

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** The point is, it has already been adopted in the Rajya Sabha. If we delay this Resolution, the media cannot take it and it has international implications.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Without losing time, it may be adopted and released.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will put this Resolution to the House and if it is necessary to discuss it, we can discuss after the Punjab discussion, or before the Punjab discussion, as the House decides.

**THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA):** Sir, we adopt the Resolution here and now.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will read the Resolution

#### **Resolution**

The crisis in West Asia is causing grave concern throughout the world. Perhaps at no time since the Second World War has humankind been so close to the brink of global disaster. War will cause incalculable human suffering and inflict irreversible environmental damage. War must be averted. Peaceful means must be pursued relentlessly.

Recalling that the Government of India, along with many other countries belonging to the Nonaligned Movement as well as outside the Movement, have repeatedly been urging that the Gulf crisis be resolved by peaceful means through dialogue.

Noting that the deadline of 15th January 1991, set in the UN Security Council Resolution 678 is fast approaching.

Believing that the Nonaligned Movement has an important role to play in bringing about a dialogue

among all the parties involved in the crisis.

Deeply conscious of the many historic, cultural, linguistic and other ties that bind India with the nations and peoples of the Gulf region and the long tradition of warm and friendly relations with them.

**This House:—**

- (i) Expresses its firm belief that war must be averted;
- (ii) Calls upon all sides to make further determined efforts in the coming days and weeks to prevent war and seek solution through peaceful means by dialogue under UN auspices or otherwise.
- (iii) Wishes the Secretary General of UN every success in his last minute effort to resolve the issue peacefully.

I think this resolution is adopted by the House unanimously.

**SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:** Yes.

The Resolution was adopted *unanimously*.

17.25 hrs.

**DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193**  
**Situation in Punjab—Contd.**

[*English*]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We can resume the discussion on Punjab now. Shri Kapil Dev Shastri to speak.

[*Translation*]

Since the reply is coming from the Government soon, the Members should make their submissions in brief.

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI (Sonepat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would make my submission very brief and hope that no controversy would be raised about it and the whole House should also accept those suggestions.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, fighting is there in the very blood of the people of Punjab and Haryana and that cannot be stopped. This has been happening there for the last thousands of years. If they have to fight with others, then they utilise their strength there otherwise they fight at home. It is evident from the history of last five thousands years—whether they are Rajput, Jat, Goojar or Ahir. These people reside there and they fight. If you ask them to fight for the country—be it against Germany, France or USA—they would fight but if you do not do that they would fight at home. What are the reasons of their fightings? I do not want to go into details. I am aware of all the happenings which have happened in Punjab since 1937. The main reason of the Punjab problem is economic and this problem was understood by Choudhary Chhotu Ram. That is why he united all Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs at one platform. He asked Mullahas to go to mosques, Granthis to go to Gurdwaras and Pandits, like me, to go to temples and said that they had nothing to do with the politics. One thing I would like to say that many agreements have been signed since 1956 regarding land disputes and sharing of water, but the people of Punjab particularly Akalis did not allow to implement those agreements—be it the agreement of 1956 for sharing water, agreement of 1968, 1977 or 1982 and same thing has happened in case of agreements signed for transfer of land. If Indira award 1970 is implemented and Fazilika and Abohar are transferred to Haryana, Punjab problem would have been solved to a great extent. Then you need not make a security belt upto Jai-

salmer we fought a Niyay-yudh under the leadership of Shri Devi Lal against the sections 7 and 9 of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Punjab did not agree to transfer Fazilika and Abohar to Haryana. The Punjab problem would be solved to a great extent if Fazilika and Abohar are transferred to Haryana. Then the Haryana will have border with Pakistan and the infiltration across the border would be checked.

In 1985 when Shri Bhajan Lal was the Chief Minister of Haryana, he gave a proposal to the Central Government. In the said proposal it was suggested that there is no use of raising the controversy of Kandukheda. In lieu of Kandukheda four villages of Haryana can be transferred to Rajasthan and four villages of Rajasthan adjoining to Haryana can be transferred to Haryana. If Abohar and Fazilika are transferred to Haryana, there would be no controversy. Arms and ammunitions supply to terrorists in Punjab are coming across the border at Ferozpur, Ganganagar and Jaisalmer. But his proposal was not accepted. He was removed and Choudhary Bansi Lal was appointed as the Chief Minister of Haryana. I was one of the five persons from Haryana who were present at Akal Takhat at the time of partition of Punjab and Haryana and it was decided that there was a condition to transfer 10-12 villages out of which only in two villages other language was spoken. Therefore, the stand taken in case of Kandukheda is wrong. I would say that the day the Central Government transfer Abohar and Fazilika to Haryana and complete Sutlej Yamuna Link Canal, the problem of Punjab will be solved automatically to a great extent. Then there would be no need to erect wire fencing or such other things along the border.

In addition to it I would like to say that there is one more reason behind this problem. Earlier 20-22 per cent recruitment for the Army

was made from Punjab and 18 per cent from Haryana. When Babu Jagjivan Ram was the Defence Minister, he put a restriction that the recruitment to the Army would be made in proportion to the population of the States. At the time of recruitment for IAS, it is said that candidates would be taken according to their ability but the Army recruitment is made according to the population. Union Public Service Commission is the biggest enemy of this country. If you have to make recruitment in proportion to population of the State, then other jobs should also be distributed according to the population. If ability is taken as a base for the recruitment, the youth of Punjab and Haryana should be recruited in the Army. This will provide opportunity to them to fight for the country and that would solve their problem to a great extent.

Secondly I would like to say one more thing which is a very important. Sutlej Yamuna link Canal should be given to Haryana. I would like to know from the people of Punjab who resist the construction of canal, that water is flowing to Pakistan since 1956 which is giving benefit to Pakistan to the tune of Rs. 800 crores per year, so why they do not want to give that surplus water to Haryana and Rajasthan. Today the situation in Punjab is that nobody knows Shri Prakash Singh Badal or Gurcharan Singh Tohra. Today young people are there who want money, rifles and girls and they get them at gun point. Have Haryana police been not there, the terrorists would have turned towards Delhi. Our brave police force face the terrorists but our police force is not getting as much assistance from the Centre as it should have got. They neither have weapons, vehicles nor other means. In spite of all these fact Haryana Police checked the terrorists effectively. Therefore I would like to say that to end the terrorism, the Government should hold elections for Panchayats, district councils,

Municipal Committees and for Vidhan Sabha in the Punjab. Hold all elections simultaneously. If Panchayat elections are held, people will be busy with the election. Terrorists never indulged in booth capturing there as it happens in other States. They said only one thing to the voters that they would cast their vote but they have to show it to their agents first. In Punjab the Governments were dismissed five times that is why they have resentment for not allowing Government to run. Punjab and Haryana provide food grains to the entire country and when there is any threat to the country, they come forward first to protect the country but when the question of giving self rule to them is arised they are denied to have it. Shri Bhajan Lal is sitting here. He is a backward Jat .....(Interruptions)..... Bhajan Lal ji is Jat. I want to say that when a Jat grows more food-grains, the entire country eat that but when a question of giving rule to them is arised, everyone object to that. I would like to say that with the help of Army, all elections should be held there. Youth should be recruited in the Army...(Interruptions)..... There is no leadership in the Akalis and that is why this thing is going on there. The Governments of Prakash Singh Badal, Surjit Singh Barnala, Lakshman Singh and Justice Gurnam Singh were dismissed there. I would like to know as to how you want to solve the problem.

With these words I would like to say that with the help of Army all elections from Panchayat to Assembly should be held there and that would automatically solve the problem.

[English]

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on this concluding day of this session, we are discussing one of the most important issues that faces the country. I wish there had been more

[Sh. Dinesh Singh]

time to go into the problem as such. Now many speakers have already spoken and it would not be my attempt to raise the issues that have already been raised and discussed.

The problem of Punjab has a history. It goes back to the days of partition itself. Then came the linguistic States, creation of Punjabi *Soobas* and now terrorist activities. There is a thread that links all this. To go into the specifics of it would take time. It would be useful as an exercise but the time would not permit me to go into the details just now. I would prefer, with your permission to speak of the possibilities that exist now rather go into the historical question because it is linked with emotion. And once one enters the field of emotion, then it becomes very difficult to work out an arrangement that would be acceptable to all in the future.

The real problem of Punjab is an interesting one. Usually if you look at the history of secession or terrorism, it is linked with deprivation—that the people are deprived, that they are poor, that they are not able to get what they feel right. In Punjab, the story is otherwise. Punjab is our most affluent State. The per-capita income of the people in Punjab has been the highest in the country. It is therefore not a case in which poverty has compelled people to become terrorists. It is a case on the other hand of emotions having been aroused on the basis of religion. Because of that various other issues have got tied into it. One can take them up separately.

Questions were raised about some royalty to be given for agricultural produce in Punjab. There can be many other issues which can be raised to bolster this idea of the emergence of a religious entity. If we try to tie all these ends, we don't really reach anywhere.

The main issue I think is that terrorism is on the increase in Punjab. How it came into being raises a question. If one can go into it all of us will have to share the blame for it in one way or the other. But how do we go forward from here? If this House, if the parties in this country could evolve a consensus as to how we can deal with this problem, I think we would have taken an important first step in that direction.

I have received from the Lok Sabha library the details of killings that have taken place recently in the last year. If we take the month of November, the number of civilians killed by terrorists was 297; the number of policemen and security personnel killed 66; the number of terrorists killed 171; arrested 140. If we take it from 11th December to 1st January for which figures have been provided, the number of civilians killed has risen sharply to 1896; the number of policemen and security personnel killed is 465; the number of terrorists killed is 1199. This only shows that we are not moving towards a solution to the problem. We are only heightening the killings that is taking place in Punjab.

There has been some criticism as to why the Prime Minister has agreed to have a dialogue with one group or the other in Punjab.

17.43 hrs. [SHRI JASWANT SINGH  
*in the Chair*]

I think that when we have a situation where the solution is either to fight or to talk, then the obvious answer is to talk. We have just passed a resolution regarding the Gulf that we should seek a peaceful solution. Therefore the obvious thing in Punjab would also be to seek a peaceful solution. Therefore there should be no restriction on the Prime Minister talking to anyone to find a peaceful solution.

He has made it quite clear that he would talk only to Indian citizens, and that he would talk within the ambit of Indian Constitution, except for minor changes that may be necessary. Therefore I am amazed that objections have been taken to the Prime Minister willing to have a dialogue to find a solution. Many people have objected to it sitting on the other side. But I would only suggest that we should look at this question as a question of the Indian polity, a question of integrity of the country. We are a multi-religious society. Therefore, it should not be necessary for anyone belonging to one particular religion or the other to want to go out of the union to find satisfaction. His religious feelings, his religious sentiments, his religious rights are guaranteed by the Constitution in this country. It is not merely a question of the spirit and the letter, but it is the question of the accommodation and the country as a whole has to accept that it has to absorb people of different religions, speaking different languages, living in different parts of this country. What is happening in India, Sir, is not peculiar to India. There is a global trend, to which we must also look. In the developing societies, there is a desire for greater decentralisation, for greater powers, coming to smaller units, for assertion of ethnic rights, for assertion of religious rights. We find this amongst our neighbours and if we go further we find it in other developing societies, including the Soviet Union and I dare say, China. On the other hand, in the developed societies, the attempt is to forget these divisions and to unite in larger association. Europe is now becoming one Europe, not only Western Europe, but also Eastern Europe getting attaching to this. In America, the United States is attempting to unite the entire continent of North and South America. There are these global movements which has impact on us also. Therefore, we have to find out as to how we can accommodate different feelings, diffe-

rent urges and strengthen the unity of the country. It cannot be done by appeasement; it cannot be done by over-exertion of power. A balance has to be struck between the assertion of the authority of the State and the accommodation of the feelings of the people, whether it is power or whether it is any other religious or linguistic feeling. Therefore, I would suggest to the Government that, as the Prime Minister is holding dialogue with different sections of Indian people, related to the State of Punjab, he should also have individually, collectively, more dialogue with the political parties and see whether some kind of a consensus on approach can be arrived at—not on generalities, not on merely expression of good desire that this should happen and that should happen, but how will it happen. One of the problems that we faced in Punjab is that of—it is a serious one and that has not been mentioned so far, as I have heard hon. Members speak—anti-social activities that are being carried out,—the smuggling of dope, smuggling of gold, smuggling of liquor and all kind of smuggling which is giving a stake to the people in the continuation of this conflict, of confrontation. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that firm measures have to be taken and I would suggest that we should invite Pakistan for a dialogue, on those acts because smuggling is also affecting their economy, to see whether there could be a joint effort to stop smuggling.

