

**Eighth Series, Vol. XXVIII; No. 50**

**Tuesday, May 12, 1987**  
**Vaisakha 22, 1909 (Saka)**

# **LOK SABHA DEBATES** **(English Version)**

**Eighth Session**  
**(Eighth Lok Sabha)**



***(Vol. XXVIII contains Nos. 41 to 50)***

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT**  
**NEW DELHI**

**Price - Rs. 6.00**

## CONTENTS

[*Eighth Series, Vol. XXVIII, Eighth Session, 1987/1909 (Saka)*]

*No. 50, Tuesday, May 12, 1987/Vaisakha 22, 1909 (Saka)*

	COLUMNS
Papers laid on the Table	3—5
Messages from Rajya Sabha	6 109—110
Statement <i>Re</i> : Enhancement of rate of interest on the Employees' Provident Fund —	6—7
Shri P.A. Sangma	
Matters Under Rule 377 —	8—17
(i) Need to declare the Rawatbhata region of Rajasthan as a 'prohibited Area' and to take measures for the security and safety of the atomic units.	
Prof. Nirmala Kumari Shaktawat	7—8
(ii) Need to take measure to provide drinking water in Mandla district of Madhya Pradesh	
Shri. M.L. Jhikram	8
(iii) Need to render financial assistance to Himachal Pradesh to provide relief to farmers whose crops have been damaged by heavy rains and hailstorms.	
Shri K.D. Sultanpuri	8—9
(iv) Demand for adequate funds for expansion of Bhubaneswar airport as an International Airport.	
Shrimati Jayanti Patnaik	9—10
(v) Need to take necessary measures to safeguard the interests of betel leaf growers in the country.	
Shri Chintamani Jena	10—11
(vi) Demand for early implementation of Rushikulya Command Area Development Scheme for the development of agriculture in Orissa.	
Shri Somnath Rath	11—12

(ii)

COLUMNS

(vii) Need to lay railway line from Kumarghat to Agartala in Tripura for the industrial development of the State.	
Shri Baju Ban Riyan	12 — 13
(viii) Need to locate the National Institute on Disaster Training and Management at Hyderabad.	
Shri Srihari Rao	13
(ix) Need to streamline the procedure regarding payment of loans under I.R.D.P. schemes in Sriganganagar district in Rajasthan.	
Shri Birbal	14 — 15
(x) Need to send a central team to conduct survey for construction of roads and bridges in Madhya Pradesh for its development.	
Shri Kammodilal Jatav	15
(xi) Demand for expediting the construction work on Nagya-Sakiya Dam in Nandgaon Tehsil of Maharashtra.	
Shri S.S. Bhoje	15 — 16
(xii) Need to lay a broad gauge railway line between Bangerpet and Kolar in Karnataka.	
Dr. V. Venkatesh	16 — 17
Discussion <i>Re</i> : Situation arising out of escalation of violence in Sri Lanka	17 — 67
Shri G.G. Swell	17 — 21
Shri A.J.V.B. Maheswara Rao	21 — 23
Shri P.R. Kumaramangalam	23 — 27
Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary	28 — 33
Shri Vir Sen	33 — 35
Shri P. Kolandaivelu	35 — 41
Shri G.S. Basavaraju	41 — 44
Dr. V. Venkatesh	44 — 46

	COLUMNS
Shri Ramashray Prasad Singh	46 — 47
Shri Manoj Pandey	47 — 49
Shri K. Natwar Singh	49 — 67
<b>Statutory Resolution re: Approval of Proclamation in relation to the State of Punjab —</b>	<b>67 — 133</b>
S. Buta Singh	67 — 73 125 — 133
Shri E. Ayyapu Reddy	73 — 80
Shri R.L. Bhatia	80 — 86
Shri Amal Datta	86 — 94
Shri R.S. Sparrow	94 — 98
Dr. V. Venkatesh	98 — 100
Shri Chiranji Lal Sharma	100 — 105
Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia	105 — 109
Shri P.R. Kumaramangalam	110 — 114
Shri M.S. Gill	114 — 118
Shri Kamal Chaudhry	118 — 122
Shri Ramashray Prasad Singh	122 — 124
Shri C. Janga Reddy	124 — 125
<b>Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganisation Bill —</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>Copy of the Bill, as amended by Rajya Sabha, Laid Motion to Consider amendment made by Rajya Sabha —</b>	<b>133 — 136</b>
S. Buta Singh	133 — 134 135 — 136
Shri Sharad Dighe	134
Shri Shantaram Naik	135

**COLUMNS**

**Labour Welfare Fund Laws (Amendment) Bill —  
Motion to consider, as passed by Rajya Sabha —**

**136 — 144**

**Shri P.A. Sangma**

**136—138**

**Shri Purna Chandra Malik**

**138 — 140**

**Shri Damodar Pandey**

**140 — 141**

**Clauses 2 to 7 and 1**

**Motion to pass —**

**Shri P.A. Sangma**

**141 — 143**

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

1

**LOK SABHA**

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*Tuesday, May 12, 1987/Vaisakha 22,  
1909 (Saka)*

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*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven  
of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[English]

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I have already given the floor to Shri Amal Datta. Please sit down. What are you doing?

SHRI AMAL DATTA: (Diamond Harbour): We have to condemn the action of the Government in the strongest possible terms....

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Who allowed you to speak? Who gave you the permission?

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: The Proclamation is to be laid on the Table of the House and we have to discuss it. It is you who have to approve or disapprove also.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHURY (Katwa): Yesterday we wanted a discussion, we wanted to have information ....*(Interruptions)*.

2

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Saifuddinji, do not get angry. We have accepted your point.

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: What you have accepted?

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: I have told you that I will allow a discussion on it....

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What are you doing.

[English]

What has gone into you? I will listen one by one. Mr. Saifuddin, this Proclamation is coming on the floor of the House; it is going to be laid on the Table. You will have the time to discuss it, approve or disapprove it.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: What else can I do?

[Translation]

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: There is no use of indulging in such things; why do you get angry with me.

[English]

Why are you getting angry with me? What can I do.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOVALIA (Sangrur): We in Punjab were fighting the battle of .....*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : We will finish with the Sri Lanka discussion and then take it up.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANDA GAJAPATHI RAJU (Bobbili): We asked for information yesterday and today we learn from the papers about the imposition of the President's rule.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: Repeatedly we wanted to know.....  
*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA: Despite being a majority Government, the Punjab Government has been dismissed. The Prime Minister hailed and appreciated the efforts of the Chief Minister on the first day of the session and on the last day of the session he has been dismissed.....*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER: I will provide you time to speak on this. You will be given time. I have given my word and we shall do it. No problem.

Shri Buta Singh.

11.04 hrs.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

*[English]*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): I beg to lay on the Table-

- (1) (i) A copy of the Proclamation (Hindi and English versions) dated the 11th May, 1987 issued by the President under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab published in Notification No. G.S.R. 474 (E) in Gazette of India dated the 11th May, 1987, under article 356 (3) of the Constitution.

- (ii) A copy of the Order (Hindi and English versions) dated the 11th May, 1987 made by the President in pursuance of sub-clause (i) of clause (c) of the above Proclamation published in Notification No. G.S.R. 475(E) in Gazette of India dated the 11th May, 1987.

- (2) A copy of the report dated the 11th May, 1987 of the Governor of Punjab to the President (Hindi and English versions). [Placed in Library. See No. LT - 4454/87.]

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Copies of the Proclamation and the Governor's Report are available at the Publication Counter. Members may, if they so desire, collect these from there.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER: You may do so. Who stops you from doing so?

*[English]*

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa): We want condemnation of this act of the Government.....*(Interruptions)* Why did they not consult the House? It is a natural question.

MR. SPEAKER: What can I do ?

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: One man at a time please. Let us be reasonable.

*[Translation]*

It makes no difference if you speak loudly. If you speak in a soft voice, you will get the work done. I would like to say one thing to you...

[English]

What do you want me to do?

[Translation]

You please tell me, what can I do for you?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: What can you do for us?

MR. SPEAKER: You are intimidating me a bit more....

*(Interruptions)*

I would allow a discussion on it.

[English]

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Yesterday we raised it and they denied it at that time..... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I will allow you. You can say all these things during the discussion.

*(Interruptions)*

*At this stage, Shri Amal Datta and some other hon. Members left the House.*

[Translation]

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): We support the President's rule. We have been speaking on this point for the past two months, but you are not listening to us. Although you have done this with an eye on the election in Haryana, yet we support it. It is not proper to take such an important decision without having discussion on it when the Lok Sabha is in session..... *(Interruptions)*

11.06 Hrs

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA

[English]

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

- (i) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha, that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 11th May, 1987, agreed without any amendment to the Governors (Emoluments Allowances and Privileges) Amendment Bill, 1987, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 5th May, 1987."
- (ii) "In accordance with the provisions of Rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sittings held on the 11th May, 1987 agreed without any amendment to the Goa, Daman and Diu Mining Concessions (Abolition and Declaration as Mining Leases) Bill, 1987, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 6th May, 1987."

11.07 hrs

STATEMENT RE: ENHANCEMENT OF  
RATE OF INTEREST ON THE  
EMPLOYEES PROVIDENT  
FUND

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE  
MINISTRY OF LABOUR (SHRI P.A.  
SANGMA): Hon'ble Members are aware



that under the employees' Provident Fund Scheme, the Central Government has to declare the rate of interest to be credited to the account of the provident fund subscribers every year. The rate of interest has to be determined keeping in view the earnings from the provident fund investments. The investment pattern of the provident fund was liberalised with effect from 1.4.86 and with this, the interest earnings have slightly picked up. The Government has, therefore, decided to declare the rate of interest of 11.5 per cent for the year 1987-88 as against 11 per cent for the year 1986-87. I hope that the Members would welcome this measure.

MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

11.08 hrs

[*Translation*]

- (I) **Need to declare the Rawat - bhata region of Rajasthan as a 'Prohibited Area' and to take measures for the security and safety of the atomic units.**

PROF. NIRMALA KUMARI SHAK-TAWAT (Chittorgarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to the following matter under rule 377.

Rajasthan Atomic Power Plant is an important achievement of the country where at present two units are generating power and two more units have been sanctioned. These important units are situated in Kawatbhata in Chittorgarh. Work on the production of heavy water has also started at this place.

There is no proper arrangement for the safety and maintenance of this sensitive area. Many persons from outside are trying to settle near these units in a haphazard manner. Illegal encroachment of land is taking place and hooligans have let loose a reign of terror there. It is apprehended that extremists and foreign

spies can also infiltrate in this area and most probably, they may be present there. Undesirable persons roam there very often who by their insensible act can destroy this atomic plant which can result in creating a serious problem. I would request the government that this area should be declared as a Prohibited area for the safety of the country and the Central Reserve Police personnel also be deployed there along with security equipments and arms so that the evil designs of the neighbouring countries to destroy the atomic units are checked. If these atomic establishments are destroyed, it will create a disastrous situation for the country. The Government should take immediate security steps.

- (II) **Need to take measures to provide drinking water in Mandla district of Madhya Pradesh**

SHRI M.L. JHIKRAM (Mandla): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to the following matter under rule 377.

Mandla is a hill district. At present this district is facing drinking water problem. Though P.H.E. Department has installed some hand pumps with great efforts to resolve this problem, but as the water level has gone down, the hand pumps, which had been installed in the past, have been rendered useless. Therefore, I would request the Government to immediately implement the K.F.W. German Scheme, Canada scheme or the scheme of Technology Mission in this hill district so that the drinking water problem is resolved soon there particularly in Mandla district.

- (III) **Need to render financial assistance to Himachal Pradesh to provide relief to farmers whose crops have been damaged by heavy rains and hailstorms.**

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention

of the House to the following matter under rule 377.

Fruit and wheat crops have been completely damaged by the rains and hailstorms in Himachal Pradesh and the State Government is not in a position to pay compensation for the loss. There have been rain and hailstorms for 7 to 8 days in the State. I would, therefore, request the Government to grant Rs. 50 crores to the State Government for providing assistance to the people. A study team should also be sent there to visit every district of the Himachal Pradesh which should survey the loss amounting to billions of rupees and submit report to the Government

I request the Government to take up this matter on a priority basis.

[English]

(iv) Demand for adequate funds for expansion of Bhubaneswar airport as an International Airport

SHRIMATI JAYANTI PATNAIK (Cuttack): The Government of India have taken a decision to construct some International Airports in the country during the seventh Plan period. Bhubaneswar airport has been identified for development as an International airport under that programme, but funds have not been provided by the Centre for that purpose.

Orissa is richly endowed with tourist potential. Tourists from all over India and abroad come to Orissa to see its fascinating sea beaches, ancient archaeological monuments and the luxuriant forests, rich in wild life. A number of international travel writers who had visited the State in the recent past have opined that the tourist potential of Orissa is immense and could be well considered

as one of the best in the country. So, provision of adequate air journey facility is very necessary in order to attract the foreign tourists. This would become possible if Bhubaneswar airport is soon raised to the standard of International Airport. The State Government is financially not sound enough to bear the cost of the expansion programme. Once Bhubaneswar airport becomes the International Airport the flow of foreign tourists to Orissa will increase and thereby India will earn more foreign exchange. Thus the development of Bhubaneswar airport as an international airport is necessary not only in the interest of the State but also in the interest of the country.

As such, I request the Central Government to bear the entire cost of the construction and expansion of Bhubaneswar airport as an International airport.

(v) Need to take necessary measures to safeguard the interests of betel leaf growers in the country

SHRI CHINTAMANI JENA (Balasore): The betel, which is popularly known as "Pan" is cultivated as a distinctive crop in different States in the country. It provides livelihood to about 20 lakhs families in Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Its cultivation extends over an area of 40,000 hectares and the annual turnover from its sales is about Rs. 700 crores. The country earns good amount of foreign exchange from the export of Pan and it could be increased further.

The importance of Pan is the cultural life of India is known to everybody and for millions of Indians their daily routine remains incomplete, without chewing a Pan. But this traditional Pan cultivation has received a set back owing to economic losses suffered by the

cultivators. The main problems of betel leaves cultivation are diseases which affect the plantation, inadequate fertilization and poor storage and marketing facilities. So all these problems should be looked into immediately and the government should provide necessary assistance to the Pan growers to develop the cultivation.

Unless Central Government comes forward to help the betel growers, the betel production will further decline in the coming years. So, I request the Union Government to direct the National Botanical Research Institute and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research to solve the problem of disease. Some joint programmes should be launched by the NBRI and ICAR to control the disease by adopting modern scientific method.

**(vi) Demand for early implementation of Rushikulya Command Area Development Scheme for the development of agriculture in Orissa**

SHRI SOMNATH RATH (Aska): The problems of water management in our country arise mainly from the circumstances, that although the total annual precipitation is large enough to place the entire land surface under water to the depth of over one metre, it is not spread evenly, either in terms of space or time. This makes it necessary to conserve as much water as possible, during the brief monsoon season, so that it may be available for use during the long dry season, not only locally, but if possible also in arid areas located at a distance.

The 7th Plan document stresses the need for marking further massive investments in the major and minor irrigation sector, till its remaining untapped potential of 33.2 mh has been fully harnessed.

Some experts talk of cheaper, quicker and more efficient alternative in the form

of ground water. It involves no environmental problems, such as the submergence of good lands under storage and canals, and no evaporation of seepage losses which may take away more than 50 per cent of the water released from reservoirs before they reach the farmer's field. It also does not create the problem of water logging. It is a resource under farmer's control.

Ganjam district in Orissa is mainly an agricultural district. Water management for irrigation is essential. As such, the Rushikulya Command Area development scheme recommended and sent by Orissa Government to the Centre needs immediate implementation, for the growth of agriculture.

**(vii) Need to lay railway line from Kumarghat to Agartala in Tripura for industrial development of the State**

SHRI BAJU BAN RIYAN (Tripura East): Tripura has only 33 km. of railway line upto Pecharthal, and a project for another 10 km. upto Kumarghat was taken up, but it will take another three years to complete it. The need for extension of railways may not be exaggerated. In the absence of railway, the entire State remains marked as zero-industry State. It appears that the work for extension of railways upto Agartala could not be taken up, because it may cost heavily, and thus may not be viable. But the cost of transport other than that of railways is rising every day adversely, affecting whatever small scale industries are there in the State.

It may be mentioned here that Tripura Legislative Assembly has resolved unanimously to send an All Party MLAs delegation to Delhi, to press the demand to provide the required allocation in the 7th Plan, to extend the railway upto the State Capital, Agartala.

The people of Tripura observed a mass picketing in front of all Central

Government offices and nationalized banks on 8.5.1987, at the call given by the Rail & Industry Movement Committee, demanding a new railway line from Kumarghat to Agartala about 120 Kms.—still pending with the Planning Commission.

I, therefore, urge upon the Minister of Railways to make a statement in the House, explaining Government's position in this regard.

**(viii) Need to locate the National Institute on Disaster Training and Management at Hyderabad**

SHRI SRIHARI RAO (Rajahmundry): During the 6th five year Plan, the working group set up by the Planning Commission on Disaster Preparedness and Management, laid down the importance of setting up of a National Institute on Disaster Training and Manager in the country. As the State of Andhra Pradesh is highly prone to natural calamities such as cyclones, floods, drought etc., Government of India was urged by the State Government to set up the proposed Institute at Hyderabad, which is centrally located and caters to the needs of drought-prone areas adequately.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India was addressed by several Members of Parliament stressing the importance of locating the National Institute on Disaster Training and Management at Hyderabad. This issue has been pending for a long time. The State Government have assured that the required land and other facilities will be made available to the Central Government for establishing the Institute. But so far, there is no response from the Central Government. I urge upon the Central Government to take a decision on the location of the National Institute on Disaster Training and Management in the country.

[Translation]

**(ix) Need to streamline the procedure regarding payment of loans under I.R.D.P. and other schemes in Sriganganagar district in Rajasthan**

SHRI BIRBAL (Ganganagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to the following matter under rule 377.

Sri Ganganagar District is an important agricultural district of Rajasthan where people belonging to scheduled castes reside in a very large number. The Harijan farmers of this district mostly come under the definition of identified families. The Punjab National Bank is a lead bank in this region and there are also many branches of other banks as well. But due to non payment of loan by them in time under IRD programmes, the farmers are not benefited. As a result thereof, not only the agricultural production suffers, but due to the lower production, the national production is also suffering.

As against loans to the traders and industrialists, the loans sanctioned for agricultural purposes are very meagre. Due to the payment of meagre amount of loans under I.R.D.P., the farmers are not benefited properly.

Compound interest is charged on the principal amount. The banks do not follow the policy of the Government properly in regard to the loan disbursement to the educated unemployed. The problem of unemployment among the people belonging to the scheduled castes has assumed serious proportion in my district.

I would, therefore, request the hon. Finance Minister of the Central Government to take the following measures to solve the problem in this respect.

[Sh. Birbal]

1. Loans should be paid to the identified families without any delay.
  2. More people should be given loans under IRD programme.
  3. Loans disbursement procedure should be simplified.
  4. Unemployed Harijan youths should be given loans on priority basis under the employment scheme.
- (x) **Need to send a central team to conduct survey for construction of roads and bridges in Madhya Pradesh for its development**

SHRI KAMMODILAL JATAV (Morena): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Madhya Pradesh is a backward state in India. It consists of mostly hilly areas. Hence area of cultivable land is very less. Due to this, un-employment is prevalent there. There are not much industries and due to, there being a large number of rivers, there are hurdles in smooth flow of traffic. Because the number of bridges and roads is very less. Water roads, are there, their construction is incomplete. Due to all these reasons, Madhya Pradesh is a backward State. Therefore, I would like to make a submission to Government that a Central Team be sent there so that the state could be surveyed and its backwardness could be removed.

- (xi) **Demand for expediting the construction work on Naga Sakiya Dam In Nandgaon Tehsil of Maharashtra**

[Translation]

SHRI S.S. BHOYE (Malegaon): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Naga-Sakiya dam/project has been sanctioned in order to provide drinking water and to solve the problem of agriculture of the people in drought hit Nandgaon Tehsil of my

constituency. Funds have also been provided which were to the tune of Rs. 1.94 crores in 1986-87. The State Government are also making efforts to provide more funds during the year 1987-88.

The people had struggled a lot for the sanction of this project. But due to the work being run at a snail's pace, the funds of Rs. 1.94 crores provided for the above mentioned year 1986-87 have not been totally spent so far. The people are, therefore, feeling concerned that so many years have since passed, but there has been no notable progress in the work. Will they be fortunate enough to get drinking water, or it will not be available to them at all.

Therefore, I would like to urge the Government of India that it should direct the State Government to complete the work urgently so that the problems of the people could be solved.

[English]

- (xii) **Need to lay a broad gauge railway line between Bangarpet and Kolar in Karnataka**

DR. V. VENKATESH (Kolar): No significant improvement has been done in the field of railways since independence, particularly Kolar district has got the narrow-gauge line which is very much outdated even though repeated demands for conversion of the gauge have been made. The Kolar district is a drought-prone backward district. The farmers completely depend upon tube wells and whatever they grow with great difficulties, such as potatoes, mangoes, tamarind and chillies, they are unable to transport to the capital. Potato seeds from far off places like Shimla are very difficult to procure due to non-availability of the railway system. The narrow-gauge line which was operating in a very dislocated manner has also stopped due to the so-called financial constraints.

Therefore, there is a very urgent need to reintroduce the narrow-gauge immediately. I strongly urge upon the Government to provide broad-gauge at least from Bangarpet to Kolar so that the farmers of the drought-prone district can have the facilities of transportation of their produce to be supplied to the other parts of the country. The backward district will thus join the mainstream of the nation through this broad-gauge conversion.

DISCUSSION *RE*: SITUATION  
ARIS 3 OUT OF ESCALATION OF  
VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA -- *CONTD.*

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: We will now continue the discussion under Rule 193, on Ceylon. Prof. Swell.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Shillong): It is most unfortunate but the noises that have come from Sri Lanka of late have been shrill, have been militant, have been unappreciative of the role that India has been trying to play as an honest mediator, have been insensitive to the difficulty that India is facing as a result of the happenings in Sri Lanka.

Sir, I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate and I think I am expressing the feelings of the Government of India, of the Members in this House that we in India have a vested interest and that vested interest is the peace, the security the integrity, the sovereignty of Sri Lanka, as for any other country in our immediate neighbourhood. We are not bargaining for what is happening in Sri Lanka, today, we are not bargaining for the thousands of refugees from Sri Lanka that are being given hospitality in Tamil Nadu, we are not bargaining with the prospect of more of thousands and hundreds of thousands of the people of Sri Lanka coming over to Tamil Nadu. We would like Sri Lanka to be peaceful, to be settled to be secure, but I think it is also time that we speak the language that Sri Lanka will understand,

that the people, the forces behind Sri Lanka will understand.

The first point I would like to make is to remain this House and to remind Sri Lanka and also to remind the whole world, that some time in the early 'seventies it was the Government of India that saved the Government of Sri Lanka from falling, that saved the country, Sri Lanka from being taken over by the ultra leftist organisation, the Janata Vimukta Peramanna. And I would like to go on record that it is Sri Lanka today that is its own worst enemy. It is not only the struggle between the Sinhalese and the Tamilians, Sri Lanka is facing today a struggle against this ultra Marxists Organisation, the Janata Vimukta Peramanna. And if today it is the talk that the Government of Sri Lanka is under a siege, that the President of Sri Lanka is under a threat of assassination, that does not come from the Tamilians; it comes from the members of the Janata Vimukta Peramanna. We would like them to remember that it was the aircraft from India, it was the weapons from India that saved the Government of Sri Lanka at that time.

And so just because we are insisting that there should be a peaceful political solution to the problem of Sri Lanka, just because we insist that the formula for the peaceful settlement of the problem of Sri Lanka should depend on the December 19 proposals that have been made, just because we say that, it does not lie in the mouth of the President of Sri Lanka, it does not lie in the mouth of Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, to say that the attitude of India is Hitlerite or Hitlerian.

I would like to take this problem of Sri Lanka in a larger context. We have been talking the other day about the danger to this country coming from the north and the north-west, from Pakistan. During my speech at that time on Indo-United States relations I had drawn the attention of the House to say that a similar danger, perhaps a greater danger, is facing this

[Sh. G. G. Swell]

country from the south. Sri Lanka has a bay called Trincomalee which is perhaps one of the best natural harbours in the world with a legacy of its being one of the biggest fuel depots in the world. There are today in that bay 99 fuel tanks with a capacity of 12,000 tonnes for each tank - 99x12000 it comes to 1,18,8000 tonnes of fuel that can be stored in Trincomalee bay at any time and an any given day.

