the creation of the people here in Delhi who are in the Government. At a time, they neglected Punjab and some other States and eastern States at the moment. Even now, people in the eastern region feel neglected. If we take care of these people in that region, there is time to solve their problems also. At present, in Manipur, there is an agitation by the youngsters. All the Manipuri students' unions and several other organisations are demanding for the recognition of Manipuri as a national language. They have now stopped the cinema shows in Hindi. They are agitating. They are making more troubles there. What is the problem in recognising the language of Manipuri as a national language? If we neglect it as it is, then that region will also come up like Punjab and it will take a long time to solve.

In short, what I have been suggesting is that if the Punjab problem is to be solved, it must be solved with a stronger hand, by dealing with Pakistan with a stronger hand and not through an appeasement policy. If we allow the situation to continue like this, then it will become an international issue. At that time, it will be very difficult to solve this

[*Sh. Yaima Singh Yumnam*]

problem. It will go to the forum of the United Nations. At that time, it will be more complicated. Although it is too late, my proposal will be that the Government should deal with Pakistan with a stronger hand. We must take action to flush out the terrorists by deploying Army in that State.

Coming to my concluding point, I would like to suggest that for the election that is proposed to be held in the coming February, you will have to create circumstances under which a free and fair election can be held. Until such circumstances are created, holding of election only in name will not serve the purpose.

While trying to solve the problems of Punjab, I would like to draw the attention of the Union Government to think of States in the North-Eastern region where the youngsters are agitating for their problems.

SHRI VJAY NAVAL PATIL (Erandol):

Mr. Chairman Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants in respect of Punjab. Unfortunately, since last ten years, most of the time these Demands have been discussed in Parliament rather than in that State.

Punjab is one of the younger States and out of its life of about 25 years, one-third of its budget has been discussed in this august House. Today, other unfortunate part is that even Members of Parliament of that State are not present to voice the grievances or the problems that require priority in Punjab.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the problem of Punjab has been aggravating because of its geographical situation, because of its border with Pakistan. Pakistan is our hostile neighbours. Its hostility has increased after the separation of Bangladesh and it appears as if Pakistan wants to take revenge that incident, the separation of Bangladesh and that is why, it wants to separate Punjab from the Indian sub-continent. Not only that, after that and if possible, it wants to Swallow

Jammu and Kashmir also. The threat of Pakistan is looming large when we hear that the country is developing about ten nuclear bombs each with a capacity of bombs used at the time of bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War. The silver line of the clouds is that China has now stopped supplying M-9 missiles to Pakistan. And as Mr. Chandraseet Yadav has said, if we can build international opinion against the attitude of Pakistan, we will be able to get some good results over the problem of terrorism in Punjab. It is now an established fact that Pakistan is trying to fight a proxy war against India through the militants of Punjab. For Punjab people, restoration of law and democracy in their State has become a must. Sir, we have to take all steps to immediately replace the culture of bullets by the culture of ballots. Punjab is not only indispensable for the people of Punjab but also for the entire national. It is contributing a lot to our necessities. In spite of the turbulence and the abnormal conditions existing in Punjab, even during this year, it has contributed about 70 per cent of wheat to the central pool. Similar is the case of paddy also. It is as essential to the teeming millions in other parts of the country as is for the people of Punjab. Our population is growing so fast that even though we are self-sufficient in foodgrains today, within five years, there will be shortage in foodgrains. Under such a situation, if conditions in Punjab further deteriorate, then production will decline in respect of wheat and paddy and the entire country and the masses will suffer. Hence there is an urgent necessity to bring normalcy in Punjab. Deploying military for a long time in Punjab is not going to help, and this should be the last resort before the Government. Just like in an effort to save a patient doctors give blood transfusion but if they give blood for a longer period it turns into poison. In the same way if the military stays for a long time it will not help in bringing normalcy in Punjab. I would say that the solution lies only in elections.

We are opposing the formation of Khalistan but are we in our sincerity giving complete statehood to Punjab? We have to

consider that also. When the States were formed Haryana and Punjab both were given a common Capital. Every person living in a particular State would like to have a separate Capital of the State in which he is living. But there is no separate Capital for Punjab. Chandigarh is a common Capital for the States of Haryana and Punjab which is a Union Territory. The Congress Government has urged upon the Prime Minister that a message should go from the Centre that the Rajiv-Longowal Accord or something of that sort would be implemented so that the people of Punjab, especially those extremists who are of mild character or who can be brought Round the Table can think of some solution.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, for a State separate Capital is very necessary but on the contrary what is happening in Punjab I would like to bring to your notice. A mini-Secretariat was taken up for construction in 1985. The foundation stone of that mini-Secretariat was laid in Faridkot by the then Government, Shri S.S. Ray with the promise that this mini-Secretariat will be constructed within a span of three years with the allocation of Rs.3.75 crores. But it is yet to be completed; it is not even half completed. Now, the estimates have gone up to Rs.8 crores.