Shri Advani has referred to the question of putting up barriers. Barriers are useful at times. They become necessary, but mere stinging of wires is not a barrier. Many things pass through these wires. The real barrier will come when smuggling will become unprofitable. Therefore, we should go into this question, this important economic question, as to how we can draw our young people away from smuggling, how can we prevent people coming over from Pakistan to encourage

[Sh. Dinesh Singh]

this smuggling, to encourage the division, to encourage divisive activities, to bring arms, to supply arms to them and also to train them in Pakistan. Therefore, I feel that it will be useful if we could all apply our minds to it and see that a concrete programme, not merely intentions of good results but also the programme to achieve those results, is made and that we move in the direction of finding a peaceful solution in which these killings are stopped and Government's authority is established by its ability to check the anti-social activities there.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA (Jadavpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, one does not like to begin on a note of pessimism. But I am sure many Members in this House will agree with me when I start by saying that the situation in Punjab has gone from bad to worse in the last two months. There are some very clear danger signals. I will mention only three. Firstly, not only do we find that the killings are continuing but we also find that now the murderous attacks are concentrated against the minorities. I agree with the Hon. Member, Shri L. K. Advani, that this is deliberate, this is a part of the a diabolical plan and it is meant to create a pressure on the minorities to migrate. I think, it is entirely to the credit of the great people of Punjab that so far in spite of such pressure being mounted against them, there have been no communal riots in the State nor has there been any large-scale migration from the State. But let us say that now that pressure is concentrated on them and if this migration starts, then the international repercussions of this may well be imagined.

Secondly, we find the administration dangerously buckling under the pressure of the extremists. Now, we find the extremists issuing diktats. They have enforced a code for media. They have terrorised the Press. They have enforced a dress code for the students and this imposition of a uniform is again quite deliberate. It is meant to create the impression that

Khalistan has already come. It is heard that attacks are being made upon girl students who are not conforming to this dress code. A lady member in Patiala has been shot down not because she refused to abide by their diktat but simply because she demanded some time to follow it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): It was because she sang the National Anthem.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA: This is in Patiala.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes, in Patiala.

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA: Further, Sir, the secessionists have succeeded in banning Hindi broadcasting from AIR. Now, it may be remembered that our party and all the Left parties have been speaking for a very a long time on behalf of the rights and the privileges of the regional languages. We have been demanding for a very long time that in those parts of the country, where there is more than 10 per cent of Punjab speaking population, the Punjabi language should be brought in. But the erstwhile Congress (I) Government had turned its deaf ears to these demands. And now we find that a Government, which is friendly to them is at last buckling to this pressure and they are allowing another national language to be banned from AIR. So, the cost of bringing Punjabi language to broadcasting is at the cost of banning Hindi. Further Sir, we find that now they have issued another diktat that water from irrigation canals must not pass from Punjab to Rajasthan. This is a serious matter which is going to be disastrous not only from the point of view of economic considerations but also from the point of view of the relations among the different States. The third danger signal which we find is that in the last few days, we have found that the terrorist activities have cropped up in parts of India where there had never been a problem before

this. I recall the murder of the SP in Dhanbad and I recall the Purulia incident also. This has happened in West Bengal. West Bengal is a place where even during the terrible anti-Sikh riots of 1984, the Sikh minorities were assured of as much security as any other community in the country. Why is this being done? This is done deliberately in order to create disorder, in order to build up an atmosphere of hatred between one community and another. So, these are the danger signals. And it is our suspicion and we have an impression that the attitude of the Government in the last two months has certainly not helped the situation. We have some of us who said that this has, in fact, given encouragement to the terrorists. The Prime Minister has denied this and I hope his subsequent actions will prove his words. But why do we have this feeling that the secessionists movement got the wrong signals from the Government? I think only yesterday the Prime Minister had said that he would hold talks even with the secessionists because they are also citizens of India. Now, the Prime Minister knows that they are citizens of India and we also know that they are citizens of India but do the secessionists know that? Have they given that commitment to the Prime Minister that when they come for talks, they will agree not to raise about the unity of India, that they will not bring into question the unity of India? The Prime Minister also has said, in justifying his statement, that he is prepared to talk with anyone in the country, including the secessionists. He has said that the solution to the Punjab problem does not lie in bullets. Who, in this House, thinks that the solution to the Punjab lies in bullets? I am sure nobody. It is only the secessionists who tried to solve the Punjab problem through the bullets. They are trying to solve it by shedding innocent blood, by extortion and by terrorising the people and unless they give up this strategy and unless they give up their commitment for secessionism, how can there be a basis for talks?

12—6 LSS/ND/91

Now, let the secessionists go for the time being. What about the Akali leader, Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann? In his memorandum which he has submitted to the Government, has he given that commitment that unity of India would be an accepted promise and not a matter of debate?

18.00 hrs

It may be, in that memorandum he has not mentioned Article 51 of the Constitution although this was mentioned in the resolution that was taken by the three Akali parties in December. It must have been mentioned but they have given up their demand for self-determination and a demand for a buffer State between India and Pakistan raised at the meeting of these three Akali groups in December.

We know that the Akali leaders belong to a very glorious anti-imperialist tradition but it is unfortunate that they are unable to withstand the pressure of the extremists. They are not demarking themselves sufficiently from the extremists. It must be said that in today's newspaper there was a welcome report of a statement by Mr. Mann where he has dissociated himself from these acts of violence and terror. We welcome this, Sir, however, still the question is there that if the Government has talks then these talks must be without any pre-condition. Terrorism must be condemned and the integrity of the country must not be made a matter of debate. It is only when these have been accepted whether by Mr. Mann or whether by secessionists, only then the talks can proceed.

Again we find the Prime Minister making statement in Newspaper saying that the Pakistan Government is anxious to come to terms with the Indian Government regarding the matter of Khalistan. Has there been any such sign of goodwill from the military powers in Pakistan or the Government which has been newly installed there? If they have this goodwill

[Smt. Malini Bhattacharya]

then at least they should stop giving shelter to the notorious Panthic Committees. So long as they are not doing this, I would like to ask the Prime Minister on what evidence he is issuing such certificates to the Pakistan Government.

Sir, I now come to the last part of my speech. There is indeed, I think a certain silver lining in the midst of all this darkness, something which I have mentioned before also. The people of Punjab are still against terrorism. At the grass-roots we still find people when they have some organised force to mobilise them: when they have administration to back them up, we find the people still resist terrorism with great deal of heroism. Earlier on when Mr. Mann was arrested, we find that the protests were quite muted, nominal. The *dharna* by the Sikh Student's Federation of India on 30th last did not attract crowds. They think that the administration will not be able to protect them: the political parties will not be able to mobilise them and it is only under such terror the people of Punjab are still standing the terrorists. There is a positive proof of this, Sir. I will give only one instance.

On November 26 last, from our Party, district level mass demonstrations were held in different areas of Punjab demanding for a political solution of the problem and in defence of national unity and these, considering the overall situation in Punjab, rallies and mass demonstrations found a great deal of response.

Some of the hon. Members have been talking about elections in Punjab. Certainly, we are all for elections in Punjab but, Sir, if these elections are to be held then the buckling down to the administration must be stopped. Administration must be strengthened: the Central Government must go behind the administration. It should not only bring right kind of people to the right kind of places at the same time it should not yield to the demands, completely ignoble de-

mands being made by the terrorists that certain people who are not in favour with them should be removed. There should not be wholesale shifting of the administration, Sir. If this streamlining, strengthening of administration can be achieved then only, Sir, it would be possible to conduct elections otherwise we know recently co-operative elections were held in Ropar and they were held at gun-point. If you do not want to present Punjab to the terrorists on the platter do not have elections until the administration has been strengthened and masses have been given sufficient faith and trust.

Sir, there are two or three other suggestions. I will just mention them as these are positive suggestions. There was a proposal for enhancing the employment for unemployed youths in Punjab which was put forward by the V. P. Singh Government. It should be implemented by the present Government. The points of dispute regarding Chandigarh regarding distribution of water should be resolved immediately; if necessary the Government can rely on judicial verdict for this. The rights and privileges of Punjabi language, one of the national languages, must be upheld. The Centre-State relationship must be made more balanced. Some of the rumblings that we have been hearing in the last two months, the way different State Governments are being brought to their knees, should not continue. A healthy Centre-State relationship is an absolute pre-condition for the solution of the Punjab problem. The All India Gurudwara Act must be instilled and as for the 1984 riots, there has been already sufficient delay in the investigation—there have been committees, they have given reports but very little action has been taken. The erstwhile National Front Government took some measures but may be they had too many other pre-occupations and these did not make much progress. This Government should take it up and should not let the culprits of 1984 riots go.



Finally, Sir, it is a matter of installing trust and confidence in the masses, mobilising the masses so that the acts of terrorisms may be prevented even before they are committed and for this we would urge upon the Government not to let the secessionists hold the Government and the country and the people of Punjab to ransom. An immediate meeting of the National Integration Council must be held. The Government or the Prime Minister should take us into confidence regarding the talks that he is having with different parties.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is good that we are discussing the Punjab situation today. Punjab problem is the problem of the entire country now. There was a time when Sikhism was in its making, respected Guru Nanak Devji laid its foundation. At that time there was a division of our country on the basis of religion viz. Hindus and Muslims. Guru Nanak Devji taught the lesson of unity among Hindus and Muslims and others and those who followed his teachings were called the Sikhs. I have been visiting Punjab whenever I got a chance. Very recently on 5th January I had been to Bhatinda. Earlier, I went to Amritsar also. There I made an appeal to the public whether they would alienate the first Gurudwara of the world, i.e. Patna Sahib from Khalistan, where the founder Guru of the Khalsa Panth Guru Gobind Singh was born. He passed away in Nanded which is situated on the border line of Maharashtra. The fifth Gurudwara of the world is there and will the Sikhs surrender it? Would the Sikhs like to make Khalistan without the first and fifth Gurudwaras, because the first is directly related with the birth and fifth directly related with the passing away of the founder of Sikhism. Then Khalistan won't be of any use without these Gurudwaras. If the Sikhs include both these Gurudwaras, the quarrel should be on the issue that the name of the country

would be changed from India ("Bharat") to Khalistan. Then this quarrel will be only for the name and not the secession of the country. Mr. Chairman Sir, this is a religious problem, sentiments and not the arguments matter in religion. You know and we also know how the country was divided in 1947. On the one hand, the slogan was that Muslims are a separate nation and on the other hand was the voice of Hindu nation. The one supported the other unintentionally. The British regime got an opportunity to strike and we were divided. Separated our motherland was divided. Not only the greatest leader, but Mahatma Gandhi had given us the advice: "Ishwar, Allah, Teronaam, Sab Ko Sanmati de Bhagwaan".

(Some call you Ishwar, and some as Allah, Oh Lord, bestow wisdom to all.)

But this "Sanmati" (wisdom) too had no effect. Somebody shot Gandhiji in the chest after remembering God, and the name of "Allah" too was misused. In this manner our country was divided. After independence there were concerted efforts in the direction that there should be a section of the people whose mother-tongue was Punjabi but who would say that Hindi was their mother-tongue. Though their mother-tongue was Punjabi, they still use the same language. There can't be any other reasoning except religious or communal. The situation deteriorated. Then there was a demand of Punjabi Province. We had supported it on the basis of language. After that, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh came into being. Both Punjab and Haryana went on making progress. Just now my friend Sardar Kripal Singh raised some points. I had myself gone to Punjab and some people honestly believe that they are neglected.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that after Independence a scheme for the biggest dam was sanctioned initially for Kosi river area.

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

Late Sardar Pratab Singh Kairon was the Chief Minister at that time. He demanded the construction of that project in Bhakra Nangal. Some of our people objected to this. Articles were published and attempts were made to launch an agitation on the issue that Bhakra Nangal Dam is going to be constructed in place of Kosi dam. We, the communists, opposed strongly and said that Punjab is bleeding and it is divided and it should therefore be given the topmost priority. The same thing was done. Bhakra Nangal Dam was built at the cost of Kosi Dam. They say that Punjab has been neglected. If the country has given Bhakra Nangal Dam to Punjab as a result of which there has been tremendous Progress in the field of agriculture and industry, it is not the testimony of neglect.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, even otherwise it is a matter of pleasure for us that Barauni in Bihar is also getting the coal at the same rate at which the thermal power station of Bhatinda is getting. People of our region argue that in spite of producing coal why should they get it on higher price. Since it is known as trade equalisation, so they are getting coal from Bhatinda or any other place at cheaper rates. We do not object, if they are getting it. As far as possible our country discharged the duty of nourishing Punjab because after 1947 much attention was given towards strengthening Punjab, especially because it is the province which serves as a sentry of this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are certain things which spoil the environments. Meanwhile, you may recollect that the verdict of the Supreme Court in case of Shah Bano was changed, so a signal was received in Punjab that if the verdict of the Supreme Court can be changed under the threat of vote they would use the threat of vote and show their might also to influence the decision, in their favour. If somebody errs, it influences others also. Similarly, 4-5 years back

when there was a slogan "Babri Masjid tod do" (Demolish Babri Masjid) there was a slogan from Kashmir saying 'Bharat chhod do' (Quit India) and terrorism gained ground in Punjab and a cry was heard from there saying 'Bharat tod do'.

