

# LOK SABHA DEBATES (English Version)

**Fourteenth Session — Second Part  
(Eighth Lok Sabha)**



सत्यमेव जयते

12  
2/3/90

*(Vol. LIII contains Nos. 1 to 3)*

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
NEW DELHI**

*Price : Rs. 6.00*

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## LOK SABHA DEBATES

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### LOK SABHA

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Thursday, October 12, 1989/Asvina 20,  
1911 (Saka)

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The Lok Sabha met at two minutes past  
Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

[English]

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani):  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have given a Calling  
Attention notice on the exorbitant price rise.

MR. SPEAKER: We will discuss it.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: There is so  
much artificial shortage of essential com-  
modities

MR. SPEAKER: I think we are taking it  
up.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: Please do  
it. Thank you very much.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla):  
Sir, in drugs like Glucose, they have found  
fungus.

MR. SPEAKER: No problem. If there is  
time, we will take it up

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: I have given  
a Calling Attention notice.

MR. SPEAKER: I think we have dis-  
cussed it yesterday.

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI (Sri-  
nagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government  
has conferred on the people of Ladakh of the  
status of scheduled tribes and it is causing a  
lot of tension in various parts of Kashmir  
Valley and in the backward areas like Poonch,  
Rajouri and Gulgulabgarh in Jammu which  
was a population of lakhs of people. In view  
of the mounting violence and tension, the  
Government has conferred this status on the  
people of Ladakh. This is very unfortunate. I  
think that it is a case of discrimination. It  
should have been given an impartial view.  
Shrimati Gandhi had also made a commit-  
ment in this regard and it was also de-  
manded that Gurjars and Bakarwals should  
be covered under it. I would like you to guide  
us in this regard... (Interruptions)

[English]

Justice should be meted out of the people  
of the State. Otherwise, this is going to  
create tension and crisis. We are already  
suffering from this problem.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Please give it in writ-  
ing.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS  
(SHRI P. NAMGYAL): I would like to say that  
it was a long standing demand. It is not

based on communal lines. Muslims, Buddhists and Christians also live there. People belonging to almost all the castes live there. You are saying baseless things. Please sit down, you should not say such things ..(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER Why are you making noise?

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER Please sit down Don't make noise

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI Every body knows that in Ladhak, there is communal tension and violence and after that you have conferred this status on the people there I do not oppose Ladhakis They are part and parcel of the State (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER Why are you shouting unnecessarily?

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK (Panaji) Sir, what action Government proposes to take with respect to US\$ 21 million deposited in St Kitts Bank b, Mr Ajeya Singh on five different accounts? Even passport documents of Mr V P Singh and his son were submitted to Mr Mc Lean, the functionary of the bank

MR. SPEAKER I do not know I am not concerned with individual cases

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK Where does the money come from Sir? May be some money is being provided by CIA Are we to take action against CIA? (*Interruptions*)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur) I want to congratulate our Government on the special drive programme for recruitment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to the Central Government services At the same time, I would like

to request the Government through you to launch a special drive for general category people also because the Central Government notified vacancies should be filled and ban on recruitment should be withdrawn. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, from time to time I have been raising this issue here that in view of the condition of the Nasirabad Mhow section of Jaipur-Bombay highway which passes through Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. This highway should be declared a National Highway

There is heavy traffic load on this road You have also see that road and you know it very well that it is very difficult to pass through the heavy traffic on this road So, I would like to make an appeal in this House through you that it should be declared a National Highway

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI BASHEER (Chirayinkil) About Mr, Ajeya Singh's assets and bank deposits, the Minister Mr Eduardo Faleiro made a statement in the other House I would request him through you to make a statement in this House also. We must know the facts regarding his assets and regarding his deposits in the foreign account This is a very serious thing and we want a discussion on that subject also (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Salem-pur) Mr Speaker, Sir, recently, the price of sugar was sky-rocketing in the country

MR. SPEAKER. What happened?

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA. Sir, price of sugar was sky rocketing Please listen to



me just for a minute. On the pressure from the Government, the rate was slightly reduced. But it was fixed at Rs. 9 per kg. Sir, in view of this price rise, the sugarcane grower is also eager to know above the price he is going to get for his sugarcane. Through you, I would like to urge the Government to announce the price of sugarcane for the next crushing season.

MR. SPEAKER: We are going to have a discussion on a Calling-Attention Motion on price-rise. Please sit down

*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam): About the Sri Lankan issue, you promised, Mr. Speaker, Sir, even in August itself, that it would be taken up for discussion. But it has not been taken up for discussion so far. Sir, I understand, there is an Accord between India and Sri Lanka with regard to withdrawal of the IPKF from the Sri Lankan island. What happened to that? The Government has not come forward with a statement so far. Why? Everyday 38, 40 or 50 people are being killed by the JVP extremists and other people. What steps are actually being taken by the Government of India? They should come forward with a statement at least. If there is an Accord, after July 1987, automatically they have to make a statement here. *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA PRATAP NARAIN SINGH (Padrauna) Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has been stated by the President of the Congress Party that more than twenty lakh people have been affected by Kala-Azar in Bihar. So, I would request the Government to speed up the efforts being made for its eradication.

MR. SPEAKER: Doctor Saheb, even earlier, on two occasions, I have admitted calling-attention on this issue. But now when you are raising it again, we will once again ask the Ministry.

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would again request you to direct the Government to fix price of sugarcane also on the basis of the existing price of sugar.

MR. SPEAKER: We will take it up also during the discussion on price-rise.

11.07 1/2 hrs.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

[English]

#### **Annual Report and review on the working of Delhi Development Authority for 1987-88 and a statement showing reason for delay**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI DALBIR SINGH) I beg to lay on the Table

- (1) (i) A copy of the Annual Administration Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Delhi Development Authority for the year 1987-88 under section 26 of the Delhi Development Act, 1957.
- (ii) A statement (Hindi and English versions) regarding Review by the Government on the working of the Delhi Development Authority for the year 1987-88.
- (2) A Statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (1) above. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-8347/89]

11.08 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 111 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to enclose a copy of the Nagaland University Bill, 1989, which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 11th October, 1989 "
- (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 sitting held on the 11th October 1989, agreed without any amendment to the Small Industries Development Bank of India Bill, 1989, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 28th July, 1989

11.08 1/2 hrs.

[*English*]

NAGALAND UNIVERSITY BILL

**As passed by Rajya Sabha**

SECRETARY GENERAL: Sir, I lay on the Table the Nagaland University Bill, 1989, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

11.08 3/4 hrs.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

**Hundred and Sixty-Sixth Report**

[*English*]

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichetti-palayam): Sir, I beg to present the Hundred and Sixty-sixth Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Public Accounts Committee on Working of Land and Development Of tice.

11.09 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

**Seventy-fifth Report**

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMEN TARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT): I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Seventy-fifth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 11th October, 1989."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Seventy-fifth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 11th October, 1989."

*The motion was adopted*

11.10 hrs.

**GOVERNORS (EMOLUMENTS, ALLOWANCES AND PRIVILEGES) AMENDMENT BILL\***

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM). Sir, on behalf of Shri Buta Singh, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Governors (Emoluments, Allowances and Privileges) Act, 1982.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Governors (Emoluments, Allowances and Privileges) Act, 1982 "

*The motion was adopted*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

11.10 1/2 hrs.

**SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES ORDERS (AMENDMENT) BILL\***

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF WELFARE (DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to alter the names of certain castes and tribes in the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and for matters connected therewith.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to alter the names of certain castes and tribes

in the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and for matters connected therewith."

*The motion was adopted*

DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: The House shall now take up matters under Rule 377. Shri Sriballav Panigrahi.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Before I read the statement under Rule 377, I seek your permission to raise one matter which has also a bearing on this. My name was listed yesterday for this; but I could not remain present in the House because although I had set out from home on 9th itself and I had given requisition for accommodation in the train two days earlier to that, the railway authorities could not provide us accommodations in the train. That is why I was late yesterday. So also was the case with the Member of Parliament from Sundergarh. We had got into the train with our spouses and companions and we had to get down from the train because they could not give us seats and berths in the train although we had given requisition earlier. I request you to take serious view on this so that such a situation will not occur again at least in future.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri): This is a very serious matter Sir. The Parliament cannot function unless the railway and the airline give us accommodation in time. My submission is that you may kindly take it up with the Ministry.

11.12 hrs.

## MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

[English]

- (i) **Need to provide necessary assistance the State Government of Orissa for construction of a stadium at Deogarh in memory of late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi**

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Deogarh in Orissa was one of the few places where the then Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi addressed a mammoth gathering on 30th October, 1984, the previous day of her cruel assassination. In fitness of things a suitable memorial should be built in this place. In this connection it is proposed by the local people and Municipal Council to have a stadium built to be named after her. The Union Government should render all sorts of assistance for this noble work.

- (ii) **Need to supply adequate quantity of sugar and rice to Orissa for distribution through Public Distribution System**

SHRI CHINTAMANI JENA (Balasore): The levy sugar quota normally allotted to the State of Orissa has been reduced for the last few months, causing much hardships to the common man, particularly the persons below poverty line. Poor consumers are not in a position to purchase the required sugar from the open market, where it is sold at the rate of Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/- per kg. As the festive season is on, there is heavy demand for levy sugar by the poor people. In addition, due to curtailment of quota of rice to the rice-eating state of Orissa, the poor people, specially the SC and ST community are in great difficulty. The rice to be distributed under the much expected Jawahar Rojgar Yojana is still to arrive for distribution to the beneficiaries. So, the common man who generally depends on the rice supplied through Public Distribution system, is facing lot of difficulties, as he has no means to

purchase rice from the open market, where the rate has gone abnormally high.

I would request the Food and Civil Supplies Ministry to supply adequate quantity of sugar and rice to Orissa and enhance the quota for the State from the current month onwards.

- (iii) **Need to take measures for early payment of crop insurance dues to the farmers of Gujarat**

DR. DIGVIJAY SINH (Surendranagar): In the State of Gujarat, there is considerable agitation against the non-payment of crop-insurance dues to the farmers.

Out of the total amount of claims of the farmers, only half has been paid so far and the remaining continues to be outstanding.

Immediate steps should be taken to give redress to the farmers for this just dues for theirs before Diwali.

[Translation]

- (iv) **Need to ensure adequate compensation to the farmers of Delhi whose land has been acquired by the Government**

SHRI BHARAT SINGH (Outer Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, consolidated of holdings has started in a number of villages in the rural areas of Delhi. Earlier, the farmers used to get just double area of residential land within the Lal dora limits of their village in lieu of their agricultural land acquired by the Government. It means that they could get two acres of residential land for one acre of their agricultural land. But today the Delhi Administration wants to give only a residential plot of 500 sq. yards to the farmers. The farmers are objecting to it, because if a farmer has four sons, each of his sons can have a house constructed on a residential plot of only 125 sq. yards and will keep his bullock carts, carts driven by he-buffaloes and other such vehicles in the by lanes and way sides which will block the passage of others. Earlier, the

farmers used to apply for a plot of land according to their requirements on the basis of exchange of their agricultural land for the residential plot just half in size of their farming land. Now it should be done under the consolidation of holdings. Those farmers whose cases have been decided by the High Court, are not getting the amount of compensation.

I urge the Central Government to get the amount of compensation immediately to the farmers by the Delhi Administration. Moreover, farmers are given compensation for their land at a very low rate. Appropriate rules should be framed to give them reasonable amount of compensation.

[English]

**(v) Need to take steps to re-develop Azhikkal port in Cannanore, Kerala**

SHRI MULLAPPALLY RAMACHANDRAN (Cannanore): Many of the once prestigious harbours and ports along the coast of Kerala are now neglected.

One of the best natural riverine ports at Azhikkal in Cannanore, Kerala has now become hazardous due to sheer neglect and lack of maintainances and dune that has formed at the mouth of the river has caused loss of several lives and vessels. It has also jeopardized the working of the ship-breaking unit of Steel Industries Limited, Kerala, as the ships for scrap are unable to enter the river. The industry, fishing and commerce of this area has thus been deeply affected by the neglect of this port.

In view of the setting up of the Naval Academy at Ezhimala, 12 kms, from this port, the need for development of the Azhikkal Port has become more significant. It would greatly contribute to the economic development of this District.

I, therefore, request the Government to take immediate steps to revive this Port and

to extend all help to re-develop it as a full-fledged harbour.

**(vi) Need to take steps to revitalise small scale industrial units in the country**

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): The small industrial sector is playing a very important role in the industrial development of this country. But more than 60% units of this vital sector are sick. In order to revitalise this sector and to revive the possible viable units, the Reserve Bank of India has, by its circular dated 6.2.87, given a number of concessions to the sick small scale industrial units.

As per revised guidelines, the banks will have to initiate any nursing programme or steps for identifying the unit as sick only after a lapse of five years. By that time, the sick units would have perished for want of help.

Urgent steps may kindly be taken to restore the *status quo*.

Action may also be taken for implementing the following proposals:

- (1) SSI Units with investment in Plant & Machinery upto Rs. 10 lakhs may be declared as Tiny Sector Units.
- (2) The interest on loans availed by Tiny sector units should be fixed as 4%. The balance interest on loan should be borne by the State and Central Governments and paid to the financial institutions in the form of interest subsidy.
- (3) The arrears of interest and penal interest due from sick units under this category should be waived.
- (4) Permanent Sales Tax exemption may be given to this sector.

- (vii) **Need to streamline the procedure regarding issue of sugar factory licences in the country, particularly in the backward areas**

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD (Rangoli): Some of the State Governments have failed to recommend cases for grant of sugar factory licences in their respective areas. Unfortunately, this happened in the case of some chief promoters of sugar factories among backward classes.

In some cases, in spite of a directive from High Courts to the State Governments to recommend such cases to the Central Government for grant of sugar factory licences, it has been seen that such cases have not been actually recommended.

According to the Central Government's Press note dated 2.1.1987 it is essential for the screening committee of the Civil Supplies Department of Government of India to take up such cases for consideration. It is learnt that the Screening Committee has not taken up these matters so far.

This is a serious matter as sugar factory licences are not being given to backward class people. The Government of India should look into the matter.

11.20 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT OF KARNATAKA FOR A FURTHER PERIOD FOR SIX MONTHS FROM 21ST OCTOBER, 1989

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MIN-

ISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation, dated the 21st April, 1989 in respect of Karnataka, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from 21st October, 1989."

As the House is aware, in view of the then prevailing situation in Karnataka, the Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka was issued on 21st April, 1989 on the recommendation of the Governor and the State Legislative Assembly dissolved.

The Proclamation issued by the President was approved by the Lok Sabha as well as the Rajya Sabha on 26th April, 1989. The Proclamation so approved will now cease to operate on 20.10.1989 at the expiration of a period of six months.

The Governor of Karnataka in his recent letter addressed to the President has stated that he has considered whether it would be possible and desirable to hold elections to the Legislative Assembly before the expiration of present term of President's rule in the State. The Governor is of the view that in the interest of electing a stable government in the State, the option of dovetailing elections to the Legislative Assembly and the elections to the Parliament should be kept open to the Election Commission and the Union Government. The Governor has accordingly recommended President's rule in Karnataka for a further period of 4 months beyond 20th October, 1989 so that all options are available in the matter of holding elections. The Governor is of the view that during the extended period, it would be possible to take an appropriate decision regarding elections to the Legislative Assembly.

Under the Constitutional provision, the President's rule can be extended only for a period of six months and not for a shorter

period as recommended by the Governor. However, if the circumstances so warrant the Proclamation can be revoked at any time during the extension of six month period.

Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the State and taking all the relevant factors into consideration it is proposed that the President's rule in Karnataka may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 21.10.1989.

... view of the position explained by me, I solicit the approval of this august House to the Resolution mentioned by me at the beginning.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 21st April, 1989 in respect of Karnataka, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from the 21st October, 1989."

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam). Sir, I welcome the Statutory Resolution brought forward by the Minister of Home Affairs here with regard to the extension of the President Rule in Karnataka. I come to know the intention of the Government is to have elections both for the Assembly and the Parliament on the same day and to make it possible the extension is being sought by the Minister. During the last six months law and order is being maintained well under the President's rule. Before that anarchy was prevailing. Earlier lot of confusion was prevailing in the State and the President's rule has proved to be a boon for the people. Not only law and order but also the essential commodities are now easily available to people in Karnataka. That is welcome. But it does not mean that the President's Rule must be extended further. The Government's intention is to have the elections both for the Parliament and the Assembly. I request the hon. Home Minister and also the Government of India, especially the Prime Minister, to have elections for

Tamil Nadu Assembly also while holding the elections for the Parliament and the Karnataka Assembly. Even though in Tamil Nadu there is an elected Government, but it is an accidental one. Everybody knows it. Even the hon. Minister knows it. During the month of September last, there was a communal clash. Even our hon. Minister, Shri Chidambaram, visited the place where the incident took place. It was instigated by the DMK Ministers in Tamil Nadu. At no point of time that can be accepted. The Ministers themselves instigate the people there to have communal violence. Is it correct on the part of the elected Government? Such a situation prevails in Tamil Nadu. They have got no *locus standi*. They want to be in power in Tamil Nadu. That's why I request the hon. Minister to have elections also in Tamil Nadu along with the elections for the Parliament.

The essential commodities are not available in Tamil Nadu. We are all rice-eaters in Tamil Nadu. Without rice, nothing can be done. The Congress Government was changed in 1967 because of rice alone. Supposing there is a problem with regard to rice, automatically the Government has to be dissolved immediately. There are long queues everywhere before the ration shops in Tamil Nadu. We see hundreds and hundreds of people every day standing in front of the ration shops in queues.

MR. SPEAKER: We are only discussing about Karnataka.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: Of course, I am interested to bring to the notice of the Government the position in Tamil Nadu also.

DR. S. JAGATHRAKSHAKAN (Chengalpattu): It is very near to Karnataka. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: You have to be relevant.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: The long queues in front of the ration shops itself indicates that the Government is very very unpopular among the people there. So, an

[Sh. P. Kolandaivelu]

unpopular Government cannot rule the State and it has to be dissolved.

Secondly, they are purchasing rice from Andhra Pradesh. Hon. Minister, Shri Sukh Ram, also gave a statement to the Tamil Nadu people that 40,000 tonnes of rice is being allotted every month. But the Government is not utilising these 40,000 tonnes. That is the position here. They are not taking it from the Central Pool. But there are purchasing it from Shri N.T. Rama Rao. Why are they purchasing it from Shri N.T. Rama Rao? It is because the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is hand in glove with the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. That's why they are purchasing rice at a higher price of Rs. 4.25 per kilogram whereas we are giving it to the people at the rate of Rs. 2.25 per kilogram in the ration shops. Why should they purchase?

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Kolandaivelu, you know, we have to be relevant to the subject.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: For dissolution of the Tamil Nadu Government, it is relevant.

MR. SPEAKER: Of course, you can discuss Tamil Nadu but not like this.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: The Karnataka Government is doing it. They are utilising and allotting the rice to the people. But the rice allotted by the Central Government is not being utilised by the Tamil Nadu Government. They are getting a commission from Andhra Pradesh. That is the main thing here. That is why I urge upon the Minister...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: When we are having the elections for the Karnataka Assembly, why not have them for Tamil Nadu?

MR. SPEAKER: You can ask it outside.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU: The time is ripe enough to have elections in Tamil Nadu.

So, I urge upon the Minister to hold the elections for the Tamil Nadu Assembly also.

[Translation]

DR. G.S. RAJHANS(Jhanjharpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to raise two-three points. There is no doubt about the fact that ever since the President rule has been imposed in Karnataka, the situation has improved in that State and everybody is seized of the scandals in Karnataka which have been published in the newspapers. It is no more a secret thing. Be it about Shri Hedge or the Chief Minister after Shri Hegde, or some other people of Janata Dal, it has indicated their involvement in the land scandals or the corrupt practices. I am very much surprised to see that the people, who have been raising their fingers at others are themselves corrupt. You must have heard the story of Blue jackal. A man whose own integrity is doubtful has been raising his finger at other in the name of corruption. The Government of Karnataka would have fallen if these people had not been busy with each other's leg pulling. I happen to meet a large number of people. They also talk in the trains about the people who say that they will put up their single candidate of the opposition against the Congress candidate. Their party was in power in Karnataka but they themselves caused it to be toppled as they were engaged in leg pulling. Then how is it that they think of forming the Government at the Centre? Is that any guarantee that they will not topple that Government within a period of seven days through leg pulling? What has happened in Karnataka has opened the eyes of all the people in this country. However, the situation in Karnataka has improved after the imposition of President's rule in that State. It has been indicated in the report of the Governor and Shri Chidambaram has also stated that they will make their efforts to hold elections in Karnataka before the expiry of six months' period to bring stability in that State. The Government wants the people to know the truth and realise what is what. We want to bring stability in that State. How could a Government be allowed to continue whose cheques even for a very



small amount say Rs. 5-7 were dishonoured? There was nothing left in their treasury as they had emptied it. Hence there was no question of their continuance in power. Therefore, I would like to say it with a stress that President's rule should continue in the State of Karnataka, unless and until there is stability in that State.

**SHRI RAM BHAGAT PASWAN (Rosa):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, since the imposition of President's rule in Karnataka, the people of that state have been living in peace. Before the President's rule, the Government of Janata Party was in power in that State and earlier history testifies that whenever there have been atrocities on the poor people and Harijans, there were initiated under their regime. The situation in Karnataka State is also taking that very shape as it was in the State of Bihar during the two and a half year's span of Janata Government. They are engaged in each-other's leg pulling and they are conspiring against the Congress. They have started striking a severe blow on our unity and integrity and Janata party is fully responsible for the communal riots in that State. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the people in that State are peace-loving, hence President rule should be continued in that State and it should be further extended.

With these words, I would like to say that things are going smooth in that State under the President rule. Hence it should be extended further.

**\*SHRI G.S BASAVARAJU (Tumkur):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Home Minister to extend the President's rule in Karnataka.

The life of people in Karnataka had become miserable during the regime of Janata Government. Four crores of people of Karnataka felt supremely happy when President's rule was promulgated in the month of April, 1989. The Janata Government looted the people and the State had become bankrupt. The Government was not

able to pay the salary of Government employees. Many other Bills worth several crores were pending. Fortunately now, under President's rule the situation has been brought under control. Bills have been cleared and many developmental works have been taken up.

The State is getting about 40 crores of rupees through excise department and 90 crores of rupees through Sales Tax Department. This revenue was being swallowed by the Janata Government during their rule. Corruption was rampant and maladministration has crippled the development of the State. Of course, this fear is no more there in the minds of the people since the promulgation of President's rule. The atrocities on harijans, girijans and other minorities also has come to a halt during President' rule. In the last six months various developmental works have been taken up and the law and order situation is quite satisfactory.

The farmers of the State are very busy in their work. There has been good rain in most parts of the State. Hence some more time has to be given to them before holding elections.

I, therefore, welcome the extension of President's rule in Karnataka for another six months. The state is very rich in its natural resources and the farmers throughout the State are very busy at present. I urge upon the Centre to help the farmers of my State in providing electricity and other irrigation facilities. I support the resolution for extending the President's rule in the State.

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

[English]

**SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj):** Mr. Speaker Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion. Sir, I do not find any political rationale or any economic logic in extending the

[Sh. Syed Shahabuddin]

President's Raj for another spell of six months. It is like keeping a patient under intensive care therapy long after the crisis situation is passed away. As far as I can see, the social situation in Karnataka is by and large peaceful. There have been some minor incidents. But certainly that does not create a situation in which elections cannot be held. There has been no major law and order problem. But the real issue is the question of denial of democracy to the people. There is no reason at all why the people of Karnataka should not enjoy their right of self-government, of electing their own government. Some friends have raised the irrelevant question today of the performance of the former Government. That is not the question before us. The question is not the performance of the Hegde Government; the question today is the performance or the likely benefit from the Governor's rule in Karnataka.

