

Ninth Series, Vol. XIII No, 10

Friday, January 11, 1991  
Pausa 21, 1912 (Saka)

# **LOK SABHA DEBATES**

## **(English Version)**

**Sixth Session  
(Ninth Lok Sabha)**



*(Vol. XIII contains No. 1 to 10)*

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI**

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## LOK SABHA DEBATES

### LOK SABHA

Friday, January 11, 1991/Pausa 21,  
1912 (Saka)

*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the  
Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA  
(South Delhi): If Bill on the Statehood  
could be taken up today.....

MR. SPEAKER: Let the proceed-  
ings go on smoothly. Please sit down.  
Let us lay the papers first. You will  
be allowed to make your submission  
later on. Purohitji, take your seat.

11.01 hrs.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

**Annual Report of and Review on the  
working of the National Jute Manu-  
factures Corporation Ltd. Calcutta  
and Indian Jute Industries Research  
Association, Calcutta for 1989-90**

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF TEXTILES  
AND MINISTER OF FOOD PRO-  
CESSING INDUSTRIES (SHRI  
HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV):  
Sir, I beg to lay on the table:—

- (1) A copy each of the following  
papers (Hindi and English ver-  
sions) under Sub-section (1) of  
Section 619A of the Companies  
Act, 1956:—

- (i) Review by the Govern-  
ment on the working of the  
National Jute Manufac-  
tures Corporation Limit-  
ed, Calcutta, for the year  
1989-90.

- (ii) Annual Report of the  
National Jute Manufac-

tures Corporation Limit-  
ed, Calcutta, for the year  
1989-90 along with Audi-  
ed Accounts and comments  
of the Comptroller and  
Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT.  
2107/91]

- (2) (i) A copy of the Annual Re-  
port (Hindi and English ver-  
sions) of the Indian Jute In-  
dustries Research Association,  
Calcutta, for the year 1989-90  
along with Audited Accounts.

- (ii) A copy of the Review  
(Hindi and English versions)  
by the Government on the  
working of the Indian Jute  
Industries' Research Associa-  
tion, Calcutta for the year  
1989-90.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT.  
2108/91]

**Notification under National Highways  
Authority of India Act, 1988; Annual  
Report of and Review on the working  
of Mormugao Dock Labour Board for  
1989-90**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF WATER  
RESOURCES AND MINISTER OF  
SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI  
MANUBHAI KOTADIA): Sir, I beg  
to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of the National High-  
ways Authority of India (Bud-  
get, Accounts, Audit, Invest-  
ment of Funds and Powers to  
enter Premises) Rules, 1990  
(Hindi and English versions)  
published in Notification No.  
G.S.R. 704(E) in Gazette of  
India dated the 10th August,  
1990 under section 37 of the  
National Highways Authority  
of India Act, 1988.

- (2) A statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (1) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2109/91]

- (3) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Mormugao Dock Labour Board for the year 1989-90 along with Audited Accounts.

(ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government on the working of the Mormugao Dock Labour Board for the year 1989-90.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2110/91]

**Annual Report and Review on the working of the Bongaigaon Refinery and the Petro-Chemicals Ltd. and Engineers India Ltd. for 1989-90**

[Translation]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS AND DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATION (SHRI JAI PARKASH): Sir, on behalf of Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya, I beg to lay on the table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under Sub-section (1) of Section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:—

1. (i) Review by the Government on the working of the Bongaigaon Refinery and Petro-Chemicals Limited for the year 1989-90.

- (ii) Annual Report of the Bongaigaon Refinery and Petro-Chemicals Limited for the year 1989-90 along with Audited Accounts and Comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2111/91]

- (2) (i) Review by the Government on the working of the Engineers India Limited for the year 1989-90.

- (ii) Annual Report of the Engineers India Limited for the year 1989-90 along with Audited Accounts and Comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2112/91]

**Annual Report of and Review on the working of Central Council for Research in Unani Medicines, New Delhi for 1988-89 etc.**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): Sir, on behalf of Dr. Shakeelur Rehman, I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Central Council for Research in Unani Medicine, New Delhi, for the year 1988-89 along with Audited Accounts.

(ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government on the working of the Central Council for Research in Unani Medicine, New Delhi, for the year 1988-89.

- (2) A statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (1) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2113/91]

**Notification under Delhi Administration Act, 1966**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI LALIT VIJOY SINGH): Sir, on behalf of Shri Subodh Kant Sahay, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of

the Notification No. S.O. 699(E) (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 12th September, 1990 containing President's Order dated the 12th September, 1990 regarding suspension of operation of certain provisions of Delhi Administration Act, 1966 for a further period of four months with effect from 13th September, 1990, issued under section 31 of the Delhi Administration Act, 1966.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2114/91]

**Statement explaining reasons for not laying in time the Annual Report and Audited Accounts of Goa Meat Complex Limited, Panaji for 1989-90**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI JAYANTILAL VIRCHANDBHAI SHAH): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (Hindi and English versions) explaining the reasons for not laying the Annual Report and Audited Accounts of the Goa Meat Complex Limited, Panaji, for the year 1989-90 within the stipulated period of nine months after the close of the Accounting year.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2115/91]

**Annual Report of and Review on the working of The Tehri Hydro Development Corporation Ltd. for 1989-90**

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ENERGY (SHRI BABANRAO DHAKANE): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under Sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:—

(1) Review by the Government on the working of the Tehri

Hydro Development Corporation Limited for the year 1989-90.

(2) Annual Report of the Tehri Hydro Development Corporation Limited for the year 1989-90 along with Audited Accounts and comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2116/91]

**Statement correcting reply to USQ No. 355 dt. 28-12-90 regarding fall in collections of direct tax**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): Sir, on behalf of Shri Digvijay Singh, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (Hindi and English versions) correcting reply given on the 28th December, 1990 to Unstarred Question No. 355 by Dr. Chinta Mohan, Shri Phool Chand Verma and Shri Kamal Nath, M.Ps. regarding fall in collections from direct taxes.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2117/91]

**Notification under Spices Board, 1986**

[Translation]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI SHANTILAL PURUSHOTAM DAS PATEL): Sir, I beg to lay on the table a copy of the Notification No. S.O. 3130 (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 24th November, 1990 seeking to add certain spices to the schedule to the Spices Board Act, 1986 issued under proviso to clause (n) of Section 2 of the said Act.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT. 2118/91]

11.03 hrs.

## MESSAGE FROM RAJYA SABHA

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha:—

‘I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on Tuesday, the 8th January, 1991, adopted the following motion in regard to the Committee on Public Accounts:—

“That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do agree to nominate one member from Rajya Sabha to associate with the Committee on Public Accounts of the Lok Sabha for the unexpired portion of the term of the Committee vice Shri Kamal Morarka who ceased to be a member of the Committee on his appointment as a Minister of State, and do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to serve on the said Committee.”

I am further to inform the Lok Sabha that in pursuance of the above motion, Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy, Member, Rajya Sabha, has been duly elected to the said committee.’

11.04 hrs.

RE. ALLEGED REMARKS MADE  
BY PRIME MINISTER ABOUT  
FUNCTIONING OF TAMIL NADU  
GOVERNMENT

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have sought your permission to make a submission on a very important ques-

tion of grave impropriety. Yesterday, the Prime Minister, while intervening in the proceedings of this House, made certain indictments against the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the functioning of the Tamil Nadu Government. He talked about the performance of the Tamil Nadu Government and Sir, I am very sorry to find and I am equally angered that he made one comment.....

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY): Who had made?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: The Prime Minister, not you. Mr. Swamy, everytime I will not attack you; do not worry.

Sir, I was surprised that the Prime Minister said: “But the days are gone when the Government of India will be run from Madras”. These are in the proceedings. (Interruptions)

Please listen to me. You may disagree. As far as my voice is concerned, you cannot suppress my voice. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Kumaramanigalam, will you please take your seat? He will also hear your submissions.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I will listen to your submission. I have not misquoted him. I have quoted from the proceedings of the Lok Sabha published by the Lok Sabha Secretariat. He said, “Days are gone when the Government of India will be conducted from Madras”.

Right from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru up to Shri V. P. Singh, no Prime Minister conducted the Government of India from Madras. It is a reflection .....(Interruptions) I must complete my submissions. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I have permitted you to make submissions. Do not listen to them.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I do not listen to them. But my ears do hear what they are shouting.

I wish to point out to you that in the South, a suspicion is created in the minds of the people that probably this is the prelude and background to impose the President's rule under article 356 in Tamil Nadu and dismiss the DMK Government there. This is not the first time. It happened whenever a State is holding views contrary to that of the Centre. I would like to point out that in 1975 when the national Emergency was proclaimed, you probably remember that many freedom fighters in the second battle for freedom against Emergency were operating from Madras. The Government was enraged and it was very angry with the DMK Government saying, "you are opposed to the national Emergency". That Government in the State was thrown out at that time. Today also we find that because there is a National Front Government, DMK Government in the South, they are attempting the same.

I want to quote the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly.....

SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANGARJANAN (Tirunelveli): Point of order. DMK party had a separate manifesto. They do not go by your Manifesto. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: He knows that there is no point of order.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Thank you for ruling out the point of order.

Further, I want to tell you one thing. When article 356 and its contents were discussed in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Kunzru had raised this question with Dr. Ambedkar who was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Mr. Kunzru asked the question: Is this article actually declaring the proclamation of President's rule in a State, to be applied when

the Government is not functioning well? If it is not a good Government, are you going to impose the President's rule? Dr. Ambedkar said, "Whether any State Government is a good or bad Government, it is none of the concern of the Central Government. It is the concern of the people who vote for the Government". This is what Dr. Ambedkar has said. (*Interruptions*) I know, truth hurts you; I know Dr. Ambedkar hurts you; I know, Mr. Kunzru hurts you.

Mr. Kunzru has told Dr. Ambedkar .....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU (Balasore): *rose*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Kundu, why are you standing up?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I was not referring to Mr. Kundu. I was referring to Kunzru.

Mr. Kunzru asked Dr. Ambedkar, if the performance of the State Government, according to them, is not good, according to them, the law and order situation is not good, in that case, will you utilise this article?

Dr. Ambedkar said:

"I want this Article 356 to be a dead letter in the Constitution."

Even if you imagine that the Government is not a good Government, Article 356 cannot be promulgated. Only when the Constitution in the State crumbled down, if there is a breakdown of the Constitution in the State, then only you can refer to it.

I have to point out to you that with the concurrence of the leaders of all the parties in this House, the former Speaker (*Interruptions*)—I am referring to something else—Shri Balram Jakhar (*Interruptions*)—I am referring to something which is favourable to them. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I have allowed you. You should speak. (*Interruptions*)

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Shri Balram Jakhar, when he was the Speaker of this House, called a meeting of all the Leaders of the Opposition as well as the ruling party then. They gave an assurance to the Speaker that "We will not allow the matters even pertaining to Home or any other aspects within the jurisdiction of the State Government to be discussed in this House." Therefore, we never discussed Bengal or Assam. We did not discuss Tamil Nadu or Gujarat or Madhya Pradesh because that is the domain of the State Government.

Unfortunately, the Prime Minister forgot all the aspects of the Constitution. I do not say that he deliberately forgot. It might be a lapse of memory. He has forgotten the fact that, according to the traditions and conventions of the House, nobody can discuss the State matters and he cannot further disturb the psyche of the entire South and Tamil Nadu. He says that the days have gone when Central Government was being run from Madras. This indictment is a serious indictment. It is an indictment on the part of the Prime Minister and, therefore, I have given a notice that I should be allowed to raise this question of impropriety by the Prime Minister. If Shri Subramaniam Swamy commits impropriety, I can understand. But, if Prime Minister commits impropriety, it is an impropriety committed on behalf of the entire Government. I think it becomes a collective responsibility, and therefore, I would like the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the House to take note of this impropriety and urge the Prime Minister to avoid this impropriety.

You should see to it that such impropriety which hurts the psyche of the people in Tamil Nadu is avoided in the future and the Prime Minister is pulled up for this impropriety in this House.

**MR. SPEAKER:** Shri Dinesh Singh will now speak.

**SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh):** The hon. Member, Prof. Madhu Dandavate complained about something that the Prime Minister said in the House yesterday. Now I am not here to defend the Prime Minister. I am sure his colleagues would do it. But, in that process, hon. Prof. Madhu Dandavate raised certain other issues to which, with your permission, I would like to refer.

He said that the Government should not be judged, whether it is a good government or whether it is a bad government. We entirely agree that in imposing a rule from the President, we do not have to go into valid judgment of government whether we like its programmes or not. But the crucial matter is whether it is able to carry out the Government under the Constitution and that the Professor himself agreed, would be a reason, to impose President's rule.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** I only said the theoretical and legal and constitutional position. I did not say that such a situation exists in Tamil Nadu. Don't misinterpret me. That is generally not done by you. Don't try to go astray.

**SHRI DINESH SINGH:** My charge is that the Professor is putting words in my mouth which I have not said.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** I am withdrawing words from your mouth.

**SHRI DINESH SINGH:** I have not said whether the Government of Tamil Nadu is being governed as provided in the Constitution or not. I said that the Professor has agreed that if a Government does not function within the Constitution, then President's rule can be imposed. Therefore, the judgement that has to be exercised is whether the Government in Tamil Nadu is functioning under the Constitution or not. Yesterday, the Prime Minister was pleased to give specific instances of how

this Government is colluding with the LTTE which is an outside force in training our insurgents and helping create insurgency in the country as also selling arms to insurgents in other parts of the country...*(Interruptions)* This is what has been done. Surely, this cannot be a Government which functions under the Constitution. I am sure the hon. Professor will agree that if these charges are valid—I am sure the Prime Minister would not make a statement lightly then the Tamil Nadu Government cannot be allowed to continue to encourage insurgency in this country.

The only other point the hon. Professor mentioned was that the Prime Minister said that the Central Government was being run from Madras. It is not an aspersion on the South. It is not an aspersion on anybody.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Madras): How can the Central Government be run from Madras?

MR. SPEAKER: Let him conclude.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: This is what was happening when the Professor was in Power. He used to take cue from there.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, if he yields for a second, I would clarify the position. I have read out from the Prime Minister's speech. He said: "The days are gone when the Government of India will be run from Madras." Was the Central Government, from the days of Pandit Nehru to Shri V. P. Singh ever run from Madras at all? *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I have permitted Prof. Dandavate when Shri Dinesh Singh yielded.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: The Prime Minister was not going into the history. He was talking of the

immediate past and the conduct of your Government.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Immediate past is a part of history.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: If you not done that, you would not have been in the position in which you are just now. *(Interruptions)*

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur): Sir, I also differ with Prof. Dandavate to what he has said. Shri Dinesh Singh has also said something. I have got certain points. It is especially during Shri V. P. Singh's period, it is especially during the period of the Leader of the DMK Party, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.....

SHRI K. C. TYAGI (Hapur): He is not a Member of this House. He cannot refer to him. *(Interruptions)*

DR. THAMBI DURAI: I am not using his name. I have said: 'the Leader of the party'. He is the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: He said: 'The DMK Government'. Don't get sensitive on these issues.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. THAMBI DURAI: I cite an example of how he obeyed. There are many evidences how he obeyed at that time and also disobeyed. For Example, when the Central Government at that time gave the direction, when the IPKF Party was coming from Sri Lanka, to receive it—the Chief Minister is supposed to go and receive it—what he said was: "This is a murderous squad. It killed so many Tamilians." Therefore, by saying that, he did not receive that Party. He dictated terms from there. Afterwards, when the Sri Lankan refugees came, when the Centre requested him to accommodate them in Tamil Nadu he refused. He said: "That Group from Sri Lanka is a separate Group."

[Dr. Thambi Durai]

If I allow it inside, then there will be a lot of problems. Therefore, I cannot accommodate that group." So, the Central Government sent that group to Orissa. What were the sufferings they faced? Afterwards, they once again came to Tamil Nadu. The Leader of that party died. There is also another instance. When the Navy found out arms worth Rs. 10 crores in Tamil Nadu along the Coastal area, no action has been taken. That is why the Prime Minister clearly said: "The days are gone when the Government of Tamil Nadu will be run from Madras." Can you deny that?...*(Interruptions)*

The other thing is that whatever be the nature of the State Governments, they have to function according to the Constitution. If they go above Constitution, they are against the interests of the Central Government. That is why I want to add one thing. Our Prime Minister said that there is a connection between the ULFA and the LTTE and then gave the evidence. The Chief Minister ridiculed him. What he said was: "Some inventions the Prime Minister has found out." *(Interruptions)*

I can give evidence of how the Chief Minister is criticising. That is why he said, "days are gone when the Government of India can be run from Madras." That is a fact. Nobody should deny it. *(Interruptions)* Arms culture must be eradicated from our country and the law and order must be maintained. Militant activities should be stopped. *(Interruptions)* LTTE may have their own genuine reasons for fighting in Sri Lanka. But they cannot use our nation for their own benefit. They cannot use our soil, killing our own people to create chaos in our country. Our fear is that days have come when there will be no democracy in Tamil Nadu. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: We are not having a debate Mr. Thambi Durai.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. THAMBI DURAI: There is no Member in the Lok Sabha of the DMK Party. The people have elected us to this House. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Nitish Kumar, what has happened to you. Even if you do not like that argument, you must be prepared to hear him. Let us not have a debate.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is Parliament, not Jayalalita's house or drawing room.....

MR. SPEAKER: Jayalalita is not a Member of this House.

[English]

DR. THAMBI DURAI: We want to protect the democracy in our country. This is the highest forum... .. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: My point is, you have already advanced your arguments in favour of this yesterday. Let us not repeat it now. You confine your remarks to what Prof. Madhu Dandavate has said.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. THAMBI DURAI: Our request is to safeguard our country and restore democracy in our State. We must see to it that there must not be anti-national activities in Tamil Nadu. For that, let the Centre take severe action and, if necessary, what we feel is, let the Central Government dismiss the DMK Government immediately. *(Interruptions)*



MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. I will call you. Let us not have a debate. Mr. Choudhury, I will call you.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What is happening? I am not allowing you. Mr. Kuppuswamy, please take your seat. The Speaker is speaking.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Prime Minister, you were not here. Prof. Dandavate raised an issue about your remarks on Central Government not being governed from Madras. He raised an issue of propriety. The Prime Minister is here. If I allow like this, then there will be a debate and everybody would like to speak. I think, it would be better.....

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: I would request the Members not to repeat the arguments they had put forth yesterday. They should confine their remarks only to the question of propriety as raised by Dandavateji.....

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER: Choudhuryji, please confine your remarks only to the question of propriety in two minutes.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): In two minutes?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes. You are a good parliamentarian.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: What is your point of order.

SHRI A. K. ROY: My point of order is that the House should conduct its business according to the list of business. Everyday we are coming here and observing that a few fortunate colleagues are monopolising the entire time of the zero hour and we sit as mute spectators and listen to them like you. You also in your wisdom allow them.

MR. SPEAKER: I think the Members who make their submissions will heed to your request. If Mr. A. K. Roy wants to say something, should I say I won't allow? I have allowed you. You can understand my situation. Please take your seat now.

SHRI A. K. ROY: You should allow the back-benches of all parties also.

MR. SPEAKER: I have allowed you. Now let us not start a debate.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: Yesterday the statement of the Prime Minister that days are gone when the Central Government is run from Madras has hurt the psyche of the people of Tamilnadu. What was the difference between the situation that prevailed earlier and during the time of the National Front Government? It is that a healthy, harmonious Centre-State relation was being built. People, not only in Madras but in Calcutta, Patna, Lucknow also started feeling that they have a participation in the running of the country. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): They have no need to speak of values and the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. When they came to power, thirteen Governors were shifted like Upper Division Clerks.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: You are well aware that the kind of tradition that was set up during the earlier days, by the other

[Sh. Saifuddin Choudhury]

Government, was that the State Governments were sought to be run from Delhi by subverting the Constitution, by misusing the articles of the Constitution. That really hampered the healthy development of the Centre-State relations.....(*Interruptions*).....If a threat is given, that is nothing but restoring the earlier position of extending the Centre's authority to the State Governments. The Prime Minister was not at all proper in saying that the days are gone when the Central Government is run from Madras. I request him and I appeal to the Prime Minister, this statement has hurt the psyche of the people of Tamilnadu, that he must withdraw it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DHANUSKODI R. ATHI-  
THAN (Tiruchendur): The people  
of Tamilnadu fully ratify the state-  
ment of the Prime Minister. (*In-  
terruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:  
(Muzaffarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir,  
Prof. Dandavate has raised a very  
serious matter. (*Interruptions*) We  
can react with equal might. We also  
have strength to shout like you. (*In-  
terruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Fernandes  
Saheb, please address the Speaker.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:  
The hon. Prime Minister pointed out  
a few things. He categorically said  
that the Centre would be ruled from  
Delhi and would not go by the dic-  
tates from Madras. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI C. K. KUPPUSWAMY  
(Coimbatore): Sir, I am on a point  
of order. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Let us hear his  
point of order. What is your point  
of order?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. K. KUPPUSWAMY:  
Sir, during emergency, they went  
underground. Now, they are sup-  
porting him.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your  
seat. There is no point of order.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I heard you,  
there is no point of order. Please  
sit down, Shri George Fernandes.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:  
He is correct. When there was dic-  
tatorship in this country and I was  
underground Shri Karunanidhi was  
the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu  
and he helped us. I am proud of that.  
Shrimati Gandhi had remarked once  
that I had committed a heinous  
crime, therefore don't rake up this  
issue (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down  
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:  
He should know at least this much  
that the present Prime Minister  
Shri Chandrashekar was arrested  
and sent to jail during that dicta-  
torship. They should hang their head  
in shame (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Dr. Thambi  
Durai, what is your point of order?

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI A. CHARLES: Sir, it was  
Shri V. P. Singh who was supporting  
this. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Charles, you  
go to your seat first.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. THAMBI DURAI: Sir, I am on a point of order.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

*(Interruptions)*

DR. THAMBI DURAI: Sir, just now Shri George Fernandes said about the regime of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. *(Interruptions)* He described the Central Rule as 'dictator rule'. They tried to arrest him and he went under-ground *(Interruptions)* with the help of Mr. Karunanidhi, he escaped. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order.

DR. THAMBI DURAI: Sir, at the same time, he said about our Prime Minister that he was also arrested, at that time. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: As today is the last day we will proceed as you wish.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

DR. THAMBI DURAI: I want to add that since Shri Chandra Shekhar was a law-abiding citizen, he was arrested. But Shri George Fernandes never abode the law of the land and he escaped with the help of Mr. Karunanidhi and survived.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order. You had your say, please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker Sir, I am glad that he still realises that

*[English]*

it was the law-less Government that put a law-abiding citizen in jail. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. George Fernandes, please confine your remarks to what Mr. Madhu Dandavate said.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He is very consistent in that. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: He is annoying me and that is why I am clarifying. Mr. Speaker Sir, I was objecting to the statement made by the Prime Minister because it throws a challenge not only to Tamil Nadu but all other States as well and there is a threat of confrontation.....*(Interruptions)* all right. We are ready to discuss the situation in Tamil Nadu anywhere and at any time. I have objection to his throwing up a challenge, I have felt it that he further added.....

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): I would merely like to ask him where is the challenge? There is no challenge. This is on record.....*(Interruptions)* So far as propriety is concerned Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you say that there has been some impropriety on my part, I would apologize. On the contrary, I have said that I do not want any challenge. I do not want to be embroiled in controversies and he says I have thrown a challenge.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: By saying this you have thrown a challenge.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: No, there is no question of challenge.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: This matter has been engaging the attention of the House for the past many days. Objections have been raised on the Prime Ministers' statement within the House as well as outside the House. Yesterday the Prime Minister threatened and that

[Sh. George Fernandes]  
was most objectionable...*(Interruptions)*...He said that the Centre was functioning on the dictates from Madras.....My friend Shri Dinesh Singh said here that Prof. Dandavate should know which Government the Prime Minister meant—he was referring to the previous Government which lasted for about a year. Tamil Nadu was discussed many times in this House, particularly, the functioning of the Government there. But I do not remember whether at any point of time any Member levelled charges against V. P. Singh Government that the centre functioned on the advice received from Tamil Nadu. The Government does not stand for Prime Minister. The Government means its performance. When the Prime Minister talks of toppling the Government and that the Government was functioning on the directions received from Tamil Nadu, it is not an insult to an individual but to the institution of Government itself and Government of India as a whole. That is the main objection. I would like the Prime Minister to withdraw his words...*(Interruptions)* I would like to share with other Members, who raised matters related to the Tamil Nadu Government that present Government knows what is the relationship between LTTE and ULFA. But if somebody says that there is nexus between these outfits and the Tamil Nadu Government, that would be wrong. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You can only advance counter arguments. *(Interruptions)* Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I will conclude, but please restrain them.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Prof. Dandavate thought fit today to raise

again the matter of the Prime Minister's statement that day. *(Interruptions)* We should restrict our discussion just now to this matter. Again if we go into ULFA and LTTE..... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I am requesting Mr. George Fernandes to conclude so that the Prime Minister can give a clarification which Mr. Dandavate wanted.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I have only one remark to make. Neither the Government of Tamil Nadu can run the Government of Delhi nor the Government of Delhi can run the Government of Tamil Nadu. We are living in a federal polity. The Constitution has laid down quite clearly what are the powers and responsibilities and duties of the Centre and the States. *(Interruptions)* Therefore, I do not think perhaps the Prime Minister can think about it. There is no need to make a remark of this kind at all whether one Government is run by the other, whether it is Centre or in the State. *(Interruptions)* This reflects the idea into the whole constitutional position which is most unfortunate because we are not talking about either States being dictated to by the Centre or the Centre being dictated to by the States. Do you support that position or not we want to know. Why do you want to be given precedence over the other? It is very wrong to make a suggestion like that. If you want to destroy the federal structure of our Constitution, then it is a different matter. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would conclude within two minutes. What is the relation between ULFA and LTTE? *(Interruptions)* An impression is being created that there is some relation between the elected Government of Tamil Nadu and ULFA. That is bad and should not be done. Secondly if LTTE is piling up arms in the

State...(Interruptions), that is not right. An hon. Member said that they should not operate from Tamil Nadu but infact they got the entire training in our country. They got training in Hirakud. They got training in our country. This problem has a history of 5-7-years. (Interruptions)

[English]

DR. THAMBI DURAI: What action did you take at that time? (Interruptions)

SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN: Can you prove it? (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I would urge upon the Hon. Prime Minister that .. (Interruptions)... he should treat all the states equally (Interruptions)...including, of course, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana..... (Interruptions) ...where labourers have not been given the right even to form their union...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur): In Faridabad women workers were dragged and beaten. You people do not feel ashamed of this act...(Interruptions)...

[English]

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Sir, I have been asking your permission to raise my point. I have got three points of order. I do not know why you are so angry with me. You do not allow me to speak at all. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: No, no, this is not a point of order, please speak on a point of order.

[English]

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: I do not want to stop by friend. Mr.

Sathe from speaking. But kindly hear me also, Sir. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You want to raise a point of order. Under which rule do you want to raise your point of order?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Sir, I am raising my point of order under the usual rules in the Rules of Procedure. When a Member raises a point of order, you should not cross-examine him as to which rule he is applying to his point of order .....(Interruptions).....When Prof. Madhu Dandavate raised this point, the hon. Prime Minister spoke one line and I would like to read that also to you. ....(Interruptions)..... I know that when he had said it, he does not mean it ....(Interruptions).....We want the unity of India. We want that the States should also be strengthened. They are our eyes; they are our lips They should be strengthened. There should be a harmonious nexus between the States and the Centre. The State's autonomy will also strengthen the federal system. But what the Prime Minister had said was perhaps under emotion or political compulsion. In any case, it is not good. The last Government was aiming at a harmonious relation with the States and we had excellent relations with the States.....(Interruptions).....I am reading what exactly the Prime Minister spoke. "I assure you the Government has no intention to dismiss Mr. Karunanidhi's Government but the performance of the Government in this regard has been far less than satisfactory and I hope Mr. Karunanidhi should not go on giving statements challenging the Government of India." The Prime Minister had pre-judged the issue by this statement. Perhaps he did not want to make it but he made it by party compulsions or the political situation in which he has now placed himself. This gives a wrong impression to the country that arm twist is being indulged from the Centre here at Delhi. (Interruptions)

[Sh. Samarendra Kundu]

I want the Prime Minister to correct his statement or it should be expunged or the Prime Minister should bring a suitable amendment to his statement or withdraw it. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Don't you know the rules regarding expunctions?

*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: The Prime Minister should make an amendment to his statement or should withdraw it because it gives a wrong impression to the country. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: This is not a point of order. Mr. Vasant Sathe.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): I think we are unnecessarily trying to create heat on a matter which was solved yesterday in a very dignified manner. If you see the whole speech and the full context of the speech of the Prime Minister, we can find that the thrust of his speech was that we do not want any confrontation with the States. I think we all agree on this point that we do not want any confrontation between the Centre and the States. I do not think there is any difference on that. In fact, he has concluded by saying that we will have to think 100 times before we do anything to destabilise the Government of Tamil Nadu. If this spirit is to be taken Sir, I would like to know whether there is any person in this country or in this House who would ever say that any activity of supporting the secessionists, supplying arms to them or training them can be considered a national activity or can be tolerated in any part of the country. I know that nobody will say so.

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI: Except when you do it!

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Let us see. Whether you do it or we do it or anybody does it, it should not be done. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SAMARENDRA KUNDU: Your Government has created all the trouble. I know that you were running 16 centres where you were training militants, giving arms and ammunition. It is strange that when you do it, it is good and when others do it, it is bad. By this sort of distorted vision, we will be spoiling our relation with the States. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, you do not allow Mr. Kundu to interrupt while I speak. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You address the Speaker and not Mr. Kundu. I have not allowed him to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VASANT SATHE: At least those who have had been the responsibility of running the administration of this country, at one point of time or another will be patriotic enough to know what we did in the national interest, whether in the case of Bangladesh or in the case of Sri Lanka. Historically, right from 1942 movement, it is unfortunate that they have taken lead not from the national interest but either at the instance of somebody in Germany or Moscow.

What can you do with the people like them? I am not complaining against them but no patriotic person in this country would ever say that any such activity done in any part of the country can be considered either patriotic or in the national interest.

[Translation]

SHRI MADANLAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first Delhi should be discussed.

MR. SPEAKER: After that.....

*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: All that the Prime Minister yesterday said was that neither any State whether it is Bombay, Calcutta, Madras or Hyderabad.

SHRI BANWARILAL PUROHIT (Nagpur): Nor Nagpur.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: No, Nagpur is not a Capital. Neither any State should be run from here and nor should Delhi be run from any other State. What is wrong in that? I do not understand why are they feeling so worked up. Actually what is happening is that it is the people from Calcutta who seem to be more worked up about what is happening in Tamil Nadu than the people of Tamil Nadu. There is some guilty-conscience. This is the result of guilty conscience. Not one M.P. from Tamil Nadu in Lok Sabha but all the M.Ps. who are here are unanimous in their view that what is happening on the soil of Tamil Nadu today is anti-national.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: What anti-national? *(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: What the previous Government said about Punjab, they are saying about Tamil Nadu. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Kindly see, Sir, a State Government which cannot control the terrorists activities is saying the other day Chief Minister himself expressed surprise and regret—that such a thing should have been done, on their land. Is this not a matter of serious concern? Where from these terrorists who gunned down these 17 persons got arms like AK-47? That is what the Prime Minister said yesterday that they got it from LTTE people in Tamil Nadu. This is what is serious. That is why

I say, all that the Prime Minister said yesterday was a statement of facts and there is nothing wrong in that.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, Mr. Prime Minister.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir.....*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI L. K. ADVANI (New Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I consider one sentence in the statement made by Shri Dandavate is wrong.

[English]

I would regard it as an unhappy observation though if you take thrust of the whole speech, you cannot take exceptions. I heard the Prime Minister yesterday. Dandavateji was not there. But I do feel that when that one sentence is quoted by itself that hereafter the Government of India is not going to be run from Madras, by itself it does create an impression which can be regarded as unfortunate. Though the fact is and I would say that even though I agree with the broad thrust of the Statement made by the Prime Minister, it would be a totally wrong statement to say that Delhi or the Government of India was being governed by Madras. This is a wrong statement. After all I have been responsible for the fall of previous Government but during the entire period all that I would say that in so far as the limited issue of LTTE is concerned, on that New Delhi was helpless; New Delhi was unable to take any action. This is a fact. This is a hard reality. Therefore, I would not take exceptions to the thrust of the Prime Minister's statement made yesterday though some of the remarks were unhappy and I am sure he will clarify them.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Sir, I have no objection to the Prime Minister's saying—as he said that day, if I recall rightly that gone are the days when the Central Government

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

could be run by from Madras; if he has also said that gone are the days when the Government of Madras could be run from Centre. I would have no objection to that but unfortunately he said only one part as though before that the Government at Delhi was being run from Madras and nothing else was required to be said. This is what I say goes against the spirit of the federal character of the State. Neither is to run the other. They have got their own rights and responsibilities and that should be cleared up instead of creating confusion.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:**  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that the Leader of the Opposition has clarified the situation.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:**  
And made a suggestion to you also.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:**  
Yes, a suggestion to me also.

He does not see any objection in my Statement made before the House yesterday. Mr. Speaker, Sir, first I shall like to bring to your notice and for your kind consideration the speech that I made was made in this House in the presence of all the Members. Not one person raised a voice that there was something objectionable or improper. It is a new tradition that is being established in the Lok Sabha that the speech is quoted afterwards and how the speech should have been made is being interpreted. The Leader of the Opposition said that this was an unhappy expression. I shall not contest his point of view but every Speaker has not the same ability—to speak in the same language—as the Leader of the Opposition can be credited with. There was nothing unparliamentary, nothing improper and all that I said in my speech was that I have seen a statement from the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and it was in response of that statement of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu that I said it. It is better if the Leader of the Opposition had referred to that too.

One of my friends, Shri Kundu, said that I have no right to say that the work of a State Government is not satisfactory. I don't think that the Prime Minister is under obligation to give certificates if he thinks that things are going otherwise. It is not only my right, it is my responsibility and duty to say that this particular State Government is not going on the proper lines.

I assure my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta I have no intention to give threats. I don't want confrontation. I want that there should be a spirit of reconciliation.

I have great affection and regard for my friend Prof. Madhu Dandavate.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:**  
I also reciprocate that.

**12.00 hrs.**

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:**  
No, you have not reciprocated it. That is what I say. In this very House, not once or twice, but many a time, it was said that this Government was being run by AIADMK. You did not think of propriety at that time! The Government is run by me and if you have any doubt, that doubt will be dispelled in a very short time. But at that time, sense of propriety did not strike the mind of my friend, Mr. Madhu Dandavate. I did not reply in the harsh language in which those charges were levelled in this very House, not by one member but by a chorus of voices on your side, Mr. Madhu Dandavate. But you did not see anything objectionable in it.

My friend Mr. George Fernandes made the picture clear. He has said that he is not worried about the Tamil Nadu Sarkar. He is worried about the certificate to the Vishwanath Pratap Sarkar, of which I was also a part. If his objection is that, I stick to this view that that Government was totally inefficient and ineffective Government and I am still ashamed of the fact that I was a part of it.



[Translation]

**SHRI L. K. ADVANI (New Delhi):** Mr. Speaker, Sir.....

**MR. SPEAKER:** Purohitji, I will call you, I remember. First I have called the leader of the opposition.

**SHRI L. K. ADVANI:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, today is the last day of the session and one issue which has been repeatedly raised directly or indirectly during this short session, concerns those hon. Members of the House who are said to be guilty of defection. This case is under your consideration. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Parliament had unanimously passed the anti-defection bill. Everyone of us must remember that it does not only provide for defection but also provide for a division or break up in a political party.

**SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:** This is absolutely right.

**SHRI L. K. ADVANI:** If these facts are not kept in view and the present Government is continued to be called the Government of defectors, or an individual is called a defector, it would not be justified. I am pointing out this aspect because at that time no one opposed the provision in which it has been stated under para 3 that anyone who joins another party in such circumstances would not be considered a defector. In the same schedule 10 there is a provision that the matter should be decided at the earliest and the authority for this was vested in the Speaker of Lok Sabha or the Chairman of Rajya Sabha as the case may be. We also provided that no court would be allowed to intervene. Unfortunately, this time the Government committed a serious mistake by submitting an affidavit in the court, as a result of which orders were issued by the court restraining the Speaker from taking any action in the matter. I don't want to raise the issue again. I would merely like to say that it was absolutely right on the part of the House

and all of us to neglect the court orders and continue our work. I rise on the last day of the session just to make this submission, that the matter should be decided before the session ends and it is not proper either for the august House or for the hon. Members who are facing this charge, to keep it undecided. I would, therefore, like to request you to take a decision whether they are guilty of defection or their party has undergone a split legally, before the current session comes to an end today. Your early decision in the matter will do justice, not only to the hon. Members but also to the august House. The court has interfered in our work. The day before yesterday I took strong exception to this move and the House unanimously supported my view. You were also kind enough to give your consent to it. Our approach was not at all a formality. It was not a matter of law or it was not our theoretical stand. But we stick to this stand in letter and spirit. Your early decision will be a true testimony of that stand. I feel that you have to cross examine the people and collect information whether there was any significant point, whether the hon. Members willingly crossed the floor or they were compelled to do so and steps taken by the Members on different dates. I would only like to make a request to you to give your decision by today evening.

12.07 hrs.

## RE. HOLDING OF UPSC EXAMINATIONS IN ALL INDIAN LANGUAGES

[Translation]

**PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA (Delhi Sadar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that on 16 January, 1968, this august House had unanimously adopted a Resolution that the U.P.S.C. and all other examination conducting agencies should conduct the examination in all

[Prof. Vijay Kumar Malhotra]  
the Indian languages, whether they are languages of the South or North or Bangla.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, no action has been taken to implement the Resolution that was unanimously passed in 1968. It was withheld. Thereafter, when this matter was raised time and again last year, the Central Government appointed the Satish Chandra Committee. The report of Satish Chandra Committee was laid on the Table of the House in the month of May. Ten months have passed since May last, but the report has not been published. No action has been taken on this report. Mr. Speaker, Sir, nobody has any objection to conducting the examinations in English but the examinations should simultaneously be conducted in Bangla. Hindi. Tamil and other Indian languages also. Let me explain as to why examinations are not being conducted in Indian languages. It is due to vested interests of English knowing people. They have been holding all the key posts in the Government. Ninety eight per cent of Indian population living in villages and backward areas remain deprived of these key posts. Mr. Speaker, Sir, 323 hon. Members from all sections of the House put their signatures and made a demand that examinations be conducted in Indian languages. Most of the hon. Members from the Rajya Sabha also submitted a petition separately. Even then, a decision to that effect has been stalled. Examinations cannot be held in Indian languages because of a conspiracy by some of the officers in Home Ministry who want supremacy of English. They want to keep the common man away from these examinations. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Devi Lal has time and again been raising the issue that the living standard of people living in rural areas should be improved. But why he is silent over this serious matter that examinations cannot be conducted in any Indian Language. Please ask them to give an assurance to the House that report of the Satish Chandra Committee will be publish-

ed and U.P.S.C. and other examinations will be conducted in Indian languages.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will just make one more submission. It pertains to the incident that took place in Punjab yesterday. In Amritsar, people have been given Khalistani currency. They have been asked to use Khalistani currency and not to deal in Indian currency. Today business in entire Amritsar has stopped. Business has come to a standstill in the whole of Punjab. No cheque is being issued in the state. There are instructions that as long as cheques are not signed in Punjabi, these cannot be issued. Khalistani currency is in circulation and cheques are not being issued in the State. All these factors are adversely affecting the trade and commerce in Punjab. It is a very serious matter.

MR. SPEAKER: It is enough. Shri Harish Rawat.

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: You as well as the Government should also pay attention to it.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I would like to say this much that it is a very important matter. The Government should look into it, Shri Harish Rawa.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BANWARILAL PUROHIT (Nagpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was assured that I would be the first person to be called to raise my point in the House to-day. But even now I am not being provided an opportunity. When an assurance had been given to me, why I was not allowed first to raise my point?

MR. SPEAKER: You will also be given an opportunity, what is there in it. Purohitji, please take your seat now. Shri Harish Rawat.

[English]

SHRI RAMAMURTHY (Krishnagiri): Sir, I have given a notice.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY): Sir, has he given any notice to you?

MR. SPEAKER: No, there is no notice with me. Please take your seat

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: I have given a notice.

