

*Approval of Continuance in Force**respect of Punjab*

not apply his mind fully and to all aspects of it. I do not agree with the suggestion of the hon. Member, Shri Kumaramangalam that Speaker's ruling applies only to telescoped aspect of focussed aspect. The Speaker applied his mind to all aspects of the matter and ruled that only Item Number 4 will be postponed and Item Number 5 will be taken up today. I would nevertheless in deference to the Hon. Members suggestions, expect the Government to explain why it is necessary for them to take up this today and i feel that they can provide that explanation why the resolution itself is being considered. We will proceed with the Statutory Resolution. Hon Shri Mufti Mohammed Sayeed to move.

mendation 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 after every six monthly period with effect from 11.11.1987, 11.5.1988, 11.11.1988, 11.5.1989 and 11.11.1989. The current spell of President's rule in Punjab is due to expire on 10.5.1990.

The Governor of Punjab in his recent report to the President has stated that at an all-party meeting convened by him at Chandigarh in the middle of March, 1990, the view taken was that congenial conditions should be created first before holding elections to the State Legislative Assembly. The Governor shares their views. He is also of the opinion that efforts must be made to mobilise public opinion to bring normalcy in the State. Once these matters are attended to, the State can go for elections in a more harmonious atmosphere conducive to free and fair elections. The Governor has accordingly recommended extension of President's rule in Punjab by bringing in necessary amendments to the Constitution. Accordingly, clauses (4) and (5) of article 356 of the Constitution have been amended by the Constitution (Sixty-fourth Amendment) Act, 1990. With this enactment, President's Proclamation in relation to the State of Punjab can now be extended for a total period of three years and six months, that is, for a further period of six months w.e.f. 11.5.1990.

14.25 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE. APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PROCLAMATION DATED 11TH MAY, 1987 IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House approve 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 May, 1990."

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. The Proclamation was approved by the Lok Sabha as well as the Rajya Sabha 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 recom-

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 Punjab may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 11.5.1990.

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. CHAIRMAN (SHRI JASWANT-SINGH): Motion moved:

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"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 May, 1990."

Shri Vasant Sathe.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are holding a discussion on this important subject once again. Through this motion, the approval of the House is being sought for the extension of the President's Rule in Punjab for a further period of 6 months with effect from May 11th. Now the point is that in case. We allow the continuance of President's Rule for another 6 months but could we expect within these 6 months a situation will be created in which the democratic process may be revived and Punjab may be brought into the mainstream and complete peace may be restored there?

From the experience of the past 6 months it is clearly evident that the conditions have deteriorated from bad to worse. Initially, we had observed that the Government was showing a new direction. The Hon. Prime Minister of the country himself went to Amritsar and moved there in an open jeep and he was welcomed by all the people there. Thereafter, he visited the Harmandir Sahib. He requested the people to 'forget and forgive'. This is the kind of attitude which he had adopted. It seemed as if a new process for restoring an atmosphere of love and amity is being prepared for and the credit for it will go to the Hon. Prime Minister. The question today is not as to who is successful and who is not. The question is that there should be progress towards restoring peace in the country. The people of one State who have a tradition of valour and sacrifice and are now isolated should be brought into the mainstream of the country again.

What has happened during these 5-6

months. We can see that the terrorists are gaining strength day by day and they have become more active. Today, we can see that they do not remain confined to Punjab alone but spreading their activities to other States as well. Their intention had been to divide the Hindus and the Sikhs and provoke them to the extent that each and every village of the State is engulfed. However, their attempts have failed.

Although, innocent people have been butchered mercilessly and attempts have been made to influence the school children to take to terrorism as well, the common people have not been affected much.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what are you observing? You can observe that terrorism is spreading to different States from Punjab. Incidents of bomb explosion in bus or police station or some other place are taking place almost daily in Delhi. The statements made by the leaders of these terrorists do not reveal that they want a solution to the Punjab problem within the framework of the Constitution and the process of democracy. They are speaking about secessionism even today. They want to separate themselves from the Indian Union. In order to solve any problem, it is necessary to go into its root. Today whether it is the demand for Khalistan or for the implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the basic demand is for secession and for creation of a new nation.

What is the origin of the term Khalsa and how was the Sikh Panth com into existence? Guru Nanak started the Sikh Panth and we are aware of this history. It was a revolt against fanaticism, conservatism and Brahminism and to establish equality among the people. That is why the Sikh Panth was started. In the beginning religion was considered as universal. At that time, religion did not mean Hinduism or other religions. There was no parochialism in our culture. But eventually our culture which believed in universal religion was affected by narrow thinking and it was reflected in the way we reacted to our religion, community and caste.(*Interruptions*).....

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SHRI MUFTI MOHD. SAYEED: Kindly use Urdu words so that I am also able to understand what you are saying.

According to Sikhism God is one. He is the infinite. There is only one power. He is Nirakar, Nirgun and Parabrahma. There is no difference at all.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: All right. I will try. It is these narrow minded people against whom Guru Nanak protested. There is a good story about him. Once he was standing on one side of the river Ganga and was throwing water in the western direction. The brahmins asked him as to why has he resorted to such abnormal action. Nanakji said that he was doing so because his fields were located in the western direction and he was intending to water his fields. The Brahmins asked as to how could it happen? Nanakji said if they could offer water to the sun by throwing water while standing in the water here, why could he not do the same and expect the water to reach the field. Our society was then gripped by blind faith, fanaticism, rigidity and a few people with vested interested were behind the creation of such conditions in society. The Sikh Panth was a revolt and a path against such a situation. It happened during the time of Buddha as well but Guru Nanak found it a way of establishing equality. He wanted to put an end to the caste system and establish equality and that is why he created the Panth.

I would like to tell you that since when the secessionism which has been condemned by all, Started. The word Khalsa and Khalistan which are being used these days have been derived from the word Khalis means pure. On the day of Basakhi, Guru Govinda Singh designed 5 of his disciples as Panj Pyaras and gave them robes. This is the genesis, but I would not like to go into the details and take much of your time.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): Please let us know its detail Other points have already been dealt with.

If you read the Gurbani, you will observe that it contains an essence of all religion. The select thoughts of all the well known saints have been compiled in it. The words of Kabir, Tulsidas, Namdeo etc. have been included in it. Mention of words, such as Ram, Krishna, Hari, Onkar have been made as a refrain. It advocates love, unity and other such ideals. The entire humanity has been considered as one. The crux of the Guru Granth Sahib is to consider the whole of humanity as are entity. I would like to quote:

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Out of the Panja-Payaras only one was a Kshatriya and the remaining four belonged to lower castes. One was a fisherman, second a barber, the third a sweeper and the fourth a washerman and all these 4 belonged to different provinces. He designed them as Panja Pyaras and gave them uniforms. They were given the uniform of a soldier. He took them inside on the pretext of chopping off their heads. He disclosed to the gathering that he wanted heads and called upon those present to sacrifice themselves. He gave separate uniforms to the 5 brave disciples who had come forward to sacrifice themselves and brought them out. What was there in that uniform. The uniform consisted of a blue turban, a yellow kurta, a nicker type underwear, a kada (Metal ring) and a sword. He gave this uniform to the Panj Pyaras.

AN HON. MEMBER: What was the length of the sword?

"Avval Allah Noor Upayd, Kudrat ke sab bande,
Ek noor te sab jag upjayd, kaun bhale kaun mande".

Such are the feelings of unity expressed therein.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: The length of the sword was not given in the book, I read. They came out in this uniform. They were asked to lead the life of a soldier. They were asked to keep their hair untied and also to keep a comb with them. In this way a force of 'Khalis' meaning pure people was raised to protect the Sanatan Dharma and the inno-

cent people. Nobody should carry a wrong impression that there could be a confrontation for Sikhistan. Because for becoming a sikh, it is not necessary that one should put on a turban and have beard. There are 'Sahajdaris' also. Had there been any such thing that one has to have long beards and put on a turban, the first 9 Sikh Gurus would not have been called Sikhs. What does the word viz. sikh mean? The word sikh has been derived, from Sanskrit which means 'Shishya' and sikh is a perverted form of the word Shishya. Those who possess good conduct, learns good things and translate them into action are called Sikhs. This is the origin of Sikhism. I have already explained the term 'Khalsa'.

Today, some people are making a demand of Khalistan. But on what accounts they are different from others. It is a dispute over the identity. But what separate identity do they want? It is the artificial identity, superficial identity. Sometimes it comes to my mind that if the practice of maintaining beard is done away with, there will remain no difference between the Sikhs and the non-Sikhs. All people in Punjab visit both Gurudwaras and temples. They pay their obeisance in the Gurudwaras with the same devotion they make offerings in the temples. In the same family, one son is offered to Sikh Guru who becomes a sikh and the rest of the family members continue to be non-Sikhs, the Hindus. As such, there is no such Hindu-Sikh feeling in Punjab today. All efforts to separate them or divide them will fail. There is a proverb that relation of blood can never be separated. The Hindus and Sikhs are related with blood relations and one cannot be separated from the other. If they ask for a separate identity it will mean this. On this basis, India can be divided into several parts. There will be separate nations on the basis of beards, sarees and caps. It will be nothing but madness. Clashes have been taking place on the basis of language. Clashes take place over the possession of some territory. Tomorrow, there will be clashes on the basis of caste.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to tell the

hon. Member that he has been allotted 25 minutes by his party. He has already taken 20 minutes and only 5 minutes are left with him.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was told that about 3 hours have been allocated for this topic. Out of which our party got 1 hour. Out of this I have already taken 20 minutes. All right, I shall conclude within 5 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is what I was informed by your party in writing.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: All right, that I know. What I want to say is that these clashes are being engineered by instigating communal sentiments. There is nothing to argue here. A dialogue is most welcome, but it should not be based on religion or any ideology nor the Gurugranth Saheb. There is no such mention also in the Granths written by the Gurus. These terrorists are our own men. As such before entering into a dialogue with them, let them say first as to what do they want? If they are not prepared to any talks and say that injustice has been done to them, they want their separate identity, they want to be separated from us, that demand also can be accepted. If they demand that the constitution should be amended, that is also agreeable. Let any of them come forward to hold a dialogue. Let them take the help of any media, the A.I.R., the Door-darshan they like subject to the approval of the Parliament. Let the Constitution be amended and in the place of one nation let there be a number of nations with the approval of the Parliament. Anything they want that could be agreeable, if it is made through a dialogue. If some one is adamant that he will get his demand met on the point of gun instead of dialogue or with the help of bullet instead of ballot than what the country should do. If they are bent upon the path of violence and ignoring the democratic methods, they have no right to call themselves the citizens of the country. If somebody goes against the constitution—be it the case of Kashmir and for that matter any other part of the country, let him be told in clear terms that:

[English]

You are not a citizen of this country because you do not believe in this Constitution. You want to burn, change this Constitution by force, by sword, therefore, you have no right to live in this country.

[Translation]

If the august House wants to resolve this issue, I would like to make an humble submission to the House. Let the Government say in categorical terms that the people who have no faith in the Constitution can leave the country. A time limit may be fixed say 8 days or 15 days for preparation. The border is nearer. Let them go to Pakistan and join their army and come to India for a battle. Let it be decided once for all. But it is not good to indulge in dastardly acts of terrorism and going against the teachings of the Gurus. O warriors, if you want to fight, do not fight like coward.

SHRI BEGA RAM (Ganganagar): Eight years have elapsed since this trouble started. What did your people do to resolve this issue. Who created Bhindranwala. I belong to that area and I know what is what. Now you are making long speeches.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: There are some people who cannot understand noble things. Their thinking is very narrow. What can say about them. I am reciting a shloka from the Mahabharat in this context.

Guruwa Bal Vridhva, Brahmano va bahersrutam,
Ata tajjanam ayantam hanyadev vi-charayan.

If somebody turns a terrorist, whoso ever he may be, he has to be killed. There is no other alternative. Please ask these people(Interruptions)..... Gandhism also supports this view. Once somebody asked Gandhiji as to what will he do if a mad dog enters his Ashram. Gandhiji replied that he

would immediately order to kill the dog lest it should bite other 25 people and kill them. This is what non-violence is, As such, if somebody turns mad or becomes a traitor, the only remedy is to ask him to leave the country. If he wants to follow the middle path, that could also be acceptable provided he is prepared to come across the table and discuss the matter but not resort to violence. If the Government shows any sign of weakness in text 5 months, the terrorists will emerge stronge and try to put pressure on the Government. I am of the view that terrorists have no love for the country. They might be having love for the people at whose instance they indulge in subversive activities. They have nothing to do with the country. They are bent upon disintegrating the country, be it Kashmir or Punjab. The Government should not enter into any agreement with them. As far as the common man is concerned, whether in Punjab or Kashmir, he wants peace. He wants to abide by the Constitution and live as the citizen of the country. He should be encouraged and provided strength. In view of this, the Government should identify the terrorists and bring them to book. A congenial atmosphere should be created in Punjab so that democratic process could be restored in the State in next 5 months and all people could live in peace and law and order could be restored in Jammu and Kashmir as well. Just now one of our hon. friends desired to know as to what did we do. Even if it is admitted that we did nothing, but let them set the situation right. If they also repeat the same mistakes, then the problem will not be solved. When power has come to their hands, let them find some way out. I made the suggestion whatever I deemed fit. If it suits them, let them implement it, otherwise history may repeat itself.

SHRI DASAI CHOWDHARY (Rosera): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today the house is discussing the Resolution seeking extension of President's Rule beyond 11th May in Punjab.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before you speak anything, please let me know what time would you require.

SHRI DASAI CHOWDHARY: I shall conclude, the moment you order me to do so.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I won't give any order to you. That is already there. A total of 45 minutes have been allocated for your party whereas there are still 9 persons from your party in the list. Now it is upto you to decide your time accordingly. You should note that if you speak for more than 5 minutes, that much time will be deducted from the time of your party colleague.

SHRI DASAI CHOWDHARY: Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my views in connection with the discussion taking place on the Resolution seeking extension of President's Rule in Punjab beyond 11 May. The National Front Government has all along been trying to resolve the Punjab and Kashmir problem. All of us want that peace should be restored in Punjab. As you are aware, that the terrorists are very active in the State and an atmosphere of violence is prevalent. In fact, previous Government is responsible for creating this type of situation. I was listening to the senior leader, Shri Vasant Sathe. His party was in power for several years. I am surprised as to why he did not tender this advice to Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Had he done so, the situation in Punjab would not have worsened to this extent.

Sir, the situation in Punjab today is of serious concern. Terrorism is continuing there. The situation would not have deteriorated to the extent it is today if the Congress Government had taken the initiative to control it from the very beginning. Since the formation of the National Front Government, the hon. Prime Minister had been making constant efforts to establish peace there. He spoke to the people of the State to this effect and convened a number of all party meetings. Much efforts were made by the Government through them. Consultations were held with them.

Secondly, the Government would have a clear representation of all parties and efforts were made to end terrorism so that peace could be restored. But the Congress

Party should not make any efforts to give political colour to the Punjab problem for the sake of their own political interest. Our Government and our leader had requested them many times to join the all party meeting, but they have always rejected our invitations. This means that they want the Punjab situation to continue and they are not interested in the establishment of peace in that State. Therefore, I would like to submit that there has been an increase in the incidents of crime during the Congress rule. I would like to place the figures of the last 5 years. In 1986, 1106 persons were killed in Punjab. In 1987 this figure rose to 1209 and by 30-11-88, it became 2069. My point is that the National Front Government wants to solve the problem of terrorism on the basis of consensus and restore peace there. A Committee has been constituted in this regard. I would like to thank Shri Mufti Mohd. Sayeed who has spoken to the officials and the Governor and has made efforts to restore peace there.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the whole country is concerned about Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. People would like that the problems should be solved and in view of the situation prevailing in Punjab need was felt to extend the period of President's Rule which was due to expire shortly. Until the situation improves there, peaceful elections are not possible and it will be better to continue with the President's Rule there. Therefore, I would like to submit that regarding the Anandpur Sahib Resolution or whatever Shri Vasant Sathe has spoken about Bhindranwale, I do not want to make any comment because it is of common knowledge as to how much importance he and his party had given to him. It is on account of them that the Punjab situation has been deteriorated so much today. Moreover, I would like to submit that it is definitely our responsibility to improve the situation in Punjab. It is also our duty to go there and work among the people so that the need to extend the President's Rule beyond the proposed continuance of it for the next 6 months does not arise. If the situation improves election will be conducted and peaceful condition will be restored.