On the economic front as far as I can understand, the progress has been very timid and very slow. There is almost a situation of stagnation on the development front. The Government is really functioning as a caretaker regime. It is holding the fort; that cannot possibly take Karnataka forward as Karnataka deserves to go forward. The Government by and large is functioning. But it is not taking any initiatives because it is not sure about the political situation tomorrow. From all these points of view, it is essential that democracy must be restored in Karnataka at the earliest possible. If I may make a very simple comment, perhaps the people know the real reasons why the President's rule is being extended. I do not wish to point a finger at any particular Party but the fact is and that is a matter of public record that the Congress-I Party is a divided House in Karnataka and they are not in a position to face the election. I therefore oppose this extension of President's rule.

I appeal to the House that they should reject the Motion so that the Assembly elections can be held as soon as possible within the stipulated time and the people of Karnataka can resume their hold over their destiny.

SHRI ASUTOSH LAW (Dum Dum): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution. I think this Resolution-extension of President's Rule for Six months from 21st October, 1989-will bring blessing to about 4 crore people of Karnataka. The time has not yet ripe to hold elections in Karnataka. The last State Government had created such a chaos in the economic front as also on the social front of Karnataka that it requires further six months' time to recover from that chaos. If more time is given, the stabilisation will take place and then there will be proper atmosphere in Karnataka to hold elections or to recover democracy, as Mr. Shahabuddin has said. I don't agree with Mr. Shahabuddin on this point that the time has already come there to hold elections. They have also caused damage on the economic front also. In view of this, at least for six months i.e. from 21st October, 1989, the elections cannot be held or that the democracy can not be recovered in Karnataka. Moreover, it has to be reminded that the last Government headed by Mr. Hegde of the Janata Party had totally failed to bring any notable changes in the State of Karnataka. Because of the implementation of the polices and programmes like Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Nehru Rozgar Yojana and others in the last six months had given them more benefits and particularly the farmers and middle class people are happy with the Governor's rule. So, another six month's Governor's rule from 21st October, 1989 will give more comfort to the people and they will be in a position to bring the real atmosphere to fight elections.

Therefore, I do support the Resolution for extension of Governor's rule for another six months from 21st of October, 1989.

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the statutory Resolution moved by S. Buta Singh for extension of President's Rule in Karnataka. However, the situation in Karnataka is not conducive for the restoration of democratic process in that State. No-body, who believes in democracy, wants the Presi-

dent's rule to continue in Karnataka, but the situation should be stable there, so that Government may function quite efficiently.

Just now, Shri Shahabuddin has stated that Government does not want to hold elections in that State. It is not correct, because it is not the congress that has imposed President's rule on the people of that state but it is the people of Janata party whose infighting itself caused the downfall of their Government in that State. During their regime, corruption was so rampant in the State that Developmental activities had come to a standstill and today these very people are levelling charges of corruption against Shri Rajiv Gandhi. These people have themselves tarnished their image and for that, they are blaming the Congress. I would like to request Shri Shahabuddin only because other members have already resigned, to have some sort of introspection and then guide others. It is not the Janata party or the B.J.P. but only Congress party that has protected the democratic system in India. After independence, Mahatma Gandhi made the sacrifice of his life and Smt. Indira Gandhi also gave her lift for the cause of the nation but what sacrifice has been made or is being made by your party for this country. Central Government has been taking care of the State of Karnataka and now developmental activities have been gaining momentum. The masses in that state are now happy. More developmental schemes should be taken up there. All the developmental programmes, be it the N.R.E.P., R.L.E.G.P., R.E.D.P. or Jawahar Rozgar Yojana for rural development, will immensely benefit the people of Karnataka because Central Government is supervising the work of all these schemes. All the development projects of Karnataka which are pending, should be cleared immediately and should be completed. The Government should not allow the people of Janata Dal go scot free because they have been engaged in corrupt practices. An enquiry has been instituted against the former Chief Minister, and in case the Chief Minister or any other people are found guilty, action

should be taken against them and they should be punished that no-body else can dare waste the public money. Saved situation is prevailing in the State of Haryana. In the State of Assam also, there is one A.G.P. party i.e. Aya ram gaya ram party. We may call it...\*\*... same situation is prevailing in that State also.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Please speak something about West Bengal too.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: I know, about which of the states I have to speak. Shahabuddinji, Have you any friendship with Shri Devi Lal? When we speak here in the House, Shri Devi Lal says that he will contest against the Speaker. Is he your enemy? We will oppose everyone who does a wrong thing. He has celebrated his birthday, how much money he has wasted on it? Astrologers were called there. Crores of rupees have been spent on it and now he says that he is the son of a farmer. But it is the congress party that has raised the voice of the masses of India because the voice of the Congress party is the voice of the masses of India. Only the Congress party can administer things in India and work for the development of the country.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: And wherever congress party is defeated, it imposes President's rule.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: It is we, the elected representatives of the people who have elected Shri Rajiv Gandhi as our leader.

[English]

Rajiv Gandhi has been elected by the people's representatives.

[Translation]

It is not your party or the B.J.P. who has elected Shri Rajiv Gandhi as a leader. If he is to step down, he will do so in deference to

[Kumari Mamata Banerjee]

the people's mandate. Under the present situation, Karnataka needs a lot of development for gaining stability. Therefore, I support this resolution and would like to congratulate the people of Karnataka that now they have realised the reality of these people. The voice of the masses of Karnataka is the voice calling for the development of India. Therefore, I congratulate the masses of Karnataka.

MR. SPEAKER Shahabuddin Sahib, do you agree

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN She has not asked for President's rule in West Bengal. That is a very serious omission. Her party should take note of it.

[Translation]

SHRI BALKAVI BAI RAGI (Mandsaur) I would like to ask Shri Shahabuddin that at least now, he should come to senses. Even the girls have started snubbing him.

SHRI SHAHABUDDIN I have never been popular among girls.

SHRI YOGESHWAR PRASAD YOGESH (Chatra) Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved in the House for the extension of President's Rule in Karnataka. Karnataka has always set examples of rich traditions. It is the land of Tipu Sultan and a Centre of high culture. The people of that region are virtuous in the real sense and sincere at heart who want that there should be efficient administration in their state. There is no doubt that the whole country wants that the administration should be efficient and democratic traditions should be strengthened in the entire country. For, a number of things were mentioned in your presence in a recent inter-sectional forum. Recently Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has also remarked about India: "Democracy in India is going stronger." The main factor responsible for this achieve-

ment is the fact that the Congress Government has laid the democratic traditions so deep and strong that now nobody can root it out of this soil. Dedication and firm belief of the Congress in democracy is now a proven fact and it is still gaining ground. But in the last elections, the people of Karnataka had given power in the hands of Janata Party with high hopes. Their sweet words had raised high hopes in the people that they would give an efficient administration, because earlier when they were in the opposition, they had expressed their concern for the moral values. But people in Karnataka were completely disappointed at their negative attitude and shocked to see their mode of functioning. Persons like Shri Ram Krishna Hegde and his partymen violated all the norms of conduct to set up new records of corruption in such a short duration. During his very short tenure, corruption reached new heights, which I think, was unprecedented during the regime of any other Government and rather it must be the only example of record corruption in the whole world. Those very people who used to raise their voice against corruption when they came to power, adopted the ways of corruption for their selfish motives and disappointed the people of Karnataka by their performance. People have heaved a sigh of relief now with the imposition of President's rule in that State and now they have realised it that the schemes of the previous Government were nothing but the ways of corrupt practices and they were not at all interested in the public welfare. As a matter of fact, Karnataka has always been under the influence of Congress culture and it was the first mistake the people of that region had committed and now gradually they are developing interest in the Congress policies, not because that Congress is ruling at the Centre but because Congress has been the real guardian of democracy and it is only the Congress Government which can give them an efficient administration. A number of reforms have been brought in after the imposition of President's Rule in that state. It has further strengthened democracy in Karnataka and the people in that region feel that development is really taking place. Therefore I am of

the opinion that neither economically nor mentally, the situation in Karnataka is favourable to hold elections in that state. At this moment, it would not be proper and congenial atmosphere for it. Hence the resolution moved in the House for the extension of President's Rule for another six months, is in the public interest of that State. Therefore I support it.

\*SHRI T.V. CHANDRASHEKARAPPA (Shimoga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Home Minister in this august House and say a few words on two important issues.

The Janata Government followed its own peculiar way of functioning and ultimately they lost the power due to infighting. Corruption and maladministration in the whole state had reached peak and there was no other alternative but to promulgate President's rule.

The President's rule was promulgated on 21st April, 1989 and circumstances were not conducive to hold elections because the monsoon had set in. In this regard the farmers and other sections of people requested the Centre not to hold the elections immediately.

The financial condition of the state was critical during the Janata rule. The revenue from sales tax and excise alone would fetch more than 22 crores of rupees in a month but unfortunately the Janata Government mismanaged the whole affair and there was no money left in the treasury. All the development works in the State came to a stand still. Hence, promulgation of President's rule was unavoidable. Our party is always prepared to hold elections but we have to take into account the prevailing conditions, in the State.

There are various projects in the state which need the urgent attention of the centre. Mangalore refinery is one such project which should start functioning immediately. There are many other projects pending and the

people of Karnataka are looking forward for completion of these projects. The Centre has to fulfill these demands of the people of the Elections should be held as soon as the situation in the State improves.

I support the extension of President's rule in Karnataka and with these words I conclude my speech.

[English]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members for particularly welcoming the Resolution to extend President's Rule in Karnataka.

As I said in my opening statement, it is not the intention of the Government to continue President's Rule for a period of six months. The Constitutional provision requires that we extend President's Rule for six months. But we hope that once we take a decision on Parliament elections, it will be possible to take the suitable decision on elections to Assembly also. The Governor is also of the view that the option of dovetailing elections to the Assembly and elections to Parliament should be kept open and the only manner in which this can be kept open is to extend President's Rule for six months and keep the option open of holding elections early. I think, that is rather apparent in the letter of the Governor; it is also obvious in the statement I made and therefore, Shri Shahabuddin need not take cudgels on behalf of democracy; we are as committed to democracy as he is.

Sir, I wish to make a few brief points on what President's Rule has done in Karnataka. Firstly, the law and order situation which was extremely fragile with a great sense of insecurity among the minority communities as well as the Scheduled Castes has considerably improved in Karnataka, thanks to very firm action taken by the Governor, his advisers and his administration.

Sir, I was in Bangalore only a few days

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

ago and I found that all sections of the people were extremely happy about the law and order situation. Secondly the financial position. On the day the President's Rule was imposed, the Chief Secretary of Karnataka told me that unpaid bills were to the extent of Rs. 130 crores. They did not have money even to pay for the petrol bill of the Chief Secretary every day. That was the parlous situation of Karnataka. Today the financial position has stabilised, bills are being paid, salaries are being paid efforts are being made to recover taxes without of course putting undue pressure on agriculturists or ryots.

Sir, the liquor lobby which had a stranglehold on Government has been put in its place. The Governor has taken very strong step, which has been widely welcomed in Karnataka.

Sir, the President's Rule has also brought to surface a large number of irregularities which were committed by the previous Government. I agree with Shri Shahabuddin that this is not the occasion to pass judgement on the previous Government. The people of Karnataka will pass judgement at the appropriate time. But it cannot be forgotten that there perhaps had never been a period in the history of Karnataka, where public property, public wealth, particularly land, was bartered away to unscrupulous speculators and dealers for a price. There had never been a period before as the period of the previous Government headed by Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde and Mr. Bommai.

12.00 hrs.

Revajeevu and NRI are the only deals which have come to surface. There are many other serious irregularities. I do not know whether Mr. Shahabuddin had read GVK Rao Committee Report which unearthed massive scandals in the Cooperative Department. They had fixed a price for a notification under the Land Acquisition Act, a price for a declaration under section 6 of the

Land Acquisition Act, a price for fixing the compensation. It was not a value-based Government. All over Karnataka, the previous Government is described as a price tag Government. There were price tags for everything. That is the kind of corruption, that is the kind of scandals which are being unearthed in Karnataka. But this again is not the time to go into great details.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I am quite familiar with the picture. The same price-tag Government runs Bihar.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The point is that the Governor has brought certain amount of stability and certain amount of ethics into the Government. Today the Government is fulfilling the promises made, fulfilling the programmes which have been introduced in Karnataka particularly IRDP and Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. These programmes have been translated into action. If there are any shortcomings, we will look into those shortcomings. But I must also caution that the Zila Parishads continue to be in the hands of the Janata Dal Party and the party which was in power. We have not disturbed those institutions. These are some difficulties. But the Governor and his Advisers are looking into these difficulties to set things right.

I seek the support of this hon. House to the Resolution which I have moved earlier that the President Rule be extended so that at an appropriate time elections can be held to the Assembly in Karnataka.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 21st April, 1989 in respect of Karnataka, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from the 21st October, 1989."

*The Motion was adopted*

12.03 hrs.

## STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

### RE: AGRICULTURAL PACKAGE

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, 37 years ago, speaking in this House, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"We certainly attach importance to industry; but in the present context we attach far greater importance to agriculture and food and matters pertaining to agriculture. If our agricultural foundation is not strong then the industry we seek to build will not have a strong base either. Apart from that, the situation in the country today is such that, if our food front cracks up, everything else will crack up too. Therefore, we dare not weaken our food front. If our agriculture becomes strongly entrenched, as we hope it will, then it will be relatively easy for us to progress more rapidly on the industrial front, whereas if we concentrate only on industrial development and leave agriculture in a weak condition we shall ultimately be weakening industry. That is why, primary attention has been given to agriculture and food and that, I think, is essential in a country like India at the present moment."

37 years later, the time has come for us to reiterate that the highest national priority must be given to the farmer, to farming, to food and agriculture as the corner-stone of our economy. Much has happened in these 37 years. No longer are we threatened with famine. No longer is the begging bowl waiting to be taken out of the cupboard. The agricultural policies followed by successive governments over four decades of freedom have set the stage for the epochal transformation that has taken place in Indian agriculture. True, there was a severe setback during the three-year tragedy of Janata rule, but the agricultural economy was set back on

course after Indiraji and the Congress came back to the Treasury benches.

Now, our *kisans* and *khet mazdoors* have rendered us self-sufficient in food. They have given us this year the highest-ever output of foodgrains and most other agricultural products. They have given us the inner strength to withstand the rigours of drought and the ravages of floods. They have given us honour and self-respect. They have reinforced our independence. They have proved the first line of our defence. It is on the basis of self-reliance in agriculture that we have been able to build a self-reliant economy, a deeply democratic domestic polity, and an independent foreign policy. Had we at any time cracked up on the food front, as Panditji put it, the whole country and everything we stand for would have cracked up too. It is because of our buoyant agriculture that this has not happened. That is the depth of the debt of gratitude that the country owes the *kisan* and the *khet mazdoor*.

During the last nine years, GDP and per capita income have risen faster than ever before. This has led to an upsurge in demand for food and other wage goods, including several agricultural products. This is wholly welcome development. It means a significant improvement in nutritional levels and living standard. We must get up production to meet this explosion in demand. Therefore, we are determined to accord the highest priority to agriculture in the Eighth Five Year Plan. Agricultural growth must be accelerated. Agricultural income and employment must grow faster than they have in the past. Our *kisans* are concerned at the process of determining support prices for farm product. We shall ensure that two major modifications are introduced in the method of computing the cost of production while fixing support prices for agricultural produce. First, we shall determine the wage costs on the basis of the statutory minimum wage for agricultural labour notified by the State or the actual wages paid, whichever is higher. Second, we shall include in the cost of production the labour input of the *Kisan* at a higher wage reflecting the managerial and

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

entrepreneurial role of the kisan. In order to enable kisans to rationally determine their cropping pattern, support prices are being notified by Government in advance of the sowing. However, this system leaves out of account the increases in costs taking place between the point of announcement and the point of harvesting. To remedy this, we are instructing the CACP to work out a suitable escalation formula. Meanwhile, for kharif 1989, support prices will be increased at the beginning of the marketing season to take into account increases in the prices of inputs and the general price rise since the commencement of the sowing season.

The procurement prices per quintal: of paddy will go up from Rs. 175 to Rs. 185; of coarse cereals like jowar, bajra, maize and ragi from Rs. 155 to Rs. 165; of kharif pulses like tur, moong and urad from Rs. 400 to Rs. 425; of groundnut-in-shell from Rs. 470 to Rs. 500; of black soyabean from Rs. 305 to Rs. 325 and of yellow soyabean from Rs. 350 to Rs. 370; of sunflower seeds from Rs. 500 to Rs. 530; of F-414 and H-777 cotton from Rs. 540 to Rs. 570, and of H-4 cotton from Rs. 650 to Rs. 690; and finally, of jute (M-5 Assam variety) from Rs. 280 to Rs. 295. These rates will also apply to those farmers who have already sold their produce in the current kharif marketing season.

The farming community has also been concerned at the terms of trade for the farm sector in relation to other sectors. The adverse movement of the terms of trade has been rectified to some extent in the Sixth and Seventh Plans. In the Eighth Five Year Plan, we shall ensure favourable terms of trade for the farming sector.

Many farmers are not able to obtain the advantage of minimum support prices because procurement centres are sometimes at a considerable distance from their farms and villages. We intend to increase the number of procurement centres so that, eventually, every kisan will have access to a procurement centre within 10 kms of his

village. The rural roads network will also be strengthened in a phased manner. Kisans, particularly those engaged in the farming of perishable farm commodities, are often denied a fair share of the value of their produce because of the very perishability of their output. The only answer lies in expanding rural godowns and cold or cooled-storage facilities. To this end, a special programme is being instituted for the extension of institutional credit on attractive terms for the establishment of cold or cooled-storage facilities in rural areas.

There is scope for substantially improving credit facilities for the farm community. We propose four specific steps in this regard: First, we must rectify the problem of credit not being available to members of cooperatives because of the cooperatives to which they belong having become ineligible for NABARD refinance. We have decided to open, with effect from the ensuing rabi season, a special line of credit of Rs. 100 crores through cooperative and commercial banks which will be earmarked exclusively for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe farmers. Second, scales of finance for short-term production credit will be revised annually so that the credit made available to the farmer fully meets the recommended doses of inputs at current prices to meet his cultivation requirements.

Third, a special credit regime is being instituted for kisans in rainfed farming areas covered by watershed development programmes. The new regime will operate on the basis of ensuring the availability of credit through a three to five year cycle so as to even out the inherent risks involved in good and bad monsoon years appearing in a cycle in such areas. The special credit regime will take into account problems of overdues which arise within a cyclical period to ensure an adequate flow of credit in support of viable crop production and other allied activities. This regime will be reinforced by a major programme of watershed development in rainfed farming areas.

The fourth step we propose is essen-



tially a procedural one but which kisans will immediately recognise as being of the utmost importance to their requirements. Pass-books and agriculture credit cards will be extended to kisans so as to enable the easy drawal of production loans from cooperative and commercial banks.

The National Agricultural Credit Relief Fund will devise a comprehensive relief policy based on the special characteristics of production and the severity of damage in different agro-climatic zones. Through the re-scheduling of loans and waivers of interest and principal in defined circumstances, the credit needs of farmers in different zones will be kept in view. While we have invested astronomical sums of money in land improvement and irrigation, our management of land and water resources has been so poor as to render the benefits secured far below the optimum achievable. We propose to take a number of steps improve the management of our land and water resources.

During the next five years, irrigation waters will be made available on an assured basis to an additional one crore hectares of land in the command areas of canal projects. The authorities concerned will be held responsible for reaching water to farmers in assured quantities and at the right time. Also, ten lakh tubewells and dugwells are to be constructed every year. And five lakh hectares will be covered annually for the programme of desalting and maintenance of village tanks, beels, bunds and ponds. Second, the productivity of unirrigated land is to be enhanced through effective watershed development and *in situ* moisture conservation. This programme will extend to 50 lakh hectares during the next five years.

Third, 25 lakh hectares of *usar* and *barani* land will be reclaimed at the rate of five lakh hectares a year. We need not wait for the commencement of the Eighth Plan to take up these projects. A beginning should be made this year itself.

Plasticulture holds vast potential for

increasing agricultural productivity. The uses of plastic are many, especially in irrigation, storage and packaging. Existing plasticulture schemes will be substantially expanded. It is proposed to extend incentives for the installation of sprinkler or drip irrigation systems to all farmers. During the Eighth Five Year Plan, one lakh additional sprinkler systems and one lakh drip irrigation systems will be installed to optimise the use of scarce water resources.

Good seeds are the basic foundation of higher agricultural productivity. The New Seed Policy is under implementation and the buffer stocks being built will ensure that kisans have access to high quality seeds and planting material at reasonable prices. We are particularly concerned about small, marginal and SC/ST farmers. With effect from Rabi 1989-90, minikits for the supply of improved seeds will be ensured, under the existing Centrally-sponsored schemes, to 20 lakh such farmers.

Agricultural research is simply not getting the attention or priority it needs. We are reconstituting the Indian Council for Agricultural Research and I shall take over as its President. We have two major objectives in mind. First, we propose to generate appropriate technologies for each sub-zone of the 15 agroclimatic zones so as to be able to modernise our agriculture in each of the zones. Second, a special time-bound programme in research and development of hybrids is being taken up to cover rice, maize, jowar, bajra, arhar, cotton and oilseeds. Results will be demanded within five years and the implementation of the research programme will be monitored at the highest level. To promote the manufacture of agricultural machinery and implements of improved design, particularly those using new and more efficient materials, a special Fund is being established to extend credit for the manufacture, fabrication and marketing of such machinery and implements, as also for the leasing or custom hiring of such machinery and implements, plant protection equipment and sprinklers.

For adding value to primary produce, as

[Sh. Rajiv Gandhi]

also expanding employment opportunities in rural areas, it is necessary to encourage agro-based industries, particularly food processing. A special extension and infrastructure package is being put in place for the development and processing of fruits and vegetables in suitable areas. Also, incentives are being given to industrial units to enter into contracts with small producers individually or through cooperatives. For the diversification of rural economic activity, Fish Farmers' Development Agencies are being established in all coastal districts to encourage pisciculture and aquaculture. Special attention will be given to poultry development and sheep farming including reduced costs of poultry-feed, market support for the stabilisation of egg prices, incentives to establish processing complexes in rural areas linked to small poultry farms, and support to the export of processed products.

Agriculture has the potential of becoming a major export sector. Our Kisans will benefit from linking agricultural production to lucrative export markets. In order to realise this potential, we propose to extend incentives to expand the production base of exportable commodities as also the range of non-traditional agricultural exports.

In this connection, and in view of the expected bumper crop of cotton, I am happy to announce that we have decided to permit the export of one lakh bales of Bengal Deshi cotton and two lakh bales of extra-long staple cotton. As regards the import policy for agricultural commodities, these will be so regulated as to ensure that our farmers are assured remunerative prices for their produce.

Major institutional reforms are required to support this package. We have two important programmes in hand in this regard. First, we are initiating a programme to update and computerise land records so that farmers can obtain documentation on demand. Second, we propose to reform, revamp and rejuvenate the cooperative movement which, in many parts the country and in many ways, has failed to play the central role envisaged

for the cooperative movement in our strategy of socio-economic transformation. This is a priority task for our next term in office. The interests of agriculture are the interests of the nation. There is no dichotomy between agricultural development and national development. The former is the foundation of the latter. We are confident that the agricultural package, I am now placing before the House, will herald a bright new era for our Kisans and Khet Mazdoors and for the whole farming community.

Thank you, Sir.