Same is the case with Satluj Yamuna Link Canal. Its portion in Haryana is completed to the extent of 90 per cent, but we are not able to complete even 25 per cent construction in the State of Punjab. A good agricultural production is not required for the people of Punjab only but for the people of whole of India. That is why all efforts should be made to complete this canal. If there will be more production more people will get employment.

We see that big industries are not going to Punjab. We should start some public sector undertaking say of Electronics and employ the local people. At the same time we should encourage the setting up of small scale industries by the local people. On the contrary we see the Hosiery Industry in Ludhiana is suffering badly. I urge upon the Government to give more incentives in re-

gard to this. But, we see that even the subsidies are given up; as far as industries in Punjab are concerned, the Central excise has to be reduced.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we want to convert the killers of masses into the tillers of soil and for that we have to adopt the democratic means. I do not agree with my friend, Shri Sawant that elections are no solution. Instead I would say that elections are the only solution. Our experience in the last 10 years has shown that there were less killings during the short span of 10 years - (during 1980-90)- at the time when the elected government was in power, for about three years. Within a span of ten years, if you see the average per year, it was very less when the elected Government was there. That is why, let us hope that this is the last Budget that is being discussed for Punjab in this august House and the next Budget will be discussed in the Punjab Assembly. At least, in this tenth Lok Sabha, there would not be any occasion for us to discuss the Punjab Budget in this House.

With these few words, I support this Budget.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals put forth by the hon. Minister. While supporting it, I would like to make some observations on the situation that is now prevailing in the Punjab.

Sir, for more than ten years, this House had been discussing the situation in Punjab and also granting the necessary amount for the administration. But I am sorry to say that there is absolutely no background material supplied to the Members of this House. Without any such material we are not able to understand the official version of the situation that is now prevailing in Punjab. Therefore we are constrained to depend on many of the non official publications. I would like to know from the Government what is the prevailing situation in Punjab. Before we grant money for the administration, the House has the right to know the prevailing situation in

[Sh. E. Ahamed]

Punjab. I do not know whether the Minister would agree or not. There is an article recently published and I have a copy of it with me. It was written by Shri Avinash Singh. He has been a close observer of the politics and the events in Punjab for the past many years. He writes and I quote: "Punjab is on the flash point again. Almost inching towards disaster. People are being dragged out of buses and sprayed with bullets. Others getting killed at road side *dhabas*. Trains are being ambushed. Entire families of policemen are being liquidated. Banks are being torched. It is already a no-win situation. Yet the two sides represented by the ultras and the security forces are fighting it out - both losing their ranks by the dozens".

I would like to know whether the situation as depicted by this Author is correct or not. Because, in Punjab the commonman has absolutely no faith in the administration. He, as a matter of fact caught in between devil and deep sea. He will have to be afraid of ultras on the one hand and on the other hand he has to remain under the clutches of the security forces.

This article continues like this. I would like to bring it to the notice of the Minister. I quote: "The people hate those who kill innocents and members of the minority community. They are against the liquidation of the family members of the policemen. But they are not with the men in uniform either, or for that matter the administration. For they feel that Government is totally apathetic to their sufferings and forces have been adding to their woes in many ways".

This is the situation. Therefore, we must address to the real problem facing the people of Punjab. We must also see that no wrong message should be sent to the people of Punjab. Punjab's problem has to be tackled in a very cautious way and also the people should be taken into confidence.

According to me, the Punjab's problem

is a psychological cum political problem.

16.00 hrs

The psychological problem is that the people of Punjab, mainly the Sikh community have a lot of misunderstanding about the Central Government and their attitude. It is an undisputed fact that still they have the reservation about the policy of the Government towards their community. It has been pointed out by several hon. Members of the House also. We cannot ignore the great services and the sacrifices which the Sikh community have made for the sake of this country's unity and integrity. I feel that we should all take every step to bring the Sikh community in toto to the mainstream for the unity and integrity of the country. Therefore, we have to address to their heart, not to their brain; and we must also give them a right perspective of what the Government of India is really feeling about Punjab.

We all represent our own people. Why not also we feel about the people of Punjab because they are not able to send their representatives to the House? Why not we should give them an opportunity to elect their own representatives? I totally disagree with my friend, Mr. Kamat when he said that elections should not be held in Punjab. How long we will be able to go on like this? It is not possible for a democratic country to suppress the democratic aspirations of the people and their desires because it is the duty of everybody to create such an atmosphere over there so that they can elect their own representatives. We cannot go beyond that limit.

Of course, there is a law and order problem. Our enemies are trying to exploit the situation. But why should we play in the hands of our enemies due to certain unforeseen reasons? Therefore, it is high time for the Government of India to take the necessary steps to bring back the entire Sikh community into the mainstream for the sake of unity and integrity of this country. In this respect, I would also like to say that the

psychological fear of the Sikh community should be removed.

In a land of unity in diversity the challenges to secularism and democracy should be met by all like-minded secular parties together. Protection of Gurdwaras is intertwined by protection of Mosques. But this is possible only through elections, not through a sectional approach, but by overwhelming assertion of national will - Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians together. There is need to guarantee the protection of culture, language and customs of all sections, communities and deprived castes as part of our proud national heritage. Unity and sense of oneness will negate inimical designs of outside forces.