Terrorism has become deep rooted there. Everybody knows that the local police is in connivance with terrorists. Therefore, steps should be taken to replace the Punjab Police personnel by the police personnel of other States. It will help in establishing peace there. With these words, I thank the hon. Chairman for the opportunity given to me to express my views.

15.00 hrs.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Thank you, Mr. Chowdhary for not having exceeded the time limit. Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra, you have 3 members from your party who would like to make their submissions and the total time allotted is 27 minutes.

PROF VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA (Delhi Sadar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in view of the kind of turn the Punjab situation has taken today, if we do not look at this problem impartially irrespective of party affiliations and solve the problem, it will go out of control. There can be little doubt in this regard. I would also like to submit that it is necessary at this juncture to mention the mistakes which the Congress Government had committed. Every one is well aware that it is an account of mistakes which they had committed that they are in the opposition today and that they have been punished enough. If we go into the merits and demerit of these points, it will be very difficult to solve the problem. We have to taken certain steps and it is essential to consider the steps which can be taken. About a month has passed since the presentation of this Bill. Elections will have to be conducted within the next 6 months and the election process has to be started 2 months in advance. Therefore, how can the issue be solved in the 4 months time? Can the Punjab problem be solved within the next 4 months? Can the situation in Punjab be normalised to the extent that elections can be conducted in a fair manner there. Nothing of this sort is visible today. Today there is little improvement in the situation. We have reiterated that there is no

way out except to extend Presidents Rule by another 6 months, but the constant refrain is that elections will definitely take place at the stipulated date. What sort of change can take place? How can there be any change in the situation? The Government must clarify it. If elections take place in the circumstances which are not conducive for holding elections, then it will not be proper.

The best thing about Punjab at present is that even after a decade of murders, after a decade of having been reduced to a slaughter house, there is no evidence of communal riots anywhere.

15.03 hrs.

[SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE *in the Chair*]

It is a great thing. It is not an ordinary matter. Several thousands of people have lost their lives, more than 10,000 people have been murdered and yet there has been no communal riots in Punjab. In no village has a Sikh resident attacked his Hindu counterpart or vice-versa. There is not a single example of this kind in Punjab. This factor should be exploited to the full. Steps should have been taken by the Government to create peace and amity as the basis of thousands of years of brotherhood and friendship existing in the State. I would also like to add that the conditions existing today has little connections with the demands which they have made. My question to those who claim that they want to win their hearts is: if they want to win the hearts of the people, only a handful are demanding Khalistan. The people of Punjab want to join the national mainstream. The Sikhs are also affected by terrorism. Hence, which hearts have to be won over? Do they want to win the hearts of those terrorists who have played into the hands of Pakistan, those who move around with guns and speak the language of bullets? I agree with Shri Sathe that we would be sending a foolish and a wrong message to Punjab if we talk of brotherhood, negotiations, magnanimity with those who wield the gun. This is having an adverse

effect on Punjab which in turn has caused the situation to deteriorate further. When there is a need to end terrorism in Punjab, adequate strictness is not being shown to give it a death blow. You cannot solve the problem by restoring to the policy of appeasement. Pakistan is a result of following such policy. The situation deteriorated in Kashmir, again because of the same policy. When the Punjabi Suba was granted, the Accord stated specifically that no further demands will be made hereafter. In this Accord with the Akalis, it was clearly mentioned that once the Punjabi Suba came into existence, no further demands will be made on Punjab. But later on the demands went on increasing and finally some people started making demands for Khalistan. Now Shri Simranjit Singh Mann says that if there is a war between India and Pakistan, the Sikhs of Punjab will not come to the aid of Indian army and not side with India. Is there a better example of treason than this one? How can you talk of negotiating with a man who is a traitor? The Government must first insist that there can be no talks on gunpoint? If this is not done, it will have an adverse effect on the entire country and people will think that terrorism is an effective instrument of bringing the Government to its knees. Therefore, the Government should declare that it will not negotiate with terrorists. Administrative steps should be initiated to end terrorism. It has nothing to do with Political talks. The other day the Home Minister stated about Kashmir that we are trying to win the hearts of the people there. The people are already with you. But there should not be any talks with terrorists and separatists. The Government should make a categorical statement on these lines. You should not talk of any appeasement with such elements. You should not send such messages or hold direct or indirect talks with them. In Punjab the Government should make up its mind on 5 or 6 relevant points. There is no use repeating old points.

It has been said a thousand times that Pakistan is running terrorist camps. 'New York Times' and many other newspapers have been mentioning it constantly. These

papers have also reported that Pakistan is conspiring to attack India. The camps which Pakistan is running today are all near the border. Destroying these camps will be in conformity with the regulations of International law. Why is the Government not making up its mind and declare that if the camps are not closed down within a specific date, India will destroy them. There should be direct talks with Pakistan on this subject. Our foreign Ministers met in U.S.A. and had mutual discussions, but from the speech made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan subsequently it is clear that their intentions are not good. Pakistan is at present preparing to attack and they are expanding their army for this purpose. First of all, we should destroy these terrorist camps.

Secondly, the Government should take a clear stand. The Congress Government had passed a resolution about setting up of a security belt along the border during their tenure. What justification can there be for not setting it up? It is essential to set up this security bill to ensure that infiltration of Pakistani agents does not take place. Why is the security belt not being set up? The interests of which country is being safeguarded in this manner? I have not been able to understand this thing so far. The Congress Party had committed a serious mistake by not setting up the security belt. Why is the new Government making delay in setting it up? The work of setting up this security belt should be undertaken on war footing for the purpose of sealing our border with Pakistan so that arms and other explosive material is not smuggled into our country.

The most important work is to strengthen the security of the country. Whether these terrorists belong to Punjab or Kashmir, they attack indiscriminately and at their will. Explosions take place in Delhi, Maharashtra and elsewhere but nothing is usually found out. Our intelligence has failed completely. The steps which the Government is taking in this regard should be clarified so that it can be known as to what has it done in this regard.

Along with it, now something new can be observed in the Punjab situation. People were being killed but no large number of people are being kidnapped as well. The children and family members of middle class people are being kidnapped. They demand Rs.20 lakhs as ransom for each victim. Who can pay such a big amount? But there is no escape without paying such an amount. The people are forced to pay the amount. These kidnappers are not a handful of people instead they have a big network. Why are we not able to break this network? Why no effort is being made to break this network? Therefore, at this stage, the Government should make a categorical statement about the steps taken in this regard. I am happy that our Hon. Prime Minister has announced that we will strengthen our army and allocate more funds for defence and take action in Punjab to curb Pakistan's activities. But today there is a need to announce openly and in unambiguous terms that terrorism will not be tolerated at any cost.

Terrorism will be rooted out from Punjab and Kashmir. Without bothering about what will happen to votes, we should take action. Congress had continuously committed this mistake for votes and it cost them heavily. I feel that at present similar compulsions and weaknesses are before this Government too. The Government should announce without bothering for voters that they will talk to anybody who is ready to shun violence and terrorism and would like to solve the problem of Punjab, Kashmir or in other parts of the country through negotiations. We will have to say categorically that every bullet used against terrorism is the bullet of the Government and on behalf of the Prime Minister. We will have to own the responsibility. Today, the police and other people who are serving in Punjab to counter terrorism apprehend that they may have to face serious consequences if tomorrow some terrorist becomes the Chief Minister or the Government negotiates with the terrorists or compromises with them. Their moral is low. Under these circumstances, no police officers can work there. If

he believes that terrorists can come to power or that the ruling party is just a puppet in the hands of terrorists, terrorism can never come to an end. We are losing time in Punjab and if elections are held after four months under such circumstances, the terrorists would coerce the people to vote for a certain candidate, elections will not be fair and we will have to face the consequences of those elections. Now I feel that the people have even lost their sensitivity. They read in the newspaper in the morning that 20 people have been killed but they are not moved by it. One month has already passed but this Government has not categorically stated the steps it would take to normalise the situation there: The situation is deteriorating instead of improving. Now we have 3 to 4 months left and there is need to take strong measures and show political will. We hope that the Government will be able to save the country from terrorism by taking strong political measures.

With these words, I support the Bill which has been brought in this House.

15.13 hrs.

[English]

SHRISONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura West): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have heard with rapt attention, the speeches of Members from the ruling party and their supporters and also my leader Satheji. The ruling party always suffers from a phobia. Whenever a national problem—whether it is Punjab or Kashmir or Assam—is raised in this House, they are trying to point out what the Congress has done during its time and saying, whatever the situation is prevailing in Punjab today, is because of Congress. But, now they are there only for five months; that is true. But the people have elected them not to make allegations against the Congress, but to run this country.

I am glad today to hear the speech of our BJP friend Shri Malhotra. The other day when our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi intervened during the Prime Minister's speech in

the House and asked what is the plan of action in Punjab, everybody tried to make him sit down. Now, the hon. Members also posed a question before this House as to what is the plan of action in Punjab. To start with, Shri Sathe said that the Prime Minister went to Amritsar; it created a good situation. Then they started saying that Shri Simranjit Singh Mann is the only leader who can solve the Punjab problem. Now, if Shri Simranjit Singh Mann is showed a prestige, after some time, he would not come to this House to take his oath.

He does not come to take the oath. Now, the point is that the same Mr. Mann, when he was in jail, had contacts with the present Prime Minister. He himself said, "I used to know that the Prime Minister is going to resign and form a party. He gave that information to me."

On 13th April, at Bhatinda, Mr. Mann called for the UN intervention for a plebiscite for self-determination of rights of Punjab and the Punjabis. I am glad that the Home Minister during his flight from Kashmir has condemned the statement of Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann. But as very rightly said by Mr. Malhotra and Mr. Sathe, mere condemnation will not do.

You have repealed the 59th Amendment Bill. Was it possible for you to amend it if there had not been any cooperation from our party? You make allegations against us. We are the single largest party. But we have extended our cooperation and have allowed that Bill to be repealed. After some days, you come and say, "I want to amend the Constitution so that the President's Rule can be extended beyond three years." We again cooperated with you. You could not muster your Members in this House. We were present. Again it was passed. Once, it has been passed, now we come to pass this Statutory Resolution for extension of President's Rule by six months, that is up to 11th November. Now, I fully agree with Mr. Malhotra from the BJP. Is it possible for us? I am not saying for 'you'. When I say 'us', I mean, all political parties. Will it be possible for us to create a

situation in Punjab to have a free and fair elections? The other day I said and I again repeat that if you try to have an election there and if it is again on the point of gun and people are not able to vote freely, the party that will come in power-whatever it might be; I do not want to forecast-will be a danger for the whole nation. This will be a signal not only in Punjab but it will be in Kashmir and also in Assam and in all the three places, we are having election. I fear that an international caucus is working through Pakistan to create instability in our country through these three States and by training the terrorists, by indulging in activities within the country, in Assam, Punjab and Kashmir to erode our authority. I was going through the paper-cuttings. Here are three of them. An allegation against the Deputy Commissioner of Patiala is that he has sent Rs.2,50,000 to the terrorists. Why? Because he has earned Rs. 50 lakh by taking money from others. The terrorists said: "You are guilty of corruption. You have to pay 10 per cent". He came to settle at Rs.2,50,000. What happened next? AK-47s are being used by the terrorists. These are also being used by the police. I am subject to correction. My source of information may not be very good. But I understand that AK-47s are also passing from police to the terrorists not intentionally but by compelling the police to hand over the AK-47s to them.

The other day, you had mentioned in this House about steps being taken, like flood-lighting, fencing. It is well and good. But how far these are effective? If these measures are effective, then, why should the killings still go on. Yesterday or day before yesterday, fourteen persons have been killed. I had been to Punjab with a delegation of seven MPs from our party. We visited Gurudwaras. We visited villages.

We visited the place where people had been killed. But I was surprised and happy seeing the cordial relations between the Sikhs and the Hindus in the villages. It was unexpected. I went to a house to attend a religious

function where Hindus and Sikhs get together to celebrate that function. In Amritsar, I was told a good story by no less a person than the editor of a newspaper. A man was running a steel factory there. He was asked to pay Rs.20 lakhs. So, he decided to lock out the factory. But his friend asked him not to do so but to go to the police station and complain. He compelled him to go to the police station and he went to the police station along with his friend. But as soon as he entered there, he started running backward and reached back to that friend's house. That friend was puzzled to see him back and he asked the reason. And the man told that the person who was sitting in the chair was the man who asked him for that money and so he came back. Therefore, there are black sheep in the police. I do not say that Punjab police is bad. But those black sheep should be identified and should be removed. Unless this is done, the situation will not improve. Extortion of money is going on in a large scale. In Amritsar, they took Rs.30 lakhs from a doctor. I met his wife personally. She said that she asked for the help of the police and the only thing is that the police reduced that amount from Rs.50 lakhs to Rs.30 lakhs through negotiations. This is the position there. I am not trying to criticise any government. This was the position during our Government also. I am just explaining the position there.

Are you in a position to tackle this situation and bring it to normalcy by the 11th November, 1990 and have fair and free elections thereafter? This is my point. We want to see the action to be taken by you in this regard. I have got the paper cutting regarding the 13th April Amritsar meeting. Leaders of CPI and CPI(M) spoke in that meeting. They also raised the same point. They said that they want fair and free elections. Now, the Governor is in a position to create that situation. He himself, in his speech of 26th January, said that it is not possible for normalise the situation without the support of the public and political parties. You yourself have conducted an all-party meeting in Chandigarh. The same voice was raised there also that without

improving the situation, there should not be elections. And for the same reason, you came here for the amendment of the Constitution. Unless something miraculous will happen by November, I am afraid, the situation will not improve. The Home Minister, on behalf of the Government, has declared that they are going to have election within six months. I think that it is too high an expectation. It should not become a practice for you to come to the House for the same purpose again. I do not know my party's stand in this regard. But it is my personal stand that if the Government thinks that a particular political party is able to come to power there, then that political party should not demand for Khalistan and should not instigate for Khalistan. The present Government must not come before this August House again by saying that they asked for cooperation from all sides but it was not possible to improve the situation and so they have to further President's Rule there. This should not happen again. Do not make it a prestige issue. Repealing of the 59th Amendment Bill by the Prime Minister is a good gesture. He is very much popular in giving populist measures. That is good. But to what extent people will accept those measures? They will not reconcile to the situation. Training by Pakistan is going on. The BJP has demanded that we should strike at their training centres in Lahore—occupied Kashmir. I was also in the Home Ministry for some time. I know that there used to be encounters between the rangers and the police. But for the last five months, I have not heard any encounter with the rangers. I do not know whether the news has been blocked out or not. You please enlighten us about the position. I know that these rangers give fire covering for the terrorists to come in at night time. There used to be encounters. But of late, for the last five months, I have not heard of any encounters between the terrorists and the CRPF. During our time, there used to be a complaint that we were making fake encounters and killed people. Now, what is happening? At that time, we used to tell that if there were fake encounters, then how was it that police people were killed. After all, during encounters, people of both the sides get killed. It is not that people from one side get killed. Police

and terrorists were being killed. But unfortunately, the party which is supporting are themselves saying that even now, fake encounters are going on. If you want to counter the terrorists, you have to take to the method of carrot and cane. If you want to follow the cane method, you have to counter them. Carrot method means, you have to give your allegiance to the Constitution of India. They have to give up their arms and only then the question of talks comes. Shri Simranjit Singh Mann, on the one side, is playing on a plebiscite. He wants nothing but elections. And now you have decided to hold elections. I do not think that it is to the pleasure of Shri S.S. Mann and if it is so, it is very dangerous. It is for a good cause that we do not want President's Rule but we want a popular Government. I fully agree with you in this regard. But the situation has not turned to normalcy. I am one of those who visited Punjab along with the delegation. There we met the journalists and editors who said that during the last elections, many people could not cast their votes. People were informed that their votes were cast. This should not happen again. If Akali Dal or Mr. Barnala or Mr. Prakash Singh Badal comes to power, we shall be very happy. I do not say that their coming to power is dangerous to Punjab. It is not so definitely. But parties having faith in Khalistan and having links with the terrorists must not rule Punjab. That eventuality must, at all costs, be avoided. Even the other day, in my speech on this subject, I said the same point. I said that we must not go in for such parties. I know the stand of the Congress, the BJP, the Janata Dal, the CPI and the CPI(M) and other political parties but I do not have opportunity to meet the Akali Dal leaders. They have said that for God's sake, we should make it clear to the Union Government at Delhi that they should not hold elections in a hurry. In your statement also, you have said that the law and order situation is bad there. You have admitted and this is one of the main reasons that this extension of President's Rule is required. If the situation is bad, I would like to know, comparatively, the improvements during the last few months and also your expectations in the next few months.