[Translation]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, if you allow me I would like to recite 2-3 lines about this good policy on behalf of the farmers of this country. On their behalf, I would congratulate Shri Rajiv Gandhi particularly for accomplishing all these things when a great farmer is occupying the chair. I would like to read out some lines on behalf of the people of this country, on behalf of the farmers of this country. I myself being a farmer submit: "Jisne yeh Peeda Pehchani, Bharat ke koti kisanon ke, Mook wyatha samajhi jisne, kheton ki, Khalihanon ke, Hum Nehru ke us nati ko, kheton ka saathi kahate hain, Yeh saath krore kisan use, apni asheeshen dete hain."

12. 24 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB FOR A FURTHER PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS FROM 11TH NOVEMBER 1989

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri P. Chidambaram.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF

HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): I beg to move:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987 in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1989."

12.24 1/2 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER—*in the Chair*]

As the House is aware, in view of the then prevailing situation in Punjab, Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab was issued on May 11, 1987 on the recommendation of the Governor. Approval of the Lok Sabha as well as the Rajya Sabha for the issue of the Proclamation under article 356 was obtained on 12.5.1987. The Legislative Assembly of the State, which was initially kept under suspended animation, was dissolved on 6th March, 1988 on the recommendation of the Governor

As the law and order situation in the State continued to be disturbed, approval of both the Houses of Parliament was obtained for continuance of President's Rule for a further period of six months with effect from 11-11-1987

Under the existing provision of Article 356(5) of the Constitution, President's Rule could not be extended beyond a period of one year unless the two conditions mentioned in that clause are met. As both these conditions were not fulfilled, Article 356(5) of the Constitution was amended by the Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act, 1988 so as to make clause (5) of that article inapplicable to the Proclamation issued on 11th May, 1987 with respect to the State of Punjab. With this amendment President's Rule can be extended, if necessary, for a total period of three years in Punjab without fulfilment of the conditions mentioned in clause (5) of Article 356 subject to the ap-

proval of both House of Parliament for continuance of Proclamation for a period of six months on each occasion.

After enactment of the Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act, 1988, President's Rule in Punjab has been extended with effect from 11-5-1988, 11-11-1988 and again with effect from 11-5-1989. The present term of President's Rule in Punjab is due to expire on 10th November, 1989.

The Governor of Punjab in his recent report to the President of India has stated that the fight against terrorists has reached a critical stage. With fresh spurts of anti-national terrorists trying to come from across the border with newly supplied arms and ammunitions, there exists an imperative need to firmly and effectively deal with them as well as the terrorists who are already in Punjab. Accordingly, he has stated that it is necessary that the President's Rule in Punjab be extended for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November, 1989.

The Governor has further mentioned that it is not possible to have any Assembly Elections as there is near total uncertainty in the political arena in Punjab, with Akalis being divided and sub-divided in several groups and sub-groups. As a result, a politically unstable situation has arisen and the Governor is very doubtful whether any cohesive or stable State Government could be formed. In the Governor's view, a much more stable political situation will emerge in Punjab after the coming of Lok Sabha Elections. Accordingly, he has recommended that Assembly Elections should be held only after the Lok Sabha Elections, whenever they are held.

In the circumstances, the Governor has recommended that the Proclamation dated 11th May, 1987 under Article 356 of the Constitution may be extended for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November, 1989.

Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the State and taking all the relevant factors

[Sh. P Chidambaram]

into consideration, it is proposed that the President's Rule in Punjab may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 11-11-1989

In view of the position explained by me I solicit the approval of this august House to the Resolution mentioned by me at the beginning

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Motion moved

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the proclamation dated the 11th May 1987 in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1989 "

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj) Mr Deputy Speaker, I heard the hon Minister with much attention to understand what the Government hopes to achieve in the next six months what they have not been able to achieve in the last six months or the last 2 1/2 years. The Governor has said that we are at a critical stage in the anti-terrorist operation. Behind this seems to be the assumption that terrorism can be fought and eliminated by police methods. I think it is high time that the Government realise that there can be no solution to the Punjab problem by force, that only a political solution can deliver the goods. Today we are in a situation of despair. Every day we open the newspapers and death stares us in the face. The human toll goes up every day. I think on a daily basis,—I do not have the statistics but the hon Minister might have them—the daily toll has gone up and not gone down. You will correct me. I read the report about the number of terrorists killed. I still recall a day in the Consultative Committee when the then Minister of State for Home Affairs informed me that the number of terrorists was a few scores and that they will ultimately be eliminated very soon. That did not come to pass. Every act of anti-terrorism has generated

more terrorism. I would like to request that the Government should look into this logic of the situation. What is happening in Punjab which is supporting this process of generation of terrorists? Something has to be done. We do get a glimpse now and then when the reports of massive violation of human rights come to the surface. I do not know how far we have to go by them because they may be exaggerated. But the fact is that the human rights situation in Punjab needs to be looked into very closely because otherwise an operation which is solely based on force, not on reconciliation, can never succeed.

Sir, there are three elements I would like to point out to the hon Minister which show a glimmer of light in this encircling gloom. On the political plane, no Sikh leader of any eminence has supported the concept of Khalistan. On the social plane, despite every effort by the anti-social and anti-national forces, there has been no communal conflict at all in Punjab. On the economic plane, I would like to say it to the glory of the average Punjabi that despite all the terror, all the violence and all the blood-shed, the economic productivity of Punjab has remained unabated. These are the three basic facts—a political fact, a social fact and an economic fact—which provide the basis for the Government to deliberately choose a course which shall bring peace to Punjab and not to crush the people of Punjab under the heels of a police Administration. Let us consider the situation afresh. Let us do something.

We had a long debate in this House on the Sarkaria Commission Report. That was important for the Punjab context also because we felt that when there are deliberations over the Sarkaria Commission Report, we would review the entire pattern of Centre-State relations and come, perhaps, to give a new orientation to our federal concept which shall fulfil some of legitimate urges of the people of Punjab so that a new regime, a new concept can be evolved and I feel decentralisation would satisfy the longings of the people of the country—not only in Punjab but in other parts of the Union also. But that did not come to pass. I do not know where we

lost track of the debate; where the Sarkaria Report lies. I do not know which refrigerator it has been put into for cold-storage. We lost another opportunity.

Sir, in Punjab there were a number of problems which had also figured in the famous Rajiv-Longowal Accord. I would like to know from the hon. Minister that apart from fighting terrorists under the President's Rule, what has the Government of Punjab done to move forward towards the solution of this longstanding problem. I think he should take the House into confidence on that so much has been achieved from the economic front, so much has been achieved in meeting some of the demands of Punjab and of the Sikh community. I do not think there has been any progress on the question of utilisation of the river waters. I do not think much has been done,—something has been promised but not much has been achieved on the question of industrial development and certainly the territorial problem of Punjab remains untouched. Why there is this total stagnation? Why can't these issues be sorted out while your campaign against terrorism goes on. Then there are very legitimate demands of the Sikh community. I do not have to go over them because they are known to the hon. Minister. There was a time, I again recall the other day in the deliberations of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee when we were close to an agreement on the basic religious demands of the Sikh Community and yet nothing was achieved. What has been achieved on that?

The real problem in Punjab is to heal the wounded psyche of the Sikh community. They are patriots and they are nationalists of the highest order. They do not yield to anybody in their patriotism or in their nationalism. But there is a sense of insecurity which dogs them all over the country. Let the hon. Minister tell us as to what has been done to heal the wounds of 1984? Why are they still running? How many persons have been punished? Recently, there has been a set back. What is the Government doing about it? When shall the Sikh community get justice for the thousands of people massacred

in cold blood in 1984? This is the question. And unless you answer this question, you shall not be able to bring a sense of harmony in Punjab. This is your greatest failure.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like the hon. Minister to reply to this. The Punjab situation cannot be resolved in isolation. The Punjab situation can only be resolved if the Sikh community living in our country, a respected community, a community which has been second to none in sacrifices for the nation, for the freedom movement and for the defence of the country, feels at home, at peace, reconciled with the nation, secure. Therefore, a dialogue is necessary. Now the hon. Minister just now read out the report of the Governor that Sikhs are divided, The Akalis are divided. Yes, they are. So, you say: "to whom shall we dialogue with?" That is the eternal question pending for the last two and a half years. You have not been able to find anybody worthy of talking to in the whole of Punjab. Let us forget the Akalis. When did you last talk to Dr. Swaran Singh, the grand old man of Punjab? When did you last take into confidence such eminent Sikh Members of this House like Dr. G.S. Dhillon, I would like to know. Why did not you talk to your own people? They will show you light, they will share your burden, they will lead your way. Perhaps, you do not want to come to a solution. Perhaps, you do not want to talk to anybody. You want to go only with the gun. And the gun will never secure you peace. The Akalis are divided and there are factions. Yes. But no harm in talking to all of them. They are eminent leaders—Shri Barnala and Shri Badal. But they are dubbed as anti-nationals and put behind the bars and considered security risks. Even such eminent people who are not politicians like Sarvashri Khushwant Singh, Arjun Singh and Amrik Singh—I am choosing three names from three different fields. There are retired Chief Justices, eminent writers, retired heads of the armed forces and retired Vice-Chancellors. Why don't you call them? Why don't you talk to them? Why don't you take the initiative to have a national round-table on the problems of the Punjab and the grievances of the Sikh community to which all

[Sh. Syed Shahabuddin]

nationally eminent Sikh leaders in their own fields, politicians, jurists, writers, scholars, educationists, former civil servants, ex-servicemen, farmers and industrialists—and their glorious names bring honour to the country, people who feel proud of being Indians, who have done us all proud—may be invited? Why don't you talk to them about the Punjab and about Sikhs and find a way? Merely extending the term of the President's rule for six months will not do. It will take you nowhere towards success, nowhere near reconciliation or harmony which is the crying need of the day. You have to do something more.

Sir, the Sikhs have to be made to feel that the nation cares, that the nation feels concerned, that the nation shares their agony and anguish and that we are all concerned and we shall do something to reassure them and give them hope for the future. Therefore, my humble plea is this. We may pass this resolution—of course I cannot stop it—but the political process has to be resumed. There is no other exist, no other alternative but to resume this political process and you cannot deny democracy to the people of Punjab. If India is to stay democratic, elections have to be held. And I do plead with the Government that under no circumstances should it deliberately avoid general elections in the Punjab. In fact, they should try to create a situation in good time that the general elections and the elections to the Assembly can take place at the same time.

With these words—unhappy as I am at this extension, I wish to give the Government a chance—with this criticism, I support the motion.

[Translation]

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN (Barmer): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to express my views in the House regarding setting in motion the process of holding election. I would also like the Government to hold election to the Punjab State

Assembly along with the Parliamentary elections. Our Congress Government has to a great extent controlled the situation in Punjab. Now the terrorists are active only in a few border areas and efforts are being made to curb them also. I think that now elections can be held peacefully in that state. Allout efforts should be made to contain terrorism and hold elections peacefully. I would like the hon. Minister to make an announcement to this effect. Secondly, I would like to submit that inspite of terrorism, people of the state have maintained communal harmony and that is something appreciable. In several other states of the country like Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and some parts of Gujarat, there has been some communal tension but Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab have great love and feeling of brotherhood for each other. This is a good sign. In spite of violent terrorist activities somehow they have maintained harmonious relations. People in other states should also follow their example and maintain communal harmony. Third point which I would like to make is that despite terrorism, agricultural and industrial production has been maintained of a reasonably good level in Punjab. They have continued to make their significant contribution in agricultural and industrial sector in the country. I would like to land the farmers and people of that state for their contribution. Industrialists in urban as well as rural areas of that state have given fair output. Thus everything is going on fairly well. Efforts should be made so that they may also participate in the elections. Anandpur Sahib Resolution has not been approved even by the Sarkaria Commission but members of Akali Dal have been sticking to it. If this resolution is approved it would mean that the demand for Khalistan has been conceded to a great extent. Hence this resolution should not be given recognition because it would encourage other states to make similar demands and resulting fragmentation of the country. Even now, attitude of Akali Dal is not clear. They still participate in the 'Bhog' ceremonies of terrorists and are not opposing them. Unless they condemn the terrorists in clear terms, we can not believe them. In this connection, we should tell the supporters of Akali Dal to criticise the

terrorists and condemn them. Unless they do so, we cannot give recognition to them. Punjab enjoys the top most position in the country in implementation of the 20-point programme. It means that agricultural production, industrial production and production in other sectors is going on smoothly in the state and we appreciate it. Rajiv-Longowal Accord can be successful only on this score and unity can be maintained. Therefore, the remaining provisions of this Accord such as question of sharing Ravi-Beas water, on which attitude of both the Haryana and the former Punjab Governments has not been encouraging, should be implemented. A reasonable and just solution should be found out. All the concerned parties should get their due share of water. If needed, this matter can be sorted out through the High Court or the Supreme Court. Rajasthan is also a party to it and our interests should also be watched. I wish that no more Resolution seeking extension of President's rule in Punjab will be brought forward in the House in future. General elections for the Lok Sabha are going to be held in December or January, Elections for the State Assembly should also be held along with Lok Sabha elections and a popular Government should be installed there. Elections should be held to restore democratic set up. However, I support this Resolution for extension of President's rule in Punjab.

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution brought forward in this House to extend President's rule in Punjab. In fact, farmers of Punjab have made commendable contribution in the progress of India and Punjab is known for the green revolution. The Government has done a lot for improving the economic condition of the farmers in Punjab. In terms of prosperity, they are in the top in the whole country. I want to congratulate the farmers. In so far as the President's rule is concerned, none but Akali Dal is responsible for it. When Akali Dal gained majority in elections, Barnalaji formed the Government, but the terrorists found berth in his Government. Those elements took steps to destroy Punjab. As a result of which, all its neigh-

bouring states viz. Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh also became disturbed. In Punjab, terrorism assumed serious proportion. Our Government made all efforts to restore peace there. It has all along been endeavour of our Government to maintain peace in Punjab. We want prosperity in Punjab through peace. We are also in favour of political solution to the Punjab problem. The Government has taken a number of steps in this direction. Meetings were organised and Rajiv-Longowal Accord was signed. Our Government left no stone unturned to implement this Accord but the Akalies did not display unity which was so vital for success of the Accord. On the contrary, they indulged in such activities which might take the country towards disintegration. It was a situation similar to one created by the Muslim League at the time of independence, as a result of which Pakistan was formed. The Akali Dal created similar situation in Punjab by passing the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which has the support of all factions of Akali Dal. A number of conspiracies were hatched to get things accepted which were not permissible under the constitution. Efforts have been made to exploit the people of Punjab and vitiate the atmosphere there. It has never been the intention of our Government to continue the President's rule in Punjab for long. Members of opposition, who are unfortunately not in the House today, have also accepted that Rajiv-Longowal Accord was in the interest of not only the country but one and all. A number of persons belonging to our party as well as B.J.P. made sacrifices for it. Not only this, many media men such as Lala Jagat Narayan and his son, owner of a leading Newspaper of Punjab and many press reporters were killed. People were killed irrespective of caste or creed to which they belonged. Terrorists wanted to create disturbances in Punjab in one way or the other. I would like to say that not only our Government has made efforts to control the situation but our leaders also undertook tours in the state to take people into confidence and the present Governor is also doing very commendable job. Shri Ribeiro has also done commendable job in Punjab. A con-

[Sh. K.D. Sultanpuri]

spiracy was also hatched to kill him. Had our Government not intervened in Punjab or had Punjab not been brought under the President's rule, situation would have been different there because intentions of the Barnala Government were not good. Recently in Delhi, a big rally was organised to celebrate birthday of one of the opposition leaders who is Chief Minister of Haryana. A large number of people were brought to the rally. I was pained to see that a number of people with terrorist links came to the rally and delivered speeches and indulged in irresponsible talk. There can not be a greater hypocrisy than this rally, which was attended not only by smugglers but also by persons having links with terrorists. Money was extracted from the people for this rally. I oppose it. This Resolution seeks to extend President's rule in Punjab for another 6 months. If peace is restored in Punjab within this period, I would like that the Assembly elections should also be held along with the elections to the Lok Sabha so that the people of Punjab could get democratically elected Government. Democracy should be reinstated and terrorists should be punished in Punjab. I think that justice is not being done to the Harijans in Punjab. The officers of the Government are doing injustice to them. On a writ petition, the Punjab High Court had given a decision in favour of Harijan employees. I came to know from a number of people who came to meet me recently that nothing had been done to implement the decision of the court. It has been stated in the decision that the Harijans should be provided reservation facility on roster basis, but nothing is being done in Punjab to implement the decision. I would like to urge upon the Hon. Home Minister that he should take the concerned officers to task for this lapse and get his decision implemented as soon as possible. So far as the question of extending the President's rule in Punjab for another 6 months is concerned, it is a good step. There is no weight in the argument of some hon. Members that the Government wants to keep Punjab under President's rule for a longer period. Government's intentions have always been clear.

Government has made all possible efforts to see that a democratically elected Government is formed in Punjab and right atmosphere is created there. I would like to request the people belonging to all the political parties to pay attention towards it so that peace could be restored in the disturbed areas. In order to restore normally, President rule is a necessity.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to congratulate the Governor and his advisers who have made all efforts to deal with the odd situation and improve the conditions in Punjab. Therefore, I support this Resolution seeking extension of President's rule in Punjab for another six months.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: (Baramulla): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today I am not going to deliver any long speech, but I would definitely like to ask Mr. Chidambaram one thing who has by now acquainted himself fully with the Punjab problem as he has paid several visits to Punjab at frequent intervals. I would like to know detailed figures in regard to loss of life and property in Punjab. The figures available with the people and those available with me indicate that on an average larger number of people have been killed during the period of President's Rule. There have been heavy loss of property and a large number of people have sustained injuries. The official figures show that earlier, when the Barnala Government was in power, the number of people killed and injured was much higher and loss of property was also on a higher scale. What do these figures indicate? The Government should take us into confidence and give us the true picture of conditions prevailing in the State. As far as people, including myself, are concerned, there is no taker of figures given by the Government as we have the graph of the psychology of the people. There are no two opinions that killing of people has been going on unabated even during President's Rule. We are shocked to hear the incidents of killing which have become a routine affair. Hardly a day passes in Punjab when incidents of killings are not reported, therefore, request Mr. Chidambaram to furnish the



detailed figures. Let us know as to how many people were killed daily on an average. We were in much distress before Shri Ribeiro assumed the charge of DG of Police in Punjab. The Punjab problem has time and again been discussed in this august House and I have also spoken on a number of occasions. When Shri Ribeiro was posted as D.G.P., Punjab, we had very high expectations from him as he was considered to be dedicated and disciplined soldier and an able administrator. Later he was made an adviser to the Governor. In the beginning, when he was made D.G.P. he used to say with firm conviction that Punjab problem would be solved with the pursuance of policy of bullet for bullet. He was of the opinion that this policy would restore peace and normalcy in Punjab. It will improve the state of affairs in the State for those who want peace. Recently, I came across some news reports in the national press in this regard. With the publications of his interviews with the journalists, it appears that he is equally remorseful as we are. His theory of bullet for bullet has failed. Finally, Shri Ribeiro has relinquished the office of D.G.P. Punjab. He said that his policy of bullet for bullet was wrong. The problem cannot be solved by it.

13.00 hrs.

At the time when Shri Ribeiro propounded this theory, I had, in one of my speeches, recalled the philosophy of Gandhiji that violence breeds violence. When bullet is returned by a bullet, violence would be generated. Today, Shri Ribeiro subscribes to the theory propounded by Gandhiji. This does not mean that firing will not be resorted to under any circumstances. The Government will have to take some measure or the other when terrorism raises its ugly head and some misguided people challenge the verdict of the voters. But the Punjab problem is not a case of law and order alone. It is a political problem. That is why at the very outset, I had requested the Central Government to instal a popular Government in Punjab. Of course, there were also problems before the Central Government. It might be a mistake on the part of the Government to

hand over the reign to Shri Barnala. Shri Badal would have been a better choice. Sometimes, the people at the Centre prefer people in the States, who may act as their rubber stamp. But they should note it carefully that people who are required to run democracy should be chosen by the people and they should be allowed a free hand to run the administration as per the will of the people. But the sycophants do not let things run like this. They want people to act as the agents of Central Government. At that time, they were in a state of terror, as far as I know. He thought like this and misguided the Prime Minister and the later chose Barnala to head the Government. Of course, Shri Barnala was a right person. But he did not have the guts which Shri Badal would have displayed. Now that opportunity is lost. Shri Barnala has been dismissed by the Centre. I am not aware what were the compulsion before the Central Government. But I agree that the Central Government had been facing a very unfortunate situation in Punjab. That is why President's rule was imposed in the State. But it is not at all wise to extend President's rule again and again. Punjab problem is not going to be solved by a further extension of the President's rule. I feel that the Central Government should initiate dialogue with the people of the State in view of the situation now prevailing there. Just now, Shri Shahabuddin was making a submission in this regard. I also come across a cross section of Sikhs while travelling by trains, aeroplanes and also meet a large number of sikh leaders in the Parliament and the Central Hall. They heartily feel that our country should remain united and the Punjab problem should be solved. But how long can we wait for this. Is it advisable that the DG of police or the Governor of the State should report the state of affairs prevailing there and suggest measures for a solution. Government in Punjab cannot be run by these two persons. Situation in Punjab should be brought under control. We are the representatives of the people and any decision with regard to Punjab problem should be taken in this august House.

I understand the difficulties being faced by the Government and I do agree that

[Prof. Saifuddin Soz]

President's rule should be extended further. Even then let us consider the solution suggested by Shri Jain and see what is going to happen in the new Lok Sabha. But feeling in the House is that there should be no further extension of President's rule in Punjab. Let the people choose their Government and it should be the responsibility of the popular Government to maintain law and order in the State. The administration in Punjab should not be left in the hands of one person, whether he is Mr. Ray or Mr. Gill.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now we adjourn for lunch till 2.05 P.M.

13.03 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till five minutes past fourteen of the clock*

14.09 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled at nine minutes past fourteen of the clock*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE. CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB FOR A FURTHER PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS FROM 11TH NOVEMBER, 1989-*CONTD.*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Tombi Singh.

[English]

SHRI N. TOMBISINGH (Inner Manipur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution seeking extension of President's rule in Punjab. The sufferings in Punjab are not merely the sufferings in Punjab and for the

Punjab alone but for the whole country. Punjab is very much a vital part of our country. Therefore, the problem of Punjab has never remained isolated to Punjab itself. Because it is linked up with so many other national issues. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to see a possibility of stability in Punjab. I listened to the charges made against the Government and the ruling party by hon. Shri Shahabuddin while initiating this debate from that side. I do not agree with the accusations that the Government is not interested in any solution. If the Government or the leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi is not interested in any solution, what was the purpose of that historic Rajiv-Longowal Accord? In fact Rajiv-Longowal Accord was a historic step and a lot of risks were involved. If the full implementation has not been possible, it is not for us to blame the Government alone. It is not as if the situation in Punjab today is unsatisfactory because it is the making of the Government. No, it is not so. But we wish that there should have been a peaceful settlement, a political settlement and a lasting settlement in Punjab. So far, we have not been able to come to a solution.

Now, we must look back first to what has happened in the past, what is the current position and what are the possibilities in the future. There are a few factors which I would like to emphasise in the course of this debate.

Punjab in spite of its turmoil, in spite of the agitations, insurgencies, the socio-economic life there has not been disturbed. This is one very important aspect which should be considered from all angles. If it is merely insurgencies, the underground elements, then the things would have been solved much earlier. Now, we have very good reasons to suspect the political activists, the political leadership, who are working on the ground, excepting the Congress and certain other progressive political parties. The Sikh organisations like the Akalis are still holding the key to some of the insurgent activities. If the over-ground leaders cut-off themselves from the underground activists and if they stop guiding from the ground by not provid-

ing them money, arms and other things, the solution could have been possible.