I would also request the Government to take the necessary steps to initiate the political process and under no circumstances the Prime Minister and the Government should go back from the assurances given to the nation that elections in Punjab will be held on 15th February. If we find to do it, then we will again be losing the entire faith of the people of Punjab mainly the Sikh community who have made many sacrifices for the unity and integrity of the country.

I would like to conclude by saying these words. It is time we realise that the bullet has failed to provide the answer. It is time to break fresh ice. Let's make a beginning by conceding to some of the genuine demands of the Punjabis. If Laldenga and his men could be pardoned why can't the "misguided youth" of Punjab be won over. Punjab apart, almost the entire nation is sitting on a volcano. We have the disintegration of the mighty Soviet Union staring us in the face. Why don't we realise that a Federal structure is the answer to most of the ills concerning the regional aspirations of our compatriots. I urge upon Government to consider this.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Mukul Balkrishna Wasnik. You have already been on your feet. So, I request you not to take too much time.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK (Buldana): I am sorry that in the morning immediately after the Question Hour when my name was called I was not present in the House. I would just take another two minutes to conclude. Yesterday I was almost towards the end of my speech.

In the papers today it has appeared that the President of the Akali Dal (Mann), Shri. Samranjit Singh Mann has condemned the deployment of the Army in the Punjab. Not only this. He has also claimed that several hundreds and thousands of youth from Punjab are trying to flee to Pakistan. At the same time, he has also suggested that the Pakistan Government should give refugee status to the fleeing youth. And therefore, at this point of time when we are discussing the Punjab Budget I would like to point out that though the Government has decided to deploy the Army, though the Government has decided to hold the election in Punjab, there is a serious attempt from certain sections in Punjab who would try to sabotage these efforts. And, therefore, in such a situation as many hon. Members speaking earlier have pointed out, there is a need for various political parties with a nationalist outlook to come together and evolve a common strategy, forge a joint front and taken up the challenges arising from the Punjab situation.

The responsibility definitely lies with the Government. The Government has taken certain measures, but they will have to expedite the political process. I would therefore like to suggest that the Government in the coming days should call an all party meeting to discuss the Punjab situation and try to evolve a common strategy.

Not only this. There is also a need to have a meeting of the National Integration Council to discuss the prevailing situation. The National Integration Council can discuss the actions needed from the Government and from the political parties to create a peaceful atmosphere in Punjab so that there is a fair and free election.

[Sh. Mukul Balkrishna Wasnik]

Secondly, the strategy to contain terrorism can also be discussed as also the implementation of the Punjab Accord.

I would also like to suggest to the Government that in view of the seriousness the Government may also ponder upon to call a joint session of Parliament where Members from the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha can also deliberate upon this issue.

I would not take any more time of the House but lastly, I would like to point out that in an unprecedented move the Punjab Governor has recently met the honourable Finance Minister along with a delegation of industrialists from Punjab and has submitted certain demands concerning the industry. The main demand are as follows:

Reduction in the margin limit including sundry debtors for the existing as well as new units to 15 per cent for medium and large-scale industrial units and to 10 per cent for small and tiny sector, reallocation of working capital limits taking into account the increase in the prices of various raw materials and till such time reallocation is made, an ad hoc enhancement in the working capital limits by a minimum 15 per cent of their existing limits, deferment of term loans particularly in border districts of Amritsar, Ferozepur and Gurdaspur for a minimum period of two years and for a period of one year in other districts. Liberal rescheduling and regularisation of working capital as well as term loan defaults for the units in Punjab for a period of at least one year, automatic increase in bank limits and lifting of credit squeeze in the State of Punjab.

This was a very unprecedented move which the Governor of Punjab had attempted. Never before a Governor has led a delegation to meet a Union Minister to plead for settling certain issues concerning the State. I request that the government should take this very seriously and announce the decisions which they have taken on the demands submitted.

Sir, five months have passed since the formation of this Government. It is very unfortunate that till date the honourable Home Minister has not visited Punjab. The situation in Punjab is so serious that the whole nation is concerned. But even in such a serious situation the honourable Home Minister has not yet paid a single visit to the strife-torn Punjab. Therefore, I would demand that the Home Minister without losing any time should visit Punjab. There is a need for initiating and expediting the political process and to take people of Punjab into confidence.

With these words, I conclude.

KUMARI FRIDA TOPNO (Sundargarh):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think you very much for the opportunity you have given to me to speak on Punjab Budget.

Since last few years the attention of the entire nation has been drawn towards the ghastly killing of thousands of innocent people of Punjab and Kashmir by the extremists.

As reported by the *Sunday Times* dated 24th November 1991, United States has also come forward to ask Pakistan not to be tempted to provide aid and sustenance to the militants for disruptive activities in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. The Government also know the fact that extremists are trained in Pakistan territory and infiltrated into our territory, who are responsible for such killings.