When we were in power, we made some advisory committees in the panchayat areas, headed by the people appointed by the Governor from all sections of the political parties. We advise the Governor that if he wants to bring normalcy there, he should start development work. It is good that in spite of the adverse circumstances, Punjab—popularly known as the granary of India—has given a good production of foodgrains, wheat and rice. Industry is also more or less growing. Migration is the only disturbing factor there.

I would like to know whether the semi-type of panchayats, which have elected or nominated people from all sections, are still there or they have been stopped. If they are not there, I would like to know why they have been stopped. If they are there, in how many *thanas* and *panchayats* they are there. I feel this is one of the methods whereby you can bring people in the mainstream and involve them in the developmental work.

Now, the Prime Minister and the Minister himself has said that Jodhpur detainees have been released. You also said that those deserters who were arrested have also been released. I would like to know whether they have been rehabilitated or not. I read in a newspaper item that the present Government is trying to mislead the people. It is learnt that most of them have not been rehabilitated. In reply to an unstarred question, it has been mentioned that about 90 per cent have been rehabilitated.

When we say that it is 90 per cent, then I shall give you a clarification. There are about 80 Jodhpur detainees. There are cases also other than Jodhpur where they are implicated in other murder cases. Unless those murder cases are withdrawn, there cannot be any solution to this problem. That was the main trouble during our time.

Now, it is said that some courts have not withdrawn those cases because the Government had moved a petition that they cannot be released and that they cannot be rehabilitated. So, I would like to know what is

the position regarding this.

Our Foreign Minister had a discussion in U.S.A. with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. We have also seen in our National Television that the people who were arrested in Kashmir how they confessed before the police about their training in Pakistan. You yourself had said that you have got positive proof about their involvement. The Prime Minister had also said about their involvement. I would like to know from you about the outcome of the discussion which our Foreign Minister had with Pakistani Foreign Minister. What is the latest position? Today he had given a statement that there is a danger. Whatever efforts you do, there is a man sitting there to destabilise your effort. All your efforts can be spoiled in one action. What has happened in Abohar or in Batala? What is happening in Delhi now-a-days? The effort which the Government is putting to bring normalcy in one month is being spoiled by the terrorists in only one hour's time. Just before the Elections also, it can happen. So, we have to stop the source of inspiration. We have to stop the source from where they are getting arms and ammunition. We have to stop their source of training. Unless we are able to achieve this, no Government—whether your Government or Government or for that matter any other Government—will be in a position to counter this. This is my firm belief.

With this belief, I would appeal to you to enlighten and take us into confidence about the steps that you are going to take to stop this terrorism which is being supported by Pakistan, in Punjab and Kashmir, and thereby we can definitely say that this extension of six months is the last extension.

But with all respect to you, I am speaking with a lot of doubt that it may not be the last and more extensions may come. If more extensions come, let them come...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: At least, he should support it.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Definitely, I will support it and my party will also support it. It is because, my party will definitely rise to the occasion. We may also criticise you. It is not correct to blame us. It is because, it is a national issue. We have to see to it from the national perspective. We should see to it that it is solved. We should not try to score points against each other.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH (Amritsar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I rise to oppose this resolution and want to say something about it.

May 11, 1987 was an ominous day for Punjab when President's Rule was imposed there. It was an unfortunate day for Punjab and for the whole country. Unfortunately, whatever political decisions were taken, they were through an individual or a party which was believed to be loyal to the Government. Only those people were considered patriots. We do not want to feel guilty of supporting the idea with which President's Rule was imposed in Punjab on 11th May, 1987. Just now my friend gave the figures of innocent people who have been killed since 11th May, 1987. Earlier, hon. Sathaji delivered his speech in which he spoke about religion and the basis of religion. If I go into it, it will take too much time. The point is that all people have a right to live in this country, whether he is a Hindu, a Sikh or a Muslim. To say that Sikhs were not and are not separate from the Hindus is not a good formula for national integration. How far is it justified that for national integration, one has to be a Hindu. So far as Punjab is concerned, people are saying that election should not take place there and there should be no compromise with the terrorists. Besides, they also say that the people of Punjab are so nice that in spite of such grave incidents and blood shed, they have not indulged in communal riots anywhere. Do you want that those who are not quarrelsome should not be given democratic rights. Do you want that those rights should be snatched away from them just because a

handful of terrorists do not want it. If this happens, the day is not far when we will have to request the terrorists to stop violence to enable us to hold elections there. This is like surrendering to them. It is not good for the Home Minister or the Hon. Prime Minister to surrender to them and request them to stop violence for holding elections. Why the democratic rights of people of Punjab, who have never fought against the country, are being snatched. By doing so, we will be supporting the terrorists in their conspiracy. The sooner these elections are held, the better it is. This will safeguard the rights of lakhs of people. The rights of the people who have been living unitedly, will be safeguarded. It has been said that the people who talk like this should leave the country. Who should go away? When the Governor's Rule was imposed, a wicked person was in charge of the State. A caucus was ruling the State and the Army took charge. The policy changed to a bullet for a bullet. Who will be hit by these bullets? It does not matter if the bullet does not hit the terrorists. It may hit anybody but it will at least keep the figures going upwards. This led to further increase in terrorist activities. When we used to ask Mr. Ribiero why all terrorists have not been eliminated though they were a handful numbering 50 to 60, he used to say that their recruitment has not stopped. When you killed someone's child or break his bones in the interrogation centre, his blood boiled and he took to arms. With AK-47 rifles in their hands, they felt that it was better to kill and be killed rather than dying in police lock ups. So who should leave this country? You must have read about a recent incident in the newspaper of 25th April. Two sikhs were travelling in a train near Patna. People said that there was a bomb some where in the train. Both the sikhs were beaten up and one of them was lynched to death and the other was admitted in the hospital in a critical condition. He became a terrorist. The people whose faces resemble the face of Guru Gobind Singhji, became terrorists.

'Yeh Dillagi Bhi Khub Rahi,'
"Hamara Khun Baha Hai Kali-Kali ke
Liye".

How can they leave this country, their Homeland?

This is what the educated learned and people who claim themselves be leaders say. When they say such things, they do not see whom they call terrorists. Bomb explosions occurred in Delhi. Almost all the youngmen who were arrested for these bomb explosions were Sikhs. The Government tries to give an impression that people resembling these youngmen are behind these bomb explosions. We have seen that after the 'Operation Blue Star' a circular was issued by the army where an identikit of a terrorist was shown. The face resembles me and for that matter every Sikh. This is to be seen and considered in proper perspective. Elections should be held there as early as possible. So far as extending President's Rule for another six months is concerned....

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You were saying that intelligent people have suggested that they should leave the country. I have said that the person who says that he has no faith in the Indian Constitution and demands a separate nation on gun point, they have no right to live in this country. I would like to know what will you call such a person? I am not bothered whether he keeps a beard or not and how he looks like.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Such people have been in Mizoram, Nagaland or other places. Negotiations have been held with those people here. You have yourself said that they are our children who have gone astray. They are children of those people whom Mahatma Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malviya and Pandit Nehru have praised. History bears testimony to the sacrifices made by General Shyam Singh Attari and General Sher Singh and people who laid down their lives in fighting against the British. They are the worthy children of those great men. They are the children of those who fought against the Hord's company and joined the Azad Hind Fauj of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. There are so many names. How many will you count? They are their children....

Approval of Continuance in Force

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Were they not demanding Khalistan at the cost of dismembering the country.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: To meet your political ends, your party indulged in malicious propaganda against the Sikhs in 1980 and 1985 and created hatred in the minds of people against the Sikhs. The posters portrayed Sikh looking men as anti-nationals.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am not against the Sikhs.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Please listen to me. We have seen that people selling the country's secrets were arrested from the office of the Prime Minister. They were arrested by the police and C.B.I. investigated those cases. All those people who sold the country's secrets were arrested from the office of the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They were caught during your regime. You should have tried to run the country, carefully. Baseless charges were levelled against Shri Mann and Shri Atinder Pal Singh and they were declared as the murderers of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Why were they released later when the Government was about to hand over charges? Was that statement correct or this release order correct? Why were they framed up and the case withdrawn later? They were released when you felt guilty of doing something wrong. Now the Government feels responsible for the safety of Atinder Pal Singh. The person whom you held guilty of being the killer of your mother was released when you were about to leave the office. Mufti Sahib has still kept one person in Jail:

"Wahi Shole, Wahi Bijali, Wahi Azade
Kiphas
Kaun Kahata Hai Ki Gulshan Main
Bahar Aai Hai"

How can we accept it. Why is Atinder Pal Singh under house arrest when Shri Rajiv Gandhi himself released him in the assassination case. Why was he framed up when he was not the killer. He was released because he was not guilty. But nobody knows it.

People think that they have been kind to him. Congress has been responsible for disintegration. The way they have run the country indicates how they have been responsible for breaking the country into pieces. The country has disintegrated. They are themselves responsible for creation of problems. How did terrorism spread and how arms were smuggled inside the Darbar Sahib is not a thing to be repeated here. Pritam Singh Bhinder was an I.G. and his wife is a Congress Member. He had announced publicly and it was also published in the newspapers that he had no permission from Delhi to stop the arms which were being smuggled into Darbar Sahib in the 'Kar Seva' trucks. What did he mean by Delhi? Delhi meant Shrimati Indira Gandhi herself or Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Sir, we are not to be blamed for their misdeeds. I would like to tell you also that nothing has changed, he too say, the same thing he too has got the same advisors, and have the same people working under them. You change them. These boys who have gone astray, who are committing excesses, you call them and tell them anything you like, but you just go through the history of their ancestors. What had they done? Though they had 3 feet long kirpans with them, they silently bore the brunt of lathis, even at the expense of breaking their bones and when that movement came to an end they got the keys of Darbar Sahib, Mahatma Gandhi sent them a telegram saying that the country has won the war of Independence. These misguided boys belong to that very community. Who has made them like this? You just go through the history. You should do justice when the country got independence, the states were reorganised on linguistic basis, but in case of Punjab, the criteria was changed and it was announced that this State would not be formed on the basis of Punjabi language and culture etc. and after that many people started saying that Punjabi is not their language. Actually what is the problem? The problem is just that the Hindu community in Punjab should adopt the Punjabi language and identify themselves with the Punjabi Culture and other related issues while the Sikhs should identify themselves with that of India. All of you must have observed the way

in which the Sikhs have identified themselves with the country. All our countrymen know that wherever the Sikhs have gone, they have made it their home. Though in 1984, many Sikhs were ruined and their houses were destroyed, still they rebuilt their houses at those very places.

"Nasheman par Nasheman is Kadar taameer karta ja,
Bijli girte girte aap khud bejaar ho jaye"

They built their houses and even now they are doing so. Another thing is that, where will they go? Where can they go? India is their homeland. Has anyone endeavoured to bring them round who do not agree with their viewpoint? We always say that for any durable solution to the Punjab problem, the militants should give up arms and come to the mainstream. Against whom you are complaining? If they do not listen to what you say, then leave them. But why should you obstruct lakhs of people from exercising their democratic rights just because of them. As far as the Sikhs are concerned they are present in every hook and corner of the country and they love this country. They have a stake not only in Punjab, but in Patna, at Nanded in Maharashtra, at Dapadi Sahib in Assam, at Nanaksira in Karnataka. Apart from this, they have religious affinity with almost all the temples in Uttar Pradesh and they have an attachment with each and every one of them, I would like to quote the words of Chakbast.

Shaday bostan ko Sarvesaman
mubarak,
Rang tabiyaton Ko range sofar
mubarak,
Bulbul Ko gul mubarak
Gul Ko Chaman mubarak
Ham bekason Ko apna pyara vatan
mubarak
Gonche hamare dil ke is baag me
khilenge,
Jis Khaak Se uthe hain, us khaak mein
milegge"

There is no issue of any division here
Why should any one behave like Duryodhan,

Shakuni or Dushasan. Sometime you send a person like Siddharth Shankar Ray to act like Duryodhan, and sometimes you send a person like J.F. Ribeiro to act like Shakuni. Is this a way to solve the problem. You are responsible for creating such a difficult situation. In my opinion the best way to solve the problem is to hold Assembly elections as soon as possible but those people who have faith in the country, faith in the country's constitution and who love this countrymen should not be debarred from taking part in the elections. These people have nothing to do with the killings that take place there. A friend of mine, Shri Om Prakash Srivastava told me an incident about which you may also be aware that when some Sikh soldiers deserted their barracks during 'operation bluestar', at that time some of them had hidden beneath a bridge near Jaunpur. Passerby started pelting stones on them upon which they said that they had nothing against the civilians, they were just going to fight those who have shelled Darbar Sahib. Who were responsible for that? The Congress Government was responsible for shelling the Darbar Sahib and creating such a situation that the Darbar Sahib turned into ruins. It is such a holy place where everyone is allowed entry and every one is allowed to offer prayers. No discrimination is done towards anybody even in the langar, though even today there are such temples where entry was not allowed to people like Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Their anger was against those who had shelled Darbar Sahib., The Akal Takht was brought down and when the Army took control of that place, they killed many young people and later on when the police took over, though many terrorists were there but in the name of fighting terrorists, terror was unleashed and so many people were killed. Nobody cared to find out the facts in regard thereto. Even when the Jallianwala-bagh massacre took place the Hunter Commission was constituted which presented a report and a list of those who were killed was prepared. Even today it would be done but during Congress rule no committee was constituted, no list was prepared and you were hardly concerned about it. In that Operation pilgrims were killed, no list has

come out upto this day. Are you proud of that very Government. All this mess is of your own creation, then why are you getting furious about it? I would like to tell the present Government not to adopt the method adopted by the previous Government. You should endeavour to see that such incidents do not occur in future, when it may be said that the people were victimised without any rhyme or reason. The credit for preventing the Sikhs from fleeing the country in the wake of operation Blue Star goes to those people who opposed this action. They applied a soothing balm to the sentiments of the Sikhs by telling them that injustice has been done to them, a wrong has been done to them, but such a statement was never made in this House, neither was a committee constituted nor did anyone tender any apology. Never was it said that we had shelled this sacred place therefore all the religious people, all those who have faith in the Sikh religion and the Akal Takht should forgive us. This House should have apologised. No one becomes small by tendering an apology. You asked to be pardoned or not(Interruptions)

You should have asked to be forgiven. What all misdeeds you have not done. You have innumerable misdeeds at your credit.