It has been mentioned time and again in spite of attempts made by Khalistan activists, the so-called extremists in the name of the wound in the psyche of the sikh community, that it has not been possible for them to create any communal situation in that part of the country. It is quite understandable. Because the sikh community and Hindu community are basically bound to the same root. They cannot be divided. They are brothers. They are not merely brothers of the same soil but they have been rooted from the very beginning in the origin of their religion and so on. So, communal solution or the communal division has been impossible. This is impossible. So, any organisation or any movement working on this basis has failed.

It has been said that police alone cannot solve the problem. That is all right. But without police we cannot see any possibility of controlling the situation which is existing in Punjab. So, I earnestly appreciate the various stages in which the police have controlled or have tried to put itself in the picture in the series of changing situations. At some stage, we have reasons to criticise the police also. But then, they have learnt from their experience that it is not they alone who can solve the problem but they have to play a big role in solving the problem.

The police is a very important in solving the Punjab problem. That means the Home Ministry, its administration and other channels have to play a very important role in bringing about a change there. A question was asked as to what Government can do within the further six months for which it is going to be extended. Of course, Government can do a lot. Killings are, in a way, continuing. Whether their numbers are increasing or decreasing, is a question which can be put. But the number of killings cannot determine whether the situation has turned for the better or worse. Some solution should be found. Only then will killings stop.

But I see today the role played by the

people on our border, and the border on the other side, when the neighbouring countries are not friendly for instance, by Pakistan on its border with Punjab. The question is how far, after the coming in of the new regime in Pakistan, training of revolutionaries, insurgents, supply of arms, ammunitions and money from across the border have been controlled. We would like Government to spell out the progress made in this behalf.

I have a few suggestions to make. I belong to a border State on the north-eastern region. Luckily, the Government of Burma is a very friendly and also, more or less, a harmless Government, not very powerful militarily or otherwise. It is not hostile to us. Even there, the border is creating problems due to narcotics and other smuggling activities today. I understand that BSF and other para-military forces working on the border there are demanding more and more battalions, for keeping a better check on smuggling transactions. That, by itself, is a very important aspect of our social economy. On the other side, this narcotics traffic has harmed the youth of this country.

On the Pakistan side, we have got not merely the traffic of narcotics. Narcotics must be coming in huge quantities from this border; but what is more harmful is the coming in of arms, money and the element of training given to the insurgents and Punjab extremists on the Pakistani side of the border. It should be stopped. Only then will a solution to the Punjab problem, to some extent, be possible.

We have been discussing a political solution, against the background of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Upto what extent have we benefited from it? This remains a controversial point, but we can say with some amount of satisfaction and a good amount of appreciation of our leadership, that at a very critical stage, a very bold step, a very risky step was taken to enter into the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Longowal, that friendly leader, died. After that, a solution requires the consideration of so many other factors e.g., regarding Chandigarh, assessment of territories be-

[Sh. N. Tombi Singh]

between Haryana and Punjab, and solution of the water problems involved between Punjab and the neighbouring States. These steps should be taken.

Why should we blame Rajiv Gandhi, the present regime and the Congress alone? We have to blame, rather very positively, the present leadership of Haryana, viz. Devi Lal. What is he doing about this problem? He has to play his role and help in arriving at a solution to the critical Punjab problem. This is a national problem. If he claims to be a nationalist and thinks in terms of national welfare, he should think of making his own contribution in regard to Punjab.

What is the role played by them so far? The people of the other communities, people of different political organisations, people of different sections, leaders of the Akali Group, they should also come out not merely with statements but with certain practical suggestions and practical steps, with a sense of commitment that they stand for the commitment entered into in the Accord. But they have not been able to do it. On the contrary, there are still suspicions that they are helping the underground people. In this regard, in spite of the unhappy situation in spite of dissatisfaction about the unstable situation in the Punjab, the Government is trying to stabilise the things over there.

We appreciate the stand of the Government, the proposal of the Government that the President's Rule should be further extended. Let us hope that this should be the last extension of the President's Rule over there and nothing more would be welcome than a regular election and the government of the people there on the election basis.

I would like to suggest that the border area in Punjab is No. 1 and other border areas on the Bangladesh side, on the Burmese side, on the Chinese side should be more seriously checked so that things may not be worsening in the near future. Burma Border on Mizoram, Nagaland, and Manipur

needs more BSF battalions and forces. To my knowledge, they have demanded them. The Government of India should immediately fulfil their demand and strengthen the security on the borders because prevention is always better than cure. All undesirable things on these borders should be checked carefully and seriously.

With these words, I support the Resolution regarding extension of President's Rule in Punjab.

[Translation]

SHRI KALI PRASAD PANDEY (Gopalganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by the hon. Minister.

I have been observing that as and when the House took up a discussion on the issue of President's Rule in Punjab, all the hon. Members have expressed serious concern on this issue. Once I became curious to undertake a tour of Punjab and took stock of the situation on the spot with a view to ascertaining the correctness of the news being reported in the newspapers. I visited the places from Anandpur to Nangal and saw myself that the situation was not so bad as the people outside the State used to say. There were a handful of persons who were already involved in criminal activities. There are others who, being unemployed have been misled by the terrorist. I would like to inform the hon. Minister that one everybody in the country know that some or the other external force is involved in this act of terrorism. Shrimati Benezir Bhutto came to power through elections. But the attitude of Pakistan towards India remains to be the same. First of all, the Government should take note of this. India has a history of its own. Shri Shahbuddin was right when he said that this problem should be resolved through democratic methods. In this connection, it may be recalled that certain people, be it Shri Devilal or for that matter somebody else, put obstructions in the implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. We never backed out from the Accord reached with Sant Longowal. It has been rightly said by some

people including Shri Ribeiro that it is not a good thing that the people who have been misled due to unemployment should not be treated as terrorists. In order to curb this tendency, the Government of Punjab held open public meetings and started a campaign of recruitments in Government departments. The Governor of Punjab held meetings with the people and proceeded with his mass contact programme. This resulted in difusing the situation prevailing there. But I would like to say that the problem cannot be solved only by providing employment to unemployed youths.

Today, everybody knows the state of terrorism prevailing in Punjab. It was only yesterday that we came to know from the T.V. and Radio that a terrorist named Satnam Singh, carrying an award of Rs. 1 lakh on his head was killed by the police. It is definitely a commendable performance of the Punjab police. It is not so that the police sprays bullets on anybody and everybody. One thing that I would like to say emphatically is that the general public have become totally disgusted listening to the incidences of terrorism. But it is not at all justifiable to brand other people as terrorists only for the reason that a handful of persons are involved in this act. People who commit bank dacoities or other such crimes should not be enlisted in the terrorist category. There should be separate laws for prosecuting such persons on the lines of the one enacted for the terrorists during the last session. There should be separate provisions for the terrorists and other criminals. There should be no uniform provision for both the categories.

We must agree today that people committing other type of crimes use the same types of rifles and guns as the terrorists and naxalites use.

It has also been correctly said that there is no Hindu Sikh feeling in Punjab. Had there been any such feeling, Punjab might not have done as much progress as it did. Today, there was a news report that Punjab has secured first position in the matter of electrification. The people of the State are very

labourious and, as a result the state has achieved a lot of progress. But the Government should make special provisions to provide employment to unemployed people. At the same time, I must say that the Government should spare no stones unturned in eliminating the people who are providing shelter to terrorists. Every effort should be made to remove the problem of unemployment from the State. Our history has all along been a peaceful one whether it was he era of Panditji or Gandhiji. We have always been worshippers of peace. Even today, we are worshippers of peace and want to solve all problems through peaceful means. The terrorist problem could be solved through the following method: "Prem nahin Kartavya marg se, nar ko kabhi digata hai Sudha pikar Manav, Shishdan de jata hai."

I, would therefore, like that the problem in Punjab calls for a political as well as democratic solution. With a view to holding elections in Punjab, Hon. Prime Minister signed an Accord with a great personality like Sant Longowal. Even then peace and tranquility could not be restored in the State. Sant Longowal fell victim to terrorists' bullets. Shri Rajiv Gandhi is of the view that the problem could be fully solved if the Accord signed with Sant Longowal is implemented in its original form. So far as other political parties are concerned, I have seen what the condition of these parties are. On the one hand, they say that the Prime Minister does not hold talks with the Opposition, on the other, they do not give any concrete suggestion regarding the Punjab problem which could enable Shri Rajiv Gandhi to solve the problem. Their stand is also not clear as they raise objection to President's rule in Punjab, but its utility can be judged from the comparative figures of terrorists being killed in Punjab today as compared to the number of people which used to be shot down earlier by the terrorists. Similarly, there has been a substantial improvement in the law and order situation there. The hon. Minister is quite experienced and I would like that by giving priority to democracy, elections to State Assembly and elections to the Lok Sabha should be held simultaneously.

[English]

**SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deograh):** I rise to support the Statutory Resolution moved by the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs, Shri Chidambaram, seeking extension of President's rule in Punjab.

There is no other alternative available either with the Government or the people except to extend the President's rule till a congenial climate is built up in the State for holding Assembly elections. The extremists continue with their spree of violence everyday. But there is a redeeming feature that very top terrorists are being arrested and top terrorists on whose heads awards worth lakhs of rupees are there, are surrendering themselves. As indicated by the hon. Minister, the terrorism has reached a critical stage and both Central and State Governments are doing their best to contain and curb it.

We welcome the statement of the hon. Governor that elections would be held in Punjab for the Lok Sabha together with the rest of the country. We sincerely wish that the parliamentary elections are passed off smoothly in that State so that it paves the way for holding Assembly elections.

There is a criticism that the Government lacks political will in finding a permanent political solution to the problem. Undoubtedly, this is not just a law and order problem. It is much more than that. A political solution has got to be found to it. How can it be done has got to be thought of there is so much criticism against the Government, against the Prime Minister? I think those who are criticising are doing it blindly. They are doing it just for the sake of criticism. They are those political parties which have very narrow partisan political approach. They are those who do not like to cooperate with the Government in restoring normalcy in Punjab. There is lot of disturbance going on there.

Punjab, as you know, Sir, is our pride, is the pride of Hindustan. Punjab has played a very very significant role, a gallant role in the freedom struggle. In respect of sacrifices,

Punjab is number one. It is second to none. Even after Independence, at the time of Chinese aggression and during Indo-Pak war, the role of Punjab, the contribution of Punjab has been enormous, has been laudable. In independent India, in the field of economic development also, Punjab has played a leading role. Inasmuch as the Green Revolution is concerned, it has been quite a success in Punjab. Again, it is heartening to observe that despite these disturbances, under the President's rule, with the support given by the Central Government, the economic development of Punjab is not affected. Everybody from outside is amazed how, despite such bloodshed there, despite such a terrible situation there, the economic development of Punjab is not affected. Some hon. friends have already stated that in the matter of implementation of 20-Point Programme, Punjab has topped the list. In the field of agriculture also, their march towards further progress and prosperity is going on. On the industrial development front also, the progress is satisfactory.

My previous speaker, Mr. Tombi Singh has rightly mentioned about the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Knowing fully well that from the point of view of electoral prospects this Accord would be a set back to Congress, our Prime Minister, who also happens to be the President of the Indian National Congress, went in for it. In his anxiety to restore normalcy, in his anxiety to curb terrorism once for all, in his anxiety to see that the democracy flourishes in that part of the country also, he went in for this historic Rajiv-Longowal Accord. He went all out to implement it in letter and spirit. But we all know the obstructions. As you know, Sir, the sharing of Chandigarh and so many other things are there which concern not only the State of Punjab but also the State of Haryana. Who is ruling Haryana now and what sort of cooperation they are lending to the Government of India, we all know. Rather, every step being taken by the Government of India is being opposed by them. It is time that we have to fight out terrorism with all our might. We have to put an end to this bloodshed which is going on there. The Governor of Punjab is doing a

commendable job there. He is sparing no pains. He is making all efforts for the restoration of normalcy there to see that in the field of development, Punjab does not lag behind, despite the disturbances which are going on there. We are happy to see that when there is a wave of communalism in every part of the country, Punjab remains unaffected, which again proves that the people of Punjab like peace. They do not want communal riots. They very much want communal harmony and that is a welcome feature and what is now required is that we have to deal firmly with terrorism which is sponsored, supported and encouraged by foreign hands. It is common knowledge that arms on a large scale are being supplied from across the border and there is also a conspiracy going on. Naturally at this point of time is it not a fact that the role of the Opposition, the conduct of the Opposition is adding to this problem? Particularly for the last several months what they have done, how they have boycotted Parliament, what they are speaking now outside, does it not contribute or does it not add to this problems of terrorism? Does it not send fillip to this terrorism in Punjab? Can the Opposition deny this? All that they are saying, all that they are doing is that they are polluting the political atmosphere of the country, for which we can certainly blame the Opposition and any sensible man will find fault with the Opposition. Naturally in these circumstances when there cannot be election held there in the near future for the Assembly—and of course in a democracy nobody would like imposition of President's Rule and again its extension, that way also Punjab has set a record—we have to go for the amendment of the Constitution itself to provide for President's Rule at a stretch up to a maximum period of three years. Is the Government happy about it? We are sure that under the compelling situation the Government had to do this. Naturally the Government are doing their work, but it is time that all should work combinedly including the Opposition parties since this is a national problem and this poses a threat to our democracy which is so fondly loved. We love democracy, we are proud of Indian democracy and when it poses

a threat and it is a national problem, it should be the endeavour of all the political parties to cooperate. Our Prime Minister, thanks to him, has consulted Opposition leaders on several occasions on the Punjab situation. But what has been the outcome? That has been construed as a weakness of the Prime Minister or the Government by the Opposition. So, the Opposition also should realise their mistake and should appreciate the seriousness of the problem and they should come forward and join hands with the Government to find out a political situation to this problem.

With these words, Sir, I support the Statutory Resolution in seeking extension of President's Rule in Punjab Thank you, Sir.

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI (Srinagar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the condition in Punjab is very tense now. I feel that never before in history has there been so much loss of life and property, nor has brutality been seen to the extent it is witnessed today in Punjab. I would like to put a poser to the hon. Minister as to how many persons have been killed and what is the value of prosperity destroyed ever since the President's rule was imposed there. We will have to make a comparative study of this figure with that during Barnala Government's regime because when Shri Barnala's Government was dismissed, the ruling party at the Centre had said that they had to kick it out because the loss of life and property had increased beyond limit and terrorism could not be controlled. I would like to know whether destruction has increased or decreased after dismissal of Shri Barnala's Government. From the statistics, it appears that the loss of life and property has increased after the imposition of President's rule there. I would express my anguish over the dismissal of Barnala Government. It is curious that the Congress Party had tried its best to install Shri Barnala's Government. This was a good step because this question was not of much significance as to whether Shri Barnala or Shri Badal should have been made Chief



[Sh. Abdul Rashid Kabuli]

Minister but a way for democracy was found out in Punjab. This democracy granted a status to Shri Barnala and he made his best efforts but the way, his Government was kicked out for electoral gains in Haryana elections, did not display good taste. I regret to say that the allegations against Shri Barnala were made only at the time when the election scenario in Haryana reached a critical stage and the Congress Party was bent upon winning the election, come what may. No such charges were made against Shri Barnala before the elections and he was made a scape goat at the altar of Haryana elections. This has formed part of our history of misfortune because the destruction in Punjab is that of the entire country and is not limited to Punjab alone. I would like to ask the hon. Minister as to what has been the intensity of destruction of resources and how many people have been killed there till now. The resources which could be utilised for the development of our country have been wasted due to the Punjab problem. Punjab has proved as a gigantic problem for us as Afghanistan for U.S.S.R. at one time. We should see that situation in Punjab may not take a turn similar to one in which U.S.S.R. had to withdraw from Afghanistan. I regret to say that we have not adopted a good policy on Punjab. Even on earlier occasions, I said that the problem would not be solved with the help of Operation Blue Star. It would only aggravate the problem and you have seen where we have reached gradually. I would like to tell the loss that country is suffering due to the Punjab problem. It is not only the loss in terms of life and property in Punjab, but the age old bond of brotherhood between Hindus and Sikhs has been destroyed. As the hon. Speaker also said that base of secularism in Punjab rested on strong foundation and mutual bond between the two communities has been so deep rooted that it could not be easily broken. But unfortunately some elements in both the communities seem to be bent upon breaking the age old bond of affinity. They have succeeded in their evil designs to some extent and both the communities are at the loggerhead now.

India is getting a bad name in the whole world due to this. I have received a number of reports from America and Europe that India is getting a bad name in other countries for destroying the human rights in Punjab. The hon. Minister will have to take the House in confidence about the reported violation of human rights in Punjab. A number of incidents have come to my notice in which police has been found to be involved in committing atrocities. That tarnishes the image of India. We are very proud of the Indian culture and democracy. Ours is the biggest democracy in the whole world but when such incidents are reported in U.S.A. or any other European country that innocent people are being killed in Punjab by the police, we become defenceless. A U.S.A. based prominent leader of Khalistan had circulated some pamphlets in India and I feel that he was successful in tuning the American Congress anti-India since such statements were flasted all our world, the senators of American Congress and the youths supported the creation of Khalistan a number of times. There may or may not be truth in allegation of excesses on sikhs in India but the way it is being given publicity abroad has tarnished our image. For example, in a recent incidence, two women of Punjab working in a bank were apprehended by the police and taken to police station where during interrogation they were mercilessly beaten. Perhaps this incidence took place in Ambala. The Police was interrogating them to know the whereabouts of their husbands. When they said that they did not know their whereabouts as they were absconding for several years for fear of police. Upon this, they were mercilessly beaten up in the police station. A detailed description of the incident was reported in the foreign media. They were released later on but are still undergoing treatment. Their condition is very serious. These are not isolated incidents but these are repeated. One thing I would like to tell about Shri Barnala. Once he called a meeting of the cross-section of the Members of Parliament, I was also present in it. He narrated a story that once he managed to get it announced on the A.I.R. that the Government would welcome the youths who had migrated to



Pakistan or other places for fear of police. In response to that announcement, when 10 sikh youths about whom he had already talked to Shri Ribeiro also, were crossing the border to come to India and were unarmed, they were shot dead. When this was reported to Shri Ribeiro, he replied that the B.S.F. incharge there had said that it was his responsibility and not that of Shri Ribeiro. Was this matter reported at any stage? A responsible person like the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Barnala had to make this complaint. When those ten persons were taken to the cremation ground, thousands of people participated in their cremation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to submit that the conditions created by the police in Punjab need to be looked into because if the police gets more powers in democracy, we face its adverse effects which have to be borne by the whole democracy. In this regard, I would like to ask whether the Central Government has paid attention to the complaints received from the people in Punjab? The Government should pay attention to the misery faced by the people and their complaints received by you.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the end, with your permission, I want to say that Punjabi-culture should be kept in mind while improving conditions in Punjab. It is a composite culture of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. It embodies their regional aspirations. I would like to point out that the Government has rejected the Anandpur Sahib resolution but police rule, armed forces etc. are not its solution. Therefore I want to request you that a political solution is indispensable for Punjab. This problem cannot be solved by extending the President's rule by 6 months to one year. This will only spread the poison even further. Punjab is our protector and the farmer of Punjab is growing foodgrains for the entire India. The solidiers of Punjab protect our borders and for the protection of Punjab we will have to hold discussion in an atmosphere of love. We will have to initiate dialogue. The present conditions can be improved only through love and not through hatred. The extention of police rule and Governor's rule will further aggravate in situ-

ation. Therefore the Government should find out a peaceful solution at the earliest. A solution to the problem should be found with the help of Punjabiati.

SHRI JAGANNATH PATTHAIK (Kalahandi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, I rise to support the Resolution which has been introduced to extend the President's rule in Punjab. We Congressmen have always believed in the slogan which says that:-

"Punjab ho ya Guwahati apna desh apni  
neeti  
Jitni bhasha utne pradesh phir bhi Hindustani ek"

This is the Congress culture, and its political goal. So there was no need for hon. Shri Kabuli to have said all that he said or to give any suggestions. This is India's policy and the Congress(I)'s religion. There has been lot of improvement in the situation in Punjab after the imposition of President's rule in the State. The agricultural and industrial production in Punjab has not received any set back due to acts of violence. The situation there was extremely tense before the imposition of President's rule. It had become difficult to gather intelligence reports from there. Since the imposition of President's rule intelligence reports have been coming in regularly helping the Government in arresting the terrorists and dealing with terrorism in an effective manner. This is the right step towards solving the Punjab problem. The hardcore terrorists have either been apprehended by the police or killed in encounters. We have never favoured the idea of a 'bullet for a bullet' or any other form of violence for that matter. Knowing fully well that the atmosphere was not conducive for holding elections and regardless of our Party's position in the State we want ahead and held elections there in order to restore normalcy in the State. The Government that came into power failed to come up to the expectations despite Central Government's assistance. Therefore, that Government had to go.

Our Government is committed to implementing the Rajiv-Longowal Accord but this

[Sh. Jagannath Pattnaik]

is not possible without the cooperation of the Punjab and Haryana Governments. All of us are aware of the practical hinderances that are coming in the way of implementing this Accord but still the Congress Government and hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi will fulfill the commitment of implementing the Accord.

I had an opportunity to visit the Golden Temple in Amritsar about 5-7 days back. I feel that things have improved a lot after the Operation Black Thunder. The fear among the people for the past 4-6 years that they cannot enter the Gurudwara has been removed. Today people frequent the Gurudwara without any fear. The law and order situation in Punjab has significantly improved and there is no communal tension between Hindus and Sikhs there. The Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity is at its pinnacle there. A lot has been done towards the success of the strategy for Punjab which envisages checking terrorism and defusing the tension in the border areas of the State. Keeping in view the prevailing situation and for the restoration of democracy in the State, it is necessary to extend the President's rule there for some months more. Along with this I would suggest that elections to the Punjab State Assembly be held with the general elections. I would like to tell all the political parties to take the responsibility of creating an awareness among the people throughout the country about the problem of terrorism. People who have suffered at the hands of terrorists should be told that the entire nation is with them. The unemployed youth in Punjab should be provided employment. In this way we have to solve these problems. With these words I support the Resolution for the extension of President's Rule in Punjab.

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA (Jammu):  
Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, I support the Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister for extension of President's rule in Punjab.

I was in Punjab when elections were held there. Elections were held in a very calm atmosphere. When the Barnala Gov-

ernment came to power, expectations were high that the Punjab problems would be solved and people would live in harmony. But the situation worsened day-by-day and a time came when the Barnala Government proved ineffective in protecting the life and property of the people. Just now hon. Shri Kabuli was saying that the Barnala Government was toppled perhaps because the Congress wanted to come to power in Haryana.

15.00 hrs.

A Government in Punjab cannot in any way influence elections in Haryana. The atmosphere in Punjab was different from that in Haryana. So fed-up were the people of Punjab that they were willing to do anything to change the depressing scenario. The trouble started because of some Ministers in the Barnala Government who gave shelter to terrorists. The volatile situation forced the Barnala Government to resign and President's rule had to be imposed in the State. This led to an improvement in the situation and an increase in agricultural production.

15.01 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

Hon. Shri Shahabuddin said just now that the Government had not paid any attention to rural development. I would like to inform him that a lot has been done in this direction. Consequently, a wave of happiness surged through Punjab. Apart from this a Rail Coach Factory has been set up there to provide jobs to the unemployed youth and bonus has also been given to farmers. Besides, new projects have been set up and several concessions have been granted for which the Government has spent a huge amount of money. The common man in Punjab is much happier, much better off than he was before. These are signs of changing conditions; conditions that are changing for the better. But still much remains to be done and the moment is not ripe for holding elections. Even now arms are being smuggled

from Pakistan. Pakistan is still not mending its ways. Terrorists trained there are being sneaked into Punjab. Incidents of bank robberies and killings of innocent people are still taking place. I mean to say that things have not improved in absolute terms.