Now, we know what is happening in Diego Garcia, just a few hundred miles from Sri Lanka. There a small island has been converted into a full nuclear base equipped with nuclear operated aircraft, nuclear operated submarines. More than that, it is being equipped with the latest gadgets of electronics surveillance and listening devices. There is a system called the ground based electro-optical deep space surveillance system in Diego Garcia. It has the capacity of detecting any object in space or in air 25,000 miles away. An object of one metre in breadth in size can be detected in this manner.

It has been on the agenda of the United Nations to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. A few countries like the United States of America have got vested interest in Diego Garcia. They have been opposing a conference to consider the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The reasons are obvious. I have drawn the attention of the House again and again to the central command, geo-strategic interest of the west especially the United States of America in trying to contain the Soviet Union. And Sri Lanka today seems to be moving towards providing itself as one more link in the chain of that a central command. I would like the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs to give his reaction and to take note of these things.

Therefore, it is time that we speak to Sri Lanka in a language that Sri Lanka will understand. The other day, I had said that it is time that we in India should speak in

the language that the United States of America will understand. And the only language for us is that India goes nuclear. It is only then that the people will talk to us. It is also necessary that we speak this language. Unfortunately, that is the only course left to us; that is the only option open to us. We have no weapon against AWACS. We have no weapon against other kinds of sophisticated weapons. This is the only language for which the people will sit up and understand. It is also necessary that today we say that it is all right for Sri Lanka to do everything they want to do in their own house. You have got your house; nobody disputes that. You can do what you like in your house and to your house but you have no right to set your house on fire and put my house in jeopardy. I think this is the language that India should speak. We want the good of Sri Lanka. We will try to do everything possible. Even today we will reiterate that there is only one solution to the problem of Sri Lanka and that is a political settlement. They are facing the problems from the Tamilians today. They are bombing Jaffna. A time will come when they will have to fight a civil war within and around Colombo itself against their own people. What will you do at that time?

But if because of these problems they would like to bring the external forces, they would like to bring the Mossad, they would like to bring the C.I.A., they would like to bring the British strategic air services and things like that, they would like to bring foreign forces into Sri Lanka and make Sri Lanka a kind of a jumping base, they will be creating another frontline for a super power. We are already facing the danger from the north as I said. This is the position that India cannot tolerate and we shall not tolerate in the best national interests, and if it is necessary, we will have to take necessary action to ensure that Sri Lanka remains a sovereign country, that Sri Lanka is not a plaything for the super powers in this part of the world. It is necessary that Sri Lanka remains independent and strong and

towards that end if necessary, India will take the necessary actions to ensure that and to prevent that eventuality from coming into pass.

[*Translation*]

\*SHRI A.J.V.B.NAGESWARA RAO (Amalapuram): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the genocide in Sri Lanka is going on unabated. It is a blot on the history of modern day world. Innocent Tamils are being massacred in Sri Lanka every day. The Sri Lankan Govt. is hell bent in solving the ethnic issue through military means. The Sri Lankan Govt. has more faith in the military solution of the problem rather than the political solution. No country on the earth which has respect for the human values would ever tolerate the actions of Sri Lanka Government.

Sir, the Indian efforts to help Sri Lanka to solve the ethnic issue through peaceful means have not yielded any result so far. Many officials and diplomats had visited Sri Lanka to help solve the issue. But the Sri Lankan Govt. has not displayed any inclination to solve the issue through negotiations. It is trying to evade a political solution. It is continuing to kill the innocent Tamilians there. Tamils are being butchered in Sri Lanka now. The entire world is aghast with the happenings in that country. Everyone who cherishes human values hangs down his head in shame. The genocide is still continuing. Sri Lankan Govt. is showing no respect either for peace initiatives undertaken by India, nor is it having any respect for the feelings of the millions of the Indians. But India cannot afford to be a silent spectator any more. It is the responsibility of this country to protect the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. It is the first and foremost duty of the Indian Government. Sir, India has diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka. It is a close neighbour of ours. With all good intentions the Tamil Nadu Govt. is extending the help to Tamilians

who are now being tortured in Sri Lanka. The financial assistance extended by Shri M.G. Ramchandran to the Tamils is being misinterpreted by Shri Lankan Govt. and used for anti-Indian propaganda. It is most unfortunate. Only recently, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Shri Prema Dasa has declared that any country which opposes the policies of that Govt. would be treated as their enemy. It is most unfortunate. India should strive for an amicable understanding between the Govt. and Tamils in Sri Lanka. It should step up its diplomatic efforts. Sri Lanka. It should step up its diplomatic efforts. Sir, the Sri Lankan Govt. is soliciting support from various other countries in its efforts to wipe out Tamilians in that country. It poses a danger to India too. Indian Govt. should realise this danger. India has to guard itself from the impending dangers. Hence, it is in the best interests of India too, that a peaceful solution to the ethnic crisis is found out. Hope the Govt. would initiate action in this direction soon. Sir, the burden of refugees is increasing day by day. It is beyond the means of our Govt. to provide shelter to them for an indefinite period. Sir, just before the formation of Bangladesh, a similar situation existed. The refugees were pouring in lakhs every day from the then East Pakistan. The Govt. handled the situation admirably. The influx of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka is reminding us of those days. Govt. should also try to discharge its responsibilities towards Sri Lanka refugees. In fact, India had been helping every country in its hour of distress. Similar help and cooperation should also be extended to Sri Lankan Tamils in this hour of crisis.

Sir, there are various groups among Tamil militants now. Efforts should be to unite these various groups. Unless they speak with one voice, they can not achieve much in solving their problems. Hence India should first try to evolve a consensus among the various Tamil groups.

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\* The Speech was originally delivered in Telugu.



[Sh. A. J. V. B. Nageswara Rao]

Sir, every Tamilian is being treated as a terrorist in Sri Lanka. Already almost every Tamilian has lost his property and saving his life by the skin of his teeth. It should be told clearly to Sri Lanka that every Tamilian is not a terrorist. It is the primary responsibility of our Govt. to provide safety to the life and property of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. Hence once again I appeal to the Indian Govt. to shoulder the responsibility of our intermediary and step up diplomatic efforts to find a political solution to the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka.

I thank you very much for providing me this opportunity to speak and conclude my speech.

[*English*]

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): We have had many a debate on the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. It is not new and this House, in fact, this Lok Sabha itself is very familiar with the problems. But the misfortune if I may at the outset say is a problem that those who wield power in Sri Lanka have tended to look upon only the Sinhala sectional interest as synonymous with national interest. They seem to have forgotten that Sri Lanka is a multi-lingual and multi-racial nation. They seem to think that the only religion that matters is Buddhism. The only language which matters is Sinhalese and the only race which has the right to exist and live in Sri Lanka are the Sinhalese. This is the misfortune.

I think it is relevant to spend a few minutes on what is the real problem. It is true the majority population of Sri Lanka is Sinhalese 74% of the population is Sinhala speaking population. But there is 25.6% of the population who are Tamil speaking, whether they are Muslims or Hindus or Christians. But the short point is that before independence the problems between these communities did not exist. The real problem started when the

plantation Tamils in Sri Lanka were divested of their voting rights. What really happened was the Tamils and nearly 25% of the seats in the legislature, then. But after divesting of the voting rights of the plantation Tamils, it came down to nearly 12%. What really happened after 1977 is, we have seen discrimination of the worst type that could ever take place in any nation. We talk of apartheid. We talk of white and black. But what about apartheid among blacks? Is our Government going to keep quiet. Nearly 500000 jobs came into existence after 1977. The Tamilians got 2% of the jobs, even though educationally they were the most qualified. We saw in that States that the unemployment rate of Tamilians who have passed SSLC is in the region of 45% while in the Sinhalese it is as low as 20%. It is very clear.

If one sees the Police force or the Air force, Tamil representation is negligible. It is almost non-existent. One cannot even talk of percentage. One problem is employment; the other problem is education. In education there is constant implicit racial discrimination taking place.

Admissions are not available if you are born as Tamils. And Tamils in what form? Is it because they speak a different language? Is it because they are born as Tamils, citizenship; rights are denied to them? Sir, in the 20th Century, we criticise apartheid in South Africa. Is it not as bad when Idi Amin murdered people in his nation, the Non-Aligned leaders justified the removal of Idi Amin? Here what is happening in Sri Lanka is genocide, rape of the worst type. Little girls in the age of 6 to 7 are raped and brutally murdered by the military officials and Sri Lankan armed forces. Every single human rights body in the world has criticised and what is the history behind this? There have been pact after pact. In July 1957, there was a famous Bandaranayake-Selvanayakam pact which literally broought a solution to the problem. But what happened? The

present President of Sri Lanka Mr. Jayewardene, under the Leadership of his party led a march. He led a march and they destroyed the pact. Again when their party signed a pact in 1956, a similar agreement where the rights of the Tamils were reduced was brought in and at that moment the turn was the SLSPs - the other Opposition Party - to say that it was a sell - out to the Tamils and they destroyed that agreement. In 1972, the Constitution which was brought in was to remove the protection to minority which was existing till then in the Constitution. Even in the political document, the protection to minority was removed. In 1978, the Constitution was brought in where Tamil representatives did not participate and were not consulted. Today, unfortunately, the situation is that in the name of land settlement, the Sinhala population, in fact the lumpens, are armed and settled in Tamil areas. Tamil villages are destroyed and it is not that it is without a design and the Minister of Internal Security categorically went on record to say that "I believe this is the successful method of combatting terrorism in a non-violent way. This could mean that somewhere in the future there could be more Sinhalese in the north than the Tamils." Their intentions are very clear. The President, Mr. Jayewardene, of Sri Lanka said in January 1986. "I shall have a military solution to what I believe is the military problem. After doing so, I shall tackle the political side." They are very clear about what their intention are. Their intention is to annihilate the Tamil speaking population in Sri Lanka. It is no longer the internal problem of Sri Lanka. This is the problem of human race. Can one dominant majority race destroy and annihilate another section of the human race just because they are in minority? Is that what Buddhism teaches? Buddhism is supposed to be the State religion of Sri Lanka. Is that their old-age path?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the unfortunate thing is that the Government of India, if I may humbly submit, has done its best. But

sometimes the issue arises whether the best is enough. Sir, I should take this opportunity to congratulate the Government of India for its patience.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam) : It is very good, Sir.

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM : The amount of provocation that they have received is without question.

But I am sure that hon. Minister for Foreign Affairs would agree with me that there is a limit to which a big nation like us can be pushed. We are being pushed now tight against the wall. Let us remember that many of the Tamils who are being killed are our relations. I have relations, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in Sri Lanka, who have been killed, brutally murdered by the Army and not even by lumpens. They organise the private armies, arm them to the teeth and send them to raid the villages. Today they had the audacity to say they have an economic blockade against our own people. In which nation does this happen that a Government imposes an economic blockade on its own people, in the worst of worst internal differences? Even in the case of a civil war this is not done. Mr. Speaker, Sir, what else is happening? We find the unfortunate poor Tamils who have nothing to do with either militants or violence or even politics but surviving by day-to-day manual labour, their huts being strapped by helicopter gunships. Houses are being blown up, hospitals are being bombed—what is this? Mr. Speaker, Sir, what is on in Sri Lanka is a civil war. Is India going to sit quietly watching? That is the question. I do not say, nor do I suggest, that today India should immediately send its Army to Sri Lanka. No. But when the Tamil Nadu Government sends relief to Sri Lankan Tamils in the North, all those boats which carry relief, not armaments, I repeat, which carry relief, medicines and food—are those boats going to be escorted or not, is the question. Are those boats going to be given protection? Mr. Speaker, Sir, today

[Sh. P. R. Kumaramangalam]

the time has come for India to categorically communicate to the Sri Lankan Government that we do not think it is an internal matter, we believe definitely in the unity of Sri Lanka, we do not want to break up Sri Lanka, we are not for any *Elam*, but we believe every human who is alive and who lives on the surface of this earth has the right to live in dignity, peace and future.

*[Interruptions]*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to take one minute more.

May I point out that today the Sri Lankan budget in the military expenditure is almost Rs. 16 crores a day. It is unheard of. Even our huge nation does not spend that much money—Sixteen crores of Sri Lankan Rupees a day, that is what they spend. And what is it spent on? To fight foreign forces? No. It is spent on to kill their own citizens. And are we going to keep quiet? Billions of Dollars they have taken as loan. If today Sri Lanka is asked to pay back even one-tenth of the loan that it has taken from its allies if I may use the word, in the form of Israel, in the form of the United States, in the form of United Kingdom, they will be broke. They are destroying their economy. Even if a political solution comes today that nation is going to be crippled because of certain unfortunate tyrannical political beings being in power.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I end only by saying that it is necessary for the Government of India to take a stronger stand. Yes, we cannot directly interfere, but we are powerful enough to be clear in our communication to the Government of Sri Lanka. The suggestion that was given on the 19th of December 1986 is a good proposal in the sense that it starts a discussion. But there cannot be a discussion, there cannot be a negotiation when there is an economic blockade and when there is merciless killing. Let it be made clear.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, our concern on the development in Sri Lanka is on two major fronts. One is ruthless massacre of Tamils by the Sri Lankan Government and the account of which is quite abundantly available in the papers and what we have heard here also. In this situation, when one is pained to say that my relations are being killed, one can very well understand how the anger could be, how despicable the mind could be. Despite that, it is quite appreciable that that kind of mindless demands have not been made and we are still trying for a political solution to the problems of Sri Lanka.

I am not going to give an account of the torture that is going on there. The blockade of Jaffna, the bombing of hotels, the killing of civilians, the merciless kinds of these things are known to everybody. What we cannot understand is, how a civilian Government can act in this mad way with its own people.

Then, there is another aspect of the problem and that is, growing penetration of international gangsters in Sri Lanka, in what they call themselves, their internal affairs of their own and in that, it is not that India that is interfering. It is the Jayewardene Government which is calling the forces from outside to suppress its own people. The U. S. agencies are active; Israeli Mossad are active. Pakistanis are also invited there. South Africa is also invited there. Who is tampering with the sovereignty of Sri Lanka? That is the precise question. These kinds of going under the influence of imperialist forces are being done according to a design. This ethnic conflict is taken as a pretext to enhance their influence. I have every doubt to suspect and there is reason to believe that certain forces are active in Sri Lanka and they do not want a political solution. Every time in the past when the agreements were about to be reached between the two communities, like 1957 Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact, they were thwarted.

Again in 1965, the settlement efforts were thwarted. Now this time also, when the December, 1986 proposal was mooted, that was accepted by Mr. Jayewardene. But just after that, it has also been thrown out. Now, it seems that they are not interested in the negotiated settlement. What everyone has to understand in our country, including the Tamils in Sri Lanka is that, certain forces of vested interests are there to see that the ethnic conflicts continue so that things go out of the hands of India also and of the Sri Lanka also. That is a very difficult situation. In that, we have every ground to be anxious about it and to express our concern about it. What Mr. Swell has said is very relevant in this respect. He talked about Trincomalee. It is not that it has the oil tankers capacity only. They have already given it to one of the Western firms that is very close to U. S. A., namely Oroleum. Now, it can provide not only berth of 29 oil vessels but it can provide berth for nuclear vessels also. These are very serious matters. What we talked about the Indian Ocean, the same should be talked of Trincomalee also. It is said that Trincomalee holds the key to the Indian Ocean.

### 12.00 hrs.

Now USA has a strategic interest in Sri Lanka, and they are trying to increase their presence by using this ethnic policy. The question that comes up here is we have got the evidence of the Voice of America Agreement in 1983 and they are going to set up that station there. It is not that innocent Voice of America transmission. It is the monitoring capacity of the radius on 3,300 KM. It can monitor it. It directly has a bearing on the question of the security of our country also. I have talked about Israel and all that. Now the question is that the Tamils who used to be one and those who are resisting and those who are fighting a defensive battle, now we find that their actions are being attempted to be marred by certain kind of bad name given to them. We condemn

every kind of terrorism. When Sinhalese are murdered, by whom I do not know, even if by terrorists group, we condemn them. It is not that we want this to continue. But then again there is the report that this is being used as a pretext to cancel the mediatory efforts. Then there is a report to postpone elections. It may be done. I condemn this. There are many groups of Tamils. They should see that they should come together. They should speak in one voice. They should try to establish unity with the Sinhalese also. That is very important. In this context, I must say that we should not bother whether the role we have played so far has paid us dividends or not. The point is this. The whole world should know that India is playing a mediatory role, not the role of an aggressor. That is very important. The human conscience of the world will not remain silent. On the one side, we see Jayewardene himself inviting the Americans, the British, the South Africans, the Israelis and the Pakistanis and, on the other side, we see the Human Rights Commission has become active. Lakhs of Tamils refugees have come here also. They are everywhere now in many countries of the world. Now everybody is getting to know what is happening in Sri Lanka. Many renowned people, including Mr. Tutu, the Nobel Prize winner, is in a Committee, called the International Alert. They formed the Emergency Committee of Sri Lanka. What have they said? They have said that "a peaceful and stable settlement of the Sri Lankan conflict is in the interest of Sri Lankan citizens and people and viz Governments of the United Nations." Nobody is going to remain silent. We do not speak of naval exercise. We do not speak of nuclear language. No. That is not necessary at all. Sri Lanka is too tiny a nation to speak in that language. We can take up with USA. I have no objection to it. But the point is that they should understand that peace is also forceful nowadays in the world. If they disturb the kind of supply that is being given by Tamil Nadu Government-- I do not know -- you have to take up with them -- but there are

[Sh. Saifuddin Chowdhary]

other agencies also, in a population is besieged and if they are threatened and if the supplies are cut off to them, is it the duty of only India to see that the supplies are made to them and that they are looked upon as our blood-relations? Sinhalese are also our blood relations in that way. Had the conditions been different in Sri Lanka and had the Tamil majority population is suppressing the Sinhalese there, the same should have been our reaction. The same kind of sympathy should have been shown to them. It is not that Tamilians should get a little favour from us. It is a human question. Jayewardene has already internalised the issue. Any action we are taking bilaterally is being given a different meaning. When international conscience is aroused, we have to see that these multilateral agencies and the non-aligned movement who are opposed to imperialism play their role. They come forward. They condemn it. I believe they are going to do that. We have every sympathy for the Tamils. We have every feeling for the Sinhalese who are democratic-minded people, who want to see their country united. I can say this: the deterioration of relations with India is how much dangerous for Sri Lanka. I believe Jayewardene has not understood it. But Mrs. Bandaranayake has understood it. She says : "after having closely watched the serious and alarming developments between the Governments of Sri Lanka and India for the past few days - she has requested "to desist from any course of action that will adversely affect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka". They should understand this. Many of them have also understood this. What is the game behind it ? Why settlements are not being adhered to ? Now, I appeal that we should not give up our mediatory role, whether they accept it or not, it is a bearing in the international community. The December 19 proposals have to be accepted by Mr. Jayewardene. Negotiations are to be started. Blockade has to be lifted. If they have anything to say about the Tamil

terrorism, it is for the Tamil groups to see that this kind of aberrations do not take place. Actually, they should see they do not help these vested interests in Sri Lanka to invite the foreign powers. Nodoubt about it that they have a conflict. They have this kind of suppression - I mean of the Tamils. It is not that we are saying, it is not the intention of our country — India — with any ulterior motives. But this is what Mr. Jayewardene has said.

12.06 hrs.

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

Sir, during the 1977 elections, in the election manifesto, Mr. Jayewardene said:

"The United National Party accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil - speaking people. The lack of a solution to their problems has made the Tamil - speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate State. In the interest of national integration and unity so necessary for the economic development of the whole country, the party feels that such problems should be solved without loss of time".....

Now, who is losing time ? Who has forgotten all these things ? They have a real basis to determine. It has been accepted by Mr. Jayewardene. These miseries have been perpetuated - as it is evident now - by the acts of his Government. It is for the Tamils and the Sinhalese to understand. I do not want to make any comments about the Janatha Vimuktha Peramuna (JVP). It is for their people to decide as to how they should move and what kind of Government they should have in their country. But to what I refer very much is that between these Tamils and the Sinhalese, unity should be there. If there is any kind of fanaticism in

the minds of the Sinhalese, I cannot help it. We do not have any methods to do it. It is for the Tamils to appeal any appeal for that and that will embolden their path. That will really make a different new kind of situation that will ensure the integrity of Sri Lanka, the unity of Sri Lanka and to ensure peace in our region in which we have a very vital stake.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, the situation in Sri Lanka is really alarming. When there is an alarm, it calls for action. I think the situation in Sri Lanka has reached such a pitch that some sort of action is necessary and required. As far as the Government of Sri Lanka is concerned, it blows hot and cold in the same breath. In the same sentence they say that the Government of India's role as a mediator, is appreciated. But at the same time, they say that the role of Government of India is Hitlerite. Now, you can see that they say something and say different things in the same breath and do not mean the same thing. What I feel is that from the very beginning since independence of Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan Government has never accepted the Tamils to be the citizens, to be their legitimate citizens. It has been from the very beginning that they have been trying to push them away from the land of Sri Lanka.

In the beginning, of course, we entered into an agreement with Shrimati Bhandaranaike and she forced quite a large number of people to be taken back to India. So, this has been the situation. They agreed to register some of them as their citizens, but, of course, from the heart of hearts they have never accepted Tamilians to be their citizens. That is why, their policy is not to accommodate the Tamils but to annihilate them ; total annihilation has been their efforts. And what they are doing is either they want to push them away back to the mainland of India or they want to kill them then and

there. This is their policy and I think when we frame our policy towards Sri Lanka or reconsider our policy towards Sri Lanka, we have to take into consideration all these things. I feel that the atrocities that have been committed by the Sri Lankan Government on the Tamil people put the atrocities committed by the apartheid government to shame. Now, they are doing something which, of course, any nation would not do even to its enemies. Even the prisoners-of-war are treated well; they are given good food ; they are given medical treatment; but here is a Government which refuses to give medical aid to its own citizens; here is a Government which says, "You shall have no hospitals even". In the last week, we read in the newspapers, they have said that the medical hospital shall also be shifted from that place. That is the type of thing they are doing. They refuse to give food and civil supplies. They have put a blockade. What does it mean ? It simply means that they want to starve the Tamil people altogether. This is the situation that they are creating. The Government of India has been trying to come to some sort of an agreement, political agreement, but in this respect also the Government of Sri Lanka is blowing hot and cold at the same time. On the one side they say, "We shall come to the negotiating table" and on the other, they say, "No ; we will have a military solution". So, they want to resort to military solution. What are we going to do then? In the recent past they have totally refused to come to the negotiating table, and they say, "First we have to militarily annihilate and totally the opposition or the demand for equal rights in the State". This is the position. I think, every behaviour of the Government of Sri Lanka is governed by their real intention of political annihilation of the Tamil people. What then is the remedy? Some of our friends say that we should take some sort of action. Mr. Swell was speaking about the language the USA understands and he pleaded for nuclear option. I am also in total support of nuclear option. I think, the only remedy for us to protect ourselves

[Sh Vir Sen]

from the intransigence of the U S Government through Pakistan is that we need the nuclear option. But as far as Sri Lanka is concerned, I think, this option will not help much. We will have to take some positive action. The stage for talks, the stage for pleadings, the stage for negotiations, the stage for mediation, I think, this is all over. The option that we exercised in three instances was this. When the situation became intolerable, we chose the option of police in Hyderabad. When the situation became intolerable in the case of Goa we exercised that option, when the situation became intolerable in the case of Bangladesh and then East Bengal we chose the option of police action. I think, the time has come when talks and speeches and goodwill missions and visits of the Minister to the Colombo are not going to do anything. You have to take an action. In my opinion the only solution is - you have totally rejected military option - the police action that we should take as we took in the case of Bangladesh. It is our policy, declared policy that we do not want to interfere in others' matters. We do not want to interfere in the sovereignty of other nations, we do not want any extension of our territorial limit. But, still, when our interests are in jeopardy, when our people are affected economically also, how then are the people coming everyday from Sri Lanka to India and disturbing our economy? Then, of course, we should not and we cannot sit silent, we cannot sit idle. And the time in my opinion has come when we should take at least, if not military action, action which is needed that is police action? With these words I finish and request the Minister to reconsider the options open to the Government of India and see if they can help and save lives of the Tamil people who have some filial affinity with us. I think, if the Government of India makes effort, this problem of Sri Lanka will be solved very shortly. Thank you.