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. No notice is there.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Perhaps, you did not listen, but I have already said that I favour holding of examinations in Indian languages.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a very important matter. You please issue directions to Government in this regard?

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have said that the entire House is unanimous on this issue, then what is the difficulty with the Government in accepting the same. Please ask the Government to do so. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I have already said that it is a very important issue. The Government should implement what it had agreed to do earlier. Not only I, but the entire House is supporting this move.

(Interruptions)

PROF. MAHADEO SHIWANKAR (Chimur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday, when the hon. Deputy Speaker was in the chair.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I have heard you. I will allow you. Now, please take your seat.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you please give directions to the Government.

MR. SPEAKER: The Government is hearing the sentiments of the entire House. Shri Harish Rawat.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question of Indian languages is a very important issue, but it has become a habit of the people sitting on the other side that they do not want to listen even if somebody wants to support their stand. The matter that was raised by Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra in the House is a very important matter and I also support his view. I think that this House is also unanimous on this issue. As such, the U.P.S.C. should conduct its examinations in Indian languages as per the laws enacted by the House. It is a matter of great regret that despite repeated assurances given by the Government, some officers in the Ministry of Home Affairs and in U.P.S.C. are not implementing this decision. We, the Members of Parliament have been raising this matter from time to time and assurances have also been given by the Government in this regard. I would like to request you to ensure that assurances given by the Government in this regard are implemented. Several of our youths are sitting on a hunger strike at the U.P.S.C. office since long without caring for the cold and other difficulties. Nobody is prepared to listen to them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is necessary to give them protection. You may please direct the Government to clarify their stand in this regard. At least, action should

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be taken in accordance with the Constitution. This is what I demand. The U.P.S.C. should also follow this decision.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the matter which has been raised by Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra in the House ..(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: If you take your seat, I will allow you one by one.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: No, first you take your seat.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: Sir, I have given a notice.

MR. SPEAKER: When did you give the notice?

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: This morning.

MR. SPEAKER: I have not received it. You might have given it after 10 A.M.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You please take your seat.

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: No Sir, I have given a notice under Rule 222.

MR. SPEAKER: You please take your seat. I have not gone through your notice.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: No, Mr. Ramamurthy.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER. Mr. Ramamurthy, please take your seat. Your Privilege Motion has not been admitted.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the matter raised by Shri Malhotra is very important. I had been with you and you taught us the same thing and your predecessors have also given their ruling in regard thereto. Moreover, the examinations are at hand and if immediate action is not taken by the House, there will be no use of holding a discussion on it. There are some people who oppose the use of English and there are others who do not oppose. But I say, that let English also continue to be a medium, but at the same time examinations should also be conducted in Indian languages. Everywhere, education is imparted in respective mother tongues. By holding examinations in English, we are not only imposing English on them, but also spoiling their future. Government has no right to spoil their future. It should not be like that. That is why it is a very important matter. Keeping in view the sentiments of the entire House, the Government should take prompt action. The Government should make a statement in the House in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Devi Lal is present here. He has always been in the cabinet and outside the cabinet. He has always opposed the use of English. Through you, I would like to request him that, at least, he should get-up and say that examinations would be held in all the Indian languages so that future of children living in villages and far flung areas could be brightened.

12.17 hrs.

**RE. ESTABLISHMENT OF STATUTORY DEVELOPMENT BOARDS FOR VIDARBHA, MARATHWADA AND KONKAN IN MAHARASHTRA**

[Translation]

PROF. MAHADEO SHIWANKAR (Chimur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the previous Government had announced last year on 15th August regarding Constitution of Statutory Development Boards for Vidarbha, Marathwada and Konkan regions of Maharashtra. It was followed by a resolution which was adopted in the Maharashtra Legislature on the subject. Thereafter a meeting was also convened by the Central Government under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, but no follow up action has been taken since then. There is a large backlog in Marathwada, Vidarbha and Konkan. The backlog is especially large in Vidarbha where it has crossed the staggering figure of 10 thousand crores. As a result of it, there is a widespread resentment among the people of that region and they have resorted to agitations. I demand that Statutory Development Boards for Vidarbha, Marathwada and Konkan regions should be constituted soon. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to know from the Government through you the policy of the Government in this regard. Day before yesterday also I raised this matter, but nothing has been done till today. Announcement to this effect should be made in the House.

MR. SPEAKER: You have made your point Mr. Shiwankar. Please take your seat.

PROF. MAHADEO SHIWANKAR: Sir, the Government is still adopting the policy of nepotism in Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Konkan. This should be stopped forthwith and the backlog relating to develop-

ment in those regions should be cleared to facilitate further development.

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. Mr. Shiwankar. You are repeating the same point. No, please sit down. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MAHADEO SHIWANKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, another point which I want to make is that South Eastern Railway has also done great injustice to this region. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BANWARILAL PUROHIT (Nagpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, 30 years ago in 1961 when eight districts were merged in Maharashtra, an apprehension was expressed by the leaders of Vidarbha that these districts would not get justice. Shri G.B. Pant was the Union Home Minister at that time. He had assured the leaders that there was no cause of apprehension. The Constitution of India was amended and article 371 (2) was inserted with the provision that this region would not be discriminated in the matter of development. Article 371 (2) gave three assurances: First, provision guarantee on the basis of population; second, proportionate seats in technical education and third, proportionate representation in Government jobs on the basis of population. But injustice is continuously being done to the region for the last 30 years. Allocation of funds to the region should be 24 per cent but only 15-17 per cent is allocated. Recently interviews were conducted for the posts of Sub-Inspectors, but only 7 candidates from Vidarbha were appointed out of a total of 170 appointments whereas the population of the region is 23 per cent. Are the youth of that region not competent even for the post of Sub-Inspectors? So far as technical education is concerned, there are as many as 8 to 10 institutes in every district in Western Maharashtra, whereas in the case of Vidarbha region, their number is limited to one or two in each district. This discrimination has been going

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on for the last 30 years. Provision was made in the Constitution of India to remove this discrimination. When Shri V. P. Singh was the Prime Minister, he had given the assurance that there was no hindrance in the Constitution to constitute development Boards for Vidarbha and Marathwada and that one-line Presidential order would be enough for that. We are of the view that Konkan region too is backward and for that also constitution amendment is needed. The Congress Party and our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi is committed to support this demand. When he has said that we will support it, there should be no hindrance in it. But if that is not possible right now, one-line Presidential Order to constitute Development Boards for Vidarbha and Marathwada should be issued immediately. But the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Sharad Pawar who belongs to Western Maharashtra and has been doing injustice to our backward areas will not let it be done. That is why I am raising this issue before the Central Government on behalf of the people of Vidarbha and Marathwada. I would like the present Government and the Prime Minister to clarify their stand on this issue. I would like the hon. Speaker to impress upon the Prime Minister that the situation in Vidarbha and Marathwada has been deteriorating day by day. The people have taken to agitations. I was detained for four days without any charges under as many as 12 sections. But four days later when they sensed the public sentiments, they admitted that false cases were instituted as there was no evidence. Thus, they are trying to crush the agitation through misuse of power. Since today is the last day of the session, I would request you kindly to take up the matter with the Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Vasant Sathe, I have permitted you to make a submission on this.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): On this subject, I really would like to ...*(Interruptions)*.....

MR. SPEAKER: What is this? He is supporting you.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): I said, I am supporting you. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: He is supporting you.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Let me say that on this subject, the matter is assuming very serious proportions. The people of Vidarbha have all these years been very peaceful. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Sathe, why is it not being implemented? Please tell me, when everybody is interested, and when the House is agreed, why is it not being implemented.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will tell you why; I do not want to create unpleasantness. I would only suggest...

MR. SPEAKER: Don't create unpleasantness; let us see how it can be implemented.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am suggesting it to you: Under Article 371...*(Interruptions)* Do you want the issue to be solved, or do you want to find out who is to blame? I want the issue to be solved. Sir, I am suggesting that under Article 371, the provision is for establishing statutory Development Boards for the regions of Vidarbha, Marathwada and the rest of Maharashtra. We do not mind if a new amendment is made, and Konkan is also included. *(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER: We are supporting...

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Under the guide of supporting, if you are saying that a constitutional amend-



ment will be brought, and then we will have the boards, then this will only delay matters.

I don't think this is intention of any one. It was agreed even by the previous Government. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. Sharad Pawar, had proposed a formula and a draft of the Presidential Order for implementing the provisions of Article 371 and establishing Statutory Development Boards. Now, this Government should immediately—the session will be over today—by a Presidential Order, establish Statutory Development Boards for Vidarbha, Marathwada, and if they want for the rest of the Maharashtra without waiting for the amendment. I am uttering a note of warning, if this is not done by the Government, we will not be responsible. You will find an agitation in Vidarbha taking place for a separate State. *(Interruptions)* Then the entire House will be blamed for not supporting the cause of Vidarbha. At least for Statutory Development Boards, I would request the Government to do this immediately. *(Interruptions)*

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI JAYAWANTI NAVINCHANDRA MEHTA (Bombay North East): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is an important issue as it concerns the dignity of Parliament, whether it is the question of holding examinations in Indian languages or development of Vidarbha, Marathwada and Konkan regions. No follow up action is taken even in respect of the Bills which are passed by this House. In such a situation, it is natural to hold the Government responsible for inaction. The previous Government constituted the National Women

Commission and unanimously passed a bill to this effect. But till today Chairman of this Commission has not been appointed. No tangible result is visible since we passed this Bill. Today is the last day of this session. Therefore, I would request that follow up action in respect of Statutory Bills passed in this House should be taken. The hon. Minister should give an assurance in this House that he would make efforts to implement the decision within a fixed time frame. I would also like the hon. Speaker to issue direction at his level in this regard.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MAHADEO SHIWANKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a widespread resentment among the people of Vidarbha and Marathwada. .... *(Interruptions)*...

MR. SPEAKER: What can I do?

PROF. MAHADEO SHIWANKAR: The hon. Minister is present in the House. He should reply to it. .... *(Interruptions)*.....

MR. SPEAKER: Why do you blame the Government. It is just possible that the hon. Minister may reply to these points.

12.29½ Hrs.

RE. HOLDING OF U.P.S.C. EXAMINATIONS IN ALL INDIAN LANGUAGES—*Contd.*

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Budaun): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue that Shri Malhotra raised a short while ago is a very serious one. Yesterday, a young man jumped from the Visitor's Gallery in your presence. Our friend, Shri Saifuddin Choudhury had got issued a pass for him. I am distressed to see Shri Devi Dal's cold reaction to the issue

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that has been raised by Shri V.K. Malhotra, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Rawat. I do not know as to why he is keeping silent over this issue. He used to be very vocal on this issue but surprisingly, today he is keeping silent. This is a serious matter and we do not want to make it a matter of dispute in the House, but I am really pained to see the way this matter is being delayed. This is an issue with the sentiments of the people are linked. The way the youths who have studied through Indian languages as medium are being discriminated and subjected to injustice, I hope the hon. Speaker will himself espouse this cause as it is getting delayed unnecessarily...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. SPEAKER: I feel more distressed than you because a matter which has the unanimous support of the House is not being implemented.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN DAL KHURANA (South Delhi): When there is unanimity on this issue, I am of the opinion that a unanimous resolution should be passed...*(Interruptions)*... that all U.P.S.C. and other examinations would be held in all Indian languages besides English. Let a resolution to this effect be adopted.*(Interruptions)*

PROF: RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): This is a just demand and it should be accepted. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What I am saying is that Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra had raised this issue six month back, but still it has not been implemented.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I propose that a resolution to this effect should be passed in the House.*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: This question relates to Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Hindi and all other Indian languages.

*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): We agree and unanimously let us pass a resolution in this House today directing the Government .....

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Sathe, you can express your views on the issue. I shall not be able to do it. All that I can say is that Government should respect and implement the unanimous decision of the House.

[English]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I move that this House resolves that the Government should implement the desire of this House that all UPSC examinations should be held in all the national languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution.*(Interruptions)* I have moved it. You support it. Nobody opposes it.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: I know that all hon. Members are unanimous on this issue.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You take your seat. Now the Deputy Prime Minister, Shri Devi Lal will speak.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. Shri Devi Lal is on his legs.

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND MINISTER OF TOURISM (SHRI DEVI LAL): Mr. Speaker Sir, I have been raising this



matter not only in the Legislative Assembly but also in the Cabinet at least to speak in the language of those whom you represent or want to champion their cause. Shri Sathe never speaks in any other language but English.....(Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You have never heard me speaking in Hindi. I can speak Hindi better than you...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Devil Lalji, speaks only in Hindustani and not in Hindi.

(Interruptions)

SHRI DEVI LAL: When Shri Sathe supports it in Hindi I think the Government should have no objection to it. I assure you on behalf of the Government that it would be implemented...(Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD YADAV: Pass the Resolution now ....(Interruptions)...

MR. SPEAKER: Is it over now?  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Is the House unanimous on passing the Resolution moved by Shri Sathe.. (Interruptions).....

[English]

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. SPEAKER: The Resolution on the recommendation of Satish Chandra Committee moved by Shri Sathe has been passed unanimously.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. Is it a precedent? Would you allow on the spot such a Resolution to be moved and passed in this House?...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I took the sense of the House. The House was agitated over it. It can be done.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Did you ask for the sense of the House regarding this Resolution. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I was saying about recommendations

(Interruptions)

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Then it should be passed.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI C. K. KUPPUSWAMY (Coimbatore): Can I speak in Tamil? .....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Okay, you can speak in Tamil.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order.....(Interruptions) Just now the Deputy Prime Minister assured that it would be implemented. I would like to say as to why it can't be implemented in the coming examinations. Assurance has been given that it would be implemented in the next examination held by U.P.S.C.. ..... (Interruptions)

SHRI DEVI LAL: Mr. Speaker Sir, I would like to appeal that let us all speak in Hindustani and not in English. That would be good... .  
...(Interruptions).

[English]

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur): We will speak only in Tamil.....  
(Interruptions)

SHRI M. R. KADAMBUR JANARDHANAN (Tirunelveli): You are playing with the feelings of the Tamilians.....(Interruptions) Do you want to divide India?.....(Interruptions) Language is our birthright.....  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am on my legs. Please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am on my legs. Will you please allow me to speak

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI DEVI LAL: The hon. Member from Tamil Nadu would bear with me. I have not spoken in favour of Hindi. I would like to remind him (Interruptions) that I learnt to sign in Hindi in the Multan jail. By saying that we should speak in Hindustani I meant the Indian languages whether it is Tamil, Telugu or any other Indian language.

[English]

SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN: You give this translation into Tamil. We want Tamil translation. What is this? You are playing with fire.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI DEVI LAL: I would like to clarify that Hindustani language means all languages whether it is Tamil, Telugu or Punjabi.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Many hon. Members of this House speak in English, Hindi and other languages. I think Mr. Devi Lal was not of the opinion that those hon. Members of this House who speak in English would be prevented from speaking in English in this House.

(Interruptions)

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): You cannot pass a resolution in this manner. There has to be a proper notice and proper discussion. We have been keeping quiet for a long time. This is not the way to do it...  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to say something. I agree with you.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almorah): So far as making the Indian languages, medium of the UPSC examinations, there are no two opinions in the House. My point of order is that such a delicate issue should not been dealt in such a manner. Right time and means should have been found out. Mr. Speaker Sir, I respect the sentiments of Satheji but I think this was not the time to move this Resolution.

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): I am also on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: After I dispose of his point of order I will call you.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Kindly listen to my point of order. Sir, this Resolution should come in the proper format and I would like to submit if the House is unanimous you can direct the Government to bring such a resolution which would enable the students to take UPSC examinations

in all Indian languages. The Government should be bound to bring forward such a Resolution. But before binding the Government on this issue we should discuss in detail all the aspects of the Resolution. (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, my point of order is that this Resolution should not be taken up right now.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN (CHODHURY): Sir, as you are aware that the volunteers of the Akhil Bhartiya Bhasha Sangathan have been agitating for recognition of all Indian languages that are there in the Constitution, for the examinations in U.P.S.C. On this, they have been agitating for long, for years. Long ago I remember when they had undertaken fast-unto-death, on the 40th day we intervened. At that time Congress Government was in power and we came to an agreement. A committee was formed and the matter was referred to it. Then that Government went away and next Government came. Then again they sat on fast and again an agreement was reached. That Government also went away. Now they are frustrated. I do not know how they will have faith on us. Mr. Sharad Yadav said that somebody leaped from the gallery into the House. He also said that I had got the pass to him. I never knew he would do that. Otherwise I would not have got him the pass. It is a very serious matter. He should not have done that. But what am I to tell him, you tell us. That was very much to be condemned but he risked his life to say what they expect from us. When they come to us what are we to tell them, you tell us. It is a unanimous resolution passed by both the Houses in 1968. It is not taking up a new resolution. We can reaffirm our commitment for the implementation of that Resolution.....(*Interruptions*)

The other point is that I never understood that these volunteers are raging a fanatic kind of demand to put one language against the other. They are demanding equal opportunities for all the languages, not to create a fight between this language and the other language. If they were demanding for only one language, we would not have given them any support. They demand all languages in the Constitution to be given equal opportunities and ending of the monopoly privilege of one or the other language. That is why we are passing this Resolution again. I do not know whether that fellow would die in the hospital. It is a very sad thing. Nobody will know for what he is dying. But it is our duty to see that the commitment that we undertook in both the Houses is honoured and implemented without any delay.

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY (Krishnagiri): Sir, we have no objection to conducting the UPSC examinations in all the Indian languages. But, at the same time, this House should not be taken for granted. Secondly, the irresponsible statement made by the hon. Deputy Prime Minister is nothing but violating the assurance given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the non-Hindi speaking people. I would like to say that he should not be in a position to dictate the Members to speak only in one language. And, Sir, you have very much clarified it also.....(*Interruptions*) Sir, if this is the position of the Deputy Prime Minister, I may tell him, through you that this is not the way. Once again they should not rake up the issue of languages. We will fight it to the end. That is what I want to say.

[Translation]

SHRI DEVI LAL: Mr. Speaker Sir, by saying Hindustani language I didn't mean to thrust it upon anybody. I was speaking in the wider sense. I meant to say that all Indian languages which include Telugu, Tamil and Punjabi should be used. I

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do not want to thrust Hindi on anybody. I have clarified that I do not even know Hindi.

[English]

PROF. N. G. RANGA: What about English then?

[Translation]

SHRI DEVI LAL: The same is true about English also.

[Translation]

SHRI DEVI LAL: Please listen to me first. English is in use for centuries. It is an international language. It is very difficult to pull on without English. That is why I include English and Urdu in Indian languages. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: How should I disallow Shri Shankaranand.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND (Chikkodi): Mr. Speaker, I very rarely stand up to speak here. Today I am greatly shocked to hear.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Yadavji please sit down. Shankaranandji is speaking. You should listen to others also.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: A resolution which was not before the House, a resolution which was not circulated and which was not moved and discussed, is said to have been passed unanimously. Under Rules 332, 333 and 334 of the Rules of Procedure, a formal resolution should have been moved by any Member, he is entitled to move a resolution in this House, and under these rules a resolution has to be moved and circulated

well in advance so that the Members are prepared, amendments are moved and then it is discussed on merits. This is a subject which is most important because language should be sought to be used for the unity of this country. I wish that all the Members should know that language should not be used to divide this country on the basis of language. Every language is dear to the heart of the person concerned, his mother-tongue is dear to his heart, and that is why the States, have been formed on the linguistic basis in this country. After that, language has become a very sensitive issue. I don't want that this House should touch this sensitive cord of unity in this House as it will endanger the unity and integrity of this country. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I am on a point of order.

AN HON. MEMBER: How can you raise a point of order on a point of order?

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: I am raising a very simple point of order. As I said, under Rules 332 and 333—my point of order was raised based on the Rules of Procedure. I was surprised to see that a resolution was put by the Chair without even reading the Resolution to the House, we did not know what is said in it, and the Chair rushed to say that the Resolution is passed unanimously even without putting it before this House. This should not happen.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: I have taken the sense of the House.

(Interruptions)

SHRI DEVI LAL: I had said that ....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: Like many Members, I have been in

this House for the last 23 years. (*Interruptions*). I am surprised at the way of putting the Resolution in such a hurry and I saw, the Deputy Minister chose to speak on this very important subject without discussing it in the Cabinet at all. I take objection to this, Sir.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN:** There is no Resolution, let us be clear. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI B. SHANKARANAND:** This is not the way. The Government should take note of this. They cannot further try to encourage the forces which are meant to destabilise this country. Let not anything be done I caution the Government. I caution the House. Please, for God's sake, do not do anything in a hurry so that the country gets into problems. This is my point of order.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI DEVI LAL:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this a very sensitive issue. It was my personal opinion and not the Government's view. I think that the hon. Member's approach in saying that the Resolution has been moved without notice, is not proper. I request him to reconsider it.

**\*SHRI C. K. KUPPUSWAMY:** Hon. Speaker, Sir, Language problem is not an ordinary problem. It is a very serious one. I would like to caution this Government that if this matter is taken very lightly, India will be disintegrated. I say this because so far Nehru's assurance that Hindi will not be imposed on the non-Hindi people has held India together. Today, the Hon. Dy. Prime Minister Devi Lal has ignited the issue again by asking us to speak in Hindi and not in English. This attitude of the Government will definitely lead to disintegration of India and will instead strengthen separatist and fissiparous tendencies. Mother India should be one. Mother India cannot

be divided by language differences. We are all brothers and sisters of Mother India.

Today, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the unity and integrity of India is in peril because of the activities of certain elements in Tamil Nadu. By raking up this issue, you are only giving occasion for revival of the demand for separate Dravida Nadu in Tamil Nadu. In this new year, let us resolve to strengthen the Unity and integrity of India.

We are all patriotic people. We want to be in India. We want one united India. Therefore, by raking up this language issue, do not push us out of India. Do not offend our sentiments by such parochial statements. Assure us English will continue and Tamil will be accorded an equal status to Hindi.

[*English*]

**MR. SPEAKER:** I have said that there is no language problem.

(*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** The House has only reaffirmed the resolution passed earlier. We are all agreed that all the Indian languages should be encouraged. There is no question of imposition of any language.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI PAUL R. MANTOSH** (Nominated Anglo-Indian): Sir, the Deputy Prime Minister should be congratulated for having said that English is also an Indian language and will be used officially.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI K. C. TYAGI** (Hapur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw your attention towards an important issue. On the last 15 August while delivering this speech from the Red Fort

the then Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh had declared Mohammad Sahib's birth-day as a Gazetted holiday. That announcement had been greeted unanimously by all in the country. Sir, I have a copy of the New year calendar published by the Government wherein, the present Government has converted the Gazetted holiday on the occasion of Mohammad Sahib's birth-day into a Restricted one. I would like to ask hon. Chaudhary Saheb who claims himself to be a Prime Minister of the rural folk whether the new Government has changed the previous government's decision in this regard? If it is not so, I want a discussion to be held in this House on this matter whether the declaration of the Gazetted holiday on account of Mohammad Sahib's birth-day was proper or not? This is an important question before us. Sir, I request you to direct the Government either to revise the calendar or to declare that Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh government's decision was wrong. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Khuranaji, you please sit down, I shall call you later. I will give you a chance as you are a member of this august House.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA (Jadavpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you I want to bring to the notice of the Government a matter of very grave public concern, i.e. the threatened closure of the Calcutta office of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. In a report to the Labour Commissioner of the West Bengal Government, the management has expressed its totally arbitrary intention and their excuse on this score is that a huge loss is being incurred by the Company.

13-00 Hrs.

Now, Sir, can they make up their losses by closing down

the Calcutta office? It has been demonstrated by other companies like India Steam Ship Company that Calcutta port can be utilised as a major earning centre if there is proper planning on the part of the management. This loss can also be curtailed by cutting down on administrative expenses and also by running a few ships that the company has instead of letting them idle. In that case, why are the management talking of closing down the Calcutta office which will cause untold misery to 150 and odd employees working there? Why are they trying to deprive Calcutta port of the work that could be done there? This Government has the undertaking Steam Ship Company there. I would urge upon the Government to investigate into the causes of losses, to investigate how the company can be properly run and to stop this arbitrary decision to close down the office of the Steam Ship Company. *(Interruptions)*

MR. Speaker: I do not know why you are standing. Shri Madan Lal Khurana.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, today is the last day of this session of this House. I have been drawing attention continuously towards the democratic rights of the 80-90 lakh citizens of Delhi, which has been in abeyance for the last one and quarter year as there is neither any Metropolitan Council nor any Corporation in Delhi. The Congress Government as well as the previous Government had promised to give statehood to Delhi but both of them betrayed the Delhiites. As a result, the people of Delhi have been facing numerous problems for the last 14 months. This is not a question of coming to power. Their problems are increasing day by day. I am giving two examples of it. D.D. A. Constructed 35 thousand houses in 1990. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Manoranjan Babu, you are a votary of Netaji. You should have more patience.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will be surprised to know the gravity of the housing problem in Delhi. The D.D.A., since its inception, has been constructing 35 thousand houses only per year against the requirement of about 80 thousand per year. But during the last year, 1900 houses only have been allotted to the people. Every year the population of Delhi increases by 4 lakh as the people from different parts of the country come to Delhi. The Consultative Committee also has admitted this fact.

The D.T.C., of which our Finance Minister once happened to be the chairman, had 5500 buses two years ago and the projection at the end of the 7th plan was 8000 buses. But today, the fleet of D.T.C. has come down to 5000 from 5500.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I am concluding now. 90 lakh Delhiites have been deprived of their rights. I demand that the Government does not want to give statehood to Delhi or does not want to take a decision in this regard, at least it should revive the Metropolitan Council and the Corporation which have been superseded, with a view to restore the democratic rights of the people. Elections should be held for these bodies.

(Interruptions)

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA (Delhi Sadar): Elections are not going to be held in Punjab. There.....(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Kadambur M. R. Janardhanan.

SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN (Tirunelveli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have submitted.....(Interruptions) I am submitting about the report on the conduct and discipline of the President of the Indian Olympic Association. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): The previous government also did not hold elections so the present government should at least give an assurance for doing that. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. I shall listen to all of you.

(Interruptions)

[English]

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur): If they are not allowing our Members to speak, we will also do the same. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Kadambur M. R. Janardhanan will speak.

SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN: I am submitting about the report on the conduct and discipline of the President of the Indian Olympic Association. On 3-1-1991, the Madras High Court have given a verdict that Shri Shukla, the President of the Olympic Association, should step down. The post of IOC Chairman is a deciplined and dignified post for the youngsters to follow. The hon. Minister Shri V. C. Shukla is not obeying the verdict of the High Court. Therefore, I plead that to maintain the dignity and discipline the post of President of Olympic Association, Shri V. C. Shukla should step down and the High Court verdict should be implemented immediately for the welfare of the Association. (Interruptions)

**SHRI DHANUSKODI R. ATHITHAN** (Tiruchendur): In view of the judgment of the High Court of Madras full bench dated 3-1-1991, directing that Shri V. C. Shukla should keep away from the Indian Olympic Association, I urge upon the Central Government that it should withdraw the temporary recognition given to V. C. Shukla as the president of the IOA. He is a responsible Member of the Council of Ministers. He should step down in honour of the verdict of the court.

**SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANDHANAN:** As a responsible Member of the Council of Ministers, he should respect the court verdict and should step down immediately. I request the Government to advise Shri Shukla to obey the court order and also I urge upon the Government to take necessary steps to re-recognise Shri Adityan as the President of IOA.

**SHRI C. K. KUPPUSWAMY** (Coimbatore): Shri Adityan was the President of the Indian Olympic Association and presently Shri V. C. Shukla, the Minister of External Affairs has been recognised as the President of the Indian Olympic Association. Shri Shukla is acting against the court verdict and it is a mistake. Contempt proceedings were filed against Shri Shukla in the Madras High Court. The Central Minister is defying the court's verdict. I urge upon the Government to withdraw the temporary recognition given by the Government to Shri Shukla as the President of the Indian Olympic Association.

**SHRI C. SRINIVASAN** (Dindigul): Sir, I demand the same thing which Shri Kuppuswamy has just now wanted. The V.P. Singh's Govt. appointed Shri V.C. Shukla as the temporary Chairman of Indian Olympic Association. Shri Shukla is acting as Chairman against the Court verdict. This is an important issue. I would request the Government to withdraw the temporary appointment of Shri Shukla and obey the order of the Madras High Court.

[Translation]

**MR. SPEAKER:** Yes, I know it. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Your notice might not have been received in time in the morning otherwise I would have certainly allowed you.

**PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I agree with him that the court's order should be obeyed. Undoubtedly the Madras High Court has passed the order but at the same time the Madhya Pradesh High Court in an order has permitted Shukla Saheb to continue. Now there are two different orders of two High Courts in contradiction with each other. Naturally, there is no other option than to refer this case to the Supreme Court or some other such institution, when one High Court permits him to continue in office and the other High Court verdict is contrary to it. So the government should refer this issue for further decision to the Supreme Court or to any other such body. (Interruptions)

It may be decide outside the court also.

[English]

**DR. THAMBI DURAI:** Let the Govt. take note of what has been said by all the Members.

[Translation]

**MR. SPEAKER:** Shri Ram Krishan Yadav.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI PRAKASH KOKO BRAHMBHATT** (Baroda): Mr. Speaker, Sir, why are the gas connections not being given to the villagers?

**MR. SPEAKER:** Prakash Koko Brahmhatt ji, I have not permitted you to speak. It is right that your voice is bold. Sit down please.

(Interruptions)



MR. SPEAKER: I shall call only those who have given me in writing.

SHRI PRAKASH KOKO BRAHMBHATT: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to know as to why the villagers cannot get gas connections? What is the reason behind it? *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What is this? Why are you talking to each other in this way? I have not permitted you. Take your seat. Shri Ram Krishan Yadav.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw your attention as well as the attention of the House towards a very serious issue. We discuss daily in the House the growing influence of the extremist elements in Punjab, Kashmir, Assam or Tamil Nadu and that their activities are endangering the country's unity and integrity; I want to add further that the communal forces have created more confusion and chaos in Uttar Pradesh. The communal and the religious forces are setting up extremist organisations there. I have to say regretfully that a political party is mainly responsible for all such happenings in that state. It is a matter of shame that a political party is involved in such activities and that party is Bhartiya Janata Party. *(Interruptions)* The extremist organisations are being brought up in all over the country by the Bhartiya Janata Party. I want to say that they...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. SPEAKER: Without my permission, you cannot speak. Resume your seat please.

...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. SPEAKER: What are you speaking? I have not given you permission. Please take your seat.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV: I am telling you the truth. Those communal forces are posing a threat to the unity and integrity of the country. Their communal organisations are sprouting as extremist groups.

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV: They are threatening to kill those officers, as also their families, who had ordered the police-firing in Ayodhya. They also say that those who do not co-operate in the construction of the temple, will have to face serious consequences...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. SPEAKER: Yadavji, please sit down.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV: Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav too is being threatened by them...*(Interruptions)*...The way the extremist organisations are cropping up all over the country, is a matter of serious concern to all of us. Sir, it is my request through you that no political party should indulge extremism...*(Interruptions)*.....

MR. SPEAKER: Yadavji, now you please sit down. Shri Mitra Sen Yadav.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV: (Faizabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in our country, the Government has been passing through the financial crisis on one hand and the financial irregularities are taking place frequently in the various institutions in the country on the other. There is one such institution, the New Bank of India which is a leading Bank under the Reserve Bank. According to the reports of the C.B.I. and the Reserve Bank of India, the officers of that Bank have been found guilty of committing financial irregularities involving not lakhs but crores of rupees. They sanctioned loans to Shri J.K. Jain who was involved in vegetable-ghee scandal worth Rs. 10 crores and was also charged of mixing cow's tallow in Ghee. They have been found guilty of committing fraud in waiving of loans and giving crores of rupees to the Rathi Udyog. It is also alleged that they are involved in various other scandals also. Above all the answer in response to

a question in this House had also affirmed that these officers were involved in numerous financial and administrative irregularities and the former Finance Minister, Shri Madhu Dandavate left the entire case at that stage to be proceeded further by the officials. The 59 Members of Parliament have written to the hon. Minister of Finance calling for the resignation of this particular officer. I have come to know that despite all these things the very same person is going to be appointed as the Chairman of that Bank. Why is it so? The Government should clarify it. That man has been found guilty of committing financial as well as administrative irregularities. He transferred one thousand employees and suspended 100 employees. The cause of suspension is that some branches of the Bank disbursed loans in such areas on his recommendation as did not fall under the jurisdiction of the branches. When an inquiry was conducted, he suspended the Branch Managers while there was no fault of the Managers. Thus a person responsible for committing financial and administrative irregularities should not be appointed as Chairman of that Bank in the interest of the Bank as well as the country...*(Interruptions)*...

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM (Salem): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the last few days, we have been seeing a lot of news items about the proceedings of our House about disqualification, defections, going to court, coming back from court etc. News has been coming out even about matters...

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Kumaraman-galam Sahab, why are you deviating? I have permitted you to speak about Diesel only.

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM: The fact is that the

newspapers have been literally reporting various discussions that had taken place in camera in your Chamber as well as almost predicting and giving, not astrological, but enough predictions of what is going to happen in this House. Today in *'The Hindustan Times'* we find, there is a detailed report about allegedly some orders you are going to give today regarding the Janata Dal (S) MPs, their status, recognition etc. It is a serious matter. If newspapers are going to continuously give reports of this type, then it is time that we start finding out where news is coming from. In fact, there is one newspaper which said that I was supposed to be putting my ears to the doors, hearing it and spreading it etc. It is unfortunate. I think, it is necessary that this matter be gone into. I understand my friend Shri Ramamurthy is going to say about it. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Ramamurthy, I will be permitting you.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM: Coming back to the subject for which I had given notice, the States of Maharashtra and Andhra have today been literally starved of diesel and petrol. Not only that. Even edible oil is not available. Essential commodities which are allotted to the States are not going to these States.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Please include his State, Gujarat, also.

[English]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM: Gujarat also. And certain States are getting 20 per cent and sometimes 30 per cent more.

This year, in fact, I am aware that the largest State in India has got 20 per cent more in their allocation for diesel etc.

MR. SPEAKER: Which State?

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM: The State of Uttar Pradesh. I do not know why. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals is conveniently absent at the moment.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Al-mora): The Deputy Minister is here.

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMAN-GALAM: The Deputy Minister is here. I would like to know why this discrimination is being done. People of Maharashtra, Andhra and Gujarat are also citizens of India. It is not only UP which falls, in India, we are also citizens of India and we should be given oil. If this is going to go on...*(Interruptions)*... It is an important point. Where Congress Governments are there, if these States are going to be discriminated in terms of giving essential supplies, we will have to take a very strong stand. It cannot be let off so lightly.

Mr. Speaker, through you I would like to inform the Government that if they do not give the essential supplies of diesel and other products to the States of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, the Congress Party will have to take a very strong stand and it may mean a major confrontation. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): I wish to invite your attention and also of the House to a matter of grave importance. In this morning's Economic Times, in the front Page, there is an interview given by Mr. Asoke Kumar Sen, Minister for Steel and Mines which

has been given the heading "Speaker did not act within bounds of law". It is an interview to their correspondent Seema Mustafa. I would only quote a very small relevant portion which is of vital importance. Apart from the privilege that is involved, for which I have given separate notice, it is a grave matter of importance and since this is the last day, I am raising it.

"Mr. Asoke Sen, a Law Minister in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Government, said that if the Speaker acted contrary to law, the bar of jurisdiction cannot be applied to him. It can apply only when the Speaker acts within the jurisdiction or in accordance with the law, he insisted. In the present case, he said, the Speaker Mr. Rabi Ray had not acted in conformity with the law and the provisions of the Constitution."

This is a matter of grave importance. After the Prime Minister's assurance and his brief comments, the House was relieved and thought that the Government was sensible enough, after what has happened during the whole of last week. Now here comes another bomb-shell from another gentleman, a minister, and I don't know whether there is any sense of joint responsibility. It is upto the Prime Minister. I would urge upon you and request the Prime Minister or the Minister concerned to come up and explain. We cannot allow things to go on like this. It is after we thought everything has been closed and after the unconditional apology—by a government which apologises every alternate day—by the Law Minister that this has happened.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): This is a slanderous statement against you.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: This is not only slanderous and a grave contempt of the House for which of course other proceedings

will follow, this is a matter of very serious concern that a Minister, that too the senior most Minister in this Cabinet, should have had done this with impunity. Would you allow this to continue? This is the question. Is this the view of this Government?

MR. SPEAKER: Have you given the notice, Mr. Unnikrishnan?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: Yes Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: It has not reached me.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: He cannot escape by saying that this is his personal view.

MR. SPEAKER: My point is that you should give a notice.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I have written to you.

MR. SPEAKER: You have given me in writing that you want to raise an issue and I have given my permission.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I am not talking about the privilege matter. Since this is the last day, I raised the issue.

MR. SPEAKER: Have you given the notice?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I have written to you already.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, you have written to me for raising this issue and I have allowed it. But you cannot raise the privilege issue without notice.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I am not referring to the privilege issue at all. That is entirely different. But this is a serious matter which is related to what has happened in this House.

Therefore I would urge upon you to direct the Prime Minister or the Minister concerned to come up before the House before the House adjourns today and explain.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This is a very serious matter Sir.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY (Kri-shnagiri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, today morning, the Leader of the Opposition, Shri L. K. Advani had raised a very vital point. He said that today happens to be the last day of this Session, requested that you have to give your judgment over the matter which is hanging on, about the disqualification or recognition or whatever you may call it, of the hon. Members. Sir, the entire House is concerned about that. While it is so, today *'The Hindustan Times'* predicted and published exactly what you are going to give as judgment. I do not know how your Chamber is being misused by the Press.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: How can you prevent them from writing?

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: He has quoted the hon. Speaker.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Ramamurthy, you know that it is under my active consideration. I will take my own time. I do not know what I am going to say.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: Sir, already, a motion of privilege against this Paper is pending.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not know.

SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY: Yes, Sir.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. SPEAKER:** You please make your point.

**SHRI K. RAMAMURTHY:** Sir, I have given the notice. This matter attracts the issue of privilege. I request you to kindly refer this matter to the Privileges Committee.

[Translation]

**SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKA-SAR (Bikaner):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is your opinion regarding Shri Ashok Sen's statement?

**MR. SPEAKER:** Please sit down.

[English]

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Sir, this House should not adjourn without the country knowing whether the Government considers the statement of one of its senior Ministers, Shri A. K. Sen, to be his own private personal opinion, something which the Government is not prepared to endorse or it is something on which the Government prefers to keep quiet. (Interruptions) Sir, the country should know whether the Government stands by Mr. Sen's irresponsible statement or they prepared to reject it. What is the view? Is it the Government's collective view or is it the view of Mr. A. K. Sen? Sir, he is attacking you, attacking the Chair, attacking the Speaker's prestige and his status. He has said that you have violated the Constitution. If he is right, you should not be in that Chair, at all. This is a serious matter. Sir, you cannot let such frivolous things to go on everyday. The Prime Minister should come here and say whether he thinks that Mr. Sen's statement is reflecting the collective view of the Government or it is some irresponsible thing, said on his own. Tomorrow, there will be no Parliamentary Session and what the country will think about Parliament?

[Translation]

**SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA (Ujjain):** Sir, this is a serious issue.

Something must be said about this. (Interruptions)

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** Sir, something must be told in this context... (Interruptions)

[English]

**MR. SPEAKER:** Mr. Bhakata, you should have to wait. Take your seat.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Everyday you are being given a chance to say.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** You have to wait. I will hear you.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Now, Shri Thambi Durai.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Mr. Bhakata, will you please take your seat. I am asking you to sit down.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** I am ordering you to sit down. You should not do like this. Take your seat. Now, Shri Thambi Durai.

(Interruptions)

**DR. THAMBI DURAI:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, some senior Members have just now raised the issue about your Office, in the House. Some Press has quoted the interview given by a senior Minister of this Government. Sir, we also share the concern. Your Office is the highest Office and there must not be any criticism. We entrusted the powers to you; it is your wisdom; your decision is final. So, when criticism comes often, it is not a good thing. Our Hon. Prime Minister has already assured this House that he is not going to allow any of his colleagues to make such a statement.

I think, when he has said so, we are taking it for granted. We have confidence in the Prime Minister. Therefore, if at all there is any discrepancy, I think, the Prime Minister would take care of it and also take necessary on that.