I have to deal with Punjab almost every-day since it is one of my neighbouring States. Anti-social elements are very active there. So I feel that the Government should properly assess the situation. Though the President's rule cannot be extended indefinitely, elections should not be held until the situation becomes normal. Holding of elections now could lead to dangerous consequences because many terrorist groups are still active.

The General elections are round the corner. If a solution can be found till then we could have the elections there also. The need of the hour, of course, is to extend the President's rule for another six months. The situation should be closely monitored and elections should be held at an appropriate time.

SHRIGIRDHARILAL VYAS (Bhilwara):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the Statutory Resolution for extension of President's rule in Punjab for a further period of six months.

Many hon. Members have rightly suggested that because of terrorist activities this is not a favourable time for holding elections either to the Assembly or Parliament. During the President's rule in the State, the Governor has made every effort to remedy the situation. The police too has taken tough measures to put an end to terrorism but they have not been fully successful in their efforts. More we try to suppress it, more it aggravates. There are several countries which are behind the terrorism in India. Terrorists are being trained in Pakistan and they are receiving funds from U.S.A. Canada, England and other countries. Besides, narcotics like hashish etc. are being smuggled into Punjab from Pakistan on a very large scale and this is another source of funding the terrorists. So the Government needs to take steps such as

sealing of the border between the two countries. Until smuggling activities are curbed, the terrorist operations will receive constant support and strength with which terrorist activities will be organised. Therefore the primary requirement is to eliminate the smuggling activities. This is the main reason behind terrorism in Punjab today. Efforts have been made to seal the Punjab border but it has failed to solve the problem. Smuggling activities are now being carried out on a large scale through the Rajasthan border and arms are also being smuggled into the country through that route. Therefore, until and unless entire length of our border with Pakistan be it in Punjab, J&K, Rajasthan or Gujarat is completely sealed and complete check is ensured with the deployment of defence forces, the measures taken to check terrorism will prove ineffective. That is why the Government will have to make appropriate arrangements so that smuggling activities in the border areas may be checked and infiltration of people trained across the border may also be curbed. One hon. Member from Jammu and Kashmir was pointing out just now that the situation had improved under the Barnala Government but the Congress Government at the Centre toppled it in order to further its own interest in the Haryana elections and as a result of which the situation deteriorated. This assessment is incorrect. I want to say that the Barnala Government could not control terrorist activities and at the same time some of his ministers were secretly assisting the terrorists on account of which the terrorist movement received constant support. This is why the administrative measures could not prove effective. Therefore, I would like to submit that the Barnala Government was toppled not with an eye on Haryana elections but to curb the activities of the terrorists in which the Government of Punjab had become completely ineffective and hence there was no mischief or design behind the toppling of Barnala Government. The step taken by the Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was perfectly timed. If the Barnala Government had been allowed to continue for more time, much harm would have been done to Punjab. Therefore, this action was justified. Today it

[Sh. Girdhari Lal Vyas]

is essential to take strong steps to strengthen the administration there. I would like to submit that efforts to separate Punjab from the Indian Union are not only being made in Punjab but also outside the country. The Sikh expatriates, who are financially sound, are providing all possible support to this secessionist move. The Government of India enjoys cordial relations with all these nations and an understanding of providing mutual support also exists at the political level. Under such circumstances our Government should exert pressure on these countries to take necessary steps to check the activities of Indians who are engaged in inciting and supporting secessionists in our country. The Government should take definite measures in this direction and until this is done it will not be possible to check terrorist activities. Therefore, it is essential to look into this matter.

Secondly, as regards the development works, it is a fact that certain development works have been undertaken. A railway factory has been set up and the farmers have been provided assistance in other different ways. I think that the extent of work which has been undertaken under the Rajiv Government for the progress of the farmers, knows no parallel in earlier days under any Government. This can be verified through the production scene as well. Despite the delicate situation the State is facing the production has not received any set back. As a matter of fact, it is constantly increasing. This makes clear that all round development has taken place. It can definitely be claimed that Punjab is the backbone of our country. If Punjab ceases to be the integral part of India, it will weaken the whole nation. This State is the granary of the country and the whole country depends on it for its foodgrain requirements. Thus, Punjab is the bulwark of the entire nation. When development efforts are made here, it is done with the objective that it should contribute in taking the country forward and in making it strong and powerful. As mentioned earlier, Punjab makes a major contribution in our food requirements. There-

fore, we have made appropriate provision irrigation, apply of power, fertiliser and seeds in this state so that it can produce enough to meet the requirements of the rest of the country. This is why I had said that Punjab is the backbone of India. Its development is the development of India and if it is separated, it will weaken the nation. Therefore, strict action should be taken against those engaged in terrorist activities. Our action should be so strong as to annihilate the terrorist groups and India's integrity may be protected and it may emerge as a powerful nation with Punjab making maximum contribution to its development. I welcome and support the resolution brought by the hon. Minister for the extension of President's rule in this state.

SHRISHANTARAMNAIK (Panaji): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the resolution moved in the House for the extension of President's rule in Punjab. We should realise that the Punjab problem cannot be easily solved because terrorism is not an ordinary criminal activity.

Even when terrorism had become a global phenomenon and it had spread all over the world, India remained unaffected because the people did not give it any support. But eventually a pocket developed where terrorism could find a safe haven. History stands testimony to the fact that wherever terrorism has struck, it has retained its hold for a long time. At times it becomes very difficult to put complete end to it. Therefore, it needs to be accepted that terrorism will continue in some form or the other for a very long time.

The terrorists do not belong to Punjab. They are mostly outsiders and are trained outside the country. They are also funded from abroad. After their activities in Punjab are over they take shelter in the neighbouring State. The terrorists in general do not belong to Punjab although there are some of them who belong to this State.

In a T.V. serial which I saw last night, one Hindu and one Sikh were shown sitting across a table. When the Hindu was ques-

tioned, he replied that his mother-tongue was Punjabi and the national language was Hindi. Thereafter, when he was asked as to whom did Punjab belong, he replied that it belonged to the people of Punjab. The Sikh on hearing this intervened and said that Punjab did not belong to the Punjabis alone but it belonged to the whole of India. This view was expressed by the Sikh. Taking into account all these things there can be no doubt about the patriotism of the Sikhs. The Sikhs in general are not involved in the terrorist activities taking place in Punjab.

Apart from this if the ordinary farmer, the agricultural labourer or the common people of Punjab were involved in terrorism, the State could not have made any progress. The production also could not have increased. That is why the average Punjabi should not be considered as having a hand in terrorism in the State. The common people of Punjab are not involved in the terrorist activities taking place in the State.

It is a fact that many people are being killed by terrorists in Punjab but it has to be accepted as well that the political power enjoyed by the terrorists does not exist any more. They are not given political protection and the terrorist leads a life of an ordinary criminal. He merely commits a crime and absconds. He does not enjoy any political patronage today

Still I would like to give one suggestion. If terrorism continues in Punjab, we will have to do something other than extension of the President's rule there. Some days back, I had made a suggestion and I would like the hon. Home Minister to consider it. Punjab should be treated as a Union Territory for some years. By doing this, the question of holding elections soon will not arise. If Punjab is removed from the list of States and converted into a Union Territory, the question of extension of President's rule will also not arise. We have many other Union Territories like Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Andaman and Nicobar, Lakshdweep and Minicoy Islands. There are no legislative assemblies there. As such, there is no legal constraint on us to

bring a Bill for enacting a law there. Therefore, Punjab should be made a Union Territory for some time till peace is restored there and it should be done within next six months. I do not say that Government had promised but it definitely wanted to hold elections to Panchayats in Punjab. If elections to Panchayats had been held, we would have known how far the people are ready for elections. It would have worked as a barometer. Why the proposal of holding elections at the Panchayat level was not carried out? Any how it does not matter whether elections have been held or not. But I would like the hon. Minister to clarify in his reply as to what is the Government's assessment about holding elections to Legislative Assembly or the Lok Sabha.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members for the support they have lent to the Resolution seeking extension of President's rule in Punjab for a further period of six months. I am happy that the political reality in Punjab is widely recognised and accepted by the hon. Members. The political reality is that conditions in Punjab do not lend themselves to a situation where we can hold elections and I will presently tell you 'why'.

Speaking here Mr. Shahabuddin, Mr. Kabuli and some other hon. Members raised certain vital questions. These questions had been raised before and we had tried to answer them to the best of our ability. Take, for example, the question of Punjab Accord. There are eleven items of the Accord. Eight have been fully implemented. The remaining three items are: one relating to transfer of territory in lieu of Chandigarh; the other relating to the sharing of river waters and the third about enactment of an all-India Gurudwara Act. There is no consensus today among the States on enacting an All India Gurudwara Act but we are in constant touch with the various States in this country which

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have a substantial number of Gurudwaras. However, I do not think that that is an issue which affects the Sikh psyche as Mr. Shahabuddin put it.

The other two issues are indeed capable of resolution but I must say with a deep sense of regret that we are not capable of resolving them as long as we have on the one hand a totally fragmented Akali party and on the other a totally recalcitrant Government in Haryana. It is a classic struggle between an irresistible force and an immovable block. Neither will see reason. Neither will come forward for a dialogue. Neither will put forward a solution and the history of the Barnala Government when it was in office in relation to these two items was going forward one step and taking two steps backward. I do not, therefore, think that the failure to fulfil these two items in the Punjab Accord is the cause of terrorism in Punjab. That is not the cause of terrorism in Punjab. On the contrary, we have said times without number that terrorists have no use for the Punjab Accord. The terrorists do not support the Punjab Accord. The terrorists have no faith in the Punjab Accord and the implementation of the Punjab Accord is not going to make any difference to the kind of mad struggle that is being waged by a section of the terrorists.

Again I am asked to give numbers. In the past, I have given these numbers and I have no hesitation in doing so. But there is a naive belief that there is a cause-and-effect relationship. The problem of Punjab, the problem of terrorism, is far graver, far deeper. One must look far deeper for the real reasons. If you wish to have the numbers, I will give you the numbers. There was some amount of killings in 1981, 1982 and 1983. As I have said many times before, even if one innocent person escapes, it certainly is no matter of comfort. We must hang our heads in shame as there is terrorism and people are killed by terrorist violence. In 1984, 359 innocent persons were killed. In 1985, after our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi as-

sumed office, there was a major political breakthrough leading to the Punjab Accord. Political power was transferred to the Akali Party. No one gives credit to the Congress Government for that and that is what pains me. Political power in a fair and democratic election was transferred to the Akali Party. In 1985, only 63 persons were killed in Punjab and that is certainly not a matter of comfort. Sixty-three persons killed means 63 times we had to hang our heads in shame. But only 63 persons were killed. Who forfeited that goodwill? Who allowed this Government to collapse? Who allowed the fragmentation of the Akali Party? Who could not control terrorism? Who started the policy of appeasement which led to the Golden Temple being taken over by the terrorists? That was the Barnala Government. What was the result of that? The wages of neglect of 1985 were paid in 1986 when the number of killings went up to 520 and 1987 when the number of killings went up to 910. It is not as though you do something today and terrorism or terrorist violence goes up tomorrow. It is the kind of Government you give, the kind of action you take, the kind of measures you take which will bear result—good or bad—six months later or a year later. Because the graph is on the rise, because the Barnala Government exhibited a total incapacity to control terrorism, the Police were demoralised, the Government was divided, the Cabinet was divided, the party was divided the Barnala Government had to be dismissed. 1988 was the worst year of terrorism. We had to completely rebuild the Police in Punjab. We had to put together a civil administration. In 1988, 1,949 people were killed. In the first nine months of 1988, from January to September, 1,614 people were killed. And last year, we saw Operation Black Thunder where, by a very carefully controlled operation, we were able to rid the Golden Temple of terrorists. This year we have done an equally precise operation. In fact, we have done two operations. They have not received publicity because we did not want them to get too much publicity. But in terms of the impact on Punjab, I think these two operations would rank just as important as Operation Black Thunder. The first operation was in the Mand

area. Now the Mand area is more or less clear of terrorists and we have been able to establish a police presence there. Earlier, there was no police presence in the Mand area. By careful operations which lasted for two months, the police have been able to establish their presence in the Mand area and the Mand area does not any longer provide an almost free sanctuary for terrorists. The second operation was the operation which we launched in Tarn Taran district which saw a major influx of terrorists. We inducted some special forces and through a month-long operation, we were able to get rid of the major gangs operating in Tarn Taran district. Now, look at the results. Let me once again say that I am not at all happy even if one innocent man dies. As I said, in the first nine months of 1988, 1614 innocent people were killed. In the corresponding period of this year, 846 people have been killed. It is almost one half. It is bad. I take no comfort in this. Every time I go to Punjab, every time I talk to the police in the district, every time I talk to the families who have been affected, I come back with a deep sense of grief. There is no comfort at all. But at least today, the President's Rule has demonstrated a capacity to deal with the problem. In the whole of 1988, 373 terrorists were killed. In 1989, so far 581 terrorists have been killed. In the first nine months of 1988, 86 police men were killed. In the first nine months of 1989, 93 police men were killed. Without doubt, the number of terrorists coming to Punjab and the number of people who have taken to terrorism have increased. But the capacity of the police, the determination of the administration, to fight terrorism has also increased. Therefore, while we look at terrorism, let us not look at it, I may say with great respect, in a blinkered fashion. It is not as though terrorism rises or flourishes or thrives because of this or because of that. The situation in Punjab is grave today. I believe, it is because of three factors. The first is the overt and covert support that has been extended to terrorists from across the border. Unless we are able to deal with that problem, which is a complex problem, which requires fine tuned diplomatic skills, policy initiatives and very careful approach, unless we are able to stem the

tide of terrorists who are trained, armed and financed across the border, it will not be possible for the police alone to end terrorism in Punjab. As we have said many times before, we are in continuous touch with the Pakistan Government. Only a couple of days ago, the Interior Secretary was here in another connection. And we took the opportunity of reminding him that the discussions which took place between our Home Secretary and him in May 1989 deserved to be resumed and further action taken. We are taking some steps pursuant to the May 1989 discussions. We have given them a list of fugitives from law and they have assured us of some steps that they have taken. But my reading of the situation is that while the Government of Pakistan has perhaps taken some steps, the realities on the ground are not very different.

The second problem in Punjab is that there is a critical number of hard core people who believe in Khalistan and who are determined to keep the slogan of Khalistan alive. Take for example, Mr. Jasbir Singh Rode. In a recent statement, he said that the Centre's legal manoeuvring to separate religion from politics and thereby liquidating Sikhism is an election stunt and he said that instead of separating religion from politics, the Sikhs would do better to separate themselves from the country.

Members are aware of the meeting organized by the All India Sikh Students Federation, Manjit Singh Group on 20th September, 1989. Manjit Singh gave a warning against bargaining with the Government by anybody in his individual capacity. He advocated release of detained "leaders" and this includes Jinda who is on trial for the murder of Gen. Vaidya, Atinder Pal Singh who is on trial in Delhi in the Delhi case. Resolutions were adopted by the Convention expressing faith in Bhindranwale's declaration that the foundation stone of Khalistan was laid on the day the Golden Temple was attacked and reiterated that AISSF would leave no stone unturned to achieve this goal.

Another resolution was passed expressing sympathy with organizations like NSCN,



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PLA, Kashmir Liberation Front and TNV for "their struggle for independence".

As long as there is a critical number of people who believe in Khalistan and as long as they will kill, loot, burn, maim, kidnap and extort in the name of achieving goal of Khalistan, one has to carry on this fight. The terrorists should know one thing. Never, never will India yield to Khalistan or to a separate State in Punjab. They will never achieve their goal and the only way we can find a solution is when they give up this goal. We shall never give up our fight.

The third reason for terrorism continuing to thrive in Punjab is the fragmentation of the Akali Party. It is a cold political fact that the Akali Party, as it was originally, represented a substantial segment of political opinion in Punjab. The Congress represents another substantial segment of political opinion in Punjab. The CPI and the CPIM in that order represent segments of political opinion in Punjab. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Akali Party, as it originally stood, represents a substantial segment of political opinion in Punjab. That party is totally fractured and fragmented. There are so many parties that one loses counts of how many parties are there. There are so many leaders and they make such quick changes in their allegiance to each other that it is difficult even to follow any thread of political leadership and political opinion. As long as the Akali Party remains so fragmented and fractured and is unwilling to take a resolute position against terrorism, it is very difficult to hold elections and usher in a democratic Government.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): We can have a coalition Government.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: There was a time when Akalis and Congress were in coalition. There can be a coalition provided they are a united political party and function as a political party, stand up to threats and stand up to dangers.

Shri Shahabuddin said that not one Sikh leader of eminence has supported Khalistan. Equally, not one Sikh leader of eminence in their parties has condemned terrorism. They take refuge under all kinds of arguments. Sir, I would appeal to the Akalis to close ranks. I would appeal to them to come together and present their political idea before the people and that will be day on which we can say with certainty the time has come to usher in a democratic Government. When we invited them to meet with our Sub-Committee, the Akali Party would not turn up for the meeting. Hon. members here have asked us to talk to them. We are willing to talk to them. But who among the Akalis is willing to talk to us? We cannot carry on a dialogue with the other side of the table unoccupied! We have to talk to the people. We are willing to talk. We went to Chandigarh to talk to them but they would not come to talk to us.

Hon. Shri Kabuli said that all kinds of reports are published and all kinds of things are said abroad. In fact, I am afraid he said certain things which I have not heard elsewhere. I made a note. He said that Hindus and Sikhs do not talk to each other in Punjab. When did he last go to Punjab?

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI: I did not say 'all'. I said that a good number of people were not talking to each other.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have noted down what you said. You said that they were intending to destroy each other. When did you last go to Punjab? If there is a place where communal harmony rules the hearts of the people amidst a sea of turbulence, it is the Punjab today. There is total harmony among the Hindus and Sikhs. I can give example after example. When one community has stood up to defend the other community. What is happening today is there is fear. There is fear in parts of Punjab and therefore there is a certain amount of restraint in social intercourse. But that does not mean that Hindus and Sikhs are not talking to each other, that does not mean that Hindus and Sikhs are intent on destroying each other. On the contrary, look at the recent



reports. Recently major magazines and major newspapers have carried reports. *The Indian Express* carried a report ten days ago. There is another side to Punjab. There is a Punjab which is alive, which is thriving, which is working, which is producing, which is dancing and singing. All this is threatened and a pall of gloom descends on a village or a town when there is a killing. I am not denying it. But there is a Punjab which is thriving and growing. And this has been possible because of the President's Rule.

Sir, this year we have tried to contain the violence as a result of terrorism. I do not claim great success. We have tried to contain it. The number of innocent people killed in 1989 every month has ranged between 85 and 106. Last year it was nearly 250 a month. But this is not a matter of satisfaction. This only shows that despite the increased threat, despite the increased number of terrorists coming in, despite the sophisticated arms, the police in Punjab have the capacity to deal with it. Here and there, there are aberrations. But in a situation as in Punjab where the police and the terrorists are locked in battle continuously day and night, month after and year after year, there will be a few cases where there are aberrations. We do not condone those aberrations, we take action. We try to compensate those who are victims of these aberrations. But it is the police in Punjab which is standing up to the terrorists, laying down their lives. 93 men have laid down their lives in the first nine months of this year in order to protect the unity and integrity of India. So, let us not condemn the police wholesale. Wherever there are aberrations, we will take action. In fact, I have just got a report about the number of police officers against whom action has been taken or action is pending. We will take action against the people who have crossed the line of the law. But we would have to support the police in Punjab which is standing up to the terrorists.

There would be a significant change in the situation in Punjab after the Parliamentary elections. As we see things today, as we assess things today, we believe, we can hold

Lok Sabha elections in Punjab along with the Lok Sabha elections in the rest of the country. This assessment is being made on a continual basis.

As far as Assembly elections are concerned, our mind is open. We are keeping our options open. It is more difficult to hold elections to the Assembly than it is to Parliament for reasons which are obvious to hon. Members—the number of candidates involved and the arrangements to be made. The Governor in his report implies that Assembly elections may have to follow Lok Sabha elections. But as I said, Government of India has an open mind on that. But, if as we believe, it is possible that Lok Sabha elections in Punjab are held along with Lok Sabha elections in the rest of the country and the people of Punjab have an opportunity to speak their voice, that I believe will bring about a significant and qualitative change in the political situation in Punjab. Like the elections of 1985 had brought about a qualitative change, at least for the time being, I think the elections to Lok Sabha in Punjab will bring about a qualitative change. I can only appeal to all political parties...

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI: We have been talking about police in Punjab. What about the victims of 1984? Still so many people have not been rehabilitated. This has been the complaint from them. The Sikhs have always been complaining that the people who suffered physically, mentally and by all means in 1984 have so far not been rehabilitated and the people who inflicted atrocities on the Sikhs here have not been taken to task.

Regarding Jammu disturbances, in 1988, many people were killed. You know six people were killed in Jammu. What action was taken by the Government of India?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: We have answered this many times before. As far as people in Punjab are concerned, the Government of Punjab—both during the time of Mr. Barnala and later—have taken steps to rehabilitate all those who have been affected

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by violence of one kind or another in Punjab. It is my appeal to all political parties, to all sections of the people to understand the gravity of the situation and support the Government.

I join hon. Members in expressing my fervent hope that the coming Lok Sabha elections in Punjab and elsewhere in the country will bring about a significant and qualitative change in the situation in Punjab and perhaps as a result of that significant and qualitative change, it will be possible to usher in a democratic Government in Punjab.

Sir, I seek the support of this House to this Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987 in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1989."

*The motion was adopted*

15.48 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE: MAINTENANCE OF A BANK ACCOUNT IN ST. KITTS

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I seek the leave of this House to make a statement on a matter of public importance.

It will be recalled that some national dailies carried on August 22, 1989 reports relating to the maintenance of a bank ac-

count in ST. KITTS, a Caribbean Island, by Shri Ajeya Singh, son of Shri V.P. Singh. It was stated by these newspapers that an amount of US \$ 21 millions had been deposited in an account maintained in the First Trust Corporation Ltd., St. Kitts. The newspaper reports alleged that the account was maintained in the name of Shri Ajeya Singh and that Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh was its beneficiary. On September 11, 1989 Shri Ajeya Singh, son of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, came to India and issued a press release on the 13th September, 1989, denying that he never had any account in First Trust Corporation of any other bank in St. Kitts. He also denied having ever visited St. Kitts. Shri Ajeya Singh also stated that he came to India to make himself available to the Government for any enquiries or investigation.

3. As some aspects of the transaction could attract provisions of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, the Directorate of Enforcement issued a Directive under Section 33 (2) of the FERA, 1973 to Shri Ajeya Singh on 13.9.1989, which was replied to by Shri Ajeya Singh on 18th September, 1989. Since the information furnished by Shri Ajeya Singh in response to the Directive dated 13th September, 1989 was incomplete, the Directorate issued another Directive to Shri Ajeya Singh on 28th September, 1989. The reply to the second Directive has also been received by the Enforcement Directorate on 9th October, 1989. However, the reply received is still not complete and certain details has been promised to be furnished.