SHRI P KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam) Sir, with regard to the ethnic

problem prevailing in Sri Lanka we have been discussing the matter for the last 30 months. We are discussing this matter for the 9th time. Of course, you are kind enough to allow us to discuss the matter here. As far as our Government of India is concerned, they have taken a mediation role. Sir, for the last four years the mediation role is continuing without any result. We have come to a stage, we have reached a stage where there is no solution at all. I request the Hon. Minister not to give very same reply what he given in the Rajya Sabha. He has already given it in Rajya Sabha that it is the height of irresponsibility to suggest that India should go to war with Sri Lanka. He has stated that our options are closed. He has stated that military intervention is ruled out. I request the Hon. Minister to reconsider this issue again in the light of the situation which is coming everyday.

Sir, Jaffna is being bombed, Jaffna hospital and even the universities are closed. Two of the universities are closed and the third is facing closure. All the students are in the streets. As far as people are concerned, they are without shelter, without food, wandering here and there.

That is the position. It is the life and death problem which is prevailing in Colombo, in Sri Lanka, in Jaffna. When such is the situation, what is the action you are taking? I am asking, as a mediator what mediation is done between militants and the Government of Sri Lanka? You have even talked to the representatives of the Colombo Government and also the representatives of the different militant groups in Thimpu and other places. Whether it was done with results? Whether you have given some proposals at least? As a mediator you have to give some proposal which must be agreeable for both the parties.

I would like to know whether you have given it and whether they have accepted it. You would say that India has given a

proposals in December 1986. But what Mr. Jayawardene did with those proposals? He negatived them, he refused them and he rejected them. And what is the stand you have taken afterwards? Have you asked Mr. Jayawardene as to why he did not accept the proposals of Indian Government? Has he accepted it? No. He did not accept it; but he rejected it. You did not say a single word after the rejection of the proposals of December 1986. You did not utter a single word against Mr. Jayawardene's rejection. What does it mean?

May I quote from one of the newspapers from London? It has been reported as to why are you keeping quiet and what actually is the role played by India. In the London Daily News it has been reported that:

"One official said President Junius R. Jayewardene's Government had assurances from India regarded as the protector of Tamil rebels, that it would allow Sri Lanka to settle the conflict any way it wanted".

Are you a friend of Mr. Jayawardene? That is why you are keeping quiet. That is why you are not going to the rescue of Tamils who are being killed and murdered. Is it the way you are conducting your mediation role?

quote another report about Mr. Jayewardene. The day before yesterday he went with his horoscope in order to see whether he can be murdered or not. Mr. Jayewardene is telling that according to his horoscope he cannot be murdered. His horoscope also said that he is like a cork in the water and would always come up if anyone tries to push him down. This what President said. There is an alleged plot by JVP - the Janata Vimukti Peramuna, not our Janata Party; but somebody else. What is this plot? Actually he is just like a cork in the water and even if India tries to push him down, he will come out from the water. He has got the help of India, that is what he says. Is it correct?

Another point is that the Sri Lankan Government have planned for a final assault on Tamilians. What is the final assault? Each and every Tamilian, without leaving anybody, will be shot dead. That is the final assault. What are you going to do in such a situation? Are you going to be a silent spectator? Are you going to be a silent observer in order to see all the murders and killings? Supposing you want to be a silent spectator, you please withdraw from the scene as a mediator, that is all I can suggest. For all these long years you are keeping quiet. You did not do anything. Without doing anything, what is the role you are playing? Why should we unnecessarily discuss here the Sri Lankan Tamil problem?

Even the Land Development Minister from Colombo has got the audacity and guts to speak on our soil about our leader Mr. MGR, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who is a mass leader and an accepted leader of Tamilians in the world. He says that contributing Rs. 4 crores to the Tamilians cause is a foolish act. What audacity he has got! But he has been allowed to come here in Delhi in order to have the Chair in the Cricket Conference. I am asking whether you have condemned the act of the Land Development Minister Mr. Dissanayake, who has said that the act is foolish. Supposing that is so, I am asking another question that you have created a Fund for the South African people....

You have created a fund of about Rs. 50 crores. Is it a foolish thing? Is it not an insult to Indian Government and insult to our hon. Prime Minister. As a philanthropist, as a protector of Tamilians and as a Chief Minister they have passed a unanimous resolution allotting Rs. 4 crores for Tamilians and he has come here to say that it is a foolish act. Actually the Minister himself is living in a fools paradise. That is why he is speaking like that.



[Sh. P. Kopalandaivelu]

It has been reported in London Times dated 27th January where Jayawardene has stated: I shall have a military solution to what I believe is a military problem. After doing so I shall tackle the political side. Even the Prime Minister has made a statement in the Parliament that military solution can only solve the problem in Jaffna. What does it mean? Both the Prime Minister and the President are talking about military solution and you say we must keep patience. We must not interfere into the affairs of Sri Lanka. What is it that you are going to do? I request the hon. Minister to come to the rescue of the Tamilians who are being killed in Sri Lanka. If you are not doing so then you please withdraw from the scene as a mediator.

Sir, when a Muslim is attacked all the Muslim countries rise to the occasion in order to help him. When Hindus are being attacked - Tamils are Hindus - I would like to know whether Hindus are coming to their rescue. When Hindus are being killed and murdered in Sri Lanka nobody is coming to their rescue. We are not giving a helping hand to the people there. Is it proper for us to keep quiet when such a situation arises in Sri Lanka? Is it the way that you should adopt in mediation?

I would request the hon. Minister to keep open the options. You should not fore-close the options. If you fore-close the options then you are strengthening the hands of Jayawardene because he said because terrorism and violence are prevailing in Sri Lanka, in Jaffna and in North and Eastern portions where Tamilians live that is why he is seeking military solution. So do not fore-close your options. You have replied in Rajya Sabha stating that you are not at all going to keep the options open. What does it mean? It means you are strengthening the hands of Jayawardene.

What are the proposals that have been given by the Tamil militants to the Jayawardene Government. The proposals

are very very simple. Their proposals are: First, Tamil should be recognised as a distinct language; second, northern and eastern provinces should be recognised as Tamil homelands; Third, Tamils peoples' right to self-determination must be recognised, and fourth the citizenship rights should be granted to all Tamils living in Sri Lanka. Jayawardene has also given some proposals. He has said limited devolution of power by setting up provincial and district councils and vesting them with legislative and executive powers over specified matters. Retaining a strong Presidential control over appointment of the Chief Executive. Dissolution of the councils. Appointment of the head of police in the provincial district council area and the central training of police.

Both rejected each other's proposals. Jayawardene said it is too much a proposal you have given. The Tamils said too little a proposal you have given. With regard to the proposals that is what actually is the conflict.

But, Sir, having heard so many proposals by the Tamil militants and Jayawardene, you are not giving any mediation. You are not giving a proposal which should be acceptable by both the parties. As a mediator you have to come forward with certain proposals which must be agreeable to both the parties. But you have not done so far.

Sir, Jayawardene says India's policy is Hitlerian one. What does it mean? You have deviated from the path of Mahatma Gandhi; you have deviated from the path of Jawaharlal Nehru - that is what he says. How he feels then? Is he following the footsteps of Buddha then? Is he following the principles of Dharma then? No he is not. But he is another Idi Amin in Sri Lanka, Sir, Nyerere went to the help of the people who suffered under the Presidentship of Idi Amin when he was ruling. Just like that, another Nyerere must come from India in order to save

the Tamils who are being killed in Sri Lanka.

Sir, actually these people are becoming \*\* nowadays. I don't know why. We have never seen in the world a government killing their own people. But Jayewardene is doing it. What for? He is a That's why he is doing it.

Sir, I will come to the last point. Even Mrs. Bandaranayake - she was the President at one time - now has brought a non-confidence motion against Jayewardene. What does it mean? Mrs. Bandaranayake's bringing a non-confidence motion against Jayewardene means that he is not fit to rule that country. He is unable to control the country in order. That's why she is bringing a non-confidence motion. When such is the case, is it not for India to go to the rescue of the Tamils? Is it not for India to declare that our options are always open and we will tackle the problem directly.

Sir, I don't say that military intervention is the point to be made immediately. You can do some naval exercises in the Palk Strait. That will create a problem for Jayewardene. But you are prepared even for that. Even after all these things, you want to shut the ears, you want to close the eyes, you want to keep mum. This is too dangerous because the situation in Sri Lanka is very serious, very tragic. So, I request the hon. Minister to come to the rescue of the Tamils in order to save the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

[*Translation*]

\*SHRI G.S.BASAVARAJU (Tumkur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for the last four years the ethnic problem in Lanka is worsening day by day. Our Prime Minister is trying his best at the highest level to solve this burning problem. Unfortunately the Lanka Government has

not changed its attitude. It is continuing its inhuman treatment against the civilians. There is no place for peace and justice in Sri Lanka. Mr Jayawardhane's attitude towards the Tamilians of Sri Lanka is not surprising. He had this type of attitude before becoming the President. His objective is to wipe out the Tamilians of that country. Our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi has sent several dignitaries to hold discussions with the Sri Lankan Govt. in this regard. The Sri Lankan Govt. is not accepting the proposals put forward by India. On several occasions we have raised this issue in this august House in the form of calling attention and under Rule 193. We have urged upon the hon. Minister to take concrete steps to stop vilification and genocide in Sri Lanka. Unfortunately the incidents of atrocities on women and children in Sri Lanka are on the increase. If this trend is continued, Sri Lanka will become a graveyard in near future.

It is stated that the Sri Lankan crisis is an ethnic one. I want to say that it is not just an ethnic problem but a well planned strategy to destabilise India. This will also lead to frictions between countries. America has established its Naval base in Trincomalee. The naval base of Diego Garcia has been shifted to Trincomalee. Britain is supporting the activities of the Sri Lankan Govt. The inhuman activities that are going on in Israel are being repeated in Sri Lanka. War has been waged against the innocent civilians of Sri Lanka. The attitude of Pakistan about this crisis is well known to the world. The attitude of China is also very clear. All these factors have added fuel to the fire and worsened the situation in Sri Lanka.

The hon. Minister has spoken in Rajya Sabha about this burning problem of Sri Lanka. He has said that there is no easy solution to the crisis of Lanka. According to him, political solution is the only way of

\*\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

\* The speech was originally delivered in Kannada.

[Sh. G. S. Basavaraju]  
 resolving the crisis in that country. In fact, Govt. of India is trying very hard on these lines. Shri Parthasarthy, Shri Bhandari, hon. Minister Shri Chidambaram and Shri Dinesh Singh were sent to Lanka for holding high level talks. There cannot be any solution to the problem even if you send thousands of such high dignitaries. In fact, Sri Lankan Government thinks that sending dignitaries for talks is a sign of weakness. If immediate and firm steps are not taken, the situation will deteriorate and the innocent civilians particularly Tamilians of Lanka will be wiped out from that country and a situation similar to that of Bangladesh refugees in 1971 may arise again.

India will have to face the problem of huge exodus from Lanka. I therefore urge upon the hon. Minister not to hesitate to resort to military action to stop massacre of the innocent people. Such problems may crop up in other countries like Malaya, where Tamilians are the citizens.

Sri Lanka is not an unfamiliar country to us. King Ashoka spread Buddhism in that country. We all know the story of Ramayana. Our Prime Minister has to go there to stop the killings. Mr. Jayawardhane is behaving like\*\* of Ramayana. He is reacting like\*\* Of course, our country follows the foot steps of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation i.e. the path of non-violence. This path, it appears does not yield any fruitful results as far as Lanka problem is concerned.

Thousands of innocent people have been killed. Young girls have been molested and raped. The whereabouts of hundreds of people are not known till today.

Earlier Smt. Bhandarnayake was the President of Sri Lanka. She got all the cooperation from our late lamented leader Indiraji and she maintained peace in the country.

At that time also Pakistan played its role in creating troubles between India and Sri Lanka. After that problems have cropped up one after another and till today Sri Lanka is not behaving like a friendly neighbouring country.

Our Govt. can place this problem before UNO or convene a SAARC Conference.

The warm welcome that Mr. Jayawardhane got in Bangalore during the SAARC meeting is still fresh in our memory. Perhaps Mr. Jayawardhane did not get such an affectionate and warm welcome anywhere in the world. In spite of this he has not changed is stubborn attitude. He is exploiting this situation and the innocent Tamilians are suffering. Even glucose is not available in the hospitals of the northern Province. Mr. Jayawardhane has become more cruel. Tamilians are killed if they ask for their rights.

This is not the religious problem. As my colleague Shri Kulandaivelu stated, it is a human problem. People may belong to Hinduism or Islam or Buddhism but first of all they are all human beings.

Hence I urge upon our hon. Prime Minister to come to the immediate rescue of the unfortunate and innocent Tamilians of Sri Lanka. I hope that he will be able to find a firm and permanent solution to this grave problem of Sri Lanka.

Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this burning problem and with these words I conclude my speech.

[English]

DR.V. VENKATESH (Kolar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir: What is going on in Sri Lanka cannot, in fact, be forgotten in human history. As Mr. Basavaraju and Mr. Kolandaivelu have already said, these acts of genocide should end immediately. I do not think that in recent years, such acts of genocide have occurred on this planet.

\*\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Unfortunately, Jayewardene claims to be a follower of the great Buddha. You know, Sir, pretty well that Buddha was born in our country. Of course, he went to the neighbouring countries like China and Sri Lanka, and preached there. I am very much doubtful about Jayewardene's following Buddhism. The original thoughts and ideas of Buddhism show that it is a scientific religion, a religion for humanism, whereas the acts and practices of Jayewardene today are quite contradictory to this religion.

It is high time that we the Indian people known for our faith in *Dharma* and humanism and particularly Government of India--declare a war against this i.e. a *Dharma yudha*. We must declare a *Dharma yudha*.

What I mean to say is that you must tell all human beings on this planet what is going on in Sri Lanka, what kind of genocide act is going on there. For what is it going on ? It is going on only for Political thrust, Political Power.

Smt. Baandaranaike has already said, what I mean to say is *dharma yudha*; we are not fighting for blood; we are not fighting for any power, we are fighting for upholding humanism; that is what mean by *dharma yudha*. We should declare right now war against it because it is a land of *dharma*, it is a land of humanism. Today, in this world, India stood first, as far as protection of the humanism is concerned, as far as scientific *dharma* is concerned. That is my appeal through you to the Minister.

Just now one hon. member has said about Smt. Bandaranaike. She was once ruling that country. Fortunately or unfortunately, she had been ousted out of power. From what day onwards, this political game has been going on in the small island. Though it is a small island, it is very stragic; and whatever happens there it reflects in the entire world. Therefore, the Indian Government should take it very seriously. It is not an internal matter of that country or whatever may be the thing; it is not just like telling excuses. It is high time that we should react against it. It is threatening the very

existence of the human beings on this planet. therefore, such a thing should be condemned. I am once again urging the Government of India to declare a war against this *dharma yudha* and see what is going on in Sri Lanka should be popularised in the whole world; and you must get the opinions of the human beings on this planet and fight back such an act.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAMASHRAYA PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are discussing here the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. As a result of it, the carnage is taking place there. In order to check the carnage there, the Government of India has assumed the responsibility of working as a mediator. In spite of that, the incidence of carnage continues to go on increasing day by day.

It is a fact that we cannot intervene in the internal matters of any country. Even then, when such incidents take place in a country, we are also affected by these incidents. First of all, it affects or economy. People flee from that place and come over here. They become a burden on our country after reaching here.

Tamil speaking people of Indian Origin have been living there. It is a human issue for them. It is true that it is their internal problem. But it is a political problem and it should be solved at the political level. But instead it is being solved there by bombs and arms and ammunition, this problem is not likely to be solved by use of force. It is very heinous all which is taking place there. Therefore, I would like that our hon. Minister may mediate in it and stop this type of carnage. If any delay takes place in it, they will finish the Tamil speaking people as per their plans and thereafter what will be the use in finding a solution to the problem. They themselves have found a way out to the problem. I do not say that the problem may be sorted out by sending there our army. But we may adopt our own method of extending assistance, the method of our religion, the method of negotiations. Ours is a secular country. Either we should go there, hold talks there, find some way out of the problems

[Sh. Ramashraya Prasad Singh]

prevailing there, otherwise this situation will take a very serious turn and it will cause a burden to our country. We have already been facing problems from other quarters. It will create more problems. Therefore, I would like to request the hon. Minister to mediate on behalf of the government of India and try to solve this problem as early as possible. If there is any other alternative, he may also try to adopt the same.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI MANOJ PANDEY (Bettiah): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have heard a lot and also read a lot about the Lanka referred to in Ramayana and about the Lanka of Ravana. Under the present situation, we are much concerned over the continuous carnage taking place in Sri Lanka. Sir, it is a very disturbing situation that all these incidents are taking place in our neighbouring country. This has time and again been discussed in this august House. All of us admit this thing that external powers are working in a very planned manner in our neighbouring countries especially in Sri Lanka. The Government of India have continuously been making endeavour through their mediatory efforts with a view to bring an end to their problems and to do away with the atrocities being committed on the Tamil speaking people. The Government of India have all along been making efforts in this regard. It is a matter of great concern that despite all these efforts, our intention being absolutely clear, the Government of Sri Lanka did never take it in the right perspective.

Sir, the situation has come to such a stage that we have all along been receiving the news through the press about the atrocities being committed on Tamil brethren and about the involvement of the Government of Sri Lanka in it. The Government of Sri Lanka has never clarified its position in this regard and has

never made efforts to adopt an uniform attitude. Sir, you might be knowing that the Hon. Prime Minister utilised his good offices and in several round of talks the Government of India has clarified its stand. It has been stated there in clear terms that we can solve our issues bilaterally. But it is very unfortunate that the Government of Sri Lanka says one thing across the table and some other thing on the other occasion. The powers behind them, their god fathers dictate to them and the Government of Sri Lanka acts accordingly. In this way, the double standard policy that has been adopted by the Government of Sri Lanka is a matter of great concern for us. Though it is said that it is their internal matter, yet how far is it justified that the matter is their internal and we are forced to bear the burden. In the name of internal matter, if people in large numbers come and settle in India, and it puts a burden on our economy, who will shoulder the responsibility. I do not deny the fact that it is their internal matter. But if this is their internal matter and the burden falls on us, then we are also dragged into it. Therefore, Sir, I would like to submit that some solution must be found for this problem.

Our Government have made a lot of efforts and its results have also come to light. There are no two opinions about it. But I am of the view that there is a need to accelerate the efforts already made. The Government of Sri Lanka has blamed the Government of India on many occasions. They did it officially whereas our intentions are very clear that we want some agreement. Because the residents of Tamil-origin are our brothers and the Sinhalis are also our brothers. Both the groups are of Indian origin. Both of them follow our traditions. I belong to Bihar, the birth place of Gautam Buddha, the place of his action. Sri Lanka was one of the countries where the message had spread from Bihar. It was during the regime of Ashoka. Their son and daughter propagated Buddhism. Though a follower of Buddhism, the Sri Lankan President has not proved to be a true Buddhist. Similarly, 100 to 150 people are being killed everyday. It seems as if the times of Hitler

have been revived. Such inhuman treatment is being given to the people of Tamil origin and how long can we remain mute spectators to it? I want to request the hon. Minister that he should use his good offices in a proper manner. We have to find the solution in consultation with the Srilankan President on the basis of the strategy which we have chalked out. Our Tamil brothers are being harassed in different ways. Civilian settlements are being bombed, houses are being set on fire and we are just mute spectators to everything. It is unhuman. Our Government should pressurize the Government of Sri Lanka to stop inhuman treatment being meted out to the Tamils and a solution should be found to the problem after consulting each other so that both the communities can live peacefully. It took a long time for the Lanka of Ravana to burn and the reasons behind it were very clear, Ravana's Lanka was considered to be a land of gold and it was supposed to be the richest land on earth and the people were rich and prosperous. However, if we look into the history of Sri Lanka, we will find that destruction has taken place there constantly. The main reason behind such destruction is the absence of love between human beings. We will have to reconsider its political implications and pressurise the Government of Sri Lanka to not to involve outside powers in an internal problem. Instead, we should be consulted and the matter should be settled with mutual agreement so that cordial relationship can be established. With these words I will end my speech.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): May I convey my deep appreciation and thanks to the 12 members who have spoken in this debate on this very important subject. I will begin with a few preliminary remarks giving the background of the situation and then if I may, with your permission, take up various points made in the debate specially by the first speaker, Mr. Mohanty, who made a very valuable contribution on a very intricate, complex and sensitive issue which is of very serious and of very real concern to the people of India—not any particular part of

India. I am not, for a moment, denying that the people of Tamil Nadu living next door are emotionally and deeply involved as we are all. But to suggest that we are looking at this problem in any sectional or regional manner, to my mind, is most unfortunate. I will come to that later in the course of my statement when I will take up various issues raised by hon. Members.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please continue after lunch.

13.00 hrs

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at four minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

DISCUSSION *RE* : SITUATION ARISING OUT OF ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA - *CONTD.*

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Natwar Singh is to continue.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, just before we adjourned for the lunch break, I said in my remarks that the Government and the people of India were looking at the profoundly tragic situation in Sri Lanka from the national point of view and not from any sectional or regional point of view.

The suggestion made by the former Foreign Secretary at Vijayawada on the 25th of April that the Central Government was not paying sufficient heed to what was happening in Sri Lanka and that if a north Indian minority was involved then the reaction would have been different, is, if I may say so in regard to my former colleague, reprehensible, regrettable and unfortunate. The whole of India regardless of any party affiliations is concerned

[Sh K Netwar Singh]

about the denial of human rights in Sri Lanka, the treatment meted out to women, children and elderly people, innocent people who are in no way involved with any political activity. We find it really incomprehensible that the distinguished Head of State of Sri Lanka, who says that amongst his mentors is Mahatma Gandhi, should be permitting the Sri Lankan forces to commit the kind of atrocities that they are committing. I do not want to use harsh language although it is difficult not to do so in the circumstances. But as a Minister of the Government of India, I have to exercise the maximum circumspection and restraint. Let me assure you, this does not come to me naturally in a situation of this kind because our emotions, our passions and our feelings are deeply involved in what is happening in Sri Lanka.

I am most grateful to hon Members who have participated in this debate and who have focussed attention on a serious problem in what used to be a friendly, neighbouring non-aligned country.

The developments in Sri Lanka while speaking in absolute international terms are an internal matter for the Government of Sri Lanka. Nobody is denying and we have as a Government said that we are not in favour of a separate Tamil State-Ealam. We do not want the dismemberment of another country. But at the same time the Sri Lankan situation has peculiarities which we as a country and the people cannot disregard. We have no intention whatsoever to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and for that matter the internal affairs of any other country.

The two things make the Sri Lankan situation very grave and almost of daily concern to the Government of India. That is why the Sri Lankan situation is constantly being reviewed by Government and we are in constant touch with the Government and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. Of the two things one is that nearly 2 million Tamils live in Sri Lanka. They have lived there for centuries. They have made their contribution of the development and advancement of Sri

Lanka in all walks of life. They are part of Sri Lanka and that they should be denied of their basic rights in their own country is to us an outrageous state of affairs. We cannot ignore the feeling of 2 million Tamils because as Shri Kumaramangalam said people of Tamil Nadu and other part of India have relationship with the people living there and they are subject to violence that is being perpetrated upon them by the authorities and the Government of Sri Lanka.

Now, the second point is the international environment. Sri Lanka is a small country, our neighbour and there what do we see? Around Trincomlee, naval activities take place from time to time which cause us concern. Within Sri Lanka as the hon Members have said, there is the involvement of Israel, there is the involvement of Pakistan Arms have come, we have read reports from South Africa. Other countries were involved. The KM services of the United Kingdom are training the Sri Lankan army. When I was in the United Kingdom, I met the Home Minister, Mr Douglas Hurd and the Minister of State, Mr Wadington, who had just been to Sri Lanka and said "it is a matter of very grave concern to us that the KM services are giving training to Sri Lankan armed forces and if any of these individuals who are there, and their number is increasing, were to be involved in the combat and captured, it would have a serious international repercussions. What they have said to us is that this is a private agency which has gone there, and been called by the Government of Sri Lanka."

Now, Sir, as the hon Members know the international landscape is littered with unexploded mines and we have to tread very wearily and carefully and above these are high tension wire, we have to approach these with very great skill. We cannot possibly be oblivious to the international environment in and around Sri Lanka. As a country, we just cannot be indifferent to it. No, the Prime Minister has drawn the attention of the President of Sri Lanka to this fact. I myself had the honour of speaking to the President of Sri Lanka and told him that if activities of these powers increase in Sri Lanka, then

the security environment which is bad enough would get worse and we simply could not ignore that. We said this in the interest of Sri Lanka because if outside powers come into this and play their role, they are increasing their role in a small island then very serious consequence can follow from this and we sincerely hope that the Government of Sri Lanka will in their own interest look at this very carefully in their long term interest and not for short term again in the quasi civil war that is going on in the Sri Lanka.