No doubt, one may not intend to demolish the mosque, but the effect is there. Our country is multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and based on the unity in diversity and we have some dignified traditions. These things have come in the way of vitiating the feelings. The present situation is dangerous, I don't want to speak anything about it, as all my friends have already spoken about it. People do not accept with sweet will. They accept only on account of fear. Panthak committee gives a call and people accept it out of fear. I associate myself with the views expressed by my other colleagues who have said that the people of Punjab, whether they are sikhs, Hindus or of any other community have remained calm in spite of all the riots, excesses, and brutal killings. They have not indulged in riots in any village or city or mohalla. Such is the dignified tradition of our nation and this is our big capital which will help us in going ahead. I have got an information according to which the Chancellor of the Punjab University, Chandigarh has been threatened that the terrorists will take revenge if he does not resign. So far as I know that Chancellor is not going to Chandigarh and he is still in Delhi. This type of terror is still prevalent there. In spite of all this, the masses of Punjab are maintaining close relationship among themselves. Mr. Chairman, Sir, what steps should we take in such a situation is a different matter which has been discussed time and again. Perhaps this point has not come up during this discussion. Now, the things are being linked such as some sikh may commit some crime after going to some other place in the same manner in which a Khalistani militant did by killing an S.P. in Dhanbad. The victim died, and according to a report,

the Khalistani militant was apprehended in Purulia. The simple motive of the militant is to, some how, instigate riots in the country so that there is disturbance and sikhs are subjected to violence and it is a matter of pride that there have been no acts of revenge in Bihar, Bengal or any other place. We hope that our people from any part of the country and their patriotism will prevent such a situation and the people will not take revenge from any one else for the misdeeds of the rioters, extremists and terrorists. Only the real culprit will be punished by law which our country has adopted. Whatever punishment is there according to the law will be awarded to the terrorists.

The collusion between Khalistanis, members of ULFA and LTTE and the people who want to alienate Kashmir is not good. Such links should be considered seriously and smashed. This should not be ignored.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now the question of Pakistan came up.

The Prime Minister has said that we have to hold talks with Pakistan and Punjab issue should not be the point of discussion because it is our internal matter. We have to see how to solve it? Pakistan has no right to interfere in India's internal matters. Interference by Pakistan in our internal matters should be the point of discussion. There is no harm to have discussion with Pakistan on this issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHOGENDR A JHA: I am just concluding. One important thing I want to say is that this is not a personal war that the army should be called in. An extremist kills people and then disappears and when our armed forces reach there he resorts to firing and many innocent persons are killed. As I have already said and urging again today that the justifiable

demands of the public should be accepted. It will be the decisive as well as political approach also. For example those responsible for the 1984 riots should be punished and the Chandigarh and water disputes should be resolved immediately. I think the most prominent leader of Haryana is our Deputy Prime Minister. I hope he will think our these disputes keeping in view the interest of the country and adopt liberal approach. At present he is in such a position that he will keep the interest of country in view and take liberal stand in resolving these disputes. It is a matter of joy that he will help in resolving these disputes as the Deputy Prime Minister keeping in view the larger interest of the country. Our intelligence agencies are not upto the mark. In fact our failure to bust terrorist gangs in Punjab can be attributed to our intelligence agencies. Basically there are two types of extremists—the first type comprises of people who particularly want a separate state and the second type comprises of people who are just criminals taking advantage of the troubled atmosphere to indulge in violence. The Government and its intelligence agencies have to differentiate between the two. It will not be fair on our part to call all of them as Khalistanis because we shall not be able to take action against the two groups simultaneously.

So far as India's border with Pakistan is concerned, the Government has to think how to seal it? Unless we seal the border we cannot stop the influx of arms and terrorists from across the border. Unlike Shri Bhajan Lal I am not in favour of uprooting the people who are living within two kilometres of the border. It can be done by supplying electric current to the fence. Illegal crossing of the border, be it in terms of smuggling of arms or escaping of terrorists must be checked at all costs.

The hon. Prime Minister has said that this is a necessary step without which we cannot get success. One of

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

the main issues is whether talks should be held or not. Even today we have passed a Resolution that the Gulf crisis should be resolved through mutual dialogue. What is the harm in having a dialogue? I am talking about the people who are honest, like me. When we were imprisoned in jail during freedom struggle, we escaped by jumping over the jail walls. We were asked to give in writing that we would not indulge in violence. We challenged them to take us to court but did not sign the condition put by them. We just said that we would make efforts to avoid violence. Personally, I have never adopted violent means to achieve my ends. The Sikhs, who staunchly support the demand for Khalistan will never accede. So there is no harm in having a dialogue. The Government can initiate a dialogue and the Prime Minister can make it clear that there can be an agreement within the framework of the unity and integrity of the country. We must be sure about this last aspect otherwise the dialogue will be of no use. The people who have been misguided will come forward to seek Government help but those who are deliberately indulging in such activities will not come forward. This will not solve the problem. Therefore it is not a question of opposing the dialogue but of keeping the administration from becoming weak. Among the points discussed were holding of talks, gearing-up the intelligence agencies and checking the illegal movement across the Indo-Pak border. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude your speech now.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: My party feels, perhaps the entire House also feels, that an occasion to extend the President's Rule should not arise again. We have to create a favourable atmosphere for holding elections. Today people cannot cast their vote fearlessly. An atmosphere conducive to the holding of elections must be created through political or adminis-

trative means or through mutual dialogue. If the constitution has to be amended for the powers of the States (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have been given 23 minutes to speak instead of three minutes. Now please conclude your speech.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I am concluding. The Constitution will have to be amended in view of the recommendations of Sarkaria Commission. More powers will have to be granted to States. Shri Bhajan Lal said that the States of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab should be merged to one state. I don't think this will solve the problem. With these words I conclude my speech. Thank you.

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA (Ropar): Hon. Mr. Chairman Sir, today a discussion is being held on the Punjab issue. The participation of all Members in this discussion is much appreciated but it is a matter of regret that except for hon Shri Bhogendra Jha none of the members spoke of police atrocities on Sikh youth in Punjab. They should look at the issue from both angles. Every member spoke of handing over Punjab to army or fencing the border or taking over land of the farmers. But nobody said that the Punjab problem cannot be solved by force. Everyone said that it should be checked, it should be killed. Everyone also said that elections should not be held in the State till the situation becomes normal. I want to know what action has been taken by the Government to solve the problem? Recently 58 companies of C.R.P.F. and B.S.F. are sent to Punjab and several Gypsies and trucks are being supplied. More weapons are being given. Has the Government estimated the extent to which the B.S.F. and C.R.P.F. can contribute towards restoring normalcy in the State? Aren't innocent people being killed by the C.R.P.F. and B.S.F.? Is the

Government aware of a Press report published day before yesterday that C.R.P.F., B.S.F. and Police officials shot at a conductor and his two companions when they were returning after doing their duty. The conductor was killed and his two companions injured in this firing. This led bus-operators to observe a two-days strike. Nobody tried to understand why this strike was observed. The Government does not want to take action against the guilty police officials. Two days after the strike a case was registered against the guilty persons. At Khanna, a truck was going ahead, a Maruti van in which was a leader of Congress (I). The bodyguard of that leader shot-dead the truck driver only because he did not give him side due to heavy rush. Such type of incidents occur there. The police did not register the case. The people protested and demanded for the arrest and prosecution of the accused. But the police did not register case against the culprit in order to protect him. The people gheraoed the Police-Station and staged a peaceful Dharna when they came to know about the police's dilly-dallying in registering the case. Every citizen has right to protest peacefully but we cannot do even that in Punjab. We are fired by the police there even if we hold a peaceful protest. You might have come to know the news about incident took place at Khanna in which 2 or 3 persons were killed and 8 were injured in a police-firing when they were peacefully demonstrating. Their only guilt was that they were demonstrating peacefully.

I tell you that I immediately rushed there when I got intimation on phone about the incident and the police atrocities in my constituency. When I reached there, police was announcing at that time that curfew had been imposed in Khanna and people were being advised to go to their respective homes and simultaneously they were being lathi charged by the police. When I asked the cause of lathi-charge, they told me that curfew had

been imposed. I asked let the people reach their homes and till that time 'top lathi-charge. But they continued their atrocities on the people though I insisted upon them at three-four places not to do so.

You might have read in yesterday's newspaper about Bhawanigarh incident where the police resorted to fire and lathi-charge on the farmers who were staging 'Dharna' peacefully. I want to bring to your notice that the police have taken law in their hands because they are sure that no case would be registered against them. No law is existing in Punjab. About 6-7 months ago police killed Kulwant Singh in a fake encounter at Mohali. The Governor, D.C., S.S.P. and others had visited the spot. The D.S.P., Shri Dileep Singh, who is still in Mohali, mis-behaved with me. It is a matter of shame for the Government that a D.S.P. insults an M.P. and it is more cumbersome that no action has been taken yet against that D.S.P., I want to tell you how did he behave with me. I am compelled to bring it to the notice of the Government. The matter should be forwarded to Privilege Committee. Does the Government wants Member of the Parliament, who has been elected by lakhs of votes, be misbehaved and insulted by the police. That is why they (the Government) are not taking any action against the D.S.P. who had mis-behaved me?

The police is resorting to house to house search. The youth are dragged out of the houses and detained illegally. The police do not disclose their whereabouts. The Government assures that the women will not be called at police-stations for any interrogation. But one may confirm it from the police station that the police has tortured a woman by pulling her hair. Such is the situation of Punjab today. Even then you are saying that the Punjab problem must be solved within the provisions of the Constitution. I want to ask whether the Constitution allows to do such things? Does

[Smt. Bimal Kaur Khalsa]

the constitution of India allow to kill a youth in a fake police encounter after dragging him out of his house? Does it permit to detain the youths in jail for five to seven years without prosecuting them. Does our constitution permits the police to carry the youths in unnumbered vehicles. Is it not true that the vehicles without any number are being frequently used by the police in Punjab. Does the constitution of India allow to construct a temple after demolishing the Babari Masjid? Does it debar us from joining the funeral procession of those youths who are killed by the police? Even the relatives are not allowed to see the dead bodies of those who are killed by police. We say that one should be punished according to law, only if one commits crime. But no law permits the police to shoot out the criminal. On the wake of any such incidents, the parents of the missing children reach there to verify under the apprehension that the deceased may be their own wards. But the police do not allow the parents to see the dead-bodies. The police resort to lathi-charge if they ask for the dead-bodies of their wards. Such is the pitiable conditions of the parents there. ....(Interruptions).

CH. RAM PRAKASH (Ambala):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, why does not she say anything about the bank-robberies and the killings of the 20-30 bus-passengers after dragging them out?  
.....(Interruptions).....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.....(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA: I want to say that no one has right to take law in one's hands. He, who commits a crime-must be punished....(Interruptions) At that time, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was counselled to attack and demolish the Darbar Sahab in order to solve the Punjab issue. She was told by her advisers that several terrorists were hidden in the Darbar Sahab. Only after that Darbar Sahab was attacked. Bhajan Lal ji has said that a number

of terrorists and weapons were there. I say that there were so many ways of apprehending them. I want to know the fault of those who had come to Darbar Sahab on the day of 'Guru Parva' to bow down their heads before Shri Arjun Singh ji .....(Interruptions)..... It is being said that the terrorists were hidden in Har-Mandir Sahab. But when 39 Gurudwaras were searched in not a single terrorist was found in 38 Gurudwaras. Similarly, former Prime Minister, Shri V. P. Singh was advised by these very people not to conduct election in Punjab. He was told by them that the atmosphere of Punjab was not conducive to the election. Agreeing to their advice, he did not conduct election there and constitution was amended twice accordingly. As a result of which he had to repent later on. He has himself said that he is repenting for not conducting election in Punjab. Recently, our Prime Minister has talked to Shri Mann. He has said youths of Punjab will be called for talk. I am of the view that any talk or agreement take place when there is a dispute between two parties otherwise there is no use of having a talk. For example, Gulf-Crisis, which is of great concern. I wish that India should find out some solution of this crisis. When we are making efforts to solve this crisis through talk, then why do not we try to solve the Punjab problem through talk .....(Interruptions)... This problem also may be sorted out through dialogue. Earlier also there had been Rajiv Longowal accord in 1985. At that time also the dispute was with youths. There was no dispute with Shri Longowal and Shri Barnala. But accord was among Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri Barnala, Shri Balwant and Shri Longowal. The result of their accord is before you. Therefore, I say that agreement should be with those, with whom there is a dispute. Therefore, it is requested that Punjab problem may be solved through talk.....(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not want to check you from speaking but you

have taken two or three times more than the allotted time. Now, I request you to conclude your speech.

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I shall take only two-three minutes more. Shri Bhajan Lal Ji has said that my husband had assassinated Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It is a well known fact that my husband and Satwant Singh had assassinated her but my husband was immediately shot dead, though he had raised his hands. The law does not permit to shoot out the man who has surrendered. Even then he was shot dead.

After that, Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh were hanged to death because they were the assassins of Smt. Indira Gandhi. But I want to know why was the entire Sikh Community punished? What was the guilt of other Sikhs? Why were they burnt alive? Bhajan Lal Ji says that Shri Rajiv Gandhi had been visiting whole night. I want to know as to what Shri Rajiv Gandhi did by visiting the riots affected areas? Is any F.I.R. registered against any of the culprit? ...*(Interruptions)*...