4. In the meanwhile, the Directorate of Enforcement has carried out inquiries regarding maintenance of bank account in the First Trust Corporation, St. Kitts. Preliminary inquiries suggest that sometime in September, 1986, a functionary of the First Trust Corporation, Mr. Mclean, was approached by a person in connection with the Special Investment Programme of the Corporation. This person indicated the intention of opening a numbered account for depositing a substantial amount of money. After the details had been settled, requisite forms for

opening the account were taken by this person. After two weeks, the same person returned and presented to the Corporation through its Managing Director, Mr. Mclean, completed forms duly signed by Shri Ajeya Singh as 'account holder' and Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh as 'beneficiary'. Photostat copies of the passports of Shri Ajeya Singh and Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh were also handed over to Mr. Mclean. On September 16, 1986, numbered account 29479 was opened with a cash deposit of US \$2 million. In all six deposits totalling US \$21 million were made on different dates. The details are as follows.

16.9.1986	2 million \$ s
10.10.1986	2 million \$ s
13.12.1986	5 million \$ s
18.1.1987	3 million \$ s
24.2.1987	5 million \$ s
26.3.1987	4 million \$ s

It is learnt that under the rules of the Corporation an account of this type could have been opened by an agent of the principal. Further inquiries are being conducted to verify the information that has come into the possession of the Directorate.

15.50 hrs.

#### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

##### Communal situation in the country— Contd.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will now resume discussion the communal situation in the country. Mr. N.C. Chaturvedi.

[Translation]

SHRI NARESH CHANDRA CHATUR-

VEDI (Kanpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing a very important issue since yesterday.

The most important question is that why we have passed through a similar situation which prevailed at the time of the partition of the country 40-42 years ago. Communal disturbances have taken place at many places throughout the country during the last few years. Even in places where there used to be communal harmony, disturbances have taken place. We should first look into the reasons behind it, we heard some of our friends yesterday and they tried to create communal atmosphere within the House by passing unsavoury remarks. Consequently, the hon. Minister was forced to say yesterday that such language and words should not be used. He said that most of it was contrary to facts and wrong. When we speak in such a manner, it seems as if we are forgetting to live in one united India. I would like to know who was behind the partition of India in 1947? It was Muslim League which refused to accept the views of the Indian leaders and got the country divided on communal lines, thereby playing into the hands of British Imperialism. We have gone through that trauma but we overcame that and therein lies the greatness of Indian Leadership. It should be realised that the great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru did not echo the communal slogans. But today these slogans are raised in an irresponsible manner resulting in mass killings and riots. One could understand what happened in 1947 but today these things are really very painful. I would like to know when did the Indian leaders support communalism. When the supporters of partition of the country rejected the appeal of the national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and the country was partitioned, India decided a course for itself. The Constitution of our country was formulated keeping in view the aspirations of the people. The Congress leadership at that time tried to keep the country secular as it is doing today. Why? It was done because the Congress never believed in regionalism, communalism or casteism. It was never cowed down by any divisive force and reas-

[Sh. Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi]

serted their determination when the Constitution was formulated. With the outline of the Constitution, the identity of our country also became clear. All the citizens of India whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Parsis shall enjoy equal rights and live like brothers. This was resolved by the congress leadership at that time. I heard Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman yesterday. He said that India was not the property of Shri Advani and Vajpayeeji and therefore they need not worry. I agree with him that India is not the property of BJP, Jan Sangh or Vishwa Hindu Parishad but at the same time, I would like to say that India is also not the property of Shri Owaisi Sahib, Sait Sahib and Banatwalla Sahib. This country belongs to nationalists like Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. This country bows before their nationalism and does not accept anything else. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had created a new atmosphere in the country about Kashmir and had given a new direction to it but what is happening there today. It states, where communalism had died giving place to nationalism, attempts are made to raise communal bogey. This needs to be seriously thought over as to why is it done.

16.00 hrs.

I would like to know from my colleagues how long will they continue to indulge in these things for small and petty matters. If India does not stand united, if every citizen of India is not given the right of equality, how will India stand out among the front line nations of the world and how will she maintain her identity. India occupies a respectable place in the world because of the progress and development that it has achieved. India is the greatest democracy of the world and we are running it smoothly and efficiently.

But today, people are raising slogans in the name of Ramjanam Bhoomi, Babri Masjid, Urdu language and reservations for certain categories. I fail to understand the logic behind it. Foundation stone laying ceremony

is being performed in Ramjanam Bhoomi and the issue of Babri Masjid has also been raked up. What is the dispute about? Temple is the abode of God and mosque is the abode of Allah. Mahatma Gandhi has preached us:—

*"Ishwar Allah Tere Nam, Sabko Sammati De Bahgwan".*

Gandhiji has taught us all this. We do not believe that some people are important in the country while other are not. We have never accepted such things.

Somebody said yesterday that hon. Home Minister Sardar Buta Singh had bowed down to Vishwa Hindu Parishad. I am surprised at these remarks. I want to congratulate Sardar Buta Singh for his categorical stand on the issue. He has followed the traditions of the Congress and of the Government. I congratulate him for having made efforts to prevent a confrontation in Uttar Pradesh. To say that he has surrendered, is not a fact. It is absolutely incorrect and it can never be accepted.

Some slogans were also raised yesterday. I came to know that some Hindu fanatics were indulging in shouting slogans such as "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan, Muslim, Allah, Pakistan". Some others were shouting that there is no place for a non-Hindu in India. This is not keeping with the spirit of the constitution. Who is going to pay any heed to what such fanatics say. But I have also heard Muslim fanatics shouting *slogans like "Hindustan mein rahna hoga, to Allah, Akbar Kahna hoga"*. It means that if one intends to stay in India one has to follow the Muslim faith. These slogans are meant to incite people. What can be more provocative? Such slogans may be raised either by a Hindu fanatic or by his Muslim counterpart, but it has to be realised that fanaticism has no place in this country. This country belongs to Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Sardar Patel and Govind Ballabh Pant. This land does not belong to the terrorists of Punjab but to Sardar Ajit Singh and Bhagat

Singh. Which Punjab is being referred to? The identity of Punjab is not established by 100 or 150 insane terrorists but it is established by the people like S. Ajit Singh, S. Bhagat Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Kichloo. Such traditions have been the part and parcel of this country. I want to emphasise that the people who raise such slogans should be put behind the bars. I would like to demand that the Government should not be lenient at all in such matters.

In certain States Urdu has been conferred the status of a second language. Much uproar was created on this issue and it resulted in a riot breaking out in Badaun and disputes arising else-where. But the educated people are aware that there is little difference between Hindi and Urdu. It is a common knowledge and our Muslim brothers are also of the opinion that Urdu is not the language of the Muslims. I am a student of linguistics and in this capacity I would like to submit that the present day Hindi language is also a language of the Muslims. The development of present day Hindi prose started in Telangana and the people should know this fact. The Khari-Boli prose was first developed by the Muslims which is known as 'Dakshini Hindi' by the people of Telangana. The story 'Rani Ketaki ki Kahani' written by Insha Allah Khan which was the first work in the development of present day Hindi was written in Khari Boli. He said

*'Hindri phut our kisi boli ki na phut'.*

Therefore, this kind of opinion that Hindi belongs to the Hindus and Urdu belongs to the Muslims is not proper. You think as to what would be the standard of Hindi literature if only the works of Surdas and Tulsidas are there and the works of Kabir and Rahim are excluded. The richness of Hindi Literature would suffer if the poetry of Raskhan, Rasleen, Jayasi, Kutban, Manzhan, Shekh Alam etc. is not included in Hindi Literature. The same would be the case if writer like Jagannath Azad are also excluded.. (*Interruptions*)

Writers like Prem Chand, Firaq Gorakhpuri belong of course, to the modern age

but there are many other writers such as Raghubar Dayal, Sudarshan etc. who did not subscribe to the Hindi-Urdu dispute. In this connection, I would like to quote a few lines of a poet in which a proper attitude towards the Hindi-Urdu question is reflected. Shri Gaya Prasad Snehri who was a poet associated with the freedom struggle has in his poems widely dwelt on the various aspects of this struggle which continued from 1913 till the achievement of independence. When asked that in spite of being a Hindi poet why did he give an Urdu flavour to his poetry, he replied and I quote:—

*"Apne watan ko dekhun, ya sarkar ki aabroo dekhun,  
Hind ko dekhun ya, ye musalmaan-Hindu dekhun  
Teh ko samjhenge sukhnaphaham zaban ho koyee  
Kam aapna karoon, ya Hindi aur Urdu dekhun".*

This spirit of nationalism reflects the tradition of our country. How does communalism raise its head in such circumstances? If a Muslim likes to express himself in Hindi and if a Hindu also likes Urdu equally, the spirit of nationalism develops. If in a conference of the Muslims, Urdu language is upheld and if such views, as the existence of the Muslims in this country depends on the emphasis placed on Urdu are expressed, it automatically generates communal feelings. I think that if we do not take the script into account while comparing the two languages. I think that there is not much difference between Hindi and Urdu at least so far as grammar of the two languages is concerned. The great poet Neeraj has said the following lines:—

*"Kya karega pyar vah imaan se,  
Kya karega pyar vah bhagwan se,  
Janam lekar god main insaan ki,  
Kar na paya pyar jo insaan se."*

Similarly, Jigar an urdu poet, has also said the following lines:—

*"Jabse kho gaya hai dil apna,  
Cheez rakhte hein, bhool jate hein"*

[Sh. Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi]

I do not think that these two languages are fundamentally different from each other. In view of all these things, I cannot understand as to why the Hindi-Urdu dispute should arise? Lord Rama is the symbol of the culture and literature of this country. The cultural traditions of this country are the same irrespective of the religions we may belong to. During the Dussehra festival the procession of Lord Rama passes through the Muslim dominated areas and our Muslim brothers participate in the celebrations and they also pay their homage to Lord Rama. When the procession of Baba Sahib is taken out, the Hindus also welcome it. The tradition of Muslim-Hindu amity that exists in Kanpur is the legacy of the great Martyr Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi who laid down his life for Hindu-Muslim unity. Communalism had come to an end in Kanpur with the martyrdom of Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. Thereafter there has been no major instance of communal flare up in this city. Some isolated incidents may have taken place in 1946-47 but that is a different matter. The areas where communal tension has been unheard of so far, this kind of tension has developed under the changed circumstances. Disputes were unknown in the Bundelkhand and Braj region till recently. I had once submitted in this House that in spite of a substantial number of Muslims living in Ayodhya and Faizabad, disputes have not taken place in these areas. Communal clashes take place only when persons like Syed Shahabuddin make provocative statements or some other group in Kerala or Karnataka insinuates the Muslim League. It is only on such occasions that disputes are created. I am not aware that any objections had been raised when the Rigveda was translated by Bashir Ahmed Mayukh or I do not think that when Rashid wrote in Awadhi, anyone objected to it. I would like to request you to save this country from such atmosphere. Akbar Allahabadi had written:

"Vaise kahne ko to mudda kuchh  
bhi nahin, ek akhara kayam hai.  
gar isse phalak ka  
dil bahle, to hum log  
tamasha kyon na karen."

Steps should be taken to ensure that the country does not become a battleground of communal politics. Whatever is responsible for destroying the unity of this country should be checked. The country should be saved from such divisive forces. There should be strictness on the part of the Government for maintaining the law and order and those who take out processions in the name of Ramjanam Bhoomi should be arrested. If the Muslims also resort to provocations of this nature, they should be treated in the same manner. This issue does not relate to the Hindus or the Muslims. Our leader has categorically stated that the Babri Masjid-Ramjanam Bhoomi dispute will be decided by the Court. You are of the opinion that the Court will not take any decision in this matter. I would like to inform you that the court had given its verdict in the Shahbano case also but it was turned into a communal issue. All these things have to be taken into consideration. If these things are not considered, the unity, integrity and the development of this nation will be threatened. If the Government does not make efforts to save the country from the above mentioned threats, who else is going to do so? The people belonging to different religions have to make concerted efforts in this regard. In all the four corners of the country-right from Punjab to Kanya Kumari and Dwarkapuri to Cuttack we shall go everywhere and travel to the distant areas to save our country from such a disaster. With these words, I conclude.

\*SHRI P. SELVENDRAN (Periakulam):  
With a deep sense of grief, Mr. Chairman,  
Sir, I rise to express my views on the discus-  
sion on communal situation initiated by Prof.  
Saifuddin Soz.

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\* Translation of the speech originally delivered.

The great leader of our movement and of the glorious dravidian tradition, the late Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Perarignar (the Enlightened) Annadurai once boasted that he was a muslim who does not wear lungi and a christian who does not wear a cross around his neck. I feel proud in participating in this discussion as a humble follower of that great leader Anna and his late lamented disciple. Dr. M.G.R. India is such a vast country that it is fittingly termed as a sub-continent. The people of India profess diverse religions. There are diverse ethnic groups, speaking different languages and following varied customs and traditions. We differ in food habits and we also differ in our clothing styles. We worship different God and Goddesses. Despite these diversities, the silver line of unity and secularism runs allthrough our national fabric. We live as Indians assuring equality to one and all in our bid to peaceful social co-existence. The most striking trait of our Indian society is that we strive to achieve unity in diversity. When in 1949 India was partitioned, the history of India was soaked in blood of thousands of innocent people. All Indians would gratefully reminisce the *Pad Yatra* of Mahatma Gandhi undertaken in those days of communal strife. The blood stained history of the days of partition is still painning the hearts of many of us.

As great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru worked for classless and casteless society in India, E.V. Ramaswamy Naickar and Perarignar Anna Durai worked in the South for eradicating social inequalities and for establishing an egalitarian society. But the communal flare-ups which have become the order of the day have in them the ominous portents of disintegrating and destabilising our territorial and social integrity. The members who spoke yesterday clearly spelt out the dangers posed by communal conflicts and class wars. Whether it is the Babri Masjid—Ram Janam Bhumi issue or any other such issue, it has to be handled with great care so that it does not assume the proportions of a communal conflict. My heart is laden with pain and anguish when it is learnt that some political

parties instead of taking steps in the overall interest of the nation are vying with each other in exploiting the situation for political capital. It is a matter of great shame that certain political leaders wish to fish in the troubled waters instead of working for communal amity. Parties like BJP are today using the communal conflicts as their dice in their political game of capturing power. Parties which publicly declare that they are for secularism are willing to join hands with communal parties simply to overthrow the Congress Organisation and to unleash their vengeance on Mr. Gandhi for their selfish political ends. Today we have to shoulder the grave responsibility of meeting the challenges posed by communal elements determined to disintegrate India on grounds of caste, community, religion and language. We must be prepared to sacrifice anything and everything for the sake of communal harmony. We must move undaunted towards ensuring communal amity, social fraternity and religious tolerance. That would be the greatest service we would be rendering to this soil. I am reminded of the words of Dr. Radha Krishnan the late President of our country who said that it was not enough that we would clean the country of slums but we must try to first cleanse our hearts and purge our souls. The genesis of all communal conflicts are the hearts black with dirty ideas and selfish motives for parochial ends.

The great sacrifices made by Father Periyar and Perarignar Anna for the cause of establishing a just order in Tamil Nadu have elevated the State above communal, religious and sectoral differences. There were no communal conflicts, class wars or religious infightings. However the recent riots in my Parliamentary Constituency last month have defaced and defiled that glorious tradition of Tamil Nadu. The national poet Bharati sang that there were no castes and it was sin to speak high or low on the basis of castes. These poetic lines were rinsed in blood during the communal riots in Bodinayakanur. 29 persons were killed. Hundreds were gravely injured. Thousands lost their shelter and property. Thousands took shelter in the nearby *jungles*. That was the seriousness of the

[Sh. P. Selvendran]

situation. Displaced people are still to return to their hearths and homes. What was the reason for the communal riot? Was there any communal hatred among the different communities before the riots? No. People lived in perfect communal harmony.

Were there conditions for sparking a communal riot prevailed before it broke out? Was that area prone to communal conflicts? Perfectly not. A comparatively peaceful area became the battle ground of a communal conflict because of the provocations of certain vested interests. Had the Government of Tamil Nadu determined to avert the communal disaster, it could have been avoided. Had the Police of Tamil Nadu acted swiftly and taken specific precautionary measures, the communal flare up could have been averted. Neither the Government of Tamil Nadu nor the police under it took any action to avert the communal carnage. On 10th September, 1989 persons belonging to a community hold a meeting in the Bodi Legislative Assembly Constituency. A leader of the community speaks in such a fashion that it hurts the sentiments of another community. On 10th night, he speaks. On 11th and 12th tapes containing his speeches are played in the streets. The other community get enraged, agitated and explode into anger. On 13th, a poster war ensues between both the communities. Buses and other moving vehicles served as the carriers of their mutual anger. Tension mounts and buses are stoned. Physical clashes also ensue. The huts in Dombicherry are set on fire. On 15th morning, five people die in police firing in Devaram. What I want to bring to the kind notice of the Hon. Minister is that the speech made on 10th sowed the seeds of a communal conflict. On 11th and 12th the speech continued to create communal tension among the people. A poster war took place on 13th. Buses were stoned. Physical encounters took place and in Dombicherry huts were buses

My primary question is what the police was doing for five days since 10th Septem-

ber when the town was under the grip of communal tension. Police did not try to stop the poster war and did not try to book the miscreants. The police were negligent in not knowing where the posters were printed even. No attempt was made to arrest the culprits who indulged in the poster war leading to the communal carnage. Police was also negligent in not arresting the persons who indulged in stone throwing of buses. Why the police was silent for five full days is a question which has to be answered by the Government. The responsibility for germinating the communal conflict squarely rests on the Government of Tamil Nadu and for the abysmal failure of the police to avert the communal killings. Nero fiddled when Rome was burning. The Government of Tamil Nadu was sitting idle when communal tension was brewing in Bodi. The reason was simple. The ruling DMK wanted to wreck the tour programme of our leader revolutionary Jayalalitha, the General Secretary of our AIADMK Party of the constituency on 27.

With a view to marring the tour programme of our General Secretary, the ruling Government allowed the communal tension to assume the proportion of a communal carnage. That was a planned attempt for political reasons. No established procedure was followed by the police before resorting to firing. First they should have orally warned the crowd to disperse, then should have lathi-charged the crowd, then again fired tear gas shells, thereafter fired in the air and finally resorted to firing that too below the knees. Police fired at Devaram, Theni and Kandamanur. No where in these places the established procedure for police firing was followed. They resorted to firing in the first instance and shot down people like crows and cranes. That was orgy of violence committed by the Tamil Nadu Police. The toll was 29. The Chief Minister, of Tamil Nadu did not visit the site of communal carnage. But the Hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs visited the site. His visit emboldened the sunken people. It comforted the people. It brought solace to the people torn by the communal riot. They hoped that the Hon'ble Union Minister for State had visited the site



for the purpose of dispatching central police forces to the area as they had lost hopes in the State Police. I also accompanied the Minister.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. (By ringing the Bell).

SHRI P. SELVENDRAN: Sir, it is a very important subject. I am the only Member to participate in the discussion on behalf of our party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't go into the details of your State problems here.

SHRI P. SELVENDRAN: It is not a State problem. It is a communal problem. The State Government itself stated that it is a communal problem.

MR. CHAIRMAN: With respect to this communal problem, it is not proper to go into the details of every State problem. If you do so, then all State subjects will be discussed. You can refer to it. But don't go into all the details... Yes, go on please. The allotted time to you is over.

SHRI P. SELVENDRAN: The incidents should be mentioned. I will take only one minute please.

So Sir, that was how the State Government was solely responsible for instigating the violence. That is our charge. The Bharat bandh was declared by Opposition Parties. The Congress and AIADMK workers who desisted from participating in the Bandh kept open their shops. Those shops were picked up for attack and ravage during the communal riot. This amply proves that the communal riot was instigating by the Ruling Party for political reasons. The people complained to the Chief Minister that his party elements are instigating the communal violence. The Chief Minister assured the people that he would

take action against them. But he did not take any action against his party hooligans who instigated the communal violence. This is very well known to the Hon'ble Minister here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In spite of my warning, you are going into all the details of your State. I will not allow.

SHRI P. SELVENDRAN: I am not going into the details. They are all very important points.

I would like to make certain suggestions for curbing communal riots in the country. We all oppose communal riots in any part of the country. Communal conflicts are not created out of differences in caste or community but by political parties for their partisan ends. The last month riot in Tamil Nadu was a pre-planned violence instigated by the ruling DMK party. The DMK Government ebettered in the communal violence, the Tamil Nadu Police actively colluded with the perpetrators of the violence and the ruling party elements. The ruling DMK Government therefore deserves dismissal. It should be dismissed forthwith.

I also appeal to the Government to generously disburse funds from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund for rehabilitating the victims of the Tamil Nadu communal carnage. I urge upon the Minister to take all necessary steps to ensure communal amity in Tamil Nadu as well as in other parts of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. Shri Zainul Basher to speak now.

SHRI P. SELVENDRAN: I will make only one point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't record anything of Shri Selvedran's speech. Shri Zainul Basher to speak now.

SHRI P. SELVENDRAN: ...\*\*...

[Translation]

**SHRIZAINUL BASHER** (Ghazipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, many instances of bloodshed in the name of religion can be traced in the history of Europe and Central Asia but the same does not hold true of the Indian sub-continent prior to the present century.

Our country has been bestowed with geographical unity but it has never been a single political entity. There has always been more than one political party ruling over the country. It was only under the British regime that India was a single integrated entity.

Before that there were different rulers in different parts of the country. The rulers were Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs but they never fought among themselves in the name of religion. The kingdom of Vijayanagar is a shining example of communal harmony in the history even though the country was under Muslim rule. But Vijayanagar never witnessed communal disturbances within or outside its boundaries, even though there were numerous battles between the Muslim rulers and the kingdom of Vijayanagar. History bears testimony to the Maratha rule. There was a time when the Marathas were feared throughout the country and even in Delhi yet there were no communal disturbances. The kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh extended from Afghanistan to the Delhi border but there were no communal problems during his reign either. When did these communal riots start first? It was during the freedom struggle that communal tensions gained momentum when the Hindu and Muslim communal forces made their grip firm and took these issues to streets.

The worst day in the history of India has been 15th August, 1947 when the nation was divided in the name of religion and Pakistan came into existence. At that time North India witnessed widespread communal riots and the fire of communalism was ranging across the country. Muslim league was basically a party formed on communal lines. A separate State was created on the pretext of Islam being in danger.

We do not want to go into the hows and whys of the creation of Pakistan.