Hon. Members have spoken with great feeling and passion, let me assure them that we fully share their feelings we fully share their passions and our emotions are one with them particularly, the people of Tamil Nadu who are directly affected by the situation in Sri Lanka. Now, Sir, the Prime Minister speaking yesterday, had said that it was our hope that a peaceful negotiated political settlement was the best answer for the situation in Sri Lanka. Sir, that is what we have been trying to work for. We have not been silent spectators to the grim tragedy. But as a Government and as a people, 70 million people dealing with the problem of an Island State of 16 million, we have to be extremely careful to the sensitivities. Suggestions have been made that the matter might be taken up to the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement and other International fora.

Sir, if one is to look at the past history of taking such issues to international fora, then you will agree with us that this would only make it more complicated, the issue would not be judged on its merits and all sorts of outside extraneous influences will get in an a difficult enough situation would be made impossible to the detriment of all concerned.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam): Sorry for interruption, Sir, Yesterday our Prime Minister has stated in the Congress Parliamentary Party Meeting that so far as Sri Lanka is concerned, he has got some proposals with him. May I know what are the proposals actually with the Prime Minister? Will the Minister come forward with regard to the proposals that he is having?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Sir, I am coming to that. If I may, Sir, with your permission inform the House that between the lunch break and now I met the Prime Minister. I just want to tell you that he takes daily interest in the situation in Sri Lanka. The Prime Minister had in mind the proposals of 19th December, and I shall read them out to you because they are now public property. They offer a package, a political package, for arriving at a negotiated settlement which would ensure a peace and amity with Sri Lanka.

Why are we saying that a political settlement is the only answer? Because a military solution -- and I am glad to say that a vast majority of the hon. Members who spoke beginning with Mr. Mohanty have ruled out military intervention because military intervention would have very serious repercussions for the entire region and I do not have to go into details of it and dwell on it. Hon. Members will know why such a step would lead to very grave consequences. So we are trying not only now, but for the last 4 years for a negotiated political settlement. Now, the difficulty is that from time to time when we are very near an agreement, as in the case of December 19 proposal, since I was personally involved in it along with my colleague, Mr. Chidambaram, the December 19 proposals had been typed out at the residence of the distinguished President of Sri Lanka. A copy had been left with him a copy had been brought here and we said that these proposals would convey to the Tamil groups in India because we thought that they were practical and that they did offer basis on which negotiations would begin for the final political settlement. Before we could convey these to the Tamil groups we had message from Sri Lanka saying that the President was finding some difficulty in making them acceptable to all concerned. We remained in Sri Lanka for three days, I am not going into the details about the discussions because they are confidential in nature, but I can broadly share with the House that we met all the representatives of the Eastern Provinces. Both Mr. Chidambaram and I were accompanied by the High Commissioner and we met the elected representatives, all Members of



[Sh. P. Kopalandaivelu]

Parliament and the Muslim Members who, at one state, had some reservation that if the Amperia district was taken out, if that electoral district was taken, out then the Tamils, Sinhalas and Muslims will have equal representation there, it will meet the demands, not all the demands, later there could be institutional linkages between the North and the East like a common university, a common Planning Commission eventually may be a common governor I will read out the details. After five years they could have a settlement there could also be a possibility that Tamil would be accepted as a second language and that the second most highest office in Sri Lanka would go to a non-Sinhala.

This has been agreed. Now, when this has been arrived at, we have felt encouraged. We said, we will take this to the Tamil groups with whom we are in contact. Unless we carried these Tamil groups with us, there can be no lasting solution. But we should be able to take to the Tamil groups something which they find that they can offer to their people as a reasonable solution. After all, they are fighting a war and they are dying there. It is very well for us perhaps to say here that there should have been settlement. But these people are involved in the struggle and they are fighting for a cause. One has to take into account their deep feelings, their deep emotions, their deep passion and anger. We said, "All right, we will take this". But then the message came that Sri Lanka President had some difficulty. May I also say that along with this 19th December proposal, there was also an understanding that outside elements in Sri Lanka will have to withdraw? That it has to be a package settlement. Well we thought, this is an assurance given by responsible people and we took note of it. Now, when we heard that these proposals as a whole are no longer valid, we could not take piecemeal proposal to the Tamil groups.

Then, on the second of January, the blockade of Jaffna started and military activities mounted up. When these things mounted up - as Shri Kolangdaivelu has said, this is the the time, we are discussing it. We discussed this matter

some months ago and I have mentioned that when the military activities speeded we conveyed to the Sri Lankan Government that for humanitarian grounds, the blockade should be lifted, the military activities should be curtailed or restrained; otherwise, innocent people will be badly affected. This did not happen. We debated this matter in the last Session of Parliament also. We also kept in touch with the Tamil groups who said, "Listen, unless we are given some assurance that their proposals of 19th December are valid and acceptable how, do we sit down and with whom do we negotiate?" This was the unanimous view of all the Tamil groups, not only LTTE who are bearing the major brunt of the fighting which is going on in Sri Lanka but others also. Now repeated messages have been sent. I spoke to the President of Sri Lanka on telephone. The Prime Minister sent messages asking for restraint, asking for understanding and asking for a peaceful settlement. But these activities kept on mounting. Then, in the middle of March, because the situation in Jaffna was very grim, the Prime Minister sent Mr. Dinesh Singh to say that if these things continued, serious consequences would follow. Since then, when we got the message, there was some indication that military activity was being reduced and there was some unwinding of the blockade. But suddenly in the month of April, these terrible tragic events have taken place. Since then, as the hon. Member has pointed out, the kind of statements that are emanating from Sri Lanka, by the Head of the State, by the Head of the Government and other responsible people in their Government, the language that has been used, the phrases that have been spun out, to say that the policies and actions of the Government of India are Hitlarian are, to say the least, appalling. We have conveyed our displeasure at this, to the Sri Lankan authorities through our High Commissioner and said this kind of thing for the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka to say that we are the enemies -- is unacceptable...

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Why do you not ask Mr. Jayewardene to apologise for having said Hitlarian? Is it not proper on our part to ask him?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: There are certain well established norms of diplomatic activities and sovereign Governments understand those norms. When a Government sends a message to another Government saying that the language that is used is unacceptable, it is pretty serious matter, it is a pretty serious matter and, if no regret is expressed by Sri Lankan authorities, then we and you and all of us come to our own conclusions. I do not have to spell them out. It is unfortunate that somebody who professes to be following Mahatma Gandhi should use this kind of language.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: To say what?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: To say that we are enemies of Sri Lanka is amazing perversity and a use of language which I find quite unbridled and extraordinary and unacceptable. We conveyed our disapproval to them. I even said "You are using all these words and phrases. What use are they?" For a Government, language is the only means that we have and language is a very powerful weapon, if properly used. Ideas change the world and ideas are given body by the proper use of words and by the proper use of language. This is what we are trying to do.

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja): In terms of the language they used, is it suggestive of their mood and their attitude towards the problem and how they want to solve it?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: That is why, it is all the more necessary for us, to look at this problem in a very mature and balanced way because if we were to use similar language, then there would be no difference between them and us.

SHRI VIR SEN: To take note of their mind.

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: In desperate condition they may utter many things.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: We have carefully followed what they have said and it is very distressing that of all countries and of all leaders, a leader of Sri Lanka

with whom we have much close contacts should say this.

I may read out the proposals of 19th December. Much has been said that I think they offer the best hope there are:-

"The present territory comprising the Eastern province minus the Ampara electoral District may constitute the new eastern province.

A Provincial Council will be established for the new Eastern province.

The institutional Linkages between the Northern province and the Eastern province discussed earlier will be further refined in order to make it more acceptable to the parties concerned."

They have appeared in "The Hindu" in full.

"The Sri Lanka Government will be willing to consider a proposal for a second state of constitutional development providing for the Northern province and the new Eastern province coming together subject to modalities being agreed upon for ascertaining the wishes of the people comprised in the Northern province and the Eastern province separately.

"The Sri Lanka Government is willing to consider the creation of an office of Vice-President to be appointed by the President for a specified term.

The five Muslim MPs of the Eastern province may be invited to visit India and to discuss matters of mutual concern with the Tamil side under the auspices of the Government of India."

These proposals are now nearly six months old and they are public property and if, I remember correctly, they have also been tabled in the Sri Lankan Parliament and they appeared in "The Hindu" in full. We think these proposals still offer the best hope. Now, we have messages from Sri Lanka that these proposals are still valid. What makes it difficult for us to have our good offices continue in a sustained manner is to use Mr. Vir Sen's phrase Sri Lankan authorities blowing hot and cold."

[Sh. K. Natwar Singh]

It is difficult to do serious business with a government which changes its mind so often. How do you conduct serious business with people who go back on what they have said? I do not wish to say anything more. I use language respectfully and carefully when referring to sovereign Governments. When the temperature is heated up and the number of deaths mount up each day.

then this House discusses this problem, by doing so it does focus attention on this problem. I am sure that everybody in Sri Lanka takes note of what is said here because there is no difference of opinion in this House about the tense situation and that we should have a political solution.

SHRI C. K. JAFFAR SHARIEF (Bangalore North): Since the Tamils have been butchered every day and it is a human problem - Nodoubt the efforts of the Indian Government are there. The Sri Lanka response, as you said, is blowing hot and cold - and although it is a local problem, the origin is of Indian origin, whether they have any feeling of delicacy to communicate to us freely and frankly and if so instead of merely depending on bilateral relations whether any other channels also are open to us to deal with this problem.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: As I said earlier, we have not thrust ourselves on the Government of Sri Lanka. They had asked for our good offices and so did the Tamil groups. As I said earlier, if we were to bring in another party to this or to take it to the international forum, then, in our judgement and, bearing the past experience in mind, it is likely to further complicate the issues. So, we would like to contain this, bearing in mind the security environment and the dangers involved therein if outside influences are going to actively participate in trying to solve this problem.

On a number of occasions and, now, even till two days ago, Mr. Gamin

Dissanayake, in Madras made a statement to which you have referred and he has also said that the good offices of the Government of India are welcome. If I remember correctly the said December 19 proposals offer a good basis for starting negotiations. We get the impression that within the Sri Lankan Government, there are opinions, there are different shades of opinions and that is why it makes it difficult for us to know as to when precisely they are speaking with one voice to say that these proposals are there and that we can on this basis ask the Tamil groups to come to the conference Table Now, we have spoken to the Tamil groups saying: "This is something worth looking at". Their pointed view is that so long as the killing goes on, so long as the economic blockade continues and so long as there is no let up in the military activity, they cannot be expected to go to the conference table with a pistol aimed at their head. This is the difficulty. So, what they are saying is that the economic blockade which has caused so much hardship to the civilians, should be undone and the military activity should stop so that a climate can be created for discussing these proposals or if the Government of Sri Lanka had any other proposals to offer, we certainly look into them. But to say that a military option is the only option they have is, in our judgement, not going to solve the problem, it is only going to create more difficulties within Sri Lanka and around Sri Lanka.

The Prime Minister had very long meetings with Mr. Jayewardene in Bangalore. I was present myself. Mr. Tiwari was present. Mr. Chidambaram was present. We discussed all the aspects and the ramifications. Thereafter, we had been there. One of the Ministers was here, sometimes ago. We talked to them. Our High Commissioner has come and reported to us. We are unable to find out as to what precisely they would like, apart from the December 19 proposals. Because when they say that India was not being helpful, that India was encouraging

the Tamils, they must realise our situation. There are 55 million Tamils living in Tamil Nadu. There are 140,000 refugees who come from Sri Lanka. They are the responsibility of the Tamil Nadu Government, the Government of India. What are we going to do if the repression continues there and if they come from there? Is the Tamil Nadu Government going to shunt them? How is it possible? Why cannot live in their own country where they were born and where their forefathers had lived, and if they are going to come as refugees, are we to deny them the succour, just to accommodate the Government of Sri Lanka? This is not going to happen. This country has the age-old tradition of opening its doors to refugees from any part of the world. This is one of the glories of India, the heritage, the culture and the history of India that, if they come here, we look after them. But how many and for how long can this continue without creating serious problems within Tamil Nadu? That is why this particular problem of Sri Lanka impinges on the internal and external affairs of India. That is why, it is so complex, that is why it is so sensitive. That is why, for a country of 780 million people, one has to deal with it very, very carefully because you are dealing with a country of 16 million people. And if we were to give the impression that we are the big brother and are using the big stick, it will create the wrong kind of atmosphere. We do not want to do that. We have never done it. We are falling backwards to accommodate Sri Lanka with a view that we can find a solution for this problem. I am not saying that the solution is easy. It is not easy, it is a difficult solution, but for this you need the cooperation of the Government of Sri Lanka.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: You know full well about the troubles that we are facing in Tamil Nadu. Nearly two lakh refugees are there. A Minister of Sri Lankan Government, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, came to Madras and he made a press statement two days back

stating that our Chief Minister has granted Rs. 4 crores for the Sri Lankan Tamils. Only after taking a unanimous decision through the Assembly, it was granted. But he says that it is an act of folly. Can't you come forward to condemn what Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, the Land Development Minister of Sri Lanka has said, that what he has said is wrong? That should be condemned by the Government of India. Why don't you say like that?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Mr. Gamini Dissanayake is here. We will certainly get the text of what he has said. I do not want to go into the question of Rs. 4 crores that the hon. Member has mentioned. We are also in touch with the Government of Tamil Nadu; they are aware of the background, of the facts....

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: It is an insult to India.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister says that he will find out the text.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I have taken note of what you have said.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Sir, you have to condemn it. What is this? Things are going like this in our own soil. He has stated in our own soil, in India. Can you not condemn it? What is this?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: As the hon. Member has said, we are aware that he is here, we are aware that he has made a statement. We are trying to find out what he precisely said. If he has said something which he should not have said, we will certainly bring it to his notice that this should not have been done. Beyond this, I cannot, in this House, make instant policy. I do not want to. What you have said, I have taken note of. You leave it to me to deal with it. Give me that much credit.

Twelve hon. Members have spoken. First of all, I would like to thank them for

(Sh. K. Natwar Singh)  
 their views, for the concern expressed which we in Government share fully. Mr. Mohanty who opened the debate said that he did not think that a military solution was an answer and, like us, he has also said that any solution has to be found within the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka being maintained. That is our point of view also. He also referred to the outside forces that are making the situation worse, the statements of the various leaders to which a strong exception has been taken in the House by hon. Members and the protest that we have lodged with the various Governments. He has referred to the violation of human rights. This has been taken up at the Human Rights Commission. He has also, if I may say, very rightly said that what is happening in Sri Lanka, goes on and if no solution is found it will have serious repercussions over our good neighbourly relations in Sri Lanka. And we have to keep this very much in mind that we want to have had the closest possible relations—historical, cultural, political and other relations—with Sri Lanka. We sincerely hope that better sense will prevail that violence will be reduced and they will come round to the view that the only solution is a negotiated settlement. He also referred to the statement of the former Foreign Secretary to which I have already referred and said that we think this statement to be extremely improper and unfortunate. He also referred to the Jaffna hospital. The latest news is that there is a possibility that this Jaffna hospital will not be shifted. But I don't really know in view of the fact that there are from time to time different points of view expressed. He also said that some kind of humanitarian help would be given. This certainly will be considered and is very much before us and as and when the step has to be taken we will take it in consultation with the international agencies and with the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of Tamil Nadu.

Mr. Shahabuddin also referred and he compared the situation in Southern Africa

with Sri Lanka. If I am not mistaken, my own impression is during the last few years more people have died in Sri Lanka than in Southern Africa. This gives you the immensity of the conflict and the situation of quasi-civil war going on in this Island. He also said we should refer this issue to outside agency and I have earlier given the reason why we think that this could not be particularly helpful in arriving at a solution which might only make the situation much worse. He mentioned NAM, UN and SAARC. SAARC so far has not taken up political bilateral issues. That is why, it is able to function. Otherwise the moment political issues are injected, problems will be created and position will be taken not on the merits of the case but with regard to other geo-political reasons. He was also against any military intervention in Sri Lanka because of the ramification that it might have. He also said that this was not a situation comparable with Bangladesh for obvious reasons. He saw some ray of hope in the statement made with regard to political settlement by Mr. Dissanayake. We are again trying to get what precisely he said and what precisely he meant. He also mentioned one or two things that we might take some action with regard to our navy etc. We have noted what he said.

Mr. Swell referred to the geo-political situation there. He referred to the situation in 1973. But there is a basic fundamental difference in the situation in 1973 and now. He also referred to what is happening in Trincomalee and Central Command. We are fully aware with this and share his grave concern. He also referred to the language that was used in this connection. Again I referred to it how strongly we condemned the language that was used.

Then Mr. Chowdhary and Mr. Vir Sen spoke in a similar way and I will come to the remarks of Mr. Kolandaivelu because the Tamil Nadu Government has to deal with the situation constantly. He referred to the news item that had appeared in the

Daily News in London. I have not seen it. And I advocate that we don't go by what appear in newspaper report. You also said that if there could be a Fund for South Africa, an AFRICA Fund-it is not for South Africa, it is a Fund for the Frontline States-why could not there be a Fund for this. We will certainly have a look at what you have suggested. You have also referred to my statement in the Rajya Sabha. The statement that made in the Rajya Sabha was the considered views of the Government of India.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Today also you are repeating the same views, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is the policy.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: You must find this very trying; you must find this not particularly exciting. But I am not going to say anything exciting or dramatic because in this situation we want to reduce the trauma of it, we want to reduce the tragedy of it and we want to find a solution for this. It is not an easy problem. But I know how you feel and I share your agony, your passion or anxiety and also the lack of confidence that you have in the Government of Sri Lanka. I am sharing all these with you. But I wish I had a magic solution. But I don't have. The Government does not have it and I don't think you have it. You have expressed your views, I know. But you have not offered a solution because an easy solution is not available.

The only solution that is available is the December 19 solution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Natwar Singh, Mr. Kolandaivelu is having a magic; but you won't accept his magic, that is the problem.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: If your magic is politically peaceful, then I would like to have a look at it.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri): I want to seek two clarifications. Firstly, I would like to know whether the Government of India still continues or exercises its authority as a mediator or we have been discouraged. Secondly I would like to know whether the Government of India is alert about the super-power confrontation there and how the situation is there right now.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He would like to know whether India's role as a mediator is going on or not and also whether the foreign power confrontation in Sri Lanka will affect our country.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: In the background of the Prime Minister's statement, I would like to know whether we are still continuing as a mediator or not. Another thing is that, as the situation is seen by us, different forces are working inside Sri Lanka. I would like to know whether we are alert about the super-power confrontation.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Our good offices are available.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: But they must not take it as a weakness.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: The Sri Lanka Government from time to time says that India's role is important, they would like us to play their role and sometimes says that India has no role to play. (Interruptions). We cannot arrive there and say that we are offering our good offices. Our own feeling and view is that India's good offices are essential for finding a peaceful solution. The latest indication, if Mr. Dissanayake's statement means anything, is that they are having a second look at it. The situation within Sri Lanka is very complicated; certain developments are taking place on which I won't comment.

With regard to the second point, the confrontation of outside super powers we

[Sh. K. Natwar Singh]

hope that such a confrontation will be avoided and we would like to avoid it. That is why we have said that we should keep the super-power confrontation outside and no outside influences should be allowed to come there and the Sri Lankan people should settle this issue peacefully.

May I say in conclusion that I once again thank the Hon. Members for their forbearance and patience? I conclude by saying that we fully share the concern of the House and deplore the killings of innocent women and children who are in no way involved with the political activity. Because if this situation continues, the greatest tragedy would of course come to the people of Sri Lanka. But it must have its repercussions on areas near Sri Lanka, particularly in Tamil Nadu. If the people of Tamil Nadu feel disturbed, then the whole of India feel disturbed. Thank you.

14.50 hrs

#### STATUTORY RESOLUTION *RE* APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Deputy Speaker,  
Sir, I rise to move:

" That this House approves the proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab."

The copies of the Report of the Governor of Punjab and the proclamation have already been laid on the Table of the House.

Sir, this august House will recall that on 24th February this year we had apprised this House about the development in Punjab. In the debate which ensued the hon. Members gave their full support to the Barnala Government to fight fundamentalism and terrorism. Simultaneously an all party campaign was

lunched with the cooperation of the leaders of all the parties of both the House of parliament as well as the leaders of all the parties in Punjab with a view to combat the forces of fundamentalism, separatism, communalism and terrorism in Punjab.

It was hoped that with this all out mobilisation in Punjab we would be able to control the situation and restore peace and confidence among the people of Punjab. In all the four big rallies that took place in Punjab I had a very close touch with the hon. leaders before they departed for Punjab and after they came back from Punjab. Invariably all the leaders of the political parties used to tell me that although the people have started coming out to listen to the speeches of the political leaders and they have come out openly this is the first time that the people have felt that they can also assemble against terrorism and extremism in Punjab. But one specific suggestion by all the leaders was that this will lead only to the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and peace in Punjab if the local administration is favoured to curb with a heavy hand the activities of some of the elements operating in the rural areas of Punjab. The administration must gear up and especially the ruling party must pick up all the courage to combat these forces. Unfortunately their impression was that though the people came in a big way to attend the rallies and listen to the speeches yet the impression was that since these rallies are not followed by stern action much is not being done on the ground. This was the impression of all the leaders of the political parties and what followed subsequently is much more serious.

After the March rally in Amritsar suddenly these forces changed their *modus operandi*. Of course, the killings continued. They increased. In the past two months it has been an unprecedented period in the history of Punjab so far as the killings by the terrorists are concerned. The highest mark was achieved in the last month, that is, April

AN HON. MEMBER : How much.

S. BUTA SINGH: The law and order situation has deteriorated. In the month of

March 1987 there were over 300 incidents and about 65 persons lost their lives due to terrorists' violence. The month of April witnessed over 350 incidents with loss of over 85 lives—the highest ever in a single month during the past 4-5 years in Punjab. In the first ten days of May over 100 incidents took place with a loss of more than 20 lives. So this only shows a trend that the incidents are increasing and the deaths by these terrorists are also multiplying at an alarming rate. The terrorists continued to indulge in the brutal killing of the leaders of the political parties, police personnel, their family members and the innocent citizens. Even women and children have not been spared.

Sir, only recently the Governor of Punjab in his letter—that has been placed before this august House—to the President has inter alia stated that ever since the new fundamentalist movement commenced under the garb of social reform—I just now mentioned the phase of the tyrant—in addition to the killings of the innocent people and the police personnel, political leaders, they took up a new slogan in the name of social reforms. They started disturbing the very fibre of our social life in the villages. They started burning the shops dealing with tobacco products. They started looting and burning of shops dealing with liquor. They started stopping the barbers from making shaves. They started stopping the tailors from stitching clothes in a particular way. They did not want that modern dress should be stitched by the tailor. All sorts of people in the villages were put to harassment. Not only harassment, there used to be a regular parallel government, underground government running. A whole village will be warned with a wall poster that on such-and-such day some people will come. And unless the village is cleared of the liquor shop, is cleared of the barber shop, is cleared of the tobacco shop, the whole village will be put to harassment. Killings will happen and they used to execute all with immunity. The district authorities, the local administration used to be only the silent spectators. What was worse that authority stopped visiting the rural areas. Even the revenue authorities were hesitant. Nobody would like to go on duty

after the sunset including the police officials. This was the situation in Punjab as a result of the new turn given to the situation by the religious fundamentalists and the extremists in Punjab. Lawlessness, lootings, snatchings, bank robberies, burning of shops, kiosks, khokas and the brutal maiming and murdering of innocent people commenced with a renewed vigour. What made matters worse was the deep involvement of some of the State Ministers and their relations with the terrorists and the unwarranted attempted interference with the functioning of the Police by them and some of the leading members of the ruling party. Added to this was the totally irresponsible public attack made through the medium of Press and otherwise by one on the seniormost Ministers in the Cabinet against the head of the Police, the Director-General of Police himself.

Sir, the House knows, the whole country knows at what personal risks the Director-General of Police in Punjab has been discharging his duties. He has been branded communal. He has been branded interfering in politics. If there is any such officer in the whole country where there is a unanimity of opinion of everybody, of political parties, here is Mr. Ribiero who did not care for his life, who went all-out, who rejuvenated the Punjab Police, who brought life to the Punjab Police and he was really the spirit behind fighting a national battle against the separatists, against the extremists and the communal elements in Punjab. All manners of wild allegations, including that of even fostering communalism, were falsely made against him thereby not only greatly shaking the public confidence everywhere but also lowering the morale of the Punjab Police. Some of the Ministers even tried to denigrate the security forces deployed in the State

Sir, the beauty of the whole situation is that publicly they will run down the CRP. But when it comes to their personal security, they will request: Send us only the CRP. We have no faith left in our Punjab Police. That was the situation. The situation in Punjab called for an unambiguous directive to the administration and, in particular, police to tackle terrorism effectively.



**SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Bahraich):** When did this start happening?

**S. BUTA SINGH:** I think you kindly wait. When I finish my speech, you are free to ask me questions. However, there was neither a realization of the gravity of the situation nor the necessary political will to combat truly and seriously either the fundamentalist movement or the growing and unabated terrorism. The terrorists have been administering threats to the citizens with a view to terrorise them and to extort money from them. They extended their activities to educational institutions with the nefarious design of poisoning the minds of youngsters. The terrorists succeeded in organizing escape of their hard core members from police and judicial custody. They had been misusing religious places for secessionist and unlawful activities. They had been disrupting normal life in the State on any pretext, the latest being their call for Punjab Bandh on May 25 and 26, 1987. The State Government's writ ceased running in the State. The State Government had been aware of shifting of families of one community to places outside the State due to panic but no concrete action was taken to restore their confidence in spite of our advice in this regard.

The Governor had come to the conclusion that a situation had arisen in which the Government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and, therefore, recommended to the President for action under Article 356 of the Constitution and further suggested that the State Legislature might be kept under suspended animation for the present.

The Central Government sincerely wished that the Government of Punjab would give a good account in tackling the situation. It was with this objective in view that the Central Government made available every possible assistance to the State Government. We remained in constant touch with them. However, the situation in Punjab continued to deteriorate. Here, I must say that I have

every sympathy with Shri S S Barnala who had shown courage in upholding the secular democracy and did not bow to commands of the priests in the affairs of the State. Shri Barnala being a well intentioned person, perhaps wanted that the situation in Punjab should improve. Unfortunately, his closest colleagues in the Cabinet seem to have let him down and he became diffident in giving positive direction to the administration. The people lost faith in the capability of the State Government to protect their life and property and to bring about conditions in which they could live in harmony.

The House is aware that the Punjab accord was signed with the sincere hope that the Punjab issues would be resolved amicably and through constitutional methods. I assure the House that proclamation of the President's rule in Punjab should not be construed as standing in the way of its early implementation. The Government has been earnest in implementing the accord right from the beginning. The Government is committed to implementation of the accord and will make every possible effort in this regard. I also wish to appeal to the House that all party campaign against religious fundamentalism and communal fanaticism should continue. I have no doubt that Shri Barnala's cooperation and contribution in this campaign will continue to be of immense value.

The Central Government considered the Report of the Governor and the situation in Punjab and felt that there was no alternative but to issue the Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution and place the State Assembly under suspended animation. As such the proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution was issued on 11th May, 1987 and the State Assembly was placed under suspended animation to ensure that the President's Rule is not prolonged beyond what is absolutely necessary. I hope that every section of the people in the State would cooperate with the State Government to ensure that normalcy is restored quickly to enable the elected Government to function.

With these words, Sir, I commend the Proclamation issued on 11th May, 1987

under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to State of Punjab for approval by this august House.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab."

Shri Ayyapu Reddy

**SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY (Kurnool):**

Mr. Deputy -Speaker, Sir, it is tragic irony that this session which began with a fulsome praise for the Barnala Government in the forefront of the President's Address on 23rd February, 1987 should end with the approval of a Resolution under Article 356 of the Constitution dismissing the Barnala Government. It began with fulsome praise. But it is closing down with the dismissal of Shri Barnala's Government. The shadow of this coming event was seen hazily only yesterday when some of the members of the Ruling Party wanted that the law and order situation in Punjab should be discussed. Some sagacious political leaders have forecast that the President's rule was in the offing. But we were taken aback when we woke up to read in the papers that president's rule has been imposed in punjab.

15.05 hrs

[**SHRI SOMNATH RATH** *in the Chair*]

We have been in session from 23rd February. In this Session, neither the members from the Ruling Party nor the members from the Opposition ever raised any motion under Rule 193 or Rule 194 to discuss the Punjab situation. How is it that so many members-nearly 550-were immune to or unaware of what was happening in the Punjab ? This is the only Session where the Punjab issue was not discussed till today, i.e. till the imposition of the President's rule. I have characterised this as tragic irony. Let me substantiate my statement by chronological narration of the events.

Sir, this is what we find in the President's speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament. Para 3 of the President's Address says:

"In Punjab, the forces of democracy, unity, progress and secularism continued to be engaged in the struggle to isolate and wipe out the anti-national elements which are guided and controlled by foreign sources. Under the leadership of the Chief Minister, Shri S.S.Barnala, the State Government and the people of Punjab have shown exemplary courage in upholding the values of secular democracy."

This is the compliment that was paid by the President. And of course, other compliments were also paid. I do not want to repeat them. This was on 23 February 1987.

On 30th of March 1987, the Prime Minister while laying the foundation stone for the refinery at Karnal was reported to have made this statement. I quote:

"Shri Rajiv Gandhi stated here today that the law and order situation in the Punjab was improving now, as the anti-national and communal elements were being tackled effectively."

This was on the 30th March 1987.

On 14th April 1987, there was an all-party conference at Amritsar. One of the senior-most members, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao who was present there at that time stated that he had been sent by the Prime Minister to tell the people that the cases of Jodhpur Detenus would soon be reviewed. There also, he had paid, in no uncertain terms, glowing tributes to the effectiveness of Shri Barnala's Ministry. This was on 14th April 1987.

On 13th April, the Chief Minister of Punjab came here and had discussions with the Prime Minister with reference to the implementation of the terms of the Punjab Accord. Now, we have been informed by the Governor's Report that

[Sh. E. Ayyapu Reddy]

from middle of April, 1987, the fundamentalists have begun to adopt a different tactic, the tactic of reformation of society. From there onwards began the collapse of the administrative machinery. To control them effectively, he has well-chosen the date-15th April. It is quite clear. Any person who is aware of the political events would certainly pick up a date which will not come into clash with the statements made by the Union Ministers on the 14th April, 30th March and 23rd February.

Now, Sir, if I may be pardoned to say so, the Governor's Report is nothing but the usual strategy and formula to call it a dog and giving it a bad name before you hang it. This is the seventh time we have imposed the President's Rule in Punjab. On the previous occasion, it was imposed from October 6, 1983 to September 29, 1985. Let us find out, whether the previous experience of the President's Rule was far better than what was obtained during the 21 months, when Mr. Barnala was in power. There are two inferences which are being drawn on account of the imposition of the President's Rule. One inference is that the Punjab Accord has come to a dead stop and it has become a cipher. The Punjab Accord, which was welcomed by all political parties and which marked an historical change in the sequence of political events in India and which brought name and fame to Rajiv Gandhi, somehow or the other cooled off some time after the Accord was entered into. What are the reasons which are responsible for the non-implementation of the Accord? You are not blaming the Barnala Government for the non-implementation of the Accord. In fact, the statement of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao at the All-Party Conference showed that he was apologetic for the non-implementation of the Punjab Accord and he was finding that both Baranajaji and Rajiv ji are too busy and they are trying to tackle and to contain terrorism and therefore they are not in a position to carry out the Punjab Accord. In fact in all the issues, Barnala has been expressing his anxiety that the Centre must help him in fully implementing the Punjab Accord. Either, it is a Chandigarh issue or River Water Dispute or Jodhpur Detenus ...

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): On the River Water Dispute, he himself has been reiterating his objections again and again.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: The solutions have to be found. What were the efforts made to find a solution? There is a dispute. There is an Accord. Then the Commissions were there. The Commissions had submitted their Reports but-unfortunately I do not want to throw the blame on any person-it is certainly not the Barnala Government that can take the blame for the non-implementation of the Punjab Accord. We cannot blame him for non-implementation of the Punjab Accord. Let the blame rest on all, whether it is on the difficulty of finding out a solution or whatever it is. It is not possible. You have also not stated even in the Governor's Report that there was at any time non-cooperation of the part of the Barnala's Ministry in coming forward to implement this Accord.

This is a national issue. National consensus has to be evolved.

It is not a question X, Y or Z. It is a national issue; it is a matter of high magnitude, and we require the cooperation of every section of the people, for the implementation of this Accord. In fact, we are prepared to give our utmost cooperation to the Government for the implementation of this Accord, and for finding a solution to the Punjab problem.

What I am trying to submit is that the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 will not give you a solution. It will not solve anything. I know fully well that today it is not Mr. Barnala who is the unhappiest man. If my guesswork is correct, it is the Prime Minister who is the unhappiest man, because he had to take the decision of imposing the President's rule under Article 356. He gave the impression, he gave the people to understand that the would govern this country in such a manner that he would give never any occasion for the imposition of President's rule. That image of the Prime Minister today stands damaged. So, he must be the unhappiest person today, for the imposition of President's rule.

Two inferences are being drawn. The biggest doubt is with regard to what will happen to the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Will it be given effect to? One interpretation is that there is an understanding, or that there is going to be an understanding with the extremist elements, and that the Punjab Accord as it stands today, will be modified in such a manner as to please the extremist elements. That is one sort of an interpretation which is going on in certain political lobbies. The other interpretation is that this Accord will undergo a change, and there will be twist, to satisfy the Haryana people; this Punjab Accord will be left in doubt, so that it may have a political purpose served, in the coming Haryana elections. These two interpretations are there. I will be very happy if Mr. Buta Singh is in a position to dispel them. *(Interpretations)* I am myself saying that I will be very happy if Mr. Buta Singh says unequivocally that both these interpretations are incorrect, and that the Punjab Accord will stand substantially, and that if necessary, only some minor changes will take place, for the purpose of bringing about some compromise between all the parties who are affected by this Accord.

Now about the imposition of President's rule-how is it going to improve the situation? Let me take it for granted that what all that the Governor has written is true, viz. that on the rural side there is total lack of Government, and that there is a parallel Government. When an elected Government of Mr. Barnala, or that of the Akali Dal, is not able to go to the rural side, to the villages, will it be possible for the Central Government to go there?

May I just recall to Mr. Buta Singh that on 12th August, a resolution was passed under Article 249 in the Rajya Sabha, empowering the Central Government to pass laws whenever it is necessary for them to effectively intervene in Punjab. Having taken these powers, why did they not exercise these powers? What prevented them from exercising these powers? Why did they come forward with this resolution under Article 249 in the Rajya Sabha? What was its purpose?

We were made to understand that even though you took the powers under Article

249, you did not invoke these powers, because you were satisfied with the performance of Mr. Barnala's Government. You were satisfied, and that satisfaction is expressed in President's Address, and in the Prime Minister's speech, as also in the speech of Mr. P.V.Narasimha Rao at the all-party meeting. Now all of a sudden you come forward with this. You might have taken the decision on merits, and on the report; but certainly, people will not think so.

People will think that this is a political expediency and that the Haryana elections have influenced the Government to take this decision. You may try to dispel these things, but the impression cannot be erased. If you were really feeling or if you were really getting information that things in Punjab were getting bad, certainly you could have called for an all-party meeting; you could have called the leaders of opposition; you could have at least made a statement in the House before this imposition; you could have apprised members of this House saying that the situation was becoming bad; it was deteriorating day-by-day and that you had to take this step. None of these things, procedural processes were adopted by the government. Suddenly, you have come and imposed President's Rule and now you have shown the Governor's Report to justify it. Justice must not only be done but appears to be done. It is essential.

Now people will never accept or a majority of the people will not accept that this is done with good intention. Then how are you going to improve the situation? What are the steps that you are going to spell out? Your para-military forces were already there; your Director-General of Police was also already there: he was given full powers. Now the only allegation is that some of the Ministers of Barnala Government were having contacts with terrorists. Did you advise the Chief Minister to dismiss these People? Did you name them? Did you bring out specific instances to his notice? Now you do not have any doubt with regard to the integrity of Barnalaji. He has taken an uncompromising stand. In fact, he is the first gentleman who had the daring and the courage to

send the police into the Golden Temple. He was ex-communicated. He took the entire sacrifice upon himself. Now if you had any doubt with regard to such a gentleman, certainly you would have expected any statement of fact from him that such and such of his Minister was trying to be in league with the terrorists and that he should dismiss them from the Cabinet. No such thing was done. (Interruptions) People's cooperation is necessary. All parties cooperation is necessary; all parties are with you and say that we must solve the Punjab issue, that we must drive away the terrorists and the extremists and the fundamentalists. There is absolutely no dispute with regard to that. But how are you going to obtain the cooperation of the people? Who are the agencies which will act on your behalf for this purpose of rousing people's conscience? Without people's cooperation, mere arguments will not solve the problem, mere policy will not solve the problem, Para-military forces will not be able to do anything. We have seen what happened in Bangladesh; when the entire Population was against it, the mightiest of the military could crumble in no time. Therefore, it is quite essential that we must have people's cooperation. What are the steps taken by you to have it?

Now by removing Barnalaji and all the people who were solidly standing behind him-maybe the government was in a minority-you have removed the last link for the purpose of obtaining people's cooperation. Who else will venture now to face terrorists? What are your steps or what are your plans for mobilising the entire population of Punjab? I have no doubt in my mind that the people of Punjab, especially the *kisans* of Punjab, by and large, are for the integrity of India, and they are not at all for the supporters of Khalistan.

Otherwise, it would not have been possible to keep law and order in the rural villages. Hindus and Sikhs are living side by side in full confidence. Therefore, there is absolutely no doubt the fact that the peasants and the *kisans* and the people of Punjab stand solidly for the integrity of

India and they are not for a minute supporting the Khalistani movement.

But what are your steps for rousing the people's conscience? Because, until they rise, military will not be able to tackle them.

Sir, with these observations I submit that the imposition of the President's Rule was already experimented. It did not yield any results, Rajivji took a different turn and people appreciated it. But now again we are going back. In my humble opinion, it is a political blunder and I will be very happy if my guess work that it is not a political blunder but a wise step is proved to be true.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar): Mr. Chairman, Mr. Reddy has been explaining to us that at various levels on various dates different leaders praised Mr. Barnala and his Government. But he failed to read the other items in the newspapers, as to how many people were being killed every day, how many people migrated from Punjab and what was the situation in the villages simply saying that since we praised Barnala now we have changed the situation and we have brought this Rule in Punjab is to ignore the real facts which the Punjab is are facing today.

Sir, Mr. Buta Singh has explained how the situation was deteriorating every month by month, that if there were 85 murders in March, there were 316 in April. (Interruptions)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): He said, 'incidents'. (Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH : I said, 316 incidents in 1985, and 65 in March.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Incidents only. 316 incidents.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: And in ten days there were about 18.

S. BUTA SINGH: Incidents only.

[Interruptions]

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: So, you can see the how the situation is deteriorating. You people do not go to Punjab, and you do not know the situation. We are only talking here and what are the people of Punjab facing? I wish, if you would have gone there; some of you would have gone, you have been going in the past, if you would have now gone there, the people would have told you their own story about the present situation, and you would have been better acquainted, and perhaps you may not have been able to say now what you have been saying just now.

Sir, he has raised two objections. He says, that he could draw two inferences and the first is that the Punjab Accord is dead. It is not. Mr. Buta Singh has clearly stated, that they want to implement the Punjab Accord. And they are sincerely doing it. But there are two parties to this Accord. One is the Government and the other is the Akali Party. Are the Akali Parties united on this account? Then, we talk to whom? Should we talk to Barnala, should we talk to Badal? Or to whom? Because the other party is not ready. So, this is the situation in which we are placed.

Second thing you have said is that the motivation is political, because of Haryana election we have done it. The fact is that I belong to Amritsar, I live in Amritsar, my constituency and I came only yesterday evening from Amritsar, Mr. Chairman. Six deputations met me with letters in their hands that they were asked to pay one lakh of rupees by evening in the Golden Temple in room number so and so, otherwise their whole family will be murdered. Numerous letters, numerous threats, the people are getting, people are migrating from Punjab, People every day are paying ransom to live in Punjab. The people in villages after five p.m close their doors. If there is any knock at the door, they feel as if their turn has come. This is the climate, this is the situation in Punjab today. And Mr. Reddy is saying that because of Haryana elections we have done this. In fact, the punjabi people... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: I have not said that. Kindly correct. I said that is the impression that some lobbies are having. And that impression you cannot erase.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: This is a wrong impression, that is what I am saying. Mr. Barnala was there for the last 21 months. His government was there. We supported their government. In Punjab everybody was unhappy with us that why the Congress party has supported this government, but we continued to do so because we had a feeling and we thought that Mr. Barnala will fight the anti-national forces in Punjab. And it is true. He made his attempt. He is a well-intentioned man. He tried his best but he could not do so. Why? Was he not getting the cooperation of the Congress Government? Was he not getting the cooperation of other political parties? But he was miserably failed by his own people. The moment he formed a government in Punjab, the Badal group was separate and he came in minority. We supported him because he declared that he will fight the anti-national forces. His own party let him down. We all supported him. For the last 21 months we were behind him like a wall and we wanted him to succeed, but it is unfortunate that he could not do it. The people who were with him were not cooperating with him. One order he was passing, the other Minister was asking his officials not to do it. So, this was the situation in Punjab. The people of Punjab are today in a great fix what to do. The Punjab Government will not support them, the administration will not help them, the people were being killed and the killers will walk on bare foot in streets. Nobody will touch them. Then who would come to help them in that miserable situation. The situation had been mounting up and it is after 21 months wait, 'it is after 21 months' exercise that we are compelled to do this. We are not happy. Frankly speaking, I am not happy and we are all not happy to have this proclamation. But what to do? Tell us the alternative what could have been done. The Government did not have a writ there in Punjab. There is some other unconstitutional authority which is ruling Punjab today. The administration has failed miserably. Mr. Barnala, in spite of the fact that he is a Chief Minister, could not deliver the goods. He could not implement anything that he wanted. Then what was to be done? So, it is in these circumstances that the Government of India is compelled to do this. I would say another thing that

[Sh. R. L. Bhatia]

my friends on the opposite benches also contributed. They tried to solve the situation before the Accord. They all went, individual leaders went to Amritsar and talked to the Akali leaders. Then in groups also they went there. Government also discussed with the leaders of the Opposition and then we were able to have an accord which is known as Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Then what happened to that Accord? We implemented it. We were sincere. The elections took place. The Barnala Government came into power. They had a clear majority; They had ample opportunity to implement that Accord. Government of India was willing. But what happened? Why the Accord was not being fulfilled? So, it was their own party men. In spite of the majority, they could not do it. In spite of the majority, they could not fulfil the part of the Accord which Shri Longowal had done.

There was difference among themselves. That is how the situation became worse and worse in Punjab. The anti-national elements because there was no rule by the party in power, the party in power was not implementing, the party in power could not rule, the party in power did not influence in this situation they got power to act. In every way they are acting. There used to be one or two groups. Now there are seven or eight groups which are operating because the situation is deteriorating every day. So, in these circumstances, it has become imperative to have this proclamation.

The situation among Services is very bad. The officers are so de-moralised that everybody wants transfer to other places and wants to go out. If you go to them, they say we are sorry. We cannot help it. There is absolutely a de-moralised state. There is no administration at all. The police officers are de-moralised. The civilian officers are demoralised. The people are wanting transfer from villages to towns and some from towns to outside Punjab. This is the situation. You have to have a tool by which you want to govern the State. And your tool is not operating there. They are afraid of them. They are getting threatening letters. Not only that, even the judges could not operate. You have seen

the judges of Jalandhar and Ludhiana were shot and killed. So, even they are afraid of passing a judgement. This is the situation which has developed. So, some kind of action has to be taken.

People feel that Punjab Government has miserably failed. Then they look to us—that the Centre will do some thing. They do not look to us, they look to you also—what is that the people are doing in Delhi? While the Punjab is burning, when the Punjab is boiling and Punjab people are being killed and feeling unsafe, you are more interested in discussing Fairfax than the Punjab situation. But that is the national question. Is Punjab not the national question? The people have migrated and are staying in Delhi. Is it not a national question? Has any single one of you gone to meet these migrants and asked what is their condition and why have they come? What forced them to come here, what do they require? You are a leader of Bengal or some other State. Had you been a national leader you would have gone to them and helped them and you would have been better acquainted as to what is the situation which has brought them to Delhi. The situation was so aggravated that everybody has expressed the opinion. I agree with them that Barnala was acting as a buffer. Yes, of course. We tried this for 21 months. But there is a limit. We can go ahead. What is the use of that buffer which will remain buffer only and will not act? The people will go on dying, people were being looted. People are migrating and we say that we have a buffer there. This argument we gave to the people of Punjab when we met them. When we go to Punjab, they say no, no, we do not agree. What about the Centre? If Punjab Government has failed where is the Centre? We also voted for you. We also brought you in power in the Centre. What is the Centre doing? It is in this context that compel us to fulfil our obligation to the people of Punjab, the people of India.

My objection is that our friends in the opposition did not understand the problem in the past. I have been in all my debates in 1983, 1984 and all these year's explaining to them what is happening. When I said in 1983 that there are foreign forces...

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SHAMINDER SINGH (Faridkot): Not all. People who understand are also sitting.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: Some of the people in the Opposition got up and said where is the foreign hand? Why do you not prove it? And to-day same people are saying that there was foreign hand. So, there was a realisation after three years or four years. So, what we are doing to-day, you may be realising. After two, three or four years you will listen to what we are saying. Since you did not understand the Punjab problem then, you are not understanding the Punjab situation to-day.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: We have understood the problem. You are required to give a solution. What were you doing for the last five years? (Interruptions)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: As I said, you did not understand the Punjab problem and today you are not going to understand it. I only request you to understand the Punjab problem and if you don't want to understand the problem, then I can't say anything. Today, it is not the question of communalism in Punjab because the people of Punjab have shown that they are patriotic people and secular people. They have suffered all these years for the sake of the country. They have stood like a rock with us together. In villages and towns, all the efforts of the terrorists have not been able to divide the people of Punjab. This is the people of Punjab who have shown their patriotism though they have suffered for the last so many years. The true situation is that it is the insurgency that is there in Punjab. It is not the question of terrorists or communalists or any other people. It is the insurgency that they have to deal with and since the

Barnala Government has not been able to meet the insurgency, I appreciate the action of the Union Government. They should have done it long before. It is better late than never.

Now, Sir, I am sure the situation in Punjab will be better. It will improve and at the same time I would like to request Mr. Buta Singh that the President's rule is not the solution to the whole problem. I must tell you that we will have to work on the political side, the political solution of the problem and this time is given to you, opportunity is given to you so that you may be able to bring about peace in Punjab. For some time, I don't think that terrorism will go away so easily. But will be reduced. That is my impression. But in this time, while the situation is improving and better, please find a political solution because that will be the permanent solution of Punjab.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Sir, in this session, the Government has shown an exceptional ability of doing one blunder after another and this is perhaps the crowning one with which we are going to end the session. Sir, I am surprised that after praising Mr. Barnala in the president's speech, a unique thing to have done after praising him all along upto the 14th April, that is, less than a month ago, for having created a situation in Punjab where it was much better before. This was done by the Prime Minister and the senior Central Ministers and after that, on account of a particular movement which is said to have been started by some extremist elements whom now Mr. Bhatia called insurgents, we have never been told this before in any forum or in the newspapers or in any media. So, this has now been taken as an handle. I have gone through the Governor's report to the President and it does not show anything apart from the burning of some shops and kiosks selling tobaccos and liquor that something exceptional has happened during the course of the last three or four weeks which can justify this peremptory



[Sh. Amal Datta]

action on the part of the Government.  
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: You say that for the first time you have been told about insurgency. They don't recognise your Constitution, they burn your national flag. What would you call them?

SHRI AMAL DATTA: We have called them extremists so long, not called them insurgents. Insurgency problem is not dealt with by the Civil Government, nowhere in the world. Sir, this is a very peculiar situation that we hear today. We are back in what I can call, square one, the situation obtaining before the accord and before the election which installed the Barnala Government in Punjab. It was being ruled by the Central Government for two years, from October 1983 to September 1985 it was under President's Rule. What was the situation then in Punjab? How was it better than the situation which was obtaining even last week or the week before? Were not the people afraid at that time, panicky at that time? How the situation qualitatively deteriorated so much that after praising Barnala so much in the President's speech and the praise by the Prime Minister, by P.V. Narasimha Rao and all that, suddenly you change, suddenly you come down with a heavy hand and dismiss the Government? (*Interruptions*). The only thing which was played up and the mountain made out of a molehill was a letter by a senior Minister against the Police Chief.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't interrupt.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI AMAL DATTA: The letter by a senior Minister against the Police Chief.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't interrupt. It will not go on record.