Sir, your decision regarding disqualification and other such matters is always final. We are not questioning it. We also appealed to you when one of our colleagues, Mr. Kalimuthu, defected from our party. I think, you will take an early action on that and declare your decision. I request you to take an early action in that matter. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOU-DHURY (Katwa): Sir, the question of the dignity and honour of the Chair and the attempt to undermine this by the Members of the Cabinet is going too far. Though the Prime Minister has reiterated that his Government has nothing of that sort in mind, but the way the responsible Members of the Cabinet are making irresponsible statements is bad and is a collapse of collective responsibility. It seems that we do not have a real authority in the Government. We just cannot tolerate this. This should not continue any longer. Let them decide what is their opinion collectively. You should take a serious note of this. We want that this should be stopped immediately.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Again I am to stress on this subject that your office is there to protect the dignity, prestige, tradition, convention of this House. It is not only on one occasion. The Prime Minister stressed that the dignity of the office of the Speaker should be duly preserved. They have also committed earlier that the Prime Minister would also take appropriate action if some of his colleagues do not accept the principle of collective responsibility.

Here is a case of Mr. Ashoke Sen, a senior Member of the Cabinet. He has taken recourse to a public statement vilifying or casting aspersion against the office of the Speaker. It may be personal embarrassment for you, Mr. Rabi Ray but you are not Mr. Rabi Ray, you are Speaker of the House. This is embarrassment of the entire House. It is the question of the privilege, right, honour, dignity, convention of this House itself. Do you mean to say that we can discharge our responsibility if we remain silent on the issue? Therefore, I strongly demand that some action should be taken by the Prime Minister so that Mr. Ashoke Sen or anybody else is not allowed to get away with immunity. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, so far as Parliamentary discipline is concerned, the Ministers said that.....

MR. SPEAKER: Please come to your own point.

SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Government will have to give a reply. I was going to submit that in Madhya Pradesh, there is shortage of electricity...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: You are talking of wasting time. You have destroyed your own party. Now you want to destroy the nation. This is what you want.

SHRI K. MANVENDRA SINGH (Mathura): You have destroyed the party.

SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was talking about the difficulties being experienced by people owing to shortage of electricity. Demand of power exceeds generation in the State. The HBJ

pipeline passes through a stretch of 550 kilometres in the State and so long as a gas based power plant is not set up in the State, demand of electricity cannot be met fully. There is also a proposal to set up an ethylene cracker plant and an oil refinery. This difficulty will continue to be there till the Government accords its sanction for the setting up of these projects to ensure development in Madhya Pradesh...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKATA (Andaman & Nicobar Islands): Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I speak, I appeal to all the members of this House to kindly listen to me because the subject I am touching is a matter of national pride. Sir, the nation recognises the services of its illustrious sons and daughters by conferring 'Bharat Ratna' on them. All of us know that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was our national hero and it was he who first hoisted the National Tricolour in Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1943. Sir, I request this Government, since senior ministers are here and the Deputy Prime Minister is also present in the House, to kindly declare the conferment of 'Bharat Ratna' on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and I urge the Government to recognise his patriotic service to this nation. I also appeal to the Government that his birthday, which falls on January 23, should be declared a public holiday.

I hope this House will be having unanimity on this issue.

Thank you Sir.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. DAULATRAO SONUJI AHER (Nasik): I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that a Kumbh Mela is going to be held at Nasik Triambak from August...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Order, please. I have asked Shri Aher to speak.

DR. DAULATRAO SONUJI AHER: Lakhs and lakhs of pilgrims and *sadhus* will be visiting Nasik at that time. There are so many problems regarding the drainage system of Nasik city. 'Dakshina Kasi' Godavari river flows through Panchavati and Nasik city. There is the problem of pollution of this holy river which is called 'Dakshina Kasi'. But the Central Government has not paid any attention to this, despite the fact that we tried to draw its attention. It is my humble request that the Central Government should take cognizance of the pollution of Godavari river and take necessary action.

[Translation]

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VARMA (Dhandhuka): Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you, I would like to point out to the Government that our country is supporting the freedom movement of South Africa. We had extended our support for the freedom of Bangladesh. But our neighbouring country, Tibet is still under Chinese occupation. Man Sarovar and the Kailash Mountain are the symbol of pride for our country and these places are Centres of pilgrimage. But we are required to seek permission from Chinese authorities to visit these places...*(Interruptions)*... We want to go there. I would like to request the hon. Deputy Prime Minister to make necessary arrangements so that people of our country could visit these places easily without permission from Chinese authorities...*(Interruptions)*... As per present arrangements, we are able to visit these places only when we are so permitted by China. But we want to go freely...*(Interruptions)*... Should I expect from you that you will find some way out for this.

[English]

SHRI VAMANRAO MAHADIK (Bombay South Central): Sir, I

would like to bring to the notice of the House that the metropolitan city of Bombay which is the capital of Maharashtra and the commercial capital of Hindustan is being flooded by people. Nearly 400 to 500 families are reaching there and this influx has badly affected the sanitation and civic services. Under Article 19, sub-Section 5, the control can be brought and the big city which is guarded by sea water, can be saved from the suffocation.

[Translation]

**SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, order to the effect that Government of Rajasthan would be supplied paper at concessional rates for the publication of text books and production of exercise books, had been issued. I would like to submit that the Chief Minister of Rajasthan Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat has written to the Minister of Industry and the Minister of Human Resource Development in June, 1990 that the State is not being supplied this paper at concessional rates. Supply of paper was started from 1974-75. Orders were issued in 1987 that the entire quota of paper should be made available by M/s Hindustan Co-operative Ltd., Calcutta. You will be surprised to know that in the year 1989-90 only 964 metric tonnes of paper had been supplied in place of 3256 metric tonnes. But now a situation has arisen when the H.P.C. has totally refused to supply paper at the concessional rates. As a result, the prices of all the text books being printed in Rajasthan have gone up by 38 per cent. Prices of exercise books have also gone up. I would, therefore, like to request the hon. Minister of Industry as also the Minister of Human Resource Development to ensure that paper is supplied to Rajasthan at the rate announced by the Central Government for the publication of text books and production of exercise books. Students of higher classes as well as

school going children are facing a lot of hardship for want of copies and text books. I would like to submit this much only.

**SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner):** Today is the last day of the session. As such I should also be given an opportunity to speak.

**MR. SPEAKER:** You often get up and speak without waiting for permission.

[English]

**SHRI GOPINATH GAJAPATHI (Berhampur):** Sir, a very grave situation is now prevailing in the public sector undertaking of Indian Rare Earth Limited at Chatrapur in Ganjam district of Orissa, particularly in view of the concern expressed only yesterday by the Hon. Prime Minister regarding the welfare as well as revival of public undertaking. The present labour strike, bad management and labour relations as well as poor quality management warrant an immediate intervention by the Centre. The management has not been able to bring the situation under control for over six months now. In fact, they have not yet responded even to my repeated initiatives on a compromise formula. The Inquiry into the suspension of two senior office bearers of the recognised labour union is not completed. In fact, it is being stalled for a long time. A lucrative export oriented public sector undertaking cannot be allowed to incur huge losses of Rs. 2 crores regularly every month. I, therefore, make a firm demand to the Government of India to depute a Cabinet Minister and make a thorough probe into the affairs of the Indian Rare Earth Limited, Chatrapur to restore normalcy in this commercially viable unit.

**SHRI PETER G. MARBANIANG (Shillong):** I want to raise one very relevant matter of public importance about the non-commissioning of the Doordarshan studio in Shillong.



Shillong is the capital of Meghalaya. Until now, they have not done anything to commission the studio. In December 1989, I approached the Janata Dal Government. They promised to set up the studio. In the month of March 90 also, I raised the issue through Rule 377, for which I received a letter from the Minister promising that he would recruit the staff to start the studio. But till now, there is no sign whatsoever. I, therefore, request the present Government to please take necessary action on this matter.

**SHRI P. C. THOMAS** (Muvattupuzha): Sir, this is the season now, when the pilgrims visit the Sabari Malai. As you know, Sabari Malai is the shrine of Lord Ayyappa and lakhs of people visit this place. Even from the North, people are going to this shrine in motor vehicles and Kerala is now passing through a very serious problem of diesel shortage.

There is yet another problem as far as Kerala is concerned. The elections for District Council are going to take place on January 29. Now, taking these two matters together, I think it is very immediately necessary that the Union Government takes special interest to give an additional quota of diesel to the State. The State Government has already requested for an additional quota. 10,000 kilolitres of diesel should immediately be sanctioned to the Government of Kerala in view of the Sabari Malai season and the elections for district councils. ❀

[Translation]

**SHRI KALKA DAS** (Karol Bagh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the august House to a very serious matter. I have also written to the Hon. Prime Minister about this lapse. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is for the first time in the history of free India that there is no Harijan Minister in the Union Cabinet. Earlier, there used to be one or the other Harijan Minister. Dr. Ambedkar,

Shri Jagjiwan Ram and several others used to be Cabinet Ministers in the council of Ministers. But Shri Chandra Shekhar's Government is the first Government which has ignored the Harijans and not provided a berth in his cabinet. Such a large group has been ignored. None of the group has been given a berth in the cabinet. Nobody is representing such a large group in the cabinet. There are also three Ministers with independent charges, but none of them is a Harijan...*(Interruptions)*...

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is all right that it is his prerogative. But this shows his approach to work. It shows that Shri Chandra Shekhar's approach is anti-Harijan. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not only that no Harijan has been included in the Cabinet, but I would also like to state...*(Interruptions)*... When I wrote to the General Secretary of the Janata Dal(s) whose name I would not like to refer here, he made a statement that there is no legal binding that a Harijan must be included in the Cabinet...*(Interruptions)*...

**MR. SPEAKER:** O.k. You have made your point. Now what more do you want to say.

**SHRI KALKA DAS:** I would like to say that these 37 people are anti-Harijan.

Mr. Speaker: I have heard you.

**SHRI KALKA DAS:** No one from the Harijan Community has been appointed from among the 37 Members. They are anti-Harijan and the Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)*...

[English]

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA):** How can we discuss party matters here?

[Translation]

**SHRI K. MANVENDRA SINGH:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, charges have been

revelled against the Hon. Prime Minister that he is anti-Harijan. It should be expunged from the records... *(Interruptions)*.....

**SHRI KALKA DAS:** It is for the first time in the history of free India that no Harijan has been appointed as Minister in the Cabinet... *(Interruptions)*.....

**MR. SPEAKER:** Please take your seat..... *(Interruptions)*...

[English]

**SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hooghly):** Sir, I want to raise a very important matter. There is no National Tariff Policy in respect of power and as a result, the Eastern Region had to pay a lot more than what is paid by Northern Region, Southern Region and Western Region. The NTPC unilaterally—fixes the tariff. Although the Singrauli Stage-II came later on, still people are being provided power at a cheaper rate. But for power from Farakka, NTPC receives more as tariff from the Eastern Region than what they receive from the other regions.

It is a serious matter. It relates to Centre-State relations. Therefore, the Government should come out with a National Tariff Policy in respect of power and do away with the present anomalies and discriminatory practice.

**SHRI PAUL R. MANTOSH (Nominated Anglo-Indian):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, Arunachal Pradesh has a long history of discrimination against Christian minorities. On 25th December, i.e. on the Christmas Day, in the Tirap District, the minority Christian community were not freely allowed to celebrate Christmas festival. In fact, the Deputy Commissioner of the Tirap District had sent an order to village Kapu to demolish a small Church which had been built there.

I would, therefore, through you, raise this matter before the Government and draw their attention.

**SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this August House was kind enough to pass the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Bill. It was also passed by the Rajya Sabha. Now, it has become an Act and the Constitution is appended accordingly. Still, this Janata Dal (S) Government is against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.....

**MANY HON. MEMBERS:** Who said it?

**SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA:** Sir, uptill now, the Office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is going on just like that. It has no *locus standi*. We have amended the Constitution for the creation of the National Commission. It was authorised by the Parliament. Still this Government has not taken any action to set up the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as per the Act passed by this hon. Parliament.

**MR. SPEAKER:** What do you want?

**SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA:** My request, through you, is that they should take prompt action and set up this National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

[Translation]

**DR. SHAILENDRA NATH SHRIVASTAVA (Patna):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to make a special mention. Today is 11th January—the death anniversary of Late Lal Bahadur Shastri. The position which Late Shri Shastri occupied in Indian politics need no emphasis. His entire life was dedicated to the nation's service. He was above party politics. But it is distressing that the Central Government did nothing... *(Interruptions)* to preserve his memory after his death.

We all know that he did not have a house. He lived at 1, Moti Lal Nehru Place also where his dead body was brought and kept for paying last tribute. I demand that 1, Moti Lal Nehru Place should be declared as national monument. His statue should be installed in the Parliament House complex and his portrait should be placed inside the Central Hall of Parliament. Besides, I would like to mention that a White Paper was placed on the Table of the House on 30-12-70 by the Government in connection with the mysterious death of Shastriji, but the House was dissolved the following day and no discussion could take place on that White Paper. I, therefore, demand that discussion on that White Paper should be held so that mystery about the death of Late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri could be brought to light.

**SHRI SATYANARAYAN JATIYA** (Ujjain): The views expressed about Shri Shastri are appropriate because he was an apostle of peace.

“Utha dhara se shikhar pahunch  
akaash ban gaya.  
Marte-marte vishwa shanti ke beej  
Bo gaya.”

**SHRI BALASAHEB VIKHE PATIL** (Kopargaon): The problem of edible oil in Maharashtra has turned grim. As against the monthly requirement of 20,000 tonnes, the supply was reduced to 16,000 tonnes. In November, it was further reduced to 10,000 tonnes and in December not even a kilogram of edible oil was supplied. The price per kilogram of edible oil is Rs. 40 but in Maharashtra, it is selling at Rs. 60 per kg. Through you, I would request the Government to supply edible oil to Maharashtra immediately.

Secondly, adequate capacity to crush 40 lakh tonnes of sugarcane is not available in Maharashtra, but licences for new sugar mills are not being given. As a result sugarcane is lying

uncrushed causing loss to the farmers worth crores of rupees. Therefore, the Government should issue licences to new sugar mills without any delay so that surplus cane could be crushed for making sugar. Makar Sankranti falls on 14th of this month. This day is celebrated in South as Pongal and in Maharashtra, it has its own importance. Additional supplies of edible oil should be made to our State to meet the demand.

**SHRI DHARM PAL SHARMA** (Udhampur): Disturbing reports are appearing in the Press that I.M.F. has laid down certain conditions to give loan to India. Some of the conditions are: the power tariff should be raised, budget deficit should be brought down and economic subsidy should be reduced. What I want to say is that we are a free country and should not accept any such conditions as may hinder country's development or otherwise stand in the way of our economic policy. They should not dictate us as to how we should mobilize our resources or formulate our policy. As such their conditions should not be accepted, because if the rates of electricity, fertilizers etc. are raised, it will result in price rise leading to rise in prices of essential commodities like wheat and rice. This will create a big crisis before the country. Therefore, none of these conditions laid down by the I.M.F. should be accepted.

13.58 hrs.

#### STATEMENT BY MINISTER

**The Budget Deficit—April-November, 1990**

[English]

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA):** A statement on the budget deficit for the four month period ending on 31st July, 1990 was made in Parliament by my predecessor on 28th August, 1990.

[Sh. Yashwant Sinha]

I am now presenting a review of the actual developments in the budgetary situation during the first eight months of the current financial year.

It is important to recognise that there are two characteristics of budget deficits. First, the deficit during the greater part of the year is higher than the year-end deficit. Second, broadly speaking, the month-end deficit registers a steady increase in the first six months of the financial year, peaks sometime during the four months that follow, and then declines to a lower level at the end of the financial year. It is important to recognise that, on any day during the financial year, the actual budget deficit is determined by receipts and expenditure flows upto that date. It is not a cumulative aggregate; consequently, the budget deficit on a particular day or at the end of a particular month is quite often higher than the year-end figure.

The actual budget deficit on 30th November, 1990 at the end of the first eight months of the current financial year was Rs. 13,000 crores as compared with Rs. 13,082 crores in the preceding financial year.

The trends in respect of major items of receipts and expenditure for the period April-November, 1990 as compared with April-November, 1989 are indicated in the tabular statement annexed herewith.

14.00 hrs.

The deficit of Rs. 13,000 crores at the end of November, 1990 represents a disquieting picture of shortfalls in revenue receipts while expenditure continued to be incurred as budgeted. In addition, there has been underfunding of the requirements for the Farm Loan Waiver Scheme. The Gulf crisis has also led to a deterioration in the fiscal situation because, the OEC surpluses would not materialise; the burden on account of fertiliser subsidies would increase; the cost of

repatriation of Indian citizens from Kuwait would have to be borne by the exchequer; there will be a shortfall in revenue attributable to the squeeze on non-oil imports and contraction of output.

We could not wait and allow a further deterioration in the budgetary situation. There was no time to be lost. Immediately on assuming office, I reviewed the position and initiated several steps to arrest the deterioration in the fiscal situation. I have informed Honourable Members in the statement made by me on 27th December, 1990 about the action we have taken to mobilise additional revenues estimated at Rs. 1200 crores during the current financial year. At the same time, we are taking steps to keep a strict rein on expenditure. As Members are aware, in the Second Batch of Supplementary Demands which were passed by the House yesterday presented to the Parliament on 27th December, 1990, the net cash outgo will be only Rs. 649 crores. This is the total net additional outgo on account of Supplementary Grants so far during the current financial year. Last year, at this stage, three Supplementaries, aggregating to a net cash outgo of Rs. 2119 crores, had been presented.

I have also indicated in my statement made on 27th December, 1990 that the combination of measures on the revenue and expenditure side would ensure that the fiscal deficit of the Government does not exceed 8.3% of the GDP in 1990-91. We have thus started the process of correcting the serious fiscal imbalance. We will continue the process of fiscal correction and consolidation in 1991-92.

## ANNEXURE

	April- November (In Rs. crores)	Percentage of Budget Estimates 1990-91	April- November (In Rs. crores)	Percentage of Budget Estimates 1989-90
<b>Tax Receipts</b>				
Corporation Tax	1001	16.44	1233	25.93
Income Tax	2233	41.16	2299	54.15
Customs Duties	12468	58.10	11192	62.60
Union Excise Duties	14859	59.14	13683	60.27
<b>Capital Receipts</b>				
Market Borrowing	5653	70.60	3135	42.40
Special Deposits	2382	32.80	3488	59.60
Net External Assistance	1204	27.80	953	24.30
Net Small Savings Collections	3642	72.84	3865	84.02
<b>Expenditure</b>				
Major Subsidies	5748	67.50	4994	66.84
Write off of Farm Loans	1000	100.00	Nil	Nil
Interest Payments	8532	41.00	8428	49.60
Central Assistance to States for State Plans	6394	60.70	5024	56.90
States Share of Taxes, Duties and Revenue deficit grants	10024	59.10	8631	65.70
Loans to State Governments against Small savings collections	4647	103.26	4076	99.40

**Note:** *Figures are provisional.*

**MR. SPEAKER :** The House stands adjourned for lunch to re-assemble at 3 P.M.

**14.03 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till Fifteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at six minutes past Fifteen of the Clock.*

[**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair**]

**CENTRAL AGRICULTURAL  
UNIVERSITY BILL\***

[*English*]

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI JAYANTILAL VIRCHANDBHAI SHAH):** Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the establishment and incorporation of a University, for the North-Eastern region, for the development of agriculture and for the furtherance of the advancement of learning and prosecution of research in agriculture and allied sciences in that region.

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

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the establishment and incorporation of a University, for the North-Eastern region, for the development of agriculture and for the furtherance of the advancement of learning and prosecution of research in agriculture and allied sciences in that region."

*The motion was adopted.*

**SHRI JAYANTILAL VIRCHANDBHAI SHAH:** Sir, I introduce the Bill.

[*English*]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :** We shall now take up Matters under Rule 377.

**THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY):** Sir, I have to go to Rajya Sabha. I request you to take up item no. 15 on the Agenda. It will take only two or three minutes.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :** Okay.

**15.08 hrs.**

**JOINT COMMITTEE ON REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE (AMENDMENT) BILL**

**Nomination of Members of Lok Sabha to the Committee**

[*English*]

**THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY):** I beg to move:

"That this House do concur in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha that the House do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill further to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1950 and the Representation of the People Act, 1951, made in the motion adopted by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th January, 1991 and communicated to this House on the 9th January, 1991 and do resolve that the following 30 members of Lok Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee, namely:—

- (1) Shri L. K. Advani
- (2) Shri Amal Datta
- (3) Shrimati Vyjayantimala Bali
- (4) Shri Chitta Basu
- (5) Shri Yusuf Beg

\* Published in Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Section 2 dated 11-1-1991.

- (6) Shri Girdhari Lal Bhargava
- (7) Ch. Jagdeep Dhankhar
- (8) Shri Indrajit Gupta
- (9) Shri Kadambur M. R. Janardhanan
- (10) Shri Srikanta Jena
- (11) Prof. Meijinlung Kamson
- (12) Shri Lokendra Singh
- (13) Shri Peter G. Marbaniang
- (14) Shri Raj Mangal Mishra
- (15) Shri Nitish Kumar
- (16) Dr. Debi Prosad Pal
- (17) Shri Rameshwar Patidar
- (18) Shri Shankararao Patil
- (19) Shri R. N. Rakesh
- (20) Shri Ram Sagar (Bara Banki)
- (21) Prof. N. G. Ranga
- (22) Shri Dharmanna Mondayya Sadul
- (23) Shri Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait
- (24) Shri Anil Shastri
- (25) Shri B. P. Singam
- (26) Shri Surajbhanu Solanki
- (27) Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
- (28) Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan
- (29) Shri Srikantha Datta Narasimha Raja Wadiyar
- (30) Shri Janardan Yadav."

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Sir, I have got a point of order on this. I do not want to question how the names are selected for the Joint Committee. But I would like to submit that it is a question of electoral reforms where the opinion of all the Parties, whether big or small, should be accommodated. At least one representative from all the Parties which are recognised in this House

should be in that Committee. This is my submission. This whole thing can be reconsidered on that line.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Is the Minister interested in responding?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: As you know, these matters are not decided by the Minister. The Parliamentary Affairs' Minister in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition makes the decision on the size of the Committee and after that the composition is decided on the strength of the parties. If an individual is there, he becomes a decimal point in the quota formation. We will try as best as possible to accommodate all the parties in various committees. But regarding this particular item the list has been formally prepared after adopting the due processes.

SHRI A. K. ROY: The quota system is not good everywhere. So here there are some 17 parties.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have made the point and he has responded. Now you can speak to him afterwards. But there is no point of order as such. There is no procedure violated in presenting this motion.

SHRI A. K. ROY: You want to go in for electoral reforms where you have to accommodate the opinion of all the political parties. For that you are presenting before the House a panel and that panel excludes the names of most of the smaller parties.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That may be a point but that is not a point of order.

SHRI A. K. ROY: It is a point to prevent future disorder.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: We will take this point for future consideration.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do concur in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha that the House do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill further to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1950 and the Representation of the People Act, 1951, made in the motion adopted by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th January, 1991 and communicated to this House on the 9th January, 1991 and do resolve that the following 30 members of Lok Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee namely:—

- (1) Shri L. K. Advani
- (2) Shri Amal Datta
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- (4) Shri Chitta Basu
- (5) Shri Yusuf Beg
- (6) Shri Girdhari Lal Bargava
- (7) Ch. Jagdeep Dhankhar
- (8) Shri Indrajit Gupta
- (9) Shri Kadambur M. R. Janardhanan
- (10) Shri Srikanta Jena
- (11) Prof. Meijinlung Kamson
- (12) Shri Lokendra Singh
- (13) Shri Peter G. Marbaniang
- (14) Shri Raj Mangal Mishra
- (15) Shri Nitish Kumar
- (16) Dr. Debi Prosad Pal
- (17) Shri Rameshwar Patidar
- (18) Shri Shankarrao Patil
- (19) Shri R. N. Rakesh

- (20) Shri Ram Sagar (Bara Banki)
- (21) Prof. N. G. Ranga
- (22) Shri Dharmanna Mondayya Sadul
- (23) Shri Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait
- (24) Shri Anil Shastri
- (25) Shri B. P. Singam
- (26) Shri Surajbhanu Solanki
- (27) Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
- (28) Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan
- (29) Shri Srikantha Datta Narasimha Raja Wadiyar
- (30) Shri Janardan Yadav."

*The motion was adopted.*

15.13 hrs.

#### MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

- (i) **Need to take steps to check increase in accidents on National Highways.**

[English]

SHRI C. P. MUDALA GIRIYAPPA (Chitradurga): Despite a comprehensive Motor Vehicles Act, there is a steep increase in the number of accidents on the Highways of the country. Hundreds of precious lives and property worth several lakhs of rupees are lost every month. The statistics of Highway accidents for the last ten years reveal that there is an abnormal increase in the number of accidents. This trend is required to be checked immediately.

Several reasons have been attributed for the fatal accidents including:

1. Low salary to the drivers;



2. Overtime work from the drivers and

3. Lack of facilities like food, water etc. on the roadside.

I urge upon the hon. Minister of Surface Transport to improve the condition of National Highways and to avoid accidents.

(ii) **Need to give priority to construction of main railway line between Latur Road and Kurudwadi Via Osmanabad in Maharashtra.**

SHRI ARVIND TULSHIRAM KAMBLE (Osmanabad): Marathwada region of Maharashtra is the most backward region of the State. The development of the area is blocked due to non-existence of broad-gauge lines. Railway lines are pre-requisite of development for any area. There are a few railway lines in the area but they are on metre or narrow gauge lines. If these lines are converted into broad-gauge the development of the area will be hastened.

The Ministry of Railways have completed the survey for the conversion of the narrow gauge lines which run between Kurudwadi and Latur. The survey has been done from Latur to Kurudwadi via Osmanabad. My submission is that the same very line should be extended between Latur and Latur Road, a distance of only 30 kms. If this whole line goes from Latur Road to Latur and from Latur to Kurudwadi via Osmanabad then there can be a direct line from Hyderabad to Bombay. This railway line will join Marathwada from big cities like Bombay and Hyderabad.

I request the Minister for Railways that keeping in view the sentiments of the people of Marathwada and the development of the region, the construction of the above-said railway line should be accorded priority.

(iii) **Need to conduct UPSC Examinations in all Indian languages**

[Translation]

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI (Sonepat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, India is a multi-lingual country so the candidates should be given the option of answering questions in the examinations conducted by the Commission in any Indian language of their choice. This has become essential. It will provide justice to the people of all parts of the country because one can grasp any subject quite easily in one's own mother tongue. With this end in view, a resolution to this effect was adopted on 18th January, 1968 in both the Houses of Parliament. It was followed by a written assurance by the Government on 26th May, 1989. Thereafter in reply to a question on 17th August, 1990, an assurance was given to introduce all Indian languages as medium of examination in UPSC examinations. A number of M.Ps also wrote to the Prime Minister in this connection. I have received a memorandum from the Akhil Bhartiya Bhasha Sanrakshan Sangathan also. Due to all these reasons, this demand has gained momentum. Therefore, I request that the decision taken by the Government earlier should be implemented soon.

[English]

(iv) **Need to expedite construction of Malayora Railway line from Angamaly to Achencoil in Kerala**

SHRI P. C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha): Sir, the proposed Malayora Railway from Angamaly via Kalaoy, Malayattoor, Perumbavoor, Kothamangalam, Muvattupuzha, Vazhakkulam, Thoduduzha, Palai, Kanjirappally, Erumely, Pathanamthittu to Achencoil is to be surveyed and constructed immediately. It will connect several pilgrim centres including Sabarimala, Bharananganam, Sivagiri etc. and several commercial towns in the foreign exchange earning agricultural

[Sh. P. C. Thomas]

lands of Kerala. As a continuation to Konkan Railway, this line will connect South to North. I request the Government to take urgent steps in this regard.

**(v) Need to re-instate the victimised Railway employees**

**SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad):** Sir, the organisations of the Railway employees, irrespective of their political affiliation, are unanimously demanding since long for the immediate reinstatement of their victimised colleagues numbering about one thousand, removed from the job because of their trade union activities. The victimised employees are of two types. One category was removed by using law under rule 14(ii) of the Railway Service (Discipline and Appeal) Rules. The other by subtle method of transfer and other punitive measures.

As per the request of the previous Railway Ministers, the Central Federations and categorical organisations submitted a comprehensive list of victimised employees and they were assured of immediate consideration. Subsequently, clear order was issued by the Minister for their reinstatement. It is strange that even that order was not implemented by the Railway Board.

I urge upon the Government to implement the order of the previous government and reinstate the victimised railway employees at once.

**(vi) Need to implement National Industries Tribunal award regarding payment of Salary and Allowances to employees of Regional Rural Banks at Par with those of sponsored Banks.**

**SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):** Regional Rural Bank was established in the year 1975 by Regional Rural Bank Act, 1976. As per Section 17(1) thereof, the employees of R.R.Bs. are entitled to get salary with due regard to the salary structure of the respective State Governments.

The employees and officers of the R.R.Bs. under the banner of A.I.R.R.B.E.A., filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court in 1984, praying for equal pay for equal work. The Supreme Court advised the Central Government to refer the dispute to a Tribunal headed by a retired Chief Justice of a High Court.

In terms of the said order of the Supreme Court, the Central Government appointed a National Industrial Tribunal consisting of Sri Justice S. Obul Reddy, Retired Chief Justice of High Court of Andhra Pradesh as its Chairman. The Government accepted that the decisions of the Tribunal should be final and binding.

The Tribunal in its award declared that the officers and employees should get salary and other allowances as per scale of officers/employees of comparable level at Sponsored Banks from September 1, 1987.

An equation Committee set up on the 11th October, 1990 by Government of India was given instructions to give their report within one month.

I request the Government to implement National Industrial Tribunal award, with payment of arrears from 1-9-1987, without further delay.

**(vii) Need for adequate supply of LPG in the country**

[Translation]

**SHRI SATYNARAYAN JATIYA (Ujjain):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, LPG is an important fuel for cooking. Recently the Government has increased the refilling period which has resulted in a lot of inconvenience to the consumers, especially the housewives. Besides, blackmarketing in LPG cylinders has increased which has forced the consumers to buy gas cylinders in the black market so as to meet their requirement. The demand for LPG is increasing day by day as the availability of other types

of fuel is becoming increasingly scarce. In such a situation, when there is a need for opening new outlets for the supply of LPG in new areas, it is also necessary to improve the supply position to overcome the existing shortage.

Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister of Petroleum to accord top priority to the supply of LPG cylinders for the purpose of cooking so that the supply could meet the demand and cylinders could be made available at the prescribed rates. At the same time, new LPG agencies should be opened at such Tehsils and Sub Divisional headquarters where this facility is not available at present. Till such time this facility is not made available at Tehsil and Sub Divisional headquarters, LPG cylinders from district headquarters may be supplied. Necessary arrangements for the supply of LPG cylinders at Barnagar and Tarana areas of Ujjain district and Alote area of Ratlam district should be made soon.

**(viia) Need to streamline the procedure of issuing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes certificates**

SHRI CHAND RAM (Hardoi) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, reports have appeared recently in the newspapers about issuing fake certificates of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe for admission in Delhi University and other institutes as also in the case of service matters. This is a serious matter. The Central Government, the State Governments and the Administrations of Union territories should take steps to check issuing of fake certificates by any person or issuing of wrong certificates by the officials. A sub committee should be constituted to go into the whole episode and to suggest measures to streamline the procedure of issuing certificates and to punish those who issue fake or wrong certificates. The certificates issued during the last one or two years should be thoroughly screened.

**(ix) Need to bring Hindustan Shipyard Ltd., Vishakhapatnam either under Ministry of Defence or merge it with the Shipping Corporation of India**

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHAUDHURY (Katwa): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Hindustan Shipyard Limited, Vishakhapatnam, a major ship building industry in public sector is facing grave crisis. The crisis is not due to its incapacity to build ships but is due to the policy being pursued by the Government in respect of productivity, pricing and personnel. This shipyard has the technical capability to build high quality vessels indigenously. However, I am sorry to say that the management has been reducing the staff who are directly responsible for productivity. To cite an example, the number of workers involved in production were reduced from 7000 in 1983 to 4700 in 1990, while the number of officers increased from 150 in 1983 to 850 in 1990. The Government is not taking initiative to procure more orders for this shipyard. On the contrary, ship owners including the Shipping Corporation of India are placing orders from abroad. The Government's pricing policy does not correspond with the actual cost of production of a ship trading to loss to the shipyard. Lastly, genuine grievances of the workers who have been sacrificing their interests by cooperating with the management in their austerity programme, are being ignored. The question of wage revision is pending, the last agreement having been expired on 31-1-1990.

In order to ward off any crisis I suggest that all the pending orders should be cleared by the Government immediately. As a long term measure this shipyard may be brought under the Defence Ministry or may be merged with the Shipping Corporation of India.

**(x) Need to provide adequate facilities to weekly and fortnightly local newspapers**

[Translation]

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, before I sit on 'dharana' in front of the Chamber of Shri Kamal Morarka, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office. I want to raise the following matter under Rule 377 with your permission:

Weekly and fortnightly newspapers play an important role in highlighting people's problems and bringing them into the national main stream in rural areas and small towns of the country. During the last one decade the big dailies released very few advertisements to small newspapers being published from various cities even at nominal rates. Even their quota of newsprint is not supplied to them in time. The result is that these important media which create public opinion in rural areas are gradually closing down their publication. The Government should constitute high level Committee immediately to study the problems being faced by these newspapers and take comprehensive measures to make them economically viable. To give them immediate relief, the Government should take steps in the direction of simplifying the procedure of giving recognition to these newspapers raising advertisement tariff and quota of newsprint and compulsory release of employment news besides making provision for giving at least one fourth representation to these newspapers in various Committees of Journalists.

**(xi) Need to construct a By-Pass near Udaipur in Rajasthan on National Highway No. 8**

**SHRI GULAB CHAND KATARIA (Udaipur):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Udaipur is situated on the National Highway No. 8. The proposal regarding construction of by-pass is pending for years. In the absence of a by-pass, at least 60-70 accidents take

place every year resulting in more than 100 deaths. The Central Government had allocated funds for acquiring land for the construction of by-pass and this work had been completed a year ago. State Government of Rajasthan had sanctioned Rs. 95 lakhs for the construction of service line and started work on it. The Central Government was to accord financial sanction for the construction but the same has not been done so far with the result that construction work has not started so far. The result is that inconvenience being caused to the people of Udaipur city has increased all the more because the National Highway No. 8 passes through the heart of the city. By-pass in all the big and small cities falling on this National Highway have been constructed. Udaipur—a tourist spot and a historical place is the only city which is devoid of this facility.

Therefore, the Ministry of Surface Transport should take immediate steps to start construction of this by-pass.

**(vii) Need to take steps to provide drinking water in various regions of Jahanabad, Bihar**

**SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, India is a big country, but it is still facing severe problem of drinking water. This is a very serious matter which causes concern. Even after 42 years of independence, we have not been able to provide potable drinking water to the people. In Jahanabad district, hand-pumps cannot be installed in Daulatpur, Akbarpur and Makhpa villages of Makhdumpur block, Thikraur village of Ghoshi block, Nonahi village of Parko block, Baisna, Khagripur, Nagra and Jagdoha villages of Khijar Sarai block because the land in these villages is rocky and, as such, water is brought from outside.

Therefore, the Government should provide drinking water in these villages.

(xiii) Need to take steps for overall development of Mithila region or Bihar

[English]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Sir, North Bihar, particularly its Mithila region seems to have been discriminated against. Per Capita consumption of electricity in North Bihar is one-fourth of that in the rest of Bihar which itself is far behind the national average. Extension of Broad gauge line from Samastipur through Darbhanga to Jay-Nagar and Raxaul and from Mansi to Saharasa is delayed endlessly. Even extension work to Darbhanga moves at a snail's pace.

Completion of Western Koshi canal was extended from 1980 to 1987 and to 1993-94. Even the construction of siphon across river Kamla is delayed. Same is the case with the renovation of Eastern Koshi and Kamla Canals. Construction of multi-purpose dams over rivers Koshi at Barakshetra, over Kamla at Shishapani and over Bagmati at Nunther is neglected and no talks with HMG Nepal for these in the mutual interest of both the countries have been held during the last decade except once in 1988. Floods, droughts, power crisis and disruption in road, rail connections have become the fate of the area. Ashok paper mills, Fruit processing mills of Madhubani, Darbhanga are languishing. News bulletins in Mathili language are not broadcast due to transmitting capacity of A.I.R. Darbhanga. Modernisation of sugar and jute mills are being neglected and the demand for petro-chemical complex at Baraun is ignored.

I urge the Government to look into these matters before it is too late.

8—6 LSS/ND/91

(xiv) Need to declare Ajmer district of Rajasthan, and industrially backward district

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Ajmer city of Rajasthan occupies a glorious place in the history and it has its own importance from cultural, educational and religious point of view. Till 1956, Ajmer city was a Union Territory, but after its merger with Rajasthan, the city has been victim of neglect as it was not properly developed from industrial and economic point of view. The result is that unemployment in the district has taken severe proportion. According to the norms laid down by the Planning Commission, this district was not declared as industrially backward with the result that no heavy or small industry in public or private sector could come up because no concessions for this purpose were granted. Therefore, I would demand that with a view to removing unemployment and poverty from Ajmer district and facilitating all round development of places like Nasirabad, Beawar, Kishangarh, Vijaynagar, Pushkar, Kekdi, etc., the entire district should be declared industrially backward and heavy and small industrial units suited to these areas should be set up and special concessions given to them.

15.33 hrs.

# CANTONMENTS (AMENDMENT) BILL

Amendment made by Rajya Sabha  
 [English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We are taking up item No. 14.

Shri Lalit Vijoy Singh.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI LALIT VIJOY SINGH): I beg to move:

'That the following amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill

further to amend the Cantonments Act, 1924, be taken into consideration:—

**Clause 1—Short Title**

That at page 1, in line 3, for “1990” substitute “1991”.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

“That the following amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill further to amend the Cantonments Act, 1924, be taken into consideration:—

**Clause 1—Short Title**

That at page 1, in line 3, for “1990” substitute “1991”.

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI LALIT VIJOY SINGH: I beg to move:

“That the amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill be agreed to.”

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

“That the amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill be agreed to.”

*The motion was adopted.*

15.35 hrs.

**JOINT COMMITTEE ON ACQUIRED IMMUNO DEFICIENCY SYNDROME (AIDS) PREVENTION BILL**

**Nomination of Members of Lok Sabha to the Committee**

[Translation]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

AND FAMILY WELFARE AND DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (SHRI DASAI CHOWDHARY): On behalf of Dr. SHAKEELUR REHMAN, I beg to move:

“That this House do concur in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha that the House do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to provide for the prevention and control of the spread of Human Immuno Deficiency Virus (HIV) infection and to provide for specialised medical treatment and social support to, and rehabilitation of, persons suffering from Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and for matters connected therewith and incidental thereto made in the motion adopted by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th January, 1991, and communicated to this House on the 9th January, 1991 and do resolve that the following 20 members of Lok Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee, namely:—

1. Dr. Daultrao Sonuji Aher
2. Shri Nani Bhattacharya
3. Dr. Ram Chandra Dome
4. Shri Inder Jit
5. Dr. Venkatesh Kabde
6. Shri S. Krishna Kumar
7. Shri Vamanrao Mahadik
8. Smt. Jayawanti Navinchandra Mehta
9. Shri B. M. Mujahid
10. Dr. R. Ramadass
11. Dr. Shakeelur Rehman
12. Dr. Bhajwan Das Rathor

13. Shri Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy
14. Shri Mahadeepak Singh Shakra
15. Shri Dharm Pal Sharma
16. Dr. C. Silvera
17. Shri Taslimuddin
18. Shri K.C. Tyagi
19. Shri Ram Krishan Yadav
20. Dr. Golam Yazdani."

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do concur in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha that the House do join in the joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to provide for the prevention and control of the spread of Human Immuno Deficiency Virus (HIV) infection and to provide for specialised medical treatment and social support to, and rehabilitation of, persons suffering from Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and for matters connected therewith and incidental thereto made in the motion adopted by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th January, 1991, and communicated to this House on the 9th January, 1991 and do resolve that the following 20 members of Lok Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee, namely:—

1. Dr. Daultrao Sonuji Aher
2. Shri Nani Bhattacharya
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4. Shri Inderjit
5. Dr. Venkatesh Kabde
6. Shri S. Krishnakumar

7. Shri Vamanrao Mahadik
8. Smt. Jayawanti Navinchandra Mehta
9. Shri B. M. Mujahid
10. Dr. R. Ramadass
11. Dr. Shakeelur Rehman
12. Dr. Bhagwan Das Rathor
13. Shri Y. S. Rajasekhar Reddy
14. Shri Mahadeepak Singh Shakra
15. Shri Dharm Pal Sharma
16. Dr. C. Silvera
17. Shri Taslimuddin
18. Shri K.C. Tyagi
19. Shri Ram Krishna Yadav
20. Dr. Golam Yazdani."