(Interruptions)

But in your vanity, you were bent upon balkanising this country. If your vanity stops you from tendering an apology, then do not do it, if you feel that you would be degraded in that process, then do not ask to be pardoned. Any person having even an iota of humanity, human qualities humaneness or decorum in him, should not hesitate in tendering an apology. I would like to tell the Government and the hon. Home Minister that I am supporter of this Government. In spite of all this, I would like to give an advice to the Government that the democratic rights denied to the people of Punjab should be restored. Strange are the ways of those who snatched away this right from them. Exactly ten days before the dismissal of the Barnala Government, at

a convention, top leaders of this Congress Party referred to Shri Barnala as a symbol of national integration. Hardly ten days after calling him as a symbol of national integration, they toppled his Government. You never know about their designs. I have said in this House earlier also that in front of our eyes a procession carrying Farooq Abdullah was taken out, perhaps he had come after performing Haj, at that time it was said that he is in league with Pakistan, therefore, the nation faces a danger from him (Interruptions), but after ten days he was referred to as a nationalist.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have a few more speeches to conclude within time.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I am just waiting for your instructions. If I am saying something irrelevant which is not in the interest of either this House or the country, then you should have stopped me. Whatever I am saying is in the interest of the country and the House. I want that democratic rights of all our citizens to be protected and the Government to refrain from the path taken by the previous Government including that of Rajiv Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. That path of destruction should be abandoned for ever. There is no other option except holding elections in Punjab. The resolution regarding Punjab, that has been brought forward should be implemented and elections should be held before the expiry of six months. I would like the Government to pay attention towards the two issue which I have referred to. Few days back on the 25th two Sikhs travelling in the 39 UP Howrah Delhi Janata Express were killed near Patna—because somebody floated a rumour about a bomb having been planted on the train. They were two innocent passengers, who were killed by their fellow passengers. Who is responsible for creating such a situation? Who has spread this venom of hatred in this country? What sort of champions of national integration they are who have paved the way for disin-

tegration by spreading the venom of hatred. The Congress party is solely responsible for creating a climate of disintegration in the country. They should understand it. I would like our present Government to take note of it and choose their own path by disowning and keeping away from all those who were responsible for creating such an explosive situation in the country. Today it is no use of saying that the General Elections were held in Punjab, at the point of bayonet. Was Sardarni Bhinder elected at the point of bayonet? Shri Gujral is also present in the House, so is my close friend Mr. Chaudhary, were they also elected at gunpoint? Everyone rich and poor big and small have said that free and fair elections were held in Punjab. Even the Election Commissioner and the Governor expressed the same opinion but you said that the elections were held in Punjab under a poll of fear. New theories were fabricated and you spoiled the situation in Punjab. I would like you to be realistic.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, though I am a supporter of this Government I am not in favour of this Amendment, because this is not a realistic step. It is symbolic of that situation which was bequeathed to us by the Congress Government.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very much thankful to you for giving me time to speak.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as our party is concerned, our view is very clear. We are on principle against imposition of President's rule in any part of the country and, as a matter of fact, we have been demanded the repeal of article 356 from the Constitution of India. But even then, taking a pragmatic view of the situation that is now prevailing in Punjab, we feel that we ought to support this Resolution for extension of the President's rule in Punjab for another six months.)

What was done nearly three years back was the imposition of the President's rule by

dismissal of a popularly elected Government. Since then, for over two and a half years the previous Government was in power but they were not only not able to solve the problem, they had aggravated the problem by their misrule, by their failure to take proper, adequate action at proper time. On the other hand, they seem to have alienated the ordinary people of Punjab more and more. They were almost driven out of the mainstream of the country.

We have seen that Mr. Dev said that this is a national issue and should be dealt with from that point of view. No doubt, it is a national issue, but the previous Government, of which my distinguished friend Mr. Dev was a member, treated it as a partisan issue and not as a national issue, and that is why the situation was never brought under control. (So many Operations were launched—Operation Blue Star, Operation Black Thunder and the other day Mr. Chidambaram disclosed for the first time, as an Opposition Member, that there was another operation called Operation Mouse Trap or some other similar name, in Taran Taran district. But all those Operations resulted in greater and greater problems being created in Punjab.)

(There is no denial of the fact that to have a free and fair election, there has to be restoration of peace in Punjab.) Now, when this Government has come into power nearly five months back, the situation was as critical, if not more critical, as it is today because today we find that political action is being taken. Consciously some action is being taken for the purpose of defusing the situation.

When Mr. Dev said that it is only for six months, he is apprehensive that six months' time will not be sufficient for the purpose of holding elections. So, when the all-party meeting was held and the proposal came for amendment of the Constitution for extending it by one year, it was the Congress Party that opposed the extension-making amendment in the Constitution for extension by one more year and he insisted that it should be only six

months and no more. Therefore, Mr. Dev seems to be totally out of tune with his party. I do not know how long will be remain there. Today, the Constitution provides for only six months extension and in that situation the Government has yet to extend the period of Proclamation for another six months only. We have also our doubts. We are very keen that the political process should be restored. We are very keen that the democratic rights of the people should be allowed to be exercised.

16.00 hrs.

We are very keen that a popular Government should be restored in that part of the country) But those people, that Government brought about the situation after praising Mr. Surjeet Singh Barnala sky-high. Within a few days they dismissed him as a most inefficient Government. The result has followed. The inevitable result has followed. It has not ingratiated the people of Punjab towards the rest of the country or towards the former Government in this country. We are facing the situation of an inept handling, bankrupt policies of the former Government and now we have to find the best way out of the morass that has been created. (No doubt, this is not easy to solve the problem which has been inherited. Even then some start was made; it has been made.) But you never put a foot in Punjab—the then Prime Minister. The present Prime Minister has gone there and although you have ridiculed this as so-called 300 yards visit by open jeep, at least he did that even if it was 300 yards or not, I do not know. (But there has been an attempt to arrive at a Punjab policy on the basis of consensus. An all-party meeting was held which was almost sought to be frustrated by the Congress Party in opposition. They did not even become a party to the Resolution that was adopted at that meeting.)

Then, after that, the steps have been taken. Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev himself has mentioned that 59th Constitution Amendment Bill was repealed. It was no charity on

the part of the Congress. He was saying that they showed a great magnanimity in support of it, a great statesmanship they have adopted, a great test of their cooperation in bringing about normalcy in Punjab and they fought for the peal of the 59th Constitution Amendment Bill for that purpose. It is a perversion which was inserted into the Constitution in spite of our greatest objection. We fought tooth and nail in the opposition, but you never listened to anything. But one thing is that, you have never explained why did you insist so much in having an amendment when you did not have the courage to even implement it. But you wanted to create a situation in the country that you have again assumed the power to declare internal emergency and by that you wanted to create a fear-psychosis in this country so that your Prime Minister can take upon himself the governance of Punjab and through that method to postpone the elections in this country. But some astrologer advised him differently. You, Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, have also advised him, I find, and you held the elections and the people of this country were happy on that. If there was an astrologer, we must be all grateful to him; he gave good advice. We got rid of that Government. The people of this country got rid of that Government.

Now, the question is that these army deserters are rehabilitated. Widows' pension amount has been increased. The detenus have been released. These are the steps taken. But at the same time all the steps cannot be taken in the matter simultaneously. But this ought to create a situation for the improvement of the condition that is being created towards the solution of the problem. (The difficulty is that the political functioning for over nearly three years was completely at a halt during the period when the previous Government was in power. The Political parties had completely gone into oblivion. Now, the difficulty has been created that the Akali Dal is obviously opposed in Punjab and the Congress Party deliberately tried to minimise its strength, to reduce its strength, to make it politically impossible for them to act. This was the situation that was

created. No explanation till today was given; no acceptable explanation was given for the dismissal of the Barnala Government and today the difficulty is that Akali Dal, of whichever group it may be, is not openly denouncing the terrorist activities in Punjab. It is high time, and I request the hon'ble distinguished friend, the speaker from Amritsar—I can understand his agony, I can understand his anguish, but I was also waiting for him to denounce the acts of violence, the acts of terrorism that are taking place in Punjab. The ordinary, innocent people are being killed for no fault of theirs, but there has been no denunciation in that speech, I can understand certainly. Sir, this country can never forget the role of the people of Punjab, the role of specially those who belong to the Sikh community, their role during the freedom struggle; even in the post-Independence India they have played a glorious role for maintaining the security and integrity of this country, we can never forget that. And we are proud and happy that Punjab is a part of India and we must always keep it as a part of India whatever may be the force, whatever may be the power that may try to do something else. But today unfortunately the people in Punjab are unable to exercise their democratic rights. Therefore, political process has to be restored back and in this I call upon my friends in different Akali factions and Akali groups and tell them that they have a very important role to play. All other national political parties are demanding restoration of the democratic rights of the people, they are trying their best to resume political activity in that State. As you know, Sir, the House knows, the country knows how left parties, the CPI (M) and the CPI have suffered very grievously. How many of their comrades have been killed during this movement which is still going on—I won't call it a 'movement', but during the Punjab problem that is going on? Now, they are trying their best, but what is the role of the Akalis in this case? Therefore, it is essential that not only the national parties, but the political parties which really mattered in Punjab, should openly denounce the secessionist and the separatist and the terrorist activities that are going on in that part of our country. And we have seen the result of the

last election. At the moment I am not going into the details as to whether there was a completely free and fair election there because we know that the previous government, although they arranged for holding the Lok Sabha election, but they did not arrange to hold the Assembly election because they thought that in the Lok Sabha election by being soft to the terrorists, those who are indulging in violence, they would be able to have some political advantage in the election result which has not come for them either. Today as a result of the election, what do we find? Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann, for non-issues he is not participating even in the highest democratic forum in this country, namely, this House. I call it a non-issue so far as the length of his sword cannot be an important issue. When a part of our country is in such a turmoil, in such a difficult situation it is passing through, the length of a sword cannot be an issue on the basis of which an elected Member of this House would refuse to participate in that, and it is extremely unfortunate and we cannot but strongly object to his statement asking for plebiscite in Punjab, he is saying that in the case of war with Pakistan the Sikhs will not participate in that. These are dangerous sentiments, dangerous slogans. It will not help in the restoration of the situation in Punjab, it will not bring back those handful of people who are trying to create destabilisation there, create difficulties there, killing innocent people there, those who were wrong and had gone astray will not be brought back into the mainstream if such types of statements are issued by an elected Member of Parliament. Therefore, what we feel is that it is essential that along with the strongest possible administrative action, political process must be revived so that the democratic process is restored and a popular Government is elected there.

Sir, I cannot say the situation has improved. We have seen what has happened in Abohar; we have seen what has happened in Batala and in Pathankot. These are very serious situations that we are still witnessing. Constant attempts are also made to communalise the situation. The greatest

bond of fraternity between the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab, which has been a model for communal friendship and communal harmony throughout the country, is being deliberately attempted to be spoiled by a handful of people by creating division among the Hindus and the Sikhs who have remained, remain and, I am sure, will always remain as brothers in Punjab and in the rest of the country. We have seen the nefarious attempts for extortion of money. We have seen how kidnappings are taking place and as a result of which a situation is being created as if a section of the people are forced to even migrate from Punjab. If a member of any particular community has to come out of Punjab, it will be serious, dangerous and a most unfortunate situation for this country. Therefore, it is essential that communal harmony has to be maintained; the great bonds of fraternity between the different communities has to be again brought back in full play.

16.11 hrs.

[SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN—in
the Chair]

Sir, we have seen how attempts are made to complicate the problems by indulging in acts of bomb explosions in Delhi and other places. It is a very serious matter. I believe that these terrorists are becoming desperate now because it is the greatest glory of this country that a vast majority of the people of Punjab desire peace. They are against terrorism; they are against separatism, and they are against these types of brutalities which are being committed. We are against fake encounters; our party has repeatedly said that. There has to be no occasion of any excess so far as administrative action is concerned. But action has to be taken against those who are indulging in ruthless killings of innocent people. We do not advocate that the people should be driven out of this country as Mr. Sathe has said. That is no solution.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I have never said that. I have not said that the people have to be driven out. I have said those who do not believe in the Constitution of India, those who are terrorists and those who want to resort to violence to get their demand of secession are not Indian citizens and must be thrown out. This is what I have said. Why do you generalise? Do not put wrong words in my mouth as a bad lawyer.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Very well; he said that terrorists should be driven out and should be asked to go out of Punjab as if making a statement from here. This is not the point. The point is, we have to alienate those people, who are indulging in violence, from the rest of the people who want peace. That can only be done by political action; it has to be backed up by administrative action and there is no doubt about it. We have to make endeavours to bring them back to the mainstream and we should not alienate them further and further. The State of Punjab has been in the forefront of our agricultural production and a granary for India. The farmers in Punjab have set repeatedly example for the rest of India to follow. In spite of so many difficulties they are having, in spite of uncertain law and order situation that is there, they are maintaining their tempo of production, if not improving it more and more. They are maintaining the industrial production also. These are examples for the rest of the country.

But even then, there are economic problems; there are problems of unemployment, problems of social tension, problems of economic disparities. Therefore, I call upon the Government that these are the very important issues which must be looked into and you have to see and try to identify the problems, the issues which are keeping the people away from the mainstream. Why is a section of young people somewhat alienated from us, with the rest of the country? You have to find that out and you have to remove the causes of alienation because youths are the future of this country. They will provide leadership not only to Punjab but

to the rest of India also. Therefore, why this is happening, you should find out. We know the deliberate action on the part of Pakistan Government, how they are trying to keep these activities. (So far as Pakistan role in the matter is concerned, we cannot but strongly condemn this. How they are encouraging the terrorists, how they are running training camps—this is all we have come to know. We have to make it clear to Pakistan that we shall not tolerate it; we shall never allow any part of our country to be their playground, whatever may be the price that we have to pay in that connection. Some steps have to be taken.

As I said, we will be very happy if the situation becomes normal and elections are held in a free and fair manner, which is our objective. But today I do not understand how the Congress Party can say now and express their reservations now. "No, you cannot hold elections in six months". I do not want to say that elections cannot be held in six months.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): He has taken care to say that that was his personal view. It is not the Party view.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: One of the speakers from the Congress Party has expressed his personal view that the elections according to him, cannot be held in six months and the President's rule should be extended. He was earlier the Minister of State for Home Affairs! That was his personal view. I do not know whether Mr. Sathe has also expressed his personal view or not. He is bound by the Party whip or his Party has decided or not, I do not know. That is not the point.

The point is, does the Congress Party realise even today that for no fault of the Government, it is not possible to hold the elections within the next six months? Do they realise it or do they not realise it?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: What is your suggestion? How long will you go on running with the here and hunting the head, having

the confused thinking and contradicting yourself? How long will you do this?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It is good to have some humorous interludes, to learn about clear thinking, clear expression from Shri Vasant Sathe, which is itself a news! This humorous interlude is sometimes good.

The point is, we want early restoration of popular rule in the State. That is our objective. The question is, for that we want elections should be held. But elections not in the name only but elections have to be held in a free and fair manner, in a peaceful atmosphere. When the vast majority of the people of Punjab do want peaceful solution, do desire peace and only a handful of people are trying to create disturbances, all-out endeavour should be made by the Government to stick to the time-table that within six months, the elections are held. But in spite of this, if the situation does not improve, then at that time appropriate action has to be taken. But we do not want to give an impression that it cannot be held so that it may not encourage some sections of the people there to go on continuing their acts of degradation.

This country has to face many of the actions, many of the problems which have been created by the inaction and wrong action and anti-people action of the Congress Government. This is one of those problems which is a major problem of this country but this Government has to make attempts to solve it. With the support of the Congress, very well, even without the support if they do not support, and even if they oppose, in spite of them, this Government must endeavour along with the people of the country and other political parties, to solve the problem of Punjab and, I am sure, we will succeed.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: I have not much time at my disposal. I believe.

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): Mr. Chairman, Sir, an assurance was given this morning that a statement will be made on the Bharuch affair in this House today. I want a clarification whether that statement will be made today. The hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is not here but the hon. Home Minister is present. Please clarify whether he will make the statement today. It would be a good thing if the statement is made today because the entire country is deeply concerned over this matter. More than 5 lakh citizens of this country have come here today. All of them are quite concerned about this. I request you to kindly clarify whether the statement will be made today... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KALKA DAS (KAROL Bagh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member has raised a very important question.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot force the hon. Minister to say anything.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: This morning it was said that a statement will be made today. What happened to that statement?