Sir, our Government must take some concrete steps to mobilise international pressure on Pakistan to stop the training centres on Pakistan land and the infiltration of extremists into our territory. Steps should be taken for the creation of more job avenues for the unemployed youths of Punjab so as to divert their attention from such criminal activities.

While appreciating the decision of the present Government to hold election in Punjab and to bring back the democratic process, I would also caution that sufficient

measures be taken before hand to prevent the extremist from playing a vital role in the ensuing election as their participation will prove to be more dangerous for the nation.

Sir, all of us should unite to solve the problem of Punjab and true democratic position should prevail in Punjab. All of us should try to solve this problem unitedly and peacefully.

With these words, I support the Punjab Budget and conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI AYUB KHAN (Jhunjhunu): Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the budget on Punjab. I would like to emphasise more on the situation in Punjab. Shri Dharam Pal Singh Malik emphasised on it that we should consider the factor that are responsible for the problem in Punjab and we should take every care to ensure that situation may not deteriorate further. The situation in Punjab is not hidden from anyone. I came to know about it very closely when I was a Member of the Parliament during from 1984 to 1989 and was sent there for mass-conduct. The feelings of the people there were hurt. Punjab is the heart of India. The people of Punjab are loyal and brave. Punjab has always been in the forefront in country's freedom struggle. Even today, there are 75 percent names of the people belonging to Punjab inscribed on the stones in Andman and Nicobar. First of all we shall have to give a serious consideration to control the situation which pose a threat to the nation. We should find a solution together to meet the challenge. To call the Army is not a solution at all. Frequent use of it will bring down their morale one day and will reduce it to Police. If we use Army for every purpose, their character will also fall down in the same way as sometimes we happen to see in case of the Police. So we should try to remove the very root cause of this problem. This is a matter of great sorrow that today there is no representative of Punjab in the House. The Government of Punjab has recently started the Public Darbar in which I think the hon. Home Minister and the

Finance Minister should participate so that they may know the Public grievances very closely. It may be that many of the planned murders are committed there in the veil of terrorism. It is also possible that some vested groups might be creating chaos and confusion in the country in the name of terrorism. All these probabilities must be given a serious thinking and confidence created among the country-man. We should rise above party-politics and think to protect the lives of people and restore peace there. There are many sordid incidents like Banaras incidents and during the elections many of the innocent persons have to sacrifice their lives. Even after so many years of the freedom a slogan is given to voters which results in unlimited atrocities to a particular community. The people have no other options than to tolerate them. We shall have to think in that direction. The atrocities committed on the people of Varanasi is a burning example. Such injustice creates this situation and the people come forward in protest.

AN HON. MEMBER : Please speak on Punjab.

SHRI AYUB KHAN: I have not mentioned Uttar Pradesh.. And Uttar Pradesh is also a part of the country as is Punjab. The people living in Uttar Pradesh are also the citizens of India. The same will be the condition of Uttar Pradesh as is of Punjab if such incidents of atrocities continue to be committed on them. We have to accept the truth. No laxity should be shown in tackling any sort of terrorism, be it based on caste, community or religion. We should not overlook any incident of the kind in which a rickshaw-puller is stabbed in his back no fault of his own, who even does not know where the Babri Masjid is.

There are many check-posts here in Delhi where each man wears a turban is invariably checked. It is done so because of their being Sikh. It is sorry state of affairs that every Sikh is seen by us as a terrorist.

PROF. A. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur):

[Prof. A. Premdhumal]

This was started in 1982 at the time of ASIAD by..... *

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not mention the name of somebody who is not present in the House to defend himself. Any reference to ...*... will be erased from the proceedings. No mention of ..* will be made in the proceedings.

[Translation]

SHRI AYUB KHAN: My dear friend, I understand well why you divert the Punjab issue.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ayub Khan, you please carry on. I will request you gentlemen not to interfere.

[Translation]

SHRI PHOOL CHAND VERMA (Shajapur): Pakistan's General Ayub Khan is speaking.

SHRI AYUB KHAN: Yes, I am the Ayub Khan who had destroyed the Pakistani tanks. I am one of them who are ready to make every sacrifice for the country. I do not need your certificate, I need only the blessings from the country. It is duty of every man born in this country to defend every inch of our land whether it is part of Kashmir or Punjab on any other part. A loyal person cannot sit smugly if any part of the country is burning whether it is Ayodhya or Varanasi or Punjab. We will have to make every effort to win the hearts of the people of Punjab. They should feel that every honour and respect lies in our heart for them. They are as much the citizens of the country as we are. It is our responsibility to protect each and every one in the country. The Home Minister, the Finance Minister and a delegation of the Parliamen-

tarians should attend that public Darbar held there in order to know the real problems and to talk on that. A talk should be made without any precondition with every group of the people. Their requirements must be fulfilled. Some progress should take place at least on their demands over which a decision has already been taken. The issue of handing over Chandigarh to Punjab must be resolved. The industries including small scale industry of Punjab are giving a good production. The people of Punjab are very laborious and they are not poor. They must be encouraged. More and more facilities should be provided to them. To establish more industries there the private sector must be encouraged. I would like to make a fervent appeal that Army will not solve the problem. We should create such a conducive environment in Punjab so that the enemy may not be able to cast a glance on it and may not use it as a tool to weaken our country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ayub Saheb, please wind up now.