*The motion was adopted.*

15.38 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**Situation in Punjab**

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We will take up Item No. 17: Discussion under Rule 193. Shri L. K. Advani. Two hours are allotted for this discussion.

[Translation]

SHRI L. K. ADVANI (New Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, situation in Punjab is being discussed on the last day of the session and it would have disappointed the people of Punjab, had it not been discussed in this session.

[English]

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): Why don't you speak in English?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: It was decided that we should speak in English as well as in Hindi. Let us not be exclusive about it. I have tried to do my best to implement this.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Translation is beautiful.

[Translation]

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a short duration discussion and that is why it is not possible to discuss it thoroughly as to why the situation has deteriorated so much in Punjab. But broadly speaking every one of us would agree that disappointment and discontent are there in every State of the country though reasons therefor differ. Similarly, such reasons may also be there in Punjab but it has happened in this decade only that this discontent has risen to such heights that it has taken the form of separatism and extremism. Reasons of such discontent have been there earlier also and agitations were started but they had never taken such an ugly turn in the past. I think the year 1990 has been the bloodiest year of this decade. I do not want to give figures because many figures can be given in this regard. Many such figures have been given by the Government which would also confirm the fact

[English]

it has been the bloodiest year.

[Translation]

On the basis of figures, which I have seen, I can say that about 2000 innocent citizens and about 500 security personnel have fallen victims of

the bullets of terrorists in the year 1990. About 1000 so called terrorists have been killed in the drive carried out by the Government and the security forces against terrorism. It means 3,500 people have been killed there in the year 1990.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not know who will give reply to the debate in the House. I think Shri Kamal Morarka will give reply to the discussion because the Prime Minister and Shri Subodh Kant Sahay are not present here.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Shri Bhajan Lal will reply.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Faridabad): Yes, I will reply. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: I hope who-so-ever replies to the debate would leave no stone unturned to assure the people of Punjab and that should be done too. During the last ten years, particularly after during the last six years of the decade of 1984 I have been visiting Punjab from time to time. Even recently I visited Amritsar and Chandigarh last month and on that basis I can say that the terror, fear and panic which I have seen among the people of Punjab including Chandigarh, have never been seen before. Whenever any spokesman or leader of the Government says that the Government would never accept Khalistan at any cost or no compromise would be made with the unity and integrity of the country or the Government would not bow before the politics of violence and killings, these pronouncements do not create any enthusiasm among the common people in Punjab and they do not feel assured. And many times they even ridicule and say that it is easy to make announcements while sitting in New Delhi but they are witnessing the situation with their own eyes and that is why such declarations cannot



create confidence among them. Some people even go one step higher and say that they do not know what Khalistan would be, but they can say on the basis of what they are experiencing and feeling that Khalistan certainly will not be worse than this. Such people meet me and ask me as to why we don't pay attention. They further say that if the Government cannot deal with the situation why does it not admit that it is beyond their control. We think, while sitting in Delhi, that President rule is there and feel satisfied that we have extended it. But when we go there we do not get a feel that it is the rule of our Government there. Police patrol is stopped during the night. People from rural areas have migrated. You cannot imagine the situation which is prevailing there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, dictate is issued by the terrorists that singing of National Anthem should be stopped and they have to stop it. They issue dictate to Nationalised Banks not to clear those cheques which are not written in Punjabi and clearance of cheques is stopped for more than fifteen days. They issue dictates that no Hindi bulletins should be broadcast from 'Akashwani' and the broadcast of Hindi bulletins from Jalandhar and Chandigarh Radio Stations are discontinued. After some days Hindi bulletin is again started again from Chandigarh and remains discontinued from Jalandhar. This is the position of the Government. The Government has reconciled to this situation. I cannot read Punjabi so I have a translated version of an advertisement. Police officers in Punjab are giving advertisements in the Newspapers. I have a translated version of the advertisement given by Shri Ashutosh. S.H.O. Lehragaga appeared in 'Punjabi Tribune' which reads as follows:

[English]

"I Ashutosh, S.H.O. Lehragaga make it clear that I have neither entered

Bhai Ki Pashore Gurudwara Sahib nor I smoke cigarette and take wine. If it is a crime on the part of a Hindu Policeman to go near the Gurudwara or to stand by its outer wall, I apologise to the entire Sikh World. If at all I told something to the Granthi Singh calling him out from the Gurudwara it was due to his fault for which the Granthi Kulwant Singh and the Sarpanch had tendered written apologies."

Now this is the advertisement published in the 'Punjabi Tribune'.

[Translation]

If this is the position of the Government and Police officers we can imagine, what would be the condition of common citizens. The industrialists and other rich people say that they always move with blank cheque in their pocket and in case anybody kidnaps them they would give blank cheque to them. It appears in the newspapers daily as to how many people have been kidnapped and how many have been killed. But how many have been set free after taking ransom does not appear in the newspapers because they are threatened by the terrorists not to disclose it to the press or the police, otherwise they would be killed. Few days back grandson of an hon. Member from the other House was kidnapped and released later on. It may be a matter of anguish for the family but the rumours going round remind us of the incident that took place in December in Kashmir. I do not have full information and do not want to make direct allegation. The Central Government acted as mediator in this case and got the grandson of the hon. Member released and in exchange they released a terrorist arrested in Uttar Pradesh. The Government should clarify whether it has played any role in it or not. I have said it on the basis of rumours being spread in Punjab. This has become the condition of the Government and Administration

[Sh. L. K. Advani]

and now it has become clear that the real source of power is not the Government offices but it comes from the barrel of AK-47 rifles. When it has become clear, it can be imagined as to what would be the condition of common people there in Punjab. Terrorists issue dictates that women would not wear sarees, put bindi on their forehead and no school going girls would wear jeans. They should wear 'qamiz and salwar' .....(Inter-  
ruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Not even sarees!

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Some courageous university girls tried to resist but they had to face humiliation and disgrace. Things have come to such a pass. All I want to emphasize is that mere declarations won't solve the problem, results should be visible and there should be a clear and loud message

[English]

that this Government means business.

[Translation]

Yesterday, when the Prime Minister said certain things for the first time in his speech I felt that it was good of him that he realised the position. During the course of a discussion on Tamil Nadu, my friend Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra narrated as to how extremism came into existence there, but Shri Malhotra mentioned about Punjab as well and the meeting of Prime Minister with Shri Simranjit Singh Mann also. While replying to the debate, the Prime Minister said—I quote from his speech:

[English]

“My friend Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra told me that because of my dialogue and talk with Mr. Mann, people are getting wrong signals. Mr. Speaker, May be, .....”

He did not deny it.

“Mr. Speaker, may be, I don't deny this. But through this House I want to caution these elements that if they have taken the signal that we shall tolerate violence, we shall tolerate innocent killings, they are mistaken.” Then he went on to emphasize that

[Translation]

the Government would take all the steps necessary in this regard for the security of the general public. Now, I would appeal to the Prime Minister and his colleagues that nobody believes that the problems before us such as, Punjab problem, Kashmir Problem and Assam problem, or the problem brewing in Tamil Nadu can be solved only through use of force by Government, police or army. We also know that the proper response for such a situation is not armed police, paramilitary force or police force. But all the same, I am aware of this fact also that when the Prime Minister or any other person from the Government makes a statement, the statement has a different effect on different people and it sends different signals. I remember when talks were going on for negotiations with Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann, somebody asked me whether I was in favour of the talks or not. I said that I was not against the talks, Simranjeet Singh Mann has been a Member of Parliament and our colleague for some time though he had not attended any sitting of the House but he has been a Member of Parliament elected by the people. Though he has not taken oath as a Member of Parliament. I won't say that he was not a Member of Parliament. If the Prime Minister has invited him for talks, I don't find anything objectionable in this matter. It is, but, natural. But when Simranjeet Singh Mann comes for talks and during the talks he says that the basis of my opinion is that the Sikhs should have got special consideration in 1947, because they are a community which has been deprived by the constituent Assembly, Government and the people of India of their rights for forty years.

Their rights should be restored to them that is why I demand the right of self-determination for the Sikh Community. If Hon. Prime Minister does not react to such views then it is a bad signal, especially when he is prepared to talk on the issue of self-determination with Simranjeet Singh Mann.

[English]

SHRI PAUL R. MANTOSH  
(Nominated Anglo-Indian): Mr. Advani has raised such an important matter and no important Minister is present here. Or is Mr. Bhajan Lal representing the Government?

(Interruptions)

(Translation)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I can speak more strongly than Shri Advani.

(Interruptions)

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: I was expecting that.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA  
(South Delhi): Please stand up and say that you are supporting the Government under compulsion.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: We are obeying the orders of the Deputy Speaker.

16.00 hrs.

I was saying whether it is the Prime Minister or Shri Subodh Kant Sahay or Kamal Morarka or someone working in the capacity of a Minister of State in the Prime Minister Secretariat or the people working as his representatives, whatever we discuss about Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and Tamil Nadu its signals are received by different sections of the society. We might have Simranjeet Singh Mann in view at that time and so we did not like to say any such thing for which Simranjeet Singh may say that he had already said it.

I don't believe in the right of self-determination but the Government should think that if it is ready to discuss self-determination with Simranjeet Singh Mann, and if on the similar ground JKLF or ULFA says that they are ready for talks would the government refuse or have a dialogue with them. This is worth consideration that after all he is also a citizen of India and how can we refuse to have a dialogue with him? Such an attitude may not be meaningful for the country, moreover there are many levels of holding a dialogue. It is not necessary that talks should be held only at the level of Prime Minister. After all, when such a situation arises, the Government adopts some channels of negotiations. I won't oppose this idea, but at the same time we should keep it in mind that we may not give legal shape to any wrong principle. Today if some extremist is demanding Khalistan I can feel as to why there is a demand for Khalistan. Will the Prime Minister hold discussion on this issue? He said yes, he is ready. He is citizen of India, what is the harm in it? I would like to make it clear that as we agreed to hold discussions on the basis of 1980, if in the same manner we agree to hold discussion on the issue of Khalistan, the harm it may cause would be beyond imagination which may lead to the disintegration of the country.

Mr. Speaker, when this Government was formed, Shri Dandavate was in the V. P. Singh Cabinet, and a psychological framework was evolved and an opportunity was available in which maximum could be achieved. A similar wrong signal at that time made the problem more complex and the result was

[English]

1990 became the bloodiest year of the decade.

[Translation]

Otherwise, prior to that, people used to blame the riots of 1984, the riots

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

which took place in Delhi and Operation Blue Star. But when the present Government took over and started functioning, the situation was such that all the people whether Hindus or Sikhs felt that the Punjab problem would be solved but it was not solved at all. The reason is that nobody bothers about the way our statements influence different people. Nobody is serious about it. What happened when this Government took over three months ago. The security personnel who sacrificed their lives, they were battling at the risk of their life, and among them there might be some people who might have committed excesses and killed innocent people. They might have taken advantage of the situation and might have amassed wealth also.

On the other hand there were a number of sincere officers in the C.R.P.F., B.S.F. and Punjab police, who, without caring the least for their individual interests, fought for the unity of the country and against extremism. In the first three months the security forces ignored the directives of the V. P. Singh Government. They thought it was pointless to fight those who were going to come into power. I would like to warn this Government that past mistakes should not be repeated. Before holding talks with any group, the Government should define the parameters within which the talks are to be held. Why can't they be made to condemn the killing of innocent people as a condition for holding talks with them. Today nobody condemns the dictates given by extremists which send down waves of terror among the people of Punjab. These days the centre's directives are not followed in Punjab. There are no takers of appeals made by the Akali Dal, Prakash Singh Badal or Gurcharan Singh Tohra. Even the orders of Simranjit Singh Mann have lost importance. All are becoming irrelevant. And they will remain so till they understand the sentiments of the Indian public and are prepared to usher in change through democra-

tic means. If anyone wants to bring change in the country through violence of killings and fragmentation of the country, it will be met with stiff resistance from the people. In this context, holding or not holding of elections is not important to me. In normal conditions elections must be held. Different situations arise. By holding of elections we may say that we have acted as per the principles of democracy. At the same time would we be protecting the long-term interests of the country? I am well aware of the situation existing in Punjab for the past one year. I would like to tell the House that my opinion about the Lok Sabha elections changed immediately after the elections. I supported the move for holding of elections and elections were held. In these elections, some of my friends were elected and some of them were defeated. One of the friends of our Party, Dr. Baldev Prakash, who strongly opposed terrorism, was popular in Amritsar but he lost the election. Later they came to me and said that a win could have been ensured if talks had been held earlier. Winning the election was no problem, they said, and gradually the matter became clear to me. My marxist friends kept me informed from different places. On the basis of this information my party reached the conclusion that the present situation in Punjab is not conducive to the holding of free and fair elections. Elections will not be held until the state is free of terrorism and violence. Our stand has been that elections be held when the Government is able to give a guarantee to the common man that he can cast his vote without any fear. But when some persons move around with an AK-47 and threaten the public at gunpoint to vote in favour of a particular party, the latter either does not vote or does as the terrorists say. So I was against holding of the elections. No hasty decision should be taken regarding holding of elections there. The decision for holding elections should be taken only after taking stock of the situation there.

I have some questions and I would be glad if Shri Morarka answers them. I have read a statement made by Shri Subodh Kant Sahay in Chandigarh on 6th or 7th December in which he said that the Government is preparing a foolproof strategy to solve the Punjab problem and the hon. Prime Minister is going to make an announcement to this effect in 3-4 days. Though, that has not been announced in these 3-4 days it can be made now while we are discussing the matter. Let us know what type of a strategy has been made.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** Yesterday the Prime Minister had said that it would be announced within 24 hours.

**SHRI L. K. ADVANI:** It cannot be within 24-hours. It depends on the Government, whether it wants to reveal the entire strategy or part of it. But whatever the strategy is there, it should convince the common man in Punjab that this is not yet another dose of empty talks. I am not fully satisfied with the situation in Kashmir. I have always been criticising the steps taken by the previous Government regarding Kashmir. But if we compare the situation in the two states, i.e. Punjab and Kashmir, we find that conditions in Kashmir have not deteriorated, that much as in Punjab. In fact, conditions are such that two lakh persons have migrated from the state to other places in the country. If there is no perceptible manifest difference in the Punjab situation we may face even bigger crisis than the one in Kashmir from where two lakh persons of a single community have migrated elsewhere. I warn in this regard and would like to say that Government should not involve those persons or groups in the political mainstream who do not accord full recognition to the Constitution of India. The second point is regarding the killing of innocent citizens. Their intention of bringing change through terrorism. They do not want to condemn the violence. They always talk of hav-

ing been discriminated against in the last 40 years and not fulfilling the assurances given by the Britishers. Nobody is concerned with the British rule and so I shall not go into its details. When my friend Prakash Singh Badal once said that Sikhs had been subjected to injustice, I told him that I can understand certain injustices on Sikhs in the past 8-10 years but I fail to understand how they could have mistreated for as long a period as 40 years because I know that ten years back he was in power and was Chief Minister of Punjab. At that time he did not have these grievances which he has today. I can extend my support if a remedy is sought for the atrocities on Sikhs in the past 10 years, including the 1984 riots. To say that Sikhs have got step-motherly treatment ever since the Britishers left the country and to say that it amounts to presenting a rationale for Khalistan is not correct and it will never be acceptable in this country. The Government may make any compromise but it should not concede a demand for Khalistan.

Sir, three years back when the Rajiv Gandhi Government was in power, the Shri Rajiv Gandhi had summoned all Opposition leaders and he and Buta Singhji said that the Parliament has passed several laws and has thus given them the power to face terrorism by those laws. All these laws becomes useless, as the terrorists, after committing heinous crimes, cross over to the other side of the border and seek refuge there. Despite regular seizures of large cache of arms and ammunition and arrest of hardcore terrorists, the supply of arms to militant outfits continue uninterruptedly, as Pakistan is steadfastly sticking to its policy of aiding and abetting such nefarious activities. Not only this, these terrorists are provided with financial assistance as well. Moreover, they are also imparted terrorist training at the various camps based in Pakistan. This is a fact, there is no inaccuracy

[Shri L. K. Advani]

in it, it is true even today. If our Prime Minister receives a telephone call from his Pakistani counterpart, he begins to think that it is a harbinger of a new chapter in Indo-Pak relations. I am well aware of the extent to which we have moved towards normalising our relationship. This can be made out from the Pakistani involvement in Punjab and Kashmir. There cannot be any other yardstick to measure the level of our friendship. Passionate speeches and sweet telephonic conversations can never be a yardstick. It is not proper to evaluate bilateral relationships on the basis of warm handshakes and hearty smiles, like the ones Mao had displayed once. The state of Indo-Pak relations can be measured only on the basis of the level of Pakistani involvement in Punjab. The developments that have taken place in Pakistan in the last one year and especially over the past 3-4 months, including the change of Government there should not lead as to any misunderstanding or illusion as the Pakistani policy towards Punjab and Kashmir or for that matter, the whole of India, has not undergone even the slightest change. If at all, there has been any change, it is that the external rhetorics have subsided to some extent, but the policies which were pursued earlier, continue to be followed. In this context, I was earlier referring to the situation in 1987. As long as Pakistan pursues this policy of interference in India's internal affairs, all the powers conferred by the Parliament on both the Union Government and the Punjab administration will prove ineffective. At that time, we were told that there was only way to check this problem and it was to create a security belt along the Indo-Pak border, with the consent of the Parliament. At the time, when this proposal was put forward, Akali Dal was in power in Punjab and our friend, Shri Surjit Singh Barnala was the Chief Minister. This proposal was put forward before the leaders of the various political parties represented in the Parliament as there was no

other option, because the state Government was in the hands of a political party which had difference of opinion with the Central Government. At first, it was said that it would be necessary to amend the constitution, but our dear friend Prof. Madhu Dandavate informed the Government that there was no need to do so, as the Parliament itself can pass a law, if the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States, which consists of representatives from all the States, passes a motion with two-thirds majority, under Article 249 and as such there was no difficulty in passing such a law. At that time, I was a member of the Rajya Sabha and we passed that resolution under Article 249 of the constitution.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You were elder at that time.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Yes, I have become younger now.

[Translation]

In that resolution, it was mentioned that a security belt would be created along our borders. People had great expectations about the creation of a security belt and its manifold benefits. A legislation passed by the Parliament was a pre-requisite for the creation at a security belt. However, when the required legislation was passed and the State Government was authorised, if failed to deliver goods and a security belt is yet to be created. Moreover, the validity of the legislation is also over. I would like to know the reasons, which prompted the government to change its policy, after the passage of the necessary legislation and also whether it is presently under the consideration of the Government? A few days back, the hon. Prime Minister had stated that efforts would be made to seal the borders by March, 1991. With reference to this statement, I would like to know the progress we have made in this direction so far and also the work being carried out presently. My personal as

well as my party's stand is that despite the serious implications of the creation of a security belt, it is very much essential to take such strong steps, keeping in mind the gravity of the prevailing situation. We firmly believe that we cannot move towards a solution to these vexed problems, unless and until we adopt such stringent measures. However, we do acknowledge that the adoption of such strong steps is not a remedy in itself. At one stage, I came across the suggestion of one of our foremost Defence Analysts, K. Subramaniam, of the Institute at Strategic Studies. In one of his articles on the Punjab situation, he had stated that.

[English]

There seems to be no other solution excepting mining the border.

[Translation]

No doubt, the acceptance of such a suggestion would be an extreme step. Last year itself, he had stressed upon the need to mine the borders. Perhaps, this step has its own implications. As far as I know, international norms and conventions demands that if a country decides to mine its borders, it becomes its primary duty to inform the neighbouring country in this regard and also about the positions where mines have been laid. My friend, Shri Jaswant Singh is an expert in this field, and he may have more knowledge about it. But when it comes to a situation, the like of which we are facing today, wherein the neighbouring country is providing all kinds of assistance to foment trouble in this country, it is for the government to decide about the practicality of passing on such information to that country. I would like to know the government's stand on the question of the creation of a security belt.

So far as the question of fencing the borders is concerned, the serious implications of the creation of a security belt is not applicable there. It is not an unusual thing. The work of

fencing the borders, began in 1987, during the tenure of the Rajiv Gandhi government. Last year, Shri Subodh Kant Sahay had stated that the work of fencing is in progress and that all efforts would be made to expedite the work. At that time also, Shri Sahay was the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and even today, he is holding the same office, despite the change in the government. Therefore, I was a bit astonished, when I heard that (*Interruptions*).

[English]

It so happens that the same Minister is there.

[Translation]

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay is not present in the House, where has he gone? We haven't seen him for the past two-three days.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Whatever fencing work has taken place so far, took place during 1989. I have got this information that not even a single kilometre of fencing work has been done during 1990. If it is true, then it is too important an issue to be ignored. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDERJIT (Darjeeling): 230 kilometres at the border is yet to be fenced.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Yes, I know that, but I want to know about the Government's present stand on the Prime Minister's announcement and also whether the government stands by that even now or whether there is any change in its stand.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, lastly, I would like to conclude with these words that the performance of this Government would be assessed, measured and evaluated on the basis of the steps it takes to solve the various problems confronting the country.

[Sh. L. K. Advani]

However, the steps it takes to solve the Punjab problems would be one of the major yardsticks, to measure the performance of the Government. Therefore, it is necessary to understand that

[English]

people are on the brink there.

[Translation]

It is indeed a terrible situation. Here large number of people, including businessmen and industrialists come to us and ask us whether how it is possible to work there under the present circumstances. Gradually, they are fleeing the rural areas and are moving towards towns and cities. In the past few days, the terrorists have devised a strategy, under which people are killed on a selective basis, in both the rural and urban areas. The terror and fear that has crept into the minds of the people ever since the horrendous and inhuman crime that took place in Ludhiana, two-three days back, is an indicator in this direction. The Ludhiana incident appears to be part of that strategy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as per the information I possess, Pakistan has advised the terrorist leaders to selectively kill only the Hindus and not the Sikhs, as against their earlier strategy, under which they killed people, at random, irrespective of their religious affiliation. This counsel or direction or instruction or whatever you may call it has been given to the terrorist leaders and that is what the ultras have been doing over the past two-three months. Their main objective is to instigate Hindu-Sikh riots. Their strategy is that when Hindus are killed, they would retaliate, then and there itself. I would like to praise and congratulate the people of Punjab, who have not only faced this situation courageously over the last ten years, but have also maintained the cordial and fraternal relationship, that has existed between the Hindus and Sikhs. It is this

cordial relationship between the two communities, which has instilled a confidence in our minds that if the Government pursues the right policies, then there can be no reason, as to why the Punjab problem cannot be solved. It is neither a difficult, nor an impossible task, provided the Government has a clear perspective of the problem. The second point, on which I have been continuously criticizing the Government is that whenever we decide to cure such deep-rooted diseases, then

[English]

you cannot be changing remedies every two months.

[Translation]

It is not prudent to change remedies every two months. Whenever you take decisions, you have two options before you, one is adopting a soft line, other is adopting a hard line, both have their positive and negative aspects and both have their plus and minus points, but if you have decided that, under the present circumstances, your primary duty and your main objective is to instill a sense of security in the minds of the common people of Punjab, as the hon. Prime Minister said yesterday, then.

[English]

There is no soft option rather we have only hard option.

[Translation]

Hard options are not pursued for a temporary period, say one or two months, rather they are pursued with perseverance and consistency. By this, I don't mean that we should commit excesses to achieve an objective, but to put the whole process into reverse gear, the moment a stray incident takes place is indeed not a wise act. With this submission, I expect the Government to present its proposed action plan, today itself. Thank you.



**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Shri Advaniji has presented all the points relating to Punjab problem in a very unambiguous way. You are aware of the fact that the situation in Punjab is very bad. Shri Advani did not say anything precisely regarding the causes of deterioration of situation in the State. The situation in Punjab has worsened during the eleven month rule of Shri V.P. Singh Government which had the support of Shri Advaniji's Party. (*Interruptions*)

**AN HON. MEMBER:** What about during your regime?

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** I will come to that also. But first let me talk about the position during these eleven months.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** What about Bhindarwale?

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** I will talk about him also? I will make reference of all those about whom you want me to make. I can make reference of you also. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is difficult to imagine as to how daring extremists had become during the eleven month rule of Shri V.P. Singh. Whether it is Jammu and Kashmir or Punjab situation has deteriorated so much so that the extremists even dared to kidnap the daughter of the Home Minister and five extremists had to be released to get her released from their hands. I do not differentiate between Home Minister's daughter and my own daughter and for that matter whether it is the daughter of any non. Member or the daughter of any ordinary citizen all are equal and we have due regards for her. But with the release of five extremists in exchange of one daughter, the extremists have become very daring. Kidnappings and killings have been going on in Punjab for a quite long time and those killed or kidnapped are also the sons or the daughters of somebody. Had the Government taken

stern step in the very beginning all this would not have happened. Actually extremists have now become so daring in Punjab that there is virtually no Government there. I am not at all hesitant to say that the situation has worsened to such an extent that their word is the rule there.

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur):** What is the situation in Haryana?

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** It is the same in Haryana. (*Interruptions*) You have come from Faridabad yesterday so you must be knowing better. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** After all he is your friend. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** He will continue for a long time like you. He is yet to complete even two months. (*Interruptions*)

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Faridabad is your constituency.

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** Yes, it is my constituency. You yourself have seen everything there. Just now Advaniji has said that the situation in Punjab during the last ten years has worsened. Advaniji, the situation in Punjab has worsened not during the past ten years but during the last fourteen years, you have forgotten 4 years. In other words the situation started deteriorating from 1977. They are now talking of secessionism in Punjab. The Sikhs now talk of self determination. The seeds of secessionism were sown way back in 1977 when the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was included in the Election Manifesto of the Akalis. That Anandpur Sahib Resolution was supported by Advaniji and Vajpayeeji. They went to Punjab and made speeches advocating the formation of Akali Dal Government in Punjab.

[English]

**SHRI LAL KRISHNA ADVANI:** I am on a point of personal explanation. Shri Bhajan Lal should not better than that. ....

[Translation]

There had never been any difference of opinion among the leaders of Bharatiya Janata Party or Jansangh over Anandpur Saheb resolution. They categorically opposed this resolution. You can say this thing about other parties, but as far as Jansangh or Bharatiya Janata Party is concerned we always had a clear cut view about Anandpur Saheb resolution and Bhindarwala. ((Interruptions))

**SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-KASAR:** They have been creating difference between Hindus and Sikhs. (Interruptions)

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** I would like to ask Advaniji whether he was a partner in the Akali Dal Government or not? Government was formed by Akalis in Punjab. They won majority by including the Anandpur Saheb Resolution in their manifesto. At that time you people had formed coalition Government. (Interruptions)

**SHRI LAL KRISHNA ADVANI:** That was formed under a common programme and Anandpur Saheb resolution was not included in that.

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** You were partner in the Ministry. How can you deny that? (Interruptions)

**SHRI LAL KRISHNA ADVANI:** The Janata Party and the Akali Dal had separate manifestoes. A common programme was chalked out before forming the coalition Government. Anandpur Resolution was not included in it. (Interruptions)

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** Advaniji, you know better than me. I am younger to you in age also. Every-

thing happened before you. In Punjab elections were fought over Anandpur Saheb Resolution. You people had gone there to extend your support. You had formed Government in Punjab in coalition with Akalis. All these things are in record.

**SHRI MADAL LAL KHURANA:** At that time you were the Chief Minister of Janata Dal Government.

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** Why do you want to deny the truth which is known to everyone. If it is wrong that you had no alliance with the Government, do speak out. (Interruptions)

**SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi):** What was your position at that time.

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** Let me tell you your position first. Ever since 1968 I have been a Member either of Legislative Assembly or Lok Sabha. You kindly listen to me first. (Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Bhajan Lalji you need not reply to the questions put forth by any Member.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** If they are putting questions to me how can I refrain from answering them. (Interruptions) I have seen him for the first time in this house today and he is asking me about my position at that time .....

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You speak on Punjab and say what you want to say.

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** We have not interrupted anyone and we have not said anything wrong but what I mean to say is that they should not interrupt us.

**SHRI JAGPAL SINGH (Haridwar):** When Advaniji was speaking

[Sh. Jagpal Singh]

nobody interrupted him. Now when he is speaking, why are you interrupting him. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please take your seat.

CHOWDHARY RAM PRAKASH (Ambala): All these problems have been created by the Akalis and you and you are solely responsible for it.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Ram Prakashji, it does not matter. You please take your seat.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please take your seat. You are also disturbing him. Bhajan Lalji you need not answer to any interruption. What you have to say, you say directly.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the situation in Punjab has deteriorated to such an extent that life has become difficult for the common man. Extremists are prevailing over there. They even go to the extent of dictating the officers to clear such and such file by evening. Even higher officers cannot dare to disobey them. If they order that Hindi or English name plate outside the room of an officer should be replaced within an hour by the one in Punjabi and no other language should be used, the order is complied forthwith. As mentioned by Advaniji the clothes of the girls going to schools, colleges and university are forcibly torn. You would have heard the recent case of Ludhiana Incident of kidnapping are taking place in all parts of Punjab and they demand five to twenty lakh rupees as ransom. Not only that, recently you might have observed their approach. They at the instance of another country are killing the members of a particular community i.e. Hindu. They force them to get down from the buses and shoot them. They are doing so to create the atmosphere of confusion and chaos all over the

country. A few days back they forced the persons belonging to one community to get down from the bus near Gill and Dhillon village of Ludhiana district and gunned down them on the road in order to disturb the peaceful atmosphere of this country and create chaos and confusion. They are killing the Hindus there in order to instigate the people in other States to kill sikhs. In this way the country's situation may deteriorate further. Such is the present situation of Punjab. To control this. ....

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it would be better if he uses the word 'Non-sikh' instead of Hindu.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: It does not make any difference. The present Government of Shri Chandra Shekhar has offered to have dialogue with the militants. We welcome this offer but that should be held within the frame-work of the constitution. This country will crumble down if any talk is held outside the frame-work of constitution. Whenever we made offer of talk, they construed it as our weakness. Thinking that the Government has surrendered before them. Therefore, I am of the view that this problem can be solved only by taking stern action. We wish that this issue is solved through dialogue. But problem is that no one in Punjab cares for it. No one is there to have a talk with the Government. Neither Shri Badal nor Shri Tohra nor any Akali party has an authority to have a talk with the Government. And even Shri Simranjit Singh Mann has no authority to hold talk with Government. The Statements of two three groups often appear in the press that they do not authorise him for holding talks with Government. He often talks of amending the constitution. We do not support this and our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had made it clear that we shall not support if there is any proposal to amend the Article 51 of the Constitution. If it is changed the country will be

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

weakened. To drive out the ghost of Khalistan which is haunting their minds is the only solution to this problem. I had said it five years ago and today I am repeating it in the House that the unification of the three states i.e. Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh is the only solution to this issue. However, the proposed state may be named as Maha Punjab.

SHRI CHAND RAM (Hardoi): Bhajan Lalji had supported the creation of Haryana but now we can never support the unification of Punjab and Haryana.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Choudhary Chand Ramji. We both had supported the creation of Haryana. We both wanted to have a separate Haryana. Things have not changed much...*(Interruptions)* I am just making a suggestion. We still want a separate Haryana. But I am giving this suggestion in country's interest and to protect the integrity of the country. If we are able to drive the ghost of Khalistan out of their minds if we are able to take this bold step of unification of these states then they will stop talking of Khalistan. This problem has no other solution. Whenever some officers or the Judges of High Court sit together and discuss this issue they say that Khalistan will be created one day or the other. With the unification of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh their population will come down to 18 per cent. Then no one will talk of Khalistan even for generations to come. So we should be ready to sacrifice for the cause of National unity. This issue can be solved if Maha-Punjab is created by merging Haryana and Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. This proposal should be considered seriously. In my opinion this is the only solution to this problem and another one is to deal with them sternly. I do not understand as how long you would continue to say to the people that Government is taking such and such action, that Government has now made a plan to

deal with them etc. The people have now fed up with such talks. Punjab has been burnt completely and the people have been ruined there. It is our duty as we are the elected public-representatives to save Punjab. This is not a minor issue, but it is a very serious issue will this country survive if Punjab is seceded? What will be the fate of the country and common man?

Today, the Jawans and officers of Army, C.R.P.F. and B.S.F. are attacked there. Earlier the common men were the target but now the Army and C.R.P.F. personnel are killed by laying ambush by militants. The present serious situation compel us to think deeply. When things go out of control a suggestion is given that to handle the situation army should be deployed but then the hon. Members begin to say that the Army is not needed there. Then how the situation would be brought under control? What would you do? What is the remedy after all? The extremists are equipped with better sophisticated weapons there than our police. No one's sister's or daughter's honour is safe there. Terrorists comes to villages in the evening and ask the villagers that they would dine tonight with them, arrange chicken and whiskey for them and after that they forcibly share beds with the villager's sister and daughters whom they like most. All these things appear in the press? Go to Punjab and see this agonising situation. The stern steps are needed to be taken to deal with such situation. But whenever Shri Rajiv Gandhi's Government took certain stern action in this regard many hon. Members who are not present this time in the House began to cry that the Government are taking very stern measures it should rather balm the wounds. By applying balm you cannot treat this disease. We are in favour of applying balm but it is useless in the present situation. The situation cannot be brought under control unless the extremists are dealt with sternly. What type of atmos-

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

there is prevailing in Punjab today? In Chandigarh which is a union territory the Director of the All India Radio was assassinated by the extremists. They also threatened the staff of that station of ill consequences if the transmission in Hindi continued. How will this country run if the transmission in Hindi is forcibly stopped from Chandigarh or Jalandhar? In such circumstances all the aspects should be considered seriously. The extremists ask the pressmen to write them as *Kharkhoo* which means a patriot and martyr. Do pressmen have a courage to disobey them? When the Government under their pressure have stopped Hindi-transmission on Radio from there? How the newspapers can dare to disobey them? After all they too love their children. When no one is safe in the country, what will happen? This is the high time that the Government should act. It should consider all the points and hold talks with them within the frame-work of the constitution. They now talk of 'Self-determination.' Will this country survive if we accept their demand of 'Self-determination' and offer ourselves for talk? Therefore, I want to request the Government especially the Prime Minister that if they put the conditions of 'Self-determination'...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: Is any Minister present here in the House?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Yes, two ministers are present. The Government should consider to have dialogue with them only after going into their demand of Self determination. The Government should make it clear to them that they are prepare for holding talks only within the frame of the constitution. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: I am on a point of order. Sir. The Government must be serious when a discussion on such an important issue is going on in the House. Some members are sitting in this

House, who are least concerned with this issue. Deputy Minister is present here and we know his position in the Government. How can this issue be tackled by Morarkaji who has been inducted into the Government a few days ago? Why are you wasting your time?

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (SHRI KAMAL MORARKA): Sir, on behalf of the Government, I take strong exception. I have been doing this for quite some time now. I take strong exception to this. Mr. Shopat Singh cannot decide who will be the Minister. I have to put it on record: we have been tolerating it, as privileged comments; but when we are discussing an issue like Punjab, he has no right to pass comments on whether the members of the Council of Ministers are serious, or competent or not. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: They want to indulge in hypocrisy here. Nobody is serious about this problem.

[English]

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Even if we are three Ministers, we are much more strong and competent than the Government which he was supporting.

[Translation]

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: The Government should take this matter seriously. We are discussing a very serious matter today...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down. The point of order which you have raised, I rule out. It is not in order.

[*Translation*]

All Hon. Members in the House know that whoever speaks here on behalf the Government, it is not his individual view, but he expresses the views of the Government. As such, it is not proper to say that he speaks or anybody else speaks...(*Interruptions*).....Seriousness does not depend on a particular Member but it depends on the Government. As such, please abstain from raising such irrelevant questions.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, once Rajiv Gandhi's Government had decided to seal the border. The work was being carried at a rapid pace under his Government. But Shri Advani has accepted the fact that the Government of V.P. Singh did not do anything in this regard later on. The position is back to square one. Though one and a half years have elapsed, no work has been done in this regard. It is not good. I, time and again, made suggestions to the Government that simply fencing the border would not serve the purpose. The situation has further deteriorated thereafter. Shri V.P. Singh's Government has deteriorated the situation to this extent. If this Government wants to seal the border, no purpose will be served by fencing. I would like to make a suggestion to the Government in this regard. Let the Government acquire a stripe of width one or two kilometres from Jammu to Jaisalmer along the border by paying compensation to the farmers at double the rate. If the prevailing rate is Rs. 1 lakh per acre, the farmers should be paid at the rate of Rs. 2 lakh per acre so that they could purchase land at some other place and settle there. This stripe should be so clear that a very small thing lying on it could be seen clearly. If the Government wants to check infiltration on Indo-Pak border, a stripe of two kilometre width must be prepared along the border, otherwise, it will serve no purpose, because weapons are smug-

gled from Pakistan. They can break upon the fence and sneak in.

As such, a two kilometre wide belt should be constructed there. Arrangement of floodlights should also be made so that even if very minute particle lying there could be detected easily. Then you can say that the border has been sealed. If the border is sealed by fencing, it will serve no purpose.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one thing Shri Advani has said that the Government was unable to control 1984 riots. Was the Government unsuccessful? At that time the situation in the country was too grave and had the Government not swung into action, Shri Rajiv Gandhi whose great mother's dead body was lying.....

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA (Ropar): The Government engineered the riots in 1984... (*Interruptions*).....

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Indira ji was the mother of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. It will not be wrong, if I call her the mother of nation, whose dead body was lying. ....(*Interruptions*).....

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-KASAR: She was not greater than Mahatma Gandhi. At the time of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, even a very minor incident did not take place.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: That also you know as to why the said incident did take place.....(*Interruptions*)..... Smt. Indira ji was assassinated in 1984 and today Mrs. Khalsa says that the riots were engineered by the Government. If a saviour turns to a murderer, what will happen to this country. He was a security guard of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He was the husband of the hon. Member Smt. Khalsa. Her husband assassinated Shrimati Gandhi. What could be worse than such an action, you should

think before you speak. People warned Indiraji against these persons but she told those persons her brothers, her sons, her saviours. If the saviour assassinates her, what a worse thing could be there in this country than this. After assassinating her, people started 'Bhangra'. This angered the sentiments of the people.

[English]

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI:  
Don't justify riots.....(Interruptions)  
.....

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY  
(Hoshiarpur): You are not serious  
about the discussion.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: We will  
definitely justify it. Why did Indira  
ji die and why did the riots take  
place. Did all this happen all of a  
sudden?.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-  
KASAR: Why did such an incident  
not take place at the time of Mahatma  
Gandhi's assassination. Because, the  
assassin was a Hindu, a Pandit. That  
is why nothing happened.....(Inter-  
ruptions).....

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You may  
speak on your turn. Do not inter-  
rupt. You said that the Government  
engineered the riots.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You  
do not reply to him.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. De-  
puty Speaker, Sir, when these people  
interfere I have to give a reply.  
Makkasar Sahab speaks at the peak  
of his voice. I request him with fol-  
ded hands that he is my elder bro-  
ther. He should listen to me.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-  
KASAR: You are destroying the  
country.....(Interruptions).....

[English]

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY:  
Your near and dear ones must realise  
what is the problem?.....(Interrup-  
tions).....You must realise whether  
it pinches you or not...(Interruptions)  
.....(Interruptions).....  
What happened in 1989?...(Interrup-  
tions).....

[Translation]

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI  
(Sonapat): I was in the Golden  
Temple in Amritsar on that day.  
What Bhajan Lalji says, is correct.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: In the  
streets of Delhi.....(Interruptions)...

[English]

SHRI I K GUJRAL (Jalandhar):  
I think there is one confusion. I hope  
my hon. friend Shri Bhajan Lal does  
not mean to confuse the issue. His  
anxiety about Punjab is shared by all  
of us. But I think today he is pro-  
pounding a doctrine which can be very  
harmful both for Punjab and for the  
rest of India. I hope he does not  
mean it, and I hope he does not try  
to justify the 1984 riots. We know  
who did it and how it was done. I  
hope Mr. Bhajan Lal will be very  
clear on that issue. Otherwise, it will  
worsen the situation. We all share  
the agony of Punjab; but the 1984  
riots have caused anxiety to all of us  
and we all have condemned them. I  
hope Shri Bhajan Lal will pardon  
me.