[English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please do not interrupt her. It would not go on record.. *(Interruptions)\*...*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I am perfectly capable of keeping the House in order. All of you do not have to maintain order. Please sit down.

[Translation]

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA:** Property of crores of rupees of Sikhs was destroyed. This Government had promised to constitute special courts to punish the culprits of 1980 riots. But I ask them as to how many culprits of that riot have been punished so far, though 6 years have lapsed. The persons, res-

ponsible for the riots are in our Parliament but the Government tends to over-look them. The Government should not exempt any guilty person irrespective of his post.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, another point I want to raise is that the election of the Shiromani Committee is due for the last many years. The Sikhs are searched in before entering the Gurudwaras, their religious shrines. No one is allowed to enter the Darbar Saheb. Police personnel in civil dress are deputed there. They have been deployed in our religious places. Sir, what is the Government doing to heal the wounded feelings of the Sikhs? I hope that this problem may be solved, if the Sikh's wounded hearts are healed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi Ji had said at Sheesh Ganj Gurudwara that the Sikhs were bold enough to get their rights if they were denied their rights. Denying them their rights is the main cause of Punjab problem. I want to say that there is still scope of finding out the solution of Punjab problem. This problem would be too intricate to solve if immediate solution is not found out.

[Translation]

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Jalandhar):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Punjab situation has been being discussed here for the last three hours. It is unfortunate that we are still digging the past. If we discuss this matter from the very beginning it will be a very lengthy discussion but I would like to say that although ten long years have lapsed after the 1980 elections and now we are in the year 1991, there has been no improvement in the situation of Punjab. On the contrary the things moved from bad to worse. It is good that now Shri Chandra Shekhar is the Prime Minister of this country. Ten years back I along with Shri Chandra Shekhar and a few others visited

\*Not recorded.

[Sh. I. K. Gujral]

Darbar Saheb for the first time to have a dialogue with some people. At that time also, the situation of Punjab was critical and some people were trying to deteriorate the situation further and they were not prepared to make the situation normal. Unfortunately the politics took such a turn at that time, I do not want to name anyone, that Sant Bhindarwale became a prominent figure. As far as Sant Bhindarwale is concerned, had Shri Bhajan Lal been present in the House, he would have informed us about the party to which Bhindarwale extended his support, the platform from where he spoke and whom did he get elected. If these facts were revealed, things would have taken a different shape. I and Chandra Shekharji at that time had raised two issues. One issue was that whatever goes wrong it would not be linked with Sikh community. Violence had erupted and people were being killed everywhere but our stand was that the Sikh community is the part and parcel of this country like any other community. The Sikhs are an inseparable part of this country and they do have also their rights in this country. They are not living here at the mercy of others. Unfortunately, our views were not heard and the situation went on aggravating. Today when I have got the opportunity to express my views I shall certainly refer to these two issues, because I am directly concerned with them. First of all, I have been elected from Punjab and secondly, I am the son of the Punjab. I have eaten the crops grown on that part of the land which is known as Punjab. I am a claimant of the heritage that was given to us by our Gurus. Their preachings are so splendid that no one, either he may be a Hindu or a Sikh if he calls himself a Punjabi cannot dissociate himself from it. The foundation of those preachings was based on many values. The history of that period reveals that whosoever used to invade this country through the Khayber Pass used to pass through Punjab while going to and coming back from Delhi

and the condition of the people living in Punjab was pathetic. Our ladies were not safe, we had no past, no language and no culture. At the time of Babar a great Saint—The Saint Guru Nanak was born and for the first time he gave us a call and asked us to be courageous. The atrocities committed by Babar and other Moghul Kings gave birth to the Punjabis and by the time the tenth Guru was born a renewed vigour had developed in us. Our great saints had laid our foundation and they had created the Punjabi culture. They had given us discipline, psychology, culture, language and values. These values called for universal well being. Through these teachings, the welfare of the entire humanity was preached and was conveyed that the whole mankind should be treated as one caste. This was a gift from Guru Nanak Nanakji was such a great personality as any amount of time is inadequate to narrate his qualities. He had a peculiar personality. He had inherited the qualities of leadership and it included the spirit of sacrifice. Guru Nanak taught the Punjabis to uplift the downtrodden and be far sighted. But by the time Punjabis understood the preaching of Guru Nanak, Iqbal gave a slogan "Lara De Mughle Shahbaz". As a result of this we became slave. Before we lost our independence Maharaja Ranjit Singh was born. He changed the history. He diverted the course of the stream that used to flow from Khyber pass towards Delhi and the Punjabis reached Afghanistan honourably after crossing Khyber. He made us Punjabis and provided us our language, values and culture. Raja Col. Ranjit Singh did achieve a marvellous thing. His Government was not communal but secular. Azizuddin was his Foreign Minister. His people used to call themselves Punjabis. We became slave in the last. English people entered Punjab and we were slave for one hundred years. We fought a big battle. Bhagat Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai were the product of that battle which was called 'Gadar Party'. Punjab produced such people as knew the tactics



of war and make sacrifices. Unfortunately, today we are trying to find out the religion to which they belonged. We have been asking whether Bhagat Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai were Hindus or Sikhs. Those who were put to death in Jalianwala Bagh were Hindus or Sikhs? They were simply devoted towards their country. We had inherited patriotism from these eminent persons and this had made us Punjabis. They had a vital role in the struggle for freedom and we witnessed everything. I hail from a small town called Jhelum in Pakistan. From Amritsar a *Jattha* of Sikhs came for assisting Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and they were thrashed in Jhelum city. That day my younger brother died. My parents were arrested at the same night. I witnessed the entire thing with my own eyes. I saw the entire freedom struggle and I also saw what happened in 1946. In 1946 riots started in Rawalpindi and Jhelum areas. In that area there was no distinction between Hindus and Sikhs. The people who took part in the riots were killed by the Sikhs. I saw the atrocities committed on them. I myself felt the pain that they had undergone. Since we were Punjabis and had sufficient courage and were laborious so we became prosperous. We should not forget that the land of this country gave us a warm welcome and many among us went to Pakistan and settled there. There they are called Mujahirs and they could not be able to get even the residential accommodation and are still wandering in the streets. In India we are enjoying the freedom of moving freely and honourably. We are proud of ourselves and of the unity of this country. We know how to produce gold out of the land of this country and how to lift our swords for defending the honour of our country. Had the soil of this country not been hospitable and the people not been with us—

18.55 hrs. [MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER  
in Chair]

Had the people of this country not

supported us, our condition would not have been different in any way as compared to the Mujahirs in Pakistan. Do not forget that we have seen the formation of Pakistan in the name of religion. We have also seen division of Pakistan in the name of religion. Nations are not built in the name of religion, as a matter of fact the nations emerge on the strength of culture, history and traditions. Our country is a land of diversities. Sikhs are a part of it. I do not consider myself different from Sikhs. My sister is married in a Sikh family. Our relationship with them is very strong and there cannot be any division. We are united with each other and can never be separated. The constituency from where I have been elected is dominated by Sikhs. Earlier, too whenever we have contested election, I have represented the areas where Sikhs are in majority. They have elected me then how can I believe that they are different from me or I am different from them. Indian society is based on secularism. If we ourselves try to deviate in any way from the base then to whom would be blame.

The history of last ten years has been that of inexperience. During this period the Government was also inexperienced. Immaturity cannot be divided. We had to face inexperienced people. Despite knowing it, if we try to make some distinction or division in the name of religion, it would amount to injustice.

Sikh community is such a commendable community that wherever it goes it makes a place for itself. If you go to Madras, Bombay or see anywhere in the field of science, technology, trade, farms or army you will always find sikhs discharging their duties honourably. We are proud of this fact. Not only because we honour Sikhs but because of the fact that they have the quality which is essential for making progress.

[Sh. I. K. Gujral]

This Nation upholds truth and the person who is courageous, prospers and allow others to prosper. As such, I strongly believe that we have an unfortunate politics. However, this is not the time to analyse which Government was immature. Had we not been immature we would have not started thinking about it after ten years. I have got a long list of the errors committed during that long period but due to shortage of time I do not want to go into it. But I would like to draw your attention to one important aspect since I am personally concerned with it. We have been guessing about Longowal Accord, Anandpur Sahab Resolution and the text of Longowal Accord that was sent to Sarkaria Commission. But we are not paying proper attention towards the Pak activities. We are unfortunate that for two to three hours the discussion is going on but contrary to my hopes no one has drawn our attention towards this important issue. I have been associated with the foreign policy of this country for a few months. I myself had discussions with the Pak foreign Minister twice. I also spoke to their Foreign Secretary. It would be a blunder if we ignore the foreign policy of Pakistan in respect of Kashmir or Punjab problem and we are time and again committing this mistake. We are blaming each other but we are not trying to look into the element that is instrumental behind it. You must be remembering what I had urged in this House from the ruling side. In the month of February when I had first talked to Yakub he was giving an ultimatum and there was a danger of war. I did not underestimate that ultimatum. He had a firm belief that whether they did interfere in Kashmir or in Pakistan they could spoil the entire atmosphere of these places. But the reply that should have come from you had already been given by me.

As a result, when they talked for the second time after two months, their tone was changed, but there was

no change in their intention. The policy was the same of interference in Punjab and Kashmir. I am an old friend of Shri Chandra Shekhar and appreciate his far sightedness.

19.00 hrs.

But as a personal friend, I would like to tell him not to commit a mistake of changing the foreign policy over telephones and through sweet talks. The foreign policy should be framed to serve the long terms interests. But he still wants to continue this foreign policy, inspite of all the interference being carried out in Punjab and Kashmir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you may remember the time I am mentioning about. It refers to last june. Mr. Gates, the Security Advisor of the American President Mr. George Bush came to meet me. He informed me that he has visited Pakistan, before coming to India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has told him that the 31 camps in which the terrorists were being trained, have been closed. I asked him that out of how many camps, the 31 camps have been closed, because our figures are different in this regard. I told him that he may leave this point, but if there were 31 camps, has any account been kept about those, who were trained there? Where they have gone? Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you may have observed that the Ambassador of America in Pakistan, Mr. Okley has openly said that his country does not support the interference by Pakistan in Kashmir and Punjab. Now, if we leave this apart and he think that his intentions has changed after a meeting in Male, then it is a different thing. But I request you and through you to the Hon. Prime Minister, who is also a personal friend of mine, that serious attention should be paid towards this foreign policy. The intentions of Pakistan should be properly understood. Has there been any decrease in terrorism after Male?

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think we were expected to work today upto 7.00 p.m. But I think we can have some more time. There are about four or five Members to speak. I think we can extend the time till the debate is over.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:  
Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please continue and you can take as much time as you like.

[*Translation*]

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I was mentioning about the Gates Mission. He visited our country and said that we should take the initiative for building peace, so that the situation of war, which is being created by Pakistan, may be brought to normal. So we took comprehensive confidence building measures and prepared a draft and sent it to Pakistan. It had two parts. One was related to the defence matters and the other was related to the civilian matters. The civilian matters were regarding Punjab. We gave them the names of all those places, where camps were operating and the names of the persons, who were giving training there and are thus encouraging terrorism. But till now, we haven't received any reply from Pakistan regarding the peace building issue. In spite of three meetings held between the Foreign Secretaries of both the sides, no reply has come from their side. I had also raised this question before the Foreign Secretary/Minister of Pakistan, but no reply was given. When they do not want to reply, it shows that they have some particular intentions. You may remember that recently America has stopped aid to Pakistan keeping it in view that Pakistan has made a neutron bomb. Now, what is the logic in it that we should keep our eyes closed and only hold discussions on the issue? It will be foolish of us, if we

still think that this will create no danger for us and there is no need to pay serious attention to this issue. I am not saying that you should make a bomb or I am also not saying that you should not make bomb. I am only saying that while discussing the Punjab and Kashmir issues we should also keep in mind the entire border of our country. We should consider the facts that it has been one year, since our forces are standing eye ball to eye ball. They are trying to check this situation. But this can not be checked through wire fencing. Neither this can be checked through China wall nor through Berlin Wall. This can only be checked by the people. What was the reason that during the wars of 65 and 71, Pakistan was not able to advance from this side. The people stood up as a wall. The people are still with you. The issue to consider is, whether we are with the people or not. The Hindus and Sikhs both live in Punjab. It will be our biggest fault, if we accuse the entire sikh community for spreading terrorism. Some of our friends, who think that sikhs are to be blamed for terrorism. Some people think that the interest of India can be safeguarded, through the division of the country. This will never happen.