The question is why did a large number of Indian Muslims stay back in India. They did so because they felt that it was Indian National Congress which gave the country its Independence. And this Party had made a historical promise, a historical commitment that Indian Muslims would be treated at par with other citizens of the country. It had promised that their religion, their community, their culture and their life and property would be fully protected. Such a historical commitment dissuaded the Indian Muslims from going to Pakistan whereas a large number of Hindus living in Pakistan migrated to India. This was the commitment of the Congress which was fulfilled through Constitutional provisions. In our Constitution, Muslims have been treated at par with other citizens while in religious and cultural matters they have been given more rights than others. This was why Indian Muslims made India their homeland and stayed back. Instead of the Indian National Congress, had the Hindu Mahasabha and the B.J.P. been dominant at that time, Indian Muslims would have preferred to die rather than stay back. They would have gone to Pakistan. But why did they decide to stay back? It was just because of the Indian National Congress. The promises made to the Indian Muslims by the Indian National Congress have been fulfilled. But what is happening in the country today? Some forces are spreading communalism, and creating trouble in the name of religion. They are doing it to gain political mileage. They want to destroy the Indian National Congress.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to make one thing clear. Their goal has less to do with Muslims than with using the Muslim community as a tool to destroy the Indian National Congress and in the process destroy nationalism and secularism in this country. But the reason why they have been unsuccessful is that a majority of Hindus are secular in their outlook. I want to give two examples from Uttar Pradesh. Two years ago the Vishwa Hindu Parishad had taken out Rath Yatras over the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. Rath

Yatra processions were being sent to Ayodhya from different places creating wide-spread communal tension in Uttar Pradesh. This led to riots in Meerut. At that time communal forces threatened a bloodbath in Uttar Pradesh if a ban was imposed on Rath Yatras. This threat was for U.P. Government and the Congress (I). But the U.P. Government put its foot down and imposed a ban on Rath Yatra processions. Not a single person was killed in U.P. after that, making it very clear that, the people of U.P. will not tolerate communalism and bloodshed as a result thereof. The second incident happened recently. The U.P. Government declared Urdu as the second official language. The B.J.P., the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and their student wings announced that there would be riots in Uttar Pradesh if Urdu was declared the second official language. Efforts were made to spark off riots but except Badaun, riots did not take place anywhere. This is because the people of Uttar Pradesh are still secular in their outlook and do not favour communalism. At least this proves that these communal elements, be they from the B.J.P. or the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, are paper tigers. The people of this country will be very happy to see the Government taking action against these elements, because, India is basically a secular country whose citizens want to live in harmony. Mr. Chairman Sir, experience shows that no country in this sub-continent has survived in the name of religion. Pakistan was created in the name of religion, yet what became of that country? Bangladesh was created. Never before had Indian sub-continent witnessed such a bloodshed as during the creation of Bangladesh. It is difficult to say how long Pakistan will survive in the name of religion? Everyone is aware of what is happening in Karachi and at other places. No country in the Indian sub-continent can hope to exist in the name of religion. Not even India. It cannot exist only as a Hindu nation. In the Indian sub-continent a nation can be run only on secular lines. I am sure a day will come, although not in my lifetime, when people of India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan will live as one nation. There is no doubt that my dream will be realised one day, even though we may

not live to see that day. The fools who are demanding Khalistan fail to understand the plight of Pakistan. Can Khalistan survive as religious State. Nothing can be gained in this sub-continent in the name of religion. So why are such unreasonable demands being made? The B.J.P., the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and other communal parties know very well that there is no way they can destroy the Indian National Congress, except by injecting the poison of communal hatred among the masses. Hon. Prof. Soz said yesterday that they are doing all this just for 50 seats. What will they do to win a 100 seats, 200 seats or to come to power? They can go to any extent. There is no need to be afraid of them. The people of this country will never support or like them. Today the Janata Dal is interested in joining hands with the BJP but at the same time it is also hesitating in doing so. If it is taking one step forward it is also moving one step backward. Today none of the political parties has the courage to contest elections under the cloak of fundamentalism. How many seats did the BJP win earlier under the banner of Jan Sangh? It could never get more than 15-20 seats. They may enter the election fray once again. In the 1984 elections when they had contested as a separate party, two of their candidates could win elections and in the present elections, that number may be 5,7,4,3, or even nil. Our country believes in secularism but we should not be content with the mere thought of it and should fight against these forces. Not only are the Muslims expecting the security of themselves, their religions places, life, property and language from the Indian National Congress, but the entire secular India had expectations from you. The biggest question is also that of your survival. The Indian National Congress can never become a communal party in our country. It is the same Congress whose Akshaya Brahmachariji, whose name was mentioned earlier also, went on hunger strike when a statue was installed in the mosque of Ayodhya. At that time Akshaya Brahmachari was the General Secretary of the Faizabad District Congress Committee. Today the veteran and brave freedom fighter, Shri Kamapati Tripathi has declared that Babri

[Sh. Zainul Basher]

Masjid can be demolished only at the cost of his life. The Congress members are not weak, nor can they be suppressed. But we want to tell the Government that it should not be cowed down by these communal forces. Not even a single person's blood has been spilled nor has the police fired at even one place, whenever action has been taken against them. The people of our country cannot become so blind or fanatic in the name of religion.

Today, the population of India is 80 crores and we have thousands of towns and lakhs of villages in the country. At least, at 25-26 places communal riots take place quite often. In such a vast country, communal riots do not take place at more than 25-30 places. What more proof is required of secularism in the country? There are only 20 per cent Muslims and 80 per cent Hindus in my constituency and from such a place, a person like me has been elected. This is the greatness of our secularism, and the contribution of the Congress Party. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would request the Government to be vigilant as a lot of gimmicks are going to be played and a number of conspiracies are going to be hatched before elections. There may be a plot to engineer communal riots at various places on the election day with two objectives. On the one hand, they think that the Muslims will be displeased with the Congress as they could not get protection and on the other, the Hindus will support them and harm the Congress. Therefore, they will try to engineer communal riots at different places, especially, at places where these have never taken place. At some place they will place a pig in the mosque and at another they will throw cow in the temple or some other things else. Stones will be pelted on processions and some other mischief will be played at other places. Efforts to engineer communal riots on a large scale will be made on the eve of elections. The hon. Home Minister will have to deal with the whole situation strictly without making any concessions in it.

The Babri Masjid-Ram Janam Bhoomi

case is subjudice and from the Muslim opinion, we can understand that they have decided to accept the decision of the court. I do not say anything about the Hindu Parishad as it does not represent the Hindus. I can say with certainty that 95 per cent of Hindus will respect the verdict of the Supreme Court, the High Court and other courts. Let the court decide this issue. Meanwhile, Government will have to guard against communal riots for its own benefit as well as for the benefit of the whole country.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): Mr. Chairman, there is nothing new to be said about the communal riots. We have no tears left to shed. Our eyes have run dry but our hearts bleed. One debate follows another. It becomes a rite that we perform over the dead. It becomes like a funeral oration. It follows a customary pattern. We hang our heads in shame and then it goes on—this march of tragedy, this march of shame...this procession of death. Today it is not the death of a few persons that we are here to lament. I think, we must cry the beloved country. It is the system whose survival is at stake. We ask ourselves for whom the bell tolls. It tolls not for a few individuals. It tolls for our country, that is, India, that is *Bharat*, that is *Hindustan*. It tolls for India as a civil society. It tolls for India as a nation of our dreams. This is not an alarmist view, Mr. Chairman. It is an objective assessment. When hearts break. Countries do not survive and who will live if India dies?

We had a few more additions to this litany of shame—Leh, Makrana, Kota, Badayun, Sasram. All these had no history of communal riots. Now around 100 villages and towns across the country are burning. We seem to be sitting on top of the volcano. Nobody knows which new names shall appear in print tomorrow. It is an explosive situation. A communal colonisation, which has been deliberately nurtured over the last ten years, has reached an unprecedented level. Communalism is no longer the petty

communalism of yesterday. It is an organised chauvinism of today which will land us one day into the dark night of fascism. We have been storing explosives in the basement of our mansion for months for years and just a match-stick is sufficient to ignite it. Just a sneeze, a nod, a gesture, a hint, a word and mayhem begins, the pogrom commences. It is increasingly assuming a genocidal dimension. It is not the lumpen elements alone which participate. Now the elite participate; sons of ministers participate. It is no longer just the *goondas*, it is the *bhadralok*. It is not just the law-breakers, it is the enforcers of the law and order. And the conspirators go on conspiring. They make plans. They make preparations and our Government gets no hint. The intelligence machinery fails. Then the administration fails. Then the police acts and sometimes acts wrongly not against the aggressor but against the aggressed. It is a matter of shame that in the recent riots in Madhya Pradesh, the police tortured the Muslim youth and said, "Unless you say 'Ram', you will not be forgiven." Sir, it is matter of shame that in Rajasthan.

[Translation]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Mr. Chairman Sir, my submission is that this is wrong. Someone has given you wrong information. No such thing has ever taken place in Madhya Pradesh.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): This incident has taken place in Khargon (*Interruptions*). We have tolerated such things (*Interruptions*). The Government should make an enquiry and take appropriate action.

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI: No policeman has even said such a thing.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: Do not ignore it, hold an enquiry. Do not dismiss this matter so causally.

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: There is

a Deputy Police Commissioner in Bombay who ordered firing on a Muslim procession and made a statement to the press. His name is Shingare. He said, "I have given them a beating that they will never forget and they dare not come out into the streets for the next six months." Is it an RSS *sanchalak* or a Deputy Commissioner of Police of the Indian Police Service speaking? I would like to know from the hon. Minister. Sir, two years ago in Meerut, not one but hundred of young men were taken to police station and were beaten up black and blue and were told to call their Allah and Mohammad to save them and at a lesser level Shahabuddin and Bukhari! This is the pattern. This was why Nation Integration Council decided years ago to have a composite force but nothing has been done. No new policy required and no new thinking is required. All that is required is the Ministry of Home Affairs should dig up their old files and just review for themselves as to what the national consensus was, what national policies were decided and to what extent they have been implemented.

The Prime Minister has been warning us against the upsurge of the *Hindu Rashtra*. And it is true. He is doing a great national service. If *Hindu Rashtra* comes, then *Sikh Rashtra* will not be far behind, *Christian Rashtra* will not be far behind, *Muslim Rashtra* will not be far behind and the country will break. The country will not survive and that is why we have to join our heads, hearts and hands together and fight against this vicious concept of *Hindu Rashtra*. Sir, unfortunately, the Prime Minister says one thing and his Government seems to give a free run of the place to the *Rashtrawadis*. They seem to run the country at their will, in total freedom. After all, we are a land of democracy and freedom. Aren't we? They seem to run the place. I have repeatedly brought to the notice of the Home Minister the conspiracies and activities of organisations like RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal. They are trying to break the country, they are trying to harm our national interest. But nothing has been done. So many *senas* have sprouted across the country. They whip up passion; they whip up frenzy. The RSS Hedgewar centenary had

[Sh. Syed Shahabuddin]

sent across the land crores of units of fake postal stationery. Only after, it was all over, I got a letter from the Minister of Communications that the Government had noticed it and they will do something about it. Yes, it was after it was all over. Why was the Government such a silent spectator? Is the Government so incompetent? The *Sadhu Sansad* was organised in Kumbhela from where all this heat was generated. I am ashamed to tell this in this House that this *Sansad* which passed anti-national resolutions against the very concept of our nationhood, against the very concept of India as we know it, has the full cooperation and support of the Government authorities. I asked this question but my question was refused. I asked as to who gave them the land and why these people would not be booked. But nothing has been done. I was told let this be over and they shall deal with them, now, of course, millions of people are there and something can happen if they use a bigger step. But it was all over eight months back. And nothing has been done. They are marching across the land; they are marching to Delhi. The Government has been acting, in one word, like the classic monkeys of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government does not see, the Government does not hear and the Government does not speak. I do not know what they are here for. They do not take action against inflammatory slogans, provocative speeches, abusive slogans and derogatory wall-writings and vicious pamphlets, hate literature circulated round the country. They do nothing. And this concept of federalism comes very handy to them. Whenever you ask a question, they say 'But we are a federal country. It is all a State matter. We, the Central Government have no responsibility. We do not even monitor it, we do not even keep statistics work of maintain figures.' Sir, what is happening today is the result of this inaction and insensitivity. The Government must use the authority that we have vested in them, they must use all the legal and administrative power that the people of India have reposed in them, if the situation has to change. If these mischievous elements are

to be brought under control, if these evil organisations are to be eliminated from the public life of the country, the Government have to be more sincere and effective. Only then they can control such organisations like RSS, Bajrang Dal and VHP. But I take my hats off to the Chief Minister of Bihar, Home Minister of Rajasthan and the Chief Minister of Gujarat who have named these organisations.

17.00 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

But they pleaded inability to do anything, because there is no Central directive. I plead with the Government to issue a directive that these organisations must be handled suitably.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Who said that there was no Central directive?

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Shri Ashok Gelhot.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Please show me the quotation where he has said that.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I would send you the quotation. Why are you worried? I stand by what I have said.

Sir, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad is running a campaign throughout the country to arouse the religious sentiments of the people on the question of Ram Janambhoomi, and their game is political. It is not a *dharmik sammelan*, it is not a procession of piety, it is a political game that you must understand. They want to benefit a particular political party. It is an election activity and the Government seems to be silent on this question. They are trying to poison the Hindu mind, they are trying to generate fear in the common man, they are trying to breed hatred among the people and we have got to stop it.

Ram Chanderji is a symbol of Indian culture, Iqbal, the great poet, called him the Imam-e-Hind. There cannot be a greater title

than that—Imam of India. We all honour and respect him and these people are trying to dishonour his memory through acts of illegality, through acts of unlawful trespass through the proposed demolition of a place of worship. That is not Hinduism, that is not the cult of Rama, that is not the message of Hindu culture. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad organised this Ram Shila pooja throughout the country. No next of Hindu architecture or temple architecture, prescribes Shila Pooja. It is a total invention. I brought it to the notice of the hon. Minister. It has got no sacred character at all; it has got no religious sanction at all. A procession that is traditional, has got legal rights, a procession which is invented to disturb law and order has no legal rights at all. It should be banned. It has not been banned and the result is that the country is on fire and we do not know how many more places would be set on fire. I really shudder to think that when these little streams join together from village to Panchayat, from Panchayat to district town and from the district town to the capital town and then onwards to Ayodhya into a mighty stream mighty flood, what shall they carry away in that flood? The secular structure, the democratic temper of the people, the *bhāichara*, the traditional amity, the philosophy of co-existence, the claims of brotherhood, our nationalism, our nationhood, all that would be drowned in that mighty stream.

I appeal to the Government to stop these processions locally and the transportation of these bricks to Ayodhya. After all, nothing can be constructed in Ayodhya now. The matter is *sub judice*.

They say that in Ayodhya they are going to lay the foundation stone of a proposed Ram Janambhoomi temple. I would not go into the legal and historical question at all. I would deal with the current situation only.

I would like to know from the Government whether the Government have seen the ground plan of this temple at any stage. Have they examined it to find out whether this ground plan covers or does not cover the

site of the present Babri Masjid which is *sub judice*, which is disputed premises, whose title has not been decided, whose title is pending before the Special Bench of the Allahabad High Court at Lucknow. If the title has not been decided, then to lay the foundation stone of a structure which involves the demolition of the Babri Masjid is obviously an illegal act. Why should you permit this illegal act? Why should you permit this patently unlawful activity? After all, according to that ground plan, the temple simply cannot be constructed without demolishing the Babri Masjid. I must say that Vishwa Hindu Parishad is absolutely honest; Even after giving the so-called undertaking to the Government of India, the very next day Mr. Shingal went on record and said to the Organizer on 27th September. I quote 'the sanctum sanctorum or the *Garbha Griha* of the proposed temple will remain at the same place where at present worship is being made of the idol of Shri Ram Lal Virajaman'. He added 'the struggle of the Hindu society is for the sanctum sanctorum of the Janam Bhoomi. In case the Hindus do not get this place till 9th of November, there shall be a *sangharsh* for Janam Bhoomi.' So, he shall not be content with laying the foundation stone of a *dwara*. 30 feet away or 100 feet away on the 9th of November. He has threatened to launch a struggle to take over the Babri Masjid if on 9th November he does not get it. Sir, what is important is not the distance at which the foundation stone will be laid. What is important is the ground plan. Therefore, I think Government should have taken a very forthright view. If the Vishwa Hindu Parishad wishes to construct a temple according to a plan which covers the Babri Masjid, they have to wait until the case is decided and until the title to the Babri Masjid is decided. If it is decided in their favour, then of course, they can take over the place and do what they like with it. But until then they have to wait. Of course, if they have a different plan or if they revise the plan and build a temple to the honour and glory of Lord Rama, totally separate and distinct from the Babri Masjid, with no possibility of conflict of interest with the Babri Masjid, then like any other project of public interest, the Government can deal

[Sh. Syed Shahabuddin]

with it, This is what I would like the Government to say. Government should make it absolutely clear that in this struggle for Hindu votes, the Ruling Party is not in the game. Unfortunately, the impression is that the BJP alone is not in this game but other Parties are also looking for the Hindu vote because Hindu vote does exist now.

AN HON. MEMBER: Which are those parties?

SHRISYED SHAHABUDDIN: Well, it is for your party to say (*Interruptions*)

SHRISYED SHAHABUDDIN: Why are you worried? I do not belong to that Party. I have certainly said I will not talk to BJP. I would like a categorical declamation to that effect by every political party in the country. You must say that the BJP is an outcaste because the BJP does not believe in secular order. The BJP is against Indian nationalism. We shall have nothing to do with BJP. Let everyone say that and that is my demand.

Sir, the Government should therefore take a very clear stand either the Vishwa Hindu Parishad should change their plan or they should defer the foundation laying ceremony. Of course I am happy that the hon. Minister has made it very clear yesterday that the Government has so far not given any land. I would also like him to assure us about one more aspect. Perhaps some such negotiations are a foot. He must kill the very possibility of such a transaction taking place.

The hon. Minister has said that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad has committed itself to abide by the court decision. Unfortunately here is a report in the *Telegraph* of 6th October in which Shri Shingal has said

"It is a fact that Mr. Buta Singh had a meeting with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad leaders at his own initiative and the only thing discussed was law and order. There is no question of accept-

ing the court verdict as the Constitution does not vest powers in the court of question the divine faith of the people."

So, their claim is based on the divine faith of the people and therefore, how a court can come in their way. But here the hon. Minister says that Shri Shingal or the Vishwa Hindu Parishad have agreed to abide by the court's decision. I will be very grateful to the hon. Minister if he clarifies this point when he comes to it. I am very sorry to say that there is a general impression—though I may not share that—that the Government have capitulated before the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. I think it is in the interest not only of the Party to which the Home Minister belongs but of the country as a whole that such an impression must immediately be removed.

Sir, the people of this country are wedded to the concept of justice, to the concept of *Dharma*. Nobody wants anarchy. Neither a Hindu nor a Muslim wants a civil war and bloodshed. In this game all would suffer and all fingers would be burnt. Not only Akshaya Brahmachari but Kamalapati Tripathiji himself told me.

[*Translation*]

I will sacrifice my life, but I will not let such a sin to be committed during my lifetime.

[*English*]

In every public speech, I have been mentioning this. This great man of India, this great son of India, this great *Brahmin* from Benaras, says

[*Translation*]

"I will not let such a sin take place in my lifetime.

[*English*]

I certainly like to pay a tribute to Akshaya Brahmachari who was the first man to say "I will die but save Babri Masjid." I would also



like to pay a tribute to a man like Shri Chandrasekhar who has been pelted with the stones but has taken a clear and firm stand on the question of Babri Masjid. I would also like to pay a tribute to this great Leader Mr. Rajeshwar Rao, who told me on his 75 Birthday:

[Translation]

"Shri Shahabuddin, no revolution will take place during my life time I do not have any desire to live. I will sacrifice my life to save Babri Masjid from being demolished".

[English]

He has given a call to all the secular forces in the country to assemble on the 8th of November to thwart these evil designs and save the country. I appeal to the House to endorse this great call of the CPI with a firm and unanimous resolve

A humble suggestion was made yesterday and I endorse it. The hon. Minister had himself made this suggestion in a meeting of the leaders about enacting a law that will protect the status of all places of worship as on 15th August, 1947. And a Private Members' Bill was also submitted by Mr. Banatwalla. Nothing has happened. Since the meeting six months have elapsed. I would suggest, let us bring such a Bill on Monday. It may be a three line Bill. Let us put an end to all the trouble in the future. Let us wipe the slate clean. Let us completely curb these evil designs once and for all the bring glory to our country.

Babri Masjid is not a Hindu-Muslim question. Please don't look at it that way. It is the question of the sanctity of the Constitution of India. It is the question of the rule of law and the supremacy of law. It is the question of permanance of India's composite culture. It is the question whether we shall be worthy of being called a civilised society or we shall go back to the law of the jungle. We cannot afford to fail the test. I therefore appeal not only to the Government, not only to the political parties but going outside the

House to the conscience of the nation, to the guardians of our secularism, the people of India, to the respected figures of our national life, to come forward, intervene and force the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to stop this mischievous game and not to lay the foundation stone of any structure in Ayodhya until such time as the title to the disputed premises is settled by the highest judicial authority in the country.

I would appeal to the Government, once again, to please stop these processions. If you cannot interfere with Shila Poojan, all right, but let these Ram Shilas be stocked where they are. Let them remain where they are till such time as they are needed in Ayodhya.

Finally, I would like to say that I have much hope in the hon. Minister. He has strived day and night, for months. I know he has faced many obstacles. He has faced a lot of resistance outside and inside. I hope that he shall rise to the occasion and give a lead to the country and save this country from burning.

Thank you very much.

[Translation]

PROF. NIRMALA KUMARI SHAKTAWAT (Chittorgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with a heavy heart I would like to say that even after 42 years of independence, communal riots have totally disturbed the peace of our secular country. These riots are being incited in a planned manner and the B.J.P. is behind such incidents. If we look back to the history of India, it becomes abundantly clear that the B.J.P. is the only party which has been inciting the communal riots in the country in a systematic way. Earlier, in the name of 'Hedgewar Birth Centenary' celebrations, they tried to spread the venom of communalism all over the country by raising dirty and provocative slogans. Now, they are hatching a conspiracy for their narrow political ends. From time to time, the erstwhile Jan Sangh and now B.J.P. have given slogans of Hinduism to catch votes. And they were also

[Prof. Nirmala Kumari Shaktawat]

behind the killing of Mahatma Gandhi, the harbinger of secularism in the country.

Whenever elections approach they become active. Sir, in 1980 they gave a slogan against cow slaughter and in 1984, they carried sacred Ganga Water to various places. They planned communal disturbances through sale of sacred Ganga Water all over the country. But they did not succeed in their designs. They are hatching a big communal conspiracy by organising Ram Shila Pujans for which they are collecting a large sum of money

Sir, in the Congress ruled States alone, most of the Ram Shila Pujans have been performed with a view to bringing a bad name to the party. From the statistics available, it is clear that Ram Shila Pujans numbering 3595 were organised in Rajasthan, 2295 in U.P. and 2971 in Gujarat. While in non-Congress ruled States, viz., Assam, only 3 were organised, in Haryana 69, in Karnataka 40, in Kerala 23 and in Tamil Nadu 499 Shila Pujans were held. From all this one thing is clear that these were organised in the Congress ruled states only to defame the Congress Government. B.J.P. is promoting all this for narrow political interests.

Sir, B.J.P.'s alliance with Shiv-Sena and Bajrang Dal has sounded the bell of great danger to the unity of the nation. Bad name is being brought to Shivaji by spreading communalism in his name, though he fought for the unity and integrity of the nation. For this we have to hang our head in shame. Most of this took place in July, September and October. Sir, it is difficult to forget the unfortunate incidents that took place on 14 September in Kota which is a part of my constituency. That day ghastly display of communalism was witnessed. By remembering those incidents our eyes automatically lower down in shame. Despite the participation of two B.J.P. M.L.As in the Anant Chaturdas'hi procession, for one and a half hours, provocative slogans were raised. Was it not their duty to stop provocative

slogans used during the procession. Sir, I feel ashamed to say that procession passed through narrow lanes and by-lanes in the evening provoking people which resulted in the death of innocent people in stone throwing incidents.

Sir, I am constrained to say that on 14th September, the day of disturbances, curfew was imposed in the city. Despite curfew, a procession was taken out even on 15th September and at some places incidents of arson took place. At many places shops owned by a particular community were burnt. In Shakarpur area of Kota, which is part of my constituency, one Abdul Kader, looking after a Mosque was attacked and his 18 years old son Sadiq Hussain, was killed. Some question do crop up from all such incidents. Therefore, I would like to request the hon. Minister to look into these questions. First, for one and a half hours slogan shouting continued in Kota. During that period what was the administration doing and why were the B.J.P. M.L.As taking part in the procession not arrested? They were shouting provocative slogans. Second, why action was not taken against the Police Officers, who ran away in autorikshaw leaving the field free for disturbances? Third, Government should look into the incidents of arson and looting of shops on 15th September despite the enforcement of curfew on 14th September itself. I would also like to request the Government to simplify the procedure for filing of compensation papers in the cases of persons killed in the riots. I would like to give another suggestion. The political parties like Shiv Sena and Bajrang Dal who incite communalism should be banned. People of this country, 95 per cent of whom are secular, will never allow B.J.P. to play with the Hindu sentiments for votes. I cannot forget to thank the Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who clearly stated in meetings at Kota and Udaipur that the Congress is not worried about the election results, it is worried about the unity of the country and the sanctity of principles of secularism, democracy and socialism which are the pillars of our nation. Therefore, I would like to state that the people of our country will never allow them to realise

their dream of governing the nation on the basis of religion. Besides, the people will never allow Shri V.P. Singh allegedly having foreign accounts, to cherish his dream of ruling the country in alignment with B.J.P. and Shiv Sena. Most important of all is to straightaway ban the political parties with communal leanings. For maintaining peace in all districts and towns peace committees should be constituted.