[Translation]

SHRI BAJAN LAL: Mr. De-  
puty Speaker, Sir, Gujral Sahab is  
our elder, seasoned and competent  
member. I have never said so. What  
I meant to say was that first Govern-  
ment failed but later on controlled  
the situations. Rajiv ji visited all the  
riots, affected streets...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:  
Where had he gone?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: In the streets of Delhi...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Khurana, you will not interrupt him. I have not heard him justifying the riots in 1984. Unnecessarily do not put the words in his mouth.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: He moved about the streets throughout the night. He issued orders to all concerned agencies. At that time, I was also a Chief Minister. He instructed that there should be no clash between the Hindus and the Sikhs in any state. If any atrocity is committed on a person, the Chief Minister would not be allowed to continue in office...(Interruptions)...

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What the lady Member is saying will not form part of the record.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I shall conclude my speech after making one more submission. We hold Harmandir Sahib at the highest esteems. The people of the country know the circumstances under which the army was asked to enter Harmandir Sahib. Leaders used to go there, but none of them said that atrocities and injustice committed there. They used to say that there was peace and was no clash of any kind. Did the fortification take place over night? Was the modesty of our sisters and daughters was not outraged there? Did not murderers take shelter there? Did the arsenal came up overnight? How many of our army personnel were killed there and what situation was prevalent there. Did any leader condemn the state of affairs taking place there. Only this much was said that there was peace and the leaders were help-

less to say that sanctity of Harmandir Sahib had to be maintained. Nobody condemned it. If one has the courage to speak the truth, he cannot do a wrong thing. We have to speak the truth. Had the leaders uttered these words at that time, sanctity of Harmandir Sahib would have been maintained. The Government should take stringent action and hand over the state to the army so that the country could be saved from disintegration and peace could be restored.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH (Amritsar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while thanking you for giving me time, I would like to start my submission with recitation of an urdu couplet:

"Auron ka hai pyam aur, mera pyamaur hai Ishq ke derdmand ka tarze kallam aur hai, Tacere jere dere dam ke naale to sun chake ho Hum, Ab yeh suno ki nalaye tacere bam aur hai".

It means that the one who has been hurt speaks in a different tone. You have heard the bewailing of those birds who are entrapped in the net, but the bird who is sitting on the edge of the compound wall has a different story to tell. I shall deal with the questions that have been raised by Shri Bhajan Lal today which frayed tempers in the House. Since that discussion will be marked by interruptions, I would like to take up the Punjab issue first. He has passed so many insulting remarks, yet I remained silent. I shall not speak anything about that but with all sincerity, I must say...

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I have not insulted anybody.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: What is the origin of Punjab problem? See, what is the economic condition of Punjab today. The States where coal mines and oil wells are located get royalty, but Punjab does not get any



royalty, although it supplies food-grains to the entire country. Its Electricity Board incurs loss to the tune of Rs. 400 crores since it supplies electricity to the farmers at flat rates. When other States can get royalty, why not Punjab? If this issue is raised in the House, nobody extends support. Ever since the country achieved independence, Punjab has not got its due share in proportion to its deposits in the banks. You can go through the report of the Reserve Bank of India and see that Punjab is the only State which did not get even 35 per cent against its own investment. At least five States in the country are such who must have received 100 per cent. I do not want to name those States lest my friends from those States, present in the House should mind it. But it is a fact and you can check it from the R.B.I. Report. So far as the question of discrimination against Punjab is concerned, I would like to point out that after the independence of the country, the first Governor of Punjab, Shri Trivedi had issued a circular in which the migrants from West Pakistan were termed as criminals.

"Hum bawafa the isliye mazaron se gir gaye, Shayad unchen talaash kisi bewafa ki thi."

This is what they did. Praises are showered on Sikhs saying that they are very brave and patriots and they have given numerous sacrifices. But at the same time, there are some people who put forward suggestion that their majority should be neutralised by creating Maha Punjab and their population percentage should be reduced to 18 per cent by merging Himachal and Haryana into Punjab. They say that since they are strong and they have started calling themselves as "Khadku" which means militant the said suggestion should be implemented. None of my friends know the meaning of 'khadku'. No religious meaning is attached to it. The word 'khadku' stands for fearless but some people use it for militant

since they do not know the exact meaning. So far as economic condition of Punjab is concerned, I have already summed up how aid has been given to different departments by the Government. I do not want to go through all the pages as it will take quite some time. This problem originated from distrust. The youth of Punjab had three avenues before them joining armed forces, going abroad for employment and agriculture. Agriculture in Punjab has become a small unit. There is no land in Punjab which is not fertile now. The credit for this goes to the hard work put in by the farmers of the State. Representation of Sikhs in the army was over 25 per cent at the time of partition of the country, but now it has slumped to 6 per cent and it is likely to go down further to 2 per cent. No jobs were given to those who were rendered jobless. Gun is the source of their livelihood. But how did they took up guns? It is all a part of history now. I had been to cellular jail in Andaman where I read the names of those who served jail terms there. When I read their names, I am reminded of the following couplet.

"Hamne hi barason sajaya mey-kada,

Hamari hi kistmat mein paimane nahin".

7.00 hrs.

But what is happening today? Those who brought laurels to this country, those who made the country's presence felt not only in the neighbourhood but in Europe and Middle East also and those who won highest number of gallantry awards like Paramvir Chakra and Victoria Cross, the same community is being crushed today. As regards the question of economic condition of the State, I would like to say that the wealth of the State is being drained out and is being invested in other States. Punjab produces a surplus of 450 crore tonnes of eucalyptus with the result that it sells at a low price.

[Sh. Kirpal Singh]

On the demand of the people of Punjab, foundation stone of a paper mill was laid by Shri Rajiv Gandhi at Goindwal, but the same has not come up as yet. If eucalyptus grown in Punjab is used there, economic condition of the State could improve. Besides, it will provide employment to the unemployed people from rural areas in the State itself thereby improving their economic lot.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is not a history that when the same Akalis fought the war of independence and the war to liberate Gurudwaras and won at two fronts 'Guru ka Bagh' and 'Chabi ka Morcha', Mahatma Gandhi had sent a telegram saying that we had won the first war of independence? Mahamana Malviya ji had said at that time that every Hindu should give one of his sons to the Panth to become a Sikh. It is from there that this story of sacrifices began. They used to carry kripans with 3 feet long blade. British Deputy Superintendents of Police used to torture them, but they never took the kripans out of the sheath. The world was moved by the limit of their tolerance. Mahatma Gandhi and before him Mahatma Buddha and Mahavir Jain taught us non-violence. If there has been any community who practised tolerance despite being brave and strong, it were the Sikhs of Punjab. They have been praised by one and all. Shri Advani has said that bloodbath has been going on in the State for the last ten years. The relations between Hindus and Sikhs continue to be cordial as ever both in cities and villages. They shall one another's grief and happiness. If Punjabi language is implemented by the orders of some people whom you call 'khadku'—though they should not be called by this name—what is wrong with those orders? If at all somebody is to be blamed for this, it is the B.J.P. men who gave slogan and observed 'satyagraha' against Punjabi being taught as a compulsory subject. There lies the origin of the problem. Today if they enforce the use of Punjabi language, they are termed as Sikh

Panthi. Why the use of Punjabi language was not enforced earlier. 40 per cent of people in Haryana are Punjabi speaking and so far as my knowledge goes, Shri Bhajan Lal himself is Punjabi by origin. Why then was Punjabi not given the status of second language in Haryana during the Chief Ministership of Shri Bhajan Lal, Shri Devi Lal or any other Chief Minister belonging to the Congress Party? Why did not they think in this direction? Simply because it did not serve their interests, otherwise what is special about Telugu and Tamil. They want their animosity towards Punjabi to continue. Let us take the quantum of aid that is given to Punjab for different works. If you want I can give the figures for record sake. This is nothing new which needs emphasis and, I think, he has unnecessarily created heat over this issue. The demands which the people of Punjab have raised are not new. It is not me who demand a separate State. It was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi who had promised before independence that Sikhs would be given a land so that they could feel that they have a home of their own. But he says that their majority should be neutralised by reorganising Punjab so that the majority community of this country could dominate them. That is why I say that this is the genesis of the problem. If you could see the assassination of Indira Gandhi in the back drop of Operation Bluestar, you will find that it has been overplayed and over-stretched. It was at her instance that mortars fired shells on Akal Takht and Durbar Sahib where we pay obeisance daily. We deem our lives from there and its holy water is the guarantee of our soul.

Golden Temple is a sacred place. What happened when the person who ordered attack on this sacred place is assassinated. Lot of hue and cry was raised and thereafter the son said when a big tree falls the ground beneath it shakes. He went round places and played with the sentiments of the

people. Thousands of people were massacred. Many eminent people who were not Sikhs—was Shri Tarkunde a sikh? was Justice Sikri who was Chief justice, a sikh; was Mishra ji, a sikh—commented on that. Nobody dared to say anything, not even VP Singh's Government. There was only one person who had the guts to say it openly in our favour and we will always remain obliged to him. He was Shri Chandrashekhar who raised his voice. I was in Delhi at that time. It was Shri Chandrashekhar who saved me and took me safely to the airport. I am obliged to him. He is a dedicated person and has waited patiently. We have high regard for him but unfortunately in this country when a person is too much dedicated and does penance (Tapasya) the throne of Lord Indra shakes. Similarly when Jayaprakash Narayan took up cudgels with authority Indiraji's throne shook. What happened thereafter. He was jailed and because of neglect his health deteriorated and he passed away. After completing his education Chandrashekhar ji was influenced by Acharyaji and when we attained freedom he joined the group of those politicians about whom Sahir Ludhianvi wrote "Naya Libas mein Nikla hai Rahzani ka Jaloos". But he was there for a very little time. He came back to Acharyaji. He was with us in 1975 and now he is in the treasury benches. When the throne of Indira shook he sent a fairy—Menaka—to allure Vishwamitra.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please come to the point. There are many other Members who want to speak.

[Translation]

We do not have time for Vishwamitra or Menaka.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I honour your orders. If we do not have time for that I would not go into further

details. Now when he came to power, I am reminded of an Urdu Couplet

"Ki Buland hokar Bhi Admi

Abhi khwahishon ka Gulam".

Yesterday when he gave a speech at the Gurudwara I realized that the embers are still within him and the scene of 1984 riots was in front of his eyes. We had seen bodies with burnt tyres around their necks. God knows whether Rajiv ji went round taking off those burnt tyres or lighting them.

.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Sir, I have a point of order. To say that Rajiv Gandhi was instrumental in getting the people massacred, is not true. It should be expunged from the proceedings. Gujaral Sahib is sitting there please make your neighbours understand. ...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You have rebutted it. You have said that it is not correct.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: You were the first person to have floated that idea of massacre. Rajiv ji helped in that. Many sikhs were murdered and disgraced. Some of them were military officers and some were civilian officers. This was done at your behest. You have played the game and are now sitting back. Advaniji has also mentioned that thing now. I can say who created sant Jarnail Singh to liquidate the Akalis? When arms were being piled up in the golden temple the then Inspector General of Police who is the husband of an hon. lady Member of this House—I think she is not present at the moment—said that they were not authorised by the centre to conduct search in the golden temple. Who was to authorize? Was it Indiraji who had the final say in the matter? So it all happened with their consent. In fact Jarnail Singh

[Sh. Kirpal Singh] was proud of himself. He had gone to fight the Akalis and break them but he started fighting the Government when he saw Government excesses. Then artillery were sent to destroy the temple complex. It is said that Beant Singh and Satwant Singh who were protectors of Indiraji, they assassinated her and no crime is as heinous as this. Were you not the protector of this country when thousands of people were massacred. Was Indira ji's blood was blood and the others was just water. Today Beant Singh and Satwant Singh are treated as heroes in Punjab. They knew how Umrangal was killed because he had desecrated the Durbar Sahib. The sentiments of the people have been hurt. I fully agree with that, whether you agree or not fact is fact.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, he has again uttered a similar words. He has said that those who assassinated Indira Gandhi are heroes of Punjab. Can there be a worse thing than this. You are also listening. This is on record. He has said it. You can go through the record. He is saying that both of them have become heroes. Didn't he say that. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Whatever I have said is a fact. The people of Punjab treat them as heroes. That is a fact.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): How long will he take to give vent to his feeling...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Bhogendra Jha, please resume your seat.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: He said they have become hero. That is on record.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kirpal Singhji may I remind you that today we are discussing the present situation in Punjab and how it can

be improved, if we try to let us not open the old chapter as it may be deteriorate the situation. That would not be good. I am not restricting you from speaking you may speak whatever you want but bear it mind that if you dig the past, the situation in Punjab may worsen instead of improving. You should not raise questions which may lead to controversies.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Sir, I agree with you cent per cent but who is responsible for digging the past here in the House. What should I tell them?

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please speak on the present situation in Punjab, not on historical facts.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I would like to say that no religious minded person would ever approve of the bloodshed of innocent people in Punjab rather he will condemn it. Yesterday something was said about Shri Mann. He has condemned the incident which occurred in Ludhiana yesterday and earlier also. This has been reported in the newspapers also. Everybody condemns it. Simply attributing things to somebody is not good. I had gone into the history of the case.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please. It is the time to speak on the present situation. It is not time for history.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Sir, I am carrying out your orders and trying to give an explanation otherwise I did not want.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): Just now you were praising Shri Mann. Do you also support Khalistan movement...*(Interruptions)*.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Please do not interrupt. I will give you an opportunity.

**SHRI KIRPAL SINGH:** Yesterday only he said that he condemns the incidents at Ludhiana. Advaniji says that we should not hold dialogue with these elements but I would like to point out that Lal Danga, leader of the Mizo National Army was allowed to stay in Delhi at Government expense for full one year. Was that justified? Do you have different yardsticks? There is discrimination. I agree with Shri Chandra Shekhar. If somebody demands Khalistan and Chandra Shekarji does not listen to him, it is alright whether there can be a compromise or not, is a different matter. When Riberio was given the responsibility we asked him that he used to say that there were only a handful of terrorists—not over 50—to be liquidated but he has, already liquidated over 200. How is that the number has swelled. When the other bureaucrats were asked to solve the problem through negotiation they replied that the recruitment of terrorists is being done on a large-scale. The Chandra Shekar Government has also said that they should be liquidated. Alright if they wish to do it let them do it. What is the result of those policies which have been adopted so far. The security belt which is going to be created will displace many people. Will they remain peaceful? They will not because they have been uprooted and displaced by the Government. If they want that a dialogue should be held, even that move is opposed. The Government wants that unless they agree, accept the constitution, surrender arms join the mainstream, or ask for forgiveness no dialogue should be opened with them. I also want them to ask for forgiveness surrender arms, and join the mainstream but if they do not what can we do. The other methods that the Government has suggested, are they new. They are not. These methods have already been tried and tested. To say that elections should not be held in Punjab or there is peace in the State is not good. Advaniji said that some people had contacted him and they wanted that they could make Baldev Prakash win the elections. I have won from there but neither anybody came to me nor I went to anybody. I categorically spoke about my stand—I will never support the move of separating from India nor will I allow the disgrace of Patna Sahib and Hazoor Sahib. But in 1985 elections you appealed to the entire Sikh community. Posters were issued poisoning the minds of the people. I said I am ready to die for the cause.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Kirpal Singhji you have taken 25-30 minutes.

**SHRI KIRPAL SINGH:** No Sir. Please delete the time of interruptions. I have never interrupted anybody.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Sir those who have disgraced Sikh religion, they proudly say that we have done it.

*"Sun to Sahi Jahan Mein Tera  
hai Fasana kya kahte hain Tujko  
khulke khuda Gahama Kya"*

You have not gone through the history. Chandra Shekarji is aware of it. He has read the Sikh history from page to page during the 18 months when he was in Jail. The entire Sikh community is highly obliged to him for this.

At least there was a courageous person at that time who raised his voice and said that it was bad. At the outset I said that it was because of Chandra Shekharji that I was saved. Otherwise I would also have been burnt to death with a tyre around my neck. This goes to his credit. Why are you pulling his legs. Yesterday he spoke at the Gurudwara and appealed to the people of Punjab in the same way as he did earlier. I pray to God that his

[Sh. Kirpal Singh]

appeal may work lest he yields under Congress pressure.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No please conclude.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while concluding I would like to say that democratic rights should be restored immediately in Punjab. I mean to say that elections should be held there. A dialogue should be opened with those elements at any cost whether they ask for forgiveness, abide by the Constitution, surrender their arms or not. They should be assured protection and called for a dialogue. If the dialogue fails, things will remain as they are, but at least we would be satisfied that efforts have been made. Are you not making efforts in this direction in so far as other areas are concerned. If so, why not in Punjab? At least efforts should be made there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one of my friends says that some Sikhs have reached in foothill areas also. In this regard I would say that these Sikhs have made the land cultivable with their hard labour and made other sacrifices to get themselves settled there, and now these people have started opposing them. Some people say that Sikhs have reached in Bihar and West Bengal so I would like to ask them whether they would send them out of these States? Is it your patriotism? Can you solve this problem on the basis of such patriotism? Only some broad minded and large hearted persons can solve that problem. I think a person like Shri Chandra Shekhar can do that and you people are pulling chains in his feet. I have yet to say many things but it is my duty to obey Mr. Deputy Speaker. I hope that the God may keep the spark alive which has been lightened in the heart of Shri Chandra Shekhar and that may not bury under the heap of ashes. I am saying what I have learnt from him. I do not know as to what he will say later on in this

regard, I would say that Shri V.P. Singh could also avail such opportunity but he did not and later on he regretted for not holding elections in Punjab. Therefore, I would say that they may also not repent lateron. I think he has also got opportunity to bring the misguided youth to the national mainstream and talk to them unconditionally. I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me opportunity to speak.

17.21 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. GULF CRISIS  
 [English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have a request to make. We are going to discuss the Gulf crisis. But if the House so agrees the Resolution on Gulf Crisis which has been accepted by all Parties should be moved from you so that it is released to the Press earlier.

I shall request the Chair to move the Resolution and get it passed by the House. We can discuss the Gulf crisis afterwards.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): The Draft is accepted by all the leaders of various Parties. The Chair may move it.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): The Chair may move it. We will accept it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think, we will adjourn this discussion on Punjab.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): I join the hon. Prime Minister that it will be befitting so far as the importance of the occasion is concerned that the Chair moves it. But it will be better, if the Chair moves it after some discussion so that we can express our views.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** The point is, it has already been adopted in the Rajya Sabha. If we delay this Resolution, the media cannot take it and it has international implications.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Without losing time, it may be adopted and released.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will put this Resolution to the House and if it is necessary to discuss it, we can discuss after the Punjab discussion, or before the Punjab discussion, as the House decides.

**THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA):** Sir, we adopt the Resolution here and now.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will read the Resolution

#### **Resolution**

The crisis in West Asia is causing grave concern throughout the world. Perhaps at no time since the Second World War has humankind been so close to the brink of global disaster. War will cause incalculable human suffering and inflict irreversible environmental damage. War must be averted. Peaceful means must be pursued relentlessly.

Recalling that the Government of India, along with many other countries belonging to the Nonaligned Movement as well as outside the Movement, have repeatedly been urging that the Gulf crisis be resolved by peaceful means through dialogue.

Noting that the deadline of 15th January 1991, set in the UN Security Council Resolution 678 is fast approaching.

Believing that the Nonaligned Movement has an important role to play in bringing about a dialogue

among all the parties involved in the crisis.

Deeply conscious of the many historic, cultural, linguistic and other ties that bind India with the nations and peoples of the Gulf region and the long tradition of warm and friendly relations with them.

This House:—

- (i) Expresses its firm belief that war must be averted;
- (ii) Calls upon all sides to make further determined efforts in the coming days and weeks to prevent war and seek solution through peaceful means by dialogue under UN auspices or otherwise.
- (iii) Wishes the Secretary General of UN every success in his last minute effort to resolve the issue peacefully.

I think this resolution is adopted by the House unanimously.

**SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:** Yes.

The Resolution was adopted *unanimously*.

17.25 hrs.

**DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193**  
**Situation in Punjab—Contd.**

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We can resume the discussion on Punjab now. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri to speak.

[Translation]

Since the reply is coming from the Government soon, the Members should make their submissions in brief.

**SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI (Sonepat):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would make my submission very brief and hope that no controversy would be raised about it and the whole House should also accept those suggestions.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, fighting is there in the very blood of the people of Punjab and Haryana and that cannot be stopped. This has been happening there for the last thousands of years. If they have to fight with others, then they utilise their strength there otherwise they fight at home. It is evident from the history of last five thousands years—whether they are Rajput, Jat, Goojar or Ahir. These people reside there and they fight. If you ask them to fight for the country—be it against Germany, France or USA—they would fight but if you do not do that they would fight at home. What are the reasons of their fighting? I do not want to go into details. I am aware of all the happenings which have happened in Punjab since 1937. The main reason of the Punjab problem is economic and this problem was understood by Choudhary Chhotu Ram. That is why he united all Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs at one platform. He asked Mullahas to go to mosques, Granthis to go to Gurdwaras and Pandits, like me, to go to temples and said that they had nothing to do with the politics. One thing I would like to say that many agreements have been signed since 1956 regarding land disputes and sharing of water, but the people of Punjab particularly Akalis did not allow to implement those agreements—be it the agreement of 1956 for sharing water, agreement of 1968, 1977 or 1982 and same thing has happened in case of agreements signed for transfer of land. If Indira award 1970 is implemented and Fazilika and Abohar are transferred to Haryana, Punjab problem would have been solved to a great extent. Then you need not make a security belt upto Jai-

salmer we fought a Niyay-yudh under the leadership of Shri Devi Lal against the sections 7 and 9 of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Punjab did not agree to transfer Fazilika and Abohar to Haryana. The Punjab problem would be solved to a great extent if Fazilika and Abohar are transferred to Haryana. Then the Haryana will have border with Pakistan and the infiltration across the border would be checked.

In 1985 when Shri Bhajan Lal was the Chief Minister of Haryana, he gave a proposal to the Central Government. In the said proposal it was suggested that there is no use of raising the controversy of Kandukheda. In lieu of Kandukheda four villages of Haryana can be transferred to Rajasthan and four villages of Rajasthan adjoining to Haryana can be transferred to Haryana. If Abohar and Fazilika are transferred to Haryana, there would be no controversy. Arms and ammunitions supply to terrorists in Punjab are coming across the border at Firozpur, Ganganagar and Jaisalmer. But his proposal was not accepted. He was removed and Choudhary Bansi Lal was appointed as the Chief Minister of Haryana. I was one of the five persons from Haryana who were present at Akal Takhat at the time of partition of Punjab and Haryana and it was decided that there was a condition to transfer 10-12 villages out of which only in two villages other language was spoken. Therefore, the stand taken in case of Kandukheda is wrong. I would say that the day the Central Government transfer Abohar and Fazilika to Haryana and complete Sutlej Yamuna Link Canal, the problem of Punjab will be solved automatically to a great extent. Then there would be no need to erect wire fencing or such other things along the border.

In addition to it I would like to say that there is one more reason behind this problem. Earlier 20-22 per cent recruitment for the Army



was made from Punjab and 18 per cent from Haryana. When Babu Jagjivan Ram was the Defence Minister, he put a restriction that the recruitment to the Army would be made in proportion to the population of the States. At the time of recruitment for IAS, it is said that candidates would be taken according to their ability but the Army recruitment is made according to the population. Union Public Service Commission is the biggest enemy of this country. If you have to make recruitment in proportion to population of the State, then other jobs should also be distributed according to the population. If ability is taken as a base for the recruitment, the youth of Punjab and Haryana should be recruited in the Army. This will provide opportunity to them to fight for the country and that would solve their problem to a great extent.

Secondly I would like to say one more thing which is a very important. Sutej Yamuna link Canal should be given to Haryana. I would like to know from the people of Punjab who resist the construction of canal, that water is flowing to Pakistan since 1956 which is giving benefit to Pakistan to the tune of Rs. 800 crores per year, so why they do not want to give that surplus water to Haryana and Rajasthan. Today the situation in Punjab is that nobody knows Shri Prakash Singh Badal or Gurcharan Singh Tohra. Today young people are there who want money, rifles and girls and they get them at gun point. Have Haryana police been not there, the terrorists would have turned towards Delhi. Our brave police force face the terrorists but our police force is not getting as much assistance from the Centre as it should have got. They neither have weapons, vehicles nor other means. In spite of all these fact Haryana Police checked the terrorists effectively. Therefore I would like to say that to end the terrorism, the Government should hold elections for Panchayats, district councils,

Municipal Committees and for Vidhan Sabha in the Punjab. Hold all elections simultaneously. If Panchayat elections are held, people will be busy with the election. Terrorists never indulged in booth capturing there as it happens in other States. They said only one thing to the voters that they would caste their vote but they have to show it to their agents first. In Punjab the Governments were dismissed five times that is why they have resentment for not allowing Government to run. Punjab and Haryana provide food grains to the entire country and when there is any threat to the country, they come forward first to protect the country but when the question of giving self rule to them is arised they are denied to have it. Shri Bhajan Lal is sitting here. He is a backward Jat .....(Interruptions)..... Bhajan Lal ji is Jat. I want to say that when a Jat grows more food-grains, the entire country eat that but when a question of giving rule to them is arised, everyone object to that. I would like to say that with the help of Army, all elections should be held there. Youth should be recruited in the Army...(Interruptions)..... There is no leadership in the Akalis and that is why this thing is going on there. The Governments of Prakash Singh Badal, Surjit Singh Barnala, Lakshman Singh and Justice Gurnam Singh were dismissed there. I would like to know as to how you want to solve the problem.

With these words I would like to say that with the help of Army all elections from Panchayat to Assembly should be held there and that would automatically solve the problem.

[English]

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on this concluding day of this session, we are discussing one of the most important issues that faces the country. I wish there had been more

[Sh. Dinesh Singh]

time to go into the problem as such. Now many speakers have already spoken and it would not be my attempt to raise the issues that have already been raised and discussed.

The problem of Punjab has a history. It goes back to the days of partition itself. Then came the linguistic States, creation of Punjabi *Sooba* and now terrorist activities. There is a thread that links all this. To go into the specifics of it would take time. It would be useful as an exercise but the time would not permit me to go into the details just now. I would prefer, with your permission to speak of the possibilities that exist now rather go into the historical question because it is linked with emotion. And once one enters the field of emotion, then it becomes very difficult to work out an arrangement that would be acceptable to all in the future.

The real problem of Punjab is an interesting one. Usually if you look at the history of secession or terrorism, it is linked with deprivation—that the people are deprived, that they are poor, that they are not able to get what they feel right. In Punjab, the story is otherwise. Punjab is our most affluent State. The per-capita income of the people in Punjab has been the highest in the country. It is therefore not a case in which poverty has compelled people to become terrorists. It is a case on the other hand of emotions having been aroused on the basis of religion. Because of that various other issues have got tied into it. One can take them up separately.

Questions were raised about some royalty to be given for agricultural produce in Punjab. There can be many other issues which can be raised to bolster this idea of the emergence of a religious entity. If we try to tie all these ends, we don't really reach anywhere.

The main issue I think is that terrorism is on the increase in Punjab. How it came into being raises a question. If one can go into it all of us will have to share the blame for it in one way or the other. But how do we go forward from here? If this House, if the parties in this country could evolve a consensus as to how we can deal with this problem, I think we would have taken an important first step in that direction.

I have received from the Lok Sabha library the details of killings that have taken place recently in the last year. If we take the month of November, the number of civilians killed by terrorists was 297; the number of policemen and security personnel killed 66; the number of terrorists killed 171; arrested 140. If we take it from 11th December to 1st January for which figures have been provided, the number of civilians killed has risen sharply to 1896; the number of policemen and security personnel killed is 465; the number of terrorists killed is 1199. This only shows that we are not moving towards a solution to the problem. We are only heightening the killings that is taking place in Punjab.

There has been some criticism as to why the Prime Minister has agreed to have a dialogue with one group or the other in Punjab.

17.43 hrs. [SHRI JASWANT SINGH  
in the Chair]

I think that when we have a situation where the solution is either to fight or to talk, then the obvious answer is to talk. We have just passed a resolution regarding the Gulf that we should seek a peaceful solution. Therefore the obvious thing in Punjab would also be to seek a peaceful solution. Therefore there should be no restriction on the Prime Minister talking to anyone to find a peaceful solution.

He has made it quite clear that he would talk only to Indian citizens, and that he would talk within the ambit of Indian Constitution, except for minor changes that may be necessary. Therefore I am amazed that objections have been taken to the Prime Minister willing to have a dialogue to find a solution. Many people have objected to it sitting on the other side. But I would only suggest that we should look at this question as a question of the Indian polity, a question of integrity of the country. We are a multi-religious society. Therefore, it should not be necessary for anyone belonging to one particular religion or the other to want to go out of the union to find satisfaction. His religious feelings, his religious sentiments, his religious rights are guaranteed by the Constitution in this country. It is not merely a question of the spirit and the letter, but it is the question of the accommodation and the country as a whole has to accept that it has to absorb people of different religions, speaking different languages, living in different parts of this country. What is happening in India, Sir, is not peculiar to India. There is a global trend, to which we must also look. In the developing societies, there is a desire for greater decentralisation, for greater powers, coming to smaller units, for assertion of ethnic rights, for assertion of religious rights. We find this amongst our neighbours and if we go further we find it in other developing societies, including the Soviet Union and I dare say, China. On the other hand, in the developed societies, the attempt is to forget these divisions and to unite in larger association. Europe is now becoming one Europe, not only Western Europe, but also Eastern Europe getting attaching to this. In America, the United States is attempting to unite the entire continent of North and South America. There are these global movements which has impact on us also. Therefore, we have to find out as to how we can accommodate different feelings, diffe-

rent urges and strengthen the unity of the country. It cannot be done by appeasement; it cannot be done by over-exertion of power. A balance has to be struck between the assertion of the authority of the State and the accommodation of the feelings of the people, whether it is power or whether it is any other religious or linguistic feeling. Therefore, I would suggest to the Government that, as the Prime Minister is holding dialogue with different sections of Indian people, related to the State of Punjab, he should also have individually, collectively, more dialogue with the political parties and see whether some kind of a consensus on approach can be arrived at—not on generalities, not on merely expression of good desire that this should happen and that should happen, but how will it happen. One of the problems that we faced in Punjab is that of—it is a serious one and that has not been mentioned so far, as I have heard hon. Members speak—anti-social activities that are being carried out,—the smuggling of dope, smuggling of gold, smuggling of liquor and all kind of smuggling which is giving a stake to the people in the continuation of this conflict, of confrontation. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that firm measures have to be taken and I would suggest that we should invite Pakistan for a dialogue, on those acts because smuggling is also affecting their economy, to see whether there could be a joint effort to stop smuggling.

Shri Advani has referred to the question of putting up barriers. Barriers are useful at times. They become necessary, but mere stinging of wires is not a barrier. Many things pass through these wires. The real barrier will come when smuggling will become unprofitable. Therefore, we should go into this question, this important economic question, as to how we can draw our young people away from smuggling, how can we prevent people coming over from Pakistan to encourage

[Sh. Dinesh Singh]

this smuggling, to encourage the division, to encourage divisive activities, to bring arms, to supply arms to them and also to train them in Pakistan. Therefore, I feel that it will be useful if we could all apply our minds to it and see that a concrete programme, not merely intentions of good results but also the programme to achieve those results, is made and that we move in the direction of finding a peaceful solution in which these killings are stopped and Government's authority is established by its ability to check the anti-social activities there.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA (Jadavpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, one does not like to begin on a note of pessimism. But I am sure many Members in this House will agree with me when I start by saying that the situation in Punjab has gone from bad to worse in the last two months. There are some very clear danger signals. I will mention only three. Firstly, not only do we find that the killings are continuing but we also find that now the murderous attacks are concentrated against the minorities. I agree with the Hon. Member, Shri L. K. Advani, that this is deliberate, this is a part of the a diabolical plan and it is meant to create a pressure on the minorities to migrate. I think, it is entirely to the credit of the great people of Punjab that so far in spite of such pressure being mounted against them, there have been no communal riots in the State nor has there been any large-scale migration from the State. But let us say that now that pressure is concentrated on them and if this migration starts, then the international repercussions of this may well be imagined.

Secondly, we find the administration dangerously buckling under the pressure of the extremists. Now, we find the extremists issuing diktats. They have enforced a code for media. They have terrorised the Press. They have enforced a dress code for the students and this imposition of a uniform is again quite deliberate. It is meant to create the impression that

Khalistan has already come. It is heard that attacks are being made upon girl students who are not conforming to this dress code. A lady member in Patiala has been shot down not because she refused to abide by their diktat but simply because she demanded some time to follow it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): It was because she sang the National Anthem.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA: This is in Patiala.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes, in Patiala.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA: Further, Sir, the secessionists have succeeded in banning Hindi broadcasting from AIR. Now, it may be remembered that our party and all the Left parties have been speaking for a very a long time on behalf of the rights and the privileges of the regional languages. We have been demanding for a very long time that in those parts of the country, where there is more than 10 per cent of Punjab speaking population, the Punjabi language should be brought in. But the erstwhile Congress (I) Government had turned its deaf ears to these demands. And now we find that a Government, which is friendly to them is at last buckling to this pressure and they are allowing another national language to be banned from AIR. So, the cost of bringing Punjabi language to broadcasting is at the cost of banning Hindi. Further Sir, we find that now they have issued another diktat that water from irrigation canals must not pass from Punjab to Rajasthan. This is a serious matter which is going to be disastrous not only from the point of view of economic considerations but also from the point of view of the relations among the different States. The third danger signal which we find is that in the last few days, we have found that the terrorist activities have cropped up in parts of India where there had never been a problem before

this. I recall the murder of the SP in Dhanbad and I recall the Purulia incident also. This has happened in West Bengal. West Bengal is a place where even during the terrible anti-Sikh riots of 1984, the Sikh minorities were assured of as much security as any other community in the country. Why is this being done? This is done deliberately in order to create disorder, in order to build up an atmosphere of hatred between one community and another. So, these are the danger signals. And it is our suspicion and we have an impression that the attitude of the Government in the last two months has certainly not helped the situation. We have some of us who said that this has, in fact, given encouragement to the terrorists. The Prime Minister has denied this and I hope his subsequent actions will prove his words. But why do we have this feeling that the secessionists movement got the wrong signals from the Government? I think only yesterday the Prime Minister had said that he would hold talks even with the secessionists because they are also citizens of India. Now, the Prime Minister knows that they are citizens of India and we also know that they are citizens of India but do the secessionists know that? Have they given that commitment to the Prime Minister that when they come for talks, they will agree not to raise about the unity of India, that they will not bring into question the unity of India? The Prime Minister also has said, in justifying his statement, that he is prepared to talk with anyone in the country, including the secessionists. He has said that the solution to the Punjab problem does not lie in bullets. Who, in this House, thinks that the solution to the Punjab lies in bullets? I am sure nobody. It is only the secessionists who tried to solve the Punjab problem through the bullets. They are trying to solve it by shedding innocent blood, by extortion and by terrorising the people and unless they give up this strategy and unless they give up their commitment for secessionism, how can there be a basis for talks?

12—6 LSS/ND/91

Now, let the secessionists go for the time being. What about the Akali leader, Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann? In his memorandum which he has submitted to the Government, has he given that commitment that unity of India would be an accepted promise and not a matter of debate?

18.00 hrs

It may be, in that memorandum he has not mentioned Article 51 of the Constitution although this was mentioned in the resolution that was taken by the three Akali parties in December. It must have been mentioned but they have given up their demand for self-determination and a demand for a buffer State between India and Pakistan raised at the meeting of these three Akali groups in December.

We know that the Akali leaders belong to a very glorious anti-imperialist tradition but it is unfortunate that they are unable to withstand the pressure of the extremists. They are not demarking themselves sufficiently from the extremists. It must be said that in today's newspaper there was a welcome report of a statement by Mr. Mann where he has dissociated himself from these acts of violence and terror. We welcome this, Sir, however, still the question is there that if the Government has talks then these talks must be without any pre-condition. Terrorism must be condemned and the integrity of the country must not be made a matter of debate. It is only when these have been accepted whether by Mr. Mann or whether by secessionists, only then the talks can proceed.

Again we find the Prime Minister making statement in Newspaper saying that the Pakistan Government is anxious to come to terms with the Indian Government regarding the matter of Khalistan. Has there been any such sign of goodwill from the military powers in Pakistan or the Government which has been newly installed there? If they have this goodwill

[Smt. Malini Bhattacharya]

then at least they should stop giving shelter to the notorious Panthic Committees. So long as they are not doing this, I would like to ask the Prime Minister on what evidence he is issuing such certificates to the Pakistan Government.

Sir, I now come to the last part of my speech. There is indeed, I think a certain silver lining in the midst of all this darkness, something which I have mentioned before also. The people of Punjab are still against terrorism. At the grass-roots we still find people when they have some organised force to mobilise them; when they have administration to back them up, we find the people still resist terrorism with great deal of heroism. Earlier on when Mr. Mann was arrested, we find that the protests were quite muted, nominal. The *dharna* by the Sikh Student's Federation of India on 30th last did not attract crowds. They think that the administration will not be able to protect them; the political parties will not be able to mobilise them and it is only under such terror the people of Punjab are still standing the terrorists. There is a positive proof of this, Sir. I will give only one instance.

On November 26 last, from our Party, district level mass demonstrations were held in different areas of Punjab demanding for a political solution of the problem and in defence of national unity and these, considering the overall situation in Punjab, rallies and mass demonstrations found a great deal of response.

Some of the hon. Members have been talking about elections in Punjab. Certainly, we are all for elections in Punjab but, Sir, if these elections are to be held then the buckling down to the administration must be stopped. Administration must be strengthened; the Central Government must go behind the administration. It should not only bring right kind of people to the right kind of places at the same time it should not yield to the demands, completely ignoble de-

mands being made by the terrorists that certain people who are not in favour with them should be removed. There should not be wholesale shifting of the administration, Sir. If this streamlining, strengthening of administration can be achieved then only, Sir, it would be possible to conduct elections otherwise we know recently co-operative elections were held in Ropar and they were held at gun-point. If you do not want to present Punjab to the terrorists on the platter do not have elections until the administration has been strengthened and masses have been given sufficient faith and trust.

Sir, there are two or three other suggestions. I will just mention them as these are positive suggestions. There was a proposal for enhancing the employment for unemployed youths in Punjab which was put forward by the V. P. Singh Government. It should be implemented by the present Government. The points of dispute regarding Chandigarh regarding distribution of water should be resolved immediately; if necessary the Government can rely on judicial verdict for this. The rights and privileges of Punjabi language, one of the national languages, must be upheld. The Centre-State relationship must be made more balanced. Some of the rumblings that we have been hearing in the last two months, the way different State Governments are being brought to their knees, should not continue. A healthy Centre-State relationship is an absolute pre-condition for the solution of the Punjab problem. The All India Gurudwara Act must be instilled and as for the 1984 riots, there has been already sufficient delay in the investigation—there have been committees, they have given reports but very little action has been taken. The erstwhile National Front Government took some measures but may be they had too many other pre-occupations and these did not make much progress. This Government should take it up and should not let the culprits of 1984 riots go.

Finally, Sir, it is a matter of installing trust and confidence in the masses, mobilising the masses so that the acts of terrorisms may be prevented even before they are committed and for this we would urge upon the Government not to let the secessionists hold the Government and the country and the people of Punjab to ransom. An immediate meeting of the National Integration Council must be held. The Government or the Prime Minister should take us into confidence regarding the talks that he is having with different parties.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is good that we are discussing the Punjab situation today. Punjab problem is the problem of the entire country now. There was a time when Sikhism was in its making, respected Guru Nanak Devji laid its foundation. At that time there was a division of our country on the basis of religion viz. Hindus and Muslims. Guru Nanak Devji taught the lesson of unity among Hindus and Muslims and others and those who followed his teachings were called the Sikhs. I have been visiting Punjab whenever I got a chance. Very recently on 5th January I had been to Bhatinda. Earlier, I went to Amritsar also. There I made an appeal to the public whether they would alienate the first Gurudwara of the world, i.e. Patna Sahib from Khalistan, where the founder Guru of the Khalsa Panth Guru Gobind Singh was born. He passed away in Nanded which is situated on the border line of Maharashtra. The fifth Gurudwara of the world is there and will the Sikhs surrender it? Would the Sikhs like to make Khalistan without the first and fifth Gurudwaras, because the first is directly related with the birth and fifth directly related with the passing away of the founder of Sikhism. Then Khalistan won't be of any use without these Gurudwaras. If the Sikhs include both these Gurudwaras, the quarrel should be on the issue that the name of the country

would be changed from India ("Bharat") to Khalistan. Then this quarrel will be only for the name and not the secession of the country. Mr. Chairman Sir, this is a religious problem, sentiments and not the arguments matter in religion. You know and we also know how the country was divided in 1947. On the one hand, the slogan was that Muslims are a separate nation and on the other hand was the voice of Hindu nation. The one supported the other unintentionally. The British regime got an opportunity to strike and we were divided. Separated our motherland was divided. Not only the greatest leader, but Mahatma Gandhi had given us the advice: "Ishwar, Allah, Teronaam, Sab Ko Sanmati de Bhagwaan".