We should keep in mind the implications of that message, which was passed by the Pakistan to the terrorists and intercepted by us that they should now selectively kill the Hindus. It was also said in that message that hindu-sikh riots should be engineered. We are fortunate that in spite of such things, the hindu-sikh relations are not strained. But we should be cautious about complacency. It should not happen that due to our unawareness Pakistan may become successful in its designs. Now, we should pay attention towards our surroundings. Today two major changes have come in Punjab. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, after the last Parliamentary elections, I think that the attitude of the sikhs towards the centre has changed. I don't say that earlier it was right or

[Sh. I. K. Gujral]

wrong. It will make a long discussion and perhaps parties will be involved in it. The feeling of annihilation in the minds of sikhs residing in Delhi is no more there now. The sikhs are as unhappy as the Hindus due to terrorism. They are rather more unhappy to some extent because three districts on the border are sikh dominated areas. It is not a good thing to count the corpses. It is very unfortunate that first of all we try to find out whether he sikhs have been killed or the Hindus. Whoever has been killed is an Indian, whether he is an innocent sikh, Hindu or Punjabi. This should always be kept in the mind. Shrimati Bimal Khalsa has put it in a very polite way that working of the Police in Punjab is not at all satisfactory. There is corruption. Innocent people are arrested and money is extorted from them. The atmosphere inside the police stations is not good. It should be our first duty to correct this situation and we will have to do it. The people are more frightened today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you go through the newspapers of Kashmir or the newspapers of Punjab, you will find all these facts there in the form of advertisements. I have some of them, which have come out in the "Tribune" in the last week—some-one is saying that he will not do that work, as he has changed his habits and his occupation and one SHO is saying he is being wrongly suspected. He is saying to the terrorists to spare him as he is an innocent person. Such a situation has been arised. But I will not held these people guilty for such a situation. We ourselves should be accused for not being able to change this atmosphere of terror. It is also a fact that the people are being forced to change their culture on gun-point. We have to pay attenion in that regard. I am not saying that we should not speak Punjabi language. I, myself speak this language and you may have observed that the type of Hindi I speak, is highly influenced by Punjabi and Hindi.....(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: It is good Hindi.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Thank you. I am confident that if one has to teach Punjabi or Telugu, Gurumukhi or Tamil, it should be taught with affection, not on gun-point. In this country, where 80 per cent of the population is illiterate, how can we teach them Punjabi or Tamil by using force. We are Punjabis, our culture is Punjabi and we are proud of our culture. We speak Punjabi and are living only due to it. But we should keep this in mind that to force people to change their culture and to dictate them about their dress and about their language is a very dangerous trend. It leads us towards fascism, instead of democracy. Those, who are encouraging such trend in our country, are not aware of the risk involved in it. The Punjabis are living in the entire world and this is a matter of pride. We are proud of it. I am among those, who praise the initiative taken by the Hon. Prime Minister to hold talks with Shri Mann. It is in the record that on 31st December, I gave a statement on behalf of the Punjabi group that talks should be held. Such things should not be said that first you do this or that. I assume that there is no need to suggest the Prime Minister or for us to say that we have full faith in the unity and integrity of our country and no one can divide us. Where does such a question of division arises. Therefore, this is not acceptable. Now a demand is being made about self-determination. But this is not in the interest of anyone, whether they are Punjabis, Hindus or Sikhs. Leave alone the loss to the country. Therefore, I praise the steps and the initiatives taken to solve the issue of Punjab. A new Governor has been appointed there. We will provide full cooperation to him. It is very unfortunate that now a days it has become a common practice to cange the Governor of any state now and then. That day, I was trying to count the number of Governors that have been changed in Punjab in the last 10 years. I am a little weak in

mathematics, that is why, I have forgotten all. I don't know how many Governors have been changed. I will be greatfull to anyone who can tell me the exact number. May be no one will be able to tell. But there is no doubt that no issue can be solved by merely changing the Governor. The Punjab problem also cannot be solved by only changing the Governors. There are some basic issues on which, we have to build up a consensus in the country. It was rightly said by an hon. Member here that nothing can be achieved without consensus. Only making allegations and counter-allegations on each other will make the matter worse. This country and this House will have to raise this issue collectively. It is being said that security forces should be sent there. But in my opinion, the use on security forces should be done in a very careful manner, because they cannot solve all the problems. If the security forces are sent and the issue is not solved, it will incurr more loss to the country. I accept that there is unemployment problem in Punjab. Shri Dinesh Singh has rightly said that Punjab has the highest percapita in come in our country. But that does not mean that every Punjabi is prosperous and the income of every Punjabi is higher than other people in the country. The unemployment is a big factor. You can say that this problem is prevailing in the entire country, but when any disease aggravates, you have to prevent it, and if it becomes serious, it has to be operated also. Therefore, we will have to take some strong steps in this regard and have to pay attention to some other things in this regard. For the last 5-6 years, no development work could be done in Punjab. I can tell you about my constituency. The Municipalities of Jalandhar, Kapurthala and Nalanda do not have even Rs. 100 for development work except providing salaries to their employees. As a result, the development work has completely stopped. Plans are prepared. Those plans are never implemented but shown on the papers only. As a representative of the people, I have to give

reasons to them for the inability to construct a latrine, a sewer line or a road there. When we are ready to spend on forces, on police, why we are not prepared to spend on development work. The Government should change its policy regarding this issue. Unless we change our policy, we will have to face a lot of problems and there will be increase in them. Just now, Shri Bhajan Lal has mentioned some issues here. It would have been better, if he hadn't raised them. What can I say to Shri Bhajan Lal, who gives such suggestions that Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh should be merged into one State. He himself is a very experienced person. May be, he has more experience about aligning or breaking. But I do not agree with him. I also do not agree with him, what he mentioned about the Anandpur Sahib resolution. He may remember that in the Longowal Agreement, issues were mentioned regarding the Anandpur Sahib resolution also. It was said at that time that it is being sent to the Sarkaria Commission. This was said by the Prime Minister. I am not accusing him, but this was not good.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the end, I would only like to submit that not only there is the need of consensus, but with unity, we have to accept the diversity of our country also. The sikhs are the symbol of unity in diversity in our country. They have their own language, culture and religion and we praise those things, but they are not someone exclusive. We also follow that religion, speak that language and follow the Gurus. It is our country and our land.

[English]

**SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY** (Hoshiarpur): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to speak on Punjab. On hearing the debate today on Punjab, I have got a little bit disheartened. I have got my name deleted and left the House. I came again because some of the

[Sh. Kamal Chaudhry]

members insisted that since I belong to Punjab I should speak and hence I rise to speak. My views on Punjab are very clear. I have spoken every year at least twice since April 1986. I am living my own life, not any one's borrowed life.

Sir, the situation in Punjab has been deteriorating. However, it was in 1989 the Central Government under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi brought the situation in Punjab under control with Shri Siddarth Shankar Ray as Governor and the terrorists were made to run out of Punjab. Then, the Punjabi migrants started coming back. The atmosphere was made conducive for elections and elections were held peacefully. However, after the new Government took over in December 1989 under the leadership of Shri V. P. Singh as the Prime Minister with the support of the Left and the Right things started deteriorating. Today, we see what has come of Punjab. There is no need to go in for any statistics. The writ of the terrorists runs in Punjab. The Government, be it at the Centre, be it in Punjab succumbed to the pressure of the terrorists. *Hukumnama* was given by the so called Panthic Committee of Dr. Sohan Singh. The Government did not even wait for 24 hours and it implemented that *Hukumnama* starting from 22nd November 1990 with the Doordarshan giving in to the pressure by the terrorists. The terrorists are an honoured commodity in Punjab today. They are called *Khar-koo*s. Punjabi, which could not be enforced in Punjab by all sorts of Governments, was implemented immediately. In the Punjab Secretariat, all the Secretaries changed their name plates into Punjabi. The colour scheme as dictated by the terrorists was accepted by every one. Be it the beauty parlours in most of the major cities of Punjab which are being closed down for the women, be it the dress worn by the ladies, this has been engineered—I would like to use this word—by the Government itself. I must be pardoned for casting asper-

sions on most of the Members in this House for doing nothing for Punjab and only indulging in mud-slinging on each other. Army was sent to Punjab by Chandra Shekharji. I am sorry to say, the Government got weak-kneed and reversed its stand stating that it had not been deployed, it had been sent to help the BSF on the border. Why not deployment? And why only deployment in a few districts along the border which helps the terrorists? Since it was publicised by the Government itself, the terrorists were given sufficient time to shift to other districts, move to Pakistan and come to districts like Hoshiarpur, Roper, Patiala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Ambala, Delhi and other places. I am sorry to say that what has been done in Punjab is just mere a police and bureaucratic bundobust which is being dictated by the bureaucracy and the police in Punjab. I had even used very very harsh words like 'eunuch' for a lot of officials. I would not indulge in it today. In this country, nobody has got guts to say something. Let me say so today. People who make inflammatory speech—be it from Gurudwaras or otherwise, I challenge them—be it a Simranjit Singh Mann, Atindar Pal Singh or anybody—to stop playing with the innocent people who do not have weapons. If they have guts, they can try out a person like me. I do move around with weapons. And it is not just the security which is provided by the Government, which is protecting me. I am truthful to this nation. I have the blood of my Father Chaudhry Palvir Singh running in my veins. I have spent 21 years in the Indian Air Force. Unfortunately, I belong to a minority community in this nation. I am an Indian. The word 'minority' is unfortunately stamped on me because there were hardly any Indians in this country.

I would again apologise for using these harsh words. I have spent these five years in the Indian National Congress as a strong and true disciplined soldier of this party. I would like to say it again and request this

whole nation and the whole House to get down business for getting peace for Punjab and help this Government for that.

As far as talking to terrorist is concerned, it is me who had been saying throughout that even those who do not accept the Constitution, who have weapons in their hands, those who want to fire and kill people, call them, talk to them if they want. But if they talk any nonsense, they have no right to live. I have been taught for 21 years in the same nation that enemy of the nation must be eliminated.

As far as development and other things are concerned, what is needed today is just peace in Punjab. Just a few minutes back, we have passed a Resolution unanimously requesting the world to prevent war in the gulf. I am saying the same thing. Let us not talk about other things. Let us just talk about getting peace for Punjab. I request all parties to unite in fighting terrorism. You can fight an election if you do not get into petty games that had been tried to divide the country on castelines or on communal lines. Let us, for some time stop this. I had said so in Parliament on the 2nd April, 1986. I wish more than half of my speech was not expunged. I had said in that speech, what has been happening all these days and what is going to happen tomorrow also.

Once again, I appeal to everyone to help the Prime Minister. I ask the Prime Minister also to stand up boldly and take firm action in Punjab. Thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI CHAND RAM (Hardoi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all I feel sorry to have interrupted Shri Guiral's speech although it is not my habit to do so, but I must ask a few questions from him. I have deliberately named him but not with the intention of insinuation.

Shri Advaniji said that when Shri V. P. Singh visited Golden Temple, a rousing welcome was given to him. He has himself admitted that the atmosphere at that time was very good. But we lost that initiative. I have just listened hon. Shri Gujral's speech. He has not put forward any solution in his speech. All that he said was a sort of warning that we must change our foreign policy particularly with reference to Pakistan.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have seen the old times. In a way, I too was a refugee. I was a student in Lahore in 1947 and came here as a refugee after partition. I was an activist in the student wing of the Congress Party at that time. There was a tussle between Urdu and Hindi at that time. An Urdu daily named Nawab Jung used to published from there.

When Punjab was divided into Punjab and Haryana, the ratio of Sikhs and Hindus at that time in Punjab was 54 : 46. Today I was just having a chat with Shri Bhatia, former M.P. from Amritsar. During the course of our talks Shri Bhatia told me that the percentage of Hindus has now come down to 42 per cent. I told him that there was nothing to worry, why should we treat Hindus and Sikhs as two different communities. Shri Kirpal Singh is a socialist. Just now, the representative from Hoshiarpur, Captain Chaudhary was speaking. He is the son of Chaudhary Balbir Singh who had been my colleague when we were M.L.As. He used to bear turban. I remember the days when hon. Shri Bhim Sain Sachchar sent police in plain clothes inside the Golden Temple for investigation. Shri Sachchar had to beg pardon for this step. I had advised Indiraji against sending armed forces inside the Golden Temple, but since I was very lowly placed in the party, nobody heeded to my advice. This is a fact that I had been an M.L.A. in the State since 1952 and have extensively toured the villagers of Amritsar. I had been a Minister also.

[Sh. Chand Ram]

It would be better if we change our Hindu stance. If we could give more concessions to the Sikhs in Punjab, the problem could be solved.