SHRI AYUB KHAN: O.K. Sir. Pakistan is a very small country which stands no where in comparison to India. We should always keep it in our mind that there is a great difference between our country and Pakistan. If it does not accept our suggestions, we should not hesitate to take stern action against it. It cannot stand against our country which is very large and powerful. We are equipped with all sorts of weapons. There is no limit to our defence power.

So I would like to make a request about Punjab that we should win the hearts of the people instead of using bullet and force against them. We should heal their wounds. We should show every respect for their religious shrines. They should be given every respect and love. They should be given the same publicity on T.V. and broadcasting as we give to others. These are few of my suggestions. Thanks for giving me time.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Hon. Chairman, Sir, taking the benefit of the

opportunity which I have been provided to speak on the budget I would like to ask a question from my Congress friends who are responsible for the present situation in Punjab. The then rulers from Delhi patronised Bhindrawale, created Dal Khalsa and created such environment for the sake of their own political gain in Punjab which was pious land of Gurus, land of martyrs, motherland of brave men like Udham Singh, Bhagat Singh, Madan Lai Dhingra, and Lala Lajpat Rai, who sacrificed their lives for the sake of freedom. History is a witness to the facts that Bhindrawala and his followers were keen to destroy our democracy. Even today, they are bent upon disintegrating the country. We have to find out the root causes behind it. The Blue Star Operation took place in 1984. Punjab is an example that whenever a small act is done without planning it results in a tragedy. Hon. Sir, I want to say if the then leaders had not granted special status to Kashmir under article 370, special rights to the people of Mizoram to win the elections there, the Punjab would not have become so ambitious to raise the demand of Khalistan. But the then leaders of our country adopted a policy of appeasement for some people which encouraged secessionism in our country. Today we are sad due to Punjab problem. Punjab is like a vital part of our body which provides strong protection to our country. Punjab has been our country's pride. I thank those Hindus and Sikhs who are living there as brothers despite the prevailing terrorism in Punjab and continuous support to the terrorists by Pakistan. Many conspiracies were hatched to make Hindus and Sikhs fight against each other but they did not succeed and we are living unitedly in the whole country.

Mr. Chairman Sir, through you, I want to inform the Government that 25 to 40 innocent people are being killed in Punjab daily. It is now too much. We should stop it now. Where is our sensitiveness? I want to inform the Government of India and its people that earlier a great havoc was created whenever there were one or two murders but today people are being killed beyond counting. The Sutlej and Vyas river water has turn into

red due to the bloodshed in Punjab. The Extremists with the support of Pakistan, burn the trains, kill the people by making explosions in the running trains, loot the banks and put the post offices on fire. There is no check on them and in fact, they have become the rulers there. Though our leaders advised the Government long back that a security belt should be made in Punjab and Punjab should be handed over to the army yet the Government did not accept it at that time. If at that time the Government would have conceded this advice, the terrorism could have been controlled much earlier. The situation is that "Marz badta higaya jyon dawa ki." Through you, I would like to request that the Government and we all should develop a feeling of sensitiveness. Do not extract political gains from the Punjab problem. I want to point out one thing in this context that when elections for Lok Sabha were being held in the entire country, people of Punjab thought that they would also get an opportunity for Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections. All parties fielded their candidates in the elections. Candidates also showed courage but the congress ran away from the contest. The elections, about which a lot of discussion is going on today, could be held satisfactorily at that time. If this security forces would have been deployed at that time, the elections could have definitely been conducted in Punjab. When the elections can be held in Assam and other terrorist affected States, why could the atmosphere not be made conducive for the elections in Punjab. But the Congress left the field at that time and now they are talking about elections. We hope that the Punjab elections will be held within a definite period. But until the extremism is rooted out and the people become fearless to use their franchise, the army should not be removed from there and it should be given the full authority.

It is said that Pakistan trains the extremists and sends them to India from their training centres. Hon. Sir, through you, I want to say to the Government of India that -

"Bahadur kab kisi ka asra ahsan lete hain

[Prof. Rasa Singh Rawat]

Usi ko kar gujrate hain jo dil main
than lete hain
Dilbar mard ka loha sab man lete
hain
Jo kamazor hota hai kan uska sab
pakar lete hain"

Despite repeated requests and complaints, when Pakistan does not stop its activities, the Government of India will have to react by destroying all the extremists hide outs in Pakistan. Pakistan should be given a clear cut warning because it does not understand the language of brotherhood. It does not regard our goodwill. So, through you, I urge the Government to teach a lesson to Pakistan in the same manner and it should be compelled to stop to encourage and to provide protection to the terrorists, otherwise it should be paid in the same coins. Smugglers, dacoits have charged into extremists, kharkus, Jangjus (Militants) naxalites, whether it is Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh etc. They are using the fake pads in the name of Bhindrawale force to threaten the people. All the incidents of kidnapping do not come into light. Schools and colleges are closed because of terrorists' threatenings. They kidnap the young girls, boys or their parents for ransom and if the money is not paid, the terrorists murder them. It is very sad. We have to provide full right to the army; polite hands will do nothing. When K.P.S. Gill has been deputed to Punjab he should be given full authority and the whole of Punjab should be declared as disturbed area. As "Operation Rhino" is going to become a success in Assam, the army mission will also become a success in Punjab, if you provide it full rights. This is my demand through you.