I would like to state on the floor of the House that if we demand a Hindu state there will be similar demands from Muslims, Sikhs and Christians for separate State and no citizen will tolerate denigration of unity and integrity of the nation. All of us must strive to check growing communalism in the country. Today, all the people are looking towards one person named Shri Rajiv Gandhi and towards one party called the Indian National Congress. Now, I conclude with the remark that this dream of the B.J.P. will never get fulfilled.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will have to take up item No. 9A. After finishing this item, we shall resume the discussion on communal situation. Even if we finish the Supplementary Demands for Grants immediately, we shall continue the discussion on

communal situation upto 6 p.m. At 17.45 hours, the Minister of State Shri P. Chidambaram will intervene and the Minister of Home Affairs S. Buta Singh will give the reply tomorrow.

17.26 hrs.

**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL), 1989-90—CONTD.**

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We now take up item no 9A Discussion and voting on the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget (General) for 1989-90?

Motion moved:

"That the respective supplementary sums not exceeding the amount on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the third column of Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st day of March, 1990 in respect of the following demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demands Nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 12, 21, 24, 46, 49, 56, 62, 74, 75, 76, 79 and 90."

## Supplementary Demands for Grants (General) for 1989-90 submitted to the vote of Lok Sabha

No.	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grants submitted to the Vote of Lok Sabha	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4
<b>MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE</b>			
1.	Agricultural	90,00,00,000	—
4.	Department of Rural Development	388,75,00,000	—
5.	Department of Fertilizers	660,01,00,000	—
<b>MINISTRY OF COMMERCE</b>			
8.	Department of Commerce	270,00,00,000	—
<b>MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS</b>			
12.	Telecommunication Services	—	1,00,000
<b>MINISTRY OF ENERGY</b>			
21.	Department of Power	—	301,00,00,000

No.	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grants submitted to the Vote of Lok Sabha	
1	2	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
		3	4
	<b>MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS</b>		
24.	Ministry of External Affairs	—	1,00,000
	<b>MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS</b>		
46.	Other Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs	62,00,00,000	—
	<b>MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT</b>		
49.	Department of Youth Affairs and Sports	10,00,00,000	—
	<b>MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING</b>		
56.	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting	—	70,00,000
	<b>MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS</b>		
62.	Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas	—	10,54,00,000

No.	Name of Demand.	Amount of Demand for Grants submitted to the Vote of Lok Sabha	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	4
	<b>MINISTRY OF TEXTILES</b>		
74.	Ministry of Textiles	70,00,000	—
	<b>MINISTRY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT</b>		
75.	Urban Development and Housing	150,00,00,000	10,00,00,000
76.	Public Works	—	2,00,000
	<b>MINISTRY OF WELFARE</b>		
79.	Ministry of Welfare	50,12,00,000	1,32,00,000
	<b>MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (UNION TERRITORIES WITHOUT LEGISLATURE)</b>		
90.	Delhi	51,00,000	—
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1682,09,00,000</b>	<b>323,60,00,000</b>

THE MINISTER OF THE STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI A.K. PANJA): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I understand that there would be no debate on this subject...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You request the hon. Members.

SHRI A.K. PANJA: Yes, I request the hon. Members. I will just place before the House a gist for the convenience of the hon. Members.

Sir, the Supplementary Demands cover twenty Grants and involved gross expenditure of Rs. 3025.93 crores. The concerned Ministries/Departments have identified matching savings, increased receipts to the extent of Rs. 1785.18 crores. Therefore, the net additional expenditure is Rs. 1,240.75 crores, out of which, Rs. 338.75 crores relate to Jawahar Rozgar Yojana; Rs. 150 crores for urban poverty alleviation; Rs. 200 crores for subsidy on imported fertiliser; Rs. 150 crores for cash compensatory support; Rs. 120 crores for interest subsidy on export credit; Rs. 90 crores for comprehensive crop insurance scheme; Rs. 70 crores for Post-matric scholarship for SC/ST students; Rs. 62 crores for freedom fighters' pension and Rs. 10 crores for grant to Sports Authority of India.

The hon. Members would find the proposals in the introductory remarks appended to the Supplementary Demands and the details are also given there.

Therefore, I pray that these Demands be passed.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to congratulate the Government on paying attention to the urban poor also. I also welcome the announcement that was made by the Prime Minister yesterday. And in the Supplementary Demands also, we have as was just pointed out by the hon. Minister, urban poverty alleviation programme. I must empha-

size that indeed the question of poverty and unemployment in the urban areas is becoming very severe, so much so that we are now having new studies being conducted as far as urban people are concerned. And in certain studies, it is even pointed out that the urban poverty is becoming more and more than even the rural poverty. Therefore, I say that very timely attention is being given to this very very serious question. I wish the Government every success and I am sure the entire nation will support the Government in the success of this particular scheme.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must say that it is absolutely necessary that the scheme is implemented in a very sincere manner so that it can present concrete results. I will not dwell at length because there is not much time on this particular subject. I must also welcome the attention that is being paid to the housing for the weaker sections and we have a supplementary demand thereto, which I must heartily welcome. Housing for the weaker section is an area that needs greater and greater attention and I hope everything will be done for it. Of course though much can be done, yet it will not prove adequate. I wish that scheme too a success.

SHRI A.K. PANJA: I am thankful to the hon. Member for what he said. This Government under the leadership of our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has been giving keen attention to the poverty alleviation programmes. Since 70 per cent of the population live in rural areas, first priority was given to the rural areas and various programmes were taken up there. Thereafter, of course, there were various studies about the urban poverty. The hon. Member is right that there are people who might be more poor than some people in rural areas. That is why, when the money became available, we took up the next priority of alleviation of urban poverty. The Government is fully conscious of this position. That is why, not only the urban poverty but various thrust areas were taken into consideration. Some demand which were found very very genuine like freedom fighters' pension, post-matric scholarship for SC&ST students, were con-

[Sh. A.K. Panja]

ceded. These are urban as well as rural. But within urban and rural areas there are certain thrust areas which required to be given special attention. That is why, our Prime Minister gave command and direction for intensive care in those thrust areas. That is why, these provisions have been made. I am sure the Whole House will accept these provisions.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put the Supplementary Demands for Grants (General) for 1989-90 to vote. The question is:

"That the respective supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the third column of Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st day of March, 1990 in respect of the following demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demand Nos 1, 4, 5, 8, 12, 21, 24, 46, 49, 56, 62, 74, 75, 76, 79 and 90."

*The Motion was adopted*

17.32 hrs.

APPROPRIATION (NO. 5) BILL, 1989

[English]

SHRI A.K. PANJA I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1989-90.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1989-90."

*The Motion was adopted*

SHR A.K. PANJA: I introduce\* the Bill.

SHRI A.K. PANJA: I beg to move\*:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1989-90, be taken into consideration."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1989-90 be taken into consideration."

*The Motion was adopted*

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

The question is:

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

*The Motion was adopted*

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

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



MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The Motion was adopted*

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

SHRI A.K. PANJA: I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed"

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed"

*The Motion was adopted*

17.34 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**Communal Situation in the Country—**  
*CONTD*

[Translation]

SHRI K.J. ABBASI (Dumriaganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this subject.

We remember those days when our Hindu friends and we fought together for the independence of the country. It never occurred to us then that a time will come after forty years of independence, when we would be required to apply our minds as to how the Hindu-Muslim riots could be checked. I would like to repeat the words of my friends Shri Zainul Basher. The story starts from the partition of the country which is a fait accompli, Shahabuddin Saheb, we are more responsible for the partition of the country than Hindu and we cannot deny this. This country wouldn't have partitioned, if we had paid

heed to the suggestions of Maulana Azad, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. But we supported Shri Jinnah, Why? Because he advocated partition of the country. We remember those days when slogans like "bant kar rahega Hindustan, ban kar rehega Pakistan" were raised. Whenever I rise to speak on the subject of riots, I hear my conscience question me as to how long these sad things will continue.

Our work is limited to our constituencies only. Shahabuddin Saheb, we are not the leaders of muslims and nor do we want to be. We get muslim votes as well as Hindu votes and we take the blessings of Pandits also and this is the secret of our success. When we come here, we forget that we are muslims. It is our duty to serve our constituencies which are inhabited by Hindus Muslims, Harijans and other communities. We should see that atrocities are not committed on any one. I have always said and will repeat here once again that neither all the Hindus are bad nor are all the Muslims good. It is our responsibility to find good people. I would like to submit to the members belonging to the Congress Party that it is we who are responsible for the present situation. The responsibility lies on us and our Hindu friends. Can't we all become like Mahavir Tyagi or Akshya Brahmachari? At least we should try. Muslims cannot bear this responsibility. Neither Zainul Basher nor Kazhi Jalil can do this. It is our Hindu friends who can save us from this fire and they have to do it. If there is any memory left of the sacrifices of Mahatma Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our Hindu friends must take upon themselves the responsibility of protecting Muslims. We will also have to follow them. There is a village in my constituency where there was a cremation ground for Hindus and a graveyard for the Muslims. During the consolidation of land holdings, the graveyard land was distributed. Many Muslims came to me and complained of this atrocity. That graveyard has been changed into a cremation ground. They started quarrelling on this issue. A police inspector was called, but he did not take any action as he could not find any difference in the two. Later, a Harijan

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was buried there, which again led to a quarrel. As a result, that graveyard was again divided into two. People came to me with a complaint. I immediately sent some people there and asked for a report. They reported to me that it was the fault of the inspector. I told the Muslims that they would not get their graveyard if they fought. In this way I solved that issue.

Many speeches have been made here. Shri Shahabuddin also made his speech. One of our friends also delivered his speech. We were pained to hear their speeches. They held the Government fully responsible for all this and said that Muslims in such a large number were not killed even in Iran-Iraq war. Then they asked why we had not resigned when there were differences. Why should we resign? In the Congress, our leaders have taught us to fight against the oppression.

India could have never been a secular country, had Congress Party or Mahatma Gandhi not been there. It is only because of them that the Muslims are today able to live here without any fear or Shri Shahabuddin can live in India. But for the Congress Party and Mahatma Gandhi, there would have been Hindu Raj in the country. Why has the Congress party been continuing to win the elections and not BJP? Why don't you say this? Shri Zainul Basher mentioned about sincerity, but I would like to submit that Hindus here are secular. Otherwise they would have been misled by those persons who take out processions by sitting in a car and Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi would have lost the elections. The Hindus here are secular. They not only vote for Shri Rajiv Gandhi but for Shri Zailil Abbasi, Shri Zainul Basher and Shri Shahabuddin also, so that they may also realise that they are not the representatives of Muslims alone, but of Hindus also.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wanted to express my regret. I was listening to the speeches delivered here and was very eager

to get 5 minutes to express my views. Last Time also, I had referred to the issue of Ram Janmbhoomi and today also I submit that last time a procession was being taken out in my area. Efforts were made to stop it and when it could not be stopped, violence erupted. One Hindu was killed in the police firing. I was in Delhi. I was informed on telephone and I immediately went there. I met the collector and the S.P. on way and told them that whether the victim was Hindu or Muslim, it was equally distressing for me. How did such a situation arise and how the police were given orders for firing. That was the village of Hindus and I proceeded towards that village. People told me not to go there as I was a muslim. Firstly, I thought to gather some Hindus with me, but then I thought of my faith in God and went to that village. All the Hindus gathered there and said that such a situation would not have occurred, had you been there, as people would have obeyed you. This was said by the Hindus of that village. The Government will take its own time in providing compensation, so I collected Rs. 5100 from the Muslims and gave it to the widow of that Hindu. Within ten days, she was given a compensation of Rs. 20000 by the Government. I said that if Hindu died, the Muslims would collect money and if Muslim died, then Hindus would collect the money for paying compensation. We have to create such feelings. Later BJP members visited the place and asked them to give back the money. But they were told that they would do no such thing, as BJP did not come at the time of their need, it were the congress people who came. Now they should go from here. We have to create such an atmosphere all over India. We have to do it in our constituencies. The Government will do its own duty. Just now Shri Zainul Basher referred to the issue of 'Shilanyas' and also reiterated that this 'Shilanayas' ceremony should be stopped. If something happened there, the Congress Government would be held responsible for it. So you should stop it. God knows what would have happened, if the Rath-Yatra had not been stopped by Shri Vir Bahadur Singh. Nobody could know as to where the Rath had gone. You would have to say it emphatically that there will be no

foundation laying ceremony. The Government is not weak. You should ask them to wait for the Courts' decision. It is the primary duty of the Government to provide justice to the people and put down the disruptive forces. Our Congress Government has a long history. The hon. Minister should remember it and act upon it. We deliver speeches here, but it is more necessary to implement the suggestions made therein. We are capable and the congress is alive and will remain alive and no other Party can come to power. In future also the Congress Party will form the Government. Shahabuddin Saheb cannot win only on Muslim votes. His Insaaf Party can never do justice. There is only one party that will form the Government. So we have to bear the responsibility. We have to follow the principles of Gandhiji and Indiraji and we will show to the world that we are capable of governing the country. I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Sir, I wish to intervene briefly at this stage of the debate. On more than one occasion, this House has discussed the communal situation in the country. On more than one occasion, I have participated in the debate and I have given expression not only to my personal views but also to the views of the Government.

Sir, my first exposure to a major communal riot was in Ahmedabad. The inhumanity, the brutality, the madness which grips human beings came as a great shock. Over the year, particularly, during my frequent trips to Gujarat and U.P., I have tried to understand the problems, the causative factors behind—steps to be taken by State Governments and State Administrations to maintain communal harmony and peace. In fact, we initiated a large number of steps. I would with some modesty take credit for the

Government in bringing down the communal temperature in 1987 and 1988 as a result of the number of steps that we took in 1986, I do not want to set store by figures and statistics alone; but figures and statistics to show that beginning in the second quarter of 1987 and through 1988 and the first half of 1989 the graph of communal incidents, the graph of communal violence, the graph of communal killings, the graph of injuries did come down in this country. It is not as though the provocative issues were resolved. The first issue which inflamed communal passions was the controversy over the Muslim Personal Law. But I believe the Government resolved it to the satisfaction of the Muslim community. The CPI(M) Politburo in its resolution which was quoted by Mr. Shahabuddin in his magazine accused the Government of appeasement of Muslim fundamentalists when we took that step. Nevertheless Government took that step because Government thought it was a right step and it was necessary to communal harmony and peace, to allay the apprehensions and anxieties for a major minority community in this country. Then came the demand for uniform civil code which became a bone of contention among communities.

Processions have acquired a competitive edge; on the one hand Ram Navmi procession and on the other hand Moharrum procession. The processions were larger, sometimes more unruly, with more slogan shouting, more banners, more trucks, more used of loud speakers. The use of religious symbols by every community became more blatant, more glaring, more provocative. *Senas* sprouted in this country. Mr. Shahabuddin mentioned the name of some *Senas*, he did not mention some others. He was reciting a list of *Senas*. *Senas* sprouted in this country, they began to acquire symbols. Weapons came to be described as symbols and symbols were used as weapons. Criminal elements entered fundamentalist groups. The criminalisation of these processions and ceremonies, the entry of criminal elements aggravated the situation.

To sum up, we have gone through a

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three year period of what I would call, competitive religiosity that added an acute dimension to the practice and profession of religion. Throughout this three year period Government has stood firm and has not appeased one community or the other; but consistent with its constitutional obligations, tried to help the State Government preserve law and order, maintain communal harmony.

Let me go back to my first exposure, Ahmedabad. It was the bandh that was called in Ahmedabad which led to the communal riot. I had no hesitation in coming before this House and saying that I condemn those who called this *Bandh* which was the most unwise *Bandh* to have been called. The *Rath Yatra* became an occasion for rioting and dispute. But in the last three years there are many steps that we have taken. Every year I visited Ahmedabad and today the *Rath Yatra* in Ahmedabad is a peaceful occasion where all communities gather together and celebrate it with gaiety.

18.00 hrs.

It is not as if we cannot remove this communal poison which affects us. With firm measures, with a clear policy and with determined steps, it is possible to maintain communal harmony. But, what has happened in the last quarter—from July to September 1989—which, I say with deep regret, has been the worst quarter in the four-and-a-half years of this Government? Why? The single biggest issue is the controversy revolving round Babri Masjid and Ram Janma Bhoomi. For months, the hon. Home Minister has patiently spoken to every group which is involved. He will come tomorrow and reply in great detail.

I think you will allow me a few minutes beyond 6 O'Clock. I thought I should answer it today because the question has been raised, if I may say, with great passion by Shri Syed Shahabuddin and several others. I thought, to set the record straight, I must speak.

The hon. Home Minister has spoken to every group. We are firmly committed to two courses. The first course that we took for several months and which can still be pursued—if the people will see the reason and come together—is to resolve this dispute by negotiations and by discussions. That is the way of civilised society. That is the only way, in which a democracy can resolve its disputes. When we found that that course was not leading us towards a solution, we took the other course, namely, of persuading the parties, to have the disputes resolved in a judicial forum. As we said earlier on the last occasion, we are committed to both courses. But today—it seems to us—resolution in the judicial forum seems to be the better course. That is why, due to the efforts taken by the the Central Government and by the U.P. Government, the matter now stands referred to a Special Bench of the High Court, Allahabad and we sincerely hope that all parties will abide by the verdict of the judicial forum. But, Sir, the new element which has come into the controversy, is the open, blatant, and shameless display of the communal card by a major political party in the country, the BJP. Below and behind the thin crust of civility and secularism that the leaders wear, I believe, is a heart which is communal and a mind which is fascist. I have no hesitation in naming the BJP and its sundry allies as the single biggest cause for the communal disharmony that this country has seen in the last quarter. Unfortunately, there are political parties in this country, who aspire to rule this country, who aspire to achieve positions in Government, who have no hesitation in sitting with the BJP and talking to the BJP and joining the BJP. Today, it is the BJP's communal card which has completely poisoned that atmosphere. Witness the BJP President going around Delhi, sitting, in what appears to be a position of piety and devotion before priests and participating in a ceremony to consecrate the bricks. I know that building a temple is a very great act of devotion, but for a political party to openly associate itself with ceremonies, processions, pujas and yatras which will only exacerbate the feelings and emotions, I think, is the greatest disservice it can do to this coun-

try. Remember 1967 when the same political party in its earlier *avatar* started a campaign on the issue of cow slaughter on the eve of elections. Remember 1984 when the same party started a campaign of taking *Ganga Jal* to purify various things in this country. Come elections, this party in its former *avatar* 'Bharatiya Jan Sangh' and in its present *avatar* 'Bharatiya Janata Party', is shamelessly playing the communal card in order to win the Hindu vote which it believes is communal. Let me say this. I am absolutely certain in my mind. I have no doubt in my mind whatsoever, that the vast majority of Hindus, who are secular, will see the political party for what it is and reject it totally and summarily. This country is built on the foundations of secularism. Nobody lives in this country at the mercy of another person. We live because of the Constitution of this country which we have given to ourselves and we have a right to live and the right to practise and profess our faith in our religion.

Some comments were made about the recent talks which the Home Minister had with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and certain other organisations. Let me say this very clearly. He has made no promise and has given no undertaking to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. On the contrary, in their talks on 27th of September 1989, representatives of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad agreed to the following and I wish to place this on record: One, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad will give prior intimation to the concerned district authorities of the *shila* procession and agree to change the route in case the district authorities so desire in public interest. Two, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and its followers would not raise any provocative slogans which may endanger communal harmony. Three, as far as possible, the bricks would be carried in trucks on the routes determined before hand in consultation with the concerned district authorities. Four, senior and responsible VHP functionaries, who take the responsibility of guiding the procession, will extend full cooperation to the district authorities. Five, the spot in Uttar Pradesh, where the bricks will be collected, will be decided in consultation with the district authorities.

Here is an organisation which is determined to go through its programme of building a temple for Lord Ram. As Mr. Shahabuddin himself said, building a temple itself is not a prohibited activity nor is it unlawful. Here is an organisation which has attempted with moderate success to mobilise the people to send bricks to Ayodhya to build a temple. As long as this activity and this programme does not cross the limits of the law, the State—in this case, it will be the State of Uttar Pradesh—would have to regulate this activity in such a manner that it does not lead to any violations or lead to communal strife. This is precisely what the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is now engaged in. No promise has been made to the VHP. No undertaking has been given to the VHP. But we have taken note of an undertaking given by the VHP and I wish to read that:

"The VHP has undertaken to abide by the directives of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court given on 14.8.1989 to the effect that the parties to the suit shall maintain the *status quo* and shall not change the nature of the property in question and ensure that peace and communal harmony are maintained."

This, of course, is what the VHP has told us. But having told us this, a number of statements have appeared subsequently which have the effect of repudiating this statement. That's why I thought I should stand up today and say that while we have taken note of the statement of the VHP made to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the Home Minister on the 27th of September... we have also taken note of subsequent statements made by the representatives of the VHP and other organisations which seem to repudiate this undertaking. On the part of the Government, let me assure the House and all sections of people of this country that we are committed to enforce the order of the High Court of Allahabad in its Lucknow Bench and we shall not allow any person or organisation to change the *status quo* on the ground. We are determined to ensure that the rule of law is obeyed. We shall not allow anyone to do

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anything or attempt to do anything which will change the *status quo* on the ground or which will alter the property or the structure which goes by the name of Babri Masjid and we shall ensure that the order passed by the Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court is maintained. And for that the Government will do everything in its power and authority. Let me conclude by saying, whether Mr. Shahabuddin will be there on the 8th and 9th of November or not, I will be there, the Government of India will be there to ensure that nobody violates the rule of law and nobody takes the law in his hands. Having said that, I would still appeal to all concerned to see and consider the kind of damage and destruction that is being done to this country, to the secular fabric of this country, to the secular polity of this country and to withdraw and not to associate with any procession or ceremony or *yatra*. This is not the time for ceremonies or processions or *yatras*. This is the time to uphold the secular traditions of this country. This is the time to show great tolerance, this is the time to respect one another's faith. This is not the time and occasion to indulge in any kind of competitive religiosity. I am quite sure that tomorrow, at the end of this debate, when this House will express its view and I believe it will, the people of this country will rally round the secular forces. We are determined to gather all the secular forces together. The

Home Minister has already said that soon after the session of Parliament is over, he will call all political parties who believe in the secular traditions of this country and which have secular credentials beyond doubt to ensure that the rest of this year passes peacefully and communal harmony and peace are maintained. We shall not desist from any step which is required to maintain communal harmony and peace. I want to give this assurance not only to those who have participated in this debate today but also to those who will participate in this debate tomorrow and to all the people of this country. I want to allay all apprehensions and fears. The Government is determined to take every step that is necessary to preserve communal harmony and peace.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: (Baramulla):  
Sir, may I seek a clarification?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, will reply tomorrow, when you can have your points clarified. He has only intervened now.

Now, the House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.

18.13 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, October 13, 1989/ Asvina 21, 1911 (Saka).*