Shri Gujral has given a few suggestions including the one that a paper industry should be set up in Punjab. If we could provide more concessions to Punjab by treating it as a part and parcel of India, the problem would be solved. As he has said, Punjab produces enormous quantity of food-grains and, as such, per capita income in the State is high. But at the same time Shri Gujral has said that it does not mean that every Punjabi is rich. Why do not we welcome the talks with Shri Mann or other concerned? An initiative in this direction has been taken and it is our duty to create conducive atmosphere for holding such talks. He has said that the people complain about the killing of innocent people by the police. I agree that divergent view has been expressed in the House on the issue. All such views should be taken into consideration and such a policy should be formulated under which no Punjabi should feel that excess has been committed against him. He said that he gave a great sacrifice for the freedom of the country. I had also been to Andaman Jail and when I went through the list of those who gave sacrifices, I found that the names from Punjab were fairly large. Whatever steps we take today in Punjab should be viewed from Punjab's angle and not from Sikh's angle. I think, that will offer a solution to the problem. I was born to an untouchable. But the position of untouchables, which comprise 20 per cent of the population, today is that they are not treated even Hindus in as much as some people talk against giving them reservation. They continue to suffer excess even 40 years after independence. Sometimes I doubt if we Hindus have removed untouchability from our society. There was a time when it was obligatory on the part of every Hindu family to make at least one of their family members Sikh. Thus they were called Guru Nanak's followers. If

theft, dacoity or other crime was committed in a particular area, a Sikh family used to be settled there, which used to be taken as guarantee of non-recurrence of that crime in that area. This was the influence carried by the Sikh community. Then why they have taken to terrorism today? I remember, Master Tara Singh having demanded four castes to be included in the list of scheduled castes. That was his last demand. This also reminds me of Gurcharan Singh Tohra's speech which he delivered in Rajya Sabha. He had asked for acceptance of 14 minor demands of his party, but the government did not accept them. You just go through the debates of Rajya Sabha and see that speech in which he had said that if these 14 minor demands were not accepted, a day would come when many more demands would be placed. Without casting any aspersions on anybody, I would say that if we want to solve this problem, we shall have to shed narrow mindedness. If proper treatment is given to Punjab whose contribution to the country is tremendous, I think this problem could be solved. I congratulate the hon. Prime Minister for taking initiative in that direction and hope that he would succeed in finding solution to this problem. If he is able to do that, he would earn the goodwill of a very large part of the country.

With these words, I thank you for giving me time to speak. \*

**SHRI RAMKRISHAN YADAV** (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Punjab problem is a very serious problem. In every session, it dominates the proceedings in one form or the other, which speaks of its seriousness. But I think it is like a disease which aggravates with each dose of medicine. If the situation deteriorates, the Governor is changed, new ordinances are issued, army, police and other para military forces are deployed, but the Punjab problem is nowhere near solution. I personally feel that there is a big conspiracy behind it. The society in our country is



such that the followers of a particular religion are treated as respectable citizens whereas those who do not follow that religion are subjected to insult and treated as untouchables. The caste system which exists in our country treats some people respectable by birth whereas others suffer indignity. The same is true of religion. Some religions in our country are treated as superior whereas the minorities are looked down upon. For centuries, Brahmanism has treated some communities in this country as very superior whereas others were treated as inferiors and untouchables. Even after 40 years of independence, the Muslims in this country have not been given the dignity and respect they deserve and now for the last 5-6 years even the Sikhs are receiving the same treatment. In 1947, the Muslims of Kashmir decided to remain in India instead of becoming a part of Pakistan and the people of Punjab have brought glory to the country whether it was their role during the freedom struggle or their contribution in the armed forces or in agriculture. The people belonging to Punjab have guarded honour of this country. But the respect which the Muslims and Punjabis deserve in this country is being denied to them. If a Muslim gives vent to his feelings he is blamed as Pakistani. If a Punjabi raises a demand, he is called a Khalistani. They are subjected to indignity. To insult the people belonging to the lower castes have become a habit with some people. Some people have become the savious of religion. The root of the problem is uprising of Hinduism. Having been nurtured in Hindustani Sanskaras and being elder brothers, all Hindus have the responsibility to guard religion against the impending danger. All Indians whether they are Panjabis, Sikhs, Muslims or others should rise to the occasion. But unfortunately, the following type of slogans are raised in the country:

“Hindu-Hindi-Hindustan, kaham se Aye Musalman,

Musalman ke do hi sthan,  
Pakistan aur kabristan.”

(Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan, from where have the Muslims come, There are only two places for Muslims, Pakistan aur kabristan)

For Punjabis, they say—

“Beti hai Sardar ki,

desh ke gaddar ki.”

(She is the daughter of a Sikh who is a traitor of the country)

This was the slogan raised against Maneka Gandhi when she contested election from Amethi. Attempts are being made to suppress these communities, whether they are Punjabis, Muslims or the scheduled castes. As protest against it they are rising to defend their honour and self respect. In this regard I would like to say to the Hindus, who are in majority, that it is their responsibility to respect Punjabis, Muslims and down trodden people of Hindu community. New generation of these communities are also becoming more aware and want to join the political, social and economic main stream of the country with honour and self-respect but some people are trying to resist their attempts. I think that it is the responsibility of the Government to conduct a thorough study of all these aspects and pave way for their respectable entry into social, political and economic main stream of the country so that they may strengthen the unity of the country.

Ours is a country of 83 crores people and we all are the sons of this Mother India. We all are the citizens of this country. All of us should resolve to maintain unity of this country. With these words I appeal that Sikhs should be made to understand and they should be respected. By joining the national mainstream they would enhance the national respect too. In this way unity and integrity of the country can be protected and our country would remain one.

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA** (South Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak. It is a very serious problem but I do not want to go into its details because our leader and other Members of the House have already mentioned many things about it. I would like to draw your attention towards one thing only. In the beginning Shri Kirpal Singh said that such and such atrocities were being committed on the Sikhs in Punjab. I think it would have carried more weight had he talked about the atrocities committed on Punjabis or on the people of Punjab. If atrocities are committed on the people of Delhi or any of the State we should not link it with the religion. Similarly, he should have said that atrocities are being committed on the people of Punjab, every one of us would have asked to fight against it unitedly. Just now Shri Gujral has said that his real brother is a Sikh, so he cannot make any difference between Hindu and Sikh. People came to Punjab from other States and also from Pakistan and they are all Punjabis. Their problems are common and we cannot count the problems of Hindus and Sikhs separately.

I would like to say two-three points to the Government, particularly to Shri Chandrashekhar. He has made certain remarks which has created misunderstandings among the people. First comment he has made on 14th December in Chandigarh before the press reporters that States can have a right to self-determination and if others get such rights, the people of Punjab should also get that. Secondly, he made another remark on 22nd December at Press Club. While replying to the press reporter he said if aspirations of people of Punjab are fulfilled and the problem is solved, the Government is prepared to talk to make amendments in the constitution. The Government do not want to come in the way of the political will of the people but the problem can be solved only within the framework of the constitution. Mr. Deputy

Speaker, Sir I would like to say that Shri Chandrashekhar is the Prime Minister of the country, therefore, he should say every word about the Punjab after careful consideration. Because farmers, shopkeepers and other people in Punjab read his comments in the newspapers. It has appeared in the newspapers that 12 organisations would participate in Chandrashekhar—terrorists talk to be held in this month and the Government have given assurance for their protection. When such news appear in the newspapers, they create apprehensions among the people as to what will happen to Punjab. One more important thing I would like to say as has been said by our leader and other speakers that same thing is being repeated in Punjab as has been done in Kashmir—be it a question of Hindi, singing of national anthem or wearing of dress. They are deliberately making attacks on our national identity to show that they are separate from rest of the country and have no similarity with the country. They want to show that whatever dress ladies may wear in other parts of the country but in Punjab they would wear salwar-qamiz only. Hindi may be read in Hindustan but they would read Punjabi only. Like Kashmir, same things are being repeated in Punjab also. Like Kashmir, advertisements are being published in the newspapers. There are many such advertisements and Shri Gujral has also mentioned about them. Our leader Shri Advani has also said that he has such advertisements with him. Even a colonel used to say that he had not given the shop for opening wine shop and he is going to vacate it. He assured the terrorists not to suspect him. Such things are happening there in Punjab. The incidents of Kashmir are also being repeated in Punjab.

I would like to submit 5-6 suggestions in brief. First of all I would like to say that the Government should declare that no talk will be held with the terrorists till they give up the demand for Khalistan. If

you see at page 9 you will find that the word "Indo Sikh" has been mentioned there.

[English]

Operation Blue star was a watershed in Indo Sikh affairs.

[Translation]

What is the meaning of Indo-Sikh? As stated by Shri Mann that Indo-Sikh implies for both Hindustan as well for Sikhs. It is not two country like Sino-Indo. The Government should clearly say that it will not talk to those people who say like this. The terrorists hideouts in Pakistan should be closed, security belt should be created along the border and intelligence agencies should be geared up. The terrorist's network for kidnapping the people should be broken. Due to the shortage of time I cannot explain these points in details. The Government should take firm steps without giving any considerations to the votes.

I would like to request to the hon. Prime Minister that no talk should be held with Shri Mann for the Punjab problem because he is perhaps not even spokesman of the terrorists. There is a fear in the minds of the minority community in Punjab. Sir, through you, I would like to say that before holding a talk on Punjab problem, people of minority community in Punjab should also be taken into confidence.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the so-called Khalistanis so long used to hurt us with AK-47 rifles physically but by their diktats they have touched our last sense of prestige and hurt our honour. It is good that this House is there discussing this issue as to how to respond to this challenge to our national honour. You know that

when the previous Government first deferred the question of election, I alone opposed it. To my mind, that was the first mistake that the previous Government did which was later on accepted by the Prime Minister as a Himalayan blunder. Then, when the second time they deferred the election, that was even a more serious blunder and now we are reading the statistics as to how many number of persons were killed, the number of weapons recovered and how their atrocities are increasing here and there.

We have created this disease and we are lamenting over that. What Punjab situation warrants is a bold step. We must have talks with them. We should not be afraid of talks. We should talk with them and only then we can solve this problem. This problem cannot be solved by appeasement or oppression. Can police or CRPF, or BSF tackle this problem? Several Members have suggested that we should send army there. I would like to ask, can army tackle this problem? The main problem in Punjab—not only in Punjab but in the entire country—is that the forces of disintegration are more determined than the forces of integration. That is the main problem. We have to redirect the social motivation. Communalists are more militant than the secularists. How can you fight with them? Can we win over the communalists by dialogue? If this was the thing then India would not have been divided. Sir, it is a lesson before us. The communalists, the secessionists and racists are to be confronted on the ground. The difficulty in our country which we are hearing in so many words, is that our process of development has created a class which is monopolising the politics in every sphere. The entire attention of this class is towards disintegration; towards communalism and towards secessionism. The entire non-productive, parasitic class who are earning money by different ways are now commanding the politics and productive people have gone into the background.

[Sh. A. K. Roy]

Sir, there will be a communal struggle and secessionists will have an upper hand. What is the remedy against the communal struggle? Is the remedy lies in giving the economic packages? These economic packages will become bonus for the terrorists. If in West Bengal the same thing is to take place, they should also get AK-47. If this is the way of development in the country, let them spell out that if we resort to terrorism, or if we arm ourselves with AK-47 then we will also get the economic packages. We will start doing this from tomorrow onwards.

Sikhs are not the tribals; they are not Assamees, harijans or down trodden class. Sikhs are the ruling class of the country. They are the highest earning group in the country. They have the highest say in the Government. Though their percentage is only one percent, their say in the Government is always more than any other community. They are in our body politics. Now, the ruling class has become more aggressive than the ruled. If you read the

19.49 hrs. [MR. SPEAKER *in the  
Chair*]

newspapers, will find so many clashes take place: there are so many killings and so many deaths take place. But they fight not for a correct cause. A struggle is going on to strengthen the grip of the ruling class on the people. Today in Punjab, who are the Khalistanis? They are those who have AK-47 with them. They are not the exploited people. They are not for those who are being exploited or who are below the poverty line. It is for the Khalistanis or the terrorists who have come from the ruling section and with their coming, the entire democratic struggle has gone to the background. We have never heard a fighting between an agricultural labourer and the owner. We have not seen a fighting between the trade

unions. That means, this is a movement, this is an affront, this is a political aggression of the ruling class to cowdown the real struggle of the down-trodden people. So, we should have a view on that. How can this problem be tackled? We should remember two or three things in this regard. Instead of making theories, we should learn from the examples. One example has come from Dhanbad. In Dhanbad, the terrorists are obeying the *diktats* of the Khalistani militants of Punjab. What happened in Dhanbad? They went there to loot a bank. They collected the money. At that time, they were confronted under the leadership of Shri Randhir Verma, S.P., Dhanbad. Immediately, the people rallied. Shri Randhir Verma was gunned down. His Security Guard, who was accompanying him, was also injured. But, then, the common people, the civilians, jumped and grappled with all these terrorists. As soon as the common people, the civilians came into the picture, they were also shot at. Along with the S.P., one customer, who was a common man, when he found that the S.P. is falling, he also jumped at the terrorists. He was also killed. His name was Shymal Chakraborty. He was an employee of the Indian School of Mines. I went to Dhanbad and had talks with the DIG and the Chief Secretary of Bihar. They also felt demoralised.