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: At the earliest. That is all. What can I say? Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee.

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

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: But this is very important. Perhaps he does not know that this is more important. This may become another Punjab. People are being killed there and children have been massacred. Trains

are being looted. Many more such incidents are occurring there... (*Interruptions*)...

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister has to decide. I am not the person to decide. I am not competent to ask the hon. Minister to make a statement. If the hon. Minister wants, he can make a statement.

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: An assurance was given in the House to this effect.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever is said without the permission of the Chair, will not be recorded.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: It is regrettable that such an important matter will not be recorded. Is that what you want? Pro-Pakistani slogans are being raised and trains are being looted there.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You must get the permission of the Chair, I told you.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): A statement will be made today after the debate on Punjab.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister has to decide.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Geeta

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Approval of Continuance in Force
Mukherjee. Four minutes.
respect of Punjab

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura): No. I cannot and I do not think the role of our Party in Punjab do deserve that. But since the time is short, despite all provocations from this side or from the other side, I shall not go into the past about which we have very bitter experience. Even then I shall try to concentrate on the present situation, because that is the most important thing with regard to Punjab.

Now, Sir, we support this Resolution though not very happily because none of us wants that the democratic rights of the people are not exercised in time. But we were forced to do this. This is a fact. As far as my party's stand is concerned, we want the situation to improve so that the people can act in a way and free and fair elections can be held after six months.

I shall now come straight to the point. What is the situation prevailing there today? In that situation, what role can be played by whom? What would be the result? As far as I am concerned, I will remind the House—probably Mr. Chairman, you might have been there—that during the last debate on the Constitution (Amendment) Bill regarding Punjab, I gave a whole package of positive proposal. I do not know whether Mufti Saheb could go into that. If he has not gone into that, I would request him to go through once more because all my suggestions were absolutely positive.

I shall now come to the present situation prevailing there. The point is that after six months, elections are to be held. But what is the situation prevailing in Punjab today? In the initial stages itself, I appeal to all political parties here to be serious and not to play with fire by any chance and do their best to improve the situation in Punjab, without which the nation will be in trouble. I appeal to all political parties without any differentiation in this regard. I also appeal to the Government to very seriously ponder over whether they have to increase their pace in a much more faster manner so that the situation can be

improved to the extent desired. I will very briefly give my own observations about the situation there. It goes without saying that my Party is not the Congress Party. So, my observations are the observation of the Communist Party of India and for that matter also the Left as a whole. We are very much concerned about the situation. Let us see what is the situation prevailing there. As far as terrorism is concerned, the situation has deteriorated. There were brutal massacres in Abohar, Batala and Pathankot. There is increasing use of bomb explosion. There are several attempts to blow up trains in a bid to provoke Hindu-Sikh clashes and further terrorise the people. These things are much in evidence. It was only a few days' ago. The situation is very serious today. In this situation, who is doing what? Without being inimical to anybody, I would try to express my ideas. Firstly, I must say that those voters who voted for Simranjit Singh Mann-ji probably were thinking that he would go into the parliamentary process and solve the situation. But that hope has been betrayed by Simranjit Singh Mann-ji. Let me be categorical about it. I fully support the contention of Shri Somnath Chatterjee. He said that Shri Mann is making the *kirpan* as an issue and so that he has not come here. That is not the only thing. He has also gone further and demanded plebiscite about Punjab. So, this cannot be forgotten by any one of us here. There should not be any attempt to make clandestine arrangements with them, as was done earlier. As I said earlier, I will not go into the past. This must not be done in future also.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Please tell in the past also who were in clandestine arrangement with them.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: I have pledged that I would not go into the past details. If anybody want to know about it, I would like to say one thing i.e. everybody knows about it. This is the situation with the Mann Group and other two Akali Groups among them, the Longowal Group used to at least protest against the terrorists acts. I am sorry, as yet, the Badal Group is to protest.

That they have not. We would like them to really take up a different stand. But so long as they do not, so long as the Badal Group does not change its stance, it will be difficult. I urge upon them to think it over seriously and change their stance.

Now coming to our friends on the opposition, as far as they are concerned, apart from the past, I am sorry to state that the central leadership of the Congress is not encouraging their party in the State to come in for a joint mobilisation against the terrorists. I believe, that they have to change is, if they mean business and if they want to atone for the past, because what Punjab needs now is really an overall seriously united campaign and really an upsurge against these terrorists by the people. That must be undertaken by everybody. Let our friends search their minds and see if something more can be done.

Then I come to the Government, because, after all, it is the Government who is to finally intervene with the help of all others. In this, I would say that, in the beginning, they thought that this Mann Group might help etc. etc. I hope, they will shed those illusions. I hope, they should. If they still have, they should not. They took some positive steps which we definitely welcome, for example, repeal of Article 159; release and rehabilitation of army deserters; setting up of special courts to try those involved in 1984 Delhi riots etc. But I must say that these stands alone are not at all sufficient for the situation prevailing. There, they have to take several initiatives in several fields which I want to illustrate now one by one.

First is the attitude the secessionists. And I would intermittently remind that this is not only inside Punjab. They have ramifications in Pakistan; they have ramifications in U.K.; they have ramifications in USA. All types of NRI secessionist sikhs are there. That also must be remembered. It is a big force to reckon with. No question of dilly-dally or shilly-shally anywhere will do. It is

also well-known that they have a sympathy from ordinary sikhs. The ordinary sikhs must be made to understand by the Government by its action that they do differentiate between the ordinary sikh and the terrorists. On the one hand, administrative measures against the terrorists must not relax anywhere. That does not mean that the police should arrest and make false allegations against some people because that will only provoke. But that does mean that you have to give those police officers something who are trying to do it. Secondly... (*Interruptions*)

SHRISONTOSH MOHANDEV (Tripura West): Please look at the Speaker.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: Certainly, I will look at the Speaker. I can look here. I can even look at you if you so like.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): That is what he wants.

SHRIMATIGEETA MUKHERJEE: Yes, we are good friends. We take tea together.

SHRISOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He is handsome also

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: I being an old woman have no difficulty in looking at anybody!

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Affectionately of course. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee. Affectionately yes.

Coming back to the very serious situation that we are in, we want the Government to take action. As I said, there should be no laxity on the administrative front.

Firstly I say about the Sikh psyche. About that we urge the Government to take prompt action in implementing the measures announced since the all-party meeting at Delhi in December 1989 to remove long-standing grievances of the Sikhs and take positive initiative for political solution. In this they have done something; but certain other things they know very well that they have not

done. About the report on the Hindu-Sikh riot in Delhi, you have to take action. It is still pending.

Then comes the question of water and the question of Chandigarh that I raised the other day. These things have to be solved. Everybody has to bother on it and Sathé Saheb also has to bother on it because this will depend on really serious national consensus. All units of the political parties both of Punjab and of Haryana have to speak in the same voice if it is to be solved. That cannot be shelved by anybody. Here, whoever takes a double standard, whether belonging to the ruling party or to the opposition, it must be understood that it will only be a subterfuge. As far as our party is concerned, fortunately our units are in unison. Therefore I urge that these steps be taken seriously.

Then comes the question of border sealing with Pakistan. The question of border sealing has to be taken seriously because infiltration from Pakistan is already taking place. If the border is not totally sealed, then we cannot keep off all those forces. That activity has to be taken much more seriously.

Then comes the question of national consensus. The effort that you are making must be more intensified. For example, the promise of all-party advisory committee to the Governor and a really broad-based grievances redressal committee at the State level has not yet been put to action. That has to be done. Whoever would be there, they would cooperate. If somebody does not cooperate, all-out efforts have to be made to bring him in. But this has to be taken seriously. Because without the mobilisation of the people of the State of Punjab and without our total solidarity with them, this problem cannot be solved. That is the key to the situation. Therefore I think this has to be taken very seriously. So far as my knowledge goes, it has not been taken till now as seriously as it should be.

I must say, one good silver lining in the

situation is that, despite the Batala and other incidents, no Hindu-Sikh riot took place in Punjab. This is a strong point. This is also a strong point that in Amritsar there was a really very big rally for communal harmony and national integration. But all these strong points are not being backed up as it should be from different sides.

I particularly urge upon the Government to re-examine their strategy and see if in this direction there is anything which remains to be done. Sir, I do not have much time. In conclusion, I will say—as far as my own party is concerned—that I still have the greatest hope in the goodness of the people of Punjab and in the great tradition that they bear, the tradition of Bhagat Singh, the tradition of all religious leaders who have pleaded for unity amongst different religious groups and the traditions today set up by the communities through their blood. I believe and hope with the action of all concerned, in all seriousness and sincerity, without trying to have sabre-rattling for partisan interests, the traditions will be upheld and Punjab will have its proud place in the comity of our nationalities in our great India. Let that situation be created first. Then only, after six months, we shall be in a position to go to the elections. I hope the whole House will try for that. This is my last submission.

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is not for the first time that this issue has come up in this House, during this Session itself. We all saw, how the present Government decided to tackle the issue with the very opening; we saw on the television, on the national network, a huge procession in an open jeep in Amritsar, the blessings in the Golden Temple and the beginning of an open Government.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): The newspapers have already commented on it so why repeat it time and again.

SHRI P. R. KUMARAMANGALAM: We

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM: You should also be considerate.

are coming to history. Do you want me to forget? You are not willing to forget our forty years. You want to pick something which is somewhere in one corner and throw it on our face. You have just practised to do it and you are not willing even to say how you started. (Interruptions) Unfortunately, that was the first and I think the last act that they could indulge in at that time. Thereafter we found the situation not improving, but deteriorating at a very fast pace. We saw the Batala, Amritsar incident, the matter which this House took note of with serious concern. It was serious enough for us to bring to the notice of this House by an Adjournment Motion. The fact is that today terrorism is attempting to give a communal turn to their terrorist intrigues. As many other Members of this House have already, it is fortunate today that in Punjab as of yet, the communal angle has not taken a serious turn. But serious attempts are still being made to give it a communal colour. Let us not forget that they have not laid down their sword, on this angle off their control. But what surprises me is, we heard a statement of the hon. Minister for External Affairs today morning on his discussion with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in New York. The emphasis was more on Kashmir and if I recollected rightly, almost nothing on Punjab. Has he forgotten or has the Government forgotten that? (Interruptions) Sir, I would like to repeat that My friend is saying something; he is not hearing my words carefully. I said 'emphasis'.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): You are free to have your own view.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM: Then, will you allow me to speak or shall I yield and allow you to speak? They are seniors, unfortunately or fortunately. They are persons who can handle us, but it is not fair.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur): Be considerate.

[English]

They believe in interrupting, unfortunately. (Interruptions) Mr. Chairman, Sir, if I may continue, with your permission, the fact is that even the Punjab terrorists today are being trained and armed across the border. If I recollect, very strong steps were taken when our party was in Government to seal the borders in such a manner that the inflow of weapons and the inflow and outflow of personnel for training and trained personnel reduced and reduced drastically. But unfortunately, the sense of openness and the sense of blind trust of persons of dubious ideology and commitment has landed up the whole nation in a situation where you are seeing the free flow of weapons and the to-and-fro of terrorists being trained and re-trained for their actions in Punjab. The number of deaths will soon reach records which could enter maybe, as I said earlier, the Guinness Book of World records. I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister though, I think, I am failing very desperately. I understand his situation. But it is a matter of 72 deaths a month on an average. Five months, they say, is not enough time to solve these major problems. Their partners-in-progress, as we call them, or crutches, as sometimes they are called, say, five months is very little time. It may be so. Maybe five months is not enough to convert a totally difficult situation into a totally even well-balanced State. But what was the position? In November, 1989, they, who are today the ruling party, were demanding elections in Punjab. That situation has today changed to what? They are saying that they want six months more for President's rule. So, what has happened? The situation has deteriorated. That is the real situation. (Interruptions) Five months are not enough, according to them. But are five months not enough at least to handle this problem where extortion of money is taking place at gun-point, where we find terrorists black-mailing even small businessmen and extorting money from them? That is a law and order situation. Why

are we not able to even tackle that? Do they need five months more for that or ten months more for that, we would like to know. There are issues which are solvable in five days. The whole point is: 'Do you have the will? Do you have the intention?' On one side, we find that they had said that their ally is Mr. Mann, who is a Member of Parliament, a colleague of ours, though he has not yet taken oath on the ground of his *kirpan* being too long. But the issue is that that ally—who, they said, swears by the Constitution, is willing to abide by the Constitution, who is that last bastion of Punjab, who will ensure that Punjab remains a part of India,—is today saying that he wants plebiscite in Punjab.

Unfortunately, Madam Geeta Mukherjee, who was speaking before me, had raised a question and said that the central leadership of my party is not taking enough steps to encourage joint mobilisation against the terrorists. I would like to remind her that on the April-13 rally issue, somebody said, "They would not participate, if we participated." And they all felt, it is better, we do not participate and 'somebody' participates. I do not have to even name that 'somebody' because today they are calling that 'somebody' as an unfortunate, ungrateful, etc., because he gave a call for plebiscite. They have got a very short memory. I am talking of 13 April, 1990 and today where are we. We are not very far away. We have just gone into May. Mr. Chairman, Sir, not only that. I want to make it clear, on behalf of my party I would like to make it clear, we were the one who requested for a joint action. We want joint action. We are fully convinced that unless there is a joint action, problem cannot be solved. But we don't want to talk with our tongue in our cheek or have the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing.

You had a public rally in Amritsar. Take it for argument sake, that we are not welcoming it directly. Is it not a fact that your allies screamed and threw anger, frustration and other forms of terminology known to them at us? Have they not thrown allegations—left, right and Centre—without any basis? They used that platform to train their guns on the

Congress party and blamed us for all the evils. Soon we will hear that we have become the terrorists, the way things are going on! All this is done to cover up their own inactions. Mr. Chairman, Sir, and then we are told, oh we are not encouraging the joint action. What do they want us to do? Do they want us to lie at their feet and get kicks every now and then? That would be what they want us to do. Joint action means a joint policy. Joint action means a joint approach. Let us be very clear that before a joint action there has to be some consultations and there has to be an honourable alliance and joint respect also. Cooperation does not come out of pleasure.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we wish to make it very clear that the issue is not simple. On one side there is a law and order problem and on the other side is the intellectual problem; the problem is of politics, of economic angles and the problem is both of religious and communal nature. What is today necessary is to ensure that no religious discourse, no religious action should even be allowed to border even on the political avenues. Unless you separate religion from politics, you will never be able to solve the problem in Punjab because it is in the garb of religion that terrorism is unfortunately hiding. We are all aware that even now in the Gurudwaras you can find terrorists. We know that even now terrorists use gurudwaras as their hide outs. We also know that there are many people who have standing in the religious arena—especially among Sikhs—not only sympathise but support and encourage terrorists. What action are we taking to ensure that those religious heads are curtailed in their activities? Even more serious is that what action are we taking to ensure that processions taken out by other religions too—other religion also have functions which are festive in nature—are run peacefully? A stage has reached in Punjab where no other religious sector would dare to take out a procession out of fear of retaliation by the terrorists. An atmosphere of insecurity has been set to such an extent that irrespective of whether they belong to minority or majority, to this religion or that religion, unless they have the

blessings and have got the protection of terrorists, they cannot have a procession.

Sir, another very important issue, which has to be brought to the notice of this House, is that we have been just now pulled up—I would like to say pulled up because the language that was used at best can be said pulled up—for saying that once Barnala was good and later he had failed. So, we should never tell truth. When Barnala handled Punjab in a manner that peace could come to Punjab, yes, in the President's Address he was praised. Maybe there is a saying, do not praise too much, sometimes it goes to the head and they become careless. But what was important was that the team which was in Government at that time could not carry, they failed, we found that the civil administration had broken down, we saw that the terrorists were running the administration, at that time it was the need of the hour and we said, it was wrong. It is wrong to call a spade a spade? Or just because at one time we had said that he had done something right, we should never say that he had done something else wrong. I wonder! Anyway, maybe the senior politicians know better than I know and they feel that we should not call a spade a spade and if we made an error, it should not have been corrected too.