(Some call you Ishwar, and some as Allah, Oh Lord, bestow wisdom to all.)

But this "Sanmati" (wisdom) too had no effect. Somebody shot Gandhiji in the chest after remembering God, and the name of "Allah" too was misused. In this manner our country was divided. After independence there were concerted efforts in the direction that there should be a section of the people whose mother-tongue was Punjabi but who would say that Hindi was their mother-tongue. Though their mother-tongue was Punjabi, they still use the same language. There can't be any other reasoning except religious or communal. The situation deteriorated. Then there was a demand of Punjabi Province. We had supported it on the basis of language. After that, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh came into being. Both Punjab and Haryana went on making progress. Just now my friend Sardar Kripal Singh raised some points. I had myself gone to Punjab and some people honestly believe that they are neglected.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that after Independence a scheme for the biggest dam was sanctioned initially for Kosi river area.



[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

Late Sardar Pratab Singh Kairon was the Chief Minister at that time. He demanded the construction of that project in Bhakra Nangal. Some of our people objected to this. Articles were published and attempts were made to launch an agitation on the issue that Bhakra Nangal Dam is going to be constructed in place of Kosi dam. We, the communists, opposed strongly and said that Punjab is bleeding and it is divided and it should therefore be given the topmost priority. The same thing was done. Bhakra Nangal Dam was built at the cost of Kosi Dam. They say that Punjab has been neglected. If the country has given Bhakra Nangal Dam to Punjab as a result of which there has been tremendous Progress in the field of agriculture and industry, it is not the testimony of neglect.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, even otherwise it is a matter of pleasure for us that Barauni in Bihar is also getting the coal at the same rate at which the thermal power station of Bhatinda is getting. People of our region argue that in spite of producing coal why should they get it on higher price. Since it is known as trade equalisation, so they are getting coal from Bhatinda or any other place at cheaper rates. We do not object, if they are getting it. As far as possible our country discharged the duty of nourishing Punjab because after 1947 much attention was given towards strengthening Punjab, especially because it is the province which serves as a sentry of this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are certain things which spoil the environments. Meanwhile, you may recollect that the verdict of the Supreme Court in case of Shah Bano was changed, so a signal was received in Punjab that if the verdict of the Supreme Court can be changed under the threat of vote they would use the threat of vote and show their might also to influence the decision in their favour. If somebody errs, it influences others also. Similarly, 4-5 years back

when there was a slogan "Babri Masjid tod do" (Demolish Babri Masjid) there was a slogan from Kashmir saying 'Bharat chhod do' (Quit India) and terrorism gained ground in Punjab and a cry was heard from there saying 'Bharat tod do'.

No doubt, one may not intend to demolish the mosque, but the effect is there. Our country is multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and based on the unity in diversity and we have some dignified traditions. These things have come in the way of vitiating the feelings. The present situation is dangerous, I don't want to speak anything about it, as all my friends have already spoken about it. People do not accept with sweet will. They accept only on account of fear. Panthak committee gives a call and people accept it out of fear. I associate myself with the views expressed by my other colleagues who have said that the people of Punjab, whether they are sikhs, Hindus or of any other community have remained calm in spite of all the riots, excesses, and brutal killings. They have not indulged in riots in any village or city or mohalla. Such is the dignified tradition of our nation and this is our big capital which will help us in going ahead. I have got an information according to which the Chancellor of the Punjab University, Chandigarh has been threatened that the terrorists will take revenge if he does not resign. So far as I know that Chancellor is not going to Chandigarh and he is still in Delhi. This type of terror is still prevalent there. In spite of all this, the masses of Punjab are maintaining close relationship among themselves. Mr. Chairman, Sir, what steps should we take in such a situation is a different matter which has been discussed time and again. Perhaps this point has not come up during this discussion. Now, the things are being linked such as some sikh may commit some crime after going to some other place in the same manner in which a Khalistani militant did by killing an S.P. in Dhanbad. The victim died, and according to a report.



the Khalistani militant was apprehended in Purulia. The simple motive of the militant is to, some how, instigate riots in the country so that there is disturbance and sikhs are subjected to violence and it is a matter of pride that there have been no acts of revenge in Bihar, Bengal or any other place. We hope that our people from any part of the country and their patriotism will prevent such a situation and the people will not take revenge from any one else for the misdeeds of the rioters, extremists and terrorists. Only the real culprit will be punished by law which our country has adopted. Whatever punishment is there according to the law will be awarded to the terrorists.

The collusion between Khalistanis, members of ULFA and LTTE and the people who want to alienate Kashmir is not good. Such links should be considered seriously and smashed. This should not be ignored.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now the question of Pakistan came up.

The Prime Minister has said that we have to hold talks with Pakistan and Punjab issue should not be the point of discussion because it is our internal matter. We have to see how to solve it? Pakistan has no right to interfere in India's internal matters. Interference by Pakistan in our internal matters should be the point of discussion. There is no harm to have discussion with Pakistan on this issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I am just concluding. One important thing I want to say is that this is not a personal war that the army should be called in. An extremist kills people and then disappears and when our armed forces reach there he resorts to firing and many innocent persons are killed. As I have already said and urging again today that the justifiable

demands of the public should be accepted. It will be the decisive as well as political approach also. For example those responsible for the 1984 riots should be punished and the Chandigarh and water disputes should be resolved immediately. I think the most prominent leader of Haryana is our Deputy Prime Minister. I hope he will think our these disputes keeping in view the interest of the country and adopt liberal approach. At present he is in such a position that he will keep the interest of country in view and take liberal stand in resolving these disputes. It is a matter of joy that he will help in resolving these disputes as the Deputy Prime Minister keeping in view the larger interest of the country. Our intelligence agencies are not upto the mark. In fact our failure to bust terrorist gangs in Punjab can be attributed to our intelligence agencies. Basically there are two types of extremists—the first type comprises of people who particularly want a separate state and the second type comprises of people who are just criminals taking advantage of the troubled atmosphere to indulge in violence. The Government and its intelligence agencies have to differentiate between the two. It will not be fair on our part to call all of them as Khalistanis because we shall not be able to take action against the two groups simultaneously.

So far as India's border with Pakistan is concerned, the Government has to think how to seal it? Unless we seal the border we cannot stop the influx of arms and terrorists from across the border. Unlike Shri Bhajan Lal I am not in favour of uprooting the people who are living within two kilometres of the border. It can be done by supplying electric current to the fence. Illegal crossing of the border, be it in terms of smuggling of arms or escaping of terrorists must be checked at all costs.

The hon. Prime Minister has said that this is a necessary step without which we cannot get success. One of

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

the main issues is whether talks should be held or not. Even today we have passed a Resolution that the Gulf crisis should be resolved through mutual dialogue. What is the harm in having a dialogue? I am talking about the people who are honest, like me. When we were imprisoned in jail during freedom struggle, we escaped by jumping over the jail walls. We were asked to give in writing that we would not indulge in violence. We challenged them to take us to court but did not sign the condition put by them. We just said that we would make efforts to avoid violence. Personally, I have never adopted violent means to achieve my ends. The Sikhs, who staunchly support the demand for Khalistan will never accede. So there is no harm in having a dialogue. The Government can initiate a dialogue and the Prime Minister can make it clear that there can be an agreement within the framework of the unity and integrity of the country. We must be sure about this last aspect otherwise the dialogue will be of no use. The people who have been misguided will come forward to seek Government help but those who are deliberately indulging in such activities will not come forward. This will not solve the problem. Therefore it is not a question of opposing the dialogue but of keeping the administration from becoming weak. Among the points discussed were holding of talks, gearing-up the intelligence agencies and checking the illegal movement across the Indo-Pak border. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude your speech now.

SHRI BHOGEN DRA JHA: My party feels, perhaps the entire House also feels, that an occasion to extend the President's Rule should not arise again. We have to create a favourable atmosphere for holding elections. Today people cannot cast their vote fearlessly. An atmosphere conducive to the holding of elections must be created through political or adminis-

trative means or through mutual dialogue. If the constitution has to be amended for the powers of the States *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have been given 23 minutes to speak instead of three minutes. Now please conclude your speech.

SHRI BHOGEN DRA JHA: I am concluding. The Constitution will have to be amended in view of the recommendations of Sarkaria Commission. More powers will have to be granted to States. Shri Bhajan Lal said that the States of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab should be merged to one state. I don't think this will solve the problem. With these words I conclude my speech. Thank you.

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA (Ropar): Hon. Mr. Chairman Sir, today a discussion is being held on the Punjab issue. The participation of all Members in this discussion is much appreciated but it is a matter of regret that except for hon. Shri Bhogendra Jha none of the members spoke of police atrocities on Sikh youth in Punjab. They should look at the issue from both angles. Every member spoke of handing over Punjab to army or fencing the border or taking over land of the farmers. But nobody said that the Punjab problem cannot be solved by force. Everyone said that it should be checked, it should be killed. Everyone also said that elections should not be held in the State till the situation becomes normal. I want to know what action has been taken by the Government to solve the problem? Recently 58 companies of C.R.P.F. and B.S.F. are sent to Punjab and several Gypsies and trucks are being supplied. More weapons are being given. Has the Government estimated the extent to which the B.S.F. and C.R.P.F. can contribute towards restoring normalcy in the State? Aren't innocent people being killed by the C.R.P.F. and B.S.F.? Is the

Government aware of a Press report published day before yesterday that C.R.P.F., B.S.F. and Police officials shot at a conductor and his two companions when they were returning after doing their duty. The conductor was killed and his two companions injured in this firing. This led bus-operators to observe a two-days strike. Nobody tried to understand why this strike was observed. The Government does not want to take action against the guilty police officials. Two days after the strike a case was registered against the guilty persons. At Khanna, a truck was going ahead, a Maruti van in which was a leader of Congress (I). The bodyguard of that leader shot-dead the truck driver only because he did not give him side due to heavy rush. Such type of incidents occur there. The police did not register the case. The people protested and demanded for the arrest and prosecution of the accused. But the police did not register case against the culprit in order to protect him. The people gheraoed the Police-Station and staged a peaceful Dharna when they came to know about the police's dilly-dallying in registering the case. Every citizen has right to protest peacefully but we cannot do even that in Punjab. We are fired by the police there even if we hold a peaceful protest. You might have come to know the news about incident took place at Khanna in which 2 or 3 persons were killed and 8 were injured in a police-firing when they were peacefully demonstrating. Their only guilt was that they were demonstrating peacefully.

I tell you that I immediately rushed there when I got intimation on phone about the incident and the police atrocities in my constituency. When I reached there, police was announcing at that time that curfew had been imposed in Khanna and people were being advised to go to their respective homes and simultaneously they were being lathi charged by the police. When I asked the cause of lathi-charge, they told me that curfew had

been imposed. I asked let the people reach their homes and till that time stop lathi-charge. But they continued their atrocities on the people though I insisted upon them at three-four places not to do so.

You might have read in yesterday's newspaper about Bhawanigarh incident where the police resorted to fire and lathi-charge on the farmers who were staging 'Dharna' peacefully. I want to bring to your notice that the police have taken law in their hands because they are sure that no case would be registered against them. No law is existing in Punjab. About 6-7 months ago police killed Kulwant Singh in a fake encounter at Mohali. The Governor, D.C., S.S.P. and others had visited the spot. The D.S.P., Shri Dileep Singh, who is still in Mohali, mis-behaved with me. It is a matter of shame for the Government that a D.S.P. insults an M.P. and it is more cumbersome that no action has been taken yet against that D.S.P., I want to tell you how did he behave with me. I am compelled to bring it to the notice of the Government. The matter should be forwarded to Privilege Committee. Does the Government wants Member of the Parliament, who has been elected by lakhs of votes, be misbehaved and insulted by the police. That is why they (the Government) are not taking any action against the D.S.P. who had mis-behaved me?

The police is resorting to house to house search. The youth are dragged out of the houses and detained illegally. The police do not disclose their whereabouts. The Government assures that the women will not be called at police-stations for any interrogation. But one may confirm it from the police station that the police has tortured a woman by pulling her hair. Such is the situation of Punjab today. Even then you are saying that the Punjab problem must be solved within the provisions of the Constitution. I want to ask whether the Constitution allows to do such things? Does

[Smt. Bimal Kaur Khalsa]

the constitution of India allow to kill a youth in a fake police encounter after dragging him out of his house? Does it permit to detain the youths in jail for five to seven years without prosecuting them. Does our constitution permits the police to carry the youths in unnumbered vehicles. Is it not true that the vehicles without any number are being frequently used by the police in Punjab. Does the constitution of India allow to construct a temple after demolishing the Babari Masjid? Does it debar us from joining the funeral procession of those youths who are killed by the police? Even the relatives are not allowed to see the dead bodies of those who are killed by police. We say that one should be punished according to law, only if one commits crime. But no law permits the police to shoot out the criminal. On the wake of any such incidents, the parents of the missing children reach there to verify under the apprehension that the deceased may be their own wards. But the police do not allow the parents to see the dead-bodies. The police resort to lathi-charge if they ask for the dead-bodies of their wards. Such is the pitiable conditions of the parents there. ... (Interruptions).

CH. RAM PRAKASH (Ambala): Mr. Chairman, Sir, why does not she say anything about the bank-robberies and the killings of the 20-30 bus-passengers after dragging them out? ... (Interruptions).....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat..... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA: I want to say that no one has right to take law in one's hands. He, who commits a crime-must be punished.... (Interruptions) At that time, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was counselled to attack and demolish the Darbar Sahab in order to solve the Punjab issue. She was told by her advisers that several terrorists were hidden in the Darbar Sahab. Only after that Darbar Sahab was attacked. Bhajan Lal ji has said that a number

of terrorists and weapons were there. I say that there were so many ways of apprehending them. I want to know the fault of those who had come to Darbar Sahab on the day of 'Guru Parva' to bow down their heads before Shri Arjun Singh ji ..... (Interruptions)..... It is being said that the terrorists were hidden in Har-Mandir Sahab. But when 39 Gurudwaras were searched in not a single terrorist was found in 38 Gurudwaras. Similarly, former Prime Minister, Shri V. P. Singh was advised by these very people not to conduct election in Punjab. He was told by them that the atmosphere of Punjab was not conducive to the election. Agreeing to their advice, he did not conduct election there and constitution was amended twice accordingly. As a result of which he had to repent later on. He has himself said that he is repenting for not conducting election in Punjab. Recently, our Prime Minister has talked to Shri Mann. He has said youths of Punjab will be called for talk. I am of the view that any talk or agreement take place when there is a dispute between two parties otherwise there is no use of having a talk. For example, Gulf-Crisis, which is of great concern. I wish that India should find out some solution of this crisis. When we are making efforts to solve this crisis through talk, then why do not we try to solve the Punjab problem through talk ..... (Interruptions)... This problem also may be sorted out through dialogue. Earlier also there had been Rajiv Longowal accord in 1985. At that time also the dispute was with youths. There was no dispute with Shri Longowal and Shri Barnala. But accord was among Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri Barnala, Shri Balwant and Shri Longowal. The result of their accord is before you. Therefore, I say that agreement should be with those, with whom there is a dispute. Therefore, it is requested that Punjab problem may be solved through talk..... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not want to check you from speaking but you

have taken two or three times more than the allotted time. Now, I request you to conclude your speech.

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I shall take only two-three minutes more. Shri Bhajan Lal Ji has said that my husband had assassinated Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It is a well known fact that my husband and Satwant Singh had assassinated her but my husband was immediately shot dead, though he had raised his hands. The law does not permit to shoot out the man who has surrendered. Even then he was shot dead.

After that, Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh were hanged to death because they were the assassins of Smt. Indira Gandhi. But I want to know why was the entire Sikh Community punished? What was the guilt of other Sikhs? Why were they burnt alive? Bhajan Lal Ji says that Shri Rajiv Gandhi had been visiting whole night. I want to know as to what Shri Rajiv Gandhi did by visiting the riots affected areas? Is any F.I.R. registered against any of the culprit? ...*(Interruptions)*...

[English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please do not interrupt her. It would not go on record.. *(Interruptions)\*...*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I am perfectly capable of keeping the House in order. All of you do not have to maintain order. Please sit down.

[Translation]

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA:** Property of crores of rupees of Sikhs was destroyed. This Government had promised to constitute special courts to punish the culprits of 1980 riots. But I ask them as to how many culprits of that riot have been punished so far, though 6 years have lapsed. The persons, res-

pensible for the riots are in our Parliament but the Government tends to over-look them. The Government should not exempt any guilty person irrespective of his post.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, another point I want to raise is that the election of the Shiromani Committee is due for the last many years. The Sikhs are searched in before entering the Gurudwaras, their religious shrines. No one is allowed to enter the Darbar Saheb. Police personnel in civil dress are deputed there. They have been deployed in our religious places. Sir, what is the Government doing to heal the wounded feelings of the Sikhs? I hope that this problem may be solved, if the Sikh's wounded hearts are healed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi Ji had said at Sheesh Ganj Gurudwara that the Sikhs were bold enough to get their rights if they were denied their rights. Denying them their rights is the main cause of Punjab problem. I want to say that there is still scope of finding out the solution of Punjab problem. This problem would be too intricate to solve if immediate solution is not found out.

[Translation]

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Jalandhar):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Punjab situation has been being discussed here for the last three hours. It is unfortunate that we are still digging the past. If we discuss this matter from the very beginning it will be a very lengthy discussion but I would like to say that although ten long years have lapsed after the 1980 elections and now we are in the year 1991, there has been no improvement in the situation of Punjab. On the contrary the things moved from bad to worse. It is good that now Shri Chandra Shekhar is the Prime Minister of this country. Ten years back I along with Shri Chandra Shekhar and a few others visited

\*Not recorded.

[Sh. I. K. Gujral]

Darbar Sahib for the first time to have a dialogue with some people. At that time also, the situation of Punjab was critical and some people were trying to deteriorate the situation further and they were not prepared to make the situation normal. Unfortunately the politics took such a turn at that time, I do not want to name anyone, that Sant Bhindarwale became a prominent figure. As far as Sant Bhindarwale is concerned, had Shri Bhajan Lal been present in the House, he would have informed us about the party to which Bhindarwale extended his support, the platform from where he spoke and whom did he get elected. If these facts were revealed, things would have taken a different shape. I and Chandra Shekharji at that time had raised two issues. One issue was that whatever goes wrong it would not be linked with Sikh community. Violence had erupted and people were being killed everywhere but our stand was that the Sikh community is the part and parcel of this country like any other community. The Sikhs are an inseparable part of this country and they do have also their rights in this country. They are not living here at the mercy of others. Unfortunately, our views were not heard and the situation went on aggravating. Today when I have got the opportunity to express my views I shall certainly refer to these two issues, because I am directly concerned with them. First of all, I have been elected from Punjab and secondly, I am the son of the Punjab. I have eaten the crops grown on that part of the land which is known as Punjab. I am a claimant of the heritage that was given to us by our Gurus. Their preachings are so splendid that no one, either he may be a Hindu or a Sikh if he calls himself a Punjabi cannot dissociate himself from it. The foundation of those preachings was based on many values. The history of that period reveals that whosoever used to invade this country through the Khayber Pass used to pass through Punjab while going to and coming back from Delhi

and the condition of the people living in Punjab was pathetic. Our ladies were not safe, we had no past, no language and no culture. At the time of Babar a great Saint—The Saint Guru Nanak was born and for the first time he gave us a call and asked us to be courageous. The atrocities committed by Babar and other Moghul Kings gave birth to the Punjabis and by the time the tenth Guru was born a renewed vigour had developed in us. Our great saints had laid our foundation and they had created the Punjabi culture. They had given us discipline, psychology, culture, language and values. These values called for universal well being. Through these teachings, the welfare of the entire humanity was preached and was conveyed that the whole mankind should be treated as one caste. This was a gift from Guru Nanak Nanakji was such a great personality as any amount of time is inadequate to narrate his qualities. He had a peculiar personality. He had inherited the qualities of leadership and it included the spirit of sacrifice. Guru Nanak taught the Punjabis to uplift the downtrodden and be far sighted. But by the time Punjabis understood the preaching of Guru Nanak, Iqbal gave a slogan "Lara De Mughle Shahbaz". As a result of this we became slave. Before we lost our independence Maharaja Ranjit Singh was born. He changed the history. He diverted the course of the stream that used to flow from Khyber pass towards Delhi and the Punjabis reached Afghanistan honourably after crossing Khyber. He made us Punjabis and provided us our language, values and culture. Raja Col. Ranjit Singh did achieve a marvellous thing. His Government was not communal but secular. Azizuddin was his Foreign Minister. His people used to call themselves Punjabis. We became slave in the last. English people entered Punjab and we were slave for one hundred years. We fought a big battle. Bhagat Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai were the product of that battle which was called 'Gadar Party'. Punjab produced such people as knew the tactics

of war and make sacrifices. Unfortunately, today we are trying to find out the religion to which they belonged. We have been asking whether Bhagat Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai were Hindus or Sikhs. Those who were put to death in Jalianwala Bagh were Hindus or Sikhs? They were simply devoted towards their country. We had inherited patriotism from these eminent persons and this had made us Punjabis. They had a vital role in the struggle for freedom and we witnessed everything. I hail from a small town called Jhelum in Pakistan. From Amritsar a *Jattha* of Sikhs came for assisting Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and they were thrashed in Jhelum city. That day my younger brother died. My parents were arrested at the same night. I witnessed the entire thing with my own eyes. I saw the entire freedom struggle and I also saw what happened in 1946. In 1946 riots started in Rawalpindi and Jhelum areas. In that area there was no distinction between Hindus and Sikhs. The people who took part in the riots were killed by the Sikhs. I saw the atrocities committed on them. I myself felt the pain that they had undergone. Since we were Punjabis and had sufficient courage and were laborious so we became prosperous. We should not forget that the land of this country gave us a warm welcome and many among us went to Pakistan and settled there. There they are called Mujahirs and they could not be able to get even the residential accommodation and are still wandering in the streets. In India we are enjoying the freedom of moving freely and honourably. We are proud of ourselves and of the unity of this country. We know how to produce gold out of the land of this country and how to lift our swords for defending the honour of our country. Had the soil of this country not been hospitable and the people not been with us—

18.55 hrs. [MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER  
in Chair]

Had the people of this country not

supported us, our condition would not have been different in any way as compared to the Mujahirs in Pakistan. Do not forget that we have seen the formation of Pakistan in the name of religion. We have also seen division of Pakistan in the name of religion. Nations are not built in the name of religion, as a matter of fact the nations emerge on the strength of culture, history and traditions. Our country is a land of diversities. Sikhs are a part of it. I do not consider myself different from Sikhs. My sister is married in a Sikh family. Our relationship with them is very strong and there cannot be any division. We are united with each other and can never be separated. The constituency from where I have been elected is dominated by Sikhs. Earlier, too whenever have contested election, I have represented the areas where Sikhs are in majority. They have elected me then how can I believe that they are different from me or I am different from them. Indian society is based on secularism. If we ourselves try to deviate in any way from the base then to whom would be blame.

The history of last ten years has been that of inexperience. During this period the Government was also inexperienced. Immaturity cannot be divided. We had to face inexperienced people. Despite knowing it, if we try to make some distinction or division in the name of religion, it would amount to injustice.

Sikh community is such a commendable community that wherever it goes it makes a place for itself. If you go to Madras, Bombay or see anywhere in the field of science, technology, trade, farms or army you will always find sikhs discharging their duties honourably. We are proud of this fact. Not only because we honour Sikhs but because of the fact that they have the quality which is essential for making progress.



[Sh. I. K. Gujral]

This Nation upholds truth and the person who is courageous, prospers and allow others to prosper. As such, I strongly believe that we have an unfortunate politics. However, this is not the time to analyse which Government was immature. Had we not been immature we would have not started thinking about it after ten years. I have got a long list of the errors committed during that long period but due to shortage of time I do not want to go into it. But I would like to draw your attention to one important aspect since I am personally concerned with it. We have been guessing about Longowal Accord, Anandpur Sahab Resolution and the text of Longowal Accord that was sent to Sarkaria Commission. But we are not paying proper attention towards the Pak activities. We are unfortunate that for two to three hours the discussion is going on but contrary to my hopes no one has drawn our attention towards this important issue. I have been associated with the foreign policy of this country for a few months. I myself had discussions with the Pak foreign Minister twice. I also spoke to their Foreign Secretary. It would be a blunder if we ignore the foreign policy of Pakistan in respect of Kashmir or Punjab problem and we are time and again committing this mistake. We are blaming each other but we are not trying to look into the element that is instrumental behind it. You must be remembering what I had urged in this House from the ruling side. In the month of February when I had first talked to Yakub he was giving an ultimatum and there was a danger of war. I did not underestimate that ultimatum. He had a firm belief that whether they did interfere in Kashmir or in Pakistan they could spoil the entire atmosphere of these places. But the reply that should have come from you had already been given by me.

As a result, when they talked for the second time after two months, their tone was changed, but there was

no change in their intention. The policy was the same of interference in Punjab and Kashmir. I am an old friend of Shri Chandra Shekhar and appreciate his far sightedness.

19.00 hrs.

But as a personal friend, I would like to tell him not to commit a mistake of changing the foreign policy over telephones and through sweet talks. The foreign policy should be framed to serve the long terms interests. But he still wants to continue this foreign policy, inspite of all the interference being carried out in Punjab and Kashmir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you may remember the time I am mentioning about. It refers to last june. Mr. Gates, the Security Advisor of the American President Mr. George Bush came to meet me. He informed me that he has visited Pakistan, before coming to India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has told him that the 31 camps in which the terrorists were being trained, have been closed. I asked him that out of how many camps, the 31 camps have been closed, because our figures are different in this regard. I told him that he may leave this point, but if there were 31 camps, has any account been kept about those, who were trained there? Where they have gone? Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you may have observed that the Ambassador of America in Pakistan, Mr. Okley has openly said that his country does not support the interference by Pakistan in Kashmir and Punjab. Now, if we leave this apart and he think that his intentions has changed after a meeting in Male, then it is a different thing. But I request you and through you to the Hon. Prime Minister, who is also a personal friend of mine, that serious attention should be paid towards this foreign policy. The intentions of Pakistan should be properly understood. Has there been any decrease in terrorism after Male?



[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think we were expected to work today upto 7.00 p.m. But I think we can have some more time. There are about four or five Members to speak. I think we can extend the time till the debate is over.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:  
Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please continue and you can take as much time as you like.

[Translation]

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I was mentioning about the Gates Mission. He visited our country and said that we should take the initiative for building peace, so that the situation of war, which is being created by Pakistan, may be brought to normal. So we took comprehensive confidence building measures and prepared a draft and sent it to Pakistan. It had two parts. One was related to the defence matters and the other was related to the civilian matters. The civilian matters were regarding Punjab. We gave them the names of all those places, where camps were operating and the names of the persons, who were giving training there and are thus encouraging terrorism. But till now, we haven't received any reply from Pakistan regarding the peace building issue. In spite of three meetings held between the Foreign Secretaries of both the sides, no reply has come from their side. I had also raised this question before the Foreign Secretary/Minister of Pakistan, but no reply was given. When they do not want to reply, it shows that they have some particular intentions. You may remember that recently America has stopped aid to Pakistan keeping it in view that Pakistan has made a neutron bomb. Now, what is the logic in it that we should keep our eyes closed and only hold discussions on the issue? It will be foolish of us, if we

still think that this will create no danger for us and there is no need to pay serious attention to this issue. I am not saying that you should make a bomb or I am also not saying that you should not make bomb. I am only saying that while discussing the Punjab and Kashmir issues we should also keep in mind the entire border of our country. We should consider the facts that it has been one year, since our forces are standing eye ball to eye ball. They are trying to check this situation. But this can not be checked through wire fencing. Neither this can be checked through China wall nor through Berlin Wall. This can only be checked by the people. What was the reason that during the wars of 65 and 71, Pakistan was not able to advance from this side. The people stood up as a wall. The people are still with you. The issue to consider is, whether we are with the people or not. The Hindus and Sikhs both live in Punjab. It will be our biggest fault, if we accuse the entire sikh community for spreading terrorism. Some of our friends, who think that sikhs are to be blamed for terrorism. Some people think that the interest of India can be safeguarded, through the division of the country. This will never happen.

We should keep in mind the implications of that message, which was passed by the Pakistan to the terrorists and intercepted by us that they should now selectively kill the Hindus. It was also said in that message that hindu-sikh riots should be engineered. We are fortunate that in spite of such things, the hindu-sikh relations are not strained. But we should be cautious about complacency. It should not happen that due to our unawareness Pakistan may become successful in its designs. Now, we should pay attention towards our surroundings. Today two major changes have come in Punjab. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, after the last Parliamentary elections, I think that the attitude of the sikhs towards the centre has changed. I don't say that earlier it was right or

[Sh. I. K. Gujral]

wrong. It will make a long discussion and perhaps parties will be involved in it. The feeling of annihilation in the minds of sikhs residing in Delhi is no more there now. The sikhs are as unhappy as the Hindus due to terrorism. They are rather more unhappy to some extent because three districts on the border are sikh dominated areas. It is not a good thing to count the corpses. It is very unfortunate that first of all we try to find out whether the sikhs have been killed or the Hindus. Whoever has been killed is an Indian, whether he is an innocent sikh, Hindu or Punjabi. This should always be kept in the mind. Shrimati Bimal Khalsa has put it in a very polite way that working of the Police in Punjab is not at all satisfactory. There is corruption. Innocent people are arrested and money is extorted from them. The atmosphere inside the police stations is not good. It should be our first duty to correct this situation and we will have to do it. The people are more frightened today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you go through the newspapers of Kashmir or the newspapers of Punjab, you will find all these facts there in the form of advertisements. I have some of them, which have come out in the "Tribune" in the last week—someone is saying that he will not do that work, as he has changed his habits and his occupation and one SHO is saying he is being wrongly suspected. He is saying to the terrorists to spare him as he is an innocent person. Such a situation has been arisen. But I will not hold these people guilty for such a situation. We ourselves should be accused for not being able to change this atmosphere of terror. It is also a fact that the people are being forced to change their culture on gun-point. We have to pay attention in that regard. I am not saying that we should not speak Punjabi language. I, myself speak this language and you may have observed that the type of Hindi I speak, is highly influenced by Punjabi and Hindi.....(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: It is good Hindi.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Thank you. I am confident that if one has to teach Punjabi or Telugu, Gurumukhi or Tamil, it should be taught with affection, not on gun-point. In this country, where 80 per cent of the population is illiterate, how can we teach them Punjabi or Tamil by using force. We are Punjabis, our culture is Punjabi and we are proud of our culture. We speak Punjabi and are living only due to it. But we should keep this in mind that to force people to change their culture and to dictate them about their dress and about their language is a very dangerous trend. It leads us towards fascism, instead of democracy. Those, who are encouraging such trend in our country, are not aware of the risk involved in it. The Punjabis are living in the entire world and this is a matter of pride. We are proud of it. I am among those, who praise the initiative taken by the Hon. Prime Minister to hold talks with Shri Mann. It is in the record that on 31st December, I gave a statement on behalf of the Punjabi group that talks should be held. Such things should not be said that first you do this or that. I assume that there is no need to suggest the Prime Minister or for us to say that we have full faith in the unity and integrity of our country and no one can divide us. Where does such a question of division arise. Therefore, this is not acceptable. Now a demand is being made about self-determination. But this is not in the interest of anyone, whether they are Punjabis, Hindus or Sikhs. Leave alone the loss to the country. Therefore, I praise the steps and the initiatives taken to solve the issue of Punjab. A new Governor has been appointed there. We will provide full cooperation to him. It is very unfortunate that now a days it has become a common practice to change the Governor of any state now and then. That day, I was trying to count the number of Governors that have been changed in Punjab in the last 10 years. I am a little weak in

mathematics, that is why, I have forgotten all. I don't know how many Governors have been changed. I will be greatfull to anyone who can tell me the exact number. May be no one will be able to tell. But there is no doubt that no issue can be solved by merely changing the Governor. The Punjab problem also cannot be solved by only changing the Governors. There are some basic issues on which, we have to build up a consensus in the country. It was rightly said by an hon. Member here that nothing can be achieved without consensus. Only making allegations and counter-allegations on each other will make the matter worse. This country and this House will have to raise this issue collectively. It is being said that security forces should be sent there. But in my opinion, the use on security forces should be done in a very careful manner, because they cannot solve all the problems. If the security forces are sent and the issue is not solved, it will incur more loss to the country. I accept that there is unemployment problem in Punjab. Shri Dinesh Singh has rightly said that Punjab has the highest percapita income in our country. But that does not mean that every Punjabi is prosperous and the income of every Punjabi is higher than other people in the country. The unemployment is a big factor. You can say that this problem is prevailing in the entire country, but when any disease aggravates, you have to prevent it, and if it becomes serious, it has to be operated also. Therefore, we will have to take some strong steps in this regard and have to pay attention to some other things in this regard. For the last 5-6 years, no development work could be done in Punjab. I can tell you about my constituency. The Municipalities of Jalandhar, Kapurthala and Nankana do not have even Rs. 100 for development work except providing salaries to their employees. As a result, the development work has completely stopped. Plans are prepared. Those plans are never implemented but shown on the papers only. As a representative of the people, I have to give

reasons to them for the inability to construct a latrine, a sewer line or a road there. When we are ready to spend on forces, on police, why we are not prepared to spend on development work. The Government should change its policy regarding this issue. Unless we change our policy, we will have to face a lot of problems and there will be increase in them. Just now, Shri Bhajan Lal has mentioned some issues here. It would have been better, if he hadn't raised them. What can I say to Shri Bhajan Lal, who gives such suggestions that Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh should be merged into one State. He himself is a very experienced person. May be, he has more experience about aligning or breaking. But I do not agree with him. I also do not agree with him, what he mentioned about the Anandpur Sahib resolution. He may remember that in the Longowal Agreement, issues were mentioned regarding the Anandpur Sahib resolution also. It was said at that time that it is being sent to the Sarkaria Commission. This was said by the Prime Minister. I am not accusing him, but this was not good.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the end, I would only like to submit that not only there is the need of consensus, but with unity, we have to accept the diversity of our country also. The sikhs are the symbol of unity in diversity in our country. They have their own language, culture and religion and we praise those things, but they are not someone exclusive. We also follow that religion, speak that language and follow the Gurus. It is our country and our land.

[English]

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY** (Hoshiarpur): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak on Punjab. On hearing the debate today on Punjab, I have got a little bit disheartened. I have got my name deleted and left the House. I came again because some of the

[Sh. Kamal Chaudhry]

members insisted that since I belong to Punjab I should speak and hence I rise to speak. My views on Punjab are very clear. I have spoken every year at least twice since April 1986. I am living my own life, not any one's borrowed life.

Sir, the situation in Punjab has been deteriorating. However, it was in 1989 the Central Government under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi brought the situation in Punjab under control with Shri Siddarth Shankar Ray as Governor and the terrorists were made to run out of Punjab. Then, the Punjabi migrants started coming back. The atmosphere was made conducive for elections and elections were held peacefully. However, after the new Government took over in December 1989 under the leadership of Shri V. P. Singh as the Prime Minister with the support of the Left and the Right things started deteriorating. Today, we see what has come of Punjab. There is no need to go in for any statistics. The writ of the terrorists runs in Punjab. The Government, be it at the Centre, be it in Punjab succumbed to the pressure of the terrorists. *Hukumnama* was given by the so called Panthic Committee of Dr. Sohan Singh. The Government did not even wait for 24 hours and it implemented that *Hukumnama* starting from 22nd November 1990 with the Doordarshan giving in to the pressure by the terrorists. The terrorists are an honoured commodity in Punjab today. They are called *Khar-koos*. Punjabi, which could not be enforced in Punjab by all sorts of Governments, was implemented immediately. In the Punjab Secretariat, all the Secretaries changed their name plates into Punjabi. The colour scheme as dictated by the terrorists was accepted by every one. Be it the beauty parlours in most of the major cities of Punjab which are being closed down for the women, be it the dress worn by the ladies, this has been engineered—I would like to use this word—by the Government itself. I must be pardoned for casting asper-

sions on most of the Members in this House for doing nothing for Punjab and only indulging in mud-slinging on each other. Army was sent to Punjab by Chandra Shekharji. I am sorry to say, the Government got weak-kneed and reversed its stand stating that it had not been deployed, it had been sent to help the BSF on the border. Why not deployment? And why only deployment in a few districts along the border which helps the terrorists? Since it was publicised by the Government itself, the terrorists were given sufficient time to shift to other districts, move to Pakistan and come to districts like Hoshiarpur, Roper, Patiala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Ambala, Delhi and other places. I am sorry to say that what has been done in Punjab is just mere a police and bureaucratic bundobust which is being dictated by the bureaucracy and the police in Punjab. I had even used very very harsh words like 'eunuch' for a lot of officials. I would not indulge in it today. In this country, nobody has got guts to say something. Let me say so today. People who make inflammatory speech—be it from Gurudwaras or otherwise, I challenge them—be it a Simranjit Singh Mann, Atindar Pal Singh or anybody—to stop playing with the innocent people who do not have weapons. If they have guts, they can try out a person like me. I do move around with weapons. And it is not just the security which is provided by the Government, which is protecting me. I am truthful to this nation. I have the blood of my Father Chaudhry Balvir Singh running in my veins. I have spent 21 years in the Indian Air Force. Unfortunately, I belong to a minority community in this nation. I am an Indian. The word 'minority' is unfortunately stamped on me because there were hardly any Indians in this country.

I would again apologise for using these harsh words. I have spent these five years in the Indian National Congress as a strong and true disciplined soldier of this party. I would like to say it again and request this

whole nation and the whole House to get down business for getting peace for Punjab and help this Government for that.

As far as talking to terrorist is concerned, it is me who had been saying throughout that even those who do not accept the Constitution, who have weapons in their hands, those who want to fire and kill people, call them, talk to them if they want. But if they talk any nonsense, they have no right to live. I have been taught for 21 years in the same nation that enemy of the nation must be eliminated.

As far as development and other things are concerned, what is needed today is just peace in Punjab. Just a few minutes back, we have passed a Resolution unanimously requesting the world to prevent war in the gulf. I am saying the same thing. Let us not talk about other things. Let us just talk about getting peace for Punjab. I request all parties to unite in fighting terrorism. You can fight an election if you do not get into petty games that had been tried to divide the country on castelines or on communal lines. Let us, for some time stop this. I had said so in Parliament on the 2nd April, 1986. I wish more than half of my speech was not expunged. I had said in that speech, what has been happening all these days and what is going to happen tomorrow also.

Once again, I appeal to everyone to help the Prime Minister. I ask the Prime Minister also to stand up boldly and take firm action in Punjab. Thank you.

[Translation]

**SHRI CHAND RAM (Hardoi):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all I feel sorry to have interrupted Shri Gujral's speech although it is not my habit to do so, but I must ask a few questions from him. I have deliberately named him but not with the intention of insinuation.

Shri Advaniji said that when Shri V. P. Singh visited Golden Temple, a rousing welcome was given to him. He has himself admitted that the atmosphere at that time was very good. But we lost that initiative. I have just listened hon. Shri Gujral's speech. He has not put forward any solution in his speech. All that he said was a sort of warning that we must change our foreign policy particularly with reference to Pakistan.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have seen the old times. In a way, I too was a refugee. I was a student in Lahore in 1947 and came here as a refugee after partition. I was an activist in the student wing of the Congress Party at that time. There was a tussle between Urdu and Hindi at that time. An Urdu daily named Nawan Jung used to published from there.