So, as soon as the common people came into action, those terrorists started running and ultimately they took shelter in a house. Actually, they were made captive by three ladies. They went inside the house and started hiding under a cot. I went to that house also. They were tied down. They started questioning them: "Who are you; how have you come here?" At that time, the Police came and got them arrested. Another person was also arrested by the people in a tea shop. That means, the initiative of the people is a must. It requires Leadership. So far, all the parties who are giving different advises and who are having

their organisation in Punjab, they should go there. They should give their leadership and they should confront with them. If you confront with those extremists, then they will become paper tigers. If you start fearing them, then they will come out as real tigers. That is the real point which you should keep in mind. It is not only here, but even in Punjab, the Police Officers are surrendering. In this month's *India Today* they have given a picture of gallant sikh, who was confronting with the militants. He was living in the worst affected terrorists' area, where police are afraid of the terrorists. Wherever there is a firing, the police use to flee. I will tell you what is the report. They have said and I quote from *India Today* that "Those actually fighting, ironically don't even get paid for that. Outer fringes of Bhikhiwind village, one of the worst hit by terror, lies the house of Comrade Balwinder Singh (30) and his wife Jagdish Kaur, both CPI(M) workers. The two are literally Comrade-in-Arms in the fight against the Khalistanis. It was just a year ago that, harassed by the militants, they decided to arm themselves. Since then their own weaponry and resolve has grown with the intensity of the attacks on them while the police flee when the firing begins." They are living there. What have we done? I told the Home Minister: Mr. Randhir Verma and Shyamal Chakravarty fought them in Dhanbad, so that the three militants could be caught. The entire money was recovered. What have we done to honour them? Up till now, not even a statement has come. What are we doing to honour this Mr Balvinder Singh, the CPI(M) worker?

You must know how to honour them. Therefore, it is these people who can stop the terrorists, not your CRPF, BSF or the bribe-taking policemen. This is the point I wanted to make. The main point is that we have to see that the social motivation is not spoilt. The entire capitalist way of development has made us self-centred, has made us acquisitive, has

made us communal. The nation has taken to a bad practice. There is now the public sector, and the private sector. But what has flourished is the self-sector. It is above all a self-sector. So, to hell with the country, hell with the society, hell with everything, only thing is our "self". If that becomes the motivation, then why blame the gunmen? Today they rule Punjab, tomorrow they will rule in Delhi and everywhere. Then where are we to go? Where will we migrate? One migration we have already done. People cannot go on migrating. That is the point.

I want the Government to think very seriously about this. After the Dhanbad incident, we have the Purulia incident. There, six policemen were killed; five citizens were there, and they were killed. And Government is sitting idle. This is not a law and order problem. When I raise here, you say it is a law and order problem, and the State will have to see. The spreading of the tentacles of Kashmiri terrorists with their AK-47 is not a law and order problem. It is a national question, and people should take it seriously. Those who had fought and tried to confront them should be honoured, and those who fled should be disgraced. That should be our line. Only by confronting can we tackle them. I believe that the main mistake which the Government is doing is this: we want to confront the ghost of Bhindranwale with the spirit of Longowal. That is a great mistake. The spirit of Longowal cannot confront the ghost of Bhindranwale. For that, you need the spirit of Bhagat Singh. Only aggressive secularism can tackle aggressive communalism; and not in a defensive way, apologetic way, by talking to them and acquiescing with them. The question is not that. The Sermon on the Mount could not save the future generations from the misery. So, also the sermon from the House cannot save us from all this secessionism and communalism.

20.00 hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY  
SPEAKERObservation Re. Receipt of Interim  
order from High Court of Delhi

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Before I call the Prime Minister, I would like to inform you about the latest observation of the High Court. Here is a letter. I had informed the House on 8 January, 1991 about the receipt of a letter from the Registrar of the High Court of Delhi forwarding therewith a copy of an interim order passed by the Division Bench of the High Court of Delhi on 8 January, 1991 directing that all the petitions presented before me under the Tenth Schedule to the Constitution shall not be proceeded with or pursued by the petitioners.

I have received today another letter from the Registrar of the High Court of Delhi, forwarding therewith a copy of an order passed by the Full Bench of the High Court of Delhi on 11 January, 1991. The Full Bench has passed the following orders:

"We are *prima facie* of the opinion that the Speaker has jurisdiction to decide the question of disqualification of members of Lok Sabha under paragraph 6 of the 10th Schedule and the rules framed thereunder on the petitions presented to him. So we vacate the interim order passed by us on 8th January, 1991."

Now the Prime Minister.

20.01 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193  
Situation in Punjab—contd.

[Translation]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, The concerns expressed

over Punjab problem is but natural. I do agree that there is no improvement in the situation in Punjab. It is also true that apprehensions and terror is there among the people of Punjab. But the situation has not deteriorated to that extent that we cannot make efforts to improve it. But it is not true as some Members have said that it appears that Khalistan has been made there and no one is secured in Punjab. It is true that some dictates have been issued by the so called terrorists there to put some restriction one wearing dresses and speaking a particular language. These dictates came into force when these were discussed in Chandigarh and they were followed by many Government departments also. A situation arised there when the Hindi bulletins from All India Radio and Doordarshan were stopped. We do not say that situation has taken a drastic turn. That situation is not there in Chandigarh. We have taken certain steps and I do not want to go into the details of those steps. Hindi bulletins have again been started from All India Radio Chandigarh and Doordarshan Centre about ten days ago. Now, no one is harassing for wearing particular dress or speaking particular language there. This has been the situation in Chandigarh for last one week. This has happened because we tried to remove the drawbacks existing in the administration of Chandigarh. We believe that it is the responsibility of the Government that every citizen should feel secured but I do not say that no untoward incident would take place but we have provided enough security forces which were required to provide security to the people and to boost morale and strengthening will power of the people. Such steps have been taken by the Government and the results thereof are also coming before us.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I know that certain things are said because of the fear and in fear our own shadow looks like a ghost to us. We cannot solve the problem like this. We

have to resist the forces, which are working for creation of such problems. Just now an hon. Member from Dhanbad has rightly said that to dispel fear we have to face them boldly. I agree that it is the duty of the Government and all of us to create an atmosphere in which the people can understand that terrorism or anything else can do no harm to us. He raised a matter regarding the incident occurred at Purulia and Dhanbad. It is a tragic incident and the Government is also concerned about it. I would like to inform the hon. Member that on the day of incident, the Government have announced highest gallantry award to the deceased S.P. Moreover, adequate assistance will also be given to the family members of the deceased. Just now I have received information that all the three culprits involved in the incident at Purulia and Dhanbad have been killed. One of them was killed yesterday and two have been killed today. It is not that the Government and the administration have not taken any step in this direction but it is like a chronic disease and its cure is not so easy. We have to make efforts to cure this chronic disease. I have listened to the speeches of the hon. Members. It is true that some times it creates apprehensions in the minds of the people. If we talk to any one that may give wrong indication also. I do not understand as to how we can block the path of mutual talk. We have been trying for last 6-7 years to find out the solution of problems by repressive measures but if we have not succeeded in that the Parliament of the country has for the first time discovered the path of mutual talk. Is it not a fact that wherever we had discussions the results were always good? Not only once, but many a time, we had discussions. I do not want to go into the illustrations, nor do I want to go into the complete history. Whether it is Nagaland, Mizoram, Tamil Nadu or Tripura. There have been discussions not only in Gujarat but at various places, and as long as de-

mocracy survives the system of negotiations will continue. But if there is violation in negotiations and these cross the limits the results will not be so good. The example cited by Mr. Khurana in his speech is correct. I was listening to the recording of the press conference at my office. I know what I have said, and whatever has come in the press is correct. What did I say? A correspondent asked me whether I was ready for a constitutional amendment, if there was such a demand? In my reply, I said, if it results in any solution and the amendment is acceptable to Parliament and does not come in the way of unity and integrity of India, we should not hesitate to consider it. I would like to know whether Sarkaria Commission is not mentioned here almost every day. If the constitution is to be slightly amended for giving more rights to the States will it endanger the integrity, sovereignty and unity of our country? So, whenever we talk of the constitution here, and perhaps Shri Khurana missed that sentence when I said that there won't be any compromise on the unity and integrity of the country. We have repeatedly said, whether anybody will mention it or not, that the basic duty of the Government is to provide security to the public. There can be no compromise on the issue of security. Honourable Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell the people of the country and this House that if anybody approached us for talks, I have frankly told him that we can't tolerate the killing of any innocent person, any if any innocent person is killed, it is the fundamental duty of the government to give an answer for that and also to bring round the violators. The government has to fulfil this duty in any case. There won't be any discriminations. If I say that the name of Simranjeet Singh Mann is frequently mentioned, who says that innocent people are being killed and if you take action against the terrorists, we are also with you then. How can I say that you are not with us. I do not know that what limits you

[Sh. Chandra Shekhar]

want to fix, the manner in which talks can be held. So if you give me a hint regarding the manner of holding the talks and the idiom to be adopted, I would say that holding of talks won't be difficult for anybody. One should be clean-hearted about the circumstances. Our conscience should be clear regarding the extent to which we can go. The meaning of talks is not that if terrorists kill some innocent person and our Police and security forces should sit idle and if it would have been like that the government would have not taken the steps it has taken there in Chandigarh last week. Not only that it is not so only in Chandigarh, I had told the top leaders about our scheme on Punjab. When I am frequently told to explain it in detail, it creates some difficulty. At certain occasions it is not feasible to give out certain details. But I would definitely say that, we have certainly said that we will take steps with regard to the situation in Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar in the same manner in which we have taken in case of Chandigarh, so that the people there can live with a sense of security. We have also decided that there are 128 villages where terrorism is at its peak. Special security arrangements have been made for those villages and the action has been initiated there for the last three days. We can't wait for talks in connection with that. Because the situations are different. Dialogue with leader and a sense of security among the people should not be mixed together. So the government has not hesitated to take administrative steps. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you I would like to convey to the House that it is not necessary that the government should declare about all the steps taken by it through the newspapers. There are certain limits, certain difficulties in the administration itself, but I assure you that all the necessary action for the security of life would be taken. I would also tell you that it does not

mean that Police and armed forces will be given a free hand. We have also said that if any person is suffering in Punjab or has any grievance or any injustice is done to anybody, he should approach us. We don't want that any innocent person should be killed and no injustice should be done to innocent people. Government will try its best to save innocent people. So we have told the higher authorities to listen to such grievances. Government is also trying its best to listen to such complaints. If any special arrangements are possible in this regard, we shall have to do so. I would also like to say, that any officer should not have any such fear that after the elections the new Chief Minister will harass them after assuming the power, then I would assure all those officers through this House that whatever steps they take in the responsible discharge of their duties, whatever be the consequences, the responsibility of their security, and the security of their service will be taken by the Government. We feel that there should be no doubt in their minds regarding their security and welfare. We also know that there are some people who want that the feeling of terror should continue. So, I would have not said this in a casual manner, but a tendency is developing in Punjab these days that the officers should take every action after seriously thinking over them because the government may change, and those people against whom the officers are taking action today may come in power. I would say to those officers and jawans of the security forces that their responsibility is towards this nation and its constitution, and they should discharge their duties. The whole nation will follow them. You won't be subjected to excesses or any injustice, or unjust attitude. I want to tell the forces clearly that they won't have to face any danger if they faithfully discharge their duties. There is another question, and that is, some people feel jealous or angry when I talk to Shri Nawaz Sharif on telephone. The reason is



not known to me. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I talked to him thrice on telephone. Third time I gave him a ring, and that too to know Pakistan's approach with regard to Gulf Crisis. He was not available, so I talked to him in the evening. I do not know why my friend Shri Gujral is feeling angry on this account. Any way, I respect him. He has a thorough knowledge of foreign policy about which I know nothing nor have I visited any foreign country. I have gone abroad a few times, so I claim a little knowledge of foreign policy

... (Interruptions)

**SHRI PRAKASH KOKO BRAHMBHATT (Baroda):** Last time, you visited many countries, Geneva and other places.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** I don't say that I am at home in diplomacy. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if anybody gives me a ring should I say to him that I don't want to talk to him on phone!

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Jalandhar):** Nobody can object to this.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** If somebody tell me on phone that he wants to improve relations with us, should I tell him: No, we don't want to improve relations with you. We want to strain the relations. If the Prime Minister of Pakistan is eager to improve relations with us should I oppose it what are the intentions, objects of Pakistan is a different question. (Interruptions)

[English]

(Interruptions)

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur):** You have misunderstood him.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur):** He has not said that.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Mr. Gujral is the last person to say that.

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** I never said that.

[Translation]

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** If not you, somebody else must have said. Mr. Speaker, Sir, most humbly I would remind you what Mahatma Gandhi had said. He was assassinated on 30th January, 1948, before that he had said to the whole nation: "My first job would be to go to Pakistan because we have been divided into two, but we are one like brothers." We shall have to follow the path of friendship. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister of this country for 17 years. He also confronted all kinds of difficulties and problems. Despite these difficulties he tried to improve relations with Pakistan. Diplomatic-level discussions were held with Pakistan on several occasions. Members will recall at least some of the incidents.

Sir, is it not true that after the 1965 war Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri went to Tashkent for talks? Is it not true that Shrimati Indira Gandhi held talks with Z.A. Bhutto at Simla and the Simla Agreement was the result thereof? From 1947 to 1990 Indian politics has had a tradition of solving problems through mutual dialogue. So why should there be any reluctance to adopt the same course in 1991?

**SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Budaun):** Sir, none of the members present here is disagreeing to that relations should be cultivated but in a cautious manner. This is what the members want and not what the Prime Minister is trying to insinuate.

[English]

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** Particularly I would like to clarify here because I talked about India and Pakistan relations that the point that my hon. friend, Mr. Prime Minister, is

[Sh. I.K. Gujral]

making, I am totally with it. I have no difference of opinion on that.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** Sir, the statements by Shri Gujral and Shri Yadav have boosted my morale. As to the question of being cautious, caution is not observed in talks alone. Caution is observed by increasing our level of preparedness. No effort is being spared on that account. If Pakistan or any other country has a bad intention towards India and thinks that India can be cheated by sweet talk, is fooling itself. Let no country have any wrong ideas about India. Sir, may I inform hon. Members that even though we are having discussions with an open heart there is an underlying caution in our approach. We do not believe in the political interpretation of such matters that talks are being held on a friendly note but intentions are anything but friendly. India is sincere about having friendly relations with Pakistan. If Nawaz Sharief says that he wants friendly relations with India, then I believe him. What he actually does to achieve it depends on him.

Sir, some members said that camps are being organised in Punjab. We are aware of that and understand that such things create tension in the country. Whenever there is an opportunity I raise this issue. My repeatedly saying that such camps exist, will not change the situation. Such training camps do exist and we are trying to deal with this situation.

Sir, the steps have been taken and hon. Members want to know what these steps are. For a long time there had been a proposal for barbed-wire fencing on the Indo-Pak border. Till one year back fencing had been done in about 80, 90 or 100 kilometres. The present position is that 120-122 kilometres of fencing has

been done. No work was done during the last year. By April the entire length of 255 kilometres will have barbed-wire fencing. Floodlights have been installed upto 65 Kilometres and work on the rest is being undertaken. I even asked the Border Roads Organisation to finish the remaining work. The contractors, who are installing wires, have been told to complete the work by April failing which they will have to pay penalties. We have been given an assurance to that effect and I see no reason why should not the work be completed by April. But that will not solve the problem because, Sir, a large part of the border cannot be fenced. This area consists of barren land, rivers and 'nullahs'. I am not very familiar with that terrain but those who are, say that fencing is not possible in that area.

For security on the border, the Border Security Force and the Army has been deployed. All this is not secret. If we deploy army on the border, we intimate Pakistan that we are doing so to check infiltrations. To the political leaders of Punjab also I have said that according to them the disturbances are caused by smugglers, boot leggers and anti-social elements and if we deploy army there to check their activities, they should not have any complaint against our action. Whatever we are doing, is being done, openly. Of course, I am at fault for not taking the Press into confidence before taking any step. We have not publicised, our actions through the Press and I consider myself fully responsible for that. Secondly, the local people will have to be given some facilities. The process of recruitment to the Border Security Force has started there. Till some days back nobody was interested in joining B.S.F., but now many people are coming.

Special opportunities are being offered to them for entry into the armed forces. The Government is taking steps for the immediate implementation of the recommendations

in respect of Punjab so that normalcy is restored in the State. But I don't have a magic wand that can provide an instant remedy for a wound that has existed for the past 10 years. I have no miraculous powers to create a 'Ram Rajya' in a place that has seen so much turmoil in the past. We must have patience, self-control and self-confidence. I am proud to say that majority of the State's population is opposed to these tendencies. Despite all efforts they have not been able to instigate communal riots there. Today there were some disturbances in Patiala but in the evening we were informed that the situation is under control. Till now no incident in Punjab has taken a communal colour.

I am confident that every citizen of Punjab will foil any conspiracy to lend communal colour to incidents in Punjab. I have also been informed that there is scepticism about how a party of 62 members can amend the Constitution. I don't know much about politics but this much I know that...*(Interruptions)*

AN. HON. MEMBER: Who said so?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It is not proper to name anyone. An amendment in the Constitution will be made with everyone's consent and it is not a question of a party of 62 members making amendments in the Constitution. It is not that I can give an assurance to someone that I shall amend the Constitution. It is others who give empty assurances, not me. I am aware of the limitations within which we have to work and I restrict my actions within those limitations. The days of giving empty assurances have gone and so people should not mind it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Nobody will give such an assurance.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It is not that nobody will give such

an assurance. It would be better if Shri Dandavate says that nobody should give such an assurance. In politics it has become a practice to give assurances regardless of whether they can be met or not. There are many examples that can be quoted in this context but that will not solve the problem or change the situation.

I would like to tell the leader of the Opposition that we may not have taken the Press into confidence or consulted with other hon. Members before taking steps but we did try to seek the advice of leaders of various political leaders. At that time our colleague Prof. Madhu Dandavate and his leader were not present and so I could not let them know about it.

I know that there are many leaders in that party, but due to certain reasons I couldn't invite them. I am sorry for that and I want them to forgive me for this act of omission on my part. However, if Prof. Madhu Dandavate tells me about the people, who ought to be invited, then I shall certainly invite them. I would certainly like to mention here that I have informed the leaders of all parties, including that of the B.J.P, the C.P.I, the C.P.I(M) and the Congress Party in detail about the Government's intentions, the Government's plans, our constraints, our weakness and the difficulties we face, because the weakness of the Government is not just our headache, it is of all of us. It is of entire nation, it is something which this Government has inherited from its predecessors. However, here I don't mean to say that a particular government is responsible for the weakness, which permeates our national life to day. We should all give a serious thought to it.

Many of our friends wondered, as to why in the name of caste and religion...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I would like to make a clarification;

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

lest you have any misunderstanding. We received your invitation too late to attend the meeting, otherwise, we would have definitely responded to it. We have never ignored the invitation of any Prime Minister. Such a thing has never happened in the past and won't happen in the future as well.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** I do not say that you didn't turn up intentionally. I do accept that the delay might have happened on our part, but I would like to make a humble submission to you that we should sit together and seriously ponder over this issue, because if we close the doors of negotiation, then the only option left before us would be that of talking at the point of bayonet, which I am sure is not the right and easy way to solve such complex problems. We believe that the process of dialogue should continue. We would like one and all to come to the negotiating table and thrash out a solution.

My friend, Shri Madan Lal Khurana had, who is the well wisher of minorities, suggested that we should give a patient hearing to the views of the minorities in that state. I did have talks with them. Rather, it was with them that I held talks first. I had told them that the Government is aware of their problems and difficulties.

**SHRI K. C. TYAGI (Hopur):** You should hold talks with all the minorities in the country, not just with the minorities in Punjab.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:** We talk with everyone about the problems confronting the entire nation. However, on the Punjab issue, I will hold talks only with the people of Punjab. I would certainly like to have a better understanding, among all of us. Chances are that, we may commit mistakes, we may take some hasty steps without giving adequate thought to its pros and cons, therefore, we would whole heartedly wel-

come the suggestions of one and all, including the hon. Members, to solve this vexed problem.

I would conclude, after putting forward just one more point. While formulating the plan, we have taken into consideration each and every suggestion and letters that the Government, the Ministry of Home Affairs, had received in the last one year. All those suggestions, which were found reasonable and practical were incorporated in the plan. We did not just take into consideration, the suggestions we have received in the past two months, since we assumed office. Rather, I had prepared a list of all the suggestions received by the previous Government, of which I was a part. We are endeavouring to chalk out a programme, taking into consideration, all those suggestions, so that no one may have any grievance. We removed the deficiencies, wherever we found it. We would certainly come across many such deficiencies, until we are able to restore normalcy and establish an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in that State.

Lastly, I would like to say one more thing. We would certainly like to hold elections in Punjab. Although, we are very enthusiastic and committed about holding polls in that State, we also believe that the people of Punjab, especially those clamouring for elections, should come forward and endeavour to create an atmosphere conducive to elections. How is it possible to hold elections, if killings, acts of terrorism and mutual antagonism remains the order of the day. Election is not just another formality. Election is an event when crores of people come out of their homes and elect a popular Government. Democracy is, where people are able to express their opinion without any fear or fervour. How is it possible to hold elections, in an atmosphere gripped with fear psychosis? I won't give blank assurances. If elections are to be held in the State, then the clouds of fear and terror, that have enveloped the State

should be removed and the responsibility to do this job, lies to a great extent, on the shoulders of those demanding elections in the State. I would like to assure them, that they don't have to fear about anything, from the part of the government. The Government has an open mind about solving the Punjab imbroglio, through consensus and through dialogue. Thank you. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Leave it Kamalji, this is not a question hour. I am not in favour of any question-answer session. Please take your seat.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not want to interrupt the hon. Prime Minister, in the middle of his speech. I would just like to ask him whether he is prepared to give a befitting reply, including war, if it becomes clear to him later on that Nawaz Sharif is a fraud and that he is bent upon destroying this country, unlike the picture that the Prime Minister has presented in this House about his Pakistani counterpart.

MR. SPEAKER: There was nothing wrong in his speech Kamalji, you please sit down.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY: Secondly, he referred to Chandigarh and three other districts. It is most distressing that everyone talks only about Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur only. Today, Shri Chandra Shekhar also said that apart from Chandigarh, they are taking necessary action in Amritsar, Patiala and Ludhiana also. My concern is that this concentration of action in selective districts is proving immensely helpful to the terrorists. In my constituency of Hoshiarpur as well as in Ropar, these terrorists have purchased hundreds of acres of land. Their well-wishers and sympathisers have shifted to these areas. Moreover, Police Officials and bureaucrats, who have been posted in our district and who are hand in gloves with the ter-

rorists have also purchased land in these areas. Thirdly, I would like to ask....

MR. SPEAKER: Kamalji, please take your seat. We are not having a question answer session. You have made your submission, now you please sit down.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY: Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann and some office-bearers of the All India Sikh Students' Federation (A.I.-S.S.F.).....

MR. SPEAKER: Kamalji, you have already mentioned it in your speech. Please take your seat.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY: No, I didn't raise this particular point. They have made many objectionable statements. I would like to know whether you have tried to ascertain, the veracity of the statements attributed to these leaders? If they are found to be true, what action do you propose to take against them?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make one thing clear that I will continue to talk of peace, till the last moment, even if Mr. Nawaz Sharif talks of war, everyday. War is fought, when the situation demands it and as I had said yesterday, Tulsidas has said in one of his quartets:

*"Soor Samar Karni Karhin, Kahl na  
janavahin aap,*

*Vidyamar Ran Pai Ripu, Kayar  
Kathhin Pratapu'*

Therefore, I won't indulge in meaningless utterances. This is the first point. We would like good sense to prevail over every one and no one should talk of war. Mr. Speaker, Sir, here, when through you, we are talking of the need to put an end to the hostilities in the Gulf, at least I won't talk of going into a war with our neighbour. I would not like to comment upon the second question, that the Hon. Member has raised, but

[Sh. Chandra Shekar]

I would like to clarify this impression. I did not say that we are going to concentrate only in these three districts. I had said that special security arrangements would be made in for these three towns and 128 villages. However, because you are compelling us, I would like to mention here that it has been said that, security arrangements in Punjab can be further tightened, if 75 more companies are despatched. We have already despatched 50-60 companies. Within the next three four days, the remaining enforcements would also be despatched. I would even say that even a hundred companies would be despatched, if necessary, for our main objective is to instill a sense of security in the minds of the people of Punjab. The Police has been told in clear terms that innocent people should not suffer in anti-terrorist operations, but at the same time, they should not remain silent spectators to gruesome and barbaric acts committed on innocent people.

I forgot the third question. Ah, yes, so far as Simranjeet Singh Mann's statements are concerned, I don't want to comment. I am concerned and responsible for only the talks I hold with him. Even you people make statements about me, almost everyday. Similarly he also dishes out statements, but I am least affected by these statements.

20.34 hrs.

Re. PROGRESS OF INVESTIGATIONS INTO BOFORS CASE

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Khurana Saheb, are you raising Bofors issue?

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to raise a discussion on the progress in the Bofors case. I want to submit only two points.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: What are you doing? The Bofors issue would be discussed next time. I shall decide the date and time.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I shall finish my submission within two minutes only. Shri Advani and Shri Madhu Dandavate have spoken at length on the matter.

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur): Who is that Sub-Inspector, who has been entrusted with this case?

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am merely a ground level political worker. I want to put forward only two points and the views of the people in this regard.....

There have been general discussion among the people on the statement of Chandra Shekharji after the formation of this new Government. Though I know him personally and believe that he has stated those things plainly without having any malice in his heart, yet the proceedings started by the Minister of Law have created certainly a doubt in the minds of the people that there has been a secret pact between the Congress Party and the Chandra Shekhar Government under which the former have supported the latter at the cost of the latter's assurance to drop all the pending cases against the former...(Interruptions) I want to say to Shri Chandra Shekhar that his credibility is at stake today. I finish my submission after saying a sentence:—

“Na Idhar Udhar ki Baat, Yeh Bata ki Kafilā Kyon hata,

Na Raahjanon Par tu Dosh Dhar, Teri Rahbari Ka sawal Hai”.

.....(Interruptions).....It is my request that the investigation in this case should be properly handled... I shall continue this discussion next time with all the facts and figures I have brought with me.