The issue is not what is the legacy which you have brought on to yourself or which you have inherited. The issue today is that you have come to this House asking for an extension of six months from the 11th May this year for continuing President's rule. You have brought a Resolution before this House. We would only like to know: Is it going to be the last attempt or would there be one more? It is our sincere hope and our sincere wish that this would be the last. We want to have democracy returned to Punjab. If you want to solve the problem, you must do it that way, but I would join issue with Shri Somnath Chatterjee, in saying that we do not want any election which is only for name's sake. We do not want to have a situation where you have the terrorists holding sten guns on the

head of every voter and getting elected *en masse* and thereafter having an Assembly which is nothing but a sham to the very word democracy.

We are not opposing at the moment this particular Resolution, because when the Constitution amendment was brought, we made our point clear. In the Rajya Sabha, we said that we were not agreeable to one year, we wanted it only six months, because we want elections to come to Punjab, we want democracy to return to Punjab. We wish to make it amply clear that if the Government continues to be inactive, evasive and unable to come to a decision how to even tackle minor issues of law and order, then our hopes and wishes may be shattered. In that event, it may be very difficult for us to extend blind support to you on these issues.

We also have heard that it is no fault of the Government that elections cannot be held in six months. I beg to differ. If elections cannot be held, it cannot be but the fault of this Government. In November 1989 you yourself have gone on record in the international, national and regional press to say that elections can be held in Punjab. Many of you, definitely the ruling party and the supporting parties also have said that. I would like to say that today you have gone on record to say that elections cannot be held as on date, you need six months time. Let us not reach a stage, and I hope and pray we do not reach that stage, where you will come back to us and tell us that even now you are not able to handle the situation, where you can have free and fair elections.

I would end by stating that you have our full cooperation and not just cooperation in words. But if two people have to be partners in solving a problem, which is basic, then both of us must know how to give respect to each other.

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am of the view that there should not be President's Rule in any State in the country. I feel that in a democratic country the Government should be elected

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by the people. But the situation in Punjab is such that it will not be possible to hold fair elections over there. So I favour President's Rule for another six months in Punjab. Punjab is a symbol of the country's chivalry and the farmers and soldiers of Punjab have earned a good name for themselves throughout the world. This State, which is the pride of the nation, is in the throes of a crisis brought about by some faulty policies of the Government.

17.01 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

All this led to terrorism and the subsequent danger to the unity and integrity of the country. Just now my colleague Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev said that some people are obsessed with the deeds of the previous Government and they want to discuss it anytime. This is not true. There is no question of their ghost haunting us when the Congress (I) is still very much alive. We are not interested in talking about them. If they continue with their policies a time will come when nobody will speak of them.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It is not an obsession with the Congress (I) but with the events over the last 40 years.

SHRI KALKA DAS: While speaking Shri Vasant Sathe defined what is meant by Sikh and a Khalsa. I want to ask my hon. colleagues as to who is responsible for the present situation in Punjab. When we talk of responsibility they say that we are obsessed with the 40 years old rule. When we plan the future it is essential to analyse history and whatever has happened in the past.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Kalka Das, I have been informed that the hon. Minister will make his statement at 6.00 p.m.

SHRI KALKA DAS: I was told that our party was allotted 27 minutes. I have spoken for 9 minutes so 18 minutes are still left. I shall do as you say. I can even conclude now if you wish.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There are others waiting to speak. Please come to the point.

SHRI KALKA DAS: I am coming to the point. Whenever I speak you come and occupy the chair.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Only then you come on the right track. Every hon. Member is responsible for his words in the House because the speeches are recorded.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Sir, I will finish very quickly. When we look at the history of Punjab, we find that things were not taken seriously and gradually they became complex which in turn led to terrorism. This terrorism is a product of the weakness of the previous Government. My colleagues who are present here will agree with me. Bhindranwale who was behind the cult of terrorism was a saint to many. When the question of dealing with terrorism and Bhindranwale came up here, the Government said that as it concerns Punjab, the State Government will deal with Bhindranwale. Bhindranwale challenged the Centre that he will come to Delhi and even then the Government cannot do anything. He came to Delhi and moved around the city with well-armed bodyguards. He visited the jail also and there he was treated like a V.I.P. The morale of the youth of Punjab got a boost when they saw that Bhindranwale had greater power and influence than the Centre. This further encouraged terrorism. The then Government did not even take note of this. Some students who were indulging in terrorist activities were apprehended and later released. The repercussions of the weak and faulty policy of the previous Government are being felt now. People are deeply concerned over the Punjab problem. The Punjab problem was created to get votes in the elections. When the time came for elections in 1984 the Punjab Accord was signed with Shri Longowal. The Accord promised peace in Punjab and the people believed it. In fact it brought a sense of hope in the public that if the Government says like that then peace may be restored in Punjab. But the repercussions were even

move frightening. Elections were held and the Congress (I) won with a massive mandate. In one stroke the masses of this country absolved the Congress (I) of all the allegations. But what happened? All the efforts proved futile because terrorism got further encouragement. Punjab began to suffer. Today Punjab is in the grip of terrorism. This is the result of the previous Government's weak policy. The policy adopted to win the elections created a situation which constantly threatens the breaking of Punjab from India. This is a reality.

Just now my hon. colleague said that one good sign is that no communal riots have occurred there. A handful of people are encouraging terrorism by misguiding youngsters and weaning them away from the national mainstream. I think all this is being done to disintegrate the country.

I fully agree with hon. Shri Sathe that it will not be the bullet that will clinch the issue in this country. A democracy cannot survive if the gun dominates. The medium of democracy is dialogue.

The anti-national elements can at no cost be spared. The persons, who talk of separatism, who speak the language of the bullet and try to disintegrate the nation, are anti-national elements and there is a different way to deal with them. We should not be friendly or lenient to anti-national elements or adopt a soft approach in dealing with them. The anti-national elements deserve a totally different treatment and I do not hesitate to say that those who talk of dealing with them softly or sparing them are themselves anti-nationals. The previous Government had adopted this approach. Had this problem been tackled firmly and with an iron hand and politics of votes had not been kept in mind, I dare say that the situation would not have deteriorated to such an extent. I agree that this is a national problem. Terrorism which is raising its ugly head in a bid to separate a part of our country from the rest of the nation has now become a national

problem, and it should not be politicised. In this regard all of us should rise above party politics irrespective of the party to which we belong and unitedly work for the progress and development of our country. If terrorism continues, there would be no development in the country. Therefore, it is the moral duty of all the parties to stand united and make concerted efforts to work out a solution to this problem. Just now, my friend Shri Kumaramangalam said that we all stood by each other but we should be given equal respect as well. This is true but to my mind there can be no respect and honour greater than making sure that our nation stands united and integrated, free from the virus of terrorism and nobody dares to disintegrate the country. I think that imposing President's rule in any part of the country is not a sign of healthy democracy. I wish that President's rule is lifted in Punjab as soon as possible and elections held there but elections can be held only when the conditions are normal for holding free and fair elections, in which the people can exercise their franchise without fear or favour. If they give in to terrorism or coercion, that will not be democracy. The situation in Punjab today is that if elections are held there now, they will not be fair and impartial. Therefore, I would like to submit that there is no sense in conducting elections there since they would not be impartial and fair in the present situation.

I hope that with the cooperation of all the parties, particularly Congress (I), we will be able to solve this problem in the near future and fair elections would be held there. Therefore, I support and deem it desirable to extend President's Rule there for another six months. We pray that the situation may become normal so that the people could cast their votes fairly and impartially and revive the democratic process by installing the Government of the people, of their elected representatives who could provide relief to the people. I once again appeal to all the political parties not to politicise the issue or try to gain political mileage out of it but instead work unitedly and sincerely to nip terrorism in the bud. The day is not far when we can initiate democratic process in Punjab.

[English]

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Statutory Resolution. I support this Statutory Resolution because my Party and myself are conscious of the stakes involved in the Punjab problem today.

Since my time is very limited, I will not answer some of the questions raised by the hon. Members on my right.

The Statutory Resolution seeks to extend the President's Rule for another six months in Punjab. I am one of those who do not like extension of President's Rule on any plea in any part of the country, not to speak of Punjab. But it is to be remembered that this extension has been enabled by a unique Amendment of the Constitution of our country itself. Otherwise, there was a ceiling for the period of President's Rule and in view of this fact, I think, the Congress Party deserves congratulations. They did realise the stakes involved in Punjab today. Therefore, the Constitution Amendment Act enables the extension of President's rule in Punjab. But I hope and think, everybody in this House agrees that there should be no further extension beyond this present extension. Therefore, on that basis, the Government should proceed. Some hon. Members have expressed their apprehension that there will be another attempt to further extend the period of President's Rule. The Government should make it completely clear to this House that they proceed on the basis that there should be election before the expiry of the six months' time.

Sir, the extension of President's Rule is not the solution to the Punjab problem. It is merely a means to an end, and 'end' in this case, everybody appreciates is to restore a political process, a democratic process in Punjab. Once the democratic process is initiated in Punjab, a political solution can be worked out. For that purpose, the political and democratic process is to be initiated as quickly as possible. Now the political solu-

tion to the problem can be worked out once the popular Government is established in Punjab. And for that popular Government to be elected, the election must be fair and free. Any election, particularly in the case Punjab, needs a clear-cut political platform. If there is no clear-cut political platform, I think, even after having an election in Punjab, the problem may not be solved; rather the problem may get further complicated. I hope you can understand, all of you can understand, the complexities that may arise even after the election if the election is not based on the basis of the clear-cut political platform. To achieve or to evolve the political platform, what is needed is realignment of political forces and social forces in Punjab. For that, a sharp polarisation of political and social forces, polarisation on the basis of a single criteria, is needed today. And that criteria is loyalty to the Constitution of the country, unflinching, unswerving commitment to the indivisibility of the country and unity and integrity of the country. This is the sole and only criteria for sharply polarising political and social forces in Punjab. That means, on the one camp let us try to mobilise the people who want the indivisibility of India's unity and on the other camp let them choose who do not want the unity and integrity of the country, who speak for secessionism, separatism and other reactionary forces. And with this object the polarisation is to be found.

In this background I also want to draw the attention of the Government to some very disquietingly negative developments in Punjab. One is the role of Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann. He is the Rt. Hon'ble Member of this House.

SHRI Y.S. MAHAJAN (Jalgaon): He has not yet taken the oath.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Let us assume so; why are you grudging?

It would have been better had he been present here and expressed his viewpoint. Instead of expressing his point of view, why is he avoiding Parliament which is the highest democratic forum in our country? I find

that he spoke in Talwandi Sabo very recently and I only quote two sentences of him:

"We will not live under the present set up and we do not accept your Constitution."

And he claims that he had given this in writing to the Prime Minister of the country. I only again like to quote two sentences from another speech of him:

"The war (means India and Pakistan conflict) in fought, would be meant to suppress the aspirations of the Sikhs and the people of Jammu & Kashmir. For what cause should we support the Government for this useless war."

Is it not very clear? Does it require any further explanation that the war against Pakistan if needed—we do not want a war against Pakistan; let it be clear—if it is ultimately forced on us, if it is ultimately imposed on us by the military clique of Pakistan, he says that this war would be a war not for the protection, not for the indivisibility of the country, not for the unity and integrity of the country but the says that it will be a war to suppress the hopes and aspirations of the Sikhs. Can we think that the Sikhs are not part of India; they are not Indian citizens? They are very much part of our country. They are a valient section of our people about whom we have got many praises to make here and outside and we shall be doing. Therefore, it is a very dangerous trend. And again he seeks to link Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab. Naturally it will ultimately be linked with ULFA, NSCN and other secessionist forces in our country. Is it not proper for the Government to visualise these things? It is not merely a question of Punjab, it is not merely a question of Mr. Simaranjit Singh Mann but it is a question of interlinking of all the forces which are for seccsionism, divisiveness for separatism and to weaken the unity and integrity of the country. Therefore, Sir, I also share the apprehension that there are opportunistic moves—there might be

and there were—to have some kind of electoral adjustments, electoral understanding with this kind of forces and it is now time for everyone of us to understand that any kind of compromise with this kind of forces would be dangerous, disastrous for the country and that will be unpatriotic if you allow me to say. Therefore, having this view in mind, within six months we have to create a political environment in Punjab wherein there will be an election, and election on the basis of a clear cut political platform, which further strengthens the unity of the country and not further weakens or encourages or strengthens or enhances the force. of seccsionism in our country.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA (Phillaur):
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak for the people of Punjab who have been deprived of democratic rights since 11th May, 1987. The Gurus and religious leaders there have preached and struggled hard to break the shackles of casteism and other social evils. Gurdwara is a religious place where brotherhood is preached. The foundation stone of Gurdwara Darbar Sahib was laid by Miyan Mir, a-Muslim for the sake of brotherhood and the Government of this country strafed that Gurdwara in 1984.

Ours is the land of gurus, who laid down their lives for the sake of brotherhood. These gurus did not discriminate between the poor and the untouchables but instead encouraged them by giving swords in their hands. Among these, the names of downtrodden Vichitra Singh General and Sangat Singh, etc. are worth mentioning. But no Government could produce such a General in the last 42 years in this country. It is enshrined in Guru Granth Sahib that—

"Jo Kare vipran ki reet
Main na karoon unki partaet"

It means that I will never stand by a person who talks in terms of Hinduism or Brahminism. The Sikhs have protected and

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upheld the honour of this country by making supreme sacrifices during the last 42 years. The Sikhs who played a vital role in bringing Independence to this country and have even gone to the gallows during the freedom struggle were burnt alive by putting tyres on them in the riots which took place in 1984. Hence their fight is for self-respect and Government of this country is responsible for the present situation.

Much has been said about Bhindranwale here. He was arrested when he went to Haryana to spread the message of brotherhood. The congress Government arrested him. At that time, he asked as to why has he been arrested when he has not committed any crime and if he has committed any crime then why has he been released? A 20 year old boy Jograj Singh, the Lieutenant General of the Liberation Force who was killed in police encounter is called messiah by the people of his area. About three lakh people assembled on the occasion of his 'Bhog Ceremony' and they went to Kiratpur for immersing his ashes there. One hundred trucks loaded with people bid them farewell. A college is being opened in his memory. He may be terrorist for us but for the people, he is a Messiah. His life took a new turn when he went to a field to pick a watermelon when he was only 14. The land-lord informed the police that he had a pistol in his possession. The police gave him and his family members good thrashing and since then this gentleman took to arms to restore his honour.

The Punjab problem can be solved only when we create a sense of confidence among the people and carry out negotiations with them who want to lead a respectable and peaceful life and get rid of terrorism. Those who talk of a bullet for bullet are doing so because they have been alienated from the society and they are craving for that love and brotherhood.

Without taking too much time I thank you from the core of my heart for giving me an opportunity to speak on this subject. So far as elections are concerned, I would like to say that the recent elections in which we

were elected were free and fair and there was not a single incident of booth capturing. Therefore I urge upon you to hold elections as early as possible and restore democracy there. It is only after elections that the people of Punjab can fight for their rights and live a peaceful and honourable life. Peace should be established in Punjab, which is buring today, in order to pave way for its progress and spreading the message of brotherhood.

I once again thank you for giving me an opportunity to participate in this debate.

SHRI CHAND RAM (Hardoi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, though I did not intend to speak yet I think it would amount to shirking of duty if I do not express my views in the House in regard to the problem of Punjab that has been discussed here time and again.