Besides, all the problems in Punjab should be solved through mutual negotiations. But any talk with extremists should take place only when they express their faith in the Constitution of India and accept its supremacy. No talk should take place with separatists unless they express their faith in the Constitution of India. The organisations,

the people of Punjab who have faith in the Constitutions, the people of Punjab who have faith in the Constitution and organise different political activities must be called for talks. The hon. Governor is getting much success by setting the open court system in Punjab. Such activities should be encouraged.

Sir, it is very sad for us that diplomats like Radu was kidnapped and we even could not trace him till today. Such incidents are a blot on us. So through you, I would like to request the Government to make arrangements to find out Mr Radu as early as possible and try to stop the recurrence of such incidents in future. Punjab is said to be an arm of India. This arm must be protected at all cost. Anyway, we have to pass the Punjab budget, but two problems of Rajasthan are connected with Punjab. I will conclude after mentioning these two problems.

The Government of India has not taken any measure to implement the verdict given by the Supreme Court regarding Bhakhra-Beas Control Board. As a result thereof Rajasthan is not getting its share of electricity and water. Moreover, the canal passing through Ganganagar is in dilapidated condition. It needs to be repaired. Rajasthan Government requested the Punjab Government for its closure for 15 days, but the Punjab Government did not agree to our submission. The Governor expressed his helplessness. As there is President's rule in Punjab, through you, I would like to request the Government of India to take steps to solve the problems of neighbouring States of Punjab.

To conclude with, I would like to make one more submission. The Government has despatched the army to Punjab but the terrorists have entered in some areas of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh also. It is, therefore, essential to send the army or security forces to those places also so that the terrorists who are frustrated in Punjab should not enter in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan or Haryana and start their activities there and some untoward events may take place in other States

also for which we may have to regret later on. Therefore, some attention must be paid to this aspect also. However, I would categorically say that Punjab belongs to India, it belonged to India and it will continue to belong to India. Terrorist problem will definitely be solved one day. If we, the politicians, make our efforts with patriotic zeal, as the true sons of the soil with devotion, dedicated and sincerely, problem would be solved Punjab was and Punjab is Punjab will remain an integral part of India.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SHANTARAM POTDUKHE): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Members who have taken part in this debate for the Demands for Grants of Punjab.

Sir, you are quite aware that Punjab is under President's rule since 11th May, 1987. All the Members who have participated in this debate have expressed concern that the political process should start in Punjab. They want that elections should be held in Punjab and a popular Government should be installed there as early as possible. The history of Punjab reminds us that it had faced all the challenges in the past. Its history and its tradition show that Punjab had risen to all occasions in the past. May I remind the hon. Members that the Hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Home Minister assured this House that the Government is committed to hold elections in Punjab. The elections in Punjab shall be by 15th of February, 1992 or even earlier.

Many Members during discussion have stated that the hon. Home Minister should visit Punjab. I must tell this hon. House that next week only, the hon. Home Minister is going to visit Punjab and see the things for himself. He will also hold discussions there.

The Government is firmly committed to deal with terrorism and secessionism. I share the concern of the Members that the militants and the secessionists should not be

allowed to misuse the elections for their ends. There cannot be any compromise on the basic issues to abide by the Constitution of India and unity and integrity of our beloved country. The completion of elections and installation of a popular Government shall provide a forum to discuss outstanding issues like Punjab accord., sharing of river waters and transfer of territory etc. The hon. Home Minister has already assured the House that all possible steps to ensure condition for free and fair elections shall be taken by the Government.

Some Members have said that the Budget papers have not been provided. Mr. Sharad Dighe has raised this point. I must tell this hon. House that the documents which have already been presented to the Lok Sabha in the last session in connection of the Punjab Budget, 1991-92 are the annual Financial Statement and the Demands for Grants. These two documents are required to be presented under articles 202 and 203 of the Constitution along with proclamation of the present issued under article 356 of the Constitution. In the case of a State Under the president's rule, these are the only documents which are presented to Parliament and they have been already presented.

The hon. Members have raised certain points regarding the Budget of Punjab. I must tell this hon. House that there is definite growth in the economy of Punjab. In the Budget of Punjab, the Plan outlay is Rs. 1010 crores. the Central assistance is Rs. 600 crores. moratorium on loan and interests is Rs. 190 crores. Despite the volatile situation in Punjab, the approved Plan Outlay last year, 1990-91 was Rs. 205 crores but the achievements were Rs. 945 crores. Thus, there is an increase of Rs. 40 crores in the achievement. In the sixth five year Plan, the Gross Domestic product of the Punjab state had been 5.08 percent. In the Seventh Plan, the Gross Domestic Product of Punjab is expected to be 6.40 per cent.