(*Interruptions*)\*\*

SHRI AMAL DATTA: It was not a letter which was given to the people, but how that letter got leaked out is a mystery, and that is the basis of saying that the senior Ministers are not cooperating with Mr. Barnala. This is a rambling report of the Governor which refers to, mentions that nobody is cooperating with Mr. Barnala, but not a specific instance has been given. Mr. Bhatia has said that Mr. Barnala passes an order, another Minister countermands it. No specific instance of that has been given here in this report or by anybody. So, are we to believe that all these things have started happening all of a sudden and the Barnala Government has lost its credibility? What was your own credibility during those two years? After stating in this House again and again, every Session we have been discussing Punjab in the last Parliament, once, twice in some sessions and every time we wanted police action in the Golden Temple, we were told by no less a person than the Prime Minister himself that it was impossible to send the police in a religious place and after that land behold, the Army goes there and attacks it. And that is the type of thing. You were encouraging the terrorists then. Similarly, I have no doubt that the terrorists were being encouraged at least by some Congress M.P. going up in a peace march and talking in Punjab, in Amritsar, in the Golden Temple, and talking to the extremists and saying that he is satisfied by his talks with them, then again saying that these are the people with whom negotiations and parleys should be held. Then again, suddenly we find a Jain Muni appearing on the scene talking to these high high priests of the Golden Temple and coming up with a statement that the representatives of the

Damdani Taksal, the most extremist organisation, and some other extremist organisations---these are the people with whom the Central Government must have parleys. And then he discloses that he has had talks with the Prime Minister. Now, what the talks are, I do not know. There is no contradiction from the Government. This has come out in the reports, in the newspapers, that the Jain Muni goes there and talks to the extremists and gives there a public statement saying that these are the people with whose representatives the Government must hold negotiations and says that he has himself had talks with the Prime Minister. So, what is the inference to be drawn from this? Are you not giving indulgence to the terrorists, extremists? Are you not otherwise...

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Sir, before he goes on record, let me say something for a minute.

It is the Opposition Member of Parliament who was on record in this House in the last Lok Sabha--you were a Member I was a Member--who said that he had visited the Golden Temple and there are no extremists and there is no ammunition. This is the Opposition Member of Parliament, not the Congress M.P. It is on record, you can see the record and you can see even the name of the Member of Parliament.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Yes, I know. But I am not from that Party. You don't expect me to defend him. Do you? Then, what is the point in saying this now? (*Interruptions*). Some Member has told you--to say that just because he belonged to the Opposition then. It does not matter. It is irrelevant in this present context. If you knew that they had ammunition, then it was your duty to take action. What a Member of Parliament said was irrelevant. you have got the entire Governmental machinery to find out yourself what is

happening. If you did not act on that information, it was a blunder on your part which had led you to further blunder of Operation Bluestar and a further blunder of, without any consensus, getting into an Accord. I am not blaming you for the Accord. I am saying that the terms of the Accord appear now to be such that no party is in a position to implement it. The Accord is now more than or about 2 years old and if it has not been implemented and nobody is to be blamed, that it is an accord which cannot be implemented by either party with the best of intentions, what does it mean? So, this Accord was rushed through in great secrecy for the purpose of having an accord, for the purpose of having an election pursuant to the Accord but not with the purpose of implementing the Accord. Or, may-be nobody thought about it. I am not saying that you did not implement it deliberately. But at least you cannot contradict that the Accord had been gone through without understanding the total implications of the Accord. And today it has become like a rope round your neck because you cannot implement it; or you have no will to implement it.

What has happened to the transfer of Chandigarh? Why has Chandigarh not been transferred? I do not understand it. I am not saying that if you transfer Chandigarh to Punjab today, immediately the extremist activities will stop or insurgency will stop. But this is the handle these people are getting that the Central Government having gone into an accord has not done whatever lies in its power to do. You do not tell me why the Central Government cannot transfer Chandigarh to Punjab? Why do you link it up with the transfer of territories from Punjab to Haryana? And even partially you could have done that. There is nobody who binds you to the principle that the transfer of Chandigarh must be simultaneous with the transfer of so much territories of Punjab to Haryana. There is nothing like that. It is your own interpretation of the Accord which you are now giving.

S. BUTA SINGH: Kindly give me a moment. It is the Accord which binds all these things. The Accord cannot be implemented without this pre-condition. If you can suggest a way, well, you can get it done.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Well, there are certain things which the Central Government could have done.

S. BUTA SINGH: How could we do? There is no way.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: About rehabilitation, the entire rehabilitation of service personnel, you should have done. It is a part of the Accord.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: Even Shri Harkrishan Singh Surjeet has appreciated this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Let them not intervene so much. If you want to say something, you can say later. What I have to say, I will say it. If you say that you have fully implemented the Accord, you say so. But in my view, the Central Government is to be blamed for not implementing the Accord. If there is any blame to be thrown at the doors of the Barnala Government, that is insignificant compared to what the Central Government has failed to do.

It is very curious that now they are saying that the police is demoralised; the officials are demoralised. When did this demoralisation of the police and officials come in? When did this happen? Did it happen when Mr. Barnala came and formed the Ministry? It happened long before that. In fact, there was a rejuvenation under Mr. Barnala and that is what was being praised about him. Once we had been told by the then Internal Security Ministry that in early 1986--at that time, just the Barnala Government was a few months' old--told that the police in Punjab had not gone out of the police

station for years. "For years" include those years when there was the President's Rule in Punjab. So, during that period, even prior to that period, you have totally demoralised the police and the administration. And for rejuvenation of the police and the officials requires a big push and that big push, you have not given to Mr. Barnala. Mr. Barnala has been cooperating with you in all accounts and you say that Central Government has been cooperating. I say that, on the other hand, Mr. Barnala has been cooperating on all accounts but you have not given him the help which was necessary to put Punjab back on the political rails again.

I say that the All parties rallies which you have started, have fizzled out because you have not demonstrated, as ruling party, the political will that you should have demonstrated, in those political rallies. We have, on our part, done whatever we can do because we are not that big. You are bigger. You are a national party. You have got presence everywhere. You should have been able to hold these rallies and give us a lead. On the other hand, you have left it to us and we have been able to do quite a bit and we have become a target in fact in Punjab.

This is a blunder which the Government is committing because it is now coming in direct confrontation with the people. It will not be able to do, whatever it has sought to do, so far as Punjab is concerned. On the other hand, having, during the whole Session or a better part of the Session called the Opposition irraticism as tending to destabilisation, this is a concrete step which the Government itself has taken towards disintegrating the country.

Today what has happened is something which is historical in the sense that it is going very fast towards that direction which we wanted this country to prevent from going, the direction of disintegration. This is where the Government is leading to by this kind of precipitate action. Yesterday we raised

this question and we apprehended that President's rule is going to be imposed in Punjab. we wanted a statement from the Home Minister. No statement was given. We were not called. We were not consulted. Nothing was given and suddenly we find this morning that President's rule has been imposed. The Parliament has been extended. Parliamentary propriety Demands making the announcement in Parliament when it is in Session. Denigration of parliament has become a daily feature with this Government. I said it before and I am saying it now that the Parliament is not being given the respect by this Government that it should be given. Today they could have announced it in Parliament itself and the discussion could have taken place. There is no need to make a midnight declaration and giving it to the press. Nothing further would have happened in 12 hours time.

While Punjab police has shown some vigour recently under Mr. Rebeiro, some controversy had been raised, may be it was made to be raised, I do not know, but it happened that, immediately Mr. Barnala had rushed here. He has been waiting here for two days, to be able to talk to the Prime Minister and, in the mean time, his Government is dismissed. It is a very funny situation. It is a curious situation. This impasse is created by some senior Minister. To discuss that, he was waiting for two days here in Delhi. Not only that. One statistic Mr. Buta Singh has not given. He has not said that 2,000 extremists have been arrested in the course of one month. What more can a State Administration do? And the figures of murder, of killings of people which have been given, ten times those figures of murders have taken place in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh every month. Are you imposing President's rule in those States for this purpose? You are not because it is in Punjab where you want to show that you are no longer pro-Barnala, you are no longer pro-Sikh because of the ensuing Haryana election. It is unfortunate that

national integrity is sacrificed for the purpose of capturing power in one State. Your lessons you have learnt in Bengal and Kerala elections have shown you that you have at least to capture power here. Everybody knows in which situation you are in Haryana.

16.00 hrs

So, you could have waited one more month, If you have waited for 21 months so patiently with Mr. Barnala as a buffer, then you could have waited another one month till after the Haryana elections. Then, nobody would have blamed it. When you decided to impose the President's rule in Punjab today, didn't you think that people will somehow connect it with Haryana elections? If you didn't think so, then you are not fit to be here. So, Sir, without that knowledge but hoping that some political gains will be made in Haryana elections, you have imposed the President's rule in Punjab, sacrificed the national integrity, sacrificed the peace and stability of Punjab for good. I oppose this and condemn this action which has been taken by the Government.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullundur): Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, every fact of the case before us has been laid bare by the hon. Home Minister and my colleague Shri R.L. Bhatia. All events, all the situations as they obtain today in Punjab have been expressed lucidly. I have a few observations to bring for your kind notice. My hon. friend Mr. Amal Datta has mentioned that the policy had been changed suddenly. May I wish to point out to you the proverbial saying: Last straw on the camel's back? Things have gone so perverse and cumulatively, one has to accept. It is so perverse, so ghastly and it is only the person who has full insight of it can understand it. I have got a graph of that. If we collate the facts, then everybody seems to understand how the situation has been moving and in what direction it is moving. It is sliding steadily yet exorably in the wrong direction. This is the patten,

[Sh. R. S. Sparrow]

so to say. In that, who is the sufferer? It is the common-man, the innocent women and children who have nothing to do with anything-else except to earn their own little livelihood, they are the sufferers and one feels constrained to see such a situation arising in my beautiful Punjab. I have gone round enough. I am a son of that soil, having the root in the village. In various capacities as Chairman of the Kisan Khet Mazdoor Dal, Punjab, for 15 years as once the Revenue and Agriculture Minister of Punjab, I had seen all the 12938 villages one by one on different occasions. One understands how the pulse-rate now works in relation to certain minority communities living in those villages, in those mohallas, in the towns and suburban towns, and different types of little places and hamlets and what not. The situation obtaining is nothing short of insurgency, if my friend used the word so.

*Jis Tan Lage Tei Tan Jane, Na Jane aur Pir Parai.* No one-else feel about it. I told you and I gave you the example, the other day. I quote from one of the Persian anecdotes: Kilyul Yakin, Hakul Yakin, Anulyakin means what? When you are in the fire then, you know that you are burning. That is how Punjab is burning. We talk a lot and loud but we have to be very objective. But the tenor has been set by my friend Shri R.L. Bhatia who hails from my place, which is the same from the childhood onwards. I know my people. I know their psyche also. I know what type of wrong things they can also do and what type of wonderful things they can also do. Now, the slide is on the reverse side. I personally feel that if the Home Ministry and the Government of India and our revered President had delayed this issue further, things would have deteriorated to the worst of it and perhaps certain other ramifications may have taken place across the border this way or that way. Already two or three times it has had a stunning effect. This is exactly what people outside wait for-when such an

insurgency takes place, when everybody starts killing one another; I am very sorry, Sir, even to mention about my dearest friends, the other Party, the main Party, the Akali Party; 20 different groups masquerading and attacking each other also. Who does not know this? You can count them out if you wish to. What a terrible type of situation has arisen? A brother has started killing a brother.... (Interruptions)\*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will have your say. It will not go on record.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: I am only giving the facts. There are so many others also.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will not go on record. Mr. Sparrow, please proceed.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: Allow me to finish. It is not only the Akali Party; there are others also. A brother killing a brother. It is not only the Akali or any kind or Party people. All types of people are mixed up. But the fact remains that the situation is perverse, is very bad. What should have been done has already been explained, very lucidly explained. If we had not taken this action, what action would someone wish to propose? Linger on just like this and see the hapless women and children being murdered, all types of victimisation happening. So, for this reason, one has to be very careful as to how we tackle the situation. In my opinion, it has to be at the national level, it should be taken as a national question. If that be so, this has not happened. May I request the major parties, including Barnalaji, for whom I have a high respect, that now is the opportunity that we all join together and face the situation squarely, so that the rule of law, to start with, is brought about in Punjab. Once the rule of law is brought about in Punjab, things will improve. I admire in this context Mr. Ribeiro, very frankly. This is my humble opinion. Anybody can have any other opinion. He

fought singlehanded, along with his allies and some very fine policemen, to the best one could do, even at the cost of his life; he did not care for his life. That is the point of admiration and it must be recorded for all of us to understand. For that reason, we have to give a hand to the administration as best as we can, and in that Barnalaji, Badalji and many other top leaders should join hands. Forget about whatever has happened. Now let us come to the brasstacks of it. Let us now start a new leaf. All Punajbis, the beautiful Punjabis, always in the fore everywhere, should work together. One good spot in the whole of this bad and turmoilridden situation, I have noticed myself. Only the other day I went to Punjab. A number of Panchs and Sjrpanchs, of all classes, met me. They are all tired of what is happening around them. They want peace, they want to exist, as some of our spokesmen have already said. In so far as their own give-and-take is concerned, mentally they are still the same; Hindus, Sikhs, Harijans, Christians Muslims—they are all the same. They want to live in peace, they want to work together. Now, who is going to impel them to do so? Not one Party. But this leaf has been taken. If this is taken, I think it is for the better. Now it is the opportunity for us to show our real mettle as representatives of the people of India by sitting here. That way we will be able to put our heads together. If at all there is any other understanding then there is no difficulty. And if we work together these problems can all be sorted out. If we start mud slinging on each other for no rhyme or reason, that will not carry us very far. Who is to suffer? One who is at the wrong end of the stick—the hapless little people who cannot defend themselves. This is the predicament for us. It never happened in our history previously at any time. I belong to a village and I have seen them all. Never such a thing had happened. If you go and tell somebody that the old lady has got something and I asked her to give me all that she has got and if she does not give and clings on to that little casket of turn and prses it *'Thasathas'* *'Thasathas'*

that hapless woman is killed. Oh, my *guru* never taught that. My previous civilisation and culture never stood in that direction at all. Is this something new being taught to us? Some foreign hand is certainly there and I do not have to bring it to your notice at this juncture. All those lawful type of things—gas chamber style of attempts, shall I say—starting from Lyallpur right up to Narowal—9 of those districts—have been churning out, indoctrinating and giving them money and new weapons. This type of thing has been happening. Now the Home Minister should take charge of the situation. The border should be sealed and not even a pin should go up and down. Why not we do it? This is our *barder*. We will look after it. Along with that any kind of insurgency, any kind of lawlessness shall have to be stamped out with the goodwill of all of us. We must cut that out. Then only the progress can be achieved and the future will shine for everybody. Punjab's future should shine because it has always contributed and sacrificed for the service of Mother India as a whole. We have done it as a Punjabi.

With these few words, I thank you very much.

DR. V.VENKATESH (Kolar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, while going through the Report of the Governor, all of a sudden, it has been indicated that the previous Government is very bad and the Ministers were involved in terrorism, relatives of important Ministers, the number 2 in the Cabinet was also involved. All these stories have been narrated. As you know well, whenever the ruling party like they will say it is very very good. All of a sudden, they will start issuing certificates that it is very-very bad. This is the double standard which we have been watching. The same trick has been played in Governor's Report.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, this implementation of the Punjab Accord is delayed. Due to that all these things have happened. Now they are telling—already an

[Dr. V. Venkatesh]

Hon. Member from this side has pinpointed—that whatever lapses were committed by the ruling party one after the other for that they are now blaming the Barnala Government. They also say that people are terrorised and fear-psychosis was created. Are they going to prevent all these things by imposing this President's Rule? I do not understand the logic behind this. They were also telling that a lot of lives were lost. As compared to this year, the total number of lives lost in Punjab was four times higher last year. Why did they not impose President's Rule there last year? Why didn't they do it? Now they are magnifying it by saying that the Barnala Ministry has not been able to control it. All of a sudden they say that the value of life has increased according to their convenience. Whenever they want something, they say that it is a law and order problem, the State Government has to deal with it and all that. When their convenience changes, they immediately say that the life of a common man is precious. This is very pitiable.

I don't want to take much time because already the Members from both the sides have expressed that a very serious situation has arisen. We are all one to see that peace is maintained in Punjab. I would like to make certain points.

The first very important point that I want to make is that the Punjab problem was sought to be tackled in a very ad-hoc manner. The Punjab Accord was hastily drafted and is being implemented leisurely; in the process causing a grave discontent in Punjab leading to the growth of extremism. This is the second most important point that I would like to bring to your kind notice. The President's rule is no solution. It is only a repetition and it does not go to the root of the problem at all. We know that in the past President's rule could not stop violence. Will it make a miracle now? That is the question I am posing through you to the Hon. Minister. The continued detention of prisoners in

Jodhpur camp though no charge has been established against anyone has only caused further injury. Even the Ranganath Misra Commission has only added insult to injury. What is needed is a settlement across the table. Nothing but discussion is the only solution. There is no alternative to this opinion and my party, the Janata party, relies only on this option.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal): Mr. Chairman Sir: I had absolutely no intention to speak on the proclamation under discussion. But a reference by an Hon. Member of the opposition Mr. Reddy obliged me to do so. He started with Haryana and said that Haryana elections have obliged the Central Government to impose the President's rule. I fail to understand the reasoning and the psychology behind it. I don't know the circumstances that have led him to come to this conclusion.

In all humility I must say that this is a very irresponsible statement. Haryana elections have nothing to do with it. He gave a chronological history of events beginning with the Address by the President and thereafter the speech made by the Hon. Prime Minister in my constituency Karnal on the 30th of March and so on and so forth.

This House had passed practically a unanimous resolution to strengthen the hands of Mr. Barnala to support Mr. Barnala's Government. There was absolutely no difference of opinion. May I have the temerity of asking them a plain question? Didn't the Central Government extend the fullest cooperation with the Barnala Government? Didn't the Central Government send all para-military forces that were asked for? Didn't the Congress Party in Punjab support the Barnala Government in spite of the fact that the workers of the Party were opposing this move tooth and nail? Where was the Central Government or the Congress Party lacking in extending their support and cooperation to Mr. Barnala; nowhere.

An argument was advanced by an Hon. friend that upto 14th of April we had been praising Mr. Barnala. What happened after that, namely from 15th of April onwards. We are speaking on the 12th of May. A period of 28 days has since elapsed. There are many a slip between the cup and the lip. During the span of one month what has obliged the Central Government to come to this conclusion? I would go a step further and say that imposition of President's rule should have been done much earlier in the interest of law and order. It has been unnecessarily delayed. An argument has been advanced that there has not been implementation of Rajiv-Longowal accord. This again is against facts. Facts are facts and they must be squarely faced. Is it not a fact that 80-90 per cent of the accord has been implemented? There was dispute on two points. One is regarding the transfer of Chandigarh. Now is it not a fact that commission after commission has been appointed? The commissions have given their reports. The commissions comprised of sitting former judges of the Supreme Court.

Now the commission was appointed. This was the report of the commission that Chandigarh shall be transferred as soon as 70,000 acres of land are transferred to Haryana by Punjab Government. Did the Punjab Government agree to do it? Is it not a fact that Haryana Government took a unanimous decision to implement the recommendations of the commission and agreed to accept 70,000 acres of land when the Prime Minister of India said that Government of India will bear the brunt of building a new Capital for the State of Haryana? Was it Central Government or Haryana Government that were lagging behind? It was the Punjab Government that refused to agree to it. They said we are not going to agree to transfer 70,000 acres of land.

My friends in the Opposition without understanding the implications and the background say that the Central

Government has not been implementing the accord. Haryana Government has absolutely no hitch to transfer Chandigarh. Let Chandigarh be transferred before and now but with the same stroke of pen, on the same paper and on the same table 70,000 acres of land shall be transferred to Haryana. This is a condition precedent.

Then comes the point of water dispute. Water dispute was referred to Eradi Commission—a commission consisting of three judges headed by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court. It was explicitly laid down in the terms of reference itself that the report of the Eradi Commission shall be binding on the two governments. Is it not a fact that Eradi Commission submitted its report 2-3 months back? Is it not a fact that the parties are bound to accept it? Is it also not a fact that Punjab Government having somehow come to know that Eradi Commission has given a report contrary to their expectations that they said we are not going to accept the report? Does it lie in the mouth of the Punjab Government headed by Barnala to refuse to accept the report when initially. They had agreed to accept the recommendations of the Eradi Commission? It has to be accepted. Now they say we are not going to accept it. Who is responsible? Is the Central Government responsible for non-implementation?

These are the only two main points about which it can be said that the accord is not being implemented. My friends in the Opposition do not actually know the background of the whole show. Haryana is the aggrieved party. Only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. They say implement the accord. We also say that it must be implemented. It was the Government of Punjab that is actually standing in the way of implementation of the Accord. They are holding us responsible for this.

Sir, a reference was made to a resolution passed under Art. 249 of the



[Sh. Chiranjil Lal Sharma]

Constitution by the Rajya Sabha. It was argued that although powers have been conferred upon the Central Government under Art. 249 and the resolution was passed but it was not exercised. Why? Do they have reasons to smell a grain of salt about the bona fides of the Central Government? The Central Government was very much benevolent and broadminded when Mr. Barnala assured the Central Government that there was no need of exercising its powers under Art. 249. But the situation continued deteriorating thereafter.

Then, a covert reference was made to the Governor's report. Sir, on this I have to say only a few words. The Governor's report has not been prepared just in the twinkling of an eye or on the spur of the moment. The Governor had visited 9-10 districts of Punjab to assess the situation. He had his finger on the pulse of the people of Punjab. My friend will not deny when I say that there were protests from the Ministers of the Punjab Government against the Governor's visit. I would only say that the report of the Governor has put a premium of confirmation on what was appearing in the Press and what was actually happening in the field. Therefore, it cannot be said that the Governor had twisted the facts, that he submitted a report against the Barnala Government. The report of the Governor has been submitted after he assessed the situation when he had gone practically all over Punjab.

16.26 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

Now, Sir, about the law and order situation. One of my friends on the opposite side said that already we had the experience of President's rule. No doubt there was a popular Government headed by Sardar Darbara Singh. When the situation was going out of control, Sardar Darbara Singh submitted his resignation.

President's Rule was imposed. But now day-light robberies, dacoities and murders are being committed. The banks are being looted practically daily. Every fine morning, we read in the newspapers, that such-and-such bank looted, such-and-such petrol pump looted. This did not happen during the earlier President's Rule. Now, Sir, what is happening these days. Innocent persons—both Hindus and Muslims—ladies and gentlemen, kids and youths have been killed without any discrimination about caste or creed. So tremendous is the onslaught, so terrific is the blow and so bloody has been the machine of coercion that the entire Punjab is shaken under the iron heels of the terrorists. The terrorists had taken the lynch of law into their hands. There had been a complete demoralisation of services, complete demoralisation in the judiciary. No judicial court had the guts to take a decision. No person had the guts to stand as a witness. Actually there had been a complete failure of Government machinery. Murders are committed day in and day out nobody is caught. What to do? What should the Government of India do? The Government of India had been compelled to come to this unhappy decision. Do you think that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is happy today? Well, he is perhaps the unhappiest person today. We never appreciate the imposition of President's rule in any State. We always encourage popular Government. It was the Central Government that decided to hold elections in spite of what was happening in Punjab and installed the popular Government there. It was the Central Government that came to the help of the Barnala Government all the time. And now you are smelling a grain of salt in our bonafides.

In these circumstances, there was no alternative left with the Central Government but to come to this conclusion and to hand over Punjab to the President so that the law and order can be taken care of properly.

There has been migration of population from Punjab on a very large scale and the events of 1947 are being repeated. I know a number of people have migrated from Punjab and are residing in Karnal, the constituency I represent.

With these words, I support the Resolution.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, while participating in the discussion on the imposition of President's Rule in Punjab, I want to say that though for the present, this decision will generate a lot of excitement and the people may speak with some anger and keeping in view the political angle they may say anything, but a day will come when we will have to repent over this decision. The dismissal of hon. Shri Barnalaji is regretful, but equally regretful is the fact that Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi will be censured for it. He will be condemned, because the Barnala Government which was a sort of cushion for the Central Government and Punjab has been dismissed. Hence, the people will censure the Government's decision. The person who was the best gunner has been shot from behind, he, who would face the enemies from across the borders and destabilising elements inside the country with complete self assurance, who was excommunicated from his own religion and community, who did not care for his life, but was struggling ceaselessly for this poor country was dismissed mercilessly. We shall have to repent this decision.