Prior to partition I studied in Lahore. In 1952, I became an M.L.A in Punjab, and since then I have remained in direct and close contact with the happenings there. I feel that this problem could have been solved earlier but for the mishandling of the forces who could be instrumental or helpful in for solving it. I do not want to blame any person. I remember when one of the ministers came to know about my meeting with Sant Bhindranwale and Sant Longowal scheduled to be held in the Golden Temple, my membership of Rajya Sabha was terminated and the problem that could have been solved or brought on the verge of a solution obviously remained as such. These facts have now become history or are known to a handful of people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think Sant Bhindranwale was never in favour of an independent Khalistan but his ideas were twisted in such a manner as if he supported the movement of Khalistan. I remember the speech of the head of Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee Shri Gurcharan Singh Tohra in Rajya Sabha. He had put forward 8-9 demands on behalf of Sikhs and said that the problem of Sikhs in Punjab could be solved if those demands were acceded to. At that time some of our friends, who were in major-

ity in the House, ridiculed his suggestions. While speaking about it, Sardar Sujana Singh who was a Member of the Rajya Sabha at that time said: today we are ridiculing these 9-10 demands but the day is not far when the Government will be ready to offer more than what is being demanded today but the people of Punjab will not accept. That speech must be available in the records of Rajya Sabha. There are many things that can be said in this regard. Shri Bhargava was the Chief Minister of Punjab in 1952 when I became an MLA. The Akali Party had then demanded inclusion of four sub-castes of sikhs in Scheduled Castes. The then Home Minister Sardar Patel conceded this demand and thus the Mazhabi Sikhs and Ramgarhiyas were included in the list of Scheduled Castes. But I fail to understand why these problems were allowed to be aggravated to such an extent that our integrity is being challenged and slogans of separatism are being raised.

I would like to suggest that there is a need for constituting a parliamentary committee of both the Houses to review the whole problem not only in a political perspective but also in the historical perspective and their problems regarding water and electricity etc. should also be considered. There have been many accords and the accord with Sant Longowal was one of them. I understand that some people of Haryana had some objections to the accord with Sant Longowal. But even that accord has not been implemented so far. I would like to suggest that a committee should be constituted which should go into the background to see how from inclusion of four castes gradually a demand for a separate Khalistan came to the fore and who is responsible for it. I am not a pessimist, I am an optimist. In My opinion, even today if we make sincere efforts in the right direction and hold discussions with the concerned people, this issue can be solved within the framework of our Constitution. I believe that Members of Parliament should not escape from their duties.

I would like to suggest that the hon.

Minister of Home Affairs should convene a meeting of persons who have been associated with Punjab and I hope that a solution will definitely emerge to this problem which has reached an extreme end. Officially, the percentage of the Scheduled Castes in the State is stated to be 27 per cent and they are being ignored under the President's rule. I am sorry to point out that they have no advisor. The senior I.A.S. officers are being posted at unimportant places. Actually, the percentage of Scheduled Castes is 33 per cent and not 27 per cent as given in the official statistics. One third of these people are included in 45 per cent Hindu population. I had written to the former Governor that I had been a Cabinet Minister in Punjab and the measures I had introduced at that time should be considered for reintroduction. I would like to submit to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that sophisticated arms should be given to the people in the villages including the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes so that they could fend off terrorism themselves and thereby contribute in restoring peace in Punjab instead of leaving it to the police, armed forces and paramilitary forces alone. The people in the villages should be asked to prepare themselves to fight terrorism and their morale should be boosted. The terrorists are not from outside, they are from within the villages and are lured to join the ranks of terrorists.

With these words, I express my thanks to you.

[English]

SHRI PYARE LAL HANDOO (Anantnag): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have been since morning listening to the speeches made on the Statutory Resolution. In fact, the very day we accepted the amendment to the Constitution indicated that we are on a given date going to have the present Statutory Resolution for consideration in this House. I said it then and I repeat it again that exclusion of sub-clause (v) of Article 356 of the Constitution from its operation in respect of Punjab is very unfortunate. If that sub-clause (v) were to be made applicable to

provide the documents which would have been in our possession, perhaps the Home Minister would have been saved from the present agonising situation. Now, why do we find it necessary to extend the President's rule for another period of six months? Our Constitution does not normally envisage, at any stage, anything except duly elected Government. It also envisages that if a substitute is to be sought, it can be sought for a specific period, but taking it beyond one year must satisfy two pre-conditions. The Election Commission must say that law and order does not warrant holding of elections. Unfortunately we have no such communication from the Election Commission and it has not remained necessary because we have excluded the operation of sub-clause (5) of Article 356 in respect of Punjab. Casually, if you look at the present Statutory Resolution and become slightly introspective, you will see how far we have travelled since 1950. I was reminded today of the oratorical speech made by Dr. Ambedkar when he piloted the passage of Article 356 in the Constituent Assembly. Prof. Ranga is not here, I think some of the words spoken by him during the course of his speech would have echoed today in his mind. One does not want to go into what was said then, what were the fears expressed, what were the apprehensions expressed, but one wants to see how far have we travelled since 1950 and in fact, how far we have travelled since 1978 when the first non-Congress Government removed from the Constitution, particularly from Article 356 those parts which had been introduced in 1975, according to the reactionary amendments in 1975. And today, this non-Congress Government supported by two important parties in the country, I call them Left on the one side and BJP on the other, has travelled beyond the ambit of 1975 amendment too. That should mean nothing except to pose a question in every patriot's mind: What is the ailment that has caused all these changes necessary? We call it sometimes euphemistically Punjab problem, and sometimes call it euphemistically the problem created by Akalis in Punjab or the terrorists in Punjab. But I have failed to find anybody saying: What is the problem we want to

solve? If it is the problem of terrorism, then, Home Minister, the instrumentality of Article 356 will not help you. It has not helped any civilized State in any part of the world. You are today embarking upon an adventure of extending President's Rule in Punjab beyond 3 years, making it three years and six months. Let us be happy for a time because we are not immediately going into election tomorrow. But linked with Punjab, as some of the hon. Members said, is the variable element of Pakistan within the next six months. If the present aggressive attitude of Pakistan becomes more aggressive, that will force upon you further amendments of Article 356. I only want the hon. Home Minister to take one matter into consideration. We have heard today, and to my dismay, an hon. Member from the Left Party saying that 'we don't support the existence of Article 356 in the Constitution of India'. For such an expression of opinion one can say 'Hurrah' to him. 'That is in principle, 'as he said, 'But take action under it and take it beyond three years and six months'. He says this is expedient and necessary. And the cure indicated is that we must fight terrorism administratively and then initiate the political action. If you want to fight terrorism, fight it administratively, but don't postpone the political action. In no part of the world has such a theory been adopted. You cannot say, 'Let me complete my fight against terrorism, then I will support initiating political polarisation process.' You will never succeed in that because terrorism will continue to be there always. And it is because in the meantime, you will be making it popular. You have to fight terrorism. As my sister Smt. Mukherjee has said a popular upsurge against terrorism is possible. What exactly do you mean by creating popular action?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Handoo, the time given to you is now going to be over. For seven Members I have seven minutes only. I have allowed you to speak for seven minutes. So, please come to the point and conclude early.

SHRI PIYARE LAL HANDOO: I will conclude. Kindly allow free play of political

forces in Punjab as an aid and assistance to your administrative action against terrorism. The time has come for the Government of India to take note of this. What are your perceptions of solving the Punjab problem? If you do not identify secessionist parties in Punjab, can you fight them? Secessionists in Punjab have become politically so popular today. According to you, terrorist groups in Punjab are so strong in Punjab today that they do not allow the mighty State of Government of India to ensure free and fair elections. That shows the extent of the hold of the terrorists over Punjab. If there is a secessionist party in Punjab, whom do you please by not banning them outright by not completely removing them from the electoral process? You should have identified them. You are sowing the seeds of political opportunism. One knows that tomorrow Janata Dal may go into the political arena for fighting the election battle and we know the position of Janata Dal in Punjab. We know where from they sought and shall seek succour and assistance. Take bold measures. To my dismay, Unlawful Activities Act has not been used in Punjab, it is not being used in Assam and it is not being used in Kashmir. I do not want to talk about Kashmir. But I would like to say that the Home Minister has banned political parties under a law which would not have been used for that purpose. The only reason is that the other law which was available was the Central law and perhaps the Central Government did not want to take the stigma. I am making this submission very humbly. You have used a law which you may not be able to defend in a Court of Law tomorrow. If there are secessionist forces in India, ban them right now and I do not think any patriotic political party will not agree to it. Few people are saying that we must not ban parties, but we should fight them politically. Those things have been tried for the last 40 years and we have not succeeded in that. If you have created a legal instrument, then make use of it. These are my submissions.

[*Translation*]

PROF. PREM KUMAR DHUMAL
(Hamirpur): MR. Deputy Speaker, Sir, re-

cently I had an opportunity to attend a function in Punjab in which the people belonging to all parties like C.P.I., C.P.I. (M), B.J.P., congress (I) and Akali Dal (Longowal) were present. In that function, relief was being given to the victims of terrorism without any discrimination of party. I thought that it would have been better had the Hon. Prime Minister or the Minister of Home Affairs was present there to witness the scene. Shri Jagjit Singh Anand of the C.P.I., a former member of Parliament spoke first and said that when the Government had decided that the President's rule would remain in force for one year only and after that the elections would be held as soon as the conditions became normal, why was the decision changed overnight? You just see the statements of the Governor appearing in the newspapers of Punjab. After the statement of the Governor, the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs said that arrangements would be made to hold elections within six months. I would like to state it very clearly that if you can control terrorism within 2 months, then it is all right, but if you cannot control the terrorists and continue giving statements, then you are demoralising the police force and they will begin to feel that if these people have eventually to run the Government, why should they fight against them? Today, we are even dividing martyrs along party lines. The people from all parties have sacrificed their lives. Be it the Congress (I), the Akali Dal (Longowal), the B.J.P., the C.P.I. or the C.P.I. (M). When we talk of rising above the party lines, I feel we should clearly condemn the terrorists. There are not two opinions about the fact that people belonging to every party have sacrificed their lives in Punjab.

It is indeed our misfortune that we try to find an ad-hoc solution to every problem and we never try to go into the root cause of the problem. It is impossible to solve the problem of Punjab if politics of votes continues to plague the approach. On the contrary, it will become more complicated. My colleagues, Shri Harbhajan Singh Lakha has raised an important question that when a so-called terrorist died, a caravan of 100-200 vehicles was there at the time of immersion of his ashes and about 2 lakh people attended his

'Bhog' ceremony. I would like to know whether such a large number of people can assemble at one place for the cause of a terrorist. It means that certainly some excesses are being committed. No action is taken where it is needed most. The border has not been sealed even after so many incidents. Even today arms are being smuggled from across the border. The complaints of fake encounters are also pouring in. Therefore, I would like to submit that the Government should take steps, which could curb the movement of terrorists and arms from across the border. The attempts at involving innocent people in such acts should be checked because terrorism is spreading as a result of it. Today all political parties are demanding that such an atmosphere be created in Punjab in which peaceful elections could be conducted. It is not the question of one year or six months, it is the question of creating an atmosphere in Punjab in which people could live peacefully and fair elections could be held. I do not want to comment on how elections were held in Punjab. What the Deputy Prime Minister himself has said in a rally at Amritsar is enough to give us an idea about the conditions in which elections were held in Punjab. We want that elections should be held when the situation is conducive to holding election so that people could cast their vote without any fear. This is all I have to say.

SHRIMATISUBHASHINIALI (Kanpur):
Mr. Deputy speaker, Sir, today, we are discussing the situation in Punjab. If the hon. Members have gone through today's newspapers, they must have got the hint as to how misleading statements are being issued there and what effect are they creating. The statement of the hon. Minister of Home Affairs which appeared in today's newspapers is very clear and we all welcome it. It has been clearly stated here several times that Government should make its stand very clear that there is no question of talks with those who talk of secession. It result in two-pronged effect. Firstly, the people who are indulging in such activities are discouraged and the morale of the people who are fighting the terrorists is boosted. But at the same time, we find that the tone and tenor of the state-

ments of the Governor of Punjab is some what different and it we go by the newspaper reports, a misleading situation has been created once again. Two-three points become clear from these misleading statements which are very dangerous. As I said earlier that as a result of these statements, the morale of some people is boosted whereas others get demoralised. Secondly, the migration that is taking place from Punjab and to which all the nationalists want to put a stop also shows an upward trend. When such incidents occur, the people feel insecure and they start thinking of migrating from there. I would like to say that such incidents, whether it is terrorist activities or migration of people, affects the entire country. Time and again, we have congratulated the people of Punjab for foiling the attempts of the terrorists aimed at creating a discord between Hindus and Sikhs. We have to strengthen this relationship between the Sikhs and the Hindus but such incidents tend to weaken this bondage. I want to give an example in this regard. An incident occurred during the last elections in Patiala. some students of Kurukshetra University were killed in Punjab by the terrorists. There is a very strong organisation in the country whom I have named as 'Rumours Specialist Society'. Its object is to spread rumours all over the country. The result of such rumours is dangerous and explosive. We saw this when the students were killed in Punjab and as a result of such rumours the problem of security of Sikh community living outside Punjab was created. Even in my own city, such a situation was created and it did have its repercussions in Punjab. We have seen such a situation many times during and after Delhi riots. Therefore, my submission is that the Government should follow the line which has been clearly spelt out by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs in his statement. Nobody should have doubts about it. The traitor-terrorists should not get encouragement in any form from any side.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit one more point. The people who are bravely fighting terrorism inside Punjab are not getting the required help from the Gov-

ernment. Government must extend such help. I had attended a demonstration, in which ten thousand brick kiln workers took part. During the last one year, 21 brick kiln workers have been killed by the terrorists. The terrorists capture a brick kiln and then ask the owner to pay some thousand or lakh rupees, otherwise they will not let it work. To protect themselves from such a situation, the labourers had demanded to provide them arms. They do not want police or C.R.P.F. for protection. They will run the kilns and will flush out the terrorists. But they are not being provided with such help. My submission is that the forces bravely fighting against the terrorists even at the risk of their lives, should be provided more help so as to make them capable of facing such eventualities.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like that positive steps should be taken soon on the issues of river water dispute, transfer of capital city and setting up of special trial courts for those involved in 1984 riots. Announcements and assurances have been given in this regards, but nothing has been implemented yet. It is necessary to implement them. It is being said that we have to build up confidence among the public, but that confidence cannot be built by giving assurances and speeches only. We and our Government have to take steps, which could instil confidence among the public in Punjab that the new Government is going to adopt a new approach to the problem.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the end I would like to submit that the problems of Kashmir and Punjab can be solved, provided India remains a secular state. We have no doubt that the problems of Punjab, Kashmir and North-Eastern region can be solved only if India remains a democratic and secular country. But if attempts are made to weaken the roots of secularism which is the very base of this country and fanaticism is spread in the country to make the two communities fight each other, the Punjab problem can never be solved and the confidence

of the people of the State cannot be won. It is not an act of

18.00 hrs.

bravery to force closure of shops in Delhi and Kanpur, if there is a bomb explosion in Batala. If we cannot fight against terrorism by going there, we can at least fight for protecting secularism in the rest of the country. This talk of theocracy, spreading of fanaticism and raising slogan of 'Hindu Rashtra' which is nothing but a slogan to destroy the country, have to be stopped. Our slogan of 'Hindu Rashtra' will be shot back by the slogan of 'Khalistan' from Punjab and 'Pakistan Jindabad' from Kashmir. We cannot escape this. These are the facts, which we have to accept. So, a clear policy and positive steps will have to be taken in Punjab, so that the confidence of people there could be won. The situation in Punjab can only be normalised by protecting secularism in the country.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If the House agrees, I think we will take up the Half-an-Hour discussion after the Statutory Resolution is passed and after the Statement is made by the hon. Home Minister. He wants to make a small statement. I think, the House agrees....

MANY HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right, agreed. Now Shri Kalp Nath Rai to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: That will be made today.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The statement is ready today and he is going to make it.