Many Members have expressed concern about the manufacturing sector and industries in Punjab. The growth of manu-

[Sh. Sharfaram Potdukhe]

facturing sector is 6.45% in the Sixth Plan estimate. It is estimated 10% in the Seventh Plan.

But as far as agriculture is concerned, this is in keeping with the present situation. Though Punjab is having 2.5% of India's population and 1.54 % of India's gross area, its production of wheat is 23%, cotton 24% and rice 9%.

Last year, wheat production was 121 lakh tonnes and paddy production 65 lakh tonnes.

So far as procurement of foodgrains is concerned, 49% of rice is procured from Punjab, and wheat procurement is 60%.

This year Punjab expects to produce 116.5 lakh tonnes of wheat and 63 lakh tonnes of paddy.

As far as industries are concerned, the number of small-scale units in Punjab is 1.60 lakhs and they are giving employment to 6.68 lakh persons. Medium and large-scale units in Punjab are 372 and they are giving employment to 1.74 lakh people.

The number of letters of intent and registration of industries in 1987-88 is 85 and during 1989-90, it is 229.

There is good availability of power and there is no labour unrest and this has contributed to growth in the manufacturing sector.

Despite heavy demands in agriculture sector and industry sector, the power position is remarkably good. Thermal Power Stations are functioning creditably. Agriculture consumes around 46% of power. With the plant load factor in power.

Punjab, the power position is satisfactory. Power Stations are functioning satisfactorily by and large

Ropar Power Station shall start func-

tioning in the year, 1992-93 having a power production capacity of 420 MW.

The in Ranjit Sagar Dam has been provided Rs. 170 crores in the current year.

There is decentralised planning in Punjab and this is a major innovation introduced last year. There is decentralised planning at the district level. Government wants that people should be involved at district level in the planning process under the chairmanship of the District Collector.

Development amount is spent by Board according to felt needs and local priorities. Rs. 284 crores have been provided for the State Planning Boards. Representatives of major political parties and four Sarpanches work on this Board.

Much has been said about employment. Concerted efforts are being made by the State Government to tackle the problem of employment specially for the educated youth.

Youths from the border areas form a special target group with vocational training in a variety of trades backed by credit assistance from the financial institutions.

Sir, I now come to unemployed educated youths. In 1990-91, employment opportunities have been provided to them, with subsidies in dairy projects, poultry, piggery, fisheries etc. 15 per cent subsidy has been given to them. Further, youths from the border areas are being given special attention. Loans up to Rs. one lakh with 15 per cent subsidy are being given to them. There is a Centre for Training and Assistance which is a registered society. This is known as the Centre for Training and Employment in Various Skills and it is directed towards social integration. 4304 young men have been trained and out of which 2330 have been selected in the Army, Paramilitary forces and the rest have gone in some corporations and Public Sector Units. Through these programmes, the State expects to create employment opportunities to 36,500 persons.

Sir, much has been said about relief and resettlement. During the 1984 disturbances and the internal disturbances, subsistence allowance given to the widows amounts to Rs. 1000/- per month. It has been given from 1st May 1990. Marriage grants to the unmarried daughters and sisters are given to the tune of Rs. 10,000/- Priority is also given in respect of employment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Unmarried daughters and sisters of whom? Are you giving it to every unmarried daughter and sister?

SHRI SHANTARAM POTDUKHE: No, Sir.. It is given to those who are affected in the riots. Further, ex-gratia grant for families killed by terrorists was increased from Rs.20,000 to Rs.50,000/-. Rs.2000/- are also given to cover travel expenses to go to Punjab. A sum of Rs.500/- is given as transport grant and a sum of Rs.300/- is given to cover hiring charges in the case of hiring private houses.

A sum of Rs. 38.28 crores has been given to 7809 families killed in terrorist violence. Rs.7.41 crores have been given to 14000 internal migrants.

The volatile situation in Punjab has resulted in the displacement of many families through terrorist actions. Other families have suffered through the killings of their bread-winners. The rehabilitation of such families is a major priority area for affirmative action as identified by the State Government. These actions include the grant of a monthly subsistence allowance of Rs. 1000/- to widows, Marriage grant for unmarried daughters and sisters of those killed is Rs. 10,000/-. An ex-gratia grant of Rs. 50,000/- is also given over and above the monthly pension to families of victims of terrorist violence. An amount of Rs. 38.28 crores has been given under this category to 7809 families up to October, 1991.

Similarly, benefits are provided to migrants to encourage them to return home through the grant of a transport allowance of Rs.2500/- per family and a rental allowance

of Rs.300/- per month has been given to 15,477 families have so far benefited and the amount is to the tune of over Rs.8.44 crores.