The times will change. But God may forbid, an era of distrust should not start. A message of this nature should not reach the people as it has almost reached. This message would read that if a Sikh is a moderate Akali and is concerned about the whole nation like a patriot will be either assassinated by the terrorists or will be dismissed by imposing the President's Rule. You have the strength of numbers

and can easily put us down, but I want to say it with all sincerity that this message is so dangerous that it will not make any Sikh have the courage to challenge the terrorists. How can they fight? Shri Jeevan Singh Umaranangal who was the Vice President of Akali Dal since 9 years and who was fighting the terrorist forces had taken a vow by holding the deadbody of his 43 years old son for fighting terrorism till the end. But today with the dismissal of the Barnala Government, the terrorists have got what they had desired.

The President's Rule has been imposed several times in the state. Between 1983 and 1985, 5 Governors were changed, 4 I.Gs were changed. All these I.Gs were given full powers.

Mr. Bhinder was one of the I.Gs with full powers and 11 Advisors to the Governors were changed, but the problem only became more acute with these measures. I am afraid that the situation during the time of Blue Star Operation may not be repeated. We seem to be moving towards that. What has happened? Just now we talked about the month of April. Hon. Shri Buta Singh has been kind to me and our relationship is good and will remain so. But I want to ask him a specific question. The Hon. Minister has stated that 85 lives were lost in the month of April. He has also stated that the figures were the highest in the months of April in previous years. For example, in April 1984, 120 people were killed and not 85. But we had considerable achievements in April this year. 450 people were arrested, 12 dreaded terrorists were killed, an amount of Rs. 30 lakhs was recovered, an armoury was found in Ropar district where 3 sten guns, 2 revolvers, 1 L.M.G. were stored, and 2 vehicles carrying L.M.G. and M.M.G. stenguns and 20 kgs of other ammunition were caught at Adampur in Jalandhar district. Hence, the month of April has been very bright for the police and the Government. But it is regretful that you summon Shri Rebeiro to Delhi and applaud his achievements and award

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

medal for his performance, but condemn and dismiss the Chief Minister with whose help Shri Rebeiro was able to achieve so much and who himself said that the Chief Minister had accorded him full co-operation and had provided all possible help.

I want to say one thing more. Today, I met my friends in the Congress party in the Central Hall and many of them are present here. Here they are required to applaud if a Member from their own party is making a speech, but in the Central Hall, dozens of Congress Members have condemned the decision and have said that the matter could have been handled without taking this step and it has been an excess (*Interruptions*)

MANY HON. MEMBERS: He is not speaking the truth.....

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: I wish that their views may gradually come true that they have committed excess.

I want to say one thing more that migration was also going down. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you may see as to what happened yesterday. It was the 11th of May yesterday and ought to have been the most significant date for us as the killer of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, Jarnail Singh Halwara was apprehended and killed in an encounter, but the Central Government paid us a tribute by dismissing our Government in the evening itself. I am constrained to say that you should take this bad day in proper context.

The common people in Punjab were gaining confidence that a reform movement has been started. Why do you take it otherwise? Is it not a commendable thing that a movement was started there on 31st March which has boosted the

morale of the people in Punjab? You might have read newspapers of the last six days in which you cannot find even a single instance of burning of any liquor shop. There are 3100 liquor vendors in Punjab out of which only 200 shops have been closed and all the remaining shops are functioning. This reform movement could be started because of the strong will power of Shri Barnala and this Government, but now it will be fizzled out and the terrorists will get an encouragement.

In the end, I would like to say two or three things. You can still think over this matter. You may send any number of outsiders to Punjab or may send any force to Punjab, but as long as you do not find a political solution, you will not succeed in curbing the terrorism. I do not blame you, but it comes to my notice that efforts are being made to please those people who are demanding more than what has been provided in Rajiv-Longowal Accord. We also want it. Akali Dal has several times demanded release of Jodhpur detainees, reinstatement of army deserters and implementation of Mishra Commission report, but the report is not being implemented. So long as you do not review their cases, your difficulties will go on increasing.

I would like to say that there has been continuous confrontation between Akali Dal and the Centre since 1957 when S. Buta Singh was an hon. Member of the Akali Dal. It was an auspicious day for the country that instead of confrontation a friendly atmosphere of conciliation and compromise was created. Therefore, we should see that an atmosphere of confrontation is not created again, otherwise it will create more difficulties to deal with the terrorism.

Just now Shri Bhatia has praised Shri Barnala, but said about some other people that they take money and write letters. The situation in Punjab was critical, but even then Shri Barnala achieved success.

Now you have dismissed his Government. When he was in minority, you supported him, but now when he is in majority, you are in a hurry to dismiss his Government. (*Interruptions*) Whether Chiranjilal says or you say, but I will be happy if you achieve success in Haryana after making sacrifice of Shri Barnala's Ministry. But you should not quit certainty for hope.

I once again request you to reconsider your decision. Whether that patriotic soldier has turned to be an anti-national over night whether Shri Barnala has not done everything which one should do for the country? (*Interruptions*) Whether all experiments of Shri Barnala have failed in merely one night? I request you to think over it and withdraw your action. It will only increase tension, disbelief and will widen the gap and will not restore peace there. Yours is a biggest political party in the country and you should win over the confidence of the people of whole Punjab. This action on your part attracts allegations. I do not directly blame you, but your action will become a subject of criticism that to please terrorists and extremist forces, you have weakened those nationalist forces who had fought anti-national forces shoulder to shoulder with you even at the risk of their lives and which continued its drive against terrorism in spite of the resistance and anger of top religious leaders. This action will weaken the country and will weaken the hands of Prime Minister and it can also happen that you may have to pay heavily for this. With these words, I condemn this action of the Government. (*Interruptions*)

16.46 hrs.

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA  
CONTD.

[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 Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganisation Bill, 1987 which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 11th May, 1987, has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 12th May, 1987, with the following amendment:-

"Clause 20"

That at page 6, lines 43-44 *for* the words "the High Court of Maharashtra and Goa" the words "the High Court of Bombay" be substituted."

I am, therefore, to return herewith the said Bill in accordance with the provisions of rule 128 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha with the request that the concurrence of the Lok Sabha to the said amendment be communicated to this House.

GOA, DAMAN AND DIU REORGANISATION BILL

As amended by Rajya Sabha

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I lay on the Table the Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganisation Bill, 1987 which has been returned by Rajya Sabha with amendment.

16.46

STATUTORY RESOLUTION : RE:  
APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN  
RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB  
CONTD.

[English]

SHRI P.R.KUMARAMANGALAM  
(Salem): Sir, I had once raised, in the last session, during zero hour, a matter and

[Sh. P. R. Kumaramangalam]

demanding action-i.e. when the Muktsar bus massacre took place. Along with me, many young friends stood up and raised their voice. That was a time when we saw that the Chief Minister responded immediately to the request of the Central Government. We saw an action programme, we saw the steps being taken. We saw, at that time, that there was a lull for a little while.

What is important is that the actions that took place earlier, were not by a large group of militants or by a large group of terrorists. It was a small group of terrorists who adopted the policy of hit and run. They picked and chose their target, hit and ran away from the scene, and there was no attempt to consolidate or hold territory or influence territory. We, in fact, saw a so-called United Akali Dal shamelessly bringing in religious, communal politics, to pressurize a Government. We saw the then Chief Minister Mr. Barnala fighting back, and facing it. We did stand with him, we congratulated him. I do not say that either this House or the Government committed any mistake at that time. He deserved the support, and he got it from us. But, unfortunately, what happened after that? We saw crores of rupees - not lakhs, not thousands--being looted from banks. No action. Recovery of Rs. 30 lakhs is being spoken of. If one takes account of the amount of money that has been looted from the banks in Punjab by the terrorists, it will total up to tens of crores of rupees. What is that recovery? It was most probably pocket money of a small terrorist group.

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S.BUTA SINGH):** It was done by the CBI, and not by the Punjab Government.

**SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM:** Another important point is that it was done by CBI, but they will take credit for it. What did we see in the last one month? We saw

a very communally-oriented attempt to disrupt economy, de-stabilize the political atmosphere-not in the form of Bofors or in the form of Fairfax, but really in the form of a *rasta roko* agitation; and more than that, what we saw was an attempt by certain types of a brand of young Sikhs who call themselves the Khalistan Revolutionary Front. We saw them enter the rural areas and attack innocent people; and what was shocking is that they issued a proclamation in the name of religion, that they would destroy all barbers, shops that functioned all meat shops that were there, all liquor shops, all cigarette shops etc. What was surprising is that they did achieve success. How is it possible if the State Government was vigilant and capable? If the State Government was vigilant and capable, they could not do such widespread programme. Obviously, there was a tongue in the cheek support for this movement. We saw barbers being killed; we saw innocent ladies and children being killed. Gen. Sparrow spoke about it. They were being killed because they refused to hand over the protection money; the Protection money was being sought and collected. No protection was given to those who were forced to hand over protection money. We had seen the worst form of break-down in law and order in Punjab in the last month. It is not a sporadic killing or a certain mine burst or a bus being way-laid and hijacked. We saw a regular, organised take over of the economy, take over of law and order. It went into the hands of terrorists who had been fully financed backed and armed.

My friend, Mr. Ramoowalia, spoke of one or two or three stenguns, one or two L.M.G. and recovery. I do not know whether recovery should go to the credit of the State Government or the Central Government, but without prejudice, I give him that credit. But how many LMGS are there? How many scenguns are there in Punjab? They are countless. Do we see a revolver being used in Punjab by terrorists? No. We see them holding L.M.G. we see them holding the most

sophisticated stenguns, which many of our own security personnel do not have. And what is the recovery, of this type 3 or 4 machine guns, light machine guns or even three stenguns? Today the issue is that there is no question of a licence for a gun in Punjab. Guns are available in every house, in every place; stenguns are paraded about in the streets. Everyone of us who had gone to Punjab had seen them. You will find even on a motor-cycle youngsters sitting with a stengun slung on their back. We know very well that these stenguns do not have a licence. But what is done for them? The police men turn their head away when they see them. I have personally experienced that where I have seen escorts slow down, they see the motor-cycle rider going past. That is the state of affairs that exists in Punjab. The truth is that terrorism has no religion and terrorists have also no religion. They only swear by an action which inflicts a terror in the heart of a man. The point is that there has been a demand from many youngsters in the Congree Bench, not now but in the past even, that we want an effective action, we want an effective government in Punjab. A people's movement rose. It requires the backing of the strong government. But what we got was a very soft-hearted good friend. Mr. Ramoowalia has just now stated how nice and friendly Mr. Barnala has been. We are not saying that he is an enemy. I am sure, Mr. Buta Singh would not say that. But unfortunately, such a nice man that he is, he was not good enough to handle the situation; that is a reality. The problem is that we require a firm handling. It is no use being scared. We require a rod to be laid firmly and strongly. The terrorists do not understand reasons; they only understand if they are tackled properly in terms of firm action and action in terms of real law and order machinery being in operation. I do not know whether terrorism will go in a day because the President's Rule has come. I am sure, it would not. But I would like to take this opportunity to plead with Mr. Buta Singh, especially our Home Minister through you, Mr. Chairman

that let not history repeat itself. Let this time under president's rule strong action be taken of the firmest type that we can. I am sure, all the political parties will continue their joint action of a people's movement to crush terrorism. But let not a situation arise where the same allegations which we are today making on Barnala being too good a man, come upon us. I would like to say that this is a warning because the people of India want results. They want this terrorism to be quashed. Let me, from the floor of this House, say that every single one of us who is in Parliament is against this terrorism. We are against this separatist movement of Khalistan and we will fight it. As long as there is a drop of blood in all the seventy crores people of India, we will fight it. But along with us, we want the Government machinery to be on stand-by with us. Let it not be such that when they see a terrorist, they run away. We want to face it squarely. We will also stand-by them in amounts of thousands and millions and crores of us.

I am sorry that I have taken so much time but I would like to end by saying that the reason-if I understand rightly -for bringing about the President's rule is because the social fabric itself in the State of Punjab was being destroyed. This social fabric has to be protected.

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

In addition to weeding out the terrorists and destroying them, curbing them, controlling them, what is required is that we do not allow the moderates to get this feeling that we are against them. I agree with my friend Mr. Ramoowalia that the moderates should not get a feeling that we are not with them. On the contrary, we want those moderates who have the courage to stand and face the bullets, to come forward. We are with them, we will stand by them and we will never dodge them.

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, whatever be the

[Sh. M. S. Gill]

reasons, whatever be the grounds, or whatever be the motivation for this proclamation, the people of Punjab have heaved a sigh of relief by this order of the President. It was a very dark period in the history of Punjab. The people of Punjab were reeling for the last twentyone months under the most inefficient and highly corrupt government. The national Press has described this government as the corruptest government that ever came in Punjab. All the speakers have ignored this very important aspect. One of the major reasons for the removal or dismissal of this government given by the Governor in his report is the corruption. The language used is, "The corruption is rampant and the Ministers are busy collecting money for transfers, for extensions and for appointments, from the people." This was the situation prevalent in Punjab for the last twentyone months. This situation could not be allowed to be continued for a long period of time, more especially, under the rule of the Congress(I) which is guided by the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. They tolerated this government for such a long period of time. It is something very strange. They prolonged the agony of the people for such a long period of time. They have to be accused by the people of Punjab for this. But now when they have come in the right direction, the people of Punjab will certainly appreciate this step and will support this step.

My friend, while condemning this proclamation, has said that Mr. Barnala has been successful in recovering so many weapons, so many sten guns, so many arms within such and such a period of time. Well, this is done by the forces of law and order in spite of the hinderances created by the Ministers of Barnala Government. This is a credit to the law and order forces in Punjab and not to the Barnala Government.

17.00 hrs

Now you must have read in the papers that No. 2 Minister in the Punjab

Government, he was in league with a leading terrorist viz., Jagtar Singh. This was the head line of the paper and Mr. Ribiero had to report this matter to the Home Minister that he was being pressurised by that Minister to release that man who has been responsible for so many murders. This was the state of affairs.

One of the sons of the Ministers in the Barnala Government is under arrest because of the links with those persons and two other Minister, they have got the report that they have been supporting those persons and yet my friend has guts to say that he has been fighting. Well, he has been fighting on papers alone. Under the protection of 220 police men, sitting in one room in Chandigarh, giving statements to the press that was the fight he was carrying on. Nothing else. He never went to the people and he has no guts to go to the people because he is absolutely cut off from the people because of his bad works for the last 21 months no development was there in Punjab. Absolutely it was standing still. It was a miserable condition. Befca Because whatever the industry licence was given, to whom it was given, it was given for some consideration, for some money. It is very clear fact and known to the whole country. Whatever was done, it was not done without any consideration. If such a Government be allowed to rule there.

It was the experience of the Central Government. I should say, it was a very bad experience for such a long time. These facts were brought to the notice of the Home Minister a number of times. These facts were brought to the notice of the Prime Minister. But we do not know what was the hitch, what was the problem, as if Barnala was the only person who could fight out the terrorists. For getting this thing, every Punjabi, every Sikh is a nationalist and he is a part and parcel of the country. The freedom of this country and peace in this country is as much dear to our heart as to anybody else. I dare

say that it was only for the sake of money and not for fighting out these forces of disruption, they were for a particular purpose and now they have been removed. My friend has said, a very bad message has been sent to the nation, to the people. Absolutely not.

I can understand, if for some reasons the Treasury Benches could support such a corrupt Government for such a long period of time. But I just cannot understand a principal party-Marxist progressive party, supporting such a Government for such a long period of time without any reason. There is no logic for this. No argument is being advanced why this Government repeatedly said- 'support Barnala, support Barnala'. We can understand if they had said, support Barnala's action against the terrorists. That was something reasonable. But support Barnala and support Barnala's\*\* 'is absolutely not understandable to us. This has been carried on for such a long period in this House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This will not go on record.

SHRI M.S. GILL: I, therefore, support the proclamation under Article 356 and now I would further request the Government, now when the Government is to take charge of Punjab, I will, therefore, appeal to the Government, now take into consideration all the facts and have the experience of the past. The first thing they must do is that since one of the grounds for dismissing the Government is corruption, those corrupt persons must be hauled up. Those corrupt persons whether they are Ministers, whether they are M.L.As or they are the Chairmen of certain Corporations, they must be hauled up. If that is done, the people of Punjab will be behind the Central Government. Secondly, if the charge against those Ministers is that they have been supporting the terrorists or their relations

have been supporting the terrorists, those Ministers must be hauled up. Those Ministers must be brought to the court of law and these Ministers must be shown the provisions of law, and only then it will be clear to the nation that here is the Central law and the guilty persons are there in the dock. Only then the people of Punjab will be happy that the Central Government has done something really good

Sir, the third thing is this. Sir, now when the situation is changed in Punjab, those persons who have been lodged in jail under NSA without any reason or without any sufficient reason I should say, should be released immediately and they should be brought to the negotiating table. Then should be given a chance to tell the Government what the reasons are for the present situation Whosoever it is, whether Mr. Badal or Mr. Tohra, they should be brought to the negotiating table and a talk should be started. The whole population of Punjab should be taken into confidence and a new life should be started so that peace may dwell on Punjab which has been suffering, which has been undergoing the pains and pangs for the last four years. With these words, I support this proclamation with all the force at my command.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): Hon'ble Deputy-Speaker, Sir, till last night, I had been the most unhappy restless and angry young man in this House. To the extent that on 2nd April, last year, I had almost exploded and hit the dome of this House. I even went to the extent of blaming the Home Minister directly for his inaction.

Bahut Koshish Ki Jamane ne Ki Ham  
Ro den

Magar Kambakht yah Chehra  
Hansata Hi Raha

since this morning, I have been relieved of mental tension and torture and anger I

\*\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair



[Sh. Kamal Chaudhary]

have not had a single day's rest in the last more than 600 days. I commend the hon. Prime Minister for having taken this bold step against all pressures and also the Home Minister. I hope the Home Minister will finally shed his weakness and show his mettle and act boldly.

17.05 hrs

[MR SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Sir, I served 21 years in the Indian Air Force. I have flown the most dreaded fighter aircraft of the Indian Air Force. I was trained to use the most offensive weapon available. In 1984, while I was flying defending the frontiers on Western side, we were informed that there was an emergency recall and we were asked to land. Our beloved the then Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was shot dead. There was gloom everywhere. I had the signal honour of escorting our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who was carrying the ashes of Indiraji to Amarnath caves. I was flying Mig-23 armed with the best weapons available. On 10th May, 1985, my father was shot dead. This was the time when I was again flying on the Northern frontier side at Siachen Glacier. After I landed back, I went to Hoshiarpur. There was bloodshed in Hoshiarpur. One youth was already killed and about 60 shops were burnt down. I was happy to have prevented any further bloodshed and loss to the property. Sir, I would also like to add that my sister's brother-in-law was murdered in Shivpuri, being a Sikh and my father was murdered being a Hindu. Sir, I defended this nation for 21 years while being in the Indian Air Force.

Sir, in August 1985, one night, I received a phone call from our Prime Minister mentioning his desire that I should file my nomination papers. I resigned from the Air Force and I filed my nomination. Now, I am here in the Lok Sabha. I have taken a vow that I will help solve the Punjab problem and it will always

be my first and the foremost endeavour to keep the nation united. I have done my bit by talking to all concerned like Shri S.S. Barnala, Shri Prakash Singh Badal, Shri Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Shri Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Shri Jivan Singh Umranganal, Governor of Punjab, Director General of Punjab Police, Union Home Minister, the Ministers of State for Law and Order and the hon. Prime Minister. And I have been the only M.P. out of the 20 Members of Parliament who has been living in Punjab, I have travelled by all means, be it a rickshaw, tonga, a cycle, a scooter, a car or by air, even after my life was threatened. This is to give confidence to the people. In this connection, I would like to give an example. Last year after having informed the Union Home Minister and the Chief Minister of Punjab while there was curfew in Hoshiarpur, fearing more bloodshed in Hoshiarpur, I landed in Hoshiarpur to prevent this bloodshed only to be received by a CRPF person with a bullet. I did blame the Home Minister for not having taken any action against that individual. I did blame the Deputy Commissioner and the SSP responsible for this. I have learnt one thing in the Indian Air Force--never to complain, but to give suggestions. (*Interruptions*)

I had always spoken against the peace marches or *Padayatras* and the peace rallies. I had met Sunil Duttji. I have lot of regards for him, his intentions were very good. However, it was of no use.

Buta Singhji mentioned a few things about sudden change in the *modus operandi* of terrorists and unprecedented incidents is up to May. For example, in March 300 incidents occurred and 63 lives were lost; in April 350 incidents occurred and 85 lives were lost. And upto 10th May there were 100 incidents and 20 lives were lost. This is what I have been saying all through ever since 1985 as to what is going to happen next. It is better to learn from the experience of others than to burn your own hands. I am happy that some action has been initiated now.

Sir, I would not take any more time. I would start with the suggestions that I would like to go on record:

(1) It is time to act now. It is 'now or never' like I remember the wordings written on the hills of Leh, Ladakh valley by stones which you can see from hundreds of yards: 'Karo Ya maro', that is, 'act or die'. If you don't act now, you shall be destroyed.

(2) The Director General of Punjab Police, I am happy to read in the papers, has been given a free hand. I hope this free hand will be practical and strings will not be pulled from here to check him.

(3) The Director General should be allowed to select his own team of 12 SSPs and 12 SPs.

SHRI SHAMINDER SINGH (Faridkot):  
Not for killing of innocent people.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY: Please. I won't like to comment on you Sir, or, for that matter anybody. So, let me just give my own feelings and my own views.

(4) There should be dismissal/transfer of all culprits from the Punjab police.

(5) There should be recall of all good and strong Punjab Police officers from outside. For example, Buta Singh who, I believe, has been sent to the Soviet Union for his protection.

(6) There should be dismissal/transfer of culprits in the Indian Administrative Service in Punjab and installation of strong and good Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and ADCs. etc.

(7) There should be dismissal/transfer of all other such officers who have a history of communalism behind them in the last 5 to 6 years. We all know them by their names. We have not dared to touch them till now.

(8) Ask the people in Punjab to hand over all illegal weapons and ammunition to the District Administration. Give a dead line. Thereafter, if on search, any illegal weapon or ammunition is found with anybody, he must be shot dead. If required, let us change our laws. If somebody is that brave, let him keep illegal weapons.

(9) All those who harbour terrorists or help them must be treated as terrorists and the same action should be taken as taken against the terrorists.

In the end, I would also appeal to the Opposition that if you love this nation, give full and wholehearted support to the Central Government and its machinery. Don't cry hoarse if one of your near or dear ones is arrested or shot. Kindly take the role of Lord Krishna who told Arjun to pick up weapons and not to look left or right at his friends or relatives. Give the role of Arjun to our young Prime Minister and give the role of Bhim to our Home Minister and ask him to pick up his Gada and use it.

At the end, I would like to thank the hon. Speaker for having given me time.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the recent imposition of President's rule in Punjab is being discussed....(Interruptions).....I am not reading. You please keep silent.

On the one hand, some people are rejoicing over this decision and on the other hand, some are expressing sorrow. Why is it so? We all belong to one country. I observe that whenever President's rule is imposed, some people rejoice it and when it is lifted, some other people again rejoice. On both the occasions Prime Minister's action is appreciated. Earlier, President's rule was imposed in Punjab in 1983. After that a popular Government was constituted there on the basis of

[Sh. Ramashray Prasad Singh]

Rajiv Longowal accord. At that time it was said that our young Prime Minister had done a miracle which no one could do till then. Then why has this situation arised now? I still remember that at the time of signing the accord, it was said that opposition Members were not taken into confidence and that the Rajiv-Longowal accord would not succeed. Now, it has become clear that the accord has not been successful. The main issues on which this accord was signed, have not been implemented at all. You did not have the courage to implement it. That is why you insisted on the transfer of certain areas to Haryana. Both Haryana and Punjab, after all are the parts of India. Had Chandigarh been transferred to Punjab and Haryana would become unhappy, what would have happened? At the most it would not give vote to you, but by this you could have saved the country. But instead of doing so, two commissions were set up for this purpose. What a marvllous work you have done ! Now you have imposed President's rule in Punjab, but two months back you had praised the Government of Shri Barnala in President's address. Therefore, I would say that this step of the Government would strengthen the secessionist forces only and in the next session I will again remind you about its consequences, and tell you that this matter was raised in the House.