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

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us not interrupt it like this. Let us complete it.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution brought forward by the Government in regard to Punjab. The situation is very serious and critical. While considering the issue of Punjab, we should pay attention towards the basic fact that the problem of Punjab has become so much complicated due to a conspiracy hatched by the imperialist forces of the world who want to destabilise our country and on whose instigation, our country has been attacked many a times after independence. This is not the problem of Punjab alone. Who is behind the training being imparted to ULFA activists in Burma? I would like to submit to the hon. Home Minister that a volcano of treachery is simmering in Tamil Nadu today. An eye should be kept on it. Whatever is happening in Kashmir and Punjab is the result of international conspiracies. Our Hon. Prime Minister and the Home Minister have stated that Pakistan is imparting training to the anti-national forces by setting up hundreds of training camps. The Prime Minister of Pakistan Shrimati Benazir Bhutto says that they will fight a thousand year long war with India. She appeals to the public of Kashmir and Pakistan to do something to provide freedom to lakhs of Kashmiris. In this context, when the situation is so grave and the foreign powers are making attempts openly to destabilise Kashmir and Punjab, we support the Resolution brought by the hon. Minister. But I would like to know from him whether elections would be held after six months? The leader about whom you talk about, says that he will take the Punjab issue to the United Nations. He even went to the extent of saying that if there was a war between India and Pakistan, he wants the people of Punjab not to support India. He is Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann, who after being elected, has not taken the oath till today, I would like to know what name this Government would like to give to such an antinational person, who wants to hold election in Punjab at gunpoint, openly talks of formation of Khalistan and does not take oath in this House I would like to appeal to all the hon. Members of this

House to be unanimous on this question of national importance. Until the foreign powers are told in categorical terms that entire India will unitedly fight against any conspiracy, and shall repay them in the same coin, they will not give up. There has been no decline in agricultural and industrial production in Punjab. Terrorism is continuing there for the last ten years, that is, from 1980, but there has not been a single incident of Hindu-Sikh clash. A handful of traitors whose number is between 5 thousand to 10 thousand are bent upon harassing the Government of the country. I would like to say it clearly that "

"Arjunasya pratisahe na dainayam no palyanam".

[English]

Those who test our courage should find it strong and those who seek our friendship should find it honourable.

[Translation]

If someone wants our friendship, we will extend a hand of friendship, but those who act as traitors, will be crushed. When an attempt was made to disintegrate America, whose population was just five crore, these was a civil war, in which 10 lakh people were killed, but they were not allowed to harm the unity and integrity of America. Today, it is the question of unity and integrity of our country. To protect the unity and integrity of our country, this Government will crush all anti-national elements and traitors, who put hindrance in its way. Only if we think in this direction, we can protect the unity and integrity of our country. I am confident that what the Hon. Prime Minister has said in response to Shrimati Benazir Bhutto's statement about fighting a thousand year long war, will come true and she can never face the armed forces of India. He will certainly prove to be successful in his endeavours. This should be the spirit of our country. It is not necessary to hold elections in Punjab within 6 months, if the situation there does not return to normal. Our topmost priority is the unity and integrity of our country. If we are able to

protect it, only then our country can progress. With these words, I support this resolution.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have already held discussion on the situation in Punjab on two occasions. A full-fledged discussion was held when the Constitution was to be amended. Today also, the hon. Members have thrown light on the situation in Punjab. It is not only the opinion of the Government, but also of the representatives of all the parties that the situation in Punjab is not conducive to holding election. They have all emphasised the need for creating normal situation in Punjab. This is a very important question. What would we call normalcy? Some people have remarked whether isolated cases of terrorist violence would be an obstruction in the way of holding of elections? Usually when we speak about the phenomenon of terrorism, we mean that a handful of people are able to decide the fate of a large number of people. But the phenomenon in Punjab or Kashmir is not such a simple one. It is a well planned conspiracy intended to destabilise our country. Howsoever Pakistan may plead its innocence, since the day our Minister of External Affairs met the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in New York, not a day has passed during the past 3 weeks when infiltrators were not caught on the Pakistan borders and arms and ammunition were not seized from them. Even today a big haul of A.K. 47 rifles and other weapons were seized near Uri. Yesterday while I was in Char-digarh, a B.S.F. official gave me complete details about the number of infiltrators apprehended during the past four months and this year and as also the comparative figures for last year. All this makes their intention very clear. It is obvious that they are making every efforts to communalise the situation in Punjab and Kashmir. Yesterday a headmaster was killed in Anantnag and he had little connection with politics. Similarly in Batala, Abohar, Ferozepur, one section of population was attacked to incite communalism. When we say

that all out efforts are being made to communalise the situation and to create tension between the Hindus and the sikhs, it is a matter of credit and a sign of wisdom of the people of Punjab that no such friction could be created among them. Secondly, a silver lining on the horizon of Punjab can be observed in the fact that their pace of development has not suffered at all. yesterday I had a meeting with the senior officers there. As per their report on the economic condition of the State it is as follows:-

[English]

As far as the implementation of 20 Point Programme and Anti-poverty Programme is concerned, Punjab is rated number two after Himachal Pradesh. They were telling me that the arrival of wheat this year is more than 30% as compared to the last year.

[Translation]

The allocation in case of Punjab was Rs. 700 crores last year. It is Rs. 905 crores this year which is Rs. 205 crores more than the last year. The biggest problem before the Government is about employment generation. It is our endeavour and there is a proposal to absorb them in the army and the para military forces to the maximum possible extent. The State Government also has a plan to generate employment opportunities.

[English]

The State Government proposes to generate 29.49 lakh mandays of employment in various programmes in the rural sector. In addition, employment for about 75000 beneficiaries will be generated under various schemes. Apart from this, release of power connection for agricultural pump-sets and release of about 30,000 connections during the current year. We have signed an agreement with the World Bank. An agreement has been signed by the Government of Punjab in February with the World bank for financing Punjab irrigation and drainage projects, phase no. 2, at a total cost of Rs. 450 crores, to be completed within seven

years. The main thrust of this Project will be on the development of backward areas of Ropar, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur Districts.

[Translation]

In the most disturbed districts - Amritsar, Gurdaspur and a third district, a special employment programme has been introduced. Yesterday, I had a meeting there with the Senior Officers "specially the Security Officers. I would like to say that if we view the overall situation we find that in Kashmir the situation is worse than that in Punjab. But my observation is that there is a better coordination there to tackle the situation and to face the problem of terrorism there. There exists a sort of nucleus, which has a direction and a purpose too. But the question arises as to how to deal with these militants. In Punjab in order to solve the problem of coordination etc. we have made attempts down to the ground level. This is not a very difficult job. As you say that in Kashmir we met with some success or there has been some improvement, even people have started having confidence in the administration and they feel that it is dealing with the problem of militants. We are successful in this field. In Punjab also there is a need to create the same kind of confidence. In order to improve the situation there and to create coordination with the security forces, we have taken same decisions to establish coordination with the civil administration. I hope that in the next one and a half months efforts will be made to curb the writ of terrorism prevailing there without alienating the people.

[English]

The phenomenon of terrorism may be it is a long term phenomenon, you cannot completely eliminate it.

[Translation]

Criminals have been involved in this but confidence in people has been created that the situation is congenial and election could be held. This is not a complete guarantee that no such mishappenings will take place.

Shri Sathe refers time and again to Prime Minister's visit to Amritsar. Who does not aspire to do so? Even you wanted that the situation should improve there and you could find a solution to this problem. You had also been making attempts in this regard for 6 years. Now our efforts are also in the same direction to solve this problem but the issue is very complex. Our effort has been to provide the healing touch and there should be no need to criticise it. The Hon. Prime Minister toured Amritsar in an open jeep; he visited the Golden Temple and people have already commented upon this. Some steps have been taken. We cannot alienate the people. When you speak of election I would like to know as to who would participate in these election? In the election it is the people of Punjab who will participate. Regarding Khalistan I would say that if 4 persons demand Khalistan, we can face them. If a terrorist demands Khalistan on gun point, it is a different thing but we will face that situation also. I am quite sure that if we tackle the situation in the right spirit and if people could be shan away from the terrorists, then we can succeed. I am not talking of political fight. Regarding an encounter, it was said that there is terror in the mind of the people. I cannot say about the last elections whether this terror was there in their minds and whether Shri Mann won the elections because of the support of the terrorists. We have seen the situation in Kashmir that all the nationalist forces, even, which used to come out on the roads, are today not able to come out because of the terror of the militants. They have come to Delhi and Jammu from Srinagar. This is a dangerous situation. Therefore, our foremost effort will be to solve this crisis. We do not want that after 6 months we have to extend it for another 6 months. We are making all efforts in this direction and are hopeful. We find that there is improvement in the situation in Kashmir. The situation was really bad but with the help of better coordination and determination we have been able to improve the situation there to a large extent. The situation in Punjab is not such. There is a loyal section of population there. In the industrial sector as well as in the agricultural production, the

labourers are working. The people there want that harmony should prevail there. In this the biggest fear is from the militants and terrorists whom we have to face. I have no doubt that we will succeed in controlling them.

This is the theoretical aspect. An hon. Member said that unless we go to villages and work there, it will have no impact. It is the Congress Party which has a base there. During the last election, Congress got 29 per cent votes. We will take the help of a party, which has a base there. We will take their help in Kashmir, Punjab in all such places, We consider it vital. The attention of the entire country and of a Government is towards these problems and issues. Whenever such problem arises the question involved is not viewed on party lines. You have your party unit there. There are no differences in this regard. Both your party as well as the Government wants to fight terrorism. We are trying to face the challenge of people who demand Khalistan and you also want to fight against them. Both of us want to fight against the external forces which are bent upon destroying the peace and prosperity of our country. So wherein lies the difference?

Don't you want normalcy to be restored in Punjab? All of us want to speed up the process of creating congenial atmosphere. In this regard I would say that political process should be initiated along with administrative action.....(Interruptions).....Shri Kumaramangalamsaid....(Interruptions).....

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): You see, our party has offered full cooperation in solving the Punjab problem(Interruptions).....

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: You have raised a very important question. On Kashmir, we had convened an all party meeting in which all those parties which are relevant in the case of Jammu and Kashmir took part. Representatives of five parties joined the Advisory Committee there. I feel

that our approach is same as yours. We have to improve the law and order situation and to restore the authority of the administration. The question of initiating the political process comes after that. The situation in Punjab is not like that. With reference to Shri Kumaramangalam's demand for a discussion on our policy, I would say that I don't think that there is any difference in our approach, but it is just that we lay emphasis on removing the difficulties faced by those parties in Punjab which are relevant and which enjoy support at the grassroot level. Moreover, whenever we organised programmes, with the specific view to alienate and oppose the terrorists or the proponents of Khalistan, on the occasion of Shaheed Bhagat Singh's birthday when functions were organised at his native village or Ludhiana or Amritsar, we have always endeavoured to invite the representatives of the Congress Party.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: If you give me a patient hearing, it would be easier for you to answer the questions. As you have rightly said, we have participated in all the joint programmes organised by you in those places, where our party has support among the masses. I still remember that representatives of all parties had visited Khara Kalan, I myself went there and speeches were delivered there. What is happening there at present? You must have observed that after the assumption of office by your Government, we have always been ready to participate in any joint meeting, but you are pressurised not to invite any congressman to attend such meetings. People like Simranjeet Singh Mann put pressure on you by saying that they would not attend any such meeting if the Congress party is also invited. Your Deputy Prime Minister too has echoed the same feelings. Then, how do you expect us to attend such meetings? Shall we get there to face humiliation? You just think over it for a minute. You will also feel that he has not done the right thing by saying so. If four parties are standing together on a platform and if you start abusing one of them from the same platform, then how can we work together? Will the problems be solved by constantly referring to the past 40 years.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: I would like to tell you that that is the only difference in the approach of the previous Government and the present Government that.....

[English]

We believe in consensus.

[Translation]

You are aware of the fundamental differences in the viewpoint of the C.P.I. and the B.J.P. Therefore, if any party or any particular person makes any remarks about any petty insignificant issue, then you should not feel so strongly about it. If you have any commitment towards anything, then you should fulfill it. At the moment our common objective is to mobilise public opinion and to educate people of Punjab against terrorism and secessionism. Even if there is a difference of opinion among the parties, like the differences on this issues between the C.P.I., B.J.P. and the Janta Dal even, then at such a moment everyone should stand together to protect the unity and integrity of the Nation. There may be differences in the policies of all political parties regarding economic programmes but we should all stand together on fundamental issues like safeguarding the country's unity and integrity.

You have mentioned the name of Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann. I have already said that the first all-party meeting was convened on December 18. Your representatives came there and asked us about our policy regarding terrorism and the demand for Khalistan. Our policy is clear. In our talks with Shri Mann, we told him clearly that talks would be held only within the constitutional framework. We are not going to compromise the unity and integrity of the country. We have not surrendered before the terrorists. Our Prime Minister's disposition is such that he is ready to talk with any body.

[English]

Within the constitutional framework.

[Translation]

When your Government was in power, similar problems were there before you also. At that time I think that Shri V. P. Singh was the President of the Janata Dal. For one whole year you did not convene any meeting, you never invited the opposition for talks.

We are very sorry that we could not conduct elections in Punjab. The situation is not normal.

[English]

It should have been a feather in our cap.

[Translation]

We would like to instal a popular Government there by initiating democratic process but there are some problems and the situation is not conducive for holding elections.

We very much wish to hold the elections as early as possible out for this we need the cooperation of all the the hon. Members and all the political parties. We have devoted 20 hours on the discussion on Punjab and there is no need to say anything more. I would like to say only this much.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to seek a clarification. As mentioned by Smt. Subhashini Ali and Shri Chand Ram, a civil defence force consisting of poor people, who stand by the country, who are prepared to defend the country, who are against the secessionist forces and who are prepared to fight them was created and arrangements were made to give them the necessary guidance under the supervision of the semi territorial Army, Homeguard etc. don't you think that it would be an effective measure and this process should go on so that the people are able to fight terrorism?

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Only yesterday a decision was taken about

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dt. 11.5.87 in respect of Punjab

[Sh. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed]

this suggestion of the Punjab Governor. The people living in the disturbed areas demanded weapons. We have decided that the Central Government would provide arms to the volunteers of the Civil Defence Force.

[English]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: It is not only the Government and the Opposition, we are also here. For political solution, you want consensus, that is all right. But what is your proposal with regard to political solution package, the vexed questions that have been pending.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Both the administrative action and the political initiatives have to go together. All the political parties should get activated and let us join together.

SHRIMATISUBHASHINI ALI: There are certain positive steps that have been enumerated several times like those with regard to the question of water, Chandigarh, Longowal-Rajiv Accord, special courts for the trial of 1984 riot accused persons etc. What about implementation of that package?

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: I do not want to repeat that; that has already been said.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: 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 May, 1990."

The motion was adopted

Statt. by Minister 552
Incident at Palej Rly. Station
(Gujarat) on 30.4.90

18.33 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

**Incident at Palej Railway Station in
Bharuch District of Gujarat on 30th
April, 1990**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Sir, I rise to apprise this august House regarding an incident that occurred at Palej Railway Station in Bharuch district of Gujarat on April 30 involving a group of BJP/RSS volunteers travelling on 23 DN Bombay-Ferozepur Janata Express and a mob of local persons. It is learnt that the group, under the leadership of Shri Parkash Mehta, BJP MLA (Maharashtra), was travelling to Delhi to participate in the 'Kashmir Bachao' rally of 2.5.90. At 14.35 hrs., the train halted at Palej Railway Station where it had a stipulated halt of 4 minutes. The BJP/RSS volunteers in the train were shouting slogans, of which some were apparently resented by some local Muslims living close to the Railway Station. As the train started from Palej Railway Station, some persons pulled the chain to bring the train to a halt. An unlawful assembly of about 200 persons that had gathered on the plat-form started pelting stones at the train.

A scuffle ensued between the mob and the BJP/RSS volunteers who were travelling on the train. One person belonging to the group travelling to Delhi was allegedly attacked with a sharp weapon and died on the spot. 8 others, all from the group travelling on the train, sustained injuries in the scuffle. The police from Bharuch immediately rushed to Palej on hearing of the incident and brought the situation under control.

Two of the injured were admitted in the Bharuch Civil Hospital and the remaining six were sent to the Baroda Civil Hospital. The body of the deceased, after post mortem, was sent to Bombay under police escort.