The State Government is thus making every effort to reduce the trauma of families who have suffered from the terrorist violence,

Many Members have made many points. Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav has said that there is no growth in industry. I would like to say that there is no dearth of industries in Punjab. In this regard, I would like to say that from 1987-88 to 1990-91, for four years about which figures are available, Punjab has shown consistent growth in so far as minimum and large scale industries are concerned. In 1991, 23 industrial units were set up as against 21 in 1989-90. In 1987-88, the number was 19 and in 1988-89, it was 18. In 1991, the capital to the tune of Rs.200 crores was invested in industry. 14000 small scale units were set up in 1990-1991 as against 13,601 in 1989-90. In 1991-92, up to 12.11.1991., 17 Letters of Intent were issued and 12 licences were issued and 194 registrations for industries were made.

Shri Mukul Wasnik raised a point regarding the Governor's meeting with the Finance Minister. He said that some issues had been discussed. I would like to assure him that the Government would examine and look into the demands made by the hon. Governor expeditiously. The Finance Minister would look into it.

I think, the Home Ministry is competent to reply to most of the points made by the hon. Members. But I would like to assure the Members that their points are well taken and I would reply to some of the points in writing. I will also inform the Home Minister to convene the meeting of the leaders of the opposition in the House and take all political parties into confidence and arrive at a political consensus.

With these words, I request the hon. House to pass the Punjab Budget. (*Interruptions*)

MR CHAIRMAN: There were some cut motions moved to the Punjab Budget.

Shri Girdhari Lal
Bhargava Not present

Shri Dau Dayal Joshi Not present

Shri Bhagwan Shankar
Rawat not present

MR CHAIRMAN: I shall now put all the cut motions moved to Demands for Grants in respect of Budget (Punjab) for 1991-92, to vote together.

*All cut motions were put and nega-
tived*

17.00 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN : 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, 1992, in respect of the heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 30".

The motion was adopted.

STATEMENT

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 16-9-91		Amount of Demand for Grant Voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Agriculture and Forests	84,98,94,000	28,53,22,000	28,32,98,000	9,17,75,000
2.	Animal Husbandry and Fisheries	34,94,01,000	1,34,62,000	11,64,67,000	44,88,000
3.	Co-operation	12,76,17,000	54,69,05,000	4,25,39,000	18,28,00,000
4.	Defence Services Welfare	3,73,86,000	37,50,000	1,24,62,000	12,50,000
5.	Education	4,42,88,48,000	23,43,000	1,47,62,83,000	7,82,000
6.	Elections	5,01,27,000	—	1,67,09,000	—
7.	Excise and Taxation	12,62,82,000	—	4,20,93,000	2,58,58,000
8.	Finance	2,20,17,48,000	7,75,72,000	73,39,16,000	2,58,58,000
9.	Food and Supplies	3,94,95,000	6,71,04,48,000	1,21,64,000	—
10.	General Administration	14,94,89,000	—	4,98,30,000	—

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 16-9-91		Amount of Demand for Grant Voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Health and Family Welfare	1,38,98,89,000	—	46,32,96,000	—
12.	Home Affairs and Justice	1,84,04,07,000	7,50,00,000	61,34,70,000	2,50,00,000
13.	Industries	10,51,38,000	29,63,25,000	3,50,46,000	9,87,75,000
14.	Information and Public Relations	4,98,63,000	—	1,58,31,000	—
15.	Irrigation and Power	11,34,55,47,000	4,74,31,47,000	3,78,18,50,000	1,58,10,49,000
16.	Labour and Employment	4,98,63,000	—	1,58,31,000	—
17.	Local Government, Housing and Urban Development	15,57,45,000	21,20,81,000	5,19,14,000	7,06,93,000
18.	Personnel and Administrative Reforms	1,76,25,000	—	58,76,000	—

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 16-9-91		Amount of Demand for Grant Vote of the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Planning	2,18,59,36,000	—	72,86,45,000	—
20.	Programme implementation	3,00,000	—	1,00,000	—
21.	Public Works	1,42,01,35,000	75,22,00,000	47,33,80,000	25,07,34,000
22.	Revenue and Rehabilitation	68,00,51,000	—	22,66,82,000	—
23.	Rural Development and Panchayats	32,42,25,000	—	10,80,76,000	—
24.	Science, Technology and Environment	90,90,000	63,42,000	30,30,000	21,13,000
25.	Social and Women's Welfare and Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes	39,60,67,000	4,18,82,000	13,20,22,000	1,39,61,000

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account Voted by the House on 16-9-91		Amount of Demand for Grant Voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	State Legislature	1,82,88,000	—	60,96,000	—
27.	Technical Education and Industrial Training	28,88,04,000	39,63,000	9,62,69,000	88,50,000
28.	Tourism and Cultural Affairs	1,94,76,000	2,59,50,000	64,92,000	88,50,000
29.	Transport	88,88,10,000	22,04,11,000	29,62,71,000	7,34,72,000
30.	Vigilance	1,78,77,000	—	59,59,000	—