Secondly, I would like to say that if you were really honest, you would have found out as to what is happening in Bihar? You would have to reply about the number of people who have lost their lives in Punjab during the last four months, and how many lives have been lost in Bihar. You should tell the number of Bank dacoities which have taken place in Punjab and Bihar separately. How many officers were killed in Punjab and in Bihar? You have to tell about all these things. If President's rule is the solution to these problems, why do you not impose it in Bihar also? I do not think that President's rule would solve the problems in Bihar. But if you are honest

and think it so, why have you not imposed President's rule in Bihar? Yesterday only, a dacoity was detected there in which involvement of your party workers has been found. Due to the involvement of a General Secretary of your student's union from whose residence Rs. one lakh has been detected, other people are also safe. Is it the act of terrorrists? The people of your side are involved in such type of terrorist activities. I would say only this that.... (Interruptions).... Why are you afraid then? Let me speak ..... (Interruptions)....

Secondly, it appears from your action that you do not have any veneration for the country, because by dismissing Barnala Government you have assisted the secessionist forces only. It was been your policy and you have to do nothing with Mr. Barlala. You are taking the plea that your officers were feeling demoralised, but you have to see the fact whether during earlier President's rule in Punjab, were the incidents of killings not taking place there? Whether your officers were all right at that time? (Interruptions) . By imposing President's rule in Punjab, you have adopted the same approach which has been adopted by Srilankan President Shri Jayewardene. With these words I conclude.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the imposition of President's rule in Punjab. I think, President's rule in Punjab should have been imposed nine months back, but Congress has brought the country to this position merely to win the elections. We know that the proposal to create security belt was approved by the Rajya Sabha, but the Government has done nothing about it. We had demnded nine months back that President's rule should be imposed in Punjab, because Barnala Government has not proved to be successful there and the incidents of killings were continuously increasing there. It would be much better if President's rule was imposed there nine

months back. Therefore, Central Government has to take the responsibility of blood shed which has taken place in Punjab during the last nine months. It would have been better if this good step should have been taken earlier. Now in view of elections in Haryana and to sway the votes in Haryana in your favour, you have taken this step. Though it is a much delayed step, but our party supports, the proposal of President's rule in Punjab and we want that unabated incidents of killings in Punjab must be checked. In addition to it, arrangements for creating a security belt should also be made. At present there is nothing like Government in Punjab. Therefore, strong action should be taken by security forces to restore peace and to instil the feelings of security and safety among the people of Punjab.

With these words, I support this resolution.

*[Translation]*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Speaker Sir, the hon. Members of this House have discussed the situation in Punjab which is very serious at present and they have also expressed their views on the President's Proclamation which was presented before the House in the morning today. In my opening remarks, I had stated in detail about the situation prevailing in Punjab at present and about which I was informed by the Governor of Punjab through his letter.

Some points have been raised by our hon. Members, both belonging to the opposition and to the Ruling Party and I would like to give some clarifications on that. The First thing which hon. Shri Reddy has said is that our hon. Prime Minister has been unhappy with the State of affairs in Punjab. It cannot be doubted that we have absolute faith in the democratic system and the popular Government was installed in Punjab with the efforts of hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi himself. You might be

aware that our hon. Prime Minister had told the people of the country in 1985 itself that the Punjab problem should be solved in a democratic manner and through the involvement of the people in it. The Opposition used to say that it was impossible to do so under the circumstances prevailing in those days. They were not in favour of holding elections. But our Hon. Prime Minister who has firm faith in the people of the country went ahead with conducting the elections with great determination and the Congress party played an important role in restoring the democracy in Punjab and thus the present Government came to power with the will of the people. It was done with the belief that the popular Government will be successful in putting an end to the disturbances in Punjab and people will be secure and have trust in each other. Communal harmony will be restored and Punjab will once again march on the path of progress. However, in these 21 months our hopes remained unfulfilled and the democratically elected Government was not able to tackle the situation fully. What were the reasons for it? Many hon. Members have expressed their views about it. Hon. Shri Ramoowalia has said that a Government which was functioning properly has been dismissed. Today, I have to say with much regret about the nature of that Government. There were 46 members and I want to ask hon. Shri Ramoowalia as to how many Ministers and how many office bearers were out of them?

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA: You are the Home Minister  
.....*[Interruptions]*

S. BUTA SINGH: All the M.L.As are occupying some or the other position and that is how the party was surviving. Some indication about as to how they were running the Government is contained in the letter of the Governor.

*(Interruptions).*

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA: What was the compulsion behind it and why did this division take place? All this had happened for the sake of the country.....*(Interruptions)*

S.BUTA SINGH: What I mean to say is that the political people who were expected to tackle the complicated problems were busy in seeking positions and those who were not given any position deserted the party. Our beloved leader, hon. Shri Barnala had kept the situation in Punjab under control with great difficulty.

Just now hon. Shri Janga Reddy referred to Article 249. I would like to tell him that in the same house it was also decided that it would be enforced with the cooperation of the Chief Minister of the various states. We made provision and full arrangements in this regard, but hon. Shri Barnala did not agree to it. He said that he would deliver the desired results. We did not implement Article 249 due to our faith in him and we believed that we would get the results. Moreover, we did not want to show any disrespect to the will of the people and go against the will of the people. We wanted that the democratically elected Government should be given all the facilities, all support and all assistance so that it is able to find a solution to the problem. But it is regretful that Punjab had to pay a heavy price as the State Government did not cooperate in implementing Article 249 and the people had to undergo enormous hardships for 21 months.

Now the point raised for discussion is as to why did the Congress party support the Barnala Government when it was in the minority. I have already said in the beginning that the Congress party wanted to solve the Punjab problem through the processes of democracy and constitutional methods. inspite of being in the minority and not having much mobilisation, we opted for supporting the

ruling Barnala group. The Congress made efforts to go into every tehsil and district and mobilise people's support for the Akali Government. It wanted this Government to continue, because it had the nation's and the people's interest as its highest priority. However, as I have stated in my opening remarks that a well intentioned person like hon. Shri Barnala who has been called the best gunner and who wanted to uphold the national unity, intergrity and secularism, was unfortunately let down by his closest colleagues who would not allow the gunner to reach the handle of the gun and thus he became diffident in giving a positive direction to the administration. The result was that more than half a dozen of his Ministers.....

It was for the first time that the Ministers, inspite of facing serious charges were enjoying all the privileges. We never did anything. All Was initiated by the State Government. Criminal cases were also registered against them. They ought to have resigned from their positions when such cases were going on in the court of law, but they were not directed to do so. Hon. Shri Reddy has pointed out as to why did not the centre direct the State Government to dismiss those particular Ministers. If such provisions were there in our constitution then I would have had to issue instructions to the Telugu Desam Government also, but as such provisions are not there, So the Chief Ministers have the right to keep or dismiss any Minister....

*[English]*

SHRI AMAL DUTTA (Diamond Harbour):  
Informal consultations.

*[Translation]*

S. BUTA SINGH: Mr. Amal Dutta, it will be good if I say the least about it. The remarks which were made on suggesting to them about consultations were such that I cannot go into its details here.

Inspite of it we endured everything, because we felt that the interest of the country was of Paramount in importance and we made efforts to give them full support so that the Government could continue in power, but unfortunately, instead of protecting the life and property of the people and maintaining security at the borders, it was more interested in protecting its own position. What made the matters worse was the deep involvement of some of the Ministers with the terrorists and the separatists who were openly disturbing the life and law and order in this State. We made a lot of efforts and urged the Chief Minister repeatedly to take stringent action such people. He would also agree with me here, but he would not take any steps on reaching Chandigarh. Similarly, hon. Shri Reddy has said about the Accord. I have said in my opening remarks that there should not be any doubts about it. The Punjab Accord was signed with the sincere hope that issues would be resolved amicably and through constitutional methods. Shri Amal Dutta is repeatedly asking as to why Chandigarh was not transferred to Punjab? If he reads the terms of the Accord carefully, he will realise that it is clearly written that Chandigarh cannot be transferred in isolation. The provision is for a simultaneous transfer. Chandigarh will be transferred along with the Hindi speaking areas. This is the condition of the Accord which I cannot change. I don't have the powers to direct any State to do otherwise.

[English]

SHRI AMAL DUTTA: If you are willing to change it, the only party to the Accord is the Akali Dal. They would have certainly agreed.—Your saying that you cannot change this is really fertile. Together with them you could have changed.

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this august House knows very well as to what

was the attitude of the then ruling party on the issue of transfer of Chandigarh. They took the award from Delhi and adopted it in the Assembly. But they rejected it in the meeting of the cabinet. Now what can we do with such a political party which adopt the award in the Assembly, but reject it in the meeting of the cabinet. It is so, because they do not have the firmness and the political will. We are still prepared and communication, have been sent to them time and again. The delay which has taken place is due to the letters written by them. They have themselves said that they do not want that there should be any decision on it. The Central Government did not force any decision on them. Therefore, I want to repeat the if to-day once again that we have not put any hindrances in the implementation of the accord and it is also not correct to say that the accord was not implemented because of us. It is totally unfair to say that we have stood in the way of the implementation of the accord. I want that Shri Amal Dutta should extend his co-operation and the co-operation of his party. We are prepared even to-day that as it was agreed upon, it may be implemented according to its terms.

Shri Amal Datta has also said two or three more points to which I would like to make a reference. One thing he said is that no regard has been shown to the Parliament. Sir, what more regard would have been there than that first of all we brought this proclamation in the Parliament. We talked to our hon. colleagues and all of you also took pains to sit for one more day. Therefore, the Parliament session was extended for one more day, because we wanted to present it before the Parliament. Otherwise it was very easy that we could have announced it after the Parliament session was over. Sir, it was our intention to present it before this august House and receive the approval of this House. In this way we have shown greatest regards to the Parliament and to this House and that is why that we have presented it before this House.

[English]

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): My point was you should have announced it in Parliament and not placed it before Parliament after you have released it to the Press:

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: Shri Amal Datta has mentioned it very casually.

[English]

What is wrong if a Minister has written against a police chief. Normally the working of a Government and a police. Chief has its own place in the set up.

[Translation]

It is the same police chief who has engaged himself in this dreadful war on behalf of the entire nation. It is not proper to say so lightly about such a police chief. Perhaps you are not aware that it is your polit-bureau which has passed a resolution about it. a resolution has been passed by your politbureau against the very minister who committed a heinous act by writing a letter against Shri Ribeiro. It gives me pleasure (interruptions) If any party, any political party in the opposition or its highest forum had ever written about Ribeiro and wrote categorically against that letter, then it is the politbureau of C.P.M. (Interruption)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur): There is also another part of it, wherein it has been stated that Ribeiro and the Minister should not have rushed to the Press. Why do you not tell about it. (Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Amal Datta has said one more interesting thing:-

He has given his arguments. I want to meet them (Interruptions). Brother, they

have spoken in our favour. Why do you not allow me to speak about it? Shri Amal Datta has said that the Barnala Government should have been dismissed, but why has it been done to day? (Interruptions).

[English]

Your words are:" You had to dismiss him. It could be after one month. Why have done it today?" Even CPM was convinced that this Government cannot be allowed to go. But why you have done it today. If we have done it today, we have done something very good and I Am sure you will support that.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJ KUMAR RAI (Ghosi): What relevance does it have here?

S. BUTA SINGH: It is relevant for the reason that whatever we have done was right.

Sir, it gives no pleasure to us by dismissing the Barnala Government. I have myself said that Shri Barnala is a very good man. As I have already told that he could have done something, but he was not able to translate his views into action and he could not take his colleagues with him and could not face the prevailing atmosphere in Punjab. Now we had to take these strict steps for the reason that we have got some responsibilities to the nation, we have some duty towards our nation. We have got some duty to the people of the country and the people of Punjab. I do not want to go into its details. I had also told Shri Arif the other day that we will fulfill not only our moral obligations, but constitutional obligations as well. By placing this proclamation before this House, the Government of India have proved that it will shoulder the difficulties of the people of Punjab and we ourselves will deal with them.

Several hon. Members have expressed their views about corruption. Whether he is a politician, an officer, a Government employee, whatever corrupt forces are there, whether these are political or administrative, action will be taken against such corrupt forces by this Government and no one will be spared. Besides action will be taken against those who are in league with the extremists and those who are harbouring the separatist elements. As has been said just now by our hon. Akali Leader, protection will be given to all innocent citizens or those people who are with the nation and those people who are patriots as well as faithful to the nation and all the sikhs living throughout the country. Traitors will be rooted out.

With these words I recommend to the House that this proclamation may be passed.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President of the 11th May, 1987 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab."

*The motion was adopted*

17.41 hrs

GOA, DAMAN AND DIU REORGANISATION BILL *CONTD*

S. BUTA SINGH: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the following amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill to provide for the reorganisation of the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration:

**"Clause 20**

That at page 6, lines 43 and 44, for the words "The High Court of

Maharashtra and Goa" the words "the High Court or Bombay" be substituted".

Sir, as you know, in this august House there was a unanimous opinion and also the Hon. Prime Minister had directed that the Bombay High Court has a history behind it and the name of the Bombay High Court should not be changed. So, in deference to the wishes of the Hon. Members and according to the direction of our Prime Minister, it is brought. We could not do it before because the Bill was passed. After that, when the Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha, we moved the amendment and the Rajya Sabha had adopted it. I recommend to this House that this amendment be adopted without discussion.

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved:

"That the following amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill to provide for the reorganisation of the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration:

**Clause 20**

That at page 6, lines 43 and 44, for the words "The High Court of Maharashtra and Goa" the words "the High Court of Bombay" be substituted."

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): I would like to thank the Government, particularly the Prime Minister and the Home Minister for accepting my suggestion which I made yesterday in the debate that the name of the Bombay High Court should not be changed. It is good that it was ultimately accepted in the Upper House. Anyway it has been accepted I thank the Government.



SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK (Panaji): Sir, I have no objection to the changing of name. But after changing the name, the result would be that it would mean and imply that for the State of Goa, on High Court has been created as required under Article 214 of the Constitution ....(Interruptions)... Article 214 of the constitution says that there shall be a High Court for every State.

Secondly, the salaries of the High Court of the Bombay shall be paid by Goa State and also by the Maharashtra State. Salary paying and name not being included is not correct. Thirdly, in Arunachal Pradesh Act, a High Court has been created for seven States and the names of all the seven States have been included in the bracket. It cannot be done here. I have a copy of the Arunachal Pradesh Act. I have no objection for changing the name. But this will mean that within one or two months you will have to create a separate High Court for Goa and I am happy about that. The consequences will be that a separate High Court for Goa will have to be created.

S. BUTA SINGH: I don't think any reply is required. The Hon. Member's wishes have been noted and at a time when we think that the stage has come, we will see.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the following amendment made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill to provide for the reorganisation of the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu and for matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration:

**"Clause 20**

That at page 6, lines 43 and 44 for the words "The High Court of Maharashtra and Goa" the words "the High Court of Bombay" be substituted."

*The motion was adopted.*

(Common High Court for Maharashtra, Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu.)

**Clause 20**

MR. SPEAKER: We shall now take up the amendment recommended by the Rajya Sabha: The question is:

"That at page 6, lines 43 and 44 for the words "the High Court of Maharashtra and Goa" the words "the High Court of Bombay" be substituted."

*The motion was adopted*

S. BUTA SINGH: I beg to move:

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

MR. SPEAKER : The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

17.45 hrs.

**LABOUR WELFARE FUND LAWS  
(AMENDMENT) BILL**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE  
MINISTRY OF LABOUR (SHRI P.A.  
SANGMA): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1946, the Limestone and Dolomite Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1972, the Iron Ore Mines, Manganese Ore Mines

and Chrome ore Mines Labour Welfare Fund, Act, 1976 and the Beedi Workers Welfare Fund Act, 1976, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

We have four welfare funds for the workers at the moment and according to these Acts the Welfare funds which we have for the workers can be spent only for the purposes which have been specified in the Act itself.

Sometime back the Minister for Family Welfare convened the meeting of the representatives of the trade unions and the Labour Ministry and emphasised that in view of the Government policy to control the population the Labour Ministry and the trade union leaders should also do something about it. Accordingly we are coming here to enable us to spend a portion of the money which we have for the purpose of family planning because we have already a number of hospitals and dispensaries which are functioning under the Act and we want to utilise this infrastructure available with us.

The second amendment we are coming forward is regarding the Beedi Workers Welfare Fund Act where we are not able to extend much of welfare activities to Beedi workers because the identification of the Beedi workers is a problem. Last time I Promised to the House that we will make it obligatory for the management to issue identity cards and if they failed to do so then we will provide penal provision. So I have kept this promise and have come with the amendment.

Since it is a Bill in the interest of the workers I would request the House to pass it even without discussion.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the Bill further to amend the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1946, the Limestone and

Dolomite Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1972, the Iron Ore Mines, Manganese Ore Mines and Chrome Ore Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1976, and the Beedi Workers Welfare Fund Act, 1976, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

[*Translation*]

\* SHRI PURNA CHANDRA MALIK (Durgapur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Minister of Labour has brought forward this Bill in this House for the welfare of labour. Although the Bill is small yet its purpose is highly laudable. Prior to this many legislations were enacted to protect the interests of mine workers and factory workers. But in this Bill, matters of family planning, education and job opportunities have also been added. Sir, in our Constitution and in various laws, provisions are there to protect the interests of workers. But it is a matter of regret that, though provided in law, the workers are not actually getting these benefits. The workers working in various mines and in various industrial establishments are not getting even the minimum benefits provided in law. Even to this day proper and adequate housing facilities have not been provided to all workers. Only 15% workers have been provided with housing. No arrangement has been made to provide housing facilities to the remaining workers. All these workers who have not been provided houses, live in filthy and unhealthy slums. There are no facilities for clean drinking water for them. There are no medical facilities for them. On account of living in unhealthy surroundings, all these poor workers suffer from Tuberculosis, stomach ailments and other incurable diseases. Their children do not get any nutritious food. As a result of this a large number of Children die due to malnutrition. The children of these workers do not get any opportunities of education also. In our

\* The speech was originally delivered in Bengali

[Sh. Puran Chandra Malik]

country a much larger number of workers and labourers belong to the unorganised sector as compared to those in the organised sector. The condition of all those workers in the unorganised sector is still worse. They are not even paid the minimum wages. There is no provision for bonus, gratuity, pension and provident fund for these unfortunate workers of the unorganised sector. I will request the hon. Minister to enact some legislation whereby these large number of workers in the unorganised sector may also get the above benefits. Sir, in the Bankura district of West Bengal there are a few thousand Bidi workers. There are no doctors or medicines available for their treatment. A few non-Bengali doctors are there who do not understand the problems of these workers as they do not know their language. I will request that proper medical facilities may be provided there and Bengali knowing doctors may be appointed to solve their medical problems.

Sir, as you are well aware, 70 to 80% people of our country live in villages. Most of them are associated with agriculture in some form or other. About 50% of them are agricultural labourers. These are the people who grow the golden grain for us with the sweat of their brow and with their blood and tears and provide us with food. But these unfortunate people no right to this wealth of the country. Even after 40 years of independence most of them do not have any permanent shelter, they do not have facilities of food and clothing, they do not have facilities of education or medical treatment. They are deprived of all these facilities and benefits. They do not get work for more than 100 days in a year. They do not even get the minimum wages. The farmers and agricultural labourers in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala have been able to realise some of their demands through agitations etc. no doubt, but in most of the other States they are deprived of these benefits.

Therefore, I will urge upon the hon. Minister that if he thinks about the welfare of all these agricultural workers and labourers, then he should bring forth and pass a minimum wage Act on all India basis. On behalf of our party we are raising this demand before the Govt. for a long time. But it is a matter of regret that this Govt. has not acceded to this demand till this day. Moreover, Sir, the labourers and workers in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, in spite of getting the benefits of minimum wages, are in a sad plight today on account of the spiralling rise in prices as a result of the wrong policies followed by the Central Govt. Their lives have become miserable and unbearable. Therefore, we have demanded that 14 essential commodities of daily use may be supplied at a uniform price throughout the country through Government retail shops or outlets. If the Government implements these demands, then that will be the real consideration and feeling for the welfare of the workers. I hope that the hon. Minister will take immediate and active steps for implementing them. With that Sir, I thank you and conclude my speech.

[*Translation*]

SHRI DAMODAR PANDEY (Hazaribagh): Mr. Speaker Sir, there appears to be nothing worth opposing in the system proposed to be brought through this Bill in the House. Still there are one or two points towards which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister.

First of all, the amount of cess is so meagre that the Welfare Boards which you have mentioned in this Bill, it will find it difficult to complete the work and discharge the responsibility which you have taken in your hand with that amount. It is not possible to complete that much work which you want to do by this meagre amount of cess. As per the coverage available to-day, you have not been able to provide those facilities

which you have already announced and promised to the labourer. Now you want to provide additional facilities by this amount of cess. I am of the view that unless this cess amount is increased, and till you make provisions of funds for other additional works, it will remain merely a joke and it will serve no purpose. I, therefore, suggest that the amount of cess should be increased so that the work which you want to undertake in the interest of the labourers may be undertaken properly and you may take some action for the welfare of the Bidi Mazdoors and Mine workers.

Secondly, a number of boards have been set up. There are separate boards for mica, dolomite etc. It is sheer waste of money if separate boards are set up and the work is also not done properly— which ought to have been done through them. I would like to make a suggestion that instead of setting up separate welfare boards, a single unified welfare board may be set up for all the industries and an arrangement may be made so that those areas such mines, minerals, and the people working in other areas like the stone breakers, who have not been covered so far, may also be covered, because their condition is very pitiable throughout India. It may do some good for them. Now-a-days a new system has been in practice that in order to get rid of cess, the mine owners say that it is not lime stone, it is soft stone. Similarly other mine owners have changed their names and adopted some other names. All of them have found ways of evading cess. Since the Central Government is fully responsible for it, I suggest that a single welfare board may be set up for all the mine. The amount of cess may be increased so that you could do some welfare work for the mine workers.

[English]

SHRI P.A. SANGMA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, both the Hon. Members have supported the Bill and I take it that the whole House supports it.

The hon. Member on that side mentioned in general about the unorganized sector. We are very much concerned about the plight of the unorganized sector. The House will remember that in the Budget speech, the Prime Minister announced the National Commission on Rural Labour, and we are trying to give all our attention to the unorganized labour, which consists of 90 per cent and we have been talking so much about it, and I do not have to take much of the time of the House.

Shri Pandey mentioned about the cess. I may inform him that from the 1st April, we have raised the cess from 10 paise to 30 paise. We hope to get more money and use that for the welfare of the workers.

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put the consideration motion to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1946, the Limestone and Dolomite Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1972, the Iron Ore Mines, Manganese Ore Mines and Chrome Ore Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1976 and the Beedi Workers Welfare Fund Act, 1976, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration.

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER: Now, we will take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

The question is:

The Clauses 2 to 7 stand part of the Bill".

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 2 to 7 were added to the Bill*

*Clause 1, Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI P.A. SANGMA: I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed".

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

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MR. SPEAKER: Today is the last day of the present session.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Just one sentence on a matter of propriety. I feel you are going to talk about the adjournment. In that case, I would submit that it has been the convention of this House that when we are about to adjourn *sine die*, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition are here, but I find that nobody is giving that much respect to the House.

I am treating everybody equally. I am saying this not only about the Prime Minister but also about the important leaders of the Opposition.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no such convention.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Should you not pass a remark in the interest of healthy conventions? Just pass a remark and then proceed.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, before you say

something to us, if you kindly permit me, I shall say only four lines.

MR. SPEAKER; No I do not, say anything now. I have become speechless. I would not say anything.

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI: I wanted to say only this much...

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: What did you say for me, Sir?

MR. SPEAKER: Sahab, there is no such convention. It would have been a good thing had there been any such convention. Otherwise, it is upto them. They have to look after their own interest. There is no such thing for which I am required to say anything.

*[English]*

It has not been like that.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI: I am presenting it to you on behalf of all the Members:

"Bijaliyan Bison Girlin, daman Me Hamne jhel Lin,

Bajiyen Usne Bichchain, Hans Ke Hamne Khel Lin,

Jo Hua Behtar Hua, Aab Aur Bhi Behtar Rahe,

Karvan Badhata Rahe, aur Aap Hi rahbar Rahen."

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you very much. The House stands adjourned *Sine die*.

18.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned sine die.*

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**Publish under Rules 379 and 382 of the Rules of Procedure and  
Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha (Sixth Edition) and printed by  
S. Narayan & Sons, Delhi**

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