When Punjab was divided into Punjab and Haryana, the ratio of Sikhs and Hindus at that time in Punjab was 54 : 46. Today I was just having a chat with Shri Bhatia, former M.P. from Amritsar. During the course of our talks Shri Bhatia told me that the percentage of Hindus has now come down to 42 per cent. I told him that there was nothing to worry, why should we treat Hindus and Sikhs as two different communities. Shri Kirpal Singh is a socialist. Just now, the representative from Hoshiarpur, Captain Chaudhary was speaking. He is the son of Chaudhary Balbir Singh who had been my colleague when we were M.L.As. He used to bear turban. I remember the days when hon. Shri Bhim Sain Sachchar sent police in plain clothes inside the Golden Temple for investigation. Shri Sachchar had to beg pardon for this step. I had advised Indiraji against sending armed forces inside the Golden Temple, but since I was very lowly placed in the party, nobody heeded to my advice. This is a fact that I had been an M.L.A. in the State since 1952 and have extensively toured the villagers of Amritsar. I had been a Minister also.

[Sh. Chand Ram]

It would be better if we change our Hindu stance. If we could give more concessions to the Sikhs in Punjab, the problem could be solved.

Shri Gujral has given a few suggestions including the one that a paper industry should be set up in Punjab. If we could provide more concessions to Punjab by treating it as a part and parcel of India, the problem would be solved. As he has said, Punjab produces enormous quantity of food-grains and, as such, per capita income in the State is high. But at the same time Shri Gujral has said that it does not mean that every Punjabi is rich. Why do not we welcome the talks with Shri Mann or other concerned? An initiative in this direction has been taken and it is our duty to create conducive atmosphere for holding such talks. He has said that the people complain about the killing of innocent people by the police. I agree that divergent view has been expressed in the House on the issue. All such views should be taken into consideration and such a policy should be formulated under which no Punjabi should feel that excess has been committed against him. He said that he gave a great sacrifice for the freedom of the country. I had also been to Andaman Jail and when I went through the list of those who gave sacrifices, I found that the names from Punjab were fairly large. Whatever steps we take today in Punjab should be viewed from Punjab's angle and not from Sikh's angle. I think, that will offer a solution to the problem. I was born to an untouchable. But the position of untouchables, which comprise 20 per cent of the population, today is that they are not treated even Hindus in as much as some people talk against giving them reservation. They continue to suffer excess even 40 years after independence. Sometimes I doubt if we Hindus have removed untouchability from our society. There was a time when it was obligatory on the part of every Hindu family to make at least one of their family members Sikh. Thus they were called Guru Nanak's followers. If

theft, dacoity or other crime was committed in a particular area, a Sikh family used to be settled there, which used to be taken as guarantee of non-recurrence of that crime in that area. This was the influence carried by the Sikh community. Then why they have taken to terrorism today? I remember, Master Tara Singh having demanded four castes to be included in the list of scheduled castes. That was his last demand. This also reminds me of Gurcharan Singh Tohra's speech which he delivered in Rajya Sabha. He had asked for acceptance of 14 minor demands of his party, but the government did not accept them. You just go through the debates of Rajya Sabha and see that speech in which he had said that if these 14 minor demands were not accepted, a day would come when many more demands would be placed. Without casting any aspersions on anybody, I would say that if we want to solve this problem, we shall have to shed narrow mindedness. If proper treatment is given to Punjab whose contribution to the country is tremendous, I think this problem could be solved. I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister for taking initiative in that direction and hope that he would succeed in finding solution to this problem. If he is able to do that, he would earn the goodwill of a very large part of the country.

With these words, I thank you for giving me time to speak.\*

**SHRI RAMKRISHAN YADAV** (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Punjab problem is a very serious problem. In every session, it dominates the proceedings in one form or the other, which speaks of its seriousness. But I think it is like a diseases which aggravates with each doze of medicine. If the situation deteriorates, the Governor is changed, new ordinances are issued, army, police and other para military forces are deployed, but the Punjab problem is nowhere near solution. I personally feel that there is a big conspiracy behind it. The society in our country is

such that the followers of a particular religion are treated as respectable citizens whereas those who do not follow that religion are subjected to insult and treated as untouchables. The caste system which exists in our country treats some people respectable by birth whereas others suffer indignity. The same is true of religion. Some religions in our country are treated as superior whereas the minorities are looked down upon. For centuries, Brahmanism has treated some communities in this country as very superior whereas others were treated as inferiors and untouchables. Even after 40 years of independence, the Muslims in this country have not been given the dignity and respect they deserve and now for the last 5-6 years even the Sikhs are receiving the same treatment. In 1947, the Muslims of Kashmir decided to remain in India instead of becoming a part of Pakistan and the people of Punjab have brought glory to the country whether it was their role during the freedom struggle or their contribution in the armed forces or in agriculture. The people belonging to Punjab have guarded honour of this country. But the respect which the Muslims and Punjabis deserve in this country is being denied to them. If a Muslim gives vent to his feelings he is blamed as Pakistani. If a Punjabi raises a demand, he is called a Khalistani. They are subjected to indignity. To insult the people belonging to the lower castes has become a habit with some people. Some people have become the saviours of religion. The root of the problem is uprise of Hinduism. Having been nurtured in Hindustani Sanskaras and being elder brothers, all Hindus have the responsibility to guard religion against the impending danger. All Indians whether they are Panjabis, Sikhs, Muslims or others should rise to the occasion. But unfortunately, the following type of slogans are raised in the country:

“Hindu-Hindi-Hindustan, kham se Aye Musalman,

Musalman ke do hi sthan,  
Pakistan aur kabristan.”

(Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan, from where have the Muslims come, There are only two places for Muslims, Pakistan aur kabristan)

For Punjabis, they say—

“Beti hai Sardar ki,  
desh ke gaddar ki.”

(She is the daughter of a Sikh who is a traitor of the country)

This was the slogan raised against Maneka Gandhi when she contested election from Amethi. Attempts are being made to suppress these communities, whether they are Punjabis, Muslims or the scheduled castes. As protest against it they are rising to defend their honour and self respect. In this regard I would like to say to the Hindus, who are in majority, that it is their responsibility to respect Punjabis, Muslims and down trodden people of Hindu community. New generation of these communities are also becoming more aware and want to join the political, social and economic main stream of the country with honour and self-respect but some people are trying to resist their attempts. I think that it is the responsibility of the Government to conduct a thorough study of all these aspects and pave way for their respectable entry into social, political and economic main stream of the country so that they may strengthen the unity of the country.

Ours is a country of 83 crores people and we all are the sons of this Mother India. We all are the citizens of this country. All of us should resolve to maintain unity of this country. With these words I appeal that Sikhs should be made to understand and they should be respected. By joining the national mainstream they would enhance the national respect too. In this way unity and integrity of the country can be protected and our country would remain one.



**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA** (South Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. It is a very serious problem but I do not want to go into its details because our leader and other Members of the House have already mentioned many things about it. I would like to draw your attention towards one thing only. In the beginning Shri Kirpal Singh said that such and such atrocities were being committed on the Sikhs in Punjab. I think it would have carried more weight had he talked about the atrocities committed on Punjabis or on the people of Punjab. If atrocities are committed on the people of Delhi or any of the State we should not link it with the religion. Similarly, he should have said that atrocities are being committed on the people of Punjab, every one of us would have asked to fight against it unitedly. Just now Shri Gujral has said that his real brother is a Sikh, so he cannot make any difference between Hindu and Sikh. People came to Punjab from other States and also from Pakistan and they are all Punjabis. Their problems are common and we cannot count the problems of Hindus and Sikhs separately.

I would like to say two-three points to the Government, particularly to Shri Chandrashekhar. He has made certain remarks which has created misunderstandings among the people. First comment he has made on 14th December in Chandigarh before the press reporters that States can have a right to self-determination and if others get such rights, the people of Punjab should also get that. Secondly, he made another remark on 22nd December at Press Club. While replying to the press reporter he said if aspirations of people of Punjab are fulfilled and the problem is solved, the Government is prepared to talk to make amendments in the constitution. The Government do not want to come in the way of the political will of the people but the problem can be solved only within the framework of the constitution. Mr. Deputy

Speaker, Sir I would like to say that Shri Chandrashekhar is the Prime Minister of the country, therefore, he should say every word about the Punjab after careful consideration. Because farmers, shopkeepers and other people in Punjab read his comments in the newspapers. It has appeared in the newspapers that 12 organisations would participate in Chandrashekhar—terrorists talk to be held in this month and the Government have given assurance for their protection. When such news appear in the newspapers, they create apprehensions among the people as to what will happen to Punjab. One more important thing I would like to say as has been said by our leader and other speakers that same thing is being repeated in Punjab as has been done in Kashmir—be it a question of Hindi, singing of national anthem or wearing of dress. They are deliberately making attacks on our national identity to show that they are separate from rest of the country and have no similarity with the country. They want to show that whatever dress ladies may wear in other parts of the country but in Punjab they would wear salwar-qamiz only. Hindi may be read in Hindustan but they would read Punjabi only. Like Kashmir, same things are being repeated in Punjab also. Like Kashmir, advertisements are being published in the newspapers. There are many such advertisements and Shri Gujral has also mentioned about them. Our leader Shri Advani has also said that he has such advertisements with him. Even a colonel used to say that he had not given the shop for opening wine shop and he is going to vacate it. He assured the terrorists not to suspect him. Such things are happening there in Punjab. The incidents of Kashmir are also being repeated in Punjab.

I would like to submit 5-6 suggestions in brief. First of all I would like to say that the Government should declare that no talk will be held with the terrorists till they give up the demand for Khalistan. If



you see at page 9 you will find that the word "Indo Sikh" has been mentioned there.

[English]

Operation Blue star was a watershed in Indo Sikh affairs.

[Translation]

What is the meaning of Indo-Sikh? As stated by Shri Mann that Indo-Sikh implies for both Hindustan as well for Sikhs. It is not two country like Sino-Indo. The Government should clearly say that it will not talk to those people who say like this. The terrorists hideouts in Pakistan should be closed, security belt should be created along the border and intelligence agencies should be geared up. The terrorist's network for kidnapping the people should be broken. Due to the shortage of time I cannot explain these points in details. The Government should take firm steps without giving any considerations to the votes.

I would like to request to the hon. Prime Minister that no talk should be held with Shri Mann for the Punjab problem because he is perhaps not even spokesman of the terrorists. There is a fear in the minds of the minority community in Punjab. Sir, through you, I would like to say that before holding a talk on Punjab problem, people of minority community in Punjab should also be taken into confidence.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the so-called Khalistanis so long used to hurt us with AK-47 rifles physically but by their diktats they have touched our last sense of prestige and hurt our honour. It is good that this House is there discussing this issue as to how to respond to this challenge to our national honour. You know that

when the previous Government first deferred the question of election, I alone opposed it. To my mind, that was the first mistake that the previous Government did which was later on accepted by the Prime Minister as a Himalayan blunder. Then, when the second time they deferred the election, that was even a more serious blunder and now we are reading the statistics as to how many number of persons were killed, the number of weapons recovered and how their atrocities are increasing here and there.

We have created this disease and we are lamenting over that. What Punjab situation warrants is a bold step. We must have talks with them. We should not be afraid of talks. We should talk with them and only then we can solve this problem. This problem cannot be solved by appeasement or oppression. Can police or CRPF, or BSF tackle this problem? Several Members have suggested that we should send army there. I would like to ask, can army tackle this problem? The main problem in Punjab—not only in Punjab but in the entire country—is that the forces of disintegration are more determined than the forces of integration. That is the main problem. We have to redirect the social motivation. Communalists are more militant than the secularists. How can you fight with them? Can we win over the communalists by dialogue? If this was the thing then India would not have been divided. Sir, it is a lesson before us. The communalists, the secessionists and racists are to be confronted on the ground. The difficulty in our country which we are hearing in so many words, is that our process of development has created a class which is monopolising the politics in every sphere. The entire attention of this class is towards disintegration; towards communalism and towards secessionism. The entire non-productive, parasitic class who are earning money by different ways are now commanding the politics and productive people have gone into the background.

[Sh. A. K. Roy]

Sir, there will be a communal struggle and secessionists will have an upper hand. What is the remedy against the communal struggle? Is the remedy lies in giving the economic packages? These economic packages will become bonus for the terrorists. If in West Bengal the same thing is to take place, they should also get AK-47. If this is the way of development in the country, let them spell out that if we resort to terrorism, or if we arm ourselves with AK-47 then we will also get the economic packages. We will start doing this from tomorrow onwards.

Sikhs are not the tribals; they are not Assamees, harijans or down trodden class. Sikhs are the ruling class of the country. They are the highest earning group in the country. They have the highest say in the Government. Though their percentage is only one percent, their say in the Government is always more than any other community. They are in our body politics. Now, the ruling class has become more aggressive than the ruled. If you read the

19.49 hrs. [MR. SPEAKER *in the  
Chair*]

newspapers, will find so many clashes take place; there are so many killings and so many deaths take place. But they fight not for a correct cause. A struggle is going on to strengthen the grip of the ruling class on the people. Today in Punjab, who are the Khalistanis? They are those who have AK-47 with them. They are not the exploited people. They are not for those who are being exploited or who are below the poverty line. It is for the Khalistanis or the terrorists who have come from the ruling section and with their coming, the entire democratic struggle has gone to the background. We have never heard a fighting between an agricultural labourer and the owner. We have not seen a fighting between the trade

unions. That means, this is a movement, this is an affront, this is a political aggression of the ruling class to cowdown the real struggle of the down-trodden people. So, we should have a view on that. How can this problem be tackled? We should remember two or three things in this regard. Instead of making theories, we should learn from the examples. One example has come from Dhanbad. In Dhanbad, the terrorists are obeying the *diktats* of the Khalistani militants of Punjab. What happened in Dhanbad? They went there to loot a bank. They collected the money. At that time, they were confronted under the leadership of Shri Randhir Verma, S.P., Dhanbad. Immediately, the people rallied. Shri Randhir Verma was gunned down. His Security Guard, who was accompanying him, was also injured. But, then, the common people, the civilians, jumped and grappled with all these terrorists. As soon as the common people, the civilians came into the picture, they were also shot at. Along with the S.P., one customer, who was a common man, when he found that the S.P. is falling, he also jumped at the terrorists. He was also killed. His name was Shymal Chakraborty. He was an employee of the Indian School of Mines. I went to Dhanbad and had talks with the DIG and the Chief Secretary of Bihar. They also felt demoralised.

So, as soon as the common people came into action, those terrorists started running and ultimately they took shelter in a house. Actually, they were made captive by three ladies. They went inside the house and started hiding under a cot. I went to that house also. They were tied down. They started questioning them: "Who are you; how have you come here?" At that time, the Police came and got them arrested. Another person was also arrested by the people in a tea shop. That means, the initiative of the people is a must. It requires Leadership. So far, all the parties who are giving different advises and who are having

their organisation in Punjab, they should go there, they should give their leadership and they should confront with them. If you confront with those extremists, then they will become paper tigers. If you start fearing them, then they will come out as real tigers. That is the real point which you should keep in mind. It is not only here, but even in Punjab, the Police Officers are surrendering. In this month's *India Today* they have given a picture of gallant sikh, who was confronting with the militants. He was living in the worst affected terrorists' area, where police are afraid of the terrorists. Wherever there is a firing, the police use to flee. I will tell you what is the report. They have said and I quote from *India Today* that "Those actually fighting, ironically don't even get paid for that. Outer fringes of Bhikhiwind village, one of the worst hit by terror, lies the house of Comrade Balwinder Singh (30) and his wife Jagdish Kaur, both CPI(M) workers. The two are literally Comrade-in-Arms in the fight against the Khalistanis. It was just a year ago that, harassed by the militants, they decided to arm themselves. Since then their own weaponry and resolve has grown with the intensity of the attacks on them while the police flee when the firing begins." They are living there. What have we done? I told the Home Minister: Mr. Randhir Verma and Shyamal Chakravarty fought them in Dhanbad, so that the three militants could be caught. The entire money was recovered. What have we done to honour them? Up till now, not even a statement has come. What are we doing to honour this Mr Balvinder Singh, the CPI(M) worker?

You must know how to honour them. Therefore, it is these people who can stop the terrorists, not your CRPF, BSF or the bribe-taking policemen. This is the point I wanted to make. The main point is that we have to see that the social motivation is not spoilt. The entire capitalist way of development has made us self-centred, has made us acquisitive, has

made us communal. The nation has taken to a bad practice. There is now the public sector, and the private sector. But what has flourished is the self-sector. It is above all a self-sector. So, to hell with the country, hell with the society, hell with everything, only thing is our "self". If that becomes the motivation, then why blame the gunmen? Today they rule Punjab, tomorrow they will rule in Delhi and everywhere. Then where are we to go? Where will we migrate? One migration we have already done. People cannot go on migrating. That is the point.

I want the Government to think very seriously about this. After the Dhanbad incident, we have the Purulia incident. There, six policemen were killed; five citizens were there, and they were killed. And Government is sitting idle. This is not a law and order problem. When I raise here, you say it is a law and order problem, and the State will have to see. The spreading of the tentacles of Kashmiri terrorists with their AK-47 is not a law and order problem. It is a national question, and people should take it seriously. Those who had fought and tried to confront them should be honoured, and those who fled should be disgraced. That should be our line. Only by confronting can we tackle them. I believe that the main mistake which the Government is doing is this: we want to confront the ghost of Bhindranwale with the spirit of Longowal. That is a great mistake. The spirit of Longowal cannot confront the ghost of Bhindranwale. For that, you need the spirit of Bhagat Singh. Only aggressive secularism can tackle aggressive communalism; and not in a defensive way, apologetic way, by talking to them and acquiescing with them. The question is not that. The Sermon on the Mount could not save the future generations from the misery. So, also the sermon from the House cannot save us from all this secessionism and communalism.

20.00 hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY  
SPEAKER**Observation Re. Receipt of Interim  
order from High Court of Delhi**

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Before I call the Prime Minister, I would like to inform you about the latest observation of the High Court. Here is a letter. I had informed the House on 8 January, 1991 about the receipt of a letter from the Registrar of the High Court of Delhi forwarding therewith a copy of an interim order passed by the Division Bench of the High Court of Delhi on 8 January, 1991 directing that all the petitions presented before me under the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution shall not be proceeded with or pursued by the petitioners.

I have received today another letter from the Registrar of the High Court of Delhi, forwarding therewith a copy of an order passed by the Full Bench of the High Court of Delhi on 11 January, 1991. The Full Bench has passed the following orders:

"We are *prima facie* of the opinion that the Speaker has jurisdiction to decide the question of disqualification of members of Lok Sabha under paragraph 6 of the 10th Schedule and the rules framed thereunder on the petitions presented to him. So we vacate the interim order passed by us on 8th January, 1991."

Now the Prime Minister.

20.01 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193  
*Situation in Punjab—contd.*

[Translation]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, The concerns expressed

over Punjab problem is but natural. I do agree that there is no improvement in the situation in Punjab. It is also true that apprehensions and terror is there among the people of Punjab. But the situation has not deteriorated to that extent that we cannot make efforts to improve it. But it is not true as some Members have said that it appears that Khalistan has been made there and no one is secured in Punjab. It is true that some dictates have been issued by the so called terrorists there to put some restriction one wearing dresses and speaking a particular language. These dictates came into force when these were discussed in Chandigarh and they were followed by many Government departments also. A situation arised there when the Hindi bulletins from All India Radio and Doordarshan were stopped. We do not say that situation has taken a drastic turn. That situation is not there in Chandigarh. We have taken certain steps and I do not want to go into the details of those steps. Hindi bulletins have again been started from All India Radio Chandigarh and Doordarshan Centre about ten days ago. Now, no one is harassing for wearing particular dress or speaking particular language there. This has been the situation in Chandigarh for last one week. This has happened because we tried to remove the drawbacks existing in the administration of Chandigarh. We believe that it is the responsibility of the Government that every citizen should feel secured but I do not say that no untoward incident would take place but we have provided enough security forces which were required to provide security to the people and to boost morale and strengthening will power of the people. Such steps have been taken by the Government and the results thereof are also coming before us.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know that certain things are said because of the fear and in fear our own shadow looks like a ghost to us. We cannot solve the problem like this. We

have to resist the forces, which are working for creation of such problems. Just now an hon. Member from Dhanbad has rightly said that to dispel fear we have to face them boldly. I agree that it is the duty of the Government and all of us to create an atmosphere in which the people can understand that terrorism or anything else can do no harm to us. He raised a matter regarding the incident occurred at Purulia and Dhanbad. It is a tragic incident and the Government is also concerned about it. I would like to inform the hon. Member that on the day of incident, the Government have announced highest gallantry award to the deceased S.P. Moreover, adequate assistance will also be given to the family members of the deceased. Just now I have received information that all the three culprits involved in the incident at Purulia and Dhanbad have been killed. One of them was killed yesterday and two have been killed today. It is not that the Government and the administration have not taken any step in this direction but it is like a chronic disease and its cure is not so easy. We have to make efforts to cure this chronic disease. I have listened to the speeches of the hon. Members. It is true that some times it creates apprehensions in the minds of the people. If we talk to any one that may give wrong indication also. I do not understand as to how we can block the path of mutual talk. We have been trying for last 6-7 years to find out the solution of problems by repressive measures but if we have not succeeded in that the Parliament of the country has for the first time discovered the path of mutual talk. Is it not a fact that wherever we had discussions the results were always good? Not only once, but many a time, we had discussions. I do not want to go into the illustrations, nor do I want to go into the complete history. Whether it is Nagaland, Mizoram, Tamil Nadu or Tripura. There have been discussions not only in Gujarat but at various places, and as long as de-

mocracy survives the system of negotiations will continue. But if there is violation in negotiations and these cross the limits the results will not be so good. The example cited by Mr. Khurana in his speech is correct. I was listening to the recording of the press conference at my office. I know what I have said, and whatever has come in the press is correct. What did I say? A correspondent asked me whether I was ready for a constitutional amendment, if there was such a demand? In my reply, I said, if it results in any solution and the amendment is acceptable to Parliament and does not come in the way of unity and integrity of India, we should not hesitate to consider it. I would like to know whether Sarkaria Commission is not mentioned here almost every day. If the constitution is to be slightly amended for giving more rights to the States will it endanger the integrity, sovereignty and unity of our country? So, whenever we talk of the constitution here, and perhaps Shri Khurana missed that sentence when I said that there won't be any compromise on the unity and integrity of the country. We have repeatedly said, whether anybody will mention it or not, that the basic duty of the Government is to provide security to the public. There can be no compromise on the issue of security. Honourable Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell the people of the country and this House that if anybody approached us for talks, I have frankly told him that we can't tolerate the killing of any innocent person, any if any innocent person is killed, it is the fundamental duty of the government to give an answer for that and also to bring round the violators. The government has to fulfil this duty in any case. There won't be any discriminations. If I say that the name of Simranjeet Singh Mann is frequently mentioned, who says that innocent people are being killed and if you take action against the terrorists, we are also with you then. How can I say that you are not with us. I do not know that what limits you

[Sh. Chandra Shekhar]

want to fix, the manner in which talks can be held. So if you give me a hint regarding the manner of holding the talks and the idiom to be adopted, I would say that holding of talks won't be difficult for anybody. One should be clean-hearted about the circumstances. Our conscience should be clear regarding the extent to which we can go. The meaning of talks is not that if terrorists kill some innocent person and our Police and security forces should sit idle and if it would have been like that the government would have not taken the steps it has taken there in Chandigarh last week. Not only that it is not so only in Chandigarh, I had told the top leaders about our scheme on Punjab. When I am frequently told to explain it in detail, it creates some difficulty. At certain occasions it is not feasible to give out certain details. But I would definitely say that, we have certainly said that we will take steps with regard to the situation in Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar in the same manner in which we have taken in case of Chandigarh, so that the people there can live with a sense of security. We have also decided that there are 128 villages where terrorism is at its peak. Special security arrangements have been made for those villages and the action has been initiated there for the last three days. We can't wait for talks in connection with that. Because the situations are different. Dialogue with leader and a sense of security among the people should not be mixed together. So the government has not hesitated to take administrative steps. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you I would like to convey to the House that it is not necessary that the government should declare about all the steps taken by it through the newspapers. There are certain limits, certain difficulties in the administration itself, but I assure you that all the necessary action for the security of life would be taken. I would also tell you that it does not

mean that Police and armed forces will be given a free hand. We have also said that if any person is suffering in Punjab or has any grievance or any injustice is done to anybody, he should approach us. We don't want that any innocent person should be killed and no injustice should be done to innocent people. Government will try its best to save innocent people. So we have told the higher authorities to listen to such grievances. Government is also trying its best to listen to such complaints. If any special arrangements are possible in this regard, we shall have to do so. I would also like to say, that any officer should not have any such fear that after the elections the new Chief Minister will harass them after assuming the power, then I would assure all those officers through this House that whatever steps they take in the responsible discharge of their duties, whatever be the consequences, the responsibility of their security, and the security of their service will be taken by the Government. We feel that there should be no doubt in their minds regarding their security and welfare. We also know that there are some people who want that the feeling of terror should continue. So, I would have not said this in a casual manner, but a tendency is developing in Punjab these days that the officers should take every action after seriously thinking over them because the government may change, and those people against whom the officers are taking action today may come in power. I would say to those officers and jawans of the security forces that their responsibility is towards this nation and its constitution, and they should discharge their duties. The whole nation will follow them. You won't be subjected to excesses or any injustice, or unjust attitude. I want to tell the forces clearly that they won't have to face any danger if they faithfully discharge their duties. There is another question, and that is, some people feel jealous or angry when I talk to Shri Nawaz Sharif on telephone. The reason is

not known to me. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I talked to him thrice on telephone. Third time I gave him a ring, and that too to know Pakistan's approach with regard to Gulf Crisis. He was not available, so I talked to him in the evening. I do not know why my friend Shri Gujral is feeling angry on this account. Any way, I respect him. He has a thorough knowledge of foreign policy about which I know nothing nor have I visited any foreign country. I have gone abroad a few times, so I claim a little knowledge of foreign policy

... (Interruptions)

**SHRI PRAKASH KOKO BRAHMBHATT (Baroda):** Last time, you visited many countries, Geneva and other places.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** I don't say that I am at home in diplomacy. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if anybody gives me a ring should I say to him that I don't want to talk to him on phone!

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Jalandhar):** Nobody can object to this.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** If somebody tell me on phone that he wants to improve relations with us, should I tell him: No, we don't want to improve relations with you. We want to strain the relations. If the Prime Minister of Pakistan is eager to improve relations with us should I oppose it what are the intentions, objects of Pakistan is a different question. (Interruptions)

[English]

(Interruptions)

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur):** You have misunderstood him.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur):** He has not said that.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Mr. Gujral is the last person to say that.

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** I never said that.

[Translation]

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** If not you, somebody else must have said. Mr. Speaker, Sir, most humbly I would remind you what Mahatma Gandhi had said. He was assassinated on 30th January, 1948, before that he had said to the whole nation: "My first job would be to go to Pakistan because we have been divided into two, but we are one like brothers." We shall have to follow the path of friendship. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister of this country for 17 years. He also confronted all kinds of difficulties and problems. Despite these difficulties he tried to improve relations with Pakistan. Diplomatic-level discussions were held with Pakistan on several occasions. Members will recall at least some of the incidents.

Sir, is it not true that after the 1965 war Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri went to Tashkent for talks? Is it not true that Shrimati Indira Gandhi held talks with Z.A. Bhutto at Simla and the Simla Agreement was the result thereof? From 1947 to 1990 Indian politics has had a tradition of solving problems through mutual dialogue. So why should there be any reluctance to adopt the same course in 1991?

**SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Budaun):** Sir, none of the members present here is disagreeing to that relations should be cultivated but in a cautious manner. This is what the members want and not what the Prime Minister is trying to insinuate.

[English]

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** Particularly I would like to clarify here because I talked about India and Pakistan relations that the point that my hon. friend, Mr. Prime Minister, is

[Sh. I.K. Gujral]

making, I am totally with it. I have no difference of opinion on that.

[*Translation*]

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Sir, the statements by Shri Gujral and Shri Yadav have boosted my morale. As to the question of being cautious, caution is not observed in talks alone. Caution is observed by increasing our level of preparedness. No effort is being spared on that account. If Pakistan or any other country has a bad intention towards India and thinks that India can be cheated by sweet talk, is fooling itself. Let no country have any wrong ideas about India. Sir, may I inform hon. Members that even though we are having discussions with an open heart there is an underlying caution in our approach. We do not believe in the political interpretation of such matters that talks are being held on a friendly note but intentions are anything but friendly. India is sincere about having friendly relations with Pakistan. If Nawaz Sharief says that he wants friendly relations with India, then I believe him. What he actually does to achieve it depends on him.

Sir, some members said that camps are being organised in Punjab. We are aware of that and understand that such things create tension in the country. Whenever there is an opportunity I raise this issue. My repeatedly saying that such camps exist, will not change the situation. Such training camps do exist and we are trying to deal with this situation.

Sir, the steps have been taken and hon. Members want to know what these steps are. For a long time there had been a proposal for barbed-wire fencing on the Indo-Pak border. Till one year back fencing had been done in about 80, 90 or 100 kilometres. The present position is that 120-122 kilometres of fencing has

been done. No work was done during the last year. By April the entire length of 255 kilometres will have barbed-wire fencing. Floodlights have been installed upto 65 Kilometres and work on the rest is being undertaken. I even asked the Border Roads Organisation to finish the remaining work. The contractors, who are installing wires, have been told to complete the work by April failing which they will have to pay penalties. We have been given an assurance to that effect and I see no reason why should not the work be completed by April. But that will not solve the problem because, Sir, a large part of the border cannot be fenced. This area consists of barren land, rivers and 'nullahs'. I am not very familiar with that terrain but those who are, say that fencing is not possible in that area.

For security on the border, the Border Security Force and the Army has been deployed. All this is not secret. If we deploy army on the border, we intimate Pakistan that we are doing so to check infiltrations. To the political leaders of Punjab also I have said that according to them the disturbances are caused by smugglers, boot leggers and anti-social elements and if we deploy army there to check their activities, they should not have any complaint against our action. Whatever we are doing, is being done openly. Of course, I am at fault for not taking the Press into confidence before taking any step. We have not publicised, our actions through the Press and I consider myself fully responsible for that. Secondly, the local people will have to be given some facilities. The process of recruitment to the Border Security Force has started there. Till some days back nobody was interested in joining B.S.F., but now many people are coming.

Special opportunities are being offered to them for entry into the armed forces. The Government is taking steps for the immediate implementation of the recommendations



in respect of Punjab so that normalcy is restored in the State. But I don't have a magic wand that can provide an instant remedy for a wound that has existed for the past 10 years. I have no miraculous powers to create a 'Ram Rajya' in a place that has seen so much turmoil in the past. We must have patience, self-control and self-confidence. I am proud to say that majority of the State's population is opposed to these tendencies. Despite all efforts they have not been able to instigate communal riots there. Today there were some disturbances in Patiala but in the evening we were informed that the situation is under control. Till now no incident in Punjab has taken a communal colour.

I am confident that every citizen of Punjab will foil any conspiracy to lend communal colour to incidents in Punjab. I have also been informed that there is scepticism about how a party of 62 members can amend the Constitution. I don't know much about politics but this much I know that...*(Interruptions)*

AN. HON. MEMBER: Who said so?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It is not proper to name anyone. An amendment in the Constitution will be made with everyone's consent and it is not a question of a party of 62 members making amendments in the Constitution. It is not that I can give an assurance to someone that I shall amend the Constitution. It is others who give empty assurances, not me. I am aware of the limitations within which we have to work and I restrict my actions within those limitations. The days of giving empty assurances have gone and so people should not mind it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Nobody will give such an assurance.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It is not that nobody will give such

an assurance. It would be better if Shri Dandavate says that nobody should give such an assurance. In politics it has become a practice to give assurances regardless of whether they can be met or not. There are many examples that can be quoted in this context but that will not solve the problem or change the situation.

I would like to tell the leader of the Opposition that we may not have taken the Press into confidence or consulted with other hon. Members before taking steps but we did try to seek the advice of leaders of various political leaders. At that time our colleague Prof. Madhu Dandavate and his leader were not present and so I could not let them know about it.

I know that there are many leaders in that party, but due to certain reasons I couldn't invite them. I am sorry for that and I want them to forgive me for this act of omission on my part. However, if Prof. Madhu Dandavate tells me about the people, who ought to be invited, then I shall certainly invite them. I would certainly like to mention here that I have informed the leaders of all parties, including that of the B.J.P., the C.P.I., the C.P.I(M) and the Congress Party in detail about the Government's intentions, the Government's plans, our constraints, our weakness and the difficulties we face, because the weakness of the Government is not just our headache, it is of all of us. It is of entire nation, it is something which this Government has inherited from its predecessors. However, here I don't mean to say that a particular government is responsible for the weakness, which permeates our national life to day. We should all give a serious thought to it.

Many of our friends wondered, as to why in the name of caste and religion...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I would like to make a clarification;

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

lest you have any misunderstanding. We received your invitation too late to attend the meeting, otherwise, we would have definitely responded to it. We have never ignored the invitation of any Prime Minister. Such a thing has never happened in the past and won't happen in the future as well.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** I do not say that you didn't turn up intentionally. I do accept that the delay might have happened on our part, but I would like to make a humble submission to you that we should sit together and seriously ponder over this issue, because if we close the doors of negotiation, then the only option left before us would be that of talking at the point of bayonet, which I am sure is not the right and easy way to solve such complex problems. We believe that the process of dialogue should continue. We would like one and all to come to the negotiating table and thrash out a solution.

My friend, Shri Madan Lal Khurana had, who is the well wisher of minorities, suggested that we should give a patient hearing to the views of the minorities in that state. I did have talks with them. Rather, it was with them that I held talks first. I had told them that the Government is aware of their problems and difficulties.

**SHRI K. C. TYAGI (Hopur):** You should hold talks with all the minorities in the country, not just with the minorities in Punjab.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** We talk with everyone about the problems confronting the entire nation. However, on the Punjab issue, I will hold talks only with the people of Punjab. I would certainly like to have a better understanding, among all of us. Chances are that, we may commit mistakes, we may take some hasty steps without giving adequate thought to its pros and cons, therefore, we would whole heartedly wel-

come the suggestions of one and all, including the hon. Members, to solve this vexed problem.

I would conclude, after putting forward just one more point. While formulating the plan, we have taken into consideration each and every suggestion and letters that the Government, the Ministry of Home Affairs, had received in the last one year. All those suggestions, which were found reasonable and practical were incorporated in the plan. We did not just take into consideration, the suggestions we have received in the past two months, since we assumed office. Rather, I had prepared a list of all the suggestions received by the previous Government, of which I was a part. We are endeavouring to chalk out a programme, taking into consideration, all those suggestions, so that no one may have any grievance. We removed the deficiencies, wherever we found it. We would certainly come across many such deficiencies, until we are able to restore normalcy and establish an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in that State.

Lastly, I would like to say one more thing. We would certainly like to hold elections in Punjab. Although, we are very enthusiastic and committed about holding polls in that State, we also believe that the people of Punjab, especially those clamouring for elections, should come forward and endeavour to create an atmosphere conducive to elections. How is it possible to hold elections, if killings, acts of terrorism and mutual antagonism remains the order of the day. Election is not just another formality. Election is an event when crores of people come out of their homes and elect a popular Government. Democracy is, where people are able to express their opinion without any fear or fervour. How is it possible to hold elections, in an atmosphere gripped with fear psychosis? I won't give blank assurances. If elections are to be held in the State, then the clouds of fear and terror, that have enveloped the State

should be removed and the responsibility to do this job, lies to a great extent, on the shoulders of those demanding elections in the State. I would like to assure them, that they don't have to fear about anything, from the part of the government. The Government has an open mind about solving the Punjab imbroglio, through consensus and through dialogue. Thank you. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. SPEAKER:** Leave it Kamalji, this is not a question hour. I am not in favour of any question-answer session. Please take your seat.

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY**  
(Hoshiarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not want to interrupt the hon. Prime Minister in the middle of his speech. I would just like to ask him whether he is prepared to give a befitting reply, including war, if it becomes clear to him later on that Nawaz Sharif is a fraud and that he is bent upon destroying this country, unlike the picture that the Prime Minister has presented in this House about his Pakistani counterpart.

**MR. SPEAKER:** There was nothing wrong in his speech Kamalji, you please sit down.

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY:** Secondly, he referred to Chandigarh and three other districts. It is most distressing that everyone talks only about Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur only. Today, Shri Chandra Shekhar also said that apart from Chandigarh, they are taking necessary action in Amritsar, Patiala and Ludhiana also. My concern is that this concentration of action in selective districts is proving immensely helpful to the terrorists. In my constituency of Hoshiarpur as well as in Ropar, these terrorists have purchased hundreds of acres of land. Their well-wishers and sympathisers have shifted to these areas. Moreover, Police Officials and bureaucrats, who have been posted in our district and who are hand in gloves with the ter-

rorists have also purchased land in these areas. Thirdly, I would like to ask...

**MR. SPEAKER:** Kamalji, please take your seat. We are not having a question answer session. You have made your submission, now you please sit down.

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY:**  
Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann and  
some office-bearers of the All India  
Sikh Students' Federation (A.I.-  
S.S.F.).....

**MR. SPEAKER:** Kamalji, you have already mentioned it in your speech. Please take your seat.

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY:** No. I didn't raise this particular point. They have made many objectionable statements. I would like to know whether you have tried to ascertain the veracity of the statements attributed to these leaders? If they are found to be true, what action do you propose to take against them?

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:**  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make one thing clear that I will continue to talk of peace, till the last moment, even if Mr. Nawaz Sharif talks of war, everyday. War is fought, when the situation demands it and as I had said yesterday, Tulsidas has said in one of his quartets:

***"Soor Samar Karni Karhin, Kahi na  
janavahin aap,***

**Vidyamar Ran Pai Ripu, Kayar  
Kathhin Pratapu'**

Therefore, I won't indulge in meaningless utterances. This is the first point. We would like good sense to prevail over every one and no one should talk of war. Mr. Speaker, Sir, here, when through you, we are talking of the need to put an end to the hostilities in the Gulf, at least I won't talk of going into a war with our neighbour. I would not like to comment upon the second question, that the Hon. Member has raised, but

[Sh. Chandra Shekar]

I would like to clarify this impression. I did not say that we are going to concentrate only in these three districts. I had said that special security arrangements would be made in for these three towns and 128 villages. However, because you are compelling us, I would like to mention here that it has been said that, security arrangements in Punjab can be further tightened, if 75 more companies are despatched. We have already despatched 50-60 companies. Within the next three four days, the remaining enforcements would also be despatched. I would even say that even a hundred companies would be despatched, if necessary, for our main objective is to instill a sense of security in the minds of the people of Punjab. The Police has been told in clear terms that innocent people should not suffer in anti-terrorist operations, but at the same time, they should not remain silent spectators to gruesome and barbaric acts committed on innocent people.

I forgot the third question. Ah, yes, so far as Simranjeet Singh Mann's statements are concerned, I don't want to comment. I am concerned and responsible for only the talks I hold with him. Even you people make statements about me, almost everyday. Similarly he also dishes out statements, but I am least affected by these statements.

20.34 hrs.

# Re. PROGRESS OF INVESTIGATIONS INTO BOFORS CASE

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Khurana Sahab, are you raising Bofors issue?

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to raise a discussion on the progress in the Bofors case. I want to submit only two points.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: What are you doing? The Bofors issue would be discussed next time. I shall decide the date and time.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I shall finish my submission within two minutes only. Shri Advani and Shri Madhu Dandavate have spoken at length on the matter.

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur): Who is that Sub-Inspector, who has been entrusted with this case?

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am merely a ground level political worker. I want to put forward only two points and the views of the people in this regard.....

There have been general discussion among the people on the statement of Chandra Shekharji after the formation of this new Government. Though I know him personally and believe that he has stated those things plainly without having any malice in his heart, yet the proceedings started by the Minister of Law have created certainly a doubt in the minds of the people that there has been a secret pact between the Congress Party and the Chandra Shekhar Government under which the former have supported the latter at the cost of the latter's assurance to drop all the pending cases against the former...(Interruptions) I want to say to Shri Chandra Shekhar that his credibility is at stake today. I finish my submission after saying a sentence:—

“Na Idhar Udhar ki Baat, Yeh Bata ki Kafilā Kyon lētā,

Na Raahjanon Par tu Dosh Dhar, Teri Rahbari Ka sawal Hai”.

.....(Interruptions).....It is my request that the investigation in this case should be properly handled. I shall continue this discussion next time with all the facts and figures I have brought with me.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not have replied to this baseless allegation if it had been levelled against me only. But since charge has been levelled against the Congress Party as well, I must make it clear that no Member or person of the Congress Party ever had a talk regarding the Bofors issue with us. *(Interruptions)*

[*English*]

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): The only thing that we are asking is let the Bofors papers be laid on the Table of the House... *(Interruptions)*...

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Tulsi has said..... *(Interruptions)*.....

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, let us know the name of the Sub-Inspector who has been entrusted with the investigations into this matter so that we may talk to him only..... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, whosoever investigates the Bofors case, I do not consider him more than a Sub-Inspector. I have no objection if any person adds his name to that list. Secondly, I would like to request Khurana Sahab not to worry about by credibility. For a long time many attempts have been made to tarnish my image. It has remained unscathed and shall remain so *(Interruptions)*.....

[*English*]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I am very much surprised to listen to the speech of Mr. M. L. Khurana here in this House. When the previous Government was there, Mr. Khurana's Party was supporter of that Government. At that time, we demanded that all papers in connection with Bofors should be laid on the Table of the House..... *(Interruptions)*.....

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: How the files were tampered? How the notings in the files were cut out by the previous Government.....? *(Interruptions)*.....

[*English*]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Though the then Prime Minister assured the House in regard to papers, he went back. Even now there is a Government and there is the Prime Minister at the Centre. We shall request him that whatever papers available with the Government, he should lay those papers on the Table of the House. Let the nation know who is the real culprit. I know personally who is the real culprit and which side he is sitting.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I have got two names..... *(Interruptions)*.....

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Khuranaji has come to know about the two culprits. He may tell those two names if he so desires. But I have no information regarding them. He should not conceal those names if he has got the information. But he should not create any misunderstanding through such baseless talk. If he knows, he should certainly reveal those names. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am going to reveal the names. The court in Switzerland has given its verdict. A copy of that verdict has been sent to you also. The two who have appealed in that court are Shri G. P. Hinduja and the Jubilee Finance Company..... *(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): It is known to all. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: What our leader has got to do with this? (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Are you continuing the debate? (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. You will have a chance next time.  
(*Interruptions*)

20.40 hrs.

# DECISION OF THE SPEAKER UNDER TENTH SCHEDULE OF THE CONSTITUTION

## Disqualification of Members on ground of Defection

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: In the matter of the petitions filed by Shri Santosh Bhartiya against Smt. Usha Sinha and 29 other Members listed at Annexure I and the petition filed by Shri Satya Pal Malik against the aforementioned 30 Members both praying for the disqualification under the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution and the Members of the Lok Sabha (Disqualification on ground of Defection) Rules, 1985

and

In the matter of the petition filed by Shri Sukdeo Paswan against Shri V. C. Shukla and six other Members listed at Annexure II under Tenth Schedule of the Constitution and the Members of Lok Sabha (Disqualification on ground of Defection) Rules, 1985

and

In the matter of the petition filed by Shri Devendra Prasad Yadav against Shri Shakeelur Rehman under the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution and the Members of Lok Sabha (Disqualification on ground of Defection) Rules, 1985

and

In the matter of expulsion of Shri Chandra Shekhar and 24 other Members from Janata Dal given at Annexure III followed by their declaration as unattached Members

and

In the matter of request of Shri Chandra Shekhar dated 6th November, 1990 for recognition of Janata Dal (S) as a political party.

The facts of the above cases in brief are that on the 6th November, 1990, I received a letter jointly sent by Sarvashri Chandra Shekhar, Devi Lal, Chand Ram and Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav, MPs and one Member of Rajya Sabha, informing me that Janata Dal had split at all levels in every State and that following the split, 58 Members *vide* Annexure IV along with some Members of Rajya Sabha had constituted a group representing the break-away faction of Janata Dal and that they had adopted the name of Janata Dal (S).

2. Earlier on the 5th November, 1990, I had received a letter from Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Leader of Janata Dal in Parliament informing me that 25 Members of Lok Sabha belonging to Janata Dal *vide* Annexure III have been expelled from the party for anti-party activities and were no longer Members of the Janata Dal Legislature Party in Lok Sabha. On receipt of this information, in conformity with the well-established Parliamentary usage and practice and

keeping in view that the matter was of party discipline between the Leader and its Members, I had decided to declare the said 25 Members as 'Un-attached' for the purpose of their functioning in the House, allotment of seats, freedom from the Party Whip, etc. These Members were informed of my decision the same evening.

On the 6th November, 1990 at 1700 hours, I received a letter from Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh claiming that 25 Members of the Janata Dal having already been expelled, the residual strength of the claimed split group came to only 33, which is less than 1/3rd of the residual strength of the Janata Dal in Lok Sabha i.e., 115 and, therefore, the splinter group should not be recognised. The said communications received from Shri Chandra Shekhar and Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh about the split were sent to each other for enabling them to furnish additional comments, if any. Shri Chandra Shekhar in a reply dated the 6th November and received on the 7th November furnished his further comments.

On 7th and 8th November, 1990 two petitions were received under Rule 6 of the Members of Lok Sabha (Disqualification on Ground of Defection) Rules, 1985 (hereinafter referred to as Disqualification Rules, 1985) from Shri Santosh Bhartiya and Shri Satya Pal Malik, respectively against 30 Members *vide* Annexure I. Out of the 30 Members, Shri Gurdial Singh Saini resigned from Lok Sabha w.e.f. the 9th November, 90. On being satisfied that the petitions were in order, the petitions were forwarded to the Respondents and their comments have been received. The Respondents had also requested for personal hearing for which an opportunity was given on the 7th January, 1991.

On the 23rd November, 1990, I received 7 petitions from Shri Sukdeo

Paswan under Disqualification Rules, 1985. The list of Respondents is at Annexure II. On being satisfied that the petitions were in order, they were forwarded to the Respondents and the comments of the Members have since been received. The Members had also requested for personal hearing and accordingly an opportunity was granted to them on the 7th January, 1991.

On the 14th December, 1990, I received a petition from Shri Devendra Prasad Yadav, MP praying for disqualification of Dr. Shakeelur Rehman, MP on the ground that the latter had voluntarily given up membership of Janata Dal. The petition was referred to Dr. Rehman for his comments, and as per his request an opportunity for personal hearing was also granted to him on the 7th January, 1991.

The issues to be decided by me are as follows:—

- (i) Whether a split took place in the original Janata Dal in terms of Paragraph 3 of the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution;
- (ii) Whether the expulsion of 25 Members by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh on the 5th November, 1990 and their being treated as unattached by me has any legal effect on the plea of split;
- (iii) Whether any of the Respondents have incurred any disqualification under Tenth Schedule of the Constitution.

3. Regarding issues (i) & (ii) the contentions of four petitioners under the Disqualification Rules and of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh may be summarised as follows:—

- (a) 25 Members were expelled on the 5th November, 1990 and

the fact of expulsion was promptly intimated to the Speaker. The expulsion has occurred prior to any alleged split.

- (b) The remaining Members claiming a split do not constitute 1/3rd of the remaining strength of the Janata Dal namely 115 and therefore are liable to be disqualified.
- (c) It is claimed by the Respondents variously that a split took place at 10.30 AM on the 5th November, 1990 and even if it is admitted for the sake of argument that the split did occur, it had to be deemed to have occurred on the 5th November and Members defecting after the 5th, that is, those not covered in the list of 58 Members and voting against the whip on 7th November or 16th November cannot in any case be covered by the split.
- (d) The first condition of a split required under Para 3 of Tenth Schedule, namely, that any split in the Legislature Party has to arise as a result of a split in the original political party has not been fulfilled because Shri Chandra Shekhar himself is reported to have said in *The Hindu* of Delhi edition dated 6th November, 1990 that only the Parliamentary Party had split and not the Janata Dal.

The arguments of the Respondents can be summarised as follows:—

- (a) That at 9.30 AM on 5th November, 1990 there was a split in the Janata Dal on the organisation side in a meeting held at No. 2 Willingdon Crescent, New Delhi. Following this, a meeting of MPs was held and the Parliamentary Party split at 10.30 AM that very day.

(b) The Tenth Schedule does not recognise expulsion on account of anti-party activities outside the House.

(c) The expulsion of 25 Members by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is illegal and is *malafide* directed at countermanding a genuine split.

(d) That Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Leader of Janata Dal in Parliament in a speech on the 7th November, 1990 gave a call of conscience vote to Members of Parliament and thereby the whip issued by the party stood annulled and rescinded.

(e) In a letter dated the 14th November, 1990 Shri Harmohan Dhawan purported to be the Chief Whip of the splinter group claimed that 65 Members belonging to Janata Dal had joined JD(S) though the letter did not carry signatures of individual Members.

(f) That Rajya Sabha and Election Commission have recognised Janata Dal (S) as a separate political Party.

4. Of the 30 Members *vide* Annexure-I against whom petitions for disqualification are considered Shri Gurdial Singh Saini has resigned and the name of Shri Basavaraj Patil does not appear in the list of 58 Members which was submitted to me by Shri Chandra Shekhar on 6th November, 1990. Since the case against the 28 Members is, more or less, similar, they can be discussed together. The case against them is that they had been elected as Members of Janata Dal. That they voted against a whip issued by the Whip of the Janata Dal followed by another whip issued by the Leader of the Janata Dal on the 4th November, 1990, that they had voted contrary to directions from



whips, and that such contravention is evident from voting recorded by Lok Sabha Secretariat. That the split cannot be recognised for reasons already mentioned in para 3 *supra* and that therefore they are liable to be disqualified under Paragraph 2 of the Tenth Schedule, not having been protected under Paragraph 3. In defence, each of the Respondents has stated that there was a split prior to expulsion and that following split they constituted another group namely JD(S). That the expulsion of 25 Members should not be taken note of and therefore the split satisfied the criterion stipulated in Paragraph 3 of the Tenth Schedule. That in as much as Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh had given a call for conscience vote on the 7th November, the whip was not binding on the Members.

5. It is admitted by both parties that a whip was issued by the Janata Dal for the Confidence Motion on the 7th November, 1990. It is admitted by both parties that the Respondents have voted against the Motion of Confidence on 7th November. In support of the claim for split, the Respondents have enclosed copies of minutes of General Body Meeting purported to have been held at 9.30 AM on 5th November, 1990, minutes of meeting of Janata Dal Members of Parliament held at 10.30 AM same day and the copies of Press reports. The Press reports do not indicate the time of the purported split. While the letter of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh was received by the undersigned on 5th November at 1.45 P.M., the claim of split by Shri Chandra Shekhar was received only on the 6th November at 1.10 PM. Respondents have referred to news of split being broadcast by official media. The copies of news bulletin not having been presented before me, as far as evidence on the basis of press reports is concerned, there is nothing to show that the split occurred prior to the expulsion or prior to the receipt of the letter inform-

ing the expulsion of 25 Members by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. On the other hand, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has argued that in view of a claim made by Shri Chandra Shekhar in the '*The Hindu*' dated 6th November, 1990, that only the Parliamentary Party had split and not the Janata Dal, an essential condition for recognition of split under Paragraph 3 has not been fulfilled. In view of inadequate evidence, I do not wish to go into the legality of expulsion just as I do not want to go into the legality of the meeting of the splinter group namely as to whether or not such meeting was held as per party Constitution. Shri Chandra Shekhar in his letter dated the 4th December, 1990, and received by Lok Sabha Secretariat on the same day, has annexed Form III purportedly signed by 63 Members under the Disqualification Rules, 1985. These forms have also been referred to in the petitions of the respondents, and copy thereof enclosed. Rule 4 of the Disqualification Rules 1985 provides for intimation to the Speaker by a Member regarding *inter alia* change of party status immediately. It is not understood why these forms were not submitted to the undersigned on the 5th November or immediately thereafter when the split is claimed to have taken place. The word 'immediately' has to be contrasted with the requirement of 30 days prescribed under rule 3 of the Disqualification Rule and therefore it has to be presumed that information in Form III has to be submitted more promptly than a leader is required to furnish the information in Form I. It has been argued during personal hearing that a Respondent may not be in headquarters and therefore may not be able to send the Form III immediately. While this general claim has been made, no individual Respondent had made any prayer for specific dispensation on this account and therefore the claim may not be accepted *per se*. There is also no explanation as to why the information was not submitted to the Speaker.

ker. It is claimed by the Respondents that the above 28 Members were present on the 5th in Delhi at the meeting which resulted in the alleged split but there is no explanation whatsoever as to why these forms were not submitted. This being the only evidence presented by the respondents referring to the timing of split, I hold that the respondents have not been able to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the split occurred prior to expulsion. In absence of information in Form III, I have to rely on the only other information available, namely, the letter dated 6th November, 1990 of Shri Chandra Shekhar signed by 58 Members. Here also certain discrepancies are noticed. While the list submitted by Shri Chandra Shekhar on 6th November contained 58 names, two of the Members who had appended their signatures to the list namely Shri Ram Naresh Singh and Shri Mandhata Singh wrote saying that they owed allegiance to Janata Dal led by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. Shri Harmohan Dhawan purported to be the Chief Whip of the Janata Dal (S), wrote to me on the 14th November, 1990 that 64 Members were with the splinter group. In the list submitted by Shri Chandra Shekhar on the 14th December, 1990 there were 63 names. The petitioners have also referred to the appeal made by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh on the 7th November during his speech on Lok Sabha on that day. I have carefully perused the whole speech. On a close reading of the speech I hold that the appeal of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh as contained in his speech delivered in the House on the 7th November is an appeal bordering on the rhetoric and would not amount to overriding a specific written direction which is recognised widely and universally as a standard mode of direction in the functioning of political parties. As I have discussed already, the fact that Form III though dated 5th November, was not submitted to me immediately thereafter

and in fact was not submitted to me at all but was apparently submitted to Shri Chandra Shekhar who collected it and submitted it to me leads me to conclude that the averment made therein cannot be taken on face value.

6. The petitioner has also stated that the Chairman, Rajya Sabha has already recognised the formation and recognition of Janata Dal (Samajvadi) in the Rajya Sabha. As per established Parliament traditions, I should not go into that plea. The petitioner has also enclosed a copy of the order of Election Commission dated the 27th December, 1990 recognising JD(S) as a political party. I have carefully considered the notification referred to. The notification recognised JD(S) with effect from 27th December, 90 and does not throw any light on the status of the party on 5th November or on 7th November or on 16th November.

7. While from the above, it will be clearly seen that there is no evidence to show that the split occurred prior to expulsion, since there are claims and counterclaims about timing of the splits vis-a-vis timing of expulsion and since both the actions and expulsion and the meeting of the splinter group have been challenged, I hold that the benefit of doubt should go to the Respondents, who would become disqualified in the event of my not recognising the split to have taken place prior to the expulsion.

There is a widely held view including that of common man, and a view which I share in many respects, that the existing law on defection suffers from several lacunae in regard to substantive matters as well as procedures. While there can be no two opinions that in a democratic system, freedom of dissent has to be an essential ingredient, it has also to be accepted that it should be open and honest. If dissent is honest, it should be ventilated and canvassed openly

and need not be clandestine and secretive. Equally important is that honest dissent involves sacrifice and not even remotely motivated with self-aggrandisement. The present goings on in the country are indeed deeply disturbing and distressing and if the situation is allowed to drift, people will lose their faith in the very system. Our country won freedom with enormous sacrifice of millions of our people—known and unknown—and foundation of a free India was laid with moral values and political ethics preached and practised by the Father of the Nation. And I quote from Gandhiji,

“If you must dissent, you should take care that your opinions voice your inner-most convictions and are not intended merely as a convenient party cry.”

Those values alone can sustain our hardwon freedom and lend strength to our goal for an egalitarian society; free from any discrimination based on caste, creed, sex, etc. and equality and wellbeing for all. Without taking religion in the usual sense, certain moral fabric is essential for every society to survive and keep it strong. If our ambitions and greed for power overtake the national interest and the interest of the people, surely the future is dark. I do not wish to be a prophet of dooms, in fact, I am an incorrigible optimist, and I have great faith in our people who have tremendous resilience to tide over any kind of gravest crisis and it is the will of our people which has always guided us over the ages. I, therefore, appeal to this Hon. House of which I am an humble servant and through this House to all concerned to ponder over the situation and address themselves to the main and the only question as to how to keep the torch of our long cherished values of freedom and dignity shining and take the country on its march towards peace, prosperity and happiness.

At the moment, I am bound by the law as it obtains today and I am trying to interpret it and apply it to the present issues before me to the best of my ability and in the best interest of the country. As I have said, in the event of my not recognising the split to have taken place prior to expulsion, these 28 Members will stand disqualified, and any benefit of doubt, therefore has to go in their favour. As such, the petitions of disqualification against the aforementioned 28 Members are dismissed.

8. As regards the petition against Shri Basavaraj Patil, it is observed that his name did not figure in the list furnished by Shri Chandra Shekhar on the 6th November, 1990. According to the records of Lok Sabha Secretariat and as admitted by both parties, Shri Patil voted against the Motion of Confidence against party whip on the 7th November. In view of my discussions in Para 5 above, in as much as the name of Shri Patil does not appear in the list of 58 Members submitted by Shri Chandra Shekhar, I cannot hold that he was part of the splinter group, which came into existence on the 5th November, 1990. The claim that he belonged to JD(S) on 7th November, 1990 does not hold good. As he did not belong to JD(S) on the 7th November, 1990, he cannot claim to have escaped directions of Janata Dal Party on that day. As he cannot be held to have joined the splinter group on 5th November, 1990, his declaration under Form III cannot be taken on face value and is clearly an afterthought. The appeal made by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh on 7th on the floor of the House cannot be said to override a specific written direction by the party *vide* my observations at Para 5 *supra*. In view of the above, I hold that Shri Basavaraj Patil has become disqualified under Paragraph 2(1)(b) of the Tenth Schedule and Rule 8(1)(b) of the Disqualification Rules.

9. As regards the case of Shri Hamendra Singh Banera, it is observed that his name was included in the list of 58 Members furnished by Shri Chandra Shekhar. However, Shri Banera handed over two letters on 7th November, 1990, one to Lok Sabha Secretariat and one to me personally.

21.00 hrs.

In both the letters, he had stated that he was abiding by the whip of the leader of the Janata Dal and was voting in favour of the Motion moved by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. He also stated that other correspondence bearing his name or signature has to be treated as cancelled. As he made this claim on the 7th November, it will be presumed that the signature appended to the letter of Shri Chandra Shekhar dated the 5th November was withdrawn and rescinded. In view of what I have already discussed, the process of split is presumed to have closed on the 5th November and therefore anyone subsequently joining the splinter group of Janata Dal shall not be covered by the split for the purpose of Paragraph 3 of the Tenth Schedule. In any case, it is neither his claim nor the claim of anybody else that there was a second split. Shri Banera, therefore, cannot seek any protection under Paragraph 3. His contention that there were discussions about reunion of the party, while may be morally sound or otherwise, have no relevance whatsoever for the purpose of Tenth Schedule. I, therefore, hold that Shri Banera has incurred disqualification under Paragraph 2 of the Tenth Schedule read with Rule 8(1)(b) of the Disqualification Rules.

10. Two Members, namely, Shri Mandhata Singh and Shri Ram Nareish Singh whose names appear in the list of 58 Members submitted by Shri Chandra Shekhar on 6th November, 1990 met me on 7th, and sub-

mitted in writing that they owed allegiance to Janata Dal and that they are going to vote in favour of the Motion on 7th November, 1990 as per the whip issued by Janata Dal. In view of their averments they cannot be said to have belonged to JD(S) faction.

11. In view of the discussions above, I recognise Janata Dal (S) as a distinct party consisting of 54 Members as at Annexure VI, arising out of a split in Janata Dal on 5th November 1990. From the time of such split that is with effect from the 5th November, 1990, I hold under Paragraph 3(b) of the Tenth Schedule that these 54 Members shall belong to Janata Dal (S), which will be deemed to be their original political party for the purpose of sub-paragraph (1) of Paragraph 2 of the Tenth Schedule.

12. Shri Sukdeo Paswan has filed a petition against among others, Shri Manavendra Singh. The case against Shri Manavendra Singh is that he voted in support of the Motion of Confidence on 7th November, 1990 in accordance with the whip of Janata Dal, but contravened the whip on 16th November, 1990. From office records, I observe that Shri Manavendra Singh was absent on 7th November, 1990; and therefore the averments made in the petition of Shri Paswan was not correct to this extent. Shri Manavendra Singh has already been recognised to belong to JD(S) *vide* my observation at para 11 *supra*. He thus came to the discipline of JD(S) with effect from the 5th November, 1990, and was not subject to the whip of Janata Dal thereafter. This being the position, I dismiss the petition of Shri Manavendra Singh.

13. Five of the petitioners against whom Shri Sukdeo Paswan has filed similar petitions and who have submitted similar responses are Shri

Vidyacharan Shukla, Dr. Bengali Singh, Shri Sarwar Hussain, Shri Bhagey Gobardhan and Devananda Amat. The allegation against them is that the respondents had been Members of Janata Dal Legislature Party, that in obedience to the whip of the Janata Dal, the respondents had voted for the Motion of Confidence on the 7th November, 1990, that the respondents did not join the splinter group on the 5th November 1990 or on the 7th November, 1990 that it claimed by the splinter group that the split was over on the 5th November 1990 and in any case on the 7th November, 1990, that a three-line whip was issued to all the Members including the respondents directing the Members to vote against the Motion of Confidence moved by the Prime Minister Shri Chandrashekhar and that the respondents voted against the whip, that the voting against the whip has not been condoned by the party, that the respondents are not covered by Paragraph 3 of the Tenth Schedule and each of the respondents is, therefore, liable to be disqualified under Para 2(1)(a) and 2(1)(b) of the Tenth Schedule. In reply, the respondents have stated that on the 5th November, 1990, the party had split, both at the organisational and the legislature levels, that the split took place on 5th November, 1990, that it had more than 1/3rd of the strength of Janata Dal, that no notice should be taken of the expulsion, that including 63 Members, they have signed Form III claiming party affiliation to JD(S) at 10.30 AM on the 5th November, 1990, that after the aforesaid split on the 5th November leaders of both the groups had started negotiation for coming together again for reuniting the party, that it was in this atmosphere that the respondents voted in favour of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh on 7th November, 1990 that having been outside the jurisdiction of Janata Dal with effect from 5th November, 1990, the whip of Janata Dal was not binding on them either on 7-11-1990 or on 16-11-1990.

I observe that these five respondents are not in the list of 54 Members who have been recognised to constitute JD(S). There is one factual error in the petition against Dr. Bengali Singh. While the petition states that Dr. Bengali Singh voted in support of the Motion on 7th November, 1990, in fact he was absent on that day as the record would show. However, this does not have any material effect on the cause of action, namely, that he had voted against the whip on the 16th November, 1990. His abstention on 7-11-90 which also amounts to violation of party whip does not seem to have been condoned. In view of what has already been discussed, the split is presumed to have taken place on 5-11-90 constituting of 54 Members. The split has to be only one-time affair, as even a cursory reading of the Tenth Schedule would show. The declaration in Form III purported to have been signed on 5th November cannot be relied upon as the same was not submitted immediately, and in any case was not submitted by the Member before me. The fact that four respondents had voted in accordance with the whip on 7th November further proves that the Form III furnished by the respondents is an afterthought. The other respondent Dr. Bengali Singh had made certain claims regarding his voting on the 7th November, which having self-contradictions need not be gone into. In any case these five respondents did not figure in the list submitted by Shri Chandrashekhar on the 6th November, 1990 and this has not been explained by the respondents. The plea that there were hopes of rapprochement between the two factions, which could have moral ramifications have no implication as far as the proceedings under the Tenth Schedule is concerned. The five respondents, therefore, did not belong to JD(S) on the 5th November, 1990, the day on which the split came into being and as they do not constitute 1/3rd of the residual strength of Janata Dal they are not protected under Paragraph 3.

I, therefore, hold that Shri Vidya-charan Shukla, Dr. Bengali Singh, Shri Sarwar Hussain, Shri Bhagey Gobardhan and Shri Devananda Amat stand disqualified under Paragraph 2 of the Tenth Schedule read with Rule 8 (1)(b) of the Disqualification Rules, 1985.

14. In respect of Dr. Shakeelur Rehman, the petition alleges that on 21st November he was sworn in as a member of the Council of Ministers in Shri Chandrashekhar's government, and that this is tantamount to giving up membership voluntarily for the purpose of Paragraph 2 (1)(a) of the Tenth Schedule. It is admitted that Dr. Shakeelur Rehman was a member of Janata Dal. His name appears in the list submitted by Shri Chandrashekhar on 4th December, 1990 and Form III purported to have been signed by him on 5th November, 1990 is enclosed in the letter of Shri Chandrashekhar. Dr. Rehman has thus given up membership of his party, namely, Janata Dal in the meaning of Paragraph 2(a) of the Tenth Schedule. In his defence, as also in the oral submissions, it is pleaded that there were some discussions which indicated a possibility of restoration of *status quo ante*, that keeping this in view he had voted on 7-11-90 and 16-11-90 in favour of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh but had decided to join the Government subsequently. As discussed supra, the split is recognised with effect from the 5th November, 1990 and split for the purpose of the Tenth Schedule is only a one time affair, and cannot be an on-going or continuous process or phenomenon. The Form III purportedly signed on the 5th November, 1990 is clearly an afterthought, keeping in view the circumstances, namely, that the Respondent was not in the list of Members submitted by Shri Chandrashekhar on 6-11-1990 and also on 16-11-1990, that the alleged revised Form III was not submitted to me on or immediately

after 5-11-1990 and that his name does not appear in the list dated 14th November, 1990 submitted by Shri Harmohan Dhawan. The plea that on 7-11-1990 and 16-11-1990 he belonged to JD(S) and therefore subject to whip of JD(S) and not that of JD, is clearly an afterthought for the same reason. It has been stated during personal hearing that once a Member makes a 'claim' about his party status, the 'claim' should be accepted, and that this should be the end of the matter. Even conceding for the sake of argument that a claim validly made could be accepted at face value, it is observed that the claim made here is not validly made in as much as (i) claim has not been made before the Speaker as required under the Disqualification Rules 1985 (ii) claim has not been made immediately, as required under the Disqualification Rules. Therefore the claim is an afterthought. As such, while Dr. Rehman is liable to be disqualified under Para 2(1)(a), he cannot have the protection of a split under para 3 of the Tenth Schedule. I, therefore, declare that Dr. Shakeelur Rehman has become disqualified under the Tenth Schedule and Rule 8(1)(b) of the Disqualification Rules.

## ORDER

15. In exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution and the Members of Lok Sabha (Disqualification on ground of Defection) Rules 1985, I, Rabi Ray, Speaker Lok Sabha, hereby order that since 54 Members whose names I would state hereafter constitute a faction which has arisen as a result of the split in the original Janata Dal Party and such group consists of not less than 1/3rd of the Members of the original party, this faction shall be deemed to be a new political party in terms of Para 3 of the Tenth Schedule and that these 54 Members shall be treated as Members of the Janata Dal(S)

which would be their original party hereafter for the purpose of Paragraph 3 of the Tenth Schedule.

1. Shri Balgopal Mishra
2. Shri Babanrao Dhakane
3. Shri Bega Ram Chauhan
4. Shri Bhakt Charan Das
5. Shri Bhagwan Das Rathor
6. Shri Chandra Shekhar
7. Shri Chand Ram
8. Shri Dasai Chowdhary
9. Shri Daulat Ram Saran
10. Shri Devi Lal
11. Shri Dhanraj Singh
12. Shri Dharmesh Prasad Varma
13. Shri Harmohan Dhawan
14. Shri Het Ram
15. Shri Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav
16. Shri Jagdeep Dhankar
17. Shri Jai Prakash
18. Shri Kalpnath Sonkar
19. Shri Kalyan Singh Kalvi
20. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri
21. Shri Lalit Vijoy Singh
22. Smt. Maneka Gandhi
23. Shri Nakul Nayak
24. Shri Rajmangal Pandey
25. Shri Ram Bahadur Singh
26. Shri Raj Mangal Mishra
27. Shri Ramji Lal Yadav
28. Shri Ramji Lal Suman
29. Shri Yuvraj
30. Shri Mangaraj Mallik
31. Shri Manvendra Singh

32. Shri A. N. Singh Deo
33. Rao Birender Singh
34. Shri Janeshwar Mishra
35. Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
36. Shri Subodh Kant Sahay
37. Smt. Usha Sinha
38. Shri Chhotey Singh Yadav
39. Shri Ram Singh Shakya
40. Shri Ram Sewak Bhatia
41. Shri Uday Pratap Singh
42. Shri Keshari Lal
43. Shri Ram Sagar (Barabanki)
44. Shri Baleshwar Yadav
45. Shri Ram Prasad Chaudhary
46. Shri Prabhatsinh Chauhan
47. Shri G. K. Shekhada
48. Shri Manubhai Kotadia
49. Shri Balvant Manvar
50. Shri Arjunbhai Patel
51. Shri M. M. Patel
52. Shri Shantilal Purushottam Das Patel
53. Shri N. J. Rathra
54. Shri Jayantilal Virchandbhai Shah

16. In exercise of the powers conferred upon me under Paragraph 6 of the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution of India and the Rules thereunder, I, Rabi Ray, Speaker, Lok Sabha, hereby declare that the following 7 Members of Lok Sabha have incurred disqualification for being Members of Lok Sabha in terms of Paragraph 2(1)(b) of the said Schedule:

1. Shri Basavaraj Patil
2. Shri Hamendra Singh Banera
3. Shri Vidyacharan Shukla

4. Dr. Bengali Singh
5. Shri Sarwar Hussain
6. Shri Bhagey Gobardhan
7. Shri Devananda Amat.

Accordingly, the aforesaid Members have ceased to be Members of Lok Sabha with immediate effect, and their seats shall thereupon fall vacant.

17. In exercise of powers conferred upon me under Paragraph 6 of the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution of India and the Rules thereunder, I, Rabi Ray, Speaker, Lok Sabha, hereby declare that Dr. Shakeelur Rehman, Member Lok Sabha has incurred disqualification for being a Member of Lok Sabha in terms of Paragraph 2(1)(a) of the said Schedule. Accordingly, Dr. Shakeelur Rehman has ceased to be a Member of Lok Sabha with immediate effect, and his seat shall thereupon fall vacant.

Copies of this order be forwarded to the petitioners, the members in relation to whom the petitions are made and to the Leaders of the Janata Dal and Janata Dal (S).

#### ANNEXURE I

1. Smt. Usha Sinha
2. Shri Janeshwar Mishra
3. Shri Basavaraj Patil
4. Shri Ramji Lal Yadav
5. Shri Ram Bahadur Singh
6. Rao Birender Singh
7. Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
8. Shri Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav
9. Shri Ram Sewak Bhatia
10. Shri Ram Prasad Chaudhary
11. Shri Chhotey Singh Yadav

12. Shri Ram Singh Shakya
13. Shri Rajmangal Pandey
14. Shri Shantilal Patel
15. Shri Nakul Nayak
16. Shri Jagdeep Dhankar
17. Shri G. S. Saini
18. Shri Yuvraj
19. Shri Balvant Manyar
20. Shri A. N. Singh Deo
21. Shri Baleshwar Yadav
22. Shri Uday Pratap Singh
23. Shri Ram Sagar (Barabanki)
24. Shri Bega Ram Chauhan
25. Shri Dasai Chowdhary
26. Shri Daulat Ram Saran
27. Shri Devi Lal
28. Shri Dhanraj Singh
29. Shri Keshari Lal
30. Shri Mangaraj Mallik

#### ANNEXURE II

1. Shri V. C. Shukla
2. Shri Bengali Singh
3. Shri Sarwar Hussain
4. Shri Bhagoy Gobardhan
5. Shri Manvendra Singh
6. Shri Hamendra Singh Banera
7. Shri D. Amat

#### ANNEXURE III

1. Shri Chand Ram
2. Shri Chandra Shekhar
3. Shri Prabhatsinh H. Chauhan
4. Shri Bhakta Charan Das



5. Shri Babanrao Dhakane
6. Shri Harmohan Dhawan
7. Smt. Maneka Gandhi
8. Shri Het Ram
9. Shri Jai Parkash
10. Shri Kalyan Singh Kalvi
11. Shri Manubhai Kotadia
12. Shri Balgopal Mishra
13. Shri Raj Mangal Mishra
14. Shri Arjunbhai Patel
15. Shri M. M. Patel
16. Shri N. J. Rathva
17. Dr. Bhagwan Das Rathor
18. Shri Subodh Kant Sahay
19. Shri Jayantilal Virchand Shah
20. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri
21. Shri G. K. Shekhada
22. Shri L. V. Singh
23. Shri Kalpnath Sonkar
24. Shri Ramjilal Suman
25. Shri Dharmesh Prasad Varma.

#### ANNEXURE IV

1. Shri Balgopal Mishra
2. Shri Babanrao Dhakane
3. Shri Bega Ram Chauhan
4. Shri Bhakt Charan Das
5. Shri Bhagwan Das Rathor
6. Shri Chandra Shekhar
7. Shri Chand Ram
8. Shri Dasai Chowdhary
9. Shri Daulat Ram Saran
10. Shri Devi Lal
11. Shri Dhanraj Singh
12. Shri Dharmesh Prasad Varma

13. Shri Harmohan Dhawan
14. Shri Het Ram
15. Shri Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav
16. Shri Jagdeep Dhankar
17. Shri Jaiparkash
18. Shri Kalpnath Sonkar
19. Shri Kalyan Singh Kalvi
20. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri
21. Shri Lalit Vijoy Singh
22. Smt. Maneka Gandhi
23. Shri Nakul Nayak
24. Shri Rajmangal Pandey
25. Shri Ram Bahadur Singh
26. Shri Ram Naresh Singh
27. Shri Raj Mangal Mishra
28. Shri Ramji Lal Yadav
29. Shri Ramji Lal Suman
30. Shri Gurdial Singh Saini
31. Shri Yuvraj
32. Shri Mangaraj Mallik
33. Shri Manvendra Singh
34. Shri A. N. Singh Deo
35. Rao Birender Singh
36. Shri Janeshwar Mishra
37. Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
38. Shri Subodh Kant Sahay
39. Smt. Usha Sinha
40. Shri Chhotey Singh Yadav
41. Shri Ram Singh Shakya
42. Shri Ram Sewak Bhatia
43. Shri Uday Pratap Singh
44. Shri Keshari Lal
45. Shri Ram Sagar (Barabanki)

46. Shri Baleshwar Yadav
47. Shri Ram Prasad Chaudhary
48. Shri Prabhatsinh Chauhan
49. Shri G. K. Shekhada
50. Shri Manubhai Kotadia
51. Shri Balvant Manvar
52. Shri Arjunbhai Patel
53. Shri M. M. Patel
54. Shri Shantilal Purushottam  
Das Patel
55. Shri N. J. Rathva
56. Shri Jayantilal Virchandbhai  
Shah
57. Shri Hamendra Singh  
Banera
58. Shri Mandhata Singh.

#### ANNEXURE V

1. Smt. Usha Sinha
2. Shri Janeshwar Mishra
3. Shri Ramji Lal Yadav
4. Shri Ram Bahadur Singh
5. Rao Birender Singh
6. Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
7. Shri Hukumdeo Narayan  
Yadav
8. Shri Ram Sewak Bhatia
9. Shri Ram Prasad Chaudhary
10. Shri Chhotey Singh Yadav
11. Shri Ram Singh Shakya
12. Shri Rajmangal Pandey
13. Shri Shantilal Patel
14. Shri Nakul Nayak
15. Shri Jagdeep Dhankar
16. Shri Yuvraj

17. Shri Balvant Manvar
18. Shri A. N. Singh Deo
19. Shri Baleshwar Yadav
20. Shri Uday Pratap Singh
21. Shri Ram Sagar (Barabanki)
22. Shri Bega Ram Chauhan
23. Shri Dasai Chowdhary
24. Shri Daulat Ram Saran
25. Shri Devi Lal
26. Shri Dhanraj Singh
27. Shri Keshari Lal
28. Shri Mangaraj Mallik.

#### ANNEXURE VI

1. Shri Balgopal Mishra
2. Shri Babanrao Dhakane
3. Shri Bega Ram Chauhan
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5. Shri Bhagwan Das Rathor
6. Shri Chandra Shekhar
7. Shri Chand Ram
8. Shri Dasai Chowdhary
9. Shri Daulat Ram Saran
10. Shri Devi Lal
11. Shri Dhanraj Singh
12. Shri Dharmesh Prasad Varma
13. Shri Harmohan Dhawan
14. Shri Het Ram
15. Shri Hukumdeo Narayan  
Yadav
16. Shri Jagdeep Dhankar
17. Shri Jai Parkash
18. Shri Kalpnath Sonkar
19. Shri Kalyan Singh Kalvi

20. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri
21. Shri Lalit Vijoy Singh
22. Smt. Maneka Gandhi
23. Shri Nakul Nayak
24. Shri Rajmangal Pandey
25. Shri Ram Bahadur Singh
26. Shri Raj Mangal Mishra
27. Shri Ramji Lal Yadav
28. Shri Ramji Lal Suman
29. Shri Yuvraj
30. Shri Mangaraj Mallik
31. Shri Manvendra Singh
32. Shri A. N. Singh Deo
33. Rao Birender Singh
34. Shri Janeshwar Mishra
35. Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari
36. Shri Subodh Kant Sahay
37. Smt. Usha Sinha
38. Shri Chhotey Singh Yadav
39. Shri Ram Singh Shakya
40. Shri Ram Sewak Bhatia
41. Shri Uday Pratap Singh
42. Shri Keshari Lal
43. Shri Ram Sagar (Barabanki)
44. Shri Baleshwar Yadav
45. Shri Ram Prasad Chaudhary
46. Shri Prabhatsinh Chauhan
47. Shri G.K. Shekhada
48. Shri Manubhai Kotadia
49. Shri Balvant Manvar
50. Shri Arjunbhai Patel
51. Shri M.M. Patel
52. Shri Shantilal Purushottam  
Das Patel

53. Shri N.J. Rathva

54. Shri Jayantilal Virchandbhai  
Shah.

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**MR. SPEAKER:** Hon. Members, as the Sixth Session of the current Lok Sabha comes to a close, I would like to take this opportunity to thank hon. Members for the kind co-operation extended to me and my colleagues—the Deputy Speaker and Members of the Panel of Chairman—in conducting the proceedings of the House smoothly. During this short session which commenced on 27th December, 1990, the House held 10 sittings lasting over 67 hours.

On the very first day of the session, I gave my consent to the moving of an Adjournment Motion regarding recent communal violence in the country. The motion was negatived after a debate lasting over 5½ hours. On 9 January, another Adjournment Motion relating to a subject on which the whole House was rightly agitated, viz., the need to uphold the provisions of the Constitution vesting in the Speaker the powers to determine questions of disqualification of MPs contained in the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution, to the exclusion of Courts of Law, was discussed for over four hours. The motion was withdrawn by leave of the House after Government had bowed to the demand from all sections of the House to have the affidavit filed in the High Court of Delhi suitably amended.

Three important matters were raised through Calling Attention notices, viz., the recent developments in Surinam affecting the safety of life and property of the Indians living there, non-settlement of dispute of NABARD employees and the reported de-registration by DGS&D and the Department of Defence Production of a large number of reputed medicine firms.

Short Duration Discussions under Rule 193 on rise in prices of essential commodities and the situation in Punjab were also held.

In all, eleven Bills were passed during the session including the Public Liability Insurance Bill, the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1990 apart from Appropriation Bills relating to Supplementary Demands for Grants (General) and the Assam and Jammu and Kashmir Budgets.

13 Private Members' Bills were introduced during the session. The Disabled Persons (Rehabilitation and Welfare) Bill by Shri Uttam Rathod regarding need for a comprehensive policy for the rehabilitation and welfare of disabled persons was the subject of a fruitful debate in the House.

The procedural device introduced by me, during Budget Session, of allowing members to raise matters of urgent public importance after Question Hour, continued to be very popular among members as it enabled

them to bring a variety of issues agitating their minds to the notice of the House and the Government at the earliest opportunity. In a number of cases, the Prime Minister as also other Ministers instantly responded to the matters raised in the House.

Once again I thank all hon. Members, Leader of the Opposition and Leaders of other Parties and Groups for their unstinted cooperation given to me during this session.

My thanks are also due to the Deputy Speaker and Members of the Panel of Chairmen who have very ably assisted me in conducting the proceedings.

I wish all the Members the very best till we meet again.

Now the House stands adjourned  
*sine die.*

21.15 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned  
sine die.*